CSSH NOTES

Daniel Joseph Walther, *Creating Germans Abroad: Cultural Policies and National Identity in Namibia.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002.

Creating Germans Abroad is clearly inspired by the work of Benedict Anderson (1983) and written in the spirit of the work of Ann Stoler (1995; 2002). In this work, Walther suggests the idealization of the possibility of a German homeland outside of the European territory in colonial Southwest Africa. The emphasis on agriculture, climate, and landscape countered the increasing push towards industrialization in the Fatherland. Here, there was not just a nostalgic longing for an imagined German past that is pastoral as opposed to industrial (a longing used and manipulated by Nazi ideologues), but an actual place where the idealized *Heimat* (homeland) could be realized in practice. The problem, however, became the presence of so many non-Germans, in this case not only "Black" Africans, but also "White" Afrikaners. In this sense, an appropriate title for the book might also be "Creating Germany Abroad."

Throughout the work, Walther uses archival evidence to establish the ways in which Germany and Germans were produced in colonial Southwest Africa, from German Colonial Rule through Namibian independence in 1990. From land appropriation, to mass murder of "Black" Africans, to the building and centralized administration of German-language schools; from the early importation of "respectable" German women, to an emphasis on the right kind of German settler, Walther traces the ways in which not "Whiteness," but Germanness became central to the creation of Southwest Germans in their transition towards becoming German Southwesterners. Insights such as German Southwestern support for Namibian independence reveal the intensity of feeling for ideologies of nation over race. However, as Walther's account suggests, one should not lose sight of the relationship between events in Southwest Africa and those in Europe, such as the end of World War I, when Germany officially lost control of its colonies, and the beginnings of World War II, when the possibilities of dual citizenship for Germans in Southwest Africa were officially banned, and the ruling South Africans began to see the Nazi party as a threat to "White" solidarity and local governance.

In this account, it becomes clear that both the classroom and the pulpit were critical sites of German citizenship production—here, citizenship should be understood in the broadest sense, as colonial administrators were interested not only in formal activities such as voting rights and land appropriation, but also in class and respectability, marriage, sex, and reproduction. Of course, these

connections are not new, but the reader finds insight into the specificity of the administrative imagination and its adaptation by Southwestern Germans.

While this work is not overtly theoretical, Walther's methodology and chapter organization are clearly inspired by recent theoretical interventions and feminist critiques (see for example Foucault 1978; Mosse 1985). In general, however, one wishes for a greater emphasis on daily life connected to the official accounts of colonial administrators, political parties, and social organizations (which often had direct links to concomitant organizations in Germany).

Finally, "Black" African natives in this work remain symbolic 'others' as opposed to active agents. Given this reality, it becomes clear that more methodological innovation is needed to get at the particularities of "Black" African colonial experiences, but this, unfortunately, is not the direction in which Walther's work is headed. He instead emphasizes his growing interest in comparative accounts with other settler colonies in East Africa, Samoa, and South America.

———Damani Partridge

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Mine Ener. *Managing Egypt's Poor and the Politics of Benevolence, 1800–1952.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Egypt of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has long been a focus for study by social scientists and humanists of various disciplines. To an extensive bibliography is now added a unique work of social history that explores the lives of Egypt's poor and the shifting attitudes toward them over 150 years. Mine Ener has written an account of how the poor of Cairo and Alexandria negotiated assistance from traditional institutions and government agencies alike, and how the nature of institutions offering assistance changed during this time. She posited that, for much of this period, the attitude of successive Egyptian governments toward the poor was one infused with an Islamic ethos of charity and informed by shifting political concerns. Continuous evidence of government behavior—from Mehmet Ali Pasha in the early nineteenth century to King Farouk in the mid-twentieth—demonstrates that the source of charity was never thoroughly depersonalized. Each one claimed to be the source of assistance

and couched his claims in the language of the concerned and conscientious Muslim ruler.

For a long time, policies were aimed generally at managing the poor rather than policing or provisioning them. Gradually, however, rational and secular ideas shifted perceptions of the poor and led to a more insistent differentiation between able-bodied and dependent people, and to the criminalization of begging and vagrancy. Meanwhile, associations joined government and private efforts to provide poor relief. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these changes in attitude and behavior toward the poor took place in the context of emergent Egyptian nationalism, and caring for the poor became one aspect of nation building.

