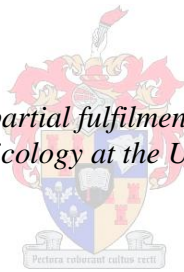


Cosmopolitanism in early Afrikaans music historiography, 1910-1948

by
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*Dissertation presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree Masters in Musicology at the University of Stellenbosch*



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December 2010

Declaration

By submitting this thesis/dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

December 2010

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Abstract

Current musicological discourses in South Africa seldom engage with Afrikaans content and contributions, even though there is an acknowledged large body of writing on music in Afrikaans. These writings could significantly inform music and general historiographies in South Africa. This study discusses music-related articles in the following Afrikaans magazines and newspapers of the early twentieth century: *Die Brandwag* (1910-1921), *Die Burger* (1915-1948), *Die Huisgenoot* (1916-1948), *Die Nuwe Brandwag* (1929-1933), *Die Brandwag* (1937-1948) and *Die Transvaler* (1937-1948).

The subject matter of a large proportion of these music-related articles comprises the history of Western European music. This includes biographies of composers and histories of stylistic periods, genres and instruments. Despite the physical distance between Europe and Africa, Afrikaners' attraction to Europe borders at times on a feeling of belonging to this tradition. This cosmopolitan notion of belonging has received little attention compared to themes of race, language and nationalism in twentieth-century South African historiography. A neglected Afrikaans discourse on music, however, presents an opportunity to explore the possibilities of cosmopolitanism in a further interpretation of Afrikaner identity and understanding of South African history. It is for this reason that the current study is primarily concerned with tracing the role of musical discourse in Afrikaner society between 1910 and 1948 by investigating notions of cosmopolitanism.

The two theoretical strands of cosmopolitanism that will guide this study concern the work of Friedrich Meinecke (an early twentieth-century German scholar), and Kwame Anthony Appiah (who is still active in the field of philosophy). Meinecke's work is mainly concerned with the role cosmopolitan values played in the development of the National State, with specific reference to Germany from the late eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century. What attracts Appiah to cosmopolitanism is the freedom it provides for the individual to create her own identity. To be a citizen of the world need not be a rootless existence, but allows anyone to be a patriot of the country of her own choice.

Meinecke's and Appiah's theories of cosmopolitanism, and their different positioning of the intersecting points between the spheres of the individual, the nation and the globe, will provide two theoretical frameworks informing the present author's attempt to interpret some of the materials collated for this study. The present writer believes that cosmopolitanism will prove an appropriate theory to uncover some elements of Afrikaner identity that has hitherto been ignored.

Opsomming

Ten spyte van die omvang van Afrikaanse tekste oor musiek is daar in die hedendaagse tyd min musiekwetenskaplike diskoerse in Suid-Afrika wat bemoëienis maak met inhoude en bydraes wat in Afrikaans gemaak is. Hierdie Afrikaanse tekste besit die potensiaal om nie net musiekhistoriografie nie, maar ook algemene historiografie in Suid-Afrika meer geskakeerd in te klee. Die studie handel oor die musiekartikels in die volgende Afrikaanse tydskrifte en

dagblaai van die vroeg twintigste eeu: *Die Brandwag* (1910-1921), *Die Burger* (1915-1948), *Die Huisgenoot* (1916-1948), *Die Nuwe Brandwag* (1929-1933), *Die Brandwag* (1937-1948) en *Die Transvaler* (1937-1948)

‘n Groot gedeelte van hierdie musiekverwante artikels bespreek onderwerpe uit die geskiedenis van Wes-Europese kunsmusiek. Dit sluit onder meer in komponis-biografieë, sowel as geskiedenis van stilistiese periodes, genres en instrumente. Die Afrikaner se belangstelling in Europa grens soms aan ‘n gevoel van Europese solidariteit, ten spyte van die fisieke afstand tussen Europa en Afrika. Hierdie kosmopolitiese denkwys verdwyn dikwels op die agtergrond ten gunste van ander temas soos ras, taal en nasionalisme in twintigste eeuse Suid-Afrikaanse musiekhistoriografie. ‘n Verwaarloosde Afrikaanse diskoers oor musiek bied ‘n geleentheid om moontlikhede van kosmopolitisme te ondersoek in ‘n verdere interpretasie van Afrikaner identiteit en Suid-Afrikaanse geskiedenis. Dit is om hierdie rede dat die huidige studie idees van kosmopolitisme wil ondersoek ten einde die rol van die musiekdiskoers in die Afrikaner gemeenskap tussen 1910 en 1948 te bepaal.

Die huidige studie steun op twee teoretiese modelle van kosmopolitisme soos afgelei uit die werk van Friedrich Meinecke (‘n Duitse geskiedkundige van die vroeg twintigste eeu) en Kwame Anthony Appiah (hedendaagse filosoof). Meinecke se werk fokus hoofsaaklik op die rol wat kosmopolitiese waardes gespeel het in die ontwikkeling van die nasie-staat, met spesifieke verwysing na Duitsland van die laat agtiende eeu tot die laat negentiende eeu. Wat Appiah aantrek tot die idee van kosmopolitisme is die vryheid wat dit aan die individu bied om haar eie identiteit te skep. Om ‘n wêreldburger te wees dui nie noodwendig op ‘n ongewortelde bestaan nie, maar laat enigen toe om ‘n patrioot te wees in die land van haar keuse.

Meinecke en Appiah se teorieë van kosmopolitisme, hul onderskeie posisionerings van die individu, die nasie en die wêreld en die snypunte tussen hierdie sfere, bied twee teoretiese raamwerke vir die huidige skrywer se interpretasies van die materiaal wat vir hierdie studie versamel is. Die argument word gemaak dat kosmopolitisme ‘n gepasde teorie bied om voorheen geïgnoreerde elemente van Afrikaner identiteit te ontbloot.

Acknowledgements

When I consider the individuals who have had a share in this project, whether it was directly or indirectly, I feel humbled and proud at the same time. They are exceptional human beings who command respect and admiration.

Chris Walton induced much of my early intellectual awakening during four undergraduate years at the University of Pretoria and he (unknowingly) put me on a rocky path toward self-reflection when we started out with this project in 2006. It was not an easy road, but, if I could have it over again, I would not choose any other. His continued interest and support from Switzerland remains invaluable to my (mostly snail-paced) scholarly progress. Stephanus Muller helped me to refine many personal, intellectual and professional qualities during the past two years at the University of Stellenbosch and for that, I owe him much. With indefatigable enthusiasm, he invites and attracts many interesting scholars and capable students to the Music Department, creating an atmosphere for study and debate that other institutions can envy. It is within this circle that I established relationships with mentors, colleagues and friends, without whose support I would not have completed this degree. Christine Lucia's attentiveness to individual concerns and her unique passion for engaging with students are remarkable and I am fortunate to include her in my circle of trusted advisors. Carina Venter, Hilde Roos and Santie de Jongh each supported me personally and professionally and became not only fellow students, but firm friends.

My thanks also go to: Chris Ballantine and the South African Music Archives Project for their financial assistance toward this project; the FAK for honouring me with the H.B. en M.J. Thom prize in 2009; and Stephanus Muller and DOMUS for financing the database project that is still in progress. I am also indebted to Danie Krüger, formerly employed at the Africana section of the Merensky Library (UP), who sat many hours scanning, editing and digitising materials toward my research and the database project. His successor, Ria Groenewald, and Pieter van der Merwe are representatives of the Department of Library Services at the University of Pretoria who agreed to continue with the database project in collaboration with the Documentation Centre of Music (DOMUS) at the University of Stellenbosch. My thanks to Ria, Pieter and Santie de Jongh for their work and enthusiasm.

My deepest gratitude, my sincere apologies and my heartfelt sympathy to those dearest to my heart – my family – for they have witnessed all that this document conceal. My siblings and their respective others have been treated intermittently as friends and foes and they admirably endured my pendulous disposition. My grandparents' exaggerated pride in my humble successes has been and continues to be a source of encouragement. Their pragmatic support, phone calls, small gifts and prayer played no small part in helping me complete this work.

Finally and most importantly, I wish to thank my parents. The greatest gift any father could give a daughter is to love and cherish his wife. In that, my father never failed. To my 'enigste moeder', I dedicate this work. It is less than I would like to give, yet more than I have.

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List of Afrikaans Terminology

The following Afrikaans terms and names appear regularly in this document, mostly without further explanation or contextualization:

Boer:	Farmer, also Dutch or Afrikaans speakers.
Boeremusiek:	Boer music, a genre of instrumental folk music.
Boerseun:	Farmer's song, also Dutch or Afrikaans speaking boy.
Broederbond:	Sometimes translated as 'Band of Brothers', a secret organization of influential Afrikaner men.
Die Oranjeklub:	An informal cultural club for Afrikaners who often gathered in coffee houses in Cape Town.
Eeufees:	The 1938 centenary celebrations of the Great Trek.
Volksfeeste:	Folk festivals.
Volksiel:	Spirit of the people.
Volkskonsert:	The people's concert.
Volksliedjie:	An Afrikaans folk song.
Volksmusiek:	Afrikaans folk music.

Preface

It is mid-afternoon. On a soft brown leather ottoman, only a green notebook is my companion. I am surrounded by artefacts from the J. du P. Scholtz collection – the backbone of the Sasol Arts Museum, in fact, the reason for its existence. When he bequeathed this collection to Stellenbosch University, Professor ‘Canis’ Scholtz’s testament stipulated that the artworks had to be displayed in the Bloemhof School Hall where the public should have regular access to it (Anonymous 1990). Earlier this morning, I read that in 1991 – a year after the university attained the collection – it collaborated with Sasol in restoring the historic school hall and reinstating it as an arts museum with the entrance level permanently reserved for the Scholtz-collection (Anonymous 1991). This is still the case today. However, despite Scholtz’s civic-mindedness and despite the museum’s free entrance, central location and valuable displays, it appears that the collection is not attracting much attention on this Wednesday afternoon. In the past hour or so, the odd individual who entered the building feigned some interest in these works before ascending to the next level where Johannes Meintjies’s art is now on exhibit. Later, I will see in the visitor’s book that at least two of these individuals are professors of humanities at the university.

In exactly this space, just about a year ago, I gave a piano recital in honour of my mother’s fiftieth birthday. I recall how the guests – only relatives and close friends of the family were invited – drifted aimlessly among Scholtz’s collection. Hushed tones. Reverence. Couples, arms interlocked, exploring the exotic exhibition of Chinese garments on the second floor. Curious eyes congregating around the curvature above me, looking at the chairs and the piano. As I sit on the brown ottoman, the memory of that day, of the respectful tones and silent acknowledgement of artistic ritual, suggestively inform the architecture of the space and the art that surrounds me. I am surprised to find the context prompting memories of the annual Day of the Vow celebrations in the Voortrekker Monument on 16 December. On the day of my recital the piano would have been located in the centre of the atrium, much like the cenotaph in Moerdijk’s massive granite structure. I find the personal suddenly uncomfortably infiltrated by the political. A family event centred around a piano performance evoke the words on the cenotaph: ‘Ons vir jou, Suid-Afrika’.

I discover that my perspective on the recital had changed during the course of the past year. Then, it was merely a demonstration of filial devotion refracted through the languages of Beethoven, Ravel, Ginastera and Bruch. Now I wonder if I did not (un)knowingly perform a

larger, partly ‘South African’ project of imagining the self as European. Why mark a birthday with a piano performance? Why in an art gallery?

The north wing of the archway – the section of the building currently in my line of vision – displays a selection of European artworks from Scholtz’s collection. I know this, because I have just spent two hours exploring the ground-floor exhibition, much to the amusement of the security staff. I was especially interested to find abstract expressionist works from the avant-garde movement, CoBrA, parading names like Wagemaker, Childe, Casseè, Solages and Heyboer. Carefully positioned amid these European canvasses are delicately lit displays of mounted masks and figurines. These primitive artefacts, 28 pieces in total, come from North and West Africa, except for three pieces that once belonged to Central and South America (Giliomee 1990:53). I noted how the energy of these pieces dissolves in the essentially European presentation – glass cases, dainty pedestals and faint luminosity. Is this what an arts museum in (South) Africa should look like? Behind me, a notice reads:

The University is privileged to possess this collection of artworks. Naturally it represents primarily one person’s taste, critical knowledge and notion of art. Nevertheless, the collection contains works of excellent quality and exceptional diversity.

So what does Scholtz’s ‘taste, critical knowledge and notion of art’ tell us about how he saw himself? In his context as an Afrikaner and an academic? The notice continues:

Prof “Canis” Scholtz (1900-1989) – a former Matie and honorary [sic] graduate at this university – made his mark as a linguist, art lover, art connoisseur, art collector as well as a researcher and author in the field of art history. In 1986 he decided to bequeath [sic] his valuable art collection of approximately 300 works to the Stellenbosch University. In 1989 some 180 works were transferred to the University and the rest followed in 1990.

I carefully study Professor Scholtz’s white and black portrait that hangs next to this notice. Emerging from hirsute grey waves, a pair of thick, half-rim spectacles frames his slanted eyes. Lips are pursed in a straight line and his head rests comfortably against what I guess to be a brown cushion with white polka-dot patterns. His short neck disappears into a starched white collar, from where a neatly knotted dark tie suspends sloppily down a carefully-draped-over-the-armchair body. The fingers betray the subject’s tension. Thumbs and forefingers strain and close over each other in taut circles. It undermines the shoulders’ widened protractions, the flare of the tweed jacket.

From behind his armchair juts the frame of a painting, the content of which is obscured by the furniture. The painting rests against a low bookcase that encloses behind glass, from what I can see, encyclopaedias. On the bookcase are three wooden figures: a mask

enclosed in glass on the left, another unenclosed on the right and an angular vase in the middle. Above these artefacts rise two very similar abstract compositions, though the one on the left is half the other's size. Black, grey and white lines move in complete disarray over the canvasses – it could be by Henri Michaux.

On the left, perpendicular wall, there is another bookcase, this one rising from floor to ceiling, neatly packed to the full; I notice only one book out of place. Propped against this case too is a painting, though this one is not framed or obscured. It is an abstract portrait of a ghostlike human figure against a dark background; eyes, nose and mouth are mere suggestions and across the torso, a perfect square box, empty and dark.

The photograph leaves one feeling claustrophobic. How big was his house, I wonder, and where did he store his more than three hundred artworks? I try to imagine, as the curator had informed me earlier during our conversation, how the art spilled from behind furniture and underneath beds in Scholtz's small home. What did all this art mean to him? Why did he collect it, if only to store it so unceremoniously? What value did it add to whoever was J. du P. Scholtz?

It is getting late.

Scholtz's South African collectanea are mounted in the south wing of the building. This morning, I read Hermann Giliomee's article about the collection in a 1990 edition of the *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe*. He writes that Scholtz started collecting paintings since he received his first salary in 1921 (1990:46). With this salary, Giliomee writes, he acquired Erich Mayer's *Grasberg* and Hendrik Pierneef's *Karooplaas met dam*. Earlier, the curator had pointed the Pierneef out to me. As I consider the information provided underneath the painting, I conclude that Giliomee must have made a mistake, since the piece is dated 1954. I think about the date. Four years earlier, Pierneef participated in a debate considering the question of the European influence on South African art. Pierneef made a plea for artists to focus on 'our own' flowers, animals and landscape (Berman & Nel 2009:142). In *Karooplaas*, Pierneef does exactly that. The small oil painting (15x24cm) depicts a lone, white farmhouse, partly obscured by a large oak tree that draws attention away from the small, white dam. Below the expansive and cloudy sky, the wide precipitous landscape around the farmstead emphasises its solitariness. Pierneef applies short, thick strokes usually associated with French impressionism and he uses sullied green, red-brown, blue and yellow colours. Judging by this small painting, it would seem that Pierneef's idea of a South African national art

combines European form with local content associated with white society in South African spaces – large, unoccupied landscapes.

I contemplate this notion of ‘national art’. I realise how much Pierneef’s works and Scholtz’s collection – as represented on the floor of the Sasol arts museum– exclude. Where is the art of urban Africa that inhabited the same continent and landscape as Pierneef and Scholtz? Why did he collect exotica from North and West Africa and not from South(ern) Africa? Why are there no traces of South Africa’s industrialisation, kitsch art or black artists (except for Leonard Matsoso’s oil painting *A Legend of the Basutho Warrior*, Giliomee does not identify any others)? The collection, I realize, represents a concrete instance of local cosmopolitan modernism in its Western-centred display of ‘high art’ in all its diversity. Canis Scholtz, reflected in his collecting habit, was an Afrikaner cosmopolitan.

I walk around the partition to look at two paintings by Alexis Preller, *Die Eierdoos* (1952) and *Die Wit Bulletjie* (1953). Despite these works’ contemporaneity with Pierneef’s, their dissimilarity is striking. Preller defines his lines clearly and his form is clean and direct. Although these works are abstract, they remain accessible. *The Small White Bull* (24x29.5cm) is a depiction of a bulky bull’s side. Tickbirds, shaped like assegais, rest on the animal’s back as well as on the structure that rises above him. Two human figures, with ovoid heads and turquoise dress, appear like priestly characters. The double conical structure, characteristic of some of Preller’s works, encloses the scene and seems to create a stage for the bull’s exhibit. Despite the identifiable Ndebele murals on the outside of the conical structure, this work seems to signify a mythical, and therefore universal, Africa on stage.

Pierneef’s naturalistic landscape, Preller’s formally staged Africa. Two white African perspectives collected by Scholtz, who framed his own white Africanness by collecting European art. I sense in these paintings and in this collection a tension being worked out between the local and the international. And I wonder, when I reflect on my recital in this building among these artworks, how that ritual of musical performance in 2009 continued this process. And to what extent I was continuing, through performance, an Afrikaner cosmopolitan discourse that historically music had engaged with less overtly than had Scholtz’s art collection, but had engaged with nevertheless. As curator of Beethoven, Ravel, Ginastera and Bruch in Stellenbosch, I suspect my music to share some common programme with the collecting impulses of Professor Scholtz. Could the discourses of Western art music, I wonder, tell us something about cosmopolitanism in the construction of Afrikaner identity?

Chapter 1:

General Historiographies, Music Historiographies: Understandings of nationalism and traces of cosmopolitanism in South African discourse

South African Historiographies

In their article entitled ‘What is Post(-)colonialism?’, Vijay Mishra and Bob Hodge contest the notion of postcolonialism as a homogenous category. First, they challenge the unspoken assumption that postcolonial literature is restricted to that which appears in the language of the centre. They also suggest that postcolonialism is merely the continuation of colonialism in a postcolonial society. Finally, they argue that postcolonialism refers to ‘a typical configuration which is always in the process of change, never consistent within itself’ (Mishra & Hodge 1994: 289). Its heterogeneity is evident both across different postcolonial societies and even in a single one. In South Africa, the tendency to homogenise postcolonialism manifests in the widely accepted notion that colonialism ended in a single moment: 1994. This understanding of postcolonial theory needs to engage with what Mishra and Hodge describe as ‘a set of heterogeneous “moments” arising from very different historical processes’ (Mishra & Hodge 1994: 285). I want to suggest that a set of postcolonial ‘moments’ in twentieth-century South Africa could include the following dates: 1902, 1910, 1948, 1961, 1976 and 1994. Each of these moments seems to presage some form of nationalism: 1902 induces a strong anti-British sentiment, 1910 introduces the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, 1948 marks the proliferation of an overt Afrikaner nationalism, and 1961 ushered in the rise to prominence of African nationalism.

