

Heimat in the *veld*? German Afrikaners of missionary descent and their imaginings of women and home

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I Introduction

The depiction of Germans abroad by Stefan Manz as “extremely heterogeneous groups or individuals”¹ is as applicable to South Africa as anywhere else. So is the apparent contradiction of self-proclaimed ‘Germanness’ alongside significant evidence of German-South Africans’ successful integration into local society. Keeping in mind, as Joan W. Scott summarises it, that identities are ascribed, embraced and rejected in complex discursive processes², and accepting the notion of culture as performance³, I attempt to illustrate in this study how actors who would have been ascribed a ‘Germanness’ in South Africa in the first half of the twentieth century embodied different roles - at particular moments in time, as well as over time. I find the term “occasionalism”, coined by cultural historian Peter Burke, very productive: “on different occasions (moments, locales) or in different situations (in the presence of different people) the same person behaves in different ways.”⁴

Burke is the first to admit the banality of this basic point, but it is the question of how individuals moving in and out of different groups ‘keep themselves together’ throughout and in-between their repertoire of different performances, that makes it worth pursuing – especially if one considers the significance of the fact that the major actors on the stages to

1) Stefan Manz, *Constructing a German Diaspora: the ‘Greater German Empire’, 1871-1914*, New York 2014, 4.

2) Joan. W. Scott, *Experience*, in: Judith Butler and Joan W. Scott (Eds.), *Feminists theorize the political*, London, 1992, 33.

3) Dall Hymes described performance as ‘cultural behaviour for which a person assumes responsibility to an audience’. See *Breakthrough into performance*, in: D. Ben-Amos and K. S. Goldstein (Eds), *Folklore: Performance and Communication*, The Hague, 1975, 8 For a discussion of studies on the performance of identity, see Peter Burke, *Performing History: The Importance of Occasions*, in: *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice*, 9: 1, 2005, 35-52, 40.

4) Burke, *Performing History*, 36. Peter Burke borrows this term from Kant, who had used it to refer to followers of Descartes, in order to explain the practice of ‘performing’ the appropriate culture for the occasion at hand.

be visited in this study, are men – “as subjects and authors of gendered histories”⁵. In the contexts I am about to explore, I shall illustrate why and how “occasionlist” males found it useful to maintain (however imaginary) a stable point of reference for themselves ‘backstage’ – in short: how they practised home and imagined the Deutsche Hausfrau as an indispensable constant in order for them successfully to cross over between different settings and stages and thus, do what was necessary to ‘integrate’ into South African society in order to make economic, social and political advances.

I make use of two types of sources: popular magazines, and fiction (short stories as well as novels). Still following the analogy of culture as performance, I do not primarily assess these sources as literary genres, but I interrogate their possibilities as forums in which to act and engage – stage opportunities for German-South African men who embraced the depiction ‘twin-souls’ for themselves. Having been self-reflexive about their occasionalism, they sometimes lifted the curtain to reveal the backstage of female domesticity in all its familiarity and banal tension with the sublimated imaginary ideal.

This study does not aspire to be all-encompassing, but focuses on a particular number of publications as performative spaces, and then only a small number of prominent actors. These will be introduced below, followed by a broader contextualisation of South African Germanness against which this investigation should be seen. Thereafter follows sections on German-South African periodicals in the inter-war years, and the Afrikaans periodical *Die Huisgenoot* in the same era. Lastly, I take a look at the fiction of Martin Jäckel before concluding with a summary emphasising the continued projection of repertoires of South African male identities against feminised backdrops.

II Introducing the nostalgic German-South African ‘twin-soul’

After the First World War, the newspaper *Der Deutsch Afrikaner*, and its later concurrent *Deutsche Afrika-Post*, conveyed a strong message against hybridisation to people in South

5) Nancy Rose Hunt, Introduction, in: *Gendered colonialisms in African History*, Oxford, 1997, 1.

Africa who self-identified as German: Do not mix. Keep the house, the language, the school and the church German. As also argued in Schulze's contribution, these spokesmen were not as representative as their act may have made them appear. As from the late 1920s, the *Huisgenoot* (Afrikaans for "home companion"), the most popular Afrikaans magazine of the day, carried contributions by a number of German-South Africans: Berlin Missionaries and their sons who insisted on being accommodated as Afrikaners, and being appreciated for their German input in Afrikaner cultural production. They were not assimilationists. They proclaimed their attachment to their new homeland as Germans.

They were-"occasionalists".⁶ They subscribed to the German periodicals, went to the Lutheran church and spoke German amongst themselves, but they were equally fluent in Afrikaans and often also in English. Had they grown up on a mission station, one could add an indigenous African language to the list. These German-South Africans considered themselves "twin-souls"⁷: they had an equal affection for their German past and their South African present. What they shared with the admonishers against hybridisation, and what these demagogues could not resolve either, was their nostalgia, "the incurable condition of modernity":⁸ an insatiable longing for 'home'. Thus they all invested in constructions of an ideal, stable and constant backstage, personified in the "Deutsche Hausfrau" who could make home away from home.

Fiction offered the twentieth century twin-soul German-South Africans an ideal stage on which to act out their longing and rehearse various configurations of belonging. Subsequently reviewed as 'literature' on the periodical-as-stage, these creative outputs helped turn South African German authors into co-producers of Afrikaner culture. As the remonstrations of the anti-hybridisers faded with their magazines, the female characters missionary-novelist Martin Jäckel conjured up in his novels continued to intrigue (male and

6) Also see Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History*, Cambridge 2008, chapter 5.

7) Ernst Grosskopf, *Duitse Suid-Afrikaanse Boeke. 'n Waardering van Marin Jäckel en sy werk*, in: *Die Huisgenoot*, 26.4.1935, p, 29.

8) Jacob Dlamini, *Native Nostalgia*, Cape Town 2009, p. 16. Also see Svetlana Boym, *The future of nostalgia*, London 2001.

female) audiences in South Africa and Europe until well after the Second World War. The key to Jäckel's success was that he transposed his own and his readers' nostalgia to an imaginary space in a mythologised historical time, where the ideal woman herself could be staged in a role that would enable the twin-soul to reproduce a wholesome Germanness in an appreciative and receptive new land.

III Historical context: Germans and Afrikaners in South Africa

Until the end of the Dutch administration in 1806, approximately 15 000 immigrants from German-speaking territories in Europe must have entered the Cape Colony, most of whom stayed. Many set foot on land as employees of the Dutch East India Company (DEIC) and already spoke Dutch on arrival. In fact, most of these immigrants of German descent assimilated with the other European immigrants to become the ancestors of the Boers, who would in the twentieth century self-identify as Afrikaners. The DEIC exacted strict conformity. The French Huguenot immigrants who arrived in 1688 were assimilated within a generation. Only in 1779 did the Company allow a few hundred Lutherans in Cape Town to establish a congregation with its own clergyman, but at first they also had to conduct their sermons in Dutch.⁹

As from 1806, under British rule, religion was no longer that strongly regulated and more Lutheran congregations sprang up as immigration from German territories continued. Cape Town got a second German congregation, the new immigrants insisting on a clearer 'Lutheran profile'.¹⁰ Deeper inland in the Cape Colony, either the regional church of Hanover or the Prussian high consistory sent pastors to serve German congregations, and where this was not possible, German Christians relied on the nearest Moravian, Rhenish,

9) Reino Ottermann, German-language Settler Communities in South Africa; Gunther Pakendorf, The German Language as a constitutive element of German Settler Societies, both chapters in: Hanns Lessing, Julia Besten, Tilman Dederling et al. (eds.), *The German Protestant Church in Colonial Southern Africa. The Impact of Overseas Work from the Beginnings until the 1920s*, Pietermaritzburg 2012, pp. 222–225 & 290.

10) Christian Hohmann, Relations of Congregations in the Cape Region to the Lutheran Church in Hanover (1652–1895), in: Hanns Lessing, Julia Besten, Tilman Dederling et al. (eds.), *The German Protestant Church in Colonial Southern Africa. The Impact of Overseas Work from the Beginnings until the 1920s*, Pietermaritzburg 2012, p. 399.

Berlin or Hermannsburg missionaries to support them.¹¹ During the course of the nineteenth century, these missionary societies expanded their networks into the interior, sometimes preceding, sometimes following the colonisation of the hinterland.

By mid-century a number of large, well-organised Treks of mostly Boer settlers and their servants had moved out of the Cape Colony into the central 'Free State', and eastward to the Natal coast, as well as northward, across the Vaal River. Britain annexed Natal, but allowed the Boers to found their own states in the interior. By the end of the nineteenth century, all the indigenous communities of the later South Africa had been submitted to either Boer or British rule.

From the Dutch era right through to the present, immigrants from Germany were assimilated into colonial society, but in the second half of the nineteenth century there were also a number of immigrant groups, part of the great "Völkerwanderung", who settled down together, established Lutheran congregations and built separate communities around their German-language church (and school) activities. These communities are still recognisable today. The Germans from the Philippi Flats outside Cape Town arrived in three 'waves' from 1858 to 1883, mostly from the Lüneburger Heide.¹² Another group was from Oldenburg, recruited to cultivate cotton in the new British colony of Natal. The venture failed, but the settlers stayed and founded the town of New Germany. In the frontier zone of the Eastern Cape the British administration also experimented with German settler communities to serve as a buffer against African groups they wished to keep out of the colony. While many of the British German Legion settlers left again, the numbers or the "Kaffrarian Germans" were supplemented by further immigrants from Pomerania and the

11) Ottermann, *German-language Settler Communities*, pp. 246–247.