The present work is important because it is grounded in real examples of poor individuals, and shows the stages of the bureaucratization and depersonalization of assistance in Egypt. Ener drew on a rich mixture of source materials, including police, endowment, judicial, and other archives in Egypt; English administrative materials from the Public Record Office; and police records from Istanbul. In addition, she examined Egyptian and foreign newspapers, local histories, and foreign travel accounts. To these Ener brought an historian's eye and an anthropologist's ear, giving careful attention to the details about impoverished and needy people who have long been missing from historical analyses in the Middle East.

Ener was one of a growing group of scholars of Middle Eastern and Islamic societies asking questions about the roles of charity, the shifting mix of assistance to include government agencies and private associations alongside individual giving, concepts of poverty, and the place of the poor in history. In her discussion of Egypt, she engaged with ideas and episodes in Ottoman, European, and American history in order to highlight Egyptian specificity while demonstrating the ways in which Egypt both responded to and provoked outside reaction. Charity became a tool of political competition both with domestic and foreign groups, as well as foreign governments. Ener's work and ideas are also important for those exploring the nature of state-formation and nation building. At the same time, she has written a history of charity that resonates with anyone engaged in the study or pursuit of charity/aid/welfare endeavors in the world today. Our only regret is that this book is her last, due to her untimely death in August 2003.

———Amy Singer

Peter Mark. *"Portuguese" Style and Luso-African Identity: Precolonial Senegambia, Sixteenth-Nineteenth Centuries*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002.

Peter Mark's *"Portuguese" Style* is a welcome contribution to the growing literature on the history and development of Atlantic world cultures. In particu-

lar, Mark examines the evolution and proliferation of "Portuguese"-style do-
mestic architecture, primarily in Senegambia, but also in other parts of the Por-
tuguese colonial world, including Cape Verde and Brazil. For Mark, "Por-
tuguese"-style is an amalgamation of Jola and Manding architectural forms, and
to a lesser extent, those of the Portuguese. This architectural style—sun-dried
brick houses, rectangular in shape, with whitewashed walls, and a continuous
veranda or vestibule at the entry—was most closely associated with Luso-
Africans working as middlemen in the trade between the African interior and
Portuguese traders on the coast.

 Though the title of the book suggests a broad Senegambian emphasis, and
the contents extend across the Atlantic, Mark is most at home in the Gambia
and Casamance regions. He provides convincing evidence that long-distance
Manding traders conducted much of their business on verandas, probably even
before the arrival of Europeans. The Portuguese likely adopted this style,
adding their own touches, such as whitewashing the mud brick exterior that was
typical of Manding architecture. Eventually, these buildings became a signal
form of identity for Luso-African "Portuguese" traders. Adding nuance to this
argument, Mark shows that groups like the Floup adapted their architecture to
the presence of these Luso-African traders, developing compounds with pal-
isades and labyrinths that protected the interior buildings from slave raids.

 In the end, Mark sees "Portuguese"-style architecture as just one expression
of the flexible cultural identities that characterized Senegambia. "Portuguese"
traders slipped easily between European and African cultural milieus, and var-
ious groups of Africans—Manding, Jola, Bagnun, and so on—shared many
cultural traits as a result of their long history of interaction and exchange. To
this end, Senegambia was truly a "Creole" society. Mark sees the imposition on
Senegambia of European racial and colonial categories emerging only in the
late eighteenth century.

 While Mark's argument for cultural mixing in architecture is an important
addition to Atlantic history, his positions on race are less convincing. Like much
of the recent scholarship on the Atlantic world, Mark places a positive value
judgment on Luso-Africans who identified as "white." The scholarly trend has
been to see these "Atlantic Creoles" as subverting the racial order that would
emerge later. What is often missing from these discussions is the way European
ideas about "whiteness" and "blackness" were reified, even in these early At-
lantic settings. In Senegambia (as in Portuguese Central Africa), "white" Luso-
Africans lived in Portuguese-style houses, spoke Creole languages, and prac-
ticed some form of Christianity, thereby setting themselves apart from the
"heathen," "black" masses. The fact that these phenotypically black Luso-
Africans consciously identified as "white" is patent evidence for the power of
race, not a denial of it. Indeed, one could easily argue that Luso-Africans' re-
jection of their "blackness" and their embrace of "white" exclusionary ideolo-

gies actually rendered them unwitting accomplices in their own racial subjugation.

Despite these minor criticisms, Mark's work stands as a significant contribution to the history of material culture in the Atlantic world. It should appeal to art historians, historians, and anthropologists, as well as those more broadly interested in the Atlantic world.

———James H. Sweet, History, University of Wisconsin