

A Journal by and for Undergraduate History Students at KPU

Emergent Historian

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Volume 4

A photograph of a desk with a book, a tablet, a compass, and a cup of coffee. The book is open, showing a blank page. The tablet is next to it, displaying a black screen. A brass compass is in the bottom left corner. A yellow cup of coffee is in the bottom right corner. A maroon banner is overlaid on the bottom of the image.

History at Kwantlen Polytechnic University



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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 we are
pleased to be able to broaden the scope of our journal to
include historical papers produced by students in the
KPU Asian Studies Program.**

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Table of Contents

Department of History:

Hitler's Role in the 'Final Solution' Jesse Frizell	1.
Pluto and Plutonium: The Canine Experience of the 2011 Earthquake, Tsunami, and Nuclear Disaster in Japan Stacey Fruno	.....	11.
Diving into the Depths of Debate: The Historical Evolution of Captivity at the Vancouver Aquarium Emilee Moore	.....	19.
Fengshui and China's Landscape: The Positive Impact of Harmony Colleen Newton	.....	30.
Pheasants and Class Conflict: How Game Hunting Created the English-speaking World Curtis Russell	.....	38.
The Great Leap Forward: Nature is Not a Passive Opponent Mark Sloan	.....	50.

Asian Studies Program:

The East King of the Taiping Rebellion: Potential Saviour, or the Breaking Point of the Taiping Rebellion? Aubrey Cameron	59.
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Hitler's Role in the 'Final Solution'

Jesse Frizell

HIST 4430: The Holocaust in History

Dr Tracey J. Kinney

March 2017

Hitler's role in the development of the Final Solution was pivotal, from the initial conceptualization of Jews as an irreconcilable racial enemy and *Weltfeind* to the major decisions regarding the eventual scope and impetus of the extermination policy. He was at once the high priest and commander-in-chief of the Final solution. He provided Nazi anti-Semitism with its keenest edge, ensuring that hatred of the Jews remained the great centerpiece of party ideology, and he enabled and channelled the murderous impulses of his most ardent ideological students and comrades.

Long before the gas chambers and crematoria had ever been dreamt of, before the total physical extermination of European Jewry had been seriously considered, the kernels of that eventual catastrophe were formulating in the mind of Adolf Hitler. As he made abundantly clear in a multitude of speeches and in his 1925 autobiography *Mein Kampf*, Hitler's opinion of Jews was steeped in a degree of hatred and paranoia greater than the typical anti-Semitism of his contemporaries. As Robert Wistrich points out in *Hitler and the Holocaust*, only a small number of vocal Nazis viewed anti-Semitism as the driving force of their movement, the rest focussing on issues such as anti-Communism, nationalism, and unemployment. Hitler's obsession continually reinforced and legitimized the most extreme viewpoints found within the Nazi movement.¹ In *The Hitler of History*, John Lukacs uses the term *Judeophobia* to differentiate Hitler's particular fear and hatred from other anti-Semites, since it was the driving force of his political worldview, rather than a mere accompaniment.² For Hitler, the Jews were the *Weltfeind*, the eternal enemy of civilization. In *Mein Kampf* he wrote that,

...In gaining political power the Jew casts off the few cloaks the he still wears. The democratic people's Jew becomes the blood-Jew and tyrant over the peoples. In a few years he tries to exterminate the national intelligentsia and by robbing the peoples of their natural intellectual leadership makes them ripe for the slave's lot of permanent subjugation...The end is not only the end of the

¹ Robert S. Wistrich, *Hitler and the Holocaust* (New York: The Modern Library, 2001), 44.

² John Lukacs, *The Hitler of History* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, Inc., 1997), 183.

freedom of the peoples oppressed by the Jew, but also the end of this parasite upon the nations. After the death of its victim, the vampire sooner or later dies too.³

Hitler blamed the Jews for every problem affecting the Germans and other European peoples, especially the loss of the Great War and the rise of Bolshevism. Hints of the genocidal mindset which would later develop can be found throughout *Mein Kampf*, such as the assertion that,

If at the beginning of the War and during the War twelve or fifteen thousand of these Hebrew corrupters of the people [Hitler is here referring to Jews and Marxists as one in the same] had been held under poison gas, as happened to hundreds of thousands of our very best German workers in the field, the sacrifice of millions at the front would not have been in vain. On the contrary: twelve thousand scoundrels eliminated in time might have saved the lives of a million real Germans, valuable for the future.⁴

Hitler came to consider his own anti-Semitism to be more rational than the religious-based or purely biological anti-Semitism of others, both of which he came to reject as simple-minded. His own zeal rested on perceived national characteristics of different peoples, and he saw racial conflict more like a grand Wagnerian epic than a mere struggle between sects or ethnicities.⁵ His good versus evil, civilization versus barbarism worldview was a critical factor in the development of the Final Solution, because it set “the Jew” up as an eternal enemy, a threat in essence, which therefore could not be defeated through religious conversion or racial segregation. Long before the physical extermination of the entirety of European Jewry was a serious consideration, Hitler’s most ardent beliefs pre-emptively made all lesser “solutions” insufficient.

Even as Hitler made plans for the invasion of Poland, he raised the spectre of the Jew as the true threat to peace in Europe. In his infamous Reichstag speech on January 30, 1939 he declared that,

...Today I will once more be a prophet: if the international Jewish financiers in and outside Europe should succeed in plunging the nations once more into a world war, then the result will not be the bolshevisation of the earth, and thus the victory of Jewry, but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe!⁶

It was a speech to which he would return many times in the following years, and its meaning, especially that of the word “annihilation” (*Vernichtung*) would evolve, both in his own mind

³ Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999), 326-27.

⁴ Hitler, 679.

⁵ Hitler, 199-22, Lukacs, 122-23, and Wistrich, 39-40.

⁶ Wistrich, 67.

and in relation to events as they unfolded.⁷ It cannot be claimed that “annihilation” was used only metaphorically here, although it could not yet have referred to the sort of industrialized extermination policy which was to be envisioned later. It is likely that at this stage annihilation encapsulated the sorts of pogroms, destructive violence, forced emigration, and reprisals which were to immediately follow the invasion of Poland.⁸

As with the aforementioned *Vernichtung*, a problem of language plagues attempts to peg down Hitler’s path from anti-Semite to orchestrator of genocide. Words can mean different things to different people and at different times. In a letter written in 1919, for instance, Hitler called for the complete *Entfernung* (removal) of the Jews, a term which here meant expulsion, although in later years this and similar words came to take on more murderous connotations.⁹ Later references to organized murder were intentionally shrouded by words like “removal” or “elimination,” which were formerly used to refer to the removal of Jewish influence in society. On January 21, 1939 Hitler spoke to the Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister about the “annihilation” of the Jews, and the need to make them pay for the events of November 9, 1918. As Ian Kershaw points out, this is another example of Hitler’s use of strong language for vague threats but not a reference to any solid genocidal plan, since that information would not have been so flippantly shared with a foreign government.¹⁰ Language was also a key instrument in the process of setting Jews apart from the rest of society as *the other*, and paving the way for greater public acceptance of increasingly brutal measures against them. “The Jew” was deemed a vermin, a bacillus, likened to cancer or the bubonic plague.¹¹ Such language created a positive feedback loop, as Nazi members and supporters imbibed their own propaganda in an echo chamber and became ever more radicalized.

The road from exclusion to expulsion and finally mass murder was a difficult one for the Nazi regime to navigate whilst attempting to massage public opinion and manoeuvre diplomatically with the international community. *Kristallnacht* was an example of the regime testing the waters of public support. Goebbels likely orchestrated and incited the pogrom in part to regain favour with Hitler after an affair with a Czech actress had tarnished his standing with the Führer. While the excesses of that pogrom were due to Goebbels’ rabblousing – and he was impugned by Göring and Himmler for its excessively costly, chaotic, and destructive nature – the go-ahead certainly came from Hitler, since Goebbels would not otherwise have risked his wrath. Hitler remained conspicuously aloof, distancing himself from the fallout of an event which had otherwise received his blessing.¹² Here is a glimpse of the essential chaos of the Nazi hierarchy; Hitler’s will was constantly interpreted

⁷ Ian Kershaw, “Hitler’s Decisive Role” (Handout) Excerpt from *Hitler: 1936-1945 Nemesis* (New York, W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2000), 28. and Hans Mommsen, “Hitler’s Reichstag Speech of 30 January 1939,” *History & Memory*, Vol. 9 No. 1/2 (Fall/Winter 1997): 156, accessed: January 24, 2017, *Academic Search Complete*, EBSCOhost.

⁸ Wistrich, 97, and Mommsen, 152.

⁹ Wistrich, 40.

¹⁰ Kershaw, *Decisive*, 27.

¹¹ Wistrich, 42.

¹² Kershaw, *Decisive*, 23-25, and Wistrich, 63-64.

through the personalities of his underlings, who vied with one another to steer the state in absence of clarity from above.

Genocide was not yet the clear state policy at the outset of the Second World War. In the early days, the focus was on race-based resettlement and forced emigration. Even this policy, however, was developed as events unfolded, rather than in accordance with a well-defined, well-planned grand scheme. Specific policies regarding the treatment of Jews and Poles in Occupied Poland, for instance, were only finalized once the invasion of that country was already underway. Heydrich reported to his division chiefs on September 14, 1939 that “proposals are being submitted to the Führer by the Reichsführer [Himmler] that only the Führer can decide....” Only on September 20-21 was Hitler’s final policy decision passed on to those responsible for carrying it out.¹³ Along with the decapitation of Polish cultural and intellectual life by the Einsatzgruppen, Poles were to be moved eastward, ethnic Germans westward, and Jews to the farthest possible edges of German-controlled territory around Lublin in a grand racial reshuffling scheme aimed at creating distinct bands of population radiating outward from the Reich.¹⁴ It would appear as though this policy was initially intended to be long lasting, as Hitler remarked to Alfred Rosenberg that perhaps only “decades” would determine if the German settlement belt might be moved further eastward.¹⁵

On several occasions after the occupation of Poland, Hitler told his eastern Gauleiters that they had ten years to complete the Germanization of their provinces, and he made it clear that he didn’t care what methods they used to achieve this.¹⁶ *So oder so* (one way or the other) was a key phrase Hitler used when discussing Jewish policy. It informed his subordinates of the fact that his desires were to be carried out no matter what, but freed him from the minutia of further planning and allowed him to steer clear of blame for any misguided or failed plans. It placed a tremendous pressure on his subordinates yet left them without much guidance.¹⁷

A meeting on February 12, 1940 between Frank, Göring, Himmler, and the eastern Gauleiters showcased differences between the various officials’ individual policy preferences. Göring and Frank preferred an orderly transfer of Jews eastwards, placing priority on labour, agriculture, and the war effort, whereas Himmler pressed for rapid resettlement before all other considerations, regardless of any agricultural or other disruptions.¹⁸ In the policy arguments which followed, Frank frustrated Himmler’s manoeuvres by going over his head to Göring, and Himmler did the same by appealing directly to Hitler. In May 1940, Himmler drafted a memorandum entitled “Some Thoughts on the Treatment of Alien Populations in the East” for Hitler’s consideration. In it he outlined the notion that the “ethnic mush” of occupied eastern Europe be subjected to “screening and sifting” to find those of good racial stock, with the rest to be sent to the General government to be turned into a “non-descript,

¹³ Christopher R. Browning, *The Path to Genocide* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 8.

¹⁴ Browning, *Path*, 8-9, and Wistrich, 90.

¹⁵ Browning, *Path*, 9, 24.

¹⁶ Browning, *Path*, 23.

¹⁷ Wistrich, 65, 101.

¹⁸ Browning, *Path*, 13.

denationalized population” to be exploited as a source of labour for Germany. The Jews would “disappear” by being sent to “a colony in Africa or elsewhere.” All this was, in Himmler’s estimation, a better alternative than “the Bolshevik method of physical extermination of a people...” which he rejected, at least for the time being, “...as un-German and impossible.” Hitler agreed with Himmler’s memorandum, issuing a *Führerbefehl* (command from the Führer) in Himmler’s favour and tasking him with its implementation.¹⁹ This serves as an important example of the sort of struggle which was baked into the Nazi power structure, owing to Hitler’s Darwinian approach to settling disputes between his subordinates. He would decide upon a general policy direction, and then let others argue amongst themselves over its implementation, until one man emerged victorious. The victor would secure Hitler’s blessing, and be left to implement the specific policy. This freed Hitler to pursue other concerns he found more pressing – or more interesting – without splitting his attention in too many directions, but chaos thrived in the gaps between the Führer’s will and its realisation in the real world by those doing the legwork. The important takeaway from this example is that ultimately it was always Hitler who was the final arbiter of policy, and his seal of approval was needed to put an end to disputes when big decisions had to be made. In Göring’s words, “In the last analysis, it is the Führer alone who decides.²⁰ Even still, Hitler seldom issued direct orders regarding such decisions; as Christopher Browning puts it, “He simply allowed it to be known what he wanted or approved.”²¹

As the war expanded, the “Bolshevik method of extermination” previously so unthinkable to Himmler became increasingly considered by members of the regime. Prior to the finalization of plans for Operation Barbarossa – the invasion of the Soviet Union – the Jewish question was deemed as important as, but less immediately pressing than, other aspects of the racial resettlement and lebensraum policies, such as “rescuing” and resettling ethnic Germans living in the East.²² It was believed that the Jewish question could wait, at least until the end of the war, and that solutions such as the Madagascar Plan or Lublin Reservation would suffice.²³ Once the war in the East was under way, however, and the realization of having to deal with a vast increase in the amount of Jews under German control began to take root, other solutions began to be considered. On February 10, 1942, the decision was made official: The Foreign Office was informed that “The war with the Soviet Union has in the meantime created the possibility of disposing of other territories for the Final Solution. In consequence, the Führer has decided the Jews should be evacuated East. Madagascar need no longer therefore be considered in connection with the Final Solution.”²⁴ Many of the policy decisions made after Barbarossa were done, as Browning puts it, in the “euphoria of victory,” a feeling of invincibility shared by Nazi leaders which allowed them to plan in a grandiose fashion. Hitler declared on July 16, 1941 that Germany would create a “Garden of Eden” in occupied

¹⁹ Browning, *Path*, 15-17.

²⁰ Wistrich, 70.

²¹ Browning, *Path*, 17.

²² Browning, *Path*, 24.

²³ Browning, *Path*, 26-27.

²⁴ Wistrich, 91.

Russia, and that it was fortunate that the Russians had given the order for partisan resistance, since now all undesirables could be targeted as such. “Naturally,’ he continued, “the vast area must be pacified as quickly as possible; this will happen best by shooting anyone who even looks sideways at us.” Himmler immediately began organizing and bolstering the Einsatzgruppen who would come to execute the first stages of the Final Solution.²⁵

On July 22, 1941 Hitler told the visiting Croatian Marshal Kvaternik that he would soon be demanding the total evacuation of Jews from all European countries, for deportation to “Siberia or Madagascar.”²⁶ Clearly this would not have been the case if no decision had yet been made as to how to deal with such an influx of prisoners. Also, reference to the Madagascar Plan is odd considering that the logistical barriers to its implementation had not been overcome, and this may indicate that Hitler was being purposefully misleading as to the Jews’ fate. On July 31, 1941, Göring instructed Heydrich “to carry out all preparations with regard to the organization, the material side and financial viewpoints for a total solution (*Gesamtlösung*) of the Jewish question in those territories of Europe which are under German influence.”²⁷ He was also asked to submit a report on what measures had already been taken towards this end. This referred to the mass killings already underway in the East under orders from Heydrich issued in mid-June 1941. As Heydrich was already in charge of coordinating Jewish emigration, this re-issuing of an authority he already had, so soon after Hitler’s murderous pronouncements of the 16th, suggests a change in the meaning of “emigration” and of “solution” to which Göring’s orders referred.²⁸ Eichmann later claimed that in August 1941 he had been told directly by Heydrich that “The Führer has ordered physical extermination.”²⁹ Hitler ordered the “removal” of Jews from the Reich to the east in September 1941, and on October 2 he let it be known that he approved of the acceleration of massacres in the East. The details were to be left, as usual, to subordinates. In September, Einsatzgruppen C began experimenting with killing via redirected truck exhaust, in an attempt to address the psychological toll inflicted on the members of killing squads by mass face-to-face shootings. In October 1941 discussions began to focus on the idea of permanent gassing apparatus, a notion owing to the now defunct euthanasia program.³⁰ As extermination methods were being tested, pressure for physical elimination continued to

²⁵ Christopher R. Browning, *The Origins of the Final Solution* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), 309-10.

²⁶ Browning, *Origins*, 314-15.

²⁷ Wistrich, 97.

²⁸ Browning, *Origins*, 15, and Wistrich, 97-98. Christian Gerlach argues that at this point, “final solution” and “emigration” did not yet have explicitly genocidal connotations, and still referred to resettlement, albeit with the understanding that there would be massive casualties through attrition, “The Wannsee Conference, the Fate of German Jews, and Hitler's Decision in Principle to Exterminate All European Jews,” *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 70, No. 4 (December 1998): 777 (accessed January 25, 2017).

²⁹ Wistrich, 98.

³⁰ Wistrich, 98-99.

mount from many sides towards the end of 1941, especially from the General Government in occupied Poland.³¹

At a luncheon on October 6, 1941, Hitler declared that “All Jews must be removed from the Protectorate, and not just into the General Government, but straight away further to the east. This is at present not practical merely because of the great demand of the military for means of transport. Along with the Protectorate’s Jews, all the Jews from Berlin and Vienna should *disappear* [my italics] at the same time. The Jews are the pipeline through which all enemy news rushes with the speed of wind into all branches of the population.”³² In the Wolf’s Lair on December 1-2, Hitler is further quoted as having stated, “...he who destroys life, exposes himself to death. And nothing other than this is happening to them [the Jews].”³³ In a meeting at his home on December 12, 1941, Hitler repeated his 1939 prophesy before an assembly of Gauleiters and other top Nazi leadership. This was the day after the declaration of war against the USA. He added that his words concerning annihilation had not been empty talk, and that since “the German people has again now sacrificed around 160,000 dead in the eastern campaign, the originators of this bloody conflict [the Jews] will have to pay for it with their lives.”³⁴ Of course, the killing had already begun, and the planning of its ultimate form was about to be finalized. Hitler was giving his verbal seal of approval, in his typical rhetorical fashion, to those already involved, or soon to be, in the implementation of the Final Solution.³⁵

On December 18, 1941 Hitler held a meeting with Himmler, whose notes refer to the first topic discussed as “Jewish question | to be exterminated as partisans,” where the note written after the vertical line referred to the answer to that question.³⁶ The Wannsee Conference held on January 20, 1942 laid the final framework of the Final Solution, and set all relevant agencies off on the same page in order to complete the genocidal goal. Hitler was not present, and it is not certain that he even knew the details of the time, place, or nature of the meeting. It did not matter; he had made his position absolutely clear in December, placed the relevant authorities in charge, and, as he had so often before, left the details to others. Ten days later, he again made a speech which referenced annihilation and his prophesy of 1939.³⁷ On May 26, 1944, Hitler addressed several hundred new “National Socialist guidance officers,” responsible for ideological indoctrination of the Wehrmacht, who were about to return to the front. At this point the extermination of the Jews was widely known, and these officers had already been addressed by Himmler on the matter, but Hitler took this opportunity personally to justify what had been done as necessary, and explained away the cruel nature of it all as no worse than what the Jews and Bolsheviks otherwise had in mind for Germans. He continued, “Don’t expect anything else from me except the ruthless

³¹ Wistrich, 100-01.