12) Lizette Rabe, *The "Bauernmission"*, *British colonialism and the religio-cultural legacy of the "Bauernsiedlung" Philippi*, in: Hanns Lessing, Julia Besten, Tilman Dederich et al. (eds.), *The German Protestant Church in Colonial Southern Africa. The Impact of Overseas Work from the Beginnings until the 1920s*, Pietermaritzburg 2012, pp. 401–402.

ckermark in the late 1850s. Maps of the Eastern Cape mark their places of origin: Berlin, Potsdam, Hanover, Frankfurt, Braunschweig.¹³

The most substantial and influential influx of German settlers in the second half of the nineteenth century were from the Berlin and Hermannsburg missionary societies. They mostly entered Natal and the Transvaal. The Hermannsburgers in particular not only sent missionaries but also colonists.¹⁴ To this day, towns like Lüneburg and Bethanie in KwaZulu-Natal Province and Kroondal and Gerdau in the North-West (former Transvaal) Province signify German places in the South African landscape. Some missionary sons followed in their fathers' footsteps, other became farmers, still others professionals in South Africa's urban centres.

The missionaries wrote a lot about South Africa. Their tracts and magazines circulated this information through Lutheran congregations in Germany. Businessmen, entrepreneurs and adventures were attracted to the South African urban centres. The discovery of diamonds led to the founding of Kimberly in the Northern Cape and the discovery of gold to the establishment of Johannesburg in the Transvaal (today Gauteng). Both these towns established Lutheran congregations in the 1880s. Already in 1876 a German Lutheran congregation was established in Bloemfontein, the capital of the Boer republic in the centre of South Africa. Pretoria, the capital of the northern Boer republic (Transvaal), boasted a German church by 1889. The number of Catholic migrants to South Africa was small, the most famous Catholic German place perhaps being the Marianhill monastery in Natal.¹⁵

13). Ottermann, *German-language Settler Communities*, pp. 247–249. Ottermann relies on the research of Benjamin Pape & Johannes Schwär, *Deutsche in Kaffraria 1858-1958*, King William's Town 1958; G.R. Hennings, *Die Kaffraria-Deutschen in Südafrika*, in: *Afrikanischer Heimatkalender 1936* and Etgardt Schnell, *For Men must Work. An Account of German Immigration to the Cape with Special Reference to the German Military Settlers of 1857 and the German Immigrants of 1858*, Cape Town 1954.

14) Ottermann, *German-language Settler Communities* pp. 250–251.

15) Ottermann, *German-language Settler Communities* pp. 251–252.

Since the founding of the German Empire in 1871, Germans in southern Africa, like elsewhere in the world, increasingly asserted their Germanness. Encouraged by Kaiser Wilhelm II to focus on their economic, cultural and religious ties with Germans worldwide, they tended to close themselves off more consciously from other European immigrants and African societies. Church played a prominent role in the Kaiser's propagation of a greater German Empire. German congregations in both British and Boer controlled southern Africa affiliated themselves by decree to the regional churches of Prussia and Hannover; they still continue to be served by pastors sent over from there.¹⁶

In 1899 the Second Anglo-Boer War / South African War broke out. The British forces interned German settlers suspected of sympathy with the Boers.¹⁷ In 1902 Britain defeated the Boer republics of the Transvaal and the Free State. In 1910 these two regions were amalgamated with the Cape and Natal into the Union of South Africa. Former Boer Generals ruled the country under Britain's watchful eye.

When the First World War broke out, German-origin immigrants in South Africa (including those who had not/no longer thought of themselves as German) were declared enemies of the British Empire and interned (again). On behalf of the British Empire, South Africa invaded and conquered the neighbouring territory of South West Africa, which had been a German Colony since 1884.¹⁸ The Boers (by now called Afrikaners) were divided about their stance towards the British Empire. They rebelled against their ruling pro-Empire brethren, and they were forcibly subdued – one famously executed. The nationalists thereafter diverted to peaceful means, strongly mobilising through the Afrikaans press – the popular

16) Hanns Lessing, *History: A Short Overview of the History of the German Protestant Work Overseas in Colonial Southern Africa until the end of the 1920s*, in: Hanns Lessing, Julia Besten, Tilman Dederig et al. (eds.), *The German Protestant Church in Colonial Southern Africa. The Impact of Overseas Work from the Beginnings until the 1920s*, Pietermaritzburg 2012, pp. 15–17.

17) For example: Civilians from the Hermannsburg community of Kroondal in the Tranavaal, were relocated to concentration camps which they had to share with Boer civilians. Many were afterwards given permission to leave the camps and set up residence in British-occupied Pretoria. See Marcus Melck, *Kroondal in the Landscape of the South African War*, in: Hanns Lessing, Julia Besten, Tilman Dederig et al. (eds.), *The German Protestant Church in Colonial Southern Africa. The Impact of Overseas Work from the Beginnings until the 1920s*, Pietermaritzburg 2012, p. 444.

18) Lessing, *History: A Short Overview*, p. 20.

Afrikaans magazine, *Die Huisgenoot*, was founded in 1916. By the mid-1920s, these nationalist Afrikaners gained political power and started campaigning for greater independence from Britain. Afrikaner nationalism, expressed in the Afrikaans language (which only gained official status in the 1920s) would become one of the most determining factors in South African politics in the twentieth century.¹⁹

The sense of loss after the First World War was significant to Germans in both South-West and South Africa. No longer held together by a notion of greater empire and a cultural and economic superiority to impress upon the world, they reassessed their status, falling back more adamantly on their racial superiority.²⁰ Some became more insular, more suspicious of outside influences. There was a growing realisation of the need to look after one's own. Pastors, missionaries, businessmen and their wives took action to build a support network between different South African German communities. It was in this spirit that a group of Pretoria Germans founded the magazine *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* in 1921.²¹

During the 1930s, the rapport between the small but influential German-South African minority and the Afrikaner nationalists strengthened. They saw eye to eye in their mistrust of British imperialism and their nostalgia for a pre-industrial colonial order where white supremacy was uncontested and Africans 'knew their place'. This was particularly appealing to the missionary descendants who had grown up in rural settings with a self-imposed sense

19) For a comprehensive history of the Afrikaners, see Herman Giliomee, *The Afrikaners. A Biography of a People*, Charlottesville 2003.

20) Lessing, *History: A Short Overview*, p. 21; Tilman Dederling, *German Residents in South Africa during the First World War*, in: Hanns Lessing, Julia Besten, Tilman Dederling et al. (eds.), *The German Protestant Church in Colonial Southern Africa. The Impact of Overseas Work from the Beginnings until the 1920s*, Pietermaritzburg 2012, p. 262-3; Sarah Schwab, „Gedenke, dass du ein Deutscher bist!“ *Das Selbstbild der deutschen Minderheit in Südafrika in der Zwischenkriegszeit*. Masterarbeit im Studiengang Kulturelle Grundlagen Europas, Universität Konstanz 2012, p. 9.

21) Schwab, „Gedenke, dass du ein Deutscher bist!“, pp. 12–13.

of patriarchal responsibility towards the indigenous population, with the most benevolent intentions.²²

The Berlin missionaries valued education highly. Their children were encouraged to obtain a tertiary education. Amongst the daughters nursing or teaching was popular. The sons' university qualifications covered a broader spectrum, from the humanities to engineering. Some went to study in Germany and others graduated from South African universities.²³ Both groups contributed to the numbers of the first generation of Afrikaans professors at Stellenbosch and Pretoria – the Universities of choice for nationalist Afrikaner youths. There was huge optimism and increasing hubris about being Afrikaans – one notices how, as from the 1930s, contributors to the *Huisgenoot* begin to use 'South African' and 'Afrikaner' interchangeably.

When War broke out again in 1939, South Africa's pro-imperial Afrikaners took over the government again, strongly aligning the country with Britain's war effort. Again, Germans suspected of being enemies of the British Empire were interned, this time, along with a number of radical Afrikaner nationalists suspected to have Nazi sympathies.²⁴ The Afrikaner's National Party came to power again shortly after the Second World War, in 1948. The role of German thinking in the shaping of nationalist policies, especially Apartheid, (that was being implemented as from the 1950s), has been a popular topic of discussion in scholarship over the past few decades. Werner Eiselen, the Berlin missionary's son and anthropologist who designed apartheid, and later retracted, is often epitomised as the most influential Afrikaner intellectual from German missionary background.²⁵

22) Gunther Pakendorf, G.H. Franz en die Verhaal van Apartheid, in: Luc Renders (ed.), *Een Wankel Wereld. De (Zuid-)Afrikaanse Literatuur op de Drempel van een Nieuwe Tijd*. Kruispunt. Literair Kwartaalschrift 35, 157, 1994, pp. 201–217.

23) Linda Zöllner & Hanns Heese, *The Berlin Missionaries in South Africa and their descendants*, Pretoria 1984.

24) Dederich, *German Residents in South Africa*, p. 268.

25) Albrecht Hagemann, *Nationalsozialismus, Afrikaaner-nationalismus und die Entstehung der Apartheid in Südafrika*, in: *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 39, 3, 1991, pp. 413–436; Werner Schellack, *Nalatenskap van die Berlynse Sendinggenootskap*, in: Riena van Graan (ed.), *The German*

My focus in this study will be on the men who did not overtly engage in politics, but participated in the project that gave Afrikaner culture an air of refinement and modernity. An own literature to be taken seriously, was a prominent component in the construction of this a-supposedly non-political façade which, as Edward Said²⁶ illustrated, legitimated and naturalised colonialism and white supremacy.

