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The *Emergent Historian* is a joint project of the KPU Department of History and the Kwantlen History Students' Society. Its annual publication provides us with a chance to showcase the very best of our students' work from the previous academic year. This year's collection reflects work completed for a broader range of courses and instructors than ever before. From micro-historical studies of our local communities to 'big history' topics such the role of commodities in global history, these papers capture the diversity of our students' experiences in KPU History courses.

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## *The Ubyyssey* - September 1939 to May 1942 Carolyn Brand

History 4497: Canada and World War II  
October 28, 2015  
Professor Tom Thorner

The University of British Columbia's newspaper, *The Ubyyssey*, is published twice weekly on Tuesdays and Fridays. Each paper is four pages long, except for the first issue in September and the last issue in May which run between six and sixteen pages. *The Ubyyssey* is a student run paper that offers opinions, advice, school news and announcements, a small amount of advertisements, and a one page Sports section. From the serious to the funny, the articles offer an insight into a university student's life. This paper will examine the issues between September 1939 through to May 1942 of *The Ubyyssey* and show that those who attended UBC and wrote for the paper believed in the importance of helping their country, doing their part, and offering opinions on issues during World War II.

When Canada declared war on Germany on September 10, 1939, the University of British Columbia President, L. S. Klinck, announced to freshmen students "that the session of 1939-40 would be a war session in which only a policy of 'carry on' and not one of 'business as usual' could be followed."<sup>1</sup> Throughout his speech he made it clear to students that "all the facilities of the university, manpower, brains, and research potentialities would be mobilized in the service of the country."<sup>2</sup> From his introductory speech President Klinck seemed to set the stage for a university involved in war. He explained how the war measures had worked in World War I and that "[he was] confident that as their predecessors enlarged their conception of duty in the time of supreme trial so the present generation [would] not fail."<sup>3</sup> His expectations were made clear that these measures would continue throughout the length of the war.

In his September 1940 welcome speech, President Klinck once again asked "his students to make the sacrifices necessary to place the University at the disposal of Canada's wartime government."<sup>4</sup> He announced that there would be changes this year as "the rank and file of

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<sup>1</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1939\\_09\\_22](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1939_09_22), p.1.

<sup>2</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1939\\_09\\_22](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1939_09_22), p.1.

<sup>3</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1939\\_09\\_22](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1939_09_22), p.1.

<sup>4</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1940\\_09\\_24](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1940_09_24), p.1.



our citizens perforce are reducing their personal expenditures, ... students might well reduce their budgets for social functions ... [in order to] do something toward removing the feeling among the taxpayers that students are a privileged class.”<sup>5</sup> This feeling would echo in President Klinck’s September 1941 welcome speech where he once again asked students to limit their spending on social events. His speech also introduced the war plan to the incoming students where he “stated that the University would co-operate with the government in all possible ways.”<sup>6</sup> Throughout all of President Klinck’s welcome addresses, students became aware of the need to be a part of the war effort, make sacrifices, and continue on with proper behaviour, as things like “the frivolity of freshmen initiation ceremonies, ... were not in keeping with the seriousness of war.”<sup>7</sup> The stage was set for student involvement in the war.

The Canadian Officer Training Corps or C.O.T.C. offered “students an opportunity to qualify for commission ranks in the armed forces.”<sup>8</sup> By signing up, young men were able to show their support for the war with no obligation to fight, all while still attending university. There was a momentary glitch in the idea of no obligation when during the last week of September 1939 the Chief of Canadian General Staff “advised that enlistments are limited to those who express a willingness to join one of the fighting services within a reasonable time.”<sup>9</sup> It is unknown if this announcement made any students rethink their position on enlisting; however, in the editorial section of the same paper the editor stated that it was “eminently to be desired that all students who are qualified for entry into the Canadian Officers Training Corps should take full advantage of the opportunity.”<sup>10</sup> By Friday that same week, the decision to put C.O.T.C. recruits on active duty was cancelled and once again students were “under no obligation to fight and [were] in no way under active service.”<sup>11</sup> Even with all the confusion centred around the duty requirements of the C.O.T.C., students, graduates, and professors who joined up allowed “the University of B.C. contingent ...[to be] near battalion strength Monday [October 3, 1942] as enrolment, still on the increase, approached the 500 mark, nearly six times the peacetime enrolment.”<sup>12</sup> After the first few months of the 1939-40 year, news for the C.O.T.C. included parade times, new recruit listings, upgrades, lecture times, and technical training times.

By September, 1940 the C.O.T.C. was back in the paper informing students that “more than 100 students won’t be back for the 1940-41 session, for they have gone on active service as members and officers in naval, army, and air force units.”<sup>13</sup> This issue also pictures two soldiers linking arms with two girls offering the reader the suggestion that joining the C.O.T.C. is a good way to meet girls. Basic Military Service was introduced the first week

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<sup>5</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1940\\_09\\_24](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1940_09_24), p.1.

<sup>6</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1941\\_09\\_23](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1941_09_23), p.1.

<sup>7</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1941\\_09\\_23](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1941_09_23), p.1.

<sup>8</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1939\\_09\\_22](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1939_09_22), p.1.

<sup>9</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1939\\_09\\_26](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1939_09_26), p.1.

<sup>10</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1939\\_09\\_26](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1939_09_26), p.2.

<sup>11</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1939\\_09\\_29](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1939_09_29), p.1.

<sup>12</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1939\\_10\\_03](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1939_10_03), p.1.

<sup>13</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1940\\_09\\_24](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1940_09_24), p.2.

back and “all physically fit students should take the course of training.”<sup>14</sup> Basic training would require less time than the officer training in the C.O.T.C. and as the Editorial notes in the September 27th issue, “there can be little criticism of the introduction of military training in the universities. ... The only question that arises about the training is ‘Will it be adequate? We are ready to do our part.’”<sup>15</sup> By October 1940 military training was to replace intramural games<sup>16</sup>, but at least men would still be getting exercise while completing training. Once again issues and articles about the C.O.T.C. quieted down after the first couple of months of the 1940-41 year. In September 1941 *The Ubyyssey* reported that “apart from some changes in our timetable, the program is the same as last year [and] the number [of officers] may increase, for the Dominion Government wants to secure 1,500 officers next year from the C.O.T.C. corps throughout Canada.”<sup>17</sup> For the remainder of the 1941-42 school year, C.O.T.C. and basic training articles praised the work done by those recruits.

The 1939-40 school session saw little that was being done by the female students of the University. By September 1940 this was to change when “whole-hearted participation in war work for all women was stressed.”<sup>18</sup> In October 1940 criticism came out that the “UBC girls have been rather slow in getting started”<sup>19</sup> in their war work which spurred the the women on as they “don’t intend to let other co-eds in Canada beat them to it in providing relief for soldiers and refugees.”<sup>20</sup> In an editorial report in January 1941 the editor questioned what was actually being done in regards to female war work. The report points out “that only some sixty participate in the work out of several hundred students ... [and that] women students are not being prepared for a war emergency.”<sup>21</sup> The editor went on to argue that “should war come to this continent, strong healthy women skilled in first aid and nursing, and in handling refugees and homeless civilians will be invaluable to any community or region.”<sup>22</sup> The following edition announced that a voluntary first aid course was being offered as “it would not be possible to include every woman in the class ... [as there is] no such facility ... for the training of six or seven hundred women.”<sup>23</sup> As well as the voluntary first aid training, articles began to appear praising the female students on the raising of two thousand dollars for the Red Cross in only one week.<sup>24</sup> For the female students at UBC war work would not become compulsory, as it was believed by President Klink that “encouragement to voluntary effort would be more effective than compulsion.”<sup>25</sup> The women on campus were to head up Red Cross fundraisers and other war effort causes. By the end of the 1941-42 session *The Ubyyssey* reported that “April 28 [1942] saw Varsity’s first women undergrad leave as a member of

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<sup>14</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1940\\_09\\_24](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1940_09_24), p.5.

<sup>15</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1940\\_09\\_27](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1940_09_27), p.2.

<sup>16</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1940\\_10\\_08](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1940_10_08), p.4.

<sup>17</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1941\\_09\\_23](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1941_09_23), p.1.

<sup>18</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1940\\_09\\_24](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1940_09_24), p.1.

<sup>19</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1940\\_10\\_18](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1940_10_18), p.1.

<sup>20</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1940\\_10\\_22](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1940_10_22), p.1.

<sup>21</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1941\\_01\\_24](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1941_01_24), p.2.

<sup>22</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1941\\_01\\_24](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1941_01_24), p.2.

<sup>23</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1941\\_01\\_28](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1941_01_28), p.3.

<sup>24</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1941\\_01\\_28](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1941_01_28), p.1.

<sup>25</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1941\\_09\\_30](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1941_09_30), p.4.

Canada's armed forces [the R.C.A.F]."<sup>26</sup> and one female "third year honour student, [had] enlisted in the C.W.A.C. ... the first graduate to join."<sup>27</sup> Although, for the female student war work was not compulsory, volunteering kept them busy.

Apart from joining up for military training or doing volunteer work the students of UBC also aided war work in their studies. Approval for Chemistry of Munitions, a German class, and three Physics classes – Principles of Mechanics and Acoustics, Optical Instruments, and Rigid Fluid Mechanics<sup>28</sup> – offered students a chance to take courses that could be relevant to the war. In the September 1940 Editorial, the editor reinforced the idea that the University,

must turn out engineers of all kinds to develop the natural resources of the country, to expand its industries, and to improve the quality of its products. It must produce scientists to discover, not new means of slaughter, but adequate defence equipment against weapons of barbarism. Above all, it must train leaders-men who can think for themselves, who can make decisions, who can speak and write coherently and effectively. By fulfilling these functions, the University can best serve at the present time.<sup>29</sup>

The belief of working hard in class to aid the war effort seemed just as important as actively doing something. As Mechanical and Engineering students realized the need to finish up their degrees and to graduate early they "presented a plan for summer study to Dr. H. J. McLeod, head of the department."<sup>30</sup> Although, there is no record within *The Ubysey* of whether or not this plan was approved it can be used to show that some of the students realized the importance of finishing up their school work to aid Canada in war. Both end of session newspapers for 1941 and 1942 praised the work of students within the classroom. In 1941 *The Ubysey* reported that although the chemistry department was unable to comment on the work being done, one of the professors, Dr. R. H. Clark "assented: 'you may say that we are working here on a number of such problems'"<sup>31</sup> in regards to collaboration with the National Research Council. Two years after the 1940 Editorial, a May 1942 Editorial summed up for graduates that they must be willing to "assume the responsibility ... [as] everyone one of us graduating today has his particular obligation which he must face before it is too late."<sup>32</sup> The belief was they came to university in order to learn to be leaders as well as gain the skills to help the country and now they were needed more than ever.

Apart from the work UBC students did they also offered opinions on the issue of the status of the Japanese. When the Canadian government announced that the Japanese would not be called on to fight, President Klinck announced that "the Senate has made the ruling that all able students must take training and until that ruling is changed Japanese students will

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<sup>26</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1942\\_05\\_14](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1942_05_14), p.2

<sup>27</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1942\\_05\\_14](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1942_05_14), p.13.

<sup>28</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1939\\_09\\_26](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1939_09_26), p.1.

<sup>29</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1940\\_09\\_27](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1940_09_27), p.2.

<sup>30</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1941\\_02\\_25](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1941_02_25), p.1.

<sup>31</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1941\\_05\\_15](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1941_05_15), p.7.

<sup>32</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1942\\_05\\_14](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1942_05_14), p.4.

continue to take the training.”<sup>33</sup> Klinck felt it important to note that “universities of Canada are the only places where Japanese are taking training [and] this is the only university [UBC] where Japanese are being trained in large numbers.”<sup>34</sup> Of course, this was to change after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and brought war to the Pacific. By January 1942 Japanese students had to return their uniforms, as they were no longer able to train in the C.O.T.C. In response to being asked to leave training Japanese students said, “we are loyal [and] we want to take our place by the side of our Canadian friends in defence of Canada.”<sup>35</sup> The Editorial in the same issue questions the Japanese problem. The editor draws comparisons of what is happening to the Japanese to the Germans ‘Jew-baiting’. As he points out,

we of this generation know something of these second-generation, Canadian-born Japanese. We went through school with them. Many of them are still good friends of ours. And when we read such references (as were recently made here) as “...slick, UBC-trained Jap apes”, our stomachs turn over collectively in loathing and disgust.<sup>36</sup>

Clearly the students of *The Ubyyssey* did not agree with this portrayal of the Japanese. The very next issue offered a different opinion in an article called “More Than One Man’s Opinion” where the writer accused the editor of choosing “not to think of them [the Japanese] as having any connections with other ‘Japs’, the ‘naughty Japs’, in other parts of the world.”<sup>37</sup> Clearly among the students there was a mixed feeling on the Japanese. The Japanese club in February held a Valentine dance in order to raise money for the war fund stating that “by endeavours such as these, the Japanese Student Club hopes to be able to prove its loyalty to the war effort.”<sup>38</sup> As much as the Japanese students appeared to be trying to illustrate their loyalty it was reported in March 1942 that “two Japanese students, both unnaturalized, have had to leave the university under the Dominion Governments regulations providing for evacuation of the B.C. Nipponese.”<sup>39</sup> The International Student Services offered to assist “in dealing with the problem of the Japanese students at present attending university.”<sup>40</sup> The article points out that there are 72 Japanese students currently registered with fourteen planning to graduate in May. The president of the I.S.S. wrote a letter asking that students be allowed to complete their year’s work and if not possible said “the I.S.S. at UBC, is prepared to assist the Commission in locating the Japanese students at other university centres so that the contribution which many of them are preparing to make to Canadian life

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<sup>33</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1941\\_01\\_14](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1941_01_14), p.1.

<sup>34</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1941\\_01\\_14](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1941_01_14), p.1.

<sup>35</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1942\\_01\\_09](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1942_01_09), p.1.

<sup>36</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1942\\_01\\_09](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1942_01_09), p.2.

<sup>37</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1942\\_01\\_12](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1942_01_12), p.1.

<sup>38</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1942\\_02\\_24](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1942_02_24), p.1.

<sup>39</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1942\\_03\\_06](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1942_03_06), p.1.

<sup>40</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1942\\_03\\_13](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1942_03_13), p.1.

might not be lost.”<sup>41</sup> It can certainly be seen that many at UBC were in support of Japanese Canadians.

From the 1939-40 and 1940-41 school years it was possible to see that the students of UBC had a sense of humour. Headlines in the March 1940 issue read “Three ‘Ubysey’ Editors Arrested.”<sup>42</sup> It appeared that they had leaked confidential C.O.T.C. information and were being persecuted by the Department of Justice. At first glance this article appears shocking and quite hard to believe. Also within this issue is an editorial on bringing in conscription and an announcement that a new physical education plan involving lectures and exams had been approved.<sup>43</sup> After some extra investigation it was discovered that this issue was an April Fool’s issue and the stories were untrue. In March 1941 another April Fool’s issue was released informing readers that “Colonel Shrum [was] Fired” and a “Beast Stalks Campus.”<sup>44</sup> These issues offered a lighter side to campus life and a chance to poke fun at some of the things going on around the university. With the war continuing on, however, and the need to take things seriously an early March 1942 issue announced that with “the seriousness of world conditions this year, we feel it is inadvisable to publish a ‘Goon Issue.’”<sup>45</sup> The war required sacrifices of light heartedness and humour, as well as human sacrifice.

Although this paper only looks at a few key war related issues, overall the feeling of the stories and reports in *The Ubysey* were supportive of the war effort. Students through their military training, volunteering, and class work highlighted how they embraced the need to be actively involved in the government’s war. By standing behind the Japanese students whom they saw as their friends they were able to show that the education they had been receiving enabled them to critically observe the situation and make choices that they were comfortable making. Although, eventually the seriousness of war caught up with them, the reporters for *The Ubysey* embraced April Fool’s Day for the first two war years, and created issues that could have easily fooled a number of students. The importance of leadership and service for one’s country was evident in this section of *The Ubysey*.

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<sup>41</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1942\\_03\\_13](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1942_03_13), p.1.

<sup>42</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1940\\_03\\_29](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1940_03_29), p.1.

<sup>43</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1940\\_03\\_29](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1940_03_29), pp. 2, 4.

<sup>44</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1941\\_03\\_28](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1941_03_28), p.1.

<sup>45</sup> [www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY\\_1942\\_03\\_20](http://www.library.ubc.ca/archives/pdfs/ubyssey/UBYSSEY_1942_03_20), p.4.

# The Validity of Apologies for Historical Injustices: The Tuskegee Syphilis Experiment

Jessica M. Briggs

History 4400: Applications of History

November 9, 2015

Professor Tracey J. Kinney

In 1997, the President of the United States, Bill Clinton, issued a formal apology to the survivors and their descendants affected by the “Tuskegee Study of Untreated Syphilis in Negro Males,” in which medical researchers had recruited hundreds of poor black men with the false promise of free healthcare, when the actual purpose was to study the effects of untreated syphilis.<sup>1</sup> A total of 600 men were “enrolled” in this study; of the 600, 399 had syphilis and were a part of the experimental group, while the remaining 201 were control subjects.<sup>2</sup> There was no proven treatment for syphilis when the study began in 1927, but when penicillin became the standard treatment for the disease in 1947, the medicine was withheld.<sup>3</sup> By the time the study was exposed in 1972, twenty-eight men had died of syphilis, one hundred others died of related complications, at least forty wives had been infected, and nineteen children had contracted the disease at birth.<sup>4</sup>

This is clearly a historical injustice, and thus it was deemed adequate for an apology. Apologies for historical injustices, however, are often problematic because they are carried out decades, or even centuries after the injustice occurred, and thus are not sincere apologies made by the wrongdoer(s), but rather acknowledgements made by another. Also, the nature of reparations is problematic when the injustice has no relation to monetary value.

In President Bill Clinton’s apology, he stated, “What was done cannot be undone, but we can end the silence... we can stop turning our heads away. We can look at you in the eye, and finally say, on behalf of the American people, what the United States government did was shameful and I am sorry.”<sup>5</sup> But this was more than just an apology, as Clinton was asking

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<sup>1</sup> Robert R. Weyeneth, “The Power of Apology and the Process of Historical Reconciliation.” *The Public Historian*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Summer 2001): 13.

<sup>2</sup> Tuskegee University, “About the USPHS Syphilis Study.” Accessed November 8, 2015.

[http://www.tuskegee.edu/about\\_us/centers\\_of\\_excellence/bioethics\\_center/about\\_the\\_usphs\\_syphilis\\_study.aspx](http://www.tuskegee.edu/about_us/centers_of_excellence/bioethics_center/about_the_usphs_syphilis_study.aspx)

<sup>3</sup> Tuskegee University, “About the USPHS Syphilis Study.”

<sup>4</sup> CNN, “Clinton Apologizes to Tuskegee Experiment Victims.” 1997. Accessed November 8, 2015.

