

THE ART OF CENSORSHIP

The censoring of jazz in the Netherlands during the Second World War



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Preface

Initially I wanted to research modern day music censorship from the 1980s to 2019. However, due to lack of censorship in the Netherlands and other Western countries (it remained at attempts), I was advised by dr. Maarten van Dijck to look for periods in which there were clear censorship attempts (and some successes). Shortly after, my supervisor (dr. Jeroen Euwe) advised the same, suggesting I should look at the Second World War. I then suggested to specifically research jazz censorship during the Second World War in the Netherlands, as I knew that jazz music was still played in Katendrecht (Rotterdam) at that time. Choosing jazz as a subject was only logical for me, as I have researched jazz music before. Besides that, I have a personal musical interest in jazz music.

During the master thesis I was supervised by Jeroen Euwe. Though there was a lot of feedback from his side on my initial research proposal, I am very grateful for such critique. Thanks to him, I was able to greatly improve my writing (sentence construction) as well improve the contents of this thesis. Again, I would like to sincerely thank dr. Jeroen Euwe for his feedback and help.

I would also like to thank my parents, René Snel and Joyce Hitalessy, for reading this thesis in its entirety (which is, of course, in English and 70 pages long, making it more difficult). It was not an easy task for my father, but his feedback also helped a lot in explaining certain arguments. My mother helped me a lot with her feedback on sentence construction. Furthermore, I would like to thank my girlfriend, Amber Christen, for being the first person to read this thesis. Her feedback highlighted a lot of errors and ambiguities. Additionally, Amber is also a graphic designer, who owns her own company called *AllColour Media*. She has beautifully designed the front page of this thesis, capturing the vibes of a traditional 1940s/1950s jazz album.

1. Introduction

If there is one thing that never seems to leave the world, it is censorship. For centuries, both formal and informal forms of censorship have been applied to all forms of art and other expressions. For instance, lists of prohibited and approved music have been established by the catholic church (more specifically, the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits) in Europe in the sixteenth century.¹ Desiderius Erasmus, whom the Erasmus University Rotterdam was named after, railed against the “obscene love songs” fit only for the dances of “harlots and minstrels” that had made their way into the House of God.² Since 1900, governments are able to monitor people more closely than ever before due to improved technology. An example of such close monitorization can be seen under the regime of the German *Reich*, from 1933 to 1943, and the Greater German *Reich*, from 1943 to 1945. In these years, the popular music genre of jazz was censored and branded as “*Entartete Musik*”, under the umbrella term of “*Entartete Kunst*”.³

The Netherlands was one of the territories that was occupied by Germany in the Second World War. At first, the Germans thought that a “*tactiek van de fluwelen handschoen*” might persuade Dutch citizens to follow the National Socialist ideology.⁴ The Germans chose this tactic, because the Dutch were regarded as being close to the Germans and hoped to incorporate the Netherlands into the Reich, though there was some debate among Germans on how the Dutch territory would be incorporated. The German ‘velvet glove’ came off after the first few years of occupation, and the Dutch were treated more like the French.⁵ But throughout the whole period of occupation, the German occupiers always attempted to reform Dutch culture into a National Socialist culture, through the specially created *Departement van Volksvoorlichting en Kunsten* (DVK) and the *Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer* (NKK).⁶ For instance, the very popular music genre of jazz was prohibited to be played in all German occupied territory during the Second World War. But how well were the German occupiers and Dutch collaborators able to censor jazz music in the Netherlands during the Second World War?

¹ David Crook, “A Sixteenth-Century Catalog of Prohibited Music,” *Journal of the American Musicology Society* 62, no. 1 (Spring 2009): 4, <https://doi.org/10.1525/jams.2009.62.1.1>.

² Crook, “A Sixteenth-Century Catalog of Prohibited Music,” 4.

³ Stephanie Barron, *Degenerate Art: The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi-Germany* (New York: Abrams Books, 1991), 6, 171, 180 and 404.

Translation: ‘Degenerate music’; ‘Degenerate art.’

⁴ Translation: ‘Tactic of the velvet glove, i.e., gentle but effective persuasion.’

⁵ Hein A.M. Klemann and Sergei Kudryashov, *Occupied Economies: An Economic History of Nazi-Occupied Europe, 1939-1945* (London/New York: berg Publishers, 2012), 121.

⁶ Translation: ‘Department for Public Information and Arts’; ‘Dutch Chamber of Culture.’

2. Background to the research

2.1. Research question and sub-questions

This master thesis will research the censoring of jazz music during the Second World War in the Netherlands. It is important to research jazz censorship as the ending of the Second World War marked significant changes in European and Dutch culture, politics, economy and war. Modern art and jazz, for instance, were widely accepted after, but not during, the Second World War. The end of the war also decreased chances of art being censored, as every attempt to censor failed. But then, why and how was jazz censored in the Netherlands during the Second World War? This research question will be answered by means of four sub-questions.

The Dutch civil service and the German occupying government, the *Reichskommissariat*, should be studied first, as censorship policies were created by the German occupiers as the supervisors, and executed by the Dutch civil service. This system was also called *Aufsichtsverwaltung*.⁷ Although the Netherlands kept its civil service, the Nazis were in control of decision making. The civil service in turn had to obey these decisions (unless a policy had negative effects on Dutch society). The Germans and the Dutch civil servants together formed the Dutch government. Furthermore, this civilian government was unique in all of the occupied territories, as most other territories were more military controlled. So how were the Dutch civil service and the *Reichskommissariat Niederlande* organized between 1940-1945?

The censorship policies created by the German occupiers were all executed by departments consisting of civil servants. The second sub-question therefore describes the censoring departments. So which departments in the Netherlands were concerned with censorship between 1940-1945? This descriptive question is necessary to contextualize the subject of this master thesis. Researching the civil service departments also to some extent highlights German control on occupied territories.

Although Nazi control over occupied territory is interesting on its own, this thesis will focus on jazz, and the perspective of the occupiers on these art forms. The third sub-question therefore is: How did the German occupiers and the Dutch collaborators view jazz music during the Second World War? And why did they view it in that way? To understand why something is censored, one should know the views of the occupiers on the censored arts. Not only is ideology an important factor for the perspective on modern arts, but personal views are also

⁷ Loe De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945: deel 4, mei '40 – maart '41 eerste helft* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972): 66, 69 and 70.
Translation: 'Reich commissioner'; 'Supervisory management.'

equally important. Although the first three sub-questions basically provide an answer to the research question, it is necessary to review how effective policies were as well, which will also definitively answer the question of how jazz was censored. Furthermore, how jazz was censored was intertwined to some extent with the effectiveness of previous policies, meaning that censorship strategies could alter depending on outcomes of already implemented policies.

To review effectiveness and answer the fourth sub-question, this research will analyze two case studies. The first case study focusses on local, regional and national newspapers. How jazz is discussed is not the main topic; what matters is the fact that jazz music is even discussed in newspapers that were widely available to the Dutch. The second case study concerns documents from the DVK and *Kultuurkamer*. These two departments were most concerned with censoring certain music genres, most notably jazz music. Since 1941, the departments have attempted to define what exactly jazz is, as well as discuss how to tackle the issue of jazz music: jazz music was still one of the most popular genres of that time and still often performed, even after a prohibition on music with 'negro' elements. So, if jazz was still played and discussed in the Netherlands, how effective were the DVK and the *Kultuurkamer*'s jazz censorship policies?⁸

2.2. Scientific relevance

Although jazz censorship has been researched before, specifically in Kees Wouters' PhD dissertation *Ongewenschte Muziek: de bestrijding van jazz en moderne amusementsmuziek in Duitsland en Nederland 1920-1945*, there are some gaps within Wouters' dissertation. For example, *Ongewenschte muziek* does not use Steinweis' *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany*. Furthermore, the dissertation is quite descriptive and misses some elements in the analysis, including the background of censorship policies, as well as the link between several analyses. Think of the justification for such policies, communication about policies in the media and the characteristics of the government, which all led to the policies failing in the end. This thesis attempts to link all the analyses and add a new aspect to research on jazz censorship during the Second World War: a quantitative analysis of newspapers.

⁸ Disclaimer: terms such as 'negro/negroes/nigger/negrito' were very normal during the 1940s. To correctly translate the primary sources, I will have to stick to such racist terminology however, or else it will lose some of its meaning and thus negative impact. I hereby condemn the racist terminology used by the occupying Nazi forces and Dutch collaborators, but also acknowledge that these terms were normal before 21st century.

2.3. Social relevance

Most importantly, censorship itself already implies social relevance. Censorship is of course the shaping of society, primarily through culture. To this day, many governments (and companies) censor opinions, art and even scientific research. Additionally, to showcase the importance of artists and the high esteem people had for them, the only group of people that had a part of the Dutch resistance named after them were artists, which included jazz musicians. This group was called *het kunstenaarsverzet*.⁹

2.4. Literature review

In the field of censorship, the Third *Reich* has often been researched. The literature on this topic forms a broad framework for this research. This thesis, however, focusses on censorship in the Netherlands specifically as an occupied territory of Germany. But, when it comes to censorship, the Netherlands is more discussed in light of the *Kultuurkamer*, or the censoring of arts other than music, even though music was one of the chambers of the NKK. Moreover, most literature barely discuss other departments than the *Kultuurkamer*, such as the *Nederlandsche Kultuurraad* (NKR).¹⁰

Before truly focusing on censorship, it should be noted that within general works on the Second World War, the debate has shifted from black and white perspectives to a more nuanced stance towards this topic. Censorship as a research field has become more popular since the 1990s. Because the debates surrounding the Second World War were already more nuanced at that time, the debates on censorship of multiple art forms were also fairly nuanced. There was, however, a shift in methodology from qualitative data research to memory studies. Secondary sources on the censoring of music specifically have also gone through a similar metamorphosis. The difference between the research field of general censorship and the research field of music censorship is that methodology has not really changed that much in studying the censoring of music. The literature on music censorship is still primarily using written primary sources.

In the 1970s, the general literature on the Second World War had a black and white perspective. Something, or someone, was either good or bad. The middle ground in these works was absent. Loe de Jong's *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945* (The Kingdom of the Netherlands in the Second World War 1939-1945), perfectly

⁹ Translation: 'Artists resistance.'

¹⁰ Translation: 'Dutch Cultural Board.'

illustrates the absence of gray areas.¹¹ According to this work, collaborators were only people who joined the *Nationaal Socialistische Bond* (NSB).¹² In reality, there were a lot of people who helped the Nazis simply by doing their job. People working in shipyards were for instance working on German submarines, but only to bring home the bacon. People just providing for their families was a big gray area at the time, because they helped the Nazis in some way, but also just tried to survive. There is no real verifiable reason to the absence of this and other information. However, with logical thinking one can conclude that the lack of nuance was because the Second World War was only thirty years prior to this publication. Moreover, de Jong was the director of the *Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie* (RIOD), the predecessor of the *Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie* (NIOD) and de Jong also survived the Second World War.¹³ Surprisingly, de Jong did not seem to be biased. On the other hand, historian Conny Kristel, who wrote her dissertation on historiography as an assignment, also claimed that de Jong paraphrased foreign authors without any citation.¹⁴ Although Kristel does not accuse de Jong of plagiarism, she does believe that it would have been better to have cited the authors. Kristel also mentioned that de Jong was great at presenting facts without having to cite other visions.¹⁵ However, Kristel also acknowledged the fact that the works of de Jong and his colleagues paved the way towards discussing the prosecution of Jewish people in the Netherlands, which was discussed earlier than in most countries. The fact that de Jong's work was not commissioned by a private Jewish initiative, but instead by the Dutch government, makes de Jong's book series even more unique.¹⁶

As time passes and changes, the debate surrounding the Second World War changes. Hein Klemann's and Sergei Kudryashov's *Occupied Economies: An Economic History of Nazi-Occupied Europe, 1939-1945* verifies this change. Their work from 2012 is more nuanced as more information is available to them. For instance, Klemann and Kudryashov claim that there is more than just victims and perpetrators. In their view, there are in the forced working sector alone seven categories. Some are forced workers (both slaves and relatively well treated workers) and concentration camp inmates, but others are foreign volunteers.¹⁷ Although

¹¹ Loe de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945: deel 4, mei '40 – maart '41 eerste helft* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972).

¹² Translation: 'National Socialist Union.'

¹³ Translation: 'National Institute for War Documentation'; 'Dutch Institute for War Documentation.'

¹⁴ Unknown author, "Promovenda: Hij vermeldde niet al zijn bronnen," *Trouw*, April 16, 1998, <https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/promovenda-hij-vermeldde-niet-al-zijn-bronnen~b730b48f/>.

¹⁵ Unknown author, "Promovenda."

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Hein A.M. Klemann and Sergei Kudryashov, *Occupied Economies: An Economic History of Nazi-Occupied Europe, 1939-1945* (London/New York: Berg Publishers, 2012): 121.

Occupied Economies and *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945* are just two books, they do represent the transformation of the ongoing debate about the Second World War (in the Netherlands). The transformation towards thinking in gray areas is embodied by Hans Blom, the former director of the NIOD, as he made clear in his oration in 1983.¹⁸

In the 1990s the debates touching upon the Second World War and topics relating to the war isn't all black and white anymore. The same goes for literature about the censoring of multiple arts. Interesting is that there was a boom in literature in this category since the 1990s. It started with Stephanie Barron's *Degenerate Art: The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi-Germany*. This book was originally used as a catalogue for a 1990 exhibition on *Entartete Kunst*, a re-presentation of a similar exhibition in the Third Reich in the 1930s. Although it is not a regular academic source and therefore does not take part in academic debates, it does provide a lot of information. For instance, *Degenerate Art* has a clear organizational chart of the *Reichskulturkammer* (RKK) and shows clear examples of *Entartete Kunst*.¹⁹ *Degenerate Art*, however, does not really participate in any academic debates. This contrasts with Alan E. Steinweis' *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts*.

Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany discusses three of the seven chambers (each form of art had its own chamber) from the RKK. This book from 1993 is an academic study based on a large number of primary sources. In fact, Steinweis uses about 135,000 RKK personnel files.²⁰ But while Steinweis utilizes written documents, a qualitative approach, methods shifted in recent years. In 2014, Claartje Wesselink wrote her PhD dissertation, which by now is a book, on the artists of the NKK. By using memory studies, next to regular secondary sources and written primary sources, Wesselink's *Kunstenaars van de Kultuurkamer: geschiedenis en herinnering* paved the way to new debates. *Kunstenaars van de Kultuurkamer* showed a more personal side of artists during the Second World War. The consequences of interacting with the RKK after the war is also researched. The debate surrounding the censoring

¹⁸ Margreet Fogteloo, "Grijdsdenken," *De Groene Amsterdammer*, May 6, 2005, <https://www.groene.nl/artikel/grijdsdenken>.

¹⁹ Stephanie Barron, *Degenerate Art: The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi-Germany* (New York: Abrams Books, 1991): 6 and 10.

Translation: 'National Chamber of Cultures.'

²⁰ Alan E. Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

of multiple arts has thus developed from studying government (or civil service) departments, to personal accounts of people interacting with the NKK.²¹

Literature that very explicitly discuss the censoring of music can also be found in the 1990s, again after Barron's book *Degenerate Art*. There are debates on multiple levels that all discuss the censoring of music during the Second World War. On the one hand, all the literature shows a development within the debate on censoring music. On the other hand, a distinction can be made between Dutch and international authors. At the start of this writing trend on wartime censorship of music, literature was focused on more personal stories. These were used as examples of social (dis)obedience and social and state control. Especially Michael H. Kater's book *Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany* and Erik Levis book *Music in the Third Reich* discuss more personal accounts of musical artists.²²

Right before the turn of the century, in 1999, the debate shifted towards a political focus. This shift can first be seen in Kees Wouters' *Ongewenschte Muziek: De bestrijding van jazz en moderne amusementsmuziek in Duitsland en Nederland 1920-1945*.²³ Unlike censorship in general, studying the censorship of music became more popular after 2000. This almost exactly coincided with the shift in academic debate towards a more political focus. In the early 2000s it was more popular to research the relation between music and politics in general, as seen in John Street's article *Fight the Power: The Politics of Music and the Music of Politics*. In this article, Street describes the relation between politics and music, in which not only authoritarian governments are discussed, but also democratic governments.²⁴

Studies became more focused again around 2007, as the debate developed more swiftly. In June 2007 Marcello Sorce Keller analyzed the relation between music, ideology and totalitarian states in his article *Why is Music So Ideological, and Why Do Totalitarian States Take It So Seriously? A Personal View from History and the Social Sciences*.²⁵ Later in the same month of June 2007, Toby Thacker wrote an article that is even more focused. Thacker concentrated

²¹ Claartje Wesselink, "Kunstenaars van de Kultuurkamer: geschiedenis en herinnering" (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2014).

²² Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (London: Palgrave, Macmillan, 1994); Michael H. Kater, *Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

²³ Kees Wouters, "Ongewenschte Muziek: De bestrijding van jazz en moderne amusementsmuziek in Duitsland en Nederland 1920-1945" (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 1991).

²⁴ John Street, "'Fight the power': The politics of Music and the Music of Politics," *Government and Opposition* 38, no. 1 (Winter 2003).

²⁵ Marcello Sorce Keller, "Why is Music So Ideological, and Why Do Totalitarian States Take It So Seriously? A Personal View from History and the Social Sciences," *Journal of Musicological Research* 26, no. 2-3 (June 2007).

in *Music and Politics in Germany 1933–1955: Approaches and Challenges* on the relation between music and politics in Germany.²⁶

Then Loes Rusch seemed to be hinting to the next development in the debate on censoring music during the Second World War. In her 2012 article *Jazz in the Netherlands, 1919–2012: historical outlines of the development of a social and musical praxis*, Rusch sets out the development of jazz in the Netherlands and views this from a more social praxis perspective, as opposed to the personal accounts and the political perspective.²⁷

Within Dutch literature there is actually another separate development within the debate on censorship in the Netherlands during the Second World War. Starting with Wouters' *Ongewenschte Muziek* viewing the censoring of jazz and other modern musical entertainment from a political perspective, the debate shifts in 2012 to a more social study of jazz in the Netherlands with Rusch's *Jazz in the Netherlands, 1919–2012*. But after only two years, Wesselink viewed the Second World War from a broader perspective, but also a more personal, and researched the Artists of the NKK. Not only does the perspective radically change, but methodology also changed as well. This way, the development of the debates on the Second World War, censorship and the censoring of music, are different when viewed from a national Dutch level, instead of an international level.

There is, however, one area that is barely covered in research: local jazz music. One of the few books discussing the local jazz scene is Hans Zirkzees 2015 book *Jazz in Rotterdam: De geschiedenis van een grotestadscultuur* (Jazz in Rotterdam: the history of a big city culture). Starting in 1847, with the first musical developments towards jazz, jazz actually only arrived in Rotterdam around 1920, after the First World War.²⁸ In the rest of the book, Zirkzee takes the reader through the development of jazz in Rotterdam and shows that the two are inseparable, even during the Second World War. One thing is clear when reading the book: jazz was still played during the Second World War in the Netherlands. This thesis would like to expand research on jazz music during the Second World War, by looking at this period from the government's perspective.

All the literature only has one thing in common. That is the (inclusion of the) Second World War. The literature can be divided into several groups that all cover a great deal of the Second World War, and many also cover much of censorship during the Second World War in

²⁶ Toby Thacker, "Music and Politics in Germany 1933–1955: Approaches and Challenges," *History Compass* 5, no. 4 (June 2007).

²⁷ Loes Rusch, "Jazz in the Netherlands, 1919–2012: historical outlines of the development of a social and musical praxis," *Jazzforschung/Jazz Research* 44 (2012).

²⁸ Hans Zirkzee, *Jazz in Rotterdam: De geschiedenis van een grotestadscultuur* (Eindhoven: DATO, 2015), 11.

mainland Europe. This master thesis has already shown its academic and social relevance, but there should be a knowledge gap as well. Every research has touched upon jazz, the Netherlands, censorship and the Second World War. However, none have linked their analyses on why and how jazz was censored, and how effective censorship policies were in the Netherlands during Second World War. A quantitative study on this topic has also not been seen before.

2.5. Methodology: source selection

There are multiple primary sources that discuss the Netherlands during the Second World War. The kind of sources that are necessary depends on the questions asked. Questions relating to the *Reichskommissariat* do not require primary sources, as there is ample secondary literature on that subject. Questions relating to the views of the DVK and the *Kultuurkamer* do require archival material, as it is a matter of interpretation. A question relating to the media and jazz would of course require newspapers from the Second World War. Therefore, a variety of primary sources is necessary. This thesis will furthermore use a qualitative and quantitative research method. Written sources are necessary as primary sources, as the research question cannot be answered solely through the means of quantitative data. Because this thesis has also tested policy efficiency, the written sources were also used as quantitative data.

The sources were all selected based on the sub-questions, meaning that most sources are related to the DVK and NKK. The primary sources from the DVK and NKK can range from communication between departments to minutes of the meeting. Questions about the views of the DVK and *Kultuurkamer* has led to certain people, such as the head of the DVK dr. Tobie Goedewaagen. In the NIOD, there is a whole section in the archives just about his life as well as a biography written by Benien van Berkel.

This thesis did not utilize a search strategy. Instead, an ad-hoc search tactic was chosen, which yielded great results. By searching *kultuur*, it not only brought up the DVK, NKK and NKR, but it also resulted in some material from *Departement van Bijzondere Economische Zaken* and the *Nederlandsch-Duitsche Kultuurgemeenschap*.²⁹ Another search tactic used in this thesis was the snowball effect, in which one search could open possibilities to other searches.