Research on Germans in South Africa has experienced a substantial boost over the past few years as a result of an initiative taken by a number of German pastors to convince the Evangelical Churches of Germany to sponsor an historical investigation into their involvement in colonialism and apartheid in South Africa and Namibia. The first volume covering the period up to the 1920s appeared in 2011,²⁷ and a second volume covering the twentieth century is due for publication in 2015. This project mooted a stock-taking of existing work, but also set off new research. Sarah Schwab's study on the self-image of Germans in South Africa as articulated in *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner*, founded in 1921, and *Deutsche Afrika-Post*, established in 1929, is particularly useful for my purposes.²⁸

III German magazines: mothers against hybridisation²⁹

In 1921, the Deutsch-Afrikanischer-Hilfs-Ausschuss, which coordinated assistance to South African Germans after the First World War, launched a weekly newspaper. Their experience in contesting the threat of deportation of many Germans, among other things, brought

Contribution to the Development of South Africa, Special Edition of *Lantern, Journal of Knowledge and Culture*, 2.1992, pp. 52–55;

26) Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, London 1993,

27) Hanns Lessing, Julia Besten, Tilman Dederling et al. (eds.), *The German Protestant Church in Colonial Southern Africa. The Impact of Overseas Work from the Beginnings until the 1920s*, Pietermaritzburg 2012. This volume had first appeared in German: *Deutsche evangelische Kirche im kolonialen südlichen Afrika. Die Rolle der Auslandsarbeit von den Anfängen bis in die 1920er Jahre*, Wiesbaden 2011.

28) Schwab, „Gedenke, dass du ein Deutscher bist!“, pp. 1–91.

29) For this section of the paper I strongly rely on research previously conducted together with Maren Bodenstein for our contribution to the Lessing volume: Lize Kriel & Maren Bodenstein, *The Role of women in German Settler Communities after the End of the German Empire. An Exploration of “Ascribed, Resisted and Embraced Identities” in Print and in Memory*, in: Hanns Lessing, Julia Besten, Tilman Dederling et al. (eds.), *The German Protestant Church in Colonial Southern Africa. The Impact of Overseas Work from the Beginnings until the 1920s*, Pietermaritzburg 2012, pp. 305–334.

them to the conclusion that the interests of the German-Afrikaners³⁰ who were scattered across the country, could not be successfully represented without a German newspaper.³¹ They wished for the newspaper to become a strong tie that could unite the Germans in South Africa and be used as a weapon in guarding their interests.³²

They decided to offer a diverse content that could serve as many interested German readers as possible: Before the war a Christian newsletter was distributed from Johannesburg amongst approximately five hundred to a thousand German Lutherans.³³ The new newspaper would report on matters related to the German churches, schools and missionary activities but also much more: world news, local politics, market prizes, serialised fiction and matters of interest to women and children, would be included.

While the initiative for the paper came from Pretoria, the editor, Lothar Kunze, and the initial seven directors tried their best to be as representative as possible. The stakeholders (including characters as diverse as the director of the Berlin Missionary Society in South Africa and a lawyer who would later become a controversial right-wing Afrikaner politician)³⁴ were keen to appoint an additional thirteen directors to bring input from other parts of the Union of South Africa on board.³⁵ Kunze also went out of his way to convince Germans from South West Africa to subscribe and to submit contributions.³⁶

30) Already by 1922 the editor of *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* was using the concept Afrikaner in his German text to refer to those depicted as Boers in the nineteenth century (An die Leser, in: *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* 42, 4.5.1922, 5).

31) „... dass ohne eine deutsche Zeitung eine wirksame Vertretung der Interessen der im Lande zerstreut wohnende Deutsch-Afrikaner nicht möglich sei.“ *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* 15, 20.10.1921, p. 19.

32) „... ein starkes Band zur Einigung der Deutschen in S.-A. und eine brauchbare Waffe zur Wahrung unserer Interessen.“ *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* 15, 20.10.1921, p. 19.

33) An unsere Leser, in: *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* 28, 19.1.1922, p. 7.

34) Schwab, „Gedenke, dass du ein Deutscher bist!“, p. 12.

35) *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* 14, 13.10.1921, p. 13; *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* 15, 20.10.1921, pp. 17–19. I could not find evidence in the paper that the additional representatives were identified in a very systematic way. I presume they were selected through the networks of acquaintances of the existing members.

36) *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* 14, 13.10.1921, p. 13; *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* 16, 27.10.1921, p. 8; *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* 20, 24.11.1921, p. 18.

Der Deutsch-Afrikaner thus attempted to bring the voices of Auslandsdeutsche – who had formerly been administered by two different empires – into one publication. It also enabled the substantial variety of German communities within this greater region to air their divergent responses to the post-war situation (and thus also their memories of the pre-war state of affairs – sometimes even internal divisions within particular groups) on a single platform.³⁷ Actual readers participated in the paper's discourse: over a thousand letters were received in response to one particularly controversial article.³⁸ The addresses of the first twenty-five women who joined the Frauenbund founded by missionary wife Therese Trümpelmann in 1921, also confirm that Der Deutsch-Afrikaner was not read only in Pretoria and surroundings.³⁹

The message in the paper was strongly against intermixing of German-South Africans with other local communities: Germans had to find their own voice amidst the Afrikaners and the English South Africans. Preserving the Deutschtum of the community started at home, and the responsibility was assigned to the Hausfrau and Mutter. Editor Kunze made sure to reinforce this message in the way he announced newborn girls in his newspaper: "Wir hoffen, dass die Kleinen einmal treue Hausfrauen und Mütter werden."⁴⁰ The German mother's support of the local church and school infrastructure was seen as an extension of her responsibilities in the domestic domain. Germanness was not only to be produced and nurtured, but also circumscribed, as the strong racial awareness in the way these roles were pronounced, confirms.

37) In the 24 November 1921 issue of Der Deutsch-Afrikaner 24, p. 5, the editor wrote as follows in his editorial entitled Völkisch nur völkisch: "Eine der größten deutschen Untugenden ist die des ewigen Streitens untereinander wegen der nichtigsten Dinge. Vor dem Kriege bestanden in Durban, in Pretoria und in so vielen anderen Plätzen zwei Deutsche Klubs, zwei bis drei Deutsche Vereine, und warum? Weil die einen sich einbildeten, Pretorianer und die anderen Aristokraten zu sein, anstatt sich darüber klar zu werden, dass wir alle Deutsche sind, und wir alle im Interesse des Deutschtums verpflichtet sind, sowohl von unseren aristokratischen wie auch proletarischen Manieren vieles abzustreifen, und uns auf der deutschen Mittellinie zu treffen."

38) An die Leser, in: Der Deutsch-Afrikaner 8, 1.9.1921.

39) There were representatives from all four provinces of the Union (South West African women were conspicuously absent). The towns mentioned included Pretoria, Johannesburg, Kroondal, Rustenburg, Pyramids, Piet Retief, Vryheid, Greytown, Hermannsburg, Newcastle, Bloemfontein, King William's Town, and Worcester.

40) Kleine Middlelungen, in: Der Deutsch-Afrikaner 17, 3.11.1921, p. 19. And when such a career came to an end, the woman's life was remembered in the Todesanzeige as one "voll segensreicher Arbeit und Rührender Aufopferung". See Der Deutsch-Afrikaner 20 [mistakenly numbered 24], 24.11.1921, p. 5.

All these expectations were prominently broadcast already in the second issue of the new newspaper, with the publication of a lengthy speech the Präses of the Rhenish Mission had given at a Protestant meeting in Lüderitzbucht, South West Africa. The title of the presentation was “Wie erhalten und vertiefen wir unser Deutschtum im Ausland?” His message was: “Deutsch das Haus! Deutsch die Sprache! Deutsch die Schule! Deutsch die Kirche!” Under the heading calling for a German home, he quotes Schiller in praise of the wise mother “im häuslichen Kreise” and then continues:

Deutsch das Haus, besonders hier in Wildwest, in dem Lande, das man so oft „Affenland“ genannt hat und in dem man so leicht „verkaffern“ kann. Jedes Deutsche Haus sei eine Burg des Deutschtums, in der wir uns daheim fühlen, in welchem auch der Fremde etwas merken kann von der deutschen Gemütlichkeit. ...

...

Deutsch das Haus, deutsch die Hausfrau! Es ist doch wahr, die deutsche Hausfrau ist einzig auf der Welt.

....⁴¹

But the Germanness of the home in the Ausland could only be imagined when connected to the Heimat, Germany. In the crisis period after the German defeat in the Great War of 1914-1918, it was also the responsibility of the Germans in the Ausland to sustain and nurture those in need in the Heimat. The German women from Pretoria collected food and clothing to be sent abroad; they organised a “Basar” to raise funds for the suffering fellow Germans in the Heimat. Der Deutsch-Afrikaner thus relayed the news from the Heimat to the readers, and also reported on their response to that news. A message from a Berlin missionary’s daughter in Middelburg was that the newspaper should mention that the two sons of another missionary, who were in her Sunday school class, had sold their pet rabbit and donated the money “for the children in Germany”.⁴²

41) Herr Wandres, Wie erhalten und vertiefen wir unser Deutschtum im Ausland?, in: Der Deutsch-Afrikaner 2, 21.7.1921.

