

**THE
HANOVER
HISTORICAL
REVIEW**



Volume 18

2023

GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

The *HHR* Editorial Board welcomes submissions of essays, document transcriptions and translations, and book reviews of a historical nature from any discipline.

Manuscripts must be prepared in conformity with *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 17th edition, in 12-point Times Roman font, double-spaced (including footnotes) and with pages numbered.

Submissions should be submitted by email attachment as a Microsoft Word document to Professor Michael Raley (raleym@hanover.edu) or Professor Anthony Miller (millera@hanover.edu). Because all submitted manuscripts will be evaluated anonymously, the author's name should appear only on the title page. There should be no identifying markers (including headers and hidden texts) within the body of the paper.

Articles should not exceed 3,000 words without the prior approval of the *HHR* editors. Please note that submissions accepted for publication may be edited to conform to the *HHR*'s style. The *HHR* editors remain the final arbiters of length, grammar, and usage. However, they will endeavor to consult with authors with regard to any changes made in the interest of clarity and economy of expression.

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The *HANOVER HISTORICAL REVIEW* is dedicated to the promotion of excellence in undergraduate historical scholarship and writing.

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FOREWORD

In the fall of 1992, supported by colleagues and enthusiastic students, Professor Frank Luttmmer proposed a journal that would publish student papers and documents related to the field of history written, transcribed, and/or translated by students from any department of Hanover College. An editorial board of students was selected to determine which papers and documents would be chosen for the journal, and also to edit them for uniformity of style in preparing the journal for publication. Professor Luttmmer provided support to the editors in the early stages of preparing the journal, while Professor Daniel Murphy helped oversee the final copyediting for the printer.

The inaugural issue of *The Hanover Historical Review* appeared in Spring 1993 and enjoyed great success. The *HHR* flourished for the rest of the decade but was published only sporadically after Professor Luttmmer's illness and untimely death. At the outset of the 2016–17 academic year, the Hanover College History Department decided to resume publication of the *Hanover History Review*, provided that we could find sufficient support for this project among our students. Twelve of our students immediately volunteered to serve on the *HHR*'s editorial board. Working with this group of eager and diligent students, and now with their successors in 2021–2022, has turned out to be a great joy for us as faculty mentors.

Throughout the 2022 fall semester, the *HHR* Editorial Board met virtually every other week on Tuesday evenings at 8 p.m. to discuss the 2023 *HHR* Call for Papers and Submission Guidelines. During these meetings, the *HHR* Editorial Board also conducted training sessions for new members and reviews for current members in areas such as grammar, formatting, academic citations, and proofreading. The result of their diligent efforts may be found within the covers of this latest volume of the *HHR*.

The 2023 *HHR* contains essays on historical themes written and submitted by Hanover College students in partial fulfillment of their courses throughout the 2022 calendar year. Six of these were written by first-year students, while the remaining essay was authored by sophomore. All submissions must conform to *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Only Professors Raley and Miller knew the identity of the authors until the essays had been twice reviewed by the *HHR* Board of Editors. This double-blind anonymity the Board regarded as especially important at a small liberal arts college such as Hanover College, where everyone knows everyone else; beyond this, however, a few of the board members wished to submit their own essays for consideration, and to ensure impartiality here Professors Raley and Miller distributed these, minus their authors' names, to other members of the board for anonymous peer review.

Seven specific criteria guide the Editorial Board's review of submissions:

1. Does the essay's introduction effectively set up and present a clear, original thesis?
2. Is the thesis supported with an ample supply of primary and secondary sources, critically interpreted for the reader?
3. Has the author brought forward a fresh interpretation of the evidence that advances current scholarship?

4. Is the thesis restated clearly in the conclusion to the essay? Does the author also add further implications of his/her findings?
5. Are the footnotes/endnotes and works cited page(s) formatted correctly in Chicago Style?
6. Is the writing style clear, fluid, and logical? Does the essay employ strong transition sentences along with connecting phrases and clauses?
7. What specific revisions or additions does the author need to make to improve the article pending its acceptance for publication?

Following the review process, the authors of the submissions were provided with summaries of the board members' comments. The review process, the board decided, would yield one of three ratings: (1) accept for publication as is (or with only minor editing required); (2) revise and resubmit (typically requiring more research and substantive revisions and/or additions as well as reediting the prose and reference notes/works cited pages); or (3) reject for publication. Some authors, of course, chose not to revise and resubmit their work. Those who did revise and resubmit their essays were expected to pay close attention to the comments and suggestions for substantive revisions as well as for the editing of the text and formatting of the notes that had been provided by the Board members in their reviews. In the final editing process, the Board of Editors of the *HHR* met as two teams during the winter and spring terms Thursday and Sunday evenings for about two and one-half hours each evening, carefully reading aloud and editing for clarity and uniformity each essay. Professors Raley and Miller oversaw the final compiling of the journal, which is being published both digitally and in hard copy and will henceforth be available on the Hanover College History Department website at: <https://history.hanover.edu/hhrintro.php>.

Last year the *HHR* Board members made one important change to our by-laws in order to incorporate a new member category into our structure. We decided to invite select students to join the Board during the winter semester as freshmen interns. The idea here was that, while the Board to date had consisted of sophomores, juniors, and seniors (in part because a published essay in the journal carried with it an automatic invitation to join the Board), it would be good to invite freshmen who showed exceptional promise and/or who had submitted a paper for consideration to the Board for publication in this year's *HHR* (and who thus might be invited to join the board the following year anyway) to serve for a semester as a freshman intern on the *HHR* Board. Creek J. Arthur and Ellie Moorman accepted the Board's invitation to be this year's interns. They each served faithfully and contributed in meaningful ways to the discussions as we reviewed the submissions and then edited the final draft of this year's *HHR*. Each also contributed an essay to this year's journal.

For all of these reasons and many more personal ones, we have once again thoroughly enjoyed working with these fine students. We hope that you will share our enthusiasm as you read the articles and documents published within this .pdf file if you are reading the digital version or within these covers if you have the pleasure of reading a hard printed copy.

J. Michael Raley and Anthony Miller
Managing Editors, August 2023

History Essays

The Way to the Heart: Food's Impact on Culture in the Ancient World

Creek J. Arthur

The way to a man's heart is through his stomach, and the best marker for what is in a man's heart is to look at the culture he creates. Food and water allow any animal to survive, humans included. From the first migration out of Africa to the Neolithic Revolution, humans characteristically followed what provided them the most food. Many communities, through agriculture, managed to achieve a level of food sustainment that allowed them to meet the requirements that modern-day historians consider a civilization. So, civilizations used agriculture to get enough food to sustain large populations and develop culture, but the story does not end there. With differences in environment between different ancient civilizations, differences in agriculture and crops follow. These differences in agriculture and crops yield different foods. Furthermore, differences in foods gave rise to cultural differences and divergent religious practices within the civilizations of Mesopotamia, ancient Egypt, ancient China, and among the ancient Maya.

Mesopotamia was situated between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, where the land was fertile enough to farm, hence allowing civilization to emerge. Yet even with these rivers, the land did not hold the best conditions for agriculture (which developed between the eighth and ninth millennium B.C.E.¹), so the earliest farmers in Mesopotamia had to use intense irrigation. Parts of the land were "too salty for effective agriculture," but livestock used it for grazing.² Two civilizations dominated the region in ancient history (though at different times): Sumer and Babylonia. In Sumer, archeological evidence and written records show that those who lived here mainly farmed wheat and barley. Sumerians served barley in some form at almost every meal, making it a crop of high importance. Other staple crops included millet, chickpeas, lentils, beans, onions, turnips, garlic, lettuce, leeks, cucumbers, cress, and mustard. Fish also proved to be an essential part of the Sumerian diet, as shown from their many texts before 2,300 B.C.E., where authors noted over 50 different kinds of fish. As for livestock, mutton from sheep held a significant part of the common Sumerian's meals. Beef and veal were more expensive, but also a part of some diets.³ Albeit rarely, animals that people in the modern-day West might consider taboo also held a place in the Babylonian diet, namely animals such as gazelle.⁴ Of course, trade existed between different civilizations, varying the diet further. For example, sesame was first domesticated in India

¹ John Wilkens and Robin Nadeau, *A Companion to Food in the Ancient World* (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 285.

² Kent V. Flannery, "The Ecology of Early Food Production in Mesopotamia," in *Science* 147, no. 3663 (1965): 1247–1256 at 1248.

³ Reay Tannahill, *Food in History* (New York: Stein and Day, 1973), 60–62.

⁴ Rosemary Ellison, "Methods of Food Preparation in Mesopotamia (c. 3000-600 BC)," in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 27, no. 1 (1984): 89–98 at 93.

and travelled to Mesopotamia in the early bronze age, meaning that the Mesopotamians had access to a variety of different foods.⁵

Despite the variety within their diet, nearly all parts of the Ancient Mesopotamian diet lacked caries, making them non-cariogenic, meaning their diet would not cause much tooth decay.⁶ Specific results vary depending on region. For example, teeth from the northern part of Mesopotamia had more caries than from the southern part of Mesopotamia.⁷ The lack of caries on the teeth holds significance because that means the Mesopotamians left their teeth behind for archaeologists to find and therefore analyze via dental pulp. The dental pulp of ancient Mesopotamians confirms that their diet consisted of products of agriculture and that they received an abundance of natural sugars from their diets, especially from date palms and figs.⁸

Ale held a particular significance in Sumerian society. Sumerians used wheat and barley to create this ale and supposedly made eight types of ale from barley, eight from wheat, and another three from mixed grains. In fact, according to Greek myth, Dionysos, the god of alcohol, had to flee from Mesopotamia because its inhabitants were too addicted to ale.⁹ Incidentally, despite the civil rights they lacked, Mesopotamian women held control of ale-making and breweries. Even in *Hammurabi's Code*, the tavern-keepers are referred to as women and using she/her pronouns.¹⁰ Continuing the theme of grain's significance in Babylonian society, the surplus of grain was so great that records show it being used in loans and sales. As one author states, "In documents of all kinds, the topical focus on food production seems to define it as a (if not the) central concern of state society."¹¹ The creation of ale led to taverns, which famously sold the beverage. Tavern life and ale was so significant that King Hammurabi included laws about them within *Hammurabi's Code*. One involves ale pricing: "If a [female] tavern-keeper does not accept corn according to gross weight in payment of drink, but takes money, and the price of the drink is less than that of the corn, she shall be convicted and thrown into the water." It is also worth noting that Hammurabi barred religious women from going to taverns for a drink. While the tavern life of Mesopotamia

⁵ Dorothea Bedigian, "History and Lore of Sesame in Southwest Asia," in *Economic Botany* 58, no. 3 (2004): 329–353 at 331.

⁶ Lucio Milano, *Paleonutrition and Food Practices in the Ancient Near East: Towards a Multidisciplinary Approach* (Padova, Italy: S.A.R.G.O.N., 2013), 55.

⁷ Milano, *Paleonutrition and Food Practices in the Ancient Near East*, 62.

⁸ Milano, *Paleonutrition and Food Practices in the Ancient Near East*, 55.

⁹ Tannahill, *Food in History*, 63.

¹⁰ King Hammurabi, *Hammurabi's Code of Laws*, ed. And trans. L. King (New Haven: Lillian Goldman Law Library, 2008).

¹¹ Seth Richardson, "Obedient Bellies: Hunger and Food Security in Ancient Mesopotamia," in *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 59, no. 5 (2016): 750–792 at 753.

cannot be determined with certainty, it can be assumed that it served the same purpose that bars, taverns, and pubs have served for thousands of years: as a gathering place and a place for recreation, and, on occasion (though outlawed), to promote conspiracies.¹²

Food maintains a significant role in Sumerian and Babylonian religion and culture. In the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, which may date as early as 3,000 B.C.E., food symbolizes civilization. When Enkidu, a character who once lived in the wild, was presented with bread and beer for the first time, he did not know what to do. He was later told what he needed to do by a temple prostitute named Shamhat:

“Enkidu, this is the food and drink men eat and drink. Eat and drink your fill.” So Enkidu ate his fill of the cooked food, and drank the beer. Seven jugs of the beer and he was suddenly joyful, and sang aloud. Then he washed his hairy body, anointed himself with oil, and dressed his body in new clothes, so that he looked as beautiful as a bridegroom.¹³

With the new discovery that Enkidu liked beer and bread, he became what the Sumerians considered “civilized.” This suggests that, for the Sumerians, the more complex the food, the more complex the society.

Meanwhile, in ancient Egypt, the land proved to be much more fertile. The Nile River ran through Egypt and yearly floods deposited silt to keep land fertile and sustain the crop yields. Ancient Egyptians utilized flaxseed not only as food, but as a medicinal crop.¹⁴ Grains of various kinds grew and continue to grow well in the soil of the Nile. Bread quickly became a staple of the Egyptian diet. In fact, many scholars say that ancient Egyptians were the first to discover bread; however, there is little evidence for this claim other than the fertility of the land.¹⁵

Due to the surplus of food, customs in Egypt’s religious practices can be observed that cannot be identified in many other civilizations, and especially not in ancient societies. The Egyptians buried their dead with food because they believed that the dead would need it in the afterlife. Depending on the significance of the person, large quantities of food could be found in just a single tomb. Nobles were buried with a decent amount of food, but royals laid alongside buffets. For example, in King Tutankhamun’s (more commonly known as King Tut’s) tomb,

¹² King Hammurabi, *Hammurabi’s Code of Laws*, Laws 108–110.

¹³ Anonymous, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* trans. Andrew George (London: Penguin Classics, 2003).

¹⁴ Ankit Goyal, et al., "Flax and Flaxseed Oil: An Ancient Medicine & Modern Functional Food," in *Journal of Food Science and Technology* 51, no. 9 (2014): 1633–1653.

¹⁵ Tannahill, *Food in History*, 66–67.

British archaeologist Howard Carter found “48 boxes of prepared food.”¹⁶ The food found inside tombs held so much importance that it was considered a “sin” to take it. This may be seen in the ancient Egyptian *Negative Confession* (a declaration sworn before Osiris, the god of the afterlife, in the Hall of Judgment asserting the innocence of the deceased): “I have not stolen the cakes of the dead.”¹⁷ These sorts of practices would not be found in places like Mesopotamia due to the area’s much more restricted food supply.

Art and sculptures of foods, cooking processes, kitchens, and other food-related things can be found in many tombs as well, showing the significance food had on Egyptian culture. The making of food was significant enough that a wood carving was found in King Ramses III’s tomb that depicted a scene of a bakery.¹⁸ Likewise, in the tomb of the Egyptian chancellor Meketre, archeologists found a miniature model of a kitchen.¹⁹ These scenes must hold some significance to Egyptian culture and society if those in charge of Ramses’s and Meketre’s tombs felt compelled to include the aforementioned pieces of art in these kings’ burial spots, and subsequently these kings’ afterlives.

Moving east, the ancient Chinese saw an entirely different agricultural setting, leading to a very different culture than the likes of ancient Mesopotamia and ancient Egypt. In ancient China, agriculture actually sprouted up in two different locations. One began along the Yellow River in the north, where the earliest crops were millet, with millet being the name for most grains with small seeds. The southern agricultural movement started around the Yangzi drainage, where these peoples also mainly grew forms of millet.²⁰ The most popular millet throughout China was called *Chi*, which was so important that the founder of the Chou clan called himself Hou Chi (a.k.a. “Lord Chi.”) A millet called *Shu* (soybeans) also proved popular in the north, appearing on oracle bone inscriptions of the Shang dynasty (1,766 – 1,122 B.C.E.).²¹ Diviners used oracle bones to give prophecies to their leaders, so such things being recorded means significance, even to a religious level. Though agriculture in the north may have started as early as 9,000 B.C.E., millet did not

¹⁶ “Card No. 62.” *Tutankhamun: Anatomy of an Excavation. The Howard Carter Archives*, by Howard Carter (Oxford, UK: The Griffith Institute, 2000).

¹⁷ Anonymous, “The Negative Confession,” in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings / Compiled by Miriam Lichtheim* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1975) , 2:124–26.

¹⁸ *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, s.v. “King Ramses III Bakery.”

¹⁹ Magda Mehdawy and Amr Hussein, *The Pharaoh’s Kitchen: Recipes from Ancient Egypt’s Enduring Food Traditions* (American University in Cairo Press, 2010), 6.

²⁰ E. N. Anderson, *Food and Environment in Early and Medieval China* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 36.

