

Reflections on Music and Deutschtum in Namibia

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Plagiarism Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the authorship owner thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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Abstract

This thesis examines music-making through the lens of *Deutschtum* and the construction of a *Heimat* in South West Africa/Namibia. The research is concerned with how German musicking took root in German colonial life, and the role of musicking in establishing and cementing German culture in South West Africa/Namibia thereafter. The thesis documents the German presence in South West Africa/Namibia from the arrival of the German missionaries to the establishment of a German colony, through the mandate years including two world wars, until after independence in 1990. A summary of the topography and demography, with emphasis on the towns of Swakopmund and Lüderitz, as well as music activities in the prisoner of war camps of both World Wars, serve as case studies to delve into the role of music in creating a sense of settledness. In the perceived re-enactment of German culture in an unfamiliar space, German nationalism, and nationalism in music is discussed, by viewing its role in the context of the German settlers making a home away from home in South West Africa/Namibia. *Deutschtum* or Germanness and the socio-political implications of the establishment of German cultural societies and clubs in South West Africa/Namibia are considered in order to establish how Namibian Germans have used their music to create an identity and a sense of belonging in a hostile and alien environment. The Swakopmund Men's' Chorus (*Swakopmund Männergesangverein*) which was established 1902, and the Swakopmund Music Week (*Swakopmunder Musikwoche*) which celebrated fifty years of existence in 2015, are discussed in detail against the social milieu of the town. Several leading musical personalities in Swakopmund are highlighted. Similarly, the musical activities in the 'forgotten' town of Lüderitz have been researched within the context of the colonial years and the economic rise and fall of the town. Continued music-making in the prisoner-of-war camps of both the First and Second World Wars contributed further to the notion of music as an accepted part of daily life in a German environment. Although the Herero and Nama people involved at the mission stations in both central and southern South West Africa/Namibia were schooled in Western classical music to a certain level, they were never assimilated into the social musical life of the settlers. My findings are that German musicking had a significant influence on the social life of the German-speaking population, contributing simultaneously to their cohesion and to their isolation.

Opsomming

Hierdie tesis ondersoek musisering en musiek deur die lens van *Deutschtum* en die skepping van 'n *Heimat* in Suidwes-Afrika/Namibië. Die navorsing is gemoeid met die dokumentasie van die wyses waarop Duitse tradisies van musisering en musiek wortel geskiet het in Duitse koloniale lewe, en die rol van musiekmaak in die totstandbring en vestiging van Duitse kultuur in Suidwes-Afrika/Namibië daarna. Die tesis is gemoeid met die Duitse teenwoordigheid in Suidwes Afrika/Namibië vanaf die aankoms van die Duitse sendelinge tot en met die vestiging van 'n Duitse kolonie, insluitende die mandaatjare, twee wêreldoorloë, tot na die verkryging van onafhanklikheid in 1990. 'n Oorsig van die topografie en demografie, met spesifieke nadruk op die twee dorpe Swakopmund and Lüderitz, insluitend musiek bedrywighede in die oorlogsgevangeniskampe van albei wêreldoorloë, rig die navorsing na die rol wat musiek gespeel het in die skepping van 'n sin van bodemvastheid. In die beoefening van Duitse kultuur in 'n vreemde omgewing, word Duitse nasionalisme en nasionalisme in musiek bespreek om die presiese rol wat musiek gespeel het met betrekking tot die skepping van 'n nuwe *Heimat* in Suidwes-Afrika/Namibië vas te stel. Duitsheid en die sosio-politiese bedoeling van die daarstelling van Duitse kulturele gemeenskappe en klubs in Suidwes Afrika/Namibië word ondersoek om te bepaal hoe Namibiese Duitsers hulle musiek aangewend het om 'n identiteit te skep, asook samehorigheid in 'n vyandige en vreemde omgewing. Die Swakopmund Mannekoor (*Swakopmund Männergesangverein*), wat reeds in 1902 totstand gekom het, en die Swakopmund Musiekweek, (*Swakopmunder Musikwoche*), wat in 2015 hulle vyftig-jarige bestaan gevier het, word in diepte bespreek met betrekking tot die sosiale agtergrond van die dorp. Verskeie toonaangewende musikale persoonlikhede in Swakopmund word uitgelig. Op dieselfde manier word die musikale aktiwiteite in die dorp Lüderitz nagevors, spesifiek met betrekking tot die koloniale tydperk en die ekonomiese groei en ondergang van die dorp. Volgehoue musiekmaak in die oorlogsgevangeniskampe van beide die Eerste en Tweede Wêreldoorloë het verder bygedra tot die opvatting van musiek as 'n aanvaarde deel van die daaglikse lewe in 'n Duitse omgewing. Alhoewel die Herero en Nama bevolking wat aktief was by die sendingstasies in beide sentraal en suidelike Suidwes-Afrika/Namibië in Westerse klassieke musiek geskool was tot op 'n spesifieke vlak, was hulle nooit in die sosiale musieklewe van die setlaars geassimileer nie. My bevindings is dat Duitse musiekmaak 'n betekenisvolle invloed op die sosiale lewe van die Duits-sprekende bevolking gehad het, wat terselfdertyd tot beide hul samehorigheid én isolasie bygedra het.

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Dedication

With gratitude and in memory of Val and Ernst van Biljon

Table of Contents

	Page
Plagiarism Declaration.....	i
Abstract	ii
Opsomming	iii
Acknowledgements.....	iv
Dedication.....	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Figures	viii
List of Abbreviations and Explanations.....	xi
Chapter 1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Literature review and methodology	2
Chapter 2 General History, Topography and Demography	11
2.1 German settlement: Historical background	16
2.2 The influence of the missionaries.....	23
2.3 German nationalism.....	27
2.4 Nationalism in South West Africa	29
2.5 On <i>Deutschtum</i> or Germanness.....	39
Chapter 3 Swakopmund	46
3.1 Locale.....	46
3.2 Socialization and Music	54
3.3 Swakopmunder Männergesangverein	61
3.4 <i>Swakopmunder Musikwoche (SMW)</i>	73
3.5 Influential personalities	81
3.5.1 Magdalene Birkenmayer	81
3.5.2 Karl Hatterscheidt (1911–2000)	83
3.5.3 Werner Kühlwetter (1929–2010).....	89
3.5.4 Paul Bahlsen (b.1932).....	91
3.5.5 Dörte Witte (b.1947).....	96
3.6 <i>Deutschtum</i> and Swakopmund	99
Chapter 4 Lüderitzbucht.....	101
4.1 Locale.....	101
4.2 Socialization and Music	108
4.3 Kolmanskop.....	115
4.4 <i>Deutschtum</i> and Lüderitz	124
Chapter 5 Musicking by prisoners of war in the camps of Aus and Andalusia	126
5.1 Aus	126

5.1.1 Locale	126
5.1.2 Social life	127
5.2 Andalusia.....	130
5.2.1 Locale	130
5.2.2 Social life	131
5.2.3 Deuschtum and the war camps	136
Chapter 6 Conclusion.....	138
References	143
Archival sources.....	151
Online sources	153
Personal communication	158
Further reading	160
Addenda	166
Addendum A: Conductors of <i>Swakopmund Männergesangverein</i> (Witte, D. 2015)...	166
Addendum B: Musical directors of Swakopmunder Musikwoche: (Berker, C. 2015)..	167
Addendum C Interview questionnaires:	168

List of Figures

	Page
Figure 1.1: Map of South West Africa/Namibia. Source: K. Rüdiger (2007).....	11
Figure 1.2: The passage of the derelict hospital in Kolmanskop, layered with sand. Source: D.L. van Zyl (April 2015).	16
Figure 2.3: The photographs demonstrate the genteel manner in which Germans lived as opposed to the humble abode of a Boer family.....	20
Figure 1.4: Schutztruppe band on a march from Warmbad to Sandfontein. Source: Swakopmund Scientific Society (n.d.).	35
Figure 1.5: A copy of Das Südwesterland, written by H.A. Klein-Werner. Source: Aardtrog Blog (n.d.).....	37
Figure 2.1: Ritterburg, built on the rise above the jetty, and home of the manager of the Woermann-Linie between 1905 and 1908, Theodore Ritter.....	47
Figure 2.2: Passengers arriving in Swakopmund being lowered into small boats off the Woermann-Linie steamships (Besser, 2004:264).....	48
Figure 2.3: The original Swakopmund Railway Station – an imposing building for a tiny town. Source: Go! Magazine (May 2013).....	49
Figure 2.4: The Hohenzollernhaus.	49
Figure 2.5: The Hotel Kaiserhof, owned by P.M. Esselgroth, currently houses Bank Windhoek.	50
Figure 2.6: The Kapelle (Band) of the Eisenbahnbattalion (Railway battalion).	51
Figure 2.7: The Woermannhaus today – inside veranda surrounding the quadrangle.....	52
Figure 2.8: The Grundschule and coat of arms.	53
Figure 2.9: The original Fabersaal in 1903, in Ludwig Koch Street.	54
Figure 2.10: A copy of the programme from the first concert organised by the Vereinigung Swakopmunder Musikfreunde on 5 March 1916. Source: Swakopmund Archives (2013).....	55
Figure 2.11: A postcard of the newly built brick building of the Faber Hotel and their entertainment hall. Source: Swakopmund Scientific Society (1912).	57
Figure 2.12: The Kapelle Schad.	57
Figure 2.13: The Gürtel-Kapelle indicates the violinist as Mr Gürtel.....	57
Figure 2.14: The band of the Hotel Westfälischer Hof, Swakopmund, naming the owner as E. Bottenberg.	58
Figure 2.15: The banner of the SMGV reflecting the words ‘Stets behalt den reinsten Klang, Deutsche Treu, Deutscher Sang’.	61
Figure 2.16: SMGV performing in public for the first time, at the inauguration of the Mole in February 1903.....	62
Figure 2.17: Procession of members from the SMGV and the Usakos mixed choir in front of the iconic Christuskirche in Windhoek. Source: Swakopmund Scientific Society (1930).	64
Figure 2.18: A programme of the SMGV held in the Fabersaal.....	65

Figure 2.19: The Kolibri-Kapelle, only Willy Janorschke (trumpet) is named.	66
Figure 2.20: Although the hand-written caption reads 'Requiem von Verdi', it is the photo of the performance of the Mozart Requiem, sung by the Kantorei and the SMGV under the baton of J. Schrader.	68
Figure 2.21: The picture reflects the SMGV with conductor Johannes Schrader in its seventy-fifth year. Source: Festschrift 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein (2002).	68
Figure 2.22: The choir singing a cantata about a ship's captain.	69
Figure 2.23: Participants at the South West Africa Sängerbund Festival in Windhoek in 1930 photographed at an outing to Hoffnung farm. Source: Swakopmund Scientific Society (1930).	72
Figure 2.24: The entrance to the foyer of the concert hall at the Namib Primary School. Source: D.L. van Zyl (December 2013).	77
Figure 2.25: A regular annual feature is the performance of a waltz with musicians wearing different hats.	78
Figure 2.26: The horns perform 'Tapio for Horn and Echoing Instruments' by R. Murray Schafer, from the Woermann tower. Source: Swakopmunder Musikwoche [Facebook].	79
Figure 2.27: The 2014 Jazz Band performs in the amphitheatre under the baton of Steven Meyer from the USA. Source: Swakopmunder Musikwoche [Facebook].	80
Figure 2.28: The big room at Birkenfels, where Birkenlene would have held concerts. Source: H. Fahrbach (2012, p.69).	81
Figure 2.29: Concert programme for Lene Birkenmayer held on Saturday 2 June 1923. Source: Swakopmund Archives (2013).	83
Figure 2.30: Charly Hatterscheidt at home in Swakopmund. Source: K. Hatterscheidt (2015).	84
Figure 2.31: The Zoo Café venue in 1935. Source: K. Hatterscheidt (2015).	84
Figure 2.32: Entry in the guest book of Fritz and Rosie von Seggern.	86
Figure 2.33: Another tribute to the von Seggern family.	86
Figure 2.34: Hausmusik at the Hatterscheidt's home: Willi Kehrmann, Friedgard von Koenen, Fritz von Seggern and Charly Hatterscheidt. Source: K. Hatterscheidt (2015).	88
Figure 2.35: Werner Kühlwetter. Source: Festschrift of the Swakopmund Männergesangverein (2002).	89
Figure 2.36: Paul Bahlsen blowing his fanfare trumpet at his home in Rondebosch. Source: D.L. van Zyl (December 2013).	91
Figure 2.37: Newspaper article from the Allgemeine Zeitung No. 242 of 14 December, 1956.	93
Figure 2.38: Dörte Witte conducting at a rehearsal in the Deutsche Evangelische Lutherische Kirche (DELK) in Swakopmund. Source: D. Witte (2015).	96
Figure 2.39: African Christmas Song, music by D. Witte and words by her uncle, Jochen Voigts. Source: H. Manns-Syvertsen (2015).	98
Figure 3.1: The feral horses visible from the road between Aus and Lüderitz. Source: D.L. van Zyl (April 2015).	101

Figure 3.2: An abandoned railway station built according to recognisably German architecture. Source: D.L. van Zyl (April 2015).	101
Figure 3.3: The names of colonial businesses still adorn some buildings. Source: D.L. van Zyl (April 2015).	103
Figure 3.4: The logo of the Deutsches Reich on the building currently housing the Department of Works. Source: DL van Zyl (April 2015).	103
Figure 3.5: The Lesehalle adjoining the Turnhalle, 2015.	104
Figure 3.6: Goerkehaus, its entrance hall and music room. Source: D. L. van Zyl (April 2015).	104
Figure 3.7: The above photo reflects what could be the War Society marching with the band of the Schutztruppe, if the uniforms are any indication.	110
Figure 3.8: The plastic covered flag of the Männer Gesang Verein Lüderitzbucht 1912.	111
Figure 3.9: The entrance to Kolmanskop today. Source: D.L. van Zyl (April 2015).	115
Figure 3.10: Kolmanskuiper Kapelle. Source: Schroedder et al. (eds), 1998:173).	117
Figure 3.11: Band from Kolmanskop, including a type of banjo.	117
Figure 3.12: Another photograph of the band from Kolmanskop.	117
Figure 3.13: The piano brought out from Germany to Kolmanskop was owned by piano teacher Hertha Brodersen-Manns, wife of Edmund Manns.	118
Figure 3.14: A violin made by Joseph Filip in April 1917 on display at Kolmanskop.	118
Figure 3.15: The restored and the original Turnhalle (Gym Hall) or Konzertsaal (Concert Hall).	119
Figure 3.16: The original frieze on the wall of the skittle ally as well as the signboard above the entrance. Source: D.L. van Zyl (April 2015).	120
Figure 3.17: Liebesmahl im Casino (literally translated as Love Feast in the casino).	121
Figure 3.18: The programme from the Bunter Abend held on 14 September 1935 in Kolmanskop. Source: Manns Family Archives (2015).	122
Figure 3.19: Programme for the Bunter Abend of 26 September 1936. Source: Manns family archives (2015).	123
Figure 4.1: This memorial plaque appears at the site of the remains of the Aus internment camp. Source: D.L. van Zyl (June 2015).	127
Figure 4.2: The Brass Band at the Aus prisoner of war camp. Source: J. Bruwer (2003). ..	127
Figure 4.3: The Artists Group at Aus. Source: J. Bruwer (2003).	128
Figure 4.4: Concert given at the Badestrand (Swimming Beach) in Lüderitz Bay by the Aus Musikkapelle in 1918. Source: Swakopmund Scientific Society (1918).	129
Figure 4.5: Andalusia concentration camp. Source: S. Lunderstedt (2016).	130
Figure 4.6: Posters reflecting the activities of the prisoners of war at Andalusia. Source: F.E. Rädcl (2002).	131
Figure 4.7: A sketch of the members of the Philharmonic Orchestra of the Andalusia Internment Camp, as per hand-drawn entry. Source: F.E. Rädcl (2002).	134
Figure 4.8: The song book produced at Andalusia. Source: R. Kock (2002).	135

List of Abbreviations and Explanations

ADMV	Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein
APC	Arts Performance Centre
AZ	Allgemeine Zeitung (weekly newspaper in SWA)
CDM	Consolidated Diamond Mines
DELK	Deutsche Evangelische-Lutherische Kirche (German Evangelical Lutheran Church)
DHPS	Deutsche Höhere Privatschule (German Private High School)
DSB	Deutsche Sängerbund (German Singers' Society)
DKG	Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft (German Colonial Company)
D-SWAZ	Deutsch-Südwestafrikanische Zeitung (German South West African newspaper)
DSWA	Deutsch Südwest-Afrika (German South West Africa)
FBDKG	Frauenbund der Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft (Women's Society of the German Colonial Company)
LMS	London Missionary Society
MGV	Männer Gesangverein (Men's Singing Society)
MTV	Männer Turnverein (Men's Gymnastics Society)
OMEG	Otavi Minen- und Eisenbahngesellschaft (Otavi Mining and Railway Company)
RMS	Rhenish Missionary Society
SFC	Swakopmund Football Club
SK-Druck	Sängerknaben-Druck (Singer boys' print)
SKW	Sport Klub Windhoek
SMGV	Swakopmunder Männergesangverein (Swakopmund Men's Singing Society)
SMW	Swakopmunder Musikwoche (Swakopmund Music Week)
SWA	South West Africa (the abbreviation of which is used to refer to the Period before 1990 when the country became independent)
SWA/NAM	South West Africa Namibia (the name is used with reference to the time around independence)
SWAPO	South West African People's Organisation
SWASB	Südwestafrikanische Sängerbund (South West African Singers' Society)
UCT	University of Cape Town

<i>Deutschtum</i>	Germanness
<i>Heimat</i>	Fatherland
<i>Schutztruppe(n)</i>	Protection Forces
Turnverein	Gymnastics Society

The Manns family archive which I reference, is a personal collection of books, papers, photographs and journals, and, as such, is not officially an archive.

Unless otherwise stated, all translations are by the writer.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Background

I received my musical training in Windhoek, Namibia, from 1973–1977. The State Conservatoire of Music provided every aspect of musical training needed to prepare students for a tertiary music education. With English as my mother tongue, I was persuaded to speak German by my German-speaking peers at the Conservatoire. The following words from my viola desk partner at the time still ring firmly in my ears: ‘Entweder sprichst du mit uns Deutsch, oder wir sprechen mit dir nicht’ (‘Either you speak to us in German, or we will not be speaking to you’). I accepted this in the spirit in which it was presented – from a thirteen-year-old peer – and rose to the challenge. As a young teenager it appeared to me as if classical music was the exclusive domain of German-speaking South West Africans, because of the apparent abundance of German speakers involved at the Conservatoire, both on the staff and in the student body. My friend's comment, and my own experience of what it meant, informs my attempt to plot the role of *Deutschtum* and music in Namibia. As Robbie Aitken (2007:216) writes, the process of ‘Germanisation’ in Namibia required desirable immigrants to display an appreciation of German culture and loyalty towards German rule in order to inhibit their need to break away, and rather to become part of the process. I was an enthusiastic participant in the ideas of music and Germanness that direct the research in this thesis.

At the time when I grew up, Namibia (or South West Africa as it was then known), was administered by the apartheid government of South Africa. I attended the only English medium government-run high school, and music was not offered as a subject. A large percentage of German-speaking pupils attended the school. Our German language class in my final school year had eighteen pupils in total, of which I was the only one without either one or both parents being German-speaking. The school was, in the parlance of the time, ‘for Whites only’, as was the State Conservatoire of Music that opened in 1971. My overriding experience of the Conservatoire was that of being exposed to German speakers at all levels. I found myself extremely happily immersed in the German language, its culture and its people, and in my naivety, associated classical music with Germans. My perception that Germans were the dominant contributors to the music life I knew in Windhoek was blind to the wider social and political landscape. The fact that no black people were involved in teaching or studying at the Conservatoire at that time, did not occur to me as being strange or out of place. I saw the Conservatoire as constitutive of a ‘European’ domain of which I was a part, and that was just the way it was. Today, I realise that my perceptions were a result of

a colonial past and an apartheid reality, and that the undoubtedly remarkable German cultural contributions in Namibia constituted the flipside of much larger processes of colonial domination originating in the nineteenth century.

1.2 Literature review and methodology

I embarked on this project with the expectation of finding and integrating primary and secondary sources that would support the weaving of a narrative on music-making and *Deutschtum* in the towns of Swakopmund and Lüderitz. My choice of towns was based on the fact that both these settlements were founded by the Germans, from out of the sea sand, as opposed to other towns where indigenous people had already set up and named the settlements by the time the colonialists arrived. In addition, I also explored the music-making in the prisoner-of-war camp of Aus during the First World War, and in the concentration camp of Andalusia during the Second World War.

The secondary sources I managed to obtain included books, newspapers, festival and anniversary publications and programmes in public repositories, as well as diverse materials of all the aforementioned gathered from the private archives of personal acquaintances. It became clear during this process that there were substantial difficulties in collating available resource material on music in Namibia, not least because there is no dedicated music archive in the country. The Stolen Moments Archive Project was started in 2012, in an attempt to collect and digitise information about popular music practices and musicians between the 1950s and the 1980s before independence, information contained in the form of oral reports, photographs, recordings and films; all to be stored at the National Archives of Namibia (National Archive of Namibia et al., n.d.). At the time of when this research was conducted, this project was not sufficiently developed for its findings to be accessed and considered as part of this narrative.

A fair amount of archival material found in the in Namibia National Archives Windhoek, was written in *Sütterlinschrift*, which I was unable to decipher in the short time available in the archive.¹ I visited to the College of the Arts (COTA) to do a reconnaissance of what references were available. Unfortunately, however, the archive did not provide anything of specific relevance for my research.² Swakopmund, where the majority of German-speaking

¹ This script, known as the 'old German hand', was created by the Berlin graphic artist, Ludwig Sütterlin, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and was taught in German schools from 1915 to 1941 (Doerling, n.d.). Gothic script, the interpretation of which was also needed in several articles, was also used by Germans until the twentieth century.

² The State Conservatoire of Music, moved to new premises and was renamed the College of the Arts in 1990. Other arts disciplines were added to the prospectus in the mid-1980s. Other than finding three academic publications related to music in Namibia, namely, 'The ideological dialectics of art-culture and society: The South African music scene in sociological perspective', by F.M. Grové (UOVS, 1988, MA thesis); Carol Kotzé's 'A Social

Namibians still live, can be seen as the cultural oasis of German culture, while Lüderitz has faded as a centre of culture. Due to limited resources and research time, in order to add productively to the existing body of knowledge, the decision was made to omit Windhoek from this study. While Ernst van Biljon's Master's thesis on the musical life of this town from 1894 to 1971 (1982) documented the musical activities, societies and concerts, and eminent musical figures, it did not incorporate the activities in the other two towns, which remained largely unresearched or documented.

Interviewees for the thesis were selected on the basis of their current involvement in musical activities, as well as for having had historical connections to my memory of music-making in Namibia. These individuals emerged during the research process as possible contributors (personally or via email). The first people I consulted were Ernst and Valerie van Biljon (with whom I stayed with in Windhoek. I spent many hours gleaning information from their years of musical involvement in Namibia. They arrived in Windhoek as staff members of the newly opened Conservatoire of Music in 1971, and at the time of my first field trip, both were still actively involved in the music life in Namibia. Jochen Wecke was selected due to his involvement in music in Namibia before, during and after the Second World War; my German-speaking peers, Susann Budack (and her mother, Leonore) and Boris Mohr were selected as representative of the German music community at the time of my involvement, and I was interested to know what their perceptions had been then and now. My trip to Swakopmund began with a visit to the *Musikwoche*, and an interview with the organiser Christiane Berker, who was able to refer me to people such as Dörte Witte. Names such as Paul Bahlsen, Charly Hatterscheidt and Fritz von Seggern were musical household names during my childhood, and by opening up my topic for discussion with old 'Southwesters', I was guided to connect with people such as Paul Bahlsen or to relatives of these relevant people. There may have been important people whom I did not interview or engage with, but as there had to be a start and an end point, and in the absence of a central guiding database, I had to select interviewees as carefully steered by advice from those musicians who had lived or still lived in Namibia, and from my networks.

Being a Masters student living in Cape Town, I was only able to undertake three research trips to Namibia. As it was difficult to access meaningful information from so far away without speaking directly to people, the trips had to be carefully planned. The first trip was to Windhoek to ascertain what databases were available and whether there was enough material for research. The second field trip, to Swakopmund, was planned to coincide with

History of Windhoek, 1915–1939' (UNISA, 1990, PhD dissertation); and thirdly the PhD dissertation by F.J. Strydom, 'Die Musiek van die Rehoboth Basters van Suidwes-Afrika' (Stellenbosch University, 1983), there were no research books available. The late Ernst van Biljon lent me his personal copy of his thesis (already mentioned), as it was not on the shelves at the College of the Arts where one would have expected to find it.

the Swakopmund *Musikwoche* in early December, and specifically to visit the Swakopmund Library and Archives, which I ascertained is the sole repository of certain books, newspapers and photographs (all undigitised) on colonial life in the territory. While I was aware that my third trip to Lüderitz was unlikely to unearth anything significant in terms of documentation, I was still keen to seek out people with connections to colonial life who could potentially provide additional insight. This line of enquiry was relatively successful and I have prefaced my chapter on Lüderitz with the sequence of events that led to my discoveries in that town. Inevitably, due to the long distances between these three towns and the lack of a fixed point of focus, my field trips could not be comprehensive.

In Swakopmund, the Sam Cohen Library and Archives contain the largest collection of newspapers and books on the colonial period. An assortment of programmes from music concerts and performances at society meetings such as the Gymnastics and War Societies, as well as concerts presented by the Arts Foundation in later years, are filed in the archives. The Swakopmund museum had informative tourist brochures for sale, but little else, unlike the Lüderitz museum, which was the principal repository for my research on this town. On a field trip to Lüderitz, I was given access to the personal collection of memorabilia and documents of Hertha Manns-Syvertsen, whose grandfather Edmund Manns was a keyboard player and whose grandmother was a piano teacher, at Kolmanskop. An interview with Manns-Syvertsen proved to be my most rewarding source on Lüderitz.³ Apart from the material contained in these collections, my field trip to Lüderitz revealed the paucity of available primary sources about which I had been warned, but needed to experience in person. In e-mail correspondence, with both Crispin Clay and Gino Noli,⁴ they expressed the opinion that my research attempt was ten years too late, as my primary sources of information had all passed away.

Apart from newspaper advertisements found in the *Deutsch Südwestafrika-Zeitung* contained in the Swakopmund library, the photographic journal *Lüderitz damals und gestern* (Schroedder, Otto-Reiner & Rusch, 1998) provided invaluable information.⁵ The bookshop in Lüderitz Tours and Safaris has booklets from the Gondwana Collection with stories about the

³ The following documents were of considerable use to me: original scores of piano music played by Edmund Manns (born Kolmanskop 1926, died Lüderitz 2004); the songbook written and compiled by Witte et al. (1983) called *Auf, singt mir diese Weise*; a book of poetry called *Aus dem goldenen Land der Kindheit! Für die Kinder in Südwest im Kriegsjahr 1918*, compiled by Otto Schuster; programmes for various musical performances during his life-time; the Twenty-fifth celebratory publication of the Felsenkirche, Lüderitzbucht; many photos, some of which are displayed at Kolmanskop; a publication of *Das Frauenbundes der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft* (Berlin 1931); school magazines from 1936/7 of the Deutsche Schule Lüderitzbucht; *Deutsches Monatsheft: Der Reiter von Südwest*, July 1928, and the first edition of *Vom Schutzgebiet bis Namibia 1894–1984* (1985).

⁴ Gino Noli, writer, is a former resident of Lüderitz residing in Plettenberg Bay, South Africa (Noli, 2010).

⁵ As the Lüderitz Library primarily houses fiction, the Swakopmund library became an important source for material on Lüderitz.

old South West Africa before independence,⁶ and other German publications which relate to the area, including the prisoner of war camp at Aus.⁷ Lastly, the Africana Library at Stellenbosch University held personal memoirs and chronicles from several Namibian towns, including Lüderitz.⁸

A number of repositories of which I became aware during the course of this study and which could not be visited and consulted are listed here for future researchers. The Basler Afrika Bibliographien (BAB) in Switzerland holds a substantial collection of Namibian literature. For example, significant research by Brigitta Schmidt-Lauber on ethnicity and identity building throughout the twentieth century is held at the BAB, but is not available at any libraries in South Africa. The University of Namibia holds one of Schmidt-Lauber's books *Die verkehrte Hautfarbe: Ethnizität deutscher Namibier als Alltagspraxis* (1998). I ascertained that there is a collection of unsorted, unaccessed files from Kolmanskop at the Namdeb Library in Oranjemund.⁹ The librarian is unable to read German, the result being that the material cannot be consulted in any other way than by visiting the archive and sifting through unordered documents. This may be a source of research material for future researchers who are able to read German (Library, Namdeb, 2015). Time restrictions prevented me from visiting the Namibia Scientific Society in Windhoek, where there may well be further research material. It is clear from the number of German-speaking Namibians guarding the historical repositories, that the Germans attach great value to their history, traditions and culture.

Useful books on general Namibian history are *Vom Schutzgebiet 1884 bis Namibia 1984* (1985), and the revised edition that covers the period from 1884 to 2000 (2002). These books provide an anthology of works by Namibians, on all aspects of the country. Equally valuable was Hulda Rautenberg's book, *Das alte Swakopmund* (1967), which provides a comprehensive history of Swakopmund. N.O. Oermann's book, *Mission, Church and State*

⁶ The booklets are published in English, Afrikaans and German.

⁷ These publications include the German copy of the *Prisoner of War Camp Aus, 1915–1919*, by J.J. Bruwer (2003), and *Gut und Blut für unsern Kaiser: Erlebnisse eines hessischen Unteroffiziers im Ersten Weltkrieg und im Kriegsgefangenenlager Aus in Südwestafrika*, by K. Waldeck (2010).

⁸ The chronicle of the town of Otavi, *Chronik von Otavi und Umgebung* by E.P.W. Freyer (1966), focuses on the establishment of the farming town, with no mention of cultural activities. The biography of Hertha Brodersen-Manns (grandmother of Hertha Manns Syvertsen), *Wie alles anders kam in Afrika: Südwestener Erinnerungen aus dem Jahren 1914/15* (1991) provides mostly an account of the hardships of life as a prisoner of war, with two mentions of the singing of 'Deutschland, Deutschland über alles' during the war years, once in Lüderitz on the occasion of the Kaiser's birthday (Brodersen-Manns, 1991:25), and once on Christmas Day in the concentration camp for women and children in Pietermaritzburg (Brodersen-Manns, 1991:38). She also mentions the singing of Christmas carols with piano accompaniment (Brodersen-Manns, 1991:37). On page 45, Brodersen-Manns mentions the singing of chorales by the 'Jugendheim' (Youth Hostel – one does not know whether this was from within the camp or not) for the funeral of a small child. Discussions were held amongst the prisoners of war to write an operetta about camp life in Pietermaritzburg, but this never materialised due to the fact that there were not enough diaries from which to draw a full story (Brodersen-Manns, 1991:47). Margarethe von Eckenbrecher's *Was Afrika mir gab und nahm* (1937) is equally as much an autobiography of her life as a settler, but did not provide any information on cultural activities.

⁹ I was given this information by the curator of the Lüderitz Museum, Gisela Schmidt-Scheele.

Relations in South West African under German Rule (1884–1915) (1999) gives a comprehensive account of the missionaries' perspectives of educating the indigenous people. It includes information on how the missionaries influenced the growth of church music, that the *Schutztruppe* introduced brass playing to the country, that the settlers were the cultivators of a classical music tradition (both choral and orchestral) as well as a *Hausmusik* tradition, which has been cherished and sustained to this day. Lisa Kuntze's book, *Was halt euch denn hier fest?*, is a collection of stories about German families from a cross-section of professions and societies in different towns in South West Africa. The book considers what these families brought to their new country in terms of skills and their contribution to South West African society, what businesses they started, where they came from in Germany, why they came to South West Africa and also documents their ancestry, giving one a complete understanding of the families' backgrounds. It discusses the descendants who are still in Namibia, still living in harsh conditions, and how Namibia has become their homeland, despite these hardships. The connection between these families is that they have all grown new roots in Africa. Her allusions to the singing of German folksongs and to the involvement of families in musical activities in many of the stories, is notable (Kuntze, 1981).¹⁰ Helmut Bley gives a comprehensive historical account of Namibia from the perspective of the effects of the Apartheid system and the remnants thereof, beginning at the inception of the German colony under Theodor Leutwein (Bley, 1971). As in most other general sources considering the effects of colonialism on the territory that became known as South West Africa, there is scant reference to culture, and especially music. Hans Grimm's resourceful book *Das deutsche Südwestler-buch* is another source which deserves mention in this preface.¹¹

Two important secondary sources were consulted on the activities of the Germans in the concentration camp during the Second World War, namely *Erinnerungen an die Internierungszeit* (Kock, 2000), which comprises a collection of reflections by internees in the Andalusia camp near Jan Kempdorp in South Africa, and *Von Kampwitwen und -waisen* (Gretschel, 2009), which tells of the lives of the wives and children left to run the farms during

¹⁰ Lisa Kuntze was born in Dresden in 1909, the daughter of the Technical Director of the Semper Opera. She met her husband Eberhardt, a Southwester, while working for the shortwave radio broadcast in Berlin. Eberhardt Kuntze broadcast messages back to Africa. They returned to the farm of his parents in South West Africa in 1949, where Lisa Kuntze counteracted her longing for her life back in Dresden by starting theatre groups and by writing prolifically, for the newspaper, and as an author of several books on the country and its people (Autoren, Who is who: 2016).

¹¹ Hans Grimm (1875–1959) was born in Wiesbaden. He was the son of a university law professor, who was also a founding member of the *Kolonialverein* (Colonial League). He spent fourteen years in South Africa and German South West Africa. His book, *Volk ohne Raum* (People without Space) (1926), became compulsory reading in all Nazi schools, although he was never officially a member of the Nazi party but supported their ideology. He was obsessed with the creation of *Lebensraum* (living space) through the acquisition of colonies (Wistrich, 1982:107–108).

the internship of the menfolk. The former relates how the interned men, through the need to keep themselves busy, became very pro-active in creating music groups. In contrast, the women who were left behind on the farms without any prior knowledge pertaining to farming or book-keeping were fully occupied in providing for their families and therefore were less inclined to indulge in music-making for leisure. The invaluable support from their indigenous employees is mentioned in most stories of how these women managed to survive. Of these two historical sources on wartime Namibia, *Erinnerungen an die Internierungszeit*, contains significant information on music making.

Apart from an historiographical attempt to address a gap in the available literature regarding the existence and substance of musical activities in Swakopmund, Lüderitz and the camps in Aus and Andalusia during the pre-independence period, this thesis is concerned with viewing musical activities through the lens of *Deutschtum*.

Concerning nationalism, Sebastian Conrad's book, *German Colonialism: A Short History* (2012), considers German colonialism in its manifestations all over the world, and has been one of the most informative books on the subject, together with Daniel Joseph Walther's *Creating Germans Abroad* (2002). The latter is divided into a section on the colonial period from 1894 to 1919 and the establishment of German hegemony and the creation of a German culture. The second section concerns the fight for the survival of the German community and their efforts to hold onto and preserve *Deutschtum* (Walther, 2002:3–4). *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and post-war Germany*, edited by V. Langbehn and M. Salama (2011) provides a collection of essays presenting different assessments of Germany's colonial past, and reveals how German colonialism contributed to the construction of nationalism and to the shaping of differences in racial perception (Langbehn & Salama (eds), 2011:xxiii).

In order to understand the role music played in the construction and upholding of *Deutschtum* in South West Africa, it was necessary to consider the background of social practices in Germany at the time of the scramble for colonies, and to relate these to the musical practices of the colonists. I consulted Celia Applegate's and Pamela Potter's work that considers the Germanness of music, the Germans as 'people of music' and music's connection to German identity (Applegate & Potter (eds), 2002). *The identity and role of the German-speaking community in Namibia* (Junge, Töttemeyer & Zappen-Thompson, (eds), 1983) contains papers from several prominent members of the 'Namibisch-Deutsche Stiftung für Kulturelle Zusammenarbeit', as presented at a two-day workshop held in 1992, two years after independence, and confirms the phenomenon of a German-speaking community with a distinct identity.

Zwischen Nationalsozialismus und Apartheid by Martin Eberhardt (2007) provides information on German nationalism in Namibia from after the fall of the colony until 1965. *Die Namibia-Deutschen: Geschichte einer Nationalität im Werden*, by Klaus Rüdiger (1993), has provided the most comprehensive reading on German-speaking Namibians from the colonial period until post-independence, in the development of their own form of nationalism. This book has been critical reading on which to base my theory of music and *Deutschtum*. The article by Stephan Mühr (2004) 'Die deutschen Namibier heute – Auswanderung, Musealisierung oder Integration?' provided an insightful appraisal on the current state of *Deutschtum*. My concern with how *Deutschtum* was constructed is located in the pre-independence period. Within this historical frame, I have not attempted to analyse the legacies of Western imperialism; rather, I have attempted to document the effects and the extension of a European culture within an African context.

Thinking about the meaning of music and its function in human life, Christopher Small argued that performance had to be the point of departure for discourse. In expressing his interconnected ideas on performance and human encounter in performance, he proffered the verb 'musicking' (with a 'k' as his own caprice, as he puts it), from the noun, 'to music', as a tool to comprehend the act and function of music (Small, 1995). Thus any involvement in a musical performance falls into the act of musicking. He says that 'to music' implies any form of participation in a musical performance: the performance, being an audience member, composing, rehearsing, or involvement in the organising of the event. The social meaning of the performance asks the question of what it means when a performance takes place at a certain time, in a certain place and with specific participants. Small makes the following comment regarding the experience of the relationships between people and the outside world through the act of 'musicking':

All music is serious musicking, yes even singing dirty songs at a drunken party, and all musical events must ultimately be judged on their ritual efficacy, on the subtlety and comprehensiveness with which they empower those taking part to explore, affirm, and celebrate their ideas of ideal relationships (Small, 1995).

According to Small, the success of a performance should be judged according to these criteria. It would therefore be incorrect to assume that any form of 'musicking' tradition is superior over another. Because I ventured into an historical documentation of what I expected to be a range of musical practices and engagements in search of constructions of *Deutschtum* in Namibia, I chose to adopt Small's term to refer to a collective of musical practices that guide German identity. The musicking in Swakopmund and Lüderitz certainly involved the broader community, including organisers, performers, audiences and advertising by townspeople. It was co-operative involvement, and hence the word musicking is particularly suited for use in this thesis.

Chapter 1 of this thesis seeks to provide a broad historical background of Namibia, as well as discussing its topography and demography. This background not only familiarises the reader with the people and the place, but it also serves to explain the conditions in which the settlers found themselves, necessitating their need for togetherness. The influence of the missionaries as the forerunners of the settlers is deliberated, as well as the emergence of the need to sustain Germanness based on concepts of nationalism in both Germany and South West Africa/Namibia.

Chapter 2 deals with the first of three case studies in the thesis – musicking in Swakopmund. It documents the history of the *Swakopmunder Musikwoche* (SMW) and the *Swakopmund Männer Gesangverein* (SMGV) and the factors influencing the survival and longevity of these two institutions, as well as noting the contributions of musically influential personalities of the town. The chapter begins with the juxtaposition of the history of the town with the evolution of music and musicians in the town, and concludes with a brief summary of the significance of the contribution of the people of Swakopmund to a unique music culture.

Chapter 3 concerns musical activities in Lüderitz, the second of the case studies. In this chapter, the arrival of the German explorers and the declaration of the territory as a German colony are expounded. Musical activities for celebratory occasions as well as the musical activities of the life concerning the church and social events during the heyday of the town following the discovery of diamonds are brought to light.

Chapter 4 examines music-making in the prisoner of war camps during the two World Wars, and serves as my third case study. At the start of the First World War only the active *Schutztruppe* were interned, in contrast to the Second World War, where all German peace-keeping forces and civilian men were incarcerated. The reference to the musical activities by the Aus prisoners of war is brief but of import in the context of entertainment and the social life in Lüderitz during the war years. In the period from 1939–1945 there was a suspension of musical activities in towns such as Swakopmund and Windhoek due largely to the internment of most German-speaking men.¹² The chapter highlights the intense involvement in music in the life of the incarcerated prisoners holding on to and treasuring their own culture in difficult times. The resourcefulness of the internees in the concentration camp, and their cultural ingenuity had become a trademark of the settlers since their arrival on the African continent.

¹² During the First World War, after the defeat of the Germans at Khorab, the active Protection Forces (*Schutztruppen*) were interned at Aus. The civilian forces and reservists were permitted to go home; musicking did not cease, but took on less of a prominent social profile. An epidemic of Spanish flu contributed to the deceleration of musical activities (van Biljon, 1982:165).

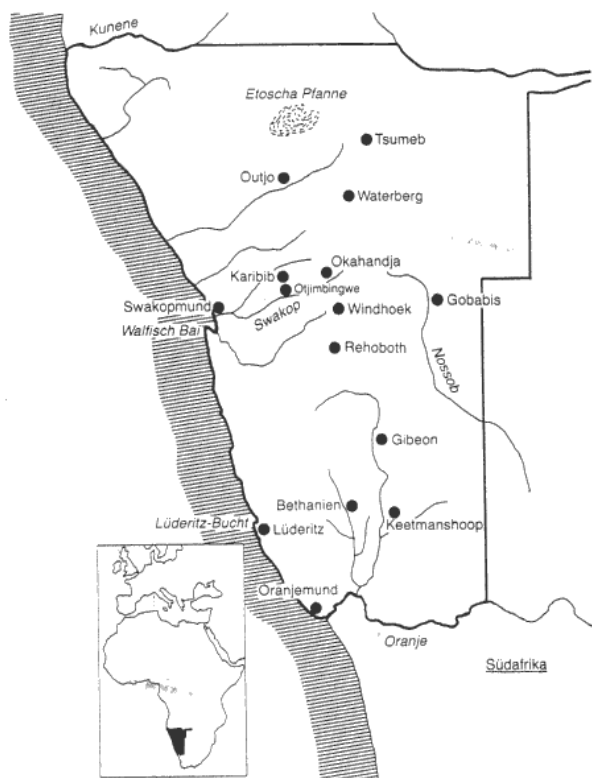
The concluding chapter analyses my research of *Deutschtum* through the kaleidoscope of musicking in selected locations in Namibia and the concentration camp in Andalusia.

