Comparative Cultures Journal, Volume 3  
“Empire and Cultural Conquest, II”  
2004-2005  
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This year’s Faculty Seminar’s on Comparative Cultures has centered around the work of students and faculty addressing the issue of “Empire and Cultural Conquest” from the interdisciplinary perspective of History, Literature, Sociology and Urban Studies. The selections presented below offer a glimpse at a diverse array of places and historical moments. These places and historical moment put on evidence the imperial impulse for domination and control as well as strategies of resistance from those whose resources, idiosyncracy and cultures are sought as enticing and desirable for the imperial project. The papers presented in this e-book bring to the forefront the different experiences and history of domination and resistance encountered in Germany, Africa, the Philippines, Harlem (New York City) China and Sudan. This geography of domination and resistance attest at the expansive terrain that conflicts over power reaches at political, geographical, social and psychological scales. At all those scales, domination and resistance are also found.

Presented in the papers by Sliva, Castillo and Boszko are the workings of imperial domination in Germany against Jewish people and others considered to be threatening to Aryan superiority. Dubar reminds of in a forceful tone that the European political authority of Britain, Spain, Portugal, Italy and France drove their desire to gain control over resources leading to the colonization of Africa.

While Prof. Zamora’s piece deals with cultural hybridity of American pop culture and local Filipino tradition in the novel by American Filipino writer Jessica Hagerdon’s “Dogeaters”, Nevárez shows the spatial hybridity produced by global franchises and the resistance portrayed in the vernacular iconography of Harlem commenting on changes such as gentrification brought about by economic and cultural globalization and urban development initiatives.

Prof. Groenwold argues in her article that American missionaries to China spread protestant beliefs. The Hope Mission was a rescue mission established by western women in 1900 to “save” and “transform, not reform” prostitutes in Shanghai’s brothel district. This is similar to European missionary groups’ in Africa. Missionary work reminds us of the political and social forms the ideological role religion plays in the promotion of imperial conquest.
The way in which gender functions in both aspects, for and against power arrangements between American and Chinese women in Hope Mission, is also something that Prof. Zamora’s article deal with in the development of Filipino national identity after the colonization from America. Postcolonialism, argues Zamora operates at the expense of women.

Prof. Spaulding also discusses the ideological role of the conquest of Nubian culture by Arabic culture in northern and central Sudan. He examines the interpenetration in the Nubian cosmology of Islamic and Arab cultural manifestations as vehicles of power and domination. Medieval cosmology, argues Spaulding, had to be eradicated forcibly through violence and intimidation. He warns us of Islam fundamentalist interpretations – mediated by immigrant agents such as Bin Laden and local Hasab-al-turabi - which have “driven the celestial hierarchies of Nubian cosmology out of public discourse”.

From these readings one could learn that scapegoating, dehumanization, objectification and ideological constructions of the “other” as impure serve to perpetuate domination and can result in self-hatred and bitterness. However, self-love, pride and vernacular expressions of difference along with narratives that avoid linear logics as strategies in literature, can also be examples of moments of cultural resistance and alternative possibilities against cultural domination and control.

We hope this third issue of the Faculty Seminar on Comparative Cultures e-book will be of your intellectual enjoyment and satisfaction. We hope it will trigger further thoughts about salient issues in contemporary societies from all the different academic perspectives and historical moments that this e-book’s content exemplifies.

Thanks to Dr. Dennis Klein for his intellectual and organizational leadership for the Faculty Seminar, Faculty Seminar members and contributors for their intellectual and professional support to the success of both the Faculty Seminar and the Faculty and Student Roundtables. We also wish to express our gratitude to Maria Pérez and her talented staff for their graphic design work, Fady Mideway and the Nathan Weiss Graduate College Office for their administrative, organizational and economic support, especially Dr. Kristie Reilly. The Kean Historical Society, The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi and the Sociology Alpha Kappa Beta Honor Society are also organizations that have contributed to this effort and show the presence of student and faculty initiatives at the campus level.
We wish to be especially thankful to the students’ contributions, theirs and the faculty’s intellectual engagement can only but enhance the atmosphere an academic institution should provide.
Weimar Germany - James Castillo

During the middle to late 1800's the area we know today as Germany was not one nation but many different states. Each state was like its own country, Prussia (one of the states) was considered the leader "and in 1862 King William I of Prussia appointed as prime minister Otto von Bismarck." (Louis L. Snyder. Documents of German History, class handout). Prussia was leaning toward becoming more liberal and Bismarck was not going to allow this. He had plans of grandeur and he knew that by addressing the Reichstag he could make his point of the direction that he wanted Prussia to follow, "...It is true that we can hardly escape complications in Germany, although we do not seek them. Germany does not look to Prussia's liberalism. But to her power" (Louis L. Snyder. Documents of German History, class handout).

This new leader was not going to allow Germany to be mediocre, Bismarck wanted Prussia to rule Germany and Europe. He knew that he had to give the people a sense of urgency "Prussia must collect her forces and hold them in reserve for an opportune moment, which has already come and gone several times" (Louis L. Snyder. Documents of German History, class handout). With his speech in place many knew that under Otto von Bismarck Prussian Germany was destined for great things. Bismarck's plan was to initially start small, so he decided to battle with Denmark in 1863 (Dennis B. Klein class notes Kean University). After his defeat of Denmark many that opposed him (Bismarck) on the Reichstag were joining his cause.

Also while Bismarck was gaining followers another movement began to form in German Europe. This movement would be against a people and would continue through W.W. II. As Germans came into power they began to realize that not all of the people that lived in their area were of the same descents. Many Jewish people had become part of
Germany and this caused a backlash of hatred. Many of the German residents did not trust the Jewish people and this caused confusion and ignorance to spread. Richard Wagner the German composer was one of the people who felt threatened by the Jewish. Wagner stated in his article *Judaism in Music* "Since it here is merely in respect of Art, and specially of Music, that we want to explain to ourselves the popular dislike of the Jewish nature... " (Richard Wagner. Judaism in Music ). Wagner believed in an "...involuntary repellence possessed for us by the nature and personality of the Jews... "(Richard Wagner. Judaism in Music). Wagner then discussed how different he believed the Jews were to all Europeans in appearance"...his.. appearance, which no matter to what European Nationality we belong has something disagreeable foreign to that Nationality: Instinctively we wish to have nothing in common with a man who looks like that" (Richard Wagner. Judaism in Music). Wagner also believed that Jewish people always stood out in a crowd if not for how they looked than it was for how they talked "The Jew speaks the language of the nation in whose midst he dwells from generation to generation, but he speaks it always as an alien"(Richard Wagner. Judaism in Music). Richard Wagner then went on to explain how some Jewish people attempt to blend in with other European Germans" The cultured Jew has taken the most inducible pains to strip off all the obvious tokens of his lower co-religionists; in many a case he has even held it wise to make Christian baptism wash away the traces of his origin"(Richard Wagner. Judaism in Music). This hatred for the Jewish people was not very dominant, But with the loss in the Great War (1914-1918) Germans were unsure why they were not victorious and they began to search for a scapegoat.

By 1919 the era of Bismarck was long gone and Germans still believed they were to be the dominant force in Europe. The problem was that with the loss in the Great War
Germany was the recipient of a harsh punishment (the Treaty of Versailles). Also the blame of the war was solely placed on Germany "German declaration of war and its invasion of neutral Belgium, thus making Germany exclusively responsible for the War" (Ernst Troletsch. The Dogma of Guilt). By making Germans responsible for the war it also made Germany responsible for the destruction and especially the casualties." .. The deplorable suffering that did in fact occur was represented not as the consequences of war but as the consequences of German Madness and wantonness; every atrocity and all destruction... "(Emst Troletsch. The Dogma of Guilt). The German people who not long before believed that they were destined to become the primary force in Europe were now told that they were responsible for the Great War and the effects that the war caused. Being the cause of such destruction caused" confusing repercussions on the German people of this whole moralistic polemic, the mutilation of its belief in itself, the exacting of German acknowledgements of guilt... "(Emst Troletsch. The Dogma of Guilt).

Germans knew that France was the main authors of The Treaty of Versailles and also many Germans realized that the regulations that the treaty imposed on them was to restrict them (the Germans) from growing and achieving a great empire. Many people like Tucholsky believed that" France is afraid. And this fear is Justified."(Kurt Tucholsky. The Spirit of 1914).

After the Great War Germans could not understand why they had been defeated when they believed that they were to rule Europe. Wagner's anti-Jewish belief was beginning to become more popular and the idea was that" ...in Germany...the Jews had become the leading enemies of the Germanic ideal."(Alfred Rosenberg. The Russian Jewish Revolution). In the Early 1920's an Austrian born man by the name of Adolf Hitler wrote a book by the name Mein Kampf In this book Hitler discusses his Idea as to
why he believes that the Germans lost the Great War and also what he believes would make Germany the great power that it wants to become. His ideas were similar to that of Wagner's, Hitler believes that the Germans failed in The Great War because of the Jews, "All great civilizations of the past became decadent because the originally creative blood race died out, as a result the contamination of the blood" (Adolf Hitler. Mein Kampf. Pg. 248). But Hitler goes further than Wagner in his beliefs of the Jews, Hitler believed that Germans should only procreate with Germans "Each animal mates only with one of its own species" (Adolf Hitler. Mein Kampf. Pg. 244). The reasoning behind this is because he believes that the Germans are stronger and the Jews are weaker; "The Stronger must dominate and not mate with the weaker, which would signify the sacrifice of its own higher nature" (Adolf Hitler. Mein Kampf. Pg. 245). He then goes on to say that the Germans should not feel bad for being the dominate race because "It would be impossible to find a fox which has a kindly and protective disposition towards geese... " (Adolf Hitler. Mein Kampf. Pg. 244).

Hitler then gives an example that would be the "solution to the problem"

For the establishment of superior types of civilization the members of inferior races formed one of the most essential pre-requisites. They alone could supply the lack of mechanical means, without Which no progress is possible. It is certain that the first stages of Human civilization were not based so much on the use of Tame animals as on the employment of human beings who were Members of an inferior race. (Adolf Hitler. Mein Kampf. Pg. 253)

Hitler then elaborates how the idea of work is different for the German and the Jews by stating that for Germans "Work... signify a means of earning one's daily livelihood but rather a productive activity which cannot clash with the interest of the community." (Adolf Hitler. Mein Kampf. Pg. 256). He then states how work to the Jewish is more about services and self preservation (usury). What Hitler does in Mein Kampf is
that he dehumanizes the Jewish population and at the same time he raises the Aryan population on a pedestal. By saying that the Jews are the problem he directs the attention to them and then makes it appear as if the Jews are the reason why they were defeated and punished (after the Great War). People did not want to feel as if they were to blame and by pointing a finger to the outsiders (the Jewish) they alleviated any doubts that they had about being destined for greatness. Hitler creates an image of the great Aryan German male with blonde hair and blue eyes being brought down by the "lazy" Jew, he even said that:

> If the Jews were the only people in the world they would be wallowing in filth and mire and would exploit one another and try to exterminate one another in a bitter struggle, except in so far as their utter lack of the ideal of sacrifice, which shows itself in their cowardly spirit, Would prevent the struggle from developing. (Adolf Hitler. Mein Kampf. Pg. 258)

Hitler's answer as to why the Germans had been defeated was popular because for a extended period of time the Germans had felt that the Jews were diminishing their culture. Wagner's article is from 1850 and it illustrates the image that was already developed in the mind of many people. Hitler may have only ignited the imagination of a people that were in search of an answer as to why they were not the Great Empire that they people believed they should be. Hitler emphasized his beliefs about Jewish people but ultimately it was the people who choose to accept and live by it. The people's desire to be the rulers of Europe made many Germans look for answers when in reality the problem was not the other groups but themselves.

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A constant refrain in German history from 1871-1924 - Joanna Sliwa

The years 1871-1924 mark a constant refrain in German history. Germany’s contest for power served as means towards creating a vast and powerful “Deutschland.” Its desire was expressed by identifying and defeating the enemy, be it other nation-states, communists, the middle classes, and the Jews. The German historical yearning for a Reich, and, after World War I, its culture of conflict for power became the defining features of Germany.

Germans regard their history as periods of empires. The First Reich was morally defeated through the course of the crusades and collapsed in 1806. But the desire to reestablish the position of German world’s centrality within Western Europe prevailed. In 1862 Otto von Bismarck was appointed Chancellor of Prussia. Bismarck’s quest for power was expressed in his speech to the Reichstag in 1862, which was deliberately vague but nevertheless sent the message. He wanted the German world to be united under Prussia. Dissatisfied with the resolutions of Treaty of Vienna (1815), he called for solution to be achieved through strength and war by saying that “Germany does not look to Prussia’s liberalism but to her power” (Bismarck). Finally, in 1871 Bismarck declared the II Reich by prussification of the German world. Prussia, an economically significant state, became a political player with imperial interest.

During 1871-1918 Germany held in disregard the concept of “balance of power.” Germany at this time proceeded towards Weltpolitik (World Power) by establishing a global economy and by putting into effect the alliance system with Austria – Hungary, and with Italy. This posed a threat to Britain, France and Russia which formed separate alliances. This system began to break apart because of the greater tensions between each alliance. The culmination occurred on June 28, 1914 with the assassination of Franz Ferdinand by the Serbs. This set a domino effect. Although the war was expected to be finished in a short time, it actually did not officially end until 1918. What prolonged the war was the imposition of blockades around Germany, trench warfare, and propaganda.

Rosa Luxemburg wrote that “The world war is a turning point” (Luxemburg, p. 5), a war between imperialism and socialism. According to her, the working class must create its own war by uniting forces to save the world from capitalism, as “The triumph of imperialism leads to the annihilation of civilization” (Luxemburg, p. 9) and to “the mass destruction of the European proletariat.”
(Luxemburg, p. 16). She predicts that if Germany loses the war, it “would be the bankruptcy of German imperialism on the world stage” (Luxemburg, p. 13). But Germany will not stop at that point, since: “An era of unalloyed militarism and reaction would dominate all Europe [with defeated Germany in the forefront] with a new world war as its ultimate goal” (Luxemburg, p. 13).

The enemy of the German state was pictured as evil to be destroyed. Such situation created an illusion of invulnerability and sense of supremacy. Ernst Junger wrote a memoir from the war recalling the war’s atrocities. The title itself “Storm of Steel” refers to the feeling of industrialization of war, which is fearful and overwhelming. Steel is a symbol of the new nature of mankind, which makes violence a normal condition of human existence. For Junger “The Europe of today appeared here for the first time on the field of the battle…” (Junger, p. 4) meant that the war never came to an end, but established a new condition in which humans deal with one another.

Due to war, Germany experienced famine (the Turnip Winter) and growing civilian discontent. The middle classes became objects of resentment. Erich von Ludendorf seized the opportunity and arranged for Germany’s defeat by moving the center of power from nobility to middle classes that would bear the guilt for Germany’s loss. Such decision also allowed for avoiding a communist-inspired revolution. Later, Paul von Hindenburg, in his testimony, stated that: “The intentions of the command could no longer be executed. Our repeated proposals for strict discipline and strict legislation were not adopted” (von Hindenburg, p. 15). Hindenburg wanted to take over power, and if the Reichstag have had listened to his idea, Germany would not have had lost the war, and so “The German army was stabbed in the back” (von Hindenburg, p. 16).

On June 28, 1919 Germany signed the controversial Treaty of Versailles. Germany had to return certain lands and colonies, reduce its army, admit full responsibility for “causing all loss and damage” (Treaty of Versailles, p. 2) as stated in Article 231, referred to as the infamous “War Guilt Clause,” and pay war reparations, although in Article 232 the allies admitted that the “resources of Germany are not adequate” (Treaty of Versailles, p. 3). The Allies wanted to bankrupt Germany. The Germans regarded the Treaty as a Diktat, as one being forced on them. The Treaty humiliated German national self-consciousness and made German people ready for revenge. In that sense the Treaty of Versailles was not a peace treaty or an end to the war, rather it was a temporary truce.
The “Guilt Clause” was a serious blow for the Germans. They tried in some way to reconcile themselves to their fate by defending their once glorious nation. Ernst Troeltsch believed that imposing guilt on Germany was a way through which the Allies expressed their prejudice, as: “Germans were already hated to such degree that the worst appeared plausible and required no authentic proof whatsoever” (Troeltsch, p. 12). In such political atmosphere arose the Weimar Republic (1918-1933), an exception to the rule of Germany as progression of empires, along with its culture of conflict for restoring power.

