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## The Genocidal Gaze

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# Notes

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## Introduction

Sartre's slim volume, *Black Orpheus*, served originally as the introduction to an anthology of works by African and West Indian poets, edited by Leopold Sédar-Senghor. Published in French in 1948, the text of the introduction became available in an English translation by S. W. Allen (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1951) as a separate volume. Thus the text appeared at the dawn of African decolonization. Though the passage quoted in the epigraph, largely from the first page, is arresting and anticipates later theories of the gaze, much of the sixty-four-page essay is problematic. Sartre valorizes Negritude, now a discredited idea owing to its reliance on essentialism. Though he was a radical opponent of colonialism and engaged in the Algerian conflict, his analyses of specific verses in the anthology are also essentialist.

1. Jeremy Silvester and Jan-Bart Gewald, eds., *Words Cannot Be Found: German Colonial Rule in Namibia: An Annotated Reprint of the 1918 Blue Book* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 95, 159.

2. See *ibid.*, 197–98, for a statement made under oath by a Herero about his service as a “police-boy” at Omarurn in 1905. He provides dramatic and disgusting details of the work he was forced to do in flogging his fellow Hereros.

3. The details regarding Cramer that follow are taken from Horst Drechsler, “*Let Us Die Fighting*”: *The Struggle of the Herero and Nama against German Imperialism (1884–1915)*, trans. Bernd Zöllner (London: Zed Press, 1980; originally published in German in 1966), 234–37, and Silvester and Gewald, part 2, chapter 2.

4. George Steinmetz, *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 150.

5. Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

6. Jürgen Zimmerer, “War, Concentration Camps and Genocide in South-West Africa: The First German Genocide,” in *Genocide in German South-West Africa: The Colonial War of 1904–1908 and Its Aftermath*, ed. Jürgen Zimmerer and Joachim Zeller, trans. E. J. Neather (Monmouth, Wales: Merlin Press, 2008), 59.

7. Volker Langbehn and Mohammed Salama, eds., *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

8. Birthe Kundrus, "German Colonialism: Some Reflections on Reassessments, Specificities, and Constellations," in *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany*, ed. Volker Langbehn and Mohammed Salama (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

9. Kitty Millet, "Caesura, Continuity, and Myth: The Stakes of Tethering the Holocaust to German Colonial Theory," in *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany*, ed. Volker Langbehn and Mohammed Salama (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

10. This list of the primary causes of the Holocaust is generally accepted by historians and can be found in early histories of the Shoah such as Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961) and more recent histories such as Doris Bergen, *War and Genocide: A Concise History of the Holocaust*, 3rd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016).

11. Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema" (1975), reprinted in *Visual and Other Pleasures* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009). This classic essay claimed that the male gaze upon women actors was the dominating "look" of the camera/audience in Hollywood films as well as of the male actors on screen. Such a gaze results in objectifying women. Critiques of Mulvey's theory have pointed to its failure to deal with the issue of female, gay, and lesbian filmgoers; Mulvey subsequently published an article that responded by expanding her ideas. Feminist theory has insisted upon the notion of the resisting gaze or the resisting reader.

12. E. Ann Kaplan, *Looking for the Other: Feminism, Film, and the Imperial Gaze* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

13. One must note, however, that despite Foucault's stint in Tunisia, his work is solidly grounded in Western institutional practices. See *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin, 1991).

14. See Robert Irwin, *Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and Its Discontents* (Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 2006).

15. Gustav Frenssen, *Peter Moor's Journey to Southwest Africa*, trans. Margaret May Ward (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1908), 233–34.

16. John Noyes, *Colonial Space: Spatiality in the Discourse of German South West Africa, 1884–1915* (Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1992), 163–64.

17. As we will see in chapter 2, this is one of the mantras used by Frenssen in *Peter Moor's Journey to Southwest Africa*.

18. I am indebted to George Steinmetz for this section title. See *The Devil's Handwriting: Precoloniality and the German Colonial State in Qingdao, Samoa, and Southwest Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 6.

19. This statistic comes from David Maybury-Lewis, "Colonial Genocide," in *Genocide: A Reader*, ed. Jens Meierhenrich (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). The remarkable

story of King Leopold, his Congo colony, and the abusive and deadly treatment administered to the forced laborers there, which went largely unpunished, is told by Adam Hochschild in his deservedly admired history *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed, Terror, and Heroism in Colonial Africa* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1999).

20. Samuel Totten and William S. Parsons, *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2009), 19.

21. Sebastian Conrad, *German Colonialism: A Short History*, trans. Sorcha O'Hagan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 3.

22. Susanne Zantop provides lavish details about these images in *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770–1870* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

23. For examples of such “Protection” treaties, and how they varied among ethnic groups, see Arthur J. Knoll and Hermann J. Hiery, eds., *The German Colonial Experience: Select Documents on German Rule in Africa, China, and the Pacific, 1884–1914* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2010).

24. Jon Bridgman and Leslie J. Worley, “Genocide of the Hereros,” in *Century of Genocide: Critical Essays and Eyewitness Accounts*, 3rd ed., ed. Samuel Totten and William S. Parsons (New York: Routledge, 2009), 21.

25. See, for example, Karla Poewe, *The Namibian Herero: A History of Their Psychosocial Disintegration and Survival* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1985).

26. George Steinmetz, “The First Genocide of the 20th Century and Its Postcolonial Afterlives: Germany and the Namibian Ovaherero,” [hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.4750978.0012.201](https://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.4750978.0012.201).

27. Benjamin Madley, “From Africa to Auschwitz: How German South West Africa Incubated Ideas and Methods Adopted by the Nazis in Eastern Europe,” *European History Quarterly* 35:3 (2005): 432–33.