³² Kershaw, *Decisive*, 29.

³³ Kershaw, *Decisive*, 31-32.

³⁴ Kershaw, *Decisive*, 32.

³⁵ Kershaw, *Decisive*, 32-33, and Wistrich, 111.

³⁶ Gerlach, 780.

³⁷ Kershaw, *Decisive*, 34-36.

upholding of the national interest in the way which, in my view, will have the greatest effect and benefit for the German nation.”³⁸

In February 1945 Hitler discovered that Himmler had been using Jewish lives as bargaining chips, and had already sent a train-load of Jews from Theresienstadt to Switzerland. Coupled with a false claim that Himmler was also negotiating asylum for 250 Nazi leaders, Hitler became enraged and ordered the execution of any German who facilitated the escape of Jews.³⁹ This came around the same time that Hitler issued verbal orders for the blowing-up of concentration camps ahead of the Allied approach, so that, as Himmler is quoted as saying, “if National Socialist Germany is going to be destroyed, then her enemies and the criminals in concentration camps shall not have the satisfaction of emerging from our ruin as triumphant conquerors. They shall share in the downfall. Those are the Führer’s direct orders and I must see to it that they are carried out to the last detail.”⁴⁰ This comes third-hand, (from Himmler’s masseur, Felix Kernsten) but is almost certainly a fair representation of Hitler’s actual desires, rather than any name-dropping by a unilaterally acting Himmler since, as we have otherwise seen, Himmler was otherwise in favour of a policy of hostage trading that would not have benefitted from this sort of vindictive destruction. As usual, Hitler’s early 1945 orders regarding the evacuation and destruction of concentration camps were vague, and SS leadership on the ground was left scrambling to deal with the situation in the face of rapid enemy advances, especially in the East. The prisoners were not to be allowed to fall alive into enemy hands, but mass killings were often impractical, and so most were forced to march westwards, emaciated and unsuitably clothed, through freezing weather. Those who did not simply die along the roadside were shot or clubbed to death if they slowed down, killed by guards terrified of having their own retreat hampered by stragglers and thus falling victim to the Soviets.⁴¹ Around 113,000 concentration camp prisoners were forced on these death marches in January and February of 1945, at least a third of whom did not survive.⁴² This is a testament to Hitler’s enduring hatred, but also to his chaotic style of leadership. Care for the safety of German SS leaders and camp guards came second to revenge.

Hitler’s desire to rid Europe of its Jewish population took on different forms at different times, because to Hitler the concept meant different things at different times. The answer to the “Jewish Question” was ever subject to Hitler’s moods and whims, and modified constantly by logistical challenges and the competing visions of his party officials. Hitler’s rhetoric inspired zealotry, and his leadership style fostered and rewarded it. Hitler’s guilt need not require that he designed the gas chambers himself, nor even that he proposed the final form which his Final Solution would take; he set the stage, and then allowed events to unfold

³⁸ Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews: 1939-1945* (New York: Harper Collins, 2007), 604-05.

³⁹ Ian Kershaw, *The End: Defiance and Destruction of Hitler’s Germany, 1944-45* (New York: Penguin, 2011), 229-30.

⁴⁰ Kershaw, *The End*, 228.

⁴¹ Kershaw, *The End*, 230.

⁴² Kershaw, *The End*, 234.

according to his grand ambitions, offering guidance or approval as required or requested. When Hitler was distracted or his thoughts muddled, chaos ensued, and when he was firm, cold efficiency reigned. He did not need to micro manage every aspect of the Final Solution, because his apocalyptic worldview provided the spark that set the whole mad machine in motion.

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Pluto and Plutonium: The Canine Experience of the 2011 Earthquake, Tsunami, and Nuclear Disaster in Japan

Stacey Fruno

HIST 4499: Animals in Global History

Dr Kyle Jackson

December 2016



On April 20, 2011, a small red dachshund mix nervously hopped out of a car and onto the pavement of the driveway to her new forever home. The local news station had shown up to film her arrival, since Belle's story was one that humans value amongst the tragedies and negativity that tend to dominate their evening news. Belle's story was one of hope and positivity that came out of unimaginable disaster, and she had a lesson to share.

On March 11, 2011, a magnitude 9 earthquake occurred off the coast of Japan, triggering a massive tsunami that had devastating consequences for coastal communities.¹ The tsunami struck the Tohoku coastline, leaving more than 15,800 humans dead, 3,200 more humans missing, and approximately \$177 billion in damages.² In addition, the tsunami caused the world's second largest nuclear disaster, causing a total loss of power and meltdowns in three out of the six reactors at the Fukushima nuclear plant.³ More than 80,000 people were displaced from a 20km evacuation zone around the nuclear plant, and more evacuations followed as the threat of radiation poisoning increased.⁴ As in many disasters, evacuation efforts and security measures were centered around humans, leaving many companion animals to fend for

¹ Paul Bacon and Christopher Hobson, "Human Security Comes Home: Responding to Japan's Triple Disaster," in *Human Security and Japan's Triple Disaster: Responding to the 2011 earthquake, tsunami and Fukushima nuclear crisis*, ed. Paul Bacon and Christopher Hobson (New York: Routledge, 2014), 1.

² Bacon & Hobson, "Human Security," 1.

³ Bacon & Hobson, "Human Security," 1.

⁴ Jeff Kingston, "Mismanaging Risk and the Fukushima Nuclear Crisis," in *Human Security and Japan's Triple Disaster: Responding to the 2011 Earthquake, Tsunami and Fukushima Nuclear Crisis*, ed. Paul Bacon and Christopher Hobson (New York: Routledge, 2014), 42.

themselves. This paper examines the experience of these canine companions in Japan's triple disaster, including the effects on the dogs themselves and the effects of the disaster on human-canine relationships.

The dog's life in Japan prior to 2011 was optimistic and comfortable in general (of course there are exceptions, but the general trend of pet ownership was positive by modern standards). For instance, a day in the life a Meru, a miniature schnauzer, may have included strutting the sidewalk in designer clothes, a scheduled play date, a stop-in at her favorite café, a warm bath, then a retreat to her large bed shared with her companion humans.⁵ In a country with one of the lowest birthrates in the world in 2007, many couples were found channeling their parental energy into pets, according to an article in *The Globe and Mail* in 2008 entitled "Japan – Rise of a Four-Legged Friendly Culture: Where Children Take a Backseat to Dogged Pursuits".⁶ Pet-friendly oxygen bars, gourmet restaurants, social-networking sites, acupuncture, yoga classes, spa services and fashion shows were all part of a pet industry worth an estimated \$8.4 billion. Being a Japanese dog had its perks.

The experience of dogs in Japan began to change around March 4, 2011, the week before the earthquake struck. It was around this time that humans interacting with animals began to notice unusual animal behaviors in dogs, cats and even cows. Milk yields at dairy farms within 340 kilometers of the epicenter decreased significantly between March 4th to 11th.⁷ Mice became restless and their locomotive activity increased significantly.⁸ Humans were continuing their normal, everyday activities, unaware of the stimuli that their four-legged companions were experiencing. Unusual animal behavior preceding major earthquakes is not unusual, because of the different ways that animals sense stimuli compared to humans. Dogs have a hearing range of 67 to 44,000 Hz, compared to the human range of 31 to 17,000 Hz, allowing them to experience ultrasounds that humans cannot, such as acoustic signals and vibrations due to the generation of microcracks caused by an impending seismic event.⁹ Smell receptors in canines number 280 million, compared to 5 to 20 million in their human companions, allowing them to detect subtle smell variations caused by emanations of gases and chemical substances preceding an earthquake.¹⁰ This suggests that dogs as well as other animals began experiencing the effects of the earthquake up to a week prior to humans, and also opens the possibility for including animals in developing a system to predict earthquakes. Dogs expressed their experience of the stimuli through loud barking, acting

⁵ Danielle Demetriou, "Japan Rise of a Four-Legged Friendly Culture: Where Children Take a Back Seat," *The Globe and Mail*, July 24, 2008, online.

⁶ Demetriou, "Japan Rise," online.

⁷ Hiroyuki Yamauchi, Hidehiko Uchiyama, Nobuyo Ohtani and Mutsuaki Ohta, "Unusual Animal Behaviour Preceding the 2011 Earthquake off the Pacific Coast of Tohoku Japan: A Way to Predict the Approach of Large Earthquakes," *Animals* 4, (2014): 132, doi:10.3390/ani-4020131.

⁸ Yamauchi, et al., "Unusual Animal Behaviour," 132.

⁹ Yamauchi, et al., "Unusual Animal Behaviour," 132-133.

¹⁰ Yamauchi, et al., "Unusual Animal Behaviour," 132-133.

“panicked” (as interpreted by their human companions), or even aggressive behaviors such as biting were reported.¹¹

By the time humans became aware of the earthquake, dogs had already been experiencing the subtle stimuli it produced, with this abrupt change in their normative environment causing anxiety and stress. In the days after the earthquake and tsunami, human relief poured in – over 100,000 Japanese troops were mobilized, and 163 countries with 43 international organizations extended help to Japan.¹² After the Fukushima Nuclear crisis became the prominent source of danger as a result of the tsunami, over 80,000 residents were displaced from the 20km evacuation zone.¹³ Many of these residents ended up in shelters set up by the government and non-profit organizations, which did not allow pets, many of which were left behind and would eventually die.¹⁴ Some of these animals made it to animals shelters, either being surrendered by their owners before they fled, or by aid volunteers, such as those from People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) and Animal Friends Niigata (AFN). Ashley Fruno of PETA and Isabella Gallaon-Aoki of AFN travelled into the evacuation zone looking for animals who had been left behind in order to provide them with food, water and veterinary care, or bring them to the already overrun shelters.¹⁵ In regards to the welfare of the animals, Fruno commented, “The damage is absolutely horrific. These dogs and cats need rescue for the sake of the anguished people who were forced to choose between seeking refuge in evacuation centers and taking their beloved animal companions with them.”¹⁶ Fruno draws a connection between the welfare of the animals and the welfare of the evacuees. She comments that the choice to leave behind a four-legged companion is not easy, but by rescuing these animals, the heartache can be eased for their human companions.¹⁷

The aid provided by humans for animals provides a commentary on the relationship between people and their companion animals. Animal rescue workers encountered citizens who stayed in their badly damaged homes for days because many evacuation centers were not allowing companion animals inside.¹⁸ Fruno describes one of these encounters:

¹¹ Yamauchi, et al., “Unusual Animal Behaviour,” 132-133..

¹² Richard J. Samuels, *3.11: Disaster and Change in Japan* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2013), 10, 17.

¹³ Kingston, “Mismanaging Risk and the Fukushima Nuclear Crisis,” 42.

¹⁴ David McNeil, “Them versus Us: Japanese and International Reporting of the Fukushima Nuclear Crisis,” in *Japan Copes with Calamity: Ethnographies of the Earthquake, Tsunami and Nuclear Disasters of March 2011* ed. Tom Gill, Brigitte Steger and David H. Slater (Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2013), 140.

¹⁵ PETA, “PETA Asia-Pacific Providing Aid in Japan,” *The Hot and Sour Scoop* (blog), March 16, 2011, <http://www.peta.org/blog/peta-asia-pacific-providing-aid-japan/>

¹⁶ PETA, “PETA Asia-Pacific Providing Aid,” <http://www.peta.org/blog/peta-asia-pacific-providing-aid-japan/>

¹⁷ PETA, “PETA Asia-Pacific Providing Aid,” <http://www.peta.org/blog/peta-asia-pacific-providing-aid-japan/>

¹⁸ PETA, “PETA Asia-Pacific Rescue Efforts in Japan,” *PETA* (blog), March 18, 2011, <http://www.peta.org/blog/peta-asia-pacific-s-rescue-efforts-japan/>

We came upon a woman carrying her dog, a young sheltie who was terrified and stressed by the earthquake and aftershocks and the chaos that ensued. Tears came to the woman's eyes as she told us that she had risked her life for three days while staying in her still-shaking house because the evacuation center would not allow her to take her dog with her.¹⁹

Fruno describes this environment in which both the remaining humans and animals were living in: "Up until the end, the smell of decaying flesh was still strong and undeniable in the disaster-stricken areas. We saw bodies being pulled out of a primary school last Friday, more than a week after the tsunami."²⁰ Not only does the description of the distressed sheltie reflect in real time the findings of Nagasawa, Mogi and Kikusui about the physiological effects of disaster-related stress on dogs, but also demonstrates the strong relationship between dogs and their human companions. The human companion chose to remain in deplorable conditions because of her bond with the dog. This relationship should be considered in disaster planning, since the inclusion of animals in evacuation plans could save human lives alongside lives of animals, since people with companion animals would be more willing to evacuate. This idea does not dent that finding human survivors and providing aid to humans will always be the first priority in emergency situations, but having preexisting plans in place to account for companion animals in evacuation scenarios will only positively effect both parties.

Many animal centered stories like the one about the sheltie emerged after the disaster. One of these was about Ban, a mixed-breed. The dog and his human companions were separated after the tsunami. Ban was rescued from floating ocean debris, which was broadcast on TV, where his human family recognized him.²¹ They were reunited at a shelter more than three weeks after the tsunami hit. Another dog, Shane had a similar experience. His owner went to warn the neighbors about the giant wave coming toward them, but the water was moving so quickly that he didn't have time to return and grab Shane who was running free in the yard. The owner and the neighbors fled to a school on higher ground, and Shane's human companion thought he would never see his dog again. 6 hours later, Shane appeared outside the school, which he had never been to before, bruised and battered, cuts on his elbows, presumably from clinging to debris in the waist-high water.²² Fruno and a veterinarian friend treated Shane's wounds. Stories like these contribute to the discussion of animal experience, and when compiled with accounts of other individual dog experiences, they can help develop a general depiction of animal experience. The animals suffer alongside humans

¹⁹ PETA, "PETA Asia-Pacific Rescue," <http://www.peta.org/blog/peta-asia-pacific-s-rescue-efforts-japan/>

²⁰ Michelle Sherrow, "Japan: Heading Home but Still Helping," *PETA* (blog), March 24, 2011, <http://www.peta.org/blog/japan-heading-home-still-helping/>

²¹ "Dog days are over; Pet and owner reunited after Japan tsunami" *Toronto Star*, April 5, 2011, http://go.galegroup.com.ezproxy.kpu.ca:2080/ps/i.do?p=CPI&sw=w&u=kwantlenuc_lib&v=2.1&it=r&iid=GALE%7CA253272131&asid=b51993148d204acd8192085e98f71122.

²² PETA, "Animal Rescue Efforts Continue in Japan."

in tragic events, and the rescue and reunion of Ban or Shane with their families can be compared to a human rescue and reunion.

When evacuating Fukushima because of the threat of nuclear radiation, many people were forced to abandon their animals, with some of the lucky ones ending up in animal shelters. Many lived in a semi-feral state in the evacuation zone around the nuclear reactor, removed from much human contact.²³ The dogs were forced to experience not only an unusual living environment, but also an unexpected separation from their family members.²⁴ Miho Nagasawa, Kazutaka Mogi and Takefumi Kikusui measured the levels of cortisol in the urine of abandoned animals in Fukushima, cortisol being a hormone indicative of stress.²⁵ They found that dogs from Fukushima had cortisol levels that were 5-10 times higher than non-disaster abandoned dogs from Kanagawa.²⁶ This suggested that the dogs had undergone a significant and extremely stressful event. Even 10 weeks after being under adequate care in the shelter, the Fukushima dogs still exhibited high cortisol levels, even though dogs introduced to shelters usually exhibit elevated cortisol levels for the first three days followed by a rapid decline.²⁷ The persistence of stress indicators in Fukushima dogs up to 10 weeks after the event compared to dogs in other areas suggests that Fukushima dogs underwent significant and lasting stress because of the crisis experienced in Fukushima.

The lasting stress experienced by Fukushima dogs reflects the human condition of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which poses a serious health risk to those people living in the Fukushima area.²⁸ People with PTSD can exhibit impaired learning ability due to over-secretion of glucocorticoids, and impaired ability to form attachment and bonding.²⁹ Fukushima dogs also demonstrated similar symptoms according to Nagasawa, Mogi and Kikusui. They found that Fukushima dogs showed lower attachment levels and separation anxiety than Kanagawa dogs, as well as lower levels of trainability for the first three months.³⁰ The study suggests that much like humans, animals too can experience excessive, deep psychosomatic impacts with implicit behavioral manifestations as a result of stress.³¹ It also suggests that “long-term care and concern regarding the psychological impact of disasters appears necessary in humans and companion animals.”³² This connection is important to understanding the animal experience of disasters, since it draws parallels to the experience of humans.

²³ Miho Nagasawa, Kazutaka Mogi and Takefumi Kikusui, “Continued Distress Among Abandoned Dogs in Fukushima,” *Scientific Reports* 2, no. 274 (2012): 1, doi: 10.1038/srep00724.

²⁴ Nagasawa, et al., “Continued Distress,” 1.

²⁵ Nagasawa, et al., “Continued Distress,” 1.

²⁶ Nagasawa, et al., “Continued Distress,” 2.

²⁷ Nagasawa, et al., “Continued Distress,” 2.

²⁸ Nagasawa, et al., “Continued Distress,” 1.

²⁹ Nagasawa, et al., “Continued Distress,” 3.

³⁰ Nagasawa, et al., “Continued Distress,” 2.

³¹ Nagasawa, et al., “Continued Distress,” 3.

³² Nagasawa, et al., “Continued Distress,” 3.

Belle was one of the lucky dogs who gained a new *leash* on life. Fruno found her in a shelter outside of Fukushima. Her owners had left her there before fleeing the area due to fears of radiation.³³ When she arrived in Canada, she was shy, didn't want to eat, and seemed terrified of grass. When Fruno left the room, one would expect that Belle would be upset at the absence of her rescuer and 48-hour travel companion, but this was not the case. Belle remained indifferent. She did not get excited, she wasn't mean or friendly. When her new companions inadvertently took her in an elevator, she panicked, presumably fearing another earthquake. Her actions were congruent with the findings of Nagasawa, Mogi and Kikusui, and similar to the symptoms of PTSD.