²¹ Kwang-chih Chang, *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 26.

become a staple of Chinese diet until around 5,500 B.C.E., as shown by the bones of people, animals, and pigs having increased C₄ carbon metabolism, which is mostly found among tropical grasses (regular grass tends to only have C₃.)²² These numbers align with ancient China's transition from the Neolithic Age to the Bronze Age, which started around 5,500 B.C.E.²³ Other food sources of the ancient Chinese include leeks, various legumes, and cabbage; livestock such as pigs, chickens, and dogs; and wild game that consisted of deer and rabbit. Beef and mutton may have also been consumed, but sheep and cattle were mostly used for ritual purposes.²⁴

In the north, when agriculture developed, the Yangshao community appeared, known for its farming villages and painted pottery. The Yangshao would later develop into the Lungshan in 2,000 B.C.E.; then the Shang in about 1,850 B.C.E.; and finally the Zhou civilization starting around 1,100 B.C.E. In the south, the Hoabinhian culture emerged alongside many Lungshanoid cultures, but the Shang and Zhou cultures from the north would migrate south as well.²⁵ The crops of China provide some context into these cultures and interactions both inside and out of ancient China. For example, one controversial crop brings to light what was once thought by historians and anthropologists to be an impossible interaction: peanuts. Peanuts have been found in sites from Lungshanoid cultures that have been carbon-dated to the third millennium B.C.E., though many are skeptical as peanuts originated in lowland South America. Once the Lungshanoids disappeared, though, peanuts disappeared with them until the sixteenth century C.E.²⁶ It remains unclear whether any interactions occurred between the ancient Chinese and the early Meso-Americans or even how the Lungshanoids obtained these peanuts, as this is the only existing evidence. In fact, some scholars claim that the peanut remains have been mistaken for beans or other legumes. Like other ancient cultures, alcohol proved to be a prevalent beverage, one that the ancient Chinese consumed at most meals. Four different alcoholic beverages can be identified from ancient Chinese texts: *li*, *lo*, *lao*, and *ch'ang*. All of these would have been made with grain, except for *lo*, which would have been made with fruit or berries.

The Chinese valued food very much, and poets even wrote of food helping lost souls find their way home. For example, one poet wrote, "O soul come back! Why should you go far away? / All your household have come to do you honour; all kinds of good food are ready." The rest of

²² Yuan Jing, Roderick Campbell, Lorenzo Castellano, and Chen Xianglong, "Subsistence and Persistence: Agriculture in the Central Plains of China through the Neolithic to Bronze Age Transition," *Antiquity* 94 (2020): 911.

²³ Jing, Campell, Castellano, and Xianglong, "Subsistence and Persistence," 901.

²⁴ Chang, *Food in Chinese Culture*, 28–29.

²⁵ Chang, *Food in Chinese Culture*, 25.

²⁶ Chang, *Food in Chinese Culture*, 27–28.

the poem simply lists different foods.²⁷ Finally, the ancient Chinese ascribed to a strict set of dining rules called the *Li Chi*. These rules specified that a person must eat with his right hand, and included instructions for eating meat, instructions for serving grains, etc.²⁸ The ancient Chinese had a clear respect for their food, and some parts of their cultural rules and even spirituality developed around it. This respect had even manifested itself in writings, which means it must have had some significance to the time.

The most detached civilizations from these other three cultures would be in the Americas. Specifically, the Native Americans of the Yucatán Peninsula held a significant role in humanity's early history. The Yucatán Peninsula provided less than ideal conditions for farming, but the Mayans developed a different kind of agriculture called swidden agriculture, more commonly known as the "slash-and-burn method," first by cutting down the trees and allowing them to dry before being burned to deposit nutrients in the soil, and then rotating plantings between fields left fallow for a few years to regenerate. It is estimated that a field created through this slash-and-burn method could have yielded as much as a 20% to 100% surplus of maize.²⁹ Very few Mayans regularly consumed meat, except for the elite, who ate turkey, deer, and seafood.³⁰ Without meat, ordinary Mayans relied on their produce. Root crops were popular among the common Mayan as well as squash, beans, tomatoes, mushrooms (during the rainy season), and maize.³¹

Maize easily proved to be the most significant to Mayan culture. Outside of consumption, in which maize was made into bread and other sorts of cooked foods, maize also held spiritual significance. Birth ceremonies involved cutting the umbilical cord over a maize cob. When a person died, maize flour would be put in his or her mouth.³² The importance of corn in Mayan civilization goes back to their creation stories. According to the *Popol Vuh*, when the creators of the world, Tepeu and Gucumatz, failed to make man from mud and earth, their grandmother, Xmucane, made man out of a corn-flour and water mixture. They said, "O Maize, O Tzite, O Sun, O Creature, unite and join one another!" From there, according to Mayan legend, man was born.

²⁷ Qu Yuan, "The Summons of the Soul," in *The Songs of the South: An Anthology of Ancient Chinese Poems by Qu Yuan and Other Poets*, ed. and trans. David Hawkes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959).

²⁸ Anonymous. *The Li Ki*. In *The Sacred Books of the East*, vols. 27–28, ed. by Max Muller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885).

²⁹ D.E. Dumond, "Swidden Agriculture and the Rise of Maya Civilization," in *Environment and Cultural Behavior*, ed. Andrew P. Vayda (Garden City, NY: The Natural History Press, 1969), 332–49 at 333–34.

³⁰ Sophie D. Coe, *America's First Cuisines* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 153–54.

³¹ Coe, *America's First Cuisines*, 164.

³² Coe, *America's First Cuisines*, 121.

³³ Mayans also believed that maize had male and female spirits, leading to a belief system that gives Mayan women the most equality out of any ancient civilization. Indeed, Mayan women who gave birth were awarded warrior status because of the great struggle and risk involved in giving birth.

Obviously, a society's food supply is not the only factor by which a society develops. For example, ancient Egypt's lack of militarism in the Old Kingdom came from naturally secure borders. It is evident, though, that ecology and food source impacted many civilizations. A prime example is women's rights. Women held higher respect and rights in hunter-gather communities over agricultural societies, which demonstrates the impact that the transformation to agriculture had on women.³⁴ Mayans' beliefs involving the androgynous maize also provided their women with more rights than in other civilizations. Distinctions in food also explain some of the many differences between civilizations such as Mesopotamia and ancient Egypt. Other than women's rights, religion provides another clear example, namely, in how the people of a particular civilization characterize their deities. In Egyptian religion, deities were characterized as kind, but their favor had to be earned. The Mayans also worshipped relatively kind gods.³⁵ In Mesopotamia, however, deities were characterized as vengeful, unpredictable, and frightening. Not only was this due to frequent natural disasters, such as flooding, but also due to the resulting scarcity in food relating to those disasters as well as the natural environment. It makes sense for the civilization with a steadier food supply to worship deities that lean towards the direction of kindness rather than towards the direction of terrifying. Holistically, early religion depended on a culture's food supply. Cultures would develop later around their religion, sacrificing to the gods in order to keep their food supply steady. Religion has also been an important part of cultural identity, with religious art and literature dominating culture for thousands of years, starting with *The Epic of Gilgamesh*. The cultural leaps that allowed for art and literature to be made could not have been done without that culture's food.

While food demonstrates the differences between all these civilizations, it also brings their similarities to light. The early agriculture of these civilizations revolved around grain. Ancient Mesopotamia and ancient Egypt had grains like barley and wheat, ancient China had millets, and ancient Maya had maize. Each of these civilizations also had their own forms of alcohol. Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia had beers made from grains. The Chinese produced their four different

³³ *Popol Vuh: the Sacred Book of the Ancient Quiché Maya*, English version by Delia Goetz and Sylvanus G. Morley from the Spanish translation by Adrián Recinos (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950).

³⁴ Catherine Clay, Chandrika Paul, and Christine Senecal, *Envisioning Women in World History, vol. 1: Prehistory—1500, Explorations in World History* (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2009), 7.

³⁵ Hartley Alexander, *The Mythology of all Races*, vol. 11: *Latin-America*, (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1920), 142.

types of alcohol, made of grains and fruits. The Mayans made a drink called *balche*, made of honey.³⁶ These similarities show not only parallels in the ecosystem, as shown with the grains, but also in the development of their cultures, as shown through the alcohol. Some of these civilizations lay oceans apart but still managed to develop similar methods of cuisine, just made with different (yet mostly similar) materials. These similarities provide an exemplary example of the human condition and how similar humans, across all cultures, can be.

In general, the resources available to a society can have a major impact on the cultural functions of that society. From complex religious ideals to business transactions to women's rights, they can all be broken down in large measure to the ecology of the land and what food, both flora and fauna, that ecology supports. Without ancient Egypt's fertile farming conditions, modern archaeologists would not find boxes upon boxes of prepared food in tombs. If Mesopotamia's ecology had been a bit more stable, then their gods might not have been characterized in such a terrifying light. Had the Chinese not relied so much on their foods, they would not have been so spiritually dependent on them and would not have enacted such strict codes and rules regarding them. If Mayans were not so reliant on corn, their society might not have revolved around it so much. The way that civilization relied so heavily on food proves that it only makes sense that their cultures developed around their diet. Truly, the way to a man's heart is through his stomach, and the way he expresses what is in his heart can be found in his culture.

³⁶ Coe, *America's First Cuisines*, 126.

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United, Divided, and on a Path Back to Reconciliation: The Introduction of Ethnic Division during Colonialism and Its Effect on Post-Colonial Rwanda

Jessica Djessa

Presently the terms Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa are defined as ethnic groups in Rwanda and Burundi, although it has become socially and politically incorrect to refer to someone based on ethnicity due to the tensions it has caused in the past. The categorization of the Rwandan people based on height, width and protrusion of nose, and other anatomical features, came about when Belgians colonized the territory after Germany lost its colony at the end of World War 1. This outcome referenced a hypothesis first written by John Hanning Speke, the “Hamitic hypothesis”.¹ He tried to explain why a race, considered as inferior, was able to maintain an advanced culture and a centralized kingship similar to that of European monarchies.² The terms Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa, already existed in precolonial Rwanda, however, their meaning and significance within the political structure of the kingdom of Rwanda and societal identity, changed over time. From misconceptions behind its causes, to its literal or interpretative and implicatory denial, the chaotic 100 days of murder targeting mainly the Tutsi, some neutral Hutu, by Hutu militia, has a hazy beginning around its causes and more falsity towards its end. This, on no account, has anything to do with a lack of proof or sufficient studies. On the contrary, there are plenty of the latter; testimonies, confessions, studies by Human Rights Watch and other NGOs³, as well as archive collections of various implications have helped contest literal denial but has left room for fake news and inaccurate interpretations. Thus it becomes crucial to seek and learn about the truthful history of Rwanda surrounding the identities in its society.

Comparable to other precolonial African societies, Rwanda had clans believed to have been established by patrilineal lineages.⁴ This assumption, however, proved to be inaccurate because a clan would consist of different castes. Both clans and castes were not fixed nor restricted to a certain lineage at a certain point in time, notably in the 1800s when Hutu and Tutsi were used as political and social distinctions.⁵ The clans mentioned were Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa. These determined the social class one belonged to; farmers that tilled the soil became Hutu, cattle herdsman called themselves Tutsi and Twa were hunter-gatherers. Contrary to popular belief, the

¹ A. Phillip Cantrell, “The Anglican Church and the Politics of Rwanda: False Narratives of a Disputed Past,” in *Revival and Reconciliation* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2022), 16.

² Cantrell, “The Anglican Church and the Politics of Rwanda,” 16.

³ Helen Hintjens and Jos van Oijen, “Elementary forms of collective denial: The 1994 Rwanda Genocide,” *Genocide Studies International* (2020), *International Institute of Social Studies*, <https://www.iss.nl/en/news/elementary-forms-collective-denial-1994-rwanda-genocide-0> (accessed March 13, 2022).

⁴ Newbury David, *The Land Beyond the Mist: Essays on Identity and Authority in Precolonial Congo and Rwanda*, Ohio University Press (Athens, Ohio: 2009), 201.

⁵ Cantrell, “The Anglican Church and the Politics of Rwanda,” 21.

term *hutu* did not simply emerge because neighboring countries like Eastern Congo or Western Tanzania also adopted the word, yet, their meanings differed.⁶ On one hand, “Hutu” in Rwanda came about due to a small number of cattle herdsman in the northeast of Rwanda who identified as Tutsi, or more commonly at the time, Hima. Farming clans owned a small number of cattle and migrated west, southwest and towards the center of Rwanda to seek for better land for cattle to graze on. As they cultivated the soil for crops like bananas, they settled to yield more food.⁷ On the other hand, Hima occupied a region north of precolonial Rwanda which is now part of Uganda. Ruganzu Ndori, a Hima cattle herdsman, founded the Rwandan Monarchy around the 17th century.⁸ To solidify his power as the *mwami* (king) of what would later be central Rwanda, Ndori popularized the Gihanga myth. Gihanga, a mythical king, is said to be a conqueror from northern pastoralist clans and a descendant from 12 gods, who founded the first monarchies. Ndori was able to proclaim himself as the legitimate king by claiming himself as Gihanga’s descendant.⁹ Ndori’s dynasty, the Nyiginya clan, adopted the word Tutsi to distinguish political elites from the Hima commoners. Tutsi soon became associated with prestige and Hima commoners adopted the term as well.¹⁰

Cattle became a sign of wealth among the Tutsi and as the Nyiginya Tutsi clan expanded political dominance in central Rwanda, the relations between Tutsi cattle herders and farming clans, strengthened with *ubuhake*, a system of clientship.¹¹ This consisted of a client lending one or more cows in exchange for agricultural goods or labor from the debtor.¹² Consequently the debtor became the client’s *hutu*, originally defined as “servant” or “slave” in Kinyarwanda. Comparable to the word Tutsi, Hutu “gradually developed amongst the peasant population to denote their social position”.¹³ Through a process called *kwihutura*, a Hutu that had accumulated a great number of cows could become Tutsi and conversely, a Tutsi destitute of their cattle would become Hutu, *gucupira*.¹⁴ “Before colonization the king could have, could take many Tutsis who were not responding to his duties and obligations and call them Hutus. Take all their cows, because the wealth in Rwanda was always measured in terms of cows”, says Paul Rusesabagina, a former

⁶ Deborah Mayersen, “‘A European Under Black Skin’: Precolonial and Colonial Rwanda,” in *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 99–120 at 102.

⁷ Cantrell, “The Anglican Church and the Politics of Rwanda,”15.

⁸ Cantrell, “The Anglican Church and the Politics of Rwanda,” 23.

⁹ Cantrell, “The Anglican Church and the Politics of Rwanda,”24.

¹⁰ Cantrell, “The Anglican Church and the Politics of Rwanda,”21.

¹¹ Mayersen, *Precolonial and Colonial Rwanda*, in *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined*, 101.

¹² Newbury, *The Land Beyond The Mist: Essays on Identity and Authority in Precolonial Congo and Rwanda*, 203.

¹³ Cantrell, “The Anglican Church and the Politics of Rwanda,”21.

¹⁴ Mayersen, *Precolonial and Colonial Rwanda* In *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined*, 101

politician and hotel manager who sheltered 1268 Hutu and Tutsi refugees, as he describes the changes in identity distinction overtime in an interview.¹⁵

The social and political distinction between Tutsi and Hutu became more prevalent under the reign of mwami Rwabugiri (1853-95) who enforced *ubuletwa* (forced labor) and exerted an unfair form of clientship constituting of manual work for residing in the land, and only Hutu were subjected to this treatment.¹⁶ Hutu commoners in central Rwanda became a marginalized group, slaves to the wealthier Tutsi elites as attested by Richard Kandt, first German resident in Rwanda.¹⁷ The coexistence between the two identities had been considerably harmed but this must not be considered as a contributing factor, on its own, that led to the genocide against the Tutsi in 1994; most Hutu commoners became independent of the rule of the Nyiginya royal court after Rwabugiri's death.¹⁸ Instead, light should be shed on the combination of false reductionist racial views and migration theories introduced by colonizers, together with the subjugation of the Hutu under Rwabugiri's reign taken out of context. What was an exploitation of a poor social class by a wealthier, ruling class, turned into a racial quandary. Moreover, the false narrative of Ndori's Gihanga cult had been replaced by the Hamitic hypothesis, creating a build-up of ambiguity surrounding northern conquests/migrations and racial difference.¹⁹

At the arrival of the Germans in 1894 and Belgians in 1916, the sight of African centralized kingship with a sophisticated court and culture, surprised the invaders. According to Darwinian "Race Science", to which many scholars and other white Americans and Europeans adhered to at the time, the African man, especially the black African, was inferior, unable to form advanced political structures, and have a progressive culture.²⁰ With the contradiction of their spurious beliefs and what they saw in central Rwanda, colonists sought for an answer that would fit their made up belief, and it was given by Speke. The British explorer who traveled in East Africa claimed that the Watusi (indicating Tutsi in Rwanda) were descendants of the Abyssinians (Ethiopians) who migrated south and conquered Rwanda.²¹ This hypothesis was further developed by Charles Gabriel Seligman, a former professor and ethnologist at University of London, who claimed that Hamites (ancestors of Abyssinians) were the only reason there could be any social structure, centralized monarchy, and even ironworking, in the Great Lake Region including

¹⁵ Martin Michael, " 'An Ordinary Man' Navigates Rwanda's Genocide", (April 10, 2006), *npr*, <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5334369>, (accessed April 2, 2022).

¹⁶ Cantrell, "The Anglican Church and the Politics of Rwanda," 16.

¹⁷ Mayersen, *Precolonial and Colonial Rwanda In On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined*, 103.

¹⁸ Cantrell, "The Anglican Church and the Politics of Rwanda," 17.

¹⁹ Cantrell, "The Anglican Church and the Politics of Rwanda," 25.

²⁰ Cantrell, "The Anglican Church and the Politics of Rwanda," 16.

²¹ Cantrell, "The Anglican Church and the Politics of Rwanda," 17.