28. Casper Erichsen has written the definitive study of these camps, particularly Shark Island. See *“The Angel of Death Has Descended Violently among Them”: Concentration Camps and Prisoners of War in Namibia, 1904–1908* (Leiden: African Studies Centre, 2005).

29. See [www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-15127992](http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-15127992) and [www.dw.com/en/germany-to-return-skulls-of-colonial-victims-in-namibia/a-18575293](http://www.dw.com/en/germany-to-return-skulls-of-colonial-victims-in-namibia/a-18575293).

30. Rene Lemarchand, ed., *Forgotten Genocides: Oblivion, Denial, and Memory* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

31. See, for example, Patrick Furlong, *Between Crown and Swastika: The Impact of the Radical Right on the Afrikaner Nationalist Movement in the Fascist Era* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1991).

## Chapter One

1. Werner Hillebrecht, “Hendrik Witbooi and Samuel Maharero: The Ambiguity of Heroes,” in *Re-Viewing Resistance in Namibian History*, ed. Jeremy Silvester (Windhoek: University of Namibia Press, 2015), 39.

2. Kaplan, *Looking for the Other*, xix.

3. The term “Hottentot” is now heard largely in connection with the “Hottentot Venus.” See Steinmetz, *The Devil’s Handwriting*, chapter 2, for more information on this topic.

4. Steinmetz, *The Devil’s Handwriting*, 114–15. Steinmetz includes a thorough analysis of precolonial German conceptions of the indigenous groups of Southwest Africa, with a focus on the Nama, the Herero, and the Rehoboth Basters. Steinmetz has meticulously combed precolonial travel narratives, early anthropology studies, missionary reports, and other primary documents to create these portraits.

5. Herman Babson, introduction to Gustav Frenssen, *Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest*, ed. Babson (New York: Henry Holt, 1914), xxiv.

6. Brigitte Lau, ed., *The Hendrik Witbooi Papers*, 2nd ed., trans. Annemarie Heywood and Eben Maasdorp (Windhoek: National Archives of Namibia, 1996), i. Biographical information in this section is taken largely from Lau and Steinmetz, *The Devil’s Handwriting*.

7. Hillebrecht notes that the extent of “continuous tribal wars between mutually hostile ethnic groups” has been exaggerated by German historians; the reality, he continues, “is much more complex, as it must be realized that ‘pre-colonial’ Namibia was already a colonial frontier zone” due to the impact of indigenous peoples from South Africa relocating in Namibia (“Hendrik Witbooi and Samuel Maharero,” 41).

8. [www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/flagship-project-activities/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-5/letter-journals-of-hendrik-witbooi/](http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/flagship-project-activities/memory-of-the-world/register/full-list-of-registered-heritage/registered-heritage-page-5/letter-journals-of-hendrik-witbooi/).

9. Contents of all three journals, plus invaluable appendices, were published in an English edition in 1989 in Windhoek. *The Hendrik Witbooi Papers* was edited by Brigitte Lau and translated by Annemarie Heywood and Eben Maasdorp. Werner Hillebrecht gives an ample account of the various segments of the Witbooi archive, which ones have been lost, which recovered, and where they are now housed.

10. Another instance of Witbooi’s use of his archive by forwarding a letter as proof of his claim can be found in letter 28, dated 3 January 1890, and addressed to the Rev. Olpp, a mentor of Witbooi’s who remained loyal to him until the end.

11. Witbooi was correct about this type of punishment. Indeed, the Germans took photographs of each other administering this kind of beating.

12. See the exchange of correspondence between Samuel Maharero and Hendrik Witbooi as they negotiate this peace in Lau, *The Hendrik Witbooi Papers*, 115–18.

13. See Steinmetz, *The Devil’s Handwriting*, 157–79 for a fuller examination of the relationship between Leutwein and Witbooi between 1894 and 1904.

14. Helmut Bley, *South-West Africa under German Rule, 1894–1914* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1971), 155–63.

15. Although 29 October is the date usually cited for Witbooi’s death, Steinmetz (*The Devil’s Handwriting*, 170n129) gives the date of 22 November 1905, citing a telegram of 11 December 1905 in the Berlin Archives.

16. Leutwein employs the term “brother-in-arms” because Witbooi had signed the “Protection Treaty” and its addendum that obligated him to fight on the side of the Germans until he ultimately decided to fight against them again, causing his own death in battle; Leutwein uses the term “little Captain” in what is perhaps a descriptive rather than derogatory term. Hillebrecht tells us that Witbooi was “so small in stature that it earned him the nickname ‘Kort,’ which could be translated as ‘Shortie’” (“Hendrik Witbooi and Samuel Maharero,” 51). A photo of Witbooi and Leutwein standing together shows Witbooi to be about a head shorter than Leutwein (47).

17. This book, which appeared in 2003, is a reprint, with new scholarly material, of the British 1918 publication, *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and Their Treatment by Germany*, commonly known as the Blue Book of 1918.

18. For a fascinating account of the publication of the Blue Book, the accuracy of the eyewitness reports, and the German objections to it, which included the German publication of a White Book recounting alleged British atrocities in their own colonies, see the introduction to *Words Cannot Be Found*. Additionally, for an account of the animosity between German settlers and the British settlers who arrived after 1914, see Margarethe von Eckenbrecher, *Africa: What It Gave Me, What It Took from Me, Remembrances from My Life as a German Settler in South West Africa*, trans. and ed. David Crandall, Hans-Wilhelm Kelling, and Paul Kerry (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2015). Her memoir was written and published in two volumes: her initial stay in GSWA stretched from April 1902 to March 1904; she departed for Germany to escape the 1904 war and remained in Europe for a decade during which time she published book 1 of her memoirs. After divorcing her husband, she returned alone to the colony with her two sons in May 1914 and remained on the continent until her death. In 1936, she completed book 2 of her memoirs, and it was first published in 1940.