German people were receptive to individuals that called for restoration of German glory and freeing them from the pain of the 1919 Treaty. Their desires were fulfilled in the person of Adolf Hitler, who referred to the injustice of the Treaty of Versailles and called for restoring the honor of German people: “Finally, we Germans even now should not forget that the war was none of our intention and therefore we should not be ashamed to confess in an open and manly fashion that at any time we would contribute our part to a reconciliation of mankind” (Hitler, p. 167). Hitler was a great believer in the power of propaganda. For him “All propaganda must be popular and its intellectual level must be adjusted to the most limited intelligence among those of it is addressed to” (Hitler, p. 180). Propaganda must appeal to emotions, be presented in a simple form, convey a positive or negative message, and the idea must be repeated, because “persistence is the first and most important requirement for success” (Hitler, p. 184). Regarding political authority, Hitler believed that only one association possessed the right of priority, because: “It must never be forgotten that nothing that is really great in this world has ever been achieved by coalitions, but that it has always been the success of a single victor” (Hitler, p. 516).

Germany identified new enemies – the Jews and the Jew-inspired communists. Hitler argued for the creative superiority of the Aryan race (Hitler, p. 290). Further he claimed that the Jews are diluting the racial and cultural purity of the master race. For Hitler the Jew stood for all evil. A Jew does not know how to live in a community, being a nomad and “parasite in the body of other peoples” (Hitler, p. 304). He is a liar and denier of own nature. Hitler believed that “The Jew has always been a people with definite racial characteristics and never a religion” (Hitler, p. 306), therefore he cannot be regarded as German. Hitler’s other enemy is Marxism. Being a development of the Jews it attempts to enslave non-Jews and cause their destruction (Hitler, p. 320) and eventually “plans to hand the world over to the Jews” (Hitler, p. 382). Also, Marxism wants to erase personality and replace it “by the numbers of the masses” (Hitler, p. 447). For Hitler “It is not the mass that invents
and not the majority that organizes or thinks, but in all things only and always the individual man, the person” (Hitler, p. 446).

The piece entitled “The Russian Jewish Revolution” is another attack directed towards the Jews (Russian Jews), to whom Bolshevism is attributed as a Jewish war against the state. Alfred Rosenberg refers to the situation in Russia but he is implying that the same may happen in Germany, if the Germans allow for it by: “ignoring the potential force possessed by a homogenous race, bemused by the slogans of human equality” (Rosenberg, p. 121). Further, he writes that the aim of the Jewish leaders is: “the destruction of all laboriously acquired civilization, all culture” (Rosenberg, p. 121) and warns that: “in Germany too the Jews had become the leading enemies of the Germanic ideal” (Rosenberg, p. 121). He predicts that the Jew-operated government will eventually collapse and the hated people will have to flee for their lives to Germany. But the Germans will know by then how to solve the ‘problem.’

The period 1871-1924 can be seen as a constant refrain in German history marked by the desire to prevail in Europe. In order to achieve this goal, Germans had to identify their enemies, against which they could unite, and then defeat them. They might be other nation-states, communists, the middle classes, and the Jews. The historical yearning for a Reich and a culture of conflict for power served as means of expansion and served towards affirming the identity of Germans.

References:


Throughout history Germany fought many wars to become a world power, and was willing to do anything to achieve that goal. Germany was constantly behind other dominate powers and wanted nothing more than to be on par with the other nations. However, because of their views on war, Germans were often targets for harsh reparations; an example of this was seen in the Treaty of Versailles. Germans were in a constant struggle trying to gain the advantage over their enemies. The majority of the time they tried to reach this goal by preempting war. They felt that war was the only way to better their country. However, Germany ended up losing the majority of the wars which they were involved in, and at this time the rest of the World began to develop a prejudice towards Germans. Many nations realized that Germany was creating war solely on the basis to stay ahead militarily and economically. Since wars were fought for this reason Germany began to face huge consequences for their actions. Also, during this time we see two people emerge and change Germany’s political structure. They are Rosa Luxemburg and Adolf Hitler.

Although World War I was one of the first major wars which altered Germany in many ways, it was not the first battle which Germany was involved in. It seemed that Germany was not happy or politically stable unless they were in a conflict with some other nation. Germany desired to be like other powerful nations, and for the most part they were constantly behind England, France and the United States and were last in the industrial revolution. During the early 1900’s, when Germany began to change politically, socially, and economically war became an easier way to achieve those changes. In an article written by Troeltsch he stated that, “It was possible through Germany’s political mistake of making a formal declaration of war out of fear of falling behind militarily and thus losing important advantages” (Troeltsch, 13). The Germans used war as way to advance and update their country. As this quote explains Germany would declare war on a particular country because they were afraid that they were beginning to lag behind militarily. There are some accounts later on in history when it is uncertain whether or not the monarchy held back the military and prevented Germany from prevailing in battles. The most obvious of this would be during World War I, when Hindenburg believed that the monarchy prevented the German army from winning the war. “We often raised a warning voice to the Reich government. The intentions of the command could no longer be executed. Our repeated proposals for strict discipline and strict legislation were not adopted. Thus did our operations necessarily miscarry; the collapse was inevitable”
Germany’s status of being economically powerful began to collapse once Bismarck retired. From there greed and the desire to have even more territories, accompanied by the belief that Germany was lagging behind created more battles and political unrest. Troeltsch was quoted saying that “The worst and most unfortunate, however, was the German war policy itself. Seduced by its initial successes and later renewed by further successes in critical situations, the policy-makers allowed themselves to surpass the original goals of maintaining the status quo and pure defense” (Troeltsch, 14). This illustrates that winning one war was not enough and that the German government was power hungry.

Every country is usually altered during war, and they try to prevent the destruction and devastation that war brings at all costs. However, this was something that was not seen with Germany. Germans did not do everything possible to avoid war, but rather they saw it as something glorious. War without a doubt is evil, and the soldiers who fought in a war saw many horrible sights. Any documentary or diary that is written from a soldiers point of view during war times, will clearly illustrate this. One soldier said that “The sunken road now appeared as nothing but a series of enormous shell holes filled with pieces of uniform, weapons, and dead bodies. You could search in vain for one wretched blade of grass. This churned up battlefield was ghastly. Among the living lay the dead” (Junger, 3). Scenes and descriptions such as these were not uncommon at this time. One soldier was quoted saying, “Where you fall, there you lie. No one can help you. No one knows whether he will come back alive. They attack everyday, but they can’t get through. Everybody knows it is life and death” (Junger, 1). However, despite these images the nation’s spirit went unchanged even after these wars were over. Soldiers saw wars as being evil and never looked forward to going into another one. However, the government and high officials who never had to go on the battle field and be involved in that aspect, encouraged war. In an essay written by Tucholsky he stated that “Today the spiritual foundation on which Germany rests is no different from that when it was founded. No spiritual experience has touched the country, for the war was none. It changed bodies into cadavers, but it left the spirit completely untouched” (Tucholsky, 20). War had an affect on the country economically and politically, but it never changed the people, because only a few stood up and protested against war. People accepted war as a necessary evil and believed that it was the only way to improve their country. The government added to this by making war sound glorious so people would be willing to go into another war. Wolfradt was quoted saying, “One legitimates the war in retrospect and arms the next one by dulling the only real weapon we have against it: the consciousness of people that war must not be—must not be” (Wolfradt, 17).
Germany’s outlook on war and their approach to it did not settle well with the rest of the world. Many countries blamed Germany for creating the war and weakening Europe. “The Kaiser never kept politics and the military mutually coherent and in balance, and at this critical moment he failed more than ever before. The nation was divided. It became very easy for the Entente through its tireless campaign of innuendo to prove Germany’s desire for world conquest, its war guilt, and its violation of accepted military conduct” (Troeltsch, 14). Once the rest of the world saw what Germany was trying to do, other nations came together to stop it, and placed the blame solely on Germany. The war ended relatively peacefully, and other nations designed the treaty without Germany’s presence. Since Germany took the first step into war, every nation held Germany responsible. Troeltsch said that “This kind of peace was possible because of the formal German declaration of war and its invasion of neutral Belgium, thus making Germany exclusively responsible for the war” (Troeltsch, 12). Many people also began to hate Germans and even went so far as to exclude them from being present at the Treaty of Versailles, which signaled the end of World War I. “The belief in German guilt and German responsibility for a war made inevitable by this same guilt fed the world’s prejudice…Germans were already hated to such a degree that the worst appeared plausible and required no authentic proof” (Troeltsch, 12&14). The end of the World War was not the only time in which Germans suffered, but it is the most well known because of the demands that were placed upon them at the Treaty of Versailles. Article 159 of the treaty states that, “The German military forces shall be demobilized and reduced.” In addition to this, article 231 and 232 states that Germany accepts responsibility for the war and that, “The Allied and Associated Governments, require and Germany undertakes, that she will make compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers..” (Treaty of Versailles). Germans were disliked and were seen as being inferior to other nations, and as a result they became an outlet and a good source of blame. Germany accepted and signed this treaty without much hesitation declaring that they were guilty.

It was during the relatively early 1900’s when there is a shift in political views. Many people were responsible for this change, but the two that are most important are Rosa Luxemburg and Adolf Hitler. Rosa Luxemburg was a German socialist leader who believed in International Social Democracy (Luxemburg 3). She believed that the war would change Germans and their views of the rest of Europe. “The world war is a turning point. It is foolish and mad to imagine that we need only survive the war…The world war has altered the conditions of our struggle and most of all, its
has changed us” (Luxemburg 5). German nationalists and citizens were beginning to dislike the way in which the government was being run. This movement sprung up to try to get rid of imperialism and change to a socialist country. “This world war is a regression into barbarism. The triumph of imperialism leads to the annihilation of civilization… Today, we face a choice. Either the triumph of imperialism and the collapse of all civilization as in ancient Rome, depopulation, desolation, degeneration – a great cemetery. Or the victory of socialism, that means the conscious active struggle of the international proletariat against imperialism and its method of war” (Luxemburg 9). Within Germany there are several groups which wanted to break out against the current government, because they believed that the country would be better off if it followed a different political party.

Another example of this is seen with Adolf Hitler. Hitler viewed Jews as being the source of Germany’s problems. He saw them as being racially impure and inferior to everyone else (Hitler, 285). He also believed that Jews were not united unless they felt threatened. “However, as soon as the common enemy is conquered, the danger threatening all averted and the booty hidden, the apparent harmony of the Jews among themselves ceases…” (Hitler, 302). Hitler fought during World War I and it is at this time, when he too is unhappy with how the country is being run. The only difference is that he believed the Jews were to blame. Hitler saw the ideal person in the Aryan, and without them society would completely fall apart. “Exclude him – and perhaps after a few thousand years darkness will again descend on the earth, human culture will pass, and the world turn to a desert. If we divided mankind into three groups, the founders of culture, the bearers of culture, the destroyers of culture, only the Aryan could be considered as the representative of the first group” (Hitler, 290). In Hitler’s mind the Aryan was superior and the Jews were an impure race, which needed to be eliminated in order to create a better Germany.

The 1800’s was successful economically and politically for the Germans. However, once Bismarck decided to retire, things began to decline. All the policies that were created by Bismarck to avoid war were taken away. In their place stood a government that was greedy, which felt that they did not have enough territory, and eventually they believed that war was necessary in order to not fall behind militarily. Since the rest of the world believed that Germany was guilty of creating war just to gain more economic advantage, they saddled Germany with heavy debts and blamed the entire war on them. Many historians believe that because Germany was so harshly reprimanded after World War I, it set the stage for another world war.
References


The topic of cultural conquest is one that intrigues the intellect. It offers the scholar an opportunity to dissect an issue, which contains highly sensitive as well as problematic material. The mere concept of a culture being absorbed by another suggests that the dominating culture was so overwhelming to the recessive culture that the latter was unable to maintain its existence and virtually disappeared. This sentiment opens a doorway to a host of questions such as:
- Why was one culture able to be absorbed by another culture?
- Does this reflect insignificance on the part of the conquered culture?
- What type of identity remains of the conquered people? Does this help the world evolve in a more productive way?

In developing this paper these concerns will be addressed in the way it relates to the conquest of African culture by European culture. It will begin with the events that preceded the middle passage and follow up to present day.

It is difficult to fully understand the reasoning behind conquering a culture. One can only attempt to speculate with the assistance of the facts that have been provided. It appears that political authority, and a desire to gain control over resources plays a key role in the European conquest of Africa. Often times we hear of the mission behind European invasions being one that associates with missionary work and the spread of Christianity. In studying the conquest of African culture under European culture we must examine the third element. The superiority complex appears to have been that third element. As we can see from films such as The Bible and the Gun, the religious shield was merely a facade. This Basil Davidson
film pronounces the way Europeans used their guns to enforce their laws on Africans, and Biblical doctrine to justify it all. Now some Europeans may have gone into Africa under religious motivation. Once the gold, diamonds and other precious commodities were discovered, there was a shift in interests. The goal was then one of control, and usage, while the religious missionary work took a permanent back seat. While Europeans once came under the title of Missionaries they soon proceeded as merchants and conquerors.

Europeans were consumed with the notion that they maintained a superior status over Africans and thus pursued them accordingly. In viewing a film entitled, *This Magnificent African Cake*, part of a Basil Davidson series, it was stated that European nations pursued the conquest of Africa" as if there were no inhabitants".

The title of the film alone reflects the approach used by these nations in their acquisition of Africa. Divided up like a piece of cake by Britain, France, Portugal, Spain, and Italy, the culture of this entire continent was transformed to reflect that of the conquering nations. By no means was Africa a land of perfection, yet the inhabitants of the land lived in a harmonious state. In tune with the cycle of nature Africans respected and honored the land. Often times they lived a very simple life, utilizing only what was necessary. Africans were careful not to abuse the land and gave back what was taken. Africa was a beautiful plush land with mountains, lush grasslands and non-commercialized property. There was just beauty and unlimited possibility. Once the Europeans saw this, they became thirsty with the desire to gain control over this land and turn Africa into Europe.

While outsiders viewed the life of Africans as uncivil, Africans enjoyed a peaceful lifestyle. Africans had reached a level of satisfaction and comfort with their surroundings. The way they maintained their lives was one of simplicity yet it was amply fulfilling. Therefore European invaders brought on a substantial amount of conflict and confusion as they pursued the land and its resources.

Conflict, came from the way in which Europeans manipulated Africans with the concept of religion, only to then turn around and pursue the resources of the land.
To begin to plunder the land, to begin building colonies and communities without so much as gain the permission of the local inhabitants first. Europeans began settling in the land in mass numbers, in pursuit of the diamonds, gold, rubies and other such precious resources of Africa.

In order to protect their actions they established policing agencies to enforce their rules on Africans. Non-compliant Africans were jailed and prosecuted under European laws. Africans were not a warlike people by nature. Their weaponry reflected its primary usage, hunting for food not the slaughter of humans. This factor left Africans vulnerable to European conquest. Europeans were well accustomed with war and had the military technology to prove it. The use of automatic weapons and cannons made the Africans easy prey. Although Africans resisted European conquest for four and a half centuries, in the end Europeans would be successful. As with any successful conquest one tends to think the conquered people were less sophisticated, perhaps insignificant and indeed deserved to be conquered.

This common myth was just that. A myth. Europeans have attempted to portray Africans as uncivilized dysfunctional tribesmen who needed Europeans to structure them socially. There was very little truth in that sentiment and after close study one can conclude that greed played more of a role in the conquest than the desire to present new ideas.

The film This Magnificent African Cake deals with that sentiment. In the film, Basil Davidson, a noted historian, addresses the manner in which Africa was invaded. He discusses the way countries such as Britain, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and France made an alliance amongst one another to refuse Africans the sell of guns and other weaponry that would allow them to pose as a threat to Europeans. This allowed Europeans to be more effective in their pursuit of Africa. In this film Basil quotes a European Military general who clearly states that his men are to "Pursue the conquest of Africa as if there were no inhabitants." From the manner in which
Europeans pursued the conquest of Africa it appears as if they had no respect for the land, or its inhabitants.

The Asante people are a wonderful example of a greed driven conquest. Around the turn of the century (1900) Yaa Asantewaa reigned as queen of the Edweso Tribe. The British having already gained control over the Gold Coast, began levying taxes on the local population. After taking over the state owned Gold Mines and devastating the Asante government, the Asante people rebelled. British governor Lord Hodgson then demanded the Asante people turn over the Golden Stool, a throne which symbolized Asante independence. British forces pursued this throne in the most vicious manner. They plundered villages, brutally beat children, and devastated the Asante population in pursuit of the Golden Stool. In the end Queen Yaa Asantewaa was captured and exiled, and all her chiefs became prisoners of war. This entire series of events was motivated by nothing more than greed and played no role in improving the people of the land. The British pronounced the significance of the Asante people by the manner in which they so severely pursued Asante's conquest.

The resources and customs maintained by the Asante apparently threatened the British so tremendously that they would stop at nothing in pursuing them. Unfortunately this tactic was applied to numerous African regions when conquered by European forces. While it has never been proven that African people were under any form of suffrage due to a lack of European intervention, Europeans have perpetuated the notions that they saved Africans from social destruction.