<http://www.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/1997/05/16/tuskegee.apology/>

<sup>5</sup> CNN, “Clinton Apologizes to Tuskegee Experiment Victims.”



for forgiveness, evident when he stated, "Today all we can do is apologize, but you have the power... to forgive. Your presence here shows us that you have shown a better path than your government did so long ago. You have not withheld the power to forgive."<sup>6</sup> This apology was well received in the sense that it was wanted; the survivors and descendants of the Tuskegee syphilis experiment had won an out-of-court settlement in 1973,<sup>7</sup> but compensation was deemed not enough, and in 1996, a group formed to press for an official apology.<sup>8</sup> Although the apology was wanted, among the survivors present in the White House was 94-year-old Herman Shaw, who stated, "we were treated unfairly, to some extent like guinea pigs... the wounds that were inflicted upon us cannot be undone."<sup>9</sup> This is because apologies supposedly restore justice by condemning past harms, while compensation supposedly restores justice by repairing these harms, but apologies and compensations fail to restore justice completely for the affected group because such actions cannot turn back the clock and eliminate the harm.<sup>10</sup> As a result of wanting an apology, and then stating that nothing would make it better, apologies for historical injustices may never be valid, because even if carried out with good intentions, they are often in vain.

Apologizing does have some merit because government responses seem to matter a great deal to some previously victimized groups,<sup>11</sup> and "by acknowledging the harm and victim suffering, a government validates the victim's pain."<sup>12</sup> While it can be a nice gesture, ultimately, it often does little good. Apologies can be problematic for many reasons, one of which being that the dead cannot forgive, and the expression of forgiveness by the living on their behalf is not adequate.<sup>13</sup> Although feeling sorry for the unjust deeds of our ancestors can be a very natural response, it is a paradox to apologize for them because of how far removed from current generations the injustices often are.<sup>14</sup> Robert R. Weyeneth states, "an apology is an important gesture... [and] it should not be superficial,"<sup>15</sup> and this is problematic in regards to Clinton's apology. While he may have been sorry that the Tuskegee syphilis experiment happened, and even recognized that it was a shameful part of American history, Clinton could not sincerely be sorry because he was not involved in this experiment, nor did his government initiate it. At this point, it was simply an acknowledgement that something unfortunate happened, rather than an actual apology, and this distinction is significant and, therefore, it must be recognized as such. Furthermore, apologies are only adequate if the wrongdoer is the one apologizing, but this is rarely the case.

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<sup>6</sup> CNN, "Clinton Apologizes to Tuskegee Experiment Victims."

<sup>7</sup> Weyeneth, "The Power of Apology," 32.

<sup>8</sup> Weyeneth, "The Power of Apology," 32.

<sup>9</sup> CNN, "Clinton Apologizes to Tuskegee Experiment Victims."

<sup>10</sup> Craig W. Blatz, et al., "Government Apologies for Historical Injustices." *Political Psychology*, Vol. 30 No. 2 (April 2009): 14.

<sup>11</sup> Blatz, "Government Apologies for Historical Injustice," 3.

<sup>12</sup> Blatz, "Government Apologies for Historical Injustice," 5.

<sup>13</sup> Weyeneth, "The Power of Apology," 11.

<sup>14</sup> Janna Thompson, "The Apology Paradox." *The Philosophical Quarterly*, Vol. 50, No. 201 (October 2000): 473.

<sup>15</sup> Weyeneth, "The Power of Apology," 9.



In regards to the relationship between apologies for historical injustices and reparations, it has been claimed by Eric A. Posnar that, “reparations cannot be made solely on the basis of wrong, like murder or torture, that did not measurably enrich the wrongdoer.”<sup>16</sup> In regards to this statement, the case of compensation for the Chinese Head Tax makes more sense than the compensation for the Tuskegee syphilis experiment because the racial discrimination was carried out through monetary means by imposing a Head Tax to permit entry into Canada<sup>17</sup>; thus, a monetary reparation was paid to Head Tax payers and their spouses.<sup>18</sup> In the case of Tuskegee syphilis experiment, however, the survivors and descendants of the Tuskegee syphilis experiment were awarded \$10 million collectively,<sup>19</sup> but any means of compensation cannot be conclusively deemed as valid because both the physical and psychological suffering of the victims had not been in monetary form, and thus is immeasurable in such a scale. Also, reparation payments, such as in the case of Tuskegee syphilis experiment, would be taken from current taxpayers, who cannot be blamed for the injustices.<sup>20</sup>

In conclusion, victims of historical justices sometimes feel that apologies are necessary for closure, and recognition of wrongdoings can be important, but overwhelmingly, apologies for historical injustices, such as in the case of Tuskegee syphilis experiment, are often problematic. This is because apologies are carried out decades, or even centuries after the injustice occurred, and thus are not sincere apologies made by the wrongdoer(s), but rather are acknowledgements made by others, and this distinction must be recognized. Also, the nature of reparations is problematic when the injustice has no relation to monetary value. As a result, extreme care must be taken when planning an apology or an acknowledgement, and it must be questioned if it is even relevant given the circumstances and timeline; it also should not be done to appease people, rather it should be sincere.

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<sup>16</sup> Eric A. Posnar, and Adrian Vermeule, “Reparations for Slavery and Other Historical Injustices.” *Columbia Law Review*, Vol. 103, No. 3 (April 2003): 701.

<sup>17</sup> Blatz, “Government Apologies for Historical Injustice,” 230.

<sup>18</sup> Blatz, “Government Apologies for Historical Injustice,” 230.

<sup>19</sup> Weyeneth, “The Power of Apology,” 32.

<sup>20</sup> Posnar, “Reparations for Slavery and Other Historical Injustices.” 738.

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# **For the Spiritual Protection of the State: The Development and Role of Buddhism within the Koryŏ Dynasty**

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History 4499: Cultural History of Buddhism

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Professor Robert Menzies

The reign of monarchs within the Western European medieval milieu was justified by the doctrine of divine right. The Christian church in Rome was the religious hegemon of the medieval period in Western Europe, and nobility ruling within the Peace of God were backed and legitimized by the papacy. Royalty regularly attempted to assert its autonomy away from the authority of the church, but the threat of excommunication and the consequent prospect of violence often kept the nobility in a state of fractious acquiescence. However, the intersection of religion and state seems to have been significantly more fluid in medieval Asia. The continent was not dominated by a singular, autocratic faith. Hinduism, Islam, Taoism, Shinto, Buddhism and other religions existed both harmoniously and contentiously across the continent, alternating between both dominant and subordinate socio-political roles depending on each religion's geographical and historical context. Buddhism, a faith that often framed its doctrine around the impermanence of conditioned reality, ostensibly seemed the least suitable for the role of state religion, but Buddhism did ascend to the position within various polities. For almost 500 years, Buddhism remained the state religion of the Koryŏ Dynasty of Korea, only to be ousted by the Joseon in favour of Neo-Confucianism. This paper will not examine the philosophical nuances of Korean Buddhism under the Koryŏ, but beginning with a contextual historical discussion of Buddhism's introduction into Korea, I will examine how the Koryŏ Dynasty adopted the Buddhist practices and institutions of the previous Silla Dynasty, and subtly revised the doctrines, and controlled the sangha to meet their dynastic imperatives.

The ancient, indigenous religious traditions of Korea were shamanistic faiths that were constructed around animistic myths. The phenomena of the natural world were believed to contain souls, with the spirits of the heavens at the centre of the belief system. Shamans were regarded as human representatives of the heavens and the spirit world, and had the power to conjure up, and drive off the spirits that blessed and cursed ancient Korean society.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Kidong Lee, "The Indigenous Religions of Silla: Their Diversity and Durability," *Korean Studies* 28 (2004): 50-51.

Shamanistic faiths remained the primary religious traditions of Korea until Chinese influence during the late 4th century CE introduced Confucianism and Buddhism into the Kingdom of Koguryo. In 372 CE, King Sosurim of Koguryo established the T'aehak, a school for the teaching of Confucianism, and accepted Buddhism as his faith. Buddhism and Confucianism, under Sosurim, would be utilized as instruments of unification for his kingdom, and the future expansion of its territorial borders.<sup>2</sup>

The introduction of Mahayana Buddhism into the Kingdom of Koguryo occurred during the pre-unification period known as the Three Kingdoms, slowly diffusing into the two other segmented states of this era known as the Baekje and the Silla kingdoms. However, Korean Buddhism would not grow and develop extensively until after the dynastic unification process that occurred under the Silla Kingdom. Unification between the three kingdoms began in the 7th century CE and was a long and violent undertaking. Allied with the Chinese Tang Dynasty, the Silla, lead by King Muyeol, subjugated the Baekje state in 660 CE. The Silla then consolidated and established its dominion over the Korean peninsula with the defeat of the Koguryo, and the eventual expulsion of their allies, the Tang Dynasty by 676 CE.

The wars of unification merged the kingdoms territorially under the hegemony of the Silla, but the diffusion and widespread adoption of Confucian ideology and the tenets of Buddhism would work to spiritually and culturally unite the newly founded Silla Dynasty. Confucianism provided a philosophical moral code that stressed filial piety and loyalty, and became deeply embedded into the social fabric of the Silla Dynasty, guiding and informing the administration of the state and the reproduction of the social hierarchy.<sup>3</sup> For centuries, rulers of the Three Kingdoms had spiritually justified their social position claiming they were the descendants of heavenly beings, but conquest and expansion had eroded the validity of this myth. The growing faith in Buddhism provided a new justification. The kings of the Silla discarded their heavenly claims for mortal status, but framed their right to rule as the logical extension of their Buddhist enlightenment. In this manner, a Silla king could justify his rule by claiming he was the living embodiment of the Dharma. However, it was an assertion that also needed the support of the sangha.<sup>4</sup>

Buddhism officially became the state religion of Korea during the Silla Dynasty, but it was mostly a nominal act as Buddhism had already been well established in the former kingdoms of Baekje and Koguryo for about 200 years.<sup>5</sup> Over time, the kings of the Silla Dynasty cultivated strong connections between the Buddhist sangha and the dynastic court. Monasteries were constructed, prominent foreign monks were invited to the kingdom, and the growth of the sangha was promoted amongst the Korean populace. The devotional fervour

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<sup>2</sup> Jinwung Kim, *A History of Korea: From "Land of the Morning Calm" to States in Conflict* (Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 2012), 34-35.

<sup>3</sup> Kim, *A History of Korea*, 65-66.

<sup>4</sup> Kim, *A History of Korea*, 66-67.

<sup>5</sup> Nam Dong-shin, "Buddhism in Medieval Korea," *Korea Journal* 43, no. 4 (Winter 2003): 36.

of the Silla royalty can probably be interpreted as genuine belief in the teachings of Buddhism, but it was also indicative of deliberate state policy intended to influence and control the doctrine and structure of the growing Korean sangha.<sup>6</sup> A prominent example of the Silla's influence within Buddhist doctrine was the development of the Hwarang or "flower youths". The Hwarang were coteries of young aristocratic men, trained as elite soldiers of the Silla Dynasty, and devoted to the Maitreya Bodhisattva. The combination of Buddhist tenets of compassion and the deployment of state sanctioned violence are contradictory concepts, but the Hwarang were widely perceived as embodiments of Maitreya, which suggests that the monks of the Korean sangha were willing to provide doctrinal support for the military endeavours of the Silla monarchs in return for patronage.<sup>7</sup>

State support and protection under the rule of the Silla allowed Buddhism to flourish in Korea. The five major schools of Nirvana, Avatamsaka, Vinaya, Buddha-nature, and Dharmalaksana developed strong followings, while Pure Land became popular amongst the common people. Buddhist pilgrimages and cultural exchange between China and India increased due to substantial state patronage.<sup>8</sup> However, by the 8th century CE, prosperity and growth began to decline as aristocratic power struggles began to spread across the kingdom as elite families vied for power. Weak central administration led to the rise of warlords, unrest, and violence, and the Silla Dynasty fractured into what became known as the Later Three Kingdoms. The turmoil and chaos of the weakened state opened up a power vacuum that was filled by a warlord known as T'aejo of Koguryo. By 936 CE, T'aejo had subdued his opponents, and united the kingdoms under the banner of the Koryŏ Dynasty.<sup>9</sup>

Social policy analyst and historian, Laksiri Jayasuriya, argues that the Buddhist view of kingship within both the Theravada and Mahayana schools is framed as a "social contract" between the ruler and the ruled. The monarch must remain compassionate, and maintain a sense of enlightened and moral virtue. Public largesse, law and order, justice and the welfare of the people must remain central to administrative policy, and the king's conduct must be limited to working within the teachings of the Buddha and the principles of Dharma.<sup>10</sup> Under the Koryŏ Dynasty, Buddhism would prosper with increased royal patronage, but the guiding ethos of the Koryŏ kings, would be the administration of the Buddhist sangha as a method of religious justification for the preservation of Koryŏ hegemony over the medieval Korean state. Building on the precedent set by the Silla, the Koryŏ would extend bureaucratic control, and utilize doctrine to preserve their dynastic power.

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<sup>6</sup> H.S. Keel, "Buddhism and Political Power in Korean History," *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 1, no. 1 (1978): 13-14.

<sup>7</sup> Richard D. McBride II, "Silla Buddhism and the Hwarang," *Korean Studies* 34 (2010): 56-57.

<sup>8</sup> Kim, *A History of Korea*, 102-103.

<sup>9</sup> Keel, "Buddhism and Political Power," 15.

<sup>10</sup> Laksiri Jayasuriya, "Buddhism, Politics, and Statecraft," *International Journal of Buddhist Thought & Culture* 11 (September 2008): 56-58.

Under the Silla, Korean Buddhist doctrine had gradually been absorbed and employed as a method of legitimizing the rule of the monarch. King T'aejo inherited this arrangement with the consolidation of the Koryŏ Dynasty, and proceeded to extend state influence over the sangha. T'aejo's initial policies regarding the religious and political mandate of the kingdom began with the introduction of the "Ten Injunctions"; an instructional framework for the maintenance of power to be observed by succeeding Koryŏ kings.<sup>11</sup> Several of the injunctions reference Buddhist thought as a guiding philosophy, but the first injunction outlines the Koryŏ position regarding the relationship between the court and the sangha. T'aejo's opening policy stressed the necessity of preserving the "protective power of all the Buddhas" and the dissemination of monks from the state monasteries as a method of supporting the doctrine. The injunction further advocated for limiting the interference of ministerial and monk power within the court as a method of protecting the Koryŏ social order.<sup>12</sup> However, it must be observed that T'aejo's policy was not a strict expression of cynical realpolitik. The historical record of his commitment to the Buddhist faith clearly suggests a symbiotic mix of devotion and pragmatism, but the injunction does seem to indicate how the Koryŏ Dynasty would actively work to influence and control the Korean sangha as a means of protecting and supporting the political goals of the state.<sup>13</sup>

Like the Silla that preceded them, the Koryŏ Dynasty assiduously contributed to the Korean sangha through financial patronage and the construction of monasteries and spaces of public worship. Koryŏ patronage also correlated with bureaucratic control of the state monastic system. Influenced by Chinese administrative concepts, the Koryŏ recognized Buddhism as the state religion, but reserved Confucianism as the state ideology for social and political organization.<sup>14</sup> The Koryŏ state bureaucracy also utilized the Chinese imperial examination system for the reproduction of the civil service, and this process was subsequently introduced into the state monastic system. Prospective monks attempting to enter the sangha were required to pass state sanctioned exams. Successful candidates were ordered, ranked, and placed according to their Seon and Gyo schools.<sup>15</sup> The tradition of elite families tracking their oldest sons into the Buddhist monastic system was a fairly common practice in East Asia, but the Koryŏ state examination system had the effect of creating a distinct social hierarchy within the sangha. Although many monks entered the tradition for spiritual reasons, the exams had a careerist effect, where state sanctioned Buddhism became pathway for the acquisition of wealth and status, but it also allowed the Koryŏ to control who had access to the sangha.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Sem Vermeersch, *The Power of the Buddhas: The Politics of Buddhism During the Koryŏ Dynasty (918-1392)* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 90.

<sup>12</sup> Vermeersch, *The Power of the Buddhas*, 92.

<sup>13</sup> Jongmyung Kim, "King Taejo's Buddhist View and Statecraft in Tenth-Century Korea," *The Review of Korean Studies* 13, no. 4 (December 2010): 197-198.

<sup>14</sup> Kim, "King Taejo's Buddhist View," 194.

<sup>15</sup> Dong-shin, "Buddhism in Medieval Korea," 37.

<sup>16</sup> Dong-shin, "Buddhism in Medieval Korea," 38-39

The careerist effect Koryŏ state control had over the monasteries also manifested in the diversification of roles monks performed within the bureaucratic structure of the state. Far from living a life of ascetic renunciation, Buddhist monks of the Koryŏ took on a wide range of occupations. Monks acted as political advisors, entrepreneurs, and like the Hwarang of the Silla, soldiers.<sup>17</sup> The monks of the Korean sangha during the Koryŏ era were considered subjects of the king, and often entered into these occupations as a directive of the royal court. For this reason, it can probably be assumed that some members of the sangha performed these roles merely as a function of their duty to the king, while others willingly benefited from the privileges afforded to the position.<sup>18</sup>

The initial acceptance of Buddhism as the state religion was primarily predicated upon unifying the people of Korea, and nurturing support for the dynasty, but Koryŏ state control of the faith gradually produced the inverse effect of alienating the common people from the court controlled sangha. Funded by royal patronage and land endowments, the state monasteries accumulated vast wealth. Goods produced by monastic lands were secured from the labour of common people, and their obligation to the state. Buddhist disassociation from "conditioned reality" was gradually perceived as hypocrisy; while the rabble suffered, the monks lived well on royal patronage and unlimited manpower.<sup>19</sup>

Although Buddhism was the state religion under the Koryŏ, it was not oppressively maintained as a hegemonic entity. Various belief systems thrived under the Koryŏ such as Taoism, Confucianism and the traditional shamanistic faiths. Elements of these religions were either absorbed into the doctrines of Korean Buddhism, or operated in a parallel function. Shamanistic elements manifested in the Buddhist blessing of natural phenomena, and from Confucianism, came the Mandate of Heaven.<sup>20</sup> King T'aejo's overthrow of the Silla, and founding of the dynasty was justified by the Mandate of Heaven, and played a role in his glorification throughout the Koryŏ era, but the sanctification of dynastic rule was consistently achieved through Buddhist ritual.<sup>21</sup> Beginning with T'aejo, kings of the Koryŏ received the "Bodhisattva precepts" as a symbolic justification of their authority. The practice was inherited from the Silla, and although any citizen could take the precepts, royalty employed the ritual as a public declaration of their pathway toward enlightenment and Bodhisattva status, and was performed by a high ranking monk acting as the court preceptor.<sup>22</sup> The public performance of the Bodhisattva precept ritual, sanctioned by the sangha, conveyed the image of a king following in the path of the Dharma, and defined his right to rule as an extension of his moral righteousness.

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<sup>17</sup> Jinwung Kim, "The State and Eminent Monks in Medieval Korea," *Fudan Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences* 7, no. 4 (December 2014): 658-660.

<sup>18</sup> Kim, "The State and Eminent Monks," 663.

<sup>19</sup> Dong-shin, "Buddhism in Medieval Korea," 50-51.

<sup>20</sup> Kim, "The State and Eminent Monks," 654.

<sup>21</sup> Vermeersch, *The Power of the Buddhas*, 78-79.

<sup>22</sup> Vermeersch, *The Power of the Buddhas*, 134-135.