19. Lieut. Fred C. Cornell, *The Glamour of Prospecting* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1920).

20. Cornell’s memoir is 334 pages long and I quote or reference here all the passages relevant to German military behavior and treatment of the Herero and Nama. Thus my emphasis is *not* representative of the text as a whole, which devotes pages and pages to landscape descriptions and mishaps in trekking. Cornell’s purpose was not a political one but rather intended as a kind of valorization of the prospector. He cautions the reader in the preface that the book “is in no wise intended to serve as a handbook to the would-be prospector” but rather depicts the prospector as “the true pioneer; his pick and hammer open up the wild places of the earth (usually to the benefit of those who follow him more than to his own)” (*The Glamour of Prospecting*, vii). The book also includes almost forty black and white photographs of Cornell and his companions in barren landscape, with their various kinds of transportation, and of dramatic river gorges, mountains, and vegetation.

21. Marengo is an alternate spelling of the name of a Nama rebel. Uwe Timm’s novel *Morenga* uses the other spelling. These brief passages from Cornell are useful in analyzing Timm’s work.

22. It is impossible to tell from Cornell's book whether he saw Shark Island while it was still in operation. The camp closed in April 1907, and Cornell dates his adventures in German Southwest Africa as occurring from "the latter part of 1907" (*The Glamour of Prospecting*, 2) to 1914. But he certainly saw the coast of Lüderitzbucht where the camp was located, he experienced the extremes of weather and wind there that made the camp so deadly, and he heard details from the Boers who had themselves seen the camp in operation. Thus he was a witness to the difficulties of climate and rocky landscape but perhaps a secondary witness to the atrocities committed by the Germans against the Herero and Nama in the camp.

23. See Mel Gussow, "W. G. Sebald, Elegiac German Novelist, Is Dead at 57," *New York Times*, 15 December 2001, C16.

24. Ann Laura Stoler, "Colonial Aphasia: Race and Disabled Histories in France," *Public Culture* 23:1 (2011): 121–56. Stoler differentiates amnesia from aphasia thus: "Aphasia, I propose, is perhaps a more apt term, one that captures not only the nature of the blockage but also the feature of loss. . . . In aphasia, an occlusion of knowledge is the issue. It is not a matter of ignorance or absence. Aphasia is a disremembering, a difficulty speaking, a difficulty generating a vocabulary that associates appropriate words and concepts with appropriate things" (125).

25. Studies of Holocaust photographs, particularly those of women, can be found in Andrea Liss, *Trespassing through Shadows: Memory, Photography and the Holocaust* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), and Barbie Zelizer, "Gender and Atrocity: Women in Holocaust Photographs," in *Visual Culture and the Holocaust*, ed. Barbie Zelizer (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001). For a full treatment of the fate of women during colonization, see Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

26. This image brings to mind Claude Lanzmann's film *Shoah*, in which a barber in Israel recounts the immense pain he experienced as a barber in the anteroom to gas chambers. Friends from his hometown arrive and he must maintain silence regarding what is about to occur as he cuts their hair. In both instances, victims are made to do the grisly work of the perpetrators on people they are likely to know.

27. Anna Heywood, Brigitte Lau, and Raimund Ohly, eds., *Warriors, Leaders, Sages, and Outcasts in the Namibian Past* (Windhoek: Michael Scott Oral Records Project, 1992).

## Chapter Two

The epigraph source is Medardus Brehl, "'The drama was played out on the dark stage of the sandvelt': The Extermination of the Herero and Nama in German (Popular) Literature," in *Genocide in German South-West Africa: The Colonial War of 1904–1908 and Its Aftermath*, ed. Jürgen Zimmerer and Joachim Zeller, trans. E. J. Neather (Monmouth, Wales: Merlin Press, 2008), 101.

1. Sander Gilman, "The Image of the Black in the German Colonial Novel," *Journal of European Studies* 8 (1978): 1–11, quote on 3.

2. *New York Times*, 2 March 1907.

3. Frenssen, *Peter Moor's Journey to Southwest Africa*, trans. Ward, 6. All further quotations cited in the text are from this edition.

4. Wilhelm Alberts, *Gustav Frenssen* (Berlin, 1922) and Numme Numsen, *Gustav Frenssen* (Stuttgart, 1938), as cited by Frank X. Braun, "Gustav Frenssen in Retrospect," *Monatshefte* 39:7 (1947): 449–62.

5. "Freitisch" (literally, "free table") can be described as a kind of free board for children from impoverished families.

6. *Heimat* is a complicated and emotionally laden term in German that loses much in the translation to the term "regional literature." *Heimatkunst* might be translated literally as "Home Art." But that still does not do the term justice. Here is a definition that gets at the nuances: "Heimat designates a felt relationship enduring over time between human beings and places that can extend metaphorically to connote identification with family or nation, cultural tradition, local dialect or native tongue." See Elizabeth Boa, "Some Versions of Heimat: Goethe and Hölderlin around 1800, Frenssen and Mann around 1900," in *Heimat: At the Intersection of Memory and Space*, ed. Frederike Eigler and Jens Kugele (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 34.

7. Frenssen, *Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest*, ed. Babson, vii; apparently Babson had contact with Gustav Frenssen during the editing of *Peter Moor* as he thanks him explicitly in his preface for permission to publish this edition.

8. Effie Louise Pratt, *A Comparative Study of the Literary Technique of Theodor Storm and Gustav Frenssen* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925).