Chapter 2 General History, Topography and Demography

He came from Bavaria over twenty years ago, they learn.... He was eager to see the world and there was much talk at the time, the mid-1880s, of the exotic wilderness of German South West Africa and its untold treasures. The reality turned out to be rather different. Still he fell under the spell of the place, its spaces, its sparseness, its unexpected explosions of extravagant beauty in sunsets, desert flowers, shifting red dunes, migrating herds of antelope. (Brink, 2003:296)

As is illustrated by André P. Brink's fictional character in *The Other Side of Silence* (2003) who 'fell under the spell' of South West Africa, the landscape of the place has had a decisive influence on the way in which Germans settled there and established their culture as German settlers in a foreign land. The name 'Namibia' originates from the Namib Desert that flanks the country along the western coast. As its former name of South West Africa implies, it lies in the south west of Africa: north of South Africa, east of Botswana and Zambia, and south of Angola.

Anhang 1



(Aus: Helbig, H. u. L., 1983)

Figure 2.1: Map of South West Africa/Namibia. Source: K. Rüdiger (2007).

It is a sunny, dry, inhospitable territory. Until the arrival of missionaries in the nineteenth century, the hinterland remained mostly untouched by Europeans and indigenous people lived a mainly agrarian and relatively nomadic lifestyle. Constant war and plundering between the Herero and the Nama characterised the latter part of the nineteenth century, which destabilised any political balance in the face of growing economic prosperity inspired by the spreading network of trade (Bley, 1971:xxi). Of the colonies annexed by Germany during the rush for colonies in the late eighteenth century, South West Africa/Namibia drew and retained the largest number of German settlers who, due to favourable weather conditions, saw the territory as an option to resettle their families and build a new *Heimat* outside Germany.¹³ Although Germany was emerging as the strongest economic, military and cultural power in Europe at the time, most of the settlers still emigrated for economic reasons. Johnson (1988:470) states that 'Germany was the world's best educated nation and the first to achieve universal adult literacy. Between 1870 and 1933 its universities were the world's finest, in virtually every discipline.' Within this highly educated populace, music played a role of inordinate importance. Applegate (2002:6) comments that '... music had contributed more than any other art to the "formation of the German nation,"' and '... that no other art lay so close to the essence of being German ...'. This sense that music represented most pertinently of all the arts the *Geist* of the German nation, a view consolidated in the nineteenth century, became part of the inheritance of generations of Germans. Together with the strong sentiments of nationalism and patriotism which reigned in Europe after the Industrial revolution, the elevated status of music resonated in the furthering of German culture through the creation of a surfeit of exclusively German clubs and associations in towns where German nationals settled. South West Africa was no exception.

The earliest dwellers in this territory were the people known then as Bushmen (currently known as the San people), who were hounded down to the isolated southern parts of the territory, where they hunted with bows and arrows, lived off what the land had to offer them, and moved on to new territories when there was nothing to sustain them. They were viewed by the Europeans in the same light as leopards and foxes, and as such were hunted down to the point of near extinction (Troup, 1950:25). The Namas, who inhabited the area between the Orange River and Windhoek, spoke a language proliferated by clicks.¹⁴ They were divided into clans with 'Kapteine' ('Captains'). The first of these people wandered to the area just north of the Orange River, while the more recent 'Oorlams', of whom some were part European, and most of whom had been exposed to the European way of life through

¹³ South West Africa developed into the most densely populated German colony as a result of a far more favourable climate than Togo, Cameroon or German East Africa (Oermann, 1999:30).

¹⁴ These people were insultingly called Hottentots by the Dutch. The word means 'stutterer' and the name was derived from the peculiarities in the sounds of their language (Troup, 1950:25).

connections in the Cape, fled the process of detribalisation taking place at the Cape in the early-nineteenth century (Troup, 1950:25–26).

Rehoboth, to the south of Windhoek, became the home to a group of people known as ‘Basters’.¹⁵ As a group their origin can be traced to European settlers who had wandered off north from the Cape Colony and taken San wives. They were reviled by the exclusively white Cape settlers and were given land in agreement with the Namas and the Hereros, where they still live today. The Berg-Damaras in the central part of the territory speak the same language as the Namas (Troup, 1950:25).¹⁶

Troup (1950:27) quotes a missionary in describing the cattle-rich and cattle-loving Herero nation in the Western and Eastern central regions: ‘a proud liberty-loving race, jealously guarding their independence, and with very strong family ties’. Hackländer (2000:65), in describing their wrinkled Herero shepherd, further affirms their aloofness with the following comment: ‘Er war hochmütig, wie es nur Herero sein konnten, und sehr unfreundlich’ (‘He was haughty, as only the Hereros could be, and very unfriendly’). The name Herero is thought to be derived from the word ‘Erero’, meaning an ancient people (Troup, 1950:28).^{17,18}

The first Portuguese explorers landed at Cape Cross in the late-fifteenth century. In 1786, the captain of HMS Nautilus, who headed a mission to investigate the suitability of the territory for a penal colony, tendered the following comment: ‘So inhospitable and so barren a Country [*sic*] is not to be equalled except in the Desarts [*sic*] of Arabia, at least from the appearance of the Shore...’ (Wallace 2011:57). The section of the coast which begins at Cape Cross just north of Henties Bay (north of Swakopmund) stretches up to the Angolan border and is aptly named the Skeleton Coast. Skeletons of whales and seals, as well as remnants of shipwrecks are to be found along this coastline (Swilling, 2013:86). Due to its inaccessible coast and ostensibly barren countryside, there were no claims on this territory as with Portuguese occupied Angola or the Dutch/British Cape Colony (Wallace, 2011:45). There were no urban settlements in the territory before the Europeans arrived, as the indigenous population was mostly nomadic, and moved around in search of grazing for their

¹⁵ The word Baster literally translated means ‘bastard’, however, there was a clear pride amongst the Baster people of being better than other mixed race groups. I clearly remember our house help, a Baster woman, saying ‘Nee, ons is nie Kleurlinge nie, ons is Basters van Rehoboth’ (‘No, we are not Coloureds, we are Basters from Rehoboth’).

¹⁶ The Ovambos lived in the north of the territory. Influenced by Finnish missionaries, they did not play any major role in the events of the German occupation (Bley, 1971:xxi).

¹⁷ The wood of the *Omumborombonga* tree, known in English as the Leadwood tree, in German as the *Ahnenbaum* and in Afrikaans as the *Hardekoolboom*, is the heaviest wood in the world. Namibian legend tells that the first humans were born out of the first omumborombonga tree, but that the Bergdamas, or slaves, were born out of rock (Omumborombonga or Leadwood Tree: Trees of Namibia, 1998–2016).

¹⁸ For a detailed ethnographical account of the indigenous tribes, refer to Vedder’s *South West Africa in Early Times* (Vedder, 1966).

cattle. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the centres along the coastal trade routes grew significantly.

Helmut zur Strassen (1971) entitled his photographic journal on Namibia 'Land between two Deserts', with the Namib Desert fringing the western border and the Kalahari Desert containing the eastern boundary. Namibia is more than double the size of Germany, but due to the harsh living conditions and lack of water, the population currently stands at just over two people per square kilometre, making it one of the most sparsely populated countries in the world. The capital, Windhoek, is situated on a plateau 1 625 metres above sea level towards the centre of the country, surrounded by hilly countryside covered in camel thorn trees and savannah lands. Many of the indigenous settlements, mostly born out of their proximity to sources of water, grew into the current villages and towns of Namibia (Okahandja Namibia, 2013). Settlements with musically interesting names, such as Outjo, which means 'place of the cone shaped hills' (Outjo, 2014), Okahandja, which means 'place where two rivers converge to form a larger one' (Okahandja Namibia, 2013), and Otjiwarongo (Otjiwarongo, 2010), which means 'place of the fat cows', take their Herero names from the surrounding topography.

The Hereros were nomadic pastoralists, and although the Swakop mouth was called 'Otijozondjii' (meaning 'place of shells') by a Herero chief, the naming of the place was unlikely to have referred to any form of settlement, since conditions there were not suitable for grazing. Names such as 'Rhein', 'Somerset River' and 'Buruxas' (the latter meaning 'strange',¹⁹ with reference to a harbour that had risen out of a desert), have been recorded (Massmann, 1983:45). However, the local name for the river, spelled in several different ways with a clicking sound in the pronunciation, is derived from the Nama word 'Tsoa' (meaning 'anus') and 'Xoub' (meaning 'excrement') (Massmann, 1983:46). This meaning well represents the sight of the Swakop River on the rare occasions when it does come down in flood, as it spews large quantities of mud, sand, vegetation and animal corpses into the Atlantic Ocean. The mild climate of Swakopmund, in comparison to the extreme temperatures of the interior, including the banks of morning fog which envelop the town daily and burn away by early afternoon, has been a great attraction to many settlers since it was founded in 1898. The notorious hot East wind blows off the desert during August. Arriving in Swakopmund today, one is struck by the European architecture that dominates downtown Swakopmund.

¹⁹ The word is from the Nama language, which implies that the Namas, traditionally from the south of the country, had also migrated up towards the coast to investigate the possibility of settlement.

Kuno Budack, one-time president of the Namibia Scientific Society, describes Lüderitz as follows: ‘Der Glanz von 360 Sonnentagen im Jahr leuchtet über ihren stillen Buchten und kargen Felseninseln, über den engen Gassen und alten Häusern bis weit hinaus auf’s weite Meer’ (‘The glow of 360 days a year of sunshine across the narrow streets and old houses illuminates the calm bays and barren islands towards the wide ocean’) (Schroedder, E. et al. (eds), 1998: preface). The German architecture dating from the turn of the nineteenth century is as much a cultural feature of this landscape as the Bushman drawings in Erongo and the drumming rhythms of the Okavango (Clay, 2002:106). This German architecture, in particular the *Felsenkirche* (German Lutheran Evangelical Church known as the Church on the Rocks) with its two stained glass windows, dominates the townscape. There is no vegetation, and the heat in summer is exasperating. This small natural harbour, formerly known as Angra Pequena (Portuguese for ‘small bay’), or ‘Lüderitzbucht’ during the colonial era, now Lüderitz, was described by Calvert (1915:17) as having ‘potential to be used as a port’. It is dominated by the formation of brownish-grey rocks, ever-changing fluid sand dunes, the valleys and hills of the Namib Desert in the east, and by the cold Benguela current of the Atlantic Ocean in the west.

The former elegant and affluent German-styled settlement of Kolmanskop, (Kolmanskupe),²⁰ previously home to 300 German families who enjoyed a privileged lifestyle with free benefits granted by their mining magnate employees, is one of the main tourist attractions of the town. The shifting desert sands have reclaimed and semi-submerged the former glory of the mining town which reflects the German architecture of the day (see Figure 2.2). Apart from being able to boast the first tram in Africa, connecting Kolmanskop to Lüderitzbucht, amenities and buildings included a theatre, a hospital, a casino, a school, a bowling alley, a ballroom and sport-hall, a power station, an ice factory and the first x-ray-station in the Southern Hemisphere (Dornseif, n.d.d:4)²¹ (Evans, 2013). By the end of World War I, the town had started to go into a state of decline as the diamonds in the area became depleted; by 1956, when the last of the residents relocated, the town was completely abandoned to the dunes.²²

²⁰ Kolmanskupe was the German colloquial word for Kolmanskop, which was named after a transport driver from the Cape, Johnny Coleman, who outspanned his oxen on a leeward dune for the night, and was forced to abandon his wagon and oxen and flee to safety during a severe sandstorm (Schoemann & Kohl, 2004:9).

²¹ The unnumbered pages of this document have been numbered by the writer.

²² Elisabethbucht, a mining town 30 kilometres south of Lüderitz, befell a similar fate, although mining activities reopened in 1991.



Figure 2.2: The passage of the derelict hospital in Kolmanskop, layered with sand. Source: D.L. van Zyl (April 2015).

2.1 German settlement: Historical background

Was uns eint im fernen Land,
Was uns halt, ein festes Band
Heilig durch die Seele zieht:
Das ist unser Deutsches Lied.

*That which unifies us in a far-off country
That which holds us together
That which runs sacredly through our souls:
That is our German Song.*

Motto of the *Windhoek Männergesangsverein* by Hans Müller²³

The first Europeans settled in South West Africa/Namibia from the late-eighteenth century onwards, but only in coastal towns such as Angra Pequena (currently Lüderitz)²⁴ and Walfisch Bay, which had prospects to land ships. As the seizure of colonies, particularly in Africa, gained momentum amongst European powers, the Germans made a 'bold, predatory move' to 'filch the territory of Damaraland and Namaqualand from under the nose of the lethargic British' administration in the Cape of Good Hope, in its quest to establish a 'place in the sun' for its growing population (Calvert, 1915:xi-xii). Walfisch Bay had been annexed by

²³ Hans Müller came to South West Africa as part of the *Schutztruppen* (protection forces), and was appointed as 'organist' (on a harmonium) of the Lutheran Church in Windhoek. In 1911, on completion of the building of the *Christuskirche* in Windhoek, he was appointed as organist and cantor by the congregation, a post he held until 1955, with an interruption during the Second World War. He was deported for being a Nazi sympathizer (Van Biljon, 1982:51).

²⁴ Portuguese sailors discovered this bay in the late-fifteenth century, en route to India.

Britain as late as 1878. In 1883 German trader Adolf Lüderitz had acquired a portion of land surrounding Angra Pequena on the far southern coast from the Nama chief, Captain Fredericks. Questions on the sobriety of the chief and the definition of the foreign concept of land acquisition to local communities were probed.

No sooner had the German flag been raised in the territory when the Germans ran into conflict with the local indigenous population. Theodor Leutwein, governor of the colony from 1894 until the Herero uprising in 1904, played a large role in signing protection agreements with the Oorlams, the Basters and the Nama groups in the South, and the Hereros in the central part of the country, in exchange for limited authority in their own matters and German control of two-thirds of the territory. The only notable opposition was from Hendrik Witbooi,²⁵ leader of the Witbooi-Oorlams from Gibeon, who was sceptical of the agreement and convinced, correctly so, that this would be the end of his people's independence and freedom (Stals, 2008:42). Leutwein had the following to say about Witbooi: 'A born leader and ruler that Witbooi was, a man who probably might have become world famous had it not been his fate to be born to a small African tribe' (First, 1963:81). The following eloquent letter written by Witbooi to Josef Frederiks, fellow Nama chieftain, on 27 June 1892, denounces the concept of land ownership and fastidious regimes of time keeping. It is worth quoting in full, as it contests the notion of the accepted beneficence or initial welcoming of German jurisprudence, government or culture in this land:

My dear Captain Josef Frederiks,²⁶

I am writing these lines with a sincere request, a plea for the sake of my well-being and for your own, as follows. I hear that you have given a White man, a certain Hermann, permission to live at !Nomads. I am writing to tell you that I do not accept your decision. I do not want you to give any White man a farm on my land. I do not even like you giving a White man a farm on your land. For I think this part of Africa is the territory of Red chiefs. We are one of colour and custom. We obey the same laws, and these laws are agreeable to us and to our people; for we are not severe with each other, but accommodate to each other, amicably and in brotherhood. And if the people of the one chief want to live in another Chief's people, in his settlement, they can do so in peace, and both chiefs are content. They do not make prohibiting laws against each other, concerning water, grazing or roads; nor do they charge money for any of these things. No, we hold these things to be free to any traveller who wishes to cross our land, be he Red, White or Black. And that is good and right and sufficient for our way of life. And by this we deprive no one of his livelihood or money; and

²⁵ Witbooi (1830–1905) was the first African leader to take up arms against the German imperialists in defence of their land and territorial integrity. He was educated at Rhenish and Wesleyan Mission Schools, and was able to speak and write in Nama and Dutch (Vedder, 1966:473). He had an extraordinary relationship with missionary Olpp, who had been one of his teachers at Gibeon. In 1870, at a turning point in relationships with the Maherero, leader of the Hereros who had offered Windhoek to the Witboois, the Nama tribe was ready to pick up and move north, Hendrik Witbooi's response to Olpp's question on what his decision was regarding this offer, was the following: 'I do not know what I shall do. I cannot be without my teacher for he is the only comforter I have' (Vedder, 1966:475).

²⁶ The spelling of 'Frederiks' is used here as per the quote, but there are deviations from this spelling which I have used in the context of specific references. Sometimes the name is spelled 'Fredericks', and hence the inconsistencies in the spelling.

we oppress no one by making them ask for water or pay for pasture, or by forbidding the use of roads. But with the White people it is not so at all. The White men's laws are quite unbearable and intolerable to us Red people. They oppress us and hem us in with all kinds of ways and on all sides, these merciless laws which have no feeling or tolerance for any man rich or poor. That is why I take it hard of you chiefs of this Great Namaqualand*, this Africa, that you have accepted the German protection, and have thereby given White men privileges and rights in our land.

I see the Germans quite differently. They claim that they want to protect you against other mighty nations, but it seems to me that they themselves are the mighty nation seeking to occupy our country by force. Already they are governing us by force and prohibiting laws. That is why I do not want you to give farms in our country where they will live with their laws, and privileges and undertakings. Please be so kind, dear Captain, and cancel this deal. Do not let White people settle on the farm. Had they been your own Red people, I would not have said much, for we are one, and should tolerate and understand one another. I see nothing good in the coming of the Germans: they brag of their power and they use it.

I must tell you, dear Captain, that the Germans want me to sign their Protection treaty. But I cannot accept that. They are watching for every opening, being careful not to provoke trouble between us. And I also wait, taking care not to provoke trouble. That is why I beg you with all my heart, dear Captain, not to lay this burden upon me of confrontation between me and the Germans brought about by you. I'm not interested; I want to co-exist with the White man as peacefully as possible; and I want nothing to do with them involving government and land ownership because I see no truth or durability in their Protection treaty, and no benefit to either people, chiefs or land; but rather humiliation, contempt and oppression of all, chiefs, people and land. Already they settle even on the chiefs' own home ground without asking permission, and rule the people who belong there by their laws. They forbid them to move freely as they wish, or to enjoy water and grazing. They forbid them to hunt the game of their own home land; they forbid men to carry rifles; they order their lives with dates and hours; they herd them together outside the town. This is how harsh and unbearable, and how incomprehensible and useless the German law is, narrow and uncouth, a bane and oppressing of all that is human.

Therefore I do not understand what you chiefs could have thought when you surrendered to the Protection of such men! and why I am counselling every one of us to grant no concession to White men on our lands, and to give them no rights amongst or between us.

So, I greet you sincerely.

Your Friend and Captain

Hendrik Witbooi (The Hendrik Witbooi Papers, 1989:80–81)²⁷

Tragically, Witbooi was proved right. The Europeans sought to destroy the tribal systems of the indigenous people, and encouraged them to merge into a labour force, even insisting on itinerancy of missionary workers in an attempt to prevent any concentration of Hereros specifically (Bley, 1971:255–256). They were encouraged to live in isolation and away from fellow tribesmen, and were banned from raising cattle (Bley, 1971:263). In 1903, the Herero learnt of a plan to divide their territory with a railway line and to contain them in reserves. This led to a revolt where the Hereros killed between 123 and 150 Germans, and war was

²⁷ The grammar is verbatim.

declared against the Hereros. This ultimately led to a genocide, led by General von Trotha,²⁸ which wiped out more than 65 000 Herero in a nation numbering a mere 80 000. His extermination order or *Vernichtungsbefehl* reads as follows:

I, the Great General of the German soldiers, address this letter to the Herero people. The Herero are no longer considered German subjects. They have murdered, stolen, cut off ears and other parts from wounded soldiers, and now refuse to fight on, out of cowardice. I have this to say to them ... the Herero people will have to leave the country. Otherwise I shall force them to do so by means of guns. Within the German boundaries, every Herero, whether found armed or unarmed, with or without cattle, will be shot. I shall not accept any more women or children. I shall drive them back to their people – otherwise I shall order shots to be fired at them (Meredith, 2014:485).

The Herero uprising spread south to the Namas, who feared they would be next. Witbooi was killed in 1905 and half the Nama population of 20 000 survived (Meredith, 2014:486). The Germans erected a statue to the fallen soldiers of the Herero Nama War in Windhoek on a site which was used as a concentration camp for mostly Herero and Nama women and children. Most of these 4000 people died of hardship or disease. Governor Seitz unveiled the statue with the following declaration: ‘The venerable colonial soldier that looks out over the land from here announces to the world that we are the masters of this place, now and forever’ (Meredith, 2014:486).

Life changed for the Germans after the declaration of Deutsch Südwestafrika (DSWA) as a mandate following Germany’s defeat in the First World War. The word ‘German’ as a prefix to South West Africa was removed after the Treaty of Versailles, when German colonial possessions were redistributed by the Allies. The Germans in South West Africa, however, were not forced to leave the country, which is perhaps an indication of the very particular kind of German settlement that developed in South West Africa. Whereas the Germans who went to the annexed colonies of Togo, Cameroon and East Africa were looking for a foreign adventure with every intention of returning to the comfort that retirement in Germany would offer them, Hans Grimm (1929:10) writes that the Germans who went to live in South West Africa were different. These people were not forever looking towards a European home, but rather for a new German world in which their children could advance. The barren, sunny South West Africa seemed to be the only colony that would afford them this option. In 1887, a range of unpredicted circumstances had led to the need for *Schutztruppen* which served to establish South West Africa as a German country (Grimm, 1929:14). Originally, most of the settlers emerged from the troops that came to the country, not for financial gain but seeking freedom from domestic conflict and antagonisms; it was this accessibility of freedom and space, as well as their enthusiastic endeavours in the country, which led to many of them

²⁸ Von Trotha had a reputation of ruthlessness, and he was brought in to take over from Leutwein, who requested him to ‘conduct the war in such a way as to protect the Herero nation’. Von Trotha demanded that Leutwein permit him to ‘conduct the war as he saw fit’ (Bley, 1971:162).

remaining after the termination of their military services. The colonies were viewed as 'utopian paradises' to which the overflow of German population could emigrate, and where they could retain their disappearing traditions and culture through links to the homeland (Aitken, 2007:28). Contrasting the position of German migrants to America who became assimilated into American culture, Conrad (2012:27) writes that by directing the flow of immigrants to German colonies, such minority populations would be able to 'retain and even foster their German national characteristics'. Although it was naturally hoped that the colonies would provide resources at the same time as providing further markets for over-production in Germany, they were also seen as a suitable destination for the regrowth of waning nationalism, and the dilution of domestic conflicts through the extradition of culprits (Conrad, 2012:28).

According to Grimm (1929:29), the Germans took great pride in creating beautiful spaces in which to live much to the criticism of the Boers especially, who later acquired the farms previously owned by the Germans for a pittance when they were dispossessed of their farms at the start of the Second World War.



17. An example of German colonial life. Margarete von Eckenbrecher and family (ca. 1902)

18. A primitive Boer farm in southern South-West Africa



Figure 2.3: The photographs demonstrate the genteel manner in which Germans lived as opposed to the humble abode of a Boer family.

Notice the murals on the walls of the covered veranda, servants at hand, tea served from a porcelain tea set on a table covered with a table cloth, participants dressed stylishly, and a baby's cradle in view to the right of the top picture. Evidence of the humble lifestyle of a Boer family is reflected in the lower photograph, where there is a door with scarcely a window in sight in a simple flat-roofed structure.

Source: H. Bley (1971).

The following statistics from *Die deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee, 1912/1913* (The German Protectorates in Africa and the South Seas, 1912/1913) reflect the white populations of the towns of Windhoek, Swakopmund and Lüderitzbucht (Stals, 2008:48). The figures for Germans include Afrikaners who accepted German citizenship, but exclude women and children. Members of the *Schutztruppe* were included in the German count, and Afrikaners included English-speaking colonists. Official censuses at that time did not include the indigenous population:

Windhoek:	2 572 Germans	146 Afrikaners	Total number of whites: 2 871
Swakopmund:	1 309 Germans	32 Afrikaners	Total number of whites: 1 463
Lüderitzbucht:	1 336 Germans	141 Afrikaners	Total number of whites: 1 616

After World War I, German was no longer recognised as the official language, nor as the lingua franca, and settlers were expected to assimilate the language and culture of the new South African administration, although the use of German was not banned. From this attempt at cultural repression, there was an acute need to protect their status and position through the opening of German schools in German-speaking communities. Through the preservation of the German language, German influence would be strengthened (Walther, 2002:154–155).

Even though South West Africa had lost its official links with Germany after 1919, a colonial German identity had begun to emerge (Conrad, 2012:105). A young German veterinary surgeon visiting German farmers in Gobabis around 1919, commented on how difficult it was to live in South West Africa among so many uneducated people, yet he records how he had relished his visit there, where he had heard the best classical music, had seen the best of old and new German books, and had seen the fruits of hard labour (Grimm, 1929:276). Grimm (1929:427) writes that for the children of farmers, South West Africa meant everything. They had only known this life:

... nichts kann ihnen eine solche rauhe Liebe und Herrlichkeit zeigen wie Südwest ... Südwest ist ihr Mutterland, ihr Nährland ... Wir (haben) im deutschen Mandatslande doch hier zunächst ein deutsches Land, ein Stück deutsche Hoffnung zu verteidigen.

... nothing can offer them such rough love and cordiality as South West ... South West is their motherland, the country that nourishes them ... We have to defend a piece of German hope in this German country which has become a mandate.

Hintrager (1955:80) records the following: 'Die im Lande geborenen Kinder binden die eingewanderten Eltern an die neue Heimat, sie haben kein Heimweh nach der alten' ('The immigrant parents of children born in the country have attached themselves to the new *Heimat*, and they do not long for the old homeland'). The name 'Deutsch Südwestafrika', (German South-West Africa) with the spelling of 'Windhoek' (Afrikaans) being changed to

'Windhuk' in 1907 was indicative of the efforts to transform this foreign territory into a familiar space.

Hintrager (1955:86) cites a poem from the book *Briefe eines deutsches Mädchens aus Südwestafrika* (Berlin 1909) to indicate the attachment of Germans to South West Africa in spite of the hardships of settler life:

Südwest, du Land der Sonne und der Sterne,
Du Land der endlos blauen Ferne,
Der freien Flächen, wilden Felsriviere,
Du Land der Kudus und der Elandtiere,
Ich bau' auf deiner sonndurchglühten Erde
Gern Stein auf Stein zum Heimatherde.

*Southwest, country of the sun and stars,
Country of the infinite blue distance,
Of open plains, and wild rivers of rock,
Country of Kudu and Eland,
I build gladly on your sun-drenched earth
Stone upon stone for the people of my homeland.*

Colonial Governor, Dr F. von Linqvist, had spent time as Consul General in Cape Town before becoming Governor of Namibia from 1905 to 1907. In his experience, the church and the schools provided the pillars of *Deutschtum* in foreign countries (Hintrager, 1955:93). Hintrager (1955:134) notes that accomplished German teachers and erudite scholars presented themselves at institutions all over the world, and that the German schools in South West Africa were no different. The first music teacher sent to the German School (*Realschule*) in Windhoek by the Colonial Ministry in Berlin was Professor Heinrich Voigt.²⁹ The impact of a teacher with this background, who would have nurtured the group singing of German songs and hymns that constituted part of the school curriculum, would have been significant (Hintrager, 1955:134).

The growth of family life created a solid feeling of 'settledness'. The following statistics from Hintrager (1955:175), measured on 1 January each year, show the increase in the German population in the territory until the start of the First World War:

1891:	620 Whites including <i>Schutztruppe</i>
1894:	1 343 Whites including <i>Schutztruppe</i>
1898:	2 444 Whites including <i>Schutztruppe</i>
1903:	4 682 Whites including <i>Schutztruppe</i>
1908:	8 213 Whites excluding <i>Schutztruppe</i>

²⁹ Voigt studied at the Leipzig Conservatoire, and was the talented son of the first inspector of army music in Berlin (van Biljon, 1982:71).

1913:	13 011 Whites excluding <i>Schutztruppe</i>
1914:	14 830 Whites excluding <i>Schutztruppe</i>

In 1920, Prime Minister Smuts visited South West Africa and praised the Germans profusely for developing the land and bringing the country to the level at which it was at then. In a speech given in Windhoek, he had the following to say: ‘... So hätten die Deutschen auch in ihren Kolonien Großes geleistet und bewiesen, daß sie befähigt seien zu kolonisieren’ (‘...Thus the Germans have made significant achievements in their colonies and proved that they are capable of colonizing’) (Hintrager, 1955:179).

2.2 The influence of the missionaries

During the early part of the nineteenth century, the indigenous people, in particular the Nama and the Herero, were involved in fierce intertribal rivalry, which included heavy losses of men and cattle, as well as the deaths of their famous leaders (Troup, 1950:32). The missions were drawn into the rivalry through their association with the various tribes who had sought support from them. There was little mutual understanding of the respective modes of existence, in that European economic criteria could hardly be applied in dealing with people for whom land ownership was an alien concept. The following quote from Con Weinberg (1975:38) with regard to floggings for stock theft, further demonstrates the misunderstanding: ‘The Bushman did not understand it. He took the food that he found to hand because he was hungry. He did not steal because he was greedy or wished to acquire wealth’.³⁰ Vedder (1955:171) saw customs and traditions of the colonists and the colonized as being worlds apart, and supports this with the fact that according to European tradition, the Bushmen would appear dumb, but their ability to use a bow and arrow and set traps, their knowledge of plants and roots, their fables and stories, contributed to their own science.³¹

In order to fulfil their task more ably, the missionaries became involved in ending the continual inter-ethnic land disputes between the Herero and the Nama, and they welcomed the declaration of a protectorate over the territory (von Strandmann, 2011:221). Ulrich van der Heyden (2011:215) questions the validity of asserting that European Christian missionaries were the forerunners of European colonial rule, as the mission and colonial rule ran parallel to each other. Colonial literature reflects a fair division of the work between the mission and colonisers in the process of colonisation (van der Heyden, 2011:216). Ruth First (1963:64) notes that the work of the missionaries was an important stepping-stone in the

³⁰ Con Weinberg, whose duties included inspecting the gaol and being present for official legal floggings, was the district surgeon in Gibeon. On the occasions when Bushmen were arrested, they were given floggings and released, because if kept in captivity for too long, they died (Weinberg, 1975:38).

³¹ Vedder was a missionary, linguist and ethnologist who arrived in the colony in 1905.

process of German colonisation. She quotes Bismarck as having made the following statement years later: 'The missionary and the trader must precede the soldier'.

Theodor Leutwein, the first governor of the colony, expressed his gratitude to German missionaries for preparing the way for the appropriation of the territory, and for instilling German culture and civilisation in the local population (Olpp, 1914:4). At a political meeting in the *Kaserne* (Officers' Mess) in Windhoek, Governor Leutwein told the assembly that based on the fact that Cecil John Rhodes, to whom he referred as a '*schlaue Jude*' (clever Jew), was interested in the country, it would be worth continuing the fight to claim territory (Weinberg, 1975:81).³²

Johannes Olpp has documented how Mission Inspector Friedrich Fabri, appointed in 1857, had sent favourable reports back to Germany on the suitability of the territory as a German colony. As an administrator, Fabri's interest was in expanding Christianity as part of German identity; this differed from the interest of the theologians, whose emphasis was to shed the 'light of Christianity on the unenlightened world' (Oermann, 1999:32). Olpp (1914:4) debates whether without these reports of all the preliminary work carried out by Germans, the acquisitive Bremen trader Adolf Lüderitz would have deigned to sink his tent pegs into the sand of Angra Pequena. Fabri founded the *Missions Handelsgesellschaft* (Missions Trading Corporation), which linked the mission and European society. From 1868, Fabri had requested protection for the missionaries, and in 1880 he launched another attempt to convince the German Chancellor to enter the race with the British Crown for 'a place under the sun' (Oermann, 1999:55). Although Bismarck initially was against the acquisition of colonies due to a fear of financial drain, his position changed after industrialisation and the realisation that escalating unemployment might be solved through the acquisition of colonies (Wallace, 2011:116).

Until the arrival of the missionaries in the nineteenth century, the hinterland of South West Africa remained largely untouched by Europeans. The Albrecht brothers from the London Mission Society (LMS) established a mission station at Warmbad and acquired extensive

³² Jewish Namibian philanthropist, Sam Cohen, in consultation with the administration of the day, encouraged all former soldiers who were South West African Germans to return to the country after the Second World War. This comment by Kuntze (2001:171) was supported by his two granddaughters, Vivian and Cynthia. Dr Richard Baines, a family friend from Namibia, notes in email correspondence, that after the release of South West African internees from Andalusia, the German internment camp in South Africa during the Second World War, there was remarkably little or no anti-Semitism, but an anti-English sentiment prevailed. The Germans preferred to be referred to as German-speakers rather than Germans (2013). However, before the Second World War, the existence of a strong pro-Nazi sentiment in South West Africa is supported by the following statement: 'A pact of silence seemed to exist among this [referring to the German-speaking white South West Africans] section of the country's white population about their support of the Nazi's, which had resulted during the 1930s and 1940s, in South West Africa becoming the biggest bastion of Nazism outside Europe (Robins 2016:76). If one said anything against the Nazis or were non-conformist in any way, one was seen as a traitor – you were expected to show racial pride and prejudice (O'Linn, 1985:163). This must be seen in the context of rabid nationalism sweeping through Germany which would have escalated German pride.

knowledge of the local tribes. They were the first people to bring a piano into the territory, but together with all their possessions, everything was destroyed in a raid in 1811 (Levinson, 1976:15). Missionary Heinrich Schmelen, representing the LMS and the first European to learn the Nama language, opened a mission station in Bethanie in the south of the territory in 1806, where he built the 'Schmelenhaus', the oldest building in the territory. In 1840, the rights of the LMS were transferred to the Rhenish Mission Society (RMS) when Schmelen pressed for more missionaries. By 1842, he was joined by German missionaries Carl Hugo Hahn and Franz Kleinschmidt from the RMS. Hahn arrived in Windhoek in 1842 as a representative of the RMS, but after years of clashes regarding the purpose and activities of the mission, he left for Cape Town in 1873.³³

The life of the missionaries included spreading the word of God, teaching, educating indigenous inhabitants in Western ways (for example in the wearing of clothes),³⁴ keeping peace, researching the country and its languages, providing medical attention, farming, and carrying out manual labour. As is evident from this quote by Olpp (1914:7), the missionaries had the task of uplifting the local population: 'Diese Missionskolonie in Otjimbingue hatte die Aufgabe, dem nackten, tiefgesunkenen, an keine Arbeit denkenden Hirtenvolk das Christentum in Arbeit und Vorbild vorzuleben' ('This mission colony in Otjimbingue had the duty of leading the naked, suppressed pastoral folk, who were not used to working, by example and through Christianity'). The indigenous people worked hard to build churches and schools. Mission schools focused on literacy, which was necessary for reading the Bible and hymn books. Kaemmer (1998:718) writes that 'Most missionaries had difficulty distinguishing between Christian doctrine and European culture. They tended to disparage African customs and African music which they believed not only inferior, but also sinful'. Apart from reading, writing and arithmetic, music, singing, the reading of sheet music and the handling of musical instruments, handcraft and gardening were also included in their curriculum (Cohen, 1994:62) (Gewald, 2002:108). Missionaries were of the view that a musical training was a fundamental step towards the civilization of their charges. (Gewald, 2002:108)³⁵ Trainee missionaries were taught the basic skills of elementary violin and harmonium playing (Vedder, 1955:104) on the instruments imported by the missionaries.³⁶ Hugo von François, younger brother of Curt von François, who founded Windhoek and was a

³³ 'Hahn's interest was autonomous mission work among the Africans, while Fabri saw (the) mission as an instrument to execute cultural and economic projects. His political motivation was rooted firmly in German society' (Oermann, 1999:31).

³⁴ Olpp (1914:7) mentions that 'Die bis zum Jahre 1863 ganz nackten Heiden lernten sich kleiden...' ('The heathens, who had gone naked until 1863, learnt to clothe themselves...').

³⁵ Coplan in Gewald (2002:108) implies that the musical instruments which the Hereros learnt, were adapted and modified to suit their traditions and liking.

³⁶ There were musical instruments such as violins, penny-whistles, tambourines and organs in Southern Africa prior to 1880 (Gewald, 2002:108).

captain in the colonial army, notes in Gewald (2002:108) how impressed he was with Zemoundja Kandikirira, a close cousin of Samuel Maherero, leader of the Hereros, who had the ability to read sheet music and turned the pages for his wife as she played *Lieder* on the piano following an afternoon tea in 1893. Nevertheless, education by the missionaries was not intended to turn the locals into equals, but rather to create perfect 'natives'. The ideal was that the '...boundary between the colonizers and the colonized should remain clearly visible' (Conrad, 2012:117). The missionaries, however, saw the purpose of music making as 'proclaiming the glory of God' (Gewald, 2002:109), whereas the Hereros felt that their musical skills could be used to earn money in the trying economic conditions of the 1920s. Dance halls were established in the African locations in Namibia for small bands to eke out a living (Gewald, 2002:110).

A certain pastor from Gütersloh, Heinrich Volkening, made a huge impression on missionary Heinrich Vedder, who also came from Gütersloh. On hearing about a new mission station which sent missionaries to heathen lands, he left Gütersloh for Barmen in the hope of being selected as a missionary. His ability to play the harmonium and to lead congregations in the singing of hymns one after the other, drew many of the townsfolk to his sermons. Without underrating the value of the hymn book, Volkening realised the need for songs that could be sung while cooking, spinning and working in the field: church songs for the church, and folk songs for the home and at work. He put together and published a booklet called *Die kleine Missionsharfe*, of which 20 000 copies were distributed. This collection of folk songs was sung with great enthusiasm by all, with people walking and singing to the accompaniment of drums and brass (Vedder, 1955:35). Vedder was eventually selected as a missionary in 1903, and after having been bid farewell with choral and brass performances and a month at sea on the 'Helene Woermann', he landed at Swakopmund.

The significance and reliability of the work done by missionaries in paving the way for officers and officials, and their understanding and willingness to share their knowledge, cannot be overstated (Olpp, 1914:12). Although this was Olpp's perception at the time, it is more generally recognised that the missionaries also caused great damage to local cultures and practices. Oermann (1999:35) mentions two types of missionaries, namely the pre-colonial missionaries, who had a certain level of international experience and who were more accepting of non-European cultures than their colonial peers, and who believed they 'were exporting Christian values and European civilisation to Africa'. This group of missionaries included artisans, farmers and traders. They were very different to the more patriotic and political missionaries who came to South West Africa after the Herero War in 1907, including

professionals such as farmers, teachers and nurses who could run mission projects.³⁷ Missionary Kurt Nowack, a qualified teacher, saw his mission as exporting German culture and being the bearer of German tradition (Oermann, 1999:36–37). By 1926, August Stauch writes in Levinson (1965:131) that German schools ‘had become bulwarks of German culture’. It is also noteworthy that in this time, settlers of German descent became increasingly outspoken in their disapproval of what they saw as a disregard for German rights in the territory, and called for the restoration of German colonial rule (Gewald, 2002:111). Members of the German community dressed in uniforms modelled on those of German soldiers, paraded and campaigned for the restoration of German rule. To argue the importance of music in this atmosphere of heightened nationalist awareness, it is necessary to retrace the origins of German nationalism and the role that music played in this movement in the late nineteenth century when South West Africa became a German territory.

2.3 German nationalism

The unification of Germany would not have been possible without German art, without German science, and without German music – the German Lied in particular (Bismarck in Bostridge, 2015).

German nationalism survived Napoleon’s defeat and the Congress of Vienna in 1815 (James, 1990:20) in the form of a ‘national awakening among the relatively cultured class’. In the late-eighteenth century, education or *Bildung* was the prerogative of very few who defined their elitism in terms of education. The definitive thinking about communities bound together by language was articulated by Johann Gottfried Herder. Herder writes about cultural transfer through families (James, 1990:38), where identity is upheld through language, through relaying history via songs and by the construction of monuments, and that in order to realise this identity, there needs be an ‘other’. Conrad (2012:122) contends that ‘Colonial policy was constantly concerned with demarcating difference and maintaining otherness, because ultimately, it was on this difference that its claims to sovereignty were based’.

Student fraternities which were formed after the age of German enlightenment in 1811 attracted increasing membership from more eclectic social backgrounds. Applegate (2002:6) comments that ‘... music had contributed more than any other art to the “formation of the German nation,”’ and ‘... that no other art lay so close to the essence of being German ...’ Felix Mendelssohn’s performance of Bach’s St Matthew Passion in Berlin, which involved

³⁷ A typical missionary was the offspring of an artisan or farm worker and from a family of many children. Very few were educated after the age of fourteen, but many showed keen interest in doing courses while on missions, in order to progress socially. As part of their training, ‘Candidates were taught basic medicine and how to play a musical instrument, in order to provide them with the practical skills required for their daily mission work’ (Oermann, 1999:41).

amateur performers, sparked a wave of followers and supporters of amateur music productions who asserted their national identity through support of such performances. The growth of choral festivals involved the large-scale participation of amateurs (Applegate & Potter (eds), 2002:10). German music was also shaped by the growth of the folk song. Music was seen as *Bildung* (education) and focused on the cultivation of a specifically German repertoire in order to reinforce Germans as the 'people of music' (Applegate & Potter (eds), 2002:17). Traditional sacred German music was nurtured by the introduction of *Singakademien* (Singing Academies), and *Liedertafeln* (literally translated as a feast of songs), providing the opportunity for men to gather and perform their own compositions in a convivial environment (Applegate & Potter (eds), 2002:13). Through these activities, and more specifically through amateur choral movements, German music proliferated and German identity through music was strengthened. Kestenberg in Applegate & Potter (eds), (2002:18) has the following to say: 'The 1862 Charter of the German Singers League (*Deutsche Sängerbund*) dedicated itself to the "... promotion of German feeling through the unifying power of German song ... to preserve and enhance the German national consciousness and a feeling of solidarity among German tribes.'" Both singing of folk songs and the playing of classical music were used to counter the embarrassment and loss of pride after Germany's defeat in the First World War. Music was seen as promoting community building and fostering feelings of camaraderie under the umbrella of a shared musical heritage. New conservatories drew students from all over the world and according to Potter, Germany had the largest number of orchestras and opera houses per capita in the world (Applegate & Potter (eds), 2002:21–22). The Nazi government encouraged and supported the growth of music, folk music in particular, and regarded their musical accomplishments as substantiation of their superiority (Applegate & Potter (eds), 2002:25–27).

Richard Wagner's *Tannhäuser* (first performed in 1845) and *Lohengrin* (first performed in 1850), used German music about German themes, in this case based on medieval stories and 'laced with an updated patriotism' (James, 1990:92). Although the music of these operas was more nationalistic than anything written in his later life, Wagner regarded nationalism as revolutionary.³⁸ Propogandists viewed Wagner as a musical hero, whereas 'ordinary' Germans identified their Germanness with church music (Bergen, 2002:141).

Around the turn of the eighteenth century, the emphasis moved from music composed and performed for the court, to music conceived for the public, with the emphasis on entertainment and exhibitionism of singers and instrumentalists (Dunwell, 1962:189). In

³⁸ 'Nationalism in Wagner's eyes was, above all, revolutionary and regenerative' (James, 1990:93).