Rwanda.²² Hamites are supposedly descendants of Ham, youngest son of Noah in the Bible, who migrated to the horn of Africa after Noah cursed Ham's son, Canaan. "When Noah awoke from his wine and knew what his youngest son had done to him, he said, "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be to his brothers", Genesis 9: 24–25.²³ This scripture along with the notion spread by Europeans, Arabs, and Jews in the 6th century, claiming Hamites were Africans, was used to justify slavery after the 16th century.²⁴ "The mechanism of the origin of the negro-Hamitic peoples will be understood when it is realized that the incoming Hamites were pastoral Caucasians... but it cannot have been long before a series of peoples combining Negro and Hamitic blood arose; these superior Negro, would be regarded with disdain by the next incoming wave of Hamites and be pushed further inland to play the part of an incoming aristocracy vis à vis the Negroes on whom they impinged"²⁵; an extract of Seligman's book *Races of Africa* that was widely used as a recognized and valid study of the diverse African society until the 1970s.²⁶ Thus in Rwanda's case, the Tutsi political elites were regarded as racially superior to the Bantu descendants, Hutu, due to their alleged mix with a branch of the Caucasian race. This extremely invalid and unfounded hypothesis was accepted as fact to justify the supposed inferiority of the Bantu-Negroid (Black African said to no be mixed with Caucasian or Asiatic). To prove the falsity of the hypothesis, researchers conducted studies and found that cattle herdsman clans and farming clans, their complex social structures, and ironworking were long in precolonial Rwanda before the Nilotic (Abyssinians) migrations, that never invaded Rwanda in the first place.

Using the deceptive genetic and physical distinctions, German and Belgian colonizers justified the superiority of the Tutsi over the Hutu (now used as racial distinctive terms). For instance, the greater height of Tutsi or the greater ability of Hutu to resist malaria, were seen as racial markers which is illogical given centuries of Tutsi northern cattle herdsman and Hutu farming clans inbreeding among themselves way before the 1800s.²⁷ Furthermore, the Tutsi pastoralists diet consisted mainly of protein whereas Hutu agriculturalists ate more plant-based foods. These crucial aspects were neglected which lead to a fictitious conclusion. Belgian colonizers looked for "Caucasian physical characteristics to describe one as Tutsi, a "European under black skin".²⁸ "And also, when colonizers also made it again worse when they started measuring noses. Taking some Hutus as Tutsis in some, because they had what are thin noses and taking some Tutsis as Hutus because they had wide and short noses", explains Rusesabagina. Only

²² Cantrell, "The Anglican Church and the Politics of Rwanda," 17.

²³ King James V, Holy Bible, Genesis 9:24–25.

²⁴ Cantrell, "The Anglican Church and the Politics of Rwanda," 17.

²⁵ Seligman G. Charles, "Races of Africa" 1930, *Internet Archive*, <https://archive.org/details/RacesOfAfrica/page/n3/mode/2up> (accessed April 2, 2022), 158.

²⁶ Cantrell, *The Anglican Church and the Politics of Rwanda*, 17.

²⁷ Cantrell, *The Anglican Church and the Politics of Rwanda*, 18.

²⁸ Mayersen, *Precolonial and Colonial Rwanda*, in *On the Path to Genocide: Armenia and Rwanda Reexamined*, 99.

5 to 10 percent of the ruling class were found to be ethnic Tutsi. With this division by ethnicity, roughly 85% of the population was Hutu, Tutsi made up roughly 15% and Twa, categorized as pygmies, accounted for the remaining estimate of 1%.²⁹

“The Mututsi of good race has nothing of the negro, apart from his color. He is usually very tall 1.80m at least, often 1.90m or more. He is very thin, a characteristic which tends to be even more noticeable as he gets older. His features are very fine: a high brow, thin nose and fine lips framing beautiful shining teeth. Batutsi women are usually lighter-skinned than their husbands, very slender and pretty in their youth, although they tend to thicken with age. Gifted with a vivacious intelligence, then Tutsi display a refinement of feelings which is rare among primitive people. He is a natural-born leader, capable of extreme self-control and calculated good will”, a Belgian Minister of Colonies recounts as he writes his report.³⁰ Compared to the Tutsi, Hutu were described as “short and thick-set with a big head, a jovial expression, a wide nose and enormous lips. They are extroverts who like to laugh”.³¹ Twa were “a small, chunky, muscular, and very hairy; particularly on their chest. With a monkey-like flat face and a huge nose, he is quite similar to the apes from whom he chases in the forest.”³² This apparent high esteem that German and Belgian colonizers had for Tutsi compared to Hutu and Twa, explains the inequity the latter two ethnic groups were subjected to compared to the former during colonialism.

As the European settlers became more acquainted with the area, cultures, and customs of Rwandans, they weakened and restricted the power of the mwami and chiefs.³³ Germans helped round up the few isolated regions ruled by Hutu farming clans, unaware of racial distinction of Tutsi and Hutu, under the central governance of the Nyiginya kingship.³⁴ Belgians practiced indirect rule through appointed Tutsi chiefs. Belgian colonists viewed Rwandans from a purely ethnic perspective and rapidly many Tutsi and few Hutu elites who learned about the Hamitic hypothesis accepted it as fact. Under Belgian rule, Tutsi were significantly treated unequally, although some regions with poor Hutu and poor Tutsi experienced similar treatments.³⁵ Belgian and Tutsi dominion over Hutu made the inequality much worse than at Rwabugiri’s time.

Domestic establishments that once created a coexistence between Tutsi pastoralists and Hutu farmers, were abandoned; unjust *ubuhake* practices reinforced ethnic discrimination,

²⁹ Cantrell, “The Anglican Church and the Politics of Rwanda,” 16.

³⁰ King Elisabeth, *From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 40.

³¹ King, *From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda*, 40.

³² King, *From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda*, 40.

³³Byanafashe Déo. *The Teaching of History in Rwanda: A Participatory Approach* (Oakland, California: The Regents of the University of California, 2006), 115, *Berkley Law*, https://www.law.berkeley.edu/files/HRC/Rwanda_resource_book_for_teachers_version_10_rwandan_history_book.pdf (accessed March 11, 2022).

³⁴ King, *From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda*, 41.

³⁵ King, *From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda*, 42.

umuganura (harvest celebration) no longer occurred, *ubwiru* (royal secrets) and *ibisigo* (oldest literary genres similar to poems describing historical events) that were verbally conveyed, all nearly got lost. Other forms of traditional education systems such as *amatorero* or *ibitaramo* were excised.³⁶ Belgian colonists found it easier to reinvent history as they erased a lot from the past. The exploitation of Hutu by both whites and Tutsi elites started creating an animosity towards Belgians, but mostly “all Tutsi”, rich or poor, because they were the “superior race.”³⁷

Amidst a growing awareness of themselves as a marginalized group, Hutu elites rose and sought out equality regarding education, political and social standing, as well as distribution of wealth.³⁸ As a response to the wave of independence in the 1950s, Tutsi elites requested independence to become a ruling government, whereas Hutu elites demanded a democratic state first. Belgian colonists switched sides after the independence request of the Tutsi and pressure from the UN regarding human rights violations. Given the vast enrollment of Tutsi in official ranks, and still an extensive control by colonists in Rwanda, Hutu political elites soon considered independence as a solution to liberate themselves from both Belgian and Tutsi dominance.³⁹

Acquiring independence for the rule of one identity as opposed to the other became a cause of rivalry between the two ethnic groups and tensions quickly sparked. In 1959, young Tutsi militants attacked a Hutu leader and his supporters retaliated leading to about 200 deaths.⁴⁰ Through propaganda on radios, Hutu leaders expressed the need for the Hutu to unite and advocate for their benefit as the majority of the Rwandan population, *rubanda nyamwinshi*.⁴¹ Ethnic tensions worsened and the 1959 Hutu Revolution resulted into the removal of Tutsi monarchy, replacement of Tutsi leaders and extensive attacks against Tutsi. The rancor of the Hutu ran so deep that Tutsi elites no longer became the only targets of attacks. Even poor Tutsi were killed resulting in 20,000 deaths and 300,000 refugees fleeing to other countries between 1959 to 1962. In 1961, during the elections of Hutu parties, an ideology had been spread through the media now that Hutu elites had reached the political ranks; Rwanda will be ruled by its legitimate people, the Hutu. Through all the turmoil and conflict between 1959 and 1961, the Hamitic hypothesis spread to the uneducated Hutu and Tutsi through the media. Neighbors, friends, and even family members, began to see each other as foe. The notion that “the superior race” that invaded Rwanda in precolonial times, was the reason the legitimate Rwandans had been treated unequally for so long, was a doctrine also taught to children. Past classification, according to clans or class no longer existed and the youth increasingly became unaware of their history.

³⁶ Byanafashe, *The Teaching Of History In Rwanda: A Participatory Approach*, 115.

³⁷ King, *From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda*, 43.

³⁸ King, *From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda*, 43.

³⁹ King, *From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda*, 44.

⁴⁰ King, *From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda*, 44.

⁴¹ King, *From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda*, 45.

1962 marked the start of a shift in dominance as Rwanda gained independence from the Belgians, and the first Hutu president Grégoire Kayibanda was elected with great support from the Belgians. “It’s the Belgians and the Hutu that were placed into power. At the time as you know as well, when we sang their song called Kamarampaka”, recounts Sebasoni Jérôme an elderly man who lived through the colonial times. During his rule, Kayibanda favored Hutu elites in central and southern Rwanda whilst Tutsi were discriminated against. This time round, Hutu received more education, better job opportunities but that did not apply to most poor Hutu. Kayibanda ‘s government increasingly became corrupt and the poor Hutu that had placed faith in him expressed their dissatisfaction and assaulted the wealthy. Facing reprisals and criticism from an opposing northern party in 1973, mainly by Juvénale Habyarimana, he began inciting ethnic rampage in schools and universities and many died. Habyarimana’s party then took over in a coup d’état on the 5th of July 1973. During Habyarimana’s regime, ethnic violence diminished, although Tutsi were still discriminated against and attacked in the workplace and schools. Hutu and Tutsi mostly lived peacefully in the outskirts of the country and intermarriage amongst the two identities became more frequent.⁴²

This sociability did not last long as the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF also known as *Inkotanyi*, Rwandan diaspora, most of whom were Tutsi, that fled after the Hutu Revolution) invaded Mutara (northern Rwanda) in 1989. Many propaganda messages spread through radio stations across the uneducated public. “The objectives of the *Inkotanyi* consist only in ruling by the sword in Rwanda, sowing the seed of death and desolation until they take over power. They would then rule by the sword, that is their objective. We may therefore wonder how people who came with the confessed objective of shedding blood in Rwanda ca deceive the population by claiming to bring democracy and freedom. How anyone claim to bring salvation to the Rwandans when he or she entered the country massacring with swords and guns and shedding blood of Rwandans? That is nothing but a lie. No one has the nerve to claim to bring democracy to the people; that does not happen; it is only imaginable by people who do not think or who think the wrong way like the *Inkotanyi*. The people choose for themselves their form of democracy. Rwandans have thus chosen their democracy at their own initiative on 28 January 1961.”⁴³ Anastase Gasana, former Hutu Minister of Affairs, paints the picture, in a radio interview on October 21st 1990, of the RPF as anti-patriotic foreigners that want to destroy the efforts of democracy Rwanda has reached. The question amongst elites became which ethnicity would have political dominion. On August 3rd 1993, the Rwandan government signed the Arusha Accords to establish peace between themselves and the RPF.

⁴² Jefremovas Villia. *Brickyards to Graveyards: From Production to Genocide in Rwanda*, State University of New York Press (Albany, New York: 2002), 72–73.

⁴³ Anastase Gasana, Interview with Rwanda Radio, (October 21, 1990). *Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies*, http://migs.concordia.ca/links/Rwandan_Radio_Transcripts_RadioRwanda.htm (accessed April 2, 2022).

To put aside the ethnic tensions in the midst of political discord and seemingly good Hutu-Tutsi relations, would be extremely careless. Tutsi rebels, referred to as *inyenzi* (cockroaches), carried out armed invasions in 1963 and 1964.⁴⁴ After the 1989 raid, the RPF was also referred to as *inyenzi* and falsities spread about them invading to restore “Tutsi dominion”. Discussions on radio stations got more radical as Hutu politicians reiterated the Hamitic hypothesis and how *all* Tutsi were monarchs that oppressed the Hutu. ‘...of some people among Rwandans who have decided to be lackeys of the RPF’, says an unidentified speaker on Radio Rwanda.⁴⁵ When confronted with a crisis or threat identities consolidate; in 1993 to 1994, Hutu youths were encouraged to join the Interahamwe (Hutu militia) and fight the RPF and other Tutsi that stood in their way. “The true Interahamwe are the ones fighting on the battlefield, the youth defending the republic are the ones who are on the battlefield, not those who are busy looting. I kept telling you that after looting – and the problem is that when you are looting, you use the gun we gave you to fight – you spend the night guarding the things you have looted instead of going on night patrols to stop those Inyenzi from infiltrating our areas. In that case, there is no difference between you and the Inyenzi.”, says Ananie Nkurunziza on Rwanda Radio, April 2nd 1994.⁴⁶ Moreover, France provided firearms for the Hutu regime under Habyarimana, ignoring the warnings of from the RPF; “The Tutsi are convinced that if there were to be an absolute victory of those presently in power, the departure of French and Belgian troops would result in greater control and increased persecutions and would lead to the total annihilation of the Tutsi”, states a report titled Cooperating Activities of the French Army.⁴⁷

The hate-filled message against the Tutsi echoed even more when Habyarimana died in a plane crash on April 6th, 1994, and the RPF were accused of the crime. All Tutsi population, rich or poor men and women, children, and even the elderly all became *inyenzi*. “They will be struck with misfortune, they will be struck by misfortune, they will indeed be struck by misfortune. And you have clearly heard that those who desired it, those who desired and provoked it, are themselves

⁴⁴ King, *From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda*, 46.

⁴⁵ Idrissa Balinge, Interview on Rwanda Radio, January 4, 1993, *Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies*, http://migs.concordia.ca/links/RwandanRadioTrascripts_RTLM.htm, (accessed April 2, 2022).

⁴⁶ Ananine Nkurunziza, Interview on Rwanda Radio, April 02, 1994. *Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies*, http://migs.concordia.ca/links/Rwandan_Radio_Transcripts_RadioRwanda.htm (accessed April 2, 2022).

⁴⁷ Genocide Archive Rwanda, “Activités de Coopération Militaires Françaises (Noroit D’ami) Qui Était Déployée au Rwanda” October 07, 1990. *Genocide Archive Rwanda*, [https://genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php?title=Activités_de_Coopération_Militaires_Française_\(Noroit_D_%27ami\)_Qui_Était_Déployée_au_Rwanda&gsearch=](https://genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php?title=Activités_de_Coopération_Militaires_Française_(Noroit_D_%27ami)_Qui_Était_Déployée_au_Rwanda&gsearch=) (accessed April 2, 2022).

being struck by misfortune, they themselves are being struck by misfortune, Kanyarengwe, the Hutu, has just died, Pastor Bizimungu, the Hutu, has just died. Whatever made them go and sign a blood pact with those who will exterminate us? What prompted them to do so? Whatever prompted them to do that? Aren't they the ones who have just killed them? Aren't they responsible for killing them? However, they themselves are being struck by misfortune at this moment, at this very minute, at this hour, at this moment I am talking to you! You the people living in Rugunga, those living over there in Kanogo, those living in Kanogo, in fact, those living in Mburabuturo ...Look carefully, check, see whether there are no Inyenzi inside", says Noël Hitimana on Radio Télévision des Mille Collines.⁴⁸

Thus began the bloodshed that took the lives of one million Tutsi (75% of the Tutsi population) and some moderate Hutu that refused to participate in the killings or protected the Tutsi. Interahamwe militia rallied Hutu young men with the message to avenge their president and protect their land from Tutsi invaders. Men, women, children and the elderly were murdered by their neighbours, classmates, co-workers and even family members. "There was someone an old man that came from here, we had reached there at the Ntaramo sector. We were there at the Ntaramo sector. Further there. Then I stabbed him, hit him with my machete, I stabbed him, he fell down", says Bonaventure Karekezi as he describes the crimes he committed.⁴⁹ "They came in the schools down there...there is not a single person that escaped from the schools there. Every person that was in those schools, they died.", adds Angélique Uwase a genocide survivor, as she explains how she escaped from militia by hiding in the dense forest. "So, the U.N. never did anything. They simply turned backs, closed ears and eyes, and didn't want to see. Didn't want to take responsibilities."⁵⁰

During the Rwandan genocide, when U.N. left, it was a clear message sent to killers, telling them that, listen, you guys, you are stronger than us. Telling the killers that you are stronger than us. Go ahead. Do your job. We have failed. We can't face you. So, that was the message and that encouraged killers much more to kill many more than earlier. That time when the U.N. just turned backs and ran away, we saw priests killing their church members. Church members killing priests. Husbands killing wives and wives killing husbands. We saw people killing people, piling dead bodies on the road, making road blocks and drinking beers. We saw a lot of disasters in that country. And yet, many people who had fled, many people had fled their houses, had gathered in schools, had gathered in churches, under the U.N. protection, but when they just decided to leave them, they simply left, and those people were just begging, telling them that, please, do take us

⁴⁸ Noël Hitimana, Interview on Rwanda Radio, April 6, 1994, *Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies*, http://migs.concordia.ca/links/RwandanRadioTranscripts_RTLM.htm, (accessed April 2, 2022).

⁴⁹ Karekezi Bonaventure, "A testimony of Bonaventure Karekezi," March 12, 2014, *Genocide Archive Rwanda*, <https://genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php?title=Perp1&gsearch=> (accessed March 11, 2022).