In the late nineteenth century, an early Afrikaner self-awareness emerged through the activities of the Eerste Taalbeweging (first language movement). S.J. du Toit, a leading figure of this movement, viewed language as a means to create an own identity for his people. His peers, by contrast, were interested in language as a device through which to evangelise indigenous black or brown people (Giliomee 2003:217). The Afrikaners’ experiences of war against the British gave momentum to this early self-awareness. Feelings of hostility towards the British lingered long after the war had ended. This war plays an important part in the Afrikaner’s self-expression even to the present day, as can be seen in the recent staging of the Afrikaans musical *Ons vir jou*¹.

¹ Staged late in 2008 in the State Theatre in Pretoria, this musical is set against the backdrop of the Anglo-Boer War.

If South African history had interested Friedrich Meinecke, he would perhaps have added the Anglo-Boer War to his list of historical moments when a nation's character shaped itself 'through conflict and exchange with neighbours [sic]' (Meinecke 1970:19). Drawing on Meinecke, whose ideas I will introduce more comprehensively in the next chapter, it is possible to postulate that 'an epoch of cosmopolitan thinking preceded the awakening of the national idea' (Meinecke 1970:21) in South Africa. At the time of unification, Afrikaners, who lived in a society where English customs remained normative, formulated and propagated ideas of nationalism. These ideas continued to develop in the following decades as a bulwark against imperialism and colonialism, and eventually linked intricately with the growth of Afrikaans as a spoken and written language.

One of the complexities of Afrikaner identity in the period between 1910 and 1948 lies in the layering of both colonial and postcolonial elements and characteristics. During the early years of the Union, the British colonial presence continued to carry considerable weight in South African society, while an anti-colonial resistance continued to grow. Yet, there seems to have been factions within this resistance that manifested itself broadly along the divide of politics and culture. At first, this divide was minimal, because, in the first decade of the Union's existence, the matter of language was of equal concern to cultural activists and politicians. However, two decades later, the symbiotic relationship between politics and culture had changed: cultural leaders and intellectuals seemed to believe that Afrikaner independence was only important in relation to broader Western cultures, while political leaders increasingly focused on autonomy independent from other nations. Cultural leaders, like N.P. van Wyk Louw, linked their ideas with those from Europe, while Afrikaner intellectuals like Nico Diederichs and Piet Meyer formally theorised a nationalism suitable for the context of South Africa during the thirties and forties.² Thus it was during the 1930s that a divide between the political and cultural ideals of the Afrikaner became apparent. J.C. Kannemeyer explains that the Louw brothers (N.P. van Wyk and W.E.G.) were disappointed with the 'rigtingloosheid en slapheid' (aimlessness and sluggishness) of Malan's National Party (Kannemeyer et al. 2004:17). These two brothers deemed cultural issues more important than political ones, as can be seen in a letter Van Wyk Louw addressed to his brother:

Wat regverdig die keuse van een taal- en lewensvorm (want dit is meer as 'n taalvorm) bo die ander? En die antwoord en regverdiging kan alleen wees: dat ons in dié taal en lewensvorm iets waaragtigs diep en menslik gee en sal gee. In hierdie sin gaan ons

² If the present study had followed Meinecke's methodology, these writings by Diederichs and Meyer would have been of particular interest. However, the point of departure for this study is writings on music. The present writer can therefore only mention the potential of another study.

literêre en kunsstrewende vir my nog voor ons politieke strewende; eintlik gee dit die sin en waarde aan die politieke strewende (Kannemeyer et al. 2004:183).³

What justifies the use of one form of language and life (because it is more than a form of language) over another? And the answer and justification can only be: that we impart and will impart something truly deep and human in this particular form of language and life. In this sense, our literary and artistic ideals precede political ideals; in fact, they impart direction and value to our political ideal (Kannemeyer et al. 2004:183).

The Louw brothers did not negate or compromise political ideals in their thinking. Yet, for them, political ideals remained subservient to the ideals of culture and of language. This is of particular significance for this study, as it implies that a de-emphasis of critical readings of Afrikaner culture in favour of an over-emphasis of political events and ideas in South African historiography has led to a largely unbalanced view of Afrikaner history. It is from this hypothesis that this study derives its main motivation. A renewed focus on issues of culture, specifically as culture relates to music, could potentially open new and critical perspectives on the historiography of Afrikaner dominance in twentieth-century South Africa.

The legitimacy of so-called white superiority in South Africa derived from Europe. Yet the political institutionalization of this very idea of white supremacy elicited international scorn and denied Afrikaners a respectable presence in Europe and elsewhere. Not only were Afrikaners criticized from outside the country, but strong opposition from groups and individuals living in South Africa also grew steadily. Thus, the system of Apartheid and its precursor, Afrikaner nationalism, formed and directed both internal national and external international relations of twentieth century South Africa. Afrikaner nationalism, of course, is itself a postcolonial product of British colonialism.

The ideology of nationalism as a driving force behind Apartheid is the principal impetus in the historiography of twentieth century South Africa. Some writings, including Dan O'Meara's *Volkskapitalisme* and W.A. de Klerk's *The Puritans in Africa: A Story of Afrikanerdom*, attempt to analyse this nationalism from the different perspectives of Marxism and Calvinism. In other writings, like Hermann Giliomee's *The Afrikaners* and William Beinart's *Twentieth Century South Africa*, this nationalism is a foundational point of departure. These and other narratives mainly aim to illustrate how the Afrikaner nationalists came to power in South Africa, and how the country came to be isolated from outside influences, whether by self-imposed isolation or by international sanctions. The rest of this chapter will give a critical investigation of nationalism in the writings of W.A. de Klerk, Dan O'Meara, Hermann Giliomee and William Beinart. I will continue to argue that previously

³ All translations from the Afrikaans are by the present author.

ignored writings on music, if looked at through a lens of cosmopolitanism, could benefit these existing interpretations of Afrikaner nationalism.

Moodie, De Klerk and O'Meara: In conversation with Calvin and Marx

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, social and economic crises in South Africa moved scholars and historians to address the political questions facing the country by analysing Afrikaner nationalism. The three works that will be considered here use two different theoretical premises: Moodie (1975) and De Klerk's (1976) monographs rely on Calvinist theories and will be contrasted with O'Meara's (1983) Marxist perspective.

According to Moodie, the Afrikaner's 'civil faith' or 'civil religion' is based on the doctrine of election that can be traced to Paul Kuger's Calvinism (1975:ix). He is interested in how the Afrikaners constructed and interpreted their own history according to this doctrine. The momentous centenary celebrations of 1938 marked an 'upsurge of civil-religious enthusiasm' (1975:x) that confirmed the status of the Afrikaner nation as a chosen volk. This religious enthusiasm was the driving force behind the social, political and economic activities of the 'Reddingsdaadbond' and 'Ossewabrandwag'. Moodie naively describes apartheid as 'an attempt of sincere Christian-Nationalist Afrikaners to impose ethnic non-racial pluralism' (1975:x).

De Klerk separates his work from other Calvinist interpretations by tracing the roots of Afrikaner Calvinism from the Anglo-Saxon Puritan tradition. He devotes a large portion of his text to a general history of Puritanism, in which he investigates Calvin's ideas in his original writings, and balances it by looking at later permutations in the Anglo-Saxon world. He then traces the 'socio-political ideal' associated with these ideas in the history of the Afrikaners and their nationalism. De Klerk describes how J.D. Kestell's original national-socialist plea for Afrikaner capitalism transformed into capitalism reserved for a 'band of brothers' (1976:283). The deepest driving force behind this was an urge for power – political power – that became 'couched in terms of a socio-political ideal' (1976:285). Therefore, the evolution from a primitive Calvinism to a Puritan ethic gave birth to a socio-political ideal that led to a spirit of capitalism. This is a cycle that has appeared several times in history and it leads De Klerk to conclude that 'the spirit of capitalism rises not out of authentic, but out of secular, religion' (1976:287).

The Second World War is crucial to De Klerk's analysis of Afrikaner nationalism. He postulates that nationalist sentiments in South Africa matured while the war preoccupied

Smuts. The urbanization of Afrikaners during this time increased rapidly and it practically destroyed the 'traditional society of Afrikanerdom' (1976:202). However, the activities of the Broederbond in urban settings proved to be of defining importance. De Klerk describes Broederbond gatherings as late-night intellectual discussions about topics related to the position and philosophies of the Afrikaners. Among the works discussed were those by Afrikaans intellectuals like Nico Diederichs, Piet Meyer and Geoffrey Cronje. In Diederich's work *Nationalism as a world-view, and its relation to internationalism* (1936), neo-Fichtean ideas about nationalism blended into Puritan ideas. For Diederichs, the individual is merely an abstraction that cannot exist apart from the nation. Each nation has a divine calling to fulfil, and each bears the responsibility to ensure that he fulfils this godly purpose. Piet Meyer, on the other hand, states that the national task of the individual is a divine task as both nation and individual has a unique calling to fulfil. The 'inward growing circle of Afrikanerdom' (1976:214) comes to the fore as the individual accepts his responsibility towards a national vocation. *'n Tuiste vir die nageslag* was published in 1945 by Geoffrey Cronje. The main ideal in this work is the 'preservation of racial and cultural variety' (1976:215), which should be attained through separate development of races. It is the white man's duty to aid the black race in maintaining their own cultural peculiarities as these will represent their 'contribution to the culture of humanity' (1976:216). The Broederbond and the quest for Afrikaner political power by the National Party lie at the centre of De Klerk's narrative regarding the third and fourth decade of South Africa's history in the twentieth century. The Second World War provides the context that explains the motivation and growth of the Afrikaner pursuit for national isolation. De Klerk intermittently refers to Smuts as the 'soldier, statesman, philosopher and world-figure' who 'seemed serenely oblivious to all this' (1976:198). His cosmopolitanism was 'his strength, but also his weakness' (1976:222) that kept him aloof from the developments among his own people:

Had his ear been closer to the ground, perhaps, instead of tuned to the cosmic music from greater, more splendid fields, he might well have discerned deeper notes at home which would have given him cause for alarm. (1976:223).

For De Klerk, Smuts's cosmopolitanism (tellingly described by employing music as a metaphor) is an attitude that belongs to an individual and not the collective, and is therefore extrinsic to nationalism.

De Klerk further suggests that Afrikaner nationalism, a form of radicalism, is no different from other socio-political ideals like revolution, the rights of man, or Marxism. These are all 'radical attempts to restore human freedom' (1976:180). De Klerk is certain of one thing: the imperfection of man and the subsequent evanescence of all his ideas, religious

or secular. Systems based on ideas of religion are no more lasting than secular ideas, for these ideas all emanate from fallible human beings. Religious ideas are mere interpretations of the divine. De Klerk asserts that Calvin and Marx would have understood each other anthropologically (1976:286). Calvin's *Institutes* 'marked the beginnings of social humanism' (1976:135), and Marxism is a type of secularised Calvinism. Where Calvin proclaims the sovereignty of God, Marx does the same for history (1976:182). For De Klerk, '[t]here is reconciliation between freedom and determinism' in both Calvin and Marx's theories. De Klerk describes history as 'the absurd play of the Heavenly Joker' (1976:328) or as a tragedy because it is pervaded by many ironies: the supposed 'just' position people take to oppose an unjust system, such as the position Afrikaners took in opposing imperialism and capitalism, will have to be defended in the future (1976:xv). What is judged in another system will also be judged in the 'new' system, for 'the sickness of the thesis is precisely also the sickness of the antithesis'. Therefore, one may conclude that 'all human systems will in time give way to other systems' (1976:329).

O'Meara's Marxist perspective opposes Moodie and De Klerk's Calvinist interpretations. O'Meara criticises the idealism of this kind of historiography for treating all 'ideational phenomena' as not only instances of, but also 'as sufficient explanation' for social action (1983:7). While O'Meara particularly opposes Moodie's notion of a 'civil religion', he refrains from commenting on De Klerk's ideas regarding the correlation between Calvinism and Marxism. While Moodie and De Klerk attempt to interpret Afrikaner nationalism from within its own consciousness, O'Meara claims that 'the consciousness must be explained from the contradictions of material life' (1983:11). His interest in the 'material conditions, contradictions and struggles' signifies his conjecture that capitalism played a significant role in the rise of Afrikaner nationalism – an interpretation that had not been considered before. The economic movement of the 1940s is crucial to O'Meara's analysis. It emerges, in fact, as 'the core of Afrikaner nationalism' (1983:248). According to this interpretation from the material reality 'outside' the economic movement was a mobilizing force for Christian-nationalist ideologies. Conversely, Moodie and De Klerk's analyses from 'within' the ideas-world of the Afrikaner suggest that Christian-nationalism was the bearer of the economic movement.

The present study does not wish to suggest that 'the terms of many of the arguments have been miscast' (O'Meara 1983:1). For despite the seeming contradictions in these interpretations, each analysis presents a valid argument and many of the conclusions are worth considering. The aim of this study is thus not to discredit or replace any of these analyses, but rather to add to the discourse another perspective by focussing on issues that

have been neglected, or even forgotten or ignored, because they were deemed unimportant. The monographs by Moodie, De Klerk and O'Meara are exclusively concerned with the economic and political issues in Afrikaner history, and neglect cultural issues almost entirely. They mention Afrikaans literature only in passing, and do not address the other arts such as music and the visual art at all. Whereas Moodie and de Klerk analysed history from a Calvinist perspective and O'Meara from a Marxist one, the present study will analyse writings on music by using a lens of cosmopolitanism. All these lenses, Calvinism, Marxism and Cosmopolitanism, are generic tools that can reveal different and sometimes even contradicting facets of history. It is my contention, however, that the published accounts discussed here only explain the process of the rise of Afrikaner nationalism in history, whereas the present study will also uncover and analyse the nature of this nationalism in an unprecedented manner.

Giliomee: Where is the music in discourse?

Hermann Giliomee's *The Afrikaners: Biography of a people* is the youngest and most extensive monograph on the history of the Afrikaners. Giliomee lived and worked in Washington at the time he started writing the manuscript that he later published in the United States and South Africa. He also prepared an Afrikaans translation of the text (only available in South Africa). Giliomee introduces the Afrikaners as 'the first anti-colonial freedom fighters of the twentieth century to take on the might of the British Empire'. He explains that the Afrikaners were a colonised people under British subjection, while also being colonisers themselves. They were, in his words, 'both victims and proponents of European Imperialism' (p. xvi). To the present writer this highlights the dilemma to understanding Afrikaner identity in the first half of the twentieth century, for the texts of the time, including the texts about music that this thesis introduces, require readings from both 'postcolonial' and 'colonial' perspectives. On the first page of the Introduction, Giliomee deliberately situates his work in a global discourse when he refers to the international condemnation of the Apartheid system in the twentieth century. He explains that he makes no case for absolution through writing this text. He rather makes one for understanding.

Also in his Introduction, Giliomee implicitly represents Jan Smuts as a prototype for the Afrikaners when he quotes from his speech made at the inauguration of the Voortrekker monument: 'What young nation can boast a more romantic history, one of more far-reaching human interest? [...] There is gold not only in our earth, but still more in our history'

(2003:xiii). It seems that Giliomee still subscribes to Smuts' view of Afrikaner history. He draws on the notion of 'human interest' and reminds the reader that Smuts was not only a politician, a statesman, and a philosopher, but that he also participated in drafting the UN Declaration of Human Rights and that he should be regarded both as 'world citizen and Afrikaner' (2003:xiii). Giliomee therefore delivers the Afrikaner's history in a way that would draw international as well as local interest. These human rights are associated with globalization and its distinct but closely related ideals of cosmopolitanism. This implies that the Afrikaners, formerly eschewed for their nationalism, had a direct hand in the historical unfolding of our cosmopolitan present. However, Smuts's romantic view of the Afrikaners and their history underwent dramatic challenges during the previous century. Giliomee acknowledges that it has been tainted by the 'oppression, greed and the dehumanization of others' (2003:xiii).

N.P. van Wyk Louw is a second cosmopolitan figure who appears in Giliomee's text. Louw was among the poets known as the 'Dertigers' (poets of the 1930s) who moved away from the tradition of Romanticism that was still prevalent in South Africa at the time. The fact that the majority of these poets either studied or worked abroad probably brought about this change. They addressed universal themes rather than the orthodox themes that were 'local and typical of Afrikaner experience' (2003:429). Louw embraced both political and cultural nationalism, but he placed a stronger emphasis on the latter, especially where it concerned the importance of Afrikaans as a bearer of culture (2003:430). However, he viewed Afrikaans not as a white man's language but as the 'first South African language' with roots in both African and Continental soils (2003:431). Louw viewed the language, therefore, as a cosmopolitan tongue. Louw advised that 'Afrikaans literature should free itself from a colonial mentality' and that it should create its own 'intellectual and cultural life'. He also noted that the Afrikaner is a 'modern man in an Afrikaans environment' who must come to terms with the realities of an increasingly urbanised way of living. Therefore, 'modern' Afrikaans writers and poets deal with the same issues as their counterparts in Europe (2003:430). In his writing that was almost exclusively in Afrikaans, Louw kept up a conversation with world literature. He imparted to the youth his knowledge of the most important world literature in articles that appeared in *Die Huisgenoot*. Giliomee states that Louw's 'invitation to Afrikaners to remain cultural nationalists, even if they found political nationalism repugnant, would retain its appeal for the rest of the century' (2003:431). Louw strongly opposed, 'perhaps even hated', Jan Smuts and his '*colonial* nationalism' (2003:429 – cursive in the original). His was an open, or a cosmopolitan cultural nationalism.

At the time of the Second World War, Smuts felt a strong sense of obligation to participate, because 'for him South Africa's freedom and the future of Western civilization, even of the human race, was at stake' (p. 440). At this point in Giliomee's narrative, Smuts's cosmopolitanism, earlier presented as characteristic of the Afrikaner, estranged him from the Afrikaners: Hertzog and Malan voted against him for the sake of keeping the trust of the Afrikaners who did not want to side with their former oppressors. Van Wyk Louw supported Hertzog and Malan. For him, the war was merely a clash of selfish power struggles and therefore had no relevance for the Afrikaners (Steyn 1998:278). It seems reasonable to conclude that Smuts's cosmopolitanism operated in the sphere of politics, while Louw's cosmopolitan sympathies were restricted to the sphere of cultural ideas. Giliomee opposes the notion that a policy of racial separation was the reason for the growing support for the National Party during the forties. He argues that one can explain it better through the split vote of parliament by which the country was drawn into the Second World War (2003:xvii).

Without the political polarization brought about by the war, which from the war vote in 1939 was increasingly drawn on language lines, Malan's NP would have been unlikely to come to power in 1948. (Giliomee 2003:440).

This theory seems to support Meinecke's notion that national sentiment develops in an atmosphere pervaded by cosmopolitan ideas.

Apart from the Afrikaans/English divide, Giliomee draws attention to the divide between nationalists in the North, as represented by the Broederbond, and nationalists in the South with their centre at the Stellenbosch University. An abstract, metaphysical understanding of a volksiel with its divine origin is mostly associated with the Northern intelligentsia. Giliomee strongly opposes the orthodox notion of the Broederbond's significance in the formulation of Afrikaner nationalism and its apartheid ideologies. He ascribes more importance to the non-abstract, secular historical approach of the South. This was an environment characterised by mutual tolerance between Afrikaans and English citizens. The northern approach to the racial issue was 'dogmatic, rigid and uncompromising', while the southern approach was 'ambiguous'. The less rigid and more tolerant South serves to prove Giliomee's point that 'apartheid was never a closed ideological system' (p. xviii). Important in this regard was Louw's warning in 1952 that mere survival of a white population in South Africa should not overrule the survival of justice. Western renunciation of colonialism and racism transpired in a universal condemnation of Apartheid. Therefore, Giliomee suggests that the system was isolated externally and not internally.