For the Koryŏ, the protection of the Buddhist faith was deeply connected to the protection of the state. Securing and supporting the sangha was an important factor in the acquisition of merit for a Koryŏ ruler. Merit, according to the Korean Buddhist belief system, was accumulated through the performance of good deeds, thought, and behaviour. The merit gathered throughout an individual's life had the ability to be carried over into the next incarnation on the pathway to enlightenment. Merit acquired by a Koryŏ king through patronage had the dual effect of spiritual liberation and blessings for both the monarch, and the state.<sup>23</sup> Some historians have argued that the aristocratic belief in patronage as a method of accumulating merit gradually lead to the stagnation and corruption of the medieval Korean sangha as the material excess ultimately alienated the citizenry, contributing to the rise of Neo-Confucianism.<sup>24</sup>

The decline of the Koryŏ Dynasty began in earnest in the 13th century CE with a series of Mongol invasions. Powerful families connected to the Mongol empire gradually began to become prominent at the Koryŏ court. The threat of the Mongols faded after the Yuan Dynasty disintegrated, but the families remained at the Koryŏ court. The Koryŏ king, Kongmin, attempted to eliminate the Mongol presence from court through a series of reforms beginning in 1352 CE, but he was unsuccessful.<sup>25</sup> In 1392 CE, Yi Seong-gye, backed by the Neo-Confucian literati staged a military coup, removing the last Koryŏ king and effectively establishing the Joeson Dynasty.<sup>26</sup>

Buddhism in Korea was widely suppressed by the Neo-Confucianists after the rise of the Joeson Dynasty, but despite this dark period after the fall of the Koryŏ, Buddhism continued to endure as a significant part of the Korean socio-cultural fabric. As the state religion of the Koryŏ Dynasty, Buddhism benefited extensively from royal patronage, producing the sophisticated and extensive Korean Tripitaka, and a substantial network of monasteries and shrines. The rise of Buddhism in the Koryŏ Dynasty also reveals the sometimes dialectical relationship between religion and state, where seemingly opposing socio-political entities came together to produce a state directed synthesis based around an exchange of patronage for religious legitimacy.

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<sup>23</sup> Dong-shin, "Buddhism in Medieval Korea," 34-35.

<sup>24</sup> Juhn Y. Ahn, "The Merit of Not Making Merit: Buddhism and the Late Koryŏ Fiscal Crisis," *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 23, no. 1 (June 2010): 25-26.

<sup>25</sup> Kim, *A History of Korea*, 174-175.

<sup>26</sup> Kim, *A History of Korea*, 184-185.

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# Valley View Funeral Home and Cemetery An Environmental History

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Professor Jack P. Hayes



Panoramic shot of Valley View Funeral Home and Cemetery in Surrey, B.C. Canada

Since Neanderthals roamed the earth, burying the dead was a sign of respect. This ritual has continued to the present day and the role of cemeteries has become more important to accommodate the mourning process. In Surrey, the Valley View Funeral Home and Cemetery offers a unique space that has been able to adapt to the changing needs of a growing and multicultural city. Valley View has been part of the Surrey landscape since 1954,<sup>92</sup> and has been able to adapt to the needs of locals using every inch of their 87 acres<sup>93</sup> to properly accommodate both the living and dead. As cemeteries become increasingly more important for those still living, they function more as a “green space”<sup>94</sup> rather than somber places for remembrance. Valley View serves as a unique cemetery because of its ability to adopt both

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<sup>92</sup> Arbor Memorial, “Valley View,” accessed January 23, 2016; <http://www.arbormemorial.ca/en/valleyview/about-us>.

<sup>93</sup> Arbor Memorial, “Valley View.”

<sup>94</sup> Peter Harnik and Aric Merolli, “Cemeteries Alive: Graveyards are resorting as green spaces for the public,” *Landscape Architecture Magazine* (2010): n.p.; <http://www.tpl.org/sites/default/files/cloud.tpl.org/pubs/ccpe-cemetery-parks-article-2.pdf>.

traditional and modern elements of cemeteries. The landscape of the Valley View cemetery is also reflective of the constantly changing relationship between the environment and the people who live in it.

Burying the dead has been a requirement since the beginning of our time, and analyzing the development of Valley View Cemetery is crucial to understanding the local environmental history of Surrey. The Valley View Funeral Home and Cemetery in Surrey is basically my backyard. As a kid, I used to run around in the undeveloped area of the cemetery with my friends, climbing up huge mounds of dirt, or jumping in puddles and it also made for a pretty freaky game of hide and seek. Growing up, the cemetery became a shortcut to get home from school and was a place where some family members I never met were buried. For me, it was more of a playground than a place of mourning. Besides the fact that it seems morbid to play in the cemetery or use it as a shortcut, it altered my personal connection to this place of mourning. Playing in this landscape full of big trees, colourful flowers, luscious green grass, and tombstones has also allowed me to see drastic changes in this particular cemetery. The physical changes became more and more apparent as my eleven-year-old self began to see Surrey developing into a bigger and busier city. This cemetery had the biggest change for me when I was fourteen and my family mourned the loss of my father and laid him to rest at Valley View Cemetery. This was the first time that I no longer felt like children playing hide and seek in the cemetery was acceptable. I began to question how I allowed myself to be so disrespectful to those who were mourning the loss of their loved ones. However, as time went on, and the grieving process was not so fresh, I understood more clearly that this cemetery offered something different for everyone at varying stages of their lives. In the midst of an ever growing city, Valley View became a place to escape the craziness of the world and it was both for the kid who wanted to play outside and for the daughter mourning her father.

Our understanding of cemeteries in our communities varies drastically. From my own experience of Valley View to my neighbours' experience, we all function in these places differently. Crucial to our understanding of Valley View Cemetery and its role within Surrey, is understanding how this cemetery has changed in order to accommodate the environment and the people who live here. This can only be done through looking at the history of Valley View Funeral Home and Cemetery. Valley View is owned by a company called Arbor Memorial which opened its first cemetery in London, Ontario, in 1947.<sup>95</sup> Arbor Memorial was dedicated to creating "tranquil parkland setting[s]..."<sup>96</sup> for all Canadians, regardless of background.<sup>97</sup> In 1978, Arbor built its first crematorium and others were built at varying locations in order to meet growing demands for cremation.<sup>98</sup> As Arbor expanded into eight provinces of Canada, they began to include funeral homes<sup>99</sup> at many of their cemeteries, providing both burial needs and services. This began at one of their cemeteries in Winnipeg

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<sup>95</sup> Arbor Memorial, "Our History," accessed January 23, 2016; <http://www.arbormemorial.ca/en/about-us/history>.

<sup>96</sup> Arbor Memorial, "Our History."

<sup>97</sup> Arbor Memorial, "Our History."

<sup>98</sup> Arbor Memorial, "Our History."

<sup>99</sup> Arbor Memorial, "Our History."

in 1988 and in the same year Arbor began their “pre-need funeral arrangements.”<sup>100</sup> In 1990, Arbor transitioned to include upright memorials as this became a demand of their clientele.<sup>101</sup> Although Arbor was not necessarily affiliated with a specific religion, two cemeteries in Calgary allow for dedicated space for the Roman Catholic Church.<sup>102</sup> As Arbor continued to develop and profits increased, it was able to offer more services to its clientele while still preserving its initial goal of having park-like cemeteries for Canadians to mourn their loved ones.

While it is common knowledge that a cemetery is for those in mourning, it may not be known that cemeteries have gone through different stages of development. According to multiple academic articles, cemeteries can be broken down into three phases: church graveyards, rural cemeteries, and memorial park cemeteries.<sup>103</sup> After reading about these phases in cemetery development, my walk through Valley View felt different. I was able to see elements of each of these phases existent in the landscape of this place. I would argue that Valley View is unique in the sense that since 1954, it was able to retain the elements of traditional style cemeteries that were used decades ago, yet be able to simultaneously adapt to the needs of the local environment and population. This thought was solidified through a statement made on the Arbor Memorial website: “While we can be found in eight provinces, our true focus is on the communities in which we’re based. Each Arbor Memorial location reflects the unique culture and traditions in the residents who support it.”<sup>104</sup> This statement alone establishes the idea that cemeteries are able to be both traditional and modern and that this framework only enriches the experience of those living and dead.

As a regular visitor of Valley View cemetery these three phases become very apparent while exploring this landscape. Going back to the colonial era,<sup>105</sup> church graveyards were standard for burial grounds. In a time where many families were affiliated with a particular religion and therefore a particular church it was commonplace to be buried near your place of worship. The rationale at this time was that the closer you were buried to the church, the easier it would be to get to heaven.<sup>106</sup> However, by the mid-1800s church graveyards became even more neglected as this was a time where families were responsible for the maintenance of the burial plot.<sup>107</sup> However, as mentioned above, Arbor did not shy away from allowing separate sections for particular religions. This is reflected in Valley View through the distinct areas affiliated with religion. For example, despite the fact that the cemetery is presumably majority Christian and Catholic, there is a large portion of the cemetery that is designated to those of Asian descent. This can be directly correlated to the church yard phase as there

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<sup>100</sup> Arbor Memorial, “Our History.”

<sup>101</sup> Arbor Memorial, “Our History.”

<sup>102</sup> Arbor Memorial, “Our History.”

<sup>103</sup> Albert N. Hamscher, “Talking Tombstones: History in the Cemetery,” *OAH Magazine of History*, 17, no. 2 (2003): 40.

<sup>104</sup> Arbor Memorial, “About Us,” accessed March 20, 2016; <http://www.arbormemorial.ca/en/about-us>.

<sup>105</sup> Hamscher, “Talking Tombstones,” 40.

<sup>106</sup> Zachary Alan Horn, “Cemeteries & the Control of Bodies,” *University of Waterloo Thesis* (2006): 21.

<sup>107</sup> Hamscher, “Talking Tombstones,” 40.

are areas of obvious religious separation. The incorporation of cultural artifacts is also used in the Asian section, where an oriental style gazebo is clearly seen as an architectural addition to the cemetery (refer to Figure 1A)<sup>108</sup>. Also seen in this section is a dragon, which is closely affiliated to Chinese culture (refer Figure 1B). This kind of distinction can also be seen in Catholic areas of the church. For example, where my Ukrainian ancestors are buried, it is immediately apparent that the last names are representative of a strong Ukrainian heritage (refer to Figure 1C). In the middle of this section is the statue of a religious figure, again incorporating religion into this cemetery. Valley View uses religion in their cemetery, but not in a way that feels forced. The statue of biblical figures is not meant to be there for only those who have religious affiliation but to offer a place of sanctuary for anyone looking for solace within the cemetery (refer to Figure 1D). The most important reason for the use of these church graveyard elements is that Valley View is able to accommodate the multicultural population in Surrey. By allowing for the distinction of religion within the cemetery, Valley View is in touch with the multicultural environment and allows for the expression of religion in the life of those living and for those who have died. These factors resemble elements of a church graveyard, however, towards the beginning of the nineteenth century rural cemeteries were becoming the alternative to church graveyards as North American became more secularized.<sup>109</sup> These rural cemeteries are still reflective in Valley Views approach to cemetery landscape.

As church graveyards were being phased out, an alternative was needed. A group of Boston horticulturists founded the first garden-style cemetery called Mount Auburn.<sup>110</sup> As North America was becoming increasingly more industrialized and losing its presence of green spaces, these horticulturists saw rural cemeteries as a place to be re-emerged into the natural world.<sup>111</sup> This transition indicated a shift towards a North American national culture because it was a Boston invention, not an European invention,<sup>112</sup> like many other elements existent in North America. This “rural cemetery movement”<sup>113</sup> beginning with Mount Auburn is easily seen in Valley View Cemetery. Rural cemeteries included many paths to allow visitors to easily access their loved ones burial spot.<sup>114</sup> This can be seen in Figure 2A and 2B which shows a path that cuts between a large section of tombstones and a path used to walk through a more heavily forested area. For the first time, cemeteries also offered a kind of dialogue between the living and the dead.<sup>115</sup> You can see this dialogue on some of the newer tombstones at Valley View, where besides just the name of the deceased, and the year they were born and the year they died, they now included a phrase describing the one who has passed on. For example, my dad’s tombstone says ‘You will be forever loved’ on the top along

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<sup>108</sup> All photographs by the author.

<sup>109</sup> Horn, “Cemeteries & the Control of Bodies,” 7.

<sup>110</sup> Aaron Sachs, *Arcadian America: The Death and Life of an Environmental Tradition* (London: Yale University Press, 2013), 6.

<sup>111</sup> Sachs, *Arcadian America*, 35.

<sup>112</sup> Sachs, *Arcadian America*, 52.

<sup>113</sup> Hamscher, “Talking Tombstones,” 41.

<sup>114</sup> Hamscher, “Talking Tombstones,” 41.

<sup>115</sup> Hamscher, “Talking Tombstones,” 41.

with his name, year of birth, and year of death (refer to Figure 2C). Rural cemeteries from the mid-nineteenth century also employed benches to allow for the remembrance of those who had passed, but also to reflect on issues related to death.<sup>116</sup> Benches like this the one in Figure 2D are commonplace at Valley View cemetery and are placed in areas surrounded by trees and shrubs in order to create a kind of oasis. This kind of oasis was also part of the rural cemetery design. It can also be inferred that the idea of cremation was also accepted during this time, as cremation was not used by church graveyards. Seeing the changes of Valley View over the last ten years, you can see the development of more places for cremated loved ones (refer to Figure 2E). In addition, a cremation building is located on the grounds of Valley View in order to offer all services to their clients. These elements of rural cemeteries, are key to the development of Valley View cemetery as this was considered a “middle landscape”<sup>117</sup> as explained by Aaron Sachs. This “middle landscape” allowed for the weaving together of opposing elements, nature and death.<sup>118</sup> However, rural cemeteries perfectly combined the two elements to make them seem complimentary, and that is what Valley View cemetery has done. This was the beginning of cemeteries that functioned as parks or “green spaces”<sup>119</sup> in a time where public parks were not available. As explained by Sachs ... rural cemeteries offered the dead “...plenty of room to stretch out... in a posture of peaceful sleep, surrounded by the wonders of nature- which would make the cemeteries reposeful for the living as well.”<sup>120</sup> This repose is the feeling that encompasses you when you are in Valley View cemetery.

This feeling of repose is still existent through the transition to the last phase of cemetery development. Memorial parks cemeteries started to emerge between 1913 and 1917 and took a hold within North America by 1935.<sup>121</sup> It is important to note that this was the type of cemetery that was most dominant when Valley View was first built in Surrey. This memorial parks cemetery approach included a lot of the rural elements but was focused on diminishing the connection between the living and the dead and increasing the efficiency of the land.<sup>122</sup> Valley View was a product of this generation of cemeteries, developing roads for easy access by cars and offering more services on site. A symbol of this type of cemetery is the use of the term “garden” to explain each section of the cemetery.<sup>123</sup> For example, figure 3A shows the “Garden of Apostles.” These plaques stating the name of the garden are used immensely throughout the entire cemetery (also seen in Figure 1C) Valley View also uses the idea of having a “feature”<sup>124</sup> in each garden. This would include a statue or some sort of monument, like the fountain seen in figure 3B or the cross in figure 3C. In memorial parks, you also see

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<sup>116</sup> Hamscher, “Talking Tombstones,” 41.

<sup>117</sup> Sachs, *Arcadian America*, 26.

<sup>118</sup> Sachs, *Arcadian America*, 55.

<sup>119</sup> Harnik and Merolli, “Cemeteries Alive,” n.p.

<sup>120</sup> Sachs, *Arcadian America*, 23.

<sup>121</sup> Hamscher, “Talking Tombstones,” 42.

<sup>122</sup> Hamscher, “Talking Tombstones,” 42.

<sup>123</sup> Hamscher, “Talking Tombstones,” 42.

<sup>124</sup> Hamscher, “Talking Tombstones,” 42.



the development of “Baby Land.”<sup>125</sup> This is an area of the cemetery dedicated to the death of young children. “Baby Land” in Valley View cemetery is placed in the quietest section of the cemetery offering a very private section to mourn the loss of young children<sup>126</sup> (refer to Figure 3D). Furthermore, there are elements of memorial park cemeteries that are non-existent in Valley View. For example, there was a transition to using a lack of vegetation,<sup>127</sup> in order to use every inch of the space. The benches found in the rural cemeteries were now moved away from gravesite in memorial park cemeteries.<sup>128</sup> However, this was not a change that Valley View agreed with as the benches and vegetation are still widely incorporated into the landscape. Finally, tombstones and monuments were meant to be flat in these new cemeteries<sup>129</sup>; however, Valley View has a mixture of both flat and standing tombstones, and these are quite prevalent in the Asian section of the cemetery. Ultimately, despite the fact that Valley View was established during this development of memorial park cemeteries, it held on to many of the rural elements from the mid-nineteenth century cemetery style. However, cemeteries still have to make money and this focus on efficiency is seen through the constantly expanding Valley View grounds in order to provide for a growing population and the need for continued profits.

As I sit here beside my dad and my grandpa’s graves editing my paper, I cannot help but to reflect on my past experiences at the cemetery and the reading I have done around the development of cemeteries in North America. Sitting here, I feel removed from the busy street not that far away, I feel removed from the stresses of life, and I am able to simply reflect. As I see people come and go, visiting loved ones, taking a walk, or playing with their dog in this park like setting, I cannot help but consider the history here. Everything surrounding me is history. My grandpa’s tombstone tells those passing by that he was in the Royal Canadian Navy as a Chief Petty Officer, 2nd Class (refer to Figure 4A). This is a story about my grandpa’s life, about his history, and comments on larger themes of World War Two. Gravestones, as explained by Jessie Lie Farber, are the “earliest scriptures”<sup>130</sup> that we have. This cemetery is about the history of the people buried here; it’s a history of the ones who fought in wars commemorated at the War Memorials (refer to Figure 4B); it’s the trees that have been growing here since they were planted in 1954. This cemetery is a tangible piece of Surrey’s history and Canada’s history.

In conclusion, the landscape of the Valley View cemetery is reflective of the constantly changing relationship between the environment and the people who live in it. The phases of cemetery development reflect the changing dynamics of how humans interact with a particular place. This is especially important when considering the change in cemeteries in general, but becomes more apparent when considering how the environment has changed

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<sup>125</sup> Hamscher, “Talking Tombstones,” 43.

<sup>126</sup> Hamscher, “Talking Tombstones,” 43.

<sup>127</sup> Hamscher, “Talking Tombstones,” 42.

<sup>128</sup> Hamscher, “Talking Tombstones,” 42.

<sup>129</sup> Hamscher, “Talking Tombstones,” 42.

<sup>130</sup> Jessie Lie Farber, “Early American Gravestones: Introduction to the Farber Gravestone Collection,” *American Antiquarian Society* (2003): n.p.

around the cemetery in the last sixty-two years. Ultimately, Valley View has incorporated the most important elements of cemeteries in order to remain relevant in a constantly changing city. It has also been able to see the changes taking place in Surrey and adapt to them without losing its sense of uniqueness. Incorporating religion, culture, tradition, green space, and modern views of mourning has allowed Valley View Funeral Home and Cemetery to become a hub for Surrey's local community. It will be interesting to see how this cemetery continues to change in the coming years.