⁵⁰ Uwase Angélique, "A testimony of Angélique Uwase," February 28, 2014, *Genocide Archive Rwanda*, https://genocidearchiverwanda.org.rw/index.php?title=Uwase_angelique&gsearch= (accessed March 11, 2022).

with you. Because if you don't, these guys are going to kill us. So you can imagine seeing the United Nations evacuating all the foreigners, including their soldiers, their so-called peacekeepers being evacuated, leaving victims on their own, abandoning, actually, victims.”, explains Rusesabagina⁵¹. When the UNICEF interviewed children after the genocide, they found out that 80% “experienced a death in their family, 91% thought they would die, 86% saw other children participating in violence, and 16% percent had, at some point, hidden under dead bodies.”⁵²

Nevertheless, after the horrors the Rwandan population had witnessed, there was a glimmer of hope. The RPF improved political stability, removed ethnic identification cards, and restored national courts named Gacaca (pronounced gachacha) ‘judgment on the grass’, to mitigate prison congestion and promote reconciliation.⁵³ Justice could not be given by just punishing people, a reassessment of the ideologies taught had to be addressed as well.⁵⁴ Today, Rwanda becomes one of the leading African countries in a quick developmental transition.

Although the genocide is still a sensitive subject almost 28 years later, not knowing about the history leaves space for false narratives from inside and outside sources and the accumulation of lies can be very costly within a society. This was the case of Rwanda; internal and external influences on identities dramatically changed given the narrative at one point in time. For grief and sorrow in Rwanda, still lingers even after extensive unity and reconciliation efforts within the society. However, Hutu-Tutsi distinction is still present among the escaped perpetrators and other former politicians that have sought refuge in other countries like France. If the settlers never invaded Rwanda, would have conflict of such magnitude erupted, given the existing social class inequality between the wealthy Tutsi and poorer Hutu? What if Hutu and Tutsi had united and figured out the dividing tactics of the settlers? As much as the conversation is heartfelt and hard to talk about, the only way to avoid a repetition of previous actions in discrediting history is to talk and learn the truth about it.

⁵¹ Martin Michael, “ ‘An Ordinary Man’ Navigates Rwanda’s Genocide”, April 10, 2006. *npr*, <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5334369>, (accessed April 2, 2022).

⁵² King, *From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda*, 112.

⁵³ King, *From Classrooms to Conflict in Rwanda*, 112.

⁵⁴ C. Kristin Doughty, *Remediation in Rwanda: a Harmony and Punishment in Grassroots Legal Forums*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 3.

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Alevism and Secularism in Turkey

Gulce Tilbe Esikara

Alevism is a sect of Islam rooted in Shamanism, Sufism, and Anatolian culture. Alevi practices and temples differ from Sunnism because men and women pray together. Alevis believe in the unity of Allah, Prophet Muhammed (571-632), and Caliph Ali (c. 600 – 661) and see any creation of God as a reflection of him. Unlike the mandatory rules of Sunni Islam, the Alevi doctrine mainly focuses on humanitarianism, love, family, and friendship. These key differences between the two sects combined with the socio-economic conditions of the two groups and the Sunni domination in Islam caused significant grievances to the Alevi identity in the Ottoman Empire, especially during the Yavuz Sultan Selim (1465-1520) period and later in the Turkish Republic. Sunni oppression caused Turkish Alevis to adapt to the Republic's secularism passionately, although, they knew this would further assimilate and eradicate their own identity. The Turkish Republic's new secular and nationalist government did not grant any favor to disenfranchised groups, instead it excluded the ethnic and religious minorities from the society. Turkish secularism, orchestrated with a top-down approach, created a Sunni-centered public control over religious institutions and groups and pushed Alevis to hide, assimilate, and live without performing the doctrines of their religion.

History of Alevism

Alevis are socio-religious communities that live mainly in Turkey and the Balkans. Alevism is a relatively modern concept and a new name for this group. Prior to the twentieth century, Alevis were referred to as Qiziblas. Markus Dressler writes, "The modern debate about Alevism's origins is intrinsically political. Historically, the name Qizilbas designated the mainly Turkmen and Iranian followers of the militant SUB order of the Safawiyya, who wore red headgear, hence the name Qizilbas ("red head")." ¹ Turkey has the biggest Alevi population in the world, ranging in approximately 20% of the population. Many Alevis are native Turkish speakers and the rest of the Alevis speak Kurdish, Kurmanci, or Zazaki. Dressler continues, "About two-thirds of them are Turkish speaking, the others speak north-western Iranian languages, either the Kurdish dialect Kurmanci or Zazaki." ² Even though Alevism is confused with Shiism, Alevis are neither Shia nor Sunni. Nevertheless, Alevis revere Caliph Ali (the cousin of Prophet Muhammed), Twelve Imams, Anatolian saints, and Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (1881-1938), the founder of the secular Turkish Republic.

¹ Markus Dressler, "Alevīs," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, n.d., pp. 97, https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_com_0167.

² Markus Dressler, "Alevīs," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, n.d., pp. 97, https://doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_com_0167.

Alevi practices differ from Sunni and Shia practices. Unlike other sects of Islam, in Alevism women and men pray together and worship Allah through dance and music. Glenn Yocum writes,

Alevi religious practices differ significantly from those of most mainstream Turkish Sunnis. In particular, Alevi piety is not mosque or rule-oriented. Still, it centers on connection to hereditary leaders (Dedes--"grandfathers"), on music and dance, and attachment to their own saints. Ritually, Alevi do not practice gender segregation. Politically, they have long been associated with Kemalist "secularism" and the Turkish left.³

Many Alevi Saints compose poems and music and worship Allah, Prophet Muhammed, and Caliph Ali. One of the most famous Alevi Saints, Pîr Sultan Abdal (1480-1550), mentions "I am Huseyni, I am Alevi, what do you say" in his popular poetry. He mentions his loyalty to 12 imams, Prophet Muhammed and Ali, talks about his love (to Allah), and proudly says that he is Alevi in his verse:

İmam-ı Ali'dir ayn-ı bekadır / Our imam is Ali who sees everything.
Pir elinden zehir içsem şifadır / I would drink poison from the hands of Pirs (Alevi elders)
Yardımcımız Muhammed Mustafa'dır/ Our helper is the prophet Muhammed
Hüseyni'yim Alevi'yim ne dersin/ I support Huseyni, I am an Alevi, what do you say?⁴

Pir Sultan Abdal lived around the 1500s in Sivas, Ottoman Empire. He is one of the most important figures in Anatolian Alevism. Abdal wrote many religious poems on Alevism that were passed down to the next generations with the help of ashiks who composed and sang the poems. Pir Sultan Abdal's life and actions were not strictly recorded thus his life story was extracted from poems and the Anatolian folk music. Although historians do not know many details about his life, they are precise about his disdain for Sunni orthodoxy and bureaucracy and his support for the Twelver Shi'ism of Safwawiya.

It is strongly believed that Pir Sultan Abdal was persecuted by the Ottomans for his attribution to Islam. Pir Sultan Abdal states,

İmam Cafer mezhebine uyarız /We believe in the sect of Imam Cafer
Kabe'nin yapısı bina yapısı /Kaaba is a building
İman etse asilerin hepsi/ If rebellers all had faith
Beş vakit okunur Ayetü'l-kürsi /They would pray Ayetü'l-kürsi 5 times a day
Kur'an'ın kilidi İhlas-ı şerif /Foundation of Quran is Ihlas-I Serif
Şeriat göğe çekildi / Sharia went into the sky (vanished)
Alem zulm ile yıkıldı./ The realm is destroyed with persecution.⁵

³ Glenn Yocum, "Review: The Alevis in Turkey: The Emergence of a Secular Islamic Tradition," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 73, no. 2 (January 2005): pp. 583, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jaarel/lfi067>.

⁴ Pir Sultan Abdal, "Hüseyni'yim Alevi'yim Ne Dersin ," *Hüseyni'yim Alevi'yim Ne Dersin* , n.d.

⁵ Pir Sultan Abdal, "Anonymous Couplet", n.d.

In these lines Pir Sultan Abdal is vocal about his support for Ja'farī jurisprudence and Twelver Shi'ism. Moreover, he demands an emphasis on the mortality side of religion from state officials and the public. He critiques the dogmatic interpretation of the Quran and Islam.

Differences in Alevi and Sunni Practices

In Sunni Islam, there are five mandatory rules to follow. Those five rules are the profession of faith, praying five times a day, giving alms, fasting, and completing the pilgrimage to Kaaba. In Sunni belief, an individual cannot be entirely Muslim if they are not performing those five rules. Additionally, in the Sunni doctrine, there is segregation between women and men. Women cannot perform their prayers in the same part of the mosque as men do and also have different responsibilities than men. While prayers are in Arabic and mosques are the sacred temples for Sunnis, Alevi do not use Mosques since the Caliph Ali was brutally killed in a mosque. Alevi do not perform the daily prayer that Sunnis perform five times a day, do not fast during Ramadan, or make a pilgrimage to Mecca. Instead, Alevi pray through a ritual called Ayin-i Cem, where women and men pray all together and worship god by dancing and singing. Ayin-i Cem is performed in Cem Evi known as the Cem House. The language in this ritual is not Arabic like the Sunni practice, but the language of the individuals present at the ritual. Also, Alevism does not strictly prohibit alcohol consumption or require head covering.

In Sunnism, the Qur'an is the primary source of learning, and it is forbidden to act against it. Although Alevi believe that the Qur'an is the main source of knowledge, many think that it sometimes contradicts itself since it has been changed from the original writing. Even though Alevi also believe in the Qur'an, they do not unconditionally practice the things that the Qur'an mentions. In Qur'an's Surah An-Nisa 34, it is told that,

Men are the caretakers of women, as men have been provisioned by Allah over women and tasked with supporting them financially. And righteous women are devoutly obedient and, when alone, protective of what Allah has entrusted them with. And if you sense ill-conduct from your women, advise them 'first', 'if they persist,' do not share their beds, 'but if they still persist,' then discipline them 'gently'. But if they change their ways, do not be unjust to them. Surely Allah is Most High, All-Great.⁶

Just like the Surah An-Nisa 34, some surahs from the Quran contradict Alevi practices. In Alevism, women and men are equal and one is not superior to the other. Before the Ayin-i Cem starts, Dede, who leads the ritual, asks if there is anyone who is not loyal to their jobs, to their religion, to their children, wife, or husband. If someone comes forward, Dede focuses on solving the problem before the ritual starts. Dede makes sure that everyone is feeling safe and that there are no more problems between people who are attending the ritual. This practice is a must for Alevi since it helps the Cem happen in peace while strengthening community relations.

⁶ *The Qur'an*, n.d., p. An-Nisa 34., Mustafa Khattab, tran.

Alevi Identity in the Turkish Republic

The Republic of Turkey was founded by Atatürk and his associates. The main principles of the republic were based on the principles of secularism. Through secularism and nationalism, the republic combined all ethnicities, traditions, and religions under a new supra-identity, Turkish, that was initially planned to represent everyone's voices. Bayram Ali Soner and Sule Toktas explains,

When Turkey was founded as a nation-state from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire in 1923, new laws of the Republic aimed to construct a secular public sphere and integrate all ethnic, cultural, and religious communities into a single national identity in the form of a secularized Turkish nation. The Turkish version of secularism not only focused on emancipating the state from religion but also on transferring religious authority from multiple religious institutions and groups to the single hand of a centric state.⁷

To achieve this secular system, an institution called the General Directorate of Religious Affairs (GDRA) was formed to regulate religious activities. Since the majority of Muslims were Sunnis, the GDRA was overseeing their activities. Soner and Toktas claim that "Rather than breaking all state ties with religion, Turkish Republican secularism instead created a strong linkage to religion through the GDRA and created a Sunni-centered public control over religious institutions and groups."⁸ This granted power to the GDRA to create a space for Sunnis while ignoring the religious needs of minority groups. Soner and Toktas state, "To the extent that the GDRA was organized according to a Sunni interpretation of Islam, it turned the Sunni-Islam faith into the official religion."⁹ With the formation of the GDRA, power was granted to one specific group, excluding many others and minorities like Alevi. Thus, there was no room left for Alevi culture and traditions to bloom and grow.¹⁰

In the late 20th century, as identity politics gained more importance and became more of a worldwide problem, Alevi held onto their identities and tried to protect their culture as the Sunni oppression continued. Sunni Islam, which gained more power through secularism, threatened Alevism and many more minorities. In 1993, a group of Sunni people set the Madimak Hotel on fire, where many Alevi intellectuals, writers, and journalists were inside, celebrating the Pir Sultan Abdal Festival. Many people were injured, and thirty-five were killed. The attack was not

⁷ Bayram Ali Soner and Şule Toktaş, "Alevi and Alevism in the Changing Context of Turkish Politics: The Justice and Development Party's Alevi Opening," *Turkish Studies* 12, no. 3 (2011): pp. 420, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2011.604214>.

⁸ Bayram Ali Soner and Şule Toktaş, "Alevi and Alevism in the Changing Context of Turkish Politics: The Justice and Development Party's Alevi Opening," *Turkish Studies* 12, no. 3 (2011): pp. 420-421, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2011.604214>.

⁹ Bayram Ali Soner and Şule Toktaş, "Alevi and Alevism in the Changing Context of Turkish Politics: The Justice and Development Party's Alevi Opening," *Turkish Studies* 12, no. 3 (2011): pp. 421, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2011.604214>.

¹⁰ Bayram Ali Soner and Şule Toktaş, "Alevi and Alevism in the Changing Context of Turkish Politics: The Justice and Development Party's Alevi Opening," *Turkish Studies* 12, no. 3 (2011): pp. 421, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14683849.2011.604214>.

recognized by the government as an anti-Alevi attack and the perpetrators were not punished accordingly. The Sivas/Madimak Massacre forced many Alevis to hide their identities. Despite approximately 20% of the Turkish population being Alevi, many still hide their identity not to be targeted by radical Sunni groups.

Secularism in Turkey

Secularism, *laiklik*, in the Turkish Republic was adapted from French *laïcité* and was orchestrated with a top-down approach. Similar to the French concept, Turkish secularism is formed around the idea that state affairs should be void of any religious influence. This in practice orchestrated itself as a ban on the appearance of religion in the public sphere. Head coverings and hijabs were banned in universities, and state and military buildings. The formation of the GDRA was aimed at educating people about Islam and “to carry out work on Islamic belief, worship, and ethics, enlighten society on religion and administer places of worship in line with the principle of secularism, by staying out of all political views and thinking and aspiring to national solidarity and integration.”¹¹ This led to an unfair allocation of the state’s political and economic resources among religious groups. Sunni Islam became the unofficial “official” religion of the state. The orchestration of secularism in Turkey pushed Alevis and other minorities to hide, assimilate, and live without performing the doctrines of their religion.

This French-based laiklik seemed like the best way to govern the new republic to the founders, but it eradicated people’s history and prevented religious and cultural freedom in modern Turkey. From a more personal account, as a young Alevi, I can say that this assimilation policy alienated many young Alevis from their culture and most importantly from their community and the support system that comes along with it. This dichotomy, the de-regulation of religion at the same time with the regulation of Sunni Islam, not only led to a significant identity crisis among many minorities in Turkey but also caused the two most prominent political identities, Islamists, and seculars, to further radicalize each other.

French and Turkish secularism focus on limiting religion to private life and eliminating its symbols from the public sphere. This was done in order to separate religious affairs from the state’s and to refrain the state from taking a position on the religious lives of the public. However, this top-down approach was not only internalized by the public in Turkey, but led to the exclusion of any religion outside of Sunni Islam. This led to laws that do not grant the same religious freedom to other religious or ethnic minorities. A modern society needs inclusive orders, laws, and social rules to be democratically organized and globally recognized. Today’s most civilized and modern societies are the ones with more cosmopolitan structures that allow their inhabitants to practice their culture and religion freely.

¹¹ “Temel İlke Ve Hedefler,” T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, December 25, 2012, <https://www.diyamet.gov.tr/en-US/Institutional/Detail/3>.

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The Roles of Children in Transitioning from Gatherer-Hunter to Agricultural Society

Tad Johnson

Few shifts in human evolution have had as dramatic an impact as the Neolithic Revolution. The human race owes the origins of civilization to the transition to agricultural societies. As such, it is natural that the event has been extensively studied. The switch from gatherer-hunters to agricultural farmers undoubtedly affected the population. Yet, little research has been done on how this affected the most impressionable demographic: children, responsible for carrying society from generation to generation. Many things can be inferred about a culture based solely on their children. So how did the Neolithic Revolution change and shape the lives of children? Although the transition to agriculture allowed the human population to increase and adapt, the difference had massive adverse effects on children's lives, most notably in their responsibilities to their families, social development, and food consumption—to the point where children would be better off in gatherer-hunter societies.