42) Basarfonds, in: Der Deutsch-Afrikaner, 13, 6.10.1921, p. 20.

In addition, the racial boundaries that were considered inherent to ‘decent living’ in the colonies had to be defended as a marker of global Germanness – ‘metropolitan’ culture being prescribed from the ‘periphery’. We see this vividly in the symbolic role ascribed to women in the crusade against the “Schwarze Pest” (the French-African occupying forces) in the Rhineland. It started with a letter, reprinted in the newspaper, sent to the South African Prime Minister by the Lutheran pastors of the Western Cape region:

We emphatically protest against occupation of German territory by black and coloured French troops, and their well-proved crimes against white women and children. You surely realise better than politicians in Europe the inevitable terrible consequences for all Europeans living in South Africa, when black savages are allowed to behave like conquerors over white civilized people.⁴³

Shortly before, a poem, “Hilf, Deutsche Frau, hilf beten! (Denen am Rhein)”, written by Frau Trümpelmann, appeared in the paper. In her poem she summoned “Wir Glücklichen draußen” think of those in danger “over there”.⁴⁴

Frau Trümpelmann and her followers wanted to see to it that traditions remained “recht völkisch”. Christmas had to be celebrated in the German manner:

Um recht völkisch zu sein, muss auch das größte aller Feste rein deutsch gefeiert werden, dürften wir nichts Fremdes zulassen an Heilig Abend und Weihnachten!⁴⁵

A subscriber from Johannesburg indignantly dismissed hybridisation, but in the process also presented evidence of its rampant presence:

Man spricht mit seinen Kindern English, und rümpft die Nase über die deutsche Nachbarn, welche vielleicht kein schönes Haus haben, weder “Diningroom” noch “Kitchenboy” halten, sondern ihre

43. Der Deutsch-Afrikaner, 26, 12.1.1922.

44. Der Deutsch-Afrikaner 21, 1.12.1921, p. 13.

45. T.T., Im Reiche der Frau. Die Sitte getreu!, in: Der Deutsch-Afrikaner 24, 22.10.1921, p. 10.

deutsche Sitte beibehalten haben ihren Töchtern Küchenschürzen vorzubinden, statt sie zum Bookkeeping oder Tennis zu schicken.⁴⁶

The responsibility for keeping Germans German, was clearly swept before the woman, Again, in the words of Frau Trümpelmann:

Kann eine Deutsche Mutter, die doch die Seele des Hauses ist, selbst wenn sie mit einem Fremdländer verheirat ist, nicht ihrer Familie das Geprägte deutscher Art geben und wenigstens soviel herüber retten aus ihrer Nation in die Welt ihrer Kinder ...⁴⁷

The German-South African press thus conformed to what Manz had described as “a flourishing ethnic press which was itself integrated into global information flows.”⁴⁸ While the editor relied on the full heterogynous range of German-South African readers for the magazine’s success, it simultaneously carried the rhetoric of diaspora: The conservative, anti-hybridisation stance of the magazine remained the same throughout the 1920s. At the beginning of 1929 Kunze left *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* and established a new magazine with the same recipe: *Deutsche Afrika-Post*. The reason was that the chair of the directors of *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* did not support editor Kunze’s criticism of the leader of the *Afrikaner* nationalist party.

Kunze wanted to attack Prime Minister Herzog in the paper for his apparent breach of election promises to German-South Africans. The *Deutsch-Afrikaner* wanted to side-step such controversy and under a new editor attempted a somewhat more liberal approach. Shortly thereafter Kunze, who was initially a Nazi-enthusiast, also alienated the National Socialists by criticising prominent party members from Germany, South West Africa and South Africa in a pamphlet. Thus, somewhat ironically, the supposedly more liberal *Deutsch-Afrikaner* was approached by the Nazis to become their official mouthpiece in

46. Eine Deutsche Frau, An den Deutschen in Johannesburg, in: *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* 8, 1.9.1921.

47) T.T., Im Reiche der Frau. Die Sitte getreu!, in: *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* 24, 22.12.1921, p. 10.

48) Manz, *Constructing a German Diaspora*, 4.

South Africa. The directors accepted the funding. Consequently, from 1934 Kunze's *Deutsche Afrika-Post* became the expressly anti-National-Socialist newspaper.⁴⁹

The aim of the two publications remained nevertheless the same: to improve the self-image of German-South Africans by keeping them true to their home, language and faith. In 1935, for example, the woman's page in *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* published an article "Der Wille zur Ehe", confirming marriage and motherhood as a woman's natural vocation: "Ihre Natur verlangt in schärferem Maße nach der Ergänzung durch den Mann, verlangt nach dem Kinde."⁵⁰ On the next page it continues to advise Hausfrauen on how to prevent milk from boiling over, how to bake better Pfannkuchen, how to dry washing in a way to acquire "den beliebten 'frischen' Wäsche geruch", how to clean carpets and how to polish silver.⁵¹

The agents writing for *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* and *Deutsche Afrika-Post* did not ponder extensively on connections with *Auslandsdeutsche* in other parts of the world. Yet, when comparing the expectations laid on the German-South African woman in the magazines of the 1920s and 1930s with the construction of gender roles in Germany itself, it is clear that the South African Germans were not out of touch with tendencies in the *Heimat*. Nancy Reagin emphasises that already as from the late nineteenth-century "the ideal of the 'German' housewife, household and domestic practices ... became interwoven with Germany's national identity."⁵² The extent to which this was already "enshrined in discussions of colonial German households in German South West Africa before 1914"⁵³, resonates with the already-mentioned "Deutsch das Haus" sermon of the South West African *Präses*. The continuity of these tendencies and the racialization of the domestic ideal of national identity in National Socialist Germany that Reagin speaks of,⁵⁴ is also seen in Frau Trümpelmann's effort in 1921, from her platform in *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner*, to organise German women from around South Africa in a *Frauenbund*.

49) Sarah Schwab, „Gedenke, dass du ein Deutscher bist!“, p. 13.

50) *Der Wille zur Ehe*, *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner*, 7.2.1935, p. 18.

51) *Kniffe und Pfiffe, von der Hausfrau für die Hausfrau*, *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner*, 7.2.1935, pp. 19–20.

52) Nancy Reagin, *Sweeping the German Nation. Domesticity and National Identity in Germany, 1870-1945*, Cambridge 2007, p. 5.

53) Reagin, *Sweeping the German Nation*, 5.

54) Reagin, *Sweeping the German Nation*, 5.

In gender historiography on German domesticity in overseas communities, the focus has been more strongly on Namibia (the former German Colony South West Africa) than on South African communities.⁵⁵ The scope of these studies is limited to the period of formal empire. As Sarah Schwab has illustrated, it is far more productive to compare the German-South Africans in South Africa with *Auslandsdeutsche* in Brazil than with the settlers in the former German colonies. She finds resemblances between the rural, church-centred communities, many of whom maintained a 'German' character to this very day, and the urban population who tended more readily to adapt to the majority culture, which was not German.⁵⁶

Reagin has remarked that the domestic ideal became "part of the mix of racism and misogyny that drove the Nazi family policy"⁵⁷. Unlike in Germany, South African German practices would not be incorporated into a policy of the South African state. The "housekeeping and consumption practices urged on German women by Nazi women's organisations"⁵⁸ would in South Africa be promoted by the spokesmen and women in the conservative magazines. But one only needs to look at the advertisements in *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* to notice that their presentations in the magazines could seldom succeed in blending out of view the obvious contradictions in everyday life, where it was simply not possible for a German minority to completely distance themselves from the British world they were submerged in.⁵⁹ Although it was certainly more pursuable for some than for others, German-South Africans had the option rather to assimilate with either Afrikaans- or English-speaking whites. Several did. Exactly how many, is difficult to say, because through

55) In 1996 Krista O'Donnell wrote a Ph.D. on *The Colonial Woman Question. Gender, National Identity, and Empire in the German Colonial Society Female Emigration Program, 1896-1914*, State University of New York at Binghamton. Karen Smidt wrote *Germania führt die deutsche Frau nach Südwest. Deutsche Frauen in der ehemaligen Kolonie Deutsch Südwest Afrika (1884-1920)*, Münster, 2000.

56) „Gedenke, dass du ein Deutscher bist!“, p. 80. Schwab refers to the research of Frederick Luebke, *Germans in Brazil. A Comparative History of Cultural Conflict during World War I*, Baton Rouge 1987 and chapter 5 „Hier degeneriert der Deutsche nicht“. *Brasilien, Auswanderung und der Jungbrunnen der Nation*, in: Sebastian Conrad, *Globalisierung und Nation im deutschen Kaiserreich*, München 2006, pp. 229-278. Also see Katja Wüstenbecker, *Deutsch-Amerikaner im Ersten Weltkrieg. US-Politik und nationale Identitäten im Mittleren Westen*, Stuttgart 2007.

57) Reagin, *Sweeping the German Nation*, 5.

58) Reagin, *Sweeping the German Nation*, 5.

59) Schwab, „Gedenke, dass du ein Deutscher bist!“, pp. 78–79.

assimilation their German 'heritage' would become dormant genealogy, no longer performed for researchers to detect.