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*Appendix A: Photographs*



Figure 1A: Oriental Gazebo



Figure 1B: "Dragon Garden"



Figure 1C: Tombstones of those with Ukrainian heritage



Figure 1D: Statue





Figure 2A: Path for visitors



Figure 2B: Path for visitors



Figure 2C: Messages on tombstones



Figure 2D: Bench for visitors and an offering of Psalm: 23





Figure 2E: Plaques for those cremated



Figure 3A: "Garden of Apostles"





Figure 3B:  
Fountain next to  
additional  
cremation  
plaques



Figure 3C: Cross  
in background



Figure 3D: "Baby Lands"



Figure 4A: Herbert  
W. Foreman  
CPO. 2 R.C.N





Figure 4B:  
"Garden of  
Memories" for  
War Veterans

## Steeped in Tea: The Impact of Tea on Society

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History 4499: Food in Global History  
12 November, 2015  
Professor Tracey J. Kinney

What makes a good cup of tea? In this author's opinion, a spoonful of honey and a fair slop of evaporated milk, enough to render it light beige in colour. Is this really tea, though, heaped with sweetness and cream? One might as well be drinking a hot milkshake, so slight is its resemblance to the original bitter brew. But if tea was so distasteful, then how could it have become so popular? There is centuries-worth of evidence to show the importance of tea-drinking in society. Sometime between 2737 BCE and 2697 BCE the Chinese Emperor Shen Nung, as some proclaim, made the world's first encounter with tea. While the legendary tale of tea leaves accidentally falling into his cup of hot water<sup>1</sup> may or may not be true, what is unmistakable is the impact that the discovery of tea made on Chinese society and, in turn, the societies of other countries. With its connections to religious practise, social rituals, women's betterment, economic standing, and class, tea, steeped in tradition and culture, will be shown to be a powerful influence in both ancient and modern society, and well-deserved of its popularity.

The religious practices associated with tea are best observed and most commonly identified with Chinese and Japanese rituals. In China, both Buddhist and Taoist doctrines have been infused with the sharing of tea since its first encounters with Buddhist monks.<sup>2</sup> It is thought they initially used tea medicinally, then to sustain themselves, and to stay awake through long sessions of prayer and meditation. Taoism is echoed in the dictate that the Chinese seek more spontaneity in their tea drinking, while at the same time ensuring concordance within this environment.<sup>3</sup> This harmony is reflected by the five Chinese elemental symbols represented in the preparation of tea: "[E]arth (clay pots); metal (tea kettle); water; wood (tea plant); and fire (heating)."<sup>4</sup> The religious symbolism associated with tea can also be shown in the existence of a ceremonial container, called a ding, during China's Zhou Dynasty.<sup>5</sup> This

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<sup>1</sup> Anna Reich, "Coffee & Tea History in a Cup," *Herbarist*, 76, (2010): 11.

<sup>2</sup> Mary Szto, "Chinese Ritual and the Practice of Law," *Touro Law Review* 30, no. 1 (January 2014): 107.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, 108.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, 108; as cited in Livia Kohn, *Health and Long Life: The Chinese Way*, (2005): 142.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*, 107.

vessel was used to house the tea that would be prepared as an offering to godly powers.<sup>6</sup> Today, in keeping with its Buddhist and Taoist roots, Chinese tea-drinking declares itself to be beneficial to health,<sup>7</sup> assistive to mindfulness, and a symbol of welcome and community.

One would be hard-pressed to find a more quintessential enactment of a religious practice through tea-making than that of the thirty-seven meditative steps enacted in *chanoyu*, the Japanese tea ceremony. Originally, the tea ceremony was created by followers of the Zen monk, Ikkyu, as an outlet for the aristocracy of the fifteenth century to showcase its great art collections in a more reflective and reverential fashion, as opposed to the lavish parties of excess for which its members were known.<sup>8</sup> Eventually, a Zen priest, Juko, and a tea master, Sen no Rikyu<sup>9</sup> would adapt this early tea ceremony into today's highly codified *chanoyu* Zen ritual,<sup>10</sup> a simple act of preparing, giving, and receiving tea, with the appreciation that this shared moment in time can never be duplicated, or *ichigo ichie*.<sup>11</sup> Yet some criticized the *chanoyu* practice for being too regimented and distant, and incapable of engaging one in meaningful discourse.<sup>12</sup> It is worth noting this criticism was made by Jesuit priests during the latter part of the sixteenth century who were attempting to pursue religious dialogue with their hosts during these tea ceremonies. This was a time when Christianity was all but banned in Japan.<sup>13</sup> What the Jesuits may have failed to comprehend were the Zen Buddhist concepts at the very core of *chanoyu*: the concept of the self as relating to nothing, being present in the beauty of nature, and co-existing with one's guests with "an open and undisturbed heart."<sup>14</sup> The tea ceremony was not the place to discuss religious differences, or more likely, to infiltrate the space with their Christian teachings. Given this time of religious discrimination in Japan, the Jesuits were extremely fortunate to have participated side-by-side with Buddhists in this ritual. It was only through tea that two such dissimilar religions could occupy the same space in that time of turmoil.

In Mongolia, spiritual tea rituals are also performed. Each day, it is customary for the female of the household to offer the very first cup of morning tea to nature, spirits of the departed, and the powers that be in order to bring good fortune to the household.<sup>15</sup> This could be looked upon as either a religious practice or superstition, but, in either case, tea is the focus of a ritualized interaction with divine beings that must occur before any of the day's events can unfold. Mongolia's tea custom, along with the elevated tea drinking ritual of Japan's *chanoyu*, and the commonplace consumption of tea in China, illustrates tea as a powerful spiritual

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 107.

<sup>7</sup> "Discovering China: 'Kung Fu Tea' Ceremony," YouTube video, 5:59, posted by "NTDonChina," January 18, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yhg1LFM10EE>.

<sup>8</sup> Ryoichi Fujioka, *Arts of Japan 3: Tea Ceremony Utensils* (New York: Weatherhill/Shibundo, 1973), 10-11.

<sup>9</sup> Note there are varied spellings of names dependent upon text used: Shuko or Juko, Sen Rikyu or Sen no Rikyu.

<sup>10</sup> Norikio Tsunoda Reider, "Chanoyu: Following Ceremony to a Tea," *Phi Kappa Phi Forum* (Fall 2012): 10.

<sup>11</sup> Naoko Francis Hioki, "Tea Ceremony as a Space for Interreligious Dialogue," *Exchange* 42, no. 2 (April 2013), 129.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 126.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, 127.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 133.

<sup>15</sup> Gaby Bamana, "Tea Practices in Mongolia," *Asian Ethnology* 74, no.1 (2015): 199.

facilitator, enabling those societies to engage in their particular and unique religious practices.

Tea also figures prominently in social rituals in many parts of the world where it is consumed, perhaps none more famous than the British afternoon tea. Some attribute the custom of afternoon tea to the Seventh Duchess of Bedford, who fancied a pot of tea and some light refreshment in the afternoon to tide her over until the evening meal, which the English began to postpone into the late evening in the early nineteenth century.<sup>16</sup> By the latter part of that century tea was being enjoyed in this format in North America as well as England. In Toronto, Canadian women threw varied tea socials “to introduce newcomers to Society, to honour visiting notables, to bid farewell to travellers and greet returnees, to launch brides and debutantes, to raise funds for worthy causes, to inaugurate events, to galvanize organizing committees, to show off new homes, and simply to pass idle hours with friends, and more.”<sup>17</sup> It was a most pleasant and affordable way to meet one’s social obligations and, if weighted down by a multitude of social engagement debts, an afternoon tea with plenty of invited guests was the preferred way to extricate oneself from them, and far more economically feasible than plating a meal.<sup>18</sup>

The afternoon tea had the added benefit of being an agent of independence and power for women. This British tea ritual would eventually develop into an important social domain for women where they could network, discuss issues of the day, and formulate social change, just as their male counterparts did in the public coffeehouses. The importance of tea as a springboard for female agency and equality is still evident today in the Mongolian morning tea rituals described earlier. Conducted primarily by women, the ritualized morning negotiation with the deities places the woman of the household in a high position of power, a spot usually reserved for the man in what is chiefly a patriarchal society.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, the order in which a woman serves tea to guests has the ability to impact her husband’s social network, a system he relies on for commerce.<sup>20</sup> Even Japan’s strictly codified, and once-patriarchal, *chanoyu* now endeavours to lift women up. The schools of *chanoyu* are frequented by young women interested in learning etiquette and older women seeking tea knowledge as a way to gain respect in the social circles outside of their family unit.<sup>21</sup> In these ways tea has been, and continues to be, a powerful and valuable ally for providing women with a public role.

Today, tea continues to be a major component of important social interactions and functions, and not just for women. In Niger, Africa, tea *fadas* are groupings of out-of-work young men who gather to share tea, make new connections, and converse about a myriad of issues that

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<sup>16</sup> Helen Saberi, *Tea: A Global History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010), 103.

<sup>17</sup> Keith Walden, “Tea in Toronto and the Liberal Order, 1880-1914,” *Canadian Historical Review* 93, no. 1 (March 2012), 3.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>19</sup> Gaby Bamana, “Tea Practices in Mongolia,” 199.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>21</sup> Norikio Tsunoda Reider, “Chanoyu: Following Ceremony to a Tea,” 11.

plague them.<sup>22</sup> For them, according to ethnologist Adeline Masquelier, the process of making tea is integral to these gatherings, as it “transform[s] waiting into a goal-oriented, meaningful practice, lessening its burden.”<sup>23</sup> Tea is the only drink that can accomplish this purpose, although some may say that is only because it takes so long to prepare. Yet, it is exactly this time-consuming element that is essential for the young Niger collective to grasp the opportunity to be thoughtful and insightful about their situation, in hopes that they can come to some conclusions about how to be useful in, and hopeful for, their futures.

Southeast of Niger, not far from coastal Mombasa, lies Samburu, Kenya. Here, tea is at the core of social engagement and customs, although it has only been a part of the Samburu foodscape since approximately 1930 CE.<sup>24</sup> Tea is included in social occasions and served at all nuptials, unless there is a shortage of sugar for the tea, in which case the event will likely be postponed.<sup>25</sup> Sugar, in this way, is therefore also held in high regard, but only as it pertains to tea. The serving of tea and the absolute necessity of sugar’s availability for the purposes of making tea at these social occasions is highly indicative of tea’s importance to the social fabric of the Samburu. A similar wedding tradition is also observed in China. According to Saberi’s historical global analysis of tea, it has been a long-standing custom for the bridegroom to proffer tea to the family of one’s intended, signifying “loyalty, oneness and abidingness.”<sup>26</sup> It is only through acceptance of the tea gift that the couple is considered to be officially engaged.<sup>27</sup> In the same vein, the bride is supposed to offer her new husband’s mother a cup of tea containing the seeds of the lotus plant as a sign that she will dutifully procreate the male species, and, upon acceptance of the cup, her mother-in-law acknowledges the bride and will bestow upon her gifts of jewellery.<sup>28</sup> Now here is a custom many bauble-lovers could support! It is clearly evident that tea has long been, and continues to be, central to the construction of important social milestones across the world.

Tea has also been a foundational support for society through difficult world events. During the World Wars tea played a sustaining role in English society. Tea was already exceedingly well-established in Britain by the time the First and Second World Wars occurred and it was feared that its supply would run out. While the citizens who lived through WW I escaped tea rations, the same could not be said for the Second World War.<sup>29</sup> Although soldiers were given limitless quantities, many English citizens were forced to live on very meagre amounts.<sup>30</sup> So it was during WW II that mobile tea vans were dispatched to provide hot tea, refreshments, hope and comfort to soldiers and volunteers. Tea, according to Churchill, was an absolute

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<sup>22</sup> Adeline Masquelier, “Teatime: Boredom and the Temporalities of Young Men in Niger,” *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute* 83, no. 3 (August 2013): 472.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, 472.

<sup>24</sup> Jon D. Holtzman, “In a Cup of Tea: Commodities and History Among Samburu Pastoralists in Northern Kenya,” *American Ethnologist* 30, no.1 (February 2003): 143-4.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*, 144.

<sup>26</sup> Helen Saberi, *Tea: A Global History*, 40.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, 40.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid*, 40.

<sup>29</sup> Jane Pettigrew, *A Social History of Tea*, (Great Britain: National Trust Enterprises, Ltd., 2001), 149.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*, 148-9.

necessity, even more so than bullets!<sup>31</sup> This communicates that the British would rather have left themselves unprotected and vulnerable than be without tea. Such deeds and statements only prove to emphasize the highly revered and essential position that tea held in British society.

This iconic commodity, as valuable as currency, obviously gave its purveyor considerable economic clout in the world market, and indeed China was a powerhouse in the tea trade, being tea's only source of production for centuries. Trading with its neighbours started as early as the latter part of the fifth century and would expand to faraway lands three hundred years later.<sup>32</sup> China's prosperous tea trade would continue until the Mongols invaded them in the thirteenth century.<sup>33</sup> Commerce was resurgent again less than a century later, during the Ming Dynasty, and by the mid-seventeenth century China had commenced trade with the West.<sup>34</sup> Trade with the British was not the most amicable, to say the least. The British government certainly knew the tremendous allure of tea and its value to government coffers, and was frustrated by the monopoly the Chinese had on tea. By the early eighteenth century, Britain would be well ensconced in India and actively seeking tea cultivars there. China instituted its impenetrable Canton System of trade in 1759 CE, interfering with Britain's desire for a freer form of trade.<sup>35</sup> This was followed by sanctions against Britain's distribution of opium in China, and so Britain declared war in 1840 CE, one year after the first tea from India arrived on English shores. By the late nineteenth century, Indian tea imports into Britain would surpass those of China, negatively impacting China's tea monopoly and consequently its influence on world trade. China's position would be further weakened by its defeat in the Opium Wars and the establishment of the Treaty Port system.<sup>36</sup>

Tea was an extremely valuable commodity during these trading years, with wars and revolutions being fought over it,<sup>37</sup> lands colonized in search of it, and people enslaved because of it. There is no doubt as to the economic impacts brewed up by tea. Today, China is still the leading producer of tea, having produced almost two million tonnes in 2013.<sup>38</sup> India follows with just over half that amount and both countries together, as Asia, produce approximately eighty-five percent of the world's tea today.<sup>39</sup> It is likely the irony of these numbers is not lost on India. Once colonized and enslaved in order to provide the British Empire with its fix of tea, it is now the second highest producer of a product the English cannot live without.

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid, 148.

<sup>32</sup> Helen Saberi, *Tea: A Global History*, 30.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, 33.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid, 31, 87.

<sup>35</sup> Gao Hao, "Prelude to the Opium War? British Reactions to the 'Napier Fizzle' and Attitudes Towards China in the Mid Eighteen-thirties," *Historical Research* 87, no. 237 (August 2014): 492.

<sup>36</sup> Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Treaty Ports," accessed November 27, 2015, <http://www.britannica.com/topic/treaty-port>.

<sup>37</sup> Tea and its taxes had also played a large role in America's uncivilized departure from the British monarchy sixty years earlier, as the Boston Tea Party and American Revolution had attested.

<sup>38</sup> FAOstat3.fao.org

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.



With production statistics like these it is easy to imagine the vast populace that is engaged in tea-drinking around the world: men, women, and children of every class, although in its earliest incarnations, tea was a drink only enjoyed by emperors, monarchs, and the aristocracy due to its inaccessibility and expense.<sup>40</sup> In this way, tea had the ability to reveal social class. In addition to the price of the product itself, there was an aesthetic that accompanied tea consumption which produced a myriad of tea accoutrements. These also came at a cost. The Chinese fashioned art, symbolizing poetry and song, onto fine porcelain, which became all the rage in Europe in the early part of the eighteenth century.<sup>41</sup> Japanese artists also created pottery and tea utensils which, while not considered as decoratively beautiful as the Chinese goods, were just as sought after and steep in price. The parade of one's tea service and all its incumbent paraphernalia was one sure way to advertise the economic status of the household to its guests.<sup>42</sup> As tea-drinking became more popular and available virtually every English household, regardless of class, owned some, if not all, of the necessities for serving tea. This could be said for other areas in Europe as well. In Amsterdam, those who were single or had lower incomes might not have had tea tables, tea trays, or fine porcelain as part of their tea service, but they most certainly had some form of the most basic necessities for drinking tea, such as a tea pot.<sup>43</sup> However, Elizabeth Scott brings into question whether the existence of tea items in the household is necessarily indicative of tea service occurring, since many food preparing and serving items had other uses.<sup>44</sup> It is an interesting observation and could be used to argue the point that the majority of people were in fact not consuming tea, but in the end one must consider how the tea items made it into the household in the first place, regardless of what they may have been repurposed for later. Ostensibly it would have been to serve tea in some manner, shape, or form, thereby indicating the importance of tea to all classes.

The preceding illustrations are evidence of the significance of tea in society, both past and present, and have hopefully provided some insight into what all the 'brew'-haha over tea has been about. It can be said that in the cups of generations of tea-drinkers the world over, a highly significant liquid has been ever-brewing, a persuasive force that has shaped religious practise, social rituals, women's roles, economic standing, and class. Tea, steeped in tradition and culture, has had a powerful influence in both ancient and modern society, and well-deserves its prominent reputation, underneath all the sweetness and cream.

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<sup>40</sup> Helen Saberi, *Tea: A Global History*, 90.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, 88.

<sup>42</sup> Julie E. Fromer, *A Necessary Luxury: Tea in Victorian England* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2008), 129.

<sup>43</sup> Anne E. C. McCants, "Poor Consumers as Global Consumers: The Diffusion of Tea and Coffee Drinking in the Eighteenth Century," *The Economic History Review, New Series* 61, no. S1 Feeding the Masses: Plenty, Want, and the Distribution of Food in Historical Perspective (August 2008), 186.

<sup>44</sup> Elizabeth M. Scott, "'A Little Gravy in the Dish and Onions in a Teacup': What Cookbooks Reveal about Material Culture," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 1, no. 2 (June 1997), 147.

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**More than a Mere Wall:  
An Environmental History of the Evolving Perception and  
Valuation of Richmond's West Dyke**  
Craig Morabito

History 3180: Environment of North America  
Spring Semester 2016  
Professor Jack P. Hayes

Richmond, British Columbia, is nothing without its dykes. Or if not 'nothing,' then a variable number of feet underwater during a high tide, storm, or freshet. While the common quip claiming that Lulu Island is below sea level is a misconception, most of the area is in a flood zone thanks to the Fraser River and its coastal location. The city could never have been founded nor function in the present day without dyking and drainage.<sup>1</sup> Of Richmond's three dykes, I have chosen the western one given its proximity to my home, and for being a spatial fixture of my whole life. Stretching from the Fraser's south arm to its north, the view from the west dyke encompasses the grassy marshes of Sturgeon Bank, the Salish Sea and Gulf Islands beyond, and the strikingly clear North Shore Mountains. This vista is the backdrop to the daily routines of hundreds of Richmond residents - and often their dogs - in running, biking, and walking along the West Dyke Trail, which is how most know the dyke today. But the dyke was originally valued for far different reasons, and a major thread of the history of its environment follows its transition from a mere barrier against the sea to a modern trail and parkland area. This essay shall follow that course from the dyke's origins as a means of settlement, to the influence its appealing proximity to Sturgeon Bank would have on Richmond's urban development, which ultimately manifested into its modern state as a popular, groomed trail and recreational space. Though the west dyke has and always will serve in its original role, how it is used and truly appreciated has evolved with time. But its roots are in floods.

Flooding was one of the greatest threats to settlers in the early days of Richmond, and so drainage and dyking were major considerations the settlement's growth and survival.<sup>2</sup> Early

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<sup>1</sup> Graeme Wynn and Timothy Oke, eds. *Vancouver and its Region* (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 1992), 286.