Social destruction refers to the existence of chaos and disorder that results from a society that is unable to maintain under its own guidance. Is it safe to say Africans would have self destructed had it not been for the intervention of Europeans? Were Africans subject to remain in the dark shadows of an uncivilized society? Of course not. By no means were Africans lacking social structure prior to European conquest. The culture thrived with richness and maintained a glorious wealth of accomplishments. Africans have a history of
Sophisticated system that allowed them to live a progressive lifestyle while respecting the land they occupied. Agricultural systems, academic institutions, elaborate fashions and attire were all significant aspects of the culture. The Sudanese empire was one of the most glorified empires in history. Scholars came from all over the world to study in the halls of Timbuktu's university. Elaborate houses, honorary societies, multilingual scholars, all demonstrated a wealth of civility prior to European invasion. In all actuality the addition of European culture on top of African culture appears to have led to the destruction of African people not the salvation. The conquest of African culture by European culture has had a devastating effect on Africans. As Africans were transported to various countries during the middle passage, they underwent a severe identity crisis. Africans were once a united people, with love for their fellow man. It was unheard of to kill your brethren.

In one scene from Chinua Achebe's book *Things Fall Apart* we are exposed to a situation of a woman being kidnapped and beaten by a man from a neighboring village. This did not incite war however it was a call for action upon the village men. The men with leading roles as well as some other local village men marched to the neighboring village and negotiated with the leading officials of that village. In the end the resolution, included having a young man from the offending village return with the village men and endure whatever penalties they inflict. This was a way of avoiding war like situations but it regained the functioning order among villages. However, after the influx of European culture, it was commonplace to have a troop of African men posing as policing agencies for European authorities to use brute force against men, who would have been considered brethren of these police, just a short while ago.

You are not made aware of these types of proceedings in African life. Europeans view the style of homes, the mode of dress and other ritual of Africans and make harsh judgments about the civility of the people. These customs were foreign to Europeans who, labeled them
as inferior, as acting in accordance with their prejudices. Africans experienced the most severe form
of Divide and Conquer under European conquest.

The Africans who were transported to varying countries as well as those who remained in the
continent experienced. Such a severe culture shock that it reconditioned their entire thought process.
Families were torn apart. The institution of family became more and more unstable for Africans.
There was no stability in a family unit when your father, mother, sister and brother could be sold off
at a moment's notice. The forceful imposition of a new language in the place of their native tongue
shattered the unity that prevailed in African culture. They were not allowed to use their mother
tongues but made to learn the language of their slave masters. This would increase the severity of the
identity crisis amongst members of the African Diaspora. Africans don't know the land of their
origins, their native tongue, and have no sense of genuine belonging like other cultures such as
Chinese, Hispanic, Swiss, or German. Africans have yet to recover from this devastation.

The present day descendants of African heritage take pride in being Hispanic, Caribbean, American,
anything but African. More importantly many members of the African Diaspora will go as far as
denying the fact that they share similar heritage with another member of the African Diaspora
simply because they speak another language, (French, English, Portugal). Having a sense of
historical identity can be character building, and is often fundamental to a sense of belonging. When
you define your heritage it gives you a healthier self-image. Is it any wonder that Africans would
disclaim their heritage? Examine the great lengths Europeans have gone to in creating an image of
Africans being a dark and uncivilized country inhabited by a bunch of savages. Undoubtedly this
would create a poor self-image of anyone who was associated with Africa. As we look at the
affects on Africans in America today it is clear that they were conditioned with a poor self-image that has evolved to self-hatred.

The process of conditioning crippled the self-image of slaves. It would have severe affects on the generations to come. The novel *The Bluest Eye* by Toni Morrison, deals with this distorted self-image immensely. In the novel there is a child named Pecola. She is a young African American girl with dark complexion, and hair that reflects her natural African texture. This child was tormented by her peers, adults both black and white, and even by her own mother, because of her lack of beauty. She was a prime of example of the conditioning that began in slavery.

Pecola believed that she did not possess the natural qualities of beauty because she lacked straight long hair, light skin with rosy cheeks and most importantly she had dull brown eyes. Women in this day did not equate African Americans (then known as coloreds) with being beautiful. Morrison states this fact in her novel when she says "It is their contempt for their own blackness that gave the first insults its teeth." The novel paints a clear picture of what was seen as beautiful in the 1950's here in this country. It describes the dolls that were given to young girls and the way this further shaped their definition of beauty. Many of those children carried those images right on into adulthood. Unfortunately Pecola had to serve as the scapegoat for all that bitterness and internal self-hatred harbored by African American men and women of this time. In this novel Pecola is so disturbed by her severely unattractive nature that she seeks out a local witch doctor in hopes that he will grant her Blue Eyes. The term self-hatred seems very harsh yet applies very accurately when dealing with the self-image of Africans. The results of European conquest over Africans created this self-hatred. The African woman in America for example, demonstrates the severity of this self-hatred tremendously. Every aspect of their physical being is altered to resemble Europeans. Their hair is processed to resemble Europeans; their eyes are colored to resemble Europeans; their entire image is reshaped to reflect the image of European women. All these alterations are made because films, Hollywood images, and constant mockery have convinced these women that their natural features are grossly unattractive. The last thing a black woman wants is to have *kinky* hair and brown eyes. This is where we see the roots of self-hatred. The results of this self hatred was a race of people who hate themselves for their own natural features, people who have been conditioned to believe the only way they can ever be seen as beautiful in to liken themselves to another race of people. This is what plagues African American women even to this very day. African American women spend
millions dollars annually to alter their appearance in hopes of beautifying them. Madam C. Walker revolutionized this sentiment and since that time African American women have redefined their image so that they can be as Caucasian as humanly possible.

The self-hatred" harbored by African Americans results from the images-- and concepts Europeans created. It's very common for an African in America to ridicule the customs, language and appearance of Africans. It's shocking that such an awful reality exists in a nation that boasts of multicultural awareness. Does this reflect a productive forward progression? Simply put no. The conquest of African culture under European rule was a devastating blow for Africans and all the members of its Diaspora. On a large scale, today's African is out of touch with their culture, whether they are African American, Haitian, Caribbean, or born native in Africa. Reports say that even those native-born Africans are losing the knowledge of their indigenous languages due to the national use of European languages; another tragic loss that results from the conquest of African culture by Europeans.

There are some individuals such as myself who love their African heritage, marvel over the images and glorify the culture as much as possible. Yet those individuals are usually viewed by the masses as being too ethnic. However I chose self love over self hate any day.

In conclusion the conquest of African culture by Europeans was a product of greed and political gains, which seem to have been motivated the European sentiment that Africa was an insignificant continent full of savages. This superior ideology on the part of Europeans robbed Africans of a positive self-image and drained the inhabitants of their unity and national strength. It is difficult to determine if conquering any culture has had positive affects without thorough examination. But in this particular situation, it initiated the collapse of an entire continent of people. Africans are now scattered globally and have no sense of identity. While an Irish is an Irish, and a Jewish person is Jewish, an African may be black, Hispanic, French, Italian, American; Anything except African. This is not a productive evolution. It is an evolution that has defaced an entire culture in order to glorify another. It appears that in the end, very little will be known of the indigenous culture of Africa, aside from the twisted images that have been created about it. That is
the reality of cultural conquest.
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Entitling her tour-de-force debut novel “Dogeaters” was an especially provocative move on the part of Filipina-American writer Jessica Hagedorn. Considered a nasty slang word for Filipinos, the term is a derogatory reference to a Luzon highland tribe’s pre-colonial penchant for eating wild dog. There remains considerable sensitivity in the community over a stereotype that continually hurts and haunts. As the label has ignited the national shame, denial, and outrage that comes from being pegged a savage, this stereotype has been consistently and emphatically disavowed. Still, in choosing this title for her novel, Hagedorn employs a double-edged irony. Her reclamation of the term “dogeaters” implicitly challenges not only the civilizing missions of the Philippine colonial past, but also the somewhat predictable and emotive nationalist response of the Filipino community itself.

As author Robert Stone comments on the 1990 National Book Award nominee “this is the definitive novel of the encounter between the Philippines and America and their history of mutual illusion, antagonism, and ambiguous affection.” Set in the turbulent period of the Philippines’ late dictator Ferdinand Marcos, Dogeaters is a dreamlike world in which American pop culture and local Filipino tradition mix flamboyantly and where storytelling, melodrama, gossip, and extravagant behavior thrive. The novel

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1 This submission is an excerpt from a longer article that I have written on Hagedorn’s Dogeaters. Included in my extended discussion is a more in-depth discussion of female embodiment and nationalism in Hagedorn’s novel.

2 The American name for a frankfurter was invented at the St. Louis World Fair, 1904. The Ifagao tribe of the Philippines was one of many ethnographic “showcases” that was imported to the Midwest that winter for America and the world to witness. Much “buzz” and humor resulted from the sensational presentation of the Ifagao practice of eating wild dog. “Hot-dogs” were facetiously sold by vendors outside of the Philippine Village pavilion exhibit.


furnishes a widely disparate group of characters including a young junkie and a beauty queen, an army henchman and a talk show dame, a movie star and a First Lady. The characters are caught in a maelstrom of events which culminate in a beauty pageant, a political assassination, a film festival, and a narrow underground escape. Hagedorn has described her novel as “a love letter to my motherland: a fact and fiction born of rage, shame, pride…and most certainly desire.”

*Dogeaters* is a montage that is composed of non-chronological narratives, news flashes, personal letters, dream sequences, political speeches, and historical documents. The problematic mapping of narrative forms and history is the crux of this work. The result is a collage-style chimera of Philippine society. It is interesting to note the preface to the book:

> This is a work of fiction. The characters, incidents, and dialogue are products of the author’s imagination and are not to be construed as real.
> The book includes actual quotations from *The Philippines* by Jean Mallat….from the Associated Press, from a poem by Jose Rizal, and from a speech by President William McKinley. All other material presented as quotations from newspapers are fictional, as in the Metro Manila Daily itself.

From the moment of its inception, the text is riddled with the question of what is real and authentic, and what is false and artificial. This question lies at the heart of the text. This question takes on different dimensions and ultimately offers itself as unanswerable. For what is authentic and what is artificial about Filipino culture, history, society? To attempt a “final answer” is to suggest that such notions may be isolated, frozen in time. The novel recognizes and grapples with this problem of narrative form and historical time. As history and culture are posited in terms of evolution and multiplicity, this novel thematizes the displacement of an Asian American narrator who “remembers” the Marcos era in the Philippines. As the effort of remembering has been considered in the

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6 Hagedorn 1.
preceding chapters, so too in *Dogeaters* “re-membering” is in some sense the assembling a dismembered past to make sense of its impact on the present.

*Dogeaters* foregrounds the connections and discontinuities between a diasporic location and the Filipino nationalism that emerges as a consequence of (and challenge to) Spanish colonialism (16th century –1896), U.S. colonialism (1902-World War II), and neo-colonial martial law (1954-1972). The novel is a dense pastiche that brings alive in messy detail a history of particular Asian American inter-penetrations. The reach and grasp of America on the Philippines, as well as the ensuing Filipino understanding and response to such a history, is at the center of its inquiry. We come to understand the refracted Filipino landscape as infiltrated and imprinted by American power. Ultimately, what the novel captures is not so much “the Philippines” per se, but the syncretism of global cultural exchange and a particular Asian American (or Americanized Asian) manifestation of it. The collage style interrupts the development of a distinct national subject, as it places together discontinuous, simultaneous first and third person narratives about characters as diverse as humanly possible. *Dogeaters* resists the leveling of true emancipatory politics to a postcolonial nationalism that would operate at the expense of women. An examination of female embodiment is a central thread in the work’s overall weave. Such consistent focus on the contours of female embodiment opens up new considerations for the roles women are often conscripted to play in the making of the nation. The multi-plotted narratives of such vital characters “bring to life” not only the constraints often placed on women, but the multiform pathways and trajectories of female empowerment. As *Dogeaters* questions the act of representing history itself, it offers its own version of a post-colonial political awakening that leaves room for the many fissures and cracks that disrupt the nation-as-narrative (or narrative-as-nation) impulse.

The novel opens up in the comfortably air-conditioned Manila Avenue Theater, where two young cousins, Rio and Pucha Gonzaga, are taking in the American movie which stars Jane Wyman and Rock Hudson. Sitting there enthralled with the screen’s American constructed white Christmas, both Rio and Pucha are eager pupils of the ideologies brought to them via Hollywood. Both are of rich *illustrado* line, and they offer us a small
slice of one kind of Filipino childhood. Rio is one astute and precocious narrator who undercuts all the trappings of the colonial legacy that surrounds her with cynicism and youthful wisdom. The date of 1956 is intermittently thrown into her first story - a seeming attempt to mark or ground her memories – a possible aid in the manufacturing of her story. Rio’s perspective remains one of the vibrant fibers of the overall textual weave. Throughout different moments of the text, she reports with ironic flare on how her childhood unravels in the different episodes of significance in the Gonzaga family.

Joey Sands is the gay D.J. “call-boy” who is the orphaned son of a Manila prostitute and an African American service man. He is a heroin addict who offers shrewd commentary on what happens after dark. Through his eyes we are offered a look at the underworld of Manila, and a glimpse at the booming sex industry. Other characters who enrich Hagedorn’s weave include Daisy Avila, the beauty queen turned revolutionary guerilla; Severo Alacran, the rich and corrupt patriarch of the most powerful family in the country; General Ledesma, leader of the military and expert at torture administration; Lolita Luna, film “bomba” star and heroin addict; the First Lady, clearly a mirrored image of Imelda Marcos; Romeo Rosales, film-star wanna-be and set-up assassin.

Through the complexity of imagery and characterization, the novel takes on the impression of historiography. As the real (McKinley’s speeches, Jose Rizal’s poems, historical documentation, and quips from the Associated Press) is interspersed with fiction, Dogeaters persists at conflating our sense of what really was. Somehow that conflation does not become an obstacle, because as readers we get a sense that if these characters did not really exist, then ones just like them definitely did. The technique of utilizing various “unofficial” discursive structures, along with “official” historical representations, at once seems to undermine “endorsed” history. Yet the approach not only undermines, but also interrogates the politics of representation. As the novel assembles material of the past into a narrative history, it exemplifies both anti-narrative and anti-representational strategies that de-hierarchize linear historical accounts (both orientalist and nationalist). This novel moves in a horizontal, or metonymic contagion, rather than through the vertical or metaphorical processes of referentiality and
signification. Lisa Lowe has provided a well argued example of such effect in her analysis of the prolific use of “gossip” throughout the novel. She suggests that gossip requires the reader to abandon binary notions of legitimate and illegitimate, discourse and counter-discourse, and “public” and “private”. According to Lowe, gossip traverses these classifications so as to render such divisions untenable:

Rather than mere “postmodern” experimentation, *Dogeaters* disorganizes official history through its multiple performances of gossip – *tsismis* (Tagalog for “gossip”), hearsay, anecdote, slander – to gossip’s informal sites and institutions – the beauty parlor, the television talk show, the tabloid *Celebrity Pinoy*, to staging gossip as a trope of popular insurgency itself.\(^7\)

Gossip seizes details, and hyperbolizes their importance. Gossip in this text is recognized as having superior authority and giving greater pleasure than discourses in everyday life:

*Tsismis* ebbs and flows. According to a bemused Severo Alacran, richest of all the richest men and therefore privy to most of the General’s secrets, the best *tsismis* is always inspired by some fundamental truth. (101)

In the end, not only does *Dogeaters* insinuate that the oftentimes “subjugated knowledges” of the popular remain unavailable in official narrative history. This novel also dramatizes the recollection of history as spasmodic hearsay and as an ongoing process of partial, imperfect recollection.

This approach of including “unofficial” discursive structures yields even further implications with the authorial choice to lace the novel with Tagalog, Spanish, and “Taglish” throughout.\(^8\) As a result, the question of language and power is included in the

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8 “Taglish” is the unofficial name for what is arguably an entirely new-sprung language. The resulting combination of English and Tagalog (as well as the frequent, rapid code-switching between the two) has resulted in a creative new linguistic sensibility. “Taglish” is the veritable language of the cosmopolitan landscape of Manila, both its public and private spaces. It is the language most frequently utilized in the Senate, in TV commercials, on the Evening News, in the university classroom, at the dinner table, in the daily newspapers, etc.
novel’s overall consideration of representative politics and history. *Dogeaters* has indeed been controversial because of its linguistic hybridization. Hagedorn has deliberately strewn the novel with Tagalog terms and phrases *without* providing a glossary. With repeated insistence, her editor requested a translation glossary of all “foreign language” terms. The fear was that without such a glossary, the novel would alienate a readership, or at least “ruffle the feathers” (read - make uncomfortable) an assumed American audience. Hagedorn flatly refused to acquiesce to the editorial pressure for the explanatory vocabulary list, and has been explicating the political implications of this decision in interviews ever since. By refusing to become (in the most explicit sense) a “guide” or translation of Philippine culture, she preserves the critical tact of her novel. Hagedorn has disavowed the desire for a kind of encyclopedic comprehensiveness in representing a national tradition. The extraliterary heteroglossia and linguistic layering offered up in *Dogeaters* lends the work a certain semantic indeterminacy. Following a Bakhtinian critique, the naïve and stubborn containment of languages as separate national entities comes to a necessary end here – “one language can, after all, see itself only in the light of another language:”

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All this set into motion a process of active, mutual cause-and-effect and interillumination. Words and language began to have a different feel to them; objectively they ceased to be what they had once been. Under these conditions of external and internal interillumination, each given language – even if its linguistic composition (phonetics, vocabulary, morphology, etc.) were to remain absolutely unchanged – is, as it were, reborn, becoming qualitatively a different thing for the consciousness that creates in it. In this actively polyglot world, completely new relationships are established between language and its object (that is, the real world) – and this is fraught with enormous consequences for all the already completed genres that had been formed during eras of closed and deaf monoglossia.