Belle's journey to her new home in Canada was a heart-warming story that humans clung on to because of the hope that she provided. However, she was one of the only dogs to travel internationally to find a new home since international adoption is expensive, impractical and difficult. Belle was an ambassador, sponsored by PETA, in order to show Canadians that responsible pet owners should make emergency plans for their animal companions, and to raise money for PETA's Animal Emergency Fund, so other dogs could be cared for and adopted out in their home country.³⁴ Like many dogs who survived the triple disaster, Belle is adapting to her changed life. She has learned to like grass, she has formed attachments (implied by demonstration of separation anxiety to the point of neuroticism), she gives happy barks when playing, and growls when anyone gets too close to her food bowl. Her own experience may be very different than other's who remained in Japan, but watching her transform from indifferent and timid to a friendly, feisty and happy personality can provide insight into animal experience after the shaking stops and the waves retreat.

Bacon and Hobson suggest that in disaster response, "our primary focus should be directly on the safety and well-being of people."³⁵ This is a simple notion, but when factoring in the human right to free will and choice, this notion becomes convoluted and more difficult to make reality. Japan and other disasters such as Katrina, where people died because buses and emergency shelters would not allow their animals, have showed us that sometimes the well-being of people can be directly tied to their animals.³⁶ In order to focus on the safety of people, disaster plans must include all family members, including the four-legged ones. Meru the miniature schnauzer is like a child to her owners – their "fur baby" – and no evacuation order would separate parents and children. In disaster after disaster we have seen people refuse to evacuate because they will not leave their beloved pets to die.

³³ Michelle Sherrow, "Abandoned Tsunami Dog Flies Away to New Home," *PETA* (blog), April 20, 2011, <http://www.peta.org/blog/abandoned-tsunami-dog-flies-away-new-home/>

³⁴ Michelle Sherrow, "Abandoned Tsunami Dog," <http://www.peta.org/blog/abandoned-tsunami-dog-flies-away-new-home/>

³⁵ Bacon & Hobson, 2.

³⁶ PETA, "Animals Should Be Evacuated, Too," *PETA* (blog), March 21, 2011, <http://www.peta.org/blog/pets-evacuated/>.

Dogs are part of human life and are present in times of celebration and times of disaster. They experience the same tragedies alongside their human companions, and exhibit similar symptoms in reaction to intense stress. They may even experience these stressors at a more intense level, hearing and smelling things that humans cannot. They may be important in predicting major earthquakes, but they are also an important coping mechanism for their human companions. The experiences of individual dogs can be compiled to create a broader context and inspire a more complete interpretation of a general canine experience. Much like human historians compile the experiences of many individual humans to gain understanding, the same approach may contribute to creating an animal history. By getting as close as *humanly* possible to understanding the way that dogs experience disaster, parallels can be drawn between human experience and canine experience, allowing for a closer understanding of what it is like to be a dog in a disaster.

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Diving into the Depths of Debate: The Historical Evolution of Captivity at the Vancouver Aquarium

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“An aquarium is something like an iceberg: most of it is hidden from view.”¹

In his book *Life in a Fishbowl: Confessions of an Aquarium Director*, Murray Newman, a man who spent years of his life dedicated to directing the Vancouver Aquarium made this statement to express how important it is for viewers to recognize that there is more than what meets the eye when visiting an aquarium. The parts that are hidden can be hypothesized as either good or bad, but is important to attempt a discovery of the facts, nonetheless. Aquariums are often viewed as controversial for their support of animal captivity. The captivity of animals has often been questioned and debated, and although it poses great concern today, it was not always that way. The ethics surrounding the captivity of animals were not as significant in the Vancouver Aquarium's first years, but would become an issue as the aquarium expanded. After much research, it is clear that the Vancouver Aquarium's definition of acceptable captivity has changed. In its earlier years, capturing and keeping animals, no matter the sacrifice, to entertain its guests seemed to be a primary goal; however, as time has passed, the aquarium has ventured into new territory by not only rescuing animals, but also using its platform to educate and inform visitors through research. It is hard to determine right from wrong and it is equally as difficult to uncover truths that are unobtainable, but this paper will attempt to reveal how the aquarium has historically evolved as an institution in regards to its methods of captivity, while also establishing the importance of what it has done and what it is currently doing as a marine facility. In this essay, I will argue that the captivity of animals in the early years of the aquarium was unethical and entertainment-based, however, with increased evolvement, the current captivity at the Vancouver Aquarium is rescue-oriented, research-focused, and educationally-based in order to provide the best facility for the public to learn about and view marine animals.

¹ Murray Newman, *Life in A Fishbowl* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1994), 128.

The Vancouver Aquarium developed as an extension of the Stanley Park Zoo.² The zoo was inadequate to keep animals, but it remained even as the aquarium settled in nearby. Gaining the approval of the Park Board for the creation of the aquarium was a challenge because they “had reservations about allowing *anything* in Stanley Park”; however, after enough persuasion, the aquarium team was given the green light. The Vancouver Aquarium began as just an idea in the eyes of a few businessmen, zoologists, biologists, and scientists, but after careful thought and planning, combined with a small location and an inadequate budget, it came to life. The team quickly raised twelve thousand dollars and used it to buy equipment, furniture, supplies, and tropical fish.³ After many days of gathering funds, ordering fish, preparing aquariums, and promoting this exciting new tourist attraction, the aquarium opened on June 15, 1956.⁴ Within the first two days approximately ten thousand people had passed through and the beginning of something great had taken off.⁵

Initially, the aquarium wanted to achieve the goal of entertaining and educating the public by exposing them to animals they may not otherwise encounter without a city aquarium. During school seasons, Murray Newman’s wife Kathy and the aquarium’s biologist Dmitry Stone would run educational tours for children and public lectures, with visiting experts, for adults.⁶ Despite the focused educational intentions of exposing the public to animals they may not ever see in their lifetime, the aquarium was off to a more controversial start by buying and capturing helpless animals to showcase. For example, some of the first fish that were put on display were tropical fish purchased from a fish store in Oakland, California.⁷ Within the first months of owning these fish, the aquarium already had difficulty in keeping them healthy.⁸ It was clear that the facility the aquarium inhabited was not adequate to house these animals, yet it was still in full operation. Further, in order to provide a more intriguing entrance to draw the crowds in, Murray Newman decided that his team needed access to a large marine mammal in order to create a mould for a replica that would be suspended from the entrance ceiling.⁹ For this project, they decided to capture a basking shark.¹⁰ Newman stated that his “goal was understanding the nature of the specimens and educating other people about them, and collecting a basking shark seemed the only way to get the anatomy as correct and realistic as possible at that time.”¹¹ To catch this type of shark, some aquarium members and others took a boat out near Folger Island, harpooned the animal, and once they brought it onboard the ship, had the captain kill it by shooting it

² Newman, *Fishbowl*, 7.

³ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 18.

⁴ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 17.

⁵ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 19.

⁶ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 25.

⁷ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 18.

⁸ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 25.

⁹ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 71.

¹⁰ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 71.

¹¹ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 72.

through the head.¹² Despite being aware of the outcome of this task, Murray encouraged it for the sake of entertainment and aquarium aesthetic. This scenario showed a complete disregard for the life of the shark, proving that the aquarium's intentions focused on whatever it took to draw crowds in rather than taking safe and healthy measures to get there.

The capture and killing of the basking shark was just the beginning of the Vancouver Aquarium's participation in questionable animal captivity. Murray Newman acknowledged that "Captivity' and 'killer whale' had an ugly sound to many ears in the 1990s, but in 1964 putting these words together was pretty much unthinkable."¹³ The aquarium felt it essential to capture a killer whale in order to add something new and entertaining to the facility. During this time, captivity was not seen as wrong, but was instead viewed as an opportunity to showcase valuable findings. This new killer whale was soon caught and named Moby Doll, before they realized "she" was a male.¹⁴ The aquarium did not have the means to house Moby Doll immediately after capturing him, so he was kept in a dry dock in the area. During this time, Moby Doll developed a skin infection due to a lack of salt in the water and soon after died.¹⁵ Murray Newman was absolutely devastated:

[His] skin infection had been spreading, and [he] seemed to have lost the liveliness [he] had exhibited in the first months. On that awful day I was down at the dock for [his] feeding with Jean Southam, H.R.'s daughter. Moby ate [his] food, circled the pen slowly and submerged. We waited for [him] to come up, but [he] didn't. The minutes passed. I have never felt more helpless and forlorn in my life.¹⁶

Despite Newman's helplessness, it is clear here that the correct precautions were not taken before this animal was captured. The problem with this scenario is that the aquarium employees were ill prepared to house an animal they had not encountered before; they did not have the knowledge or equipment needed to keep Moby healthy and alive. This issue stems from the direct desire the aquarium team had to showcase unseen animals. They wanted to provide both entertainment and education for the community, but did not approach their desires to capture a new whale in an appropriate way. Newman even stated that Moby Doll had "revealed the species to have crowd-drawing potential far beyond ... dolphins and other small cetaceans."¹⁷ This scenario was clearly focused on entertainment and education, but not on the health or safety of Moby Doll.

Despite Moby Doll's unfortunate case, the Vancouver Aquarium's involvement and support of the collection of killer whales for aquarium purposes continued. Ted Griffin, the former owner of the Seattle Aquarium, started a company at the time that collected killer whales to provide for aquariums.¹⁸ Murray Newman heard of his business and saw it as an opportunity

¹² Newman, *Fishbowl*, 73.

¹³ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 81

¹⁴ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 87.

¹⁵ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 92.

¹⁶ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 92.

¹⁷ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 92.

¹⁸ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 106.

to access killer whales for the Vancouver location. Griffin provided an easy way to capture killer whales, but this process was unethical. Ted was soon frowned upon for his action and “[public] reaction to the number of killer whale deaths in his expeditions was one of the things that eventually drove Ted out of business [years later].”¹⁹

In addition to killer whales, beluga whales became an important part of the journey to expand the aquarium. Beluga whales had already been hunted for many years, particularly in Hudson Bay, but for the purpose of food and resources, not entertainment or research.²⁰ The Vancouver Aquarium saw beluga whales as an asset to their collection and would soon join in on their capture. Murray Newman, along with some others, set off to King Salmon, Alaska in an attempt to board a ship that captured beluga whales. To Newman’s dismay, “the fishermen were inexperienced in the care of the animals and the belugas were in poor shape.”²¹ After examining the whales, Newman found them to be free of disease, but still wounded, and he saw to it to “get them out of there as soon as possible.”²² Although this scenario displays the care Newman had for the whales as he attempted to save them from a hostile environment, these whales would not be caught in a net on a boat in Alaska if it were not for the requests put out by aquariums to have them captured in the first place. Aquariums became the leading reason for uneducated fishermen catching wild marine animals.

Although these unfortunate stories of animal capture and captivity continued to occur, animal activism did not stir right away. According to Murray Newman, “[animal] rights did not become a major media issue until the 1970s, although humane societies were actively concerned about the treatment of domestic animals.”²³ For many years, Newman collected specimens, killing and dissecting them in order to complete the research he was doing, and claimed that this was never an issue for humane societies.²⁴ During those years, it seems people were either less receptive to animal use or captivity, or they were just uneducated on the matter. According to Newman, “the Vancouver Aquarium’s relations with the press [had] been excellent.”²⁵ Everything that was discussed about the aquarium had a “positive tone” until “killer whales became part of the equation” in the mid-1960s, which would fuel debate for many years to come.²⁶ On September 18th, 1980, Skana, the killer whale, died in captivity, leaving her tank mate, Hyak, without a companion.²⁷ In response to Skana’s death, the aquarium staff believed they needed to amend the loss by finding new whales. An opportunity arose for the Vancouver Aquarium to buy whales from Iceland from fishermen that were unable to sell them.²⁸ Once this news got out, “the Canadian division of Greenpeace

¹⁹ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 106.

²⁰ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 117.

²¹ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 119.

²² Newman, *Fishbowl*, 119.

²³ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 191.

²⁴ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 191.

²⁵ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 191.

²⁶ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 191.

²⁷ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 191-192.

²⁸ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 193.

announced it would oppose any attempt by the aquarium to bring killer whales from Iceland.”²⁹ Greenpeace argued that the way these whales were treated by the fishermen in Iceland was inhumane: “to the fishermen, the killer whales were just big fish.”³⁰ Despite Greenpeace’s opposition, however, the aquarium still acquired these whales and began using them to provide entertainment and education to their visitors just as they had always done. Activism was, for the most part, unheard of until later years. Perhaps this is due to the fact that people were more fascinated with the aquarium than they were concerned. Later on, when groups like Greenpeace started speaking out, they still were not taken seriously because activism just could not outweigh the fascination the community had with the aquarium. These failed attempts at change show that entertainment was the primary concern for both the aquarium and the community at this time.

In contrast, animal activism against the Vancouver Aquarium’s operations has been very active in recent years. Over time, many animals have died within the captivity of the Vancouver Aquarium. A huge problem activists find with the aquarium is the apparent and consistent death of animals under captivity in the facility – mostly occurring through the controversial processes of breeding. An example of this is shown through the deaths of the killer whale Bjossa’s offspring. Debate sparked when a calf died shortly after it was born in 1995.³¹ Before this death, the other three offspring that Bjossa and her tank mate Finna had reproduced, died.³² Although the aquarium argued that it was normal for young whales to die and that this, too, happened in the wild, many “Vancouverites were distressed by the repeated news of young whales dying in captivity.”³³ It is understandable that people felt the need to question these issues when new deaths were continuously being reported in the media. Activists such as Annelise Sorg with her group No Whales in Captivity responded to this alongside the Vancouver Human Society, angrily encouraging and hoping for the approval of a “tough bylaw that [would] ensure that no more whales or dolphins end up in Stanley Park pools.”³⁴ These activists wanted to see change in the regulations regarding aquarium matters, not just an apology or an explanation. In addition, after the release of a documentary on Netflix in 2013 titled “Blackfish,” activists surrounded the aquarium, to once again protest the captivity of cetaceans.³⁵ After watching the movie, Annelise Sorg claimed that she “couldn’t help but think of the reaction that Blackfish [would] cause within the industry, the public, and the government.”³⁶ Although this film is very thought provoking and does raise important concerns over the captivity of animals in marine attractions, it does not directly correlate with the work of the Vancouver Aquarium specifically. The film,

²⁹ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 193.

³⁰ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 193.

³¹ Mark Leiren-Young, “To Free or not to Free: Vancouver’s Aquarium is a Battleground for a Whale Lovers’ Tiff,” *MacLean’s* 109, no. 35 (August 1996): 50.

³² Leiren-Young, *Free*, 50.

³³ Leiren-Young, *Free*, 50.

³⁴ Leiren-Young, *Free*, 50.

³⁵ Tristin Hopper, “Captive Audience; Vancouver Aquarium Under Public Siege for Holding Whales and Dolphins in its Tanks,” *National Post* (July 2014): 3.

³⁶ Hopper, “Captive,” 3.

however, sparked Gary Charbonneau's interest, the man who would later create and direct *Vancouver Aquarium Uncovered*, a documentary film that attempts to expose the truth about whales and dolphins in captivity at the Vancouver Aquarium.³⁷ Although I have not seen the film, the creation of it is enough alone to suggest concern. It is true that anyone can create a documentary about anything they disagree with, but the film has caused aquarium staff to feel threatened, as they have approached the film through immediate lawsuits against copyright violations of clips filmed in the aquarium without permission.³⁸ Charbonneau believes the aquarium has been hiding things and attempted to bring some of those issues to light in his film. Alongside these controversies, a major debate has resurfaced upon the death of two beluga whales in November this year. Mother and daughter, Aurora and Qila, spent many years showcased at the aquarium, but recently showed symptoms of illness that led to their deaths, which occurred only nine days apart from each other.³⁹ According to CBC, this circumstance reignited the debate to stop the aquarium from keeping cetaceans in captivity.⁴⁰ Park Board chair Sarah Kirby-Yung "called for a city-wide referendum on whether Vancouver should allow captive whales" stating that it is important for her to acknowledge the discomfort Vancouverites feel over captive cetaceans.⁴¹ All of these scenarios separately confirm that activists have become more aware of what the aquarium participates in and have chosen to act on their instincts. These activist groups do not have absolute truths for their claims, but show an increased interest in what the aquarium does now, hoping to induce further change from the aquarium's current methods of captivity.

Although activism has challenged and threatened what the Vancouver Aquarium has worked hard to accomplish, the aquarium has taken measures to respond appropriately and accurately to local activism. In 1996, the aquarium pledged to end the capture of animals from the wild and have stuck to this promise to this day.⁴² Those who fight against the aquarium are arguing for the freedom of animals, but do not always have accurate facts about the causes they oppose. In a news interview in 1996, John Nightingale, the president and CEO of the Vancouver Aquarium, argued that "activists [had] a lot of emotion but no real knowledge."⁴³ He continued, claiming that these activists "don't take care of whales, they don't raise money ... [and all] they do is carry signs around."⁴⁴ His reasoning behind this defense is that it is impossible to run a "world-class aquarium" or even an aquarium that is

³⁷ "The Vancouver Aquarium Uncovered," *The Vancouver Aquarium Uncovered*, accessed December 11, 2016, <http://www.vancouveraquariumuncovered.com/#screening>.

³⁸ Jason Proctor, "Vancouver Aquarium Sues Filmmaker over Critical Documentary," *CBC News*, February 19, 2016. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/vancouveraquarium-sues-filmmaker-over-critical-documentary-1.3452094>.

³⁹ "2nd Beluga Whale Dies at Vancouver Aquarium in Less than Two Weeks," *CBC News*, November 27, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/aurora-belugavancouver-aquarium-dies-1.3869241>. (Hereafter cited as *Beluga*).

⁴⁰ *Beluga*.

⁴¹ *Beluga*.

⁴² Hopper, *Captive*, 3.

⁴³ Leiren-Young, *Free*, 50-51.

⁴⁴ Leiren-Young, *Free*, 50-51.