Information on the social structure and community of gatherer-hunter societies pre-Neolithic period is scarce. Therefore, experts generally use modern gatherer-hunter peoples to glean knowledge of their lifestyle.¹ In this essay, most information on the lives and habits of gatherer-hunters comes from such cultures. Although they may not reflect perfectly gatherer-hunters' livelihoods before the Neolithic Age, these modern groups still adhere to their old customs and face minimal interactions with the modern world.²

Children's roles, responsibilities, and functions changed significantly from the time of gatherer-hunters to early agricultural societies. In most gatherer-hunter communities, the children were treated alike and played a similar role.³ From the day they are born to age ten, apart from stopping nursing at age three, children of both genders practice foraging with their mothers. Older children are responsible for watching over their younger counterparts staying in the camp.⁴ In the book *The Nature of Play: Great Apes and Humans*, authors Anthony D. Pellegrini and Peter K. Smith even go as far as to remind their readers that in primitive cultures, children are responsible for taking care of younger children. They write, "It is common to see children 3 or 4 years old carrying small babies," showing some of the responsibilities of older children is caring for infants.⁵

¹ Alyssa N. Crittenden and David A. Zes, "Food Sharing among Hadza Hunter-Gatherer Children," *PLOS ONE* 10, no. 7 (2015): 1-2.

² Sheina Lew-Levy, *et al.*, "Gender-Typed and Gender-Segregated Play Among Tanzanian Hadza and Congolese BaYaka Hunter-Gatherer Children and Adolescents," *Child Development* 91, no. 4 (2020): 1.

³ Bonnie L. Hewlett, *Adolescent Identity: Evolutionary, Cultural and Developmental Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 28-32.

⁴ Crittenden and Zes, "Food Sharing among Hadza Hunter-Gatherer Children," 2.

⁵ Anthony D. Pellegrini and Peter K. Smith, *The Nature of Play: Great Apes and Humans* (New York: Guilford Press, 2005), 218.

In *Adolescent Identity: Evolutionary, Cultural and Developmental Perspectives*, Bonnie L. Hewlett points out that children foraging for themselves cannot fully provide for themselves, so other members of society chip in and help feed them. This period during which juveniles cannot yet fully feed themselves lasts until they turn at least ten (for females) and twelve (for males).⁶ These roles and responsibilities are comparable across most modern gatherer-hunter cultures, and experts believe they were also similar during the pre-Neolithic Age.

In early agricultural societies, children's roles were much more varied than simple food production. Of course, in most communities, children's primary role was aiding in food production. Yet their tasks were much more diverse and exciting in some early Neolithic cultures. For example, the early Neolithic people of Stonehenge relied on children to transport oversized loads and stones—to the point that many children had spinal deformities. Rodney Castleden provides commentary saying, “Children as young as 6 developed osteoarthritis in their spines, presumably as a result of carrying heavy loads. It comes as something of a shock to realise that the monuments were largely built by children.”⁷ Not even playtime was spared of change: children's toys from this period show a clear intent to teach kids about farming and chores.⁸ Yet, children were not always more valuable alive. At a Neolithic settlement in what would now be considered the Czech Republic, numerous graves show signs of the human sacrifice of children (non-native children, to be more precise). Experts believe these children were sacrificed to the gods in the hope of obtaining a good crop yield.⁹ While the shift to greater responsibility was not always negative, it is impossible to ignore the rise of human sacrifice, child labor, and barbaric behavior exhibited by some cultures in the Neolithic Age.

Another aspect of children's lives that changed monumentally due to the switch to agriculture was their social lives. The group often moved and acted as one large family in gatherer-hunter societies. They shared food, slept, and played with each other. They raised the children together, resulting in a multi-pronged parenting style that kept the group's children in line. There was little in the way of relations with one's family that existed outside of being part of the same society. In fact, some communities were so densely populated (by choice) that today they would be considered by many to be too condensed.¹⁰ Another social component of gatherer-hunter lifestyles occurs when children reached the age they would venture out and gather independently.

⁶ Hewlett, *Adolescent Identity*, 29-30.

⁷ Rodney Castleden, *The Stonehenge People: An Exploration of Life in Neolithic Britain 4700-2000 BC* (London: Routledge, 1992), 198.

⁸ “Neolithic Figurines” pictured in “Children, Play, and Learning Tasks: From North African Clay Toys to Neolithic Figurines,” by Argyris Fassoulas, Jean-Pierre Rossie, and Haris Procopiou, *Ethnoarchaeology* 12 (2020).

⁹ Václav Smrčka, Tomáš Berkovec, Vojtěch Erban, “‘Children as Plants.’ Analyses of Skeletal Remains of Suspected Children Sacrifices on a Neolithic Settlement in Vedrovice, Czech Republic,” *Anthropologie* 57, no.1 (2019): 79.

¹⁰ Patricia Draper, “Crowding among Hunter-Gatherers: The Kung Bushmen,” *Science* 182, no. 4109 (1973): 302.

They did this with one person of the same gender and formed a tight bond with that person.¹¹ Social life in gatherer-hunter societies focused primarily on community and on bonds formed beyond the immediate family.

While social development in the Neolithic Age looked different, not everything changed. The previously mentioned Stonehenge peoples had a social system that functioned similarly to that of gatherer-hunters. This system allowed the adults to parent unitedly, which resulted in well-disciplined and quickly punished children.¹² That said, there were still differences, most notably in societal structures that left children playing more with their families than with other kids. This no doubt exerted a significant impact on the social development of children.¹³ Still, it is not as if children were alone. Paintings on the walls of houses promote the idea that children were still as sociable as they are now.¹⁴

By and large, most agree that the shift to agriculture that occurred with the Neolithic Revolution negatively impacted children's social health and development. The commonsense idea demonstrates that time spent with one's own age group is beneficial for growth. Surviving evidence suggests that children of gatherer-hunter societies, in contrast to those of agricultural communities of the Neolithic era, had more opportunities to play within their age group and with kids from other tribes.¹⁵ Agricultural communities had children playing with the same few people that lived around them.

Another point of comparison for children of gatherer-hunter and Neolithic societies is their health. Once again, reference to Hewlett's *Adolescent Identity* highlights the Grandmother Hypothesis (GH). The GH says that living with "grandmothers" (post-menopausal women) has huge evolutionary benefits in terms of lifespan and mortality. The number of grandmothers is a factor of influence, as well. While it was rare for women to live to menopause in the early world, it was not unheard of. In gatherer-hunter societies, such women were less common but more accessible to children due to their living style. Beyond a longer life expectancy and lower mortality rate having more grandmothers present in society is suitable for children's life skills development.¹⁶ These traits are ideal for children, regardless of the time period in which they are living.

Castleden's book, *The Stonehenge People: An Exploration of Life in Neolithic Britain 4700-2000 BC*, promotes the idea that Neolithic peoples were overall healthier than their gatherer-

¹¹ Crittenden and Zes, "Food Sharing among Hadza Hunter-Gatherer Children," 2.

¹² Castleden, *Stonehenge People*, 220.

¹³ Stephen Shennan, "Evolutionary Demography and the Population History of the European Early Neolithic," *Human Biology* 81, no. 2 (2009): 349.

¹⁴ "Antique Drawings," pictured in "A Neolithic Childhood: Children's Drawings as Prehistoric Sources," by Barbara Wittmann, *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 63 (2013).

¹⁵ Draper, "Crowding among Hunter-Gatherers: The Kung Bushmen," 302.

¹⁶ Hewlett, *Adolescent Identity*, 26.

hunter counterparts. The book claims that people were less likely to go hungry, a significant factor in health. Furthermore, the book highlights that animal-borne illness was likely to have run rampant in urban settlements in the years immediately following the domestication of animals. Castleden also recognizes an uptick in infant mortality.¹⁷ While children were less likely to go hungry in the age of agriculture, there were some significant drawbacks.

Children represent humanity's future; as such, it is the job of adults to raise children in the best possible environment and way. While people's overall health increased thanks to the Neolithic Revolution, it came with drawbacks to their social development and massive changes in their roles and responsibilities. These changes ultimately led to a net decrease in the quality of life for children. While over time these differences and drawbacks either vanished or diminished, the immediate impacts of switching from gatherer-hunter societies to agricultural ones in large part appear to have been negative. For all of these reasons, children were more prone to thrive under the conditions of gatherer-hunter societies than in Neolithic agricultural settlements.

¹⁷ Castleden, *Stonehenge People*, 191.

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The Victims of Jack the Ripper:
The Casualties of the “Purification” of Society due to the Second Industrial Revolution
Ellie Moorman

Many believe sacrifices must be made to achieve a greater good. This was the mindset within the city of London in 1888, specifically within the district of Whitechapel. During this period, working women were thrust into the new realm of white-collar jobs. These jobs gave a hardly livable wage and rationalized their means to forfeit their virtue by becoming prostitutes as an end to achieve the opportunity to live a comfortable life. They seized this newfound opportunity, and they were able to climb the socioeconomic ladder. Concurrently, Jack the Ripper applied this consequentialist point of view through his heinous murders of prostitutes by believing it to be a way to purify the streets of London. Now, through a closer examination of the conditions and reactions of society during the time of the 1888 ‘Whitechapel Murders,’ one may see that not only did the second wave of the Industrial Revolution create conditions hospitable to prostitution, but they also resulted in Jack the Ripper's motivation for his crimes and the public’s detached fascination of the crimes and the victims.

In the mid to late 19th century, there was a boom in the supply of workers in the prostitution industry. This boom gave insight into an underground culture that had begun to rise to the surface and the societal changes that came along with it. However, this shift was not welcomed by all and often met with resistance. Many changes were occurring within English Urban Society, specifically with industrialization. According to Timothy Gilfoyle, a professor of history at Loyola University in Chicago, the economic and sustenance development of, “industrialization and [other] economic transformations created a ready supply of migratory, independent, low-wage-earning women, many whom viewed prostitution as a viable economic alternative to poverty.”¹ Many English women saw themselves and their families suffering and wished for a better life. Not only was prostitution just a way to make ends meet, but Gilfoyle also explains, “[P]rostitution served as a transitory stage for working-class women, after which they left such work and reintegrated themselves into society.”² The end goal of prostitution was not to rake in all the money possible and live a life of sin, but rather to create a better world for themselves and their future. The sacrifice these women had to make was not out of selfishness and lust but rather out of ambition and strength.

However, many did not see it that way. The newfound freedom that came with this money and sexual liberation created a sea of discontent. Gilfoyle continues,

Women, as ‘public’ figures, were simultaneously viewed as endangered and a source of danger. After 1880, London females broke with their ascribed, bounded roles and moved

¹Timothy J. Gilfoyle, “Prostitutes in History: From Parables of Pornography to Metaphors of Modernity,” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 104, no. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, February 1999): 117-141 at 125.

² Gilfoyle, “Prostitutes in History,” 128.

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about in the ‘wrong’ parts of the city. Women occupied multivalent, symbolic positions in this ‘imaginary landscape,’ emblems of conspicuous display, lower-class rebellion, and sexual disorder.³

Whitechapel specifically became one of these areas, and had an extremely prevalent population of prostitutes. According to a report from *The Times* on January 31, 1887, “...the fearful prevalence...of a gross state of street prostitution attended by features of a very disgusting character, particularly between the hours of 10 and 12 at which it is not fit for any respectable female to walk about and young men cannot do so without molestation.”⁴ They were obtaining their money in ‘dirty’ and ‘immoral’ ways. The worry began to arise of what else these women could do since, “Prostitutes formed a subterranean counter-society, an explicit moral, social, sanitary, and political threat. They symbolized disorder, excess, pleasure, and improvidence [...] Ironically the regulations discourse treated prostitutes as a separate category of women, while their very own data revealed that prostitutes were ‘very much like most other women’.”⁵ This statement is within the sense of what the conditions and lifestyle of Whitechapel entailed. According to *BBC America*, “Overcrowding and a shortage of housing created the abyss of Whitechapel. For most of the population in the East End, one lived and died in the same neighborhood in which they were born. Hope was in short supply.”⁶ The culture within Whitechapel was very much oriented towards making money by any means necessary to get by; a similar sentiment with most of lower-class society. The broad idea of society at that time believed these women to be a counterculture of their own culture, however, the truth of the matter is they were as much ingrained into it as everyone else. In the same article by *BBC America* the statistic is given, “In Oct 1888, the Metropolitan police estimated there were just over 1,200 prostitutes working the streets in Whitechapel alone.”⁷ Therefore, the prostitution workers were truly a large number within this growing community and served an integral part within the culture of London as a whole. Even so, the sentiment of these victims being outcasts did not go away. In fact, as time drudged on, many became more restless and judgmental of these women.

When one comes to understand the circumstances and drives of these women, then an observation of the public opinion of prostitutes is in order. The general public saw prostitutes in a dehumanized and demonized sense, making them more vulnerable to violence and mistreatment. Due to the moral and physical uncleanliness of the work, prostitution was put under intense regulations with extreme punishment if not followed. Previous to ‘the Whitechapel Murders,’

³ Gilfoyle, “Prostitutes in History,” 127.

⁴ “Prostitution in London 188-1889: The Criminal Law Amendment Act 1885,” *Jack the Ripper 1888*, <https://www.jack-the-ripper.org/1888-prostitution.htm> (accessed 1/3/2023).

⁵ Gilfoyle, “Prostitutes in History,” 121.

⁶ “Anglophenia Whitechapel,” *BBC America*, <https://www.bbcamerica.com/blogs/whitechapel--1015283#> (accessed 1/4/2023).

⁷ “Anglophenia Whitechapel.”

“Since the 1860s the police had been granted the power under the Contagious Diseases Acts to apprehend women of doubtful virtue in the streets and insist that they be medically examined; if found to be diseased, they could then be detained in lock hospitals.”⁸ These were cruel and humiliating conditions that these women had to face during this time. The 10th article of the 1868 Acts states, “The Local Government shall have power to appoint persons to make periodical examinations of registered women in order to ascertain whether at the time of each such examination they are affected with contagious disease.”⁹ This act meant that women had to put themselves in the vulnerable position of being ambushed by examiners at any time.

By being lawfully registered as a prostitute, women were signing away their right to privacy of their medical well-being. They were not given the same courtesy of self-autonomy as other women with health issues but rather treated as less than human. A pamphlet written by Doctor John Birkbeck Nevins in 1891 lays out the Acts and their, “[e]ssential principal ... [as a] combination of Hygienic surveillance of common prostitutes and hospital provision of their treatment, along with a modified revival of personal penalties upon such women which had characterized former periods of the treatment of prostitutes.”¹⁰ English women were seen as objects of the state, to be used, inspected, and thrown as those in charge deemed fit. They were under extreme control and restraints which lessened their mobility and liberty. Doctor Nevins carries on, clarifying,

The essential features of the Acts were that the women were to be placed upon the Police Register, and rendered subject to many penalties from which they could only be removed by magisterial authority; that they were to submit their persons to periodical examinations for the special form of disease called Venereal, with all which that involved against womanhood; and that there were to go to prison if they refused or neglected to submit regularly to these examinations. They were subjected by successive Acts to greatly increased compulsory detention in hospital, from 3 months at first to 6 months in 1866, and to 9 months in the “Amended” Act of 1869, and if they left the hospital without the consent of the Medical Officer, they were to go to prison for a period of two months, but without hard labour. But as this penalty was not found to have “terror” enough, the Amended: Act of 1869 raised the penalty to three months’ imprisonment with hard labour, and other penal conditions were added.¹¹

⁸ Emma Liggins, “Prostitution and Social Purity in the 1880s and 1890s,” *Critical Survey: 'New' Female Sexualities 1870-1930*, vol. 15, no. 3, (Brooklyn, New York: Berghahn Books, 2003): 39-55 at 39.

⁹ “Act No. XIV of 1868,” *India Code*, https://www.indiacode.nic.in/repealed-act/repealed_act_documents/A1868-14.pdf (accessed 1/3/2023).

¹⁰ John Birkbeck Nevins, *What Steps Should the State Take to Prevent the Spread of Venereal Diseases?: Paper Read before the State Hygiene Section of the International Hygienic Congress in London, in 1891*, 3, available on JSTOR, <https://jstor.org/stable/60240504>, (accessed 10/31/22).

¹¹ Nevins, *What Steps Should the State Take to Prevent the Spread of Venereal Diseases?.*” 3.

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The treatment seemed to worsen for women as the acts progressed, suggesting a development in the sentiment towards prostitutes. The registration, holding within hospitals, the punishments, and the overall treatment of women points to the idea that they were seen below other women in society. They were less than human; animals that the government were attempting to control and punish for the disorder. This furthered the isolation between prostitutes and the rest of society, even creating animosity between the two. This set the climate that was hospitable for vigilantes to “take care” of prostitutes.

With a better understanding of these victims’ image, the development of the characterization of Jack the Ripper and his crimes unfolds. Jack the Ripper lived in a world in which prostitution was on every street corner, a practice that has been proven to be caused by the industrial revolution. In the book *Jack the Ripper: the Forgotten Victims*, Paul Begg and John Bennet speak of the police’s interest in prostitution’s correlation to the case. “One essential element in the fascination was the targeting of prostitutes: according to an official police report from October 1888, there were some 1,200 prostitutes and 62 brothels in the Whitechapel (or ‘H’) Division of the Metropolitan Police.”¹² This was astounding number in such a small area for the time but makes sense when taking into account the condition of financial need caused by the industrial revolution. The prevalence of immorality and disorder would be an unavoidable reality to all those in the area because prostitutes would be a part of mainstream culture. Therefore, when in Whitechapel, Jack the Ripper would be constantly faced with the ruin of this residence.