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10 Bakhtin.
Heteroglossia in *Dogeaters* is the crucial foundation in the development of the novel’s design and meaning. The profound stylistic originality as well as the multi-linguaged consciousness realized in *Dogeaters* remains the underpinning of its overall inquiry - an inquiry into the entanglement of representation, power, and pleasure.

This provocative entanglement is addressed immediately in the novel’s opening sequence wherein the two young cousins imbibe in the silver screen production of an American white Christmas. It is interesting to note that this scene demonstrates a certain controversy for certain critics of the novel. As readers, we are positioned similarly to Rio and Pucha, in the air-conditioned Manila Avenue Theater, engrossed in the triangle melodrama between Jane Wyman, Rock Hudson, and Gloria Talbott. The screen stretches across the imagination of the two young Filipinas, and simultaneously the reader as well. As such, we are positioned both as observers and participants in the seduction of American cinema:

> It is this enticing quality to Hagedorn’s narrative reproductions of American film that critics of *Dogeaters* find both captivating and irksome: the representation of American movies—symbols of America’s colonial legacy – ought to instruct the reader on the continued cultural imperialism being effected in the Philippines rather than delight him/her with reproduced spectacular details.  

The novel might be read as a creative document from a Filipino-American perspective that emphasizes America’s cultural dominance, **even as** the author reinscribes it. *Dogeaters* continually acknowledges the political effect (and even violence) of stories in our lives, and never shies away from the admittance of pleasure and seduction involved at the core of storytelling. Desire is not an element of re-presentation that is bypassed. Here it seems that desire can be a productive way to account for the workings of narrative production. I would argue that this particular sensitivity is at the heart of the work. The workings of this story suggest an overwhelming magnetism to the brutality and seduction of America. The America of *Dogeaters* is both the imperial power that

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conspires with the local elite, as well as a cultural wash that constitutes ordinary Filipino/Filipina subjectivity and desire. Within the parameters of this paradox -- that America can be both an oppressive antagonist as well as a formative component of Philippine identity – lies the controversy as to how to read this text.

The reception that Dogeaters has had in the Filipino and Filipino-American community is telling. There remains lively debate as to whether this book has “set back the race,” or has misrepresented and exoticized Filipinos. Many have been put off by the title enough that they have been unable to overcome the strong feelings resulting from what is perceived as slander. At a reading in Hawaii, Hagedorn was interrupted by an avuncular looking man in the front row. “He kept pointing his finger at me like, ‘j’accuse, j’accuse’” she recalled. He accused her on the spot of wanton disregard for the people. This deeply felt nationalist reaction is not limited to a particular reading public. There is evidence of such sway among the Filipino and Filipino-American scholarly community as well. Some have criticized the novel for its supposed imperialist mode of presentation. I am referring here in particular to critics Leonard Casper, N.V.M. Gonzalez, and E. San Juan Jr. These reviewers have vastly different political stances and their reviews employ different critical approaches to Dogeaters. Still, these critics all seem to yearn for a greater sense of realism in Dogeaters (if by realism one implies a greater sense of commitment to the representation of socio-political issues -- where characters develop in relation to struggle between classes and entrenched institutions). The novel has been understood by some as a sell-out to the West by employing a thoroughly postmodern aesthetic as it ignores the more indigenous modes of expression that might possibly align with a politics of de-colonization. In other words, some critics have accused Dogeaters of reproducing an imperialist sensibility in its approach to the story of the Philippines. But such nationalist critiques have failed to recognize the novel’s central concern with the politics of representation and in particular, the constraints imposed on women in the

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13 Rachel Lee presents a detailed outline of the parameters of each of these critical arguments in chapter three of The Americas of Asian American Literature.
act of shaping national history. *Dogeaters*’s postrealist style is not “post-“ because it avoids limning social relations but because it defies conventions of objective recording. The pastiche redraws the frame of a postcolonial transnational culture, and it is does so from the perspective of the perpetual non-subjects of history. *Dogeaters* thus retells the stories of the Marcos years not from the perspective of the political or military leaders, the Western press, or subaltern historiographers, but largely from the viewpoints of Filipina mistresses, sisters, daughters, and wives. “Rather than conveying the upheaval of the Marcoses’ regime through panoptic, godlike vision, the novel is steeped in questionable recordings and skewed looks.” The fragmentation that the novel exhibits in quantity is a mode of narration in which absolute truths and narratives of progress are contested.

The novel has provided the space for the constant effervescence of difference and change in society. In *Dogeaters*, the subversion of the referentiality of fiction is deliberate. The events that Rio has narrated are called into question in the penultimate chapter, in which Pucha’s version of the same events that Rio has narrated is so radically different that the possibilities of reconciling the two threads or of choosing the more reliable narrative are precluded. Pucha exclaims:

*Puwede ba?* 1956, 1956! Rio, you’ve got it all wrong. Think about it: it makes no sense. It must have been sometime around 1959, at the very least! You like to mix things up on purpose, *di ba?* [. . .] I’m no *intelektwal* as you’ve pointed out loud and clear, but my memory’s as good as anybody’s. . .

[. . .]I just want you to get my damn history straight, Rio – *puwede ba*, it matters to me. (248)

This moment is an insistence on the legitimacy of the non-intellectual’s perspective. Pucha’s petition implies a significant transformation. Rather than rest on the viewpoint of the official observer, we must include the perspective of those who are usually being
observed. We must consider the memories of those typically characterized as too subjective. Pucha fills the next two pages with the insistence that Rio has her facts wrong, and proceeds to rewrite Rio’s version of their family history. Why would the novel come to its close with this insistence on re-writing? The narrative underscores the fact that individual memory itself cannot be a resolute category, and that it is always subject to varying interpretation. It is significant that Rio’s narrative is the one to be contested. For Rio is the character who eventually grows up to live in America, and who looks back with longing on the land of her youth. Perhaps there lies a self-reflexive element to the close of this novel. Jessica Hagedorn is a Filipino-American woman who has grown up in the Philippines and has moved to America. She is a woman who has used her memories to inform her narrative. In this sense the parallel of Hagedorn and her fictional character Rio cannot be ignored. Rather than keep impervious the credibility of this mirror-narrator embedded within the novel, Hagedorn closes the novel by undercutting her story. By including Rio’s narrative thread in her strategy of disruption, she insures the consistency of her overall political approach to re-presentation. By presenting several conflicting and simultaneous stories that exist in horizontal relationship to one another, the novel continually questions a faith in transparent discursive access to truth, history, and “the real.”

*Dogeaters* ultimately underlines in its ironic way the realization that any reading of the text consists not in the study of mimetic mirroring or subject projecting. Rather, the text is an exploration of how we see ourselves (or are seen by others), and how we construct notions of the self in the present and the past. Far from reading *Dogeaters* simply as an American orientalist portrait of the Philippines, I understand this complex novel as a vital portrait of certain resistance. In particular, it employs a strategy of representation that critiques the discursive formations that normalize and naturalize the relationship between women and nation. While the novel admits a national desire that possesses and controls women, it simultaneously challenges the putative naturalness of discourses of nation that require a rhetoric of territorialization. In this respect, notions of homeland and its construction through sexualization and genderization of female corporeality become the crucial sites of my exploration. How has the female body been assigned significant
ideological and symbolic weight here? Picking up on this particular aspect of the nationalist paradigm, *Dog eaters* weaves several narratives that explicitly link female embodiment to national questions. The novel reckons with how women become the mute but necessary allegorical ground for the transactions of nationalist history. Jessica Hagedorn’s special attention to female specularized bodies sets a particular stage – one that ultimately allows her to explore and question the figurative role of women in the nation.
Introduction

This article seeks to locate Harlem’s gentrification process as closely linked to the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone urban development initiative. Cities are employing similar urban development strategies to attract capital. As a global city, New York City has also implemented urban development initiatives to make the city more competitive to attract profitable industries and the labor base these industries require. An example of these initiatives is empowerment zones. By analyzing the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone to which Harlem is part, I will place the Harlem Empowerment Zone within the context of urban development models. The impact of these initiatives along with the improvement of local landscapes -- public space, housing stock, cultural institutions-- lead to the gentrification of the neighborhood and to the neighborhood to be considered a tourist attraction. Urban development initiatives such as the Empowerment Zone are largely state and private collaborations that under urban policy run parallel to the gentrification of, in this specific case, Harlem. The transformation of the physical environment, such as housing stock and public spaces as well as new stores will also offer information into the new consumption codes for the new middle class of professionals who seek the culture, quality of life and entertainment that living in the city provides.

Urban development

The kinds of urban development initiatives within which the gentrification of neighborhoods are enveloped, respond to patterns of urban development which are similar across cities around the world. The notion of the "entrepreneurial city" (Painter, 1998) the “creative city” (Volkerling, 2002; *) or "cluster development", and “branding” (Pedersen, 2002, Greenberg, 2003; Moor, 2003) are trends in urban development the purpose of which are to develop and market the city for consumption. These urban
Development initiatives include the consumption of the city experience, as the site for consumption of different kinds of goods including cultural artifacts and events. Urban development initiatives are to be found at the juncture of economic restructuring and cultural policy, since both are articulated to make the city desirable for residents and tourists alike.

The entrepreneurial city alludes to a model where both businesses and residents are encouraged to engage in entrepreneurial activities. The government provides entrepreneurial activities through enterprise zones, urban development corporations, urban subsidies, and public-private partnerships (Painter, 1998). The “creative city” model could be considered an example of an entrepreneurial initiative. According to Volkerling, the creative city model is “conceived of as a source of innovation, defined as the commercial exploitation of cultural and technological products and processes” (2002, p.5). Moreover, the kinds of urban development promoted by national cultural policy involves also the development of diverse industries, also known as “cluster development” (Porter, 1998). According to Porter (1998), cluster development is composed of inter-related companies, a network of specialized suppliers, knowledge producing agents (such as universities, research institutes, engineering companies), bridging institutions (brokers, consultants) and customers.

The branding of cities has also been in effect as an urban development trend to make cities attractive to new industries. The branding of the center alludes to the development of representations, icons, and signs aimed at creating an identity for a locale, usually in the form of a marketable image or brand targeted for a larger audience (Pedersen, 2002). Mostly, all of these strategies focus on the development of cultural industries and tourism. In Harlem, the entrepreneurial city model (Painter, 1998), the creative city model (Volkerling, 2002), branding (Pedersen, 2002) and cluster development (Porter, 1998) can be identified in the Empowerment Zone Initiative to which Harlem belongs. The development of the urban infrastructure, besides the obvious purpose of increasing retail business and developing local industries such as tourism and entertainment also has the purpose of providing a comfortable quality of life to urban residents seeking
dwellings near their places of work in the city. It is at this juncture that one can identify urban development initiatives sponsored by the government to attract private capital and the improvement of housing stock, turning dilapidated neighborhoods into upscale neighborhoods: the gentrification process.

**Gentrification**

Gentrification is the improvement of derelict and abandoned areas of the inner city to cater mostly to the middle class. The improvement of housing stock and public spaces are transformed for the consumption tastes of the gentrifying middle class usually different from what the previously abandoned and disinvested inner city provided. Research on gentrification has become more nuanced and sophisticated in its account of the complexity, variety of factors and historical circumstances that give shape to the gentrification process. A considerable amount of research on gentrification has been produced within the field of urban geography. A major distinction in the gentrification literature lays between the gentrification that happened during the 1970s (mostly due to the white flight from the inner city to the suburbs) and a rebirth of gentrification during the 90s (that in the global city coincides with the shift from manufacturing to a service economy). The latter refers to a post-recession gentrification rhetorically addressed as the ‘revitalization’ of the inner city. 'Revitalization' is an euphemism that presents gentrification as an almost natural transformation of the inner city. Revitalization is a way of calling gentrification that seemingly escapes a more political account of the gentrification process.

Some have identified the stages involved in the development of gentrification common to different locales. They have presented a carefully detailed description of the factors that produce gentrification according to temporal stages of development. According to Carpenter and Lees (1995) the stages of gentrification include: suburbanization as the reason for disinvestment in the inner city, institutional disinvestment, abandonment, the turning point of disinvestment to reinvestment, reinvester’s interest and institutional
financial input\textsuperscript{15}. However, it is in the identification of actors in the gentrification process that class issues become a more explicit problematic. The literature reflects the two sides of this class problematic, between the middle class gentrifiers and the "urban poor" gentrified. The political element to which side of the actors the perspective of gentrification is built on, is obvious. Lees offered an interesting observation about the underlying understanding of the city at work when gentrification is explained from either the gentrifiers' or the gentrified's perspective.

The notion of the emancipatory city is, according to Lees (2001), a representation of the new middle class as agents of emancipation of the city, helping improve its conditions. Therefore, within this perspective the improvement of inner city areas is seen as the result of middle class action. This view emphasizes the positivist aspect of a development that is blind to the politics of improvement, in other words for whom and to whom the city is understood to belong. Smith’s (1991) notion of the revanchist city is more appropriate in providing the political perspective that the emancipatory city thesis lacks. For Smith the inner city is the battleground where a middle class that considers the city theirs, forces themselves into the city by engaging in practices that socially exclude minorities. Displacement and injustice are for Smith what characterizes gentrification, not the emancipation of the city by the middle class. I will add that this role of the middle class is not accidental but intrinsic to the gentrification process.

Gentrification is triggered by the new middle class (Butler & Robson, 2001; Lees, 2000; Carpenter & Lees, 1995; Smith, 1996). The transformations desirable for the middle class are also prestige and status markers. The shift from manufacturing to a services based economy and the increasing importance given to signs and symbols in contrast to physical commodities has led to a growing consensus about the growth and importance of the middle classes (Butler, 1997). Not only the physical commodities but more importantly the signs and symbols they convey are crucial to what the new middle class

\textsuperscript{15} This last one is the most representative of the empowerment zone model in Harlem.
consume. The material culture produced to attract the middle class to the inner city could be divided in at least two kinds. There are those markers that can be found in the sameness of retail stores, franchises, common clothes and food that are present in most middle class neighborhoods and that are brought into the inner city via gentrification. Other kinds are vernacular markers, the "ethnic hip", that by being different and diverse becomes desirable for the adventurous taste of the middle class. Both kinds of markers are up for grabs in the form of conspicuous consumption, facilitated in gentrified neighborhoods. These markers represent middle class desire and struggle to generate and keep urban conditions that will help consolidate them as a prosperous group within their own ideals of what constitutes city living.

Referred to as “conspicuous consumption”, the symbols and cultural markers of the middle class are built into the urban landscape and signify the middle class arrival, existence and dominance in the gentrified neighborhood. These cultural symbols are replicated in most gentrified areas and seem to reproduce a global code for gentrification (Carpenter & Lees, 1995).

The kinds of consumption codes found in gentrified cities around the world are visual expressions of changing patterns of consumption in cities towards one representative of the new middle class (Carpenter and Lees, 1995). According to Carpenter and Lees, "Gentrifiers strive to be distinctive within their own cultural context, and to mark themselves out from others, but internationally they also adhere to a certain conformity, as the symbols used can be read and identified by similar social groups cross-nationally. …Gentrification is thus one expression of the globalization of culture in a post-modern world, an example of how a process that ostensibly aims to express difference results in a measure of global conformity and a lack of distinctiveness" (p.1995, p.288).

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16 What is considered the new middle class is the new class of professional-managerial class attracted by the service based economy to the inner city (Ehrenreich, 1989).
I agree with Carpenter and Lees about similar cultural markers found in gentrified cities around the world. We all have seen the ubiquitous presence of McDonalds, Disney Stores and Starbucks in US cities, and around the world in places such as Munich, Germany, Edinburgh, Scotland, San Juan, Puerto Rico (to name a few) they are present too. Likewise gentrification also involves distinctive architectural styles in the patterns of improvement of housing stock and standards of aesthetics, maintenance and safety in public spaces. The design of the physical environment is embellished with middle class values and it includes standards for how spaces are to be perceived and experienced. Assuming that consumption is at the vortex of the transformations triggered by gentrification, these shifting consumption patterns are inscribed in space. Moreover, the urban development initiatives of gentrifying areas are closely linked to economic and cultural patterns of globalization.