“educationally effective, without the entire spectrum of the aquatic world to show people.”⁴⁵ Although what the aquarium has done and is still doing cannot be absolutely confirmed as appropriate or ethical, the real knowledge still lies in the hands of the aquarium on this matter, since they have both the education and direct contact with animals to support their case. Upon interviewing Lee Newman, the Vancouver Aquarium’s curator of Tropical Waters, I learned the aquarium’s key to approaching activism. Lee Newman prefers to “[think] about the folks that protest the Aquarium as one of the best reasons for doing [what the aquarium does].”⁴⁶ He believes that “if everyone on the planet felt about animals the way the protestors [and] activists say they do, [the aquarium’s] job might be done.”⁴⁷ This perspective is something I had never considered before, but is a completely valid and positive approach; Lee Newman offered a fresh perspective on the matter here. He continued, explaining that it is an “unfortunate reality” to have people standing outside the aquarium shouting things that are untrue, because this does not further the attempt to “help protect and conserve marine life and the oceans.”⁴⁸

It is also important to acknowledge the problematic scenario in which protestors seem to only consider captive cetaceans, but have no issue with other captive animals in the aquarium. Perhaps most negative scenarios have appeared to impact this species in particular, but it seems odd that animal activists who argue for the freedom of animals are only fighting for certain ones. On the topic of bold and relentless activists, Lee Newman stated that “[historically], the Aquarium has elected not to get into debates with the protestors simply because they are not using the truth, [however, going] forward, the Aquarium is going to meet the protestors head-on, and push back with the truth, to make sure both sides of the debate are heard and that people have the truth to consider.”⁴⁹ The forward approach that the aquarium hopes to take is bold, but necessary, if they hope to promote ethical behavior and avoid negativity. In regards to the most recent quarrel over the death of the beluga whales in November, Lance Barrett Leonard, the head of the aquarium’s cetacean research program, argued that they have marine animals “to serve as animal ambassadors – to inculcate a stewardship ethic and a care about these animals in the wild.”⁵⁰ The animals that are held captive in the aquarium are, as these aquarium workers argue, used to encourage and administer the most suitable learning about marine animals. It is not about right or wrong here, but rather about education and growth.

Perhaps due to a spark in activism and frequent urgency for more ethical measures, the aquarium now focuses on the rescue and research of animals in order to educate and entertain its guests. The first signs of rescue efforts began when an elderly businessman, Gordon Russell, offered to sponsor a new seal pool to house orphaned harbor seals.⁵¹ By 1987,

⁴⁵ Leiren-Young, *Free*, 50-51.

⁴⁶ Lee Newman, email to author, December 9, 2016. (Hereafter cited as *Email*).

⁴⁷ Newman, *Email*.

⁴⁸ Newman, *Email*.

⁴⁹ Newman, *Email*.

⁵⁰ *Beluga*.

⁵¹ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 213-214.

the “Stranded Marine Mammal Team was caring for ten to fifteen orphaned pups a year, then releasing them when they were sufficiently mature to fend for themselves.”⁵² Today, the Vancouver Aquarium both rescues animals to keep and to rehabilitate so they can be released into the wild again. The Aquarium’s Marine Mammal Rescue Centre “rescues over 100 marine mammals and rehabilitates them for release back into their natural habitat.”⁵³ This centre is “Canada’s only team of professional rescue staff readily available to save stranded cetaceans.”⁵⁴ An example of their work, alongside many others, is demonstrated through their rescue of a distressed false killer whale in Tofino that required emergency therapy in order for its safe release back into the wild.⁵⁵ Although the aquarium enjoys the opportunity of keeping animals, it is not always beneficial to the animal or the aquarium for these scenarios to exist. Lee Newman argues that there are “some species whose requirements are very difficult to provide in a captive setting.”⁵⁶ He believes that these species are better off gaining help from “supporting programs and efforts aimed at protecting and conserving them in the wild.”⁵⁷ Aside from rescuing and releasing, however, the aquarium does rescue and keep animals as well. Upon visiting the aquarium I discovered that there were quite a few animals that had been rescued. One example of this is displayed through the green sea turtle that was rescued by fishermen in B.C. and rehabilitated by the Vancouver Aquarium. Although the turtle was nursed back to health, it was not healthy enough to reenter the wild, so the aquarium kept her in its care. The aquarium also rescues animals for conservation purposes through the Association of Zoos and Aquariums’ Species Survival Program. Some of these animals include the Goeldi’s Marmoset and the Two-Toed Sloth.

In addition to rescue, the Vancouver Aquarium takes pride in its research. Research played a role in the aquarium’s earlier years, but was much less significant. Many claim that the case of Moby Doll challenged the public’s view of killer whales and marked a journey of research of this particular species.⁵⁸ When trying to defend the aquarium’s early stages of whale captivity, Ken Norris, a scientist and the founder of the Society for Marine Mammalogy argued that a “full understanding of the behavior of marine mammals [required] studies both at sea and in captivity. Each [would provide] a different view of behavior, and by working in both ways one [could] check and correct interpretation made in each.”⁵⁹ Today, there are many categories of research programs being executed such as the Coastal Ocean Research

⁵² Newman, *Fishbowl*, 214.

⁵³ Vancouver Aquarium, “The Marine Mammal Rescue Centre,” accessed December 11, 2016, <https://www.vanaqua.org/act/direct-action/marine-mammal-rescue>.

⁵⁴ Vancouver Aquarium, “The Marine Mammal,” <https://www.vanaqua.org/act/direct-action/marine-mammal-rescue>.

⁵⁵ Vancouver Aquarium, “The Marine Mammal,” <https://www.vanaqua.org/act/direct-action/marine-mammal-rescue>.

⁵⁶ Newman, *Email*.

⁵⁷ Newman, *Email*.

⁵⁸ John Goodman, “Moby Doll of the Salish Sea,” *North Shore News* (May 2014): 3.

⁵⁹ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 199.

Institute, Cetacean Research, Ocean Pollution Research Program, and more.⁶⁰ The research done within these programs is important because it advances humanity's knowledge on certain animals and specific problems they encounter in the wild. Many of these programs focus on the conservation of animals in order to avoid the further endangerment or extinction of important marine species. Groups like these also benefit animals in that aquarium workers gain useful knowledge on how to make life better for animals, while also educating the public on animal matters. Lee Newman states that it is unfortunate that the "Aquarium's research is also [their] proverbial 'iceberg' – the public sees only a very small part of what [they] do."⁶¹ The aquarium offers so much more than what people see, due to both closed minds and some limited access to aquarium research. He argues that the "Aquarium's research is freely disseminated [specifically] to benefit the entire Zoo and Aquarium community and any other parties doing related or applicable research of their own, as well as conservation groups."⁶² It is clear that the Vancouver Aquarium's research efforts benefit the animals, the local community, and animal facilities around the world.

All of the information mentioned thus far has confirmed that the aquarium was once focused primarily on entertainment and showcasing, but has moved towards a more ethical standpoint of research and rescue. This information is all very crucial, but it is important to look at one more issue concerning the aquarium and its workers. While conducting my research, I sent questions out to both Lee Newman, the Tropical Waters curator mentioned throughout this paper, as well as a friend and former worker from the aquarium. This friend chose to pass my questions on to his former co-workers with the hopes that he would be able to provide me with more concrete and accurate answers. To both his and my surprise, these current aquarium workers were angered and felt threatened by the questions I carefully composed, even after I gladly stated that they could decline to answer any if they found them too controversial. Their responses shook me in an unpleasant way, leading me to imagine that their refusal to answer simple questions could mean that they do have something to hide as current members of this institution. Lee Newman thoroughly answered my questions, so I could not fathom why these others workers would not. Although I went back and forth with this uncertain and unsettling thought process, I was reminded of the quote that Murray Newman and Lee Newman both separately expressed, which compared the aquarium to a half-submerged "iceberg" with a great deal of its substance hidden from view. Although it is highly possible that some workers feel the need to hide information or perhaps do not have neutral answers memorized when asked controversial questions, I do not believe they truly have anything severe to hide. It is possible they felt overwhelmed by the activism that arose once again due to the beluga deaths last month or felt that their answers would not be adequate enough to give appropriate credit to their workplace. This is a matter I may pursue in the future, but it is something interesting to consider for the time being. Despite this

⁶⁰ Vancouver Aquarium, "Impactful Research," accessed December 11, 2016, <https://www.vanaqua.org/act/research>.

⁶¹ Newman, *Email*.

⁶² Newman, *Email*.

uncomfortable encounter, I am comfortable enough to say that my findings present themselves as coherent, without answers from these aquarium workers.

The Vancouver Aquarium began as a means to provide marine entertainment and education for its guests even if it called for the unethical capture and keep of wild animals, but with increased involvement, captivity at the aquarium currently focuses on rescue, research, and education. Although it is clear that the beginning of the aquarium's journey was quite unethical, showing a disregard for the well being and safety of wild animals, it is important to acknowledge the changes the aquarium has made over the years. The animals currently in the aquarium are still captive, and this has caused a lot of controversy within animal activist groups, making it very difficult to decide right from wrong when looking at how the aquarium currently operates; however, it is very clear that the aquarium has evolved towards a more positive interaction with animals. This paper was not created to determine whether or not the aquarium is right or wrong in what they do, but rather to examine how it has evolved and changed its ways to present a more useful, beneficial, and ethical facility of research and education to the public. Murray Newman believes that the "primary objective of aquariums ... is life science education [and this can be achieved by having] imaginative new facilities allowing students of all ages to come in close contact with the animals and learn from living organisms."⁶³ As this paper reveals, the aquarium began with entertainment and did not encounter severe activism issues until later on. Once people began to question the aquarium's methods, activism broke out and, it seems, pushed the aquarium into more ethical territory. Overall, the Vancouver Aquarium has proved itself as an evolving institution throughout history; it has changed and continues to change to provide the best care for animals and the most understandable education for humans that it possibly can. It created history in the city of Vancouver by becoming the first fully-fledged aquarium and marine animal research facility. Murray Newman writes that an "old aquarium hand like [him] can walk around the Vancouver Aquarium and 'read' it, not only as the story of one institution but as a history of the international aquarium movement."⁶⁴ Whether positive or negative, the movement of the Vancouver Aquarium has educated, influenced, and transformed the city of Vancouver.

⁶³ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 249.

⁶⁴ Newman, *Fishbowl*, 236.

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***Fengshui* and China's Landscape: The Positive
Impact of Harmony**

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The use of *fengshui* in site selection, settlement planning, and implementation in China is a longstanding practice, resulting in a positive lasting impact on both the topographical and cultural landscapes of the country. *Fengshui* has a long history, blending over time with other religious and secular schools of thought. For the purpose of this paper, these other elements will be acknowledged, but only referred to when necessary. Similarly, *fengshui* is not the sole rationale behind the construction of settlements (military defense, practicality, and sustainability are also themes here), however, these elements will not be brought into the scope of the paper unless directly related to *fengshui*. The process of site selection for settlement construction involves specific elements that require rigorous adherence, while usually providing flexibility in their priority over each other. In cases where not all elements could be met, modifications were made to the landscape to create a more harmonious relationship between humans and nature. The building of these settlements, as well as the modifications made to achieve this harmony, caused many long lasting impacts on the landscape, biodiversity, and culture of China. Whereas most instances of human impact on landscape of such a large scale results in detrimental long term impacts, in the case of *fengshui* the opposite appears to be the case.

The concept of *fengshui* as a cohesive system was first discovered in a text written in the late 200s-early 300s C.E., describing where best to situate ancestral graves for the purpose of ensuring the good fortune of their descendants. It operated on a set of principles reflecting ideology that certain configurations of land would be best for these sites, as their “yang and yin features would retain favourable life essence” that would be effectively dispersed according to their proximity to wind and water sources.¹ During the Tang and Song dynasties, *fengshui* became more integral to Chinese society.² This was implemented in two ways: by using elements of cosmology, relying on Daoist methods of the eight trigrams and five

¹ Arthur F. Wright, “The Cosmology of the Chinese City,” in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. George William Skinner (California: Stanford University Press, 1977), 54.

² Frédéric Obringer, “*Fengshui*, or the Search for a Very Human Dragon,” *Diogene* 52, no. 3 (2005): 57.

planets, and by focusing on shapes and orientations of different physical elements in the environment, such as mountain orientations, sandbanks, caves, water sources, etc., and how they could best be employed to create harmony between nature and society.³ *Fengshui* became even more popular during and after the Ming dynasty, where the heavy influence of Confucianism became intermingled with elements of Buddhism and Taoism, further perpetuating the emphasis on harmonious interrelationships between natural phenomena and human settlement.⁴

As time went on, *fengshui* blended with other philosophies, religions, and scientific elements, maintaining the central theme that “the general organization of the universe and the possibility that organization has of influencing human lives.”⁵ Much like western countries build off of the precedents of law or logic, China holds value in building off of historical precedent.⁶ As new schools of thought were introduced, they became blended with existing schools, causing a more dynamic and flexible model for site selection and city planning. Schools of thought such as the Dual Forces and Five Elements (*yin yang* and *wuxing*, respectively), incorporated important additional ideas that contributed to the ever evolving foundation of *fengshui*. The Dual Forces school centers on the idea of complementary energies that, “if properly perceived and controlled, [keep] all phenomena in smooth oscillating motion.” While the Five Elements school categorizes natural elements in a sequential way that acts as a form of criteria for site selection and orientation.⁷ These ideas, while intersecting in a complex cross-section of folk belief, religion, philosophy, and science, acts to achieve a methodology that satisfies the physical needs for settlement while providing a harmonious balance of aesthetically pleasing landscape elements.⁸

One of the principle elements of *fengshui* is the concept of harmony. Harmony has always been an integral aspect of *fengshui*, as it is believed that “human destiny is enhanced if [humans] live in harmony with nature, thereby tapping into its auspicious influences.”⁹ Here, the term “nature” refers to a concept much more concrete than thought of in the west; D. W. Y. Kwok encapsulates this explanation by stating that “nature is not seen as the creation of a maker, nor is it viewed as materiality as in the natural sciences. Nature, seldom regarded as abstract, possesses no metaphysical force and needs no symbolism.”¹⁰ Where the idea of being in harmony with nature typically holds at least a somewhat metaphysical connotation in the west, here it refers to a symbiotic relationship between humans and nature that is

³ Obringer, “*Fengshui*,” 57.

⁴ Xiaoxin He and Jun Luo, “*Fengshui* and the Environment of Southeast China,” *Worldviews* 4, no. 3 (2000) 216.

⁵ Obringer, “*Fengshui*,” 55.

⁶ Wright, “The Cosmology of the Chinese City,” 73.

⁷ Wright, “The Cosmology of the Chinese City,” 41-42.

⁸ He and Luo, “*Fengshui* and the Environment of Southeast China,” 223.

⁹ Lawal M. Marafa, “Integrating Natural and Cultural Heritage: the Advantage of Feng Shui Landscape Resources,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 9, no. 4 (2003): 313.

¹⁰ D. W. Y. Kwok, *The Urbane Imagination: Ideas of Civilization in the Chinese Garden* (Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1997), 12.

balanced. This balance is usually assessed by means of the five elements' interaction with the human settlements situated within.¹¹

Working in tandem with the concepts of harmony and balance, or *yin yang*, is the concept of *qi*, or breath and energy,¹² and the elements of wind and water, the literal translations of *feng* and *shui*.¹³ These core concepts dovetail with the Dual Forces School to place emphasis on how human affairs are driven by the planets and heavenly elements, and how they are then reflected in the topography of the earth itself. Because of this, "particular stress is laid upon the shape of mountains and the directions of watercourses, both of which are regarded as Dragons. The principle aim of the Form school, therefore, is to identify good dragons which are full of *Qi*."¹⁴ With respect to the Five Elements School, these concepts are more attached to geographical and cosmological positioning of the site and structures being built on it.¹⁵ Although these are separate schools of thought, they are often intermingled, especially when it favours a greater sense of harmony. Although these ideas could potentially conflict with each other, the main goal when deferring to *fengshui* for site selection and settlement organization is to create a space that is protected by elevations, where "the south remains open, light, sunny, while the other three are closed so that good influences, [or *Qi*], can be concentrated. . . . All in all the ideal site should . . . remind [one] of either a horseshoe or a bent arm."¹⁶ The use of elevations and water sources, whether natural or man-made, are essential to any *fengshui* structure or settlement.¹⁷

With respect to site selection, decisions about where to construct a settlement did not always rely exhaustively on *fengshui*. There are a number of accounts that indicate the use of an oracle to make the initial decision on where to build.¹⁸ However, even the use of an oracle is tied into *fengshui*, as "*fengshui* believes that certain locales are more favourable than others not only because of their natural quality but also their symbolic power that could bring auspiciousness and good health," and the oracle acted as a way to indicate this symbolism.¹⁹ The assistance of a geomancer was often sought to consult on matters of site selection and planning. The information on the exact practices of the geomancer is somewhat elusive, as they were typically not very literate and relied on oral discourse rather than written, leaving gaps in our historical understanding of their functionality. However, *fengshui* manuals that assisted the geomancer by providing examples of different acceptable configurations and relationships between land elevation and water sources have been found.²⁰ In traditional

¹¹ Kwok, *The Urbane Imagination*, 10.

¹² He and Luo, "*Fengshui* and the Environment of Southeast China," 217.

¹³ Obringer, "*Fengshui*," 56.

¹⁴ He and Luo, "*Fengshui* and the Environment of Southeast China," 233.

¹⁵ He and Luo, "*Fengshui* and the Environment of Southeast China," 233.

¹⁶ Obringer, "*Fengshui*," 59-60.

¹⁷ Kwok, *The Urbane Imagination*, 36.

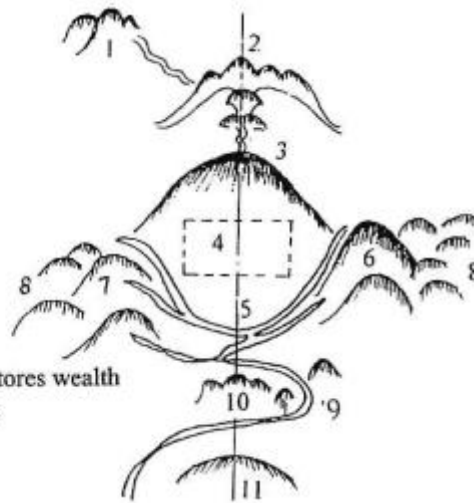
¹⁸ Wright, "The Cosmology of the Chinese City," 35-36.

¹⁹ He and Luo, "*Fengshui* and the Environment of Southeast China," 217.

²⁰ Obringer, "*Fengshui*," 56, 59.