1813, order to protect musicians, the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* (Society of the Friends of Music) and the Royal Philharmonic Society were founded in Vienna and London respectively. By 1858, the Viennese societies had expanded to include a Singing Society and in 1859, an Orchestral Society.³⁹ Under the leadership of Liszt and his colleagues, the *Allgemeine Deutsche Musikverein* (ADMV) was founded at Weimar in 1861 to cultivate and advance German musical life and encourage German compositions for future generations (Deauville, 2009:481).

Another factor which led to the creation of the ADMV was the German culture of festivals and the *Vereinswesen* (clubs and societies) during the middle- and late-nineteenth century. A supportive public, together with the continual technical improvement of instruments and the spreading of music through broadcasts and the gramophone, saw the dawn of a new forum for the training of professional musicians in the opening of conservatoires in Europe (Dunwell, 1962:189): ‘Music came across as Germany’s most important cultural commodity and musical talent as a distinguishing feature of the German nation’ (Applegate & Potter (eds), 2002:22). The solidarity and uniformity of clubs were emphasised through the wearing of identical clothing in clubs such as the *Turnverein* (Gymnastics Society) (James, 1990:48). The state could not offer them unity through politics, but they found that they could enable it through national art. Based on this history, it is evident that this long-standing tradition of classical music rooted in the German-speaking countries would find momentum in a form of re-enactment of the familiar by colonialists.

Assman in Bithell (2006:6) refers to ‘cultural memory’ as a mode of remembering the past, where traditions are passed down from generation to generation, and which ‘nurtures a sense of collective identity based on a “shared past”’. In Hans Grimm’s *Volk ohne Raum* (1926) he expresses the need for *Lebensraum*: ‘German(y) needed room and sun and inner freedom in order to become good and beautiful’ (James, 1990:142). Conservative thinkers believed over-industrialisation had caused rampant unemployment in the depression years, and that this could only be corrected by a reversion to an agrarian lifestyle. The notion of ‘cultural understanding’ applied by Gunther Grass to the shared memories and heritage of East and West Germany (James, 1990:228) is also valid in many respects when thinking about Germany’s colonial past and her foreign lands.

2.4 Nationalism in South West Africa

Von Strandmann (2011:195–196) lists the six explanations underpinning German colonial expansion. Firstly, direct emigration directed by Germany to fixed territories could counter the

³⁹ By 1842, Court Opera Orchestras were playing in public as paid professionals (Dunwell, 1962:89).

dilution of the strength of the nation due to undirected migration; secondly, Germany could benefit from colonies in terms of growth in international trade, specifically in the shipping, export and import fields; thirdly, because of the growth of missionary societies, visiting missionaries were able to share their interpretation of Germany's role outside Europe with smaller congregations in the countryside, and campaign for the end to slavery in Africa; fourthly, the blossoming of geographical societies all over Germany attracted increasing number of members with growing interests in the 'exploration of unknown territories and overseas travel'; fifthly, economic and political pressure groups were founded to enhance public awareness of the need for overseas involvement; and sixthly, it was widely accepted by liberals, who spread colonial propaganda, that Germany needed to expand in order to keep up with other European nations.

In addition to these explanations, businessmen in German colonies were eager for government protection, financial support and co-operation that would follow formal colonization, and they did not hesitate to enlist nationalist sentiments to encourage their governments to action. Adolph Woermann, for instance, 'alerted Berlin to the partitioning of West Africa amongst the British and French authorities' (von Strandmann, 2011:198).⁴⁰ The 'civilizing mission' directed at the indigenous people of South West Africa coined the notorious phrase 'Erziehung zur Arbeit', meaning to educate minimally and to work optimally (von Strandmann, 2011:201). Leutwein in von Strandmann (2011:202) writes that: '... the colonizing race does not want to bring happiness to the indigenous population but looks after its own advantage and profit'. Grimm's view that there was a fundamental difference between Europeans and Africans, and that those who had fallen into the degenerate life of living with an African had 'lapsed' to the same level as 'the African' (Aitken, 2007:151), suggests some degree of overlap between race theories and cultural agendas.

Twenty years after colonial expansion had begun Germany had imploded as a colonial power, losing all her colonial possessions and her flags flying only over her home country (First, 1963:69). The enclaves of male-dominated societies (traders, missionaries, civil servants, military personnel and settlers) established by the colonial endeavour, constituted minor ratios of the populations where they found themselves, and close-knit communities fostered their interrelations through membership of clubs and societies in the form of organised geniality (Conrad, 2012:101–102). Their get-togethers included the singing of their cherished folk songs. These activities connected them to their Fatherland spiritually. Colonial Associations such as the *Deutscher Kolonialgesellschaft* (DKG) supported measures to

⁴⁰ The term 'protectorate', which was frequently used in the colonisation process, was something of a paradox, as the only protection appeared to be for commercial enterprises, and the brutal exploitation of the indigenous people by the colonisers fell outside of the implication of the term (von Strandmann, 2011:198).

encourage the growth of settler communities in the colonies, where they viewed the considerations as a ‘reconstruction of Germanness’ (Conrad, 2012:104). These ideas were aligned to the agrarian lifestyle in pre-industrial Germany, and discussions on the role and search for ideal settlers to assume the role of bearers of German culture, including work ethics, proved to be a serious consideration (Conrad, 2012:104).

The first women were sent to South West Africa after the prohibition of mixed marriages in 1898, to combat the prevalence of miscegenation.⁴¹ The *Frauenbund der Deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft* (FBDKG), a branch of the DKG, was conceived in 1907 and from then onwards, there was a constant increase in its sponsorship of passages for women to the colony, to assist with the creation of a German home with a German housewife (Aitken, 2007:171, 181). According to Aitken (2007:172), the German woman in the colony was more than a wife and a mother, and bore the role of ‘bearer of culture’ (*Kulturträgerin*), and of ‘being the protector of the very essence of all that was German’. Middle-class women were educated in the roles of domesticity and home-making, an education focused on obedience and subordination in preparation for their eventually becoming suitable marriage partners to the settler population (Conrad, 2012:146–147). Countess Zech, head of the colonial school in Witzenhausen, interpreted the role of women in the colonies as follows: ‘With true femininity, they will place the stamp of their natures on the new, overseas bearers of German traditions and culture in the new overseas Germany. Filled with the spirit of true Christianity, they will be the high priestesses of German customs, the bearers of German culture and a blessing in faraway lands’ (Conrad, 2012:119–120). These measures were prompted by the great fear of ‘going native’ and the implication of this being the end of the German people (Conrad, S., 2012:119). Shipments of girls from Germany, trained to deal with colonial life by the *Deutsche Frauenverein* (German Women’s Association) in order to provide German wives for the soldiers and settlers, became known light-heartedly as *Weihnachtspakete* (‘Christmas parcels’) due to the first arrival at Christmas (Baericke, 2001:154).⁴²

Music played an important role in these imaginings of a Germany away from Germany: ‘... the development of German nationalism in the territory was fuelled by organisations and clubs such as choirs, gymnastic teams, literary magazines, youth groups, carnival, cultural

⁴¹ In 1894, the number of white German women constituted 8 percent of the population, and the highest percentage was 21 percent recorded, which was recorded in 1913 (Walther, 2002:58).

⁴² The girls were housed in *Heimatshäuser* (Homeland houses) in Windhoek and Keetmanshoop, also jestingly known as *Heiratshäuser* (Marriage houses). Baericke (2001:156) relates a story about the matron of the Keetmanshoop Heimatshaus organising a tea evening to which all eligible young men were invited. Cakes were baked for the social occasion, where they sang German folksongs, played music and danced. On one occasion, a German farmer who had been co-habiting with a Hottentot woman, fell in love with one of these new arrivals. He was encouraged by a friend to get rid of the Hottentot woman immediately. However, the house needed general attention to prepare it for a white woman, implying that he had been living in rather squalid conditions, which were obviously acceptable to a Hottentot woman but would certainly not have been appropriate for his little lady from the Rhine.

associations and so forth' (Gewald, 2002:111). The social and political lives and social standing of a great majority of German settlers revolved around such structures, which exemplified the essence of 'proper' German culture and behaviour (Walther, 2002:41). Aitken (2007:127) writes: 'Such clubs did not open their membership to those categorised as *Eingeborene* and increasingly they also took to closing their membership to European men known to be married to indigenous women ... such Europeans were excluded from membership'. Magazines covered choir tours to the 'glorious cities of Germany', and organisations such as the *Windhuker Gesangverein* (Windhoek Singing Society) and the *Turnverein*, were effectively a façade for the uncompromising German nationalist sentiments shared by most of the settlers at that time (Gewald, 2002:111). Ironically, German settler organisations commemorated the Herero-German war with a presentation of flag bearers of the various German organisations, followed by a parade through Windhoek with a hired band consisting of only *indigenous* people (own emphasis) (*Der Reiter von Südwest* in Gewald 2002:112).

Actions such as the internment of German-speaking men during both the First and the Second World Wars gave rise to questions over the acceptance of the permanence of the German-speaking community in South West Africa (Silvester, 2005:272).⁴³ Silvester (2005:271) expresses the imperatives of belonging as follows: 'The construction of a local white settler identity also involved the difficult forging of a sense of common allegiance to a particular territorial space'. After the First World War, 7 000 of the 14 000 settlers, mostly government officials and members of the military and police forces, were repatriated. By 1930 the Germans had become the minority group with the arrival of a large number of immigrant 'poor white' Boers⁴⁴ from South Africa. Conrad (2012:193) writes: 'Among the remaining settlers, the preservation and construction of "Germanness" emerged as a central concern'. The development of the identity of the '*Südwester*' ('Southwester') discriminated between the settlers who were committed to staying and those who were serving functions of colonial duty (Silvester, 2005:271). Silvester (2005:274) also mentions that 'In Namibia, the politics of heritage and commemoration played an important role in shaping the image and defining the boundaries of being a Southwester'. He says that 'monuments ... create a separate distinctive identity' and that these markers have been 'a public reading of Namibia's history and the role and definition of the settler community within this narrative' (2005:274).⁴⁵

⁴³ '... German Namibians strongly advocated the assertion of local settler autonomy and a "Southwest" identity as a counterargument to requests that the territory should be politically and economically absorbed into South Africa' (Silvester 2005:272).

⁴⁴ The reference to Boer, literally translated as farmer, is synonymous with the term Afrikaner, as in 'an Afrikaans speaking white African'.

⁴⁵ The iconic bronze statue of a German soldier on horseback (the *Reiterdenkmal*), was removed from its prominent position outside the *Alte Feste* on Christmas evening 2013 and put into the courtyard of the *Alte Feste*. On 21 March 2014, the North-Korean commissioned statue of Sam Nujoma, first president of the independent

Being a 'Southwester' meant being a German speaking person living in South West Africa (Rüdiger, 1993:152). With the Germans being the 'in-group', and the initial need to civilize the indigenous people in the later nineteenth century, the implication was that the civilizers were superior. Rüdiger also discusses the view of an 'out group'. The imperialist missions of civilization who taught Western culture and work ethics, established that the ethnic people were 'inferior' and they were branded as such (Rüdiger, 1993:152). By 1914, the Germans had stamped their cultural and physical presence on the country they saw as their new homeland, and as early as 1914, many referred to themselves as 'Südwestler' (Walther, 2002:3).⁴⁶ Their vision of *Deutschtum* as the dominant culture was threatened by the increasing arrival of Afrikaners from the Cape Colony, undesirable elements and the growth of the mulatto population through the rise in miscegenation (Walther, 2002:3–4). Erstoff writes that Afrikaners had to prove that they had more wealth than was required from the German arrivals, and on acceptance, they were granted German citizenship, their sons were invited to join the colonial army, and their children were encouraged to attend German schools (Walther, 2002:33).

The German-speaking South West Africans also isolated themselves from the South Africans immigrants, who were mostly *Boers*, and whom they regarded as lazy and slothful, as opposed to their vision of themselves as diligent and hard-working (Eberhardt, 2007:24). The *Boers* and the British came to the assistance of the Germans in the Herero War, but the *Boers* felt they were treated in an undignified manner, and left in their droves. 'Feeling between German and Boer is very strained. They do not understand each other' (from a citation by Special Commissioner of the *Transvaal Chronicle*, after the Herero War (Calvert, 1915:32). As per the following quote by Pistorius, there would have been feelings of exclusion by those regarded as the 'other' by the colonizers: 'Post-colonial thought always operates from the assumption that the colonized subject finds him-/herself on the outskirts of empire, the perpetual outsider' (Pistorius, 2015). The subsequent genocide and oppressive regulations would have contributed to these sentiments. The Germans went out of their way to distance themselves from their fellow countrymen, whilst the divide would have been exacerbated by the locals who would have found it difficult to warm to them. It could be said that the colonisers did not seek to assimilate themselves into the existing society, nor did the local populace invite them to do so.

Cultural impresarios safeguarded the visual memory of the colonial period, and younger generations were taught the history of the German sacrifice which kept their connection to

Namibia, was unveiled on the original site of the *Reiterdenkmal* (<http://www.freiburg-postkolonial.de/Seiten/Zeller-Reiterdenkmal-1912.htm>).

⁴⁶ The Germans had moved from being Southwestern Germans to German *Südwestler* (Walther, 2002:5).

the history of the territory alive. The *Reiterdenkmal* (German soldier or *Schutztruppler* on horseback), inaugurated on the Kaiser's birthday on 27 January 1912 on the hilltop alongside the *Christuskirche* and guarding the entrance to parliament, was to become the most visual icon of German colonial identity (Silvester, 2005:276). The youth movement called the *Pfadfinder* (similar to the Girl Guide and Boy Scout movements), became very involved in commemorative events (Silvester, 2005:276). In *Der Pfadfinder* of 5 February 1938, a magazine published in Windhoek for the members of this group, a report refers to the readers as South West Africans and no longer subjects of the German Reich, but of South Africa, and it clearly states that they are apolitical. They would continue to live and grow in the country as South African subjects, but they were to remember that 'Wir sind aber deutschen Blutes und sind deutsch geboren und werden Deutsch bleiben' ('We are German-blooded, we were born German and we will remain German') (Kock, 2002:28).

With the arrival of the *Schutztruppen*, military brass bands were introduced into Namibia and became part of everyday life. The spectacles of victory parades and festivities celebrating the *Kaiser's* birthday were accompanied by wagons, soldiers, trumpeters and horsemen. These inspired the Herero soldiers to acquire bugles and trumpets to accompany their own parades. Based on circumstantial evidence (the archives of the *Schutztruppen* were lost in a fire in 1914), at least two military bands were staffed by Herero and Damara soldiers at the time of the defeat of the German army in 1915 by South African forces. Their defeat and ensuing absence meant that the missionaries once again became important in the provision of instruments and basic tuition.

German military music was used to celebrate conquests with performances by the marines. In German East Africa and Cameroon, military musicians of the *Schutztruppe* were bolstered by volunteers from the local indigenous population. However, a photograph in Golf Dornseif's article (Dornseif, (n.d)b:2), taken in 1905, shows about twenty trumpeters all on white horses, all members of the mounted cavalry Trumpet Corps and part of the DSWA *Schutztruppe*, with timpani and a Trumpet Major to conduct – ostensibly all of European of descent. The photograph below pictures the *Schutztruppen* band on a march from Warmbad to Sandfontein:



Figure 2.4: *Schutztruppe* band on a march from Warmbad to Sandfontein. Source: Swakopmund Scientific Society (n.d.).

Military brass bands were introduced with the arrival of the military forces, and became a focal point in Namibian everyday life, whether it was their practising in the barracks or on parade for festivals such as the Kaiser's birthday (Gewald, 2002:108). The Herero soldiers, who had been parading in German style uniforms since 1870, strove to purchase trumpets and bugles. By 1915, after the capitulation of the Germans to the South African forces, the indigenous people in South West Africa, who drew on their observations and experience of the military music practised by the Protection Forces, staffed at least two military bands (Gewald, 2002:108). Their skills were put to use in a 'private Military Music Corps' which led the procession in 1923 of the returning Herero Chief, Samuel Maherero, from Bechuanaland (now Botswana) to Okahandja, to the music of 'Deutschland Hoch in Ehren', (Germany in high honour) with the trooping of the former Reich's war flag (Dornseif, n.d.b:3). The caption to another photograph in Dornseif n.d.b:12), taken in 1927, reflects the partiality of South African authorities to the continuation of this tradition, where the band consisted of indigenous citizens: 'Schwarze "Militärkapelle" deutscher Prägung 1927 in Südwestafrika (Mandatsgebiet) als Traditionsträgerin eigener Fantasie – von den südafrikanischen Behörden wohlwollend akzeptiert.' ('Black "Military Band" as moulded by the Germans in 1927 in South West Africa (Mandated territory), as bearers of the tradition of their fantasy – benevolently accepted by the South African authorities'). One can assume that after the mandate and the loss of political self-determination, the continuation of German military music traditions by indigenous people signalled the functional change of military music in the continuation of a cultural heritage.

The dominant involvement of the German-speaking community in memorialisation politics, gave the people (the Southwesterners in particular) and the country, South West Africa, an inimitable identity. According to the Bahlsen document,⁴⁷ Governor Theodor Leutwein brought German military musicians to the territory in 1901 and Sunday performances by the military band would draw the enthusiastic Windhoek civilians to the lush *Truppengarten* to listen to its music. The military band in Windhoek was led by Corps Leader Kirstein until 1904, after which it was taken over by the Messrs Suhle, Ehle and Kind. A record exists of the 1908 symphony concerts under the baton of trumpeter Sergeant Schinkoethe. The Bahlsen article mentions that Schinkoethe's orchestra also performed with singing societies and church choirs. Singing life was dominated by the missions and churches, and teachers and ministers would often make small groups of singers available for community and church performances. Paymaster Huschens led the Catholic Church choir from 1905 to 1907. Singing groups also arose within societies such as the War Society and the Gymnastics Society. During the occupation years of 1914 to 1918, the *Windhoeker Musikfreunde* (WMF) (Windhoek Music Friends) was started by musicians. They played mostly chamber music, and in 1918 and 1919 two public performances were held, including Beethoven's *Leonore Overture*, Weber's *Oberon Overture*, Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony* and a movement from Beethoven's Eighth Symphony. Musical life came to a standstill with the deportation of Germans; however, in 1920 Hans Müller took over leadership of the Windhoeker Männergesangverein. In the following ten years, forty-nine concerts were performed by amateur musicians.

The strong emphasis on singing within the schools, according to the author of the Bahlsen document, 'contributed to the development of a love for music amongst the youth in their new homeland'. In 1918, the seventeen German schools in South West Africa were taken over by the South African Administration, and English and Afrikaans became the languages of tuition. With the knowledge that schools would need to be the primary carriers of German culture, the German community founded private schools and opened hostels in the larger towns such as Windhoek, Swakopmund and Lüderitzbucht (Kock, 2002:35). Later these schools would be supported by grants from Germany. After 1923, the person in charge of education for South West Africa, Dr H. Kreft, instructed a young teacher in service, Dr C. Frey, to open and administer German sections in existing government schools, where justifiable and possible and where private German schools were struggling financially (Kock, 2002:36). According to Kock, the fact that German is still spoken in Namibian homes, that German songs are still

⁴⁷ Paul Bahlsen gave the writer a copy of a document, referred to as the Bahlsen document in the reference list. It is written in Gothic German and appears to be from a newspaper. There is a document with the same title in the Windhoek archives, which was sourced on a preliminary research visit, but at that stage the Bahlsen document had not been acquired yet, and therefore it was never verified that these two documents concurred. The document in question is Accession number A.0203, Title: Music, 1930–1956.

sung and that German festivals are still celebrated in Namibia today, can be ascribed to the work of Kreft and Frey. Wilhelm Weizel (2002:202),⁴⁸ a former headmaster at the *Deutsche Höhere Privatschule* (DHPS) in Windhoek, has the following to say regarding the continuation of German schooling: 'Die Grundbedingung für die Erhaltung der deutschen Sprache und ihre weitere Ausbreitung ist die deutschsprachige Schule'. ('The basic condition for the conservation of the German language and the extent of its implications is the German speaking school'). *Das Südwesterland*, written by H.A. Klein-Werner in 1937 and based on the melody of an old *Panzerlied*, was sung at commemorative ceremonies as recently as 2001.⁴⁹



Figure 2.5: A copy of *Das Südwesterland Lied*, written by H.A. Klein-Werner. Source: Aardtrog Blog (n.d.)⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Weizel facilitated the importation of a pipe organ for the DHPS Aula, which is named after him.

⁴⁹ A childhood memory, apart from of the rivalry that existed between the different language groups of school-going youth, was that everybody knew *Das Südwesterland Lied* (The South West Land Song), which had the status of a national anthem. Any spontaneous or arranged singing of this song created instant camaraderie amongst the participants, particularly on foreign soil. The song was originally written by Klein-Werner for the *Pfadfinder* to have a song that related to South West Africa, instead of Germany. He believed that if the joy of singing had to be captured through appealing songs to which young people could relate (Walther, 2002:189).

⁵⁰ I remember this precise image of *Das Südwesterland Lied* from countless framed versions in the homes of many of my then South West African friends. Mrs Hatterscheidt, amongst others, still displays this framed image in her home in Cape Town (2016).

*Our land is as hard as camel thorn wood
And its rivers are dry.
The stones are burnt from the sun
And the animals shy away in the bushes.*

CHORUS:

*And if one was to ask us
What keeps you here?
We would only be able to say:
We love South West!*

*But our love has cost us dearly
In spite of this, we will not leave you.
Our care for you outshines
the bright light of the shining sun.*

CHORUS

*And if you were to come here yourself
And see the vast expanses
And if our sun burnt your heart
Then you would also not be able to leave again.*

CHORUS

Even after settlers from the Union of South Africa came to dominate the demographic profile of the settler community, 'the memorial landscape and urban architecture remained strongly German' (Silvester, 2005:278).⁵¹ Political discussions in the Legislative Assembly were dominated by Afrikaans speakers from 1950 to 1980, but German speakers positioned themselves as 'the custodians of history and heritage' in South West Africa (Totemeyer in Silvester, 2005:280). To coincide with the commemoration of the 300th anniversary in 1952 of the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck at the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, an event in which many South West African officials participated, the German-speaking community organised a cultural festival called WIKA (*Windhoek Karnival*) at the *Sport Klub Windhoek* (SKW). The following year, a statue of Adolf Lüderitz, founder of the town of Lüderitzbucht and seen by the German-speaking community as the man who founded colonial Namibia, was unveiled in Lüderitz.

By 1970, when the German-speaking community made up seventeen percent of the white population, West in Silvester (2005:282) writes about the perception of African nationalist leader Fanel Kozonguize.⁵² His perception was that the Germans in Namibia were the 'real whites', and that their intention to remain in the country was unfaltering.

⁵¹ German South West Africa simply became South West Africa and the spelling of Windhuk was changed to Windhoek.

⁵² Kozonguize was a Herero.

2.5 On *Deutschtum* or Germanness

The vision of empire and music was prophetically announced by Richard Wagner in 1848: 'We will sail in ships across the sea and here and there set up a new Germany' (Conrad, 2012:17) and also Horst Gründer in Conrad: 'We will do it in a wonderful, German way' (2012:17–18).

The large scale emigration of Germans to the United States during the nineteenth century saw a considerable loss to the national fibre of Germany in that a law ending citizenship after ten years of leaving the country was validated (Conrad, 2012:152). With the acquisition of colonies, however, this law was revoked in favour of a citizenship which would not expire (and was transferrable to descendants) in order to uphold relations with the homeland (Conrad 2012:152). This provided the settlers with the opportunity to create a German homeland in a new environment without the threat of denunciation of their affiliation to Germany. It also gave interested parties the opportunity to create a German style of living imported from their homeland without the need to assimilate a new culture in a nationally informed re-enactment of the familiar. Of relevance to my hypothesis of music and *Deutschtum* in Namibia is Christa Schwarzkopf's assertion (Fuller, 2008:12) that the German immigrants in America in the nineteenth century were perceived as being 'cultured and educated', and their cultural norm was perceived through the practice of classical music and literature. South West Africa was seen as the destination of choice for rerouting settlers from the United States (Wallace, 2011:194), in order to continue traditions and avoid assimilation.

By the middle of the nineteenth century there were approximately 250 000 German emigrants worldwide, who were described as the overseas Germans (Conrad, 2012:18): 'The idea of "overseas Germans" (*Auslandsdeutsche*) acted as a kind of *Ersatz* (surrogate) national community, outside the physical boundaries of the German states, through which Germans could "invent" themselves as a nation' (Conrad, 2012:18). The term 'emigrant' implies the risk of loss of identity through a permanent move from the *Heimat*, whereas the term 'overseas German' suggests abiding cultural and linguistic attachments to the German nation. Geissler states that 'Germanness was replicated, renewed and reinvigorated everywhere the German colonial imagination went' (Geissler, 2009:54).

Staunch nationalists saw colonialism as the path to becoming a world power, and colonies as ideal spaces in which to build *Deutschtum* (Wallace, 2011:194). The harsh methods of discipline served as the major rationalisation for dispossessing Germany of its colonies during discussions at the Treaty of Versailles (Lindner, 2011:258). The Germans were continually trying to prove that they had been better colonisers than the experienced British colonisers, whose rule had been more flexible than the brutality of the Germans (Lindner,

2011:254–255, 257–258). Franz Josef von Bülow, who had spent three years in German South West Africa in the 1890s, suggested that Germany as a people of ‘poets and intellectuals’ could learn colonial practise from English, who were essentially a nation of ‘merchants and shopkeepers’ (Lindner, 2011:256). The Germans tried to reach a similar standing as Britain in the colonial world, but seemed to radicalise their system in the form of an overregulated society, and this attitude could possibly have been in an attempt to gain ground on British colonial reputation.

Before the First World War, German national propagandists tried to reinforce the self-image by presenting the ‘Other’, such as the Jews, the British, the Poles and the native Africans, as threatening forces (Pistorius, 2015). No German state existed, and German identity attached more importance to culture and language (Rash, 2012:43–46). In the mid-1930s in Germany, music was the one art form which survived the Nazi censorship processes, primarily because it was the least political of the arts. The Nazi leaders imposed strict and severe censorship of literature, fine arts, theatre, the press, radio and films, and anything which did not serve the propaganda purposes of the new regime was effectively muzzled. Most of the leading figures in the German music world chose to remain in Nazi Germany, many of whom actively participated in the promotion of the Third Reich. However, the performance of any composition by Mendelssohn, for example, was banned because Mendelssohn was Jewish. The works of all Jewish composers were banned. German classical music appears to have been used as a tool to promote nationalism (Shirer, 1964:301–302).

According to Wallace (2011:194, 196), the idea of *Deutschtum* was founded on the notion that the white German race was both pure and superior and as such, constituted an elite. This elitism in turn led to boundaries being created between the so-called pure Germans and others whom they viewed to be impure. In particular, German communities in the towns of German South West Africa actively promoted cultural institutions in the form of clubs and associations to the exclusion of undesirables (Wallace, 2011:196). These undesirables included poorer groups of migrant farmers from South Africa, known as the Trekboers, who were viewed as low class, as well as those involved in inter-racial marriages (Wallace, 2011:194–196). ‘The idea of *Deutschtum* rested on a concept of the purity and superiority of the white, and specifically the German race’ (Wallace, 2011:194).

Some historical trace of this strategy is found in an article published by missionary, C. Wandres in the *Windhoeker Nachrichten* of 10 March 1909 (Wandres, 1909). He advocated the Germanisation of the colony through the politics of naming. He stated that once the Germans had paid with their blood to turn South West Africa into a German country, it should be their foremost duty to establish the language and culture: ‘With enthusiasm we

may sing “*Deutschland, Deutschland über alles*” ... do not forget that you are German.⁵³

Some of the colonial representatives in Germany saw the cultural bourgeois lifestyle as the ‘avant-garde of a renewal of the German nation’, a process removed from the conflicts of the political unification of the *Kaiserreich* (Conrad, 2012:103). The settlers in Deutsch Südwest Afrika (DSWA) were representative of all professions and classes, but felt drawn together by their small numbers and common heritage (Conrad, 2012:193). In spite of the large number of clubs fostering German traditions, social distinctions remained unyielding as the distinctions were drawn between new arrivals and ‘old Africans’ (Bley, 1971:78). Seeleman (1971:5) notes the following significant observations in his book written in celebration of two study trips to South West Africa:

Alle Menschen fühlen sich, wie ich auf meinem Reisen festgestellt habe, dort wohl. Sie haben an deutscher Kultur festgehalten, deutsche Gesinnung bewahrt und sind nicht, wo anderswo, aufgegangen in einem fremden Volkstum.

As I established on my journey, people feel good about being there. They have held on to a German culture, they have preserved German attitudes, and unlike elsewhere, they have not been caught up in foreign customs.

A later comment reflects his impressions on society life: ‘Für Musik, Theater und Gesang sorgen verschiedene Vereinigungen und Einrichtungen, die sich großer Beliebtheit erfreuen. Die Beteiligung an den Veranstaltungen ist rege’ (‘Different clubs and institutions for music, theatre and singing enjoy great popularity. There is active participation in these affairs’) (Seeleman, 1971:69). In spite of the theory that the Germans used their clubs and societies to foster *Deutschtum*, this may not always have been a conscious attempt to exclude the ‘other’, but rather to create a sense of belonging and *Seßhaftigkeit* (settledness). Along with schools and women, these associations claimed to preserve ‘German thoughts, German ways, and German customs’ (Walther, 2002:91). Rüdiger aptly states that they created their own kind of *Deutsche Gemütlichkeit* (German cosiness) which became a part of the cheerfulness of the South West African social life (Rüdiger, 1993:33). Eberhardt (2007:533) notes that although there was a perception of a *geschlossenes Deutschtum* (closed Germanness) there was indeed division amongst the German-speaking population, but that the preservation of their own community and the avoidance of assimilation was their absolute priority and superseded their differences. Eberhardt (2007:22) states that: ‘Zusammengehalten wurden sie vor allem durch den Umstand, daß sie sich als Deutsche fühlten.’ (‘They were united by the fact that they all felt German’). They were bound by language, culture, ancestry, and the desire to acquire a sense of belonging in a foreign environment.

⁵³ This song was composed in 1841 by A.H. Hoffmann von Fallersleben, collector of folksongs (Hermand, 2002:252), with the rise of patriotic sentiment in Germany (James, 1990:18).

Barth in Eberhardt (2007:24) states that the emergence of these social groups came not as a result of isolation, but as a result of contact with other groups. Eberhardt states that: 'Die Deutschen grentzten sich selbst gerne von den zumeist burischen Südafrikanern ab, die sie als faul und träge einschätzen, während sie sich selbst als strebsam und fleißig ansahen' ('The Germans isolated themselves from the mostly Boer South Africans, whom they regarded as lazy and slothful, while they regarded themselves as industrious and energetic').

When South West Africa became a German colony in 1884, an early version of Afrikaans was the prevalent language of communication as well as the mother tongue of several indigenous groups (Stals, 2008:18). Special arrangements had to be made to install German as the official language, and Afrikaners were expected to assume German citizenship and educate their children in the German culture and language before they could purchase land. Rhenish missionaries were expected not only to teach German in their schools and churches which had been built throughout the country, but to use German as their medium of education (Stals, 2008:18). The interests of indigenous African population were disregarded (Eberhardt, 2007:30). Bernhard Dernburg, banker and left-wing politician of Jewish background, proposed 'colonising through preservation not destruction ... and utilizing the earth, its treasures ... and especially the people' (Conrad, 2012:64). His reform ideas were not put into practice in South West Africa. Governor Theodor Leutwein adopted a policy of land re-allocation accompanied by an immigration policy supported by the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft*, where land was seized from penurious groups of African farmers and allocated to German settlers who focused on raising cattle on arid land, employing a minimal number of African workers, and served to further alienate the Germans. This idea was based on the anticipation that Germany would experience a renewal or rebirth of the dying agrarian lifestyle in outlying countries (Conrad, 2012:89). Because the German-speaking region in Europe consisted of a collection of small states, the imagined colonial empire provided Germany with a vision of national unity.

The politics of Germanification in building or retaining *Deutschtum* on foreign ground was a convenient opportunity to dilute domestic tensions and conflict, by providing Germans with an opportunity to start new lives abroad with renewed enthusiasm (Conrad, 2012:28). Eberhardt (2007:358) reflects on the modern interpretation of the old settler vision of re-enacting the agrarian life-style of pre-industrialised Germany in the colony, as being in conflict with the underestimated need for independent development in the colony characterized by new living conditions, and not as a settler community reflective of the image of their old *Heimat*. I quote Eliot in Bhabha (1996:54): 'The migrations of modern times ... people have taken with them only a part of a total culture ... The culture which develops on the new soil must therefore be bafflingly alike and different from the parent culture'. Frith

(1996:121), however, is of the opinion that 'Music ... offers the immediate experience of collective identity'. Rash supports this further in saying that a sense of patriotic unity creates togetherness and helps to establish a social directive (Rash, 2012:34).

Despite the fact that Namibia gained its independence in 1990, thereby ceasing to be a German colony in 1919 when it was declared a South African mandate at the Treaty of Versailles, it still maintained a German ambience. The German presence is still felt strongly in towns such as Swakopmund. The Olthaver and List Group, established in May 1923, is still one of the largest privately owned business enterprises outside the mining sector, the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation still broadcasts a daily programme in German, the German Federal Government still finances the *Deutsche Höhere Privatschule* (DHPS), which goes as far as *Abitur* (post-matric) in an integrated education system, and the *Allgemeine Zeitung* is the only German daily newspaper which is published on the African continent (Eberhardt, 2007:13). With tens of thousands of German tourists visiting Namibia every year to observe the monuments and buildings such as the now removed *Reiterdenkmal* at the *Alte Feste*, the *Christuskirche* and the *Turnhalle* in Windhoek, the *Hohenzollernhaus* and the *Woermannhaus* in Swakopmund, Kolmanskop and *Kapps Ballsaal* in Lüderitz,⁵⁴ interest in the evidence of German colonialism is still present. The German street names are slowly giving way to the names of heroes of the struggle for independence in the bigger towns, but town names such as Grünau and Mariental, and farm names such as 'Deutsche Erde' have been retained for now.

The German word *Heimat* connects its people via traditions and feelings, and is not interchangeable with the English word 'home' (Nollendorfs, 1996:26). According to Duden's *Bedeutungswörterbuch*, the word *Heimat*, derived from Old High German 'heimoti' meant a place and legal relationship, or the right to be present at a certain place or locality. Schütz writes that that the *Heimat* is '...the site of childhood one has left behind' (Schütz, 1996:58). Juxtaposed to this concept, Hollstein in Schütz (1996:59–61) describes the Jews' definitions of themselves by way of their *Bildung* or culture, as they had no *Heimat*, but regarded themselves as citizens of the world. The promotion of traditional architecture, folk customs, nature conservation and landscape planning, were the principles founded in the *Heimatschutz* movement from 1904–1914, which saw German national identity rooted in a cultural landscape (Koshar, 1996:119–120). These theories inform the constructions of a

⁵⁴ The name change in the town, is currently an on-going debate. 'The reasoning behind Lüderitz needing to become !Nami#nus was explained: the name should be changed to pay tribute to our Nama forefathers, whose people endured great tragedy and suffering on Shark Island. Before colonisation, the Nama people called the land '!Nami#nus', meaning 'embrace', in reference to the town being surrounded by water. The name should, from the perspective of those in favour, revert to !Nami#nus in recognition of our town's history' (<http://www.thebuchternews.com/>).

Heimat for the German community in South West Africa. Bertelsman in Rüdiger (1993:5) mentions the great difficulties of assimilation for the immigrants who arrived in the 1950s, as opposed to those born in South West Africa, who were undoubtedly ‘*Südwester*’.⁵⁵ There was a cultural awakening amongst the German population in South West Africa in the 1950s, where apart from religious traditions, arts associations were founded, and traditional German festivals such as the *Oktoberfest*, and the *Windhoeker Karneval* (WIKa) gathered momentum in the community. Participation in festivals, and membership of an abundance of societies and sports and cultural clubs served to promote *Deutschtum* in smaller towns as well, where these popular festivals were celebrated in true German tradition and membership of, and participation in these clubs and societies became part of the fabric of ‘Southwester’ nationalism. An upswing in the founding of societies coincided with the increase of urbanisation amongst German farmers, who due to the remoteness of their farms would previously not have had social opportunities such as these.⁵⁶

Rüdiger in Weiland (1993:18) writes that German Southwesters (*Südwester*) have evolved into a group with a distinct ‘*Südwester* nationalism’ and a high degree of group identity through a common language and culture.⁵⁷ They arrived from a more technologically advanced and modernising society, to a hostile and foreign environment enduring immense hardships, where they sought some kind of familiarity.

An ideology is a set of opinions and ideals that guide and characterise a culture. Brodbeck (2014: 9-10) refers to *Deutschtum* as the construct of a social identity attached to certain groups with educated, cultural values, rather than to an ethnicity. Seen from this point of view, the notion of *Deutschtum*, as engendered in the colonial times in South West Africa, could be described as an exclusionary ideology with respect to those uneducated in European cultures. The ideal of establishing a German home away from home in the colonies, coupled with the fervent nationalism which was raging at the time, informed the ideology of *Deutschtum* as an important cultural determinant. The substantial export of music as a revered commodity and the drive for establishing more ‘Germanies’ in colonized territories, with their cultures and traditions embedded in their mission, would have served to enhance and entrench the ideology of *Deutschtum*.

⁵⁵ At the end of the colonial era around 1915, Germans accounted for between eighty and ninety percent of the white population. Currently they constitute about one to two percent of the total population (Rüdiger, 1993:5).

⁵⁶ By the mid-1980s, more than half the German-speaking Southwesters lived in Windhoek, which was seen as the focal point of culture, education and journalism (Rüdiger, 1993).

⁵⁷ Eva Kleinschmidt (née Jatow), 1916–2015, whose father was a sub-principal first violinist in the Andalusia Orchestra, participated regularly in the Musikwoche, and became the oldest member of the Kantorei. When asked how the singing of ‘Das Südwesterlied’ fitted in with the new national anthem, her reply was ‘Das ist halt unser Lied’ (‘This is just our song’) (Kleinschmidt, 2016:42). Undoubtedly she would have regarded herself as a *Südwester*.

Chapter 3 Swakopmund

3.1 Locale⁵⁸

Swakopmund can be described as both a cultural and physical oasis. The town is flanked by the Atlantic Ocean and the Namib Desert. The extreme climatic conditions are determined by the northerly flowing cold Benguela current. The average rainfall is about fifteen millimetres per year. The fog, which gathers during the night as a result of the collision of cold air off the Benguela current and the hot air off the desert, is burnt away rapidly by the warmth of the morning sun on the elongated strip of desert.⁵⁹ Hackländer⁶⁰ (2000:109) writes captivatingly about the lure of Swakopmund to many Namibians:

Die kühle feuchte Meeresluft war wie Arznei. Ich atmete sie mit voller Lust, und es war mir lieb, daß der Himmel oft grau war, und die erbarmunglos glühende Sonne des Hochlandes hier nicht schien.

The cool damp sea air was like medicine. I took deep breaths, and I loved the fact that the skies were often grey, and that the merciless glowing sun of the highlands did not shine here.

The salt content in the air is high, as is the humidity, particularly in the mornings and evenings. Strong easterly winds that trigger sandstorms of varying intensity and blow off the desert into every nook and cranny during the winter months from May to August can cause temperatures to rise as high as 35 degrees. The average yearly temperature according to Climate-data.org is 14.5 degrees Celsius (Climate, n.d.).

Walfischbucht, known today as Walvis Bay and historically a colonial British possession, was not considered a permanent landing option for German ships. In spite of trying geographical connections to the hinterland and severe water shortages, a central location was eventually earmarked to the north of the mouth of the Swakop River. Sweet water was discovered upriver, and a relief in the dune belt allowed inland access. In 1892, the first seven *Schutztruppe* volunteers settled where the Mole is today.⁶¹ This settlement became known as Swakopmund.

Preparations for the building of the Mole, including the laying of water pipelines from the Swakop River to the building site, commenced at the end of 1898, and in February 1903 an

⁵⁸ The references to Swakopmund Männer-Gesangverein and Swakopmund Männergesangverein vary in spelling. I have used the spelling used in the relevant sources.

⁵⁹ Although this fog is hazardous for shipping, the flora and fauna of the Namib Desert have come to rely on this mist for their source of moisture (Kimura, 2005).

⁶⁰ Daisy Hackländer, an American born German, lived in Omaruru and her book relates to her experiences in South West Africa after the Second World War.

⁶¹ The Mole is taken from the same German word meaning jetty or pier, and was the name given the original pier. The beach alongside this pier is known as the Mole today. This is different from the wooden jetty (later replaced by a steel structure) which was referred as the *Landungsbrücke*, and is known simply as the *Brücke* by locals nowadays.

official ceremony at which the Swakopmund Männer Gesangverein had its first official public performance, was held to mark the opening of the Mole, at the Hotel Bismark.^{62,63}

The failure of the silted up Mole to serve as an effective landing facility coincided with the Herero uprising. In 1904, work began on a wooden jetty to serve the civilian population as well as the *Schutztruppen*. In spite of the wood having been attacked by borer worms, the jetty lasted until the start of the First World War. The building of an iron jetty commenced in 1912, and against the environmental odds, lasted for seventy years in an incomplete state due to the efficient planning and high standard of the structure built by two German based firms in Mannheim (Massmann, 1983:16).⁶⁴

The thirty-day journey across five thousand sea miles from Hamburg to Swakopmund or Lüderitz Bay may have engendered false fantasies of what Africa had to offer. This significant route to the German colonies had been secured for ships of the 'Woermann-Linie', which undertook to provide fortnightly journeys between Hamburg and Swakopmund in a maximum of thirty days.



Figure 3.1: Ritterburg, built on the rise above the jetty, and home of the manager of the Woermann-Linie between 1905 and 1908, Theodore Ritter. It currently serves as the regional office for the Department of Nature Conservation and Tourism. Source: D.L. van Zyl (December 2013).

⁶² The Hotel Bismark opened in 1895 when there was a population of 32 residents, after which it closed for a while and reopened in 1902 (Marais, 1992:19).

⁶³ Scant attention was given to the north-south drift of the Atlantic Ocean during the planning process and within a year, the build-up of sandbanks only allowed access by tugs and barges at high tide. By 1906, the Mole had silted up completely (Massmann, 1983:14).

⁶⁴ Swakopmunders succumbed to the use of Walvis Bay as a harbour from 1922 onwards.

Common practice was for passengers to be met at the tenders by Kroo men,⁶⁵ who carried the new arrivals on their backs from the tenders through the shallow waters to dry land. These pioneer settlers must have been shocked at the conditions awaiting them. In the absence of accommodation, caves were built on the beach to protect them from the elements. Some of the first houses constructed were simple, roofless, wooden structures. Sand fleas were also a constant problem (Rautenberg, 1967:227).