<sup>2</sup> Leslie J. Ross, *Richmond Child of the Fraser* (Richmond, BC: Corporation of the Township of Richmond, 1979), 45.

dyking efforts in the late 1800s were scattered, dependent on local settlers to collaborate with their neighbours for cohesive barriers.<sup>3</sup> The extent of the municipal government's aid was to offer some financial assistance to these proactive settlers, with cheaper Chinese labour often being hired for digging and construction.<sup>4</sup> A more defined governmental strategy for dyking was not established until 1906, following a particularly severe flood that affected western areas of Lulu Island, including Steveston.<sup>5</sup> This led to the increased resources of the Lulu Island West Dyking District and the creation of the New Slough Scheme, the former managing dyking efforts in areas such as Sturgeon Bank, Steveston, and Terra Nova.<sup>6</sup> As the dyke system developed to resemble the modern construction bordering Lulu Island, it served as a prominent means of transportation. As a result, much of Richmond's early development were raised in close proximity to it, before major roadways further inland supplanted it by through superior accessibility and utility.<sup>7</sup> Substantial information about the dyke system is limited until the 1930s, presumably because it received little in the way of major upgrades or alterations that were worthy note. However, in the 1930s, new dyking taxes were introduced to fund the construction of drainage solutions, such as electrical pumps that were established throughout the jurisdictions of the New Slough Dyking Scheme, the Lulu Island West Dyking District, and the northern areas of Lulu Island managed by Richmond municipal council.<sup>8</sup> The bureaucratic inefficiencies plaguing this three-party taxation system spurred the Dyking and Drainage Act of 1936, placing all of Richmond's dyking and drainage responsibilities under the management of the municipal council.<sup>9</sup>

Beyond this, the history of the dyke system in general lapses into obscurity. That it served its purpose to prevent flooding from the Fraser was evidently taken as a matter of course. Indeed, given that it did not border either arm of the Fraser, the west dyke was particularly unsung, never weathering the same trials of seasonal flooding that assailed its counterparts.<sup>10</sup> It is unique, however, is that the Sturgeon Bank area beyond avoided development for maritime or industrial use, supposedly because of the natural, unspoiled view it presented.<sup>11</sup> This ties in to the development of the west dyke and its place in history since the early 20th century, in that it has become more than a mere barrier against the sea. While it would fade into the background with largely implied significance in the latter half of the 20th century, its profound – if indirect – role in Richmond's development as a city meant that Richmond's story was its own in many ways.

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<sup>3</sup> Wynn and Oke, *Vancouver*, 78.

<sup>4</sup> Ross, *Richmond*, 45-6.

<sup>5</sup> Wynn and Oke, *Vancouver*, 78.

<sup>6</sup> Ross, *Richmond*, 46.

<sup>7</sup> Ross, *Richmond*, 46.

<sup>8</sup> Ross, *Richmond*, 152.

<sup>9</sup> Ross, *Richmond*, 152.

<sup>10</sup> Ross, *Richmond*, 152.

<sup>11</sup> Ross, *Richmond*, 187-8.

The west dyke's subtle effects on Richmond's urbanization start in the 1930s. At the time, over two-thirds of Richmond's land was designated as agricultural, with half of the 8000-strong population living on farms.<sup>12</sup> Land use maps from the period reflected this, showing how Steveston Village was the only area in west Richmond designated as residential land, with small-holding lands filling up the rest of the space between No. 1 Road and Steveston Highway (see Appendix A).<sup>13</sup> Aerial surveys paint a more colourful picture in spite of being grayscale, the busy structure of the Steveston area a contrast to the large, shaded patches of farmland west of No. 2 Road, the west dyke a thin white line tracing Lulu Island's western edge.<sup>14</sup> In some sense, this largely remains the case right through to the 1950s. A land-use map from 1949 shows densification within the Steveston area, the block south of Steveston Highway and No. 2 road transitioning from agriculture into small holdings, and more residential land appearing up by Terra Nova.<sup>15</sup> A zoning map from between 1949 to 1951 brings more relevance to the west dyke, however, showing a stretch of it and proximate lands in its southern reaches designated for commercial purposes, potentially tied to the aforementioned failed proposals for marina development in this area.<sup>16</sup> But by the end of the 1950s, this gradual urbanization would end, and dyke's influence on development would grow. Increased commercial interest in the area and measures such as the Veteran's Land Act led to huge waves of settlement and population growth, pushing much of Richmond towards suburban design.<sup>17</sup> A 1958 land-use map cast this trend in sharp relief, with blocks of residential land west of No. 2 Road beginning to fill in the areas that would later become West Richmond and Thompson, while a large block of commercial land by the dyke at Blundell presumably indicated the establishment of the Quilchena Golf and Country Club's current Richmond location.<sup>18</sup>

These developments are early indicators of the more visible influence the dyke would have on Richmond's rapid urbanization between the 1960s and 1990s. There was a great deal of open rural land for development in western Richmond and the dyke presented ready access to extensive recreational space, characterized by striking views of a natural landscape, with a proximity that was presumably attractive to prospective homeowners.<sup>19</sup> A 1964 map (see Appendix B) shows the blocks west of No. 1 Road between Francis and Blundell as dense suburban residential areas, the Blundell side being the first to push residential space right to the dyke itself.<sup>20</sup> This level of development parallels the booming population growth of the period that would carry forward into the 1970s, when city planning documentation began to

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<sup>12</sup> Wynn and Oke, *Vancouver*, 79.

<sup>13</sup> Wynn and Oke, *Vancouver*, 81; see also "Map of Richmond Municipality -- 1938," 1938.

<sup>14</sup> Department of the Interior, "Mosaic of the Municipality of Richmond - New Westminster District," 1935.

<sup>15</sup> Wynn and Oke, *Vancouver*, 81; see also "Map of the Municipality of Richmond," estimated ca. 1950s.

<sup>16</sup> The Corporation of the Township of Richmond, "Map of the Municipality of Richmond," approx. 1949-51; see also Ross, *Richmond*, 187-8.

<sup>17</sup> Wynn and Oke, *Vancouver* 81-2; see also "Population Hot Facts," City of Richmond, 4.

<sup>18</sup> Wynn and Oke, 81; see also Quilchena Golf and Country Club, "Quilchena's History,"

<http://www.qgolfclub.ca/qgolf-history-Quilchena> [accessed March 26, 2016].

<sup>19</sup> Wynn and Oke, *Vancouver*, 81.

<sup>20</sup> "The Township of Richmond (Schools and school parks)," 1964.

suggest approaches to increase residential densification, with western Richmond being an area of interest.<sup>21</sup> An August 1970 Planning Department Residential Density Study report assumed that increased pressure for residential development in Richmond would result from population growth and shifts in the Lower Mainland, the authors arguing for increased densification to preserve existing farmland and make proposed rapid transit more effective.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, they advocated for restricting this development to the area east of the west dyke between Westminster and Steveston Highways, designating the Seafair shopping centre as a hub, and establishing high and low-density housing in Steveston and its surrounding areas, respectively.<sup>23</sup> Less than seven years later, a land use report usurped this plan to propose high-density residential land-use west of Railway Avenue from Steveston to Blundell, with medium density through to the north dyke, minus the Terra Nova agricultural lands.<sup>24</sup> This speaks to both the demand for greater residential density in Richmond and the evident appeal of the west dyke, as these developments would push right up to the barrier itself. The decades that followed would see the fulfillment of such visions, and a shift in the nature of the west dyke's significance to its more modern incarnation as a park trail and recreational space.

Perhaps the most visually striking example of this shift is a series of land use maps under the Official Community Plan in the 1980s, which both categorized and defined various land use areas in evidently nigh-unprecedented ways (see Appendix C).<sup>25</sup> They actually gave classifications for the west dyke as 'Public, Institutional and Open Space,' and Sturgeon Bank as an 'Environmentally Sensitive Area.'<sup>26</sup> This means that the dyke was designated as park or trail space for recreational activities, rather than just serving its purpose as a barrier or means of transport, while Sturgeon Bank was being preserved on the basis of protecting the inherent value of its natural state.<sup>27</sup> This shows a shift in perception through a more conscious appreciation of the west dyke, an acknowledgement of how its value had influenced area development, which would drive it to its more modern role in the area's environmental history as a park trail. Past city development strategies seem to reflect this, suggesting that from 1979 the design of the west dyke as a trail would see a gradual shift in design mentality towards greater accessibility and encouragement of recreation.<sup>28</sup> This ties into the protection of Sturgeon Bank, effectively preserved against most direct development, barring a few municipal structures and limited agricultural use.<sup>29</sup> With Sturgeon Bank, the shift in perception is traceable to pressures since 1972 to keep the land zoned for agricultural use to

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<sup>21</sup> "Population Hot Facts." *City of Richmond Hot Facts*. Richmond, B.C.: City of Richmond, December 2015. [http://www.richmond.ca/shared/assets/Population\\_Hot\\_Facts6248.pdf](http://www.richmond.ca/shared/assets/Population_Hot_Facts6248.pdf) [accessed March 27, 2016].

<sup>22</sup> Planning Department, *Residential Density Study (Part II)*, August 1970, 2.

<sup>23</sup> Planning Department, *Residential Density Study (Part II)*, August 1970, 4, 6, Appendices 3 and 4.

<sup>24</sup> Richmond Planning Department, *Residential Land Use*, April 1977, Map 4.

<sup>25</sup> The Corporation of the Township of Richmond, "Official Community Plan - Land Use," December 1981.

<sup>26</sup> The Corporation of the Township of Richmond, "Official Community Plan - Land Use," December 1981.

<sup>27</sup> The Corporation of the Township of Richmond, "Official Community Plan - Land Use," December 1981.

<sup>28</sup> Parks, Recreational, and Cultural Services Division, *2010 Richmond Trail Strategy*, ii.

<sup>29</sup> Steves, "A Commitment to the Future," 2, 8.

support regional food security and migratory bird populations in the area.<sup>30</sup> A later iteration of the sentiment was the establishment of a Wildlife Management Area for Sturgeon Bank between 1994 and 1996, which sought to protect its fragile ecosystem against degradation from erosion, limit ecological shifts in vegetation populations, and ensure the habitats could continue to support animal populations such as migratory snow geese.<sup>31</sup> In 2007 there were further proposals to protect Sturgeon Bank in lines with these concerns, with suggested solutions including culling of the ecologically-overburdening geese population and expanding the marshland habitat with collected dredging materials.<sup>32</sup> All of this is - in part - driven by the desire to preserve the natural environment adjacent to the west dyke, a key characteristic of its value as a recreational space.

Having lived in the Steveston area since 1985, my family and I can speak of this more recent period in the dyke's environmental history from our own experience. A fitness enthusiast and lover of the outdoors, my mother- Sue - has ran and biked the length of the west dyke since she and my father arrived in Richmond. She saw much of its development into a true park system first-hand, mostly in the form of efforts to make the trail more appealing and accessible to the populace. For instance, she remembers the washroom stations and water fountains at Blundell being installed around the late 1980s, approximately coinciding with Garry Point's own development as a park, along with the construction of a sitting area - complete with picnic tables - at the Steveston Highway pumping station.<sup>33</sup> She recalls huge, wild blackberry bushes situated along the dyke's eastern slope that began to be cleared out around twenty years ago in order improve the area's aesthetic.<sup>34</sup> This cleaning up of the dyke apparently paralleled the development of townhouse communities and 'view-homes' immediately adjacent to the dyke from Steveston all the way to Blundell. As a long-time financial planner, Sue believes that the major attraction of a dyke-front location was the optimal view from a home and the proximate location, which followed a trend of housing development that had been operating for several years already.<sup>35</sup> She further points out that since she arrived in Richmond, there had been no major upgrades to the dyke's infrastructure until the recent decade, with only general, ongoing maintenance here and there, a rather telling indicator of the shift toward park-oriented development.<sup>36</sup> For my part, I can recall the appearance of distance markers about ten to fifteen years ago, marking every kilometre from Garry Point to Terra Nova for the benefit of cyclists, runners, and walkers. Around the same time, a number of concrete platforms with benches were built as rest stops every kilometre or so the entire length of the dyke, jutting off its western slope to offer splendid views of Sturgeon Bank, the Gulf Islands, and of course, the North Shore Mountains. But

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<sup>30</sup> Steves, *"A Commitment to the Future,"* 3.

<sup>31</sup> Steves, *"A Commitment to the Future,"* 8; see also Parks, Recreational, and Cultural Services Division, "2010 Richmond Trail Strategy," 61.

<sup>32</sup> Steves, *"A Commitment to the Future,"* 15, 16.

<sup>33</sup> Susan Morabito, interview by author, March 27, 2016.

<sup>34</sup> Susan Morabito, interview by author, March 27, 2016.

<sup>35</sup> Susan Morabito, interview by author, March 27, 2016.

<sup>36</sup> Susan Morabito, interview by author, March 27, 2016.



more recently, there have been more dramatic efforts to improve the dyke as a recreational space, namely with the aesthetic and practical upgrades to the pumping stations at the ends of Francis, Williams, and Blundell. For Francis and Williams, where there were once merely wooden or gravel ramps there are now large concrete platforms offering easy access on bike and foot, complete with sizeable sitting areas, water fountains, viewing platforms, and even art fixtures.<sup>37</sup> All of this is designed with the intent to beautify the west dyke and encourage more of its use as a park and trail system. Sue insists that such development is worthwhile simply for spurring public health and fitness through ready access to scenic trails, ocean breezes, and ideal terrain conditions for most forms of outdoor exercise.

This encapsulates much of the modern perception of the dyke, though I wonder if that may soon change. The west dyke has already seen its significance shift away from its origins in flooding. After all, up until the 1960s, the dyke had slipped into the background of public interest, gradually encouraging more westward development with a scenic environment and recreational area that was proximate to the suburban space. But the population booms that followed would accompany the wider realization of this fact, driving extensive residential development and densification along the dyke's length. From the 1980s into the 2000s, institutional interests sought to develop the dyke as parkland and protect the adjacent Sturgeon Bank ecosystem, with the same goal of driving densification through combined appeal. Improving accessibility, encouraging recreation and fitness, and marketing the area's natural aesthetic have all established the west dyke as an excellent trail for exercise and recreation, with a great view and lots of places to sit back and take it in. Preventing floods is a bonus. But given the advent of rising sea levels due to climate change, the core purpose of the dyke may once again find attention. Indeed, as of March 24, 2016, the BC government has announced funding for upgrades to four major pump stations across Richmond's dyke system to mitigate the threats posed by the projected rise in sea levels and storm surges.<sup>38</sup> Richmond will also have to raise its dykes as much as 1.2 metres to counter the same rise in sea level, and given its role in preventing flooding from the sea, the west dyke becomes a point of interest in this strategy. From being historically unsung for lack of noteworthy drama, the original purpose of the west dyke may yet find the spotlight. One day, the people of Richmond might find themselves in touch with the dyke's historical roots, and gain a more nuanced sense and appreciation of its purpose. They just might not want to be getting in a run at the time.

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<sup>37</sup>Hapa Collaborative, "Williams Road Pump Station," <http://hapacobo.com/project/williams-road-pump-station/> [accessed March 27, 2016].

<sup>38</sup> Wood, "Province to Help Keep," *Richmond News*.

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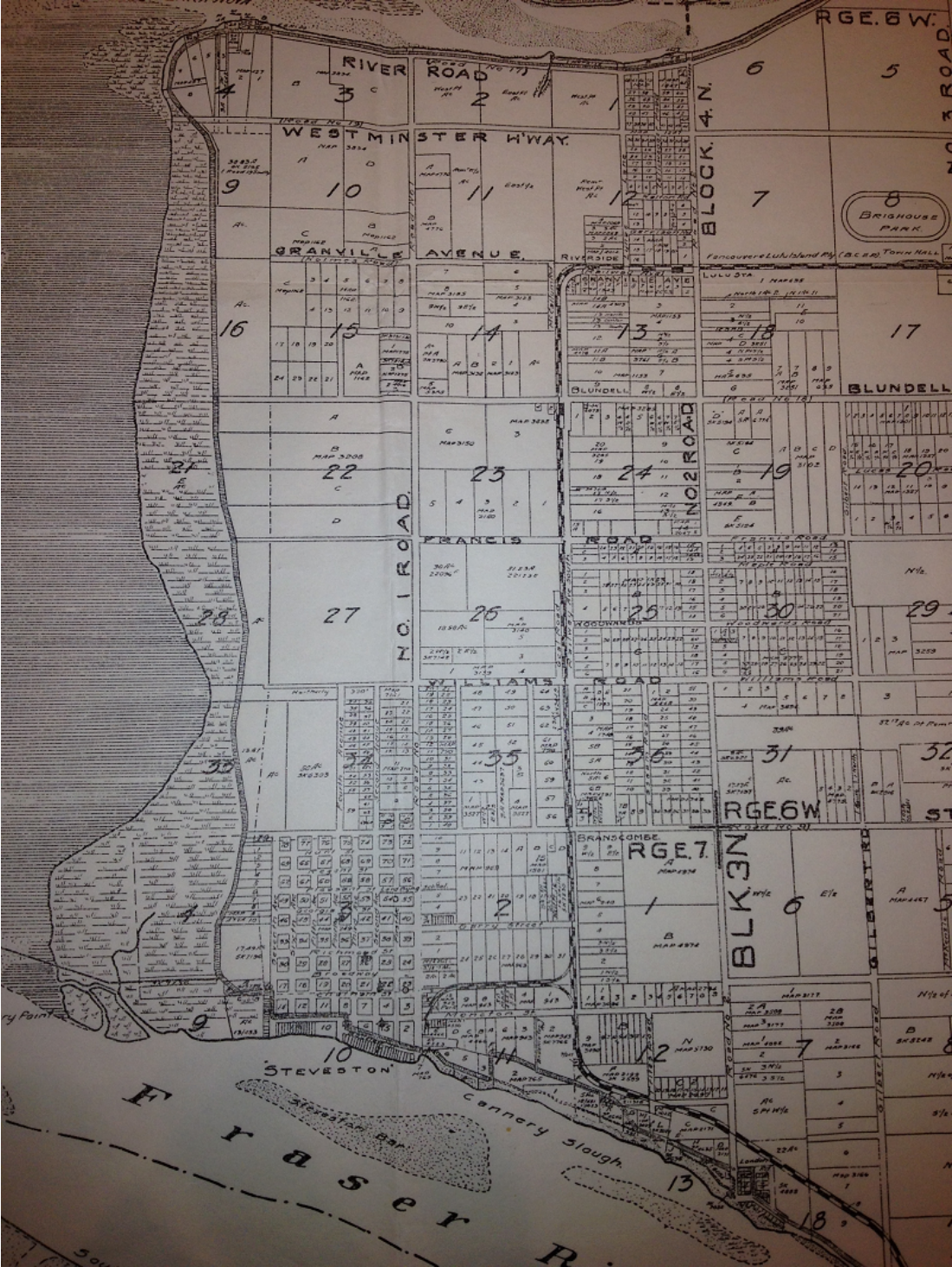
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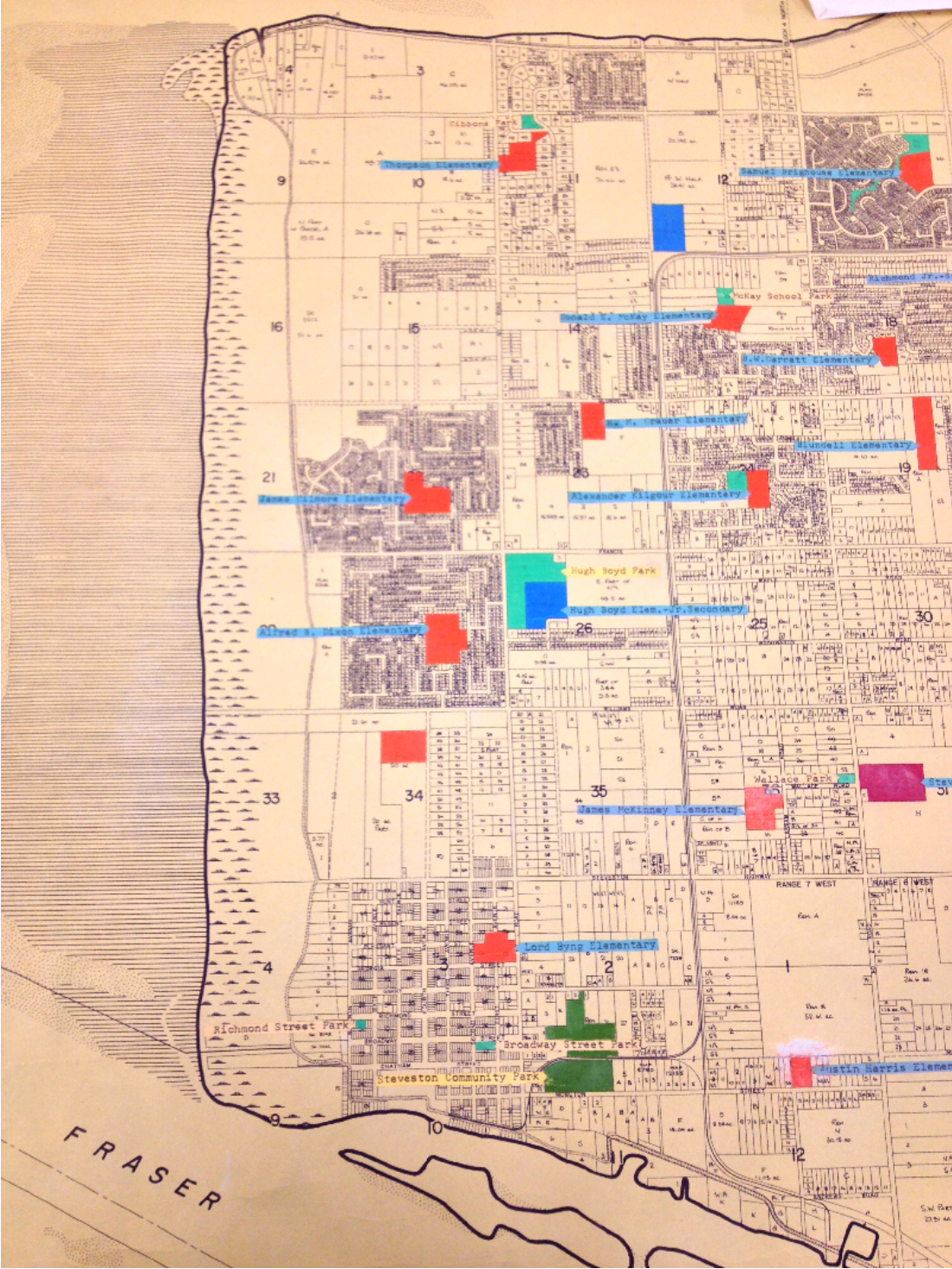
Appendix A: Map of Richmond Municipality from 1938, showing land use as related to urban density, mostly contrasting higher-density residential and small-holdings areas.<sup>39</sup>