*Globalization, global city, and financiers*

Global cities such as New York City, London and Tokyo are command and headquarter centers of global finance and trade (Sassen, 1991). Characteristic of the global city is the kind of labor force demanded by the leading industries of such cities. According to Lees “the process of ‘financification’ is only found in global cities such as London and New York, where the highly paid employees in the financial services industry are lubricating the revalorization of the inner city and regentrifying neighborhoods which were gentrified in the 1970s” (Lees, 2000, p. 392).

However, this is a two-tier labor sector. One sector of professionals supplies financial, advertisement, communications and legal services, among other specialized services. The other labor sector serves this class of professionals, maintaining its quality of life by providing everyday life services such as those offered by restaurants, laundry, copying services, and so forth. Indeed it is the first group of laborers mentioned here -- the

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17 The 2000 Census indicates that the group with the highest number of employed persons 16 and over are professionals and/or related occupations (15%). Forty five percent of the industry profile in New York belongs to the service sector. Sassen has also provided full evidence of the transformation of the industry base in New York City, London and Tokyo towards a predominantly service economy (1991).
professional class -- that gentrification targets as future homeowners in the upscaled neighborhoods. The professional class of future residents welcomes and enjoys the creative atmosphere produced in the city, especially the face-to-face interactions that the city allows, or its propinquity \( (\text{Mosco, 2001; Sorkin, 1992}). \) This is not only a quality of life issue, professionals prefer to live in the city because of the different cultural activities and services found there, but also the kind of creative goods produced in the global city by the creative class requires an exchange of ideas that face-to-face interaction facilitates.

The effect of globalization in minimizing the role of the nation-state has triggered a more aggressive role for cities. Cities in general are competing to attract capital. The competition between cities is mainly due to an increase in the number of localities multinationals can choose from, when considering new investments. Cities' ways of becoming competitive in the global economy take the form of developing sites for the consumption of leisure and entertainment for mostly the financier class in the global city that seeks their standard of living fulfilled in gentrifying areas. Gentrification increases property values and alters the social and physical composition of neighborhoods once considered seemingly unattractive to outsiders. This kind of urban development is been replicated among different cities including the global city, and examples in the literature can be found, for instance in Carpenter's and Lees' study of gentrification in New York, London and Paris (1995).

Since globalization has brought about the freeing of markets and deregulation of the economy, local governments are inclined to increase cities' competitiveness for global capital. The competitive edge is acquired by attracting capital through urban development initiatives after the elusive industrial capital has moved elsewhere to locales where cheap labor force and lower environmental standards can be found, mostly in developing countries. Post-industrial cities in advanced capitalist societies seek local capital investment and obtain it primarily by developing sites for consumption. In Harlem the presence of the suburban style supermarket chain store "Pathmark" was a first step in that direction (Insert Picture #3 -Pathmark). It is within this logic that the state assumes the role of enabling capital expansion, for which the enterprise and empowerment zones are
an example. One could argue that this role of the state is not new, but under the current pervasive neo-liberal atmosphere, the provision of entitlements to the citizens that once distinguished the Welfare State has been eroded. Left in its place is among others practices, privatization and empowerment zones that portend to promote the entrepreneurial character of citizens simultaneously evoking the figure of the consumer individual. The notion of the consumer individual very well fits the neo-liberal agenda according to which citizens are expected to assume individual responsibility for many provisions traditionally assumed by the government. Accordingly, citizens especially in areas where they received Welfare (in the form of unemployment compensation and other governmental aids) are expected to insert themselves in the labor force without governmental support.

Urban development has targeted different neighborhoods and areas at different points in time, the city center expanded through rings of improvements. Harlem is one of those latest expansions. The improvement of public space and services fall under the rubric of quality of life in a city that caters to the professional class. As part of this expansion, Harlem - through the Empowerment Zone -- is also included. In the following sections I will discuss the development of retail space and the development of an infrastructure for advanced communication technologies in Harlem. These are all part of the Empowerment Zone initiative, and examples of contemporary urban development under globalization. The transformation of public space deserves close examination since it functions as a concrete site where the Empowerment Zone displays new iconography and new representations of the neighborhood that function as a way of branding the area for newcomers.

Harlem is being transformed by globalization and the cultural markers spatialize the gentrification process of the new middle class as it finds their home there. Previously a landscape with pockets of neglect and desolation resembling the remnants of a war zone, Harlem is being “revitalized” (Insert Picture #1Harlem’s Frederick Douglass). The Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone attests to the major
transformations taking place in Harlem, as this once forgotten locality becomes part of the most prosperous economic and social dynamics characteristic of a global city\textsuperscript{18}.

In order to better understand the way the Upper Manhattan Empowerment zone represents and markets itself it was required to explicitly look at the content of their website as well as to the publications produced by them. Therefore the basic methodology in which this research was based was content analysis. Content analysis has been used for a long time to better understand information in the form of texts and visual materials by producing a systematic description of the content of information (Berg, 2001). Content analysis has been used for a long time in the analysis of print and visual material. Archival research in the form of documents produced by the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone Development Corporation and press releases that address more specifically the initiatives directed towards Harlem were content analyzed. Within the context of this study, the unit of analysis was the information presented at the empowerment zone website and press releases. Emphasis was placed to indicate the main components of the empowerment zone and to help frame those within the larger context of urban development initiatives. Urban development models treated at length in the scholarly literature reviewed. Additional informal information such as narrative accounts of the author's observations of the Harlem area where she resides for over seven years was subject to content analysis. Visits to different areas of Harlem, observations and snapshots of the area have been collected during a similar period of time.

\textit{Reincorporating Harlem as a territory: marketing the city as "Harlem, USA"}

The current Empowerment Zone Initiative seeks to integrate Harlem back into the US mainstream. Accordingly retail development in the empowerment zone is advertised as Harlem, USA (www.UMEZ.org). At West 125\textsuperscript{th} Street and Frederick Douglass Boulevard is located the 275,000 square foot retail and entertainment complex called

\textsuperscript{18} According to Schaffer and Smith (1986) Harlem underwent a first period of gentrification during the late early eighties. Their work focused on the analysis of census tracks in the Harlem areas to show rent increase. They identified the trend that is now fully acknowledged in the literature, that the percent of managerial, professional and related occupations increased in Manhattan and in Central Harlem, more specifically.
Harlem USA. The naming of Harlem,USA is a marketing strategy that resonates with the annexation of the Harlem ghetto as a territory. This recent inclusion is basically founded on the integration of Harlemites and the attraction of new residents, both as consumer citizens into the larger theme of New York City as the capital of entertainment.

A multi-layered phenomena, empowerment and enterprise zones have been part of urban economic development initiatives across US since the 70s. The main goal of empowerment zones is to subsidize business development. (Insert Picture #2 Banner of BID). In 1994, President Clinton introduced Empowerment Zone legislation for the purpose of creating urban policy that addresses community improvement through the collaboration of government, business and community (Gittell, 1998). Empowerment zones provide the opportunity for cities to become more competitive to attract and retain capital.

The façade of new urban arrangements place at center stage seemingly “neutral” attributes of physical forms. The effect is one in which urban changes are presented as rather natural processes when they are indeed conflictive, complex and often exclusionary. The current social and spatial changes occurring at 125th Street, Harlem’s Empowerment Zone District as part of the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone Development Corporation are characteristic of a trend in urban development inasmuch as these are replicated in many cities seeking to attract and originate capital. In the market economy the authority of the nation-state has diminished and cities have become more autonomous in their search for economic prosperity.

Harlem’s infrastructure – housing stock and public spaces – are prime targets for the kind of improvement the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone has envisioned. Absentee landlords, limited provision for the maintenance of public space and subway stations have had in the past the effect of separating Harlem from the rhythms of urban life more characteristic of Manhattan’s downtown. Even though alienated and apart, the ghetto might also be considered a locale with an exclusivity of sorts, where once the urban
dangers are identified, maneuvering through and living in Harlem also represents enjoying the cohesiveness of a diverse Black community.

More specifically $500 million have been provided in funding, wage tax credits, section 179 deductions, bond financing benefits, workforce development, and available city land in Harlem through the Empowerment Zone (www.UMEZ.org). Advertising promotion, technical assistance and training, and a reduction of government regulations are also included in the empowerment zone package that started to take shape in the year 2000. The intent is to promote the entrepreneurial spirit by freeing businesses from government interference such as taxes and regulations by transforming welfare dependent citizens--the displaced labor force--into consumers and low level service labor for new businesses. The official aim of the Empowerment Zone is to revitalize the community and to create new roads to economic self-sufficiency.

_Silicon Valley, Silicon Alley, Hi-Way 125 – Harlem Internet Way 125: Wiring Harlem_

Silicon Valley in California, Silicon Alley in the New York City’s Lower East Side and Hi-Way 125 in Harlem all share in common development around advanced information technologies. Hi-Way 125 stands for Harlem Internet Way. This is the name for the technology district envisioned by the Empowerment Zone located on 125th Street from Second to 12th Avenues. Also equipped by a “technology incubator,” Hi-Way 125 in Harlem developed an 8,000 sq. ft. of space to house eight to twelve companies. It is structurally prepared to offer competitive internet technology, fiber optics, high speed copper wire, turnkey maximum bandwidth, connectivity, state-of-the-art voice, video and data transmission as well as advanced telecommunications and data security. Educational institutions also buttress the technology district. Columbia University and City College of New York are to provide expertise and technology transfer á la Silicon Valley in Hi-Way 125.

One could easily identify cluster development in Harlem as different institutions and initiatives work together to attract information technology industries (Porter, 1998). In
Harlem this kind of development has been marketed to provide competitive rental space cheaper than in other areas of Manhattan. As clearly shown in the Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone website, the wiring of the technology district has been built by Consolidated Edison Communications, Inc., Applied Theory Corporation, INC, and AT&T Communications. This wiring also provides connectivity with internet and broadband access not only to possible renters but for Harlem residents as well. Deserving mention is the resemblance of the federally sponsored efforts through which information technology wiring is brought to the Empowerment Zone to the 1950s government involvement in automobile transportation technology and infrastructure which so profoundly shaped U.S. cities (Jackson, 1985). New technologies always have had an impact in the way human settlements develop. The train, the automobile and now the internet shape the social and physical organization of the areas where people live.

*Packaging urban development: the branding of Harlem as a cultural mecca*

Harlem’s gentrification requires the improvement of the neighborhood infrastructure including public spaces. More concretely, the insertion of New York City within the global economy as a headquarter center for corporations and one of the global centers for the coordination of financial and investment transactions attracts the employment of workers in those areas. Finance, business and professional services such as information technology and the media rely on a professional labor force. Inner city areas that have already experienced disinvestment and the flight of the middle class, witness now a new cycle of private capital influx and middle class homebuyers and renters. Few rental units have been developed and the main emphasis on housing development is on homeownership (Brash, 2000). The current transformation of Harlem prompted by the designation of the Harlem Empowerment Zone intersects with the gentrification process. The beautiful architectural tradition of Harlem is now combined with recent developments. Residential units that take from what Adams (2002) describe as the Harlem brownstone row house. Similar to the fate of other areas in the city that have been transformed (like Times Square which turned from edgy businesses to family entertainment) Harlem’s territories have proliferated into distinctly demarcated historic
districts: Jumel Terrace, Audubon Terrace, Hamilton Heights, St. Nicholas and Striver’s Row District, Mount Morris Park and Carnegie Hill. A string of new or improved cultural institutions have proliferated such as the Aaron Davis Hall at City College, The Apollo Theater and The Studio Museum in Harlem Store, to name few.

Intertwined with the gentrification or the de-ghettoization of Harlem, tourist ventures stand solid. In Harlem, entertainment and tourism figure as two relevant components of the Empowerment Zone. In the Empowerment Zone website Harlem is depicted as an “unparalleled historical and cultural asset that attracts an estimated 500,000 international tourists annually”. Along with retail, the Empowerment Zone includes a series of venues as sites for the consumption of leisure in the form of culture and where entertainment can be consumed: Aaron Davis Hall and the Studio Museum of Harlem Store are both examples. The building of the Studio Museum of Harlem has undergone structural changes, the store that specializes in African-American art, icons and materials, is now located at the entrance of the Museum easily accessible by the pedestrian traffic.

Emphasis is placed on the uniqueness of Harlem as a cultural destination, rich in history and according to the empowerment zone advocates, the modern temporality emblematic of New York has finally found its way to Harlem: “It’s all happening here” states one of the Empowerment Zone slogans. Harlem’s heritage is rescued in a depiction of it as a trendsetter in music, fashion and art. This is a different image from that which nostalgically identified Harlem with Harlem Renaissance and one that tries to overcome the negative image of Harlem as the ghetto. The Upper Manhattan Empowerment Zone brands Harlem's image as "Harlem, U.S.A." The image of Harlem now conforms and is included with that of the rest of Manhattan. Alongside the tourist attractions, there is also the complementary development of the technology district. Technology, culture and entertainment all convey an image of Harlem that is desirable to the new middle class. Alongside these elements, public spaces warrant the improvement of the quality of life in Harlem, where aesthetics and maintenance are basic components fundamental to Harlem's gentrification.
In Harlem the ornamentation of a string of public spaces such as Morningside Park, Duke Ellington Plaza, Malcom X Plaza and its contiguous Boulevard, along with the designation of Historical Districts and Landmarks seem less than accidental. The gentrification of the area has arrived with the presence of stores such as Old Navy, The Body Shop, the Disney Store, HMV Records, Modell’s Sporting Goods, New York Sports Club, found in other urban areas that are undergoing or already underwent gentrification. The Magic Johnson Movie Theater located in 125th Street and Frederick Douglass Boulevard caters to a new sense of community in Harlem, USA. From neglect, Harlem is being transformed into a space of global culture seen through a window of spectacle. Is this a globalization from above or from below? Neither seems to be an accurate way of representing the transformation taking place in Harlem. At its origins lie the syncretism of global capital logic and the constant appropriation of cultural practices and icons characteristic of the Black community: a soul food deli next to Kentucky Fried Chicken, Gospel Service with loyal believers and curious tourists alike.

Increasingly so, the citizen role is also that of the consumer. The post-industrial logic is present in the global city even at the level of the body. The consumer citizen is to assume new rituals of hygiene characteristic of other upwardly mobile areas in the city. An example of the kind of businesses introduced by the homogenized landscape of globalization with a different hygienic touch in Harlem is The Body Shop, a British transnational that is also located on 125th Street.

The notion of the consumer individual very well fits the neo-liberal agenda according to which citizens are expected to assume individual responsibility for many provisions traditionally assumed by the government. Accordingly, citizens especially in areas where they received Welfare (in the form of unemployment compensation and other governmental aids) are expected to insert themselves in the labor force without governmental support. Increasingly so, the citizen role is also that of the consumer. The post-industrial logic is present in the global city even at the level of the body. The consumer citizen is to assume new rituals of hygiene characteristic of other upwardly mobile areas in the city. An example of the kind of businesses introduced by the
homogenized landscape of globalization with a different hygienic touch in Harlem is The Body Shop, a British transnational that is also located on 125th Street.

Concluding remarks

One could examine the different perspectives from which empowerment zones and gentrification could be evaluated: from the residents as well as the business optic. One could find that positions, if not completely positive are at least hopeful, when the issue fluctuates within the continuum between dilapidation, neglect, economic stagnation on one extreme, and aesthetization of common public spaces, the revitalization of physical infrastructure, and the creation of employment opportunities, on the other. Aesthetics and maintenance are both crucial issues in the perception of safe and upcoming environments. However, the transformation taking place in Harlem could turn only temporarily beneficial to some of its long time residents. Despite the intent to provide training and job acquisition, most residents fit into this transformation as pieces of a much larger puzzle that does not necessarily have long-term benefits for them. Gentrification produces new residential areas and improved public spaces for those who can afford it, and its main goal is to attract a professional class after neighborhoods have been revitalized.

The possibility of Harlem residents retaining their neighborhoods largely relies on how malleable are their grassroots strategies in terms of homeownership and the development of and participation in new economic ventures, mostly in the service sector. In terms of the local economy, however, local small businesses have had minimal input in the Empowerment Zone decision making process (Gittell, 1998). Moreover, the development of small businesses in the area has been impeded by the legacy of economic discrimination. Gittel informs us about the bureaucratic path and economic obstacles small businesses have to go through in empowerment zones:

“redlining, resulting in many local businesses with marginal operations, poor record keeping, tax problems, no business plans, lack of technology, poor business practices, a poorly trained local workforce, crime problems, language
and cultural barriers hampering the ability to compete in broader markets, poor credit records, lack of access to legitimate capital, and loan sharking victimization” (1998, p.47).

The future of homeownership in Harlem for a large segment of the longtime residents who do not belong to the Black middles class seems rather bleak and gentrification replaces that possibility instead. Improving housing and raising the cost of living there reduces the possibilities for Harlem residents whose income is largely based on welfare to work or underpaid service work, to stay.