9. Volker Griese, *Die drei Leben des Gustav Frenssen: Eine Frenssen Chronik* (Münster: Verlagshaus Monsenstein und Vannerdat, 2011), 85.

10. "Peter Moors Fahrt nach Südwest," *Journal of the Royal African Society* 6:23 (April 1907): 322.

11. "Peter Moor's Journey to Southwest Africa," *Advocate of Peace* 70:10 (November 1908): 248.

12. Andrew Henshaw Ward came from an illustrious New England family of writers. See Andrew Henshaw Ward, *Ward Family; Descendants of William Ward who settled in Sudbury, Mass in 1639* (Boston: S. G. Drake, 1851).

13. Sander Gilman notes: "The vision of the Black as a non-productive animal is even reflected in the justice of German South West Africa which punished the thievery of milk (i.e. real property) with six months imprisonment and fifty lashes while the poisoning of a Black by Blacks was punished by twenty-five lashes!" ("The Image of the Black in the German Colonial Novel," 4), quoted from Fritz Ferdinand Müller, *Kolonien unter der Peitsche* (Berlin: Rütten and Loening, 1962), 90–91.

14. See Steinmetz, *The Devil's Handwriting*, for a full and fascinating account of what he calls the "ethnographic discourse" about the various indigenous groups living in Southwest



Africa when the Germans colonized it. Steinmetz has made a thoughtful study of travel narratives, missionary reports, visual images, and the like from the precolonial era. This ethnographic discourse informed the German perceptions of the Herero and Nama and, ultimately, contributed to the genocidal gaze of the Germans.

15. The railway from Swakopmund to Windhoek was completed in 1900 and covers a distance of 237 miles (Babson introduction, xx).

16. “Hottentot,” now considered a racist term, is the designation given by the Dutch to the Khoikhoi people in southwestern Africa. They are more frequently referred to now as the Nama.

17. See Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, for gendered analysis of colonialism and attitudes toward both female colonists and indigenous women.

18. John K. Noyes, “National Identity, Nomadism, and Narration in Gustav Frenssen’s *Peter Moor’s Journey to Southwest Africa*,” in *The Imperialist Imagination: German Colonialism and Its Legacy*, ed. Sara Friedrichsmeyer, Sara Lennox, and Susanne Zantop (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 88.

19. David Kenosian, “The Colonial Body Politic: Desire and Violence in the Works of Gustav Frenssen and Hans Grimm,” *Monatshefte* 89:2 (1997): 183.

20. Alan Bowyer, “Narrating the Nation’: Homi Bhabha and Gustav Frenssen,” *JLS/TLW* 9:3/4 (December 1993): 261.

21. Daniel Brückenhaus’s essay “Ralph’s Compassions” appeared in Ute Frevert et al., *Learning How to Feel: Children’s Literature and Emotional Socialization, 1870–1970* (London: Oxford University Press, 2014), 74–93. Dr. Brückenhaus replied to an e-mail I sent in February 2015 to seek clarification of this categorization of *Peter Moor*. He sent the following helpful reply: “About Gustav Frenssen’s book: among the co-authors of the volume, we had many discussions about which works to include in our chapters. In the end, we decided to use ‘children’s literature’ in a broad sense, encompassing all books whose main character(s), and main intended audience, were people who, according to the legal and cultural norms of the period, had not fully ‘come of age’ yet. For Germany during the ‘Kaiserreich’ period that means those under 21 years old. This includes Frenssen’s character Peter Moor, who is in his late teens. In German, there actually is a separate term for books that are written for teenagers specifically (as opposed to younger children), called ‘*Jugendbuch*’—‘Youth Book’; that is the category under which *Peter Moors* is frequently discussed in the German secondary literature.”

22. Joachim Warmbold, *Germania in Africa: Germany’s Colonial Literature* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 67.

23. Jeff Bowersox, *Raising Germans in the Age of Empire: Youth and Colonial Culture, 1871–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 175.

24. Gustav Frenssen, *Peter Moor’s Fahrt nach Südwest: Ein Feldzugsbericht* (Windhoek, Namibia: Druck and Verlag, 1998), 8.

25. Quoted in Bowersox, *Raising Germans in the Age of Empire*, 52.

## Chapter Three

1. Uwe Timm, *Morenga*, trans. Breon Mitchell (New York: New Directions, 2003). All references in the text are to this edition.

2. Uwe Timm, *In My Brother's Shadow: A Life and Death in the SS*, trans. Anthea Bell (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005). All references in the text are to this edition.

3. Dominik Schaller, "Every Herero Will Be Shot': Genocide, Concentration Camps, and Slave Labor in German South-West Africa," in *Forgotten Genocides: Oblivion, Denial, and Memory*, ed. Rene Lemarchand (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 53.

4. See Henning Melber, *Understanding Namibia: The Trials of Independence* (London: Hurst and Company, 2014), 28–31, for an account of the building of Heroes Acre and some of the problems associated with its construction by a Korean firm, as well as the monuments and texts at this war memorial built in 2002.

5. For a history of the archives, see both Drechsler, "Let Us Die Fighting" and Julia Hell and George Steinmetz, "The Visual Archive of Colonialism: Germany and Namibia," *Public Culture* 18:1 (2008): 147–84.

6. For example, on page 13, note 28, Drechsler describes the intentional deception by Lüderitz of the indigenous people when reaching an agreement in a treaty about land; Lüderitz used geographical miles to indicate distance, rather than English miles, thus grabbing much more territory. Lüderitz's nephew, an historian, subsequently ignored this deception in his writing, although records available to him at the time make it clear what happened. This is an obscure fact, to be sure, but one adopted by Timm in *Morenga*.

7. Namibia did not gain its independence until 1990—it was the last country in Africa to do so—and at that time took the name Namibia.