The selection of qualitative data stems from the sub-questions asked in [chapter 4.1](#) about the Dutch departments that were concerned with censorship. The first sub-question, on the

²⁹ Translation: ‘Culture’; ‘Department of Special Economic Affairs’; ‘Dutch-German cultural society.’

governance of the Netherlands during the Second World War, requires sources regarding the Dutch civil service. In this case, secondary sources should be used as this sub-question is about context. The second sub-question also provides context for this master thesis. It is about the departments that were concerned with censorship in the Netherlands during the Second World War. Dutch governmental departments were given certain tasks and responsibilities by the Nazi government that often overlapped with each other to become stronger. This idea of a strong government was a concept that the Nazi's implemented, copying their own German government with overlapping departments and authorizations, causing infights. This would ensure 'organic process', according to national-socialist ideas, in which the strongest departments would surface and eventually lead to a stronger government overall. The overlapping Dutch departments relevant for this thesis were *de Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer* and the DVK.³⁰ Both were partially involved in organizing the world of art. A balance between secondary sources and primary sources, government documents for instance, is necessary to answer this second sub-question. Communication between the overlapping departments, for instance, can predominantly be found in primary sources.

Chapters five and six focused on the communication within and between the DVK and *Kultuurkamer*. This is where (execution of) policy and minutes of the meeting from the DVK and NKK come into place. Seeing as censorship is a government task during the Second World War, most (available) primary sources were governmental documents. For example, internal policy papers or minutes of the meeting of the DVK were used.

Censorship, however, is not a black and white story. It is not as if art is either completely censored, or not censored at all. Sometimes certain forms of art are still condoned, while others are already completely censored. Whether art can still be displayed or performed also depended on the city and on those executing the policies. In Rotterdam for instance, specifically the neighborhood Katendrecht, jazz was still played and in Amsterdam there was a famous case about café 't Wagenwiel. The Amsterdam café was famous for its visitors, mostly the Feldgendarmerie who were supposed to stop jazz concerts, and the Hidalgo Orchestra, a jazz band.

Relevant primary sources can be found in several places. Most sources are from the Dutch wartime civilian government, as this thesis has explained why jazz was censored in the

³⁰ Loe de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945: deel 7, mei '40 – maart '41 eerste helft* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972).; Loe de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945: deel 4, mei '40 – maart '41 tweede helft* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972): 501.; Loe de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945: deel 5, mei '40 – maart '41 eerste helft* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972): 271-272.

Netherlands during the Second World War. However, some sources were, for example, from newspapers and other media from that period. The fourth sub-question specifically, on the effectiveness of jazz censoring policies, included newspapers distributed during the Second World War that mention jazz music. These sources can be found in Delpher, a Dutch newspaper database. Keep in mind that Delpher is not a complete database and is continuously being expanded. This would also mean that not every newspaper is available in Delpher, which in turn means that amount of times jazz was mentioned could potentially be higher. Delpher is the best choice for this thesis, as it is not only a free-to-use database, but its data is also available online. For the secondary sources, academic databases are sufficient. The Erasmus University Library offers a lot of literature, but a quick search on Google will also show the *Universiteit van Amsterdam* (UvA) database full of master theses. Primary sources, however, are most likely found in archives.³¹ This master thesis primarily needs government sources from the Second World War. That means that the NIOD is the place to find these types of sources. For instance, archive 102, inventory number 2 and 10 are very relevant. These inventory numbers contain material on (*notulen van*) *de Departementsraad* and *Afdeling Muziek*.³² Propaganda books and films published by the Nazi occupiers, NSB or Dutch civil service departments providing information on culture, art, or any of the departments were also used. These last primary sources, for example, can directly explain why a Dutch Chamber of Culture is necessary, as clarified by Goedewaagen in *Waarom een Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer? Een algemene Toelichting*.

Source criticism

When analyzing these primary sources, one should always be critical of them, as the sources are not always reliable. Some might be biased. One should especially be very careful with some documents from the Second World War, as occupying forces in the Netherlands attempted to persuade the Dutch people to follow Third *Reich* national socialism. Statements are intentionally often factually wrong, as it can prove or strengthen National Socialist arguments, such as stating that Romantic artists all tried to find their way back to society, even though most Romantic artists tried to escape from society and its rapid (technical) modernization.³³

³¹ Translation: ‘University of Amsterdam.’

³² Translation: ‘Minutes of the meeting of the departmental council’; ‘Music Branch.’

³³ Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer, *Waarom een Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer? Een algemene Toelichting* (’s-Gravenhage: Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer, afdeling Voorlichting der Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer): 5.

However, the primary sources are reliable for the goal of this thesis, because the content of the sources does reflect how and why jazz was censored.

Moreover, Nazi writings are most of the time riddled with racism. Besides the fact that most of the racist views are factually wrong, one should not focus on condemning racist notions. Condemning racism does not add anything to this research. Instead, Nazi racism was used in this master thesis to understand how the Third *Reich* viewed certain art styles, such as jazz music.

Concepts

This thesis will distinguish two forms of censorship. On the one hand, there is direct censorship. This is a straightforward and clear form of censorship. Direct censorship, for instance, concerns the prohibition of certain art forms and art styles. Within direct censorship is also the difference between active and passive censorship: active is the physically censoring people, while passive is censorship through policies. On the other hand, there is indirect censorship. This form of censorship is harder to define than direct censorship. Indirect censorship is more concerned with shaping society in subtle manner. For instance, propaganda can influence society greatly, implementing ideas into society which leads to automatic censorship. This is very apparent in the way in which film was used to portray certain art forms and art styles.

Furthermore, as seen throughout the thesis, the concepts of art style and art form are explicitly distinguished. Art form is a discipline. Think of sculpting, dance, painting, theater, film and music. Art style, on the other hand, is the style within a discipline. Think of classical music, modernist classical music, jazz music, rock 'n roll and rap.

Policy is another concept that should be explained. Though the definition is the same to most people, it is still important, as only the Dutch and English languages know a word such as policy. To know the definition, we need to take a step back and look at sociologist Harold Lasswell, who simply asked “who gets what, when, how?” in his 1936 book *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How*.

Sociologist Victor Bekkers, Dean at the Erasmus School of Social and Behavioral Sciences at Erasmus University Rotterdam, defines policy slightly different. Bekkers defines policy as “*de gezaghebbende toebedeling van waarden*”. [...] *de stolling van deze afweging van deze waarden (in regels, voornemens, instrumenten)*. *Ofwel: het realiseren van bepaalde*

doelen met behulp van bepaalde middelen in een bepaalde tijdsvolgorde”.³⁴ It can also, according to Arwin van Buuren, be defined as “*Het stellen van doelen, middelen en tijdpad in onderlinge samenhang*” or “*aangeven van richting en middelen waarmee men gestelde organisatiedoelen wil realiseren binnen gestelde periode*”.³⁵ Van Buuren concludes that policy is, according to the descriptions, most of all intended strategy.³⁶

Then there is the notion of the government. In this research, government is made up of two levels. First there were the occupier and the Dutch collaborators. The Nazis created policies and governed and oversaw the Netherlands. Some collaborators such as Goedewaagen were also able to create certain policies, but these collaborators (including Goedewaagen) mainly had to lead the civil service. Under the overseer was the civil service, who were managing and executing tasks from the overseer. The civil servants were, even during the war, supposed to keep their post unless they were ordered to act contrary to the best interest of the Dutch population, as stated in pre-war Dutch law.³⁷

Theoretical framework

To interpret primary sources, this thesis has also used a theoretical framework. This framework should be used with care, within context and with full knowledge of that context, as this theory was used by the Nazis themselves. The theory in question is Social Darwinism. Note that this thesis will not use Social Darwinism as a theory to make claims about race. Instead, Social Darwinism will be used to understand why and how jazz was censored, and the measure of success of jazz censorship. The reason to use this ‘theory’ is because jazz music is often linked to race. Do note that Darwinism and Social Darwinism are two separate theories. Darwinism is an actual scientific theory focused on the evolution of animals, which included mankind, while

³⁴ Harold Lasswell, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1936); Victor Bekkers, *Beleid in beweging: Achtergronden, benaderingen, fasen en aspecten van beleid in de publieke sector* (Boom Bestuurskunde, 2017).

Translation: ‘The authoritative allocation of values. [...] the solidification of the consideration of these values (in rules, assumptions and instruments). In other words: realizing certain goals using certain means in a certain timescale.’

³⁵ Arwin van buuren, “Beeldsdynamiek & Issuemanagement,” lecture, Beeldsdynamiek & Issuemanagement from Erasmus University of Rotterdam, Rotterdam, 1 September 2020.

Translation: ‘Setting goals, resources and a timeline’; ‘Indicate direction and resources with which one wants to achieve the set organizational goals within the set period.’

³⁶ Arwin van buuren, “Beeldsdynamiek & Issuemanagement,” lecture, Beeldsdynamiek & Issuemanagement from Erasmus University of Rotterdam, Rotterdam, 1 September 2020.

³⁷ Nationaal Archief, Den Haag, Inventaris van het archief van het Ministerie van Algemene Zaken, (1932) 1937-1945, 2.03.06, 425 Ontwerp van Aanwijzingen betreffende de houding, aan te nemen door de bestuursorganen van het Rijk, de provinciën, gemeenten, waterschappen, veenschappen en veenpolders, alsmede door het daarbij in dienst zijnde personeel en door het personeel in dienst bij spoor- en tramwegen in geval van een vijandelijke aanval, bestemd voor behandeling in de ministerraad. Stencil. Z.j. (c. 1937).

Social Darwinism is a pseudoscientific racial fantasy that only focusses on natural selection and linking evolution to race and superiority.

Social Darwinism was used by the Nazis as propaganda in German schools. In the official biology curriculum, schools not only taught human evolution, but also “believed that the Aryan and Nordic race had evolved to a higher level than other race because of the harsh climatic conditions that influenced natural selection”.³⁸ Again, one can be critical of the Nazi claim that these ‘Aryan and Nordic races’ have evolved to a higher level due to climate conditions, as climate was just as harsh, if not harsher in desert, tundra and taiga (also ignoring the fact that both Nordic people as well as Russians lived in the taiga). Aside from factual errors, the Nazi ideas on race and superiority formed the backdrop for many of the Nazi policies such as eugenics, *Lebensraum* (the quest for more ‘living space’) and racial extermination.³⁹ In the designing of the Third *Reich* government, evolution also played a central role as government departments with overlapping jurisdictions competed to become the strongest and eventually survive. To make matters more interesting, since policy and race were intertwined, the Third *Reich* also had a special department for racial policy. This was the *Aufklärungsamt für Bevölkerungspolitik und Rassenpflege*.⁴⁰

Gobineau also contributed to the idea that the Aryan race was superior to all other races. The connection between racial hierarchy and art is also emphasized by Adolf Hitler himself: “When we know today that the evolution of millions of years, compressed into a few decades, repeats itself in every individual, then this [modernist] art, we realize, is not ‘modern’”.⁴¹ In Hitler’s view, modernist artists were more backward than modern and above all individuals who remained at a more primitive stage of evolution.⁴² Through Social Darwinism, but also other racial theories, it is clear what Nazi perspectives were on race, as well as art.

³⁸ Richard Weikart, “The Role of Darwinism in Nazi Racial Thought,” *German Studies Review* 36, no. 3 (2013): 537.

³⁹ Richard Weikart, “The Role of Darwinism in Nazi Racial Thought,” *German Studies Review* 36, no. 3 (2013): 537

⁴⁰ Weikart, “The Role of Darwinism,” 539.

Translation: ‘NSDAP Office of Racial Policy.’

⁴¹ Ibid.: 541.

⁴² Ibid.: 541.

3. Creating order from disorder

The Netherlands was one of the special cases of the Second World War. Other European countries, especially in eastern Europe, were treated harshly. The Netherlands, on the other hand, was treated relatively well. In all of Europe, only Norway and the Netherlands were governed by a *Reichskommissariat* since 1940 as opposed to a military administration, with the intention of future incorporation into the Third *Reich*. This was opposed to the idea of *Lebensraum* in eastern Europe, the idea that eastern Europe was a colonial territory. This territory would eventually be incorporated into the Third Reich as an area for settlers, a storehouse of raw materials and a gigantic granary.⁴³ Before researching the censoring of jazz, the government and administration of the Netherlands should be explained. An important distinction should also be made between the Dutch civil service and the *Reichskommissariat Niederlande*. So how were the Dutch civil service and the *Reichskommissariat Niederlande* organized between 1940-1945?

Firstly, there is the *Reichskommissariat*. This branch of the government was responsible for organizing the whole government and creating policy (albeit mostly ordered by the leaders of the Third *Reich*). The *Reichskommissariat* was furthermore the overarching organization and had the task to control the lower levels of the government. Secondly, the lower levels formed the Dutch civil service. This government branch was tasked with exercising policy created by the *Reichskommissariat*. Another important distinction should be made as well between the collaborating and accommodating branches of the government, meaning that some actively helped the Third Reich, while those who accommodated fit more into the gray areas mentioned before.

⁴³ Hein A.M. Klemann and Sergei Kudryashov, *Occupied Economies: An Economic History of Nazi-Occupied Europe, 1939-1945* (London/New York: Berg Publishers, 2012), 47.

3.1. Designing the new Netherlands

Hitler basically was the leader of the Netherlands, as he was Arthur Seyß-Inquart's leader, who acted as the *Reichskommissar* of the Netherlands. The *Reichskommissar* handed out orders to the four *Generalkommissariate*: *Generalkommissariat für Finanz und Wirtschaft*, *Generalkommissariat für das Sicherheitswesen*, *Generalkommissariat für Verwaltung und Justiz* and *Generalkommissariat zur Besonderen Verwendung*. The *Generalkommissare*, respectively Austria's Fischböck, Rauter, Wimmer and Germany's Schmidt (later Ritterbusch), were all leaders of their *Generalkommissariate*, or ministries.⁴⁴ Therefore, they distributed orders to these ministries. The ministries consisted of several departments that had many *rijksbureaus*.⁴⁵

Although these *Generalkommissarien* were the most important, there are a few other important ministries or departments left. The first department was *Het Departement van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (OKW).⁴⁶ This department was split in 1940 into OWK and DVK.⁴⁷ There were furthermore three other 'institutions' responsible for the supervision of the Netherlands which fell directly under Seyß-Inquart; The *Beauftragte* of *De Nederlandse Bank*, the *Präsidialabteilung* and Otto Bene.⁴⁸ However, the organizational structure is more complicated than presented by the *Reichskommissariat*. For instance, Hermann Göring, Joseph Goebbels and the *Wehrmacht* are also between Hitler and the authorities in the Netherlands. And in 1942, the structure even changes, pulling more authority towards the Third *Reich* as the Dutch became more reluctant towards the German occupation. The new structure incorporated Göring's Four Year Plan (to win over the Dutch for National Socialism), the *Wehrmacht*, the *Reich* Ministry for arms and ammunition and the *Arbeitseinsatz*.⁴⁹ In all these organizational

⁴⁴ Loe de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945: deel 4, maart '41 – juli '42 eerste helft* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972): 67.

Translation: 'General-Commission for Finance and Economy, General-Commission Security, General-Commission Administration and Justice and General-Commission for Special Use.'

⁴⁵ Hein A.M. Klemann and Sergei Kudryashov, *Occupied Economies: An Economic History of Nazi-Occupied Europe, 1939-1945* (London/New York: Berg Publishers, 2012).

Translation: 'Government office.'

⁴⁶ Translation: 'Department of education, arts and sciences.'

⁴⁷ Loe de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945: deel 5, mei '40 – maart '41 eerste helft* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972): 264.

⁴⁸ Loe de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945: deel 4, mei '40 – maart '41 eerste helft* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972): 67-68.

Bene was the representative of Third Reich minister of Foreign Affairs Joachim von Ribbentrop.

The *Beauftragte* was the supervisor of the central bank of the Netherlands.

The *Präsidialabteilung* was the presidential department, which was responsible for monitoring the *Reichskommissariat* and was concerned with personnel management.

⁴⁹ Hein A.M. Klemann and Sergei Kudryashov, *Occupied Economies: An Economic History of Nazi-Occupied Europe, 1939-1945* (London/New York: Berg Publishers, 2012).

Translation: 'Orders for forced labor.'

structures, both in the Netherlands and Germany, it is apparent that overlapping authorities were the norm in policymaking. According to Loe de Jong, Hitler even once said that “*Man muss die Menschen sich reiben lassen, durch Reibung entsteht Wärme und Wärme ist Energie*”.⁵⁰

The *Generalkommissare* had their ‘own’ tasks. Wimmer for administration and justice (e.g., legislation), Fischböck for finance and economics (e.g., finance, economic affairs and water management), Rauter for or public order and security and Schmidt (later Ritterbusch) for special duties. The latter referred to all issues concerning the formation of public opinion and non-economic associations, as well as tasks given by the *Reichskommissar* based on special decisions.⁵¹

The *Reichskommissar* had different tasks, which at times even contradicted. The first tasks focused on the one hand on preserving the Dutch East Indies and the smooth activation of the German war economy. This meant respecting the occupied territory, to not cause any trouble. On the other hand, there was Seyß-Inquart’s political task. He had to prepare the Dutch for a National Socialist political environment, which could cause chaos in the Netherlands.⁵² The second task can be found in the political life of the Netherlands. To win a war, warfare is necessary. This, however, meant restricting political life to some extent. Even so, the *Reichskommissar* was also tasked with developing the political life. Thus, Seyß-Inquart was cornered by two tasks: one benefitting Germany at war and the other benefitting Germany and the Netherlands in calmer periods.⁵³

In practice, the *Reichskommissariat*’s governing style can be characterized by *Wir steuern, die Hollander verwalten*.⁵⁴ For this to happen, Seyß-Inquart needed a supreme supervising board, an *Aufsichtsverwaltung*, although they did not just supervise.⁵⁵ Wimmers described the *Aufsichtsverwaltung* as the *Herrschafliche Aufsichtsverwaltung*.⁵⁶ All of this was already devised by Seyß-Inquart, even before he set out to the *Führerhauptquartier*.⁵⁷ However, the *Reichskommissar*’s blueprint was not very practical. For instance, Seyß-Inquart soon realized that the personal pre-screening of legal provisions from the *Generalkommissare* was

⁵⁰ Loe de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945: deel 4, mei '40 – maart '41 eerste helft* (’s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972): 50.

Translation: ‘One must create friction between people, for friction creates warmth and warmth creates energy.’

⁵¹ De Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog: deel 4 eerste helft*, 67-68.

⁵² Ibid.: 64.

⁵³ Ibid.: 65.

⁵⁴ Ibid.: 66.

Translation: ‘We govern, the Dutch manage.’

⁵⁵ Translation: ‘Supervising board.’

⁵⁶ Ibid.: 66.

Translation: ‘Noble supervising administration.’

⁵⁷ Translation: ‘Führer headquarters.’

unmanageable. Moreover, Seyß-Inquart even abolished the monitorization of the legal provisions of the lower governing bodies, meaning that these branches would not be supervised as close as before.⁵⁸ In most lower governing bodies, however, the Dutch were in charge. Even in the OWK, DVK and *Kultuurkamer*, relatively important departments, Dutch people were in charge, as this would most likely win Dutch hearts for National Socialism and assimilate the Netherlands by getting rid of non-European and Jewish influences in Dutch culture.⁵⁹

3.2. Conclusion

While the positions of *Generalkommissare* were all filled by Germans and Austrians, the positions at lower government branches such as the DVK were filled by Dutch collaborators. This was a deliberate choice, as it would send a message towards the Dutch population that they were equal to the Germans. This was central in the plan to assimilate the Netherlands. Culture was another essential aspect in the plan, as it was the only ‘real’ difference between the Netherlands and the Third *Reich*; politically, economically, and socially the two countries seemed similar. The task of cultural institutions was to rid the Dutch cultural landscape of ‘impure’ cultural influences such as jazz music and Jewish artists.

⁵⁸ Loe de Jong, *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog 1939-1945: deel 4, mei '40 – maart '41 eerste helft* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972): 68.

Lower governing bodies are, for instance, provincial governments, municipal governments, water boards (*waterschappen*) and bog boards (*veenschappen*).

⁵⁹ Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, archief 104, Departement van Volksvoorziening en Kunsten, inv.no. 2, Stukken betreffende het tot stand komen van de Verordening no. 211/1941 van de Rikscommissaris waarbij taak, doel, bestuur, inrichting en bevoegdheden van de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer zijn geregeld, 7 april - 22 november 1941, Verordening 210-211.

4. Controlling culture and censorship

While Seyß-Inquart's blueprint of the Netherlands made government formation seem easy, reality would tell us a different story. Besides the fact that many of the *Reichskommissar*'s plans were not very practical, some departments took a while to set up. For instance, *Het Departement van Opvoeding, Wetenschap en Kultuurbescherming* (OWK) and the DVK came into existence after the OKW was split up.⁶⁰ And because of overlapping authorities, there was a lot of ambiguity about who was supposed to do what.

The OWK and DVK have much in common. They are both responsible for art, as well as some form of shaping society. But these are not the only institutions responsible for art. There are also the *Kultuurkamer* and the *Kultuurraad*. As they were responsible for the arts, a lot of authorities overlapped between the two departments. It seemed, however, that the *Kultuurraad* was also an advisory board for all cultural institutions, which made it different from the *Kultuurkamer*.⁶¹

There are still a few questions left before analyzing why jazz was censored. For instance, which governing bodies were responsible for censorship? Who were the presidents of these governing bodies? What sort of policy was created at the start of these governing bodies? *Het Departement van Volksvoortlichting en Kunsten* and the *Kultuurkamer* will be researched in this sub-question, as most of the archival material on (jazz) music originated from those institutions.

4.1. Starting the DVK

The *Departement van Volksvoortlichting en Kunsten* was one of the important departments responsible for the cultural education of people, as well as the management of the arts. This department was also responsible for the creation of *de Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer* and *de Nederlandsche Kultuurraad*. Until 1943, the DVK was headed by dr. Tobie Goedewaagen. After Tobie Goedewaagen was fired, Hermannus Reydon took over. Unfortunately for Reydon, this was only a short-lived job, as he was critically injured during an assassination attempt. Although he did not die immediately, Reydon did die after six months from the injuries he sustained at the assassination attempt. After Reydon, the remaining 1.5-2 years of the DVK and the *Kultuurkamer* were led by the acting Secretary-General, Sebastiaan Matheus Sigismund de Ranitz.