Figure 3.2: Passengers arriving in Swakopmund being lowered into small boats off the Woermann-Linie steamships (Besser, 2004:264).

This print, as depicted by the artist Christine Marais, reflects the passengers being lowered into tenders by basket, c.1907. The iconic Woermannhaus with its tower dominates the shore in the background. Source: Marais (1992:18).

Access routes to the interior developed from the lower Kuiseb at Walvis Bay up the Swakop valley through to Otjimbingwe, the first mission station. The approximately four hundred kilometre trip from Swakopmund to Windhoek via ox-wagon initially took three weeks, but by 1895, when a regular mail coach service was introduced, this was reduced to ten days. Journeys by ox-wagon inland were frequently interrupted by bandits, with attendants being massacred. The decimation of oxen due to Rinderpest in 1897, forced the German government to grant funds for the building of a railway line. This in turn necessitated the building of sheds and warehouses, which in turn would have necessitated the building of living quarters for workers and the institution of a town environment (Massmann, 1983:18–20). The construction of a tar road between Windhoek and Swakopmund which began in 1961 and was eventually completed in 1967, facilitated accessibility and is indicative of

⁶⁵ These men were from the Kroo tribe in Liberia, who due to their experience in local waters, were employed by the Woerman line, picked up by the ships en route to South West Africa to help guide the tenders through the rough surf, and then which they were taken home again. The Woerman line employed hundreds of the Kroo tribesman in the early 1900s. They were only interested in short term contracts, probably due to the harsh weather conditions (Massmann, 1983:11).

decades of relative isolation. The hard surface salt road between Walvis Bay and Swakopmund was completed in 1959 (Massmann, 1983:20).

The construction of the railway line and the Mole generated much building activity in the town, with the erection of prefabricated houses imported from Germany, some of which were double story. Just before the turn of the century, the first large, elegant stone houses began to appear on the barren landscape. The architecture, which remains preserved to the present day, with many of the buildings painted in shades of green and yellow, gives Swakopmund its distinct character.



Figure 3.3: The original Swakopmund Railway Station – an imposing building for a tiny town. Source: *Go! Magazine* (May 2013).



Figure 3.4: The Hohenzollernhaus. Another landmark in the town, in Albertina Amathila Avenue, previously known as Brückenstraße, and which previously housed a brothel. Source: D.L. van Zyl (December 2013).

By 1895, the preliminary town plans had been drawn up by M. Rhode (Massmann, 1983:29). The Berlin firm of von Tippelskirch & Co. opened a branch in Swakopmund in 1896. They

initially supplied equipment needed for life in the tropics and uniforms for the troops, but this gradually extended into the supply of civilian clothing and shoes, as well as furniture and fabrics. In 1899, Swakopmund was connected to an overseas cable running between Cape Town and England and shortly thereafter, telephone and radio services were installed – rather technologically advanced achievements for such a small town. The founding of the first brewery in 1900 drew large-scale attention in the town, and after two further breweries had come and gone, the famous Hansa Brewery was established in 1929.⁶⁶

The first brick buildings erected in 1902 were the barracks (*Die Kaserne*) for the troops. As the number of residents increased, improvised trading establishments gave way to grand, striking structures, such the Woermannhaus, the ‘jewel of the town’ (Massmann, 1983:29). Wooden pavements were erected to ease passage through the sand.⁶⁷ The Damara and Nama Trading Company, later to become known as Woermann & Brock, and still trading today, erected their first buildings. The ‘Desert Express’, wooden platforms mounted on the chassis of old railway carriages on which chairs and benches were placed for the convenience of passengers, and drawn by horses, traversed the town from the harbour and railway station on a grid of rail tracks.



Figure 3.5: The Hotel Kaiserhof, owned by P.M. Esselgroth, currently houses Bank Windhoek. Note the line of fir trees and the trolleys pulled by horses on tracks concealed by sand. Source: Swakopmund Scientific Society (n.d.).

These trolleys operated from 1905 until the 1930s when work began on the surfacing of streets with salt and gravel – still in use today (Massmann, 1983:22). Traffic between Walvis

⁶⁶ Empty beer bottles were planted upside down in the sand as temporary pavements to make walking across the sand easier.

⁶⁷ These wooden pavements were eventually demolished in the 1950s (Massmann, 1983:62).

Bay and Swakop was limited to mule or horse-drawn wagon until 1914, when South African regiments built a railway line along the coast, although it was washed away by destructive floodwaters of the Swakop River in 1917.⁶⁸ In 1934, extreme rains damaged the rail service between Swakopmund and Walvis Bay. In 1935, an eighty metre railway bridge which still serves the community was built (Massmann, 1983:26). During the early days, the proliferation of sand made travel in ordinary vehicles insufferable.

The first train from Swakopmund arrived in Windhoek in 1902. In 1903, construction began on the Otavi railway line to serve the needs of Otavi Minen – und Eisenbahngesellschaft (OMEG), which was needed to transport ore from the mine in Otavi, to the coast.⁶⁹



Figure 3.6: The Kapelle (Band) of the Eisenbahnbattalion (Railway battalion).

Note that two women appear in the picture, assumedly supporters. Source: Swakopmund Scientific Society (1907).

When Germany declared protection rights over South West Africa, there were approximately two hundred white missionaries and traders in the territory and by 1896 the German population of Swakopmund totalled 106 (Rautenberg, 1967:118–119). By 1905, 1 200 of the 1 455 inhabitants of Swakopmund were employed in the landing services. When nobody arrived for the services held by missionary Heinrich Vedder in 1905, despite having had been advertised several times in the community newspaper, soldiers were ordered to attend services, which were viewed as a sanctuary for both faith and German culture (Oermann, 1999:20). At these services, held at the barracks and attended by both soldiers and civilians, military bands accompanied chorales. In 1906, a German Lutheran parish was instituted. The Germans perceived the church not particularly as a place of worship, but rather as a meeting point for their community (Kuntze, 2002:196), and often through music. By 1910 the German Evangelical Lutheran Church and its parish office had been built.

⁶⁸ With the Swakop River flooding three times in eleven years (1923, 1931 and 1934) and the river flowing for four months incessantly, it became necessary to build a concrete road bridge.

⁶⁹ By the time the track opened up as far as Tsumeb, (567 km) in 1906, it was the longest narrow gauge line in the world (Massmann, 1983:24).

By 1907, Swakopmund had a larger European population than any other German colony in Africa. The first power station was opened in the same year. After the occupation of the town by South African forces in 1919, the number of white residents dropped to 828 (Massmann, 1983:64).

The *Woermannhaus*, the famous landmark opposite the jetty, was designed by architect Friedrich Höft and built in 1905. In 1906 the building was furnished, and was used for the Woermann, Brock & Co. staff headquarters and accommodation. The manager was assigned accommodation in the front of the house, with the employees and guests living in rooms off the courtyard. Alongside the tower was a dining room and offices for the company employees. Apart from a wine cellar in the basement, a gracious, panelled room with stucco ceilings, known as the 'Vorstekamer', was used for dining and as a reception and music room (Brock, 1998–2013). From 1924 until 1972, under control of the Administration, it was used as a school hostel, but deteriorated into such a state of neglect and dilapidation, that a decision was taken to demolish the building. After much outcry and a petition from the townsfolk, restoration began towards the end of 1976.^{70,71} The municipal library is housed on the ground floor and the Swakopmund Arts Association on the upper level, with a permanent art gallery providing exposure for the diverse art of many Namibian and European artists. It is characterised by its paintwork from a desert palette, with a courtyard bounded by arches. The tower served as both a water tower and a lookout point.



Figure 3.7: The Woermannhaus today – inside veranda surrounding the quadrangle. It currently houses the Arts Association, an Art Gallery and the public library. Source: D.L. van Zyl (December 2013).

As Swakopmund was founded with unmarried young people as the dominant population, there was no urgent need for education facilities. In 1899, the first private education was

⁷⁰ In a personal discussion following an interview with Boris Mohr, a musician from Namibia, and contemporary of the writer, Mohr reminisced on how parties had been held in the dilapidated old Woermannhaus amongst all the pigeon droppings, running up sandbanks which had built up in the house to jump out of windows to get outside (Mohr, 2014).

⁷¹ On 22 October 1976, the restored *Woermannhaus* was inaugurated with a concert given by the cellist Karl Hatterscheidt, with his daughter Monika accompanying him on the piano (Hatterscheidt, 2015).

provided by the Catholic mission (Rautenberg, 1967:236). As school attendance was voluntary, and the weather lent itself to other activities, pupils attended school on an irregular basis and eventually the teachers gave up. Those who were still involved in education in 1904 were reappointed as troops at the start of the Herero War (Rautenberg, 1967:238). Anton Herlyn opened a school in October 1905, and compulsory education from the age of six until fourteen years was instituted in South West Africa in 1906 (Rautenberg, 1967:238). In 1909, the first German private school opened in Swakopmund,⁷² possibly in reaction to the founding of a new *Realschule* in Windhoek by the government in an attempt to bring all the German children in the country under its wing.⁷³

School life continued after the First World War in Swakopmund, when the town comprised mostly Germans, and Afrikaans was seldom heard. After the Second World War, when the choice between learning Afrikaans or French was given to scholars, Irene Kleynstüber, who became a war widow and later an interviewee in Gretschel's book, had the following to say: '... wählten wir Mädchen Französisch. Wir waren eben alle Snobs, das muß ich hingeben.' ('... the girls chose French. We were really all snobs, I have to admit.') (Gretschel, 2009:219).

The promise of turning Swakopmund into an educational centre did not materialise, although many farmers elected to send their children to Swakopmund rather than Windhoek to be educated, due to the more favourable climate. South African children were accommodated in existing school buildings built by the Germans, while German-speaking pupils were educated and accommodated in less suitable but vacant buildings, such as the *Kaserne* (barracks), *Wille-Haus*, *Woermannhaus* and the *Amtsgericht* (district office).



Figure 3.8: The *Grundschule* and coat of arms.

The blue stripe which assumedly was painted over the word '*Grundschule*' and Primary School painted above it, with the motto beside the name which reads: '*singen, spielen, lernen, forschen*' ('sing, play, learn, explore'). Source: D.L. van Zyl (December 2013).

⁷² No name is mentioned for this school.

⁷³ There were almost as many Jewish children as there were children from German evangelical backgrounds.

3.2 Socialization and Music

'Wo Menschen sich zu geordneten Musizieren zusammenfinden, drücken sie ihren Willen zur Zugehörigkeit zu ihrem Kulturkreis aus' ('People musicking in an organised fashion, do so in order to fulfil their desires to belong in their own cultural circles') (Schrader, 1974:3). From 1900 onwards, newspapers and programmes reflect concerts as having been held at hotels such as the Fürst Bismarck, the hotel Zum kühlen Strande, (later the Strand Hotel), Hotel Faber, Hotel Kaiserhof, and the Central Hotel.



Figure 3.9: The original Fabersaal in 1903, in Ludwig Koch Street. This hall burnt down. Source: Swakopmund Scientific Society (1903).

The social structure in Swakopmund was a parody of the classification of people according to their rank and standing. The academics, officials and leading tradesmen socialised together, and this social structure became evident at the bowling clubs, where afternoons were allocated to specific groups of people. The inauguration of the War Society in 1898 by a Dr Rhode brought Swakopmund society together in a truly stylish celebration with the authorities all dressed in black, garlands and flags adorned the buildings, and the band of the Windhoek *Schutztruppe* performed for the occasion (Rautenberg, 1967:251) (Göthje, 2012:7). The first sport club, the *Turnverein* (Gymnastics Society), was also initiated in 1898, by harbourmaster Ortloff. It was started as a form of entertainment for all the young, single people who had been brought out from Germany to assist with the building of the Mole. Apart from their regular gymnastics evenings, they undertook many tours which included games and singing as well as the gymnastics routines (Rautenberg, 1967:251). Arnold Schad, who lived and worked in Swakopmund from 1901 to 1931, started a small orchestra which contributed greatly to public events. He remained involved with the firm von Tippelskirch until 1931, during which time he played an active role in the public life and the societies of Swakopmund

(Rautenberg, 1967:111); he eventually became mayor of the town. Schad was instrumental in attracting musicians to Swakopmund: 'Musikliebend wie er war, ließ er möglichst solche kaufmännischen Angestellten aus Deutschland kommen, die ein Instrument spielen konnten' ('As a result of his love of music, the appointment of employees from Germany was made conditional on their being able to play a musical instrument') (Rautenberg, 1967:111).⁷⁴

Schad managed to provide an orchestra of eighteen members, which played overtures and marches, and together with Lene Birkenmeyer, they were responsible for much of the music making in the early part of the century. In spite of the division or lack of integration between the Germans and the indigenous locals, *Schutztruppe* bandmaster, a Mr Suhr, trained an indigenous brass band which performed at the Strand Pavilion every Sunday (Becker & Hecker, (eds), 1985:75). The Swakopmund Music Friends Society held their first concert on 5 March 1916, during the war years (Massmann, 1983:75).

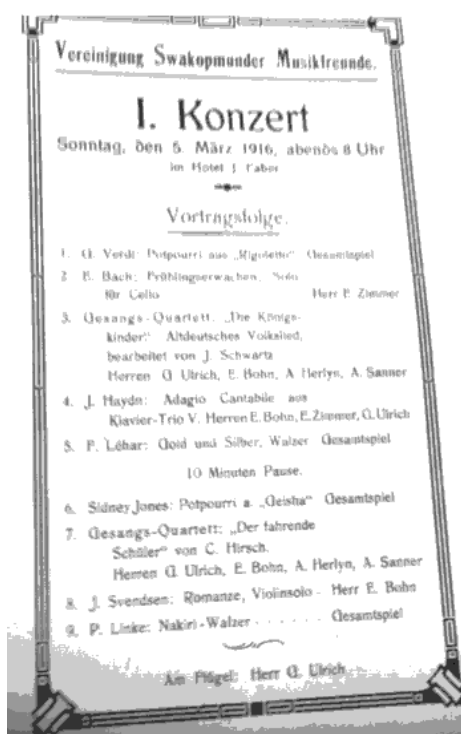


Figure 3.10: A copy of the programme from the first concert organised by the *Vereinigung Swakopmunder Musikfreunde* on 5 March 1916. Source: Swakopmund Archives (2013).

Players such as E. Bohn (piano and violin), A. Herlyn (violin and voice), A. Sanner (voice), G. Ulrich (piano), E. Zimmer (cello), P. Richter (piano), W. Beer (cello), E. Nachod (piano), E. Busch (cello and piano), R. Wehner (cello), E. Wobbe (piano) a Mr and Dr Schneider (violinist and pianist respectively), a Mr Feldmann (no instrument mentioned), a Mr Ramdohr

⁷⁴ Geiringer in Dunwell (Dunwell, 1962:148) notes a typical advertisement which appeared in Vienna in 1789: 'Wanted by nobleman, a servant who plays the violin well'. Arnold Schad was therefore acting out a not unknown double purpose employment strategy.

(viola), a Mr Heyse (piano), a Mr Jatow (violin), a Mr Kritz (violin), and Mr Seebrecht (trumpet) are mentioned prolifically in chamber music items on programmes between 1916 and 1932, a year after the retirement of Arnold Schad (violinist and mayor of the town from 1909–1931).⁷⁵ Faber's hall was the biggest hall in the colony (Rautenberg, 1967:256).

The programmes also included many *Gesamtspiel* items (items for a larger group, presumably the orchestra run by Arnold Schad). Occasions such as cabarets, *Lustige Liederabend* (fun evening of songs), concert evenings in honour of the then current Administrators, often in collaboration with either the Gymnastics Society or the *Swakopmunder Männergesangverein*, were frequent (Programmes from the Archives, Swakopmund). There were singers such as Frau Marianne Kasten and Frau Lene Birkenmeyer who held regular concerts. There is mention of the Schrammelkapelle as early as 1924 and the Kolibri-Kapelle until 1932.⁷⁶ Most programmes of the time show that concerts were held in the Faber Hall.

Ships' bands performed on deck and on shore during their docking, as is evident from a reference to the celebration of the Kaiser's birthday on 27 January 1906, where hundreds of supporters arrived for the half hour service at which the German flag was hoisted to the accompaniment of the small band of the *Panther* which was anchored off shore at the time. An article referring to the *Bordmusik des 'Kaiser'* (music on board the 'Kaiser') which could be heard from the music pavilion (Volksfest, 1914), and the following notice thirteen years later, also support my record: 'Im Hotel "Fürst Bismarck" wird morgen abend die beliebte Kapelle des Dampfers "Ussukuma" ein Konzert mit Ball veranstalten' ('Tomorrow night the beloved band of the "Ussama" will be giving a performance and playing for the ball thereafter at the Hotel "Fürst Bismarck"') (Lokales, (2)., 1927).

A festival was held to celebrate the building of the Fabersaal – the biggest in the colony, on 19 June 1910. The *Turnverein* gave a presentation on the stage with newly installed electric lighting, and musical contributions by the Bohnsche Quintett, (including Bohn on first violin, Schad on second violin, Herlyn on viola, Zimmer on cello and Siewke on piano, and a Mr Bauer on the piano accompanying the voice of a certain person called Kamieth (Rautenberg, 1967:207).⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Many of the musicians from Swakopmund were part of the orchestra at Andalusia concentration camp in South Africa during the Second World War (see Figure 4.6).

⁷⁶ My references all reflect in the file of programmes as referenced from the Swakopmund Archives.

⁷⁷ These musicians seemed to have been very versatile, as they are mentioned on different instruments in various programmes.



Figure 3.11: A postcard of the newly built brick building of the Faber Hotel and their entertainment hall. Source: Swakopmund Scientific Society (1912).

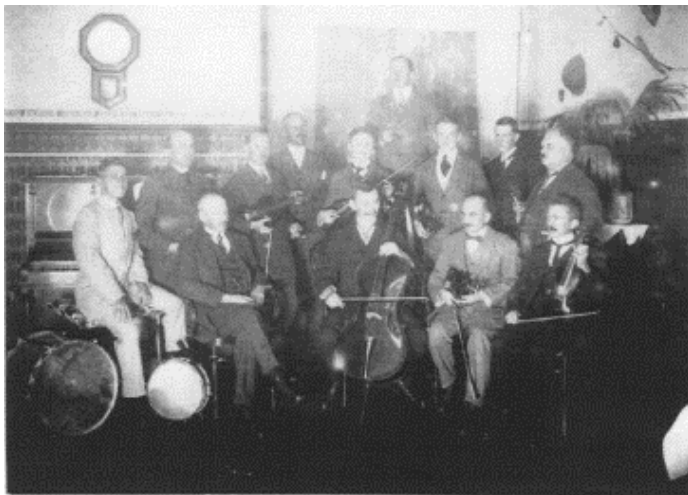


Figure 3.12: The Kapelle Schad. This picture of the Kapelle Schad names, sitting: Rascher, Kriele, Grüber and Buchmann, and standing, only Heuschneider is identified, but with no indication of which person he is. Source: Swakopmund Scientific Society (c. 1925).



Figure 3.13: The Gürtel-Kapelle indicates the violinist as Mr Gürtel. Only the instruments are named after this, except for Willy Janorschke, who judging from the photograph, is the trumpeter. No location is given. Source: Swakopmund Scientific Society (n.d.).



Figure 3.14: The band of the Hotel Westfälischer Hof, Swakopmund, naming the owner as E. Bottenberg. Notice the makeshift wooden structure in which they are pictured. Once again Willy Janorschke is named but there is uncertainty as to which instrument he would have been playing as he is not identified. Source: Swakopmund Scientific Society (n.d.).

In 1914, when the town was thriving with social clubs, cultural activities and festival celebrations between the desolate dunes and the icy waters of the Atlantic Ocean, it had to be evacuated at the start of the First World War.⁷⁸ After the signing of the armistice a year later, the townsfolk trickled back to their lifeless town where they seemed to have resumed lively musical activities. The London Agreement of 1923 offered the people of Swakopmund a lifeline in the form of a guarantee that the town would be developed into an educational centre, and a holiday and health resort. The Mole basin was developed into a swimming beach, and a swimming pool with change rooms, and tennis courts, parks, a music pavilion and a café with a permanent promenade between the Mole and the jetty were built (Massmann, 1983:65). Upcountry, people were lured to the coastal resort in the hot summer months between November and February. The Arnold Schad Promenade was built in 1929 and during Christmas of the same year, holidaymakers waltzed down the promenade to music from an ‘oompah band’ (Marais, 1992:19).

On visiting Swakopmund after South West Africa had become mandated, Hackländer (2000:88–89) describes Swakopmund as follows:

Swakopmund hatte nicht mehr Einwohner als ein kleines Dorf, aber es hatte eine Kirche, gepflegte Hotels mit geschulten schwarzen Kellnern, ein paar schöne Geschäfte, zwei Cafés am Strand und ein großes Erholungsheim ... Mit Freude hörte ich zum ersten Mal seit langem am Sonntag Kirchenglocken. Es war mir feierlich zumute, als ich den großen hohen Kirchenraum betrat. Das Spiel der Orgel empfand ich so stark, daß ich bis in Herz und Seele eine unbekannte Ergriffenheit

⁷⁸ It seems quite ironic that the first shot fired on Swakopmund at the start of the First World War, hit the piano in the home of the Wlotzka family (Göthje, 2012:8).

verspürte. Der evangelische Pastor im Talar predigte, seine Worte fielen wie Tau in mein Herz und in mein Bewußtsein. Ich war ganz gefangen in einer wieder neuen, vergessen gewesenen Welt. Es war ein Höhepunkt in meinem Leben.

Swakopmund had no more inhabitants than a small town, but it had a church, neat hotels with trained black waiters, a few fine shops, two cafés on the beach and a large convalescent home ... I listened with joy to the sound of the Sunday church bells for the first time in a long while. I entered the large, voluminous Church building in a solemn mood. The experience of hearing the sound of the organ being played evoked strong unknown emotions in me, which touched my heart and soul. The words of the pastor, dressed in his robes, fell like dew into my heart and my consciousness. I was completely caught up again in a world which had been forgotten. It was a highlight in my life.

After the colony was mandated, German traditions continued to be upheld through schools and societies, and membership to many societies were open only to Germans (Walther, 2002:148–149). The Swakopmund branch of the Arts Society was founded in 1947 (Massmann, 1983:76). *Haus der Jugend*, a dedicated entertainment hall, was built next door to the German church in 1958 (Massmann, 1983:66) and has served the community as a venue for concerts, gymnastics displays and theatre productions. The government sponsored SWAPAC (South West African Performing Arts Council) was started in 1966 as an arts institution to sponsor local talent to a greater extent than the Arts Association had done in sponsoring more overseas performers (van Biljon, 1982:316). Although the SWAPAC offices were based in Windhoek, they sponsored concerts all over Namibia. Mesdames Hatterscheidt, Kazmeier, Schier and Wittlich, stalwart citizens of Swakopmund, were all involved in looking after arrangements for the guest performers sent to Swakopmund, for musicians such as cellist Mischa Maisky, and violinists Edith Peinemann and Salvatore Accardo.⁷⁹ The *Haus der Jugend* was used for all the visiting performers until the *Aula* was built at the Primary school.⁸⁰ Concerts in Swakopmund were well supported by their music-loving society. The audiences were always dressed immaculately in formal attire – ladies in their long dresses and ball gowns, and gentlemen in dress suits, as was the custom of the era (Hatterscheidt, 2015). During the Christmas holidays when fewer public concerts were held, the musicians of the town frequently gathered to play *Weihnachtsmusik* (Christmas music) and *Hausmusik* (music at home).

The highly revered and energetic Irmela Erlank-Rethemeyer is remembered for her role in the writing and production of, amongst many other theatrical productions, *Rund um den Damaratum*, which was a re-enactment of the history of South West Africa from 1900 until 1975. Charly Hatterscheidt was the musical director, and took existing melodies and arranged them for the five-man band. She remembers that ‘the whole town was involved’ in

⁷⁹ Mrs Hatterscheidt fondly remembers the Engel family from Germany, who toured in August 1969 (van Biljon, 1982:228) – two parents and six children – and performed folk dances and individual musical items. There was a visit by an American pianist who arrived with his own white grand piano, and his own tuner.

⁸⁰ As the *Haus der Jugend* was also used as a sport venue, 300 to 400 chairs had to be arranged and numbered before concerts and stacked again after concerts.

the production,⁸¹ and when asked of whom the audience was comprised, she answered: 'The people from Walvis Bay, farmers, travellers, family of those on stage'.

The practice of *Hausmusik* was a frequent activity in diverse circles from the 1930s. Groups met at Gereckes on Thursday evenings and at Schluckwerders on Friday evenings.

Schluckwerder, a pianist, held classical music evenings for quartets and quintets. Jochen Wecke (2014), cellist and cello teacher at the Conserve in Windhoek during the 1970s, relates the following about his musical involvement on arrival in Swakopmund in 1932:

The next year (1932) I was sent to the German High School in Swakopmund and stayed in the *Schwester Frieda Heim* [hostel]. Later I was transferred to the *Woermann Heim* and the last year (1939) to the *Scultetus Heim*. I had piano lessons by [*sic*] a teacher Herr Seidenstücker. A trio consisting of myself on the piano, Walter Schuler (violin) and a Mr Goetje [*sic*] (accordion and drums) performed at hotels in the evenings. I was still at school and was only allowed to play till twelve midnight. Before leaving we would play a waltz lasting about twenty minutes non-stop, so that the dancers were exhausted and let us leave without asking for an encore.

Jürgen Schwietering tells of his grandparents, both doctors, who were brought to Namibia in 1914 due to a shortage of medical staff and who used to hold chamber music evenings in their home, playing music on a gramophone, until gradually these listening evenings gave way to live chamber music evenings (Schwietering, 2014). Schwietering's mother, Susanne Stark, was a singer.⁸² Dag Henrichsen, former Swakopmund resident, historian and archivist at the Basler Afrika Bibliographien (BAB) made a comment per email (2013) about having been given long playing records of classical music by Böhlke. These records had presumably been part of the collection from the chamber music evenings mentioned by Jürgen Schwietering in the paragraph above. Amongst others, the group included Mr Böhlke, Dr Schwietering and the grandfather of Dag Henrichsen, Emil Henrichsen. Some of the covers of the records had comments logged by the listeners.

The German families involved in farming in South West Africa did not live in close proximity to one another. They either lived in small inland communities where road travel was arduous, or as was the case in Lüderitz and Swakopmund, very cut off between the desert and the ocean. Germans always wanted music (*Festschrift, 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein*, 2002:43). The easiest option for these music hungry cohorts was to sing, and sing they did – along ox-wagon treks, around the lager fires, while they worked, in the company of family and friends, for festivals and celebrations, and for church services under trees. They sang of their pleasure at the freedom of living in the bush, and about their homesickness and poverty, as life for the first settlers was extremely harsh. Small singing

⁸¹ The 'whole town' referred to Whites only.

⁸² Schwietering is an eminent South African violinist and violist. He is the nephew of Böhlke who played the viola in chamber music groups. Schwietering currently owns the viola previously played by Böhlke.

groups and choirs that attempted to sing in parts were started in many places where there was somebody to take on the leadership (*Festschrift, 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein*, 2002:43–44).

3.3 Swakopmunder Männergesangverein

Werner Kühlwetter notes that in a country where there were no radios or Conservatoires, those who wanted music had to provide it themselves (*Chronicle*, 2002:43).

The first singing groups emerged with the arrival of the *Schutztruppe* in places such as Windhoek (1895), Omaruru (1899) and Outjo, to mention a few. Wherever musicians emerged who could lead small choirs, they got together and sang folksongs, as well as military songs, which were sung at celebrations such as for the Kaiser's birthday. As the settler communities grew, so the club life grew, where the troops were included in the membership. The first conductor of the *Swakopmund Männergesangverein* (SMGV), W. Kups, was the former band leader of the *Schutztruppe* in Windhoek. I have sought to give a brief overview of the activities of the SMGV to support my theories of *Deutschtum* through musicking in the community.

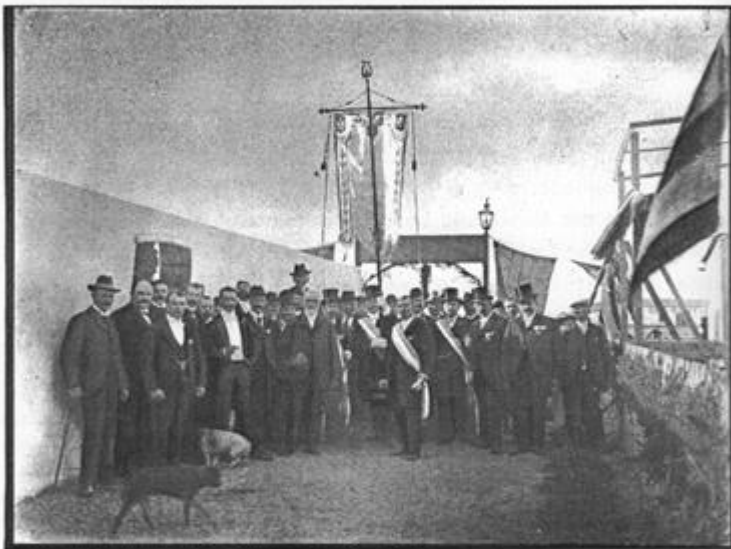


Figure 3.15: The banner of the SMGV reflecting the words 'Stets behalt den reinsten Klang, Deutsche Treu, Deutscher Sang'.

('Continuously upholding the clearest sound, German devotion, German Song'). Source: *Festschrift 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein* (2002).

The SMGV was founded by Carl Hagemester on 25 October 1902. A century after the founding of this society, its mission statement, 'Stets behalt den reinsten Klang, Deutsche Treu, Deutscher Sang', is still clearly rooted in the cultivation and maintenance of the singing of German folksongs in foreign countries. Of the twenty-three founding members, only seven were singers, suggesting that it was more a social club than a serious choral association.

Der Chor 1903 bei der Fahnenweihe und Eröffnung der Mole von Swakopmund



Erster offizieller Auftritt des SMGV.

Gesungen wurde:

„Die Himmel rühmen, des Ewigen Ehre...“

Figure 3.16: SMGV performing in public for the first time, at the inauguration of the Mole in February 1903. Notice the banner in the background. Source: Festschrift 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein (2002).

The picture above is presumably the first picture taken of the SMGV, and the only reference to what was sung at the occasion: 'Die Himmel rühmen, des Ewigen Ehre...' ('Heaven reflects the eternal glory...') (*Festschrift, 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein*, 2002:10). A month after their first performance, membership had grown to fifty, of whom twenty were active singers. By November 1903, singing for a flag raising ceremony, their numbers had risen to seventy-two. Numbers in the SMGV seem to have risen and fallen depending on a number of factors, such as who was conducting, the economy, the social milieu or the choice of repertoire. In 1904, many of the singers were called up for service in the Herero War but society life continued, and membership reached its peak of ninety-five

members at the end of 1905. By 1906, a decline in the momentum and quality of singing had set in.

On 27 January 1910, a large Folk Festival (*Volksfest*) was held in the *Fabersaal*, with participation by several societies and the authorities, as well as guest performances by the crew and officers of the docked 'S.M.S. *Panther*'. The Kaiser's birthday was celebrated annually on 27 January, as was the norm. On the occasion of its ninth anniversary festival in 1911, the evening concluded with the 'Chorus of Priests' from *Die Zauberflöte* by W.A. Mozart, where the orchestral accompaniment was provided by members of an established *Hauskapelle* (as opposed to the *Hofkapelle* in Europe).⁸³ A representation of six members of the SMGV represented their society at the celebrations of the fiftieth year of the German Singing Association in Nürnberg in the same year. It was noted that 'the continuation of the society served to uphold the singing of German Folksong' (*Festschrift, 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein*, 2002:15). Hans Müller, musical luminary from Windhoek, often brought members of the *Windhoeker Männergesangverein* (WMG) with him to bolster the singing at performances he conducted. This included the ten year celebrations (where there was a torchlight procession of representatives of the War and Gymnastics and Protection Societies, all carrying their flags and banners together with banners from the Nürnberg Singing Festival through the streets from the Hansa Hotel to the *Fabersaal*). From 1916, an entrance fee was charged, and this income enabled the conductor to be remunerated for the first time.

During the next few years, an influx of new arrivals including officials and previous employees of *Otavi Minen – und Eisenbahngesellschaft* (OMEG), who found themselves without jobs due to the confusion arising from the war, helped to increase membership to forty-two. Despite the war, the continued existence of societies was endorsed and supported by the English magistrate (*Festschrift, 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein*, 2002:16). By 1920, the joint groups of societies in Swakopmund decided to amalgamate as one German Society, of which the SMGV became the singing division (*Festschrift, 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein*, 2002:17). Their twenty-fifth anniversary year started with the founding of the *SWA Sängerbund* (SWASB) (SWA Singing Society), with singers from both Usakos and Windhoek contributing to the twenty-six-member strong singing group for the occasion (*Festschrift, 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein*, 2002:18). In 1928, a celebration was held in Vienna in honour of the centenary of the death of Schubert (*Festschrift, 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein*, 2002:18), where a representation of singers from the SMGV took part. From 19 to 21 April, 1930, three hundred

⁸³ In the nineteenth century chamber music groups were established to perform in courts and later, in private homes as well.

and seventy-five singers from the ten societies in the country that belonged to the SWASB participated in the first SWA Singing Festival in Windhoek. The picture below shows the float from Swakopmund in the procession of members from the SMGV and the Usakos mixed choir in front of the iconic *Christuskirche* in Windhoek.



Figure 3.17: Procession of members from the SMGV and the Usakos mixed choir in front of the iconic Christuskirche in Windhoek. Source: Swakopmund Scientific Society (1930).

The depression years of the early 1930s are reflected in the final report of the president of the SMGV, A. Schulze: 'Wir stehen vor einer dunklen und krisenreichen Zukunft und deshalb muß es gerade jetzt unser Bestreben sein, durchzuhalten ... Dies is aber nicht zu erreichen, wenn nicht ALLE an einem Strange ziehen und durch regelmäßige und pünktliche Proben ihre Treue beweisen' ('We stand on the threshold of a dark and crisis-filled future, and therefore we have to strive to persevere... This however will not be possible, unless we ALL show our loyalty by arriving punctually and regularly for rehearsals') (*Festschrift, 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein*, 2002:21). Despite this, a copy of the programme of 1 August 1930 in Figure 3.18 reflects continued dedication to the society.

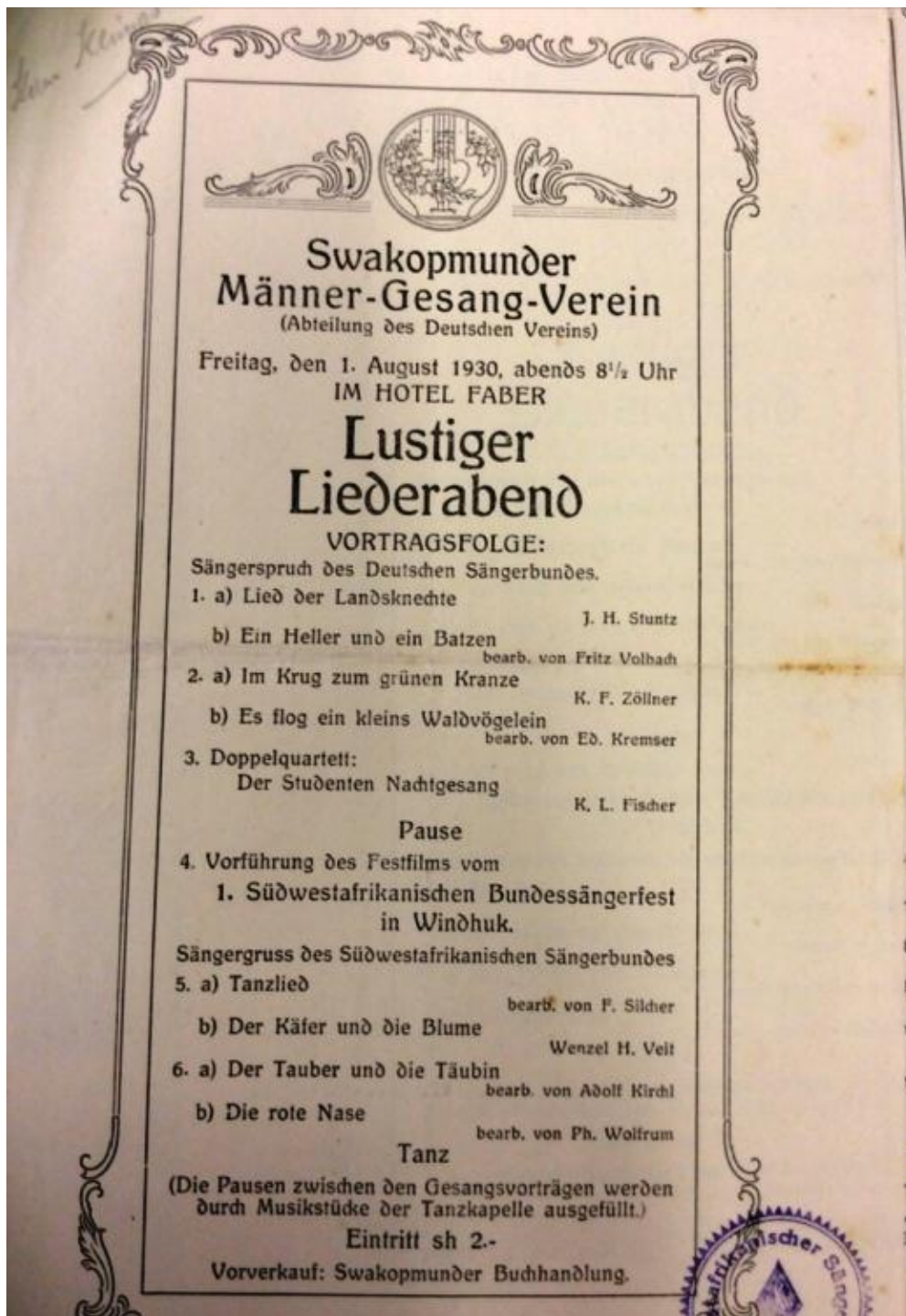


Figure 3.18: A programme of the SMGV held in the Fabersaal. The notice in brackets at the bottom of the programme announces playing by the Dance Band – no name given – in between songs. The last item on the programme is the customary *Tanz* or Dance. Source: Swakopmund Archives (2013).

The programme performed for the Hindenburg celebrations and organised by the *Männer Turnverein* (MTV) (Men's Gymnastics Society) in 1932, included performances by singers such as M. Ohlmann, the singing of an arrangement of the folksong 'Es scheinen die Sternlein so hell' (arranged by a Herr Riedel, later a timpanist in the orchestra in Andalusia) by the SMGV, and the singing of the 'Deutschlandlied' by the audience. It concluded with a

flag procession by the *Männer Turnverein* (MTV) and musical contributions by the *Kolibri-Kapelle* (see Figure 3.19) for the customary ball at the end of official proceedings.



Figure 3.19: The *Kolibri-Kapelle*, only Willy Janorschke (trumpet) is named. Notice the second trumpet beside the trumpeter, as well as the banjo leaning against the violinist's stand. Most of the musicians appeared to have had skills on numerous instruments. Source: Swakopmund Scientific Society (n.d.).

Financial concerns forced them to consider merging with the church choir to form a mixed choir but these discussions never went further. For an outing in the Easter of 1934, the group is logged as having gathering around the lager fire in the evening and singing German folk songs to the accompaniment of a piano accordion. Included in the report on this outing is the fact that there were salutes of 'Sieg Heil' to Hindenburg, and to Hitler, who celebrated his birthday that month, followed by the singing of the 'Liedes der Deutschen' and the opening verse of the Horst Wessel song. (*Festschrift, 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein, 2002:22*).⁸⁴

A highly successful *Rheinische Abend* (Rhenish Evening) held in the *Fabersaal*, included a selection of songs from the Rhine area, solo performances, a trumpeter, small singing groups and the presentation of a film, all by members of the SMGV (*Festschrift, 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein, 2002:23*).

⁸⁴ The Horst Wessel song was the unofficial anthem of the Nazi party. Its first verse goes as follows:

Die Fahne hoch die Reihen fest geschlossen
S.A. marschier mit ruhig festem Schritt.
Kam'raden die Rotfront und Reaktion erschossen
Marschier'n im Geist in unsern Reihen mit.

Flag high, ranks closed

The S.A. marches with silent solid steps.

*Comrades shot by the red front and in reaction
march in spirit with us in our ranks.*

<http://www.metrolyrics.com/horst-wessel-lied-lyrics-horst-wessel-lied-inoffizielle-nazi-hymne.html> (S.A. stands for *Sturmabteilung* or Storm Detachment, better known as the 'brown shirts').

Reports on the SMGV ended after the annual general meeting in 1938, and only as late as 1951 were there suggestions of restarting the society. The start of the Second World War and the post-war depression nearly brought German choral singing in Namibia to an end, but eventually the SWASB started looking for applicants from Germany to lead their choirs. The president of the SWASB at the time, Walter Heinrich, tried to convince the authorities that teachers in South West Africa with choir leadership abilities should not only use their abilities at the schools, but that they should also be nurturing the preservation of the German language and culture through practising choral work within German communities (*Festschrift, 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein, 2002:45*). Cantor Johannes Schrader arrived in Swakopmund in 1952, and resurrected the society. He was to be paid £1 per evening for rehearsals in Hotel Fürst Bismarck. The year 1953 concluded with a celebratory event under the Big Tree along the Swakop River, and as was common practice, there were family evenings, outings and festival celebrations, and social events to include wives and families – musicking in the true sense of the word.

Looking at the list of composers and the repertoire performed by the various groups, I am of the opinion that there was no specific attempt to play or sing music by only German composers, but that these Romantic compositions constituted a frame of reference for the performers. Most of the music performed, excluding a few English or Russian nineteenth century composers, was by German composers, and scores would very likely have been easily accessible to them. In this sense it is clear that the notion of *Deutschtum*, but virtue of its sheer unconscious pervasiveness, was ideological.

In the sixties and seventies, school music teachers picked up orphaned choirs and started new choirs, which led to a boom in choral singing. However, due to the political climate in the seventies, the German government was prohibited from providing teachers for the German sections of the country, and nothing that was done to encourage the youth to get involved in choir leadership could save the deterioration of choral singing.

Choirs from Germany, as well as other local choirs, were often entertained by the SMGV, and were included in celebratory festivals.⁸⁵ In November 1974, Mozart's Requiem was performed in the German Evangelical church by the 'United Choirs of Swakopmund' (see Figure 3.20).

⁸⁵ Apart from German songs, their repertoire now includes songs in Afrikaans, English, Oshivambo, Damara, Nama and Herero, and reflects the diverse cultures of Namibia.