8. Rainer Schulte, "Interview with Breon Mitchell and Uwe Timm: Collaboration between Translator and Author," *Translation Review* 66:1 (2003): 2.

9. Lothar Probst, "Normalization through Europeanization: The Role of the Holocaust," in *German Culture, Politics, and Literature in the Twenty-First Century: Beyond Normalization*, ed. Stuart Taberner and Paul Cooke (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2006), 62.

10. While *Morenga* was the first post-World War II novel to openly criticize the German colonial project, a short story, *Weltreise auf deutsche Art*, by Alfred Andersch was published in a collection of his short stories titled *Geister und Leute: Zehn Geschichten* (1958). This collection is available in English under the title *The Night of the Giraffe and Other Stories*. See Dirk Göttsche, *Remembering Africa: The Rediscovery of Colonialism in Contemporary German Literature* (New York: Camden House, 2013), for a useful summary of the story, which recounts the experiences of a young German clerk conscripted to fight colonial wars in China and GSWA: the experience leaves him "disillusioned, traumatized and 'increasingly silent'" (68). Like *Morenga*, the story "clearly sets the traumatic memory of colonial violence and genocide against colonial narratives of cultural superiority and imperial nostalgia" (69).

11. See Erichsen, “*The Angel of Death Has Descended Violently among Them*” for his thoroughgoing analysis of fatality statistics in the various concentration and death camps. Steinmetz, “The First Genocide,” estimates that the mortality rate at Shark Island was over 90 percent.

12. Bambuses usually functioned as servants to the Schutztruppe and were given tasks such as polishing shoes and cleaning house.

13. Witbooi’s death is usually dated 29 October 1905.

14. Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (1944; Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), 211.

15. Julia Kristeva, “Intertextuality: An Interview with Julia Kristeva,” conducted by Margaret Smallen, [www.msu.edu/user/chrenkal/1980/INTEXINT.HTM](http://www.msu.edu/user/chrenkal/1980/INTEXINT.HTM).

16. Sue Vice, *Holocaust Fiction* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

17. For greater detail about the deployment of intertextuality in post-Holocaust fiction, see Elizabeth Baer, *The Golem Redux: From Prague to Post-Holocaust Fiction* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2012).

18. Though I do not work with it in this book, another stunning intertextual relationship exists between *Morenga* and Thomas Pynchon’s *Gravity’s Rainbow*, published in 1973, five years prior to *Morenga*.

19. Frenssen, *Peter Moor’s Journey to Southwest Africa*, trans. Ward, 231–32. All further references in the text refer to this edition.

20. See von Eckenbrecher, *Africa: What It Gave Me, What It Took from Me*. This edition carries both volumes as well as very helpful paratextual material.

21. Peter Bowman, “Fontane’s ‘Der Stechlin’: A Fragile Utopia,” *Modern Language Review* 97:4 (October 2002): 877–91.

22. Petr Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* (New York: Garland, 1972), vii.

23. It is intriguing to learn that the change in font size was introduced first in the Breon Mitchell translation to English: “The New Directions designer decided to put some of the collage-like material into smaller type, thinking it would be easier to read,” remarks Mitchell. Timm responds: “I must say that the English edition is much better than the German one. That’s because of the typography . . . it’s an excellent solution” (Schulte, “Interview,” 6).

24. See Theodor Adorno, *Can One Live after Auschwitz? A Philosophical Reader* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

25. For a much more detailed analysis of Ozick’s arguments regarding the use of the imagination and of history in post-Holocaust fiction, see Baer, *The Golem Redux*, 152–69.

26. The spelling of his name varies. Sometimes it is Marengo. About Timm’s decision to use *Morenga*, Götttsche says: “The very fact that *Morenga*, the symbol of African resistance, provides the novel’s title reflects Timm’s anticolonial and anti-Eurocentric perspective. However, the use of the German variant of his name, ‘*Morenga*,’ rather than the more accurate form ‘*Jakob Marengo*,’ illustrates that Timm’s literary reconstruction does not claim to represent African perceptions of German colonialism, aiming in-

stead to remind the German public of Germany's forgotten colonialism" (*Remembering Africa*, 74).

27. Uwe Timm, *Deutsche Kolonien* (Köln: Verlag Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 1986).

28. A few other books of this ilk, which celebrate the German victories in GSWA, include the following: (1) *Heisse Tage: Meine Erlebnisse im Kampf gegen die Hereros* by Conrad Stülpnagel (Berlin, 1905). Written in Fraktur, this text is 126 pages and contains several black-and-white photos, mostly of landscape; there is also a photo of a typical supply wagon such as is referred to in *Peter Moor*. (2) *Im Kampf* by von Salzmann, who served as an Oberleutnant in the Schutztruppe. Published in Berlin in 1908, this must have been an expensive book. It is printed on fine paper and contains many black-and-white photos, which give an excellent idea of a soldier's life. There is also a two-page spread of naked Herero and "Hottentot" women, standing in provocative poses in doorways. Many of the books from this era about GSWA have such photos, always showing bare-breasted women. (3) *Der Krieg* by R. Schwabe, published in Berlin in 1907, is a 440-page book, boasting photographs and paintings, including the seemingly mandatory photo of bare-breasted "Feld Herero." The author served in an infantry regiment. The cover of the book is an attractive Art Nouveau design. (4) *Unsere Helden in Südwestafrika* by Paul Kolbe, published in Leipzig in 1907, contains many headshots of soldiers, a foldout map, a photo of the use of a termite mound for cooking, and a chart showing the numbers of wounded and dead.

29. Rhys Williams, "A Perfectly Ordinary Childhood": Uwe Timm's *Am beispiel meines Bruders*," in *Uwe Timm (Volume II)*, ed. David Basker (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007), 71–84.