⁶⁰ Translation: 'Department for Education, Arts and Sciences.'

⁶¹ Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, archief 102, Departement van Volksvoortlichting en Kunsten, inv.no. 2, Stukken betreffende het tot stand komen van de Verordening no. 211/1941 van de Rikscommissaris waarbij taak, doel, bestuur, inrichting en bevoegdheden van de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer zijn geregeld, 7 april - 22 november 1941.

Before 1940, the Netherlands were not familiar with institutions specifically for either culture or propaganda. When the last Secretary-General of the OKW (Gerrit van Poelje) was fired, culture was separated from the department. This led to the creation of the DVK. Although the OKW lost a significant portion of its cultural responsibility, it kept the ‘K’, as the department was now called *Het Departement van Opvoeding, Wetenschap en Kultuurbescherming* instead of *het Ministerie van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen*. But what the OKW and the DVK still had in common, was that the departments were responsible for the conservation of the Dutch national character.

Before its existence, the DVK was intended to emphasize propaganda instead of art. However, Goedewaagen insisted that the focus of the department should be more on art, even before his official appointment as Secretary-General on November 25, 1940. Because this appointment came out of nowhere for the other Secretaries-General, no one helped Goedewaagen. Goedewaagen’s department also had to work in the OKW’s old office. Goedewaagen described the first few weeks as being “*zonder gebouw, zonder gelden en zonder personeel*”.⁶²

Fortunately for Goedewaagen, it did not take too long before he did have a building, money and personnel. The starting budget was a ‘mere’ 200,000 guilders, which was (as Benien van Berkel described in her PhD thesis) an inheritance of the department of Arts and Sciences of the former OKW ministry. Furthermore, six senior civil servants and one junior civil servant came over from the Arts and Sciences department. Seeing this start, it was astonishing how quickly Goedewaagen built up the DVK. On December 18, just one month after his official appointment, Goedewaagen found a building and was busy recruiting people who could lead the different branches of the DVK. According to the blueprints, two leaders for the sector Public Information and four leaders for the sector Arts were needed.⁶³

These sectors were then divided into several branches. The Public Information sector consisted of *Perswezen*, and *Film en Radio*. The Arts sector, in turn, was divided into *Muziek*; *Bouwkunst, Beeldende Kunsten en Kunstnijverheid*; *Toneel en Dans*; *Letteren*. The structure of

⁶² Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, archief 216, College Secretarissen-generaal, inv.no. 3g.; Dr. T. Goedewaagen, “Hoe ik een national-socialist werd en was” (unpublished manuscript, 1949-1950), 2.; Benien van Berkel, “Dr. Tobie Goedewaagen (1895-1980): een leven lang nationaal-socialist” (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2012), 182; Goedewaagen’s recalling of his position at the DVK was actually slightly exaggerated as he claimed to have been involved with the DVK as early as the summer of 1940. Furthermore, Goedewaagen’s son had his fathers’ permission to listen to English radio, unless there were guests. The Dutch population, however, were prohibited from listening to English radio.
Translation: ‘Without building, without money and without personnel.’

⁶³ Benien van Berkel, “Dr. Tobie Goedewaagen (1895-1980): een leven lang nationaal-socialist” (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2012), 182.

the DVK was almost complete at this point. At the start of 1941, the heads of the sectors were appointed, and only minor changes happened with regards to departmental division. Only Propaganda (officially called Active Propaganda) was added to the Public Information sector. The Arts sector changed slightly more as the branch now consisted of *Theater en Dans; Muziek; Bouwkunst, Beeldende Kunsten en Kunstambacht; Boekwezen; Cultuur en Ontspanning*. The DVK staff was also expanded to 173 civil servants, who were all newly recruited. Only in a few vital positions, such as finance, were civil servants taken over from other departments. Eventually, one of the first policies was to remove all Jewish artists from the Dutch cultural scene in 1941, as part of bigger plan to oust Jewish people from society and pauperize the Jewish community.⁶⁴

For the Arts sector, Goedewaagen approached four candidates. For the Music branch Jan-Govert Goverts was approached. According to van Berkel, the Music branch stood out positively under Goverts' guidance in terms of organization and results, as he was already familiar with (the workings and influence of) the *Reichskultkammer*. Goverts' interest was illustrated by the fact that he thought that the Dutch music scene would benefit from the social and cultural improvements that would be established by the corporate structure and guidance of the *Reichskultkammer*. That Goverts was enthusiastic about the chamber of cultures (both the Dutch and German institutions) was very clear: before his appointment on January 1, 1941, Goverts already devised several plans and propositions, ready to be used as soon as possible.⁶⁵ A familiar face also pops up in December 1940: De Ranitz. Up to this point, De Ranitz was a Dutch lawyer and a *Jonkheer*, but after Goedewaagen recruited him, De Ranitz became head of the department of Cabinet and Legal Affairs for the DVK.⁶⁶

What is striking is that all these men were not civil servants, or even trained to be civil servants. Van Berkel noticed this and suggested that there was one advantage and one disadvantage to this. The advantage here was that Goedewaagen got to work with specialists. They would know everything about their respective field. But the downside is that these branch leaders were often too stubborn and independent. As these people were also not trained civil servants, they neither knew how to work in a civil servant environment, nor what its customs were.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Benien van Berkel, "Dr. Tobie Goedewaagen (1895-1980): een leven lang nationaal-socialist" (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2012), 182-183, 186.

⁶⁵ Van Berkel, "Dr. Tobie Goedewaagen (1895-1980)", 183.

⁶⁶ A *Jonkheer* is a young lord and lowest rank within Dutch nobility.

⁶⁷ Benien van Berkel, "Dr. Tobie Goedewaagen (1895-1980): een leven lang nationaal-socialist" (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2012), 184.

While the branch leaders were experts in their respective fields, the lower civil servants were the exact opposite. A membership of the NSB was more important than their expertise. Apparently, this also had great influence on the work environment, as Goedewaagen would later recall that he had to ‘fight for and against administrators, legal secretaries, chief commissioners and commissioners’. While the NSB mentality and recruitment did not help the workflow, the problem was much older than the NSB itself. The former Minister of Education, Henri Marchant, remarked in 1933 that the civil service already was quite dysfunctional: “Ieder handelt daar in zijn eigen afdeeling naar eigen inzicht en zonder contact met de rest”.⁶⁸ Four years before, the Central Reorganization Committee also noted that the Education department was not functioning well.⁶⁹

The relationship between Goedewaagen and other Secretaries-General was also difficult. According to van Berkel, Secretary-General Jan van Dam of the OWK and Goedewaagen were constantly at each other’s throats.⁷⁰ Van Dam, for instance, constantly tried to enhance the OWK’s influence, which thwarted Goedewaagen’s policies and especially his plans for the *Kultuurkamer*. But Goedewaagen was not innocent either, as a letter about a new Labor Museum in Amsterdam was accidentally sent to Goedewaagen instead of Van Dam. Goedewaagen (ab)used this situation to enthusiastically send out a press release and viewed this subject as a matter for the DVK.⁷¹

4.2. *Kultuurkamer: Gatekeeping the Dutch art scene*

The *Kultuurkamer* has, much like the *Reichskommissariat*, a complicated structure with many layers. On top of the structure is the Secretary-General of the DVK, Tobie Goedewaagen. Under normal circumstances, the president would serve directly under Goedewaagen. However, Goedewaagen was also the president of the *Kultuurkamer*. Then there were two vice-presidents (one is director general, the *Dagelijkse Algemeene Leider*, the other the first vice-president).⁷² The director general watched over the rest of the structure. Somewhat independent of the subordinate organizational structure, though still under the director general’s authority, are three branches. These are the *Cultuurweekblad*, *Administrateur* and *Juridisch Adviseur*.⁷³ The

⁶⁸ Van Berkel, “Dr. Tobie Goedewaagen (1895-1980), 185.

Translation: ‘Everyone acts within their own department with their own vision without contact with the rest.’

⁶⁹ Ibid.: 185.

⁷⁰ Ibid.: 188.

⁷¹ Ibid.: 188.

⁷² Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, archief 102, Departement van Volksvoortichting en Kunsten, inv.no. 2.

⁷³ Translation: ‘Cultural magazine, administrator and legal advisor.’

guilds were the subordinate branches in the *Kultuurkamer*. There was a total of six guilds that all had their own leader: *Beeldende Kunsten Gilde*, *Filmgilde*, *Letterengilde*, *Persgilde*, *Theatergilde* and the *Muziekgilde*. Even the guilds had subordinates: these were the *Onderleiders* (subordinate leaders) who were responsible for the day-to-day affairs and led the administration as well as the different branches of the guilds.⁷⁴

The Kultuurkamer has known a rough start, however. In the beginning of the German occupation in the Netherlands, the Kultuurkamer did not exist. It was only after a year, in 1941, when the DVK decided to start a Dutch Chamber of Culture. Through ordinance 211 (published near the end of November), the *Kultuurkamer* was created on paper. The following main task was ascribed to the *Kultuurkamer*:

“Het is de taak van de Kultuurkamer door samenwerking van allen [de gilden], de Nederlandsche kultuur in het licht van haar verantwoordelijkheid tegenover de volksgemeenschap te bevorderen, de vakkundige, economische en maatschappelijke aangelegenheden der kultuurberoepen te regelen en overeenstemming te brengen in het streven der tot haar behoorende groepen.”⁷⁵

Note that the task of the *Kultuurkamer* was to promote Dutch culture considering its responsibility towards the community. This would already rule out arts that are not part of Dutch culture. This would exclude many modern arts, such as modernist painting (think of works similar to that of Piet Mondriaan and Pablo Picasso) and modernist music (Duke Ellington and Igor Stravinsky).

Another task of the *Kultuurkamer* was to be a gatekeeper of the Dutch art scene. The president had several authorizations. All artist who wished to perform had to become members

⁷⁴ Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, archief 102, Departement van Volksvoortlichting en Kunsten, inv.no. 2, Stukken betreffende het tot stand komen van de Verordening no. 211/1941 van de Rijkscommissaris waarbij taak, doel, bestuur, inrichting en bevoegdheden van de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer zijn geregeld, 7 april - 22 november 1941, Verordening 212-211.

⁷⁵ NIOD, archief 104 DVK, inv.no. 2, Stukken betreffende het tot stand komen van de Verordening no. 211/1941 van de Rijkscommissaris waarbij taak, doel, bestuur, inrichting en bevoegdheden van de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer zijn geregeld, 7 april - 22 november 1941, Verordening 210-211.

Translation: ‘It is the task of the chamber of culture, through cooperation with all [all guilds], to promote Dutch culture in light of its responsibility towards the community, to regulate the professional, economic and the social-cultural affairs of the cultural professions, and to make sure that the goals of the guilds are the same.’

Fun fact: the *Kultuurkamer* was first called *Cultuurkamer* (as it would usually be written in Dutch). However, the leaders of the *Kultuurkamer* thought it was more appropriate to spell it with a ‘k’, as it would be more Germanic. Using ‘c’ would only alienate German culture, which is actually contrary to the task of the *Kultuurkamer*: promoting Dutch culture.

of the *Kultuurkamer*. Based on competence, art style and heritage of the artist, membership could either be granted or rejected. The one who had to decide this sort of ‘worthiness’ was the president. As stated in ordinance 211, section 2, article 3, membership was mandatory:

“Hij die meewerkt aan de voortbrenging, de weergave, de geestelijke of technische bewerking, de verspreiding, de instandhouding, het in het verkeer brengen of de bemiddeling tot het in het verkeer brengen van kultuурgoed, is verplicht lid te zijn van de NKK, tenzij dit medewerken een uitsluitend commerciële, administratieve, technische of mechanische werkzaamheid is.”⁷⁶

The president would thus merely base rejection or access to the *Kultuurkamer* on competence, which had to fit in the Germanic National Socialist ideology. This meant that if an artist was rejected, they would be professionally banned. However, as will be seen in chapter six of this master thesis, competence was often not linked to talent. The only clear reason to reject membership, besides competence, has been stated in articles 10 and 11 of ordinance 211:

“Joden en Joods-vermaagschapte personen zijn uitgesloten van de Kultuurkamer.”

“De Secretaris-Generaal van het departement van Volksvoortlichting en Kunsten kan in bijzondere gevallen toestaan dat:

- *Joden en Joods-vermaagschapte personen lid worden van de NKK*
- *Verenigingen van personen of stichtingen, welk lid van de NKK moeten zijn, van de verplichting lid te zijn worden vrijgesteld, indien haar leden uitsluitend joden zijn of indien het stichtingsvermogen uitsluitend ten bate van joden wordt aangewend.”⁷⁷*

So, as expected, Jewish people and people with Jewish family members were excluded from membership of the *Kultuurkamer*. But not only Jewish people were excluded. For instance,

⁷⁶ NIOD, archief 104 DVK, inv.no. 2, Stukken betreffende het tot stand komen van de Verordening no. 211/1941 van de Rijkscommissaris waarbij taak, doel, bestuur, inrichting en bevoegdheden van de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer zijn geregeld, 7 april - 22 november 1941, Verordening 210-211.

Translation: ‘He who cooperates with the production, displaying and spiritual or technical process, distribution, circulation or mediation of circulation of cultural objects, is obligated to be a member of the Dutch Chamber of Culture, unless cooperation is exclusively a commercial, administrative [...].’

⁷⁷ NIOD, archief 104 DVK, inv.no. 2, Stukken betreffende het tot stand komen van de Verordening no. 211/1941 van de Rijkscommissaris waarbij taak, doel, bestuur, inrichting en bevoegdheden van de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer zijn geregeld, 7 april - 22 november 1941, Verordening 210-211.

black people were also excluded, even though this was not stated in the first set of ordinances published by the *Kultuurkamer*.⁷⁸ What's more, in 1942 Surinam jazz musician Lou Holtuin wrote to Anton Mussert (the 'leader of the Netherlands'), requesting him to lift the prohibition on performing music.⁷⁹

For artists, it seems as if many of them were eager to join the *Kultuurkamer*. Although this might imply that artists were open for collaboration, membership of the *Kultuurkamer* was not a black and white story. For instance, there were a lot of people who were a member, even if this was only to provide for themselves or their family. Claartje Wesselink perfectly described it: 'With the decision concerning access to the *Kultuurkamer*, pragmatism faced the principal. It was self-interest against civil courage'.⁸⁰

4.3. Conclusion

Goedewaagen and the DVK were confronted with a period of turbulence and stability. Though stability and turbulence are conflicting concepts, the DVK initially had a rough start with a small budget and only a handful of civil servants. Somehow, Goedewaagen managed to appoint four branch leaders in just a few months. One branch that stood out from the rest was the DVK's Music branch as Goverts already had lots of plans just waiting to be used. Besides Goverts' preparation, he was also an expert in the field of music. In fact, all the branch leaders were experts in their respective fields. Such technocratic decisions were quite normal during occupation. However, there was an advantage and a disadvantage to technocracy. The advantage was that Goedewaagen worked with specialists who were very familiar with their subjects. The downside was that the heads were too stubborn, independent, and not trained as civil servants; they would not know how to work in a civil service environment, nor what its customs were.

⁷⁸ Disclaimer: this thesis uses the term "black people" to refer to certain historical figures. I have reviewed multiple academic and media sources on the matter of terminology. I came across terms such as "negroes/niggers", "blacks", "African Americans", "people of color (POC)" and "Black and Indigenous people of color (or BIPOC)". Some sources also comment on which term to use, and all sources claim something different, making it more difficult to choose a definite term. I recognize that these terms have a lot of possible negative racial energy and that the correct terminology changes faster than technology. I made the conscious choice for black people as it is the most accurate description and translation for the historical figures I describe in this thesis and hope to do them (the figures described in this thesis) justice with this research.

⁷⁹ Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, archief 249-A0446B, Dossier – Muziek (aanvullingen), inv.no. 5.

⁸⁰ Claartje Wesselink, "Kunstenaars van de Kultuurkamer: geschiedenis en herinnering" (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2014), 87.

Original: "Bij de beslissing over toetreding tot de Kultuurkamer stond het pragmatische tegenover het principiële, eigenbelang tegenover Zivilcourage."

It became more apparent that the DVK would face more challenges in the future, as lower civil servants were judged more on their NSB membership than their competence. It should be noted that an incompetent civil service was not just a problem that Goedewaagen and his companions had to deal with. Long before the war started, in 1933 and 1929, there were already remarks on the incompetence of the Dutch civil service.

On top of the incompetent civil service, the Secretaries-General were also regularly at each other's throats. One example showcased that Goedewaagen had several conflicts with Van Dam, the leader of the OWK. Van Dam wanted to expand the OWK, even though this foiled Goedewaagen's plans for both the DVK and *Kultuurkamer*. But Goedewaagen interfered with Van Dam's plans as well, as he sent out a press release about a new museum, even though the letter greenlighting the plan was meant for Van Dam.

Besides being the leader of the DVK, Goedewaagen was also the president of the *Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer*. Much like the DVK, the start of the *Kultuurkamer* was not smooth. Through ordinance 211, the *Kultuurkamer* was created on paper. Its main tasks were to promote Dutch culture considering its responsibility towards the community and to be a gatekeeper of the Dutch art scene. The president had more detailed tasks. As only members of the *Kultuurkamer* could showcase or perform their art, the president had to judge whether an artist could become a member of the *Kultuurkamer*. This was based on competence, or so the *Kultuurkamer* and DVK claimed. It was in fact mostly based on what art style fit the Germanic National Socialist ideology. Thus, as expected, Jewish artists (and artists with Jewish family members, such as spouses) were excluded from the *Kultuurkamer*. But not only Jewish people were excluded. Black people were also, around 1942/1943, excluded from membership. Exclusion of black people, however, did not go so well as excluding Jewish people.

5. A primitive modern art form

It is clear that the occupying forces in the Netherlands were not fond of modernist arts, or any other art form that was not part of the Dutch (or Germanic) culture. But how did the German occupiers and the Dutch collaborators view jazz music specifically during the Second World War? As you can guess, they were not fond of jazz either, even to the extent that they attempted to censor it. For instance, playing and performing music with “*Primitief-negroïde en/of negritische muziekelementen*”, which were often seen as elements of jazz, was prohibited to Dutch civilians starting from 1944.⁸¹ To understand why the occupying forces had such a negative view of jazz and even attempted to censor it, which is a very big part of the answer to the main question of this thesis, there are three topics that need to be discussed. Firstly, how and why the occupying forces and Dutch collaborators defined jazz should be researched. Secondly, this chapter discusses how the occupying forces and collaborators used this definition specifically to justify their measures against jazz music and make them as effective as possible. Thirdly, the reasoning behind their actions will be researched, which to a certain extent can be found by analyzing their views.

5.1. Defining jazz, the DVK way

Jazz music is very hard to define. In my research report from the Maritime Museum in Rotterdam on the influence of maritime transport, a jazz artist, when asked how he defined jazz, was not able to really answer what jazz was. He said that it was more a feeling than anything. The only other thing he could say about jazz is that swing was central to this genre. The Dutch collaborators and German occupiers, however, did attempt to define this genre in detail.

Jazz music was eventually defined by the DVK.⁸² The definition itself is placed in a small booklet consisting of four pages.⁸³ The description of jazz music, aside from the very racist descriptions, which are quite useful later on, is defined quite thoroughly. For the full text, see [Appendix 1](#). In short, the definition is cut into four different sections: “*In de voordracht*”, “*in de melodie*”, “*in den vorm*” and “*in het instrumentgebruik*”.⁸⁴ These sections all discuss

⁸¹ Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, archief 102, Departement van Volksvoorlichting en Kunsten, inv.no. 2544, Voorwaarden verbonden aan het verlenen van een vergunning voor dans- en amusementsmuziek; verbod van negroïde en negritische elementen in dans- en amusementsmuziek, 1944.

⁸² NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2544, Voorwaarden verbonden aan het verlenen van een vergunning voor dans- en amusementsmuziek; verbod van negroïde en negritische elementen in dans- en amusementsmuziek. Translation: ‘Primitive negro and/or negrito music elements.’

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

Translation: ‘Performance, melody, form, use of instruments.’

various characteristics of jazz. In the first section, performance, jazz is the application of certain effects (such as an excessive vibrato, imitating instruments by using your voice, scat singing, timbre). The second section, though slightly odd, is similar to the jazz artist's definition in the introduction: "*De voor de negers karakteristieke en als zodanig onfeilbaar te herkennen melodievorming*".⁸⁵ The third part, on form, discusses what a jazz song looks like. For instance, one of the characteristics is that licks or riffs would last more than three bars before a solo instrument 'interrupts' this process (also known as an ostinato). Another characteristic is "*de toepassing van negersche ostinate basvormen, die gebaseerd zijn op den gebroken drieklank*".⁸⁶ Quite simply put, it is the application of a shuffle, mostly known in styles called boogie-woogie, honky-tonk and barrelhouse.⁸⁷ In the fourth and final section on instruments, the DVK proclaims that jazz music uses several instruments that are, for instance, seen as 'primitive' or used 'primitively'. These are, according to the DVK, the 'Cuban-negro' instrument called quijada (the jaw of a horse or donkey) and the 'North-American-negro' washboard. Brass mutes are also used in jazz music. These supposedly imitate the sound of your throat.⁸⁸

The last part of this section is even stranger. The DVK describes the following: "*het aanwenden van een langdurige constante beklemtoning van tweeden en vierden maattel in een vierkwartsmaat. In jazzterminologie: het aanwenden van het langdurig volgehouden "offbeat" effect*".⁸⁹ The description of this last characteristic is incomplete, even though it is one of the most important characteristics. The DVK should not only have highlighted the constant use of accentuation of the second and fourth beat, but also the use syncopation, shuffle or swing. Jazz ultimately has, in arguably every song, the element of swing, shuffle or syncopation.