Even for German-South Africans who felt themselves at home in and insisted to be accommodated as hybrids in Afrikaner society, the myth of the German home, maintained by the German housewife, remained a crucial construct to live by. It is not surprising that the most vocal twin-souls would be men. They still wanted a German home to return to after their occasions of Afrikaner performance. Germanness vested in the German home offered German-South African women less scope to let their twin-souls 'take flight'. As from the late 1920s, the twin-soul German-Afrikaners of missionary descent were prominently visible in the *Huisgenoot*, the Afrikaans magazine that preceded and outlived the German magazines' existence: both *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* and *Deutsche Afrika-Post* were terminated by the pro-British South African state in 1939. Afrikaner nationalism beckoned not only as an alternative stage to perform on, but also an increasingly attractive home to move into.

V Afrikaner Magazines: German men performing within Afrikaner culture

"*Huisgenoot* is the oldest and most successful Afrikaans magazine ever."⁶⁰ The reasons for the founding of *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner* for German-South Africans and the founding of the *Huisgenoot* for Afrikaners a few years earlier, in 1916, are not so dissimilar. Defeated by the British Empire in 1902, Afrikaners' compromised position was reconfirmed when the First World War broke out. They too felt humiliated by and inferior to British imperial culture. The *Huisgenoot* was established "to financially support the struggling political mouthpiece of the Cape National Party, *De Burger*, and to provide the Afrikaner people (volk) with the inspiration, information and light entertainment it desperately needed."⁶¹

Huisgenoot wanted to be reconciliatory and uplifting in the aftermath of the events of 1914, when Afrikaners' division about whether to support Britain or Germany at the outbreak of

⁶⁰) Johannes Froneman, *Dominante Motiewe in die Transformasie van Huisgenoot, 1916-2003*, in: *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies* 25, 1, 2004, p. 61.

61) Froneman, *Dominante Motiewe in die Transformasie van Huisgenoot*, 61.

the War, led to the already-mentioned ill-fated rebellion against the pro-British Afrikaner government. The magazine worked towards providing all white Afrikaans-speakers with a mutual historical consciousness based on a memory of survival and the striving to liberty. The magazine was not party-politically motivated like the Burger-newspaper, but pro-Afrikaans in the widest sense of the word. Without turning into ‘imitations’ of other nationalities, the readers of the magazine were meant to be made into more nuanced thinkers, bolstered by a broader frame of knowledge, and exposure to the influence of ‘Western Culture’.⁶²

In comparison then, while the editor of the *Deutsch-Afrikaner* and *Deutsche Afrika-Post* harkened back to a tradition imagined as pure, authentic and established, *Die Huisgenoot* made no effort to apologise for the hybridity of being white and Afrikaans. The editors’ work was to shape the “Afrikaner” into a respectable cultural image. This made a difference to the tone in the discourse in the women’s section of this magazine compared to the German language ones. It was comparative in an exploratory way, and practices in other parts of the world were reported with curiosity and interest rather than in terms of how it deviated from the own norm. The Afrikaner women were also serving a nationalist cause, but the *Huisgenoot* journalists were harvesting far and wide for inspiration on how to strengthen their project – in 1936 this included an inspired report of an Afrikaans journalist’s impression of the National Socialist Frauenarbeitsdienst in Germany!⁶³ But *Hausfrau* and *Mutter* was not the incontestable trope for *Huisgenoot* readers in the 1920s and ‘30s as it had been performed for readers in the content *Der Deutsch Afrikaner* or *Deutsche Afrika-Post*.⁶⁴ One cannot imagine Kunze to have featured an article like the one published in the *Huisgenoot* of 14 June 1935, in which the author celebrated the franchise and the

62) In his summary, Froneman, 66–67, referred to the research of C.F.J. Muller, *Sonop in die Suid*, Cape Town 1990, pp. 244–256 and Herman Giliomee, *Die Afrikaners. Biography of a people*, Cape Town 2003, pp. 372–375.

63) Anna Uys, *Die Vroue-Arbeidsdiens in Duitsland*, in: *Die Huisgenoot* 3.1.1936, pp. 18–19 & 57.

64) There had been efforts at the time in magazines like *Die Boerevrou* to inculcate the myth of the *Volksmoeder* (Mother of the folk) in Afrikaner culture. See Jeanette van Rensburg, *Die Boerevrou 1919–1931. ’n Kultuurhistoriese studie oor die Eerste Afrikaanse Vrouetydskrif*. D. Phil Thesis, University of Pretoria 2013. *Volksmoeders* were also prominent in the rhetoric of the paramilitary Afrikaner organisation the *Ossewa-Brandwag*. See *Volksmoeders in die kollig: histories-teoretiese verkenning van die rol van vroue in die Ossewa-Brandwag, 1938 tot 1954*. MA dissertation, North-West University 2012.

appropriation of birth control as the greatest thresholds crossed by Afrikaans women in the previous twenty years.⁶⁵

Part of the mission to broaden the Huisgenoot readers' frame of knowledge, was to teach them about their European forbears, their "stamlande" – the Netherlands, France and Germany were the obvious places of origin; Britons were not usually included in this pool. Afrikaners' curiosity about their European origins offered a welcome niche for German missionaries, and sons of German missionaries, to write for the Afrikaans magazine.

Missionaries branching into reportage for popular periodicals was not a drastic step out of the regular sphere of missionary practices. The Berlin missionaries had a long tradition of accounting for their observations and their activities in the mission field. It was obligatory for the missionaries to submit quarterly reports of their work to their superintendents. Extracts were published in the Berliner Missionsberichte, a monthly periodical circulated in Berlin and surrounding congregations to give supporters of the mission an impression of the environment in which the missionaries were working and the people they encountered. This nineteenth-century practice continued into the twentieth century, when missionary reportage subsequently also expanded into more popular promotional articles, as well as some more scholarly ethnographic publications. Besides reporting back to Germany, the missionaries of course also addressed their local African congregations in periodicals published in the indigenous languages. They also circulated magazines within the South African missionary community. Die Brücke, a monthly periodical for descendants of German missionaries in South Africa, was established in 1924.

As the Berlin missionaries increasingly felt themselves at home in South Africa, and platforms for education and dissemination also became available for local Afrikaner and English audiences, it took very little adjustment for them also to expand their performances

65) See, for example, M.E.R., Waar staan die vrouens? 1910 tot 1935, Die Huisgenoot 14.6.1935, pp. 53 & 61. M.E.R. (Maria Elisabeth Rothmann) was a university graduate, divorcee, writer, journalist, activist in nationalist Afrikaner politics and social work.)

to these constituencies. Just as they would have ventured from their German home, the mission station, into the mission field and back home again, the new Afrikaans audience in *Die Huisgenoot*, so to speak, now just presented a further mission field. Considered in this way, there was something occasionalist about the male German missionaries' practice all along ... The missionary ideal was pursued by approximating the ways of those whom the missionaries aimed to teach and change. While the South African colour line clearly demarcated the extent to which the missionary could identify with and participate in African culture, submergence into Afrikaner cultural productions was less controversial, less obtrusive, and potentially more sustainable. The German missionaries identified with the success of their teaching mission amongst Afrikaners to the extent that marriage between missionary children and Afrikaners became quite acceptable –implying fewer actual German wives and mothers amongst their descendants.

Take the example of the children of Missionary Carl Hoffmann, and his wife Dorothea Kriele. A dedication to the tradition of family names amongst white South Africans makes fairly accurate deductions about home language possible until roundabout the 1960s. The Hoffmanns' youngest child, the only daughter, married 'in'. In 1901 she became the wife of German missionary son Heinrich Gustav Christian Neitz: their home language remained German, and their grandchildren became the custodians of Missionary Hoffmann's diaries. Two of the Hoffmanns' sons married women of German descent, but amongst their children and grandchildren feature the English South African surnames Powell and Stephens, and the Afrikaner surnames Harmse, Swarts, Coetzee, Van Wyk and De Beer. The last Hoffmann son married out, into the Afrikaner families Du Plessis and Boshoff. The name-surname combinations of grandchildren and great-grandchildren bear testimony to increasing hybridisation, but nevertheless, also, a certain Germanness still being performed on occasion. See for example: Hoffmann's granddaughter Lilly Elfrieda Lina Powell, where Lilly and Powell signify the English South African and Elfrieda Lina the German South African

ancestry; and great-granddaughter Linda Luisa van Wyk, with her very familiar Dutch-Afrikaans surname, but a German ring retained in her middle name, Luisa.⁶⁶

Few missionaries identified as many occasions for missionising through the printed media – and tailor-made their teaching performances accordingly – as Carl Hoffmann did. He felt as inclined to teach Afrikaans and English South Africans about African social life as he was to inform German audiences about it (likewise he was teaching his African audiences about ‘world history’). He not only wrote for *Huisgenoot*, but also for *Die Brandwag* (Afrikaans for “The Sentinel”), *The Sunday Times* and *Outspan*), the Sotho publications *Tsupa Mabaka Kereke* and *Moxwero wa Mabaso*, and of course, a host of German magazines for South African and overseas consumption.⁶⁷

While Hoffmann wrote informative and explanatory articles, *Huisgenoot* also featured the fiction written by missionaries and their descendants. Short stories were published, and novels were reviewed. The short stories by Berlin missionary son G.H. Franz also introduced Afrikaans readers to the missionary encounter with African communities. In the 1930s Franz’s short stories frequently appeared in the *Huisgenoot*, although the editor had to protect him against numerous complaints by readers who wanted nothing of his “African trash”⁶⁸. By the end of the 1950s Franz had been an award-winning, highly acclaimed writer in the Afrikaans literary establishment⁶⁹. Based on his intimate knowledge of the African other, he claimed a position for himself, and the missionary descendent, in the Afrikaner nationalist canon.