Figure 3.20: Although the hand-written caption reads 'Requiem von Verdi', it is the photo of the performance of the Mozart Requiem, sung by the *Kantorei* and the SMGV under the baton of J. Schrader. Source: K. Hatterscheidt (2015). In 1976, a concert was dedicated to the wives and mothers of the singers under the banner of 'Muttersprache – Mutterlaut',⁸⁶ which reflects on the intimate relationship between the men's singing and their family responsibilities.

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the SMGV was celebrated with the *Gemischten Chor Swakopmund* and instrumental groups under the banner of *Volkstümliches Musizieren* (Traditional Musicking).



Figure 3.21: The picture reflects the SMGV with conductor Johannes Schrader in its seventy-fifth year. Source: *Festschrift 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein* (2002).

⁸⁶ These two words are taken from the short German poem, 'Muttersprache, Mutterlaut, mir so wonnesam, so traut, Erstes Wort, das ich gehoret, erstes, süßes, Liebeswort', and translated as 'Mother tongue, mother sound, for me so pleasurable, so dear, first word I ever heard, first sweet word of love'.

Concerts were often followed by a dance with accompaniment by one of the local jazz bands, such as the *Wikaphoniker* in 1982.⁸⁷ It seems clear that even at this late stage, German folk songs were still the focal point in their performances, and they presented programmes of folksongs to the public in the town gardens. Even though the repertoire of the choir was still German orientated, the functions for the anniversary festivals always drew participation from the greater community. For a singing festival for choirs from coastal towns run by the *Kantorei*, Dr Gerhard Gellrich, *Kapellmeister* (Chorus master) from Unkel in Germany, arranged the well-known song, ‘Das Südwesterlied’, for the SMGV. This song was always well-received, and would have encouraged crowd participation. For the occasion of its eighty-fifth anniversary, the SMGV performed a demanding cantata about a ship’s captain, ‘Der große Kapitän’, composed by Eddy Pütz, with choir members dressed in sailors’ outfits.⁸⁸



Figure 3.22: The choir singing a cantata about a ship’s captain. Werner Kühlwetter is pictured in front of the grand piano playing a piano accordion. Source: *Festschrift 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein* (2002).

Singing at events such as the eightieth-year celebrations of the *Maltehöhe Hotel*; with the *Roten Funken* (Red Sparks) from Cologne, at a Farmers’ Day at Kaltenhausen (a small town in the region of Erongo), for a Wine Festival at Sport Klub Windhoek (SKW) and for the fiftieth celebrations of the tannery in Swakopmund,⁸⁹ as well as records of a weekend of plentiful singing at the farm of Werner Gossow at Donkerhoek, and the eating of a ‘Bokkie am Spieß’ (little buck on a spit) (*Festschrift, 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein*, 2002:32), support the notion that the social activities of this club were of prime importance in the community. The SMGV still perform at social occasions such as weddings, funerals,

⁸⁷ WIKA is the acronym for *Windhoek Karnival*, and the *Wikaphoniker* is the band which evolved from the need for a jazz band for this annual function, which is still a popular annual event in many Namibian towns, run by the German community.

⁸⁸ This cantata consisted of five sea shanties, published by Tonos Music (Moisel, 2016).

⁸⁹ The tannery was founded in 1938 by the Schier family who are still the owners. Several generations of the Schier family have been actively involved in the Arts Association in Swakopmund for many decades.

festivals and celebrations. Indeed, at this point in the history of the SMGV it is difficult to ascertain whether it was a social club that sang or a singing club that socialised. The musical-social dynamic is neatly summed up by Dieter Gudehus in a 1977 television recording made for the *Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen* (ZDF) (German Channel Two). Speaking as Chairman of the SMGV, Gudehus had the following to say:

Dem Männergesang haftet das Odium der Unvollkommenheit an, das geben wir gern zu, aber unser Ziel und Zweck, auf volkstümliche Weise Musik mit jedermann und für jedermann zu pflegen, schließt Laienhaftigkeit, Unvollkommenheit und Begrenzung unserer Darbietungsliteratur ein. (Festschrift, 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein, 2002:30)

The SMGV adhere to the abhorrence of imperfection, this much we will admit, but our aim and purpose of making music popular with everyone, and of cultivating and fostering the love of music for everyone, has to embrace amateurism, imperfection and limitations in our performance literature.

The symbolic importance of the choir is underlined when considering that the German ambassador, Harald Ganss, and his wife, were the honorary guests at the ninetieth anniversary.

On a return visit to Swakopmund, Johannes Schrader conducted their singing of the 'Bundeslied'. The visibly moved conductor handed over a copy of his composition, 'Mein Swakopmund' to the group. Its ninety-fifth anniversary coincided with the centenaries of German composers such as Brahms, Mendelssohn and Schubert, and the music for this evening was adapted to the title, 'Mit Brahms, Schubert und Mendelssohn auf Afrika-Safari'. In 1999 SMGV felt the need to preserve some of the songs in their repertoire by making a recording, and particularly, of songs that were descriptive of South West Africa. Werner Kühlwetter arranged many of these songs for accessible three- and four-part men's voices, including 'Hart wie Kameldornholz', 'Heia Safari' and 'Das Ochsenwagenlied', some of which had instrumental accompaniment. After two unsuccessful attempts to make the recording, the idea was abandoned. A recording, 'Heia Safari: Gesungen am Lagerfeuer unterm Kameldornbaum' ('Heia Safari: Sung around the Campfire under the Camel thorn tree'), was eventually finally released by a production company in Germany in 2002 (*Festschrift, 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein*, 2002:39).^{90,91}

⁹⁰ This recording was made over the course of 2001 and 2002, and was recorded at the German *Pfadfinderheim* (the Scout Hall) by the members themselves, with Jochen Schwietering as the recording technician. The songs recorded were in the languages of German, English, Afrikaans, Oshiwambo and Otjiherero (Moisel, 2016).

⁹¹ Their repertoire, not necessarily all on the CD, included German songs such as 'Land der strahlend hellen Sonne' by K. Kirschnereit; 'Die Erschaffung Südwest', a ballad with words by H. Berker and melody by D. Witte; 'Heia Safari', an African folksong, 'Am Lagerfeuer' by F. Hoffmann, arranged by D. Witte; 'Ozohungo makura' sung in Herero; 'Piet Donsie' and 'Sarie Marais', two South African folksongs sung in Afrikaans; 'Kanne man dan nie', a Cape Malay 'moppie'; '!Guru tama', a Nama/Damara song; 'Meguru', a sacral song of the Kangwali tribe; 'Mokoreni', a Kavango folksong; 'Shosholoza', a South African anti-apartheid song frequently sung by mine workers; 'This land is your land, this land is my land' (Moisel, et al.(eds), 2012:57–65).

The SMGV has always participated in the festivities of the town, such as the *Brückenfest* (Jetty Festival), the carnival procession, and the *Oktoberfest*. For its ninety-seventh anniversary celebrations, the theme, 'Mit Musik geht alles besser' ('Everything goes better with music') was chosen. The new century heralded two visits by the SMGV to Walvis Bay Harbour. The first trip was to the German frigate, the 'Emden', docked with five other warships was the venue for a performance of songs alternating with the ship's chorus, to a large and noisy audience in a shed at the harbour, and ending with a communal song, 'Schwer mit dem Schätzen des Orients beladen' ('Heavily laden with treasures from the Orient'). The second visit was to the research ship, the 'Meteor' where they sang shanties and socialised would remain in the memories of many of the singers and crew members (*Festschrift, 100 Jahre Swakopmunder Männergesangverein, 2002:40*).

The group's 99th anniversary was celebrated with an *Amerikanische Abend* ('American Evening'), where the singers were dressed as cowboys, and Werner Kühlwetter's *Kleine Big Band* members were dressed as Indians. The centenary tour to Germany served both as a reminder of the old tradition of men's' singing societies sharing their music with others, as well as a bridge-building exercise between the nations of Namibia and Germany. The centenary festival included a choral concert organised jointly by the choirs of the SMGV, the Mascato Youth Choir from Swakopmund, the *Windhoek Männergesangverein*, the Swakapella, the Seaside Singers, and the C-gals. The festival evening titled 'In 80 Minuten um die Welt' ('Around the World in 80 Minutes'), included singing, musicking and dancing, and concluded with a desert barbeque (*Wüstenbraai*) in the Swakop River.⁹²

Many people supported the cultural activities and there was cohesion in the German community, but interest started to dwindle by 2002. According to the chairman (2013), Herbert Schier,⁹³ '... many in the SMGV are Germans are not open to other cultures'. The emphasis had moved from being a social club that sang, to a singing club that socialised. When speaking about their conductor, Dörte Witte, he related the following with a smile: 'She is very strict – we have to be on time'. He added that 'Swakopmunders *want* to continue German tradition. We have Joel Nambuli – an Owambo who can't speak German, but he sings beautifully and reads German, and we are hoping he will act as a magnet for other young people' (Schier, 2013). 'Brüder reicht die Hand zum Bunde' ('Brothers reach out a hand to bond') and 'Wanderlied' ('Wanderer's Song') by C.M. von Weber were sung on the occasions of both the Namibian Independence celebrations, and at a spontaneous

⁹² Due to the very irregular flow of this river, it was common to use the barren river bed for outdoor entertainment.

⁹³ Schier's musical journey had also started playing the clarinet for Mr Bahlsen. Schier is the nephew of Fritz von Seggern. He was a regular participant in the *Swakopmunder Musikwoche*.

celebration for the reunification of Germany. *Deutschtum* has lived on and through the music of the German community of this town.

The activities of the *Südwest Afrika Sängerbund* (SWASB) (South West African Singers' Society) also highlight a sense of belonging through singing. The motto of the *Südwest Afrika Sängerbund* (SWASB) is 'Deutsche Lieder, deutscher Art, stets in Südwest die Treue wahr!' [*sic*] ('German Songs, German ways, will always uphold faithfulness in South West!'). The members of the Windhoek and Swakopmund branches of the society had met in Swakopmund as early as 1912, and taken the decision that all singers in South West Africa should be united in the form of a society. The First World War interrupted plans for the initiation of this society, but in 1927, to coincide with the twentieth anniversary of the *Windhoek Männergesangverein*, the *Südwest Afrika Sängerbund* was founded. The main purpose of this union was to ensure the support and continuation of the singing of German songs in small towns where there was a growing population of young people, and to uphold firm links with the homeland (Germany). The idea was to include all singing groups from smaller towns, regardless of vocal grouping, and to share music. The groups included mixed choirs, ladies' choirs, men's' choirs, mixed choirs, church choirs and smaller singing groups (Document, Bahlsen, 1930: column 4). There were annual singing days where groups travelled from as far afield as Grootfontein, Elisabethbucht, Kolmanskop (the latter both from diamond fields near Lüderitzbucht), Karibib and Usakos, and were hosted by fellow singers. The *SWA Sängerbund* in turn was a member of the *Deutscher Sängerbund*. At the fifth *Sängertag* (Singing Day) held on 27 November 1929 in Usakos, the foundation was laid for first *SWA Bundesfest* (Festival of the Singers' Union) to be held in 1930 (Document, Bahlsen, 1930: column 1).



Figure 3.23: Participants at the South West Africa *Sängerbund* Festival in Windhoek in 1930 photographed at an outing to *Hoffnung* farm. Source: Swakopmund Scientific Society (1930).

The Bahlsen document is an important piece of evidence of the close relationship between music and the attempt to maintain principles of *Deutschtum* in South West Africa. The slide from music to patriotism to Germanness is clear in the following passages taken from the document (Document, Bahlsen, 1930: column 2):

Der deutsche Sänger kennt nur einen Stand, nur einen Geist und eine Sängertreue! Das ist sein stilles Werk am Vaterland, der Heimat dienen durch des Liedes Wiehe!

The German singer has only one position, one spirit and one singing loyalty. His subtle work in his fatherland is to serve his homeland through the sanctification of song.

The writer of the Bahlsen document opines that by holding onto this unassailable bond of *Deutschtum*, the idea is not to exclude people from other language groups, but to encourage a unified cohesive group with the joint purpose of creating a homeland, Southwest, through culture-sharing rather than with guns. However, in his opening speech of the chairman of the hosting society *Windhoek Männergesangverein*, a Mr Hassenstein, defined this homeland as follows (Document, Bahlsen, 1930: column 2):

Das ist Anerkennung der in den Dienst von Volk und Vaterland Kulturarbeit. In unsern Adern fließt deutsches Blut, unser Herz schlägt deutsch; im deutschen Lied und Sinn empfinden wir die Arbeit an Volk und Vaterland als sittliche Pflicht.

This is recognition of the people and the fatherland by those in cultural service. There is German blood in our veins, our hearts beat in German and we experience our work through the German song and consciousness, as our moral duty.

The closing ceremony of the 1930 festival included members of the *Pfadfinder* parading flags, a band consisting of indigenous people (*Eingeborenenkapelle*) (Document, Bahlsen, 1930: column 6) and school children from the German schools, who joined in with the singing of folk songs.

The SWASB held its fiftieth anniversary celebrations in Windhoek in June 1977, under the banner of 'Singen heißt Verstehen' ('Singing means Understanding'). Apart from mention of the usual men's choruses from Windhoek and Swakopmund, and a choir from Okahandja, this was the first time that any mention had been made of the participation by a choir from a 'non-white' community, namely, the traditionally 'Coloured' township of Khomashochland outside Windhoek.

3.4 Swakopmunder Musikwoche (SMW)

'Die tragenden Säulen des eigenständigen Kulturlebens eines Volkssplitters in fremder Umgebung sind Schule, Kirche, Vereine und nicht zuletzt die Familie selbst ...' ('The supporting pillars of the independent cultural life of a splintered nation in a foreign environment are schools, churches, clubs or associations and not least, the family itself ...')

(Rüdiger, 1993:85). The initiation of the *Swakopmunder Musikwoche* was the result of almost a decade of dedication and inspiration by a teacher at Swakopmund High School called Paul Bahlsen. His enthusiasm to share music would have been widely supported by the local German population. Despite his pioneering work in launching this initiative, he regards his biggest achievement in fostering a musical culture as being the work he did in inspiring musicians in the years after his arrival in Swakopmund until the introduction of the *Musikwoche*, rather than for the actual initiation of the *Musikwoche*.

At a meeting at Café Anton in 1964, Dr Erich Wöhler and Bahlsen agreed to hold an orchestra week in December 1965. Bahlsen had spent years prior to this, encouraging bored hostel pupils to play instruments which he had fought hard to acquire, or bought himself. By the time he left for his year in Germany as a trainee teacher in 1963⁹⁴ he had already established a school orchestra, and a brass band. On the strength of his experience in Germany, he was convinced that he needed to involve professionals in order to advance music-making in Swakopmund.⁹⁵ Bahlsen offered to take on the logistics for an orchestral week, while Wöhler acquiesced to conducting the orchestra. Friedgard von Koenen, a violinist from Windhoek, was to be the lecturer for the strings, and she was invited to bring as many of her pupils as possible. Leopold and Hannelore Moisel were invited to lead a recorder course to be held at the same time, so that all the instruments involved in music education at the school would be represented during this week (Bahlsen, 2012:31).

It turned out to be too late to implement these plans in 1964, and arrangements were postponed until 1965. Due to financial restraints, the first orchestra week was held in the Scout Hall in the estuary of the dry Swakop River. Wöhler invited Mr Wentzel du Plessis, the Administrator of South West Africa at the time, to a rehearsal in order to justify approaching him for the financing of a much-needed Conservatoire in Windhoek, based on what he would have witnessed at these rehearsals. Despite the difficult circumstances and financial constraints, the week was a resounding success with the final concert (*Schlußkonzert*) held in the *Haus der Jugend*. Included in the programme was an orchestral version of the German folksong, 'Wenn alle Brunnlein fließen' by Walter Rein, and a full orchestral version of the march, 'The School Captain', by C. Woodhouse (from the Hawkes School Series), which brought the evening to an end with frenzied applause from the audience.

Feeling inadequate about his ability to conduct the orchestra, Wöhler elected not to continue as leader of the orchestra, but offered to provide them with professional leadership and to

⁹⁴ The German government sponsored teacher training to ensure that the standard of education in South West Africa met their criteria.

⁹⁵ Bahlsen was an amateur musician and a linguist, and apart from being in charge of the school hostel and teaching English and Latin, where in the absence of professionals he volunteered to run the education of music at the school.

facilitate a suitable venue for rehearsals. In the following two years, Dr Hans Maske, a teacher and composer from Windhoek, lead the course. In 1968, he composed 'Concertino Giuventù' ('Youth Concerto') for two solo violins, piano and strings, which he conducted for the *Abschiedskonzert* (van Biljon, 1982:278–279). The *Orchesterwoche* had found a working format, until the opening of the Conservatoire in Windhoek in 1971. After 1971, professional musicians took over the management of the orchestra week. The *Orchesterwoche*, as it was known in those days, was close to being aborted after a failed attempt by the staff of the Windhoek Conservatoire to hold the week in Windhoek in the June of 1972. The name was changed several times from *Schulungswoche* (Education Week), *Südwester Jugendorchester* (South West Youth Orchestra), to Music Course or *Orchesterwoche* (Orchestra Week), to *Kirchenmusikwoche* (Church Music Week), and eventually to the *Swakopmunder Musikwoche* (Kesselmann, 2012:1).⁹⁶

Regarding the question on the Germanness of the *Musikwoche*, I quote Christiane Berker, current organiser of the SMW, in an interview with the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Böttcher, 2013: column 5):

Als wir angefangen haben, war alles rein Deutsch, die englischen Dozenten hatten da meistens Pech. Ich habe das dann sehr schnell umgestellt auf Deutsch und Englisch. Dann kamen sogar Teilnehmer, die sagten: 'Wir wußten gar nicht, daß das auch für Nicht-Deutsche ist'.

When we started, everything was in pure German, and it was just bad luck for the English-speaking lecturers. I soon changed things to German and English. I even had participants telling me that they did not know that this was also for 'non-Germans'.

The answer elicited from Jürgen Schwietering during an interview, was that it was totally German (Schwietering, 2014). The German influence at the start of the *Musikwoche* may well have given it a German identity (Berker, 2015:17). German was widely spoken, also amongst the non-Germans. Around 1970, when lecturers from South African universities lead the course, they would have brought their students with them, which would have necessitated using English as the medium of communication, but when the course was reinstated under the wings of the IG (*Interessengemeinschaft deutschsprachiger Südwester*) (German Interest Group), it took on a very German leaning again (Berker, 2015:18). The course has been conducted in English since 2010.

Rehearsal venues always posed a problem. As late as 1987, during the year when Johannes Wilcken led the course, mention is made of problems in finding rehearsal venues. The *Deutsche Obere Schule* would not allow multi-racial gatherings on its premises.⁹⁷ The church

⁹⁶ Günther Kesselmann, who also chaired the Arts Association for some time, was involved with the *Musikwoche* in an administrative and participative capacity during the musical leadership of Werner Kühlwetter, and subsequently for another six years under the leadership of Christiane Berker (Böttcher, 2013: column 4–5).

⁹⁷ This was during the apartheid era, and this school would have been government run.

council refused to rent rehearsal space from an English school for an activity arranged by the German community. The *Deutsche Obere Schule* eventually did allow rehearsals to take place on their premises, but for whites only (Berker, 2015:18–19). By the turn of the twenty-first century, press releases on the *Musikwoche* were still only being released in the daily German newspaper published in Namibia, the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, and *Musikwoche* was still predominantly German and predominantly white (Berker, 2015:22). From its humble beginnings, the *Musikwoche* currently stands out as an internationally supported music week, and after going online in 2008 and removing German as the sole language of tuition, numbers have more than doubled to the current number of around 300 participants. The *Musikwoche* is unique in that it caters for all ages and levels, from children as young as six, who are involved in rhythm bands, to recorder ensembles, to choirs (where the oldest participant has been eighty-seven), to jazz bands, wind ensembles, a junior orchestra for beginners, a concert band, a large orchestra, conducting classes and even backstage and administrative skills. There are performance opportunities for everyone involved.

When Berker took over directorship of the course after Kesselmann retired, she injected a new energy into the week by insisting that this event was for all Namibians and international musicians (Böttcher, 2013: column 5). With the church as the one of the focal points in the community life of the German population, and in the 1980s when there were doubts about the continuance of the *Musikwoche* for financial and organisational reasons, the Lutheran Church (DELK) took over patronage of the *Musikwoche* (Berker, 2016).⁹⁸ Although there are still currently members of this congregation who serve on the board of trustees, as well as on the organising committee, but *Musikwoche* is managing to raise the necessary funds currently and operates as an independent trust (Berker, 2016).

The *Swakopmunder Musikwoche* strives not only to teach participants music outside the classical music repertoire, but to improve performance levels, and to give them opportunities of musicking in groups.⁹⁹ However anachronous the notion of this activity may be perceived to be with relevance to indigenous African people, their participation in musicking in a formerly exclusive learning forum, has been welcomed by many Namibians, who now are being given the opportunity to develop their talent through tuition from a panel of international instructors. Since 2008, the opportunity to learn about performance logistics, such as administration and stage direction, was introduced. The participation by many Namibians would not be possible without the support of the Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture (Berker, 2013). Generous sponsorship for this non-profit organisation is forthcoming from

⁹⁸ DELK eventually became ELKIN – *Evangelische Lutherische Kirche in Namibia*.

⁹⁹ It is distressing to note that the number of young pupils enrolling at the College of Arts in Windhoek is dwindling (Berker, 2015:93).

local businesses, individual donors, and discounted rates are offered by local pensions and bed and breakfast institutions, which have traditionally sponsored rooms for the lecturers. Bank Windhoek currently has naming rights and has traditionally been the largest sponsor. Its sponsorships include the *Aula* (auditorium) of the Namib Primary School (see Figure 3.24). Trombone lecturer Michael Nixon comments on the fact that since government sponsorship has been provided, many brass bands from churches have started participating, albeit on inferior and neglected instruments.¹⁰⁰



Figure 3.24: The entrance to the foyer of the concert hall at the Namib Primary School. Source: D.L. van Zyl (December 2013).

A volunteer run *MuWo Café* (MUSikWOche Café) provides refreshments for participants during the course of the week. For many years the Namib Primary School, situated between the *Woermannhaus* and the jetty provided a home for the *Musikwoche*. 'Every day from 9 o'clock until 5 pm young and old practised in every available classroom, storeroom and even outside, as space really became a major problem' (Swakopmunder Musikwoche, 2014:9). The music is selected and arranged according to the availability of instruments and the players' level of ability, by the conductor. The music is handed out at the course, or for those who have the facilities to download the music, it is accessible online to allow them to practise before arriving. Currently, government-sponsored attendees are accommodated in the Hofmeyr House boarding establishment, and all other participants are left to organise their own accommodation (Berker, 2016).

Traditionally, this *Musikwoche* week has been a time of musicking and holidaying in Swakopmund for Namibian families. An open air concert is held in the amphitheatre opposite Hotel Schweizerhaus on the beachfront (see Figure 3.26). The *Musikwoche* is extremely well

¹⁰⁰ The availability of these instruments could well be remnants of the *Posaunchor* tradition in the Lutheran church, started by the missionaries.

supported by townsfolk and holiday makers. A wide variety of music is performed by the Grand Orchestra at the *Schlußkonzert*, which takes place on the Friday and Saturday nights, with the choir and selected instrumental groups performing in the German Lutheran Church for the Sunday morning service.



Figure 3.25: A regular annual feature is the performance of a waltz with musicians wearing different hats. In 2014, the year when this picture was taken, the orchestra performed Johann Strauss Jnr's 'Frühlingsstimmen Walzer'. Source: Swakopmunder Musikwoche [Facebook].

There was a strong custom of brass playing amongst the Swakopmunders (Schwietering, J., 2014), and coaches for the brass players were imported from Germany at one of the courses. Often players from South Africa were flown in to bolster the *Schlußkonzerte*. Schwietering tells of the unhappiness amongst the Swakopmunders when in 1999, under the baton of Henry Großmann and with funding from the German government, brass players were brought out from Germany; they felt as if it had become a German *Musikwoche*, rather than a *Swakopmunder Musikwoche*, and they quit playing.

In 2014 a horn group had special permission from the Swakopmund Municipality to perform from the top of the Woermann tower (see Figure 3.26). Other brass players spread out on the sidewalks around the tower, as well as in the grounds of the primary school in front of the tower to perform a piece called 'Tapio for Horn and Echoing Instruments' by R. Murray Schafer. The participation of many woodwind and brass players has led to the initiation of jazz and brass bands.



Figure 3.26: The horns perform 'Tapio for Horn and Echoing Instruments' by R. Murray Schafer, from the Woermann tower. Source: Swakopmunder Musikwoche [Facebook].

In an interview with conductor Hans Jochen Stiefel (2013), who had been involved with the *Musikwoche* since 2002 when eighty percent of the lecturers were from Germany or were German-speaking Namibians, he had the following to say: 'Werner (Kühlwetter) had different ideas to the current organisers'. Stiefel felt that for Kühlwetter it had been about bringing people from Germany to continue the European tradition of Western Classical music. Kühlwetter was not computer literate and the organisation had been done through personal telephone calls and letters. Current practice favoured bringing in instructors from South Africa rather than sourcing German instructors, although the *Musikwoche* was not without an international representation. Stiefel was of the opinion that the *Musikwoche* offered the musicians wonderful new experiences of musicking, and that the level of playing had improved every year since he had been involved. In 2005 for example, one of the years when he had lead the course, there were far fewer participants and it had been acceptable to perform a Mozart symphony with ten flutes in order to involve everyone in the orchestra, whereas in recent years such works would be performed as originally scored (Stiefel, 2013).

Currently the orchestra course or festival is moving in a new direction and this seems to be appropriate for the era of independence in Namibia. As less experienced singers join the choir at the *Musikwoche*, greater discretion has to be exercised in the choice of repertoire, as many of the current singers are unfamiliar with European music and languages. This has opened up opportunities for commissions from young composers familiar with old and new traditions, as well as serving to expose local compositions to participants and audience. More recently composed music such as *Tapio* by M.R. Schafer (2003) is being introduced to suit the instrumental groupings and availability. For the celebration of their fiftieth Jubilee year, Jacus Krige, a Namibian composer, was commissioned to compose a piece for Grand Orchestra and Choir. Whereas before, the choral music would have been mostly traditional

European music sung by mostly white German speaking participants, the 'new look' *Musikwoche* leans towards Afrocentricity rather than Eurocentricity. This shift concerns not only more inclusiveness with regard to the broader local population, but also organizing groups of performers into ensembles that facilitate inclusivity rather than exclusivity and including compositions by young Namibian composers. Although the performance of indigenous music at these events is still unusual, it is possible that future research and changed circumstances could lead to the inclusion of different kinds of music, adapted for the instrumentation of the *Musikwoche*. In the early years of *Musikwoche*, the programme would have been chosen with a German audience in mind (Berker, 2015:2). Although commissions and new repertoire have been added to the programmes to suit the level and grouping of the musicians recently, much of the old repertoire is repeated in order to expose new participants to European classical music in traditional classical and jazz music performances. Alessandro Alessandroni from Swakopmund, composed a piece especially for the *Musikwoche* called 'From Swakop with Love', which was premiered at the final concert in 2015 (Musikwoche, 2015).



Figure 3.27: The 2014 Jazz Band performs in the amphitheatre under the baton of Steven Meyer from the USA. Source: Swakopmunder Musikwoche [Facebook].

In considering constructions of *Deutschtum* and music in Namibia, it is clear how the *Musikwoche* has developed from a very German rooted festival to one with a more inclusive national sensibility. And yet it was the Germans who initially arrived as settlers, many with pianos, and their instilled sense of tradition which they felt they needed to pass on to younger generations, who gave momentum to the musical celebration which is the *Swakopmunder Musikwoche*, now shared by all Namibians (C. Berker, 2013). The notion of a *Musikwoche* being initiated anywhere without support of a German community, would be in vain. In the

words of Bahlsen when he moved to Keetmanshoop in the early 1980s and attempted to do exactly this: 'It was mostly an Afrikaans speaking community, and I could not get enough interest' (Bahlsen, 2016).

3.5 Influential personalities

The following South West African personalities have been highlighted as a result of my research and assessment of their contribution to German musicking in Swakopmund. There may well be others whom I have not included:

3.5.1 *Magdalene Birkenmayer*

The dates of birth and death of Birkenmeyer are unknown. She arrived in Swakopmund in 1911 on the 'Adolf Woermann', and was met by her husband Anton, who welcomed her on shore with a bouquet of parsley which he had grown (Fahrbach, 2012:65). She became known fondly by the locals as Birkenlene. They lived on Swakopfarm no. 33, named Birkenfels by the family, about 25 kilometres east of Swakopmund. The Birkenmayer family owned the farm from 1911 to 1934 when the farm was destroyed by floods, and the family relocated to Walvis Bay. The central room in her wood and iron house had a high ceiling, and was to serve as a concert hall as well as a living area, as reflected in Figure 3.28:



Figure 3.28: The big room at Birkenfels, where Birkenlene would have held concerts. Source: H. Fahrbach (2012, p.69).

Her account of Christmas in 1914 reflects her German patriotism: '... Die deutsche Fahne weht, wie an allen Sonn – und Festtagen, vom Giebel des Farmhauses' ('... The German flag flew from the gable of the farmhouse, like on all Sundays and festival days') (Fahrbach,

2012:69). She had invited all soldiers who lived close by, to celebrate Christmas with a festive roast in order to eat all their geese, ducks, freshly grown vegetables including oodles of asparagus, as well as to drink their wine, rather than leaving it for the approaching South African troops. On the soldiers' insistence, she played the Presentation March for the hoisting of the German flag (Fahrbach, 2012:69).¹⁰¹ Then Birkenmayer, dressed in her best evening dress, gave a moving rendition of 'Stille Nacht, heilige Nacht' ('Silent night, holy night') to the accompaniment of a violin played by a reserve lieutenant, with twinkling candles on the green Christmas wreath hanging up in the centre of the room. After dinner, the candles on a lone standing casuarina tree in the yard were lit. Quietly, under the wide African sky, Birkenlene started singing Christmas carols, and was gradually joined by all those standing around, creating a magical Christmas atmosphere under the infinite heavens above the Swakop valley (Fahrbach, 2012:71). The next morning a patrol arrived to announce the arrival of the South African warships in Walvis Bay.

Magdalene Birkenmayer started teaching singing and dancing to augment her income. An advertisement exists of a Cabaret Evening given by Lene Birkenmayer, with music by Herr Bohn and the *Schrammelkapelle* in the hall at Hotel Faber (Fahrbach, 2012:63) (Archives, Swakopmund). According to this programme, songs were sung in German and in English, and there seem to have been dances interspersed with her singing.¹⁰² There were favourable reports on her ability to sing songs for both alto and soprano, and comments were made to the effect that did not matter what Birkenlene sang, as long as she sang. (Fahrbach, 2012:66–67). Regarding her teaching capabilities, the following report is found in Fahrbach (2012:67):

Der überfüllte Saal ließ im Voraus erkennen, welche Erwartungen das Publikum auf diesen Abend gesetzt hatte, und diese wurden wahrlich nicht enttäuscht. Frau Birkenmayer hat wiederum bewiesen, daß sie nicht nur selber eine hervorragende Künstlerin ist, sondern auch ihre Schüler vortrefflich heranzubilden versteht.

The overfull hall indicated in advance what expectations the public had of this evening, and they were not disappointed. Mrs Birkenmayer proved again that she is not only an outstanding artist, but she also understands how to educate her pupils.

The Swakopmund Archives house a selection of programmes of music and dancing by herself and her pupils from about 1916 until 1924, and which she provided to the Swakopmund community. The programme presented by the Swakopmund Society for Friends of Music (*Vereinigung Swakopmunder Musikfreunde* or VSM) titled '5. Konzert (Wohltätigkeitskonzert) am Sonnabend, 31. März, 1917, im Hotel J. Faber' ('5th Concert

¹⁰¹ Known in English as the Prussian Inspection March, this popular Prussian military march was often played at civil functions and parades.

¹⁰² No names are given next to the items

[Charity Concert] on Saturday, 31 March 1917, in Hotel J. Faber'), reflects that the first official concerts would have been presented from about 1915 or 1916. The programme reflects performances by a string quartet (the names of the players are not known) and *Gesamtspiel* (performance by a larger group of musicians, possibly that of the *Schad Kapelle* also known as the *Stadtkapelle*) (Archives, Swakopmund). Amongst several other programmes of music she presented, the programme below reflects a concert evening held in 1923, where it presents Frau L. Birkenmayer, singing teacher, with kind collaboration of Frau E. Schurig, Frau I. von Doorn, and at the piano, Frau Hundsdörfer:



Figure 3.29: Concert programme for Lene Birkenmayer held on Saturday 2 June 1923. Source: Swakopmund Archives (2013).

Birkenmayer also travelled to Tsumeb and Windhoek for concerts which she produced.

3.5.2 Karl Hatterscheidt (1911–2000)

Although this chapter includes information about the life of Hatterscheidt in music-making outside Swakopmund, this history and the people with whom he was involved, have shaped his contribution to music in Swakopmund.



Figure 3.30: Charly Hatterscheidt at home in Swakopmund. Source: K. Hatterscheidt (2015).

Karl Hatterscheidt, cellist, and Wilhelm Kehrmann, violinist, played together in Essen, Germany. They were approached by a Mrs Weiss, (Van Biljon, 1982:266), owner of the Zoo Café in Windhoek, who asked whether they would be interested in performing in South West Africa as a part of trio that was needed for *Unterhaltungsmusik*. They relished this opportunity. Willy Frewer¹⁰³ was invited as the pianist. Upon their arrival in Windhoek on 17 February 1935 they were contracted to the Zoo Café in the *Truppengarten* in Windhoek.



Figure 3.31: The Zoo Café venue in 1935. Source: K. Hatterscheidt (2015).

¹⁰³ Willi Frewer has been mentioned in detail in the thesis of Ernst van Biljon. He later married the daughter of the owner of the Zoo Café, Edith Weiss (Van Biljon, 1982:266).

Due to the considerable variety of music needing to be performed – from classical music to waltzes to jazz – they needed to be able to play a variety of instruments. Of these three musicians, Hatterscheidt was the most proficient on numerous instruments (van Biljon, 1982:201–202), namely the cello, piano, piano accordion, clarinet, saxophone, trumpet, trombone and percussion. The trio left for South Africa at the end of their contract, where they played in Pretoria to many appreciative audiences at a selection of venues, until Hatterscheidt and Kehrmann were given notice to leave the country in light of the pending war.¹⁰⁴ With the intention of returning to Germany from Cape Town in January 1939, Hatterscheidt's life took a decisive turn when he was drawn to the sound of music coming from a building, and met up with a percussionist with whom he had performed. He accepted an invitation to join his band in Bulawayo, in what was then known as Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) (Hatterscheidt, 2015). Hours after the radio announcement that war had been declared on Germany on 19 September 1939, Hatterscheidt was fetched from his abode with all his possessions, including his cello, and taken to family barracks just outside Salisbury (now Harare). Included amongst the internees, were two piano accordion players from Hamburg, one guitarist and a female singer. Around 1941 the men were moved to Baviaanspoort in South Africa, where a brass band performed upon their arrival. Three of the new arrivals took out their piano accordions and serenaded the band in return for their musical welcome. There were several professional musicians from ships in the camp, and an orchestra large enough to perform Gershwin's *Rhapsody in Blue*. In 1942, Hatterscheidt was sent back to the Salisbury family camp where he met Johannes Schrader,¹⁰⁵ a pianist, who was interned with his two daughters. Hatterscheidt and Schrader gave concerts in the camp, and during the day they were allowed out of the camp to earn money. Hatterscheidt was employed to play at a hotel, where he met an Australian piano tuner who taught him the trade. In 1947 he received deportation orders and returned to Hanover with his wife and two young children, where as a result of his ability to speak English, he got immediate employment to play in a band in a club.

He then wrote to Willi Kehrmann¹⁰⁶ to enquire about the opportunities in South West Africa. Fritz von Seggern, a friend of Willi Kehrmann and violinist/violist, heard of the prospect of having a good cellist in Windhoek again,¹⁰⁷ and sponsored Hatterscheidt's return journey to

¹⁰⁴ Frewer was not sent away from Pretoria, as good pianists were a scarcity in the city (Hatterscheidt, 2015).

¹⁰⁵ Schrader later became the Cantor at the Lutheran Church in Swakopmund, as well as leading the SMGV for twelve years.

¹⁰⁶ He was living in Windhoek at the time, where initially he took a job as a truck driver and later was employed by Metje and Ziegler, working in their offices (Hatterscheidt, 2015).

¹⁰⁷ Von Seggern was also interned at Andalusia. He is not mentioned amongst the musicians in the camp. In 1954, he and his wife moved to Windhoek, where he established his own firm of accountants. As a violinist, he performed in chamber music groups and in the orchestra, and established violin making and repairs in Windhoek.

South West Africa by ship in 1951. The von Seggern's were generous patrons of the arts in South West Africa, as confirmed by the following two comments in the von Seggern's guest book:

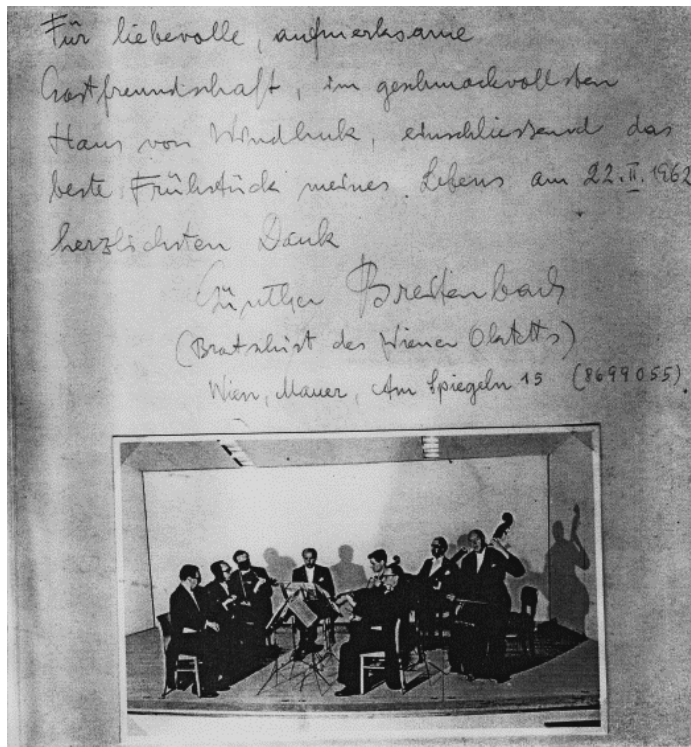


Figure 3.32: Entry in the guest book of Fritz and Rosie von Seggern. The translation of the above reads as follows: 'For loving, attentive hospitality in the most tasteful house in Windhoek, and the best breakfast of my life on 22 February 1962. Heartfelt thanks, Günther Breitenbach (violinist of the Vienna Octet), Vienna, Mauer, 13 Am Spiegel (8699055)'; the picture reflects the group performing. Source: Guest Book of the von Seggern family, courtesy of Isabelle von Seggern (2014).

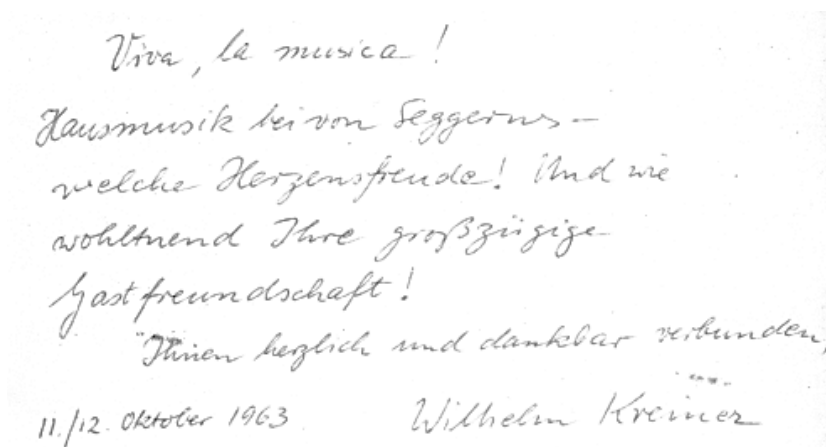


Figure 3.33: Another tribute to the von Seggern family. The tribute reads as follows: 'Viva, la musica! House music at von Seggerns – what joy! And how appealing your generous hospitality. Yours sincerely and thankfully connected, Wilhelm Kreiner'. Source: Guest book of the von Seggern family, courtesy of Isabelle von Seggern (2014).

He did not know Hatterscheidt personally at the time of his generous gesture of sponsoring his return to South West Africa (Hatterscheidt, 2015).

By the time the ship had arrived in Durban, via Dar-es-Salaam, Hatterscheidt had run out of money. After finding the cheapest accommodation, he found the busiest street corner on which to play his piano accordion, and managed to collect enough money for his three-day train journey to Windhoek. His family followed after a year, but his wife died in 1953, leaving him with three small children. He met and married Karin (nee Köpke) in 1957. Hatterscheidt performed chamber music in Windhoek, as well as doing repairs to musical instruments and restringing bows until 1960, when he left for Swakopmund for economic reasons.

In Swakopmund, the family opened a grocery store which they operated from a room in their home. After two difficult years, Charly Hatterscheidt decided to follow his passion and start a music school, while his wife Karin continued to run the shop.¹⁰⁸ He rented a room with a street entrance in the house next door, and it became known as the *Unterrichtsraum* (Lesson room). When the fiftieth pupil had enrolled after a year, the store was closed and altered into a music school. Hatterscheidt taught all the instruments he could play, ran theory groups on Saturday mornings and provided opportunities for his pupils to play in small chamber groups and in an orchestra.¹⁰⁹ To build his teaching practice, he bought old neglected pianos, overhauled them, tuned them and rented them out. After a trip to the piano factory in Wellington in South Africa, between ten and twelve new upright pianos as well as a small grand piano, were bought to hire out to potential pupils. He tuned all his hire pianos as part of the rental service (Hatterscheidt, 2015). The many Coloured people who worked in the fish factories in Walvis Bay and loved to play the guitar, were also valued clients. Hatterscheidt's daughter, Evie, remembers Saturday afternoons of jazz music with the Walvis Bay guitarists. Hatterscheidt was invited to play in the Windhoek Symphony Orchestra for all big occasions and also when a cellist was often needed for chamber music in the city, such as in 1970, when the Beethoven quartets were performed for a Beethoven commemoration festival (van Biljon, 1982:223).¹¹⁰ Hatterscheidt also composed the music for the production of *Amphytryon*,¹¹¹ took existing melodies and arranged them for a band of five people.