Lastly, the DVK also makes sure to describe what they mean with "*Verbod van negroïde en negritische elementen in dans- en amusementsmuziek*", specifically about who is a 'negro' or a 'negrito'.⁹⁰ A 'negro' is, according to the DVK, people that belong to the 'negro race'. These are 'African negroes (including those living outside Africa), as well as the Pygmies, Bushmen and Hottentots'. The 'negritoes', however, 'are in the broadest sense small build,

⁸⁵ NIOD, 102 DVK, inv.no. 2544, Voorwaarden verbonden aan het verlenen van een vergunning voor dans- en amusementsmuziek; verbod van negroïde en negritische elementen in dans- en amusementsmuziek, 1944.
Translation: 'The, for negroes, characteristic and infallible recognizable melody formation.'

⁸⁶ NIOD, 102 DVK, inv.no. 2544, Voorwaarden verbonden aan het verlenen van een vergunning voor dans- en amusementsmuziek; verbod van negroïde en negritische elementen in dans- en amusementsmuziek, 1944.
Translation: 'Application of the negro ostinato bass forms, that are based on the broken triplet.'

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

Translation: 'Using a long-lasting constant accentuation of the second and fourth beat in common/quadruple/four-four-time signature. In jazz terminology: using a long-lasting off-beat effect.'

⁹⁰ Translation: 'Prohibition on negro and negrito elements in dance- and amusement music.'

spiral- or Afro-textured haired black inhabitants of South-East Asia, Melanesia and Central Africa'.⁹¹

5.2. Discussing actions against jazz music in the government

As the cultural institutions thought that they had defined jazz music, the cultural institutions of the Netherlands went on to attempt to corner the music genre and its musicians. The development of the definition of jazz can be found as early as 19 April 1941, in a letter to Ray Goossens (the Sydney Welsh Band) from Jan Goverts (head of the music branch at DVK). Goossens was looking for information on jazz and its 'hot' variation, hot jazz. In Goverts' reply to Goossens, he distinguishes jazz into two different categories: hot jazz and jazz. Goverts does not define 'regular' jazz unfortunately, but he does define hot jazz. This was, supposedly, 'pure negro music, played by negroes in an improvising manner', 'not understood by non-negroes' and 'not played by non-negroes in an improvising manner, and if he does, it is imitated poorly.' These points, and thus ultimately hot jazz, are rejected by the DVK.⁹² This definition of hot jazz is one of the starting points of repression of jazz music in the Netherlands. Issues with jazz music, however, only started arising from about 1943. It was during this year that not only frictions between the governmental institutions and musicians started popping up, but also frictions between the institutions themselves.

Perfectly exemplifying the friction between institutions is the Hidalgo case. Musician E.M. (Mike) Hidalgo was allowed to play with his 'Orchestra Hidalgo'. This was odd, as almost every musician with Surinam roots was excluded from the *Kultuurkamer*, and in effect excluded from performing music, except for Hidalgo and his (small) orchestra. Going over the DVK's head, Hidalgo helped the *Sicherheitsdienst* (SD) with tracking down "publieke vrouwen [...], die geslachtsziek waren en omgang hadden met leden van de Weermacht".⁹³ In exchange for his services, Herr Abas of the *General-Kommando* Hamburg contacted dr. Joachim Bergfeld,

⁹¹ NIOD, 102 DVK, inv.no. 2544, Voorwaarden verbonden aan het verlenen van een vergunning voor dans- en amusementsmuziek; verbod van negroïde en negritische elementen in dans- en amusementsmuziek, 1944.

⁹² Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, archief 102, Departement van Volksvoortichting en Kunsten, inv.no. 2641, Stukken betreffende het verbod op het ten gehore brengen van Joodse of door Joden bewerkte muziek en negermuziek, onder meer een decreet van de Reichminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda J. Goebbels getiteld Programmagestaltung des Deutschen musiklebens.

Original: "Zuivere negermuziek, door negers al improviserende gespeeld", "de niet-neger verstaat deze kunst niet" and "De niet-neger improviseert niet en als hij het doet, imiteert hij het slechts".

⁹³ Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, archief 102, Departement van Volksvoortichting en Kunsten, inv.no. 590, Stukken betreffende het intrekken van werkvergunningen en het weigeren van lidmaatschappen van Surinaamse negermusici door de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer, 20 augustus 1943 - 7 januari 1944, 26 augustus 1943.

Translation: 'public women [...], who had venereal diseases and interacted with members of the *Wehrmacht*'.

head of the *Abteilung Kultur* (AK), who provided Hidalgo and his orchestra with ‘blue cards’, temporary *Kultuurkamer* membership cards.

This was not appreciated by the DVK. In reaction to this peculiar situation, the Head of Legal Affairs of the DVK, Dirk Spanjaard, wrote the following:

“*Gezien de corrupten geest op den Nieuwendijk is het van het grootste belang, dat het prestige van de Kultuurkamer niet opnieuw een knauw krijgt. Reeds hebben wij met man en macht moeten verhinderen, dat andere negerorkesten zich met een beroep op de zaak Hidalgo, wederom op den Nieuwendijk nestelden, niettegenstaande zij door de Kultuurkamer werden geweigerd.*”⁹⁴

The DVK and *Kultuurkamer* thus had much trouble preventing other ‘negro orchestras’ from playing jazz music. Seeing the case of Hidalgo, it could have formed a precedent to perform music despite their prohibition. Not only was this case problematic, but registration also formed a problem, as many ‘negro musicians’ would simply register as a Dutch (and thus white and without ‘negro descendants’) musician. By taking advantage of the system, many musicians were able to circumvent the prohibition⁹⁵

One of those musicians was Hidalgo orchestra drummer Holtuin, who at the end of 1943, ran into trouble with his blue card. Rightfully, he had questions about his membership of the *Kultuurkamer*. On August 2, 1943, Holtuin was informed that he could not become a permanent member of the *Kultuurkamer*. On August 23, Holtuin also received a request to hand in his blue card. However, on September 1, Holtuin also received a letter telling him that the letter of August 23 was a clerical error, and that he would remain a member of the *Kultuurkamer* for the time being.⁹⁶ At the end of Holtuin’s letter to the *Gewestelijke Bureau Noord Holland*, he requests to be permanent member of the *Kultuurkamer*.⁹⁷ This is where some confusion

⁹⁴ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 590, Stukken betreffende het intrekken van werkvergunningen en het weigeren van lidmaatschappen van Surinaamse negermusici door de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer, 20 augustus 1943 - 7 januari 1944, 26 augustus 1943.

Translation: ‘Seeing the corrupt spirit/mind on the *Nieuwendijk*, it is of the utmost importance that the prestige of the *Kultuurkamer* is not damaged again. With might and main, we recently had to prevent other negro orchestras from appealing to the Hidalgo case and once again nest on the *Nieuwendijk*, notwithstanding that they were refused by the *Kultuurkamer*.’

⁹⁵ Kees Wouters, “Ongewenschte Muziek: De bestrijding van jazz en moderne amusementsmuziek in Duitsland en Nederland 1920-1945” (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 1991), 292.

⁹⁶ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 590, Stukken betreffende het intrekken van werkvergunningen en het weigeren van lidmaatschappen van Surinaamse negermusici door de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer, 20 augustus 1943 - 7 januari 1944.

⁹⁷ Translation: ‘Western Bureau North-Holland.’

arises. The Bureau sent this request to the DVK itself, asking what to do. Promptly, the DVK asked in return why the Bureau sent this letter, as the answer is obvious. According to the Bureau, personal relationships between Holtuin and Dirk Beuzenberg of the *Gewestelijke Bureau Noord Holland* got in the way.⁹⁸ Beuzenberg understood that Holtuin was a ‘Surinam negro’, however, Beuzenberg states, Holtuin was a decent man and understands the circumstances. As a response, the DVK invited Holtuin over for a meeting, only to personally tell him that his request had been rejected after a year of failing to revoke his blue card.⁹⁹ This affair with Holtuin is also exemplary of how different institutions communicate with each other. Similar affairs have also occurred with a musician called Garcia, in which it was not clear whether he could still perform music.¹⁰⁰

Not only were active adult musicians a problem according to the DVK and *Kultuurkamer*, but children were also a sensitive issue. The Inspectorate of Education complained about jazz music, “*negro-spirituals*” and “*Hawaii- en Krontjongmuziek*” being sung in Dutch schools.¹⁰¹ According to the inspectorate, singing ‘negro’ songs was highly unwanted:

“Afgezien van dit verbod is het uit [...] oogpunt m.i. hoogst ongewenscht, dat schoolkinderen het zingen wordt aangeleerd van negerliederen, welken bouw, rythme en melodie in scherpe tegenstelling staan tot die bij ons gangbare volksliederen en andere wijzen in den volkstoon.”¹⁰²

The document ends with some future decisions: the first decision is that Kroncong music may only be played by indigenous ensembles, while Aryan ensembles may only play such music

⁹⁸ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 590, Stukken betreffende het intrekken van werkvergunningen en het weigeren van lidmaatschappen van Surinaamse negermusici door de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer, 20 augustus 1943 - 7 januari 1944, 10 december 1943-7 januari 1944, Uitleg waarom het gewestelijk bureau Noord-Holland Holtuin doorstuurde naar het DVK.

⁹⁹ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 590, Stukken betreffende het intrekken van werkvergunningen en het weigeren van lidmaatschappen van Surinaamse negermusici door de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer, 20 augustus 1943 - 7 januari 1944, 10 december 1943-7 januari 1944; Kees Wouters, “Ongewenschte Muziek: De bestrijding van jazz en moderne amusementsmuziek in Duitsland en Nederland 1920-1945” (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 1991), 292.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Translation: ‘Hawaii and Kroncong music.’

¹⁰² NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2641, Stukken betreffende het verbod op het ten gehore brengen van Joodse of door Joden bewerkte muziek en negermuziek, onder meer een decreet van de Reichminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda J. Goebbels getiteld Programmgestaltung des Deutschen musiklebens, Onderwijsinspectie over het zingen van “negro-spirituals”, 1943.

Translation: ‘Apart from the prohibition, it is from [...] view, in my opinion it is highly unwanted, that schoolchildren are taught to sing negro songs, which structure, rhythm and melody are in sharp contrast to our accepted folk songs and other tunes in the folk voice.’

sporadically. The second decision is that Hawaii music will face such drastic measures, but the genre does need to be fend off so to prevent it from anchoring itself in the Dutch national character.¹⁰³

5.3. The issues of jazz music according to the DVK and *Kultuurkamer*

Hints of how jazz was viewed by the occupying forces and Dutch collaborators are scattered throughout this thesis. However, these hints need to be put in perspective as it is important to not only know how jazz was defined, but also why it is defined in such a way. The reasons to censor jazz will be placed in the perspective of Social Darwinism, because policies were formed from this idea.¹⁰⁴ In short, Social Darwinism entails the idea that “the Aryan and Nordic race had evolved to a higher level than other races because of the harsh climatic conditions that influenced natural selection”.¹⁰⁵ This idea has formed the backdrop for many of the Third Reich’s policies, such as racial extermination of Jewish people and Eastern Europeans. The theory of Social Darwinism also implicitly recurs in all the documents regarding jazz music. Note that the theory does not play a significant role when words such as ‘negro’ are used, as most people used such words. There are, however, other words and phrases in which the Social Darwinism does play a role.

When the OWK, DVK, *Kultuurkamer* and *Kultuurraad* discuss jazz music, one of the most recurring words is “*primitief*”.¹⁰⁶ In several documents, this word is used to describe the state in which certain people are in the 1940s. For instance, the document on prohibiting jazz music talks about “*ontdoen van die primitief-negroïde en/of -negritische muziekelementen*” and “*het gebruik van zeer primitieve instrumenten*”.¹⁰⁷ This is a very clear example of how Social

¹⁰³ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2641, Stukken betreffende het verbod op het ten gehore brengen van Joodse of door Joden bewerkte muziek en negermuziek, onder meer een decreet van de Reichminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda J. Goebbels getiteld Programmagestaltung des Deutschen musiklebens, Onderwijsinspectie over het zingen van “negro-spirituals”, 1943.

¹⁰⁴ Disclaimer: this thesis does not, in any shape or form, attempt to prove Social Darwinism or condone the theory. It merely uses Social Darwinism as a lens to understand the situation, as the occupying forces and Dutch collaborators often did believe theories such as Social Darwinism. All the racist comments or remarks are not my views and I disagree with and reject all of the comments from the occupying forces and Dutch collaborators.

¹⁰⁵ Richard Weikart, “The Role of Darwinism in Nazi Racial Thought,” *German Studies Review* 36, no. 3 (2013): 537.

¹⁰⁶ Translation: ‘Primitive.’

¹⁰⁷ Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, archief 102, Departement van Volksvoortichting en Kunsten, inv.no. 2544, Voorwaarden verbonden aan het verlenen van een vergunning voor dans- en amusementsmuziek; verbod van negroïde en negritische elementen in dans- en amusementsmuziek, 1944.

Translation: ‘Get rid of those primitive-negro and/or negrito music elements”; The use of very primitive instruments.’

Darwinism is nestled in policy, as the document links black people with the word primitive, insinuating that black people are at a lower level in terms of racial evolution.

Opposite of these ‘primitive expressions’ is the European standard, according to the DVK and *Kultuurkamer*. On many different occasions, the occupiers and collaborators remind the reader of the fact that a lot of art does not benefit the mind or spirit of people. In fact, the writers of these documents go as far as to say that art forms such as jazz music or other music containing ‘negro elements’ have a negative impact on “*den Europeeschen geest*”.¹⁰⁸ In some documents, it is even implied that the ‘primitive arts’ are the reason for the broken European spirit. That is why, for instance, in the document on ‘prohibition of negro and/or negrito elements in dance- and amusement music’, the document discusses a restoration of the European spirit.¹⁰⁹ It is quite logical that the DVK and *Kultuurkamer* would want a ban on ‘negro elements’ in dance- and amusement music. Perfectly exemplifying the reasoning behind the ban is a report written by The *Onderwijsinspectie* on the state of music lessons in Dutch schools: the songs, and their structure, cannot be aligned with the accepted ideas about music in Europe.¹¹⁰ The prohibition document also echoes such ideas, in which they describe music that deviates the most from the European awareness of music (that is, music with ‘negro/negrito’ elements, or jazz music). In the same document it is also stated that music with ‘negro/negrito elements’ conflicts with the European inner hearing.¹¹¹ Again, Social Darwinism as an idea is clearly visible here, as the European spirit, inner hearing, ideas and music awareness are all implied to be superior to all other spirits, inner hearings, etc.

The conflict between ‘negro/negrito’ music and the European inner hearing was in fact a conflict with, or even fight against, black people. A concept letter that was supposed to be sent by the Secretary-General of the DVK to Dr. Bergeld, claims that “*haar [de DVK] strijd*

¹⁰⁸ Translation: ‘The European spirit.’

¹⁰⁹ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2544, Voorwaarden verbonden aan het verlenen van een vergunning voor dans- en amusementsmuziek; verbod van negroïde en negritische elementen in dans- en amusementsmuziek, 1944.

¹¹⁰ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2641, Stukken betreffende het verbod op het ten gehore brengen van Joodse of door Joden bewerkte muziek en negermuziek, onder meer een decreet van de Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda J. Goebbels getiteld Programmgestaltung des Deutschen musiklebens, Onderwijsinspectie over het zingen van “negro-spirituals”, 1943.

Translation: ‘Inspectorate of Education.’

¹¹¹ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2544, Voorwaarden verbonden aan het verlenen van een vergunning voor dans- en amusementsmuziek; verbod van negroïde en negritische elementen in dans- en amusementsmuziek, 1944.; NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2641, Stukken betreffende het verbod op het ten gehore brengen van joodse of door joden bewerkte muziek en negermuziek, onder meer een decreet van de Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda J. Goebbels getiteld Programmgestaltung des deutschen Musiklebens, 4 september 1939 - 23 maart 1944, Onderwijsinspectie over het zingen van “negro-spirituals”, 1943.; The European inner hearing is quite a vague term, but it comes down to the fact that the inner hearing is the type of music one would hear in their head.

tegen de overige negers thans dubbel zwaar geworden".¹¹² Though this most likely was not sent to Dr. Bergeld, probably due to the unacceptable (though correct, based on Bergfeld's miscommunication) accusations against Bergfeld's communication skills, such ideas on conflicts with 'negroes' were not uncommon. When it became known to the DVK that there were still jazz musicians performing their music on the Nieuwendijk, the DVK wrote to Dr. Bergeld a letter (which was sent, as opposed to the beforementioned concept letter) stating that there is a "*corrupten geest op den Nieuwendijk*".¹¹³ The idea of the corrupt spirit is also most explicitly discussed in a letter from a member of the general board of the *Kultuurkamer*, E. Otto, to the department of re-education of the NSB. According to Otto, 'it must be considered intolerable, that racially deviating elements have a predominant, or at the least important influence on amusement music, while on top of that the general moral qualities of these musicians leaves a lot to be desired, and it is undesirable, that they are on the already precarious terrain of amusement music.'¹¹⁴ The discussions about fighting against black people has also very noticeable notions of Social Darwinism. Many of the documents discuss jazz in terms of 'racially deviating', 'corrupt' and a 'fight against negroes'. It is obvious that the DVK and *Kultuurkamer* viewed jazz and black people as inferior as opposed to European music and Europeans.

Not only is jazz music being opposed to European music, but it is also set against national songs. The Inspectorate of Education did not just plead for a ban on 'negro songs', but it also attempted to justify such pleas by stating that "*het zingen der negerliederen draagt geenszins toe bij, dat de liefde voor het volkseigen lied wordt aangewakkerd*".¹¹⁵ Similar notions

¹¹² NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 590, Stukken betreffende het intrekken van werkvergunningen en het weigeren van lidmaatschappen van Surinaamse negermusici door de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer, 20 augustus 1943 - 7 januari 1944, Concept schrijven van den Secretaris-Generaal aan de Dr. Bergeld.

Translation: 'Its fight against the remaining negroes has now become increasingly more difficult.'

¹¹³ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 590, Stukken betreffende het intrekken van werkvergunningen en het weigeren van lidmaatschappen van Surinaamse negermusici door de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer, 20 augustus 1943 - 7 januari 1944, 26 augustus 1943.

Translation: 'Corrupt spirit on the Nieuwendijk.'

The Nieuwendijk is situated only about 500 meters away from *Het Koninklijk Paleis Amsterdam* (Royal Amsterdam Palace).

¹¹⁴ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 590, Stukken betreffende het intrekken van werkvergunningen en het weigeren van lidmaatschappen van Surinaamse negermusici door de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer, 20 augustus 1943 - 7 januari 1944, 6 oktober 1943, aan de NSB, afdeling Vorming.

Original: "*Deze opvatting baseert zich hierop, dat het ontoelaatbaar moet worden geacht, dat rasvreemde elementen een overwegenden, of althans belangrijken invloed op de amusementsmuziek uitoefen, terwijl bovendien over het algemeen de moreele eigenschappen van deze musici zeer veel te wenschen overlaten en het niet wenschelijk moet worden geacht, dat zij op het toch reeds precaire terrein van het amusementsmuziek.*"

¹¹⁵ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2641, Stukken betreffende het verbod op het ten gehore brengen van joodse of door joden bewerkte muziek en negermuziek, onder meer een decreet van de Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda J. Goebbels getiteld Programmgestaltung des deutschen Musiklebens, 4 september 1939 - 23 maart 1944 (about the Inspectorate of Education on singing "negro-spirituals" in school).

can be found in the same document when it discusses Hawaiian music. Though this type of music is accepted to some extent, Hawaiian music should be driven back according to the Inspectorate of Education. This is to prevent Hawaiian music from growing roots into the Dutch national character.¹¹⁶ Although Social Darwinism, as in notions of superiority and inferiority, is not clearly noticeable in these last examples, there are some Social Darwinist elements. The most noticeable element is the division between Europe (or Dutch in this case) and the rest. Dutch and European music are the most important and should be promoted. Other music that does not pose a direct threat, is tolerated to a certain extent. Also note that everything should be done to prevent certain artistic expressions from anchoring into the Dutch national character. It is implied that if other, most likely ‘racially deviating’, arts would anchor into the national character, the level at which the ‘Aryan or Nordic races’ are would be brought down, essentially creating backwards evolution.

Theories on racial evolution are also directly stated in a document from 1943. A letter from De Ranitz (acting Secretary-General of the DVK since 1943) to the head of the Press and Propaganda department of the NSB stated that there was a threat that “*Volksvreemde invloeden*” could take root in the very receptive Dutch soil as this was very clear from the “*vernegeren en verjoodschen*” of Dutch amusement music.¹¹⁷ Therefore, the first task of the DVK was to erase foreign influences.¹¹⁸ Going even further into the type of music black people play, the DVK claims that ‘a negro playing jazz music, is only expressing its rhythmical feelings; he cannot do otherwise because it is connected to his race.’ Proof for this statement could be found in the fact that white people could never 100% imitate “*negerjazzmuziek*”, because white people would miss the necessary characteristics.¹¹⁹ Then,

Translation: ‘In no way does the singing of negro songs benefit the love for the folk song.’

¹¹⁶ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2641, Stukken betreffende het verbod op het ten gehore brengen van joodse of door joden bewerkte muziek en negermuziek, onder meer een decreet van de Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda J. Goebbels getiteld Programmgestaltung des deutschen Musiklebens, 4 september 1939 - 23 maart 1944 (about the Inspectorate of Education on singing “negro-spirituals” in school).

¹¹⁷ Translation: ‘Foreign influences’; “*Vernegeren en verjoodschen*” is to make something more ‘negro’ or ‘Jewish’.

¹¹⁸ Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, archief 102, Departement van Volksvoortichting en Kunsten, inv.no. 2647, Stukken betreffende een onderzoek naar het verbieden van optredens van Surinaamse musici in Nederland, naar aanleiding van een brief van enige Surinamers hierover, op grond van rapportages van de Amsterdamse politie omtrent de invloed van Surinaamse negers en hun muziek op de Nederlandse meisjes, 15 december 1941 - 10 maart 1944, Surinameneggers (aan de hoofd afdeeling Pers en Propaganda), 1943.