South African historiography that focuses on Afrikaner nationalism traces it mostly along the lines of language and culture in the early twentieth century, but from the 1930s

onwards, it increasingly focuses on the elitist Broederbond and party politics while it either ignores cultural issues or moves it to the margins of the narrative. Compared to the other texts discussed in this chapter, Giliomee addresses more matters of culture. However, these are limited to literary perspectives. There is almost complete silence about matters pertaining to music and the other arts. This serves to entrench the notion of an isolated political Afrikaner nationalism that is generally associated with the programme of Apartheid. This discourse omits the contradictions between politics and culture/arts. Giliomee's use of Smuts and Van Wyk Louw hints at a cosmopolitanism allied to cultural nationalism. However, he never explores it in detail.

Beinart: Politically correct monologue

William Beinart's book, *Twentieth Century South Africa* (2000), is different from the other sources discussed in this chapter. Beinart does not limit the scope to an extended history of a single group of people, the Afrikaners. Instead, his is an inclusive history of South Africa in a single century, the twentieth century. In his narrative, Beinart draws the reader's attention to the presence of black people in historical settings, for it is a presence that was previously marginalised – even in historical writings. So, for instance, where convention writes of the Anglo-Boer War or the Boer War at the turn of the twentieth century, Beinart refers to it as the South African War (2000:2). It was not 'simply a "white man's war"' (2000:66), because a great number of black people were employed as servants or suppliers by both parties in combat, and were therefore an integral part of this history.

Beinart provides an analysis of both African and Afrikaner nationalisms (2000:5). He prefers to interpret history in light of the relationship between politics on the one hand, and the mining industry and/or agriculture on the other. He often views the state from an industrial perspective. For example, he explains that 'to the mining industry' of the Transvaal at the end of the nineteenth century, 'the Republican government represented an essentially rural community incapable of managing capitalist industrialization' (2000:64). Similar to the histories of Moodie, De Klerk, O'Meara and Giliomee, this emphasis on politics and industry leaves little space for an in-depth discussion of culture. However, he does refer to culture occasionally. Beinart implies that a unified Afrikaner nationalism never existed, since a strong political divide in the early years of the Union thwarted Afrikaners' attempts to create a particular cultural and economic identity. Unity was therefore 'not natural or self-evident' (2000:79). When Beinart addresses the 'exclusive' quality of Afrikaner identity, he connects

culture and economy: 'Afrikaner history becomes a search, sanctioned by God, for independence and identity against the combined forces of Mammon and Ham' (2000:65). This metaphor includes the metaphorical black presence (Ham) that the other writings discussed here largely ignore, a feature of South African historiography criticised by Beinart for 'emphasi[sing] their preoccupation with their own nationhood and identity, rather than their policy towards blacks' (2000:145). He continues to say that 'the rhetoric of cultural solidarity sat easily with racial exclusivity and the use of ethnic power for economic gain' (2000:145). Beinart further disrupts this notion of cultural solidarity by reminding the reader that the Afrikaner shares his cultural products (language, history and ancestry) with especially the Cape Coloureds (2000:79). He singles out the Western Cape in the text as being 'liberal'. In 1910, 'Cape politicians managed to salvage and entrench a non-racial qualified franchise in their province' (2000:78). However, Beinart notes an irony in the early Union years when Botha and Smuts in the north were nurturing sentiments of a broad white South Africanism, while 'the Cape continued to produce radical intellectuals who gradually turned to republicanism and led the language movement to replace Dutch with Afrikaans' (2000:79). The link to politics, and not culture, provides Beinart with a platform to discuss the nature of Afrikaner nationalism. The activities and views of the Nationalist Party are therefore of great importance in this book. Beinart notes that even during apartheid, South Africans were open to global influences: 'The Nationalists like to think of the country in these terms: a conservative but modern industrial, capitalist, Western-oriented nation' (2000:145).

Summary

The texts discussed up to here in this chapter have different approaches to the same or, at least, overlapping subjects. Their ideological positions on the subject differ widely, and each argument has value in its interpretation of Afrikaner nationalism. All of these texts, however, emphasise political and economic issues, while avoiding issues regarding arts and culture.

On the surface, there are no obvious links between nationalism and the ideals of cosmopolitanism within this historiography. However, one should not forget that nationalism was hardly a South African invention. Nationalist ideas of nationalism were prevalent in the postcolonial environment of 1910, and by the time the National Party came to power in 1948, the nation state that characterised the nineteenth century was about to emerge everywhere in post-colonial Africa. As can be seen in these texts, Afrikaner nationalism is an important and recurring theme in the historiography of South Africa. While each writer addresses different

aspects of South African history in their constructs, the understanding of Afrikaner nationalism does not vary much: it highlights how Afrikaners obtained independence and solidarity in a form of separatism. While each writer addresses different aspects of South African history in their constructs, they seem to be consistent in their understanding of Afrikaner nationalism as a form of separatism. They follow the notion that Afrikaner identity was isolated in its closed, inward focus on self. However, the ideas of cosmopolitanism that the following chapter will delineate should challenge this conventional understanding from the outset.

Introducing South African Music Historiographies

Primary Material

For the completion of her BMus degree in 2006, the present writer wrote a mini-dissertation on the music articles in two Afrikaans cultural magazines, namely *Die Brandwag* (published from 1910 to 1922) and *Die Nuwe Brandwag* (published from 1929 to 1933). *Die Brandwag* (and its sister journals), were published for and by Afrikaners, and their aim was to uplift Afrikaners' sense of cultural self-worth. These magazines also served for the edification of the *volk*. During this time, the shift from Dutch to Afrikaans as a written language can clearly be observed in these journals – language being essential to the development and growth of Afrikaner identity or 'nationality'. The subjects addressed by this language, however, continually refer to European values as worthy to be imitated.

In 2007 and 2008, the author expanded her research to include articles from other magazines and newspapers: *Die Huisgenoot*,⁴ *Die Burger*,⁵ *Die Transvaler*⁶ and *Die Brandwag*⁷ (first edition published in 1937). Many of the early articles addressed the question of 'nationalism and the arts' (Mayer 1919) (Celliers 1919). From these it is clear that nationalism was a familiar concept to the readers of the time, but that these nationalist ideals did not yet manifest in the arts. These articles conveyed some ideas about what a 'national art' should be, and it called on Afrikaner artists in general to create their art accordingly.

⁴ Bound copies accessed at the University of Pretoria, Africana section of the library, in 2007. Thanks are owed to Danie Krüger who not only proposed digitising the project, but also assisted in the scanning, editing and entering of the articles. Thank you, also, to Pieter van der Merwe and Ria Groenewald, for their continued interest in this project.

⁵ Microfilm copies accessed at the National Library in Cape Town in January to March of 2008.

⁶ Microfilm copies accessed at the National Library in Pretoria in March to July of 2008.

⁷ Bound copies accessed at the University of Pretoria, Africana section of the library, in 2007.

Discussions about specific art forms only came later in the second decade of the century, and were mostly limited to literature (with its emphasis on the development of language) and sculpture. In the 1920s the issue of an Afrikaner art music, more specifically art songs, first gained importance in these journals. Afrikaans writers and poets of the Third Afrikaans movement (late 1920s to 1930s) endeavoured to ‘marry’ Afrikaans language and music in a European art song as a means to create a place for the language in the ‘cultured’ world (Walton 2005:65). The volksliedjie first entered the discourse in the middle of the 1930s and remained important in creating national orchestral music throughout the forties.

While compiling as comprehensive a bibliography as possible (which is included as addenda to this study), the author also prepared abstracts of each of these articles with the view of listing these in a digital database that can be accessed via the internet. This project is currently being continued by the *Repertoire International de Littérature Musicale*, the international music bibliography organization based in New York. Tertiary institutions and scholars across the globe utilise the RILM database; therefore, information about the articles used in my research will be accessible internationally. Another parallel project, similar to that of RILM, is being conducted at the University of Pretoria in collaboration with the University of Stellenbosch. A database, currently under the name of ‘South African Music History’, is temporarily accessible at the following URL: <http://www.up.ac.za/dspace/handle/2263/2771>, where all the source material that the present writer uses in her research is being digitised and made available (as full-text documents), together with appropriate abstracts.

This research has a number of objectives. The first is to document and make available a body of writing, previously neglected in the field of music research in South Africa. The second objective is to explain the role that music played in the construction of Afrikaner cultural consciousness and how this role emerges in Afrikaans writings about music. Since the research explores the written word, the importance of the Afrikaans language and its development will also be explained in its relationship to music. Third, accepted tenets of historical writing will be reinterpreted using these marginalised materials. Through this reinterpretation, the fourth objective will be to develop a theory of how Afrikaner nationalism intersects with ideas related to cosmopolitanism.

The primary material that forms the subject to this thesis commenced in the post-South African War/pre-apartheid era in the early twentieth century and comprises, as explained above, a corpus of Afrikaans writing collated by the present author. In addition, much of the secondary literature commenting on this writing comprises the music historiography of the second half of the twentieth century. This is a literature that is created during the era of

Apartheid, and constitutes a discourse informed and marked by formalised Afrikaner nationalism. Although some contemporary musicologists engage with topics that relate to Afrikaner nationalism (see, for instance, Stephanus Muller's work), they tend to focus on individuals or single historical moments. Seldom, if ever, does South African music historiography critically engage with Afrikaans text in a way that would be relevant to the present study. Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that a large portion of the secondary literature utilised in this thesis is subject to the same ideological constraints that underlie the primary texts. However, despite these similarities between primary and secondary literatures, the present study approaches these materials differently: a critical-discursive dissection of the primary material will uncover the tracks of Afrikaner identity and nationalism, while the secondary literature merely provides contexts through which to understand these primary texts. This does not imply a naive acceptance of the secondary literature's ideological neutrality.

Secondary Music Literature in Afrikaans

Jan Bouws's *Musieklewe in Suid-Afrika* (Music Life in South Africa, 1946), the earliest Afrikaans monograph on music, is followed by a number of similar books by Bouws and other writers. The topics of these texts are diverse and cover a wide spectrum of musicological subjects related to South Africa and Western Europe. Important examples include Bouws's *Maatgespeel: 'n Bundel Musiekjoernalistiek* (Maatgespeel: a Collection of Music Journalism, 1964) and Hubert du Plessis's *Johann Sebastian Bach: 'n Biografie en Agt Opstelle* (Johann Sebastian Bach: a Biography and Eight Essays, 1960). *Musieklewe in Suid-Afrika* is therefore an important marker in an Afrikaans musicological tradition in South Africa. Jacques Philip Malan's four-volume *South African Music Encyclopedia* (1980 to 1986) is another significant historical achievement in this tradition.

Apart from these music monographs and the encyclopaedia, larger cultural discourses also address the subject of music in Afrikaans, as can be seen from Gerrit Bon's entry entitled 'Die Musiekkuns van die Afrikaner' (The Afrikaner's Art Music) in the third volume of *Kultuurgeskiedenis van die Afrikaner* (The Afrikaner's Cultural History, 1950:478). Bon considers here the musical development of the Afrikaner people with specific reference to the various influences of their countries of origin, namely the Netherlands, France, Germany and England (1950:478). This European connection is an important theme in the rest of the volumes of *Kultuurgeskiedenis* (edited by C.M. van den Heever and P. de V. Pienaar),

regardless of whether the entries address music, literature, architecture or science. Bon's chapter suggests that the twentieth century Afrikaner ascribed a certain kind of meaning to Europe, a meaning that, as Bon discusses it here, links with a notion of white superiority. He writes, for example, that the white person makes heavier demands on life ('[d]ie blanke stel onmiddelik hoër eise aan die lewe'; Bon 1950:488) – a statement that pretends to be self-evident. Under the subheading 'Bantoe-musiek' (Bantu Music), Bon directs his reader's attention to the contemporary absence of 'bantu' influences on South African compositions. This should be rectified, says Bon, because:

[d]ie grootste komponiste, soos die Duitsers Brahms en Beethoven, het op die hoogtepunt van hul loopbaan besef, en die oortuiging uitgewerk en uitgeleef, dat die sterkste basis vir ware kuns juis lê in die kulturele toepassing van die oermelodie of oerritme. Aan die laaste twee ontbreek dit geensins in die Bantoe-musiek nie, maar, soos reeds gesê, vereis dit 'n deeglike kennis van hierdie kunsvorm voordat dit sy gewenste uitwerking kan hê (Bon 1950:494).

When they reached the apex of their careers, the greatest composers, like the Germans Brahms and Beethoven, realised, developed and practiced the principle that the firmest foundation for true art lies precisely in the cultural application of primeval melody or primordial rhythm. Of the last two, Bantu music has no lack, but, as said before, it requires a thorough knowledge of the art form for it to have its required effect (Bon 1950:494).

Bon's chapter is but one example from the middle of the twentieth century where Afrikaans cultural discourse directs its gaze to Europe. When Gerrit Bon refers to various European influences on the Afrikaners' music, he does not question or unpack it critically or sufficiently. He works from the assumption that the cultural practices of these European countries, the countries from which the Afrikaners' originate, would flow naturally into the culture of the young Afrikaner nation and that the product, despite its heterogeneous constitution, would become a homogenous national entity. By 1950, it appears, then, that the organicity of the process, the continuity of development and the lack of agency in Afrikaner nationalist music discourses are seldom questioned. From a twenty first century perspective, however, the homogeneity conveyed through this discourse appears doubtful. Like Edward Said writes:

[W]e have never been as aware as we now are of how oddly hybrid historical and cultural experiences are, of how they partake of many often contradictory experiences and domains, cross national boundaries, defy the *police* action of simple dogma and loud patriotism. Far from being unitary or monolithic or autonomous things, cultures actually assume more 'foreign' elements, alterities, differences, than they consciously exclude (Said 1993:15).

Although these texts by Bouws, Bon and Malan do not signify the beginning of a South African musicology, they are significant markers in the history of a music historiography that

already began early in the twentieth century. This historiography comprises texts that lie forgotten in various non-music sources. In the preface to *Musieklewe in Suid-Afrika*, Bouws singles out *Die Huisgenoot* as an important source for his book (1946:6). Moreover, Bouws and Malan's bibliographies include *Die Huisgenoot* as well as other magazines and newspapers (like *Die Brandwag* and *Die Burger*), underlining the importance of these texts as primary source materials. And it is these texts that form the object of interrogation here.

Afrikaans writings on culture from the early twentieth century show that, contrary to Bon's organic model, there was agency in cultural leaders who drew from European ideas and designed it into a cultural Afrikaner nationalism. In his article, 'Kuns in verband met nasionaliteit en geskiedenis' (Art in relation to nationality and history), for instance, Jan Celliers (1919) advises that Afrikaners should assimilate other nations' art into their own:

Maar net soos 'n moeder nie sal omgee nie om uit die winkel of apotheek van 'n vreemdeling te koop wat vir haar kind goed is, sal ons en moet ons ook van buite aanneem wat vir ons eie jonge Afrikaner volk goed is, maar hij moet daarem ons eie volk, ons eie kind blij, en nooit 'n vreemdeling word nie. (1919:252)

But just like a mother would not mind buying good things for her child from a stranger's shop or pharmacy, we must adopt from outside what will benefit our own young Afrikaner nation, but he must remain our own nation, our own child, and must never become a stranger (1919:252).

This kind of reference to other cultures is not an isolated occurrence. It is, in fact, prevalent throughout the material that the present author collated from Afrikaans magazines and newspapers.

The hypothesis of this study is that historical and political theories of Afrikaner nationalism largely ignore cultural (specifically musical) discourses produced in Afrikaans during the seminal first half of the twentieth century. By collating and focussing on these neglected discourses, this study will address the problem of an Afrikaner nationalism that was directed towards the fashioning of a unique identity while also being concerned to maintain a European cultural interface. The content of early Afrikaans music journalism could signify a constructed nationalism in which European thought is an important point of departure in imagining a national character. This study employs a theory of cosmopolitanism as an enabling mechanism to imagine the tensions and paradoxes inherent in Afrikaner nationalism.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework: Cosmopolitanism

For Afrikaners at the turn of the twentieth century, language was a matter of twofold concern. On the one hand, there was the externally directed battle for equal treatment on all levels of society of English and Dutch. However, the internal division among Afrikaners, the debate regarding the use of Dutch over the newly emergent Afrikaans, complicated this battle. At the time, Afrikaans was considered a form of ‘kitchen Dutch’ spoken by Afrikaners and their servants, whereas proper Dutch was spoken more frequently in public and was for Afrikaner Calvinist churches the language of their Bible. Afrikaans may still have been a ‘young’ language, but it had gradually grown in stature and was continuing to do so. The first Afrikaans language movement (ca. 1880) brought about the earliest codification of the language. The second language movement (ca. 1910-1920) was marked by the founding of several different newspapers and magazines, such as the daily *De Burger* and its monthly (later weekly) sister publication *De Huisgenoot* (both of which later swapped the Dutch article ‘de’ for the Afrikaans ‘die’). The aim of *Die Brandwag*, stated clearly in the editorial of the first edition, reads:

Om veeleer ‘n geheel nieuwe strijd aan te binden: de strijd namelijk, voor handhaving van de Afrikaner-nasionaliteit, voor behoud van zijn taal, godsdienst, tradities en recht van bestaan (Malherbe & Preller 1910:1).

To commence a new battle: the battle for maintaining Afrikaner nationhood; for the preservation of his language, religion, traditions and right to existence (Malherbe & Preller 1910:1).

The insistence on the ‘non-political’ nature of the magazine in the first editorial (Malherbe & Preller 1910:3), coupled with the equally explicit reference to ‘Afrikaner nationhood’, merely underlines the real political and nationalistic import of the magazine. *Die Brandwag* and its sister magazines were published for and by Afrikaners and their aim was to uplift their sense of cultural self-worth. They also served for the edification of the volk. The search for an Afrikaner identity, together with the development of Afrikaans, pervades many, if not most, articles, regardless of the subject matter. Afrikaans gradually grew in popularity, despite its limited vocabulary, and in 1925 it replaced Dutch as the official language of the Afrikaners. In the subsequent decades, the vocabulary was gradually expanded and the language further developed so that it could function as a vehicle for culture and science (Giliomee 2003:545).

The earliest Afrikaans writings on music appeared in 1910 and were limited almost exclusively to cultural journals, magazines and newspapers such as *De Brandwag*, *Die Nuwe*

Brandwag, *De Huisgenoot*, *De Volkstem* and *De Burger*. The first Afrikaner to write seriously about music was the pianist Jan Gysbert Hugo Bosman, also known as Bosman Vere di Ravelli. He published the first of his writings in the earliest editions of *De Brandwag* – a publication that was launched on the day South Africa became a Union. Bosman's early articles reveal two aspects to Afrikaner identity that are present in many other Afrikaans writings on music. The first aspect is embodied in the language Bosman and other writers employed – a simplified Dutch that over the course of the following decade would develop into what is today known as Afrikaans. The language served to assert the uniqueness of the Afrikaners as an independent collective unit, and to establish their intrinsic value separate from continental values. The second aspect is connected to the content communicated through the language. By describing fragments from the life of Chopin, as Bosman does in these articles, the connection to Europe is upheld. Therefore, the language that was to *distinguish* Afrikaners from other nations also served to communicate a sense of pride in *sharing* the metaphysical space of European art.