66) For the Hoffmann ancestors, see Zöllner & Heese, *The Berlin Missionaries in South Africa*, pp. 165-168.

67) Examples from *Huisgenoot*: Carl Hoffmann, *Geeste onder die Basoeto’s*, 11.11.1932, p. 17; *Mensvreters*, 20.1.1933, pp. 23 & 57; *Sekoekoen se Wraakneming*, 7.4.1933, p. 17; *Die Geestesgoed van die Naturel*, 9.6.1933, p. 57; *Basoeto-Reënprofete*, 30.3.1934, pp. 35, 61 & 69; *’n Sending-Eufees. Belangrike werk van Berlynse Sendinggenootskap*, 20.4.1934, p. 23 & 63. For more references see Carl Hoffmann, *Lewensskets*, in: *Die Brandwag*, 8.8.1947, p. 45.

68) Marcus Viljoen, *’n Joernalis Vertel*, Kaapstad 1953, p. 130, as quoted in: Pakendorf, *G.H. Franz en die Verhaal van Apartheid*, pp. 201–204.

69) Pakendorf, *G.H. Franz en die Verhaal van Apartheid*, pp. 201–204.

Ironically, with his positive portrayals of 'African culture', Franz still stood out as one of the strongest proponents of racial segregation amongst the fiction writers of his time – his Afrikaner reviewers had clearly cast him as such. The further irony is that the African voices that Franz appropriated were almost always those of colonised, subjugated Africans, workers, or servants in white employment.⁷⁰ While his stories promote good relations between different races, it condemns racial integration. In this regard Franz's view of the world resonates with the fear of cultural hybridisation as expressed in the German-language magazines of his time, and the eagerness amongst Afrikaans magazine editors for closer association with the 'civilised' cultures of Europe. The mutual understanding was that people belonged to cultures, and that the 'European' cultures were the civilised ones: there seems to have been consensus that integration between 'Africa' and 'Europe' was undesirable; what Franz and the editors and journalists of the magazines would have argued about, was the extent to which the 'civilized' cultures could, and should, be integrated.

How would those arguments have played out? While most German-South Africans and Afrikaners generally identified with one another in distinguishing themselves from South Africans of British descent, almost all white South Africans tended to unite as Europeans in assertion of their racial supremacy over the black population. The novels of Franz's brother-in-law, Martin Jäckel (which will be discussed shortly), prominently follow these discourses through the first half of the twentieth century. In the struggle against apartheid, from the 1950s onwards, a minority of South Africans classified as white would campaign for non-racialism. All the supposed 'European cultures', including Afrikaner, German-Afrikaner and English South African, featured amongst these dissident voices. Aspiration towards a white 'African' identity only became popular after the dismantling of apartheid in the 1990s.

While Hoffmann and Franz promoted themselves through their own Afrikaans writing, Die Huisgenoot presented Martin Jäckel to Afrikaans readers as a contributor to their literature regardless of the fact that his novels appeared exclusively in German. Berlin Missionary Martin Jäckel arrived in South Africa just before the outbreak of the First World War. His

70) Pakendorf, G.H. Franz en die Verhaal van Apartheid, pp. 206–207.

artistic renderings of the late 19th and early 20th century period in South Africa was mediated through the conversations he would have had with local Africans, Afrikaners and fellow missionaries – most notably perhaps his in-laws, the Franzes, who had departed from the *Heimat* a generation earlier than him.⁷¹ Jäckel's novels were a commercial success in Germany.⁷² Claiming him for Afrikaner literature contributed to the stature of the young nation and its culture. He was staged in Huisgenoot by descendants of Berlin missionaries already participating in the Afrikaner project.

The author of the article "German South African books: an appreciation of Martin Jäckel and his work" which appeared in the Huisgenoot of 26 April 1935, was E. Grosskopf: Ernst Berthold Grosskopf. He was the son of a Berlin missionary; his mother was the daughter of a Berlin missionary. He grew up on a mission station outside Bloemfontein in the Free State, obtained a BA degree from the Grey University College in the same city. Then the First World War prevented him from furthering his studies in Germany. He was interned, but his highly respected father repeatedly pleaded for his release, based on the fact that he was a born South African. The father's request was finally granted. Grosskopf then moved to Cape Town and became one of the founding staff members of the Afrikaner nationalists' newspaper *De Burger*. Afterwards, he married an Afrikaans woman, Jacoba Hendrika Maria Strauss from Calvinia. After working as a teacher for some years, he returned to journalism, starting his own literary magazine, *Die Naweek* (Afrikaans for "The Weekend") which he edited until his death in 1949. He was also the inventor of a popular figure in Afrikaans children's literature: *Patrys*.⁷³

71) Zöllner & Heese, *The Berlin Missionaries in South Africa*, pp. 84–89 & 171–173.

72) Jäckel made his writer's debut in 1924, with a book that was reprinted in 1951. He wrote his novels only in German, had it published in Germany with commercial publishers of *Erbauungsbücher* (edification literature). For distribution of his books he relied on the networks of missionary publishers and traders. Karla Poewe, *A Curious Exercise in Archival Research: Missionary Martin Jäckel. The Unravelling of his Mixed Genre Novel, and the Tragedies it Revealed*, in: Ulrich van der Heyden & Andreas Feldtkeller (eds.), *Border Crossings. Explorations of an Interdisciplinary Historian. Festschrift for Irving Hexam*, Stuttgart 2008, pp. 211-252.

73) Zöllner & Heese, *The Berlin Missionaries in South Africa*, pp. 105–115.

Having married out of the German missionary fold and making a living by promoting Afrikaans as a new medium of cultural expression, Grosskopf had no need to reinforce his Germanness as a shelter, in the way the German-South African magazines of the interwar years felt necessary to do. He could probably have let go of it, having been legitimated as an Afrikaner and a nationalist. Yet, confident that German culture would have been valued significantly by his Afrikaner audience (knowing that many of the cultural brokers in that audience shared a lineage similar to his own), he used his credentials as an Afrikaner journalist to enshrine his German heritage by promoting Jäckel's writing as part of the "German branch of South African literature". No longer living in the German missionary house, Grosskopf was ready to monumentalise the German home, and along with it, relegate the notion of the ideal German mother and housewife wholly to the mythical realm.

How did Grosskopf go about? He defined the first wave of German-South African literature as the German travel writers from the 18th and 19th Century; the second wave as the Germans who had written up their experiences of the Anglo-Boer /South African War, and the third wave as those

who with heart and soul are at home in South Africa; their books testify to a fiery love for our country, their writings had sprouted from true South African foundations; the forceful climate of South Africa had driven their growth. They deserve to be acknowledged and honoured by the Afrikaner people."⁷⁴

Grosskopf referred to the twin-soul with which the German-West-African writer Hanns Grimm had loved Germany and South Africa, and for South Africa, he referred to Carl Hoffmann and Martin Jäckel – counting the latter as the most prominent writer: "He undoubtedly deserves a good place in South African literature as a whole and in the hearts of Afrikaners."⁷⁵ Grosskopf included in the article a rather lengthy review of Jäckel's book *Der Brennende Busch* (1934). He selected extracts translated into Afrikaans to drive home

74) My translation. "wat met hart en siel in Suid-Afrika tuis is; hul boeke getuig van 'n vurige liefde vir ons land; hul geskifte het uit egte Suid-Afrikaanse bodem voortgespruit; die kragtige klimaat van Suid-Afrika het hulle wasdom bestuur. Hulle verdien om deur die Afrikanervolk geken en geëer te word."

75) My translation. "Hy verdien ongetwyfeld 'n goeie plek in die Suid-Afrikaanse letterkunde as'n geheel en in die harte van die Afrikaners."

the following points: Jäckel's love for his second fatherland – Africa; his appreciation for the Afrikaner nation as one that is repeatedly being reborn as men from different backgrounds (British, German, Dutch) find common ground; then the importance of 'the white mother' who can grant sons to the foreign land: white mothers from Boer (Afrikaner) and (German) missionary families would populate Africa not with soldiers and shopkeepers but with the "right kind of sons," who would obliterate 'heathendom'. Grosskopf (reading Jäckel) had pulled the Boer Afrikaner and the Deutsch-Afrikaner myth into one, placing the conservative mother as central as she had ever been in the anti-mixing, anti-hybridisation rhetoric of Lothar Kunze and his journalists.

Jäckel's books kept fascinating literary scholars. Two decades later, in 1958, another twin-soul Berlin missionary descendant again felt the need to present Jäckel and his work to Huisgenoot readers. It was Professor G.J.P. (Hans) Trümpelmann. His grandfather and his father were Berlin missionaries in the Transvaal. His wife was a German-South African and they gave their children German names. He studied German literature in Pretoria and Leipzig. He gave his students in Pretoria topics related to German-South African literature: the motives in German novels about South Africa, the oeuvre of Carl Hoffmann, Martin Jäckel's novels. But he also worked to promote Afrikaans drama and acting. Not surprisingly, he collaborated on a German-Afrikaans dictionary (which I still use). He died a highly honoured man, having harvested all the accolades of an exemplary Afrikaner (member of the South African Academy for Science and Arts, Managing Boards of the Afrikaans Dictionary and the National Arts Museum). He was also the first South African to have been awarded the Goethe medallion.⁷⁶ Professor Hans Trümpelmann's 'inner' soul, his house, his language and his church may still have been German, but his political and economic interests, his personal legal status, had by now been deeply invested in the Afrikaner cause. Yet his professional expertise still yielded from his Germanness. What did he invoke Martin Jäckel for ten years into Afrikaner Nationalist rule over South Africa?