¹¹⁹ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2647, Stukken betreffende een onderzoek naar het verbieden van optredens van Surinaamse musici in Nederland, naar aanleiding van een brief van enige Surinamers hierover, op grond van rapportages van de Amsterdamse politie omtrent de invloed van Surinaamse negers en hun muziek op de Nederlandse meisjes, 15 december 1941 - 10 maart 1944, Surinameneggers (aan de hoofd afdeeling Pers en Propaganda), 1943.

the DVK claims that ‘the Dutchman is many centuries ahead in terms of civilized feeling relative to the negro.¹²⁰ By stating that the Dutch supposedly are many centuries ahead, the DVK almost directly refers to the theory of Social Darwinism. At the end of the letter, the author sums up certain other points on why black people should not be able to perform music: ‘Surinam negroes are not purebred’ (they often had Jewish blood as many plantation owners were supposedly Jewish) and ‘Surinam negroes are uneducated.’¹²¹ Furthermore, Social Darwinism can clearly be found again, as the author apologizes that no exemption could be made for ‘good’ elements, as he would otherwise do violence to the application of race principles on cultural policies.¹²² Additionally, the DVK claimed the following:

“Negermuziek heeft slechte invloed op de jeugd: ze zijn in de ban van deze muziek en zijn voorgoed uitgeschakeld voor het ontvangen van edelere muziek. Bovendien oefent negermuziek een slechte invloed uit op het seksuele leven der jongeren.”¹²³

5.4. The issues of jazz music according to the media

Newspapers for the occupiers and collaborators

Although some newspapers acted as an extension of the government, they were able to let off steam more freely than government officials could in their documents. Oftentimes these newspapers go even further regarding racism. The most extreme cases were mostly of National

Original: “Een neger, die jazzmuziek maakt, leeft zijn rythmisch gevoel uit; hij kan niet anders omdat dit aan zijn ras verbonden is. Een bewijs voor deze stelling is, dat blanken de negerjazzmuziek nimmer voor 100% kunnen imiteeren, omdat de blanke daarvoor de eigenschappen mist.”

Translation: ‘Nigger jazz music.’

¹²⁰ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2647, Stukken betreffende een onderzoek naar het verbieden van optredens van Surinaamse musici in Nederland, naar aanleiding van een brief van enige Surinamers hierover, op grond van rapportages van de Amsterdamse politie omtrent de invloed van Surinaamse negers en hun muziek op de Nederlandse meisjes, 15 december 1941 - 10 maart 1944, Surinameneggers (aan de hoofd afdeeling Pers en Propaganda), 1943.

Original: “De Nederlander is vele eeuwen vooruit in beschavingsgevoel t.o.v. de neger.”

¹²¹ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2647, Stukken betreffende een onderzoek naar het verbieden van optredens van Surinaamse musici in Nederland, naar aanleiding van een brief van enige Surinamers hierover, op grond van rapportages van de Amsterdamse politie omtrent de invloed van Surinaamse negers en hun muziek op de Nederlandse meisjes, 15 december 1941 - 10 maart 1944, Surinameneggers (aan de hoofd afdeeling Pers en Propaganda), 1943.

Original: “Surinameneggers zijn niet raszuiver”; “Surinameneggers zijn laagopgeleid.”

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2647, Stukken betreffende een onderzoek naar het verbieden van optredens van Surinaamse musici in Nederland, naar aanleiding van een brief van enige Surinamers hierover, op grond van rapportages van de Amsterdamse politie omtrent de invloed van Surinaamse negers en hun muziek op de Nederlandse meisjes, 15 december 1941 - 10 maart 1944, Surinameneggers (aan de hoofd afdeeling Pers en Propaganda), 1943.

Translation: ‘Negro music has a bad influence on the youth: they are enthralled by this music and they are unable to appreciate more noble music. Negro music furthermore has a bad influence on the sexual lives of these youths.’

Socialist origin. One of the first negative articles on jazz music came from *Het Nationale Dagblad: voor het Nederlandsche Volk* on August 5, 1940. Policy on jazz music was yet to be made, but the principles of policies implemented in 1943 and 1944 are clearly written out in this newspaper:

*“Jazz is muziek van Noord-Amerikaansche negers. Eens leefden zij verbonden met grond, welke hun sinds eeuwen behoorde: het zwarte werelddel, waar de mensen oorspronkelijk zijn en de felheid der driften overgaat van geslacht op geslacht. Toen werden zij weggevoerd uit het land waarmee zij vergroeid waren. Maar in den vreemde aardden zij niet; zij hielden een donker heimwee naar hun geheimvol land.”*¹²⁴

And in true National Socialist fashion, jazz is linked to Jewish people, as the author (Jan Goverts Jr., most likely the eventual leader of the music branch of the DVK) claimed that Jewish people were the ones who ‘preyed upon the music and cooperated to the best of their ability to make the whole sound as loud as possible.’¹²⁵ The ending of the article is possibly the best summary of how National Socialists view music expressions from outside of Europe. Goverts finishes the article by stating that the East Asian musical expressions are many levels above the musical expressions of the ‘negro people’. They acknowledge that these exist in their own (literally physical) realm, but that they are unfit for export.¹²⁶

A German newspaper that is distributed in the Netherlands, the *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden*, is on a completely different level. The *Deutsche Zeitung* is almost exclusively negative about jazz music, but they are in such a way that it sounds more nuanced. The first time the *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden* mentions jazz music is on September 13, 1940, in which the author explains that jazz music is indecent. However, the author does note that the downward spiral of musicians and their program is not the fault of black Americans. Instead, it is the fault of Jewish people:

¹²⁴ Jan Goverts Jr., “Jazz, Volksche muziek of ontaarding? Achtste jazzwereld-feest in het Kurhaus te Scheveningen,” *Het Nationale Dagblad: voor het Nederlandsche Volk*, August 5, 1940, 8.

Translation: ‘Jazz is music from the North American negroes. Once they lived connected to the area, which belonged to them for centuries: the black continent, where people were original, and the fierceness of their passion was passed down the generations. Then they were taken away from the land with which they were intertwined. But they did connect to the new unknown land: they were homesick for the mysterious land.’

¹²⁵ Goverts, “Jazz,” 8.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

“[...] das kann nicht auf Konto der an sich harmlosen und nach ihrer Art musizierenden Farbigen Amerikas gesetzt werden. [...] Woher die Tänze und ersten Melodien kamen, das festzustellen, muss den Forschern überlassen bleiben, aber die verlorenen Stämme Israels, die auf dem New Yorker Broadway herumirren, haben für die rentable Fortpflanzung gesorgt” (Der Anbruch 1925). Bald nach seiner Entstehung ging auch der Jazzbetrieb in die Hände der Juden über und ist bis heute ihre Domäne geblieben. Zur Seite aber steht ihnen eine Macht, die nicht geringer eingeschätzt werden darf, ja die noch viel tiefer wirkend ist, weiß sie nicht immer erkennbar in Erscheinung tritt, dafür aber übernommene Methoden anzuwenden weiß: das im Jazzbetrieb und Jazzvertrieb tätige Wahljudentum”¹²⁷

One way of active censorship, or physically censoring people, is clearly depicted in *De Zwarde Soldaat: Blad voor de W.A.*¹²⁸ On April 1, 1941, Joe Lewis gave a “hyper-hot-jazz-avond!” concert. The target of the *Weerbaarheidsafdeeling* was “concerthuis De Harmonie”. The mood is already ‘hot’ according to the W.A., while the men of the *Weerbaarheidsafdeeling* kept an eye on the concert from the sides of the hall. Once “Opper-Kompaan” Kollé received a short command, he stepped on stage and commanded the following:

“Volksgenooten, Nederlandsche jeugd, moet gij nu nog langer dit gehuil aanhoren van een stel volksvreemden! Gaat naar huis en komt terug om te dansen als hier een arisch dansorkest behoorlijke melodieuze muziek zal spelen!”¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Unknown author, “Warum Bekämpfen wir den Jazz? Eine Domäne der Juden,” *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden*, September 13, 1940, 7.

Translation: ‘Chief companion’; ‘This cannot be blamed on the harmless American of color, who make music in their way. [...] Where these dances and first melodies originate, should be left to researchers to decide, but the lost tribes of Israel, who wonder around Broadway in New York, ensured profitable reproductions. Shortly after the establishment, jazz businesses also got into the hands of the Jews and is to this day still in their domain. On their side, however, there is a power that must not be underestimated, which, indeed, has a much deeper effect, because it is not always recognizable, but knows how to apply adopted methods: the electoral Jewish community that is active in jazz business and the jazz distribution.’

¹²⁸ This was a newspaper for the *Weerbaarheidsafdeeling*, the NSB’s paramilitary wing, which was similar to the *Sturmabteilung*.

¹²⁹ Unknown author, “W.A. Groningen zet de ariseering voort!,” *De Zwarde Soldaat: Blad voor de W.A.*, Aorik 1, 1940, 12.

Translation: ‘Fellow citizens, Dutch youth, do you have to listen to these howls from a bunch of foreigners furthermore! Go home and come back to dance once an Aryan dance orchestra plays proper melodic music!’

While the W.A. author does not know whether the public left because of the command or because of the ‘the determined and correct posture’ of the soldiers, the fact remains that the public left immediately. After this evening (successful for the W.A., a disaster for the band), the band leader decided to cancel two more concerts in Hoogezand and Winschoten and left for Lisbon. According to the author, the W.A.’s deed was beneficent.¹³⁰ *Het Nationale Dagblad* similarly reported on Joe Lewis and his orchestra, this time on how it was banned from performing in Haarlem. *Het National Dagblad* is quite similar in how it presents jazz music, but it also provides some interesting information. For instance, the author of this *Nationale Dagblad* article says that the ‘terrible’ hot jazz had recently disappeared (or been removed) from the ether. This was announced in almost every newspaper at the time. The message at the time stated that hot jazz will be removed, but that there is also good jazz music which will still be played on the radio. But soon, organizing these local ‘crude, wild and pointless excesses’ dancing nights and festivities will be limited.¹³¹

By far the most interesting articles came from pro-German or pro-NSB newspapers. *De Misthoorn*, an ‘independend and a-political’ newspaper dedicated to the exclusion of Jewish influences, which acted as the official body of the committee for the study of the Jewish issue, published quite an interesting letter about jazz music. The author claimed in the letter that jazz music was not just Anglo-Saxon, but it was in fact Germanic. Unlike the German newspaper *Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden*, the letter also claims that Jewish people are not only bad at playing jazz music, but jazz music is also not a Jewish art. The letter only agreed with other newspapers on the idea about the influence black people had on music. In a climactic ending to the letter, the author states that jazz and other ‘songs’ are English products, and therefore Germanic products:

“Evenals de oostelijke Germanen specialisten zijn in marschmuziek, zijn de Angelsaksen specialiteiten in jazz en songs. En waar ook het Angelsaksische Volk tot het Germaansche ras behoort is zoowel de eene als de andere soort muziek Germaansch.”¹³²

¹³⁰ Unknown author, “W.A. Groningen,” 12.

¹³¹ Unknown author, “Vastenavond en cultuurverwording: Het Amerikaansche neger-dansorkest van Willie Lewis,” *Het Nationale Dagblad: voor het Nederlandsche Volk*, April 25, 1941, 2.; Unknown author, “Eén grote radio-omroep voor het gehele volk: Ir. L.Z. v. d. Vegte over het nieuwe staatsbedrijf,” *Het Volk: Socialistisch Dagblad*, April 9, 1941, 3.

¹³² Unknown author, “Geen half werk,” *De Misthoorn: Onafhankelijk en Onpoliticke Orgaan tot Wering van den Joodschen Invloed*, May 17, 1941, 15.

The reasoning, whether flawless or very much flawed, is thus that because Anglo-Saxon culture is in fact a branch of Germanic culture, jazz is also Germanic. However, this is only the case after jazz has been stripped of ‘negro influences’. And if the broadcaster makes sure that ‘no tropical negro excesses’ are broadcast, then there should be no objection against jazz.¹³³ While this article seemed neutral, it does point out that jazz music, because of its ‘Germanic roots’, should be broadcast and thus to some extent be celebrated.

Independent or censored newspapers

In *Het Vaderland*, an independent newspaper, jazz is also often discussed. And although this was frequently negative, they surprisingly wrote more positive articles (see [table 1](#)). The first negative article about jazz written during the Second World War, on September 9, 1940, discussed how jazz has a negative influence on society. Jazz music would, according to the unknown author, make the younger generation more confused and helpless. The author even goes so far as to call it evil and an epidemic:

*“Er kan geen twijfel aan bestaan, zegt hij, dat het er op aankomt in de eerste plaats onze jeugd tegen elke epidemie ook te beschermen tegen de jazzepidemie.”*¹³⁴

As a solution, the author believes that proper education is the only way to get rid of jazz music. And to do so, heavy government intervention is necessary. But it does not stop there. The author also says that doctors should be involved, as the ‘jazz epidemic’ is also a matter of mental hygiene:

*“We moeten ons eigen maken dat we de aangelegenheid van de jazz uit het gezichtspunt van een geestelijke hygiëne moeten zien en als zoodanig ook aan het oordeel van den arts en daarmede van het rassenpolitisches Amt onderwerpen.”*¹³⁵

Translation: ‘Just like the Eastern Germanics are specialists in marching music, the Anglo-Saxons are specialists in jazz and songs. And wherever the Anglo-Saxon People belong to the Germanic race, both one and the other kind of music is Germanic.’

¹³³ Unknown author, “Geen half werk,” 15.

¹³⁴ Unknown author, “De Duitschers en de Jazz,” *Het Vaderland: Staat- en Letterkundig Nieuwsblad*, September 9, 1940, 1.

Translation: ‘There can be no doubt, he says, that in the first place we need to protect our youth against every epidemic as well against the jazz epidemic.’

¹³⁵ Unknown author, “De Duitschers en de Jazz,” 1.

While it is clear why pro-German or National Socialist newspapers would discuss jazz so negative, it is somewhat unclear why independent newspapers would go with the flow (besides possible pressure from the occupying forces). However, the generational gap between the 'jazz loving crowd' and the traditional 'classical music loving crowd' might explain this attitude towards jazz in some independent newspapers.

In fact, a letter from July 29, 1941, in *Het Volk: Dagblad voor de Arbeiderspartij* precisely discussed the generation gap. As the author wrote a letter to 'Mien', she talked about her son's birthday. His friends came together and played music, seeing as one of his friends was a student at the conservatory. Besides the usual classical music played by the friends, the children were also allowed to play some hot jazz. Though respectful of their kids and their taste in music, the mother did say that she and her husband were too old to appreciate "hoempa-muziek".¹³⁶ Many other positive articles also discuss jazz in such a similar manner, always referring to the youthful public and how they are always acting a little wild. In the *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant*, this wild behavior is also emphasized. In an attempt to paint a picture of Belgium around 1918-1940, the author claims that after the Belgians won the war, they partied. Belgium turned into one giant fair and citizen morale disappeared as a consequence. The war profiteers, who gained from the Treaty of Versailles, squandered their blood money. After that, people propagated debauchery and cocaine. Jazz was invented, as well as the taxi-girls, devaluation and the crisis.¹³⁷ But what the author actually did was to link jazz music to several unpleasant events and tragedies, instead of depicting Belgium circa 1918-1940. Listing all these events and placing them in the same timeframe is convincing in the sense that it seems that these events were linked to one another.

De Ramblers, a decent jazz band according to the media

Not every jazz band was terrible according to newspapers. One band that is consistently discussed in a positive way is *de Ramblers*. Not only were all the band members white, the majority was also not Jewish, which was something that the occupiers also noticed.

Translation: 'We must make it our own that we see the matter of jazz from the point of view of mental hygiene and as such object it to the judgement of a doctor, and thus to the *Rassenpolitisches Amt*.'

¹³⁶ Moeder, "Voor de vrouwen. Deze keer maar een kort briefje," *Het Volk: Socialistisch Dagblad*, September 9, 1940, 4.

Translation: 'Humppa music.'

¹³⁷ Unknown author, "Oude Moraal en Nieuwe: Een Leening en Nieuwe Belastingen," *Het Volk: Socialistisch Dagblad*, September 9, 1940, 4.

Taxi-girls are most likely prostitutes.

Furthermore, in almost every article on *de Ramblers*, the musical technical skills and talents are recognized and applauded by the authors. The author of an article in *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant* wrote the following:

*“En terecht, want wat deze elf musici op hun gebied presteeren is werkelijk buitengewoon. Volkomen op elkaar ingespeeld vormen zij een geheel, dat door zeer weinig bands overtroffen wordt. Doch ook individueel zijn de bandleden stuk voor stuk artisten in hun vak. Zij beheerschen elk onderdeel der moderne dansmuziek voortreffelijk en zij weten hun kunst bovendien te “verkoopen” op een manier, die er ook bij den meest sceptisch gestemden bezoeker ingaat.”*¹³⁸

Even more so, individuals were often picked out to commend. Frequently, the accordionist Meyer, violinist Sem Nijveen (who was Jewish) and of course Theo Uden Masman (the band leader) were singled out to be praised for their talent and achievements on stage.¹³⁹

De Gil

As censorship policies cannot completely alter Dutch sentiments towards jazz music, propaganda would be important. Near the end of the war, propaganda and censorship tactics changed in the Netherlands. *De Gil* is an interesting case study. This newspaper was first published by the occupying forces in either 1943 or 1944 and was meant to imitate illegal press. This satirical newspaper marked the change of propaganda strategy, as the traditional strategy of Nazification (making many newspapers illegal and only distributing newspapers loyal to the Third Reich) was not effective anymore. This became clear from the *Meldungen aus den Niederlanden* of the *Sicherheitsdienst*.¹⁴⁰ In almost every notification, the Dutch were dissatisfied with the current situation, often stating that there is a certain increase in unfriendliness against Germany in Dutch press and a growing influence of English news

¹³⁸ Unknown author, “Stampvolle zaal bracht de Ramblers een ovatie: de buitensociëteit uitverkocht,” *Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant*, September 18, 1940, 2.

Translation: ‘Rightly so, because what these eleven musicians achieve in their field is really extraordinary. Completely attuned to each other, they form a whole, which is only surpassed by very few bands. But individually as well, these band members are piece by piece artists in their craft. They control every part of modern dancing music exquisitely and they furthermore know how to “sell” their craft in such a way, that also appeals to the most skeptical visitor.’

¹³⁹ Unknown author, “Stampvolle zaal,” 2.

¹⁴⁰ Translation: ‘Messages from the Netherlands.’

programs¹⁴¹. In fact, Van der Hout (the editor for *De Gil*) said the following on traditional propaganda:

*"De Duitse methode van propaganda maken wordt hier door geen mens in Holland geslikt. Het Nederlandse volk pro-Duits maken kan niet meer. Het enige wat ze kunnen doen, is zodanig schrijven dat de mensen zeggen: van Amerika en Engeland deugt ook niets."*¹⁴²

By presenting information that seemed liberal, but was in fact National-Socialist, the Germans hoped that the Dutch would at least also hate the Americans and English as well. The strategy worked to a certain extent. Newspaper circulation was relatively high, as Loe de Jong and P. Rijser estimate circulation figures to be 150,000 to 200,000 editions.¹⁴³

A similar propagandistic approach was used for jazz music. In a sarcastic and satirical manner, the editors for *De Gil* ridiculed the genre in an attempt to alter people's views on jazz music, fit for a more National Socialist country. How effective was this? Of course, most people who were alive at the time and who read *De Gil* are not in a state to answer this question. But, one can still read these articles, and read its positive or negative messages.

There was a total of four positive articles and one advertisement in *De Gil*. The first article from July 19, 1944, discusses the first few years of jazz. Known bands and figures such as The Original Dixie Jazz Band, Joe 'King' Oliver and 'Prince' Louis Armstrong have contributed to the spread and perfection of jazz music according to the author. While The Original Dixie Jazz spread jazz music, Oliver 'cleansed' the music and shaped it. Armstrong, who learned to truly play swing in Oliver's band, perfected his style with Fletcher Henderson. *De Gil* spared no words for praise of Armstrong:

*"Gezegend met een ongelooflijke techniek en een rijke verbeeldingskracht, werd Armstrong de grootste van alle Swingmusici!"*¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Karin Hofmeester and René Jansen, "1944, Het blad De Gil. Humor als wapen voor de Duitsers," *Skrip Historisch Tijdschrift* 8, no. 1 (2014): 15.

¹⁴² Hofmeester and Jansen, "1944, Het blad De Gil," 15.

Translation: 'The German method of creating propaganda is not accepted by any human being in Holland. Making the Dutch people pro-German is not possible anymore. All they can do is write in a way that people say: America and England are not good either.'

¹⁴³ Karin Hofmeester and René Jansen, "1944, Het blad De Gil. Humor als wapen voor de Duitsers," *Skrip Historisch Tijdschrift* 8, no. 1 (2014): 16.

¹⁴⁴ Unknown author, "Swing Sibbe," *De Gil: Periodiek verschijnend orgaan voor nuchter Nederland*, July 19, 1944, 15.

Though this first article seems overall positive, the last paragraph gives away the National Socialist message of the newspaper. The last part, in which the author wrote “now don’t get wild boys!”, the author attempts to ‘convince’ the reader that this article is not something out of NSB newspaper *Volk en Vaderland*. Only at the very end of the article does the author sound either sarcastic or satirical.