In fact, an inordinately large proportion of early twentieth-century music-related articles in Afrikaans are about the history of Western European music. These include biographies of composers and histories of stylistic periods, genres and instruments. Afrikaners' attraction to Europe conveys a sense of belonging to this tradition despite the physical distance between Europe and Africa. This cosmopolitan notion of belonging has received little attention compared to themes of race, language and nationalism in twentieth-century South African historiography. A neglected Afrikaans discourse on music, however, presents an opportunity to explore cosmopolitanism in a further interpretation of Afrikaner identity and understanding of South African history. It is for this reason that the current study is primarily concerned with reading musical discourse in Afrikaner society between 1910 and 1948 by investigating notions of cosmopolitanism.

Theoretical framework: Cosmopolitanism

The familiar ideas of multiculturalism, globalism and universalism that pervade contemporary discourse seem far removed from the nationalism prevalent during the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. However, 'the interpenetration of societies and forms of life' is not limited to recent times, but is, in fact, 'a very old phenomenon' (Appiah 2005:215). This phenomenon connects the local with the global in a way that is of interest to nationalism and cosmopolitanism alike. Cosmopolitan ideas were present in an environment embedded in

national thought, as national ideas continue to flourish in a globalised society. Thus, the palpable tension between ‘local’ and ‘global’ diminishes the divide and makes the interrelationship between the two notions more complex.

The history of cosmopolitanism is generally traced to the writings of Aristotle and Plato. However, the Cynic Diogenes first used the term *kosmopolitês*, meaning ‘citizen of the world’, in the fourth century BC. Contemporary cosmopolitan philosophical and theoretical discourse is rooted in the Enlightenment understanding of the term ‘cosmopolitan’. This term generally referred to a person not enslaved by loyalties to any religious, political, and/or cultural particulars or localities. The existence of such a person was generally that of a travelling metropolitan who was more often than not an expatriate. While the cosmopolitans themselves encouraged an ‘attitude of open-mindedness and impartiality’,⁸ they were criticised as being ‘rootless’ by a society becoming ever more conscious of national identity. Rousseau, for instance, believed cosmopolitans ‘boast that they love everyone, to have the right to love no one’.⁹ Up until the twentieth century, cosmopolitanism and nationalism were generally held to be mutually exclusive modes of thought (Meinecke 1970:21).¹⁰ Nationalists like Heinrich Laube appealed to ‘the therapeutic value of the fatherland against the allegedly excessive demands of cosmopolitanism’, whereas cosmopolitan Heinrich Heine accused German patriots of ‘narrowing’ their ‘hearts’ in ‘opposition to the humanity, the universal brotherhood of man’ (Beck 2006:1). Many cosmopolitans, however, viewed their philosophy as *different*, rather than *opposed* to, nationalism: their dedication was to a universal moral ideal of humankind.¹¹ This moral ideal, however, implies that each person, as a citizen of the world, ‘owes allegiance to the worldwide community of human beings’ (Scheffler 2001:114) which, in turn, creates uncertainties of how local modes of being should be defined and enacted. Matters such as these have made contemporary cosmopolitan discourse increasingly defined and disparate. Should one view particular attachments like family, town and nation only as important with regard to their contributions to a global community, as Martha Nussbaum argues in her article *Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism* (1994)? Or should one acknowledge local loyalties simply ‘because humans live best on a smaller scale’ (Appiah 2005:246)? If cosmopolitanism does not oppose patriotism, then how does one interpret and

⁸ “Cosmopolitanism” in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* found at <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/cosmopolitanism/#1> accessed <11 September 2008>

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ Meinecke posed this as the ‘current view’ in the first edition of this book which appeared in 1902 with the title *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*.

¹¹ “Cosmopolitanism” in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* found at <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/cosmopolitanism/#1> accessed <11 September 2008>

direct the tension that exists between the two modes of perceiving particular and general attachments?

Today the view of a mutually exclusive cosmopolitanism and patriotism has been reversed, because ‘the human condition has itself become cosmopolitan’ (Beck 2006:2). The ‘ubiquity of cultural change’ (Scheffler 2001:115) associated with interaction among nations and the subsequent interpenetration of cultures existed since ancient times, but has grown in scope and intensity in modern times. Economic globalization in the nineteenth century, the global risks and crises of the twentieth century and many other facets of global encounters have catapulted cosmopolitanism into the conscious awareness and reality of human experience. While forms of what has become known as neo-nationalism have recently emerged, Beck argues that these nationalisms in fact ‘presuppose the daily experience of globalization’ (2006:4) in their attempt to re-demarcate the blurred borders between ‘us’ and ‘them’. Similarly, Appiah criticises normative political theory that imagines a ‘well-ordered society’ embedded in conceit – regardless of the nature of the conceit (ethnic, political, economic, geographic, etc.). Politicians should be reminded that ‘the matter of outsiders isn’t a socio-political anomaly’ (2005:219). The possibilities of compatibility and assimilation of cosmopolitanism and nationalism, therefore, are at the core of twentieth century and contemporary cosmopolitan discourse where it is proven to be a ‘complex process of confrontation and union’ (Meinecke 1970:21). Questions such as the following remain: Can the views of nationalism and cosmopolitanism co-exist, or will the predominance of one inevitably place the other under erasure? If a balance in the form of ‘cosmopolitan patriotism’ is possible, as Appiah argues it is, how does one decide on the historical coordinates of such a position? Is equilibrium attainable or even desired? To seek answers to these questions I will now turn to two different approaches or understandings of rooted cosmopolitans as they appear in the writings of Friedrich Meinecke and Kwame Anthony Appiah respectively. I aim, eventually, to reconnect this deliberation on the nationalism-cosmopolitan dyad to the discourse in music in Afrikaans between 1910 and 1948. Whereas it is generally accepted that this historical period in South Africa was dominated by Afrikaner nationalist thinking, musical discourse in Afrikaans during the same period highlights the tensions locally between nationalist thinking and cosmopolitan ideals that Meinecke and Appiah theorised in more universal contexts.

Friedrich Meinecke: An Early twentieth-century Nationalist Perspective

The first edition of Friedrich Meinecke's book, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*, appeared in 1902, and a number of republications followed. Robert B. Kimber based his English translation on the latest edition that appeared in 1927. This work is mainly concerned with the role cosmopolitan values played from the late eighteenth century to the late nineteenth century in the development of Germany as a nation state. Meinecke traces these cosmopolitan values in the writings and thinking of some of the foremost intellectual and political leaders of the period. In the preface to this last edition (1927), he admits that his views changed in light of the events of the time, but he explains that '[t]he high and fundamental values that guided my judgment then – state, nation, and humanity – I still hold unshaken'. However, where he saw these values in a 'clear light' previously, he now sees it 'indistinctly, as in the mists' (1970:6). Despite the author's altered views, the main ideas in the book remain unchanged, and as such, they provide the current writer with important insights into an early twentieth century-understanding of the relationship between cosmopolitanism and nationalism.

Meinecke introduces his study with a consideration of the concept of the nation, described in his book as 'large, powerful communities that have arisen in the course of a long historical development and that are involved in continual movement and change' (1970:9). It is impossible to identify, or clarify with certainty, when or how the primary phase in any nation's development occurs. It seems to emerge slowly and remains fluid in form, which lends a quality of 'indeterminacy' to the concept. This notion challenges the general assumption among intellectuals that the borders of a nation are 'natural' and 'clear'. Meinecke continues to list some variables that may be present in any particular nation: a shared territory, a shared ancestry, a common language, the same mixture of blood and/or the presence of a single state. However, this abstract conception poses an array of difficulties and complexities for Meinecke. It would be impossible for him to explain an abstraction like the nation's *character* if the concept of nation itself was not concrete. *Personality* only makes sense, after all, in the context of something 'tangible' or 'real'. Meinecke therefore concretises the term by sustaining the conventional notion of a required blood relationship. This trope is familiar to the writings of Afrikaans intellectuals, busy with their nationalist project in the twentieth century:

In 'n ras sowel as in 'n volk is uiteindelik dieselfde vormende faktor aan die werk: 'n gestadige weef van 'n netwerk van bloedverwantskap. Hierdie proses mag die gevolg van enige soort afgesonderdheid van 'n groep mense wees, geografies of geestelik (Eloff 1938:1).

The same formative factor ultimately works in a race as well as in a volk: a slow weaving into a network of blood relations. This process could be the result of a kind of geographical or spiritual isolation of a group of people (Eloff 1938:1).

From Meinecke's 'natural core based on blood relationship' an 'intellectual community' develops that in time becomes consciously aware of its own existence and whose function is to elevate 'a union of tribes into a nation' (1970:9). That Meinecke has a problem in his own understanding of the nation is evident from the fact that he deliberately neglects to discuss 'wandering and geographically divided nations' and rather focuses on nations with a 'firm territorial base', as these 'maintain a rich substance and firm coherence' (1970:10).

Meinecke categorises nations in two types: cultural and political. Cultural nations have a 'jointly experienced cultural heritage' in language, literature and religion. Political nations are 'based on the unifying force of a common political history and constitution' (1970:11). These types are difficult and at times even impossible to distinguish from each another. The example of Switzerland shows that it is possible for diverse cultural nations to exist within a single political nation; and the example of Germany shows that the inverse is also possible. That these categories tend to overlap can be seen in the often 'close connection' between 'religion, state, and nationality'. The influence of a national religion (a constituent of cultural nations) driven by a church institution is particularly strong where former political nations wish to regain their statehood (1970:11).

Meinecke distinguishes between an earlier and a later period in the development of nations or national states. In the early period, nations 'have a more plantlike, impersonal existence and growth' (on p. 14, he describes it as 'vegetative'), and in the later one 'the conscious will of the nation awakens' in its effort to self-determination (1970:12). In both these periods, intellectual leaders have a pivotal role in generating, developing, maintaining and expressing the conscious will of both political and/or cultural nations. In fact, the 'real forces' that constitute the national personality are 'the profusion of individual personalities that form it, and the common factor in these individual wills' (1970:14). During the early period of dormant personality, 'individualistic strivings for freedom' are at their peak, and as it developed to the later stage, 'the nation drank the blood of free personalities, as it were, to attain personality itself'. Therefore, the state developed into an 'ideal supra-individual personality' (1970:15) of which these individuals consciously viewed themselves as the core. Their activities and influence, and not that of the 'sluggish' masses, determine the national life (1970:16).

Meinecke explains that the national state is born when 'a lively and durable feeling of political community exists, effective both within and beyond the borders of a state' (1970:13)

and it is brought about by the ‘political feelings and energies of individual citizens’ (1970:15). Thus, the state becomes a national state once political sentiment and activities extend beyond the limits of the institution to include those by the members of the political nation. He again distinguishes between national states in the political sense, and those in the national-cultural sense. In the early period of national development (*Ancien Régime*), the national state in the political sense is formed from above, and the national state in the national cultural sense is formed from below. Individualism, whether in its democratic or aristocratic forms, drives the activities of a nation. These activities are essential for the existence of the modern national state. Where these activities were lacking in the early national states, the activities of the modern national states are proliferating. This, of course, leads to many factions and tensions within a nation. However, Meinecke views these tensions as positive compared to the passivity of earlier national states.

Much of the theory up to here focuses on the immanent qualities of a nation and a national state that resemble most nationalist theories. Meinecke now shifts the focus to the nation’s connection with the world outside its borders, since this connection plays a significant role in the development of a nation’s character, whether it is in conflict or exchange. The impulses for these interactions among nations are located in the individual (1970:20). The confluence of national and cosmopolitan ideas or ideals within an individual body creates a uniquely complex structure that is worth examining:

There is a universal impulse in the intellectual friction between individual and environment and in the striving of the individual to rise from the sphere of the nation into his own particular sphere, because individual values appear as universal human values to the man who pursues them. But they never are universal, for they always bring with them a clump of native soil from the national sphere, a sphere that no individual can completely leave behind. (Meinecke 1970:20)

The individual, therefore, forms a unique link between local and global ideas that are of particular interest to both Meinecke’s study, and the present one. Some of the ideas about nationalism and cosmopolitanism of the time are that an ‘epoch of cosmopolitan thinking preceded the awakening of the national idea’ (1970:21) and that cosmopolitanism and nationalism are two exclusive modes of thought. Meinecke accepts the first notion, but significantly challenges the latter notion by referring to the German national feeling that ‘also includes the cosmopolitan ideal of a humanity beyond nationality’ (1970:21). The question that Meinecke subsequently posits as his main objective, I take to be applicable also to this thesis: ‘to illuminate the true relationship of universal and national ideals in the growth of the modern German [in my case: Afrikaner] idea of the national state’ (1970:21).

Kwame Anthony Appiah: A Contemporary, Postcolonial Perspective

Martha Nussbaum's article, 'Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism', first published in the *Boston Review*, provoked renewed interest in questions regarding the relationship between nationalism and cosmopolitanism in contemporary discourse. In this article, she makes a case for a cosmopolitan educational syllabus that teaches children as much about other, strange cultures as local, familiar ones. She draws her arguments from a character in a novel by Rabindranath Tagore,¹² who explains that he is willing to serve his country, but that he reserves his worship for 'Right which is far greater than my country' (Nussbaum 1994). He further explains that 'to worship my country as a god is to bring a curse upon it.' From this direct cosmopolitan position, Nussbaum describes patriotic pride as morally dangerous and subversive of its own ideals. She instead promotes primary allegiance to the moral good of humanity to which all local affiliations should be subservient. For her, the individual functions in a 'series of concentric circles' where the smallest circle represents the immediate family and the largest represents 'humanity as a whole' (Nussbaum 1994). These circles provide a means through which 'we should work to make all human beings part of our community of dialogue and concern' (Nussbaum 1994). She promotes a Stoic world citizenship that transcends the colour and passion of national or local affiliations. Geoffrey Harpham (2002:53) explains that Nussbaum's yearning to 'forge a new and larger whole from what had been perceived as discontinuous elements' drives her latest work. Here she attempts to 'forge' a whole between the local and global spheres of the individual by a Stoic surrender of the local to the global. Harpham argues that one should understand her writing in light of her self-endowed mission as 'moral and social reformer who uses scholarly methods and materials' (2002:54). She writes not to inform. She writes to change. And the presence of this agenda leads to arguments in her writing that are all but hermetically secure. However, these arguments provoke ideas for further thought and discussions about these matters.

Discussion of Nussbaum is a necessary precursor to considering Appiah's contribution to the discourse of cosmopolitanism. I derive Appiah's ideas about cosmopolitanism from two sources: In 1997, he wrote an article entitled 'Cosmopolitan patriotism' in which he theorised a type of rooted cosmopolitanism mainly in response to Martha Nussbaum's 'Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism'. In 2005, he expounded on these ideas in his book *The Ethics of Identity* in a lengthy chapter entitled 'Rooted Cosmopolitanism'.

¹² The 'cosmopolitan Hindu landlord' Nikhil is one of the principle characters in the novel *The home and the world*.

During the Enlightenment, the boundaries of the state were viewed as arbitrary, and therefore they needed to be placed within the ‘natural’ borders of the nation, bringing about the existence of national states. In contrast to the Enlightenment, Appiah makes a clear distinction between nation and state, where the *former* is arbitrary, and the latter not. Appiah views nations as mere abstractions that serve as examples of ‘the patent arbitrariness of the ways human beings sort themselves out, the absurdity of categorical chauvinisms’ (2005:238). He ascribes to Benedict Anderson’s idea that nations are ‘imagined communities’. However, he does underline that ‘imagined’ does not mean ‘unreal’, for ‘nothing could be more powerful than the human imagination’ (2005:242). In ‘Cosmopolitan Patriotism’ Appiah defines a nation as ‘an “imagined community” of culture: or ancestry running beyond the scale of the face-to-face and seeking political expression for itself’ (1997:623). In ‘Rooted Cosmopolitanism’, Appiah changes this definition of the nation by substituting the word ‘culture’ with ‘traditions’; thus nations become ““imagined communities” of *traditions*’ (2005:244). If he understands the nation as arbitrary, his view of culture is liquid: ‘culture, like the luminiferous ether of nineteenth-century physics, doesn’t do much work’ and ‘its weedlike profusion can sometimes crowd out analysis’ (2005:254). In a footnote, he quotes John Tomlinson as follows: ‘Cultures [...] are simply descriptions of *how people act* in communities in particular historical situations’. This critique of culture is not absent in ‘Cosmopolitan Patriotism’. When Appiah discusses the role of national culture, he refers to a model of ‘tribal fantasy’ where everyone within a community is familiar with society’s values and expectations to such a degree that they know how to act accordingly, even if they disagree. Appiah argues that this ‘tribal fantasy’ based on a ‘common culture’ does not exist, and he supports this notion by referring to America where a variety of common cultures exists. Many people may mistake a *dominant* culture for a *common* culture.

The fact that these communities operate beyond the scale of the face-to-face contributes to Appiah’s understanding of the abstract nature of the nation. The members of these imagined communities each move in circles narrower than the globe or the nation, and it is in these circles that they create their various identities. These include, for example, ‘son, lover, husband, doctor, teacher, Methodist, worker, Moslem [sic], Yankee fan, mensch’ (1997:625) and many times, if not most of the time, the national identity is peripheral to these other identities. In this sense, nationalism in context of the nation poses similar problems as cosmopolitanism in the wider context of the global, for both require an ‘abstract level of allegiance’ (2005:239). But for Appiah, the nation poses a problem of another kind: ‘nations, if they aren’t universal enough for the universalist, certainly aren’t local enough for the localist’ (2005:239).

I have already referred to three aspects of Appiah's definition of a nation: the first is his reference to an 'imagined community', the second his understanding of the word 'culture', and lastly the functioning of the community beyond the scale of the face-to-face. In the last part of his definition, he views the community as seeking a particular political expression. Appiah doubts whether 'nations ever pre-exist states' (2005:244). In a footnote, he explains that sharing a 'common culture' (language, customs, practices) does not make a community a nation. But once that community reacts to the existing state by seeking its own political expression, it becomes a nation. In this regard one can think of Asante in present-day Ghana or Serbian and Croatian nations in the former Yugoslavia as nations that are not 'coterminous' with states, but that have certain political aims (2005:244). It is important for members of various 'imagined communities' willingly to share a mutual commitment to the political institutions of the state. When it is said that these commitments should be mutual, it does not mean it must be *the same*, because 'it is not important [...] that the political culture could be important to all citizens, let alone that it matter to all of them in the same way' (1997:634). These political institutions provide a framework within which anyone can express his political needs or struggle for justice, as he understands it (1997:631). Appiah explains the reason why he believes the state is not arbitrary as follows:

Since human beings live in political orders narrower than the species, and since it is within those political orders that questions of public right and wrong are largely argued out and decided, the fact of being a fellow citizen [...] is not [...] arbitrary at all. (2005:244)

Therefore, states have an intrinsic worth, because they regulate human lives through their constitutions and laws in ways that require moral justification.

Conversely, the only reason that nations matter 'is that they matter to *individuals*' (2005:245). The nation is therefore subordinate to the 'autonomous agent' who imagines or contemplates it. Appiah believes in the equality of all people; and, as a result, he values people over collectivities, since 'collective identities have a tendency [...] to go imperial' (1997:632). Appiah frowns upon the idea that 'treating people equally means treating people the same', because 'we do not relate to others only as "persons"; we relate to them as people' (2005:236). Nations, families, towns, businesses, etc. should be acknowledged, because humans function optimally in circles smaller than the human race (1997:624) and these circles provide the contexts in which they create their individual identities. One can deduce Appiah's belief that the individual's local loyalties surpass nationalist allegiance from the following statement: 'the partiality of the nationalist may be thicker than water, but it is thinner than blood' (2005:238).