30. Helmut Schmitz, ed., *A Nation of Victims? Representation of German Wartime Suffering from 1945 to the Present* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 80.

31. Erin McGlothlin, *Second-Generation Holocaust Literature: Legacies of Survival and Perpetration* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2006), 18–19.

32. The sense in which Timm believes himself to have been almost absent from his father's consideration, overshadowed by his dead brother, mirrors, obversely, the experience Art Spiegelman describes in *Maus I & II* (1986, 1992).

33. See pages 7, 16, 37, 42–43, 47, 55, 57, 76, 79, 80, 104, 121, 125, 129.

## Chapter Four

1. The Germans began wresting land from the indigenous Herero and Nama in South-west Africa in the late nineteenth century, shortly after the shameful Conference of Berlin (1884–85). A war ensued and ultimately, 80 percent of the Herero and 50 percent of the Nama died, making this the first genocide of the twentieth century.

2. URLs for *Black Box* on YouTube: There are various filmic versions of "Black Box" to be found on YouTube. The most complete are presented in three separate sections: part I, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nn38eZC8400> (6:53 minutes);

part II, [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OgrU\\_gg9R2Y](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OgrU_gg9R2Y) (5:13 minutes);

part III, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yd2q9XkVt3c> (9:43 minutes).

A version that better shows the colors but is cut by about seven minutes, can be viewed at [www.youtube.com/watch?v=w6CO\\_nGRIFsw](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w6CO_nGRIFsw).

3. *William Kentridge: Black Box/Chambre Noire* (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 2009), 15.

4. “Im Januar 2004 jährte sich zum hundertsten Mal der Ausbruch des deutschen Kolonialkrieges in Namibia. Er dauerte von 1904–1908 und ging als erster Völkermord des 20. Jahrhunderts in die Geschichte ein. Für Namibia, das damalige Deutsch-Südwestafrika, gilt dieser Krieg als einer der ersten Widerstandskriege der afrikanischen Bevölkerung gegen Fremdherrschaft und Kolonisierung.” [www.dhm.de/ausstellungen/namibia/ausstellung.htm](http://www.dhm.de/ausstellungen/namibia/ausstellung.htm) (my translation).

5. See Bridgman and Worley, “Genocide of the Hereros,” a concise summary that includes brief eyewitness narratives from Herero.

6. The majority of Jews in South Africa descend from immigrants from Lithuanian shtetls, and the Jewish Museum in Capetown offers a full-scale re-creation of such a shtetl. See A. Sarid, *There Once Was a Home: Memories of the Lithuanian Shtetls . . .* (Capetown: Jewish Publications, South Africa, 2015).

7. The Sharpsville Massacre occurred on 21 March 1960. It began as a demonstration by black Africans against the pass laws, the requirement under Apartheid that black Africans carry a pass at all times that controlled their movements from town to town; the primary goal of the pass laws was to control the labor of black Africans, specifically for work in mines. (This represents yet another link between GSWA, where pass laws were instituted in 1907, and Apartheid.) During the demonstration at Sharpsville, the police turned their guns on unarmed demonstrators, killing 69 people and injuring 180.

8. Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev, *William Kentridge* (Brussels: Société des Expositions du Palais Des Beaux-Arts de Bruxelles, 1998), 28. See also Marianne Hirsch, “Surviving Images: Holocaust Photographs and the Work of Postmemory” for discussion of similar encounters with traumatic photographs in childhood experienced by Susan Sontag and Alice Kaplan. The essay is in Barbie Zelizer, ed., *Visual Culture and the Holocaust* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001).

9. See William Kentridge, *Six Drawing Lessons* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), 45–52 for his conceptualization of the stage as a camera.

10. T. Dunbar Moodie, *The Rise of Afrikanerdom: Power, Apartheid and the Afrikaner Civil Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 154. Moodie traces the influence of European nationalism, in the form of neo-Fichtean philosophy, on the architects of Apartheid.

11. J. H. P. Serfontein, *Brotherhood of Power: An Exposé of the Secret Afrikaner Broederbond* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978). The influence of Nazi ideology on Apartheid, and on specific Apartheid leaders, is a controversial topic outside the scope of

this essay. In his book, Serfontein provides documentation of visits to Nazi Germany by the “brothers,” including a consultation with Göring. A dissenting perspective is offered by Christoph Marx in “Hendrik Verwoerd’s Long March to Apartheid: Nationalism and Racism in South Africa,” in *Racism in the Modern World: Historical Perspectives on Cultural Transfer and Adaptation*, ed. Manfred Berg and Simon Wendt (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 281–302. Marx has undertaken extensive research into Verwoerd’s private papers in archives and, while he acknowledges Verwoerd’s racism, he endeavors to deny undue Nazi influence.

12. Nadine Gordimer’s novel *July’s People* envisions a bloody revolution as the end of Apartheid. Figures as to the total number of deaths in the struggle vary widely but by no means constitute genocide. See Nancy Clark and William Worger, *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid* (Harlow, England: Pearson, 2011).

13. For a useful analysis of the similarities and differences between Apartheid and the Holocaust, see Juliette Peires, *The Holocaust and Apartheid: A Comparison of Human Rights Abuses* (Sea Point, South Africa: Union of Jewish Women, 2006).

14. Reena Jana, ed., *Vitamin D: New Perspectives in Drawing* (London: Phaidon Press, 2005), 160.

15. The full text of von Trotha’s statement is as follows: “I, the great General of the German soldiers, send this letter to the Herero people. The Herero are no longer German subjects . . . The Herero nation . . . must leave the country. If they do not leave, I will force them out with the *Groot Rohr* (cannon). Every Herero, armed or unarmed, will be shot within the German borders. I will no longer accept women and children, but will force them back to their people or shoot at them.” Steinmetz, “The First Genocide.”