Everyday life as lived in Harlem is the space where the forces that are giving shape to the neighborhood are negotiated by the residents, both long time residents and new ones. As such everyday life in Harlem is a kaleidoscopic range of experiences, images and practices that conform this new "habitus." (Bourdieu, 1977). In the inauguration of the Malcolm X Boulevard, African-American city officials celebrated the improvement of public space alongside bystanders, passers-by and community residents. The street and the plaza epitomized the cultural significance of an African-American hero. Grassroots groups struggle to increase the number of residents who could benefit from new housing developments. Local residents overtly voiced their welcome of former president Bill Clinton to the neighborhood by posting messages in store windows or banners in newly restored residences. One message at a residential window read: “Clinton if you live here you can walk to work.” Clinton rented office space in Harlem in 2000. The new urbanism of Harlem depicts the traditional architectural style of the area in chic townhouses, what translates into prohibitive parking space in other areas of the city. Different architectural styles, new and old are intertwined. Flashy glass and steel structures like the Harlem, USA retail complex are juxtaposed to the forgotten and delicate façade of the Theresa Hotel, turned into an office building. The Apollo Theater is under improvement after having been bought by Time Warner. Friends of Morningside Park originally a community and rangers organization developed to rescue another Olmsted’s green jewel, is now partners with Starbucks and Columbia University.

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19 For Bourdieu habitus is "a socially constituted system of cognitive and motivating structures" (1977, p.76).
Starbucks as well as other private companies have sponsored activities in Morningside Park.

African curios and markets from recent African immigrants to the city have been safely removed from 125th street to be conveniently contained in a specific site. Health food stores, Senegalese and West African Restaurants, Soul Food and Gospel religion still shape the possibilities of the streetscape. This is a streetscape that entices immigrants, tourists, residents, businesspeople, homeless people, women, men and children, and the youth. On the street and casually an African-American Wall Street homebuyer and new resident in the “hood” resents the loud noise of the unruly kids during the Summer. Harlem could be considered a third world within a first world city, seeking to fit into the economy of the global city. There are some who still venture to comment on these transformations from a critical stance and to visually insert their remarks on the wood panels that delineate the areas where new constructions are being erected. One of those panels has a painted message that reads: Capitalism breads dishonest men. But still similar signs that homogenize the Manhattan landscape make their appearance in the new frontier of consumption that Harlem also represents, such as those that advertise brand clothing with African-American female and male models.

In summary the Harlem Empowerment Zone is an orchestration of urban development initiatives characteristic of cluster development, the entrepreneurial city, and the “creative city” models (Volkerlling, 2002). Marketing and branding are strategies envisioned to attract leading industries by bringing along the labor pool that these industries requires. To a large extent these industries also attract those who provide services to the professionals of the creative city. Entertainment and tourism, business services, retail and health services all work in conjunction to offer services and a high standard of living to educated professionals. Gentrification becomes one of the results of the revitalization of the physical infrastructure (including housing stock and public spaces) and tourist ventures fold into the promotion of culture and entertainment.
Public spaces along with the local initiatives and active citizenship that they might nourish are constantly reinserted within the movement towards gentrification and the upscaling of once dilapidated and neglected areas of the city. A redefinition of belonging takes place when the respatialization of urban areas are compromised with the uncertain fate of long time residents who are less likely to be homeowners of the renovated units. The right to the city, citizenship itself needs to shift. It needs to convey the possibility of active social participation that could grant a sense of belonging and ownership. The alternative that makes more sense to redirect globalization's undiscriminating search for expansion (aided by information and transportation technologies overcomes distances and erase boundaries) is the social participation required for a citizenship that engages in the protection of the common good that must also be displayed globally. Bodies, entities, social actors in flow carry understandings of collective and local initiatives; one is there even if one is moving.

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The Door of Hope, a rescue mission whose purpose was to "save" and "transform, not reform" prostitutes in Shanghai's brothel district, was established in 1900 by a group of Western women in Shanghai, with its 2000 foreign women, one million Chinese, and an estimated 25,000 prostitutes. Over time, the Door of Hope Mission became a common place for many Western women to do their "women's work," which as Patricia Hill has argued, involved merging the nineteenth century cult of domesticity with the mission impulse, thus propelling it into the world and beyond American and European shores. This paper concerns those particular Western women in Shanghai who were drawn to one kind of "women's work"--"rescue" work--and who sought out to the Door of Hope as the one place in Shanghai to do it.

A Western rescue mission in Shanghai, however, was strikingly different from a purity campaign in Chicago, London, or San Francisco. Women there were working not in a British or American setting but in an Asian treaty port, essentially a semi-colonial society. Moreover, for most of its history, they were working in an enclave within China, the International Settlement, with its non-Chinese laws and mores, yet overwhelmingly Chinese population. To more fully understand the complex dynamics at the Door of Hope, then, we must also look at the interplay of the missionary women's agendas with those of both the Chinese and foreign communities. We must be alert for the complex relationship between gender and imperialism, set within a context that privileged purity and piety as much as the "benevolence of reform." We must listen

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closely for the language of colonialism and race as well as that of class and power.\textsuperscript{22}

As Barbara Meil Hobson and others have pointed out, the anti-prostitution movement in the U.S. from 1900 to 1920 was a coalition of diverse groups representing varied reform agendas, political ideologies, and sexual politics.\textsuperscript{23} This paper will focus on one of the groups around the Door of Hope: the Western "resident workers" who toiled within. I will explore what led them to the Door of Hope--and in doing that, try to understand what was compelling to them about the peculiar "relations of rescue" that evolved at the Mission. Finally, the reminiscenses of a few surviving "rescued" women can serve to confirm or contest the missionaries' version and vision of their life's work.

\textit{Reasons for rescue}

How was it that large numbers of Western women made their way to China to live an arduous and often thankless life at a spartan rescue mission in the heart of Shanghai. Why would a woman leave an Illinois farm, a small shop in England, a secure position at a rescue mission in Canada, or a teaching or preaching post in another mission in China, to come to the Door of Hope with its little recompense, difficult work, unruly charges, and inhospitable urban setting? Furthermore, many of the missionaries at the Door of Hope Mission stayed there a long time. Of the 16 missionaries listed with the Door of Hope in 1930, fully half of them had been with the Mission ten or more years. The head of the "Receiving Home" in the heart of the brothel district continued with the Mission for 32 years until her death in 1940. Her counterpart at the home for young children was affiliated with the Mission for almost 60 years. What does such lengthy tenure tell us about these women?

\textsuperscript{22} Many historians take as a matter of course that missionaries were the shock troops of empire, beginning, for example, with Marilyn Young, \textit{The Rhetoric of Empire} (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1968). There has been an explosion of literature examining the connections between gender and empire, with major seminal works by Ann Stoler, "Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in Twentieth Century Colonial Cultures" \textit{American Ethnologist} (November, 1989), 634-60; Margaret Strobel, \textit{European Women and the Second British Empire} (Indianapolis: University of Indiana, 1987); Mary Louise Pratt, \textit{Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation} (London: Routledge, 1992); Claire Midgley, \textit{Gender and Imperialism} (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998).

\textsuperscript{23} Hobson, \textit{Uneasy Virtue}, 150.
In the first place, coming to China and then staying the rest of their lives indicated the strength of their faith and the depth of their commitment to "doing the Lord's work," arduous though it was. Piety was both the major characteristic and the most important criterion for Mission workers. The conversion stories that are a staple in mission publications illustrate their belief that in the face of adversity, prayer and constancy are finally rewarded, if one has enough faith. "The women [from brothels] all come diseased and all seem almost hopeless," proclaimed the author of the 1917 Annual Report, "but . . . we make our united cry to God and . . . God's spirit enlivens the eyes of many."  

For the missionaries at the Door of Hope, going to China to work at the Mission was the logical extension of their religious commitment, the strength of their "call" put to a test in an institution more challenging than similar ones they may have worked in at home. According to twentieth century evangelical religious standards, working in a home mission did not test one's faith nearly as much as travelling abroad to do much the same work in China, India, or Africa. Finally, as other scholars have argued mission work was as much about their own salvation as it was about the rescue of others.

Secondly, traveling abroad to work in a rescue mission in China also indicates the lack of options at home for not just pious, but also older, relatively uneducated, unmarried or no longer married Western women in the first part of the century. Most women who worked at the Door of Hope differed from many other missionary women, particularly those in mainline educational or medical missions in Shanghai. By and large, their education may or may not have included high school, and further schooling usually involved short missionary preparation courses at Bible seminaries and institutes, like Moody Bible Institute in Chicago and Nyack Seminary in New York. Unlike their Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, or even Y.M.C.A. counterparts, these evangelical women had not gone to colleges and universities and had not been

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professionally trained as doctors, teachers or even social workers. Some had received medical training, but it was as nurses or midwives, or even as nurses' assistants; others had only worked in similar rescue or religious missions at home. Having already discharged their family duties at home (which in many cases explains both their older age and unmarried status), once they were in China, as long as their health and stamina held out, they stayed. For them, the Door of Hope became their home, and they viewed life within its confines their best option.

Thirdly, many resident workers who found their way to the Door of Hope had been rejected by other mission boards often due to their age (over 30!) combined with some disabling health condition. The Door of Hope could waive the usual physical requirements since working in an urban mission was not nearly as strenuous as "itinerating" in the interior. The Door of Hope also accepted women who could pay their way and did not demand high salaries. Because the Mission was "undenominational" and not beholden to any mission board or church hierarchy, accountable only to the like-minded faithful, it lacked a sending organization that could locate, interview, and pay transportation costs for its missionaries. Thus the Mission readily accepted those pious applicants who could make their own arrangements and pay their own way--or find someone or some group to sponsor them. Those driven to do its work and able to fund their travel were supported by Bible study groups, women's church clubs, or small congregations all over the (mostly) Anglo-American world. In addition, because the Door of Hope was a dedicated "faith" mission, with no regular budget but dependent for income on day to day donations, the missionaries who came to work there could not expect much of a salary beyond subsistence needs. Those who came, therefore, either had deliberately chosen this kind of institution or had no other choice if they wished to do mission work. Other boards may have rejected them as too old, frail, or "sweet but lacking initiative." But with their piety and willingness to work for low wages, combined with their often useful backgrounds as nurses' aids, clerks, midwives, or seamstresses, the Door of Hope gladly accepted them.

Fourth, most of the Western women who made their way to the Door of Hope seem to
have been attracted to rescue work itself. By the 1920s and 1930s "rescue" work became (and remains to this day, parenthetically) the terrain of more evangelical groups. Rescue work, "saving" both "sexual" and what they came to call "social slaves" (women badly treated by families: abused wives, adopted daughters, or concubines) was preferred by these women. Everywhere this kind of service was challenging. It was hard, the rewards often long in coming, and the young women and situations they came from were not pleasant. It was not for the delicate or faint-hearted--but for some women it was their call and their life's work.

Profiles of rescuers

Let us now examine the life stories of four missionaries with long tenure at the Door of Hope. Well known for her evangelical beliefs, E. Gladys Dieterle was senior missionary in charge of the Love School for children, the Ai yu tang, and Ethel Abercrombie, the other informal "director" of the Door of Hope, was in charge of the homes for older girls, the Chi liang so. Both were extraordinarily dedicated and devout. Abercrombie was English, having come to Ningpo, China, in 1898 with the English Methodist Free Church, to be in charge of women's work and the girls' school there. In 1907 she made her way north to Shanghai to "help" at the Door of Hope and never left, working for 18 years at a stretch before agreeing reluctantly to go on furlough. Abercrombie was regarded as a formidable opponent in Shanghai's Mixed Court when fighting for young women to be remanded to the Mission's care rather than released back to what she argued were abusive family members or exploitative madams. With her erect carriage and stern manner, she struck fear into the hearts of those who would cross her.

Like Abercrombie, Gladys Dieterle was also a formidable manager. She was head of the Children's Home located in a northern suburb in Jiangwan after 1913, in fact responsible for introducing the idea of a home in the countryside for the youngest children. It was her vision which helped develop this suburban school into a complex of facilities, with sanitarium, chapel, day school for area residents, dormitories for missionaries and home-like cottages for the girls and their "mothers" and "big
sisters." German, she had come to China in 1903 at age 28 to work for another mission, moving to the Door of Hope in 1908. Present at the Mission for nearly its entire history, she took only three furloughs at ten year intervals which she used to campaign tirelessly for the Mission in the United States, her adopted homeland. She was called "a great prayer warrior" and "a saint if there ever was one." Uncompromising and severe, she too did not seem to be the most nurturing of missionaries. It was her intransigence and authoritarian style that kept the Mission staff hierarchical and Western-led, with Chinese—whether volunteers, officials, or pastors—kept as "helpers," never equals.

By the 1920s, while much of the mission field reflected the Social Gospel of the Western Protestant world which stressed education and modernization, the Door of Hope attracted those "faith" and "holiness" missionaries also coming in large numbers to China for whom piety still held pride of place. One of the most reliable women who joined the Mission in the 1920s was Inez Green, who, like so many of the Mission's resident workers, was an independent missionary who came directly to the Door of Hope in 1925 after making her way to China on her own, at age 34, supported by her local church in rural southwestern Illinois near St. Louis. Her condescending and deeply imperial views about China reflected her origins in a rural midwestern evangelical congregation. In 1925, she wrote:

"the Gate of the Love School seems truly like the door of a sheep fold, for within our walls there is an atmosphere of love and light that is in direct contrast to the darkness which seems to hover like a thick cloud over every place where only heathen belief and practice are known. . .How fortunate are we to have born in a Christian land. . ."  

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26 Door of Hope correspondence files, The Evangelical Alliance Mission (TEAM), Wheaton, Illinois.
27 Green correspondence with Mr and Mrs Mears, 12-67, in Door of Hope correspondence files, TEAM; Violet Mathews, Escaped as a Bird (1950), 62; Door of Hope Annual Report, 1925, 7.
28 Door of Hope Annual Report, 1925, 26-27.
Green's description of rural China touches all the familiar Western evangelical tropes: without mission work, China is dirty, dark, and dangerous. Only Western missionaries can bring cleansing, light, and the progress of civilization. To missionairies like Green, imperialism was the Lord's work.

Finally, also exemplifying both these views and this life pattern was Hattie Bailey, supported by the "Go Ye Bible" class of Paul Rader's Chicago Gospel Tabernacle, who worked at the Door of Hope for nearly three decades at the Receiving Home and Door of Hope homes for older girls. Born in 1882 in a small village in England, Bailey had limited education (7 years at a council school), and then worked in a dry goods store for 12 years. After family duties no longer claimed her, she left England for Canada, settling in Calgary, Alberta, where her strong religious feelings led her to do mission work. It was while teaching Sunday School at a mission for Chinese in Canada, she recounted in her Moody Bible Institute farewell message, that her "call" came for foreign missionary work, her original purpose having been to "take the Gospel to the prairies of Canada."

One day she had asked one of the men (she remembered in her farewell), "How is it that we never see any women at these missions?" "The women do not come out," he said,"they are not allowed to." "How then," he was asked," are they to hear the story of Jesus?" "Only through the children," he answered. "The Lord put such a burden on my heart for those women," Bailey related," that I said, "Lord, if you want me to go to China I will go."29

Like so many others at the Door of Hope, Hattie Bailey then completed the standard two year missionary training course at the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago. There she took courses on the Bible and ethics, home nursing and child study, missions and comparative religions, and was described as "plain, reliable, steady, sweet, and positive. Will make a good missionary." But when she began applying to boards for mission work, she also found that "the door was shut" because of her age (36). After

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Bailey heard of the Door of Hope from a visiting missionary and was accepted by the Mission, she arranged for her transportation and support costs to be paid by her very own Young Business Women's Class at the Tabernacle, and she left for China in March of 1918.30

Once in China, Hattie Bailey first had to go through intensive language training, required of all the missionaries. Chinese was the language of the Mission, and a Chinese lifestyle was adhered to as much as possible. From all accounts, Bailey immediately fit well into her life's work, and in only a few years was given more and more responsibility. She was most noted for her fervent religiosity, which led her in the mid-1930s to be actively involved in conducting revivals and assisting visiting evangelists.

This, then, was Bailey's life's work, like the others who dedicated their lives to the Door of Hope's particular brand of rescue work. When on furlough, Bailey still worked for the Mission, doing "deputation" work to spread the message (and need for funds). Like the others, she tended to stay in China as long as possible before taking time away. Thus, rescue work at the Door of Hope Mission in China offered pious, older, and unmarried Western women, like Green and Bailey, Abercrombie and Dieterle, their own safe haven and door of hope.