The second article does not seem to be taking the same direction. Instead, it seems like this is merely a letter sent to the newspaper by a fan of jazz music. In the letter, the ‘swing-liefhebber’, as the author calls himself/herself, requests the newspaper to publish more pictures of jazz artists. Another request, though more of a wish, is to open a “swing factory”.¹⁴⁵ What the swing enthusiast imagined is not clear, but this person at least thought that it was necessary, since people had been deprived from all sorts of news. It would be, as the author calls it “*de ware alzijdige voorlichting!*”.¹⁴⁶

The third article is presented as an informative article. The discussion presented is a forty-year-old discussion on swing and jazz: what is the difference between the two? The reason to discuss this issue, was an increase of similar questions on “Your Questions Answered” to jazz composer and orchestra leader Spike Hughes. Even in 1939 and 1940 this question was frequently asked to BBC TV in-vision announcer Kay Cavendish.¹⁴⁷ This *De Gil* article attempts to answer the question once and for all. First of all, in 1939/1940, the big gap that divided modern music fans was the dividing line between jazz fans and the “sweet dance music dreamers”. At the moment (1944), the old jazz fans still existed, but “*de horde en kudde der domme dansmuziekzwijmelaars (en dat zijn bij uitstek de Victor Sylvester-zoetekauwen)*” has increased. With this schism, as the author calls it, three parties were eventually established: “*de clan der swingfans, de jitterbugs, de swing crazy alligators.*”¹⁴⁸

The final article takes the reader through the past few years of jazz music. In the first part, the author describes how the past years were known as the ‘dead years of jazz’. Many solo

Translation: ‘Blessed with an incredible technique and a vivid imagination, Armstrong became the greatest of all swing musicians!’

¹⁴⁵ Translation: ‘Swing enthusiast.’

¹⁴⁶ Unknown author, “De Gil-Club. Voor prompte service: De Gil!,” *De Gil: Periodiek verschijnend orgaan voor nuchter Nederland*, August 2, 1944, 4.

Translation: ‘True universal education.’

¹⁴⁷ Unknown author, “Van Jazz tot Swing. Dansmuziek-zwijmelaars contra Swingfans en Jitterbugs,” *De Gil: Periodiek verschijnend orgaan voor nuchter Nederland*, August 16, 1944, 4.

¹⁴⁸ Unknown author, “Van Jazz tot Swing. Dansmuziek-zwijmelaars contra Swingfans en Jitterbugs,” *De Gil: Periodiek verschijnend orgaan voor nuchter Nederland*, August 16, 1944, 4.

Translation: ‘The horde and herd of stupid dance music swoons (and those are exclusively the Victor Sylvester sweet-tooth); ‘The Swing Fan clan, the jitterbugs and the swing crazy alligators.’

musicians were swallowed up by jazz orchestras. Several solo artists tried to revive the old ways of smaller jazz bands, but these attempts were futile. Finally, after a few years, there was a revival at last.¹⁴⁹ The most interesting thing about all these articles, is the fact that all of them know a lot about jazz music, especially about the international (United States) jazz scene. This is interesting, seeing as how the Netherlands was (according to the occupiers) cut off from the rest of the world. The information presented by *De Gil* makes itself look like an underground illegal newspaper. Everything written down is essentially illegal, as the information could only be provided by North American or British media sources, which were forbidden in the Netherlands. But because the contents of *De Gil* did not always seem satirical, one could easily think some articles about jazz music were genuinely positive.¹⁵⁰ However, there were also parts in every article, mostly at the end, where the author was too satirical. The true intentions, to ridicule jazz music and show it in a bad light, were revealed.¹⁵¹

5.5. Conclusion

Jazz was defined with the help of four different sections: performance, melody, form and use of instruments. In this definition, it became apparent how the occupiers and collaborators viewed jazz music. Institutions such as the DVK and the *Kultuurkamer* viewed jazz music as primitive and thus rejected any form of jazz. Although the cultural institutions were unanimous in their views on jazz and policy was easily created, the execution was not as easy. There was some miscommunication between the DVK and Dr. Bergeld and an inspector who was unsure what to do with Holtuin, drummer of Hidalgo orchestra.

Unlike the cultural institutions, newspapers were not unanimous in their judgement of jazz music. On the one hand there were collaborating newspapers and newspapers for the occupying forces, acting as an extension of the government and its anti-jazz policies. These newspapers were negative about jazz music most of the time. On the other hand, there were independent or censored newspapers. These newspapers were a mixed bag and whether an

¹⁴⁹ Unknown author, “Van Jazz tot Swing. Massale Orkestratie en Improvisatie,” *De Gil: Periodiek verschijnend orgaan voor nuchter Nederland*, August 30, 1944, 4.

¹⁵⁰ This was tested on several anonymous people who all identified the articles on jazz music as positive (though sometimes weird). After being told that the *De Gil* was actually satirical and National Socialist in nature, the readers indicated that they could not identify any National Socialist views or satire.

¹⁵¹ Unknown author, “De Gil-Club. Voor prompte service: De Gil!,” *De Gil: Periodiek verschijnend orgaan voor nuchter Nederland*, August 2, 1944, 4.; Unknown author, “Van Jazz tot Swing. Dansmuziek-zwijmelaars contra Swingfans en Jitterbugs,” *De Gil: Periodiek verschijnend orgaan voor nuchter Nederland*, August 16, 1944, 4.; Unknown author, “Swing Sibbe,” *De Gil: Periodiek verschijnend orgaan voor nuchter Nederland*, July 19, 1944, 15.

article was negative or positive about jazz music depended on the author, though these were negative most of the time.

There were not a lot of things that went smoothly, except for the fact that the DVK rejected jazz music. A major miscommunication also could have formed the precedent for other jazz artist to still perform music. Some newspapers also conveyed the views of the occupiers and collaborators. Many collaborating newspapers were also of the opinion that jazz music was harmful to the Dutch people. However, there was one exception to the complete Dutch jazz music scene that ran like a thread through the execution of policy and the articles about jazz music: De Ramblers. They were unanimously praised for their musical talent. Overall, the cultural institutions and the newspapers viewed jazz music negatively, but the presented examples did not explain how effective policy was. This had to be viewed through more examples found in DVK and *Kultuurkamer* documents, as well as newspaper articles, reviews and advertisements, which reflected not only the views of Dutch people, but also reflects the demand in the market for jazz music lessons and performances.

6. The ineffective policymakers

‘Talk the talk, walk the walk’ is a famous expression in public administration to address the fact that policymakers and public administrators should not just merely support what they say with words, but also with actions. Words should not be meaningless. During the Second World War there was not only a lot of talk in the Netherlands of how the occupiers and collaborators viewed jazz music, but there were also actions. Measures were, for instance, taken against Jewish people and *Entartete Kunst*, including jazz music. But while one can take actions against jazz music, it does not suggest high effectiveness of the measures, or even provide insight into how public administrators could create effective measures. So how effective were the DVK and the *Kultuurkamers* jazz censorship policies? To answer this sub-question, DVK and *Kultuurkamer* documents will be used. Firstly, the relationships within and between institutions will be analyzed, as these can have an influence on the effectiveness of policies. To get an idea of what Dutch collaborators and occupying forces thought about (the implemented) policies, this section will also review communication between and within institutions. How are censorship policies discussed in DVK and *Kultuurkamer* documents? Secondly, quantitative and qualitative analyses of newspapers will be used to review how popular jazz was among Dutch people. Such an analysis could indicate how effective anti-jazz policies were. So how (much) is jazz discussed in newspapers from 1940-1945?

6.1. The issues of the DVK and the *Kultuurkamer*

Actions against jazz music started quite late and were moving a little slow. In April 1941, jazz was directly mentioned for the first time in an official letter from the DVK. Although this document did not forbid jazz music, it did define jazz in an early stage of the *Reichskommissariat Niederlande*. It was discouraged (in quite passive aggressive language) to perform jazz, stating that the ‘DVK rejects poor imitations’.¹⁵² Any known ‘measures’ taken against jazz musicians in the same year can be found in a letter from three jazz musicians (Theodoor Kantoor, J.C.A Zeegelaar and a third unknown musician). Although no actual action was taken, the musicians did write that they were urged to quit on multiple occasions by government officials.¹⁵³ For the remainder of 1941 and the whole of 1942, only a handful of

¹⁵² NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2641, Stukken betreffende het verbod op het ten gehore brengen van joodse of door joden bewerkte muziek en negermuziek, onder meer een decreet van de Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda J. Goebbels getiteld Programmgestaltung des deutschen Musiklebens, 4 september 1939 - 23 maart 1944, Brief aan Ray Goossens van Jan Goverts, 19 april 1941.

¹⁵³ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2647, Stukken betreffende een onderzoek naar het verbieden van optredens van Surinaamse musici in Nederland, naar aanleiding van een brief van enige Surinamers hierover, op grond van

measures were taken, such as banning “*Maleiers, Negers en Indiërs*” from the *Kultuurkamer*.¹⁵⁴ Although this ban was noteworthy, ‘Malays and Indians’ could get an exemption if they would merge into one ‘chapel’. The only other noteworthy plan was to keep ‘negroes’ out of the *Kultuurkamer*. This plan stated what would constitute as a ‘negro’: people with more than two ‘negro’ grandparents were considered ‘negro’ and should be kept out of the *Kultuurkamer*. The only people who did not fall under this ruling, were ‘Surinam negroes’, who should always be rejected membership.¹⁵⁵ Thus, not much happened in 1942. So, what happened in 1942? Apparently, it was no secret that the ‘leader of Netherlands’, Anton Mussert, was not close with Goedewaagen, the first Secretary-General of the DVK and the first president of the *Kultuurkamer*. Mussert was merely waiting for the tiniest slip up on Goedewaagen’s part to suspend him from the NSB and replace him as Secretary-General and president.¹⁵⁶ This all happened in 1942 and the beginning of 1943, explaining why not much happened in 1942. As soon as Reydon was appointed, almost assassinated and immediately replaced, business at the DVK and *Kultuurkamer* were set into a higher gear. This ‘improved’ attitude was realized under the leadership of De Ranitz. But this was not without its setbacks.

The first setback came almost immediately after De Ranitz was officially appointed as the acting Secretary-General. As De Ranitz entered the scene, the leader of the Music Guild (H. Rijnbergen) left the *Kultuurkamer* on August 26.¹⁵⁷ Rijnbergen was contracted by *De Nederlandsche Omroep* starting September 1, which would be too much work if combined with leadership of the Music Guild. However, this was not the sole reason to leave.¹⁵⁸ Rijnbergen,

rapportages van de Amsterdamse politie omtrent de invloed van Surinaamse negers en hun muziek op de Nederlandse meisjes, 15 december 1941 - 10 maart 1944, Brief van Kantoor, Zegelaar en [...?], 15 december 1941.

¹⁵⁴ Translation: ‘Malays, negroes and Indians.’

¹⁵⁵ Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, archief 104, Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer, inv.no. 90, Stukken betreffende de gedragingen van de bestuurder van de Vakgroep Amusementsmuziek van het Muziekgilde D. Beuzenberg, 7 april - 25 oktober 1943, Mededeeling Dr. Bergeld (Generalkommissar Schmidt) aan de Ranitz, gestuurd door Goverts, 4 april 1942.

¹⁵⁶ Benien van Berkel, “Dr. Tobie Goedewaagen (1895-1980): een leven lang nationaal-socialist” (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 2012), 310-313.

¹⁵⁷ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 101, Brief van de leider van het Muziekgilde van de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer, H. Rijnbergen, aan de waarnemend secretaris-generaal, S.M.S. de Ranitz, betreffende de mededeling dat hij zijn functie neerlegt omdat hij ontevreden is over het gebrek aan samenwerking tussen het Muziekgilde en zowel de Afdeling Muziek van het departement als de hoofdafdelingen van de Kultuurkamer, 26 augustus 1943.

¹⁵⁸ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 101, Brief van de leider van het Muziekgilde van de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer, H. Rijnbergen, aan de waarnemend secretaris-generaal, S.M.S. de Ranitz, betreffende de mededeling dat hij zijn functie neerlegt omdat hij ontevreden is over het gebrek aan samenwerking tussen het Muziekgilde en zowel de Afdeling Muziek van het departement als de hoofdafdelingen van de Kultuurkamer, 26 augustus 1943.

Translation: ‘Dutch Broadcasting Compnay’; a public broadcasting company similar to BBC and PBS (but with a National-Socialist character).

assuming that De Ranitz already knew, tells how he is dissatisfied with the communication of the Music Guild and the DVK on the one hand, and the communication between the Music Guild and the main branches of the *Kultuurkamer* on the other hand. Rijnbergen furthermore complains that both institutions are inhibitory for the affairs of the Music Guild. This would, according to Rijnbergen, be highly detrimental to Dutch musicians and the Dutch music scene. It would be so detrimental, that Rijnbergen would not be able to bear the responsibility.¹⁵⁹

Rijnbergen, however, was not the only one in the *Kultuurkamer* who had a rough time adapting to the communication between NKK guilds and other institutions. In fact, the whole *Kultuurkamer* seemed to have an issue with the DVK. In a report on the meeting in the Music Guild, the leaders of the other guilds of the *Kultuurkamer* were present to discuss their troubled relationship with the DVK. It turned out that Rijnbergen was just the first one to open up about this issue.¹⁶⁰ The above-mentioned accusations following from the *Kultuurkamer* meeting minutes are quite heavy. According to general director E. Otto, the *Kultuurkamer* is not under supervision, but under legal restraints, and the DVK would have a tight grip on the *Kultuurkamer*. Furthermore, Otto concludes from these first accusations that “*het de wensch van het Departement is, dat de Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer om een op sabotage lijkende langzaamheid haar maatregelen zal uitstellen*”.¹⁶¹ It is even said, that the Department and the *Kultuurkamer* were in an open conflict, and that the DVK had the idea that the *Kultuurkamer* was just a subordinate branch, even going so far as to say that the *Kultuurkamer* should have just been disbanded at that point. As the discussion moves on, a simple, but important question is asked: what are the responsibilities of the DVK and the *Kultuurkamer*? The Secretary-General, De Ranitz, answered that the DVK was responsible for the “*Kultuurpolitiek*” and the *Kultuurkamer* was responsible for the social-economic and professional interest.¹⁶² This should not, according to Otto, have meant that the DVK would have taken all the implementing

¹⁵⁹ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 101, Brief van de leider van het Muziekgilde van de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer, H. Rijnbergen, aan de waarnemend secretaris-generaal, S.M.S. de Ranitz, betreffende de mededeling dat hij zijn functie neerlegt omdat hij ontevreden is over het gebrek aan samenwerking tussen het Muziekgilde en zowel de Afdeling Muziek van het departement als de hoofdafdelingen van de Kultuurkamer, 26 augustus 1943.

¹⁶⁰ Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, archief 104, Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer, inv.no. 671, Notulen van een bijeenkomst van het Muziekgilde met de algemeen bestuurder van de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer mr. E. Otto, gehouden op 29 maart, inzake de verhouding van het Muziekgilde tot de Afdeling Muziek van het Departement van Volksvoortoerusting en Kunsten, [29 maart 1943].

¹⁶¹ NIOD, archief 104 Kultuurkamer, inv.no. 671, Notulen van een bijeenkomst van het Muziekgilde met de algemeen bestuurder van de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer mr. E. Otto, gehouden op 29 maart, inzake de verhouding van het Muziekgilde tot de Afdeling Muziek van het Departement van Volksvoortoerusting en Kunsten, [29 maart 1943].

Translation: ‘The wish of the Department is for the Dutch Chamber of Culture to delay measures in a slow, sabotage like manner.’

¹⁶² Translation: ‘Cultural policies.’

measures. Ottos input is followed by a complaint that if the Department would control everything, it would not look like a national-socialist institution, but an absolutist institution. The leader of a certain department would be a dictator.¹⁶³ This sentiment was acknowledged by De Ranitz himself, as Steensel van der Aa, a *Kultuurkamer* branch leader, asked where the dividing line between the DVK and *Kultuurkamer* would be. According to De Ranitz, there was no such line: to every issue is also the aspect of cultural policy.¹⁶⁴

This would have meant that every *Kultuurkamer* measure based on cultural policy could become a DVK measure. Furthermore, the *Kultuurkamer* has never opposed anything from the DVK, according to Rijnbergen, even though about half to ¾ of the DVK measures had aspects of cultural policies. The DVK, on the other hand, opposed every measure that came from the *Kultuurkamer*.¹⁶⁵ At the end of the meeting, the leaders of the *Kultuurkamer* went into attack mode against the DVK. The *Kultuurkamer* should not work towards compromises to avoid further issues; De Ranitz's answer clearly deviated from the basic principles on which the *Kultuurkamer* was founded, as the *Kultuurkamer* had no responsibilities anymore in De Ranitz's view of the *Kultuurkamer* and DVK: “*morgen, 30 maart, begint dan de strijd op het gebied van het Muziekilde, doch daarachter staat de geheele Kultuurkamer*”.¹⁶⁶

6.2. Inspector Büser

While the *Kultuurkamer* and the DVK were arguing over their authorities, *Kultuurkamer* inspector H.W.E.A. Büser was busy setting up reports on ‘Surinam negroes’ who still performed their music. He was specifically inspecting the issue of the Hidalgo Orchestra performing in ‘*t Wagenwiel* on the *Nieuwendijk*. In July 1943, Büser was clearly surprised in a series of reports on black people who performed as musicians. After listening in ‘*t Wagenwiel* for quite some time, the inspector did not catch a single error on Hidalgo’s side.¹⁶⁷ Büser even

¹⁶³ NIOD, archief 104 Kultuurkamer, inv.no. 671, Notulen van een bijeenkomst van het Muziekilde met de algemeen bestuurder van de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer mr. E. Otto, gehouden op 29 maart, inzake de verhouding van het Muziekilde tot de Afdeling Muziek van het Departement van Volksvoortichting en Kunsten, [29 maart 1943].

¹⁶⁴ NIOD, archief 104 Kultuurkamer, inv.no. 671, Notulen van een bijeenkomst van het Muziekilde met de algemeen bestuurder van de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer mr. E. Otto, gehouden op 29 maart, inzake de verhouding van het Muziekilde tot de Afdeling Muziek van het Departement van Volksvoortichting en Kunsten, [29 maart 1943].

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

Translation: ‘Tomorrow, March 30, the battle of the Music Guild shall start, but the entire *Kultuurkamer* is there to support them.’

¹⁶⁷ NIOD, archief 104 Kultuurkamer, inv.no. 90, Stukken betreffende de gedragingen van de bestuurder van de Vakgroep Amusementsmuziek van het Muziekilde D. Beuzenberg, 7 april - 25 oktober 1943, Verzameling rapporten van H. Büser, contrôleur Opspringsdienst Kultuurkamer, betreffende NEGERS, welke als musici optreden, 7 juli 1943.

said that the orchestra exclusively played approved compositions. Moreover, Hidalgo was responsible for lifting the ban on Wehrmacht soldiers. During further investigations, Büser also found out that *Feldgendarmerie* (German military police) was very positive about Hidalgo. The *Streife*, patrolling police, also had no complaints about Hidalgo. Even the SD's *Oberscharführer* (a military rank) Poot praised the musical achievements of the orchestra and asked them to play on Poot's private party. Obviously, Hidalgo and his orchestra complied. Büser was also not worried that the situation would get out of hand: The SD, *Feldgendarmerie*, police and the chief inspector of the alcohol law were all present during Hidalgo's performances.¹⁶⁸

After the first meeting with Hidalgo and the inquiry at the German forces, Büser actively defended Hidalgo. In a letter directed at Mussert, Büser asks 'the leader of the Netherlands' to use his influence on Dr. Bergeld to make an exception for Hidalgo and his orchestra. Though Büser agrees with their opinion on black people, he does think that there are exceptions such as Hidalgo.¹⁶⁹ Büser came to this conclusion because he thought that the music performed by Hidalgo was similar to the music brought forth by every Dutch band. The fact that several known Dutch musicians have learned from Hidalgo helps Büser's argument. Büser furthermore states that if Hidalgo was barbaric, then Dutch jazz bands and musicians such as the Ramblers, Piet van Dijk and Klaas van Dijk were barbaric as well. In the end, Büser presents two possibilities: either provide a temporary working permit (which will be retracted with the tiniest slip up) or provide a permit to leave the country for France or Switzerland.¹⁷⁰

A month after Büser's reports, on the 26th of August, the orchestra in its entirety was rejected membership from the *Kultuurkamer*. However, on the exact same day, De Ranitz received a memo about Hidalgo, claiming that '*t Wagenwiel* is often visited by the Wehrmacht soldiers and SD personnel, who unanimously agreed that the band should have continued to exist. The writer of the memo continued: "*het baarde dan ook geen verwondering, toen ik*

¹⁶⁸ NIOD, archief 104 Kultuurkamer, inv.no. 90, Stukken betreffende de gedragingen van de bestuurder van de Vakgroep Amusementsmuziek van het Muziekilde D. Beuzenberg, 7 april - 25 oktober 1943, Verzameling rapporten van H. Büser, contrôleur Opsproringsdienst Kultuurkamer, betreffende NEGERS, welke als musici optreden, 7 juli 1943.

¹⁶⁹ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2647, Stukken betreffende een onderzoek naar het verbieden van optredens van Surinaamse musici in Nederland, naar aanleiding van een brief van enige Surinamers hierover, op grond van rapportages van de Amsterdamse politie omtrent de invloed van Surinaamse negers en hun muziek op de Nederlandse meisjes, 15 december 1941 - 10 maart 1944, aan de leider van de NSB in de Nederlanden Ir. A.A. Mussert, 3 augustus, 1943.

¹⁷⁰ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2647, Stukken betreffende een onderzoek naar het verbieden van optredens van Surinaamse musici in Nederland, naar aanleiding van een brief van enige Surinamers hierover, op grond van rapportages van de Amsterdamse politie omtrent de invloed van Surinaamse negers en hun muziek op de Nederlandse meisjes, 15 december 1941 - 10 maart 1944, aan de leider van de NSB in de Nederlanden Ir. A.A. Mussert, 3 augustus, 1943.

vernam dat de band, niettegenstaande de afwijzing, rustig doorspeelde. Ik zond echter wel een controleur uit om dit feit vast te stellen.¹⁷¹ Even after being rejected by the *Kultuurkamer*, which is equal to a ban on performing music, Hidalgo and his orchestra still continued to play.