16. [www.postmedia.net/06/kentridge.htm](http://www.postmedia.net/06/kentridge.htm).

17. *Ibid.*

18. The Nazis were active in the former colony during the Third Reich, though South-west Africa was then under the control of the British Mandate in South Africa. Nonetheless, the Nazis celebrated Hitler’s birthday there with parades and swastikas, formed bund organizations for boys and girls, and carried on a covert propaganda campaign. See Benjamin Bennett, *Hitler over Africa* (London: T. Werner Laurie, 1939).

19. See [de.sherlockholmes.wikia.com/wiki/Aus\\_den\\_Geheimakten\\_des\\_Welt-Dektivs](http://de.sherlockholmes.wikia.com/wiki/Aus_den_Geheimakten_des_Welt-Dektivs) for an image of this journal and more information on it.

20. See, for example, his film *Automatic Writing* (2003).

21. For a useful survey of films made in Africa by German filmmakers, see Guido Convents, “Film and German Colonial Propaganda for the Black African Territories to 1918,” in *Before Caligari: German Cinema, 1895–1920*, 9th ed., ed. Paolo Cherchi Usai and Lorenzo Codelli (Pordenone, Italy: Edizioni Biblioteca dell’Immagine, 1990).

22. For more information about the fate of the rhino as a result of human predation, see [www.savetherhino.org](http://www.savetherhino.org). See also Steven C. Dubin, “Theater of History: William Kentridge’s *Black Box/Chambre Noire*,” *Art in America* (April 2007): 128–31, 157. Dubin amplifies

the intertextual references of the rhino: “Kentrige had a number of ideas in mind when he drew his version of the animal—depictions of the bestiaries of Albrecht Dürer (1515) and Pietro Longhi (1751), for example, each of which was shaped (and misshaped) by travelers’ tales. He was also alluding to Eugene Ionesco’s absurdist play of 1959, as well as to a conservation campaign to save the white rhino” (131).

23. Kentrige in Elizabeth Levy, ed., *William Kentrige: Black Box/Chambre Noire* (Berlin: Deutsche Guggenheim, 2005), 50–51.

24. Some of these skulls have only recently been returned to Namibia. See BBC article “Germany Returns Namibian Skulls Taken in Colonial Era,” 30 September 2011, [www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-15127992](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-15127992). Reports suggest that Herero women were forced to remove the skin with glass shards from these decapitated heads before they were shipped to Germany.

25. For example, see Charles Solomon and Ron Stark, *The Complete Kodak Animation Book* (Rochester, NY: Eastman Kodak Company, 1983), and Richard Williams, *The Animator’s Survival Kit* (London: Faber and Faber, 2001).

26. Frank Thomas and Ollie Johnston, *Disney Animation: The Illusion of Life* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1981), 146.

27. William Kentrige on his process, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=s\\_UphwAfjkh](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s_UphwAfjkh).

28. “William Kentrige: Art from the Ashes,” from the series *Video Artists, Video Art: Film at the Fringes of Experience* (Princeton, NJ: Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 2005). It is noteworthy that the subtitle “Art from the Ashes” was used here; this is the title of a well-regarded anthology of Holocaust literature, edited by Lawrence Langer.

29. Kentrige’s interest in Enlightenment principles, and their contradiction by the violence promulgated in the colonies in the name of such principles and “civilization,” is another key theme in *Black Box* that has been explored by critics. See, for example, Andrew Hennlich, “The Shadows of History: Photography and Colonialism in William Kentrige’s *Black Box/Chambre Noire*,” in *German Colonialism Revisited: African, Asian, and Oceanic Experiences*, ed. Nina Berman, Klaus Mühlhahn, and Patrice Nganang (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014), 259–70.

30. Shelley Hornstein and Florence Jacobowitz, eds., *Image and Remembrance: Representation and the Holocaust* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 3.

31. Quoted in Paul Flaig, “Life Driven by Death: Animation Aesthetics and the Comic Uncanny,” *Screen* 54.1 (Spring 2013): 1–19. Flaig’s article is an excellent example of analysis of animation as gesturing toward death; he uses Freudian and Lacanian theory to analyze *Toy Story* and early Disney animation.

32. In 2002, Heroes’ Acre was created as a memorial for the fallen in the Herero and Nama genocide as well as Namibia’s struggle for independence. It is located near the capital of present-day Namibia, Windhoek. The erection of the memorial remains controversial as the contract for building the site was given to North Korea, rather than local

workers, and there were significant cost overruns. For an excellent account of Heroes' Acre and the *Reiterdenkmals* recent relocation, see Melber, *Understanding Namibia*, 28–32, 132.

## Chapter Five

1. See Chinua Achebe, "An Image of Africa: Racism in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*," in *Heart of Darkness*, ed. Paul Armstrong (New York: W. W. Norton, 2006), 336–49. Achebe says: "*Heart of Darkness* projects the image of Africa as 'the other world,' the antithesis of Europe and therefore of civilization, a place where man's vaunted intelligence and refinement are finally mocked by triumphant bestiality. . . . The point of my observations should be quite clear by now, namely that Joseph Conrad was a thoroughgoing racist . . . Conrad saw and condemned the evil of imperial exploitation but was strangely unaware of the racism on which it sharpened its iron tooth" (338, 343, 349).

2. Graham Allen, litencyc.com.

3. Linda Hutcheon, "Historiographic Metafiction: Parody and the Intertextuality of History," in *Intertextuality and Contemporary American Fiction*, ed. Patrick O'Donnell and Robert Con Davis (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 6.