Combined with his twisted mind, this circumstance would have dire consequences for ambitious working-class women. The prevalence of prostitution within the community is seen with the victims. “[T]here were only five victims, sometimes known as the ‘canonical five’: Mary Ann Nichols, Annie Chapman, Elizabeth Stride, Catherine Eddowes, and Mary Jane Kelly.”¹³ They faced extreme hardships in their lives and were working any way they could to put food on the table. In the case of Mary Ann Nichols, “Her reliance on prostitution as a convenient way of getting money to pay for a bed led to her death in the quiet, poorly lit Buck’s Row.”¹⁴ This was the case for other victims of Jack the Ripper. This “canonical five” were trying to make a living in an unconventional way and had the unfortunate luck of crossing the path of a psychopathic killer.

The characterization of Jack and his views on his victims can be seen in his letter entitled “Dear Boss” where it reads, “I am down on whores and I shant quit ripping them till I do get buckled.”¹⁵ From these letters one can infer the twisted nature of this man and the disdain he felt for his victims. He even insulted their character by demeaning Mary Ann Nichols. Additionally,

¹² Begg, Paul and John Bennett *Jack the Ripper: The Forgotten Victims* (New York: Yale University Press, 2013), 16.

¹³ Begg and Bennett, *Jack the Ripper: The Forgotten Victims*, 19.

¹⁴ Begg and Bennett, *Jack the Ripper: The Forgotten Victims*, 67.

¹⁵ Richard Jones, “Dear Boss,” in “The Dear Boss Letter- Yours Truly Jack the Ripper,” available on *Jack the Ripper 1888*, <https://www.jack-the-ripper.org/dear-boss.htm> (accessed 10/17/2022).

in another of his letters, Jack wrote, “[Y]ou’ll hear about Saucy Jacky’s work tomorrow double event this time number one squealed a bit.”¹⁶ He referred to his victims as numbers. He saw them as victories and scores rather than human beings, a common practice among cold-blooded serial killers. Individuals like Jack see their victims as another box to check, not as valuable human lives.

Not only that, but Jack the Ripper also found amusement and novelty in his kills and their “trophies.” He attempted to use the blood of his victims to write to the police. He went so far as to say, “I write to you a letter in black ink, as I have no more of the right stuff.”¹⁷ On top of that, the use of the word “right” also suggests that the murder and the use of the material was the correct thing to do. He takes every bit of dignity left of these women and spills it for his own pleasure. This is also seen in the injuries he inflicted upon his victims where he, “had extracted and taken out the uterus” and one victim’s “throat had been cut through to the spine and her face had been mutilated by deliberate, often quite delicate, cuts.”¹⁸ Jack the Ripper was defacing the victim and attacking the very thing that gave them the power he so disdained. He wanted to bathe in the remembrances of destroying what made these women the lesser version he despised. He inferred even more pleasure when he wrote, “Say Boss, You seem rare frightened...hope to see you when I don’t hurry much.”¹⁹ He was not only taunting the police but also insinuating spending extra time at the crime scene. Jack the Ripper wished to take in every second of the crime and soak in it. The disdain he felt for these women is heavily insinuated from the phrasing he used in his letters to describe the women; and his heated hatred is left pulsating from the gruesomeness of his attacks. Therefore, Jack the Ripper’s crimes were the product of a deep-rooted hatred for prostitutes and what they represented. He wanted to dash all that the “canonical five” stood for. And from the descriptions in his letters to the police and media, it is evident he found pleasure in destroying victims and what they stood for.

After examining the actual innerworkings of the crimes, one must turn an eye to the public reception of the crime. Although many were appalled by the crimes of Jack the Ripper, they felt a sense of removal and disgust for the victims due to their work and way of life. For many reading the stories of the crimes and the letters from the killer, this seemed too out of reach to grasp the consequences. One such example of this was in a report for *The Sunderland Echo* on August 31 where it states,

¹⁶Richard Jones, Saucy Jacky,” in “The Dear Boss Letter- Yours Truly Jack the Ripper,” available on *Jack the Ripper 1888*, <https://www.jack-the-ripper.org/dear-boss.htm> (accessed 10/17/2022).

¹⁷Richard Jones, “Mr. Lusk’s First Letter,” in “The Dear Boss Letter- Yours Truly Jack the Ripper,” available on *Jack the Ripper 1888*, <https://www.jack-the-ripper.org/dear-boss.htm> (accessed 10/17/2022).

¹⁸Begg and Bennett, *Jack the Ripper: The Forgotten Victims*, 33; 70.

¹⁹ Richard Jones, “Another Letter,” in “The Dear Boss Letter- Yours Truly Jack the Ripper,” available on *Jack the Ripper 1888*, <https://www.jack-the-ripper.org/dear-boss.htm> (accessed 10/17/2022).

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The body was immediately conveyed to the Whitechapel mortuary, when it was found that besides the wound in the throat, the lower part of the abdomen was completely ripped open, with the bowels protruding.

The wound extends nearly to her breast, and must have been effected with a large knife.

The hands are bruised and bear evidence of having engaged in a severe struggle. Some of the front have been knocked out, and the face is bruised and discoloured.

In Whitechapel naturally the greatest excitement prevails and several persons in the neighbourhood state that an affray took place early in the morning, and they think that during this the murder was committed.²⁰

To the general public and writers for the media, the crimes were a tale, and they were the audience of this fantastical plot. Craig Monk states, “[T]he Ripper’s victims are themselves often reduced to ‘stage props’ in discussions of these crimes.”²¹ The victims of the crimes were usually not seen as individuals, but rather as the part they had to play.

For society, these women could have been anyone with any background. The victims were a name in the story, but when their livelihoods were added to the mix, their individualism set them even further apart from society. For example in a September 1st report in *The Daily News* about the murder of Mary Ann Nichols she was described to be, “worse for liquor,” and “had been wandering about ... [since] [s]he was first admitted to the workhouse seven years ago, and from this point appears to have entered upon a downward career.”²² Upon reading this, many began to formulate an opinion of these victims’ lifestyles and detach themselves because of their “shameful” behaviors. Begg and Bennett describe, “As one woman after another was murdered and horribly mutilated, the details that emerged of the grim lives they had led shocked many at home and abroad.”²³ People were baffled by the idea of their sympathy lying with these women of the night. Readers were drawn even closer to the story, yet they all were disconnected from the crime. For so long these women were painted as villains who were tarnished in society, yet, in that moment they could have been seen as the humans they were. The issue was the story became a commodity and the media delivered all they could about the actual crimes, as opposed to the life stories of these individuals. Therefore, the image painted in one’s head when talking about ‘the Whitechapel Murders’ is not one of the heartbreaking stories of the new working-class of women struck down

²⁰ “The Murder of Mary Nichols – Press Coverage,” *Jack the Ripper 1888*, <https://www.jack-the-ripper.org/mary-nichols-newspaper-reports.htm> (accessed 1/2/23).

²¹ Craig Monk, “Optograms, Autobiography, and the Image of Jack the Ripper,” *Interdisciplinary Literary Studies*, vol. 12, no. 2, (Pennsylvania: Penn State University Press, Fall 2010): 91-104 at 92.

²² “The Murder of Mary Nichols – Press Coverage.”

²³ Begg, and Bennett, *Jack the Ripper: The Forgotten Victims*, 2.

by society embodied in a hooded figure; instead, it is the story scandalous of a psychotic killer who preyed upon women of the night.

With all these things in mind, there can be some doubt to the correlation between the victims' image, the motivation of Jack the Ripper, and the reception of society. Many at the time believed that Jack the Ripper was a killer who targeted prostitutes because they were an easy victim. For example, after the murder of Mary Ann Nichols, "The concept of 'the Whitechapel murders' as the work of a lone, crazed killer was born."²⁴ Jack the Ripper had a sentiment that when paired with a violent mindset, created such heinous events as 'the Whitechapel Murders'. However, why was Jack the Ripper so bound and determined to enact violence against prostitutes? According to Emily Liggins, "A variety of discourses constructed the prostitute either as an innocent victim of male lust or as a 'demon' and 'contagion of evil.'"²⁵ Therefore, an individual within a certain headspace would look at these women as workers of the devil himself, and by killing them he is doing society a favor as a whole. Jack the Ripper knows his work is twisted and foul, yet he stated in one of his infamous letters, "I love my work and want to start again."²⁶ This is not only because he had a violent mindset, but also because he saw his work as a good deed done in a dirty manner, while the victims did bad deeds in a dirty manner.

People were torn by his actions. On one hand, he committed the ultimate sin, and on the other, he was saving the purity of society. Jack the Ripper was "solving a problem" that the government failed to resolve. A problem that, if not for the industrial revolution, would not exist. Society was not understanding the whole picture of the circumstances of these women's lives, "[T]hey were actually placing their faith in a photograph of a photograph."²⁷ Society could only conjure what little details of these women's lives, since they only had the names within the story. All they knew was that the victims were prostitutes who had unfortunately crossed the paths of Jack the Ripper. They did not see the struggles these women faced to put them in the position they were in at that time. If society put in the effort to hypothesize why Jack the Ripper targeted these women, they would see the direct correlation between his desire to purge the streets of London to the hardships of women trying to gain control of their newfound freedoms.

The direct correlation between the Industrial Revolution and Jack the Ripper's crimes is extremely evident. When one looks closer at the historical context of the rise of prostitution within the Whitechapel area, and the rise of traditional values in the 19th century, the connection is clear. The Industrial Revolution created a new type of work for women, granting them more independence, yet barely livable wages. These women turned to prostitution to fulfill their need for more financial stability but set themselves up for harsh treatment by society through regulations. These reforms set a particular disposition towards prostitution and set them apart from

²⁴ Begg and Bennett, *Jack the Ripper: The Forgotten Victims*, 67.

²⁵ Liggins, "Prostitution and Social Purity in the 1880s and 1890s," 39.

²⁶ Jones, "Dear Boss."

²⁷ Monk, "Optograms, Autobiography, and the Image of Jack the Ripper," 92.

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society, which made these women more susceptible to becoming victims of crazed killers, specifically Jack the Ripper. Due to the sensationalized nature of these crimes and the women's backgrounds, the sentiment of society was lost. This unfortunate chain of events is important to remember when studying other cases like it. To study crimes as sensational as Jack the Ripper's, one must look at the historical context. In the end, sacrifices of detail must not be made to fully understand these important events in the past.

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The Fall of a Hyper-Sexualized Interpretation
Luke Scherer

Shot dead but sprung back to life with the smashing hit “Rasputin” by Boney M, Rasputin’s legacy managed to live on beyond his untimely death in 1916. Rasputin has become a recognizable name that many people know of, but he is such a controversial figure in Russian history that even the origin of his name is debated.¹ Rising out of the Siberian peasantry, Grigori Efimovich Rasputin (1864–1916) gained favor with social circles in St. Petersburg after traveling on several pilgrimages across Europe and the Middle East.² His travels eventually led him to meet the tsar and tsarina.³ Tsar Nicholas II (1868–1918) desperately needed someone to treat his son Tsarevich Alexei Nikolaevich (1904–1918). Alexei suffered from hemophilia, a genetic condition that causes his blood to not clot when cut or bruised. After medical experts informed the family that it was untreatable, the family turned to a “Holy Man.” After one particularly bad injury, the royal physician said that the boy would not recover. This prompted Rasputin to conduct his first healing on Alexei, in 1906. It is said that after touching the boy and praying over him, the hemorrhaging stopped, and the boy made a recovery.⁴ This ability to “cure” Alexei would solidify his role in the Russian court. The tale of Rasputin’s rise to power has held consistent over time, but his fall from power and the ultimate cause of his death has been debated. The old revolutionary side focuses more on the sexual immorality of Rasputin, while the Western view focuses more on his grasping of power in the Russian Court. While both early Soviet-era and modern historians recognize the same causes for his descent from power, they differ in the importance of one cause over another. Utilizing the lens of the Soviet revolutionaries and Western interpretations, “Rasputin,” the Euro disco craze, captures the revolutionary interpretation, and illustrates how the Soviets would even reject their own tale.

Rasputin’s rise to power was at a time of major turmoil and social reconstruction in Russian society. The Great Reforms, from 1855–1890, attempted to alleviate some pressure built by the working class and work toward a constitutional monarchy.⁵ These reforms, including industrialization and emancipating the serfs, ultimately resulted in even more hostility from the peasantry. Proving the nobility right, the reforms resulted in the peasants becoming upset with the

¹ Rasputin made many enemies, and they spread false accusations that they tagged him with the name Rasputin. They believe it means “the dissolute” due to his “licentious sexual conduct as an adolescent.” (*Dictionary of the Russian Revolution*, 474) Since then the name has been shown to have been in his family line since the times of Catherine the Great. The bad connotation given by the name would cause him to try and shed the name and replace it with “Novyi,” meaning “new”, but he would ultimately fail in the effort.

² George Jackson and Robert Devlin, eds., *Dictionary of the Russian Revolution* (CITY: Greenwood Press, 1989), 474–75.

³ Joseph Fuhrmann, *Rasputin: A Life* (CITY: Praeger Pub Text, 1990), 16.

⁴ Fuhrmann, *Rasputin: A Life*, 25-26.

⁵ Anthony Miller, “Why Reform?” *Great Reforms & the Crimean Syndrome*, Lecture Notes, Hanover College, November 8, 2022.

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inflation of land and nobles succumbing to poverty.⁶ Following the assassination of Tsar Alexander II (1818–1881), Russia entered a period of counter-reforms. This period aimed to retain some of the powers that the Crown had released. The Crown illustrated this by reinstating censorship restrictions, enshrining eastern orthodoxy into the educational curriculum, and re-establishing police presence.⁷ The revoking of the reforms and general animosity towards the crown boiled over on January 9, 1905, when Father Georgii Gapon (1870–1906) led a march to deliver a petition to the tsar at the Winter Palace. Tsar Nicholas II ordered the military to open fire on the crowd, and it resulted in the deaths of well over a hundred people. Becoming known as “Bloody Sunday,” this massacre began the Revolution of 1905.⁸ Occurring at the same time, the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) unveiled the incompetency of the Romanovs as rulers.⁹ With this major conglomeration of social reforms and failures, how does Rasputin fit into the picture? Like a spark on a field of dry tinder, Rasputin was one of the many catalysts that ignited the Bolshevik Revolution.

Rasputin arrived in St. Petersburg in 1905 and slowly gained influence over the royal family. Becoming the tsarina’s favorite among the Russian Court was rather simple for Rasputin. All he had to do was “heal” her hemophiliac son, Alexei. Among members of the court, his adherence to the Khlysty sect drove his decline. The Khlysty sect’s rituals were reported to entail the “ship” (congregation) holding hands and chanting at night in basements (due to it being illegal to practice). During the chanting, the leader of the ship would whip anyone who broke the formation. Most notably, after the chanting, the group would fall to the floor and engage in group intercourse.¹⁰ The revolutionary interpretation highlights the hyper-sexualization of Rasputin by predominantly focusing on his adherence to the Khlysty sect.

Fülöp-Miller, the author of *Rasputin: The Holy Devil*, recounts the life of Rasputin using the lens offered by the monk-priest Iliodor, an enemy of Rasputin and author of the pamphlet *Rasputin: The Holy Devil*. Although Fülöp-Miller, an Austria-Hungarian, isn’t a historian who believes in the revolutionary interpretation, he utilizes a series of soviet documents and “facts” to recount the life of Rasputin down to mere minutes in some stories. The pinpoint accuracy of minute-by-minute stories sends up signs of inaccuracy. Fülöp-Miller exclaims, “[W]ith wonderful academic pedantry, a collection of false facts and dates, wrong persons and places, was put together with an air of exactness that is hardly ever to be met with in biographies founded on fact.”¹¹ As

⁶ Anthony Miller, “The Shock,” *Great Reforms & The Crimean Syndrome*, Lecture Notes, Hanover College, November 8, 2022.

⁷ Anthony Miller, “Counter-Reform: Alexander III, 1881-1894,” *Counter Reform and Revolt*, Lecture Notes, Hanover College, November 15, 2022.

⁸ Gregory L Freeze, *Russia: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 214–15.

⁹ Anthony Miller, “Russo-Japanese War,” *Bloody Sunday and the 1905 Revolution*, Lecture Notes, Hanover College, November 22, 2022.

¹⁰ Fuhrmann, *Rasputin: A Life*, 6.

¹¹ Need footnote.

someone aware of the inaccuracies, he is able to craft a depiction of Rasputin without subscribing to it. On the other hand, his knowledge of its inaccuracies may create a space for him to exaggerate stories to the point that readers question, “how could anyone believe this?”

In these exaggerated stories, Rasputin was accused of many things, from pretending to be a priest all the way to having sexual relations with children. While these are terrible on their own, the Duma, an elected parliament established in the *October Manifesto*, would charge him with being a Khlysty.¹² In a conversation between the president of the Duma and the tsar, they discuss Rasputin’s membership with the Khlysty sect:

[Rodzianko] produced a photograph of the starets wearing a pectoral cross . . .

The Tsar replied:

‘Yes, this is really going too far. He has no right to wear a pectoral cross.’

‘It’s blasphemy, your Majesty . . . here is another photograph. It’s a ‘Khlysty ship’ . . . Here is Rasputin . . . with two young men . . . It’s a ‘ship’ bearing its inmates towards fornication.’¹³

In the conversation between the tsar and the president of the Imperial Duma, the president would attest many things, like him committing blasphemous actions, homosexuality, and most importantly, sexual promiscuity. The Duma would protest to have Rasputin removed from St. Petersburg permanently. The tsar would refuse to banish him.¹⁴

In the following years, Rasputin’s position in court would only get stronger. While attaining more power, his accusations of sexual deviance against him only grew. While Rasputin was gaining influence over the tsarina, not until World War I would he have major influence over policies. During these times, he would be placed under police surveillance and the following reports were recorded:

21 February. Nicolai Alexeievitch Glazov visited Rasputin by car, bringing with him several bottles of wine; having been joined by Rasputin, they both drove to the Great Northern Hotel to see Terekhov-Miklashevskaja [a courtesan]. They stayed with her for one hour and fifty minutes.