¹⁰⁸ Karin Hatterscheidt's grandparents came to DSWA in 1907 after the Herero/Nama war, as a family of nineteen members. Her mother was five months old at the time. They arrived in Swakopmund and were all lowered by basket onto the tenders and taken ashore. Mrs Hatterscheidt has memoirs of her family history since their arrival in DSWA in 1907.

¹⁰⁹ His wife, Karin, proudly relates that Charly Hatterscheidt (as he was fondly known in Swakopmund society) performed at weddings, funerals, dances and in restaurants, and tells of how well loved he was by the local Swakopmunders (Hatterscheidt, 2015).

¹¹⁰ Mrs Hatterscheidt threw away her box of programmes in 2013.

¹¹¹ The play *Amphytryon*, produced by Erlank-Rethemeyer in Swakopmund, was based on a short versed play of the same name, written in 1668 by French playwright, Molières, (Becker & Hecker (eds), 1985:79) who fell under the patronage of King Louis XIV (Dramatist, Moliere: French, 1997–2000). Irmela Erlank Rethemeyer wrote an adaptation thereof for Swakopmund audiences (Hatterscheidt, 2015).

Towards the end of the 1970s, Hatterscheidt started selling his pianos to the people who had hired them from him, and donated some to the *Pfadfinder* and other needy people. With Hatterscheidt's greatest love being chamber music, the family returned to Windhoek, but not before going on a piano tuning tour. Heuer Musik in Stellenbosch, South Africa, had sold a grand piano to a couple who lived on a farm in Grootfontein. Hatterscheidt spent three days with them, tuning the piano and playing to them in the evenings. Back in Windhoek, the Hatterscheidts bought a house close to Fritz von Seggern, and Charly Hatterscheidt and Fritz von Seggern played chamber music together again. Hatterscheidt taught at the Conservatoire of Music from 1977 to 1981, when he and his wife Karin retired to Cape Town. Figure 3.34 reflects the musicians who played in the Kehrman Quartet:



Figure 3.34: Hausmusik at the Hatterscheidt's home: Willi Kehrman, Friedgard von Koenen, Fritz von Seggern and Charly Hatterscheidt. Source: K. Hatterscheidt (2015).

3.5.3 Werner Kühlwetter (1929–2010)



Figure 3.35: Werner Kühlwetter. Source: *Festschrift of the Swakopmund Männergesangverein* (2002).

Werner Kühlwetter was born in Germany in the small town of Mackenbach, Pfalz, an area known as the musical centre of the region. He came from a musical family. Talented people of all ages were encouraged to learn music; almost all the citizens could play an instrument. Kühlwetter started his musical education on the piano, the accordion and the trombone. At a very young age, he played in several bands at village fairs and at public events. After obtaining a degree at the *Paedagogische Akademie* in Kusel, where he graduated as a primary and secondary school teacher; Kühlwetter joined the *Hochschule für Musik* in Mainz. He pursued his interest in music at a more advanced level and he graduated on piano, flute, in music education and as a choir master.

In 1964, Kühlwetter was offered a teaching post in Namibia where he subsequently became involved in the cultural life of the country. Over and above his regular teaching commitments, he focused on establishing school choirs in various communities. He played the trombone for the Windhoek Symphony Orchestra. He continued his quest for sharing music and the arts in Swakopmund from 1985 onwards. Kühlwetter was an honorary member of various societies and had a reputation for being professional, gifted, humble, and always willing to perform to enthusiastic audiences. Although he headed the *Swakopmund Männergesangverein* for several years, it was his input as organiser of the annual *Swakopmunder Musikwoche* that bore testament to his relentless service and devotion to the community (Nowicki, 2015). He was involved with the *Musikwoche* for 23 years (Berker, 2015:35).¹¹² The following

¹¹² The 2010 *Swakopmunder Musikwoche* was held in memory of Werner Kühlwetter. He died unexpectedly on 2 December 2010, and the church service at the end of *Musikwoche* on 14 December 2010 was held as a tribute to him (Berker, 2015:25).

description from his obituary in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Kühlwetter, Abschied von Werner, 2010) highlights his personal contribution:

Es gibt noch einen weiteren Platz in Swakopmund der künftig leer bleibt: Im Hansa Hotel, wo er mit seinem Freund Heinz Czech leichte Unterhaltungs- und Salonmusik erklingen ließ. Das und vieles, vieles andere mehr wird uns allen fehlen, aber am meisten seine liebenswürdige, hilfsbereite und humorvolle und verbindliche Art.

There is another place in Swakopmund which henceforth will remain empty: In the Hansa Hotel, where he and his friend Heinz Czech provided light music and salon music. We will miss that, and many, many other aspects of him, but mostly his loveable, helpful, humorous, compelling personality.

The 'Swakopmunder Brückenlied', written and composed by Werner Kühlwetter, follows (the script is bold is original) (Kühlwetter, 2012):

Swakopmunder Brückenlied

Wir lassen die Brück in Swakop, den da gehört sie hin!
 Was soll sie den woanders? Das macht doch keinen Sinn!
 Wir lassen die Brück' in Swakop; den das ist sie zu Haus;
 die Brandung und den ersten Kuß, das halt sie alles aus.
 Stellt euch vor wir hätten hier den Eiffelturm
 und das Woermannhaus wär in Paris,
 das Haus der Jugend ware bei Epupa Falls,
 die Fälle aber dort bei Hänschen Kriess!
 Das Hansa Hotel stünde bei der Swartbooisdrift
 Und hier dafür ein echter Himbakral!
 Da lassen wir doch lieber alles wie es ist
 Und singen jetzt zusammen noch einmal:

Wir lassen die **Brück'** in Swakop ...
 Wie wär's mit Pyramiden hier am **Swakopstrand**,
 daneben dann das Brandenburger Tor?
 Die **Brücke** aber stünde im Ovamboland –
 das käme uns bestimmt recht spanisch vor.
 Epupa wird bald Elektrizitätsfabrik
 und Rehoboth ist demnächst Republik,
 Herr Dierks setzt uns in Möwebai 'nen Hafen hin –
 das macht doch nur auf namlisch einen Sinn!

Swakopmund Jetty Song

*We'll leave the jetty in Swakop, because that is where it belongs!
 Where else could it go? It does not make any sense!
 We'll leave the jetty in Swakop; it is at home here;
 It has endured the waves and the first kiss.
 Imagine we had the Eiffel tower here
 And that the **Woermannhaus** was in Paris,*

*That the Haus der Jugend was at the Epupa Falls,¹¹³
And the Falls at little **Hans Kriess!**¹¹⁴*

*The **Hansa Hotel** may have been at Swartbooisdrift¹¹⁵
and in its place, a real Himba kraal!¹¹⁶*

*We'd rather leave everything as it is
and sing the following together again:*

*We'll leave the **jetty** in Swakop ...*

*How would it have been with pyramids on the **Swakop beach**,
with the Brandenburg gate next to them?*

*The **jetty** would be in Ovamboland
and that would definitely seem Spanish.*

Epupa could soon become an electricity station

and Rehoboth¹¹⁷ could be the next republic,

*Mr Dierks puts down a harbour at Möwebai¹¹⁸ –
this all only makes sense in Namlish!¹¹⁹*

3.5.4 Paul Bahlsen (b.1932)



Figure 3.36: Paul Bahlsen blowing his fanfare trumpet at his home in Rondebosch. Source: D.L. van Zyl (December 2013).

¹¹³ The Epupa Falls are on the Cunene River on the northern border with Angola.

¹¹⁴ Hans Kriess owns the Volkswagen motor dealership in the town (Source: Advert in the Festschrift of the SMGV).

¹¹⁵ Swartbooisdrift is a town at the Epupa Falls inhabited by the Ovahimba tribe belonging to the Herero people.

¹¹⁶ A kraal is a traditional African mud hut.

¹¹⁷ Rehoboth has traditionally been the home town of the Baster people, and is situated just south of Windhoek.

¹¹⁸ Möwe Bay is on the Skeleton Coast, north of Swakopmund. Dierks worked for the Department of Water Affairs, and wanted to open a desalination plant at Möwe Bay, for would have warranted the building of another harbour, and was against the general wishes of the local public (Witte, 2016).

¹¹⁹ Namlish is the colloquial Namibian language, and the word implies Namibian English.

Paul Bahlsen was the initiator of the *Musikwoche*. Bahlsen was born in Austria in 1932. In 1936, his mother left with him as a four-year-old boy, for her sister's farm in South West Africa. Bahlsen remembers being mocked and physically attacked for being German-speaking by the Afrikaans-speaking children. His schooling was completed in Swakopmund.

During his language study years at the University of Cape Town (UCT) from 1951, he took violin lessons. But it was his frequent attendances of the evening performances, public examinations and orchestra rehearsals at the UCT College of Music that taught him about the character of the various orchestral instruments. From his visits to the concerts given by the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra, he discovered his penchant for the oboe. The German students from Stellenbosch University, many of whom played in the *Posaunenchor* of the Stellenbosch Lutheran Church, met with the UCT students for an excursion to the Palmiet River near Betty's Bay on the Cape Coast. For fun, they improvised with dry seaweed and blew into them as one would into a brass instrument, some with the brass mouthpieces inserted into the 'barrel' of the seaweed, and created a seaweed band. These experiences were to be instrumental in growing the music life in Swakopmund.

In 1955, Bahlsen was employed as a teacher by the South West African Education Department, initially in Windhoek, and later in Swakopmund as the Latin teacher at the government high school. He managed the cadet band, as well as the buglers and the drummers. Pastor Alfons Schmidt wanted to start a brass band (*Posaunenchor*) to play at the German Lutheran Church. In order to facilitate this, he imported four instruments from Germany and started a brass quartet to be led by Cantor Johannes Schrader. Jörg Henrichsen was the first trumpeter, Gerhard Bass on the flugelhorn was second trumpeter, Albrecht von Bodenhausen on the French horn was the tenor, and Bahlsen was asked to join as the trombonist. He had taught himself to play by learning from a book. Bahlsen took over when Schrader withdrew from leadership. This experience led Bahlsen to the idea of replacing his bugles in the school band with proper brass instruments. Ockert van Niekerk (Head of the Cadets at the school), organised the delivery of a heap of old brass instruments rejected by the military bands in Pretoria. These arrived in a wooden crate, and a full brass band was started in Swakopmund in 1956. Bahlsen facilitated the purchase of music from England for group tuition.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ He told me personally, and it is widely known, that all the music which he used for teaching purposes was acquired and paid for from his own pocket. Having spoken to Bahlsen and got to understand a little about him as a person, his enthusiasm to share music and give others the experience of musicking together would have motivated his actions, knowing that the music would not have been forthcoming from another source.



Figure 3.37: Newspaper article from the *Allgemeine Zeitung* No. 242 of 14 December, 1956. The article is about the membership of the band of thirty, where it lists the members and the instruments they played and what instruments were still needed in the band. Source: P. Bahlsten (2013).

Shortly after this, Bahlsten lost his voice and was put on sick leave for six months by his doctor, Dr Pütz, and left for Vienna on the *Suiderkruis*. He enrolled for vocal care as a subject at the Konservatorium. His teacher maintained that plenty of singing, covering Schubert lieder, opera extracts, vocal care and breathing technique and diction, would cure his problem for good. He frequented the Vienna opera house as well as the masses sung by the Vienna Boys' Choir every Sunday. He was taught to play the oboe and how to cut reeds by the principal oboist of the Vienna Philharmonic, Rudolf Klose.¹²¹ He also had the opportunity of learning about the reeds of the bassoon and the clarinet. Bahlsten acquired two oboes while he was in Vienna. In 1958 he returned to Swakopmund, and from then on the brass band was complemented by two oboes. Included in his sea freight, was one half-size violin, a Leidolf viola, two cellos, four student model clarinets, two flutes, and two cellos.¹²² He was very happy to lend his newly acquired instruments to his pupils to bolster his band. A double bass was borrowed from the Swakopmund Arts Association.

¹²¹ Klose played the Viennese oboe which had an open, bright and silvery sound, in comparison to the dark harsh sound of the German oboe which was the preferred instrument in Leipzig, Berlin and Dresden.

¹²² The double bass now adorns the wall of one of the local pubs in Swakopmund.

A string quartet existed at that time in Swakopmund with the following performers: teacher Runds (first violin), Bahlsen (second violin), pharmacist Gerd Böhlke (viola)¹²³ and Wilhelm Kellner (cello). The Leidolf viola dating from 1763 was included in Bahlsen's return luggage from Vienna, and in later years they played quartets under leadership of Karl Hatterscheidt.¹²⁴ Bahlsen tells of Hatterscheidt being a blessing to the musical life of the town, as he was able to teach many instruments including the trumpet, quite apart from his abilities as both cellist and double bass player. Irmgard Seidler¹²⁵ taught the violin, and a string orchestra was started by Bahlsen with several violins, a violist, two cellists and two double basses. The online document of the history of the *Musikwoche* (Swakopmunder Musikwoche, 2014) tells of a string quartet which rehearsed regularly at Bahlsen's home every Sunday morning. Its members initially included Peter Beyer (later Irmgard Seidler) on the first violin, Wilfried Haake on the second violin, Bahlsen on the viola and Jürgen Sager on the cello. Sunday rehearsals were followed by delicious lunches which his mother provided for the quartet (Kesselmann, 2012:1).

In 1963, the Bundesrepublik awarded Bahlsen a scholarship as a trainee teacher at the *Droste-Hülshoff-Gymnasium* in Zehlendorf. He also attended theory classes at the *Moritz-Arndt-Gymnasium* in West Berlin. As the trainee teacher, courtesy of the German government, he played his viola in the Droste-Hülshoff string orchestra in Berlin, which was conducted by Frau Ingelore Weber. The members of this string orchestra had lessons from members of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, as it was common practice for the professionals to teach at schools after hours. At the Gymnasium where he was a trainee teacher, he discovered wind and brass players who had also received instruction from members of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, and he became the catalyst for the introduction of a full orchestra to the school. Shortly before the national competition, *Jugend Musiziert*, in which most German schools with music departments competed, a venue was hired at Frohnau in the countryside to the north of Berlin, where they spent a week preparing for the competition away from outside distractions, also missing school for the week. Bahlsen

¹²³ Jürgen Schwietering, leading South African violinist, and retired university professor, is Böhlke's great-nephew. He is currently in possession of the viola owned by Böhlke (Schwietering, 2014). A house called Schwieteringhaus, which was owned by Schwietering's grandparents, looms large on the architectural horizon and is protected by heritage. They held regular get-togethers at the Schwietering home, initially to listen to classical music on a gramophone, and later to perform live chamber music (Schwietering, 2014).

¹²⁴ Karl Hatterscheidt arrived in Swakopmund in 1960.

¹²⁵ Herewith a quote from the *Festschrift* of the *Swakopmund Musikwoche*: 'Irmgard Seidler played at the very first Musikwoche in 1965 and played for the 33rd time in the year 2003! She ever only missed *Musikwoche* three times until she died. It will be difficult for another participant to beat that record! Many people in Swakopmund still remember how Seidler rode to rehearsals on her bicycle, the violin in her front basket' (Berker, 2015:76).

went along as male supervisor for the boys and learnt what one could do with an orchestra in a week of intense practising. They proceeded to win the national competition.¹²⁶

Shortly before his departure and in the wake of his success as an exchange teacher, Bahlsen was offered a post at the school, but the return to his beloved South West was too beguiling (Bahlsen, 1962:9):

So verlockend das Angebot, ich kann mich einfach nicht von der Südwest Sonne, dem Namibsand und dem Atlantik für immer trennen. Das Heimweh überwältigt mich, ich kann nicht zusagen.

However enticed by the offer, he realised that he just could not separate himself forever from the Southwest sun, the Namib sand and the Atlantic. He could not accept as he was overcome by home-sickness.

He has very fond memories of the concert on the last day before the school broke up for Christmas holidays, performed by the outstanding school choir of over one hundred choristers together with the school orchestra.¹²⁷ Bahlsen returned to his post as both German and English teacher at Swakopmund High School, where he also led the school wind band and the string orchestra. During his time in Germany he had found many music scores and song books that he had brought back with him. The children of Swakopmund High School loved to sing, and many of the good singers also sang in the *Kantorei*. School Inspector Wöhler was encouraged to observe the wind band practise in the period before the start of school, as well as the cadet band on parade and to hear the string players rehearsing.¹²⁸ Leopold and Hannelore Moisel demonstrated outstanding achievements in the recorder classes at the Primary School, but when the pupils reached High School, they were allocated woodwind instruments to play. It was at that stage that Bahlsen mentioned the inevitability of initiating a similar activity as his experience while on teacher exchange in Germany, namely that of dedicating a week to orchestral rehearsals culminating in a concert.

Bahlsen is retired and lives with his wife Helenke in Rondebosch in Cape Town. His daughter, Eugenie, is a first violinist in the Cape Philharmonic Orchestra.

¹²⁶ It was from this experience that Bahlsen, realising his limitations, learnt that professionals were needed to teach the pupils properly, and that he could not achieve this on his own in Swakopmund.

¹²⁷ He remembers the brass band playing Christmas chorales in the snow, and using nylon mouthpieces to prevent their lips from freezing on metal mouthpieces.

¹²⁸ In an email interview with Wecke (2014), he tells of his son being handed a bassoon to play. 'How they managed was never Bahlsen's problem'. His musical endeavours were to encourage the youth to make music in his orchestra. Bahlsen saw to the repair and care of the instruments and facilitated all music making at his own cost.

3.5.5 Dörte Witte (b.1947)



Figure 3.38: Dörte Witte conducting at a rehearsal in the *Deutsche Evangelische Lutherische Kirche (DELK)* in Swakopmund. Source: D. Witte (2015).

Dörte Witte, after many years of contributing musically to the town as a school girl, has continued to contribute to the musical culture of Swakopmund through leading singing festivals, training choirs such as the SMGV and the *Kantorei* and running her own music school. She was born in Mariental on the farm Voigtsgrund, owned by her grandfather Albert Voigts, who was one of the first settlers to arrive in South West Africa. Her musical father, Otto Voigts, born in 1898, was the son of pianist and opera singer Ida Voigts, who agreed to emigrate to South West Africa on condition she could take her grand piano with her. The piano took six weeks to get to South West Africa, eventually arriving at Voigtsgrund by ox-wagon, having been loaded upside down (Witte, 2013). Hans Müller, a much revered musical personality from Windhoek, used to come down to their farm for concerts with her grandmother Ida, where they had the grand piano set up on a platform. Her first school years were on the farm Nomtsas, after which Witte and her brother and sisters completed their schooling in Swakopmund, where Bahlsen influenced her musical involvement. Witte remembers fondly how they would sing around the table after meals at home, with their father accompanying them on the piano. They also often burst into song around a fire or in the living room, where their instruments would come out for further musicking (Witte, 2013).

The *Kantorei* was started in 1954 by Johannes Schrader and it celebrated its golden anniversary in 2014. Witte has been involved with the *Kantorei* choir at the *Deutsche Evangelische Lutherische Kirche (DELK)* for fifty-eight years. She was a member of the choir for ten years while still at school and has trained the choir for the last forty-eight years. At the time of the interview with Witte (2013), there were thirty-five members in the *Kantorei*, including four basses and all female tenors. Since 2008, she has held singing weekends in

smaller towns, where light music is performed and the community is encouraged to participate either as participants or as audience members. While she was still at school, *Singwoche* (Singing Week) was held in Okahandja, and conductors from Germany were brought out to lead the week of singing.¹²⁹ Witte relates how many South African Germans came up to participate in this week. *Singwoche* at end of the 1950s was led by conductors from Germany. In the 1980s, the *Singwoche* was discontinued but it was re-activated in Swakopmund by Witte in 2004, bolstered by the *Kantorei*. In 1983/4 both *Singwoche* and *Swakopmunder Musikwoche* were placed under patronage of DELK. *Singwoche*, currently run by Witte, takes place in August and includes participation by choirs, instruments, organ and piano. It started with thirty participants, but now boasts over fifty participants; the duration of the event has also increased from four to six days. Witte was involved with the *Swakopmunder Musikwoche* for more than 25 years, in the varying capacities of participant, lecturer and organiser (Berker, 2015:65).¹³⁰

During her year in Lüderitz in 1974, Witte started a choir at the *Felsenkirche* before returning to Swakopmund the following year.¹³¹ In 1983, a songbook called *Liederbuch: Auf singt mir diese Weise*, which was instigated by Witte, was published (Witte, et al., 1983).¹³² Figure 3.39 reflects one of the songs which was the outcome of a collaboration with Witte and her uncle, Jochen Voigts.

¹²⁹ The *Schützwoche* (Schütz week) was held in Windhoek in 1989, and there is a close historical connection between the *Schützwoche* and the *Singwoche*. Klaus von Delft, a German-speaking regular at the South African *Schützwoche*, researched the *Singwoche* at the Hans Grimm Archive in Lippoldsberg, where he reports that the Okahandja *Singwoche* took place as early as 1926. It was not held during the Second World War, but resumed in 1945. He participated in the *Singwoche* several times during the 1960s conducted for one of the years. Together with Hans Bodenstern, who had also led the *Singwoche* in Okahandja and was involved in youth work with Afrikaners and Germans, von Delft started a *Chorwoche* (Choir Week) in Paulpietersburg in South Africa in 1969, and in 1970 the first properly run *Schützwoche* was held in Bloemfontein, South Africa. Von Delft states without any hesitation that the momentum for the Southern African *Schützwoche* came from the Okahandja *Singwoche* (Von Delft, 2015).

¹³⁰ Witte's daughter, Almut Riedel, is a music teacher in Windhoek.

¹³¹ The choir consisted of about eighteen, mostly German-speaking members, but also Portuguese, English and Afrikaans speaking-members from Lüderitz white society.

¹³² Witte's idea for the *Liederbuch* was motivated by her father. Inspired by hearing her own children enjoy singing songs about the Namibian landscape and wild animals, with which they identified more than the cold and snow of the German Christmas carols, Witte started by setting a melody to a poem written by her artist uncle, Jochen Voigts. Her father, Otto Voigts, suggested that she compile a Namibian Songbook, with illustrations by her Uncle Jochen. Gamsberg Publishers published the book in a large format. It is currently out of print.

Afrikanische Weihnacht

Worte: JOCHEN VOIGTS Weise: DÖRTE WITTE

1 Ein hei - ßer Tag zu En - de geht, die Son - ne ist ver -
sun - ken. Still wird es und kein Lüft - chen weht, am
Him - mel Stern auf Stern er - steht wie hin - ge - sprüh - te Fun - ken.

2. Im Kral ist eng zu Haut gebracht
die Herde müder Schafe
Die Hirten haben sich entfacht
ein Feuer für die dunkle Nacht,
und liegen bald im Schläfe.

3. Die Vöglein schweigen nun zumeist
ein Schakal klagt von weitem,
Der Rauch noch hoch zum Himmel weist,
wo still das Heer der Sterne kreist
in alle Ewigkeiten.

4. Nun seht, was ist das für ein Licht,
das hoch vom Himmel scheint.
Die Hirten bergen ihr Gesicht,
jäh aufgeschreckt, versteh'n sie nicht
was dieses Leuchten meint.

5. Bis sie ein Engel draus belehrt:
„Freut euch ihr Menschen alle!
Euch ist der Heiland heut beschert,
geht hin, dass ihr ihn preist und ehrt,
zu Bethlehem im Stalle.“

6. Als würden singen all' die Stern,
hört man's im Chor erschallen:
„Im Himmel Ehr sei Gott dem Herrn,
der Friede wird der Welt beschern
und auch ein Wohlgefallen.“

41

Figure 3.39: African Christmas Song, music by D. Witte and words by her uncle, Jochen Voigts. Source: H. Manns-Syvertsen (2015).

1. A hot day has ended, and the sun has set,
It becomes still and no wind blows,
In the heavens star after star appears like sprayed sparks.
2. In the kraal (shed), the herd of tired sheep are packed in,
The shepherds have kindled a fire for the dark night,
And will soon fall asleep.
3. Most of the birds are quiet now,
A jackal cries from far,
The smoke can be seen high in the heavens,
Where the Lord of the stars
Orbits in eternity.
4. Until you have heard this from an angel:
'Rejoice all you people.
We have brought you a Saviour today.
Go and praise and worship him in Bethlehem'.
5. As if all the stars were singing,
We heard the choir resounding:
'God is Lord of heaven,
Peace on earth and goodwill to all men'.)

Witte has toured Germany three times with her pupils from the *Meerdorfer Musikschule* – in 1996 and 2005, and in 2009, when the group was invited to attend a choir rehearsal with the *Regensburger Domspatzen*. On the importance of German heritage, Witte states the following: ‘For me it is VERY important to cultivate and improve the German language in our country through music. That was (and is still) the reason why I founded the “Meerdorfer Musikschule” in 1990 and why I conduct the *Kantorei* (which I have conducted for 48 years) and the German Men’s Choir’ (Witte, 2013).¹³³

3.6 Deutschtum and Swakopmund

The musical events and personalities relayed in this chapter played an important role in the town's community life. The SMGV celebrated its centenary in 2002, and the SMW celebrated its golden anniversary in 2015. The survival of these two institutions illustrates the enduring commitment to musical activities in the community. In spite of the wars during the twentieth century, the politics, the economics and the difficulties of procuring professional people to lead the groups, music functioned as a significant force to foster a sense of togetherness in this community. It is indeed possible to confirm that music played an integral part in the Swakopmund settler society life (Schier, 2013).

In his message of greeting prefacing the centenary commemorative volume of the SMGV (2002:7), the President of the *Deutsche Sängerbund* (German Singing Union) at the time, Dr Heinz Eyrich, commented that despite the geographic, political and cultural distances between individuals, it has been their shared language and belief systems, as well as their interest in music and culture that had maintained their ties over the past one hundred years. He lauded the group for the honourable way in which it had upheld the tradition of German choral singing, while embracing the local milieu by singing in the traditional Namibian languages of the indigenous people. However, for much of its history, it would be fair to say that the ‘shared language and belief systems’ reference ideas, however vague and implicit, of *Deutschtum*. Even if individuals did not consciously subscribe to the values of *Deutschtum*, and even if it is accepted that these values could be non-exclusionary, the history documented here demonstrates that the ideology of *Deutschtum* was frequently expressed explicitly in connection with music, and especially in the early years of the

¹³³ The *Meerdorfer Musikschule* is named after the town Meerdorf from where Witte’s family originated in Germany. Their home in Swakopmund is called *Haus Meerdorf*. Witte celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Music School this year. It started in 1990 with six children. There have been up to ninety pupils in the school at a time. One or two concerts are held per year, and a musical which involves all pupils is staged annually. Lessons on the piano, flute, recorder, guitar and piano accordion are offered at the school, where pupils begin at the age of three with *Kindermusik*. This includes learning to read rhythms, singing songs, playing singing games and playing Orff instruments. Witte runs an adult flute ensemble which rehearses once a week and performs at functions (Witte, 2013).

twentieth century and under South African Nationalist rule, where they were content to exclude the 'other'. With regard to repertoire, connections to military history, and with connections to education and religion, the exclusivist nature of *Deutschtum* is not difficult to articulate. But it is also true that the nineteenth century German view that German music was not a national music but a universal one – and therefore an inclusive tradition – finds expression in the zeal and enthusiasm with which structures of music-making were developed.

For a town the size of Swakopmund, the musical life sustained over such a long period as described in this chapter is nothing short of remarkable. Music and its accompanying social life, has provided a musical *Heimat* for the German-speaking community, and in later years for a more inclusive community. The rich musical context, initially with singing by members of the *Turnverein*, the founding of the SMGV, chamber music groups, dance bands, the *Swakopmunder Musikwoche*, the *Kantorei*, and latterly including many new choirs in Swakopmund, is rooted in the cultural contributions of the German community of the town.

Chapter 4 Lüderitzbucht

4.1 Locale

Besides the famous feral horses¹³⁴ and the odd abandoned railway station buildings built according to German architecture, as well as the currently disused railway line en route to Lüderitz, the shipshape, dead straight road from Aus to Lüderitz, which is approximately 120 kilometres long, holds little promise of anything to come.



Figure 4.1: The feral horses visible from the road between Aus and Lüderitz. Source: D.L. van Zyl (April 2015).



Figure 4.2: An abandoned railway station built according to recognisably German architecture. Source: D.L. van Zyl (April 2015).

¹³⁴ There are several stories on the origin of these wild horses. One is that the Germans bombed an English camp during the First World War, and the horses bolted into the desert, and another is that the horses had belonged to the mounted *Schutztruppen*, who were interned at Aus, and who were left unattended to fend for themselves. To this day, they compete for food and water with the Oryx and springbok herds (Desert, The Wild Horses of the Namib, 1998–2016).

The landscape gradually changes from the ochre colour of the rolling semi-desert landscape in Aus, to the white desert sands and impressive dunes of the southern Namib Desert. Ten kilometres outside Lüderitz the ghost town of Kolmanskuppe or Kolmanskop is visible from the road. Lüderitz is a destination town inaccessible from the closest town of Oranjemund on the Orange River, except via organised charters through the *Sperrgebiet* or Police Zone where diamonds are still currently mined, or from the east through Aus. Lüderitz Bay is dominated by the formation of brownish-grey rocks, ever-changing fluid sand dunes, the valleys and hills of the stark Namib desert¹³⁵ in the east, and by Atlantic Ocean in the west. 'It is said that on a cold night, following a hot day, the splitting of the rocks sounds like the rattle of musketry' (Calvert, 1915:34).

There is a sad evidence of decline in the town. Many of the German inhabitants have intermarried with Afrikaners, but in most of these mixed language homes, German remained the home language and not Afrikaans, on the insistence of the German parent, often the father (Manns-Syvertsen, 2015). The relatively pretentious architecture of the town bears witness to the flourishing society of former years, and many gracious buildings reflecting the German *Jugendstil* are either closed up and awaiting renovation, or have been semi-renovated and are in use. Those buildings which have been renovated belong to residents or private and government institutions. As an example, the renovated colonial hospital building near Shark Island at the harbour is used currently as the head office for the fisheries. The German street names remain unchanged, and names such as *Hafenstraße*, *Inselstraße*, *Woermannstraße*, *Diamantbergstraße* and *Klippenstraße*, as well as the original names on houses, some with dates etched below the eaves, reflected in names such as *Schroederhaus*, *Haus Grünewald*, *Haus Hartmann*, *Haus Bahati 1908–2008*, and *Kreplinhäus* (Emil Kreplin was the first mayor of the town), speak of a strong German history. While on my field trip to Lüderitz in 2015, we stayed at the *Alte Loge*, the old house where the freemasons used to meet, and an example of one of the old, majestic colonial homes which have been renovated. The house displayed the wind whipped, shredded flags of both Germany and Namibia on flagpoles outside the house. Names of former eminent businesses and institutions such as *Paul Weiss*, *Krabbenhoft und Lampe*, *Kapps Hotel und Ballsaal*, *Horst Pape Bau und Möbel Tischlerei*, *Albert Plietz Maschinenbau*, and *Lesehalle* (Reading Room/Library) and *Turnhalle* (Gymnasium), still exist on buildings.

¹³⁵ The Namib desert, after which the country was named after independence, is the oldest desert in the world.



Figure 4.3: The names of colonial businesses still adorn some buildings. Source: D.L. van Zyl (April 2015).



Figure 4.4: The logo of the *Deutsches Reich* on the building currently housing the Department of Works.¹³⁶ Source: DL van Zyl (April 2015).

¹³⁶ Regarding the architectural heritage of Lüderitz, the following quotation from Clay gives insight into its importance and contestation (Clay, 2015): 'In 1979 there was a group called the Civic Action Save Lüderitz, chaired by Clay, joined by a similar group in Windhoek called the Save Lüderitz Action Committee which was formed to try and revitalize the economy of the town. The catalyst was their joint decision in January 1980, to call a public meeting to object to the imminent demolition of one of the first brick buildings in Lüderitz, the first *Bezirksamt* (1907) (District Office), then being used as the police station. A new police station was being built next to it, a modern monstrosity designed in Pretoria by the South African Police who felt nothing for the town or its sensibilities. The *Bezirksamt* was to be flattened to make way for garages for the police cars. On 8 February 1980, 350 people gathered across the road from that building in the *Kapps Konzert und Ballsaal*, with a horde of media and top officials and the Windhoek group for what was officially dubbed a Protest Meeting. After some passionate speeches, a draft petition was read and signed and presented to the Administrator General, Gerrit Viljoen. The building was saved and eventually modified into the Department of Works offices. A few months later, stalwart Marion Schekle's then husband Günther, was perusing the town dump and found a grubby pewter emblem that looked suspiciously like the Imperial German eagle from the *Bezirksamt*. It was restored and remounted in its original position'.



Figure 4.5: The *Lesehalle* adjoining the *Turnhalle*, 2015.

The four F's below the name reflect the logo the *Turnverein* (Gymnastics Association) which stands for *Frisch, Fromm, Fröhlich, Frei* (Fresh, Devout, Happy, Free. Source: D.L. van Zyl (April 2015).

An amusing slice of musical trivia to the writer is that the names of two of the original settlers involved in the founding of the colony and town were Herr (Heinrich.) Vogelsang (Birdsong) and Dr (Gustav) Nachtigal (Nightingale),¹³⁷ where there are still two streets in Lüderitz named after each man respectively. A tiny sign of the evidence of ignorance in the maintenance of historical evidence can be seen in *Goerkehaus*, a mansion belonging the affluent society member by the same name during the diamond rush, where a grand piano with beautifully carved and embellished legs has been overhauled and painted, over the name as well, with what appears to be a normal wood paint. The piano still seems to mechanically sound and relatively in tune.



Figure 4.6: *Goerkehaus*, its entrance hall and music room. Source: D. L. van Zyl (April 2015).

¹³⁷ Nachtigal was a Prussian physician, who began his Africa expeditions in 1869, and due to his recognition as an Africa specialist, he played a major role in the German colonial project (Perraudin & Zimmerer, (eds), 2011:25, 27)

I had been referred to well-known and well-respected resident of the town, Crispin Clay, a former English teacher at the high school that I attended in Windhoek.¹³⁸ His response to the question on how Lüderitz was viewed in the independent Namibia from a political and economic point of view, was that Walvis Bay had been resurrected as the commercial port for the country and was seen as the economically dominant town, Swakopmund was regarded as the tourist draw card, and Lüderitz ‘had just been forgotten’ (Clay, 2015). This comment more than a century later is in conflict with the comment by Calvert (2015:17), where he writes: ‘Of the two German ports, Luderitzbucht [*sic*] is a nice little harbour capable of great improvement, while Swakopmund must be regarded as an expensive and unsuccessful experiment’.

In 1984, of the 5000 inhabitants, only 220 were German speaking (Rüdiger, 1993:8). Today there are less than 30 000 people in the town, of whom less than a thousand are white, and about thirty are ‘proper Buchters’ i.e. born and bred Lüderitz German-speaking citizens (Clay, 2015).

My initial telephonic contacts with people in Lüderitz were with the curator of the museum, Gisela Schmidt-Scheele (who also works as a tour guide at the ghost town of Kolmanskop), Marion Schelkle (owner of Lüderitz Tours and Safaris, whose grandfather, Paul Weiss, had arrived from Poland during the diamond rush and had been an eminent trader in the town until he died),¹³⁹ and Hertha Manns-Syvertsen (granddaughter of Edmund Manns, an electrician who had played the keyboard in band in Kolmanskop). Judging by the response to these telephone calls, I felt as though my potential interviewees had been stumped with my request for information on German or colonial musicking. These telephone calls were followed up with emails containing further explanation of the details of my research, and obliging townsfolk responded graciously with messages such as that from Erich Looser, the chairperson of the *Deutsche Evangelische-Lutherische Gemeinde Lüderitzbucht* for many years. He apologized for having to disappoint me in telling me that he had ‘no recollection of any significant music making’ in their church, but that it had been used previously for performances by visiting choirs and orchestras. Apart from a brief period when Dörte Witte had run a church choir during her stay there in 1974, there had not been a church choir for the past fifty years. The *Felsenkirche*, (the German Evangelical Lutheran Church built on a rock at the top of town, translated as Church on the Rocks) serves mostly as a museum and is open for an hour a day. Most archival documents from the church were sent to the archives of the *Christuskirche* in Windhoek (Looser, 2015). On arrival at the forlorn-looking

¹³⁸ Crispin Clay is the grandson of Lord Baden-Powell, married to Ortrud who is German-speaking, and has been living in Lüderitz since 1974. They have a son, Erik, who was a member of the Drakensberg Boys’ Choir in South Africa.

¹³⁹ The Paul Weiss building is still part of the townscape.

museum, which is open from 15h30 until 17h00 daily, it became evident that there would not be much information to be found, other than from photographs. The curator was not there.¹⁴⁰

As the location where the official declaration of the territory as a German Colony happened, Lüderitz is historically an important place in any considerations of *Deutschtum*. In 1487, the first Europeans set foot on Namibian soil. Portuguese explorer Bartholomeu Dias 'discovered' what became known as Angra Pequena in the early nineteenth century, on search for a nautical path around the tip of Africa to the spice-rich East. In 1882, Adolf Lüderitz, Bremen tobacco merchant, sent Heinrich Vogelsang to Angra Pequena to establish a trading centre (Bouws, 1965:20). Lüderitz wanted to find somewhere between the Orange River and Walfischbucht to establish a settlement, as it was his intention to explore the Hinterland in search of valuable minerals, especially copper. He asked for protection from Germany. When the proposal for protection was put to the English Colonial authorities, there was an unusual delayed response. In the meantime, Vogelsang arrived with his expedition via Cape Town. In 1883 Vogelsang took two Hottentots and walked to Bethanien where he bartered with the Captain of the Hottentots, Joseph Fredericks, for an amount of land around the bay, in exchange for money and guns. Lüderitz received protection from the Reich as promised, and undertook an expedition to the Orange River and Alexander Bay, where he and a Mr Steingröver set off on return to Angra Pequena in a tiny sailing boat. It is accepted that they must have drowned. The last contact from him was a letter written on 22 October 1886 (Schroedder, et al. (eds), 1998:1).¹⁴¹

The extension of German power along the coast resulted in British attempts to annex the ownerless coast. Bismarck cabled the German consul in Cape Town, a certain Herr Lippert, with the following news on 24 April 1884:

Nach Mitteilung des Herrn Lüderitz zweifeln die Kolonialbehörden, ob eine Erwerbung nördlich vom Oranjefluß auf deutschen Schutz Anspruch haben. Sie wollen amtlich erklären, daß er und seine Niederlassungen unter dem Schutz des Reiches stehen (Schroedder, et al. (eds), 1998:1).

After communication with Mr Lüderitz, the colonial authorities doubt whether the Germans have any claim on the land north of the Orange River. They would like to officially declare that he and his group now stand under protection of the German Reich.

Golf Dornseif relates the following from the diary of the Navy Surgeon General, Dr König:

Am 7. August 1884 wurde es in der deutschen Niederlassung auf Angra (später Lüderitzbucht) und auf den beiden deutschen Kriegsschiffen ELISABETH und LEIPZIG [*sic*] sehr früh lebendig. Schon um sechs Uhr wurde Kaffee getrunken und um sieben Uhr fuhren in zwölf grossen Booten Offiziere

¹⁴⁰ In speaking to the supervisor at the front desk at the end of my perusal, I suggested that I may like to visit the old age home to see if there were any people there who may have stories to share with me. Her response was not to bother, as there were only two people left in the home, one of whom did not speak or get out of bed and the other of whom was deaf.

¹⁴¹ This reference is unnumbered. The page numbers are my own numbering.

und Mannschaften von beiden Schiffen an Land ... Die Küste mit ihrem nackten und felsigen Boden, der kein Baum, kein Strauch zierte, zunächst keinen günstigen Eindruck. Dagegen war der Blick von der Küste aus über die blaue See und die von unzähligen Vögeln umflogenen Inseln sehr freundlich, ja geradezu schön, wenn Schiffe die Bucht belebte, zahlreiche Boote Land und Schiffe verbanden und über dem Ganzen der wolkenlose Himmel lachte (Dornseif, n.d. b:1).

Early on the morning of the 7th of August, 1884, there were signs of life in the little German settlement of Angra, (later Lüderitzbucht) on board both the German warships, ELISABETH and LEIPZIG. They had their coffee at six o'clock and at seven o'clock, twelve large boats took the officers and crew of both ships ashore ... Their arrival at the barren landing spot, where there was no inkling of vegetation on the rocky shore, did not create a favourable impression. However, the view from the coast out to the blue sea with numerous birds encircling the nearby islands, and the presence of boats and ships giving renewed life to the bay, drew a smile out of the cloudless heavens.

The procession made its way up the hill to the accompaniment of what one would assume would have been the ship's band, as is evident from the following quote: 'Mit voller Musik zogen wir den Abhang hinauf, in dessen Mitte eine hohe Flaggenstange errichtet worden war' ('We walked up the hill to the sounds of music filling the air, in the middle of which a flag post had been erected') (Dornseif, n.d. b:1). Captain Herbig read the announcement by Kaiser Wilhelm I regarding the extent of the territory which was to be placed under his protection, and the German flag was raised in celebration thereof. There was a twenty-one-canon shot salute from both frigates, and the anthem 'Heil dir im Siegerkranz' was performed.

'Seine Majestät der Kaiser haben mir befohlen [...] nach Angra Pequeña zu gehen', so Kapitän zur See Herbig am 7.8.1884 zwischen den armseligen Hütten der 'kleinen Bucht' vor der angetretenene Schiffsbesatzung der beiden Korvetten Leipzig und Elisabeth, 'um das dem Herren Adolf Lüderitz gehörige Territorium an der Westküste von Afrika unter den direkten Schutz Seiner Majestät zu stellen. [...] Indem ich diesen Allerhöchsten Auftrag zur Ausführung bringe, hisse ich hiermit als äußeres Zeichen die kaiserliche deutsch Flagge, stelle somit das erwähnte Territorium unter den Schutz und die Oberherrlichkeit Seiner Majestät des Kaisers Wilhelm und fordere die Anwesenden auf, mit mir einzustimmen in ein dreifaches Hoch – Seiner Majestät Kaiser Wilhelm I. lebe hoch!' Es folgten 21 Kanonenschüsse Salut und die Bordkapelle spielte die Kaiserhymne 'Heil Dir im Siegerkranz, Herrscher des Vaterlands, Heil Kaiser Dir!' (Demhardt, 1985:458).

'His Majesty the Emperor has commanded me [...] to go to Angra Pequeña,' said Captain at Sea Herbig to the ships' crew of both corvettes, the Leipzig and the Elisabeth, assembled between the abject huts of the 'small bay' on 7.8.1884, 'to place the territory on the west coast of Africa belonging to Adolf Lüderitz, under the direct protection of His Majesty. [...] While I carry out this highest order, I hereby raise the German flag as the signal that the afore-mentioned territory has been placed under the protection of the sovereign Majesty the Emperor Wilhelm and request those present to join me in a threefold cheer – long live His Majesty Emperor Wilhelm II!' A 21-gun canon salute was fired, and the ship's band played the Emperor Hymn 'Hail to thee in victor's crown, Ruler of the fatherland! Hail to thee, emperor!'