Not even three days later, Büser again defended Hidalgo and his orchestra in a report on the Hidalgo case. In a Hollywood movie-like manner, Büser devised a plan that would ensure that he would be the hero and the reputation of the *Kultuurkamer* and DVK would be saved. The only downside was that Hidalgo and his orchestra would not be able to perform anymore, but fortunately without any further repercussions. It would be a win-win situation, except for the *Reichskommissariat*. To achieve this result, there were two separate plans, although the first was never executed. The first plan consisted of withholding an administrative decision until Hidalgo used Dr. Bergeld as his last trump card. However, this plan could not be executed according to Büser's colleague J. van Pesch.¹⁷² The second plan was to tell Hidalgo that the prohibition to perform music by all 'Surinam negroes' was commissioned by the *Reichskommissariat* and that this prohibition was correct. The *Kultuurkamer* would, however, not be disinclined to submit Hidalgo's request about dispensation to the DVK. Büser would once more help Hidalgo by drawing attention at the DVK to the fact that in the Netherlands there are only eight to ten real musicians among all of the 'Surinam negroes' living here. However, Büser did not think Hidalgo's request would have a chance to succeed, considering the *Reichskommissariat*'s opinion on this matter.¹⁷³ In the end, Büser averted attention from the *Kultuurkamer* and the DVK and blamed the *Reichskommissariat*.

6.3. Dirk Beuzenberg

Dirk Beuzenberg was the perfect representation for the ineffectiveness of the measures that were supposed to be taken against jazz music. Beuzenberg was the head of the Music Guild for the district of Rotterdam-The Hague as well as director of the branch of amusement musicians in the Music guild and inspector of amusement music. His behavior was so out of line at one

¹⁷¹ NIOD, archief 104 Kultuurkamer, inv.no. 90, Stukken betreffende de gedragingen van de bestuurder van de Vakgroep Amusementsmuziek van het Muziekgilde D. Beuzenberg, 7 april - 25 oktober 1943, Nota voor mr. de Ranitz, 26 augustus 1943.

Translation: 'It was to no surprise, that I found out that the band, notwithstanding the rejection, was still calmly performing music.'

¹⁷² NIOD, archief 104 Kultuurkamer, inv.no. 90, Stukken betreffende de gedragingen van de bestuurder van de Vakgroep Amusementsmuziek van het Muziekgilde D. Beuzenberg, 7 april - 25 oktober 1943, De Hidalgo kwestie (rapport inzake orkest Hidalgo).

¹⁷³ NIOD, archief 104 Kultuurkamer, inv.no. 90, Stukken betreffende de gedragingen van de bestuurder van de Vakgroep Amusementsmuziek van het Muziekgilde D. Beuzenberg, 7 april - 25 oktober 1943, 2 september 1943, Klachten over Beuzenberg.

point, that there was a file on his misconducts, set up by Büser. The first complaints on June 5 and June 13, 1943, were not necessarily directed towards Beuzenberg's behavior, but towards his competence, or lack thereof, as the head of the Music Guild for the district of Rotterdam-The Hague.¹⁷⁴ Beuzenberg's old music teacher, D.C. Molhoek thought that Beuzenberg was not fit for the job, as he 'absolutely had no musical aptitude'. Molhoek even removed him from the staff music corps "*Jong Nederland*" because of his lack of musical talent. Molhoek eventually advises the *Kultuurkamer* to replace Beuzenberg by 'a professional musician, no matter who, but a professional who belongs in that position'.¹⁷⁵

Two months after this first complaint, the Hidalgo files also mention Beuzenberg's interaction with the orchestra. On multiple occasions, Beuzenberg claimed that only he could decide whether Hidalgo could continue performing music.¹⁷⁶ However, Beuzenberg could not do anything anymore from the 15th of August, as the DVK had taken over the case. Even after Beuzenberg threatened Hidalgo with a prohibition, Beuzenberg still gave Hidalgo a written permit to perform music. But this was only after Büser contacted Abas of the *General-Commando* Hamburg. Büser made the promise to keep an eye on Hidalgo and if Hidalgo or his orchestra would misbehave, Büser would report it to the *Kultuurkamer* and the DVK. Büser furthermore stated that he would immediately cut off his relationship with Hidalgo. After these events, Beuzenberg is targeted with several reports on his behavior. The two main complaints were Beuzenberg's drinking problem and his temper.¹⁷⁷

On multiple occasions, Beuzenberg's drinking problems were addressed. On September 2, 1943, Büser met with inspector Elshout (from the *Buitendienst van het Departement*) who asked what kind of person Beuzenberg was.¹⁷⁸ The day before, Elshout visited theatre Picadilly in The Hague for an inspection with Beuzenberg and van Herk (branch director of fine arts). Several artists complained about their pianist and Beuzenberg invited the artists to sit with them. Later, the artists complained about Beuzenberg against Elshout. They said that Beuzenberg was drunk and because of his conduct, were not impressed by Beuzenberg and the *Kultuurkamer*.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁴ NIOD, archief 104 Kultuurkamer, inv.no. 90, Stukken betreffende de gedragingen van de bestuurder van de Vakgroep Amusementsmuziek van het Muziekgilde D. Beuzenberg, 7 april - 25 oktober 1943, Klacht over misplaatsing Beuzenberg, 5-13 juni 1943.

¹⁷⁵ NIOD, archief 104 Kultuurkamer, inv.no. 90, Stukken betreffende de gedragingen van de bestuurder van de Vakgroep Amusementsmuziek van het Muziekgilde D. Beuzenberg, 7 april - 25 oktober 1943, Verzameling rapporten van H. Büser, contrôleur Opsproringsdienst Kultuurkamer, betreffende NEGERS, welke als musici optreden, 7 juli 1943.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Translation: 'Representatives of the department.'

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

A mere six days later, a report from Büser came out on Beuzenberg's behavior on the job. The owner and waiter of café 't Wagenwiel, P.A. Jansen and P.H. Hammink, were invited by Büser to discuss the Beuzenberg matter. Jansen and Hammink told Büser the following:

*“Het optreden van den Heer Beuzenberg achten wij altijd onjuist. Hij slaagt erin om zich en de NKK zeer gehaat te maken. Hij treedt altijd zeer tactloos op, gedraagt zich alsof hij de enige in Nederland is, die wat te vertellen heeft op het gebied van de amusementsmuziek, begint altijd met Duitsch te spreken, om dan na zekeren tijd in Engelsch over te gaan.”*¹⁸⁰

After stating their opinions, Jansen and Hammink state several facts. In café Liberty, there was an orchestra of white people led by a black person. When Beuzenberg entered, he scared off the orchestra leader, threatened with deportation to labor camps and took the cards from the musicians.¹⁸¹ An attempt to sexual harassment can also be added to this list of Beuzenberg's misbehavior, as Beuzenberg proposed the following: *“het zangeresje, dat een nummertje ten beste gaf, uit te kleden en op een tafel te laten dansen”*.¹⁸² With Jansen and Hammink were seven more witnesses testifying about Beuzenberg's behavior, each saying they were afraid of him.¹⁸³

Beuzenberg also made some claims concerning the *Kultuurkamer* and the DVK. Firstly, Beuzenberg called Büser a small subordinate civil servant.¹⁸⁴ If Büser was in the same room as

¹⁸⁰ NIOD, archief 104 Kultuurkamer, inv.no. 90, Rapport betreffende het optreden van den heer Beuzenberg, 6 september 1943.

Translation: 'We constantly view Beuzenberg's actions as improper. He manages to make himself and the *Kultuurkamer* highly despised. He always acts very tactless, behaves as if he is the only person in the Netherlands who has something to say about amusement music, always starts speaking German, only to switch to English after a while.'

¹⁸¹ NIOD, archief 104 Kultuurkamer, inv.no. 90, Rapport betreffende het optreden van den heer Beuzenberg, 6 september 1943.; Büser meant *Kultuurkamer* member cards.

¹⁸² NIOD, archief 104 Kultuurkamer, inv.no. 90, Rapport betreffende het optreden van den heer Beuzenberg, 6 september 1943.

Translation: 'To undress the singer, who gave a good performance, and have her dance on a table.'

¹⁸³ NIOD, archief 104 Kultuurkamer, 90, Rapport betreffende het optreden van den heer Beuzenberg, 6 september 1943.; Kees Wouters, "Ongewenste Muziek: De bestrijding van jazz en moderne amusementsmuziek in Duitsland en Nederland 1920-1945" (PhD diss., University of Amsterdam, 1991), 186-187.; Wouters also discovered that the DVK and *Kultuurkamer* knew of Beuzenberg's behavior, as Rijnbergen stated *“Hij is een goed Nationaal Socialist en doet zijn werk in dit zonderlinge wereldje van amusementsmuzici goed, zij het nu en dan wel eens te fel”* to Jan Goverts.

Translation: 'He is a decent National Socialist and does his work in this eccentric world of amusement music well, though be it a little fierce sometimes.'

¹⁸⁴ NIOD, archief 104 Kultuurkamer, 90, Rapport betreffende het optreden van den heer Beuzenberg, 6 september 1943.

Beuzenberg, Beuzenberg would not drink and behave himself like an “*IJzeren Hein*”.¹⁸⁵ Secondly, Beuzenberg had stated multiple times, with both his attitude and unambiguous statements, that he was the only person who could decide if a business should close or if musicians would be prohibited from performing music.¹⁸⁶ With such statements, he effectively excluded the department of legal affairs.

Beuzenberg’s actions did not mean that his branch ran smoothly. In fact, on the 7th of October 1943, a report on the branch of amusement music was published. The personnel of the branch consisted of the director, Beuzenberg, and his assistant, Standaart. Typing is done at the central location of the Music Guild, which often led to stagnation because there was not always a typist available for Beuzenberg’s branch.¹⁸⁷ The report also states that a lot of professional musicians left for Germany looking for work, while amateurs took over this gap of professional musicians. While a card system, to identify *Kultuurkamer* members, was constructed for professional musicians, a similar system was not created for amateurs. Beuzenberg’s assistant was furthermore overwhelmed with work and urgently requested help. The same conclusion was reached for Beuzenberg, but he only requested one stenographer. According to the head of the Human Resources department, this was not enough, but the writer of the report suspected that Beuzenberg was too proud and stubborn to admit he needed more help.¹⁸⁸

6.4. The state of jazz music in the Netherlands

All the examples above imply that policies were ineffective. However, these are merely stories. Fortunately, there are several documents that clearly suggest that anti-jazz policies were not effective. One document from October 20, 1943, is written in German and introduces a report on the state of jazz in the Netherlands (and Saxony):

¹⁸⁵ NIOD, archief 104 Kultuurkamer, 90, Rapport betreffende het optreden van den heer Beuzenberg, 6 september 1943.

An *IJzeren Heijn* is someone who always remains calm.

¹⁸⁶ NIOD, archief 104 Kultuurkamer, 90, Rapport betreffende het optreden van den heer Beuzenberg, 6 september 1943.

¹⁸⁷ Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, archief 104, Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer, inv.no. 675, Rapport inzake mijn bezoek aan de vakgroep amusementsmusici van het muziekgilde, 7 oktober, 1943.

¹⁸⁸ NIOD, archief 104 Kultuurkamer, inv.no. 675, Rapport inzake mijn bezoek aan de vakgroep amusementsmusici van het muziekgilde, 7 oktober, 1943.

*“In der anlage finden sie einen sehr interessanten bericht in 2-facher ausfertigung über die schwierigkeiten die dadurch entstehen dass Deutsche sender und auch Deutsche kapellen verniggerte musik regelmässig spielen, idem in Holland - jetzt auch in Sachsen - Alle jazzentartung unterbunden ist.”*¹⁸⁹

It is clear from this introduction that the policy thus far was not quite as successful as the occupying forces had hoped, as jazz is still played in the Netherlands and Saxony. However, it was unclear from the introduction who wrote it, for whom it was written and with what purpose it was written.

Even the first direct censorship policy was only created in 1944. This was a direct prohibition of music with ‘negro and negrito elements’. A second prohibition concerned the teaching of ‘jazz and Hawaii music’. This also applied to advertising jazz and Hawaii music teachings.¹⁹⁰ The director of the branch of amusement music subsequently attempted to uncover the rise of jazz music and set up guidelines concerning amusement company programs. To guide the previously mentioned prohibitions, the director provided instructions: replace rhythmical elements for ‘artistic melodic achievements’; have ‘dancings’ be excluded from this replacement; create enough airtime for the concert waltz, overture and opera fantasy, alternating with the melodic schlager (without using hot-improvisations); set up an investigation on competence.¹⁹¹

A Dutch letter, however, following the German report of October 20, 1943, confirms that a lot of jazz orchestras were still active in Valkenburg and Eindhoven. In theory, the “stijlvergunningen” should have prohibited musicians from performing American music (including jazz music).¹⁹² In reality, however, the genre permits ‘have led to a fiasco’. In a letter

¹⁸⁹ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2641, Stukken betreffende het verbod op het ten gehore brengen van joodse of door joden bewerkte muziek en negermuziek, onder meer een decreet van de Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda J. Goebbels getiteld Programmgestaltung des deutschen Musiklebens, 4 september 1939 - 23 maart 1944., introduction to a report on the state of jazz in the Netherlands and Saxony (Germany), 20 October 1943.

Translation: ‘In the attachment you will find a very interesting report in duplicate about the issues that arise because German broadcasters and German bands play negro-like music, because in Holland – and now also in Saxony – all forms of jazz degeneration occur.’

¹⁹⁰ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2544, Voorwaarden verbonden aan het verlenen van een vergunning voor dans- en amusementsmuziek; verbod van negroïde en negritische elementen in dans- en amusementsmuziek, 1944.

¹⁹¹ Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, archief 102, Departement van Volksvoortichting en Kunsten, inv.no. 728, Correspondentie van de Afdeling Kabinet en Juridische Zaken met de Nederlandse Omroep betreffende het doorgeven van namen, titels en functies van personen met een vooraanstaande ambtelijke functie, 25 maart - 9 april 1942, Rapport van de bestuurder van de Vakgroep Amusementsmusici voor de leider van het Muziekilde, 24 mei 1944.

The ‘Schlager’ is the German version of the English ‘Pop’ song.

¹⁹² Translation: ‘Genre permits.’

from Secretary-General De Ranitz to the leader of the *Nederlandsche Kultuurraad* (G.A.S. Snijder) on August 7, 1943, the Secretary-General not only asks for advice on how to combat jazz music, but also neatly explains why the genre permits do not work. The permits were often not adhered, as ‘the jazz people’, according De Ranitz, ‘could not play anything else than what they were used to’.¹⁹³ De Ranitz furthermore states that he views the permits as a far-reaching form of state regulation and that the permits are widely ridiculed. Requests from Eindhoven and Valkenburg came in, requesting some counterweight against the many jazz orchestras. This counterweight should be an orchestra such as Elzard Kuhlman’s orchestra, or an orchestra that pays more attention to Viennese Waltzes. This would be more effective, according to De Ranitz, to convince visitors of jazz concerts to listen to other (‘good’) music.¹⁹⁴

To make matters more interesting, two white Jewish musicians, Nol van Wesel and Max Kannevasser (also known as Johnny and Jones), were still playing jazz music. Even though Van Wesel and Kannevasser were deported to Westerbork transit camp in 1943, they still managed to record music as they secretly went to Amsterdam while they were supposed to disassemble airplanes in Weesp.¹⁹⁵ A preliminary conclusion, without any testing, is that policies were ineffective, based on the miscommunication and friction between branches, misbehaving and incompetent inspectors, the reputation of the branches with café owners and musicians and the two documents providing an insight into the state of jazz music scene in the Netherlands.

6.5. Jazzy newsflashes

Newspapers can provide quite a helpful insight into the matter of the effectiveness of jazz censorship policies. They were able to test, at least to some extent, the effectiveness of the policies mentioned earlier in this chapter. For newspapers, it should be noted that these censoring policies are not only to remove jazz music from the music scene. Instead, these policies should be seen as a way to remove jazz as a whole from the Dutch cultural scene and collective memory. In the five years of German occupation, there were a lot of newspapers discussing or mentioning jazz in any shape or form. Whether the sample was more negative, positive or an

¹⁹³ Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, archief 102, Departement van Volksvoortichting en Kunsten, inv.no. 1282, Brief van de waarnemend secretaris-generaal, S.M.S. de Ranitz, aan de president van de Nederlandse Kultuurraad, G.A.S. Snijder, betreffende een verzoek om advies over de bestrijding van jazzmuziek, 7 augustus 1944.

¹⁹⁴ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 1282, Brief van de waarnemend secretaris-generaal, S.M.S. de Ranitz, aan de president van de Nederlandse Kultuurraad, G.A.S. Snijder, betreffende een verzoek om advies over de bestrijding van jazzmuziek, 7 augustus 1944.

¹⁹⁵ “Joodse muzikanten,” Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, accessed November 17, 2020, <https://www.niod.nl/nl/tonen-van-de-oorlog/joodse-muzikanten>.

advertisement is not necessarily the most important part to research. Primarily, the newspapers show how much jazz music is discussed in the media.

In the years of occupation, thousands of articles, movie reviews (which often discuss the music of the movie) and advertisements mentioned or discussed jazz music in some way or form. Having taken out all the articles that were shown twice in the same newspaper on Delpher, this left us with 3,651 articles, movie reviews and advertisement from local, regional and national newspapers.¹⁹⁶ On average, that was more than 730 mentions of jazz music per year (over a five-year period), and about two mentions per day. [Table 1](#) showed that while advertisements had the upper hand, covering about 72% of the entire sample, negative, positive and other articles still covered about 26% of the sample.¹⁹⁷ At the very least, these numbers indicated that there was a lot of interest in jazz music, for instance in jazz instruments or jazz music lessons. The large number of advertisements does suggest, however, that there was a market for jazz music lessons and jazz instruments. To a certain extent, this could indicate the popularity of jazz music in the Netherlands.

¹⁹⁶ No distinction was made between local, regional and national newspapers. Newspapers run by National-Socialist or heavily censored/taken over were marked by asterisks.

¹⁹⁷ “Jazz,” Results, Delpher, accessed August 19, 2020,

[https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/results?query=jazz&facets%5Btype%5D%5B%5D=advertentie&facets%5Btype%5D%5B%5D=artikel&facets%5Btype%5D%5B%5D=illustratie+met+onderschrift&facets%5Bspatial%5D%5B%5D=Landelijk&facets%5Bspatial%5D%5B%5D=Regionaal%7Clokaal&page=1&sortfield=date&cql%5B%5D=\(date+_gte_+%2215-05-1940%22\)&cql%5B%5D=\(date+_lte_+%2205-05-1945%22\)&coll=ddd](https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/results?query=jazz&facets%5Btype%5D%5B%5D=advertentie&facets%5Btype%5D%5B%5D=artikel&facets%5Btype%5D%5B%5D=illustratie+met+onderschrift&facets%5Bspatial%5D%5B%5D=Landelijk&facets%5Bspatial%5D%5B%5D=Regionaal%7Clokaal&page=1&sortfield=date&cql%5B%5D=(date+_gte_+%2215-05-1940%22)&cql%5B%5D=(date+_lte_+%2205-05-1945%22)&coll=ddd)

Table 1. Newspapers mentioning jazz music in a positive or negative article, review, advertisement or other articles.

Newspaper type	Newspapers	Positive	Negative	Review	Advertisements	Other	Subtotal (n)
Collaborating, German and NSB newspapers	Deutsche Zeitung in den Niederlanden*	0	30	0	8	4	42
	Het Nationale Dagblad: voor het Nederlandsche Volk*	1	55	0	8	1	65
	De Residentiebode*	9	12	3	95	8	127
	Storm: Blad der Nederlandsche SS*	0	11	0	0	0	11
	De Waag*	1	18	0	0	0	19
Taken over by occupying forces or heavily censored	De Zwarte Soldaat: Blad voor de W.A. (Weerbaarheidsafdeling)*	0	15	0	0	0	15
	Algemeen Handelsblad**	14	24	5	116	13	172
	De Telegraaf**	5	14	1	137	15	172
Independent or partially censored	Dagblad Nieuwe Hoornsche Courant	2	1	1	29	2	35
	Dagblad van het Oosten: Almelo's Dagblad	4	0	0	11	3	18
	Dagblad van het Zuiden voor Eindhoven, Meijerij, Peel en Kempenland	3	6	2	23	2	36
	Dagblad van Rotterdam	1	1	0	54	2	58
	Dagblad voor Leiden en Omstreken	0	1	0	12	0	13
	Dagblad voor Noord-Holland	2	2	0	43	0	47

De Arnhemsche Courant	5	0	1	61	5	72
De Courant/Het Nieuws van de Dag	1	5	0	170	7	183
De Gooi -en Eemlander	5	4	2	61	0	72
De Graafschap-Bode	1	0	0	12	1	14
De Maasbode	3	0	3	9	0	15
De Maasmonder	0	0	0	11	0	11
De Noord-Ooster	7	3	1	15	4	30
De Tijd	11	8	2	40	10	71
Delftsche Courant	8	2	1	66	5	82
Dordrechtsche Courant	0	4	0	12	1	17
Eindhovensch Dagblad	0	0	0	18	0	18
Friesche Courant	0	1	0	11	0	12
Haagsche Courant	11	1	0	362	0	374
Haagsche Post	1	14	1	4	7	27
Haarlem's Dagblad	3	1	1	40	0	45
Haarlemsche Courant	3	4	0	36	2	45
Het Joodsche Weekblad	1	0	0	20	1	22
Het Vaderland	25	8	6	0	2	41
Leeuwarder Courant	3	5	2	10	3	23
Leidsch Dagblad	5	1	0	100	5	111
Limburger Koerier	5	6	0	63	9	83
Nieuwe Apeldoornsche Courant	6	3	3	49	0	61
Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant	7	9	2	50	4	72
Nieuwe Venlosche Courant	0	7	0	18	7	32

Nieuwsblad van Friesland: Hepkema's Courant	0	2	0	10	0	12
Nieuwsblad van het Noorden	2	8	1	78	0	89
Nieuwsblad van het Zuiden	6	3	0	21	2	32
Oost-Brabant	3	1	2	18	0	24
Oprechte Haarlemsche Courant	6	4	1	23	5	39
Provinciale Geldersche en Nijmeegsche Courant	10	0	1	15	0	26
Provinciale Overijsselsche en Zwolsche Courant	2	7	1	10	2	22
Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad	7	0	1	351	0	359
Twentsch Dagblad Tubantia en Enschedesche Courant	10	4	1	22	4	41
Twentsch Nieuwsblad	3	3	1	17	0	24
Utrechtsche Courant	0	3	2	20	3	28
Het Volk: Sociaal-Democratisch Dagblad***	5	13	3	74	6	101
Vooruit	0	3	1	65	1	70
Other	57	134	11	148	71	421
Total	264	461	63	2646	217	3651

*** “*Het Volk: Sociaal-Democratisch Dagblad*” is also called “*Het Volk: Dagblad voor de Arbeiderspartij*” in Delpher. Around July/August 1940, the title changed to “*Het Volk: Socialistisch Dagblad*”, implying a soft merger between *Sociaal-Democratisch Dagblad* and *Socialistisch Dagblad*. The two remained somewhat separate from each other, as *Sociaal-Democratisch Dagblad* was accompanied by the text “*Actueel Strijdvaardig*” and *Socialistisch Dagblad* was accompanied by “*Utrechtsch Volksblad*”.