China, site selection was based on five criteria, or esoteric teachings. These five criteria, associated with the Form school, are “mountain dragons, surrounding hills, water courses, spots and directions . . . because these elements symbolize both terrestrial and celestial *Qi*.”²¹ Site selection was conducted through the amalgamation of these five criteria, rather than on a selection of them; the topographical area in question also impacted how much gravity was placed on some criteria over the others.²² Operationally speaking, *fengshui*’s most important task is to first find water, then hold back the wind,²³ and this is achieved by creating a semi-enclosed space that is open in the front and has elevation around the sides and back. The most common elevations are mountains, either natural or man-made, or in newer settlement areas blocks of vegetation referred to as “the *fengshui* woodlands” or “forests.”²⁴ There are also cases where elevations were achieved by the building of walls and/or gates.²⁵ While mountains were the principle element for site selection in mountainous areas, sites in the flat, low regions focused on the opposite: water, in these cases, became the main focus and the orientation of the settlement was then blocked in the front and open in the back.²⁶

- 1 Ancestral dragon mountain;
- 2 Young ancestral dragon mountain;
- 3 Main dragon mountain sheltering the dwelling is undulating and of a beautiful shape;
- 4 The Dragon pit is broad, level and rectangular;
- 5 The facing river curves like a golden band;
- 6 Left Blue dragon should be larger;
- 7 Right White tiger should be lower;
- 8 The protective sands (hills);
- 9 The meander of water-mouths slows the river and stores wealth while the two water-mouth hills defend the wealth;
- 10 The desk hill;
- 11 The facing hill



27

Figure 1: “The Ideal *Fengshui* Model of Landscape”

Sites were then constructed with a specific orientation in mind, using a compass or, prior to such technology, the positioning of the sun and polestar.²⁸ Arthur Write references a poem from the *Book of Songs* in which these methods are described with respect to the building of a new capital in 658:

²¹ He and Luo, “*Fengshui* and the Environment of Southeast China,” 217-218.

²² He and Luo, “*Fengshui* and the Environment of Southeast China,” 221

²³ Obringer, “*Fengshui*,” 59.

²⁴ Marafa, “Integrating Natural and Cultural Heritage,” 311.

²⁵ Wright, “The Cosmology of the Chinese City,” 53.

²⁶ He and Luo, “*Fengshui* and the Environment of Southeast China,” 224-225.

²⁷ Wright, “The Cosmology of the Chinese City,” 221.

²⁸ Wright, “The Cosmology of the Chinese City,” 47.

The Ting-star is in the middle of the sky;
 We begin to build the palaces at Ch'u
 Orienting them by the rays of the sun
 We set to work on the houses at Ch'u
 ...
 We take the omens and they are lucky,
 All of them are truly good.²⁹

This poem demonstrates the importance of using celestial bodies to determine the orientation of the settlement, as well as the importance of symbolism, likely referring to the oracle used to select the site as well as the different topographical elements used to create harmony between the human settlement and nature.

As previously mentioned, the *fengshui* forests are one of the most long lasting elevations surrounding villages next to natural geological elevations. There are three variations of *fengshui* forest depending on the site's location: village, cemetery, and temple *fengshui* forest, respectively. The village *fengshui* forest "is considered the most important and is typically located behind or on either side of a natural village."³⁰ Although the position of the forests themselves are largely determined by their surrounding topography and environments, they tend to be most concentrated in areas mostly used for agriculture in the past.³¹ The forests provided functionality in their vegetation as well as their proximity to water flow and spatial elements conducive to *fengshui*, and as a result have been largely protected throughout the course of China's history. The preservation of the forests out of respect and value for the practice of *fengshui* has acted to further shape China's landscape, which will be examined in more depth later on.³²

It was not always possible to meet the necessary criteria laid out by the esoteric teachings of *fengshui* when selecting sites. In these cases, it was not uncommon to make modifications to the site in order to achieve harmony. Some of these modifications involved the building or altering of elevation types such as walls or forests, but other changes to the landscape were equally acceptable. If a site did not meet the ideal requirements as laid out in figure 1, "*fengshui* texts always [convinced] people to make modifications . . . otherwise it would cause problems to human beings."³³ There were several ways the landscape could be and was modified to better accommodate human settlements and foster a more ideal state of harmony. This included, but was not limited to, creating man-made hills and earth mounds, the diverting of water streams, planting trees, building dams, and erecting structures such as

²⁹ Wright, "The Cosmology of the Chinese City," 38.

³⁰ Liang Hu, Zhen Li, Wen-bo Liao, and Qiang Fan, "Values of Village *Fengshui* Forest Patches in Biodiversity Conservation in the Pearl River Delta, China," *Biological Conservation*, 144, no. 5 (2011): 1554.

³¹ Marafa, "Integrating Natural and Cultural Heritage," 317.

³² Marafa, "Integrating Natural and Cultural Heritage," 310-311.

³³ He and Luo, "*Fengshui* and the Environment of Southeast China," 222.

bridges, pagodas, and towers “in order to balance the demands of the site.”³⁴ These actions, in order to adhere to the needs outlined by *fengshui*, have also acted to (re)shape the landscape of China.

The landscape of China has been significantly impacted in a number of ways due to the application of *fengshui*. Most villages, according to documents of family trees, utilized the services of a *fengshui* master or geomancer in their construction and therefore “display outstanding features of harmonization with nature.”³⁵ A significant number of the older, more traditional cities show evidence of a large amount of land cultivation and the creation of “lakes, ponds, streams, canals, springs, and other bodies of water.” Although these modifications can in part be attributed to *fengshui*, there is also a practical element in creating a self-sustaining settlement that can withstand military siege or other instances where they may be cut off from outside supplies.³⁶ These modifications, along with the impact of simply creating the settlement itself, has changed the drainage routes, soil makeup, vegetation patterns, and general ecosystem of every area in which they are located. Certain modifications are consistent across many settlements, including “location of cities on a level and near waterways; consistent use of pounded earth walls; use of pounded earth platforms as foundations of politically or religiously important buildings . . . [and] orientation of the city to the four cardinal points with emphasis on the north-south axis.”³⁷

The majority of the *fengshui* forests have been well preserved up until present day, even in areas where there has been heavy regional deforestation.³⁸ The successful preservation of these forest patches suggests that despite the settlement patterns, land modifications, and overall impact of humans, harmony with the environment has been successfully maintained in these areas. In a study conducted on “tree species diversity conservation of regional [*fengshui* forest] patches,” it was found that in these forests there is an abundance of “tree species and heterogeneous habitats, which are important for maintaining regional biodiversity.”³⁹ Furthermore, given the fact that there are great distances between many of these forest patches, the study concluded that the *fengshui* forests will likely “improve regional landscape connectivity and increase local species and habitat diversity.” This is especially important with respect to rare and endangered species living within the forest patches.⁴⁰ Due to the excess of biodiversity, housing up to 600 different vegetative and faunal species in a given location, the continued preservation under the principles of *fengshui* act to support this landscape’s harmony and ecological processes.⁴¹ In addition to the ecological

³⁴ He and Luo, “*Fengshui* and the Environment of Southeast China,” 225.

³⁵ He and Luo, “*Fengshui* and the Environment of Southeast China,” 217.

³⁶ Sen-Dou Chang, “The Morphology of Walled Capitals,” in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. George William Skinner. (California: Stanford University Press, 1977), 94.

³⁷ Wright, “The Cosmology of the Chinese City,” 38.

³⁸ Hu et al., “Values of Village,” 1554.

³⁹ Hu et al., “Values of Village,” 1553.

⁴⁰ Hu et al., “Values of Village,” 1557.

⁴¹ Marafa, “Integrating Natural and Cultural Heritage,” 319.

benefits provided by the *fengshui* forests, village inhabitants still adhere by the principles of *fengshui*, believing that the protected forests continue to “influence the geomancy of the village.”⁴² This is, in part, true for the skeptic as well; if one considers the ecological benefits as a catalyst for allowing the village to succeed in other ways. For example, if the village does not burn down, or if the forests prevent landslides from destroying it, resources do not need to be deployed to fix it and therefore the village has a better chance of prospering. This is especially true during the monsoon and fire seasons in Hong Kong, where the denseness of the forest acts to do just these things.⁴³

The application of *fengshui* has also altered the general geographical landscape of China, as well as its culture. Specific types of bamboo and fern species have consistently been found at the edges of the forests where there has been a large amount of human interference.⁴⁴ Also, the nature of the settlement patterns themselves have created fragmented landscapes, as there was little regard for where each village was located in proximity to one another.⁴⁵ The villages, as well as the *fengshui* forests, “represent a cultural heritage because they bear unique testimony to a cultural tradition . . . and are an outstanding example of traditional human settlement representative of a culture that dates back several hundred years.”⁴⁶

As the focus of *fengshui* is on harmony between humans and the environment, the interaction between the two have been particularly sensitive and have resulted in an improvement to the environment rather than its detriment. Dating back over two millennia, elements of *fengshui* have been present in China long before they were documented as a cohesive system of spatial organization. Over the course of history, elements of different religions, philosophies, cosmology, science, and schools of thought have interwoven themselves with the principles of *fengshui*. Of these elements, the concepts of harmony, *yang yin*, and *qi* have remained central to the practice of site location and settlement building. Where landscapes did not meet the criteria, humans did not hesitate to modify the area in order to create a greater harmony between themselves and nature. As a result, these modifications did in fact result in greater harmony and led to many villages that are still intact, forest patches that house a high level of biodiversity, and many other changes to the overall landscape and culture of China.

⁴² Marafa, “Integrating Natural and Cultural Heritage,” 317.

⁴³ Marafa, “Integrating Natural and Cultural Heritage,” 317.

⁴⁴ Marafa, “Integrating Natural and Cultural Heritage,” 316.

⁴⁵ Hu et al., “Values of Village,” 1554.

⁴⁶ Marafa. “Integrating Natural and Cultural Heritage.” 316.

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Pheasants and Class Conflict: How Game Hunting Created the English-Speaking World

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Game hunting – the act of deliberately killing animals for food or sport – has a long and contentious history. Stories of folk-hero hunters such as Robin Hood and Davy Crockett remain popular today, while tales of trophy hunting continue to inspire awe and anger in equal measure. Traditional histories of hunting tend to focus on the heroic exploits of individual hunters, with hunting itself depicted as a consequence of either social class or rural life, with little consideration given to the ability of hunting itself to shape society. Similarly, the impact of game animals themselves on society tends to be either disregarded entirely, or else only considered within the context of animal welfare. This paper will attempt to address these gaps in the literature by presenting a history of game hunting that considers the role of hunting in actively constructing British and American society. This will be achieved with special attention given to the impact of one particular game bird: the common pheasant.¹ This paper will begin by examining the development of hunting traditions in the United Kingdom (UK),² where centuries of legislature aimed at restricting hunting rights to the aristocracy contributed not only to resentment between social classes, but also to the creation of the privileged elite itself. This paper will then explore how hunting in the United States (US) went from being considered the antonym of civilization to being a core part of that nation's identity, particularly among rural white men. Finally, the case of South Dakota will be presented as an extreme example of the impact that hunting, particularly pheasant hunting, can have on a society. In doing so, this paper will argue that the practice of game hunting has not only reflected, but has also actively contributed to the creation of socioeconomic class systems, cultural identities, and even physical geographies throughout history and across the English-speaking world.

¹ It was a chance encounter with a golden pheasant named “Donald Trump” at Surrey’s Urban Safari Rescue Society that inspired this paper; however, despite their beauty, golden pheasants proved to be far less interesting as a subject of study than their ‘common’ counterparts.

² For the sake of brevity, “UK” will be used to refer generally to the British Isles throughout their history, including entities such as the Kingdom of England, the Kingdom of Great Britain, and the Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Similarly, the terms “British” and “English” will be used interchangeably.

Before delving into how hunting in the UK was used as a tool in the creation of aristocratic class privileges, a case must be made for the value of pheasants as this paper's primary animal of study. There are many types of game animals after all, including deer, buffalo, rabbits, grizzlies, all manner of waterfowl, and more. There are a number of qualities that make pheasants particularly valuable for academic study, however. To begin with, pheasants are not native to the British Isles, having been transported to Britain from China during the period of Roman occupation.³ The first explicit reference to a pheasant in Anglo-Saxon England comes from 1059, when King Harold granted the right to consume pheasants to the canons of Waltham Abbey.⁴ Due to their foreign status, the ecological impact of pheasants as an invasive species is easier to quantify than that of animals that are native to Britain, such as foxes. This is particularly important given that pheasants were introduced to every corner of the English-speaking world, albeit with varying degrees of success. The collection and relocation of exotic pheasant breeds from China, India, and Japan became popular during the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries,⁵ while pheasants were subjected to intensive animal husbandry in an attempt to create birds that were faster, more resilient, or more beautiful.⁶ Finally, pheasants are prime subjects of study due to the popularity of hunting them, especially following the invention of more reliable gun technology in the eighteenth-century. Pheasants are quick and difficult to see, which has made them popular targets among game hunters and breeders until the present day.⁷ Pheasants are thus an excellent candidate for examining how hunting has influenced English-speaking society.

The first case that will be explored is that of the UK, where hunting is today characterized by social elitism and land ownership.⁸ The origins of the class divide between the hunting aristocracy and the farming peasantry of England can be traced back to William the Conqueror's Norman invasion of the island in 1066. The Normans, who were renowned lovers of pheasant cuisine, designated huge swathes of the English countryside as "royal forests" wherein it was illegal for anyone but the king to hunt or fell trees.⁹ Such was the Norman zeal for hunting that, at one point during the twelfth-century, nearly one-third of southern England was royal forest, including all of Essex.¹⁰ Individuals who happened to live in forests

³ Michael Yardley, "The history of the pheasant", *The Field*. October 9, 2015, <http://www.thefield.co.uk/shooting/the-history-of-the-pheasant-22364> (accessed December 11, 2016).

⁴ Yardley, "The history of the pheasant".

⁵ Ingvar Svanberg, "Golden Pheasant (*Chrysolophus pictus*) in Sweden in the 1740s", *Der Zoologische Garten* (2007): 26.

⁶ Yardley, "The history of the pheasant".

⁷ Michael Blake, "Interviews with People who have Interesting or Unusual Jobs", interview by Suzanne Yeagley, *McSweeney's Internet Tendency*. March 28, 2013. <https://www.mcsweeney.net/articles/michael-blake-former-pheasant-beater> (accessed December 11, 2016).

⁸ Barney Dickson, on Hutton, and William Adams, *Recreational Hunting, Conservation, and Rural Livelihoods: Science and Practice* (New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 32.

⁹ Charles R. Young, *The Royal Forests of Medieval England* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), 43.

¹⁰ Young, *The Royal Forests of Medieval England*, 44.

were forbidden from procuring resources or carrying weapons, while their dogs had to be declawed in order to prevent accidental hunting. The notion of ‘common land’, which anyone could use for grazing, hunting, and other agricultural activities, was obstructed. The Norman kings soon found that they could generate a sizable income by selling the right to hunt to aristocrats and merchants, and so the divide between the landed elite and the working poor began to take shape.

However, the dominance of the English aristocracy and the fate of game hunting in the UK as an exclusively elitist sport was by no means inevitable by this point in history. The relative independence that English peasants enjoyed is well-documented, to the point that contemporary foreign observers often mistakenly thought that serfdom was never established in the UK.¹¹ Both before and after the Norman invasion, English peasants enjoyed hunting as a sport alongside aristocrats. Fair access to game hunting in forests was a common demand during peasant rebellions; for example, during his revolt in 1381, Wat Tyler demanded that all warrens, chases, and parks should be free so that “throughout the realm, in... the woods and forests, poor as well as rich might take wild beasts and hunt hare in the field.”¹² Similar demands were made by peasants in Continental Europe as well, most famously by French peasants during the French Revolution and German peasants in 1525. While poaching within the forests was a punishable offence, with convicts facing a sizable fine and a year of imprisonment, such laws were rarely enforced even when poachers were captured.¹³ Indeed, poaching was considered to be a legitimate form of protest by the lower classes. Moreover, since foxes were considered to be vermin, not game animals, hunting foxes was permitted for all social classes. Fox hunting thus became a popular pastime throughout Britain until the nineteenth-century, when popular attitudes toward hunting began to shift in favour of animal welfare.¹⁴ The relationship between peasants and aristocrats in the UK during this time was “not one of unquestioning deference”,¹⁵ but rather a complex and malleable relationship with no clear delineation of duties or privileges.

The rigid connection between game hunting and the aristocracy in the UK was instead the result of centuries of legislature which was intentionally aimed at creating a privileged ruling elite, a feat accomplished by the nineteenth-century. The Qualification Act of 1389, which made it illegal to hunt for those who made less than £40 per year, marked the first attempt to restrict game hunting for the aristocracy.¹⁶ This law still permitted some degree of social mobility within upper English society, as wealthy merchants were able to meet this requirement. The Game Act of 1671 was therefore passed, which raised the amount to £100

¹¹ E.P. Thompson, “Eighteenth-Century English Society: Class Struggle Without Class?”, *Social History* 3, no. 2 (1978): 157.

¹² Donna Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside: Hunting, Walking and ecology in English Literature, 1671-1831* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 3.

¹³ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 4.

¹⁴ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 13.

¹⁵ Thompson, “Eighteenth-Century English Society”, 163.

¹⁶ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 75.

per year, which had to come from a freehold estate.¹⁷ For the first time, game hunting was explicitly tied to land ownership in the UK. To put this figure into perspective, a greater land requirement was needed in order to hunt than to vote for a knight of the shire.¹⁸ Moreover, the harshest law passed in the UK during the modern era, the Black Act, was a response to poaching by the lower classes. This law, ratified in 1723, created fifty new capital crimes, which included the act of being in a forest while armed, being disguised in a forest, or wearing face paint.¹⁹ During the Napoleonic Wars, when game animals were scarce, man-traps and armed gamekeepers were deployed to protect the aristocracy's exclusive right to hunt.²⁰ The aristocrats had turned game hunting into a privilege of the gentry; in turn, the right to hunt turned the aristocracy into a privileged class which jealously and often inhumanely guarded its newfound privileges.

After game hunting became an exclusive pastime of the landed elite, the transformative effect of game hunting on the UK's physical geography soon followed. Innovations in agricultural techniques greatly increased agricultural output in Britain in the seventeenth-century, which led to unprecedented population growth at a time when agriculture was becoming less labour-intensive. The resultant Enclosure Acts divided the English countryside, which led to the displacement of millions of peasants and contributed to urbanization. The countryside thus became the exclusive domain of the gentry, who redesigned it to suit their needs; that is, the needs of game animals. New estates were built with the intention of maximizing not only agricultural production but also suitability for hunting, fishing, and shooting.²¹ Notably, landscaped parks were designed specifically to accommodate pheasants. Young conifers, whose branches were best for pheasants to perch on, were planted in thin belts and clumps that have since become an integral part of the quintessential image of rural England.²² These were then filled with shade-resistant underbrush, as well as rhododendrons, which provided pheasants with a place to hide. These carefully maintained pheasant-friendly parks later inspired the Romantic movement of the 1780s, which in turn led to the creation of the National Park movement in the UK.²³ Another conspicuous feature of these estates, however, was the absence of visible labourers. While the lower classes were necessary for maintaining these estates, the estates were intended to be the exclusive domain of the gentry, with the peasants condemned to the cities.

The sport of game hunting itself underwent significant changes in the nineteenth-century, and with it class relations in the UK changed as well. New legislation in 1831 ostensibly opened game hunting to men of all social classes, but significant hurdles remained in place to prevent the sport from being spoiled by commoners. New tactics for hunting pheasants,

¹⁷ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 73.