11 March. At 10-15 in the morning Rasputin was overtaken by the watch in Gorokhovaia Street and followed to No. 8, Poushkinskaia Street to the prostitute Tregoubova, and thence to the baths.

3 April. Rasputin brought a woman with him, who spent the night in his flat.¹⁵

The police surveillance shows several instances of Rasputin allegedly engaging in sexual behaviors. Instances like these would build his reputation for immoral promiscuities. Not only

¹² "Rasputin: The Holy Devil," Reprinted from M.V. Rodzianko, *The Reign of Rasputin: An Empire's Collapse in Imperial Russia: A Sourcebook, 1700-1917* (Academic International Press, 1999), 481.

¹³ "Rasputin: The Holy Devil," Reprinted from M.V. Rodzianko, *The Reign of Rasputin*, 483.

¹⁴ "Rasputin: The Holy Devil," Reprinted from M.V. Rodzianko, *The Reign of Rasputin*, 483.

¹⁵ "Okhrana Surveillance Report on Rasputin," www.alexanderpalace.org (Alexander Palace), accessed November 9, 2022, <https://www.alexanderpalace.org/palace/rasputinreport.php>.

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building his reputation but the accumulation of official reports could also be used against him in courts of law.

With the onset of World War I and failing strategies, Tsar Nicholas would directly take the reins of the front lines. In the process, he would leave Tsarina Alexandra and Rasputin to run the government.¹⁶ The tsarina and Rasputin had rumors of an affair, being publicly addressed by the Duma, since 1912.¹⁷ With the capital being abandoned by the tsar, the rumors would grow and aid in the rebellion. Fülöp-Miller explains, “Immediately after the collapse, it became necessary to supply the masses as quickly as possible with blood-curdling stories about the Imperial Court, in order to rouse and maintain in them the spirit of rebellion, and, for that reason, this figure of Rasputin was offered to the public as the one authentic portrait.”¹⁸ Even after Rasputin’s death in



Figure 1: Pornographic postcard distributed by 1917

1916, he would be used by revolutionaries as an amoral character used to stoke the fires of revolution. The postcard below was distributed in 1917 among a collection of other pornographic postcards. The caption on the postcard¹⁹ reads “‘Autocracy.’ The postcard plays on the double meaning of the word *derzhit* — the verb ‘to hold’ but equally the root of the word ‘autocracy’ (*samoderzhavie*).”²⁰ Rasputin’s hold on the Empress makes him the true ruler of Russia...” Historians Figes and Kolonitskii write, “[pornographic postcards, films, and stories], after all, had become almost part of the official version of events leading to the downfall of the monarchy in so far as, after the February Revolution, they were freely repeated by the press as ‘facts’, and to some extent believed by people such as Blok who sat on the Provisional Government’s Extraordinary Commission of Inquiry into malfeasance of the

¹⁶ Anthony Miller, “Collapsing Order,” *The February Revolution*, Lecture Notes, Hanover College, November 29, 2022.

¹⁷“Rasputin: The Holy Devil,” Reprinted from M.V. Rodzianko, *The Reign of Rasputin, 1700-1917*, 485.

¹⁸ Fülöp-Miller, *Rasputin: The Holy Devil*, V.

¹⁹ Houghton Library, *Autocracy*, 1917, postcard, *Interpreting the Russian Revolution: The Language and Symbols of 1917*, 1917.

²⁰ Orlando Figes and Boris Kolonitskii, *Interpreting the Russian Revolution: The Language and Symbols of 1917* (New Haven, Ct: Yale University Press, 1999), 12.

court.”²¹ Believing the tales to be true, the revolutionary interpretation emphasized the hyper-fixation of Rasputin’s sex life with the tsarina ultimately to bring down the monarchy.

In an attempt to unravel the strings of misinformation, a debate arose around Rasputin’s adherence to the Khlysty. Author of *Rasputin and the Russian Revolution*, published in 1917, Princess Catherine Radziwill writes that western European courts were accustomed to the occult, but Russian society had many deep religious sects that were “given to all kinds of excesses and to attacks of pious madness.”²² She continues to explain that there are a series of other cults doing far worse. The Philipovtsy believed in salvation through suicide, leading to mass suicides. The Dietooubitsy (nicknamed baby killers) believed it was their duty to kill newborn infants to remove them from the powers of evil. Finally, the Stranglers believed they must suffer a violent death to enter the gates of heaven.²³ While these cults may be doing things she detests as more morally corrupt than the Khlysty, it does not counteract the illegality of the Khlysty sect.²⁴ Her justifying his enrollment in the sect suggests that she, a Western, early 20th-century historian, believes he was a member. In the preface to his book, Fülöp-Miller reports that the revolutionaries’ mob mentality led to the development of an “equally ill-founded life of Rasputin” to support their cause.²⁵ A modern, Western historian **Joseph** Fuhrmann writes, “Rasputin was not a [Khlysty]—nor did members of the group mingle sex and worship. Splinter groups practiced ‘holy intercourse,’ but most khlysty were devout pentecostalists who condemned such behavior.”²⁶ He is definitively defining his position that Rasputin was not a member of the cult. Another late 20th-century pair, Jackson and Devlin, write, “[I]t is unlikely that [Rasputin] joined the sect in any formal sense.”²⁷ Challenging the rumors about Rasputin’s worship, Fuhrmann, Jackson, and Devlin are turning the focus away from Rasputin’s sexual deviance. The early 20th century was a time of conflicting ideas around Rasputin’s adherence to the cult, illustrated through Radziwill and Fülöp-Miller opposing positions. As time progressed, the Western interpretation—as illustrated through Fuhrmann’s and also Jackson’s and Devlin’s views—has agreed that Rasputin was never actually a part of the Khlysty sect.

Diving into the modern interpretation, historians now believe that Rasputin’s influence and ultimate demise resided in his yearning for power. **John T.** Fuhrmann explored the life of Rasputin through well-tracked and analyzed sources. He spent nine years working on his book *Rasputin: A*

²¹ Figes and Kolonitskii, *Interpreting the Russian Revolution*, 121.

²² Catherine Radziwill, *Rasputin and the Russian Revolution* (New York, NY: Public Ledger Company, 1917), <https://ia600200.us.archive.org/29/items/cu31924027016819/cu31924027016819.pdf>, 26.

²³ Radziwill, *Rasputin and the Russian Revolution*, 27-28.

²⁴ Fuhrmann, *Rasputin: A Life*, 6.

²⁵ Fülöp-Miller, *Rasputin: The Holy Devil*, V

²⁶ Fuhrmann, *Rasputin: A Life*, 7.

²⁷ Jackson and Devlin, eds., *Dictionary of the Russian Revolution*, 474.

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Life.²⁸ Having dedicated this much time to a project shows a sign of having a special interest in its success and possible groundbreaking reporting. This suspicion has diminished over time although acceptance of his theory was common at the time the book was published. Fuhrmann's story of Rasputin would start with his humble beginnings as a Siberian peasant. To Western historians, his peasant status would be the initial cause of his hatred among the nobles.²⁹ Nobles and peasants have long had feuds throughout Russian history, but the abolishment of serfdom exacerbated the issue.³⁰ On top of the cultural differences between nobles and peasants, the nobility especially hated that Rasputin was able to rise above them. A peasant from Siberia gained more influence over the government than the nobles in the Russian court. Although his status made him unpopular with the nobles, the royal family loved his status as a peasant. Their romanticized ideas of peasants solidified Rasputin as one of the most influential people in the Russian court.³¹

Using his position in court, Rasputin applied his influence to divide the Holy Synod, the top council of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Rasputin was initially very useful to the church. Fuhrmann explains, "Grigori appeared on the scene at the precise moment church leaders were seeking people of his type. The bishops were worried about the Church and feared it was losing contact with ordinary people Experts were amazed at his knowledge of scripture and his ability to present settled doctrines in a fresh, original way."³² Although it was the official religion, the church was in turmoil. The "New Generation" was challenging the church's position in society. They were pushing for science to be used to plan society instead of the church.³³ The church would initially accept Rasputin to try and overcome the disconnect between the church and the people. This soon changed, though. Often after meeting with Rasputin, church officials would turn away from him. In December of 1911, two priests, Iliodor and Hermogen, would finally turn against Rasputin after hearing of his promiscuity. They tried to have him banished from Russia for three years, but Rasputin got to the tsar before they could. He recounted his side of the story, and it resulted in both Iliodor and Hermogen being stripped of their titles.³⁴ Fuhrmann writes, "Rasputin's clash with Hermogen and Iliodor confirmed the public's conviction the Grigori was all-powerful and could defeat any foe."³⁵ Next, he toppled the head of the church. He used his power and influence over the tsar to have Serge Lukyanov, Director General of the Holy Synod,

²⁸ Fuhrmann, *Rasputin: A Life*, IX.

²⁹ Fuhrmann, *Rasputin: A Life*, 54.

³⁰ Anthony Miller, "Exploring Emancipation," *Great Reforms and The Crimean Syndrome*, Lecture Notes, Hanover College, November 15, 2022.

³¹ Fuhrmann, *Rasputin: A Life*, 54.

³² Fuhrmann, *Rasputin: A Life*, 14-15.

³³ Anthony Miller, "'New People': Revolution, Terror, and Intelligentsia," *Counter-Reform and Revolt*, Lecture Notes, Hanover College, November 15, 2022.

³⁴ Fuhrmann, *Rasputin: A Life*, 82-83.

³⁵ Fuhrmann, *Rasputin: A Life*, 84.

removed. Lukyanov, in support of Iliodor, made a report discrediting Rasputin as a holy man. This would upset Alexandra, and she had Lukyanov removed from the synod.³⁶ In a report to the tsar, Rodzianko, president of the Duma, tells stories about how Rasputin's adherence to the Khlysty sect had divided church officials, and how they were persecuted for speaking ill of Rasputin.³⁷ Clearing the church out of his way, Rasputin removed most opposition from the church to his reign with Alexandra.



With the onset of World War I and the removal of Tsar Nicholas II from the government, Rasputin had unchecked power. The political cartoon below, entitled, "Russia's Ruling House,"³⁸ illustrates how the public viewed Rasputin's role in the government. They viewed him as a puppet master, pulling the string of the tsar and tsarina. The power the public perceived became an issue when they suspected him of being a German sympathizer. Rasputin's opposition to xenophobia and war would spark suspicion of him being pro-German.³⁹ His unchecked power and alleged German support would result in his bad reputation ballooning. Illustrating his infamousness, "poet Mariana Tsvetaeva noted, 'One man's name was on everyone's lips, that of Grigori Rasputin' . . . Prince Zhivkov recalled, 'People did not understand each other, they did not have a common language but rather tore at each other, inflicting blows and charges of blame.' Exasperated hosts and restaurant owners finally posted signs that proclaimed: 'No talking about Rasputin here!'"⁴⁰ Rasputin became so infamous that public outrage was boiling over.

He became targeted and assaulted by various officers. The ultimate assault would come on December 16, 1916. A Russian Aristocrat Felix Yusupov, would poison his wine, shoot him in the head, and then drop him, through a hole in the ice, into the Neva River where he most likely died from drowning.⁴¹ Although Yusupov's motivations are not officially known, Fuhrmann narrows them down to two plausible but not verifiable options. One suggests that Yusupov had tried to initiate a sexual relationship between himself and Rasputin. Maria Rasputin claimed that Yusupov sought revenge for being rejected. The second option is that Yusupov thought Rasputin was trying to unseat his cousin, Tsar Nicholas II. Rasputin said, "[T]he empress is a very wise ruler. She is a second Catherine [the Great]; but as for him, well he is no Tsar Emperor, he is just a child of

³⁶ Fuhrmann, *Rasputin: A Life*, 74.

³⁷ "Rasputin: The Holy Devil," Reprinted from M.V. Rodzianko, *The Reign of Rasputin*, 481.

³⁸ N. Ivanov, *Russia's Ruling House*, n.d., Book, *Rasputin: The Holy Devil*, n.d.

³⁹ Fuhrmann, *Rasputin: A Life*, 191.

⁴⁰ Fuhrmann, *Rasputin: A Life*, 191.

⁴¹ Jackson and Devlin, eds., *Dictionary of the Russian Revolution*, 477.

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God.”⁴² Yusupov took this as a direct threat to Nicholas. Recruiting others, Yusupov attained a team, including Vladimir Purichkevich and two others. Fuhrmann claims that Purichkevich’s motivation was that he feared Rasputin was undermining the authority of the tsardom.⁴³ The modern perspective acknowledges Rasputin’s sexual deviance, but its main focus resides on his power to disrupt the Holy Synod and how his murderers were motivated by Rasputin’s power over the tsar.

Rasputin was a legend during and after his time. The tales about him, overshadowing his life, left a vacuum of biographies and art.⁴⁴ One of these art forms was a song entitled “Rasputin,” by Boney M., released on the album *Nightflight to Venus*. The song would become a hit across worldwide markets.⁴⁵ The song recounts rumors about Rasputin’s rise and fall from power. When the song was released in 1978, the story of Rasputin was in the later stages of the shift between the revolutionary and modern interpretations. Still, the song predominantly retells stories of Rasputin’s sexual promiscuity, focusing on the revolutionaries’ version of the story.

The first chorus and the verse that follows can be broken down into 3 sections, revealing the imbalance between the two interpretations. The first is influenced by revolutionary interpretations, and it reads, “Ra Ra Rasputin, lover of the Russian Queen\Ra Ra Rasputin, Russia’s greatest love machine.”⁴⁶ The second section, the modern aspect, expresses his influence. The song notes, “He ruled the Russian land and never mind the Czar\In all affairs of state he was the man to please.”⁴⁷ The final section of the chorus reverts to the sexualized interpretation, stating, “But he was real great when he had a girl to squeeze\For the queen he was no wheeler dealer\Though she’d heard the things he done\She believed he was a holy healer\Who would heal her son.”⁴⁸ These lines show a two-to-one imbalance in narratives.

The rest of the song reveals an even more exacerbated imbalance. The song alternates between men and women singing to develop themselves as foils. When the men sing, they are progressing the story, such as explaining his murder or emphasizing power. When the women sing, it is focusing on how great Rasputin was and how he was a lover. For example, using the first stanza of the song:

Men: There lived a certain man in Russia long ago.

Women: He was big and strong, in his eyes a flaming glow.

Men: Most people looked at him in terror and in fear.

⁴² Fuhrmann, *Rasputin: A Life*, 198.

⁴³ Fuhrmann, *Rasputin: A Life*, 199.

⁴⁴ Jackson and Devlin, eds., *Dictionary of the Russian Revolution*, 477.

⁴⁵ “Boney M Rocks Russian Booties,” *Billboard: End of Year Charts*, December 23, 1978, World Radio History, <https://worldradiohistory.com/Archive-All-Music/Billboard/70s/1978/Billboard%201978-12-23.pdf>.

⁴⁶ Boney M, *Rasputin*, Vinyl (Hansa Records, 1978).

⁴⁷ Boney M, *Rasputin*.

⁴⁸ Boney M, *Rasputin*.

Women: But to Moscow chicks he was such a lovely dear\he also was the kind of teacher women would desire.⁴⁹

These lines establish the men's roles as storytellers and the women's roles as sympathizers. Using this baseline to assess the rest of the song reveals some lines that have double entendre. Outside of the chorus, the women sing four times about his promiscuity, with lines like "though he was a brute they just fell into his arms" and "'come to visit.' They kept demanding and he really came."⁵⁰ This last lyric specifically has a double entendre as it advances the story of him going to the house where he died, or it is illuding to him having sexual relations with the women, emphasizing the ejaculation. These hyper-sexualized lines fall right into the narrative that was pushed by the revolutionaries that portrayed Rasputin and the royal family as corrupt and immoral.

Would this song, based on immorality, be accepted by the Soviet Union? No, for although the song was released in an era of détente with western media, the Soviet government "closely censored, anything resembling pornography."⁵¹ The government banned Boney M from performing the song in Moscow, even though the Soviets permitted the band to play in the USSR.⁵² Similarly, the Soviets tried to prevent the performance of the song at the eastern European song competition, Intervision. The 1979 Intervision Song Contest, held in Sopot, Poland, was much like Eurovision, a contest to mesh the Eastern bloc together through music and propaganda.⁵³ Boney M would end up performing the song,⁵⁴ even after the Soviet Union asked them not to. Like during the fall of the Romanovs, the song would catch on in the USSR, and the government failed to respond to the private market.⁵⁵ By the 1970s, the revolutionary interpretation, displayed in the song "Rasputin", was rejected by the Soviets and had been phased out by modern historians. Soviet leadership's recusal of pornography, illustrated through the song, symbolizes how they turned on the ideas of sexual immorality when it became convenient for them.

Understanding these perspectives allows space to understand their significance. The revolutionary perspective would be vital to the Revolution of 1917. The dramatization and usage of pornography would shape the face of revolution and keep the embers burning. This perspective does not place Rasputin's person as a very significant person in the course of Russian history. If revolutionaries believe him to be the symbol of the toxic and corrupt tsardom, they are valuing his

⁴⁹ Boney M, *Rasputin*.