'Heil dir im Siegerkranz' (Hail to Thee in Victor's Crown), based on the melody of 'God save the Queen' and possibly the reason for its lack of popularity, had been the unofficial national

anthem of Prussia since 1795, and then from 1871 until 1918, of the German Empire (Foundation, Exploring the Arts, n.d.).

At the start of the Herero>Nama uprising in 1904, Lüderitzbucht found itself as the entry point for the *Schutztruppe* to access the south of the country. Lüderitzbucht had about six hundred whites including the *Schutztruppe*, and less than ten women (Chronicle, 3., c1937:7).

4.2 Socialization and Music

After the declaration of the territory as a German colony in 1884, Lüderitzbucht was used mostly as a trading post and landing port for traders, missionaries, farmers and indigenous people. Water had to be shipped in from the Cape and in 1897 a condensator was built to provide water to the townsfolk. From 1904, thousands of oxen, horses and camels were stationed in Lüderitz to provide for the needs of the *Schutztruppe* in the south of the country. It became the port of access for the *Schutztruppe* and the station for over 10 000 oxen and horses, all drawing on the demands for fresh water (Schroedder, et al. (eds), 1998). In 1904, 400 Boere¹⁴² from the Cape Colony, who were transport drivers for the building of the railway line between Lüderitz and Keetmanshoop, were housed in the 'Burenkamp' in Lüderitz Bay (Stals, 2008:9).

After the extension of the railway line over the eastern boundary of the district, and after the *Schutztruppe* numbers were reduced as a result of the end of the rising in 1907, Lüderitzbucht became a quiet harbour town consisting of around 600–700 whites, and with the exception of a few foreigners, totally German (Chronicle, 3., c1937:8). Hotels and bars were empty and afternoon siestas were drawn out (Calvert, 1915:18). Much of the social life revolved around church activities and festivities planned to concur around the arrival of ships. The ships' bands provided the music for these occasions. Life was not easy in this arid, hostile settlement, and for ten years, the town waxed and waned through the Herero Nama war years, when at a very low point in the economy of the town, diamonds were discovered at Kolmanskop in 1907. Through this economic upswing, there was a sudden growth in the town's population and an impression of stability was evident in the increase of social activities and later of clubs and societies in both Kolmanskop and Lüderitz. These clubs flourished during the peak of the diamond discoveries and coinciding evidence of affluence in the town. New settlements arose and grew around new diamond discoveries, and with the associated increase in prosperity, entertainment in the form of concert evenings, theatre evenings, charity bazaars and variety concerts became popular (Baericke, 2001:167). A group of three young Russian brothers, Leo, Jan and Mischel, called the Cherniavsky Trio,

¹⁴² This was a derogatory term used for the Afrikaans-speaking people, literally translated as farmers.

stopped off in Lüderitz en route from Australia, where they held a concert in Kapps Hotel und Konzerthaus (as the advertisement reads) on Saturday 2 October, and Sunday 3 October, 1909, in collaboration with the alto Madame Marie Booton. This concert was advertised the most successful and excellent group of musicians ever to tour outside Europe at that time (Konzerte, Die Cherniavski, 1909).

Von Tippelskirch stocked pianos and pianolas in town (Levinson, 1983:82) and the first silent films were shown to the accompaniment of a pianola in *Kapps Saal*.

The *Hotel Rümmler* (previously Rösemanns) became a popular hotel before the diamond rush, and can still be seen today in its original form. The chief steward from one of the ships had settled in Lüderitzbucht and married Elsa, one of the eligible orphan girls trained by the Frauenbund and sent out to the colony (Levinson, 1983:87). Both were excellent chefs. Horse-racing was very popular in the desert town, and the *Lüderitzbuchter Rennverein* was instituted in 1909, where music was provided by ships' musicians for race days. These colourful occasions were set off by the ladies in their favourite finery (Baericke, 2001:175). Fancy dress balls were the order of the day (Troup, 1950:79) and balls at the conclusion of evenings of entertainment were part of society life, as in Swakopmund (Schroedder, et al. (eds), 1998:109).

Most photos reflect celebratory occasions with bands accompanying the processions, which could either have been bands of the *Schutztruppen* or bands from ships. A newspaper advert in the local newspaper advertises that the ship's band of the 'S.M.S. *Panther*' would be performing at Kapps Hotel for a Charity Concert (Advert, 1909). A few months later, in the same publication, there is a report on a Cabaret evening, with a solo voice item by a Fräulein de Stella and a Herr Wiegmann on the violin (Newspaper, 1909). Levinson (1983:81) mentions that the first cabaret by the name of *The Lüderitzbucht Diamond Revue* was held in 1909. I think one can agree that both these reports concur.



Figure 4.7: The above photo reflects what could be the War Society marching with the band of the *Schutztruppe*, if the uniforms are any indication. No date is given. The image is a photograph taken of a photograph from the Lüderitz Museum. Source: D.L. van Zyl (2015).

The inauguration of the Gymnastics Society in May 1913, which lasted for a whole weekend and included a torchlight procession, the singing of 'O Deutschland hoch in Ehren' (O Germany we honour you highly) by the audience, followed by the opening ceremony in *Kapps Saal*, with music being provided by the *Kapelle der 8. Kompagnie der Kaiserlichen Schutztruppen*.

On the Sunday, the early fanfare from the top of Diamantberg, awakened the townsfolk, who arrived at *Hotel Rösemann* for *Frühschoppen*¹⁴³ (brunch) and a performance by the aforementioned band. The procession was led by four societies bearing their flags, including the *Männergesangverein* who poured out their songs to eager listeners (Schroedder, et al. (eds), 1998:150). Other than the names of the *Lüderitzbucht Männergesangverein* filed in a journal in the archives in Windhoek, very little information is available on the activities of the singing groups in and around Lüderitz (Namibia, National Archives, 1930–1956). An advert in 1909 (Advert, 2., 1909) announces rehearsal times from 8.30–11.30 pm at *Kapps Saal*. The list of members from 1909 until 1911 bear evidence of the German orientation of the society: Olthaver, Figge, Matthias, Richter, Otto, Klein, Ostermann, Mahler, Nowak, Otzen, Lückmann, Böttcher, Metje, H. Schröder, Kapps, Frey, Gerlach, Hackbarth, Seeligen, Hartmann, Lüderitz, Königsberg and Richter (Anon., 1908–1914).

¹⁴³ *Frühschoppen* was a pre-lunch session of dancing and beer drinking, often needed to wear off the effects of heavy drinking the night before.



Figure 4.8: The plastic covered flag of the *Männer Gesang Verein Lüderitzbucht* 1912. The flag hangs in the Lüderitz Museum, with the motto of 'Einig im Lied, Treu im Gemüt' (United in Song, Faithful in Disposition) displayed on the back of the flag. Source: D.L. van Zyl (April 2015).

Mention is made of the *Lüderitzbucht Männergesangverein* in the article which I have identified as the Bahlsen document (Document, Bahlsen, 1930: column 4). A men's choir comprising forty members from Elisabethbucht, which sang 'Mädchen von Sorrent', and the *Kolmanskuppe Men's' Choir*¹⁴⁴ with twenty-six active members and ten passive members and which sang 'Frater Kellermeister'. The newspaper report of this event records these two choirs as having been the best: '... sind wohl im allgemeinen als die besten Darbietungen angesehen worden' ('... are generally accepted as having been the best performances') (Zeitung, Allgemeine, 1930). The *Kapelle* from Charlottental also performed on this occasion.¹⁴⁵

Music life at the school is recorded from 1928. For the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the German school in Lüderitz, the programme of the celebratory concert held in April 1928, reflected the following items: a Ms Metje performed 'Prelude' by Rachmaninov, 'Impromptu-Mazurka' by Lack was performed by a Ms Rust, 'Festival Overture' by Leutner was performed by Ms Rust and a Ms Schmidt, a Ms Krems performed 'Phantasietanz', and the choir sang 'Muttersprache, Mutterlaut' by Hering, and 'Ich kenn ein hellen Edelstein' by J. Wolff (Schroedder, et al. (eds), 1998:113).¹⁴⁶

In August 1928, a festival was held by the Gymnastics Society in the *Turnhalle* in memory of Friedrich Ludwig Jahns, a gymnastics educator. The musical items in this programme included the singing of a community song, 'Frei und unerschütterlich stehen unsre Eichen'.

¹⁴⁴ Kolmanskuppe is the name given to Kolmanskop by many Germans.

¹⁴⁵ Photo number 1 in Rüdiger shows the Männergesangverein Kolmanskuppe outside the *Christuskirche* in Windhoek in 1931 (Rüdiger, 1993).

¹⁴⁶ No mention is made of whether this was a school choir or an adult choir singing.

Ms T. Hollaender sang 'Allmacht' by Schubert and 'Heimweh' by Wolff, with a certain Kolle (Leonard Kolle was the mine manager at Kolmanskop) accompanying; C.A.V. Bellstedt was accompanied by Mrs Hollaender as he sang 'Weylas' by Wolff, and Archibald Douglas sang a ballad by Löwe. Recordings from 'Tannhäuser' by Wagner and of the 'Organ Concerto in F' by Händel were played on a gramophone (Schroedder, et al. (eds), 1998:155).

The *DSWA Zeitung* of 1928/83 (Schroedder, et al. (eds), 1998:162) describes a very popular festival held on Easter Monday for the Workers' Union. Festivities opened with a concert that included the following music and performers: an arrangement of the Wedding March by Mendelssohn performed by a trio consisting of Ms Metje (piano), and a certain Wehner (violin) and Beer (cello); two violin solos by Wehner, two cello solos by Beer, a trio (no further details given), two pieces for solo piano, namely 'An den Frühling' by Grieg and 'Grande Valse' by Chopin performed by Ms Metje. The evening ended with the *Charlottental Kapelle*¹⁴⁷ playing the closing march, and then providing dance music for the animated evening, which lasted well into the early hours of the morning (Schroedder, et al. (eds), 1998:43).

In December 1931, a festival celebrating the twenty-fourth anniversary of the Gymnastics Society was held in the *Turnhalle*. Mention is made of the *Hauskapelle* performing twice during the course of the proceedings, as well as a performance by a mixed choir, followed by the usual dance, for which one can safely assume music would have been provided by the *Arnold Meyer-Henkel Hauskapelle* (Schroedder, et al. (eds), 1998:158), as an advertisement in the *D-SWA Zeitung* of 1928/106 also advertises daily concerts at *Kapps Hotel*, played by the *Haus Kapelle, Arnold Meyer-Henkel* (Schroedder, et al. (eds), 1998:173). The *Haus Kapelle* is also mentioned as the source of music for other occasions, such as a masked ball held in *Kapps Saal* (no date given), and one can therefore assume that this *Haus Kapelle* was the *Arnold Meyer-Henkel 'Künstlerpaar'* (Artist Couple) as seen on other programmes around that time (Archives, Manns family, 2015).

In November 1928, an orchestral concert presented by *Lüderitzbuchter Musikfreunden* was held in the *Turnhalle* to commemorate the death of Franz Schubert. The following items were included in the programme: Trout Quintet, op. 114, performed by Ms Kreplin¹⁴⁸ (piano), Wehner (violin), Keck (viola), Beer (cello) and Ihms (double bass);¹⁴⁹ the school choir sang 'Am Brunnen vor dem Tore' followed by Ms Metje performing Schubert's Sonate in A Major

¹⁴⁷ Charlottental was one of the diamond fields.

¹⁴⁸ Kreplin was mayor of the town – this was possibly his daughter.

¹⁴⁹ Messrs Wehner, Beer and Heyse are also mentioned in programmes of performances in Swakopmund. It is possible that the musicians gave concerts in both Lüderitz and Swakopmund at that time. The advert for the concert of Friday 9 April 1920, called *Konzert*, reflects Walter Beer (cello), and Rolf Wehner (violin) (Archives, Swakopmund).

op. 120. 'Ave Maria, Mediation' and 'Ständchen' were performed by Ms Kreplin (piano), Wehner (violin) and Beer (cello). The last two items on the programme were orchestral pieces, namely Ballet Music No 2 from Rosamunde, op.28, and two movements from the Unfinished Symphony in A minor (Schroedder, et al. (eds), 1998:115). The ceremony for the inauguration of the German School included performances by their school drummers and wind band, with all the scholars singing 'Großer Gott wir loben Dich' (Schroedder, et al. (eds), 1998:117).

In a programme of a celebration of the foundation of the German Reich, held in *Kapps Saal* in January 1931 by the Lüderitz Bay War Society, in collaboration with the Kolmanskop Music Society and Kolmanskop Men's' Singing Society, the following musical items reflect as having been sung by the *Kolmanskop MGv*: 'Deutsches Volksgebet' by Janoske, 'Wo gen Himmel Eiche rauschen' by Heinrich, as well as a communal song 'Ich hab mich ergeben' (Archives, Manns family, 2015).¹⁵⁰

The programme for a Christmas concert held in the *Turnhalle* in December 1931 by the *Deutsche Schule Lüderitzbucht* shows the following items: 'Tochter Zion, freue dich' for choir, 'Kommet, ihr Hirten' and 'In Dulci Jubilo' for choir with violins, 'Stille Nacht' and 'Weihnachts-Phantasie' for piano duet (no names given) and 'Nocturno' for violin and piano (no names given).

In January 1935, the *Deutscher Bund of SWA* held a German Evening in the *Turnhalle* in Lüderitzbucht, which included three community songs: 'Großer Gott, wir loben Dich', 'Saarlied' and 'Der Gott, der Eisen wachsen ließ'. The words for the songs were printed on the back of the programme.

Much of the social life of the community revolved around the church, which provided a social haven for the settlers:

Das Gute hatte jene Zeit, daß wir Deutschen alle durch den gemeinsamen Druck, unter dem wir standen, verbunden in der Abgeschlossenheit von der Heimat, einander besonders näher kamen (Chronicle, 3., c1937:48).

The good thing about those times was that we as Germans who were all under pressure at the time, felt drawn together and united in our seclusion from the homeland.

The laying of the foundation stone for the Felsenkirche drew the following comment, illustrating the significance events of past years and the importance the Germans attached to their festivals, both religious and secular, and of their commitment to the country:

¹⁵⁰ Names of songs in German which appear to be grammatically incorrect have been copied verbatim from programmes.

Am 23. Sonntag nach dem Trinitatisfeste, dem 19. November des Jahres 1911, im 24. Jahre der Regierung Kaiser Wilhelms II, im 28. Jahre deutscher Herrschaft über die Kolonie Deutsch-Südwestafrika, legen wir den Grundstein zu dieser Kirche (Chronicle, 3., c1937:15).¹⁵¹

On the 23^d Sunday after Trinity, the 19th of November of the year 1911, in the 24th year of the rule of Kaiser Wilhelm II, and in the 28th year of German rule in the colony of German South West Africa, we laid the foundation stone of this church.

Mayor Kreplin donated a harmonium (Chronicle, 3., c1937: 35–36).¹⁵² Indeed, music was an important part of the church's relationship with members of its congregation: 'Besondere Pflege fand gerade in jener Zeit in der Kirchengemeinde das *musikalische Leben* (italics original)' ('Special care was taken in the fostering of the *musical life* amongst the congregants') (Chronicle, 3., c1937:49).

In October 1909, Pastor Metzner arrived in Lüderitz with his wife. By March 1910 a concert had been planned to raise funds which were used to purchase instruments to start a *Posaunenchor* in the congregation (Schroedder, et al. (eds), 1998:107).¹⁵³ At another concert held a few months later in *Kapps Saal*, a Mrs Brauer entertained a small audience with her first public performance of much appreciated songs. A certain Ms Frankenberg was a regular performer in the town. She sang, as well as fulfilling the role of accompanist for the violinists, Mr Ginsberg and Mr Weidner. Ginsberg was well-known to both South African and South West African audiences, and his audience was appreciative of his performances of J.S. Bach's 'Aria', Joachim Raff's 'Cavatine' and 'La Dance Polonaise' by Henryk Wieniawski. He played a violin accompaniment for a Mr Weidner singing 'Avé Maria' by Gounod, and 'Wandererlied' by Schubert. Mr Weinert performed two songs, and the performance of the *Posaunenchor* was well-received by the audience (Schroedder, et al. (eds), 1998:107).

The inauguration of the evangelical church, with its spire reaching to heaven and its dominant position on the rocks at the top of the town, the hill known as Diamantberg, provided a great source of pride to the community. More than one hundred people gathered at the building of *Deutschen Diamant-Gesellschaft* at ten 'o clock in the morning, where the procession was led up to the church in song to witness the handing over of the keys by the builder, Alfred Bauser, to Pastor Metzner. Inside the church the choir sang 'Großer Gott wir

¹⁵¹ The parish council included the following people: Rudolf Böhmer (Imperial District Official), Emil Kreplin (Mayor), H. Hillmann (Town Councillor), A. Mauruschat (Court Assistant), Johannes Kappelhoff (no designation given) and E. Krause (Architect). Where first names have been omitted, it is as a result of the names being omitted in the source, as well as in the lists of names of the passengers arriving by ship, from where further details were collated.

¹⁵² The Kaiser had donated a stained glass window to the church, and August Stauch (the erstwhile railway worker who recognised the discovery of the first diamond, and later affluent society member), donated a large Steinway grand piano, but due to lack of space, it was housed in the *Turnhalle* (Gymnastics Hall) ([Doc]1 Kolmanskop (Kolmanskuppe) In April of 1908, Zacharias., p.16).

¹⁵³ In Germany, the brass bands or *Posaunenchor*, together with the organ, often played by the pastor, and choirs, formed an integral part of the rich church music tradition (Bartsch, 2013:204).

loben Dich' (Great God we praise thee). A similar crowd of people arrived for the inauguration concert at five o'clock in the afternoon, where the newly established choir opened proceedings. This was followed by the first public performance of a solo song by Mrs Brauer, a violin solo by a Mr Witte, and items by the ever-improving Posaunenchor. Pastor Siebold played 'Ave Verum' by Mozart, on the flügelhorn, and Pastor Heyse gave a musical performance on the harmonium (Schroedder, et al. (eds), 1998:107).

During the war years, the pastor¹⁵⁴ had been a cellist with the gift of getting the musically interested and talented people together to form an orchestra and a choir, with the help of the organist, a Mr Pechel (Chronicle, 3., c1937:49). Through the singing of motets, liturgical celebrations and church concerts, they were able to lift the spirits of the congregation.

Reports on musicking in Lüderitz after the Second World War are not available. However, the vibrant social life at Kolmanskop and the demise of this high life during the abandonment of the town provides an insight to the view of music through *Deutschtum*.

4.3 Kolmanskop

After the discovery of diamonds in 1908, diamond hunters arrived en masse at Kolmanskop, and the town grew to reflect the affluence of those times. It went from a flourishing oasis with a vibrant social life, to its current status of ghost town. Many of the photos on display in the restored buildings at Kolmanskop have been donated by the Manns family.



Figure 4.9: The entrance to Kolmanskop today. Source: D.L. van Zyl (April 2015).

¹⁵⁴ No name is given, but looking at programmes where a certain Ms Rust had performed as a scholar, one can assume that the writer of the article, Pastor Rust, had been the musician.

The *Sperrgebiet* or Police Zone as was declared by the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft*, included settlements such as Pomona, Bogenfels, Elisabethbucht and Charlottental. This area between Lüderitz and Bogenfels rock arch was set aside for prospecting by the government of the day, and flourished as 'bustling havens of German culture and social life' which blossomed and died within a forty-year period (Schoemann & Kohl, 2004:9). From following quote by Schoemann (2004:9), one can picture of the life of the fortune seekers: 'Fashionably attired in well-cut outfits, the better halves of the diamond kings walked through the deep sand, their left hands mostly in cotton gloves, holding their long trains very stiffly, while their right hands held their feathered and flowered hats in place against the pressure of the wind'.

Based on photos I was able to deduce meagre information on the life in Kolmanskop, which sprouted out of the desert after the discovery of diamonds on 1908. The large workshop was used as the entertainment venue until the building of the *Turnhalle/Konzertsaal* in 1927. The 800 Ovambo labourers were not included in the social life of the town. The important people of the town, such as the engineer Leonard Kolle, the school teacher, and the mine manager Hans Hörlein, had solid, glamorous double-storey houses reflecting German architecture, but most of the German inhabitants lived in prefabricated wooden houses, which were dismantled and rebuilt in Oranjemund around 1935 ([Doc]1 Kolmanskop (Kolmanskuppe) In April of 1908, Zacharias:20).

A large seawater swimming pool was built, with water being pumped up from Elisabethbucht, and bathing huts were erected around the pool. It seemed to be a social meeting point, and weather permitting, a band would perform there on Sunday afternoons. A photograph in *Lüderitz Damals und Gestern* (1998:173), labelled the *Kolmanskupper Kapelle*, mostly men, include a saxophonist, two violinists, a drummer/percussionist, a lutist and lady pianist, possible Marianne Coleman? The geometric frieze below the level of the stage indicates the picture was taken in the *Turnhalle* at Kolmanskop, as the same frieze is still to be seen there (see Figure 4.10).



213 Kolmanskupper Kapelle

Figure 4.10: Kolmanskupper Kapelle. Source: Schroedder et al. (eds), 1998:173).

Edmund Manns, second from left, appears in Figure 4.11 below:

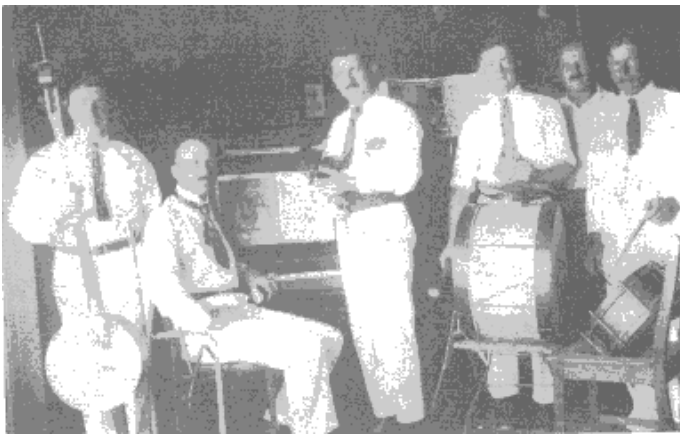


Figure 4.11: Band from Kolmanskop, including a type of banjo. Manns at the keyboard, a violinist, two drummers/percussionists, and the instrument of the sixth member at the back, is not visible. Source: M. Maass (n.d.).



Figure 4.12: Another photograph of the band from Kolmanskop. From the left, a percussionist, a violinist, Edmund Manns at the keyboard again with the same violinist on his left, as in the previous photograph, a cellist, a third violinist, and the man at the end of the back row in white pants could either be singing or conducting, or has his instrument hidden from view. Source: M. Maass (n.d.).



Figure 4.13: The piano brought out from Germany to Kolmanskop was owned by piano teacher Hertha Brodersen-Manns, wife of Edmund Manns. It is currently owned by the granddaughter, Hertha Manns-Syvertsen. Source: D.L. van Zyl (April 2015).

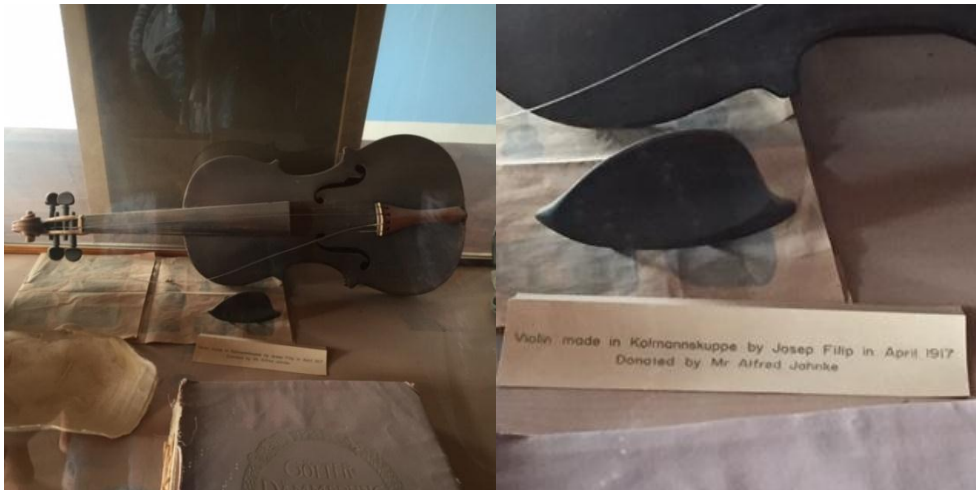


Figure 4.14: A violin made by Joseph Filip in April 1917 on display at Kolmanskop. The score of *Götterdämmerung* (R. Wagner) lies on display in front of the violin. Source: D.L. van Zyl (April 2015).

A *Kaffeemusik* piano score belonging to Edmund Manns was found among the personal archival material of Manns-Syvertsen: *Neue Leichte Salonstücke* by Richard Eilenberg Op. 119, published by Julian Heinrich Zimmerman (Leipzig, St Petersburg, Moskau, London) 1890. It consisted of pieces bearing the following titles: 'Im Galopp durch Feld und Wald'; 'Die Nachtigal und die Frösche'; 'Ein Waldconcert'; 'Musicierende Zigeuner'; 'Mückentanz'; 'Schmiederliedchen' and 'Ein Tänzchen auf grüner Wiese'.

Life at Kolmanskop reflected an attempt at European style. Dr Kraenzel and Dr von Lossow were the two resident doctors in the well-equipped hospital, complete with the first X-ray machine in Southern Africa and its own wine cellar for patient health ([Doc]1 Kolmanskop (Kolmanskuppe) In April of 1908, Zacharias:11). Until 1927, a skittle alley had operated from

a prefabricated building, but in 1927, a magnificent entertainment centre was erected.¹⁵⁵ The first recreation centre was built out corrugated iron and housed a skittle alley. There were tennis courts and steam baths. When the new Recreation Hall/Casino was built, wood-panelled rooms included two dining rooms, one for officials and one for workers, a bar, a reading room, two club rooms and a new skittle alley. Marianne Coleman, daughter of Johnny Coleman, recalls in her diary:

After the recreation club was built in Kolmanskop, the mine sponsored and brought out opera, theatre groups and orchestras from Europe for entertainment. Every sophisticated taste was catered for. People came from Lüderitz to attend. These events were always in aid of charity. While the wind whipped sand across the windows, we enjoyed the perfect acoustics of the hall ([Doc]1 Kolmanskop (Kolmanskuppe) In April of 1908, Zacharias:12–13).¹⁵⁶

From his communications with Arthur Painczyk¹⁵⁷, Gino Noli (2015) shared the following information with me:

It seems that most passenger ships called in at Lüderitz had their own bands, which then came ashore and played at festivities arranged in honour of said visiting ships. In this way the locals were always kept up to date with the latest European dance and music trends ... Arthur, an old teacher of mine at Deutsche Schule Kapstadt, who visited Kolmanskop every year until his death some ten years back, also told me that as an apprentice, living in Kolmanskop, he and other youngsters used to walk the ten kilometres to Lüderitz if there was a dance on there and back again after the party.



Figure 4.15: The restored and the original *Turnhalle* (Gym Hall) or *Konzertsaal* (Concert Hall). Notice the installed with gymnastics equipment, a balcony at the back, a stage in front, and a harmonium and piano on display. The kitchen at the back of the hall was able to cater for 300 people at a time in the adjoining dining room. Source: D.L. van Zyl (April 2015).

¹⁵⁵ According to our tour guide, all the architectural plans as well as every brick and beam of wood for the upmarket houses built for management were brought out by ship from Germany.

¹⁵⁶ These diaries were downloaded from a pdf file as per the reference, and the diary information appears to have been sourced from the late Franz Schneider and from Hennie Kruger as per the acknowledgements at the end of the article, and about whom I have not been able to ascertain any information.

¹⁵⁷ Arthur Painczyk was a former resident of Lüderitz Bay who returned to Lüderitz annually until his death (Noli, 2015).

The women's social club was very active, with activities including a fundraiser in the form of ship's dance, with the ship's orchestra providing the music for the evening of dancing ([Doc]1 Kolmanskop (Kolmanskuppe) In April of 1908, Zacharias:14).¹⁵⁸

Kolmanskop also had a very active gymnastic club, a theatre which sponsored visits of shows and operettas from overseas and an eight-piece orchestra that played for all the formal dances as well as tea dances on Saturday and Sunday afternoons. All the ladies turned up in the latest fashions. The club served tea, coffee, beer and spirits while the orchestra played sweet music. Some couples did the tango or one step. The brave ones tried the Charleston' ([Doc]1 Kolmanskop (Kolmanskuppe) In April of 1908, Zacharias:15–16).

Marianne Coleman, who played the piano in this orchestra, possibly the *Kolmanskuppe Kapelle*, remembers:

I think it is because of the hardships of life in the bleak windswept desert, that the little towns were such havens in the early years. People really cared for each other. All sorts of commodities were developed to suit cultural requirements e.g. the recreation hall in Colman's was the centre of entertainment for the whole area, including Lüderitz ([Doc]1 Kolmanskop (Kolmanskuppe) In April of 1908, Zacharias:14).



Figure 4.16: The original frieze on the wall of the skittle ally as well as the signboard above the entrance. Source: D.L. van Zyl (April 2015).

The entertainment hall with a viewing balcony, designed with excellent acoustics by a specialist German architect, was used as a fully equipped gymnasium; a fully functional stage provided a platform for theatre groups and opera companies which were brought out by the mine from Germany, and for the local musical groups/bands/orchestras (Kolmanskop, Namibia, n.d.). According to the mine manager, Leonard Kollé (Schoemann & Kohl, 2004:29), an appealing social environment with top salaries was offered to lure top professionals and their families from their familiar society to the uncertainty of a desert society. With entertainment including gambling, music concerts, operettas, plays and balls, to suit the needs of these affluent colonialists, 'Kolmanskop soon developed into a lively little sanctuary of German customs and traditions' (Schoemann & Kohl, 2004:30). Photographs

¹⁵⁸ No further information on the orchestra or the ship was available at the time of writing.

reflect a band of ten men on stage at the entertainment centre, where instruments such as a clarinet, a lute, a trumpet, and four violins can be identified (2015). The photograph below is of a mealtime at a casino. Although no location is given whatsoever, one of the names in the handwritten caption, a certain Mr Otto, is also mentioned in the list of members of the *Lüderitz Männer Gesangverein*, and the only two places which had casinos at that time were Kolmanskop and Charlottental. For this reason, it would be safe to assume that this photo would have been taken during the diamond rush years of 1908 to 1914 at either one of the afore-mentioned casinos.¹⁵⁹



Figure 4.17: Liebesmahl im Casino (literally translated as Love Feast in the casino).
Note the stage visible in the background. Source: Swakopmund Scientific Society (c1908–1914).

The depression of 1931 caused the diamond fields of Charlottental and Conception Bay to close down and for the first time in South West African history, but the social life at Kolmanskop seemed to continue. Included in a programme from a *Bunter Abend*¹⁶⁰ arranged by the *Kolmanskop Frauenbundes* (Kolmanskop Women's League) of the *Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft* on Sunday 14 September 1935, were two items presented by a two different men's' choruses, one under the leadership of Gustav Wohlgemut, singing, 'Wie's daheim war ...' ('How it was at home ...') and the other 'Tanzlied' ('Dance Song') conducted by a Frau Silder (see Figure 4.18).

¹⁵⁹ The writing on the face of the photograph is in Sütterlinschrift.

¹⁶⁰ A 'Bunter Abend' is a form of variety show, including contributions such as a capella choral singing, one act plays, opera arias, poetry recitals, joke telling, sketches and ending with communal dancing.

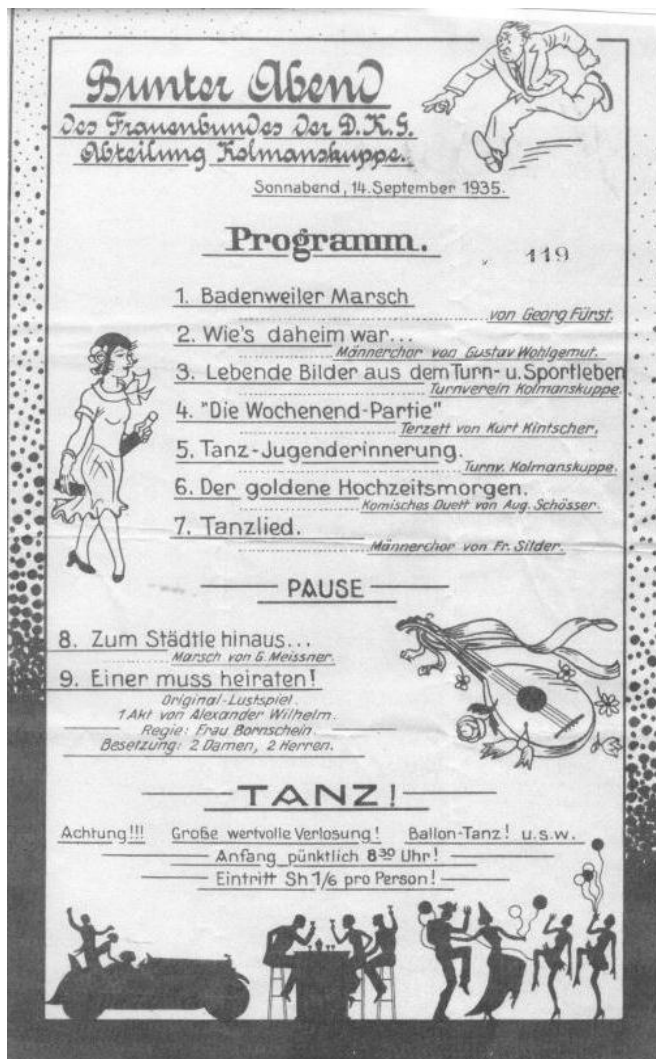


Figure 4.18: The programme from the *Bunter Abend* held on 14 September 1935 in Kolmanskop. Source: Manns Family Archives (2015).

The following year a *Bunter Abend* was held in Kolmanskop, where there was a performance of the *Männerchor Kolmanskoppe* singing 'Das Lied vom Rhein' ('Song of the Rhine') as well as a substantial contribution from the *Troßbachkapelle*, who opened the programme at the beginning and after interval, and provided the music for the dance after the show.

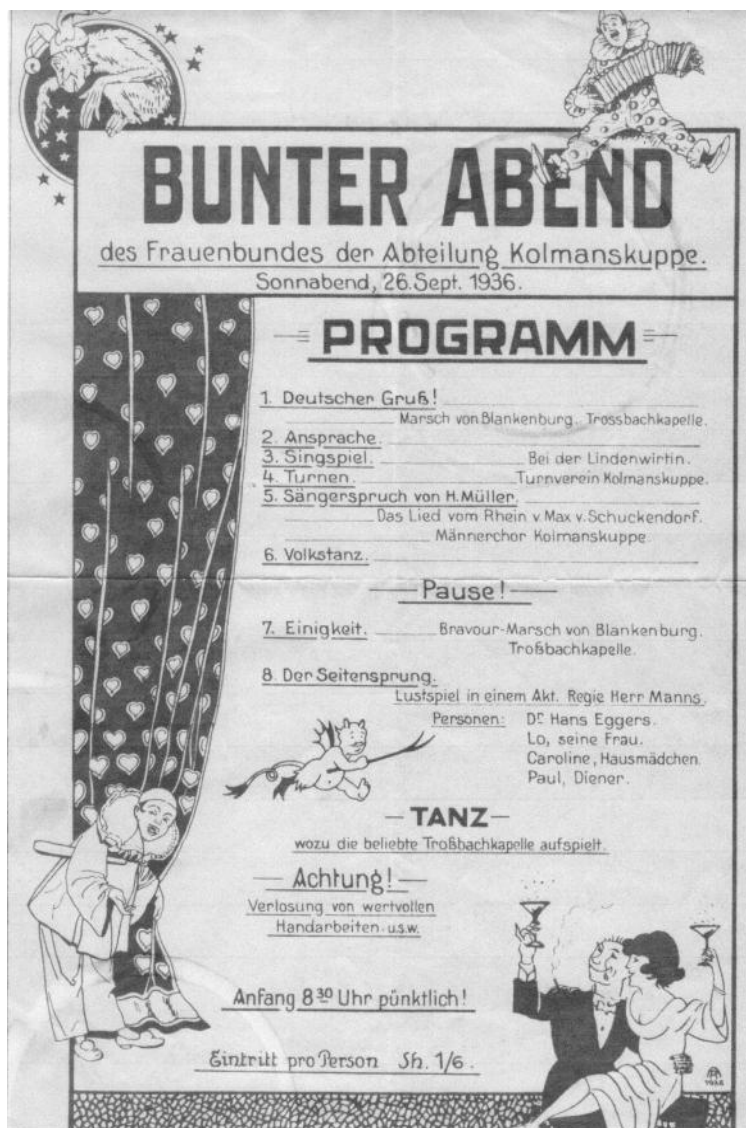


Figure 4.19: Programme for the *Bunter Abend* of 26 September 1936. Source: Manns family archives (2015).

As is reflected in the above research, there is evidence of a lively social life amongst these sand dunes against all odds. Kolmanskop, currently a tourist attraction for which a permit is required to visit, was abandoned to the shifting dunes in 1956, when the last three families left for Oranjemund, and the buildings were ransacked by treasure hunters. In the 1980s, when certain relatives of those who had lived in Kolmanskop came from Germany requesting to see where their forefathers had lived, restoration work was initiated with the removal of broken window panes and sand (Noli, 2010:45). In 1988 the *Turnhalle/Casino* friezes were cleaned and touched up, and after the removal of much sand, the wooden floors, still in perfect condition, were treated with linseed oil and restored to their glory.¹⁶¹ A quincentenary ball for 300 people was held in honour of the anniversary of Diaz's five hundredth year of discovery of Angra Pequena, for which occasion the Windhoek Symphony Orchestra was

¹⁶¹ Many of the original friezes are still visible in the ramshackle buildings.

brought in to play.¹⁶² A diamond was presented to every lady invitee at the ball (Manns-Syvertsen, 2015).

Apart from the officials, Lüderitz remained a town populated by Germans after the First World War, even though all their possessions had been taken or destroyed.

4.4 *Deutschtum* and Lüderitz

From the arrival at Angra Pequena of the German warships, to the hoisting of the German flag and the announcement of the territory as a German colony, music played a large role at ceremonial occasions in Lüderitz. No mention is made of music activities before the discovery of diamonds, and one can safely assume that life in the drought-stricken town had been a struggle for survival. The arrival of ships from Europe would have brought intermittent relief to many residents. The availability of the ships' bands for social events would probably have prompted a lift in spirits.

The end of the First World War in October 1918 brought an end to German dominance of the town. The subsequent flu killed 600 Ovambos in the diamond fields as well as taking the lives of many well-known townspeople (Chronicle, 3., c1937:51). The repatriation at the end of the war tore the German community apart, with the troops and the administration officials being the first to go. Even the pastor was sent home, as the community could not afford to employ him to the level he was compensated before the war, and the homeward journey for him and his family by ship was sponsored by the then administrative powers. Missionary Wandres was appointed in his place. Many new settlers came out, and there were disputes between the old settlers who had lived through the war and the occupation, and the new generation of settlers. And yet the sense of German solidarity in the form *Germanness* persisted:

Doch fanden sie sich alle als Glieder desselben deutschen Volkes, und waren in Fragen, die Schule und *Deutschtum* betrafen, immer einig (Chronicle, 3., c1937:53).

However, they found themselves united as members of the same German nation, when it came to issues such as schooling and Germanness.

Deutschtum, as was explained at the beginning of this thesis, had many different accents: racial superiority, exclusion, elitism, closedness; but also homeliness, nostalgia, collective nurturing, nourishing senses of community. With the sparse details of music making documented in this chapter, it is very difficult and perhaps unwise to venture into isolating precisely the kinds of focus and dynamics characterizing the cultivation of German music and traditions in Lüderitz. Nor is it prudent to assume that *Deutschtum* and its expression in

¹⁶² According to Daniela Ruppel, flautist in the orchestra, they spent most of the night playing Strauss waltzes.

music would have been unchanging throughout the twentieth century, or that different individuals would subscribe to identical or even largely similar ideas about what this term could signify. But enough documentation has been found to enable a conclusion that in many respects, music was the centre of a fostering some kind of German presence away from Germany in Lüderitz. Details of musical life in the town are very limited, but the possibility exists that further researchers could locate un-researched material at the Namibian Scientific Society in Windhoek, and for German-speaking researchers, the unopened boxes of evidentiary material written in German held at the Namdeb Library in Oranjemund, may shed new light on the subject.

Chapter 5 **Musicking by prisoners of war in the camps of Aus and Andalusia**

A quote by Finnegan (Frith, 1996:125) reflects on music practice within the emotional boundaries of war: 'But what makes music special – what makes it special for identity – is that it defines a space without boundaries'. The remoteness of the Aus Prisoner of War Camp alleviated the need for physical boundaries. The solitude of an unsympathetic desert would have been less appealing than the companionship of the shared punitive environs in which the prisoners of war found themselves. However, the authorities condoned movement in and out of the camp for sportsmen and musicians when warranted for civilian occasions, especially to Lüderitz. Prisoners of war camps housed primarily military personnel who may have provided intelligence to the enemy; concentration camps accommodated both military and civilian men who represented the enemy. The concentration camp on the farm known as Andalusia in the Northern Cape in South Africa, now known as Jan Kempdorp, presented far tighter confines, with the camp being surrounded by doubled barbed wire fences, and with movement in and out strictly forbidden. Women who took three days by train to get there and another three days to get back, were allocated thirty minutes of visitation time in the company of an armed guard, at a distance of one metre. The flow of internees in and out of the camp was never an option and visitation rights were regulated strictly. Those men and women not interned were under house or farm arrest, and required special permission to leave their abodes (Kock, 2002:34).

5.1 Aus

5.1.1 Locale

Intense weather conditions, varying from searing heat, to snow, to wind and sand storms, were experienced by prisoners of war in the isolated camp of Aus. Dissatisfied with the tents provided for them in extreme weather conditions and smothered in sand from the frequent sandstorms, they took the initiative to make their own sundried mud bricks, and recycled everything possible to build their own huts. The Germans had grown accustomed to surviving in dire and harsh circumstances since their arrival in the colony, and this presented yet another challenge to them. They occupied their time by creating flower gardens and growing vegetables, and starting sporting activities, in particular, gymnastics (Aus Namibia Schutztruppe Prisoner of War Camp 1915–1919, 2013). Musical and sporting activities akin to those which would have been conducted before the war were pursued within the camp.