¹⁸ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 74.

¹⁹ Pat Rogers, "The Waltham Blacks and the Black Act", *The Historical Journal* 17, no. 3 (1974): 465.

²⁰ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 6.

²¹ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 10.

²² Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 70.

²³ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 15.

called the *battue*, were imported from Continental Europe. This method of hunting involved the use of large battalions of ‘pheasant beaters’ who would guide the pheasants to one spot to allow for more efficient killing.²⁴ This method resembled the organized structure of a military campaign, which made it more appealing to aristocrats, but also incredibly expensive.²⁵ Improvements in gun technology made guns cheaper and more reliable, but pheasant hunting remained beyond the reach of common men who were actively discouraged from participating by aristocratic hunting societies. The new *battue* form of hunting also led to disputes between aristocrats and the lower classes, as hunting parties would often trample crops, break fences, and generally cause chaos.²⁶ Pheasants would also eat farmers’ crops, while the burning of land to provide the right conditions for pheasant breeding caused topsoil erosion and ecological damage, which further exacerbated tensions between social classes. In Scotland, where two million acres of moorland was devoted to pheasant shooting estates in 1870, angry locals organized themselves into an Anti-Royalty League which campaigned against the practice. By the turn of the century, game hunting, and especially pheasant hunting, had become a sport of the few at the expense of the many.

At the same time that game hunting was changing to become strictly an aristocratic sport, anti-hunting sentiment in Britain was on the rise. This shift in public attitude began in the cities, where many peasants had been forced to flee following enclosure. What had once been a class of farmers now became a class of pet-owners, and their attitude towards animals reflected this change. According to animal historian Harriet Ritvo, a direct consequence of urbanization in Britain was that animals ceased to be regarded as independent agents, and instead began to be seen as “significant primarily as the object of human manipulation.”²⁷ Evidence for this transformation can be seen in Britain’s legal system at the time, which, prior to the nineteenth-century, tried animals as though they were humans.²⁸ With the aristocracy successfully tying social status to land ownership with the Game Act of 1671, new ideas about the importance of private property also began to emerge. One consequence of this was the commodification of animals and the emergence of an international exotic animal trade.²⁹ More importantly, notions of animal welfare emerged. John Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, which tells the story of a vegetarian Eden where all animals live in harmony, became popular at this time.³⁰ However, most Englishmen were not receptive to moral arguments against animal consumption, and instead argued against hunting on the grounds that it represented the usurpation of constitutional liberties by a privileged elite.³¹ This attitude also became popular in the colonies, where in Canada, for instance, the *Calgary Herald* referred to game

²⁴ Blake, “Interviews with People who have Interesting or Unusual Jobs”.

²⁵ Antony Taylor, “Pig-Sticking Princes: Royal Hunting, Moral Outrage, and the Republican Opposition to Animal Abuse in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Britain”, *The Historical Association* 89, no. 293 (2004): 34.

²⁶ Taylor, “Pig-Sticking Princes”, 41.

²⁷ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 7.

²⁸ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 7.

²⁹ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 8.

³⁰ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 115.

³¹ Taylor, “Pig-Sticking Princes”, 41.

meat as “the food of plutocrats”.³² This proclamation was followed in 1933 by a group of Canadian dissidents, calling themselves the “Square Shooters”, who stole 1400 pheasant chicks from a government-run farm in Alberta. This act of theft was done not for the sake of animal welfare, but, according to the group, because “We [the poor] think we have just as much a right to them [the pheasants].”³³ The abolition of game hunting thus became a popular rallying cry for republicans throughout the British Empire at a time when class consciousness was on the rise.

Although the UK’s aristocracy is far less visible today than ever before, the elitism of game hunting never disappeared from British society. While hunting, and particularly pheasant hunting, has increased in popularity since World War Two (WWII), recent estimates show that only 0.75% of the UK’s population participates in pheasant hunting, and only 1.3% hunt at all.³⁴ The elitism of hunting is maintained through the continued prevalence of a social stigma against the sport, as well as the sport’s unusually high cost in the UK. A single day of pheasant shooting can cost as much as £1500, with the average hunter spending £4166 per year on the sport.³⁵ This cost, which is nearly triple that of comparable nations, owes itself to both the continued practice of the expensive *battue* method of hunting, as well as the cost of maintaining the UK’s government-run pheasant-rearing program, which rears and releases tens of millions of pheasants every year.³⁶ Nevertheless, while game hunting today remains a sport of the wealthy few in the UK, game animals such as pheasants continue to have a significant impact on British culture and geography. As land under cultivation in Britain increased from twelve to eighteen million acres in five years during WWII,³⁷ the only thing preventing the destruction of millions of miles of hedgerows and forest clumps in the British countryside was, according to one author, pheasants. As Marion Shoard claims: “It is to pheasant shooting that we owe the preservation of thousands of woods, parklands, thick hedgerows and marshy meadows.”³⁸ Moreover, while very little of the UK’s population hunts, roughly 67% claimed that maintaining woodlands explicitly for pheasants and other gamebirds was a priority in the 1980s.³⁹ This can be attributed to the popularity of pedestrianism in the UK, one final consequence of hunting culture in the country. For those who were unwilling or unable to hunt, walking provided a way for the lower classes to “consume the aesthetic of nature”, as the Romantic authors phrased it.⁴⁰ Walking remains unusually popular in Britain, with one census reporting that, on a typical sunny Sunday,

³² Donald G. Wetherell, *Wildlife, Land, and People: A Century of Change in Prairie Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2016), 181.

³³ Wetherell, *Wildlife, Land, and People*, 239.

³⁴ Dickson, *Recreational Hunting, Conservation, and Rural Livelihoods*, 33.

³⁵ Dickson, *Recreational Hunting, Conservation, and Rural Livelihoods*, 33.

³⁶ John Martin, “The Transformation of Lowland Game Shooting in England and Wales since the Second World War: The Supply Side Revolution”, *Rural History* 22, no. 2 (2011): 207.

³⁷ Martin, “The Transformation of Lowland Game Shooting”, 209.

³⁸ Martin, “The Transformation of Lowland Game Shooting”, 211.

³⁹ Martin, “The Transformation of Lowland Game Shooting”, 212.

⁴⁰ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 15.

nearly two-fifths of the entire population of the UK goes for an excursion into the countryside.⁴¹

The second case where game hunting played a transformative role on society that will be examined by this paper is that of the US, where game hunting gained an ethnic, rather than elitist, connotation. Whereas the landed elite in the UK had used legislation to deliberately limit the lower classes' ability to hunt, legislation in the colonial US had the opposite effect. Beginning with Massachusetts in 1629, the colonies were advertised as hunting havens, where game hunting was not only permitted, it was a legal right for everyone.⁴² Curiously, hunting proved to be very unpopular at first. This was for several reasons. First, many of the original settlers were Protestant, and thus had a moral prejudice against hunting. The Puritans of New England were particularly opposed to the practice, which they considered to be "frivolous and ungodly".⁴³ Second, hunting had already begun to acquire an elitist reputation in Britain at this time, which made it unpopular among the more independent-minded colonists. Third, the close proximity between the settlers and Aboriginal communities meant that hunting became associated with the Aboriginal lifestyle, which was considered to be uncivilized. The Enlightenment-era ideas of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, which considered hunters to be on the bottom of the social ladder, were popular within the colonies. A British traveller to the colonies around this time found that those who did hunt were "invariably open-hearted and agreeable", but noted that "it has been very much the fashion [here] to speak ill of such men."⁴⁴

Popular attitudes toward hunting in the US were irrevocably transformed by the American Revolution, which saw hunting become an essential component of white American identity. American soldiers were dressed in hunters' garb for economic as well as symbolic reasons. Poaching had a long history in England as a means of protest against the aristocracy, and so, by dressing as hunters, the Revolutionaries consciously depicted their struggle as a war of the common man against the British elite.⁴⁵ The universal right to hunt that was guaranteed by the former colonial charters was enshrined in the new Constitution; henceforth, democracy and the right to hunt would go hand-in-hand. Hunters, previously shunned as anti-social vagabonds, were now elevated to the status of folk-heroes admired for their independent spirit and self-reliance. American culture shifted after the war to reflect these newfound values, with hunting phrases such as "a sitting duck" or "a buck" entering the American vocabulary.⁴⁶ As the voting franchise expanded to include all white men during the nineteenth-century, hunting became intertwined with notions of racial empowerment and expansionism. Wars against Mexico and Aborigines were characterized as hunts, while

⁴¹ Landry, *The Invention of the Countryside*, 125.

⁴² Daniel Justin Herman, "Hunting and American Identity: The Rise, Fall, Rise and Fall of an American Pastime" in *American National Pastimes: A History*, edited by Mark Dyreson and Jaime Schultz (New York: Routledge, 2015), 57.

⁴³ Herman, "Hunting and American Identity", 58.

⁴⁴ Herman, "Hunting and American Identity", 59.

⁴⁵ Herman, "Hunting and American Identity", 61.

⁴⁶ Herman, "Hunting and American Identity", 61.

groups calling themselves “patriotic hunters” called for the annexation of Latin America and Canada.⁴⁷ While hunting in the US never acquired the elitist connotations that existed in the UK, hunting did represent the dominance of one group over all others, in this case white American men over Aborigines, slaves, Mexicans, and women.

As in the UK, much of the impact of hunting on American society and culture can still be seen in the present day. After the voting franchise was opened up to groups comprising non-whites and women – groups which, unlike white men, did not possess strong hunting traditions – hunting ceased to be considered a universal value by many in the US. Nevertheless, hunting in the US is still a sport of the masses, with over 18% of the rural population engaging in it.⁴⁸ As of 2011, 94% of hunters in the US were white; of these, only 10% were women.⁴⁹ For comparison, whites only account for 63% of the total US population.⁵⁰ Yet, for these individuals, the right to hunt has remained a cornerstone of democracy, with every attempt to impose bag limits, hunting seasons, national parks, and, of course, gun control legislation meeting fierce resistance from groups who equate hunting with personal liberty.⁵¹ Ironically, had it not been for the decision of the British aristocracy to turn game hunting into a privileged right of the upper classes, which led to English colonies advertising themselves as hunting havens where the right to hunt was guaranteed, this aspect of white American culture may never have emerged.

Finally, the case of the US state of South Dakota provides an extreme example of the extent to which game hunting, specifically pheasant hunting, can shape a society. The first pheasants to come to the US, sixty Chinese ring-necked pheasants, arrived in Oregon in 1881 aboard a ship belonging to Owen Nickerson Denny, US consul in China.⁵² These pheasants were released on the Columbia River, and were followed in 1882 and 1884 by two more shiploads. Denny’s intention was to introduce pheasants in the hopes of providing good sport. His plan was successful, with pheasant populations soon establishing themselves across nineteen states, including South Dakota. South Dakota once had an abundance of game animals, but these were nearly all depleted by settlers in the late nineteenth-century.⁵³ Nevertheless, the state proved to have the perfect mixture of “row crops, small grains, fallow lands, pasturelands, grasslands, and abandoned farmland” to accommodate a sizeable pheasant population.⁵⁴ In 1940, *Life Magazine* described South Dakota as “a paradise for

⁴⁷ Herman, “Hunting and American Identity”, 62.

⁴⁸ Dickson, *Recreational Hunting, Conservation, and Rural Livelihoods*, 32.

⁴⁹ Herman, “Hunting and American Identity”, 64.

⁵⁰ Herman, “Hunting and American Identity”, 64.

⁵¹ Herman, “Hunting and American Identity”, 62.

⁵² Kit Oldham, “The first ring-necked pheasants introduced into the United States arrive at Port Townsend on March 13, 1881”, *History Link*. December 31, 2007. <http://www.historylink.org/File/8444> (accessed December 11, 2016).

⁵³ Frederick Errington and Deborah Gewertz, “Pheasant Capitalism: Auditing South Dakota’s State Bird”, *American Ethnologist* 42, no. 3 (2015), 400.

⁵⁴ Christopher Laingen, “How Human and Natural Driving Forces Affect Pheasants and Pheasant Hunting in South Dakota”, *Focus on Geography* 12 (2008), 25.

pheasant hunters”,⁵⁵ a legacy which has survived ever since. South Dakota’s pheasant hunting season now attracts over 100,000 out-of-state visitors every year, equal to 13% of South Dakota’s entire population, who contribute nearly \$200 million to the state’s economy.⁵⁶ While the overall number of hunters in the US has dropped 7% since 1960, the number of pheasant hunters in South Dakota has risen by 34%.⁵⁷ In all, it is estimated that 50 million pheasants have been killed in the state since hunting began in 1919.⁵⁸

The introduction of the Chinese ring-necked pheasant completely revolutionized South Dakotan culture. South Dakota is home to both the largest and second-largest pheasant statues in the world, at Huron and Gregory, respectively.⁵⁹ The pheasant also features on the South Dakotan commemorative quarter alongside Mount Rushmore, as chosen by popular vote. In 1943, State Representative Paul Kretschmar advocated for adopting the pheasant as the state bird due to its “good mixture” of different breeds, its vigor, its beauty, its non-migratory nature, and its economic value.⁶⁰ In other words, the pheasant was considered to reflect the qualities that the South Dakotans prided themselves on. Needless to say, the vote passed. The South Dakotan government even helped to publish a children’s book, *The Mystery of the Pheasants*, in 2012, which tells the story of two children who go on their first pheasant hunt.⁶¹ Amidst themes of family and tradition, the book explores how pheasants helped South Dakota through economic hardships such as the Dustbowl of the 1930s, while reinforcing the narrative that the lives of South Dakotans are inseparably intertwined with those of the pheasants.

So important is the cultural significance of pheasants to South Dakotans that South Dakota has enacted a series of land reform laws explicitly aimed at making the state as accommodating to pheasants as possible, even at great economic cost to the state. Pheasants thrive in sparsely forested areas and in areas of low agricultural activity. Thus, ten percent of South Dakota’s land is publicly owned and set aside for pheasants and other game birds.⁶² Subsidies are also offered to farmers in exchange for them agreeing to keep parts of their land fallow for extended periods, while the growth of wildflowers, weeds, and underbrush is encouraged. Additionally, some farmers have taken to planting rows or clumps of trees on their land, similar to those found in the English countryside.⁶³ This is despite the fact that, while pheasant hunting contributes nearly \$200 million to the South Dakotan economy annually, farming contributes \$25.6 billion; meanwhile, some farmland in the state sells for as much as \$13,500 per acre.⁶⁴ Not only has South Dakota become a pheasant paradise, it

⁵⁵ Errington, “Pheasant Capitalism”, 401.

⁵⁶ Laingen, “How Human and Natural Driving Forces Affect Pheasants and Pheasant Hunting in South Dakota”, 23.

⁵⁷ Laingen, “How Human and Natural Driving Forces Affect Pheasants and Pheasant Hunting in South Dakota”, 23.

⁵⁸ Errington, “Pheasant Capitalism”, 401.

⁵⁹ Laingen, “How Human and Natural Driving Forces Affect Pheasants and Pheasant Hunting in South Dakota”, 24.

⁶⁰ Errington, “Pheasant Capitalism”, 401.

⁶¹ Errington, “Pheasant Capitalism”, 403.

⁶² Laingen, “How Human and Natural Driving Forces Affect Pheasants and Pheasant Hunting in South Dakota”, 26.

⁶³ Laingen, “How Human and Natural Driving Forces Affect Pheasants and Pheasant Hunting in South Dakota”, 29.

⁶⁴ Errington, “Pheasant Capitalism”, 408.

has done so at great financial expense, which is a clear testament to the importance of these game birds within South Dakotan society.

Interestingly, South Dakota appears to be on the verge of substantial social change with regard to game hunting and pheasants in particular. Despite the state's best efforts, pheasant populations are declining, reaching their lowest number since the 1970s in 2013.⁶⁵ Monoculture cropping is on the rise, with demand for crops such as corn skyrocketing due to international pressures. Accompanying changes in agricultural production is the gradual consolidation of many smaller farms into larger farms that has been ongoing since WWII. While there were 72,454 farms in South Dakota in 1940, each averaging 545 acres in size, there are now only 31,898 farms, each averaging 1,352 acres.⁶⁶ The rural population is shrinking dramatically, while private landowners have been purchasing massive estates for the sole purpose of pheasant hunting. For example, in 2003 alone, thirty-four people bought 9,848 acres of farmland for pheasant hunting, with some of the buyers traveling from as far as Florida.⁶⁷ Legal disputes have also emerged with regard to the ownership of birds that are shot on the border between public and private land. Hunting lobbyists are petitioning the government to enact legislature aimed at protecting pheasants, while agriculturalists complain that unkempt lands are harming agricultural output. At a Pheasant Habitat Summit in December 2013, Governor Dennis Daugaard proclaimed that pheasants were no longer a "perk", but instead now had to be "managed as a commodity".⁶⁸ It is difficult to avoid drawing parallels between the current situation in South Dakota and the social upheaval in England that accompanied the Enclosure Acts and the legal triumph of the hunting-class aristocrats. Pheasants, it seems, continue to be as contentious and influential as ever.

While traditional histories of game hunting have tended to focus on the heroic exploits of hunters, the symbolism of the hunt, or the cruelty of hunting, the academic literature regarding the role of hunting as a means of creating socioeconomic class structures and national identities remains woefully scarce. In some cases, such as in the UK, the class component of hunting is taken for granted. Few ask why hunting is elitist in the UK but not in the US, for instance. Similarly, the assumption that hunting was popularized in the US due to the pressures of colonial life overlooks the fact that early Americans were vehemently opposed to hunting. Examination of those hunting traditions reveals that they were dynamic and contentious. Groups defined themselves either in opposition to or in support of hunting, while the act of hunting itself rendered significant changes upon both its practitioners and the landscape that they inhabited. This in turn created new customs, such as pedestrianism and Romanticism in the UK. As seen by the example of South Dakota, this transformative process is ongoing. Game hunting, and game birds themselves, will continue to play a role in creating the English-speaking world.

⁶⁵ Errington, "Pheasant Capitalism", 407.

⁶⁶ Errington, "Pheasant Capitalism", 403.

⁶⁷ Laingen, "How Human and Natural Driving Forces Affect Pheasants and Pheasant Hunting in South Dakota", 28.

⁶⁸ Errington, "Pheasant Capitalism", 409.