Relations of rescue

Pious and poorer, often older and relatively uneducated, plus attracted to rescue work by its many challenges, the Western women who spent their lives at the Door of Hope were also drawn to rescue work by the relationships they developed within. They formed life-long friendships with their colleagues at the Mission, and it was with these women that they worked, travelled, and often retired together. But it is the inherently unequal relationship within the Mission between the Western missionaries and both their Chinese charges and "helpers" that suggests an even more powerful reason for these Western women's choice of rescue work: the attraction of working in an

30 Hattie Bailey, Student Files, Alumnae Office, Moody Bible Institute, Chicago, Illinois.
environment with such gratifying "relations of rescue," a concept described vividly in Peggy Pascoe's work.\(^{31}\) In the language of the Mission's reports and missives, the missionaries were the rescuers and the girls at the Mission were victims needing rescue—abused slaves, mistreated servants, and very young brothel inmates—those whose stories they selected for inclusion in their writings and speeches and who confirmed their vision of their work and their roles at the Door of Hope. Furthermore, making all the missionaires into relatives who were superior to them—"mothers" and "aunties"—suggested a closeness and intimacy that justified the control they asserted over their charges (Mary Louise Pratt's notion of "reciprocity");\(^{32}\) identifying them as subordinate children also justified the imperial, imperious tone the missionaries affected, in their reports, in their work, and, one suspects, in relating to "their girls."

**CODA: Recues remembered**

Yet it is perhaps too easy to only characterize the Western missionaries at the Door of Hope as imperialists and their relationships with their Chinese charges as infantilizing and profoundly unequal. An important perspective on the missionaries remembered impact comes from the interviews that I was fortunately able to conduct with a few remaining Door of Hope alumnae in the spring of 1998. In their 70s and 80s, these women had either been "rescued" by or been brought to the Mission in the late 1920s and 30s, and their personal stories have modified my earlier narrative and cast a complicating light on my analysis of the missionaries' methods impact. Hearing these elderly former inmates recollect their lives forced me to imagine the world as they had perceived it—or, more accurately, the world as they now remember perceiving it.\(^{33}\)

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\(^{32}\) See her discussion in *Imperial Eyes*.

Their stories alter my earlier narrative in several key ways which underscore the importance of the Mission in their own lives, both in the past and in the present. The first has to do with why they had come or been brought to the Mission. For all the rational reasons I had accumulated from my archival research for authorities and families to send “extra” women and children to the Mission, I was unprepared for the reasons those elderly women in Shanghai themselves stressed: they had been brought or came to the Door of Hope to be “saved.” For them, the missionaries at the Door of Hope had quite literally and without question saved them—of course, the same language used by the missionaries themselves, although often with a different meaning. Their shared Christian belief was undeniably important to each and every one of the alumnae I met who had kept their faith across decades of persecution by a state they had turned relatively tolerant only after 1978. Yet I was struck by how they stressed salvation of a different sort.

In my interviews, they highlighted instead how the Mission had literally saved them. It had saved them physically from abuse and starvation; it had saved them from the grueling life of a peasant or the harsh work in textile mills; it had saved them from concubinage or marriage to a bad husband. One woman who had brought her hand-written life history interspersed with red-inked biblical quotes (like Jesus’ quotes in her Bible) kept insisting that I take note of these details: at the Door of Hope they were given three meals a day, and each meal consisted of “three rices” plus biscuits and fruit. They kept admonishing me: “Write that in your book.”

In addition, they were all terribly proud of the skills the missionaries had taught them at the Mission, skills that had saved them from harsher lives to which they had seemed fated by birth. Several spoke in the English they had been taught at more advanced schools the Mission had sent them to; stories of their own teaching and preaching were common to all; one woman wore a sweater she had learned to knit there; many of them are pianists and organists at churches all over the city because of the instruments in each dormitory they had learned to play there. The details were not new to me; what was new was the realization that these aspects for them meant both literal survival and an entrée into skilled, semi-professional work. “No one from the Door of Hope,” they stressed, “just
worked in a factory.”

The key realization for me, however, was that, in the minds and memories of these elderly Chinese “sisters,” this Western institution in a Chinese context had quite literally become their family. Most of them have memories however faint of their natal Chinese families, but the Door of Hope managed, at least for those at its Children’s Refuge, to supplant their family of origin and literally transform itself into their kinship group. I was familiar with what anthropologists call “fictive kin,” but I had never tried to imagine those relationships from the viewpoint of a child. For a child, the Mission offered a family filled with “sisters,” “aunties,” and “cousins,” all led by the “good mommy.” It was these people, not an amorphous “institution” that had rescued them, given them food and shelter, clothes and dolls and education. “They,” not “it,” found husbands for them who, I was told, were even referred to as the Mission’s “sons-in-law.”

All manner of relations within the Mission were expressed in kinship terms. For example, the elderly respondents spoke of three “generations” of women and children at the Mission: those who had joined it pre-1927, residents from 1927 to 1945, and inmates from after the war. (Nearly all those I spoke to in Shanghai represented the second generation.) In sum, I now realize that all connections, all reference to the Mission for these people was—and always had been—relational, a relationship, I must underscore, between Western women and Chinese women, defined in Chinese terms and evidence of the trancultural adjustments that were constantly being made.

Finally, their view of the stern, authoritarian Gladys Dieterle was most difficult for me to reconcile. Hungry for information about the fate of the missionaries after they were expelled from China, it was these women’s response to being told of Dieterle’s passing that I found most unsettling (“Oh, she died!” they gasped in unison, with many quietly crying, when I gently told them of her death in a Nebraska nursing home as an elderly retiree in the U.S.) In my reading of the documents, she had come across as stern, cruel, and even sadistic (reinforced by their stories of her withholding food, love, and approval when they were “bad,” while doling out favors, including allowing girls to sleep in her
bed at night, when they were “good”). By contrast, to them she was not just powerful and pious but was profoundly maternal and caring, the ultimate “hao p’o ma” or “good mommy.”

In their minds and memories, the Mission was reduced to one person and one relationship: themselves as dutiful daughters to the “good mommy.” Mother and daughters, love and devotion, also imperialist and the colonized, domination and control—these were the multiple “truths” that are revealed in examining the relations of rescue among the women—Western and Chinese—at a door of hope in Shanghai.
The Known World: Imperial cosmology and the conquest of Nubian culture–
Dr. Jay Spaulding

Introduction

The present study addresses the conquest of Nubian culture by Arabic culture in the northern and central Sudan. It embraces a broad chronological terrain that extends from the late Middle Ages to the present. It evaluates the two major contrasting scholarly interpretations of when, how and why this act of cultural imperialism occurred. The destruction of one culture by another takes place however within a specific setting of empirical events, and under terms constrained also by the forces of social history, some familiarity with both of which is therefore a prerequisite to analysis of cultural change.

The medieval lands of Nubia extended from Aswan up the Nile to the Ethiopian highlands and the bank of the Sobat river at the verge of the great southern barrier swamps. By 1400, the Nubians had been Christians for most of a millennium.[1] Yet during the fourteenth century the northern Nubian kingdom of Makuria had been repeatedly invaded by Islamic armies from Egypt, and in the end the invaders placed a Nubian convert to Islam upon the throne. In the century to follow both Makuria and the southern Nubian kingdom of Alwa disintegrated, as the grasp of their kings faltered and the subject communities went their separate ways. [2] Political unity returned in 1504 with the rise of the Funj kingdom of Sinnar, an Islamic state that comprised a Nubian Renaissance.[3] In 1821 the Turkish government of Egypt annexed Sinnar and founded a colonial regime that lasted for sixty years, until terminated by the forces of the Sudanese Mahdi in the 1880s.[4] In 1898 the Egyptians returned, now as clients of Britain, and the colonial codomini ruled the Sudan until independence in 1956.[5]

The empirical events outlined above signaled the northern Sudan’s transformation from one type of society into another. As recently as the dawn of the eighteenth century most wealth derived from agriculture, and there prevailed a two-class social system in which a
hereditary nobility owned the land, and through this claim extracted labor services and payments in kind from a subject class of farmers and herdsmen. Nubia was one of several medieval social systems fairly to be characterized as “feudal.”[6] During the eighteenth century, however, increased interaction with neighboring lands opened the Funj kingdom to coin currencies and the merchant vocation. Upstart towns arose, the kings declined, and alien invaders swept into the power vacuum.[7] Since 1821 the Sudan has been ruled locally by its new commercial middle class, often as sub-imperialists for stronger interests elsewhere. The commodities offered to the world market have shifted over the centuries from slaves in the nineteenth to cotton in the twentieth and oil in the twenty-first, and the role of patron has passed from Turkish and British rulers of Egypt to oil-state moguls such as Usama b. Ladin. The institutions of modern commercial capitalism, in the Sudanese experience, have been grounded throughout in bourgeois interpretations of Islamic law.[8]

Every society creates for itself an ideology, a “science of ideas” that explains the arrangements that exist and justifies them. Major changes in political economy bring corresponding intellectual transformations, and the rise of the modern out of the medieval is one such transition.[9] Any search for understanding moves from the known toward the unknown. Therefore the intellectual and cultural transition of the northern Sudan out of a medieval Nubian past into a modern Arab present may profitably begin through comparison with the comparable and more familiar experience of western Europe.

The Gate of Cosmology
At the close of his Lord of the Rings epic, the Christian medievalist J.R.R. Tolkein explains to his readers that a hitherto-flat universe will now be rolled up and made circular, so that ships from our ports may no longer reach the land of the Blessed beyond the seas.[10] In a book called The Discarded Image, Tolkein’s friend and co-religionist C.S. Lewis, seeking to bridge the intellectual chasm between a medieval age of faith and the secular modern world, articulated brilliantly why medieval statements about man, nature and the divine seem so totally unacceptable today—they were uttered in a universe every bit as alien to ours as Tolkien’s imaginary Middle Earth.[11] The medieval
universe was a world construed in terms of endlessly complex Neoplatonic hierarchies, created and maintained by the Deity with the assistance of His numerous subordinates through a cascade of emanations of divine power. Manifestations of the divine were immanent throughout creation, and humans could aspire to transcend their state by appropriate participatory striving within the ordained order of things. In the end, the medieval universe did not merely crumble away peacefully under the weight of superior modern concepts. The gifted Annalist microhistorian Carlo Ginzburg has built a worthy career through demonstrating by specific examples how medieval cosmology had to be eradicated forcibly, village by village and person by person, through violence and intimidation.[12]

The tenets of Islam do not change; yet their historical meanings are contingent upon the world in which they are construed by the believers, and that universe has in fact changed, and dramatically. Muslim folk of the Islamic heartlands experienced their middle ages within a cosmos of elaborate celestial hierarchies shared with Christendom.[13] Their transition into the modern universe, however painful, remains largely unstudied.[14] The Sudanese experience asks to be considered in terms of three major periods. Today the dominant cosmological paradigm in Khartoum is modern and fundamentalist. Yet as recently as Sudanese independence, politics were dominated by two powerful Islamic brotherhoods, comparatively new organizations whose bitter rivalries were rooted in the historical experience of the nineteenth century but were fought out metaphysically at the highest levels of the Neoplatonic cosmos. These “Neo-Sufi” brotherhoods had in turn supplanted a much older tradition of smaller, localized Sufi organizations usually called “family tariqas.”[15]

Having thus set the stage in broad terms, we may now turn to an intimate setting within which the available primary sources allow a nuanced discussion of the nineteenth century passage out of Nubian and into Arabic culture. This is a village called jazeerat abu ranaat, “Echo Island,” a community that existed on an island in the Nile near the middle of the Shaiqiyya country from 1820 to 1917. Leaders of this community generated a surviving archive of about sixty private legal documents, letters, and other records.[16]
The central part of the Shaiqiyya country that included Echo Island was converted to Islam at the close of the middle ages by missionaries from the northern Nubian district of Mahas.[17] These men married locally, and often founded family tariqas.[18] For many years one of their most important tasks was bilingual education; they spoke a form of Nubian comprehensible to the Shaiqiyya of those days, but devoted great effort to instructing boys in Arabic.[19] (Meanwhile the presence of a largely unlettered Nubian-speaking womanhood, however, would keep the community bilingual for many years.)

The cosmos that arched above the northern Sudan in those days left its image imprinted upon the great early nineteenth-century collection of precolonial saints’ lives, the Tabaqat of Muhammad al-Nur b. Dayf Allah.[20] The concepts by which the hierarchies of reality were expressed derived ultimately from the vision of the great medieval Spanish mystic Muhyi al-Din Ibn al-`Arabi, but in forms modified and elaborated upon by the fertile minds of the family tariqa founders and their successors.[21] It was a world in which neither time nor distance was binding, and where the imaginary outranked the tangible.[22] One important concept was the cascading flow of baraka or blessing, which emanated from the highest levels of the cosmos and offered communication and communion up and down the hierarchies of reality to those fortunate enough to have access to it. A second vital institution was the invisible government, attested through the Tabaqat [23] and described by a modern scholar as “an invisible order of saints who, under the direction of Allah, manage the affairs of the world for him. . . . This government of the world has a nightly meeting of the saints, both living and dead, as its directive organization. Their head is the Qutb (Axis) who is a saint living on earth in different incarnations.”[24] The leaders of family tariqas vied with one another for claims to superior rank within the invisible government, but many would have agreed that the Sudan was a cosmologically important place where the highest human in the system, the living avatar of the Qutb, might well be found. The living saints were capable of bestowing baraka upon their followers, and organized the disciples into ranked hierarchies. Worship services, or dhikr, involved prolonged chanting, drumming and dancing through which the worshipers could leave the tangible mundane and assume their
rightful places and personalities within the superior reality of the unseen hierarchies.[25] On Echo Island, this was the reality that lay behind a letter in which God is asked to bestow His Illumination, the Light of His Heart, and to disclose His Secrets “through sciences both exoteric and esoteric.”[26]

The most important family tariqa in the Shaiqiya country at the dawn of the nineteenth century was that of the Duwayh, who lived on the east bank opposite the future site of the Echo Island settlement. At the Turkish invasion, it was they who mobilized an army of Shaiqiya peasants to support the forces of the local noblemen in resistance. The subjects of Sinnar were not allowed to carry weapons, but the Duwayh assured their followers that such were unnecessary; the mystical powers of the holy family were quite sufficient to defeat the intruders. One need carry only amulets blessed and distributed by the Duwayh, and thongs with which to bind captured Turkish slaves.[27] After the inevitable massacre, the Duwayh family found itself discredited and subject to retaliation; the peasants “had placed great dependence upon those charms . . . and their first act after the battle was to put to death the whole race that had imposed upon their credulity.”[28] The surviving members of the holy family of the Duwayh were highly vulnerable to the expansive ambitions of the Nidayfab, founders of the new colonial-era family tariqa based across the river under Turkish auspices on Echo Island, who were soon so locally dominant that they could even buy land out of the traditional Duwayh family estates [29] Yet the very document by which this transaction was recorded bore the mark of a new age to come, in which the fortunes of all family tariqas would be subordinated to vastly bigger and more powerful Neo-Sufi organizations of the nineteenth century.

*Neo-Sufism Comes to Echo Island*

The central figure in the rise of the nineteenth-century Neo-Sufi brotherhoods was Ahmad b. Idris al-Fasi, a man of Moroccan birth but who spent his adult life as a teacher and religious leader in Egypt, the Holy Cities of Arabia, and finally in the mountains of `Asir at the northern edge of the Yemen. While his organizational and intellectual influence may be traced from Morocco to Indonesia, it was strongest in northeastern
Africa, where his disciples of the first or second generation founded brotherhoods destined to play major roles in the modern histories of Libya, Somalia and the Sudan.[30] Ahmad b. Idris never visited the Sudan or saw the Shaiqiya country, yet Echo Island was destined to be a tiny but intense battleground among his ambitious heirs—and their opponents. The first native son to join Ahmad b. Idris was a member of the discredited Duwayh family named Ibrahim al-Rashid. After the Turkish victory and the fall from grace of his kinsmen he fled to `Asir, where, it is said, after years of devoted discipleship he held Ahmad b. Idris in his arms as the great holy man died. In 1837 Ibrahim al-Rashid then moved to Upper Egypt, near Luxor, and founded his own successful Neo-Sufi organization, the Rashidiya brotherhood.[31] Among Ibrahim al-Rashid’s ultimate goals was restoration of the fortunes of the whole Duwayh family back in his natal homeland.