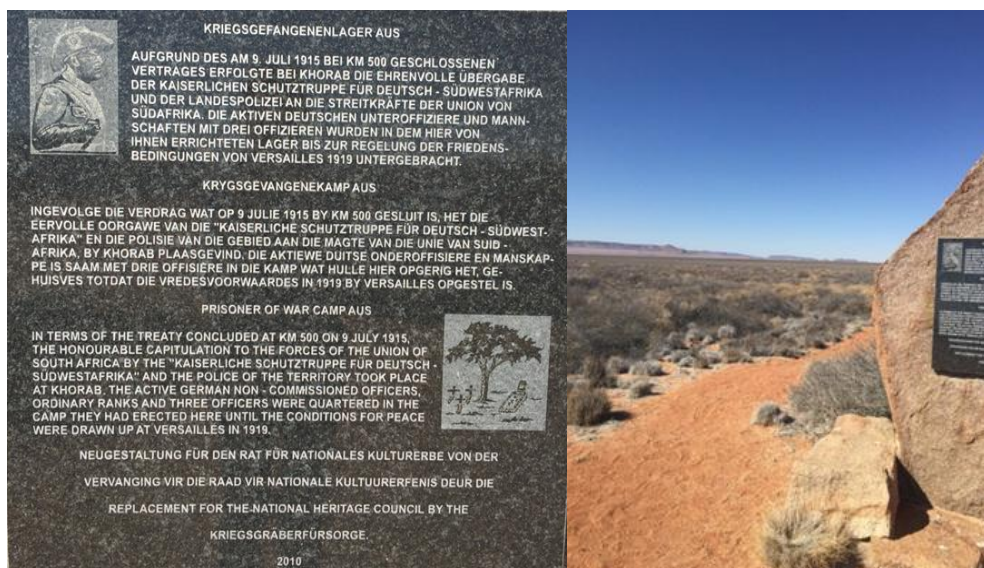


Figure 5.1: This memorial plaque appears at the site of the remains of the Aus internment camp. Source: D.L. van Zyl (June 2015).

5.1.2 Social life

There were around 2000 prisoners of war housed at Aus, under the supervision of three German officers. In 1915 a brass band was started under the baton of Captain von Münstermann. Waldeck (2010:82), a former *Schutztruppe*, mentions that their instruments were sent down from Windhoek, contrary to Bruwer (2003:20) who states that 'They purchased all the instruments needed with their own funds'. It is unclear, therefore, how these instruments were acquired. On occasion, they were given permission to travel to Windhoek to give concerts (Bruwer, 2003:20) and also on celebratory occasions, to Lüderitz Bay.



Figure 5.2: The Brass Band at the Aus prisoner of war camp. Source: J. Bruwer (2003).

A smaller group, calling themselves the Artists' Group, consisted of seven instrumentalists who played instruments such as lutes, banjos, flutes and violins. They sometimes joined the brass band to form an orchestra under the baton of a man called von Münstermann. They were a great source of entertainment and concerts were held regularly on Sundays (Waldeck, 2010:82).



Figure 5.3: The Artists Group at Aus. Source: J. Bruwer (2003).

For the Luther celebrations in 1917, a request was sent to President Louis Botha to allow the full *Ausser Musikkapelle* (the *Schutztruppe* band from Aus), to be given time to perform in Lüderitz for this celebration. Permission was granted on the day of the celebrations. The townspeople would have welcomed this occasion. Lutheran chorales rang out over the whole town from the *Felsenkirche* on Diamantberg, followed by a celebratory festival held in the *Turnhalle* that night.

The occasion of following photograph taken in 1918, with the *Aus Musikkapelle* performing on the beach in Lüderitz, has not been identified:



Figure 5.4: Concert given at the Badestrand (Swimming Beach) in Lüderitz Bay by the *Aus Musikkapelle* in 1918. Source: Swakopmund Scientific Society (1918).

Just before the members of the *Schutztruppekapelle* were repatriated to Germany at the end of World War I, a very moving service was held in the Aus cemetery, with the band marching and playing: 'Wir nahmen Abschied von einander, und die Truppe Abschied von dem Lande, das sie von Herzen als ein neues Deutschland liebegewonnen hatte ...' ('We bade farewell to each other, and the Forces (bade farewell) from the country which had won their hearts as a new Germany...') (Chronicle, 3., c1937:48).

The importance of the *Schutztruppe* band to the community is confirmed in the following sentence from the church *Festschrift*: 'Das Reformationsfest konnten wir doch nicht ohne die Schutztruppenkapelle feiern!' ('We could not celebrate the Reformation festival without the *Schutztruppe* band!') (Chronicle 3, c1937:47).¹⁶³

¹⁶³ One assumes that the *Schutztruppenkapelle* would have been part of the *Aus Musikkapelle*, and that there would have been dual reference to these bands.

5.2 Andalusia

5.2.1 Locale



Figure 5.5: Andalusia concentration camp. Source: S. Lunderstedt (2016).

Sandy soil with scant vegetation and severe temperatures on either side of the scale in summer and winter, and corrugated iron huts behind high barbed wire fences confronted the first South West African internees from the *Klein Danzig* camp in Windhoek. By the end of 1940 there were around 1220 Germans, mostly from South West Africa, interned at Andalusia (Lunderstedt, 2016), but the number soon rose to 2000. The German women, on the other hand, were left to run the farms, manage the meagre availability of finances, were subject to curfews and most certainly appeared to have had no time for the genteel side of life their men seemed to be enjoying in the camps.¹⁶⁴ Anna Olivier, a war widow interviewed by Gretschel, reflected on the vibrant life led by the German prisoners of war in South Africa in comparison to the Germans in Russian camps. The South African prisoners of war were able to participate in a variety of camp activities, including studying, gymnastics and musicking in various forms such as practising their musical instruments and giving concerts in the camp (Gretschel, 2009:272).¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ The support from the indigenous farm labourers, according to most of the interviewees in Gretschel's book, was unflinching.

¹⁶⁵ Gretschel is a Professor in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Namibia in Windhoek and a recipient of the Project Lilie award ('Projekt Lilie, has as its objectives the maintenance and advancement of German culture and language in Namibia. It works in cooperation with two umbrella organisations representing the interests of the German speaking community in education and culture in Namibia (Deutscher Kulturrat and the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Schulen). This project aims to recognise special achievements of teachers at schools that are members of the Arbeitsgemeinschaft Deutscher Schulen and educational institutions, such as UNAM and Windhoek College of Education' (Lilie, Project, n.d.).

5.2.2 Social life

The re-enactment of musical activities in the internment camps of Andalusia (and to a lesser extent in Baviaanspoort) in South Africa, under the most extreme conditions, was led by many of the same musicians who were the prominent musicians in the towns in South West Africa before the war. The spiritual and cultural life of Andalusia was established as a result of the internees having had ample time on hand, and plenty of initiative and ingenuity. The *Deutsche Schule Andalusia* was started *ex nihilo*, and became what is referred to in Germany as a *Gesamthochschule* (General High School). The first group of internees from South West Africa arrived in June 1940. By the time the second group from Windhoek arrived in July 1940, sixteen musicians playing instruments such as trumpets, mandolins, guitars, piano accordions and violins had been assembled by H. Herrle to perform for the new internees. There were no scores, but the key and the beat were announced and the musicians played by ear to the best of their abilities (Rädel, 2002:113). This was the first of many more orchestras, bands and small ensembles that contributed to the music life of the camp. The programme in Figure 4.6 reflects their activities.



Einige Plakate aus dem reichhaltigen Orchester und Theaterschaffen



Figure 5.6: Posters reflecting the activities of the prisoners of war at Andalusia. Source: F.E. Rädel (2002).

The internees from South West Africa were grouped together in Andalusia (Herre, 2002:53). They were woken every morning by a trumpet call in the various quarters of the camp (Herre, 2002:55). Herre (2002:65) remembers the Sunday afternoon concerts by the camp bands, led by Dr M. Silbernagel,¹⁶⁶ and the following quote supports the huge gratitude for the music performed to the inmates:

In späteren Jahren wurde die 'Musik zum Sonntag' eine Tradition, und wir Zuhörer können unseren Künstlern nicht dankbar genug sein für die vielen hohen Kunstgenüsse, die sie uns im Laufe der Jahre boten.

In later years, 'Music for Sunday' became a tradition and we as the audience cannot thank our musicians enough for the enjoyment of their art form which we experienced over the course of the years.

A symphony orchestra of considerable note developed under the direction of Silbernagel, with performances of repertoire such as the Great D Major Symphony of Schubert, the Pastoral and Eroica Symphonies of Beethoven, the D Major violin concerto of Mozart with a certain Herr von Weber (previously a headmaster from *Deutsche Höhere Privatschule*) (DHPS), as soloist, and piano concertos with Willie Frewer and a Mr Hessler as the soloists. (Rädel, 2002:113). They attempted works never before attempted in Windhoek, due to the availability of rehearsal time (van Biljon, 1982:126). Various sections of this orchestra contributed to the social events for German festival days, Christmas and evenings of light entertainment.

The initial lack of sheet music was solved by R. Andrae, a euphonium player, who wrote out the individual parts from the scores which were smuggled into the camp (Rädel, 2002:115). In the case of the absence of isolated individual scores, Silbernagel wrote down the missing parts by listening to performances of the relevant repertoire on a record player and isolating the necessary parts. A worthy archive of scores was built up with the financial assistance of the Red Cross and music friends outside the camp. A far greater problem arose in the acquisition of instruments. The members of the *Tsumeber Bergkapelle* donated or lent their woodwind and brass instruments to those who needed them, and a bassoon and an oboe came to the camp via the Red Cross. Three violins were built by one Mr Hofmann, from the wooden planks of a cupboard. The back and belly of a violin were made from the table top of a discarded old table (Rädel, 2002:115). The tenacity and patience of a certain Mr Bergner, who glued hundreds of boards from fruit crates together, provided the camp with a completely usable double bass. He also tinkered away in order to create a pair of timpani, thus providing for a balanced orchestra in the camp. In my interview with C.J. Wecke, he states that he was interned from the time he was nineteen for five and a half years, four of

¹⁶⁶ Dr Silbernagel, from Johannesburg, was one of very few internees not from South West Africa (van Biljon, 1982:126).

which were spent at Andalusia and the last year and a half, at Baviaanspoort. He volunteered to learn the double bass while at Andalusia, where he played in the Andalusia Symphony Orchestra. There was a request for a cellist to play in a string quartet, after which he later also learnt to play the cello by copying fingerings from a fellow inmate, and then spent five hours a day practising. He played both the double bass and the cello in chamber music ensembles.¹⁶⁷

A much loved wind band emanated from the wind section of the orchestra, and they performed for celebration hours and sporting activities. A string ensemble occasionally performed the chamber works of composers such as Bach, Handel and Telemann. Von Weber took on the task of organising the chamber music. He founded the first string quartet and performances were given of the piano quintets by Mozart and the septet in E-flat by Beethoven.¹⁶⁸ Before chamber music performances, von Weber would give a short introduction to the chamber work to be played, as well as information on the composer. Over the years the audience of experts and new devotees grew considerably, many of whom probably would not have been exposed to chamber music before this (Rädel, 2002:115). Eckert (violinist) started a short-lived string ensemble, and over the years a great number of the string quartets of leading composers, including some by Hindemith, were performed. Figure 5.7 gives an indication of the instruments and players in the Andalusia Orchestra:

¹⁶⁷ At Baviaanspoort, there was no double bass, but since there was an oboe available, he spent four hours a day practising the oboe. He also learnt to play the clarinet (Wecke, 2014).

¹⁶⁸ Von Weber (piano), Hofmann (violin) and Rädel (violin) all found themselves in Pretoria after the war, and continued to play chamber music with a guest cellist every Thursday night at Rädel's home until 1960 (Rädel, 2002:115).

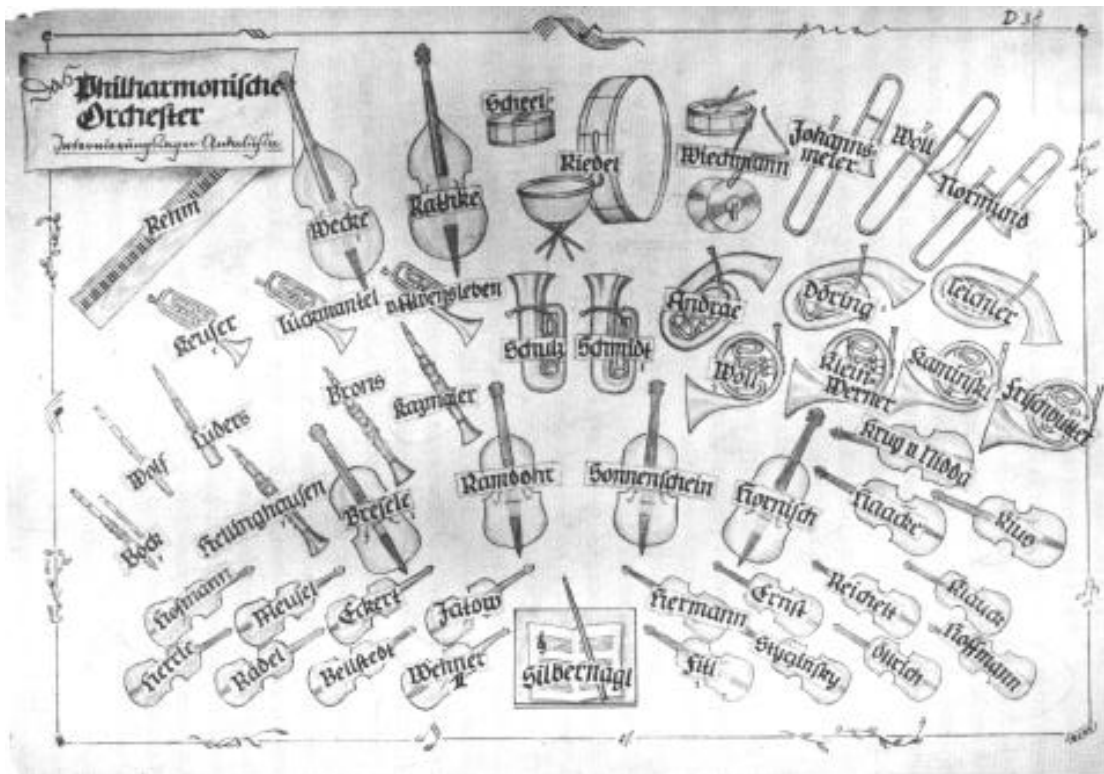


Figure 5.7: A sketch of the members of the Philharmonic Orchestra of the Andalusia Internment Camp, as per hand-drawn entry. Source: F.E. Rädcl (2002).

'Orje' Rathke led the Men's' Chorus, Wilhelm Schlüter¹⁶⁹ led the Madrigal Choir, and there was a men's' quartet including singers Hörnisch, Kuhfeld and Peters. A touring group of unsuspecting German scholars who also found themselves behind barbed wire at Andalusia, performed folk songs, songs from the Youth Movements, as well as spontaneous improvisation. The singers at Andalusia produced their own song book. Lessmann, a mason by profession, remained undeterred by the ostensible impossibility of the task of putting a song book together and took a leading role in the project (Dittmann, 2002:167). The *SK-Druck (Druckerei der Singkameraden)* (Printing Press of Singing Friends) produced a songbook in photo album format, page by page (Dittmann, 2002:170) as can be seen in Figure 5.8.

¹⁶⁹ Schlüter arrived in Windhoek in 1937 to teach music at the *Realschule* (known today as the *Deutsche Höhere Privatschule* or DHPS). He was a violinist, and also played the guitar and sang. After his notable contributions to the musical life at Andalusia during the war, he resumed duties at the *Realschule* and returned to Germany in 1952, after 14 years of service at the school, including the organising of youth concerts for the Parents Association (van Biljon, 1982:76–77).



Figure 5.8: The song book produced at Andalusia. Source: R. Kock (2002).

Landesprobst Höflich,¹⁷⁰ former head of the German Evangelical Lutheran Church, ran regular evangelical services in the dining room where a *Posaunenchor* served in the absence of church bells (Herre, 2002:74).¹⁷¹

Fritz Arendt, a German who was living in Tanganyika at the outbreak of the war in September 1939, recalls how like-minded musical Germans interned in Dar es Salaam had all brought their musical instruments along, and as Germans were found in the furthest corners of Tanganyika and brought to the camp, a wonderful band of guitars, mandolins, piano accordions and violins was assembled that provided musical reprieve (Arendt, 2002:151–152). After having been moved to Baviaanspoort in South Africa, Arendt comments on the outstanding contribution which music made to the atmosphere in the camp. In particular, he singles out Karl Hatterscheidt (see paragraph 3.5.2) who had been brought to Baviaanspoort from Rhodesia, (now Zimbabwe), and brought together missionaries, ships' musicians and amateur musicians to form a first class orchestra which entertained the

¹⁷⁰ A *Landesprobst* is the head of the synod of the Deutsche Evangelische Lutherische Kirche.

¹⁷¹ The catholic worshippers also had regular services run by a Catholic priest (Herre, 2002:74).

interns with both light and serious music (Arendt, 2002:157). Hatterscheidt was never interned at Andalusia, and Arendt was moved to Andalusia during the course of the war.

The musical life in the towns of South West Africa/Namibia gradually came back to life after the war. By the start of 1947, Willi Frewer had started a choir and orchestra in Windhoek, known as the Windhoek Music Society. By 1950, this thirty-two man orchestra included W. Kehrmann of Zoo Café fame, who had returned to Windhoek after the war, and the following musicians from the Andalusia orchestra, namely, R. Wehner, who had led the orchestra, H. Herrle, A. Reichelt (both violinists), H. Kius and W. Schlüter (viola),¹⁷² W. Kazmeier (clarinet), J. Wecke (cello, although he also played the double bass in Andalusia), H. Normund (trombone), R. Andrae (French horn, and he played the euphonium in Andalusia), O. Tückmantel (French horn, and he played the trumpet in Andalusia), and A. Böck (flute, and the piccolo in Andalusia) (van Biljon, 1982:132).¹⁷³

Music-making amongst the German prisoners of war must have brought solace to the internees during their years of internment. The customary love of singing amongst Germans was evident in the choirs and singing groups which sprang up in Andalusia (Rädel, 2002:117). According to van Biljon (1982:125–126), no choir in Windhoek had ever had a membership of one hundred and twenty-five people.

5.2.3 *Deutschtum and the war camps*

It should not be surprising that music in the prisoner of war camps had a very marked relation to *Deutschtum*, as inmates were interned because of their nationality. This levelling of all differences to the only similarity that mattered to determine ally or enemy – German origins – would no doubt have informed the way inmates used music to embrace a shared heritage and background. In this sense, music connected inmates to their homeland traditions and cultures. Music was, however, also a way of passing the time and many men had much more free time in the camps than they would have had as working individuals. What the evidence of music making in the war camps illustrates, is how important music was to German-speaking communities in South West Africa. Where the evidence of music making has been obscured in many places of settlement, the prisoner of war camps brought individuals together in a way that allows for a view of music as a male pastime, and one that was widely shared by individuals from various backgrounds and places of settlement. The ingenuity displayed by individuals to make instruments, and to manufacture scores and books, also illustrate how much music was connected to a spirit of settler survival. In this

¹⁷² Schlüter's name did not feature in the diagram of the Andalusia orchestra, but he was mentioned as having trained the madrigal choir at Andalusia, and being a professional musician, it is possible that he would have played for the orchestra at times as well.

¹⁷³ Rolf Wehner and Alfons Böck had been involved in orchestral playing in the town since 1920.

sense, the prisoner-of-war camps show that in order to interpret the importance of music among German communities in South West Africa in the twentieth century merely as a nostalgic activity, or merely as an exercise in bonding, would be too simplistic. Music was also a way to survive hostile conditions, and this regard it may point to the least particularistic and most universal functions of music amongst German-speakers in South West Africa. As a mechanism for survival, music was indeed a universal and not a German activity.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

The role music played in the construction and bolstering of *Deutschtum* in Namibia is incontrovertible. This does not mean that all or even a majority of individuals who were important in developing a musical culture in Namibia in the twentieth century, were consciously striving to construct *Deutschtum* through music. Although my research provides ample evidence of instances where music was consciously used or viewed to enhance feelings of German patriotism with all the concomitant relations of superiority, exclusion and cohesion, there are also many examples cited where individuals made music or developed structures of music making because they believed this to be a normatively good thing. Arguably, this very value attached to music, is an expression of *Deutschtum*, albeit in an indirect way of course. Having documented musicking as framed by *Deutschtum*, the pervasiveness of the ideology of *Deutschtum* as it relates to music, points to the ideological understanding of music practices.

The research provides a contribution in documenting the role of music in the life of German emigrants to Namibia, and shows how music helped them to sustain their connection to their own culture. It reveals the significant role that Western classical music played (and continues to play), in the towns in Namibia where the German settlers chose to congregate. There is scope for further research on musicking in other towns, as well as on the upswing in choral activities amongst Namibians since independence. The influence of European music on choral music in indigenous communities, as well as the influence of European music on indigenous music practices and composition, particularly in the Herero and Nama music traditions where the missionaries had a significant role to play, could sustain extended further research. My documentation of musical activities in the German-speaking communities in the two towns of Swakopmund and Lüderitz specifically, complements van Biljon's research, which records all musical activities in Windhoek, although over a briefer period. These two settlements were built by the Germans from out of the desert sand, and before that there had been no form of civilisation by indigenous people or anyone else. The musical heritage was created by the Germans for the Germans.

I attempted to provide a sense of location and the relevance of landscape through my topographical descriptions of all three case studies. I did this in order to portray the relatively hostile natural environment in which these pioneering and tenacious adventurers found themselves and to illustrate that music, apart from its connotations with a particular culture, also played a domesticating role that allowed settlers respite from the rigours of physical survival.

With regard to the transmission of German musical culture to the indigenous inhabitants of Namibia, the missionaries played a decisive role in first introducing a German musical culture to the colony in the mid-eighteenth century. The education of the indigenous people was assigned to the missionaries, whose mission was to convert them to Christianity, and to educate them to be subservient and subordinate workers useful to the growing settler population (Walther, 2002:67). Music education by the missionaries included tuition in matters liturgical, such as the teaching of hymns with harmonium accompaniment and the introduction of brass instrumentation. The transfer of musical skills amongst the missionaries to the local indigenous population is evident today in the existence of brass bands in many churches, remnants of the German tradition of the *Posaunenchor*. However, it was never the settlers' intention to include the local 'educated' indigenous people into their musical activities. The colonialist vision of European supremacy over the indigenous people often meant that skills viewed to be the reserve of the masters, were not transferred. Steinmetz (2007:55) quotes Bhabha, who suggests that 'colonizers are threatened by the cultural differences that they seek to contain ...', and that the colonized are therefore urged to become similar to the colonizer, but at the same time they are allowed only to become 'almost the same, but not quite'. Although further research is required in this regard, I have seen no evidence that historically *Deutschtum* intoned a musical tradition that was inclusive of the indigenous populations where Germans settled. This also meant that musical traditions remained relatively untouched by the locale to which they had been transplanted. It is therefore little wonder that so-called 'classical music', a supposed 'universal music', is viewed by many of those who were denied the opportunity of participation therein as an elitist Eurocentric art form, and therefore not deserving of support. The elitist attitudes of the settlers who followed on from the missionaries confined classical musicking as the exclusive preserve of white Europeans.

German power in the colony was acquired through repression of, and violence against the local populace. The conceited justification for this was their 'need' to spread German culture and civilization amongst the local population, whom they viewed as inferior (Rash & Musolff, 2011:378). After the humiliation of the First World War, and the collapse of Hitler's Third Reich after the Second World War, the motivation of the German settlers seems to have moved from the desire for expansion and hegemony, to the fostering of their identity through the glorification of their culture. After the Second World War, many Germans supported the apartheid policies of the National Party, who did not implement deportation as they were counting on the Germans for their support. However, German speakers neither wanted to be assimilated with the Afrikaners, nor with the indigenous people. Clubs, the German church

and the German schools, where the right of admission was reserved and where music was nurtured and practised in various forms, were instrumental in upholding *Deutschtum*.

Germany was at the forefront of the classical music world at the time of European colonial expansion. Classical music was deeply-rooted at all levels of society, and an export commodity from the nineteenth century onwards. Lisa Kuntze, in leaving Germany, spent her final evening going to a concert where baritone Heinrich Schlusnus was performing, absorbing what she assumed would be her last trickle of culture. On arrival in Swakopmund, apart from her warm welcome, she discovered that the very Heinrich Schlusnus was due to give a concert in Swakopmund. She relates the following:

Mann war also keineswegs in eine kulturelle Einöde gekommen. Ich war überwältigt. Und damit hatte mich Südwest mit Haut and Haaren – verschlungen? – nein, gewonnen, and das ist so geblieben bis zum heutigen Tage! (Kuntze, 1982:9–11).

One had therefore not arrived in a cultural desert. I was overwhelmed. And with this, Southwest swallowed me – boots and all? – no, won me over, and it has remained this way until today!

This example of a deep association with an own culture in such divergent living conditions must have been very reassuring for the Germans who came to South West Africa after the war, especially those looking for confirmation validating their decision to emigrate. Music can serve as symbol of resilience and survival, and under the harsh conditions which the early settlers would have endured, it would have provided a powerful tool in binding together their new-found community. Their resolute involvement in music from their earliest times of settlement would have boosted their emotional well-being by giving them the opportunity to re-establish and continue traditions. The social inclusivity of musicking would have given some sense of normality to likely apprehension of a life in extraordinary conditions.

The momentum of a sustained *Deutschtum* is evident in the continued histories of the cultural clubs and associations in Swakopmund, whereas the loss of momentum and the demise of *Deutschtum* in Lüderitz, is apparent by the collapse and ultimate discontinuation of clubs and societies after the closure of the German school in the early 1970s (Rüdiger, 1993:8). The longevity of music societies and activities in Swakopmund, such as the *Swakopmund Männergesangverein* and the *Swakopmunder Musikwoche*, suggests a profound sense of identity embedded in musicking.

The struggle between Europeans and ‘natives’ for control of the country during the colonial period, moved to a struggle between Germans and Afrikaners during the mandate years, and this would have led to a closer knit homogeneous social group amongst the Germans, who initially had been socially divided (Walther, 2002:106). The following quote by Rüdiger (1993:151) confirms my observations in this regard:

... zählten die Buren in den Augen der Deutschsprachigen zweifelsohne zur 'outgroup' [*sic*] ... und das südwestdeutsch-afrikaanse Verhältnis (blieb bis) auf den heutigen Tag kühl und distanziert, erst in den achtziger Jahren wurde dieses spezielle interethnische Verhältnis enttabuisiert.

... the Boers undoubtedly counted amongst the 'outgroup' in the eyes of the German speaking population, ... and that relationship remains cool and distant until the present day, only in the 1980s did this special interethnic relationship become less of a taboo.

Several of my interviewees were not convinced about my theory of a connection between music and Germanness, as they felt that their commitment to music superseded any attachment to a language group.¹⁷⁴ This is important, and argues that my perceptions of the ideology of music and *Deutschtum* within the South West African/Namibian context are debatable. This does not mean that in retrospect, and in bringing together fragments of history such as this thesis endeavours to do, such a construct cannot be identified and has no truth claim of its own, independent of intentions. Based on the research presented here, this shows that the weakening of *Deutschtum* and the assimilation of Germans into broader Namibian society, did not materialise in any meaningful way until the later part of the twentieth century. Overall the Afrikaners were better disposed to the Germans than the reverse. The impressions of the attitudes of Germans towards non-Germans and people of mixed races, is reflected in the following quote by Anna Olivier, war widow and offspring of a German and Baster marriage, in response to why she had not sent her German-speaking children to school in Swakopmund:

Ach, Du weißt doch wie es geht, wenn man als Frau so allein ist ... ich habe es nicht geschafft, mit den Kindern nach Swakopmund zu fahren und sie dort in die Schule zu bringen. Und außerdem sollen unsere Kinder lieber ordentliche Baster als verachtete Weiße werden, denn sie werden doch niemals richtig als Weiße akzeptiert werden (Gretschel, 2009:270).

Oh, you know what it's like when you are left alone as a woman ... I did not manage to take the children to Swakopmund to enrol them in the school there. Besides which, our children needed to become respectable Basters rather than despised whites, because they would never have been accepted as proper Whites anyway.

In spite of perceptions of inclusion and exclusion, *Deutschtum* should also not be seen as inherently negative or damaging. The Germans in Namibia contributed to vibrant traditions of musicking, festival cultures, artworks, architecture and life-style in a small country, where they now represent a small minority group. Mühr (2004:245–247) debates three possible situations as having arisen around the role of Germans in today's Namibian society. First, he refers to the 'migration' of the younger generation; second to the 'musealisation' of the old life of being a 'Südwestler' and the '*Kultur des Schweigens*' ('culture of silence'), meaning the inner exile of the old 'Southwesters' at not being able to comment on changes for fear of being seen as being racist; lastly, he debates the intercultural, integrated identification with

¹⁷⁴ See sample interview question sheets as per Addendum C.

all 'other' Namibians, which seems to elude older German Namibians. Perhaps this avoidance of integration has simply been the perpetuation of deep-rooted attitudes passed on through generations, without any real need for critical introspection.

In conclusion, I return to words of words of my viola desk partner with which I started this thesis: 'Entweder sprichst du mit uns Deutsch, oder wir sprechen mit dir nicht' ('Either you speak to us in German, or we will not be speaking to you'). It is entirely possible that *Deutschtum* was cultivated through music without exclusionary intent, but this does not mean that it did not function in an exclusionary way in the end. Protestations of music's universal value are made typically from a particular normative position, and the importance of music to the German community in Namibia could hardly be divorced from the normative assumptions of the German music history from which it derived its inspiration and content. And yet Namibia is not Germany, and the musical activity of German-speakers over the course of the twentieth century in this part of Africa cannot be equated by a single sleight of hand, with that of the country which settlers regarded for long as their *Heimat*. Pointing to manifestations of ideologies of *Deutschtum* in music in Namibia therefore, is not a way of imposing an ideological label on the efforts and achievements of those who lived and worked in this country over the course of more than a century. Rather, it is to trace, through music, how they had become Namibians.

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Addenda

Addendum A: Conductors of *Swakopmund Männergesangverein* (Witte, D. 2015)

Dirigenten des SMGV 02

Jahr	Dirigent	Jahr	Dirigent
1902	W. Kups	1959	J. Schrader
1903	W. Kups	1960	J. Schrader
1904	W. Kups	1961	J. Schrader
1905	W. Kups	1962	C. Hatterscheidt
1906	A. Herlyn	1963	J. Schrader
1907	A. Herlyn	1964	J. Schrader
1908	Seebrecht	1965	J. Schrader
1909	Seebrecht	1966	G. Mehrens
1910	E. Bohn	1967	G. Mehrens
1911	E. Bohn	1968	J. Schrader
1912	E. Bohn	1969	K. H. Gläfke
1913	Uhlrich	1970	K. H. Gläfke
1914	Uhlrich	1971	K. H. Gläfke
1915	Uhlrich	1972	J. Schrader
1916	Uhlrich	1973	J. Schrader
1917	Uhlrich	1974	J. Schrader
1918	Uhlrich	1975	J. Schrader
1919	Uhlrich	1976	J. Schrader/Luhde
1920	Uhlrich	1977	J. Schrader
1921	Uhlrich	1978	D. Witte
1922	E. Bohn	1979	D. Witte
1923	E. Bohn	1980	D. Witte
1924	E. Bohn	1981	D. Witte
1925	E. Bohn	1982	D. Witte
1926	E. Bohn	1983	D. Witte
1927	E. Bohn	1984	E. Engelbrecht
1928	E. Bohn	1985	E. Genis/E. Lemmer
1929	W. Stache	1986	W. Kühlwetter
1930	W. Stache	1987	W. Kühlwetter
1931	Dr. Boss	1988	W. Kühlwetter
1932	Dr. Boss	1989	D. Witte
1932	Seidenstücker	1990	W. Kühlwetter
1933	Seidenstücker	1991	W. Kühlwetter
1934	Seidenstücker	1992	W. Kühlwetter
1935	Seidenstücker	1993	W. Kühlwetter
1936	Otto Kaschke	1994	W. Kühlwetter
1937	Dr. Boss	1995	W. Kühlwetter
1938		1996	W. Kühlwetter
1939		1997	W. Kühlwetter
1940		1998	W. Kühlwetter
1941		1999	W. Kühlwetter
1942		2000	W. Kühlwetter
1943		2001	W. Liebenberg
1944		2002	W. Liebenberg
1945		2003	W. Liebenberg / Kühlwetter
1946		2004	W. Liebenberg
1947		2005	W. Liebenberg
1948		2006	W. Liebenberg
1949		2007	W. Liebenberg
1950		2008	W. Liebenberg
1951		2009	Liebenb. / Witte
1952	J. Schrader	2010	D. Witte
1953	J. Schrader	2011	D. Witte
1954	J. Schrader	2012	D. Witte
1955	G. Mehrens	2013	D. Witte
1956	G. Mehrens	2014	D. Witte
1957	G. Mehrens	2015	D. Witte
1958	G. Mehrens		

Addendum B: Musical directors of Swakopmunder Musikwoche: (Berker, C. 2015)

1965 Dr E. Wöhler	1997 Gert Felin
1966 Dr Hans Maske	1998 Jürgen Schwietering
1967 Dr Hans Maske	1999 Henry Großmann
1968 Jack de Wet	2000 Reinhard Kretschmann
1969 Jack de Wet	2001 Nils Erlank
1970 Jack de Wet	2002 Hans-Jochen Stiefel
1971 Conservatoire Windhoek	2003 Jürgen Schwietering
1972 Johan Potgieter	2004 Hans-Jochen Stiefel
1973 Werner Schröder	2005 Henry Großmann
1974 Conservatoire Windhoek	2006 Hans-Jochen Stiefel
1975 Conservatoire Windhoek	2007 Roland Baldini
1976 – ¹⁷⁵	2008 Roland Baldini
1977 Swakopmund	2009 Hans-Jochen Stiefel
1978 Brigitte Weidlich	2010 Alexander Fokkens
1979 Heinz Czech	2011 Alexander Fokkens
1980 Kotie van Soelen	2012 Alexander Fokkens
1981 Kotie van Soelen	2013 Alexander Fokkens
1982 Reino Ottermann	2014 Alexander Fokkens
1983 Ernst van Biljon	2015 Alexander Fokkens
1984 Christiaan Odendaal	
1985 Werner Dannewitz	
1986 Ernst van Biljon	
1987 Johannes Wilcken	
1988 Sjoerd Alkema	
1989 Johannes Wilcken	
1990 Martin Smith	
1991 Wolfgang Sons	
1992 Ernst van Biljon	
1993 Jürgen Schwietering	
1994 Mechthild Mayer	
1995 Jürgen Schwietering	
1996 Jürgen Schwietering	

¹⁷⁵ There may be some discrepancies in the list for the 1970s, as I attended only one *Musikwoche*, and that was in 1976, the year noted as there not having been a *Musikwoche*.

Addendum C Interview questionnaires:

Interview questions for Mrs Hatterscheidt Saturday 20 June 2015 (15h00) Deutsches Altesheim (Kapstadt)

- 1 Ihr Mann war einer der ersten Berufsmusiker in Südwest, zusammen mit Willie Frewer auf dem Klavier und Willie Kehrmann auf der Geige, die zu der Kolonie geschickt worden waren um als ein Trio in Zoo Garten in Windhoek zu spielen. Waren Sie schon dann verheiratet?
- 2 Wenn nicht, wo sind sie geboren, und sind Sie auch musiker?
- 3 In welches Jahr sind die nach Windhoek gekommen?
- 4 Haben die schon in Deutschland als ein Trio gespielt oder wie kam es, daß die gewählt worden waren nach Windhoek zu gehen?
- 5 Für wie lange haben die als Trio gespielt, und haben die auch Konzerten irgendwo anders gespielt? Wenn ja, im Orchester als auch Kammermusik?
- 6 Wer waren denn die Zuschauer?
- 7 Haben Sie klassische/Tanzmusik als einen deutschen Zeitvertreib gesehen?
- 8 Haben Sie auch Freunden gehabt, die nicht Deutsch waren, aber trotzdem Musik gespielt oder gesungen haben, oder haben Sie das Gefühl gehabt daß Musik und Deutschtum zusammen ging?
- 9 Herr Hatterscheidt, so wie ich mich erinnere, hat nie bei dem Konservatorium unterrichtet. Gab's irgendeiner Grund? Ich weiß daß Jochen Wecke dort als Dozent gearbeitet hat, und so wie ich es von ihm verstanden habe (der lebt und unterrichtet bis heute –auf einem Alter von 94 in Nieu-Seeland), hat er am meisten was er auf cello, bass und klarinette gelernt hat, in Andalusia Interierungskamp gelernt!
- 10 Ich sehe keinen Hatterscheidt im Andalusia Orchester. Wo sind sie während dem Krieg gegangen?
- 11 Wann sind Sie nach Swakopmund gegangen.
- 12 Wie waren Sie oder Herr Hatterscheidt mit Musik in Swakop beschäftigt?
- 13 Haben Sie immer noch Programmen von Konzerte was er gespielt hat?
- 14 Ist Willie Kehrmann auch nach Swakopmund gegangen? Ich denke so – wieso?
- 15 Wie war er mit der Musikwoche beteiligt?
- 16 Waren Sie bewußt von der Tatsache, wie es sah, daß muzieren als solches, einen deutschen Aktivität war?

17 Wieso denken Sie daß die Anderssprachigen und die Swarzen nicht Teil dieser muzieren waren?

Email Interview with Claude Joachim (Jochen) Wecke on 6 February 2014:

1. YOUR PERSONAL BACKGROUND:

- 1.1 Where were you born? Did you grow up in a musical family? How did you get to study the cello?
- 1.2. Where did you take lessons? Were you encouraged to play in an orchestra and/or sing in the church choir?
- 1.3. Where did you do your tertiary music education?

2. WINDHOEK:

- 2.1 What brought you to Windhoek? I know you lived in Swakopmund as well – what was your path into SWA and within SWA?
- 2.2. Did you find anything unusual/remarkable/noteworthy about your experience of the music scene in SWA?
- 2.3. Apart from teaching at the Conserve, where did you play? Were you involved in the orchestras, chamber music, the Christuskirche or any other groups? Who organised your concerts?
- 2.4. Do you have memories of any remarkable concerts/performance? If yes, what stands out in your memory as having made them special?
- 2.5. Were any indigenous people involved with Western musicking? Please elaborate your response according to your perceptions.
- 2.6. I remember the Eisteddfod as having been a short-lived institution. Do you have any knowledge on who the organisers were? Did you personally have any involvement in it? Do you have any other comments to make regarding the organisation of the Eisteddfod?
- 2.7. What memories do you have of social music making in the form of chamber music, domestically, in public and amongst both professionals and amateurs?
- 2.8. Apart from being Winifred's father, I remember you as the cello teacher at the Conserve, and as the cellist in the orchestra. The name Karl Hatterscheidt also springs to mind as a cellist, although I never had any personal involvement with him. Can you comment about him as he is no longer with us?

2.9 Were you conscious of your Germanness and of music being a German thing, although there were Afrikaans or English speaking lecturers such as Valerie and Ernst van Biljon, Johann Pieterse (Brahms), Johan Potgieter and Johann van der Merwe at the Conserve?

2.10. Do you have anything else on which you would like to comment regarding music life in Windhoek?

3. SWAKOPMUND:

3.1. Why did you live in Swakopmund and for how long did you live there?

3.2. Were you conscious of the Germanness of music making there? Please comment on all the groups of which you were aware?

3.3. What was your involvement with music in Swakopmund?

3.4. Who was responsible for running/organizing concerts and or festivals in Swakopmund?

3.5. What are your memories of Paul Bahlsen?

3.6. Were you aware of non-Germans who were involved in music?

4. LÜDERITZBUCHT:

4.1 Lüderitzbucht is my third case study. Did you ever perform there?

4.2 If so, who organized the concerts and where did you perform?

4.3 Were you conscious of who your audience was?

Email interview with Susann Budack Kinghorn 27 June 2015

Hello Susann und Leonore

Ich hoffe daß ihr schon von euerer Reise erholt haben! Ich schreibe meine Fragen auf English – ihr könnt auf Deutsch oder English antworten.

My thesis title is “Reflections on music and Deutschtum in Namibia”

I felt very privileged to be part of music making in Windhoek, but always felt on ‘the outside’ as I was not German speaking.

When I arrived at the Conserve, it seemed mostly German to me and this was how I saw Windhoek, well SWA actually.

I have the following questions to ask you:

- 1 Mrs Budack, you taught music at HPS. In your opinion, was teaching and learning music, part of a non-negotiable aspect of being German speaking, if not German?
- 2 Were you conscious of the fact that this steep tradition of musicking was very much a German pastime, and that you needed to uphold this tradition?
- 3 Did you feel as if ‘musicking’ (musizieren) as a German tradition was being passed on to other language groups, and that you as the tradition holders of this pastime, had the upperhand on others, as it had been so part of your lives for so many decades?
- 4 Classical music, especially, was an export commodity in German in the late nineteenth century, at the time when the race for colonies was on amongst the European powers. I look at the wonderful music tradition in Namibia, and I think that had SWA been colonised by Portugal or France, there would have been no music tradition. I think the arrival firstly of the missionaries, then the early settlers and the Schutztruppe, and the national interest that Germans had in classical music, must have provided many people with an active interest in this very comforting activity within a harsh environment. Do you agree with this?
- 5 Do you think that the support garnered for music in many of the non-music clubs – they often had Sängerriege within, for example the Turnverein, before the start of the Gesangverein in Windhoek - created a sense of belonging and of being proudly German?
- 6 The existing SMGV has an average age of 65, I think Herbert Schier said. There is one Owambo speaking man in the society. As there are no young German-speaking men forthcoming to sing in the society, would you think that the younger German-speaking

population is less concerned in upholding their Deutschtum, or that their involvement in their children's German schooling is where their priority lies, and times they are a-changing?

- 7 Do you think there is a future for the German MGV in Nam?
- 8 The Musikwoche continues, run by Christiane Berker, but very much less German orientated than it has ever been, since the admin thereof has gone online and got government sponsorship. Swakop still appears to have a strong German community who are culturally orientated, more so than any other place in Nam. Do you agree with this?
- 9 Were you conscious of the fact, Susann, that in our school days when we were at the Conserve, that there were very few non-German speakers, and did you ever think about this and wonder why, or discuss this amongst other German speakers?
- 10 Do you know whether or think that Dörte's Meerdorf Musikschule filled the gap when Hatterscheidt left Swakop in 1970?
- 11 I think you can get a feel for what I felt and what I am trying to confirm or negate about my amazing 7 years of living in SWA/Nam – Und hat uns're Sonne ins Herz dir gebrannt, dann kannst du auch nicht wieder gehen!!! Please if you would like to tell me anything else which you think may feed into my topic – be as critical as you like.