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**The Great Leap Forward: Nature is not
a Passive Opponent**

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History 3140: Environment & Society in East Asia

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Mao Zedong believed revolution was like wave, which inevitably ebbed and flowed.¹ Metaphorically, Mao was correct, and the Great Leap Forward movement is a perfect example of this trope. Mao pushed Chinese society forward with communism, agricultural reform, and industrial revolution, and like a wave, Chinese society flowed during the mid-twentieth century. However, according to this metaphor, there must also be the inevitable process of recession. But, its okay, it's like a wave... and waves are tranquil and serene, right? Although this metaphor is very Zen in nature, it does not accurately depict the “real world” costs of the Great Leap Forward. Conservatively, the ebb of the wave was 30 million dead and the devastation of the Chinese environment, and this fact cannot be covered by pretty metaphors. The Great Leap Forward may have moved like a wave, but Mao's revolution was a “war on nature,” which was utterly futile and caused enormous loss and suffering. In this paper, I will demonstrate the futility of this war through the analysis of the policy reforms, the application of the restructurings of agricultural processes, and finally the consequences of the movement to conquer nature.

The policy reforms of the Great Leap Forward can be characterized by their fundamental intention: to wage war on nature. To facilitate Mao's industrial and agricultural revolutions, he viewed nature as an enemy that must be subdued, and he believed that nature was “fundamentally separate from humans,”² which was, to be frank, ignorant. Mao refused to acknowledge the implications of his war on nature, and his ignorance lead to great repercussions; however, he might have argued that the great famine of 1959-61 was simply an inevitable aspect of revolution. To Mao, the point of the Great Leap Forward was to

¹ Gordon Bennett, *Yundong: Mass Campaigns in Chinese Communist Leadership*, (California: University of California, 1976), 8.

² Frank Dikotter, *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-1962* (New York: Walker Publishing Company, 2010), 174.

subjugate nature to facilitate massive gains “in agriculture production and in people’s lives.”³ To do this, Mao pitted the people of China against the environment in the largest movement of civilian labor in history. Mao revealed his intentions in his speech to launch the Great Leap Forward when he declared, “There is a new war: we should open fire on nature.”⁴ There were two aspects to the Great Leap Forward movement: industrial and agricultural. The industrial revolution had substantial environmental implications as mass scale deforestation lead to countless instances of soil erosion and degradation, and the use of pesticides not only harmed biodiversity but it also contaminated animals, people, soil, and air.⁵ The industrial revolution did not have any direct and concrete implications on the environment that perpetuated the famine, so for the purpose of this paper, agricultural reforms will be the focus. However, it must be acknowledged that agriculture was only part of this massive campaign. The agricultural revolution was advocated through the “Eight-Character Charter,” which prioritized restructurings in: landscaping, fertilizer, water, seeds, close planting, crop protections, tools, and management.⁶ This charter suggested a complete reorganization of all aspects of the agricultural industry, but it will be argued later in this paper that scientific method and reason were not corner stones of the transformations.

Mao instilled his policies and reforms through mass campaigns because he knew that China did not have some of the most important assets that were required to drive the revolution. China did not have an abundance of natural resources, and Mao’s government did not have adequate funds to finance his projects. What Mao did have was an enormous population of workers, and he mobilized the masses to facilitate his revolutionary ideas. In “*Yundong*: Mass Campaigns in Chinese Communist Leadership,” Gordon Bennett labeled the mobilization of the masses as *yundong*, which he described as “an organized and purposeful mass activity,”⁷ but this is a simplified definition of the term. Bennett later goes on to expand and rearticulate his definition of *yundong* by stating, “A Chinese *yundong* is a government-sponsored effort to storm and eventually overwhelm strong but vulnerable barriers to the progress of socialism through intensive mass mobilization of active personal commitment.”⁸ This is an accurate summary of the technique that Mao developed to mobilize China’s peasant population, and it should be understood that nature was the “strong but vulnerable barrier” that stood between Mao’s ideas and the realization of his dreams. The importance of this campaign was demonstrated in Mao’s statement, “If we do not rely on the power of the masses, then there is no possibility of achieving our goals of more, faster, better, and cheaper,”⁹ but the real

³ Han Dongping, “Farmers, Mao, and Discontent in China: From the Great Leap Forward to the Present,” *Monthly Review* 61, no. 7 (December 2009): 20.

⁴ Dikotter, *Mao’s Great Famine*, 174.

⁵ Dikotter, *Mao’s Great Famine*, 186.

⁶ Singrid Schmalzer, *Red Revolution, Green Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2016), 29.

⁷ Bennett, *Yundong*, 17.

⁸ Bennett, *Yundong*, 18.

⁹ David A. Pietz, *The Yellow River: The Problem of Water in Modern China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 190.

consequences of this campaign was that no region of China was protected from total and utter environmental annihilation.

The fundamental mistake in Mao's attempt to utilize mass mobilization and to subjugate nature was that he relied on false science. Singrid Schmalzer, in *Red Revolution, Green Revolution*, argued that there were binary ideas about scientific study and implementation, which could not be unified to form a functioning system of reforms in mid-twentieth century China. The binaries were labeled *tu* and *yang*. "*Tu* denotes a cluster of related meanings (native, Chinese, local, rustic, mass, crude) that contrasted with *yang* (foreign, Western, elite, professional, ivory-tower)."¹⁰ By these definitions, it is evident that the reforms that were instilled during the Great Leap Forward were internally flawed because of the confluence of conflicting ideas. In rural areas, *tu* ideas dominated the agricultural processes because it was the manner in which farmers had worked their lands for centuries, but Mao's policy makers advocated and implemented new, foreign, and ultimately unsuccessful agricultural practices. The main reason that *yang* ideas were unsuccessful was that they were based on hack science that was adopted from Soviet Russia. These philosophies were drawn from Trofim Lysenko, who was an uneducated peasant with biologically insane ideas. Lysenko's "transformist belief that all organic nature is infinitely malleable and subject to human manipulation"¹¹ was readily adopted by Mao, but Lysenko's ideas lacked scientific method. Mao implemented policies such as close and deep planting, and he even tried to control the weather with Lysenkism philosophy, which ultimately led to large-scale failures. However, in *Hungry Ghosts*, Jasper Becker argued that not all Chinese farmers readily accepted Mao's restructurings of their *tu* principles. Becker provided evidence that, in areas where Mao would visit, farmers would "remove rice plants from away fields and transplant them along Mao's route to give the impression of wildly abundant crops."¹² It is not evident how many farmers adopted or rejected Mao's ideas, but the pertinent issue of this argument is the inability of the binary ideologies in agricultural reforms to unite during the Great Leap Forward. Furthermore, the context is now set for the massive and seemingly illogical movements that would follow.

Water management is the first area of analysis on how Mao used his mass campaigns to instill agricultural reforms because it was the largest part of Mao's changes. Because of the scale, Mao's plans for water management had the effect of completely reshaping China's water systems, and it created environmental consequences that still persist. Mao's plan was to store water and to reallocate it to areas that traditionally did not have sufficient natural flows of water to sustain the growth of agricultural production that he expected. The largest of Mao's projects was the damming of the Yellow River and the construction of channels to create and expand irrigation networks. By the end of 1959, "the state boasted that 4,000 large irrigated systems had been constructed" and that the irrigated acreage in the Yellow River

¹⁰ Schmalzer, *Red Revolution, Green Revolution*, 34.

¹¹ Robert Marks, *China: Its Environment and History* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012), 273.

¹² Jasper Becker, *Hungry Ghosts: Mao's Secret Famine* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), 72.

Valley increased fifty-eight-fold between 1957 and 1959.¹³ These statistics demonstrate the large scale of the irrigation projects during the course of the Great Leap Forward movement, and they show the success of the mobilization of the masses, at least in principle. The most impressive aspect of these projects was that construction was completed entirely by free labor,¹⁴ but there was also one major draw back from these projects; they failed to increase agricultural production. David A. Pietz credited this failure to “pressures for haste, a lack of technical expertise, and an overreliance on local planning and management.”¹⁵ All these factors contributed to the famine, but a deeper explanation is needed.

First, the systems took incredible inputs of manpower. To build the Xin’anjiang reservoir in northern Zhejiang province during 1958, “300,000 people were transferred *en masse*”¹⁶ of which the majority of workers were drawn from agricultural areas. In “On the Causes of China’s Agricultural Crisis and the Great Leap Famine,” Justin Yifu Lin and Dennis Tao Yang suggested that between the industrial sector and the construction of Mao’s massive projects, there was an outflow of roughly 41 million workers from agriculture production during 1957 and 1958, “which represented a 21 percent decline”¹⁷ in laborers. Lao Yu, a peasant from southern Sichuan, confirmed the massive outflow of able-bodied workers when he recalled,

In those days there was no one in the countryside to do the agricultural work. The fields were covered in weeds and they grew taller and taller... All strong and young laborers were sent to make iron and steel, leaving only a few women, elderly people, and children at home...¹⁸

This transfer of manpower created a 15% decrease in agricultural production in 1959.¹⁹ Second, the dams were built with earth, so most of them had “collapsed within two or three years.”²⁰ The true extent of this failure is apparent in the statistics. According to Frank Dikotter, 38 percent of the dams “were unable to hold back the floodwaters during the rainy season,” by 1980, 2,976 of the dams had collapsed, and the ones that remained were “dangerous time bombs ticking away for decades.”²¹ So, while the state may have boasted about its construction of 4000 irrigation systems, it was essentially a futile celebration because, in practical terms, the increased attempts to take control of China’s water systems caused a decrease in agricultural production. This then becomes the first factor of the war to control and harness nature that led to the famine.

¹³ Pietz, *The Yellow River*, 222.

¹⁴ Becker, *Hungry Ghosts*, 77.

¹⁵ Pietz, *The Yellow River*, 222.

¹⁶ Becker, *Hungry Ghosts*, 77.

¹⁷ Justin Yifu Lin and Dennis Tao Yang, “On the Causes of China’s Agricultural Crisis and the Great Leap Famine,” *China Economic Review* 9, no. 2 (1998): 129.

¹⁸ Lao Yu, in *Forgotten Voices of Mao’s Great Famine: An Oral History*, edited by Zhou Xun (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 117.

¹⁹ Lin and Yang, “China’s Agricultural Crisis,” 129.

²⁰ Becker, *Hungry Ghosts*, 77.

²¹ Dikotter, *Mao’s Great Famine*, 183.

Next, the illusion of successful water management directly influenced Mao's protocols for land management. During 1958, there was supposedly evidence to suggest that the harvest would be a bumper crop, and "the government started to accept outrageously high estimates of grain production."²² Under the illusion of surplus grain stock, Mao initiated a system of land management he touted as the "three-three system" in which "grain would only occupy one-third of the sown area."²³ Within this system, another third was left fallow, and the remaining third was used for "afforestation, reservoirs, and the extensive cultivation of flower, shrubs, and trees to turn the whole land [...] into a garden."²⁴ The obvious intention behind this policy was the complete management and subjugation of the natural environment to maximize various outputs for human use or consumption. The catch phrase "sow less, harvest more" was attached to this policy, but the impractical nature of this philosophy is dumbfounding. In Inner Mongolia and Qinghai, it was reported that sown land decreased by 21 percent during 1959,²⁵ while the national average was a reduction of 10 percent.²⁶ The real implication of this policy was that less land was sown; therefore less wheat was produced, and when the projection of the bumper crop proved to be false, it exasperated the food shortage.

Mao had equally detrimental ideas on how the limited land should be sown, which formed the close planting section of the "Eight-Character Charter." Traditionally, wheat fields were sown at a density of 1.5 million seedlings per 2.5 acres. Mao's great strategy enforced 6-7.5 million seedlings per 2.5 acres in 1958, and this figure was increased to 12-15 million seedlings in 1959.²⁷ This strategy of close planting had one universal effect - the crops died. Mao's belief that planting seedlings closer together would increase crop outputs can be traced back to Lysenko's false science, but it is also demonstrative of how absolutely Mao believed that nature would submit to human inputs. Mao's philosophy of "sow less, harvest more" was simple, but in reality, it merely shows how ignorant Mao was of biological processes. To compound the problems caused by close planting, Mao also insisted that deep plowing would increase production because he falsely believed that deeper planting grew taller wheat plants.²⁸ Becker used the example of the mass mobilization in Liaoning province during 1958 to articulate the extent of Mao's efforts to propagate this false science. Becker stated, "5 million people with tens of thousands of animals [were ordered to] toil non-stop for forty-five days to deep-plough 3 million hectares of land."²⁹ Deng Xiansheng, a farmer from Dongguan,

²² Lin and Yang, "China's Agricultural Crisis," 129.

²³ Lin and Yang, "China's Agricultural Crisis," 129.

²⁴ Becker, *Hungry Ghosts*, 76.

²⁵ Becker, *Hungry Ghosts*, 76.

²⁶ Lin and Yang, "China's Agricultural Crisis," 129.

²⁷ Becker, *Hungry Ghosts*, 72.

²⁸ Becker, *Hungry Ghosts*, 72.

²⁹ Becker, *Hungry Ghosts*, 73.

shared a similar personal account about the futility of the Lysenko's farming techniques. Deng recalled,

The order to start close planting came from the central government. I don't understand why we had to do it. All the old farmers had warned the officials that the crops needed space to grow. They didn't listen, and insisted that we must plant the crops as tightly as possible. In the end hardly anything grew. ... The "deep plowing" was even worse. We were told that the deeper the land was tilled, the better the crops would grow. We dug nearly one meter deep, so deep that once an ox fell in and couldn't get out.³⁰

These examples demonstrate the massive tracts of land that were subjected to an ultimately detrimental agricultural process, and it displays the astounding amount of labor that was put into this particular movement. However, it was soon realized that deep plowing and close planting would always have the same outcome – the crops died.

Furthermore, the four-pest movement was not directly tied into the "Eight-Character Charter," but its implications had indisputably negative implications for Chinese citizens. The four-pest campaign was Mao's policy to eliminate four particular species of animals that he considered to be in opposition to his revolution. He suggested the complete annihilation of mosquitoes, rats, flies, and sparrows, which is indicative of how absolute Mao's war on nature was. Again, Mao's utilized his philosophies of *yundong*, and the campaign became what Dikotter considered "one of the most bizarre and ecologically damaging episodes of the Great Leap Forward."³¹ Mao's believed that sparrows were eating the grain; therefore they were depriving his people from a valuable food source and the fruits of their labors. Mao's solution was simple: kill them all. Dikotter described the wacky methods that the Chinese people used to implement the policy,

Banging on drums, clashing pots or beating gongs, a giant din was raised to keep sparrows flying until they were so exhausted that they simply dropped from the sky. Eggs were broken and nestlings destroyed; the birds were also shot out of the air. Timing was of the essence, as the entire country was made to march in lockstep in the battle against the enemy, making sure that the sparrows had nowhere to escape.³²

The chaos of this campaign is indicative of the madness of the mass campaign, but it also demonstrates the indisputable effectiveness of collectivism through the movements. Shanghai reported the death of 1,367,400 sparrows during one campaign in 1958.³³ There

³⁰ Deng Xiansheng, in *Forgotten Voices of Mao's Great Famine: An Oral History*, edited by Zhou Xun (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 120-121.

³¹ Dikotter, *Mao's Great Famine*, 186.

³² Dikotter, *Mao's Great Famine*, 187.

³³ Dikotter, *Mao's Great Famine*, 187.

was no scientific basis for the war on sparrows, and the four-pest movement can be credited to Mao's belief that nature was depriving his people from essential commodities. However, this was not the case. In fact, sparrows were an essential element of the ecological systems that supported agricultural production, which became painfully evident with the infestation of locusts that followed the annihilation of the sparrow population. Around Nanjing, "where a ferocious campaign had been fought against the sparrows,"³⁴ it is estimated that insects damaged roughly 60 percent of the crops during the autumn of 1960. This campaign evidently had large ecological consequences, and it was a significant contributor to the great famine.

Finally, it is pertinent to synthesize the individual movements to analyze the overall consequences of Mao's agricultural reforms. The end result of the Great Leap Forward was a death toll in excess of 30 million Chinese civilians.³⁵ The exact number of deaths is debated and highly problematic, but it is widely accepted that 30 million is a conservative figure. It can be suggested that the majority of the deaths were attributed to Mao's agricultural reforms, but an opponent to this argument could suggest that the famine was caused by poor weather. In the article "Three Parts Natural, Seven Parts Man-made," Daniel Houser, Barbara Sands, and Erte Xiao analyzed two primary hypotheses that have been used to explain the famine. "One is that China experienced three consecutive years of bad weather while the other is that national policies were wrong in that they reduced and misallocated agricultural production."³⁶ The study focused on weather patterns for the years surrounding the famine, and they determined that, while the weather was exceptionally wet between 1959 and 1961, it was not bad enough to have outright caused the famine. However, their findings did suggest that "national policy [had] deleterious effects during the 3 years beginning in 1959 and ending in 1961."³⁷ From this, they concluded that the poor weather perpetuated the disastrous policy reforms and that, in real terms, "about 70% of all excess deaths can be tied to national policy effects."³⁸

Furthermore, Han Dongping formed a seemingly logical argument to suggest that Mao's reforms were not the cause of the famine. In fact, he questioned the validity of whether or not mass starvation had actually occurred.³⁹ However, stories such as the one presented by Deng Xiansheng contradict Dongping's claim. Deng stated,

Many people suffered from edema [in my home village]. It was caused by malnutrition. People's bodies became swollen. Some even had swollen eyes. In more severe cases people's skin turned semi-transparent. In our village people

³⁴ Dikotter, *Mao's Great Famine*, 188.

³⁵ Becker, *Hungry Ghosts*, 270.

³⁶ Daniel Houser, Barbara Sands, and Erte Xiao, "Three Parts Natural, Seven Parts Man-Made: Bayesian Analysis of China's Great Leap Forward Demographic Disaster," *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 69 (2009): 148.

³⁷ Houser, Sands, and Xiao, "Three Parts Natural, Seven Parts Man-Made," 155.

³⁸ Houser, Sands, and Xiao, "Three Parts Natural, Seven Parts Man-Made," 149.

³⁹ Dongping, "Farmers, Mao, and Discontent in China," 21.

died almost on a daily basis. There were not enough coffins to bury all the dead bodies, so people took down doors and covered the dead bodies with wooden doors. Watching people dying everyday, and with nothing to eat, no one had any desire to do any farm work. The only thing people felt in those days was hunger.⁴⁰

The crux of Dongping's argument was the question of "why would the Chinese farmers submit to death by slow starvation rather than rising up and giving themselves some hope of survival?"⁴¹ To answer Dongping's question, it can be suggested that Mao's claims that revolution was like a wave, with ebbs and flows, was indoctrinated into the civilians. Mao promised reforms, and the famine was simply the inevitable period of recession that is inextricably part of a forward movement. Furthermore, it was Mencius who said, "The people will not complain if the ruler employs the people with good intention, and people will not complain if the ruler causes people to die with the intention to ensure their survival,"⁴² so it can simply be argued that the people thought Mao had good intentions.