What attracts Appiah to cosmopolitanism is the freedom it provides to the individual to create an own identity, to choose an own local environment(s) and to pledge particular allegiance(s) as she pleases (1997:625). Cosmopolitanism ‘sees a world of cultural and social variety as a precondition for the self-creation that is at the heart of a meaningful human life’ (2005:268). To be a citizen of the world, then, need not be a rootless existence, but allows anyone to be a patriot of the country of her ancestors, the country of her birth, and/or the country where she is living or where she has lived before. Appiah deems marriage between cosmopolitanism and patriotism possible, because, unlike nationalism, both are ‘sentiments more than ideologies’ (1997:619). He explains the essence of what he envisions as follows:

[T]he cosmopolitan patriot can entertain the possibility of a world in which everyone is a rooted cosmopolitan, attached to a home of one’s own, with its own cultural particularities, but taking pleasure from the presence of other, different places that are home to other, different people. (Appiah 1997:618)

Conclusion

Despite various references to the universal good or global ideals, the matter of identity lies at the heart of both scholars’ vision of cosmopolitanism. When Meinecke formulated his ideas, the romantic ideals for nationalism had already reached their apex in the European national states, especially in Meinecke’s home country, Germany. Globalization and global experiences were increasing, but cosmopolitanism remained a lofty abstract secondary to nationalism. It was believed that the ideals of cosmopolitanism, namely that of contributing to the universal good of humanity, could only be reached through nations as individuals. It was for this reason that Meinecke occupied himself mainly with the identity of the nation or the national state as a supra-individual personality. Central to creating this identity was the individual, or a community of intellectual individuals, whose task it was to draw elements from the world at large and to merge them with local ones. In this way, the individual identities provided a pool of ideas and ideals that ‘fed’ the national character.

Almost a century later, the understanding of the definition of nations had changed radically: the supremacy of national states had given way to strong emphasis on global human rights within multicultural societies. From this post-modern, postcolonial perspective, it is not surprising that Appiah directs the task of cosmopolitanism directly to the individual. Appiah’s socialist understanding of the ideal individual opposes Meinecke’s depiction of this identity. Because Appiah believes in equality for all, each person should have the freedom to create his own identities. The plural is not a mistake, for among these identities is included the professional, social, religious, sexual, national and other spheres from which the individual

can draw to create an own imprint. An illiberal constitution may not alter or limit these identities. In addition, a national identity *cannot* alter or limit these identities, because, for Appiah, nations only exist in the imagination of the collective. A very powerful imagination it may be, but an abstract it remains. From Meinecke's perspective, cosmopolitanism *precedes* what he calls 'modern national thought', whereas from Appiah's perspective it *follows*.

Meinecke's conception of the nation shares Appiah's transcendental space, but only in part: the borders and characteristics of a nation are not and probably cannot be solidified, because they change and develop together with individual understandings of national personality. But the actual existence of the abstract remains grounded in its core: the blood of collective individuals. It is from this blood that nationalism grows. Appiah denies the existence of this core, and consequently he renounces the ideology of nationalism. Patriotism, conversely, is a *sentiment* that shares the metaphysical space of the communal imagination where the nation exists. Patriotism provides a vehicle for the nation to seek political expression. Before this need to participate in a political dialogue arises, the community can only be seen as a tribe or a tradition; *culture* is an idea that he avoids in his writing. Once a community joins the political sphere, it must remain within the parameters of the state and its constitution, given that the state stays true to the ideals of global human rights. Meinecke, on the other hand, firmly believes that cultural as well as political nations do exist. Sometimes these types can co-exist in a single nation, sometimes they exist one within another, which makes it difficult to distinguish one from the other. A national state is born when the political feelings of the political nation matches that of the state. In a sense, one could say that Meinecke's nation chooses the individual through her blood, whereas Appiah's individual should have the freedom to choose his/her nation.

The issues raised by these scholars will form the basis from which the present writer will examine the local-global tension within early Afrikaans writings about music. By writing in Afrikaans, Afrikaners could imagine themselves different from English-speakers in South Africa, while exercising their self-endowed right to participate in European traditions in their own language. It is this dynamic of sameness and difference that points to cosmopolitanism as an important thematic ingredient of cultural discourses on music in Afrikaans. My attempt to interpret some of these materials will draw on Meinecke's and Appiah's theories of cosmopolitanism, and their different positioning of the intersecting points between the spheres of the individual, the nation and the globe. The relationship between cosmopolitanism and Afrikaner nationalism will be examined within these materials.

The following chapter will introduce the publications from which the present author collated music-related materials during her research. These include three magazines, (namely *Die Brandwag*, *Die Huisgenoot* and *Die Brandwag*, first published in 1937), one cultural journal (*Die Nuwe Brandwag*), and two newspapers (*Die Burger* and *Die Transvaler*). These publications are clearly not comprehensive, nor are they fully representative of all the regions of South Africa. My choices therefore reflect particular considerations that I outline here. The historical juncture of 1910, points to the importance of *Die Brandwag* to this project. Although *Die Nuwe Brandwag* was published for only a brief period, it is the first academic cultural journal published in Afrikaans. For consistency, the present writer also included *Die Brandwag* of 1937 onwards. *Die Huisgenoot* was, and remains, an important magazine for Afrikaners of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. During the 1920s and thirties, it was the most widely read Afrikaans magazine in the country. *Die Huisgenoot* is the sister-publication of the oldest Afrikaans newspaper, *Die Burger*, which is included in this study for this reason. Finally, *Die Transvaler* under the editorship of H.F. Verwoerd was deemed interesting because of its propinquity to ideologues and its contiguity to the important moment of 1948.

The selection of writing that forms the main body of critique in this study, departs from the bibliographies (see addenda) and abstracts compiled for this project. Difficult decisions had to be made in selecting material and structuring this thesis. The narrative, structured according to publication, unfolds more or less chronologically. The importance of the individual in both models of the cosmopolitan framework influenced me to look for particular voices in the discourse. Within these individual utterances, I highlighted references to Europe and attempted to uncover the trail of the local in its allusions. Bosman di Ravelli contributed the earliest music journalism, six articles about Chopin, which appear in *Die Brandwag* during 1910. Johanna Luijt, the first music critic employed at *Die Burger*, published regular reviews of art music concerts between 1915 and 1931. Her early contributions provide some insights into her view of art music in South Africa. M.L. de Villiers's name appeared often in *Die Huisgenoot* of the 1920s, a time when there was no competition from other magazine publications. The ideological juxtaposition of Europe and South Africa in his works is clear from the titles he chose, including 'Schubert en ons' (Schubert and us). Gerrit Bon's article 'Musiek in Suid-Afrika' (Music in South Africa) that appears in *Die Nuwe Brandwag* of February 1929, gives direct entry to the local perspectives on music of that period. He problematises the absence of national compositions and the ubiquity of 'superior' European art music and performances in the local context. During the early half of the 1930s, Charlie Weich, Luijt's successor at *Die Burger*, dominated the music

discourse in this publication. Outside the discourse, he was an active member of Die Oranjeklub and an important figure in the music life of Afrikaans Capetonians. His reviews of gramophone recordings provide us with a distinctive view onto the means of education that Weich and others supported. In addition, his voice enters into dialogue with intellectuals and other readers in an unprecedented discussion regarding the volksliedjie tradition. This polemic precedes a discussion of N.H. Theunissen's series of articles about volksliedjies that appear in *Die Brandwag* of 1938 during a cultural season of blossoming nationalism. The narrative concludes with an overview of music-related discussions in *Die Transvaler* of the 1940s.

Chapter 3:

Music in Afrikaans journalism: *Die Brandwag* (1910), *Die Burger*, *Die Huisgenoot*, *Die Nuwe Brandwag*, *Die Brandwag* (1937), and *Die Transvaler*

Die Brandwag (1910-1921)

31 May 1910 marks the birth of the Union of South Africa. It signifies a weakening of the British imperial hold on South Africa, and introduces an important postcolonial period in the country's history. Unification was supposed to inaugurate a period of equality for English and Dutch citizens of the Union. In fact, this egalitarian outcome formed the premise for the unification of the four former British colonies, two of which were Dutch Republics in the previous century. The constitutional declaration of both English and Dutch as official languages buttressed this notion of equality (Giliomee 2003:276). However, a divide continued to exist between legal and practical spheres. Social conditions did not directly conform to the expectations of new or adapted legislation, and a sense of British superiority and Afrikaner inferiority was to remain long into the twentieth century. Traditionally, the Afrikaners did not have the same access to educational and cultural facilities as English-speaking South Africans. This resulted in a social, economic and cultural backwardness that Dutch leaders wished to remedy (Giliomee 2003:356). The leaders in question did not procrastinate.

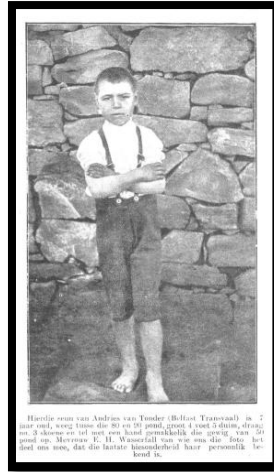
31 May 1910 marks not only the day of unification, but also the birth of *De Brandwag* – a cultural magazine by Afrikaners for Afrikaners. According to Du Plessis (1943:185), the Afrikaanse Taalgenootskap (Afrikaans Language Association) had a vision as early as 1907 to publish its own magazine in both Dutch and Afrikaans. Gustav Schoeman Preller, first representative of the Taalgenootskap, collaborated with Dr. W.M.R. Malherbe in founding this magazine (Antonites 1976:647-675). Preller and Malherbe rotated their editorial responsibilities until 1919, whereafter Preller became sole editor. Initially, the magazine appeared twice a month, on the first and the fifteenth. A typical edition of approximately 35 pages was in a 27x20 cm format. On the soft cover of several early editions appeared a sketch by Anton van Wouw, the Afrikaner sculptor. The picture was of a Boer (farmer) looking through binoculars at a typical Free State landscape. It was the standard cover for the first few years' publications. Thereafter, the cover picture changed occasionally, but it would always be something that was considered to be 'typically' Afrikaans.



Cover page of *Die Brandwag*

The slogan ‘Tijdskrif voor Huisgesin’ captured the magazine’s familial character. At the time, *De Volkstem* was the only newspaper in the Transvaal that provided a distinctly Afrikaner political voice. Since it was a generally accepted belief that only men were interested in politics, Dr. W.M.R. Malherbe and Gustav S. Preller saw an opportunity to provide reading material for women and children by publishing *De Brandwag* as a sister publication to *De Volkstem*. However, the articles in this magazine were not intended for mere leisure. They were meant to incite enthusiasm for the ideals of Afrikaner nationalism and culture. The editors gauged the articles’ subjects according to what they believed would interest their readers. Witty anecdotes, riddles and and little poems in Dutch or Afrikaans were plentiful. For women, there were articles about recent knitting patterns and women’s fashion as well as informational pieces regarding the role of the ‘home maker’. Children’s stories in *Die Brandwag* provided literature that was otherwise scarce, for there was as yet no established literature for children in the language. The fact that these stories appeared in Afrikaans and not Dutch makes it clear that Afrikaans was meant to be the language of future generations. As the development of an Afrikaans writing style was important at this time, contributions of prose and poetry were encouraged. Large portions of the magazine were devoted to short stories and poems. Articles about the history of the Afrikaners were abundant, such as a history of South Africa’s military tradition or of the capital city of the country, etc. Photographs intended to evoke a sense of pride in Afrikaners were placed randomly among

the larger articles.¹³ These include, for example, a picture of Bloemfontein (the capital city of the Free State). The picture below is of the ‘ideal Afrikaner boy’, which was published at the end of an article about the Afrikaans ‘psalm en gezangboek’ (J.H.M. 1911:362).



Typical Afrikaner Boerseun

The caption below the photograp reads:

Hierdie seun van Andries van Tonder (Belfast, Transvaal) is 7 jaar oud, weeg tussen die 80 en 90 pond, groot 4 voet 5 duim, draag no. 3 skoene en tel met een hand gemaklik die gewig van 50 pond op. Mevrouw E.H. Wasserfal van wie ons die foto het deel ons mee, dat die laatste besonderheid haar persoonlik bekend is.

Andries van Tonder's son (Belfast, Transvaal) is 7 years old, weighs between 80 and 90 pounds, reaches 4 feet and 5 inches, wears a size 3 shoe and easily picks up the weight of 50 pounds with only one hand. Mrs. E.H. Wasserfal who presented us with this picture tells us that she can personally testify as to the veracity of the latter.

This photograph uncovers an important and ironic paradox between the editors' stated objectives for the magazine and the material that appeared in it. As can be seen from the editorial of the first edition, the aim of the magazine was to be:

Om veeleer 'n geheel nieuwe strijd aan te binden: de strijd namelijk, voor handhaving van de Afrikaner-nasionaliteit, voor behoud van zijn taal, godsdienst, tradisies en recht van bestaan (Malherbe 1910:1).

To enjoin an entirely new battle: the battle to maintain Afrikaner nationality, to preserve its language, religion, traditions and its right to exist (Malherbe 1910:1).

Furthermore, the editorial explains that the articles in the magazine would stay clear from politics, and therefore it would not address current events. The publication was intended, so it was repeatedly stressed, for all Afrikaners. After the South African War and the subsequent

¹³ These kinds of visual interventions were probably Gustav Preller's mindwork, since he was interested in exploring the potential that media may have had in popularising history. See Isobel Hofmeyr's article 'Popularizing History: The Case of Gustav Preller'.

years of negotiation between Dutch and English speakers, Afrikaners still suffered feelings of inferiority (Giliomee 2003:355-356). The principal aim of this magazine was therefore to promote cultural work of progress. Thus, despite the calculated distancing of politics, Preller's 'new battle' still derives from a (nationalistic) ideology even if it does not link directly to a political party. In this context of 'battle' and 'identity', the picture of Andries van Tonder's son illustrates that a programme to the Afrikaners' cultural upliftment formed a substratum to a political ideal of Afrikaner-English egalitarianism. In the first issue, former President Steyn of the Orange Free State made the mission of the magazine clear:

Wij moeten tonen dat wij ons plaats in Zuidafrika waardig zijn. Als wij dat niet doen, dan zullen wij moeten tevreden zijn om houthakkers en waterdragers te worden, waar onze vaders heren en meesters waren (Steyn 1910:3).

We must show that we deserve our position in South Africa. If we do not succeed, then we will have to be content to become hewers of wood and drawers of water, where our fathers were lords and masters (Steyn 1910:3).

Du Plessis (1943:186) writes that *Die Brandwag* had done 'excellent work' (skitterende werk) in the interest of the Dutch-Afrikaans language and culture and it had found its way to other parts of the world, including Africa, Europe as well as North and South America.

Furthermore, Hiemstra notes that writers like Eugène Marais, C. Louis Leipoldt and J.H. Pierneef made their debuts in this magazine. It aimed to break away from English traditions, and to recreate 'the simple *Afrikaans* spirit' in its content (Giliomee 2003:361). Because Afrikaans was still in its infancy, the magazine included articles in which authors disputed and decided upon rules and regulations regarding the writing of Afrikaans – thus developing the language as a potential literary medium.

The paper used for the 1914 publications was brittle and of poor quality, unlike those of previous years. This reflected the economic difficulties brought about by the war in Europe. The paper quality only improved somewhat in 1920, although the frequency of publication was then reduced to once a month. The last edition was issued on 25 February 1922. The reasons for ceasing publication are not clear. In the very last issue Preller wrote:

Ons gaan onder in 'n nare tyd van nasionale en maatskaplike verwildering en ekonomiese omwenteling, maar sóveel bly 'n troos: dat "DIE BRANDWAG" pal gestaan het by die gesonde ontwikkeling van ons volk, veral op letterkundige gebied. "DIE BRANDWAG" het sy plig gedaan; laat ons die hoop bly koester dat die donkere uitsig van vandag slegs die laatste ure is voor 'n betere daglemier (Preller 1922:1).

We are disappearing during a dismal time of national and social demoralisation and economic revolution, but this much remains a consolation: that "DIE BRANDWAG" stood firm for the healthy development of our people, especially in the field of literature.

“DIE BRANDWAG” did its duty; let us cherish the hope that today’s dark darkness is only the last hours leading to a better day (Preller 1922:1).

In the editorial of the first issue of *Die Nuwe Brandwag* in 1929, Preller explains the circumstances as follows:

“DIE BRANDWAG” [...] is ondergegaan midde in, en ten dele as gevolg van, die ernstige industriële beroeringe en ekonomiese druk van ‘n twaalftal jare later, naamlik in Februarie 1922 (Preller 1929:3).

“DIE BRANDWAG” [...] went under in the midst of, and partly because of the serious industrial turmoil and economic pressure twelve years after it was created, namely in February 1922 (Preller 1929:3).

One can assume that Preller refers to the major miner strikes that commenced in January 1922. Seventy five per cent of the strikers were Afrikaners and the majority of them were nationalists (Giliomee 2003:333).

Bosman di Ravelli: Child of the Concentration Camp

In many ways, Bosman di Ravelli is an anachronistic figure in the history of early twentieth century South Africa. It was only in the late 1920s and 1930s, almost three decades after Bosman had gone abroad, that Afrikaner intellectuals first left the country to further their studies, and even then, musicians were not among them. For an Afrikaner boerseun to leave the country at the turn of the twentieth century in order to pursue a career in any of the arts, let alone music, must have been quite peculiar for his fellow Afrikaners. At the time of his arrival in Europe, his knowledge of the Western music tradition was still scanty, and therefore he immersed himself in study and piano practice. In 1902, he adopted ‘Vere Bosman di Ravelli’ as his stage name and commenced his career as concert pianist with a performance of Chopin’s Piano Concerto No. 1 in E minor, Op. 11 under the baton of one Hess, a Nikisch pupil (Muller undated: 3). There seems to be a peculiar connection between Bosman and Chopin, one that Stephanus Muller discusses in his ‘Orientalizing Europe, Europeanizing Africa’. For Muller, reading Bosman as a pianist and Chopin-interpreter (as opposed to the conventional reading of him as a composer),¹⁴ tied Bosman to a musical world associated with a ‘stigma of effeminacy’. This highlights some of the tensions that exist between the Afrikaners’ desire to employ music as a link to Europe while also distrusting art music as an ‘unstable signifier for Afrikaner nationalism’ that ideally had to be masculine (Muller p. 7).

¹⁴ Muller argues that this conventional reading allowed for a particular nationalistic representation of Bosman, whereas a reading of Bosman’s pianism as ‘sensitive’ Chopin-interpreter did not suit the intentional objectives of that particular discourse.

However, Muller fails to point out that Bosman's affinity with Chopin was not restricted to his pianism. In fact, in some of the very first writings on music in Afrikaans published in the early editions of *De Brandwag*, Bosman chooses Chopin as his subject. The present writer wishes to consider these articles here.