The opening argument in Prof Trümpelmann's 1958 Huisgenoot article is that Jäckel's contribution to South Africa lies first and foremost in the image of South Africa which he

76) Zöllner & Heese, *The Berlin Missionaries in South Africa*, pp. 448–456.

had popularized in German literature, meant to be read in Germany.⁷⁷ This is in direct contrast to the article of two decades earlier, where Grosskopf had openly canvassed for a larger popular readership of Jäckel, in German, by Afrikaners. Trümpelmann was by now concerned about the negative image Afrikaner racial politics was giving South Africa in Europe, and he was hoping that Jäckel would now perform the role of a German ambassador for the Afrikaner amongst readers in Germany. He lauded Jäckel's books as amongst those portraying the South African situation in an "unprejudiced" and "true" form – opposed to the "hysterical propaganda against the Apartheid policy" presented to the reading public in Germany through the translated works of English South African writers like Alan Paton and Laurens van der Post.

Over a span of two decades thus, hybrid German-Afrikaners continued to revert to Jäckel's novels to explain themselves to the world, both in the old Heimat, and the new. Jäckel's fiction was the ideal platform. The fictional novel, according to John Noyes, serves "as a mythologizing form of spatial representation". Periodicals like *Der Deutch-Afrikaner* and *Deutsche Afrika-Post* could only hold forward the unattainable ideal. But a novel has the capacity to offer a mythical resolution to the "conflicts between various spaces, as well as various qualities of spatial organisation."⁷⁸ In the novel, the difficulties of 'holding on' and 'reaching out' which twins-souls like Grosskopf and Trümpelmann had experienced in their own lives, could be transposed to a mythologised historical moment, engaged, and somehow resolved.

What was it about the novels that appealed to readers in South Africa as well as in Germany? The idea of the righteous strife and perseverance of a German hero in a romantic landscape is a recipe for a gripping story. Jäckel contained his stories in a time capsule before the two world wars had compromised German reputations, a period in which the protagonist/antagonist roles had already been taken up by the Boers and the Brits. The German could be the outsider hero, the agent of change. Set in South Africa's northern

77) Hans Trümpelmann, Jäckel se Groot Bydrae tot die Sendingliteratuur oor Suid-Afrika, in: *Die Huisgenoot* 18.4.1958, p. 55.

78) John Noyes, *Colonial Space. Spatiality in the Discourse of German South West Africa, 1844-1915*, Chur 1992, p. 149.

parts, the Transvaal, unlike in German South West Africa (Namibia), not even a hint of incriminating German imperial conquest had been present in Jäckel's novels. And yet, the German hero could still assume the power of a coloniser, but then a 'benevolent' one, whose 'sole' purpose of moving to South Africa had been to save native souls. Add to this imaginary setting a German heroine to inspire the hero in his hour of need, and you had a series of books popular enough to be reprinted.

In a more complex manner than the anti-hybridisation rhetoric we have seen in *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner*, Jäckel portrays his male German-South African characters as "occasionalists" – ready to perform the cultural identity demanded by the occasion: He (his heroes) could speak Sotho/Sepedi with the Africans, Afrikaans with the Boers, English with the Englishman and German with the fellow German, here and when back in the Fatherland. But the romance of this 'age of innocence' seems to have at least partially to do with this male character's ability to transfer amicably between these different spheres and to keep, especially some of them, apart: This is not to say that white South Africans of British descent did not also take the trouble to learn Afrikaans or African languages. But the future South Africa had been part of the British world, economically and politically, formally or informally, since the early nineteenth century. English-speakers in this area therefore presumed more readily than Germans that other South Africans would conform to their ways. The German missionaries, besides having arrived with the intention to serve, also entered the Cape, Natal, the Free State and the Transvaal well aware that it was not their empire, and later, former empire. Their performance had to be appropriate in the eyes of their various host communities.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, as Afrikaners increasingly asserted their independence from Britain, Jäckel (through his heroes), would argue that it was possible, but not unproblematic, for Afrikaner, German and Englishman to blend into one nation, but that it would take generations and that it did not necessarily entail the dissolution of the constitutive elements. White politics after the Anglo-Boer/South African War was characterised by continuous attempts at ensuring equal treatment for the former belligerents: the English and the Afrikaner 'races' or 'streams' of the newly constituted

South African nation. There had thus not been a single designated culture for the German minority (who at any rate have had distinct notions of their own difference) to dissolve into. In equal measure, white administrators projected the notion of separate, different cultural units onto the African population – along the lines of the different Bantu languages which had to a large extent been constituted by German missionary effort!

In Vera, Frau Königen, Jäckel simulates long conversations between an Afrikaner and his missionary friend, newly arrived from Germany, about German-South Africans. The following extract is supposedly set in the 1890s, but the missionary character is made to comment perhaps rather on the cultural debates in early apartheid South Africa:

“Sie Sehen es ja zum Beispiel an diesem Webber, der doch offenbar von deutscher Abstammung, dabei aber zu feige ist, sich durch Namen und Sprache offen dazu zu bekennen ... Und sein sittliches Verhalten? Daß er sich, wie es heißt, ein Eingeborenenweib halt, spricht doch Bände. Oder sehen Sie darin vielleicht keine Demoralisierung? So ist dieser Webber weder Deutscher noch Afrikaner noch Engländer, und seine Kinder werden Mischlinge sein”⁷⁹

The hot-headed missionary is made to swallow some of his hardest convictions about Webber later on in the novel, partially because Webber turns out not to have an African wife after all, and having held on to ‘civilised’ views even though no longer capable of expressing them in German. None of Jäckel’s characters would have argued that mixing between black and white was permissible, not to mention desirable. Sexual relations across the colour line “spoke volumes” about white degeneration, and therefore the German-South African hero in Jäckel’s stories is often depicted as the saviour of white women from lustful and evil Africans who did not know their ‘place’⁸⁰ – a thinly veiled reversal of the white man’s lust for the forbidden African woman?

The white man who had lost his heart in his romance with South African ‘nature’ is in need of a means to produce a legacy in the new Heimat. This is eventually also Jäckel’s very

79) Martin Jäckel, Vera. Frau Königen, Giessen 1951, pp. 20–21.

80) Martin Jäckel, Vera. Frau Königen; Martin Jäckel, Die Weisse Lilie Von Mamphulo, Witten 1930.

personal story of reconciling his infatuation with a new fatherland, the African soil, with his Germanness. The occasionalist may have had a repertoire of roles he could act out, but he required a 'backstage' – a home – where he could come to his own again, and women characters are employed to experiment with different possibilities of overcoming this problem: it is in his behaviour towards women that a man can preserve, or reinvent his Germanness in the new home country.

But the twin-soul has discomfort with the mythical German mother figure. Time and again Jäckel sketches the ideal Deutsche Mutter and Hausfrau, in the way the Rhenish Präses had done in that early edition of *Der Deutsch-Afrikaner*. But he does so with a smattering of mocking resentment. Grosskopf found this fascinating. In his *Huisgenoot* review of *Der Brennende Busch* (1934) it was clear that he immediately recognised the character, and admired the aptness with which Jäckel had depicted her: "And there the mother appears vividly before our eyes, sketched in only a few words: the simple housewife, highly conservative." He translated for his Afrikaans readers: "Mother even still wears a padded petticoat when the German calendar indicates that it is winter – in this heat."⁸¹ The main character in *Brennende Busch*, Wolfgang Grunewald, who is making this comment, also admitted that he was more attracted to his multilingual father than to his Mutter, who had never lost her German cooking skills, or her "Kleinbürgerlichkeit und Kleinlichkeit":

die Mutter, eine herzlich gute Frau, der aber das Bewusstsein ihrer Würde als Mutter und Missionarsfrau eine gewisse Steifheit und ein starkes Kritikbedürfnis zur zweiten Natur gemacht hatte.⁸²

Her domain is the house, and what happens outside of it, is none of her concern:

Mutter Grunewald war eine tüchtige Arbeiterin in der Woche. Aber den Sonntagnachmittag hielt sie als ihren Feiertag, ... Sie ... las wahllos und unersättlich, ob gut oder schlecht, ob Zola oder Eschstruth, ob Balzac oder Auerbach, sie las sie mit Eifer und Andacht. In letzter Woche hatte sie gerade wieder ... einenjener christlichen Romane bekommen, ... Nun war sie so in den Kitsch vertieft, daß sie nur

81) Grosskopf, *Duitse Suid-Afrikaanse Boeke*, p. 29.