In conclusion, the simple fact that is established in this paper is that a war on nature is futile, and Mao's Great Leap Forward movement was ultimately a devastating example of the senselessness of waging war on our planet. The Great Famine, which caused the death of over 30 million Chinese citizens, was caused by many factors, including Mao's use of *yundong* and false science to attempt to harness and control the power of nature and the transfer of manpower from agriculture production to construction of infrastructure. The application of Lysenko philosophies further perpetuated declines in agricultural output. Finally, it can be said that nature was not a passive opponent in the war, and the plague of locusts and a period of poor weather compounded Mao's failures. The end results of the Great Leap Forward *should* set the precedence for future generations, and it *should* be common knowledge that harmony with nature is the only way for humanity to progress. But, as the world moves forward, my emphasis on *should* infers a pessimistic perspective because the focus in society still relies on the development and construction of new technologies to subjugate nature to our will. Happy Days.

⁴⁰ Deng, in *Forgotten Voices*, 163.

⁴¹ Dongping, "Farmers, Mao, and Discontent in China," 22.

⁴² Dongping, "Farmers, Mao, and Discontent in China," 35.

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**The East King of the Taiping Rebellion:
Potential Saviour or the Breaking Point of the Taiping Rebellion?**

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Hong Xiuquan, leader of the Taiping Rebellion and self-proclaimed younger brother of Jesus, surrounded himself with a tight-knit group of rebels who lead the surprisingly organized armies of the Taiping Rebellion. These leaders, named 'kings' often originated in the God Worshipers' Society that preceded the Taiping Rebellion. Undeniably one of the most powerful kings of the Taiping Rebellion was Yang Xiuqing, the Eastern King, who had the ability to channel the voice of God. Yang Xiuqing held an enormously powerful position in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom that rivaled the control of Hong Xiuquan himself. However, during the Spring of 1856, Yang was ousted for conspiring against Hong Xiuquan and was executed along with nearly all of his supporters. A longstanding member of the Taiping movement and religious ideology, Yang Xiuqing had been a firm believer in the rebellion ever since the God Worshipers, and had taken on many facets of rule from army command, to political reform, and religious reform within the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. By examining the lead up to Yang's execution, I will attempt to discern his motives and relations with the other Kings of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and Hong Xiuquan.

Yang Xiuqing ruled as the general of the Taiping armies and held the second highest position in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. He was considered fourth in the hierarchy of the heavenly kingdom after God, Jesus, and Hong Xiuquan; yet halfway through the Taiping Rebellion Yang Xiuqing was executed by Hong Xiuquan on accusations of conspiracy. From most primary sources consulted, Yang Xiuqing was known for his forgiveness and ability to comfort, yet he met death far earlier than the other Kings and leaders of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. The question I intend to answer is whether or not Yang Xiuqing actually intended to take power from Hong Xiuquan, or instead tried to quell his despotic personality and failed drastically. Furthermore, I will examine the political relationships between Yang and the other kings, and the policies he actually enacted for the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. The death of Yang Xiuqing can be interpreted as the beginning of the end for the Taiping, as Yang's influence on the Taiping movement and people was undeniable due to his proclaimed abilities that he could channel the voice of God.

The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was a kingdom of titles, and Yang Xiuqing held many of the highest titles that could be bestowed upon a Taiping King. Even though Yang Xiuqing

could channel the voice of God, he was not considered to be on the same level as God.¹ Hong Xiuquan's vision of the Christian kingdom of the Taiping did venerate God and Jesus above all others including himself, but since God was at the top and Yang was the communication device of God, the power that Yang could exert while "speaking" as God had the ability to resist all other Taiping rules and regulations, including those enacted by Hong Xiuquan.² This God-like power, though never on the same level as God or emperor, would eventually lead to his execution. The actual position of Yang was related to that of the Holy Ghost in Christian ideology.³ Due to Yang's abilities he essentially held two positions of power that he could switch between, either speaking as God or as the 'great comforter' or 'dao of dian'⁴ that Yang supposedly represented when he was not God's mouthpiece.⁵

The origin of Yang's powers provide possibly the first hint of the contention between Hong and Yang that would shape the end of the Taiping Rebellion. While Hong was detached from the rest of the God Worshipers in 1848-49, Yang 'discovered' his powers to speak as God. The lead up to Yang's powers definitely convinced the God Worshipers, as there had been many other instances of 'fits' that spread amongst the God Worshipers.⁶ If Yang deliberately chose to take on the ability to speak as God and did not suffer from a sickness or visions like those of Hong Xiuquan, he was absolutely committed to making the rest of the God Worshipers believe that his fits were messages from God. Yang had spent months unable to speak before he was able to communicate as himself and God.⁷ When Yang did speak as God he also went to great lengths to act out the part, going into long sleep-like states that he would claim not to remember, even if he (or God) ordered the executions of other Taiping followers. These states of God-speaking followed well into the Taiping Rebellion. Yang never claimed to be God from the beginning of his abilities and while he did strive for power above that of Hong Xiuquan near the end of his life, the real physical body of Yang Xiuqing was always the vessel of God's communication according to Taiping Ideology.⁸

The complete respect for and adherence to Taiping ideology is mostly how Yang garnered power and used it to his advantage, especially while communicating with Hong. They both had to recognize that they were playing the same game and respect one another's abilities. Most telling in this is an incident between Yang and Hong that left a great impression on the conduct of Hong that Yang had essentially called him on. When Yang saw Hong acting inappropriately with four females who were related to a minister's family, Yang used the voice of God to shame Hong and forced him to admit that such a transgression would be worthy of forty canings. After Hong admitted that forty canings

¹ Vincent Y.C. Shih, *The Taiping Ideology: Its Sources, Interpretations, and Influences* (Seattle, WA: UBC Press, 1967), 15.

² Jen Yu-wen, *The Taiping Revolutionary Movement* (London: Yale University Press, 1973), 287.

³ Jen, *The Taiping Revolutionary Movement*, 160.

⁴ Shih, *The Taiping Ideology*, 15.

⁵ Franz Michael, *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1971), 537.

⁶ Thomas Taylor Meadows, *The Chinese and their Rebellions* (Stanford: Academic Reprints, 1953), 101.

⁷ Meadows, *The Chinese*, 102.

⁸ Meadows, *The Chinese*, 429.

would be a suitable punishment Yang called the punishment off and took the women away from him.⁹ Had Yang actually gone through with the punishment perhaps his execution would have occurred much earlier than it did, but most of all it proved the power Yang held was equal to or greater than that of Hong, and that Hong had to follow the rules of his own Ideology in front of other officials. Knowing this, on August 9th of 1856 Yang again used the voice of God to force Hong to promote him to a heavenly/imperial level equal to that of Hong, and Hong had to relinquish his all-powerful position as the heavenly leader of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Hong cunningly postponed the promotion until Yang's birthday, which would lead to the Tianjing Incident and, finally, to the execution of Yang Xiuqing.

Yang's position in Taiping ideology was troublesome. As a single entity who could jump between the most powerful and fourth most powerful being according to Taiping ideology, Yang was always in possession of the loophole that he used to gain more and more power which he exerted on other Taiping officials. Yang's personality played a role in his overreaching grasp for power. Compared to the West King, Xiao Chaogui, who was the mouthpiece of Jesus Christ much as Yang was to God, Yang used his powers far more than Xiao Chaogui did. When Xiao did speak as Jesus he mostly communicated about the rules and conduct of soldiers relating to the Taiping armies.¹⁰ It was most definitely Yang's ambition that led to his demise, and this ambition is very telling of his relationship with the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Had Yang truly held concern for the Taiping movement would he have pushed his powers as far as he did? If Yang was attempting to control Hong's nature was what he had not enough? Strictly from the position of a man that could speak as God, Yang should have been able to bend the rules so that he was the de-facto ruler of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom regardless of his actual title. Yet Yang stretched the Hong Xiuquan mandated rules of the Taiping ideology too much and suffered the backlash during his failed coup.

Separate from his power to speak as God, Yang Xiuqing held many other positions in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. As an overarching general of the armies, one of the main communicators with westerners and outside forces, and the mind behind many of the symbolic and political reforms that occurred within the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, Yang was influential in all aspects of the Taiping movement. The methods Yang uses to speak to others who did not believe in his version of Christianity, and the pragmatic practices he used when punishing other members of the Taiping shine a completely different light on Yang.

Far from being a gentle comforter and healer, Yang was known to be stubborn and obstinate in his rules. Observing the communications and changes to Taiping law that Yang made it becomes very apparent that he was often just as prone to overreaction as Hong Xiuquan. Despite the incident in which Yang humiliated Hong for parading with the women of various Taiping minister's families, Yang was the first to suggest palace polygamy.¹¹ Even though Yang most definitely enjoyed his multitude of wives, he was

⁹ Jen, *The Taiping Revolutionary Movement*, 289.

¹⁰ Meadows, *The Chinese*, 101.

¹¹ Jen, *The Taiping Revolutionary Movement*, 139.

well known for challenging Hong's treatment of women and especially that of the palace concubines.¹² This would seem like something that Yang actually earned his titles as a 'comforter' and 'healer' for but it was more so a case of simply being less abusive towards the palace women compared to Hong. A notable example being the punishment Yang enforced on one of his favorite chancellors. After she had disturbed him through some transgression Yang had initially sentenced her to death, but this particular chancellor happened to be a gifted writer and Yang had changed his mind after she pleaded for forgiveness. She was only forced to wear a cangue and never recover to her original position.¹³ From this act of perceived gentleness it is clear that both Hong and Yang acted as forceful kings with their vast assortment of concubines, wives, and female government officials. Yang may have been more gentle than Hong regarding treatment of women, but this is a pattern Yang seems to have used when comparing himself to Hong. By introducing palace polygamy, being less abusive to women, and humiliating Hong due to his treatment of women, Yang may not have had any true difference in opinion of women as Hong did. He may only have treated them differently to gain a better reputation than Hong Xiuquan in that particular aspect of government organization. This was clearly effective due to the gentleness that he was so often lauded for in court documents.¹⁴

Another aspect of the Taiping government in which Yang was influential was in international relations. Before his death in the early Spring of 1856 Yang was the highest official to take part in a fair amount of international communications, namely with the British, American, and French captains of East Asian trading ships located in or around Shanghai. The communications Yang had with the western powers in Shanghai demonstrate how much of a power-hungry loose cannon Yang could prove to be, completely ignorant and obdurate towards potential allies. During the early Spring of 1853 Yang Xiuqing started talks with George Bonham, a British colonial captain who was located near the port of Shanghai. Yang had initially sent a letter outlining to Bonham that they were Christian brothers who would be allowed to help the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. After a failed attempt at letting the British help with their movement and completely unresponsive to the British response of neutrality

Yang sent another message, containing even stronger Taiping religious rhetoric than before.¹⁵ From that point onwards the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and British were never on any reasonable agreements. Later, on May 27th 1854, a US Minister by the name of Robert M. McLane had a very similar experience with Yang in Nanking. Yang continued to open all communications with harsh Taiping ideology and asserted dominance through what was essentially the religious *causis belli* the Taiping declared on the rest of the world.¹⁶ There was some damage control by Yang's lower officials when the western responses demanded further explanation for the seemingly preposterous statements that an international leader would be making, but potential outside support for the Taiping was essentially ruined. The position Yang held was definitely powerful, and even as power

¹² Michael, *The Taiping Rebellion*, 455.

¹³ Michael, *The Taiping Rebellion*, 507.

¹⁴ Michael, *The Taiping Rebellion*, 456.

¹⁵ Jen, *The Taiping Revolutionary Movement*, 270.

¹⁶ Jen, *The Taiping Revolutionary Movement*, 276.

hungry as Yang was it had become apparent that he was not especially good at dealing with other powers.

Before his grasp for all encompassing power during the Tianjing Incident, Yang Xiuqing served as a sort of Vice President for the Taiping government. In this way his brash communications and counters to Hong Xiuquan's policies could be tolerated. If Yang ever failed or botched an event he would not have to take all of the blame and his lower officials could readjust the views of the Taiping since Yang was not the supreme leader. This is possibly why Yang became disliked among other Taiping officials as he tended to act out of line for his position. However, due to Yang's powers as the mouthpiece of God any attempts of truly containing Yang and his agitating rule could easily be terminated from God's words. Politically, Yang was in the game to stay, and according to his mindset and the powers he maintained he was on a constant trajectory upwards.

Most of the other kings of the Taiping rebellion were not as central to the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom as was Yang Xiuqing, as they actually participated in the campaigns and directed the movement of troops to expand the borders of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. Yet just as Yang was a political reformer and mouthpiece of God, he was also the general of the Taiping armies, and due to his combined powers his word had more influence than all other kings except for Hong Xiuquan.¹⁷ This effectively meant that the other kings would have to talk to Yang as their direct superior and supreme commander of the Taiping army.¹⁸ The continued and limited communication between the other kings and Yang Xiuqing gave them much to dislike about Yang. Due to his higher reputation this effect reached the lower ranks of each king's chancellors as well, as any chancellor of the East King Yang would have a higher reputation and be able to enjoy a higher level of prestige than the other king's chancellors.¹⁹ Despite all the power that Yang gathered before he attempted to become the true leader of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, his failure to do so can be attributed to the less than amiable relationships he had maintained with his inferiors.

Beyond the bad relations with the other kings themselves, Yang did not treat their families with much respect either, and often treated them with rough force and caned various families on a whim, including Hong Xiuquan's family and older brother.²⁰ This was only the beginning of a compounding distaste for Yang, as the military positions that made up the late God Worshipers and early Taiping Heavenly Kingdom were mostly relinquished to Yang as an act of consolidation.²¹ While Yang was quickly promoted to the second highest position possible in the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom around 1853 and assigned to relative safety in Nanjing, the rest of the kings were actually campaigning as part of the rebellion, and if they were to fail Yang would be the one to demote or execute them. Most of the kings had been members of the Taiping for almost as long as Yang had been. To see Yang's success and safety combined with his harsh and unforgiving rule most

¹⁷ Jen, *The Taiping Revolutionary Movement*, 134.

¹⁸ Jen, *The Taiping Revolutionary Movement*, 165.

¹⁹ Michael, *The Taiping Rebellion*, 132.

²⁰ Jen, *The Taiping Revolutionary Movement*, 288.

²¹ Meadows, *The Chinese*, 411.

likely made the quick and ruthless slaughter of him and his family an easy decision among the kings that rushed back to save Hong Xiuquan during the Tianjing Incident.

Yang Xiuqing was killed in the middle of the night September 2nd, 1856.²² Hong Xiuquan was lucky enough to be able to postpone Yang's forced promotion a little less than a month in order to coincide with Yang's birthday. This gave just enough time for the pro-Hong defenders to gather and construct a counter-coup before Yang's final rise to power. The main kings to support Hong's preemptive counter attack were the two Kings Wei Changhui and Shi Dakai, who led the slaughter of Yang and his family to such a degree that Hong later had to dismiss them of their positions in order to maintain stability after such an egregious incident.²³ The loss of Yang was a great blow to the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and the infighting that occurred afterwards highlights the inherent instability that was barely keeping the Taiping together. Had Yang actually been successful in his rise to power whatever infighting would have occurred can only be speculated on, but the incident itself is proof enough that no matter how much more competent Yang could have been there would still have been dissension.

Following Yang's death the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom enforced a period of silence, and it was not until 1859 that Yang's death was officially recognized.²⁴ The news of the Tianjing Incident was quick to spread but the details were delayed or omitted by any Taiping officials. A letter from a French officer written November 1856 speaks of the East King and his palace in Nanjing as though he were still alive, but specifically mentions it has been inactive like the rest of the Taiping.²⁵ The rumours of Yang's death were confirmed to have spread to western officials from a British consulate the same month, as an insurgency and Yang's death were mentioned in Shanghai from a Chinese peasant.²⁶ By January 1857 European reports of the slaughter of Yang and his family were completely confirmed.²⁷

Following the power vacuum that lead after the Tianjing Incident Hong had nothing left to do but consolidate his own power. With some veneration of Yang after his death became undeniable, Hong had become even more of a central figure in the remaining Taiping ideology and rule due in part to him being the only one that could create any new laws and scripture for Taiping Christianity.²⁸ Had Yang been the one consolidating power after a convenient death of Hong the result would most likely have been the same. Yang was just as despotic as Hong and even more power-hungry. The endless potential for reform Yang could have used as the voice of God following the death of his second son would have made his power even more precious than it had been. The chances of the Taiping rebellion becoming successful after a Yang takeover are unlikely especially considering how well Yang communicated with foreign parties before he attempted to be on the same level (or

²² Jen, *The Taiping Revolutionary Movement*, 292.

²³ Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period 1644-1912* (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 2002), 364.

²⁴ Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 887.

²⁵ Prescott Clarke & John S. Gregory, *Western Reports on the Taiping* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1982), 176.

²⁶ Clarke & Gregory, *Western Reports*, 179.

²⁷ Clarke & Gregory, *Western Reports*, 189.

²⁸ Michael, *The Taiping Rebellion*, 929.

higher) than Hong as the Heavenly King. The only differences in the end-result of a Yang lead Taiping Heavenly Kingdom would be the kings, ideology, and how they eventually died.

The post-Yang dissention and the grief that followed were definitely apparent among the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom's followers. Shi Dakai, one of the main kings who killed Yang and soon lost his position and became somewhat of a rogue Taiping general, wrote a famous poem lamenting the events that had occurred during 1856. The poem is as follows:

Our court suffers from internal misfortune; Alas, within my heart there is sorrow.

I recall the various men of ambition of former days; Together they ran, and chased the deer of the Ch'in.

The three families must destroy the Ch'in,

For the fate of Ch'in is in danger like the morning dew.

We joined forces together and founded great plans, and Employed them to maintain the four virtues.

The sun and moon clinging to heaven Will shine again at the proper time.

How can the Heavenly purpose easily be fathomed?

The affairs of man are truly difficult to know.

One morning, during a cup of wine,

The naked swords met among the court curtains. What crime did this old one personally commit?

How could I anticipate meeting with chaos and dissension?

In the cities few men will venture out, and Fowls and hounds have no peaceful retreat.

Throughout the streets is blood;

The forbidden palace has lost its shining glory.

The clouds float black and gloomy, as A sour wind blows against my face; Oh, it is finished, what more can I say?

Go, go, but where can I return?²⁹

As an aimless general, Shih Dakai was forced to leave the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and set out with what forces he could muster.³⁰ Had Yang been a successful usurper, Shi's poem would still ring true. The greatest loss of the Taiping Rebellion was not the loss of Yang Xiuqing, but happened long before when Yang had decided to usurp Hong Xiuquan in the first place. The lack of united families with a common goal, as mentioned in Shi's poem, is what doomed the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom.

²⁹ Michael, *The Taiping Rebellion*, 725.

³⁰ Hummel, *Eminent Chinese*, 656.

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