In the Islamic tradition of writing it is normal to begin each document with a religious formula, called the invocatio in the technical idiom of diplomatics.[31] One of the distinctive practices of Ahmad b. Idris was the adoption of a new invocation peculiar to himself; in English translation it reads:

There is no god but God
Muhammad is the Messenger of God
In every glance and breath
To the number that only God’s wisdom can comprehend

Several of the disciples of Ahmad b. Idris, on the evidence of the textual record, composed invocatios similar in spirit but differing in detail. These small differences, however, often carried cosmological implications of monumental proportions; for among those who understood their significance, they staked metaphysical claims for which a loyal follower should be prepared to die. Ironically, the surviving Duwayh document that records the sale of family patrimony to the Nidayfab of Echo Island also bears evidence of the nemesis destined to doom Ibrahim al-Rashid’s attempt to restore the family fortunes. It opens with an invocatio which in translation reads:
Praise be to God Alone
Prayers and peace upon the seal of the messengers
The *imam* of Makka and al-Madina
Of the Holy Land and Syria

This formula is clearly Neo-Sufi, yet it is neither that of Ahmad b. Idris nor of Ibrahim al-Rashid (who in any event had not yet founded his own organization at the time the document was created). Rather, the choice of terminology reveals the brief presence among the Duwayh, years before in happier precolonial days, of a second major disciple of Ahmad b. Idris, the young Muhammad `Uthman al-Mirghani.[33]

The Mirghani visited Dongola, Kordofan, and the capital of the moribund Funj kingdom of Sinnar in the year 1817; rebuffed in the Sudanese capital, he made his way eastward toward the Red Sea port of Sawakin, but may then have tarried for some time in the high country of al-Taka and Eritrea. At the death of Ahmad b. Idris in 1837 (at the latest) he returned to Arabia and there began an extended and increasingly bitter struggle for control of the Idrisi legacy against the sons and rival disciples of the late master; he never returned to the Sudan. Controversy surrounds the relationship between Muhammad `Uthman al-Mirghani and Ahmad b. Idris. In later years followers of the Mirghani would say that Muhammad `Uthman was sent to the Sudan by Ahmad b. Idris and encouraged to found his own Neo-Sufi order there. However, there survives correspondence between the two men suggesting that the young Mirghani may have acted at his own initiative and—from his master’s perspective—prematurely.[34] It is likely in either case that the Mirghani composed the *invocatio* cited above for use during his pioneering venture into the Sudan; it perhaps indicated his desire to be considered part of the broader Idrisi tradition, but also his assertion of substantial independence as a leader in his own right. It was through him that the Shaiqiya in general and the Duwayh family not least experienced Neo-Sufism for the first time; his greatest influence, however, was yet to come.
In about 1840 Muhammad `Uthman al-Mirghani’s second son Hasan came to the Sudan, settled in the east near Kassala, and founded a powerful Neo-Sufi organization called the Khatmiya brotherhood.[35] At about the same time Ibrahim al-Rashid returned to the home estates of the Duwayh and began Rashidiya recruitment among his neighbors.[36] Under the circumstances, the rival Nidayfab family whose tariqa dominated Echo Island leaped into the arms of the Khatmiya.[37] By mid-century the local followers of the Mirghani were victorious throughout the Shaiqiya country, while Ibrahim al-Rashid retired to Luxor in defeat. The Duwayh would not rise again.

The Revolution of Midcentury

The nineteenth century witnessed the transformation of the Islamic Nubian society of Sinnar into a modern Arab Sudan. Echo Island offers primary evidence by which the cultural implications of socioeconomic and intellectual change may be evaluated within a single intimate context. Noteworthy is, that although broad social currents of historical change had been flowing in the northern Sudan for some time, most of the specific changes to be mentioned here took place on Echo Island within the brief period from about 1850 to 1865.[38]

Two innovations in colonial policy at mid-century precipitated change. First, the imperial masters of the Sudan now replaced Turkish as the language of administration with Arabic, partly to allow the elevation of Sudanese supporters to positions of responsibility within the colonial regime. For the first time in Sudanese history the Arabic language, in addition to its time-honored roles in religion and religious education, also came to serve as a practical colony-wide lingua franca for trade, law, and administration. Second, the colonial government began to enforce the hitherto-neglected requirement that taxes must be paid in the form of colonial currency and not in kind. Since coins did not grow in farmers’ fields, peasants soon became dependent upon an emergent class of local moneylenders. Some of these were men made wealthy through trade in gold, slaves, gum, ivory and other traditional Sudanese commodities, but most were pomocultural pioneers who introduced into the Shaiqiya country from northern Nubia high-quality date palms.
cultivated from shoots rather than seeds; these produced dates that could compete
successfully in the Egyptian market, and generated a reliable source of cash income. The
new elite consolidated itself economically by controlling ever-larger estates of land, often
indirectly through debt obligations but sometimes outright through purchase or
foreclosure. They gradually replaced the labor force of free tenant peasantry, who had a
traditional claim to a specified share of the crop, with imported slaves who did not.
Displaced superfluous free peasants migrated southward to the colonial frontiers in
search of a better fortune that would allow a return to the homeland; few succeeded. The
elite abandoned the tradition of endogamy with fixed communal bridewealth rates in
favor of competitive bidding, and thus opened themselves to penetration by newly-rich
upstarts of humble or unknown origins.

The Khatmiya brotherhood took cognizance of these social realities as it extended its
influence into the Shaiqiya country, including Echo Island. The order did not tolerate
withdrawal from worldly affairs for purposes of contemplation or self-discipline; it
enforced among its members a work-oriented Islamic version of the “Protestant ethic.”
After the death in Arabia in 1853 of Muhammad `Uthman al-Mirghani’s eldest son and
official successor Muhammad Sirr al-Khatim, Hasan al-Mirghani was at liberty to order
freely the affairs of the brotherhood in the Sudan. He divided the colony into regions,
each under the supervision of an official entitled shaykh al-sajjada, who had the power to
admit new members to the order. Leaders at the local level bore the incongruously
eminent title khalifa (literally, “caliph”); they received instruction in the esoteric
doctrines of the brotherhood, and were responsible for organizing the twice-weekly
evening worship services in their localities. An intermediate official who stood between
the local khalifa and his regional shaykh was the khalifat al-khulafa’ (“caliph of
caliphs”), an overseer for each group of ten khalifas.[39] Examination of the Khatmiya
titles bestowed upon Echo Islanders reveals that the organization by no means simply
endorsed the existing social order. John Voll perceptively observed that “much of the
Khatmiyyah’s expansion . . . must be viewed in the perspective of struggles for
leadership and conflicts between old and new groups.”[40] On Echo Island, for example,
the “caliph of caliphs” was not a member of the locally dominant Nidayfab family, and
the title of *khalīfa* was bestowed not only upon members of the established leading families, but also upon upwardly-mobile folk, and members of once-prominent families who had fallen on hard times.\[41\] The Khatmiyya, in contrast to the older family *tariqas*, did not allow its members to also accept initiation into other organizations; it demanded an exclusive loyalty.

*The New Intellectual Order*

Long, ecstatic, twice-weekly Khatmiya evening worship services on Echo Island provided a venue by which new cosmological viewpoints could be inculcated. The higher esoteric teachings of the order are secret.\[42\] Consideration of even the more mundane aspects of doctrine which over the years have become public knowledge, however, suffices to illustrate how great the intellectual and cultural transformation borne by the coming of the Khatmiya must have been. The new cosmos, like the old, was comprised of Neoplatonic hierarchies, but these were now renamed and rearranged, and suffused with the light of the essence of Muhammad, the timeless expression of the earthly prophet. Because members of the Mirghani family occupied eminent positions within the hierarchies of higher creation, they were able to offer exceptional opportunities for cosmic advancement to their followers. Participants in Khatmiya *dhikr* learned about the new cosmos by participating in it. Such participation, in turn, encouraged a rewriting of mundane daytime identities also. Each family, each community, now staked its claim to distinguished Arab ancestry through the composition of elaborate but spurious genealogies that linked the living generation to prominent individuals of Islamic antiquity.\[43\] A necessary corollary was a legend of immigration to Africa and reduction of the existing Sudanese society; it would be said that in about 1300 a virile horde of Arab nomads overran the Christian kingdoms, slew all the men, impregnated all the females, and engendered the “modern Arab Sudan.”\[44\] Evidence from another part of Nubia exposes the bitter *Kulturkampf* between new nineteenth-century Arab identities and what survived of Nubian culture, conspicuously the old African language now “here everywhere considered bad, and inferior to Arabic, and which it is thought one ought rather to be ashamed of.”\[45\] The pressure to adopt an invented Arab ancestry was
intense. “In these days of mutual hatred and jealousy the study of pedigrees is obligatory,” wrote one nineteenth-century Shaiqiya scholar; “it is not dutiful to neglect them: in fact he who does so is a rebel, owing to the danger of disturbance being caused among the people, and trouble in the hearts of various nations.”[46] On Echo Island, almost all Nubian personal names vanished at mid-century, and the handful that survived in written documents were fitted with diacritical marks to guide in their pronunciation by a new generation of Arabs that was no longer bilingual.[47] In 1863, for the first time the documentary record from Echo Island replaces the village’s traditional African name, Abramnarti [“Abram’s Island,” in Nubian], with the modern Arabic nomenclature (Jazirat) Abu Ranat [“Echo Island”]. Such were the circumstances in which the Arabic culture of nineteenth-century imperial Egypt destroyed the Nubian culture of Echo Island. But the culture of violence introduced by Arabization had not yet run its course.

Cataclysm

When Ibrahim al-Rashid abandoned his mission in the Shaiqiya country he settled in Makka; there, the leaders of the international Khatmiya organization contrived to have him put on trial for heresy twice before his death in 1874. In the Sudan, new organizations arose to challenge the Khatmiya; some were family tariqas that adapted successfully to the new age (the Majdhubiya, Idrisiya, the Shaykh al-`Ubayd), while others (the Tijaniya, Samaniya, Sanusiya) were local branches of influential international organizations. In response to competition the Khatmiya was obliged to make public some of its own doctrines, and conspicuously the belief that the members of the Mirghani family stood so high in the celestial hierarchies that even lowly followers outranked famous saints of times gone by—and obviously stood far above their rivals in other orders. In fact, there was only one position allotted to mortals superior to that of Muhammad `Uthman al-Mirghani; that was a dimly-perceived figure of Islamic eschatology known as the “Rightly-Guided One.” By the third quarter of the nineteenth century, in the Sudan, the only way by which to trump the Mirghanis in the game of Neo-Sufi one-upmanship was to claim for oneself that final position above them in the celestial hierarchies, the position of the Mahdi. A former Samaniya member named
Muhammad Ahmad did exactly that. As the Sudanese Mahdi he united the opponents of the Khatmiya, expelled the Turkish government, and established an independent state.

The Mahdi took the position that his own movement superceded all older Sufi organizations, which were theoretically abolished but in the case of some rivals to the hated Khatmiya were in practice co-opted into the Mahdist movement. When the Mahdi died suddenly his successor `Abdullahi had recourse to the celestial hierarchies, whence the light of the Eternal Essence of Muhammad shone upon him alone. But the Khalifa’s years of rule were troubled, and in 1898 the Egyptians returned, this time as clients of Britain. The second colonial period in the Sudan was dominated by two major religious organizations, a resurgent Khatmiya and the followers of the Mahdi. While these bitter rivals fought out their metaphysical battles with claims and counter-claims that clashed near the very apex of the hierarchies of creation, at the mundane level each sponsored a political party; these dominated the Sudan at independence, and retain a waning importance even at the dawn of the twenty-first century.

During the decades of Anglo-Egyptian rule, however, there arose a small urban educated elite that did not accept the old order of the Neoplatonic cosmos, and rejected the claims of both rival religious organizations. This elite divided into partisans of secular government (normally but misleadingly called “Communists”) and a faction of modern Islamic fundamentalists. The latter have exercised power via the military since the early 1980s, and have used their modern understanding of Islam as a weapon against the older sectarian-based political parties as well as secularists. The regime has practiced spectacular brutality in the heartland it controls, waged war against the non-Islamic southern provinces, and initiated an attempted genocide against the non-Arab inhabitants of the western provinces of Kordofan and Dar Fur. Fundamentalist understandings of Islam, as mediated by immigrant agents such as Usama b. Ladin as well as local ones such as Hasan al-Turabi, have driven the celestial hierarchies out of public discourse. These days, the light of the eternal essence of Muhammad is fading across ruined, skeleton-strewn provinces emptied of living beings, and saintly blessing is hard to find amid the torture chambers of “ghost houses” to which the dictator sends his foes.
NOTES


2. A useful study of this period, though the present author disagrees with some of the interpretations found therein, is Joseph Cuqoq, *Islamisation de la nubia chrétienne* (Paris: Geuthner, 1986).


7. For an extended discussion see Spaulding, *Heroic Age*.

9 For an introduction to this mode of analysis, see Louis Althusser and Étienne Balibar, *Lire “le Capital”* (Paris: Maspero, 1968).


14 A worthy exception is Nehemia Levtzion and John O. Voll, eds., *Eighteenth-century renewal and reform in Islam* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1987). Especially relevant as background to the present discussion are the contributions of Louis Brenner and Ruud Peters.

15 J. Spencer Trimingham, *Islam in the Sudan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), p. 195-198. This highly opinionated but well-informed work, in itself, exemplifies the hostility, contempt, and indeed hatred with which the modern confronted the medieval in the Sudan on the eve of independence. The medieval founders of the family *tariqas* were thus “a superstitious throng, bringing a degenerate type of mysticism” (p.
195), whose doctrines, while admittedly complex, “are not so important” (p. 194). As for
nineteenth-century Neo-Sufism, “The whole spirit of the new orders was different . . .
The great aim was to increase the power of the orders by augmenting their numbers [of
members] and centralizing their organization. The culmination of the reactionary spirit in
the Sudan was the Mahdiyya outburst” (p. 200). (The culmination of Trimingham’s own
angry modern religious rationalism, of course, are the Sudan’s bloodthirsty contemporary
fundamentalists such as Hasan al-Turabi and Usama b. Ladin.)

16 A discussion of the archive may be found in Jay Spaulding, “The Old Shaiqi

17 Jay Spaulding, “Classical Medieval Nubian and the Mahas Diaspora,” Islam et

18 For an introduction, see Ali Salih Karrar, Sufi Brotherhoods in the Sudan
(London: Hurst, 1992). Despite its broader title, this work focuses almost exclusively and
comprehensively upon the Shaiqiyya country.

19 The schools of the Shaiqiyya country were well-known before the Turkish
conquest, and the tradition was resumed thereafter, including on Echo Island. For a
discussion, see Jay Spaulding, “The Birth of an African Private Epistolography; Echo
Island, 1862-1901,” Journal of African History 34 (1993), pp. 115-141, especially case 7,
pp. 132-133.

20 Yusuf Fadl Hasan, ed., Kitab al-tabaqat fi khusus al-awliya’ wa’l-salihin wa’l-
‘ulama’ wa’l-shu’ara’ fi’l-Sudan, ta’lif Muhammad al-Nur b. Dayf Allah (Khartoum:

21 A lucid introduction to the complex cosmology of Ibn al-`Arabi may be found in
William Clark Chittick and Peter Lamborn Wilson, Fakhruddin ‘Iraqi: Divine Flashes

22 For some examples of paranormal interactions that violate constraints of space
and time, see Albrecht Hofheinz, Ali Salih Karrar, R.S. O’Fahey, Bernd Radtke and
Einar Thomassen, eds., The Letters of Ahmad Ibn Idris (London: Hurst, 1993). For the
superiority of the imaginary to the tangible, see Chittick and Wilson, Fakhruddin ‘Iraqi.

23 The most extended of several references may be found in the biography of Musa
b. Ya’qub (Tabaqat, pp. 325-326).


27 For a balanced and perceptive account of the complex historiography surrounding the surviving written accounts of Shaiqiya resistance to the Turks, see Georges Douin, *Histoire du Soudan Égyptien: Tome Premier, La Pénétration, 1820-1822* (Cairo: Société Royale de Géographie d’Égypte, 1944), pp. 96-120. Colorful but second-hand accounts were composed by Europeans who arrived on the scene a few days after the battle, or during the months and years soon to follow. See Frédéric Cailliaud, *Voyage à Méroé* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1826) II, 54-58; George Waddington and Barnard Hanbury, *Journal of a Visit to Some Parts of Ethiopia* (London: John Murray, 1822), pp. 97-102; and Edmund Cadalvène and J. de Brèuvéry, *L’Égypte at la Turquie de 1829 à 1836* (Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1836) II, 267-268. The very first such account to be written, by a Turkish artillery officer of American origin who arrived soon after the battles, nevertheless does not inspire as much confidence as the versions compiled later; see George Bethune English, *A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar* (Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1823), pp. 30-50.


32 For an introduction to the diplomatics of Islamic documents, see Adolf Grohmann, *Allgemeine Einführung in die Arabischen Papyri nebst Grundzügen der Arabischen Diplomatik* (Wien: Burgverlag, 1924).


37 NRO MISC. 1/27/371; 1/27/411; 1/27/429. The standard *invocatio* used by the Khatmiya, found on all their correspondence with Echo Island as well as elsewhere, was no longer the one attributable to Muhammad `Uthman al-Mirghani himself, but rather:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate
With Him is aid at the inception and consummation [“sealing”]
God bless our lord Muhammad in essence, attribute and name.

42 The present author will not disclose anything he may know.
45 [Karl] Richard Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia and the Peninsula of Sinai*, translated by Leonora and Johanna B. Horner (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853) pp. 232-233 (Dongola, 15 June 1844). Lepsius, who wished to learn Nubian, hired a Mahas-speaking man who had also learned Italian while working in Cairo. “I have sometimes tormented [my informant] with questions in the boat for five or six entire hours in one day,” wrote Lepsius, “for it is no small trouble for both of us to understand each other about grammatical forms and inflections. He has, at any rate, at the same time acquired more respect for his own language . . . .”
46 A translation of this source may be found in H. A. MacMichael, *A History of the Arabs in the Sudan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922) II, 17.
47 For details see Spaulding, “Old Shaiqi Language.”