<sup>39</sup>"Map of Richmond Municipality -- 1938," 1938.



Appendix B: Map of Richmond school and school park locations from 1964, showing higher-density residential development west of No. 1, between Williams and Blundell.<sup>40</sup>



<sup>40</sup>"The Township of Richmond (Schools and school parks)," 1964.



Appendix C: Richmond land-use map from 1981. The turquoise areas designate 'Public, Institutional and Open Space,' the flecked green-white pattern on Sturgeon Bank designates it as 'Environmentally Sensitive Area,' and the yellow areas indicate residential land-use.<sup>41</sup>



<sup>41</sup>The Corporation of the Township of Richmond, "Official Community Plan - Land Use," December 1981.

# **The Sacred Grain: The Colossal Influence of Rice on Asia**

## **Danielle Paco**

History 4499: Food in Global History  
October 29, 2015  
Professor Tracey J. Kinney

For having such a primary role in everyone's everyday life, food does not get nearly enough credit in history for the way it has shaped and molded our lives, cultures, landscapes, and political arenas. Food is the stuff of life, and it drives so many of these facets of life in all areas of the world, but none quite as much as rice in Asia. No single food is nearly as synonymous with a place as rice is with the largest and most populated continent on earth. At a glance the association between rice and Asia may seem to be a stereotype or overgeneralization, but upon close examination the truth concerning the significant impact of rice can be seen clearly in the East. After all, 90% of the world's rice is still grown in Asian countries and unlike American crops where over half the grains are exported due to a lack of domestic consumption, rice remains the staple food of almost every diet on the continent of Asia.<sup>1</sup> With half of the world's population dependent on rice to live,<sup>2</sup> it must have impacted the economies of the countries that grow it and export it, as well as those who eat it and import it. Since 90% of the crops are grown in Asian countries their environmental landscapes have been altered dramatically to accommodate this. Therefore, with rice being as important to the Asian environment and economy, it has heavily influenced the social and political aspects of life as well, becoming a major influence on Asian culture. Although the impact of rice is often underappreciated when examining the history and formation of Asia and Asian countries in favour of wars, politics, and global relations, throughout thousands of years of history rice has successfully managed to shape all aspects of Asian life in some way or another, as both a dietary staple and an economic commodity.

Since its domestication around the Yangtze River delta in roughly 5000 B.C.E. rice has continued to grow in popularity.<sup>3</sup> Its cultivation can be traced to that time period in Thailand and India as well, and then further into the rest of Asia, reaching Japan rather late, about

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<sup>1</sup> Charles B. Heiser Jr., *Seed to Civilization: The Story of Food*, (London: Harvard University Press, 1973), 81.

<sup>2</sup> Ajh Latham, *Rice: The Primary Commodity*, (London: Routledge, 1998), 1.

<sup>3</sup> Francesca Bray, *The Rice Economies: Technology & Development in Asian Societies*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 9.

300-400 B.C.E.<sup>4</sup> The Asian variety of rice, *Oryza Sativa*, is typically separated into two subspecies, *japonica*, which is the glutinous sticky rice popular in places like Japan and Korea, and *indica*, the longer grained aromatic rice grown in Thailand and India.<sup>5</sup> Rice is a cereal grass, and unique in that it is semi-aquatic. It grows well in swampy or heavily irrigated areas requiring approximately six millimetres of water a day. Besides the constant presence of water, the rice also needs the proper amount of drainage to thrive.<sup>6</sup> Naturally many rice crops therefore require the support of a suitable irrigation system. A proper irrigation system is important and in places where they exist, the yields of rice crops increase dramatically, sometimes doubling the amount of grain the crop would have produced without it.<sup>7</sup> River water is one of the best sources of irrigation as it contains nutrients and so much of the prime rice crop land is near the banks of the rivers. Surprisingly enough, a rice crop really requires no more watering than any other crop, because it does not rely on heavy rainfall or water introduction, rather the supplementing and draining of available water.<sup>8</sup> It does, however, present different environmental issues.

Nearly 75% of the world's rice is "wet rice," which is grown in flooded fields with irrigation systems, another 20% is lowland, fed by rainfall, and yet another 5% is rain fed in hill areas or naturally swampy land.<sup>9</sup> The sheer amount of land being used to grow rice means that different techniques in different areas have to be employed in order to ensure success. Upland rice fields in areas of China require very old slash and burn techniques that produce a year of high yields before the crop must be moved to new land.<sup>10</sup> While the soil is very fertile for a year this method causes serious issues of soil erosion and damages the area thereafter for long periods. In other areas, such as Java, Sri Lanka, and most famously in the Philippines, the method of terrace fields are utilized. This is a technique where the fields are cut into the contours of the land itself and often streams are redirected to irrigate the crops. These fields were probably built before the introduction of rice crops, but that is what they are used almost exclusively for now.<sup>11</sup> Like the upland crops, terraced fields cause soil erosion and occasionally mountain slides, due to the disturbance of the land on these steep inclines.

In the 1960s the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, in conjunction with the Filipino government, began work on establishing the International Rice Research institute in Laguna.<sup>12</sup> Its incentive was to collect and preserve existing varieties, as well as to provide material with which they could create new higher yielding variations. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s the new types they created were released into the market. These varieties, however, introduced new environmental issues. The new crops required a lot more fertilizer, and the

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<sup>4</sup> Bray, *The Rice Economies*, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Latham, *Rice: The Primary Commodity*, 4.

<sup>6</sup> Latham, *Rice: The Primary Commodity*, 11.

<sup>7</sup> Bray, *The Rice Economies*, 62.

<sup>8</sup> Latham, *Rice: The Primary Commodity*, 12.

<sup>9</sup> Latham, *Rice: The Primary Commodity*, 10.

<sup>10</sup> Edward H. Schafer, "T'ang," in *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives 1977*, ed. K.C. Chang (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 88.

<sup>11</sup> Latham, *Rice: The Primary Commodity*, 11.

<sup>12</sup> Latham, *Rice: The Primary Commodity*, 5.



introduction of more and more artificial nutrients was needed. Originally flooded rice fields had a tendency to grow several types of blue-green algae and ferns that would grow and die along with the rice providing enough nitrogen to feed the plants.<sup>13</sup> An increase in blight and fungi can be seen in crops where there are heavy amounts of artificial fertilizer present, as the high yield crops tend to grow tremendously close together in damp settings and hot climates.<sup>14</sup> What can be even more troubling with the use of the new varieties of rice is the increase in and evolution of pests attacking the plants. New varieties of plant hoppers and pests are abundant and the new crops now also call for the increased use of insecticides. Many of these new insecticides employed against the new pests became useless over time because the pests become gradually immune to them. This causes the Rice Institute to consistently come up with new strains of rice and new insecticides.<sup>15</sup> Previous methods of fighting insects, such as releasing carp into the water where the rice grows, are no longer effective due to the sheer number of new bugs and pests.

The focus on improving rice would not be so vital if it was not such an important commodity to many nations. Rice initially was the crop that opened Canton markets to global trade in the nineteenth century and, ever since, Asian varieties having been growing and dominating the market.<sup>16</sup> Most rice exports are interestingly surplus crops, and the trade often goes between rice producing countries. In this system global importers and exporters can change annually depending on harvests. As in Canton, many Asian economies have a large stock of rice crops, and skill in rice trading can bring huge wealth to an entire region.<sup>17</sup> The entire Green Revolution<sup>18</sup> in rice, including the 1966 one in the Philippines, revolved around new high yield crops that enabled rice economies to grow more and sell more. Rice economies are always looking for new ways to produce faster and to produce more, just like any other crop.

For many whose economies are built on the production and export of rice the influx of global interest and the involvement of foreign powers has often been damaging. Through imperialism many countries were able to use colonies as available land to grow their rice crops, as the Japanese in the 1920s did with their colony of Taiwan.<sup>19</sup> In this model the profits and often even the staple food crop is rarely enjoyed by those in the colony and in the case of India in 1944, the food supply in the hands of their colonizers resulted in a terrible famine in Bengal.<sup>20</sup> Even management of the crop can fall into foreign hands. Heavily milled rice is popular amongst most consumers, and milling factories began to pop up in Bangkok in the late nineteenth century. Of these twenty-three factories in 1893, seventeen were owned by Chinese merchants and the rest by Europeans, and by 1908 it was up to forty-nine companies,

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<sup>13</sup> Latham, *Rice: The Primary Commodity*, 8.

<sup>14</sup> Latham, *Rice: The Primary Commodity*, 8.

<sup>15</sup> Latham, *Rice: The Primary Commodity*, 7.

<sup>16</sup> Seung-Joon Lee, *Gourmets in the Land of Famine: The Culture and Politics of Rice in Modern Canton*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 39.

<sup>17</sup> Lee, *Gourmets in the Land of Famine*, 44.

<sup>18</sup> The Green Revolution was an advancement in research and technology that hit a peak in the 1960s, focusing on the production of high yielding varieties of cereal grains.

<sup>19</sup> Latham, *Rice: The Primary Commodity*, 4.

<sup>20</sup> Latham, *Rice: The Primary Commodity*, 46.

forty six of which were owned by the Chinese.<sup>21</sup> Sometimes even the rice itself has been the subject of global conflict over profit. The controversy involving Texas based RiceTec Inc.'s attempted patent on Basmati rice in 1997 could have potentially crippled the Basmati rice growers in India who had grown the variety for years.<sup>22</sup>

As has been pointed out already social and political issues can trickle into the production and distribution of rice as well. Since rice is such an important product to many farmers, issues of the all-important irrigation systems can lead to serious conflict. Particularly in countries where rich traditions of village authority had already existed, it is hard to legislate the use of the water supply once a national government is established and takes control of it.<sup>23</sup> Often governments will even increase water supplies to lift productivity in certain areas in an attempt to boost voter support. This was true even in the colonial era. Governments in control saw the value in rice crops and invested in irrigation projects throughout their empires; the British did this along the Ganges, as did the French in the Mekong Delta, and the Dutch in Java.<sup>24</sup>

The diet of rice has had several effects on the people of Asia, and because it has become the primary source of calories for many any changes made to the crop effects the people too. In China rice is one of the biggest crops and yet they are often unable to feed their population and for years have had to supplement homegrown supplies with foreign imports.<sup>25</sup> Bad harvests are a huge problem then, and whenever they occur revolts and an increase in rebellious uprisings can be found all through history and understandably the prospect of this greatly concerns most governments. For example, on March 12th, 1907, in Canton a bloody riot ensued over a shortage of rice and rumours of corrupt merchants hoarding the supply. Two people were killed by authorities, ten others were wounded and after two big rice companies' storehouses were ransacked the government gave into the people and ordered two hundred sacks of rice be imported and delivered to the city.<sup>26</sup>

Even when rice supplies can be found most Asian consumers are very particular about the rice they eat. Highly milled and polished white rice is the preferred style because of taste, and texture, as a milled rice is light and fluffy after shedding its hard outer husk. In fact some argue that famine could be avoided more often if people were more predisposed to accepting high yield rice where the amount of milling has been reduced, as it takes less time and money to produce.<sup>27</sup> The preference for highly milled rice has cut many important nutrients including vitamin A, B and thiamine from diets that primarily subsist on this kind of rice, as in many parts of Southern China.<sup>28</sup> This lack of vitamins leads to many deficiency

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<sup>21</sup> Lee, *Gourmets in the Land of Famine*, 48.

<sup>22</sup> Michael Corolan, *The Sociology of Food and Agriculture*, (London: Routledge, 2012), 168-9.

<sup>23</sup> Bray, *The Rice Economies*, 64.

<sup>24</sup> Bray, *The Rice Economies*, 66.

<sup>25</sup> Thomas O. Höllmann, *The Land of the Five Flavours: A Cultural History of Chinese Cuisine*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 17.

<sup>26</sup> Lee, *Gourmets in the Land of Famine*, 63.

<sup>27</sup> Felipe Fernández-Armesto, *Near a Thousand Tables: A History of Food*, (New York: The Free Press, 2002), 35.

<sup>28</sup> E.N. Anderson, *The Food of China*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 115.

related diseases such as beriberi, which has many forms and symptoms, but can often result in loss of muscle, vomiting, and cardiac failure.<sup>29</sup> This opened the door for some genetically modified strains, such as “golden rice,” which has added beta-carotenes, to be pushed in Asian markets in an attempt to reintroduce vitamins into the diet.<sup>30</sup>

Rice’s biggest impact may be the way it has permeated the lives of billions of Asian people and their culture. For many Asian people “rice is life” and almost every meal consists of the grain in some way.<sup>31</sup> In China the word for rice means “the good grain of life”<sup>32</sup> and it is considered one of the seven necessities of life.<sup>33</sup> In Japan the same rule applies as the word for meal, *gohanmono*, means “honourable cooked rice.”<sup>34</sup> The trend can be followed through differing Asian countries, where rice is the food of life. For Southeast Asia 60% of the peasant diet is rice, and the average Asian person eats about twelve pounds of it every two weeks, which is double the average of cooked rice an American eats in a year.<sup>35</sup> For a food so vital to life on the continent it would be shocking not to see it in other aspects of life. It is the food of infants, the elderly, and everyone in-between and it marks personal milestones, including weddings, births and deaths.<sup>36</sup>

Rice has thousands of years of history in Asia now. From its beginnings as a domesticated crop that fed the populous especially in lean seasons where food was scarce, to the life sustaining crop that feeds half the world today, it has played an important role in life.<sup>37</sup> Literature on rice exists in several ancient Asian texts, including Chinese Confucius texts, and in the Indo-Dravidian books.<sup>38</sup> Clearly the ancient writers felt rice was important enough to keep recordings of it and its different varieties, as well as philosophies surrounding it. Over time there have been changing social rules on eating rice, including methods of cooking; for example, during the Han dynasty rice was to be eaten strictly with hands.<sup>39</sup> With rice’s expansion into the South of China during the T’ang dynasty most of the wealth of the kingdom went with it and although dynasties came and went rice remained central to the diet from then on.<sup>40</sup> It became the food of travellers because it stored so well, and it aided mobile armies, and royals on tour allowing them to visit foreign parts of the kingdom or

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<sup>29</sup> Heiser, *Seed to Civilization*, 86.

<sup>30</sup> Linda Civitello, *Cuisine and Culture: A History of Food and People*, (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons Inc., 2011), 376.

<sup>31</sup> Filomeno Aguilar Jr., “Rice and Magic: A cultural history from the precolonial world to the present,” *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, no. 61 (2013): 298.

<sup>32</sup> Heiser, *Seed to Civilization*, 81.

<sup>33</sup> Civitello, *Cuisine and Culture*, 277.

<sup>34</sup> Fernández-Armesto, *Near a Thousand Tables*, 5.

<sup>35</sup> Heiser, *Seed to Civilization*, 81.

<sup>36</sup> Michael Freeman, “Sung,” in *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives 1977*, ed. K.C. Chang (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 165.

<sup>37</sup> Li Liu and Xingcan Chen, *The Archaeology of China: From the Late Paleolithic to the Early Bronze Age* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 72.

<sup>38</sup> Heiser, *Seed to Civilization*, 81.

<sup>39</sup> Höllmann, *The Land of the Five Flavours*, 61.