⁵⁰ Boney M, *Rasputin*.

⁵¹ S. Frederick Starr, "The Rock Inundation," *The Wilson Quarterly* (1976-) 7, no. 4 (Autumn, 1983) (1983), 67.

⁵² Starr, "The Rock Inundation," *The Wilson Quarterly*, 67.

⁵³ Anna Piotrowska, "About Twin Song Festivals in Eastern and Western Europe: Intervision and Eurovision," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* vol. 47, no. 1 (June 2016), 123–35.

⁵⁴ VEVO, "Boney M. - Rasputin (Sopot Festival 1979)," YouTube, May 29, 2015, <https://youtu.be/16y1AkoZkmQ>.

⁵⁵ Starr, "The Rock Inundation," *The Wilson Quarterly*, 67.

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legacy of immoral sexual deviance more than himself. On the flip side, the modern interpretation places Rasputin's person as a significant figure. By placing him as the first domino to fall in a line of assassinations, Rasputin was a puppeteer of the government. His leading the government would place him as a historically significant figure in a time of major social dysfunction.

The web of lies used to push the Revolution of 1917 would ultimately be disproved as the main cause of his descent from power. Fülöp-Miller portrayed Rasputin's life from a revolutionary perspective. He told of Rasputin as sexually promiscuous and claimed he was a Khlysty. Using his membership in the cult to undermine him, revolutionaries believed he had infected the royal family, even to the extent of an alleged affair with the tsarina. The usage of pornographic content continued to advance the revolution in the following years after Rasputin's death in 1916. Transitioning into modernity, a debate arose around Rasputin's adherence to the Khlysty sect. In the early 20th century, historians debated the case of his membership, but as time progressed, late 20th-century historians agreed on his absence from the sect. They acknowledged that he was promiscuous, but he was not a Khlysty. Further elaborating on the modern perspective, according to Fuhrmann, Rasputin's status as a peasant caused the Duma and nobles to hate him. He divided the Holy Synod, setting himself up for when he ruled alongside Alexandra. Even then, people viewed Rasputin as a puppet master pulling the strings of the Russian government. His control over the government ultimately led to his assassination by a group led by Felix Yusupov. This group's motivations for murder aid the modern interpretation as the group feared his influence. Utilizing the two historical lenses to evaluate the song "Rasputin" by Boney M revealed that even the Soviets would turn against their interpretation. The Soviets' perspective in the 1970s led to the song being banned due to its Western ideologies. When the revolutionary perspective was no longer useful to the Soviet government, they banned it due to its pornographic nature. Today, Rasputin's significance has shifted from a focus on his legacy to his personal influence in the government. His role in Russian history and the reasons for his descent have been debated, and the historical consensus seems to have shifted in the direction that Rasputin was important to the Revolution of 1917 and that he was not a cult member, but was simply craving too much power.

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Imperialism in Africa:
The Hidden Role it Played in the Development of WWI

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As made evident in the *Black Man's Burden*, Africans fell victim to “the material gods of the white man” embodied as “imperialism” at the turn of the 20th century.¹ Reduced to a mere geometrical shape, European countries carved and divided Africa among themselves with no regard for its inhabitants. Not a single African was present when the future of their respective homelands was decided. Africa, an innocent pawn in Europe’s game for power and territory, possessed scarce means to resist the inevitable subjugation and devastation that ensued following the permanent arrival of the white man. The European powers sought control beyond their own borders to make their individual reputations, strength, and influence known worldwide. Inherently, competitiveness accompanied this imperialistic attitude. As select dominating powers arose, the strong desire to ascend as the superior power emerged. In short, the tensions engendered by the competition for prestige and international influence reflected in the colonization of Africa only functioned to exacerbate the already strained relationships of the European colonial powers. Thus, the tensions between the major European powers, fostered primarily on African soil and fueled by Germany, served as a critical factor that contributed to the outbreak of the First World War.

The various meetings of the Berlin Conference systematically established the foundation required for a world war. Motivated by fear, Otto von Bismarck, chancellor of Germany, requested the gathering of all those interested in acquiring African territory in 1884.² Twelve European countries, the United States, and Turkey signed treaties with one another to organize and secure colonial boundaries.³ By hosting the assembly, Germany attempted to interrupt the expansion of the British and French empires while simultaneously affirming its share of the supposedly available African territory. Although the conference may have seemingly prevented further conflict regarding the Scramble for Africa, it in fact only provided a starting line for the development of the First World War. In accordance with this sentiment, author G. N. Uzoigwe affirms, “After 1880 the nibbling dramatically changed to aggressive grabbing and swallowing of Africa’s belongings.”⁴ Following this shift in demeanor recognized by Uzoigwe, the division of Africa into equal counterparts for all imperialistic players involved proved no longer feasible. The colonial powers with the most strength and manpower able to combat African resistance and

¹ Edward Morel, *The Black Man's Burden* (1903), *Internet Modern History Sourcebook*, <http://www1.udel.edu/History-old/figal/Hist104/assets/pdf/readings/12blackmanburden.pdf> (accessed March 9th, 2022).

² G. N. Uzoigwe, “Reflections on the Berlin West Africa Conference, 1884-1885,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria*, vol. 12, no. 3 (Dec. 1984): 9–22 at 11.

³ Robert W. Harms, *Africa in Global History: With Sources* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2018), 386.

⁴ Uzoigwe, “Reflections on the Berlin West Africa Conference, 1884-1885,” 11.

manage the newly conquered land annexed the largest regions. Captain Frederick Lugard, a soldier and an avid believer in Africa's potential, asserted in 1893 that the British empire must "go forward" to compete with its "commercial rivals" and "share in the partition of the world."⁵ To advance in societal rank, European nations, like Britain, turned to Africa. Thus, Africa represented a method to prove one's vigor and potency to the surrounding world.

To conceal the selfish motivation to amass control and dominance, the European powers involved in the exploitation of Africa justified their actions by adopting the ideals of Social Darwinism. As explicitly outlined in 1884 by Jules Ferry, prime minister of France and avid supporter of the natural selection viewpoint, claimed, "the higher races have a right over the lower races...because they have a duty."⁶ In this perspective, the white race stood as the dominant species who inherently gained the right and privilege to govern the black race. Consequently, colonial Europeans exhibited a false attitude of heroism. To convince the general population that the African continent needed rescuing, colonialists reinforced a prejudiced perspective of Africans. Africans were viewed as barbarous, uncivilized individuals who required the help of the Europeans to implement positive social, cultural, and religious reconstruction. English poet Rudyard Kipling, who consistently represented the British Empire in a positive light, clearly emulates these beliefs in his poem *The White Man's Burden*, in which he states "[referring to the Africans] your new-caught, sullen peoples, half-devil and half-child...shall weigh your gods and you."⁷ Kipling wrote this piece in hopes of glorifying the colonization of Africa, specifically by promoting the actions of the Europeans as comparable to those of gods. This poem illustrates the basic concepts of Social Darwinism and inherently instilled an initiative to dictate disadvantaged and vulnerable populations within European nations. Therefore, Kipling's *The White Man's Burden* inadvertently enticed other countries to join the contest for worldwide status and prominence in Africa.

Comparing the role of the European powers to a "God-like" figure, J. Kameron Carter states the imperial man "carries out a 'soteriological' or 'missionizing' project of salvation – the civilizing mission of the West – aimed at ruling the world."⁸ Many promoted this expansion by calling for the social evolution of Africa, when the ulterior motive was truly rooted in the drive for extending authority and control. In 1914, German writer and soldier Friedrich von Bernhardi illustrated the goals of the imperial man when he professed, "if we wish to secure Germanism that prestige to which it is entitled...we must gain a firm footing upon this earth, and we must create

⁵ Capt. F. D. Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire* (1893), *Internet Modern History Sourcebook*, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1893lugard.asp> (accessed March 30th, 2022).

⁶ Jules Ferry, *Jules Ferry (1832-1893): On French Colonial Expansion* (1884), *Internet Modern History Sourcebook*, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1884ferry.asp> (accessed March 31st, 2022).

⁷ Rudyard Kipling, *The White Man's Burden* (1899), *Internet Ancient History Sourcebook*, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/Kipling.asp> (accessed March 9th, 2022).

⁸ J. Kameron Carter, "An Unlikely Convergence: W. E. B. Du Bois, Karl Barth, and the Problem of the Imperial God-Man," *The New Centennial Review*, vol. 11, no. 3 (Winter 2011): 167–224 at 172.

bases for the promotion of German civilization.”⁹ European nations recognized the significance the procurement of colonies played in the expansion of their own unique ideas and characteristics. The country that attained the most land also gained the most people to incorporate within their empire. To accomplish this, the manner of imperialism shifted during the late 19th century. Infiltration of the interior African land defined this era, commonly referred to as “new imperialism.” Beforehand, Europeans only established trading ports along the African coast. Africans thus gravely mistook the fruition of events that accompanied the establishment of permanent settler colonies. The supposed devotion to aiding the Africans dissipated fully upon the Europeans’ arrival. In an effort to convey the African perspective, Morel wrote a detailed and explicit poem in response to *The White Man’s Burden*, in which he explains that by “hewing out for himself a fixed abode in Africa, the white man had massacred the African in heaps” and that their presence “wrecks his [the African’s] polity, uproots him from the land, invades his family life, destroys his natural pursuits and occupations, claims his whole time, enslaves him in his own home.”¹⁰ With no interest in a symbiotic relationship, the Europeans only used and manipulated the African population for their own gain.

Kaiser Wilhelm II, the final German emperor, claimed Germany’s future lay “upon the water” in his speech to the North German Regatta Association in 1901.¹¹ Eager for power and prominence, he desired “to see to it that this place in the sun [African territory] shall remain an undisputed possession.”¹² Most leaders of European empires during that time also demonstrated the aggressive and possessive mindset regarding Africa practiced by Kaiser Wilhelm II. The inclination to compete dominated all proceeding decisions and actions. This tunnel vision resulted in the viewpoint that the penetration of Africa served only as an opportunity to build a renowned reputation known worldwide. However, by exploiting African labor and materials, European powers fueled their own economies and military efforts in their respective countries. Richard Hamilton and Holger Herwig in their book *The Origins of World War I*, discuss the foundation necessary for a world war and claim that “world wars...require extensive economic, technological, and political development.”¹³ Thus, without the exploitation of the African peoples and the fruits their land offered, the scene for a world war would not have been set in place.

By occupying Africa, the development of full-fledged empires capable of extending across the world to engage in war emerged. Among these empires, relationships and rivalries developed. For example, in 1906, the First Moroccan Crisis revealed the potential formation of alliances. The situation arose when Germany grew offended by France’s dismissal of their influence. France

⁹ Friedrich von Bernhardi, *Britain as Germany’s Vassal*, ed. and trans. J. Ellis Barker (London: W. Dawson, 1914), 80.

¹⁰ Edward Morel, *The Black Man’s Burden*.

¹¹ Kaiser Wilhelm II, *Speech to the North German Regatta Association* (1901), *Internet Ancient History Sourcebook*, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1901kaiser.asp> (accessed February 2nd, 2022).

¹² Kaiser Wilhelm II, *Speech to the North German Regatta Association*.

¹³ Richard F. Hamilton and Holger H. Herwig, eds., *The Origins of World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 5.

signed agreements with Italy, Spain, and England between 1900 and 1904 to increase French control in northwest Africa, specifically Morocco, but neglected to sign any agreements with Germany. France acted under the assumption Germany possessed an insignificant interest in Morocco. Extremely dissatisfied, Germany summoned a conference in Algeiras, Spain with all the European countries who possessed African colonies in hopes they would oppose French control in Morocco. Germany, however, was sorely mistaken. Austria-Hungary expressed the only support for Germany at the gathering. According to Gregory Miller, who highlighted the importance of prestige and dependability in his book *The Shadow of the Past: Reputation and Military Alliances before the First World War*, “most observers perceived this to be a German defeat.”¹⁴ The First Moroccan Crisis provided a foresight of the formation of the opposing sides of World War One, specifically the cordial association between France and Britain and between Austria-Hungary and Germany. Both relationships persisted into the war.

Because Morocco’s permanent future remained uncertain even after 1906, the Second Moroccan Crisis, also known as the Agadir Crisis, transpired in 1911. The tense strain between France and Germany resurfaced during this time. After a rebellion erupted in Morocco, France discharged troops to the Moroccan capital in fear of losing their advantageous authority in the region. In doing so, France dishonored the compromise reached in Algeiras with Germany. As a result, Germany took “direct action in Morocco and ordered the gunboat Panther to Agadir, the most southern port of Morocco.”¹⁵ With the presence of German naval forces in Morocco, tensions only grew. During the conflict, Great Britain made their loyalty to France undoubtedly known when Lloyd George announced his country would never surrender as “peace at that price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure.”¹⁶ Germany, on the other hand, faced seclusion and abandonment yet again. Italy, using the momentum of the Agadir Crisis, invaded the Turkish territory of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica in North Africa.¹⁷ In doing so, this exposed Turkey’s weaknesses and created a rivalry between the two nations. According to Miller who recognized the role of social pressures, “public opinion in both states [France and Germany] viewed their government as giving up too much...this attitude, combined with the further tightening of Europe’s alliances, helped push the great powers even closer to war.”¹⁸ Therefore, these crises forced the major European powers to defend their reputation by way of violence and military threats leading up to the First World War. Alliances formed just as quickly as they fledged amidst these calamities. However, the events that occurred on African soil cemented the

¹⁴ Gregory D. Miller, *The Shadow of the Past: Reputation and Military Alliances before the First World War* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 94-95.

¹⁵ “German Gunboat Sent to Morocco,” *The New York Times*, 2 July 1911.

¹⁶ “Say Germany Went Too Far,” *The New York Times*, 23 July 1911, 25.

¹⁷ David G. Herrmann, “The Paralysis of Italian Strategy in the Italian-Turkish War, 1911-1912,” *The English Historical Review* vol. 104, no. 411 (Apr. 1989): 332–56 at 332.

¹⁸ Miller, *The Shadow of the Past*, 155-157.

framework necessary to form the Allies (France, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, and the United States) and the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey).¹⁹

Interestingly, many deny or omit the role Africa played in the development of World War One. Many argue the rise of military technology, militarism, and militant nationalism fueled by the Second Industrial Revolution primarily caused the onset of the Great War. These opinions suggest the naval and arms race between Germany and Britain allowed a fervent rivalry to intensify between them that eventually recruited the involvement of other nations.²⁰ Political scientist Stephen Van Evera blames Germany's misconception, the belief that the nation who generated the initial attack during a physical encounter would invariably bear success, on the maturation of the worldwide conflict in 1914. He made this evident by stating, "the cult of the offensive was a mainspring driving many of the mechanisms which brought about the First World War."²¹ However, to build the military's strength, African colonies supplied the European empires with the materials needed to construct military equipment. Africa provided cotton, rubber, copper, gold, cocoa, coffee, hides, and palm oil products to not only meet the growing needs of the military but also to maintain the functioning of the factories within Europe.²² Without the role of African laborers, the economy of Europe would have been unable to sustain the investment in military expansion. By maintaining a robust military, leaders felt comfortable extending their territory. In other words, militarism encouraged the adoption of hyper-imperialistic ideals that led the Europeans to compete for African borders. Therefore, although militarism played a role in the years leading to World War One, it actually increased colonial power in Africa. Militarism alone proves insufficient and inadequate as the fundamental explanation for the unprecedented, worldwide outbreak of armed conflict in 1914. Militarism thus acted only as a domino in the imperialistic effect of the Great War.

Hence, the direct force initiating the fall of the dominos was the enlarging endeavor for territory, power, and supremacy, sparked by the Scramble for Africa, among the European nations preceding World War One. Consequently, the colonization of Africa indirectly caused strained relationships among the European countries involved. The need to protect existing land and widen colonial borders dominated all political policy during the early 20th century. Therefore, as explained by Bernhardt, the epitome of an imperialist, "when a nation sees its power jeopardized...and when the highest possessions of a nation can no longer be preserved by compromise, then war becomes a moral necessity."²³ Hence, African territory, which represented their influence and prominence among the world, required defense at all costs. To the Europeans,

¹⁹ Harms, *Africa in Global History*, 420.

²⁰ Dirk Bönker, *Militarism in a Global Age: Naval Ambitions in Germany and the United States Before World War I* (N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2012), 1.

²¹ Stephen Van Evera, "The Cult of the Offensive and the Origins of the First World War," *International Security* vol. 9, no. 1 (Summer 1984): 58–107 at 66.

²² Harms, *Africa in Global History*, 412.

²³ Friedrich von Bernhardt/J. Ellis Barker, *Britain as Germany's Vassal*, 118.

there stood no other option than to engage in a physical confrontation with their challenger. European empires craved the entitlement of a “Great Power.” Laying claim to the African continent served as one method of achieving this aspiration. However, the hostility among the major European powers that arose in Africa eventually played a grave role in the stimulation of the first colossal war that befell the world. As a result, long-term consequences and implications surfaced. It entrenched a violent precedent that led to post-war pessimism, the Second World War, and the Cold War. After 1914, warfare reached new dimensions and magnitudes. Even today, society continues to endure its effects. The inevitable development of another war involving the entirety of the world looms over humankind unceasingly.

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