Bosman's Chopin reveal two superficial signifiers of Afrikaner identity present in many other Afrikaans writings on music. The first signifier is the language that Bosman and other writers employed – a simplified Dutch that over the course of the following decade would develop into the Afrikaans we know today. Language served to assert the uniqueness of the Afrikaners as an independent collective unit, and to establish their intrinsic value separate from continental values. Bosman stands out among his lingual peers by virtue of his mastery of language, tropes and extended metaphors. His writing speaks of an author singular in sophistication and experience. The second signifier points to the content communicated through the language. By writing about fragments from the life of Chopin, Bosman affirms the Afrikaner's connection to Europe. For Muller, this connection to 'European spiritual values through music' is evident in the claim made of 'Bosman as a pioneer of Afrikaner cultural awareness' (Muller p. 7). In the figure of Bosman, we thus have two separate but interconnected ties that link South Africa (specifically Afrikaners) to Europe: the representation of an individual in whom art music functions as the cultural interface between these two worlds, and the integrated relationship of language and content in Bosman's writings. For in this writing, it seems that the language that was to distinguish the Afrikaners from other imagined collectives also functioned to communicate a sense of pride in sharing the metaphysical space of European art. While this is true on some level, the present writer should like to suggest that a closer reading of Bosman's essays in *De Brandwag* might reveal an even more integrated fusion between European culture and Afrikaner cultural aspirations. In a sense, I want to suggest that while Bosman writes about Chopin and Western European art, he is in fact referencing South Africa and Afrikaner experience by doing so.

The first of the six articles by Bosman appears in the first issue of *De Brandwag*. It is entitled 'Door Bosman Beantwoord' (Answered by Bosman). As a preamble, Bosman explains that he intends his column to be a question-and-answer forum dedicated to the art of music ('toonkuns'), specifically within the South African context, prefaced by a short 'fantasia' about the life of Chopin. While the title 'Door Bosman Beantwoord' still accompanies the second article on 28 June 1910, it falls away by the time the third article in the series appears. The reason why Bosman departs from his initial project at such an early time, after only two invitations, is unclear. Perhaps the most evident explanation would be that the lack of reaction from his readers disappointed him. But maybe there is more to this

than meets the eye, because if the public response was non-existent, could one not expect Bosman to extend at least one more invitation before taking leave of the project? And since he does not encourage his readers a third time, is it possible that he could have received letters, but then decided not to continue along this vein? If this was the case, then perhaps one could view these articles as ‘answers’ to Bosman’s own questions, ones that his readers did not ask, but that the author presumably felt they should. However, since the public did not ask these questions, was the author positing some metaphorical Other-Afrikaner who would?¹⁵ It seems that this dialogue with the Other-Afrikaner, who does not actually exist, then becomes a dialogue with the self. Bosman would like this conversation to have broader appeal, but it turns out to be an exclusive discourse. Perhaps this reflects the helpless stance of an early ‘Davidsbündler’ among Afrikaner enthusiasts of Western art music. By answering his own questions rather than those asked (or unasked) by his peers, Bosman could be setting himself apart and creating his own quasi secret space where he determined all the questions that could be asked of him and thus, of course, could exclude all the questions he wouldn’t want asked. The fact that Bosman chose Chopin as the subject to preface questions relating to music in South Africa suggests that he intended Europe to be the point of reference for any possible conversation that ensued. When his readers seemingly failed to meet this prerequisite, the author abandoned the intended direct focus on the local context and chose to ally himself and, implicitly, the Afrikaner with Europe. Moreover, as the present writer will illustrate below, Bosman draws on tropes and ideas familiar to South African readers in an attempt to introduce distant Europe as a space with which they could relate.

There is no overarching construct of chronology in the narratives of the fantasias. Each fantasia presents a fleeting glimpse into the life of Chopin. Together they read (as their titles suggest) as a kind of ‘phantasmagoria’. The first of these fantasias, later discussed more fully, introduces Chopin as a young boy where he improvises a nocturnal piece for an intimate circle of aristocrats at the residence of Prince Anton Radziwill. In the second fantasia (Bosman 1910a), Chopin greets his family as he leaves Warsaw for Strasbourg. In Strasbourg, when he hears that the Russian oppression of Poles is continuing, he writes a letter to his mother in which he laments the fate of his native land. The third essay (Bosman 1910b) focuses on Chopin’s relationship with George Sand, the fourth (Bosman 1910c) depicts the dying composer on his sickbed and the series of articles concludes with the festivities of the nobility at the residence of Countess d’Agoult, where Chopin is a guest. Other guests include Heinrich Heine, Hector Berlioz and Franz Liszt (Bosman 1910d).

¹⁵ For this and other ideas in this paragraph, the author should like to thank Chris Walton for his valuable insights.

Bosman's fantasia entitled 'Nocturne', introduces Chopin as a young boy where he improvises a nocturnal piece for an intimate circle of aristocrats at the residence of Prince Anton Radziwill. The first half of the narration is dedicated to a lengthy and poetic description of the view over the Prince's estate and the interior decoration of the living room. The first two sentences have the novelistic purpose of situating the time and place of the narration:

D'is in die jaar 1819, op die landgoed van Prins Anton Radziwill. Die sitkamer van die deftige huis siet uit op 'n grote breë terras, met hier en daar 'n klompie ou bome daarop; in die verte lê die lage heuwels – grasgroen, en o'erdek met forse dennebome – als luië welgedane diere wat lê en sluimer na 'n o'ervloedige maaltijd. (Bosman 1910:11)

It is the year 1819, on the estate of Prince Anton Radziwill. The living room of the stately establishment looks out over a grand wide terrace, with some old trees scattered over it; in the distance lies the low hills – green and covered with strong pine trees – like languid portly animals that slumber after a bountiful meal. (Bosman 1910:11)

It is worth emphasizing that Bosman's technique here is calculated historical fiction.

Although the date and the description of place could be accurate, the convention of narration is one characteristic of fiction. This understanding of the mode of telling is important in order to realise that phrases like 'grote breë terras' (grand wide terrace) and 'in die verte lê die lage heuwels' (in the distance lie the low hills) could easily pivot, for the South African reader, between the European space described by Bosman and more familiar descriptions of the Free State's flowing hills and the wide open spaces of South Africa. It is, indeed, the fictional mode of narration that enables these possible shifts in words and their geographical and chronological referents. These are not the only potentially ambiguous references in this piece of writing. Even more significant and familiar to the readers with a background in farming, would be the reference to the 'languid, portly animals'.

This passage precedes a depiction of the setting sun casting its red and scarlet colours over the hilltops. The narration is fashioned after the conventions of Romantic literature where the function of nature is to invite readers to enter into a state of imagination. The narration unfolds slowly, inviting the imagination to move from the visible to the audible aspects of nature: as if from nowhere, the wind softly raises 'so's 'n voorspel v'r die naderende nag' (as a prelude to the coming night). As it blows through the pine trees, it invites a 'droefgeestige musiek' (melancholy music). As with Bosman's description of the wind in the following passage, it seems as if the telling aspires to 'transcend earth and reality':

Somtjids gaat't net of duisende geeste met mekaar fluister, en same-sing met harmonië wat die aarde en die werklikheid te bowe gaan. Meteens verhef sig dan 'n wind-vlaag,

vol wilde hartstogt, bô die verenigde koor, en stort sijn eige swart uit alsof buite
hemselwe nooit iets anders bestaan het nie. (Bosman 1910:11)

Sometimes it seems like a thousand ghosts whispering among themselves, and singing
together with harmonies that transcend earth and reality. At once sight raises a gust of
wind, filled with wild passion, above the unified choir, and sheds his own darkness
[blackness] as if nothing else ever existed apart from him. (Bosman 1910:11)

Much of the imagery that Bosman uses here and throughout the text is redolent of Percy Bysshe Shelley's poem *Ode to the West Wind*. Both poems depict the wind as being musical with its instrument being the trees or the forest. Also, Shelley's 'leaves dead' that 'are driven like ghosts' seem to foreshadow Bosman's reference to 'thousand ghosts' in the quotation above. In the fifth canto of the poem, the poet addresses the wind with the following request: 'Make me thy lyre, even as the forest is'. The current author would suggest that the wind addressed here is the same wind that blows through the pine trees in Bosman's telling, with only the 'tumult' of 'mighty harmonies' slightly subdued. The prominence and peculiarities of the wind throughout Bosman's narration lead one to consider the possibilities of a kind of personification similar to that of Shelley's as denoted by a number of apostrophes like the one already mentioned. This link to the Romantic tradition of Britain may serve to underscore Muller's notion that 'the Romanticism of the post-colony is recognizable as a part of modernism.' It may also suggest how a Continental world of ideas came to be incorporated into the South African context. These connections with Europe in Afrikaans unlock a variety of possible interpretations, since the narration would inevitably assume a different meaning in South Africa than it would in Europe. One should keep in mind, then, that the imagery that permeates this narration would have had a particular connotation for the South African reader of the early twentieth century. For instance, the images of death, of which there are many in this narration, would in all likelihood have been coloured by the memory of the Anglo-Boer War that had concluded less than a decade earlier. It is possible, then, that this war may have become a kind of subtext that could have informed the readers' understanding and interpretation of the telling.

After this short introduction, the narrator shifts the focus from the outdoors to the interior of the Radziwill living room: The doors are engraved with images of angels with outspread wings, and a wooden mural in the length of the room comprises oak panels, almost black with age. Hidden in its woodwork are 'the mysteries and the entire history of the Radziwill genealogy'. There is something to say about the oak panels here. It provides a material shape to a family's collective memory much as museum murals would give shape to the collective memory of a nation or a people. In a sense, it transforms the domestic space of the living room to a space reserved for the preservation of history. That is, for the preservation

of what Bosman imagines history to be. For in fact, what is ‘hidden in the woodwork’ as narrated by Bosman is not history in the formal sense of the word, but rather legends parading nameless characters in a space devoid of temporal situatedness:

In hierdie kamer het ’n dappere prins, deur sijn vijande agtervolg, met sijn rug te’ en die muur gaan staan en geveg totdat sijn aartsvijand, deur ’n o’erweldigende menigte gesteun, sijn swaard dwars deur sijn lichaam gestoot het tot in die eike paneel agter hem. Sijn bloed het die houtwerk beplek en so die geskiedenis onuitwisbaar daarin neergelê (Bosman 1910:11).

In this room a valiant prince, pursued by his enemies, stood with his back to the wall and fought until his arch enemy, supported by a great multitude, pierced his body with his sword and pinned him to the oak panel behind him. His blood stained the carpentry and thus eternalised this history in these panels (Bosman 1910:11).

Even as Bosman’s representation of supposed historic figures is purported to belong to a historical reality, what transpires in this narration really belongs to Bosman’s fictitious imagination. His use of metaphor and imagery serves to loosen the telling from realities and/or spatial-temporal referents. As the narration is detached, it uncovers another world of metaphor where Bosman seems to address matters unrelated to either history or Chopin. It seems, therefore, that the narration becomes a pendulum between two worlds – one of history or reality (although reality can only be imagined in fiction), and one of legend or metaphor. At this point, at least, the narration itself enters the realm of myth and legend in which the characters are archetypes of allegorical heroes and villains. For the South African reader of the twentieth century, this would most likely have been a fantastical fable of a prince and his enemy in a faraway place. However, should the reader assume the freedom to imagine the characters’ identities, is it not possible that he/she would draw on familiar histories – not of European aristocracy, but of South African war generals? If this supposition is valid, if ‘a valiant prince’ can be read as a heroic Afrikaner general, the stain of the sacrifice that lingers on the surface of the collective memory would have a particular meaning and importance for Afrikaners in South Africa. However, once these characters are identified in the imaginary, the legend becomes history once more, albeit a different history than the one originally presented.

En elke geskiedenis het sig op die eike panéle afgedruk so’s letters op ’n boek. En so dikwels iemand daar peinsend gaan sit, sluip daar ’n tere atmosfeer uit s’n geheime skuilplek en laat die geskiedenis, hoofstuk na hoofstuk, voor ’n mens s’n oge verbygaan’ (Bosman 1910:11).

And each history is arranged on these oak panels like letters in a book. And as often as someone contemplates it, a tender atmosphere emerges from its secret hideaway and lets the histories pass before one’s eyes, chapter by chapter (Bosman 1910:11).

The present writer should like to suggest that Bosman himself presents his purpose behind the conceit in his telling: he wishes to write about a 'hidden' history that other public discourses did not mention. On the day that English South Africans and Afrikaners established the Union of South Africa, the history of the Anglo-Boer War would have been foremost in almost everyone's minds. Is it not possible that Bosman would want his reader to contemplate this history?

Bosman introduces the second section of the narration with a varied reiteration of the first paragraph:

D'is teen skemerduister, op 'n a'end van die jaar 1819. Die purpere skijnsel op die lage heuwels is al lang vervaag. Net één rooi vlek, als van bloed, is agtergebly op die wolke – 'n laaste gift van die son, wat al lang onder is. Die groot glas-deure staan ope op die terras en die a'end-wind kom uit die leegte op, in rukke, nou en dan speels ruisend deur die bome (Bosman 1910:11).

It is twilight, an evening of the year 1819. The purple light over the low hills has long petered out. Only one red stain, like blood, remains on the clouds – a last gift from the sun that has long gone under. The wide glass doors are open over the terrace and the evening wind comes from nothing, in short gusts, at times playing rustling through the trees (Bosman 1910:11).

With the fading light, the reader becomes disconnected from the external world of nature. Darkness sets in, and all that remains to be seen is 'one red stain, like blood', recalling the death of 'a valiant prince'. And with that, the tone is set for the essence of the narration, the *Nocturne* to begin:

Versprei in die kamer sit 'n aantal mense – hul is stil als die dood. Aan die end van die kamer, voor die vleugelpiano, sit 'n tengerige kind van nege jaar. Die getemperde lig deur die venster raak op sijn digte hoofdhare. Sijn gesig is beskadu, behalwe die grote heldere oge, wat als edelstene ligbundels uitskiet als van vuur. Sijn lichaamsbouw is sierlik, dog al te skraal. Die kind sit en speel op die piano. D'is Frederik Chopin, hij improviseer. Dit lijk of sijn fijne vingers o'er die toetse sweef en sijn vrouwelik-skone hande lijk so's witte vlerkies wat van noot tot noot fladder. Hij sit reg-op sonder die minste lichaamsbeweging heen en weer – so's 'n standbeeld wat musiek laat deurstroom (Bosman 1910:11).

A number of people are spread out in the room – they are silent as death. At the end of the room, in front of the grand piano, sits a slender child of nine years. The tempered light touches his thick hair through the window. His face is shadowed, except for the big bright eyes that like gems shoot out light like fire. His stature is elegant, although somewhat slight. The child sits and plays the piano. It is Frederick Chopin, he improvises. His delicate fingers seem to float over the keys and his ladylike hands look like white wings that flutter from note to note. He sits straight without the slightest movement of the body – like a statue from which music streams (Bosman di Ravelli 1910:11).

Here, like before, the narrator seems deliberately to withhold the identities of the other people in the room. They are not only nameless, but also faceless and, for the moment at least, genderless. If the pendulum swings towards the world of 'reality', the people are guests of

Prince Radziwill, members of the aristocracy. Yet, if the pendulum were to swing towards the world of metaphor understood within the framework of the proposed conceit of fiction, what or who do these people signify, and why are they silent as death? Answers elude us, and the characters remain but strangers and spectators. The individual of pivotal importance sits ‘at the end of the room, in front of the grand piano’ – the subject of Bosman’s narrative: Chopin – not Chopin the mature composer, but Chopin the ‘child prodigy’ pianist. From the outset, it is clear that this child is no ordinary boy. He is a child that does not know the joys of innocent youthfulness. Nor is he the ideal representation of a strong and bronzed boy with the potential of a healthy and robust masculinity, as portrayed in the picture of an Afrikaner ‘boerseun’ discussed earlier in this chapter. This boy is quite the opposite. He is an effeminate figure with an elegant stature and ‘ladylike hands’. The presence of both masculinity and femininity in one body would probably make him seem genderless, a child, rather than a boy. Or an artist, one would say. But there is more to this boy than mere effeminacy and artistry. He is immersed in a language of death – surrounded by keywords and phrases like ‘silent as death’, ‘tempered light’, ‘his face is shadowed’, ‘big bright eyes’, ‘delicate fingers’, ‘hands [that] look like white wings’, and ‘like a statue’. The impression is that he is familiar with sorrow and physical suffering of which the nature is unknown to his audience – an impression that befits the romantic notion of the suffering artist. It produces an air of mystery around him that could lead one to question the identity of this young child. Is it possible that Chopin represents here a child who survived the concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer War? And is it possible that Bosman wishes to draw his reader’s attention to the boy’s innate potential of sophistication by representing him as musically gifted? The narration continues to describe the child’s music-making:

’n Bowe-aardse melodie, sonder enige hartstogt, suiwer en engelagtig – geslagloos maar tog aantreklik – sweef uit die toetse op in die kamer. Dit is ’n smeekbede, ’n gesoebat om hulp, om simpatie. En die wind kom in bij die glas-deur en suisel tevrede, ’n ongeroepe bijspel, ingewikkeld en buitensporig van ritme (Bosman 1910:11).

An unearthly melody, without any desire, pure and angelic – genderless yet attractive – rises from the keys to fill the room. It is a supplication, a plea for help, for sympathy. And the wind enters through the glass doors and whispers satisfied, an uncalled for accompaniment, complicated and extravagant in rhythm (Bosman 1910:11).

The music that the reader encounters in this text is strange, unfamiliar and exotic – ‘unearthly’ and ‘genderless’ like the one who produces its melody, as suggested above. The sounds inhabit a space of spirituality that may not be equally accessible to all. What is said through this prayer is not known to the reader, other than that it is a plea for help and sympathy. As if in answer to the supplication of the music, the wind, previously distant and external, now

enters the room to join in the prayer and music-making. The parallels to Shelley's *Ode* are all too striking, even here, and the following quotation from this poem may illuminate some possible meanings to the supplication of the music:

Make me thy lyre, even as the forest is:
What if my leaves are falling like its own?
The tumult of thy mighty harmonies

Will take from both a deep autumnal tone,
Sweet though in sadness. Be thou, Spirit fierce,
My spirit! Be thou me, impetuous one!

It would be impossible to ascertain whether Bosman knew this poem at the time of his writing. However, the similarities seem to the present writer anything but coincidental. Is it not possible that Shelley's apostrophe is also Chopin's prayer? The way that the wind joins and responds to the melody's supplication seems to support this suggestion. If this is possible and if the wind can be read as a personification (as previously suggested), then the question remains as to what the wind personifies. The wind's affinity with the child suggests that there is some connection that needs to be considered here. Suppose the child's supplication is 'Be thou me, impetuous one!', then it seems the affinity is reciprocated and the sentiment is mutual. In a sense, wind and child seem already to belong to each other. Like family. Or a nation. That the wind may personify collectivity is suggested in the metaphor that Bosman chooses to describe its music making, because the reference to the wind's extravagant rhythm denotes a primitivism generally associated with nature and, more importantly, natural or native tribes in Africa. As an outsider, Bosman could have been aware of an Afrikaner 'backwardness' which he possibly wanted to imply in this passage. Yet as an insider, he might also have wished to elucidate the nation's 'musicality' or its inherent potential for sophistication.

In the following passage, the combination of melody, prayer and rhythm create a mood of a tribal religious festival, and consequently seems to evoke a transcendental kind of spiritual manifestation that could link to traditional rites that include the worship of ancestral spirits:

Die verborge misteries en geskiedenis sijfer uit die eike panéle en dwaal heen en weer o'er die gepolijste vloer. Die Radziwills stap uit hul lijste aan die muur en vertoon weer alles wat in hul huis gebeur is. En die nag-duister sif langsaam op die aarde neer en omsluis alle werklikheid met die waas van 'n romantiese droom. Bowe dit alles ruis die engele-sang – suiwer en kinderlik (Bosman 1910:11).