4. See Helen Gilbert's introduction to Aidoo's play *Anowa* in which Gilbert states: "By drawing upon the Ghanaian oral tradition's fusing of narrative techniques, [Aidoo] is able to synthesize these different forms, which are generally split among different genres in Western literary traditions." Helen Gilbert, ed., *Postcolonial Plays: An Anthology* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 97.

5. Critics who briefly mention the references to the Holocaust in *Our Sister Killjoy* include: Yaw Asante, "'Good Night Africa. Good Morning Europe': Europe's (Re)Discovery by a Black African Woman: Ama Ata Aidoo's *Our Sister Killjoy*," [www.ucalgary.ca/uofc/eduweb/engl392/yaw-aid.html](http://www.ucalgary.ca/uofc/eduweb/engl392/yaw-aid.html), and Gay Wilentz, "The Politics of Exile: Ama Ata Aidoo's *Our Sister Killjoy*," in *Arms Akimbo: Africana Women in Contemporary Literature*, ed. Janice Liddell and Yakini Kemp (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999), 159–73.

6. Ama Ata Aidoo, "The African Woman Today," *Dissent* (Summer 1992): 319–25.

7. Anne V. Adams, ed., *Essays in Honor of Ama Ata Aidoo at 70: A Reader in Cultural African Studies* (Oxford: Ayebia Clarke Publishing Limited, 2012), 31.

8. Chioma Opara, "Narrative Technique and the Politics of Gender: Ama Ata Aidoo's *Our Sister Killjoy* and *No Sweetness Here*," in *Writing African Women: Gender, Popular Culture and Literature in West Africa*, ed. Stephanie Newell (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Zed Books, 1997), 144.

9. Kofi Owusu, "Canons under Siege: Blackness, Femaleness, and Ama Ata Aidoo's *Our Sister Killjoy*," *Callaloo* 13:2 (1990): 341–63.

10. Anuradha Needham, *Using the Master's Tools: Resistance and the Literature of the African and South-Asian Diasporas* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000); Ranu Samantrai,



“Caught at the Confluence of History: Ama Ata Aidoo’s Necessary Nationalism,” *Research in African Literatures* 26:2 (1995): 140–57.

11. Elizabeth Willey, “National Identities, Tradition, and Feminism: The Novels of Ama Ata Aidoo in the Context of the Work of Kwame Nkrumah,” in *Interventions: Feminist Dialogues on Third World Women’s Literature and Film*, ed. Bishnupriya Ghosh and Brinda Bose (New York: Garland, 1997), 3.

12. For examples of these three phases, in addition to essays already cited, see the following: for feminism, Chimalum Nwankwo, “The Feminist Impulse and Social Realism in Ama Ata Aidoo’s *No Sweetness Here* and *Our Sister Killjoy*,” in *Ngambika: Studies of Women in African Literature*, ed. Carole Boyce Davies and Anne Adams Graves (Lawrenceville, NJ: Africa World Press, 1986), 151–59, and Sara Chetin, “Reading from a Distance: Ama Ata Aidoo’s *Our Sister Killjoy*,” in *Black Women’s Writing*, ed. Gina Wisker (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993), 146–59; for nationalism, see Kwaku Larbi Korang, “Ama Ata Aidoo’s *Voyage Out*: Mapping the Co-ordinates of Modernity and African Selfhood in *Our Sister Killjoy*,” *Kunapipi* 14:3 (1992): 50–61; for postcolonial approaches, see Kwadwo Osei-Nyame, “Toward the Decolonization of African Postcolonial Theory,” *Matatu* 35 (2007): 71–92.

13. Yogita Goyal, *Romance, Diaspora, and Black Atlantic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 185.

14. Hildegard Hoeller, “Ama Ata Aidoo’s *Heart of Darkness*,” *Research in African Literatures* 35:1 (2004): 130–47.

15. Books that are often cited as suggesting that Germans were victims after World War I, due to the stringent terms of the Treaty of Versailles and again under Hitler, include Günter Grass, *Crabwalk*, trans. Krishna Winston (New York: Harcourt, 2003) and W. G. Sebald, *On the Natural History of Destruction*, trans. Anthea Bell (New York: Random House, 2003).

16. For example, see Louise Murphy’s Holocaust novel *The True Story of Hansel and Gretel* (New York: Penguin, 2003) and Magda Denes’s Holocaust memoir *Castles Burning: A Child’s Life in War* (New York: Touchstone, 1997).

17. Robert Eaglestone, “Reading *Heart of Darkness* after the Holocaust,” in *After Representation? The Holocaust, Literature, and Culture*, ed. R. Clifton Spargo and Robert Ehrenreich (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 206.

18. This voice is called a “chorus” by Goyal: “The chorus of the novel sounds a collective voice that functions as a community of village elders” (*Romance, Diaspora, and Black Atlantic Literature*, 189).

19. Ama Ata Aidoo, *Our Sister Killjoy, or, Reflections from a Black-eyed Squint* (London: Longman, 1977), 6. All further quotations included in the text are from this edition.

20. [granta.com/How-to-Write-about-Africa/](http://granta.com/How-to-Write-about-Africa/).

21. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 111–12.

22. Cheryl Sterling, “Can You Really See through a Squint? Underpinnings in Ama Ata Aidoo’s *Our Sister Killjoy*,” *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 45:1 (2010): 132–50.

23. Note that Jamaica Kincaid also asserts that loneliness is at the heart of colonialism. She calls it a “European disease” (80) at the conclusion of her searing book about colonialism, *A Small Place* (1977; New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1988).

24. Adeola James, ed., *In Their Own Voices: African Women Writers Talk* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1990), 18.