82) Jäckel, *Der Brennende Busch*, p. 17.

zustimmend nickte und dem Davongehenden dann unter der Tür noch nachrief: "Aber zieht euch warm an und kommt nicht zu spät nach Hause!"⁸³

Jäckel continues:

Sie hatte es auch nicht nötig befunden eine der Afrikanischen Umgangssprache zu lernen. Das Afrikaans, in dem sie sich Besuchern gegenüber ausdrückte, war ein Gemisch von Plattdeutsch mit einigen holländischen Vokabeln, und die Eingebornen, mit der merkwürdigen Sprachbegabung ihrer Rasse, verstanden glänzend das Kauderwelsch von Setschwana, Deutsch und Holländisch, in dem Jefrou Grunewald ihre Befehle erteilte. Mehr von dem Geist Afrikas hatte sie nicht begriffen.⁸⁴

and then comes his resignation:

Vielleicht sind solche Mütter nötig, um deutsches Wesen fortzupflanzen.⁸⁵

But Jäckel's main characters have no intention of marrying such mothers. Yet he takes his young Afrikaner German heroes on trips to Germany to re-appreciate their 'origins', to connect with their 'true being'. And then, back in Africa, they are confronted with the 'real crisis' of how to make a home for their twin-souls. In *Brennende Busch*, Jäckel accedes that the German-South African man has to contemplate the possibility that he might find so much in common with the Afrikaner that the boundaries between them might blur. But the hero makes a mistake by choosing the Afrikaner girl above the German nurse. And Jäckel does not afford his character a chance to rectify his error. On the contrary, he inflicts him with the leprosy of his African patients, and condemns him to serve them for the rest of his days. This hero does not get the girl, but a good Christian salvation.

Eventually, in the much later novel, *Vera, Frau Königen* (1951), Jäckel invents the most mythical, most far-fetched German women of all: She is daughter of German missionary parents who is left to grow up amongst the African girls; she had lost her ability to speak her

83) Jäckel, *Der Brennende Busch*, p. 37.

84) Jäckel, *Der Brennende Busch*, p. 24.

85) *Ibid.*

mother tongue.⁸⁶ While her future husband (a German-South African) finds it charming and convenient that she can fluently speak Sepedi (they even use it as a secret code language when he woos her), the possibility that she could have been left in South Africa to ‘go native’ (the cruder Afrikaans word is used in the novel) is unthinkable. The characters in the story hold the missionary parents responsible for having neglected their duty, not by having allowed this white girl to grow up amongst the blacks, but by having failed to teach her her own culture as well. In Vera, Jäckel comes closest to inventing a character that conforms to all that is desirable about an African woman (when hearing her, and viewing her from afar in her headscarf, the hero believes she is black). Yet she is redeemable for Germanness because of her upbringing and her genealogy.

That is perhaps why Vera, the most far-fetched and most risky of all his women characters, is so attractive to Jäckel. Whereas the Afrikaner girl in *Brennende Busch* did not turn out to be the desirable partner for the German-South African hero, the woman of German blood, immersed in the practices of African missionary Christianity, happened to have been rather easily ‘converted’ into the hero’s ideal partner. In her formative years, Vera could expose herself to all that was wholesome about pre-industrial African life: she managed to develop a thorough understanding and appreciation for African culture, but when the time came to set a boundary to this occasionalist identity, the dormant Germanness inscribed in her could be resuscitated with a sojourn in the “alte Heimat” amongst “real” Germans.

VI Conclusion

Throughout the twentieth century, local hegemonies and global possibilities affected the ways Germanness was ascribed to Berlin missionaries and their descendants, and the occasions on which this could be embraced, or denied – or underplayed. Three times during

86) More archival research – similar to the work conducted by Karla Poewe on Jäckel’s first novel – needs to be conducted in this regard, but it is quite probable that the missionary who had inspired Jäckel’s fiction in this instance, was the renegade Johannes August Winter. Jäckel’s fiction capitalised on the following biographical aspects: Johannes Winter was amongst the best educated of the Berlin Missionaries, his wife Elisabeth Wangemann, daughter of the Berlin Mission’s Director, Theodor Wangemann, was a very refined woman, educated in a number of the classical languages. In his effort to assimilate as best as possible with the Bapedi amongst whom he worked, Winter did not bother to teach his children German (Zöllner & Heese, *The Berlin Missionaries*, pp. 466–467).

the first half of the twentieth century South Africans of German descent had been interned on suspicion of being enemies of the British Empire. Rapprochement between German South Africans and Afrikaners was certainly fuelled by a shared experience of having been on the receiving end of British supremacy. The Huisgenoot offered a markedly accommodating platform for men of German descent not only to perform as Afrikaners and in support of the Afrikaans cause, but even to stake a claim for a hyphenated German-Afrikaner identity within Afrikanerdom.

In the process, the notion of a German home, embodied by a German Mutter served almost like the axle of a revolving door for men engaged in the intricate play of appropriating identities. With the National Party victory over the pro-Imperial South African Party in 1948, the era of Afrikaner supremacy followed. In these circumstances, there was not much need for German-South Africans to critically contemplate their relatively unproblematic 'passing' as Afrikaners, and yet it came at the price of increasing alienation with the old Heimat itself. On the one hand, this was because young men like Grunewald in Jäckel's novel no longer found the image of their German mothers so appropriate for an Afrikaner stage on which they had become increasingly at home. On the other hand, post-Second World War Europe was a rather different place than South Africa of the 1950s: under a thin modernist veneer, apartheid South Africa persisted in colonial outlook, practice and policies. There was increasingly less in the twin-soul imagination that could hook on to the new meanings being forged in post-Second World War Europe.

In the 1960s, the novels of the twin-souls disappear from the literary scene; both Franz's and Jäckel's. They would not have been able to counter the new wave of anti-Apartheid literature that was rapidly being translated into German as from the 1950s – Trümpelmann himself had mentioned Alan Paton's *Cry the Beloved Country*. The reality of apartheid, the landless, displaced African labourer in industrialising South Africa, had finally caught up with the illusion of the rural missionary idyll.⁸⁷ African exiles from the persecution of apartheid's racist policies, now so strongly associated with the Afrikaner, started migrating into Europe, raising new issues in the consciousness of Germans on the cusp of the Cold War.

87) Pakendorf, G.H. Franz en die Verhaal van Apartheid, pp. 201–214.

By the early 1990s, at that turning point in history when the Berlin Wall came down and apartheid was dismantled, the descendants of the Berlin missionaries in South Africa had become almost fully Afrikaans.⁸⁸ The prophets against cultural mixing were proven right. Hybridisation seems to have taken its steady course. Occasionalism in public eventually led to homes that became less German and schools and universities that became more Afrikaans. While Afrikaners had the political power, there were advantages for German-South Africans to be Afrikaner by association. Would there be attempts to retract as the political playing field changed in the 1990s, and would there be a more ameliorative German-South Africanness to “fall back on”?

For the grandson of Ernst Grosskopf, the twin-soul who had tried to convince Afrikaner subscribers to *Die Huisgenoot* in the 1930s to read Martin Jäckel’s German novels, this was certainly not the case. Instead of doing his military service as was obligatory for young white men in South Africa in the 1970s and ‘80s, Hein Grosskopf joined the military wing of the African National Congress to fight apartheid. In an interview with the *Christian Science Monitor* in 1989, the young Grosskopf insisted that he was doing this as an Afrikaner, evading every opportunity in the interview to mention the Germanness of his Berlin missionary forbearers on his father’s side of the family: “His father, Professor H.J. Grosskopf, is a former newspaper editor and head of the department of journalism at Stellenbosch University near Cape Town. His grandfather was an eminent Afrikaner writer.”⁸⁹ That grandfather, was Ernst Grosskopf, the twin-soul Deutsch-Afrikaner. “But it is his mother, Santie Grosskopf, for whom Grosskopf reserves special words of praise and respect,” the reporter continued. Hein Grosskopf had thus fully appropriated his Afrikaner identity, insisted that he had awakened to the injustice of racial discrimination out of this tradition, and praises his Afrikaner mother, Santie Grosskopf (nee Pretorius) for the foundation she had offered him. It was a strong statement that there was nothing innately racist about being an Afrikaner. Afrikaners could come to other insights *as* Afrikaners. But it is also revealing that the young Hein had so selectively highlighted only the Afrikaner credentials of his twin-soul paternal grandfather. Clearly, neither Grosskopf’s Afrikaner mother nor his

88) Schellack, *Nalatenskap*, p. 55.

89) John Battersby, *Blue-Blooded Afrikaner as Anti-Apartheid Revolutionary*, in: *Christian Science Monitor*, 31.7.1989, on: <http://www.csmonitor.com/1989/0731/0afrik.html>

Afrikaner paternal grandmother were the kind of German mothers which, as Jäckel had expressed it, were necessary for the “reproduction of being German”.

Was Hein Grosskopf an exception, or exemplary of a new generation thoroughly healed from their grandparents’ nostalgia for an old Heimat? One could perhaps rather argue that after a century, Kaiser Wilhelm II’s effort to unite all Germans around the world had run its course in South Africa. Their supremacy having been brought to an end, white folk in South Africa are reverting to a whole range of DIY techniques to reconfigure their self-image. Where twin-souls have not married ‘out’, German houses had remained intact; some fifth and sixth generation Berlin Missionary descendants continue to perform a sophisticated multi-lingual occasionalism while still dreaming and worshipping in German. But they no longer stake a claim for their hyphenated identity in the way their grandfathers had done in the public forum of Die Huisgenoot. Their varying, mostly accommodating, positions on racial integration do not seem central to their ‘German’ character anymore. The nostalgia that lingers, is personalised, self-critical and reflective – also of what ‘German’ means now – rather than a nostalgia of the restorative, purist, kind.⁹⁰ South Africans of German descent may have needed that back in the 1920s, but by 2020 ... Vera may as well be black and African, and a queen, and choose whether she wants the trip to Germany, and/or the nostalgic twin-soul hero.

90. Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, London 2001, pp. 44–48.