The year-by-year table (table 2) showed the distribution of newspapers across the years in more detail. It became clear from this table that jazz is initially mentioned more from 1940 to 1941, followed by a steady decline in 1942 and 1943. Though the growth in the first year of occupation was self-explanatory, as the first year of occupation started in May and not January, the following decline was prone to other factors. Having looked at the average amount of newspapers mentioning jazz per month, there was an average steady decline which started in 1941 instead of 1942, which showed that the growth of jazz mentions was only absolute and not relative. One of the factors for why jazz was mentioned less, was that the *Reichskommissariat* was more actively involved in the distribution of newspapers. Some newspapers became illegal, such as *Het Joodsche Weekblad*, some were (almost) merged with other local newspapers, such as “*Eindhovensch Dagblad*” and “*Eindhovensche en Meijersche Courant*” (the latter became the pro-German newspaper “*Dagblad van het Zuiden*”, which had a monopoly in the Eindhoven area, after *Eindhovensch Dagblad* disappeared) and some were taken over by the occupiers, such as *Het Volk* (The People).

Table 2. Total amount of newspapers mentioning jazz per year from May 1940 to May 1945 and average amount of newspapers mentioning jazz per month between May 1940 and May 1945.

Period	Total per year*	Average per month
May 1940-December 1940	1023	128
January 1941-December 1941	1161	97
January 1942-December 1942	943	79
January 1943-December 1943	466	39
January 1944-December 1944	500	41
January 1945-May 1945	118	23
Total	4211	

* The “Total Frequency” deviates from the “Total” number in Table 1, as duplicate results from the same newspaper were taken into account in the sample for Table 2.

Another factor could be found in paper shortage. This shortage was not only the reason why some newspapers had to merge, but it was also the reason why newspapers, including *Eindhovensch Dagblad*, disappeared. A final factor was that the grip of the occupiers on journalism had gotten tighter the longer the war lasted. And the longer the war lasted, the less articles were published, and the less newspapers came out due to financially difficult times. The small growth in 1944 could have been attributed to the fact that the southern parts of the

Netherlands (Noord-Brabant and Limburg) were already liberated and enjoyed relatively more freedom than northern parts of the Netherlands. The steep decline in newspaper distribution in the period January 1945-May 1945 was, much like the initial growth in the period January 1941-December 1941, self-explanatory: the period was much shorter than the previous year, and there was barely any room to distribute newspapers due to the approaching allied forces.

In table 2 it was clearly visible that the first real decline occurred in 1943. This corresponded with the DVK and *Kultuurkamer* taking some action. It was in 1943, when De Ranitz implemented more policies than the years before when the DVK and *Kultuurkamer* were led by Goedewaagen.¹⁹⁸ Thus, the decline in newspapers mentioning jazz was in line with the new policies implemented by De Ranitz. A logical conclusion was that the policies enacted in 1943 were somewhat successful.

1944, however, was an odd year. While jazz was mentioned more in newspapers, there were also more policies implemented in the same year. That is strange, seeing as jazz music lessons and the performance of jazz music was basically prohibited through “*Voorwaarden verbonden aan het verlenen van een vergunning voor dans- en amusementsmuziek; verbod van negroïde en negritische elementen in dans- en amusementsmuziek*” and “*Verbod tot onderricht in zgn Jazz -en hawai-muziek*”.¹⁹⁹ Especially the latter policy, prohibiting any musical teachings in jazz, or the advertising of it, should have been the final nail in the coffin for jazz music. Yet, the music genre still survived for another year. A government document that was able to explain this growth was the document from August 7, 1944, in which De Ranitz asked for advice on how to combat jazz music (“*brief van waarnemend Sec.-Gen. van het DVK aan de president van de Nederlandsche Kultuurraad, betreffende een verzoek om advies over de bestrijding van jazzmuziek*”). The German document on the rising number of German

¹⁹⁸ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 590, Stukken betreffende het intrekken van werkvergunningen en het weigeren van lidmaatschappen van Surinaamse negermusici door de Nederlandse Kultuurkamer, 20 augustus 1943 - 7 januari 1944.; NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2647, Stukken betreffende een onderzoek naar het verbieden van optredens van Surinaamse musici in Nederland, naar aanleiding van een brief van enige Surinamers hierover, op grond van rapportages van de Amsterdamse politie omtrent de invloed van Surinaamse negers en hun muziek op de Nederlandse meisjes, 15 december 1941 - 10 maart 1944.; NIOD, archief 104 Kultuurkamer, inv.no. 90, Stukken betreffende de gedragingen van de bestuurder van de Vakgroep Amusementsmuziek van het Muziekgilde D. Beuzenberg, 7 april - 25 oktober 1943.

¹⁹⁹ NIOD, archief 102 DVK, inv.no. 2544, Voorwaarden verbonden aan het verlenen van een vergunning voor dans- en amusementsmuziek; verbod van negroïde en negritische elementen in dans- en amusementsmuziek, 1944.; Nederland Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam, archief 102, Departement van Volksvoortichting en Kunsten, inv.no. 2664, Persmededelingen van de Afdeling Muziek betreffende het voeren van buitenlandse namen en pseudoniemen door musici, het inzenden van programma's voor muziekuitvoeringen en een verbod tot onderricht in jazz- en Hawaïmuziek, 8 juli 1941 - 21 juni 1944, Verbod tot onderricht in zgn, Jazz -en hawai-muziek, mei 1944.

Translation: ‘Requirements attached to granting permits for dance- and amusement music’; ‘Prohibition of negro and negrito elements in dance- and amusement music’; ‘The prohibition of teaching so-called jazz- and Hawaii-music.’

broadcasters and bands playing ‘negro-like’ music even explained this rising number of distributed newspapers mentioning jazz in an earlier stage (October 20, 1943) than the letter from De Ranitz to Snijder. Thus, it can be cautiously concluded that newspapers can be used to test policy effectiveness and that the censoring policies were somewhat ineffective.

6.6. Conclusion

Although there were attempts to completely rid the Netherlands of jazz music, it seems that these attempts were never completely successful. There were factors hindering the effective implementation and execution of anti-jazz policies, like Goedewaagen’s ongoing conflict with Mussert and the death of Goedewaagen’s successor, Reydon. With the appointment of a new successor, De Ranitz, there were even more setbacks. One of them was when the leader of the Music Guild left, stating that communication between the DVK and the *Kultuurkamer* was inadequate, just like the communication between the *Kultuurkamer* Guilds. The other Guild leaders agreed with this statement.

The problem of miscommunication mentioned in this statement, much like the problems with some seemingly incompetent people, appeared to be reoccurring themes within the *Kultuurkamer* and other cultural institutions. Beuzenberg, for instance, received many complaints about his behavior and refused help for his understaffed *Kultuurkamer* branch, which hampered its cause. Furthermore, Büser was trying to execute the *Kultuurkamer* and DVK’s policies, whilst also trying to help Hidalgo orchestra, who unbeknownst to the DVK, received blue cards which allowed them to perform their music.

The idea that anti-jazz policies were not as successful as they were supposed to be, because of incompetence, miscommunication and possibly other hindering factors that cannot be found within the archives, is confirmed by two documents from the DVK archive. These documents state that jazz music was still (increasingly) played in the Netherlands, even though the policies implemented against it became increasingly strict, up until the point where jazz music was completely forbidden in 1944. Research on newspapers from the five-year occupation of the Netherlands supports the idea as well. Thousands of articles and advertisements mentioned jazz music during that time, suggesting that there was a market for this type of music. While the total amount of times that jazz was mentioned increased in 1941, it decreased from 1942 and 1943. In 1944 there was a slight, but negligible increase, before decreasing significantly in 1945. On average per month, however, the amount of times jazz was mentioned in newspapers decreased steadily. Three factors could most certainly explain this decrease: mergers between newspapers (which meant that there were less newspapers in the

Netherlands), paper shortage and censorship of newspapers. Another factor that might be able to explain the decrease, is the effectiveness of jazz censorship policies. It is possible that jazz censorship policies were still somewhat effective. If the war had lasted longer, or if the Germans had won the war, then the policies might have been more effective. All in all, miscommunication and incompetence hampered the execution of anti-jazz policies, but it did not mean that these policies were completely ineffective.

7. Conclusion

“Gezien de corrupten geest op den Nieuwendijk is het van het grootste belang, dat het prestige van de Kultuurkamer niet opnieuw een knauw krijgt. Reeds hebben wij met man en macht moeten verhinderen, dat andere negerorkestes zich met een beroep op de zaak Hidalgo, wederom op den Nieuwendijk nestelden, niettegenstaande zij door de Kultuurkamer werden geweigerd.” – Dirk Spanjaard, Head of the Legal Affairs, *Departement van Volksvoorlichting en Kunsten*.

This quote by Dirk Spanjaard, head of the DVK legal affairs, almost perfectly captures how the Dutch government, and specifically the cultural institutions, functioned during the Second World War. It also captured the research question as to why and how jazz was censored in the Netherlands during the Second World War. Many departments had overlapping authorities, and through conflict a stronger government would emerge. This was no different with the cultural institutions, such as the *Departement van Volksvoorlichting en Kunsten*, the *Departement van Opvoeding, Wetenschap en Kultuurbescherming* and the *Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer*. In 1941, the Secretaries-General of the DVK and OWK interfered with each other's plans regularly.

Similar conflicts can be seen later between the DVK and *Kultuurkamer*. While it seemed as if the *Kultuurkamer* held a lot of power, the DVK was actually in control. The DVK defined jazz music (or music with ‘negro and negroid elements’) and created policy, while the *Kultuurkamer* mostly had to execute the DVK’s policies. This included *Kultuurkamer* membership registration and inspect cafés for illegal activities, such as performing music without a *Kultuurkamer* membership card. Because of these conflicts, the DVK and *Kultuurkamer* most likely did not execute policies very effectively.

One of those policies that was executed relatively ineffective, was the censorship of jazz music. Jazz music (or music with ‘negro and negroid elements’) was supposed to be censored because of several reasons: jazz was primitive, corrupted minds, influenced children badly and was the opposite of the Dutch and Germanic culture. While newspapers mostly agreed with the DVK, there was one exception: De Ramblers. This band was hailed as one of the most talented orchestras in the Netherlands. De Ramblers were one of the few jazz bands that were viewed positively, however. With other bands, mainly those with black musicians, the DVK and *Kultuurkamer* attempted to prohibit them from playing jazz music.

To combat jazz music in the Netherlands, inspectors would be sent to cafés, for instance. Anyone who was not a member of the *Kultuurkamer*, would not be able to perform music anymore. However, some artists still performed music without being a member of the *Kultuurkamer*, even in front of German soldiers and inspectors. *Kultuurkamer* Inspector H. Büser was not just surveilling, but also protecting Hidalgo orchestra, which was full of black musicians. Not only did Büser think that these black musicians were as capable as some white jazz musicians (though he despises jazz music no matter who plays), he was also trying to fix some miscommunication between the DVK, *Kultuurkamer* and the *Abteilung Kultur*. Another inspector, Dirk Beuzenberg, was misbehaving so much a report was set up by the *Kultuurkamer*. Beuzenberg's functioning could also easily be marked as incompetence. Quantitative analysis of newspapers and qualitative analyses of DVK documents confirmed that policy was somewhat ineffective, as jazz was still played in the Netherlands. However, because jazz music was less advertised in newspapers, it did suggest some effectivity.

The answer to why and how jazz music was censored was because it was primitive and had a negative impact on Dutch society. There were attempts to censor jazz music by setting up the *Kultuurkamer* and rejecting black musicians. A prohibition on music with 'negro and negroid elements' would have prohibited jazz musicians permanently from performing music. But incompetence, miscommunication and conflict between departments and government branches all hampered the goals of the DVK and *Kultuurkamer* to censor jazz music.

7.1 Discussion

Further research on jazz censorship is still possible, as there are a few gaps in this research. First, the Netherlands could be an exception. Other European countries could have much more effective policies. Second, this research was more of a qualitative research than quantitative. Though it seems that there is a certain relation between policies, intergovernmental communication, incompetence and newspapers, a proper quantitative analysis is lacking. Future research on the relationship between the four variables (policies, intergovernmental communication, incompetence and newspapers) could confirm or falsify the conclusions of this thesis. The use of a regression analysis would suffice. Third, there were also many Jewish musicians in the Netherlands. Some Jewish musicians, such as Johnny and Jones (Nol van Wesel and Max Kannewasser), were still active until 1944, even though they were deported to

Westerbork transit camp in 1943.²⁰⁰ This raises some questions on the effectiveness of measures against Jewish people and certain music genres. Research on Jewish musicians and other genres than jazz during the Second World War could be conducted. But above all, due to the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020-2021, there were travel restrictions. Because of these travel restrictions, I was not able to travel to many archives, certainly not those abroad. One could, for instance, research if and/or how the German equivalents of the DVK and *Kultuurkamer* attempted to influence cultural policies in the Netherlands.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ Johnny and Jones were, presumably, sent to Amsterdam for forced labor. They secretly recorded songs in a basement on the P.C. Hooftstraat.

²⁰¹ A completely different research could also be conducted on academic research during the COVID-19 pandemic. I, for one, had to creatively postpone research for this thesis because all archives were closed in the Netherlands. These restrictions were not just confined to archives and museums, but also to physical contact. Interviews, for instance, mostly had to be conducted through online platforms such as Zoom and Microsoft Teams, showcasing the creativity of academic researchers.

8. Appendix

Voorwaarden

VERBONDEN AAN HET VERLEENEN VAN EEN VERGUNNING VOOR DANS- EN AMUSEMENTSMUZIEK

Verbod van negroïde en negritische *) elementen in dans- en amusementsmuziek.

Inleiding

De volgende bepalingen beoogen een aanvang te maken met het herstel van den Europeeschen geest in de hier te lande gemaakte dans- en amusementsmuziek, door laatstgenoemde te ontdoen van die primitief-negroïde en/of -negritische muziekelementen, die geacht worden op opvallende wijze in strijd te zijn met de Europeeschen klankvoorstelling. Deze bepalingen gelden als een uit praktische overwegingen geboren overgangsmaatregel, welke aan een algemeen herstel dient te gaan.

Verbod

Art. 1.

Het is verboden in het openbaar muziek te maken, die in belangrijke mate de kenmerken draagt van de wijze van improviseeren, uitvoeren, componeeren en arrangeeren door negers en negrito's.

Art. 2.

Het is verboden in publicaties, verslagen, programma's, gedrukte of mondelinge aankondigingen, enz:

- a. Ten gehore te brengen of gebrachte muziek ten onrechte aan te duiden met de woorden "jazz" of "jazzmuziek";
- b. Het hiernavolgend gebezige technische jargon te gebruiken, behoudens als aanduiding voor of omschrijving van de instrumentale en vocale dansmuziek van de Noord-Amerikaansche negers.

De Secretaris-Generaal kan op art. 1 een uitzondering toestaan:

1. Voorzover met deze muziek een strikt wetenschappelijk of strikt opvoedkundig doel wordt nagestreefd;

2. Voorzover deze muziek vertolkt wordt door personen, die twee of meer negroïde of negritische grootouders hebben

Omschrijving van de meest van het Europeesche muziekbesef afwijkende voornaamste kenmerken der bovenbedoelde muziek.

A. In de voordracht:

1. De toepassing op negerwijze van door excessief vibrato, liptechniek en/of schudden van het muziekinstrument verkregen tonaal ongedefinieerde mordenten, pralltrillers, dubbelslagen, opwaartsche glissandi.

in jazzterminologie: *de toepassing van de effecten, die bekend zijn als “dinge”, “smear” en “whip”*;

2. De toepassing van het doelbewuste vocaliseren van den instrumentalen klank door nabootsing van den keeklank.

In jazzterminologie: *de toepassing van den “growl” op koperen blaasinstrumenten, alsmede van den “scratchy” klarinettoon*;

3. Alle toepassingen van doelbewust instrumentaliseeren van den zangstem door substitutie van zinlooze syllaben voor het tekstwoord door “metaliseering” van de stem.

In jazzterminologie: *het zg. “scat” zingen en het imiteeren van koperen blaasinstrumenten, met het stemorgaan*;

4. De toepassing op negerwijze van fel getimbreerde en fel dynamische intonaties voorzover niet reeds begrepen onder A 1 t/m 3.

In jazzterminologie: *de toepassingen van “hot”-intonaties*;

5. De toepassing op negerwijze van die registers van koperen en houten blaasinstrumenten, waarin de toonvorming met meer dan normale persing tot stand komt in solistisch gebruik.

Voor saxophoons en trombones geldt dit niet.

B. In de melodie:

De voor de negers karakteristieke en als zodanig onfeilbaar te herkennen melodievorming.

C. In den vorm:

1. De toepassing op negerwijze van korte motief-herhalingen, ostinaat [voortdurend herhaald begeleidingsmotief] naar toonhoogte en rhythmiek, meer dan driemaal achtereenvolgend zonder onderbreking voor een solo-instrument (c.q. solozangstem), meer dan zestien maal achtereenvolgend zonder onderbreking voor een soli-instrumentengroep, welke koristisch [als een koor] is bezet.
In jazzterminologie: *alle toepassingen van ostinate "licks" en "riffs", meer dan driemaal achtereenvolgend voor een solist, meer dan zestien maal achtereenvolgend voor een sectie of voor twee of meer secties;*
2. De toepassing van negersche ostinate basvormen, die gebaseerd zijn op den gebroken drieklank.
In jazzterminologie: *de "boogie-woogie", "honky-tonk"- of "barrelhouse" -stijl.*

D. In het instrumentengebruik:

1. Het gebruik van zeer primitieve instrumenten, zooals de Cubaansch-negersche "quijada" (paarde- of ezelskaak) en de Noord-Amerikaansch-negersche "washboard" (waschbord of equivalent met uitzondering van de "guiro");
2. Het gebruik van rubberdempers voor koperen blaasinstrumenten, die nabootsing van den keeklank bewerkstelligen en het gebruik van dempers, die, al dan niet met een speciale handbeweging aangewend, een nabootsing van den neusklank bewerkstelligen.
In jazzterminologie: *het gebruik van "plungers" en "wah-wah" dempers, de zgn. "tone colour mutes" mogen wel gebruikt worden.*
3. Het aanwenden op negerwijze van langdurige slagwerksoli of een imitatie daarvan, gedurende meer dan twee resp. vier vierkwartsmaten, vaker dan driemaal resp. tweemaal herhaald in het verloop van 32 achtereenvolgende maten van een geheele vertolking.
In jazzterminologie: *stop "chorussen" voor slagwerk behalve voor koperen bekkens. Geen bezwaar bestaat er tegen, een "chorus" van een vertolking van slagwerksoli te voorzien in de plaatsen, waar ook een "break" zou kunnen vallen, echter niet meer dan op drie van die plaatsen;*
4. Het aanwenden van een langdurige constante beklemtoning van tweeden en vierden maattel in een vierkwartsmaat.
In jazzterminologie: *het aanwenden van het langdurig volgehouden "off beat" effect.*

*) Negroid = tot het negroïde ras behoorende. Dit zijn de Afrikaansche negers (ook die buiten Afrika wonen), verder de pygmeeën, boschjesmannen en hottentotten.

Negrito = in ruimeren zin: de kleingebouwde, spiraal- of kroesharige donkere bewoners van Zuid-Oost Azië, Melanesië en Midden-Afrika.

9. List of abbreviations

AK = *Abteilung Kultur* (Cultural Department).

DVK = *Departement van Volksvoortichting en Kunsten* (Department for Public Information en Arts).

NIOD = *Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie* (Dutch Institute for War Documentation).

NKK = *Nederlandsche Kultuurkamer* (Dutch Chamber of Culture).

NKR = *Nederlandsche Kultuurraad* (Dutch Cultural Board).

NSB = *Nationaal Socialistische Bond* (National Socialist Union).

NSDAP = *Nationaalsocialistische Duitse Arbeiderspartij/Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (National Socialist German Worker's Party).

OKW = *Ministerie van Onderwijs, Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Department of Education, Arts and Sciences).

OWK = *Het Departement van Opvoeding, Wetenschap en Kultuurbescherming* (Department of Education, Science and Cultural Protection).

PTT = *Posterijen, Telegrafie en Telefonie* (Postal Service, Telegraphy and Telephony).

RIOD = *Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie* (National Institute for War Documentation)

RKK = *Reichskulturkammer* (Reich Chamber of Culture).

SD = *Sicherheitsdienst* (Security Service).

SS = *Schutzstaffel* (Protection Squad).

UvA = *Universiteit van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam University).

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