<sup>40</sup> Schafer, “T’ang,” *Food in Chinese Culture*, ed. K.C. Chang, 88.

conquer new ones.<sup>41</sup> In prehistoric times rice vinegar was a primary preservative and almost all alcohol was made of rice or millet, in fact beer made of rice was found in tombs in Mawangdui, where the dead were buried with foods that reflected their life.<sup>42</sup>

Naturally this reverence for rice spilled over into religious, ceremonial, and spiritual rites. Several countries have an annual ritual reserved for the start of a rice harvest or planting season and these remain a part of the culture to this day. In Thailand a ceremony is held yearly at the start of the rice planting season, and in Japan every year the emperor participated in a symbolic rice harvest in the small paddy located on the imperial grounds.<sup>43</sup> In the Philippines before their colonization by the Spanish the native population held a strong belief in rice spirits, and harvests were done with strict rules that dictated certain practices so the rice spirits in the grain would not be displeased.<sup>44</sup> An annual harvest dowry was also made to the chiefs in each village.<sup>45</sup>

Likewise, for several dynasties in China taxes were paid in high quality rice, and not money or currency. In a place such as China which has such a diverse variety of religions, philosophies, and traditional belief systems it is incredible and yet unsurprising to see that rice plays a role in almost all of them. Eating in itself is ritual, and food plays a huge part in Chinese culture besides being a means of sustenance. Most worship in China is a symbolic or ritual feeding of the gods, or ancestors and food, commonly rice, plays a big part in this.<sup>46</sup> In many religious and spiritual doctrines, such as Buddhism or Daoism, there is often a restriction on certain meats or alcohol and so rice becomes even more important. In Chinese Buddhism rice is used as a primary meal, and a special meal on days of ritual, like the congee eaten on the eighth day of the twelfth moon, following the traditional Chinese lunar calendar.<sup>47</sup> However common rice may be, it has long been an offering of choice in rituals addressed to deities and ancestors whether plain, in dishes, or made into other products like wine. A connection with ancestors who have died is one of the most important and lasting rites of Chinese culture, and rice is often chosen as an offering to ancestors, particularly during the Ghost Festival in early April.<sup>48</sup> Although these festivals still occur, as Chinese society changes, younger generations are losing touch with a lot of the most traditional rites and rituals that have endured through Chinese history. Folk stories are often lost and the true meaning of holidays and ceremonies are muddled and forgotten over time, but like in other cultures around the world the food associated with these things remain, and that is what tides them over into the new world. The true origins of many Chinese holidays may have been lost, but everyday rice is often elevated into special dishes that become ingrained

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<sup>41</sup> Ying-shih Yü, "Han," *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives*, 1977, ed. K.C. Chang (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 76-77.

<sup>42</sup> Höllmann, *The Land of the Five Flavours*, 72.

<sup>43</sup> Heiser, *Seed to Civilization*, 80.

<sup>44</sup> Aguilar, "Rice and Magic," 301.

<sup>45</sup> Aguilar, "Rice and Magic," 300.

<sup>46</sup> Freeman, "Sung," *Food in Chinese Culture*, 164.

<sup>47</sup> Freeman, "Sung," *Food in Chinese Culture*, 164.

<sup>48</sup> Höllmann, *The Land of the Five Flavours*, 131.

in the celebrations, like *niangao*, the traditional New Year's rice cake, *yuanxiao*, sweet rice flour dumplings for the lantern festival or *zongzi*, sticky rice wrapped in reed leaves that are a part of Dragon Boat day.<sup>49</sup>

Since its domestication in 5000 B.C.E. in Southern China rice has expanded its role as the main dietary substance for over half the world's population and nearly all of the people of Asia. It is present in all aspects of life from food, beverages, cosmetics, plastics, papers, and fuel to religious doctrines and attitudes. The crops have provided not only material goods, but a valuable economic commodity in the global market. In prehistoric and precolonial times the rice plant was the provider of life and the food that kept people going in hard times, so it has been held in a reverence by the people of Asia that almost no other crop could, or has achieved. It has permeated the philosophies of Asian culture and become not only the staple food of the continent but also the food chosen for special celebrations and times of remembrance and ritual. With all that it has touched and influenced in Asia it would be hard to argue that anything let alone a food crop could be more important in the formation of the land.

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<sup>49</sup> Gong Wenxiang, *Food in Chinese Culture*, (Hong Kong: China Digital Culture Group Co., Ltd, 2013), 73.

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# Unravelling the Mechanisms of the Hundred Years' Peace

## Curtis Russell

History 2119: Europe 1789 – 1914  
Fall Semester 2015  
Professor Michael Lanthier

In his influential book *The Great Transformation*, Karl Polanyi famously described the nineteenth century in Europe as the “Hundred Years’ Peace.”<sup>1</sup> Wedged between the revolutionary wars of Napoleon’s conquests and the devastation of the First World War, it is easy to conclude that this was indeed an era of relative security and prosperity for the continent. Wars between Great Powers during this period were brief, rare, and geopolitically isolated, with comparatively few casualties. Preceded by centuries of constant inter-state warfare, and immediately followed by the most calamitous century in European – and world – history, the years between 1815 and 1914 appear to stand as an irregularity in European military and political history. How were European powers able to prevent war for nearly a century, and why did their efforts inevitably fail? Upon close inspection, it is quickly revealed that peace was not universal, nor were interactions between European states necessarily cordial; the rivalries which had long plagued European politics were never eradicated, only kept in check by a system of imperfect diplomatic and financial institutions, while imperialism and colonialism in Africa and Asia ensured that tensions remained high. Warfare may have taken on a new form in the nineteenth century, yet it remained as prominent in determining European politics as it had always been.

The proposed era of peace in Europe began with the resolution of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, which oversaw the partial disintegration of Napoleon’s imperial grip on Europe, as well as the establishment of loose cooperative federations in the form of the Congress System (also known as the Concert of Europe) and the Holy Alliance between Prussia, Russia, and Austria.<sup>2</sup> Treaties were signed between all Great Powers with the intention of maintaining a balance of power, so as to prevent any single state from exerting too much influence over the others or from dragging Europe into another prolonged struggle. According to Polanyi, the Congress of Vienna represented a fundamental shift in the importance of war in European

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<sup>1</sup> Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of our Time*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), 13.

<sup>2</sup> Mark Jarret, *The Congress of Vienna and its Legacy: War and Great Power Diplomacy after Napoleon*, (London: I.B. Taurus, 2013), 173.

society: where before patriots had been celebrated for dying for liberty, now peace was to be preferred to liberty.<sup>3</sup> European monarchs were no more adverse to warfare than they had been, but many of them, particularly in the more feudal east, feared for the security of their positions in the wake of the French Revolution.<sup>4</sup> Tsar Alexander of Russia spoke at the Congress of the need to end the “egoism of individuals and states,” calling for unity among Christians for the purpose of mutual protection.<sup>5</sup> In practice, this system of alliances was able to deter and localize wars between European states, as Great Powers would ally themselves against aggressor nations. For example, Britain and Germany were able to contain the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78 by temporarily pledging support for the Ottoman Empire.<sup>6</sup> Minor European states, such as Norway, Luxembourg, and Belgium had their military capacities neutralized, thus preventing them from disrupting the system.<sup>7</sup>

While the measures adopted at the Congress of Vienna were generally adequate in preventing or de-escalating conflicts, they proved disastrously ineffective at establishing any measure of supra-nationalism. Rivalries between states persisted, as indicated by the prevalence of small-scale conflicts throughout this period. This was an era of relative peace, but peace was not absolute, not even between Great Powers. Although lasting less than a year, the Franco-Prussian War resulted in nearly a quarter of a million casualties, indicating that the duration of war was no longer a reliable indicator of its potential for destruction.<sup>8</sup> Despite an intricate system of international alliances, both Prussia and France waged war on Austria during this period, wars which were only resolved prematurely due to internal conflicts within Austria.<sup>9</sup> The nineteenth century was also notorious for the Crimean War, which would have far-reaching consequences throughout Eastern Europe. Dismissed by Polanyi as a “colonial event”,<sup>10</sup> in truth the war dramatically shifted the balance of power in the East, resulting in Austria becoming isolated from the Holy Alliance, preventing an expansion of Russian influence into the Balkans, and maintaining British supply routes through Turkey into India.<sup>11</sup> Hundreds of thousands died on either side of this conflict, which saw Russia pitted against Britain, France, and the Ottoman Empire in a fully modern war. The Concert of Europe had been unable to prevent or mitigate this war, just as it would ultimately be unable to prevent the First World War.

The conflict resolution mechanisms of the Concert of Europe remained at least partially effective as long as there existed more than two independent sources of political and military power in Europe. However, with the slow coalescence of European alliances into the two blocs

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<sup>3</sup> Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, 6.

<sup>4</sup> Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Jarret, *The Congress of Vienna and its Legacy*, 173.

<sup>6</sup> Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, 8.

<sup>7</sup> Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, 8.

<sup>8</sup> Marc Flandreau and Juan H. Flores, “The Peaceful Conspiracy: Bond Markets and International Relations During the Pax Britannica,” *International Organization* 66, no. 2 (2012), 234, doi: 10.1017/S0020818312000070.

<sup>9</sup> Flandreau and Flores, “The Peaceful Conspiracy,” 234.

<sup>10</sup> Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, 5.

<sup>11</sup> Eric Royal Lybeck, *The Myth of the Hundred Years’ Peace: War in the Nineteenth Century*, (2010): 3, <https://www.inter-disciplinary.net/wp-content/uploads/2010/04/lybeckpaper.pdf>.

of the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, the system had become unravelled.<sup>12</sup> Old rivalries fuelled the emergence of these blocs, as Germany, Austria, and Italy sought to undermine the hegemony of Britain, to curb Russian influence, and to contend with France over dwindling colonial opportunities.<sup>13</sup> The Triple Entente of Britain, France, and Russia formed in retaliation in 1907, after which any further diplomatic provocation had the potential to set in a motion a war unlike anything Europe had seen in nearly a century.<sup>14</sup>

Responsibility for the prolonged peace in Europe did not rest entirely with inter-state diplomacy, however: according to Polanyi, forerunner financial institutions also played a significant role. The nineteenth century saw the introduction of what we might recognize as a modern banking system, and nations across Europe turning to the most prestigious and successful banks to fund their military engagements via loans.<sup>15</sup> With industrialization, the primary source of wealth began to shift from agricultural output to international trade, which began the process of dismantling protectionist policies in the name of free trade.<sup>16</sup> Thus, for the first time in history, it was in these banks' best interest to maintain security along the most popular trade routes and around key financial sectors, particularly between London, Paris, Berlin, and Vienna.<sup>17</sup>

While technically lacking direct political power, these banks were able to influence international affairs through the implementation of their demands in clauses embedded in loans offered to European states.<sup>18</sup> In this way, British financiers were able to localize the conflict between Belgium and the Netherlands in 1830. Unable to terminate the war, they offered Belgium a loan on the condition that they would not involve any other nation in their conflict, which prevented them from seeking French support.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, the conditions which determined a state's eligibility for loans did much to determine which wars were fought and which were not. A loan granted to France in 1831 mandated that France's finance minister publicly declare that France had "no war purposes," while Russia was declined a loan in 1832 for refusing to pre-commit.<sup>20</sup> Overseas, loans were only offered to combatants who appeared likely to prevail, or to those engaged in isolated disputes which would not escalate on a global scale, with remarkably few exceptions.<sup>21</sup> The spread of capitalism saw the financial institutions of Europe become far more integrated than their political counterparts, further incentivizing the pursuit of peace by policymakers across the continent.

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<sup>12</sup>Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, 19.

<sup>13</sup> Aaron Gillette, "Why did they Fight the Great War? A Multi-Level Class Analysis of the Causes of the First World War," *The History Teacher* 40, no. 1 (2006), 52. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30036938>.

<sup>14</sup> Anthony D'Agostino, "Diplomatic History, World History, and the Great Scramble," *Historically Speaking* 13, no. 5 (2012), 21. doi: 10.1353/hsp.2012.0057.

<sup>15</sup> Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, 11.

<sup>16</sup> Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, 19.

<sup>17</sup> Lybeck, *The Myth of the Hundred Years' Peace*, 4.

<sup>18</sup> Flandreau and Flores, "The Peaceful Conspiracy," 229.

<sup>19</sup> Flandreau and Flores, "The Peaceful Conspiracy," 230.

<sup>20</sup> Flandreau and Flores, "The Peaceful Conspiracy," 232.

<sup>21</sup> Flandreau and Flores, "The Peaceful Conspiracy," 234.

Unfortunately, increased colonial competition, underlying political rivalries, and changing economic policy eventually undermined the dominance of the prestigious banks, as seen by their rapidly diminished influence in European politics towards the end of the century. Germany adopted the gold standard in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War, and as a result began to shift toward protectionist policies which required the establishment of vast overseas possessions.<sup>22 23</sup> As international competition fuelled the development of two opposing European power groups, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, the mechanisms of free trade began to collapse. Without financial checks in place to economically dissuade full-scale European war, and without the Concert of Europe to unite against aggressor nations, peace in Europe became precarious. Why, then, was European conflict averted until 1914, at least seven years after all preventative systems had failed?

In answering this question, it becomes clear that Polanyi's assessment of a 'Hundred Years' Peace' in the nineteenth century was erroneous. While inter-state wars between European powers were uncharacteristically rare during this period, this can be explained by asserting that their focus was merely elsewhere, as European powers were preoccupied with establishing their control over much of the globe. Britain, beginning the century in an advantageous position, advanced the frontiers of her colonial empire by an average of 100,000 square miles annually between 1815 and 1865<sup>24</sup>; France expanded throughout Southeast Asia; and Russian soldiers busied themselves with the conquest of Central Asia. Colonialism was the vehicle for European rivalries to contend with one another in the nineteenth century, as each empire advanced with the dual intentions of securing wealth and prestige at the detriment of their adversaries. For example, although Germany had no interest in the welfare of the khanates of Central Asia, German Chancellor Bismarck worked tirelessly to bolster their strength in order to keep the Russian armies occupied – and far from Europe.<sup>25</sup> As long as room for expansion could be found outside of Europe, European war was averted; however, peace within Europe was superficial, as colonialism allowed European rivalries to persist in ways that were more subtle but no less ferocious than in centuries past.

Evidence for the perseverance of rivalry between European powers throughout the nineteenth century is apparent in the continent's reaction to the 'Scramble for Africa,' when Europe became embroiled in an open contest for control of the African continent. Over 23 million square kilometers of African soil was divided between Britain, France, Portugal, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Belgium, with conflict arising over issues pertaining to the division of land.<sup>26</sup> Italian anger over France's acquisition of Tunisia prompted Italy to join the Triple Alliance, while Britain's role in securing Morocco for France caused outrage in

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<sup>22</sup> John Kemp and Ted Wilson, "Monetary Regime Transformation: the Scramble to Gold in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Review of Political Economy* 11, no. 2 (1999), 135. Business Source Complete, EBSCOhost.

<sup>23</sup> Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, 19.

<sup>24</sup> Lybeck, *The Myth of the Hundred Years' Peace*, 5..

<sup>25</sup> James Stone, "Bismarck and the Great Game: Germany and Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Central Asia, 1871-1890," *Central European History* 48, (2015): 152. doi 10.1017/S0008938915000321.

<sup>26</sup> New World Encyclopedia, "Scramble for Africa," Accessed December 4<sup>th</sup>, 2015. [http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Scramble\\_for\\_Africa](http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Scramble_for_Africa).

Germany, polarizing European diplomacy further.<sup>27</sup> By the end of the Scramble, it was clear that Britain and France had been the victors. Central European powers, namely Germany, Austria, and Italy, felt disenfranchised; this sense of disenfranchisement would ultimately provide a large portion of the impetus behind Austria's drive into the Balkans in 1914.<sup>28</sup> By the time the First World War shattered the façade of peace in Europe, much of the rest of the world – from Africa to India to China and beyond – was under the occupation of European states. To refer to the nineteenth century as an era of peace is as inaccurate as it is misleading. Europe itself may have enjoyed prolonged stability, but only because Europe had effectively outsourced its warfare to other parts of the globe. To anyone living outside of Europe, the long nineteenth century was one of perpetual conflict, exploitation, and death.

Even within Europe itself the notion of a Hundred Years' Peace is grotesquely incorrect. Inter-state war between Great Powers was uncommon, but domestic unrest ensured that European militaries were always active. The French Revolution left in its wake a spirit of revolutionary fervor that resulted in rebellions across the continent. Soldiers were regularly called to quell bread riots, crush irregular insurgencies, and perform duties today associated with police.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, if we expand the scope of 'Europe' beyond the central-western focal point that is Britain, France, Germany, and Austria, it is clear that war was still in many areas the norm. The Ottoman Empire suffered significantly during this period, as the bulk of its Balkan possessions disintegrated through violent rebellion.<sup>30</sup> The Concert of Europe organized an orderly dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, and Europe's interlocking financial institutions helped to contain the fighting, but violence occurred nonetheless. Open warfare may have been somewhat subdued during this period, but it was by no means eliminated.

Polanyi may be forgiven for the inaccuracy of his thesis; writing in 1944, at the height of the Second World War, it is not difficult to imagine why he considered the relative stability of the preceding century with envy. However, it must be acknowledged that any current belief in the so-called Hundred Years' Peace is problematic, as such a claim is both overwhelmingly Eurocentric and imprecise. We currently reside during another prolonged 'era of peace,' a world whose stability we likely take for granted. It would be mistaken to draw direct parallels between the nineteenth century and our own time, yet there is much we can learn from critically assessing this unusual century. The stability of our civilization is also maintained via a series of intricate, interconnected systems, systems which are not necessarily infallible. There is a similar arrogance in our claims to live during an era of unprecedented peace, as wars wage in the periphery, affecting the lives of countless millions. The paradoxical foundations of the peace in Europe that ended one hundred years ago offers insight into the precariousness of peace, which should not be oversimplified or overlooked.

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<sup>27</sup> Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, 19.

<sup>28</sup> Gillette, "Why did they Fight the Great War?", 51.

<sup>29</sup> Lybeck, *The Myth of the Hundred Years' Peace*, 4.

<sup>30</sup> Lybeck, *The Myth of the Hundred Years' Peace*, 4.

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## Examination of UBC's Newspaper *The Ubyyssey* in World War II

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History 4497: Canada and World War II

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UBC was a “university at war”<sup>1</sup>, as it was often called. The university’s newspaper, *The Ubyyssey*, rarely failed to produce an issue without mentioning World War II or the school’s war involvement in some way, and there was usually some on the front page. There were always committees organizing functions to help support the war effort. The school did not escape the effects of the war, even at a university so far from the front line action, and the newspaper did not fail to report when that happened. In the final stretches of the war, the newspaper even started reporting on what was happening on the main battlefronts in Europe. In print, the university definitely seemed to be concerned and involved with what was going on. Fundraisers, training, and other events were taken very seriously by the committees organizing them, as well as the newspaper writing about them. The future of the university was also written about with concern. Though not unaffected by the war, the student body, on the other hand, was not always as diligent and as bothered with the war as the committees were, which always seemed to need more money or volunteers for the war effort.

Even as far away as western Canada, the war had far-reaching effects. A big effect on everyday student life was the rationing. The limited supply of gas made students look for other ways to get to school. In September 1942, the newspaper reported that two students were roller-skating to school to save gas and rubber<sup>2</sup>. The bus system was in chaos and overcrowded with more students taking the bus every day, as a cartoon illustrated<sup>3</sup>. The newspaper humourously suggested frog legs for meatless Tuesdays, a result of meat rationing, due to the overpopulation of bull frogs in the botanical gardens<sup>4</sup>. The cafeteria was not spared from food rationing. The newspaper requested cooperation from the student body to help the rations to last until spring.<sup>5</sup> The newspaper even reported that the Queens

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<sup>1</sup> “UBC Featured in Canadian Universities Picture,” *Ubyyssey*, 3 March 1944, 1.

<sup>2</sup> “Sophs on Steel Spin to 8:30’s,” *The Ubyyssey*, 22 September 1942, 1.

<sup>3</sup> “By the Dawn’s Early Light,” *The Ubyyssey*, 2 October 1942, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Betty Stacey, “Frog Refugees Seen as Meat Shortage Solution,” *The Ubyyssey*, 19 October 1943, 1.