The hidden mysteries and histories emerge from the oak panels and wander about over the polished floor. The Radziwills step down from their frames against the walls and reveal all that has happened in their home. And the darkness of night sieves slowly over

the earth and covers all reality with the fog of a romantic dream. Over it all whispers the sound of angel voices – pure and naïve (Bosman di Ravelli 1910:11).

As the music ends, darkness covers the child almost entirely and no one dares to applaud. The feeling of transcendentalism seems to linger, even as everything returns to normal: ‘Die bediendes bring die kopere tee-ketel binne, die wasem stijg daaruit op so’s wierook in ’n katedraal en verloor sig in die donkerte van die hoge plafond.’ (The servants enter with the copper tea-kettle, the vapour rises from it like incense in a cathedral and loses visibility in the darkness of the high ceiling).

The child seems unaware of the heavy atmosphere that lingers: ‘Dog uit sijn siel is vervolge al wat hij geskape had, en hij eet nou sijn koek gretig op, so’s ’n hongerige skoolkind, en drink senuwagtig sijn koppie tee uit’ (Yet from his soul passed all that he has created, and he eagerly consumes his cake, like a hungry schoolboy, and drinks nervously his cup of tea). This child, Bosman seems to tell us, is ‘like a hungry schoolboy’ – he has not only been deprived in his physical body, but also intellectually. Yet, regardless of this intellectual deprivation, Bosman wants the reader to recognise the genius of the child, and, I suggest by implication, the genius of the Afrikaner child:

“Breng nog ligte, d’is te donker hier,” beveel die prins. En hul breng nog ligte binne, dog die sluiers van die nocturne kom om die ligte en smoor hul dood. D’is die bevel van die genie! (Bosman 1910:11)

“Bring more lights, it is too dark here,” orders the prince. And they enter with more lights, yet the veils of the nocturne cover the lights and smother it. That is the command of the genius! (Bosman 1910:11)

To the present writer it appears that Bosman chose the genre of historical fiction and Chopin as his subject in order to allegorise a different history than the one narrated. Through employing a literary conceit, Bosman masterly weaves a narration of interlocked and transformative spaces. From the inside of the living room, the view of the terrace and beyond is unmistakably Europe, yet at the same time, as proposed, reminiscent of Africa. In the second section, the focus shifts to the prince’s living room – a sacred space of memory and history that seems to belong to European aristocracy, but could also belong to the Afrikaner. Bosman presents this history as if it is familiar to the reader, as if it is alive not only in the memory of the wooden panels, but also in the memory of those who participate in the telling of the story. However, at the same time the history is strangely disconnected and unfamiliar. It is a history that the Afrikaner of the time dared not write about if not clothed in metaphor. In this sense, Bosman’s writing becomes part of a displaced discourse of loss. After the sun has set over the external world, the observers are enclosed in this sacred space of memory. The

child of the concentration camp, inevitably also the child of the wind, starts to play his ethereal melody on the piano, inviting the wind to enter and complete the ritual of prayer and supplication through its rhythms. When the ancestral manifestation takes place, the sacred space of European memory is transformed to a space that belongs to Africa. The wind and the child both belong to Africa. The manifestation ends, and the space transforms once more. This time it becomes a cathedral – a place of European worship. The child demonstrates his hunger for intellectual and spiritual nourishment, and his willingness, in fact, his desire, to partake in a European diet.

***Die Burger* (1915-1931): Johanna Luijt (1871-1931)**

In the editorial to its first edition that appeared on 26 July 1915, Daniël Francois Malan described *De Burger* as ‘die kind van Smart en Hoop’ – the child of Sorrow and Hope (Muller 1990:160). Malan’s theological language echoes his past as Dutch Reformed Church minister, a vocation he left in order to take on the position as editor. While this was no doubt a radical career change for Malan, there is a discernable continuity between his clerical and editorial employments. Giliomee describes Malan’s new vocation as merely a different kind of pulpit from which he could develop and preach his ideas (2003:385). These ideas were based on Malan’s ‘volkskerk’ position: he believed that the church had a specific role in encouraging and nurturing Afrikaner nationalism (Giliomee 2003:326; Muller 1990:138). His integrated view of spirituality and politics was the premise from which he also accepted the position as leader of the Cape National Party. The editor’s political induction served to advance *De Burger*’s ‘demokratiese, kristelik-nasionale strekking’ (democratic, Christian-national scope) as it was envisioned by the original committee who founded the paper as a product of the *Nasionale Pers* (National Press) (Muller 1990:112).

The first edition of *De Burger* appeared at a critical time in Afrikaner history. Economically, the question of poverty among Afrikaners, exacerbated by their political defeat, was a matter of concern to their leaders. Many Afrikaners faced imprisonment or significant fines after the 1914-15 Rebellion.¹⁶ The spirit of revolution still echoed in the paper’s slogan *Vryheid, Gelykheid, Broederskap* (Freedom, Equality, Fraternity). Politically, the country was preparing for an election that would take place in October 1915. This election would come at a time when Afrikaners still felt betrayed by the government’s decision to side with Britain, their former enemies, in the World War. Malan’s description of *De Burger* as the ‘child of Sorrow and Hope’ reveals his vision for the paper to act as a herald at a time when need for deliverance was strongly felt. During the early years of the paper’s existence, this vision would be enacted in a number of ways. On the economic front, *De Burger* would collaborate with the *Helpmekeer Vereniging* (Mutual Aid Association) in a countrywide project that would focus on the fiscal upliftment of the people.¹⁷ Politically, despite the involvement of key nationalists in the project and the editor’s recent entry into politics, the nationalist loyalism of *De Burger* was denied by claims that the paper would act independently from the government or any given political party (Muller 1990:112).¹⁸ This

¹⁶ See Giliomee, H. 2003. *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People*. Cape Town: Tafelberg. pp. 386-388.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Muller does not acknowledge the historic ambiguity of *De Burger*’s claim to non-political partisanship when the roots of the paper were so firmly embedded in nationalistic ideology. Also, Giliomee’s acknowledgement is

clearly did not mean that the paper would refrain from political comment like the cultural magazine *Die Brandwag* claimed it would do. In fact, woven into the fabric of the paper's ideology was the political assumption or assertion that no other daily fully represented Dutch-speaking citizens' political, economic or cultural interests. *De Burger's* commitment was therefore primarily to the volk:

Wat in de binnenste van de Afrikaner omging werd niet door de bestaande bladen weergegeven. Van de oorlog af had de Afrikaner nog geen gelegenheid gehad om te zeggen wat hij dacht, hij moest oneerlik met zichzelf omgaan (Muller 1990:159).

Existing dailies do not portray what happens in the Afrikaner's inner being. Since the war the Afrikaner has had no opportunity to say what he thinks, he had to be dishonest toward himself (Muller 1990:159).

De Burger's first important political position was against the policies of the ruling South African Party, particularly its war effort. Pre-election propaganda showed unmistakable partiality towards the National Party (Muller 1990:182). However, the purpose of the newspaper would not only be political advancement for the Nationalists, but it would also aim to instil a cultural awareness in its readers. Both political and cultural consciousness, it seems, had to develop from knowing the nation's particular history. This history, according to *De Burger's* editor, was in turn also closely associated with ideas about a divine design. Muller reports a speech that Malan gave at a celebration of Dingaans' Day in 1913:

Sy verledede *mag* die Afrikanervolk nie vergeet nie. Die historiese lyn in Suid-Afrika moet die rigting aanwys "voor onze politieke verhoudingen, onze staatsinrigting, onze opvoedingstelsel, onze maatsappielik leven", en kan vir die Afrikanervolk nooit iets anders wees dan "Christelik-nasionaal" nie (Muller 1990:526).

The Afrikaner people *must not* forget his past. The line of history in South Africa must direct the way "for our political relationships, our political system, our education system, our social life" and can for the Afrikaner people be nothing other than "Christian National" (Muller 1990:526).

Malan thus strove to integrate theology, politics, history and culture in his philosophy of nationalism. Muller continues to write about Malan's nationalism:

Die Afrikanernasionalisme is 'n suiwer, onstuitbare beweging waarop niks te sê is nie. Dr. Malan se filosofie was deurgaans 'n praktiese teologie: hy het onwrikbaar geglo in idealisme. (Muller 1990:526).

Afrikaner nationalism is a pure, unstoppable movement that cannot be criticised. Dr. Malan's philosophy was always a practical theology: he adamantly believed in idealism (Muller 1990:526).

very muted: 'The effort was ostensibly above party politics, but the NP dominated the Helpmekaar movement' (2003:386). Little is made of the strong NP representation among the early founders of *De Burger* and the Helpmekaar movement.

Muller also writes that Malan perceived Nationalism as a ‘suiwer blanke Europese beweging’ (purely white European movement) (1990:526). Europe was thus the point of departure for Afrikaner nationalism and its continuing gauge. This point is illustrated by the fact that many of *De Burger*’s column writers were Afrikaners who had recently returned from their studies abroad where, according to Muller, ‘hulle [...] met die krag van nasionalisme in Europa aan die vooraand van die Eerste Wêreldoorlog kennis gemaak het’ (they came into contact with the power of European nationalism prior to the First World War) (1990:183). These writers intended their elaborate ideas for a specific people in a specific context, but would continue to refer to other people in other contexts:

De Burger sal hom in die eerste plek beywer vir die belange van Suid-Afrika, maar sal geensins blind wees vir wat die mens deur kennis en kuns in ander lande tot stand gebring het nie. Daar sal geleer word uit die ondervinding van ander lande, maar die eenaardige en kenmerkende van Suid-Afrika en sy volk sal nie aan die vreemde opgeoffer word nie (Muller 1990:113).

First, *De Burger* will campaign for the interests of South Africa, but it will not be blind for what man instituted through knowledge and art in other countries. We will learn from the experiences of other countries, but the peculiarities and characteristics of South Africa and its people will not be sacrificed to what is foreign (Muller 1990:113).

This dialectic between the local and the global, or the South African and European, existed also in the way language was employed in *De Burger*. The preferred language for publication in the early years was Dutch, emphasizing a European heritage. But from the beginning articles and letters in Afrikaans were also published. One should note, however, that the editorial team made conscious efforts to juxtapose the two languages in their ‘pure’ forms and to prohibit a mixed patois. Muller argues that it was clear from the start that the paper was destined to become Afrikaans, but that a Dutch veneer was necessary in the early years in order to accommodate the support of devoted conservatives (1990:184). The change came in 1922: when Afrikaans replaced Dutch as one of the official languages of the Union of South Africa, *Die Burger* also replaced the Dutch article ‘De’ with the Afrikaans ‘Die’. For the Afrikaners, the young language in print signalled a separation from Europe, even while its nationalistic function remained European.

In 1924, the historian A.L. Geyer replaced D.F. Malan as editor of *Die Burger*. A more rigorous approach to history could be observed in his editorials and Geyer’s effort to interpret history in ways relevant to the contemporary political atmosphere therefore re-emphasised the original ideals of *De Nationale Pers* in acquainting Afrikaners with their particular history (Muller 1990:399).

Music writings in *Die Burger* up to 1948 can roughly be divided into two categories: columns and correspondence. The regular reviews of the Cape Town Symphony concerts were published in the column ‘Muziekale Kroniek’ written by Johanna Luijt under the pseudonym ‘Toonkunst’. Charles Weich, who wrote as ‘Emol’, succeeded Luijt in 1932 and changed the column to the Afrikaans ‘Musiekkroniek’. This change took place at a critical time in the history of *Die Burger* when the paper strongly criticised negotiations of coalition between the National Party and its opponent, the South African Party.¹⁹ Luijt’s concert reviews of the Cape Symphony Orchestra constitute nearly all the writings about music that appeared in *De Burger* between 1915 and 1926, at which time another music column, ‘Ons Musiek- en Grammofoonbladsy’ (Our Music and Gramophone Page), was added by ‘Fibreur’ and ‘Bourdon’.²⁰ These reviews focused largely on recordings of Western ‘classical’ music by Columbia and His Master’s Voice. As intimated above, the column was an important category of the paper’s early editions. Muller writes:

Die gebruik van so ’n groot verskeidenheid van rubrieksrywers wat onder skuilname geskryf het, het ’n waas van aantreklike geheimsinnigheid oor *De Burger* getrek. Lesers het gewonder wie die Klaas Vaak kon wees wat “Peperwortels” geskryf het; of die Oom Dawie wat vir “Bogpraatjies” verantwoordelik was; of Duineboer, die skrywer van “Rissies”. Besoekers aan Keeromstraat het ook soms gevra om van dié skrywers te ontmoet. So is ’n persoonlike belangstelling onder ’n groeiende leserskring in *De Burger* opgewek (1990:205).

The habit of so many columnists who wrote under pseudonyms pulled a veil of attractive secrecy over *Die Burger*. Readers wondered who was The Sandman who wrote “Peperwort”; or Uncle Davey who was responsible for “Twaddle”; or Duineboer, author of “Chillies”. Visitors to Keerom Street sometimes asked to meet these writers. In this way, a personal interest awakened among *Die Burger*’s readership (1990:205).

De Burger was soon distinguished for its lively correspondence sections (Muller 1990:204). This element makes this paper particularly important to the present study, since the democratic voice of the Afrikaner nation is articulated here in a unique way. With regard to music, readers usually responded to content in the music columns. This became particularly important in the 1930s.

Johanna Luijt (née Plomp)²¹ was born in Haarlem and studied piano and voice at the Conservatoire in Amsterdam. In 1902, she married Jan Luijt, a string player, and they moved to Cape Town where they both became active in the city’s music life. Jan’s performing career

¹⁹ This period forms the subject of At van Wyk’s book *Die Keeromstraatkliek: Die Burger en die politiek van koalisie en samesmelting 1932-1934*. Muller echoes Van Wyk’s title in the chapter that discusses this period in his book *Sonop in die Suide*.

²⁰ Charles Weich used the pseudonym ‘Bourdon’ before he started to write as ‘Emol’ (Botha 2009:66).

²¹ The information relayed in this paragraph is drawn together from J.P. Malan’s two biographical entries of Jan Luyt (Snr.) and Johanna Luyt (1984a, 198b) in the *South African Music Encyclopedia*.

in South Africa began as a member of the Mount Nelson Trio with pianist Pierre de Beer and W.M. van Erkel.²² Soon he collaborated with pianist P.W. Haasdyk in organising chamber music concerts at the Metropolitan Hall where Johanna probably also performed.²³ From these activities proceeded the Jan Luijt Amateur Orchestral Society, which, according to Malan (1983:205), preceded the Cape Town City Orchestra that was established in 1914. By this time Jan was both a string lecturer at the South African College of Music and a string player in the City Orchestra. Johanna, who also lectured at the College of Music, seems to have left performing when she started writing for *De Burger* in 1915. She continued to write for *De Burger*, and later for *Die Huisgenoot*, until the end of her life in 1931. Where she predominantly wrote reviews of the Cape City Orchestra concerts for *Die Burger*, she discussed an array of subjects in the articles that she wrote for *Die Huisgenoot*. These include most notably articles about the Afrikaans Eisteddfod. According to the *South African Music Encyclopaedia*, Johanna was a key figure in the founding and development of the ‘Afrikaanse Kunswedstrydvereniging’ in Cape Town.²⁴

Johanna Luijt was the first music critic employed at *De Burger* and her writing appeared in the column ‘Muziekale Kroniek’ under the pseudonym Toonkunst. Her first written contribution to *De Burger* appears in the edition of 29 July 1915 with the title ‘Muziekale Kroniek: Overzicht der muziekale toestanden in Kaapstad gedurende de laatste 75 jare’. In this article, she writes that little material or information is available about the music life of Cape Town in the nineteenth century. Public notices, for instance, generally indicated the titles of works on the programme, but usually omitted composers or performers’ names, which render the researcher’s task difficult. She divides the music history of Cape Town into three periods, each respectively characterised by the prevalence of music from a different country. The first period, which began approximately in 1870, was characterised by a preference for Italian music. A German period followed. This period seems to have started in 1886 when programmes favoured music by Beethoven and Mendelssohn. From 1898, recitals were referred to as ‘Promenade concerts’, indicating the start of a so-called English period. Toonkunst remained interested in the music life of Cape Town and continued to write about it until the end of her life. The two last articles that she published in *Die Huisgenoot* in 1931, for

²² Erkel presumably played the cello. No information about him could be found by the present writer.

²³ This cannot be verified from any other sources. However, since Luijt resumed her performing career in Cape Town (Malan 1984b:206), one could safely assume that she also performed at these concerts organised by her husband.

²⁴ The present writer could not verify this information. Johanna Luijt’s name is not even mentioned in Minette du Toit-Pearce’s 2009 dissertation *Eisteddfod in Suid-Afrika met spesifieke verwysing na die Paarl Vallei Eisteddfod*.

instance, were entitled ‘Musiek in Kaapstad gedurende 1930’ and ‘Die Afrikaanse Eisteddfod en die Invloed van musiekkompetisies’.

The ‘Muziekale Kroniek’ was a column principally for reviews of concerts by the Cape City Orchestra. Toonkunst did not use technical language when writing these reviews, nor did she write elaborate critiques of performances. She preferred to use the space as an educational platform from which she could introduce readers to composers and their music. This does not mean, however, that she never criticised a performance. On the contrary, her criticism could at times be sharp. But even through her critique, she would aim to inform and edify. In a review of the fifth anniversary performance by the City Orchestra, for example, she criticised the conductor, Theo Wendt, for altering Beethoven’s instrumentation and then refined her critique by explaining the history of this tradition:

Van de uitvoering zelf valt niet veel mee te delen. De uitvoering der Negende Symfonie had het gewone verloop. De uitvoering bracht ons nie in vervoering. Alleen moeten wij vragen: Waarom nu toch in deze symfonie drie hoorns, twee trompetten en drie trombones gebruikt? Beethoven wenst slechts twee hoorns en één trompet. Wagner was de eerste dirigent die vond dat drie hoorns noodzakelik waren doch en Weingärtner gebruikte zelfs vier, doch beiden hadden waarschiynlik groter strijkorkest en dan is het te verdedigen. Doch in Kaapstad is het strijkorkest zeer zwak. Waar het koper als vulstem optreedt, dringt het zich te veel op, zoals in het Trio van het Scherzo (tweede deel) de trombones. Te veel koperklank bederft het klankeigen van Beethoven’s orkestratie (Luijt 1919:5).

Regarding the performance itself there is little to be said. The performance of the Ninth Symphony went its usual way. The performance did not move us. We only need to ask: Why use three horns, two trumpets and three trombones in this symphony? Beethoven only wanted two horns and one trumpet. Wagner was the first conductor who found it necessary to use three horns and Weingärtner even used four, but both of them probably had bigger string orchestras to justify their decision. But in Cape Town the string orchestra is very weak. Added brass tends to intrude, for instance, the trombones in the Trio of the Scherzo (second movement). Too much brass sound spoils the particular sound of Beethoven’s orchestration (Luijt 1919:5).

Echoing her instructive aims while writing music criticism, she viewed education as the most important function of the orchestra – to which the artistic or aesthetic functions were secondary. In the article cited above, she praised Theo Wendt for the valuable contribution made to South Africa’s music life, but she also expressed concern that the orchestra’s original design as an orchestra ‘voor het volk’ (for the nation) had been neglected and the orchestra’s activities had become accessible only to those who could afford to attend Thursday evening concerts. In this regard, she writes the following:

De echte muziekliefhebber vindt overal zijn weg, doch voor het volk is een orkest een onderwyzend en beschaving brengend element. Was het mischien de steeds hoger gestelde toegangsprijs die de grote massa terughoudt? Konserten voor het volk moeten kosteloos verschaft worden (Luijt 1919:5).