<sup>5</sup> “Co-operation Needed if Caf Rations to Last Till April,” *The Ubyyssey*, 22 September 1942, 1.

University cafeteria was forced to close due to meat shortages<sup>6</sup>. Later on in the war there was a liquor ration so the newspaper ran a poll and 85% wanted it lifted when V-Day would come in order to celebrate<sup>7</sup>.

Another concern often raised in the newspaper, especially closer to the end of the war, when students could tell it was coming to a close, was the future of the university and its students once the war was over. The debate club had “war reconstruction” as one of its topics<sup>8</sup>. The editorials were not silent on the matter either. One writer predicted a depression once the war ended due to the complication of all the returning soldiers needing jobs<sup>9</sup>. In February 1944, the newspaper reported that the Social Problems Club, or the SPC, proposed a post-war program that would change education and student administration. The proposed changes included expansion of the BC Research Council, extension of vocational training, implementation of a Provincial Guidance Council to help returning soldiers readjust to everyday life, faculty expansion, and a reduction of student fees<sup>10</sup>. In the same issue, a conference in Edmonton was mentioned to talk about the function of universities in a post-war world<sup>11</sup>. The editorial had an interesting article, “Prevention or Preparation?”, about the future of world peace. The writer saw that in order to keep world peace, an international police force as needed. They saw two options for Canada: a large volunteer professional army or a small professional army with a civilian reserve. They wrote that “Man is doomed to play cops and robbers for the rest of time until the human brain has devised a way to control itself”<sup>12</sup>. So there was evidence that some were concerned with the university’s, as well as the country’s, future.

The university’s male population was definitely effected by the war, as many students, as well as some faculty, enlisted and were sent elsewhere to train for the forces, and the newspaper mentioned these occurrences. In 1942, the newspaper reported that the OTC [Officers’ Training Corps] sent 667 cadets into the forces<sup>13</sup>. The UATC [University Air Training Corps] enlistment totaled 325 men, although only 15% were expected to be physically fit enough to make it all the way<sup>14</sup>. Those unfortunate students who averaged 35-50% on their exams, which 152 did, lost their student draft exemption<sup>15</sup>. The different forces came to the school as well, to try to get recruits<sup>16</sup>. In the beginning of the 1943 school year, officers from the army, navy, and air force visited the school to address the male students and to try to recruit; attendance was mandatory. In February 1943, the newspaper reported

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<sup>6</sup> “Meat Shortages at Queens Caf,” *The Ubyyssey*, 2 March 1943, 1.

<sup>7</sup> “Students Want Ration Lifted,” *The Ubyyssey*, 21 November 1944, 3.

<sup>8</sup> “War Reconstruction Debate Subject for McGoun Cup,” *The Ubyyssey*, 2 February 1943, 1.

<sup>9</sup> “The Beveridge Plan,” *The Ubyyssey*, 2 March 1943, 2.

<sup>10</sup> “SPC Proposes Changes in Post War Education at UBC,” *The Ubyyssey*, 15 February 1944, 3.

<sup>11</sup> “Conference Reviews Post War Topics,” *The Ubyyssey*, 15 February 1944, 1.

<sup>12</sup> “Prevention or Preparation,” *The Ubyyssey*, 30 November 1944, 2.

<sup>13</sup> “OTC Sends 667 Cadets to Forces,” *The Ubyyssey*, 22 September 1942, 5.

<sup>14</sup> “325 Men Join UATC Ground 15%,” *The Ubyyssey*, 19 October 1943, 3.

<sup>15</sup> “One Hundred Fifty Students to Draft,” *The Ubyyssey*, 8 January 1943, 1.

<sup>16</sup> “Notice,” *The Ubyyssey*, 21 September 1943, 6.

that as of that date, 822 students had joined the army since the beginning of the war<sup>17</sup>. Recruitment officers would even target students in specific fields of student which would be useful. Army and Navy technical officers came to campus to interview science students who would be graduating in 1944<sup>18</sup>.

The newspaper also never failed to mention injured, fallen, or other UBC students who had been directly involved in the war in some way. The newspaper reported on them and their efforts proudly and held memorials for students who had died on the battlefield, even those who had graduated sometime earlier. In November 1942, the newspaper had a column that listed and honoured all the former students who had lost their lives<sup>19</sup>. That same month, the newspaper told the story of a UBC graduate who had led a brigade at the battle of Dieppe and was severely injured. The newspaper did not hesitate to brag about his earlier achievements, as well as his heroism in arms<sup>20</sup>. In February 1943, the newspaper honoured George Pringle, a UBC basketball star, who died at war. They even made a Pringle Committee to be in charge of the Pringle Bursary, for which the Gala week raised \$500<sup>21</sup>. The newspaper interviewed an Ernie Pyle who was in Paris when it burned under the Nazis. He mentioned how heartbreaking it was to see the city fall under Hitler's control<sup>22</sup>.

Women and their roles in the war, at school and in everyday life, were definitely not excluded from the newspaper. At school, women had compulsory training, one hour a week of either Red Cross Room, First Aid, or Home Nursing<sup>23</sup>. At the University of Toronto, the newspaper reported that women had to complete sixty hours of war-related work/training per year and that other Canadian universities were to follow their lead<sup>24</sup>. The newspaper tried to interview a student, Valerie Robinson, who was working with the RCAF [as a leading aircraftwoman (LAW)], but she could not comment due to the top secret nature of her work there<sup>25</sup>. Even an RCAF officer came to speak to women about the air force's women's division<sup>26</sup>. At the university, the Red Cross formed the women's UBC Red Cross Corps, which the article called a "step forward"<sup>27</sup> in the war effort and proved that not just men cared about and could contribute to the war. In other matters, the newspaper reported that General Electric was hiring 150 American college women to take over absent men's engineer jobs<sup>28</sup>. It was also reported that more women were working in men's positions, and doing the work more efficiently, but the article, titled "Women Workers Bring Troubles to Industry" was written like their employment was a problem because there was not enough management to

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<sup>17</sup> "Fifty Students to Go On Active Service," *The Ubyyssey*, 2 February 1943, 1.

<sup>18</sup> "Engineers Enveloped in Forces," *The Ubyyssey*, 18 January 1944, 1.

<sup>19</sup> "UBC Honours 2<sup>nd</sup> World War Heroes," *The Ubyyssey*, 10 November 1942, 3.

<sup>20</sup> "Illustrious UBC Graduate Led Brigade in Dieppe," *The Ubyyssey*, 13 November 1942, 1.

<sup>21</sup> "Pringle Committee Plans Gala Week to Raise \$500 Fund," *The Ubyyssey*, 12 February 1943, 1.

<sup>22</sup> "Paris Burning Hurts Ernie Pyle," *The Ubyyssey*, 3 October 1944, 1.

<sup>23</sup> "War Training Plan to Stress Special Work; Weekly P-T," *The Ubyyssey*, 22 September 1942, 1.

<sup>24</sup> "Toronto U. Co-Eds Have 60 Hours War Work During Year," *The Ubyyssey*, 6 October 1942, 3.

<sup>25</sup> "Valerie Robinson, LAW Caught with Hair Down," *The Ubyyssey*, 30 October 1942, 3.

<sup>26</sup> "AF Recruit Officer Here Mon in Brock," *The Ubyyssey*, 4 December 1942, 1.

<sup>27</sup> "UBC Red Cross Corps Step Forward," *The Ubyyssey*, 21 September 1943, 4.

<sup>28</sup> "US Co-ed Engineers Do GE War Production Work," *The Ubyyssey*, 22 September 1942, 2.

supervise all the workers<sup>29</sup>. The only possible evidence that some at UBC were against women's involvement in the war was in an article about Toronto University's debating parliament who said that women should not join the war or work in factories in the men's place. The debating parliament claimed that the women's place is in the home only<sup>30</sup>. The article did not have any arguments for or against this opinion, it just reported about it.

The newspaper's columns on the Japanese were interesting. They were not written about very often but as they played an important role in British Columbia's history, it is worth mentioning. In November 1944, there was a poll asking if Canadian-born Japanese students should be able to return to UBC. The result was that 60% of students who took the poll were in favor of their return to campus. It showed that there were still many students, over one third, who were still racially prejudiced and would openly admit it<sup>31</sup>. Later on that month, the newspaper had another column about how an expert claimed that peace with the Japanese will be assured when they see that the American way of life is better than their own, and that they must be treated fairly<sup>32</sup>. This tone is slightly racist, although not hateful or aggressive.

There were many advertisements in the newspaper, mostly for women's clothing, but there were still some that were related to the war. Ads for war saving certificates and victory bonds were the most common war-related ads, even in 1944 as many saw the war dying down. The ads exclaimed that they were still necessary<sup>33</sup>. BC Electric often ran ads, bragging about how dedicated they were to the war effort. Tip Top Tailors ran an ad in 1942. They made official army, navy, and air force uniforms<sup>34</sup>. The Bay ran many women's clothing ads but only one was about the war and how they had dresses to make you look nice when 'Joe' comes home on leave<sup>35</sup>. Nielson's chocolate was the one that soldier's preferred<sup>36</sup>. Coca Cola ran a few ads as well, claiming that all you needed was a coke to share with fellow soldiers and allies to instantly make friends, no matter which country you're in or language you speak<sup>37</sup>. Sweet Corporal Cigarettes were popular among the forces<sup>38</sup>. So some companies used the war and people's general support for it to advertise their products.

There was almost no mention of the war on page four of the regular newspaper, the sports page. It mainly reported local sports games and scores, with the UBC Thunderbirds getting all the attention and fame. There was only a few rare war-related columns and they were regarding RCAF sports teams playing against UBC<sup>39</sup>, so the air force had teams that would

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<sup>29</sup> "Women Workers Bring Troubles to Industry," *The Ubyyssey*, 20 October 1942, 3.

<sup>30</sup> "Girl's Place is in Home Says Toronto," *The Ubyyssey*, 2 November 1944, 1.

<sup>31</sup> "Students Favor Japs at UBC," *The Ubyyssey*, 21 November 1944, 1.

<sup>32</sup> "Japs Must 'See Our Way' Says Expert," *The Ubyyssey*, 30 November 1944, 1.

<sup>33</sup> Victory Bond Advertisement, *The Ubyyssey*, 2 November 1944, 4.

<sup>34</sup> Tip Top Tailors Advertisement, *The Ubyyssey*, 30 October 1942, 4.

<sup>35</sup> The Bay Advertisement, *The Ubyyssey*, 4 December 1942, 2.

<sup>36</sup> Nielson's Advertisement, *The Ubyyssey*, 2 February 1943, 2.

<sup>37</sup> Coca Cola Advertisement, *The Ubyyssey*, 12 November 1943, 2.

<sup>38</sup> Sweet Corporal Cigarettes Advertisement, *The Ubyyssey*, 13 January 1945, 2.

<sup>39</sup> "Birds Drop 2<sup>nd</sup> Game to RCAF," *The Ubyyssey*, 4 December 1942, 4.

play against universities. Whether the air force teams consisted of current, on-leave, or veteran soldiers, the newspaper never clarified.

The War Aid Council, usually shortened to just the WAC, was the university's main war effort organization and was the most written about war-related subject. They organized all the main drives, balls, and fundraisers, and almost always worked with the Red Cross. The *Ubyyssey* was almost constantly writing about something the council was doing; there was always something they needed donations for. It reported that in the previous year, the students gave the Red Cross a total of \$4600 in donations, from all the organized events<sup>40</sup>. In October of 1942, it was decided that the WAC would be in charge of raising \$1750 for a new ambulance for the Red Cross as a Christmas gift<sup>41</sup>. The WAC held an annual ball, usually held at the Commodore, with ticket sales going to the Red Cross. It was always a success<sup>42</sup>. The WAC organized a blood donation drive, where students could donate blood for injured soldiers. The blood would be dried into a serum and sent overseas, as well as plasma<sup>43</sup>. The WAC also worked with the International Student Services, or ISS, in the spring for the ISS Week annual drive for the Red Cross and proceeds went to help support prisoners of war in Europe<sup>44</sup>. The editorial even jumped on board and urged students to save money by limiting spending for the sake of the war effort<sup>45</sup>. The WAC and the newspaper were evidently very concerned with supporting the war effort overseas.

The Canadian Officers Training Corps, commonly referred simply as the COTC or just OTC, was also commonly written about. It was mandatory for all men, and training would consist of drills, marching, and the occasional parade<sup>46</sup>. Once a year, the COTC would travel somewhere to train and shoot for a weekend. One year, they went to Blair Range, on the North Shore<sup>47</sup>. On another occasion, the army visited the campus and set up an obstacle course for them to train on, complete with lots of barbed wire<sup>48</sup>. Important military figures would come and inspect the trainees. A Major General Pearkes came in November 1942 and was reportedly very impressed and suggested more battle training and equipment<sup>49</sup>. The COTC wanted the soldiers to be ready for anything and the newspaper reported on it regularly.

Although all these events and organizations were constantly being written about, the importance the newspaper placed on them and the war itself was not always reflected in the students. Though not written about quite as much, there is some evidence that the student body did not care as much. A London firefighter, who helped fight fires during the bombings,

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<sup>40</sup> "Red Cross Received \$4600.00 from Students in 1941-42," *The Ubyyssey*, 25 September 1942, 3.

<sup>41</sup> "\$1750 Ambulance to be UBC's Christmas Gift to Red Cross This Year," *The Ubyyssey*, 16 October 1942, 3.

<sup>42</sup> "Red Cross Ball," *The Ubyyssey*, 2 February 1942, 2.

<sup>43</sup> "Blood Donors," *The Ubyyssey*, 23 February 1943, 2.

<sup>44</sup> "ISS Week Starts to Raise Money for Prisoners of War," *The Ubyyssey*, 2 March 1943, 1.

<sup>45</sup> "The War Effort," *The Ubyyssey*, 4 December 1942, 2.

<sup>46</sup> "OTC Receives Applause," *The Ubyyssey*, 20 October 1942, 1.

<sup>47</sup> "COTC Invades N. Shore," *The Ubyyssey*, 13 November 1942, 1.

<sup>48</sup> "Army Invents Pleasant Games for COTC to Play," *The Ubyyssey*, 7 January 1944, 3.

<sup>49</sup> "Pearkes Commends Corps; Suggests Battle Training," *The Ubyyssey*, 3 November 1942, 3.



came and visited the university to speak about the war and he said he was disgusted by the people in western Canada, including students, and claimed that they did not care about the war at all<sup>50</sup>. In a scathing editorial column, the writer claimed that the UBC's students did not care about the war or about the support effort happening on campus. The writer says that students wanted change but never did anything when asked to support them. In this editorial article, *For the Record*, the writer even went so far as to accuse students as being "draft dodgers"<sup>51</sup>, and threatened to continue reporting on the uninvolved and apathetic student body if their attitudes persisted. Even some visiting RCAF soldiers taking some classes at the university were reported to have said that the students lack cooperation and involvement, although the short article never specified what kind of cooperation was lacking<sup>52</sup>.

The WAC's events and fundraisers were not always a success, despite the many reminders and requests put in the newspaper. The Christmas Red Cross Ambulance drive, though announced in October and repeatedly mentioned through to December, still did not have enough money and reported that about 1000 students had not donated to the cause<sup>53</sup>, even though only fifty cents was needed from each student to reach the \$1750 goal<sup>54</sup>. The WAC had to hold another drive to raise the remaining \$400 that was not raised to reach the Christmas goal<sup>55</sup>. The blood donation quotas were not always met either. The editorial reported on disappointing blood donations and wrote that students had not excuse to not donate; there was not much being asked from the students<sup>56</sup>. Perhaps, because D-Day had already occurred when this editorial was written, the students were not seeing the point of donations with the war seemingly winding down.

It appears as though the mandatory COTC was not always popular either. Some men were neglecting their military duties and the OTC had to crack down and threaten to report those men to the authorities<sup>57</sup>. By 1943, the COTC was losing a lot of support. Many were sending in complaints about it, saying it was elementary and repetitive work, as the program was the same year after year. Some said they were not learning anything useful if a foreign invasion were to occur and that even after all the time and effort put in to the training, the army would not even accept any of the credit earned. Overall, it was considered boring and a waste of time, with no actual improvement made<sup>58</sup>.

An interesting thing started happening after D-Day, which happened on June 6, 1944. Once that huge allied victory had occurred, it seems as though student interest in what was happening on the European battlefronts spiked. The newspaper started writing regular front page reports on what was going on the three main fronts: western, eastern, and Pacific. They

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<sup>50</sup> "Firefighter Condemns BC Civilian Apathy," *The Ubyyssey*, 29 September 1942, 2.

<sup>51</sup> "For the Record," *The Ubyyssey*, 2 November 1944, 2.

<sup>52</sup> "RCAF Complains of Lack of Student Cooperation," *The Ubyyssey*, 30 October 1942, 3.

<sup>53</sup> "1000 Students Fail to Support Drive of War Aid Council," *The Ubyyssey*, 4 December 1942, 1.

<sup>54</sup> "¢50 from Each Student Will Buy Ambulance," *The Ubyyssey*, 20 November 1942, 1.

<sup>55</sup> "WA Council Announces ISS Schedule," *The Ubyyssey*, 15 January 1943, 1.

<sup>56</sup> "UBC's Lilies," *The Ubyyssey*, 23 January 1945, 2.

<sup>57</sup> "OTC Clamps Down on Army Slackers," *The Ubyyssey*, 25 September 1942, 1.

<sup>58</sup> "What's Wrong with the COTC," *The Ubyyssey*, 1 February 1943, 2.

were short and summarized the main events. These reports slowed in the beginning of 1945 and by the time school started again that fall, after VE-Day that summer, they stopped. This sudden increased interest makes sense. In the beginning of the war, interest was probably pretty high. As the war progressed onward over the next couple years, interest probably went down, as there were no European battlefront news then. Once exciting victories started occurring though, interest would again jump, as the end was in sight for many people.

The final main topic written about in the newspaper was the returning veterans. The newspaper had an active role in reporting on how they were assimilating back into university life. In March 1944, before the war was even over, UBC had already created an association called the Canadian University Returned Men's Association to help soldiers adjust to civilian and student life<sup>59</sup>. The editorial ran a very interesting column for women who were wondering what their returning men would be struggling with. It told women to be patient, calm, kind, and understanding with them as many veterans would be coming home with restlessness and war nerves<sup>60</sup>. Another article in January 1945 wrote about an expert's thoughts on whether returning vets could be potential criminals. This expert said that as long as the soldiers returned to a loving and understanding home and they had access to mental clinics, they would be fine. The so-called 'killer instinct' would go away as soon as the need to kill did<sup>61</sup>. It seemed as though vets were welcomed back with open arms. The university wanted them to be as comfortable, happy, and well-adjusted as possible.

In print, it appeared as though UBC and its students generally cared about the war and the war effort. There was evidence that some cared more than others. What is printed in a newspaper, where only certain people with certain opinions are in charge of what is printed, is not always a perfect illustration of what the student body as a whole thought. But, on a whole, most students were at least somewhat involved and donated some spare change to what the rest of society considered a good and noble cause. The University of British Columbia definitely did its part and its newspaper attests to this.

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<sup>59</sup> "Returning Men Form Association," *The Ubysey*, 17 March 1944, 1.

<sup>60</sup> "In the Women's World," *The Ubysey*, 31 October 1944, 2.

<sup>61</sup> "Expert Disclaims Vets as Potential Criminals," *The Ubysey*, 4 January 1945, 2.