The true music lover always finds his way, but the nation needs the orchestra as an educational and civilising element. Was it possibly the ever-increasing entrance fee that prevented crowds from attending? Concerts for the nation must be provided free (Luijt 1919:5).

Luijt explained the reason why she thought education was so important in one of her articles published three years prior to this review. She writes in ‘Een Eigen Nationale Zuid-Afrikaanse Kunst’ (Our own national South African art; Luijt 1916e) that she asked a renowned theoretician whether there were any givens (‘gegevens’) in South Africa from which national art music could be created and whether there was any possibility for such an art to exist in the future.²⁵ The assumption that informed her question was that South Africa needed its own ‘national art music’, which, at the time, did not exist. She gives the unnamed theoretician’s answer extensively:

‘Hier in Zuid-Afrika gegevens voor een Nationale kunst? Prachtige rijke!’ was het antwoord. ‘Er ligt een diepe oneindigheid tot grondslag in die kaffermuziek van hun zo eenvoudig uitgedrukte, zo verrassend weemoedige verlangens, die zich nog meer kenmerkt in hun rythmus dan in hunne melodiën[.]’ (Luijt 1916:4).

‘Givens for National art in South Africa? Abundant plenty!’ was the answer. ‘There is a profound and endless potential to base it in the music of the kaffers which is simplistic in expression, yet surprising in its melancholic longing, known more for its rhythm than its melodies.[.]’ (Luijt 1916:4).

The suggestion to create national art music from indigenous elements probably meant using Bartók and Kodály’s methodology as a model. The theoretician continues to say that:

Door voort te bouwen op deze melodiën en rythmus met het kenmerkend temperament dat ieder Afrikaner aangeboren is, zou men zich hier een sublieme kunst kunnen scheppen. Doch om dit doel te kunnen bereiken zou een grondige, strenge opleiding noodzakelijk zijn voor de Afrikaner nog meer dan voor andere volken, omdat zij geen voldoende gelegenheid krijgen leerzame muziek te horen. Een komponist maken kan zelfs de bekwaamste theoretikus niet, doch eenmaal het scheppend talent bezittende moet men dat talent leren behandelen (Luijt 1916:4).

By extemporizing on these melodies and rhythms with the characteristic temperament innate to each Afrikaner, it could be possible to create a sublime art. But to reach this goal it is necessary for the Afrikaner, more than for any other nation, to receive basic and strict training, since he does not have sufficient opportunity to hear instructive music. A qualified theoretician does not make a good composer, but once a person possesses a talent to create, he must learn how to manage that (Luijt 1916:4).

The theoretician keeps returning to the idea of the Afrikaner’s innate musical talent that seems to attest to the nation’s potential for cultural development. The Afrikaner needs to realise and

²⁵ She omits the word ‘muziek’ from her question in the article, so that it seems like she is asking whether a national art can exist. However, the theoretician’s answer makes it clear that music is the primary object of discussion.

act on this potential in order to make them count among ‘sophisticated’ European nations. The means to develop this potential is through rigorous education, since little opportunity exists for the Afrikaner to listen to Europe’s canon. This provides some background to understanding why Toonkunst argues so strongly for an easy-accessibility to performances by the Cape Town City Orchestra – the most important exponent of Western European works in South Africa at the time. Negotiating the tension between local and global is not a concern for Toonkunst’s theoretician. Afrikaners should learn a European musical syntax, since their innate musicality would distinguish their music from that of other European nations:

En zij kunnen jaren lang studeren onder vreemde invloed; het zal hun talent ten beste komen doch het oorspronkelijke zal blijven bestaan. Door alles heen, tot in de moderne symfonie en ook in de kamer-muziek zal het Afrikaner temperament en de het land eigen rythmus merkbaar zijn doch nu veredeld door het voorbeeld van grote voorgangers en strenge leraren (Luijt 1916:4).

And he can study long years under strange influences; his talent will come to its best, yet the original will remain. Through it all, even in the modern symphony and also in chamber music, the Afrikaner temperament and the rhythm that belongs to its country remains, though now it would be refined by the example of great predecessors and strict teachers (Luijt 1916:4).

What South Africa needs, the theoretician argues, is a single composer – a ‘great master’ so to speak, surrounded by his students – who could begin a national school of music. Because, he continues, ‘[z]o is het met iedere nationaliteit gegaan’ (so it has been with every nationality). He refers to Bach as the founder of German art of whom Schumann said: “‘Slechts door hem zullen alle komponisten steeds nieuwe scheppende kracht vinden’” (Only through him will all composers continue to find new possibilities for creating; Luijt 1916:4). He lists other examples of composers with nationalist importance: Franck, Palestrina, Rossini, Glinka, Grieg, Dvořák and Liszt. The theoretician suggests that opera should be the preferred medium through which national art music should come about:

Als eens een afrikaans musikus een onderwerp zou willen kiezen uit de geschiedenis van Zuid-Afrika en dat onderwerp verken in een opera, zou dit in niet geringe mate bijdragen tot het stichten ener nationale kunst; doch het zou moeten verwerkt worden door een musikus die zich door jaren lange studie der kompositie leer zich daartoe bekwaam acht. Men zou daardoor de muzikale geschiedenis in een zekere vorm met de nationale geschiedenis verenigen (Luijt 1916:4).

If an Afrikaans musician would want to compose an opera based on a subject from South Africa’s history, it would be an important contribution to the founding of a national art. However, the opera would need to be created by a competent musician who has had years of training in the art of composition. In this way, one could unite musical history and national history in one form (Luijt 1916:4).

Why opera, one may ask? Perhaps because opera's narrative quality and its dependence on spoken language makes the genre ideal for communicating a message or an idea more directly and comprehensibly to the listener than could absolute music. Another reason could be the role that opera played in the history of nationalism in European countries; or, more specifically, Wagner's importance in the history of German cultural nationalism. For the theoretician, this seems to be reason enough for local composers to study and imitate Wagner's approach to writing opera.

Richard Wagner zag terug op de oude griekse drama's ontworpen aan de grote godenleer en legenden der natie en herdacht de geweldige invloed de deze drama's hebben gehad op het leven en denken van het griekse volk. Hij wi de trachten het zelde te doen met de mythe en legenden van zijn eigen land, zodat de duitse opera voor de Duitsers zou worden wat het griekse drama voor de Grieken was geweest (Luijt 1916:4).

Richard Wagner reverted to ancient Greek dramas and its great teachings of the gods and legends of the nation and remembered the strong influence these dramas had on the life and thoughts of the Greek people. He then did the same with the myths and legends of his own country, so that the German opera could become for the Germans what the Greek drama was for the Greeks (Luijt 1916:4).

As with most European countries, Wagner's legacy seems to loom over South Africa of the early twentieth century also. The first work that the Cape Town Orchestra performed in 1914 was Wagner's overture to *Die Meistersinger*. This continued to be an important work in the orchestra's repertoire and it became a tradition to perform it annually in celebration of the orchestra's founding. By just looking at the programme performed by the orchestra during 1916 and 1917 alone, Wagner's importance to the South African stage becomes clear. The orchestra performed his *Siegfried Idyll*,²⁶ the Prelude to *Tristan und Isolde*, the Overture to the *Meistersinger* as well as the Preislied,²⁷ and Siegfried's Trauermarsch from *Götterdämmerung*.²⁸ There were also four concerts during that period where the programme comprised works by Wagner and another composer: one programme included works by Brahms²⁹ and three other programmes included works by Beethoven.³⁰ Both reviews of the Beethoven-Wagner concerts of 1917 mention the problem of associating with Germany at a time when the Union Government allied with Britain. On 3 March, Luijt writes that the programme, with the exception of Edward German's *Welsh Rhapsody*, was dedicated to the works by Beethoven and Wagner. German's composition did not suit the programme, yet it

²⁶ Luijt, J. 1916. Muziekale Kroniek: Symfonie-konsert. *De Burger*, 8 January 1916.

²⁷ Luijt, J. 1916. Muziekale Kroniek. *De Burger*, 9 February 1916.

²⁸ Luijt, J. 1916. Muziekale Kroniek. *De Burger*, 25 February 1916.

²⁹ Luijt, J. 1916. Muziekale Kroniek: Brahms-Wagner. *De Burger*, 28 January 1916.

³⁰ Luijt, J. 1916. Muziekale Kroniek: Beethoven-Wagner. *De Burger*, 10 March 1916; Luijt, J. 1917. Muziekale Kroniek: Symfonie-konsert. *De Burger*, 4 March 1917 & Luijt, J. 1917. Muziekale Kroniek: Beethoven - Wagner. *De Burger*, 12 October 1917.

may have been necessary to include an English work in an otherwise German programme to prevent suspicions of German loyalties. In her review published on 12 October, she almost tauntingly writes that she suspects British citizens are unhappy with an exclusively German programme. The orchestra's devotion to Wagner derived from their conductor, Theo Wendt, who received his music training in Germany (Malan 1984c:488). Wagner was, therefore, familiar to South African audiences and music lovers. This could be why the theoretician in Luijt's article suggests Wagner as an example of a great composer that South African composers should imitate. At this point, Luijt concludes the narrative with the following paragraph:

Wellicht zal de toekomstige afrikaanse kunst tegenover de europese muziek, voor zoverre men daarvan spreken kan niet een zo volstreekte tegenstelling vormen als men wel wens zou. Wanneer men het gemeenschappelijke in alle europese muziek opzoekt, zou door dege gemeenschappelijkheid ook de afrikaanse tot de europese behoren, want nooit zullen de beschavings grondslagen die de blanke kolonisten uit Europa hebben meegebracht, zicht uit hun ontwikkelingsgeschiedenis laat wegdenken (Luijt 1916:4).

Perhaps the future of Afrikaans art compared with European music, inasmuch as it matters, cannot form as complete a contrast as one would wish. When one searches for common ground in all European music, that which is Afrikaans would also belong to the European through these commonalities, because one can never argue away the foundations of civilization that white settlers brought from Europe (Luijt 1916:4).

Die Huisgenoot (1916-1950)

In May 1916, almost a year after *De Burger*, the first edition of *De Huisgenoot* appeared. This monthly cultural magazine, sister publication of *De Burger*, was also printed by Nasionale Pers and incorporated and subsumed *Ons Moedertaal*, the official organ of the Afrikaanse Taalvereniging since July 1914. On the front page of *De Huisgenoot* in the early years is a colour picture of an Afrikaner family sitting at a table, the members of which busy themselves with their own leisurely tasks.



Front page of the first edition of *De Huisgenoot*

Johannes Jacobus Smith, editor of *De Huisgenoot* from 1916 until 1923, was a linguist and lexicologist who would later oversee the compilation of the first Afrikaans dictionary³¹ (Anonymous 1986:695). His language columns dating from 1917, most notably ‘Taalvrae en antwoorde’, contributed significantly towards codifying Afrikaans as a written language (Muller 1990:261). According to the first editorial, *De Huisgenoot* aimed to maintain the rights of the Dutch language while also promoting the development of Afrikaans as a language. It claimed to avoid party-politics in order to focus on the ‘opbouw van ons nationale leven’ (building of our national life)³² (Smith 1916:2). However, *De Huisgenoot* remained conscious of the international world even as it focussed on national issues:

³¹ He started compiling this dictionary in 1926 and passed away in 1945 before the work had been completed.

³² Regarding this statement, Muller (1990:257) writes: ‘Terwyl die blad die partypolitiek sorgvuldig vermy het, het hy sy hande in onskuld gewas wanneer sy strewende na nasionale selfverwesening toevallig meer met die strewende van een party ooreengekom het as met dié van ‘n ander, of skynbaar ooreengekom het. Sy houding was dat alles wat die grondstowwe vir ‘n gesonde nasionalisme uitmaak – afkoms, bodem, geskiedenis, tradisies, mense materiaal – vir alle Afrikaners daar was en dat almal dit vir hulself kan toe-eien. Dié wat dit nie wou doen nie, moes nie met die vinger wys na ander wat dit wel gedoen het nie.’ (While the daily was careful to avoid party politics, it feigned innocence when its ideals to national independence ostensibly coincided with one party and not another. Its attitude was that all elements that could contribute to a healthy nationalism – origin, geography, history, traditions, biological material – were available for all Afrikaners to make their own. Those who were not interested in doing this had to refrain from reproaching who were.)

Meer en meer toch vestigt zich bij velen de overtuiging, dat ook het afrikaanse volk alleen zijn roeping in de grote opmars der volkeren vervullen kan, wanneer het ontwikkelt een eigen kultuur, wanneer het spreekt een eigen taal, wanneer het op dat stuk aarde, dat de Voorzienigheid het onder zijn diepblauwe hemel schonk, vindt zijn eigen weg en eigen wijze van handelen (Smith 1916:2).

Yet more and more people become convinced that the Afrikaans people also have a unique calling to be fulfilled in the great march of the nations, when it develops its own culture, when it speaks its own language, when on the piece of earth, that the Provider prepared under the deep blue heavens, it finds own way and its own customs (Smith 1916:2).

Directly mentioning the central point of interest to this thesis, it proclaimed that '[h]et grote gevaar, dat ieder volk in deze dagen van wereldverkeer en kosmopolitisme bedreigt, is het verliezen van eigen persoonlijkheid' (the greatest danger that faces all nations in these days of global commuting and cosmopolitanism, is the loss of unique personalities; Smith 1916:2):

Hoe arm zou de natuur zijn als alle bloemen één kleur en alle vogelen één stem hadden. Maar zo zal arm worden de mensewereld als de volkeren gaan vergeten, dat ze aan te kweken hebben in de eerste plaats de zeden en gewoonten, die daar groeien op eigen nationale bodem, en niet de armen wijd openen moeten voor het vreemde, dat van buiten inkomen wil. Laten wij elkaar hier goed verstaan. Wij wensen niet als de Chinezen eens beproefden ons land af te sluiten met een grote muur, en aan de poorten wachters te zetten, die alles zullen afwijzen wat vreemd is. Weinig zou dit helpen en het gevolg zou op de lange duur niets anders zijn dan innerlike verslapping.

How poor nature would have been had all flowers been the same colour and all birds the same voice. But so the human world would become poor if all nations forget that they develop in the first place the manners and customs that grow on own national front instead of throwing their arms open for strange influences that come in from the outside. Let us understand each other well. We do not wish, like the Chinese, to close ourselves behind a wall with guards at its entrances to prevent anything strange from entering. That would not help and would only on the long-term cause inner weakness.

The early editions of *De Huisgenoot* consisted of 26 pages and from the start established a number of regular columns such as 'Die Vrouw en die Huis' (The Woman and the House), 'Taalnuws en Opmerkings' (Language News and Comments), 'Van het wereldtoneel' (On the global front) and 'Oor Boeke' (About books). In 1917, its future as a principally Afrikaans magazine was confirmed when it changed its name to *Die Huisgenoot* (as opposed to *De Huisgenoot*). In November 1923, shortly after the demise of *Die Brandwag*, H.G. Viljoen became the full-time editor of *Die Huisgenoot* and changed it from a monthly to a weekly publication. After three years under his stewardship, the publication grew to 96 pages (Labuschagne 1948:5).

Die Huisgenoot was a platform created specifically for young and aspiring Afrikaans writers (none of whom earned honoraria in the early years). As was the case with *Die Brandwag*, the history of the Afrikaner was an important theme in *Die Huisgenoot*. However,

as Muller (1990:266) points out, it is ironic that this Cape publication focused solely on a northern history of Voortrekkers and fighting republics. The monthly editorials introduced a 'heroic' historical figure, starting with Paul Kruger in the first edition.



Paul Kruger in *De Huisgenoot*

But *Die Huisgenoot* did not concern itself solely with matters of language and history. Muller writes, for instance, that 'Afrikaners en die Afrikanerlewe moes op alle terreine tot 'n hoër en edeler peil verhef word' (on all terrains, Afrikaners and the Afrikaner life had to be uplifted to a higher and nobler level):

Hulle moes aan die invloed van die Westerse kultuur blootgestel word. Hul denke moes genuanseerd raak en deur kennis gestut word. Die beeldende kunste en die uitvoerende kunste moes 'n plek in hul lewe kry (Muller 1990:256).

They had to be exposed to the influence of Western culture. Their thinking had to become nuanced and had to be supported by knowledge. The fine arts and the performing arts had to find a place in their lives (Muller 1990:256).

Music also had a specific place in this cultural discourse. 'Robina', wife of Editor J.J. Smith, included three articles about the piano in her column 'Die Vrouw en die Huis'. Here she wrote a short history of the instrument, gave advice to potential buyers about where to find the best and most affordable instruments and also gave pointers on how to take care of it (Robina 1918, 1918a, 1918b). The majority of writing about music in the twenties was by Marthinus Lourens de Villiers and Johanna Luijt (who was also the first music critic for *Die Burger*) and focussed on international gramophone recordings of art music or the activities of the Cape Town Orchestra. A prominent name in the thirties is that of 'Fibreur', with his column 'Oor die Grammofoon' (About the Gramophone).³³ Jan Bouws, the Dutch musicologist who played

³³ He was also the author of a similar column in *Die Burger* of the late twenties and early thirties.

an important role in establishing an Afrikaans musicology, started contributing to *Die Huisgenoot* in 1934. His articles focused mainly on European music history. It was only in 1946 that he started writing about material that related to South Africa with titles like ‘Nederlandse Komponiste en die Afrikaanse lied’ (Dutch composers and the Afrikaans song; 1946) and ‘Arnold van Wyk’ (1946a). ‘Volksang’, or folk singing, became a favourite music topic after 1938 and continued to feature throughout the forties, together with other topics like church music and biographies of famous European composers.³⁴

Marthinus Lourens de Villiers (1885-1977)

On 28 August 1919, *De Burger* reports that Marthinus Lourens de Villiers gave a successful organ recital together with two other ‘known’ Afrikaans artists, his wife (Jemima Susanna du Plessis, whom he married in 1911) and Mr. J.B. Maree.³⁵ This fundraising event for a church building project in Namaqualand was held at the Dutch Reformed Church in Simon’s Town where De Villiers was also the minister (anonymous 1919a:2). In November, a similar concert took place in the Wicht Hall, this time for the benefit of the Volkshospitaal. The programme included works by several Afrikaans composers like M.L. de Villiers, Stephen Harry Eyssen and Catharina Van Rennes. At this concert, De Villiers performed a number of piano solos and accompanied vocalists. Mr. And Mrs. J.B. Maree, Mrs. (dominee) Theo le Roux and Mrs. (dominee) Naudé (Anonymous 1919b:3). Prior to this time, from 1911 until 1918, De Villiers was a minister in Bedford where he met important Afrikaner political and cultural figures like J.B.M. Hertzog, D.F. Malan and C.J. Langenhoven (De Villiers 1987:203). According to Malan, the Bedford parsonage, where De Villiers hosted regular house concerts, was the centre of the town’s music life. He also often performed as organist in his church and together with a ‘salon’ orchestra, which he founded, that comprised five violins, a cello, clarinet and piano (Malan 1979:346). His son, Dirkie de Villiers, writes about his father’s tenure at Bedford in the *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek*:

Dit het aanleiding gegee tot die komposisie van ’n reeks liedere, met sy eie patriotiese woorde en toonsettings, soos *Twee gedenk liederen* [sic], naamlik ‘Slachtersnek’ (vierstemmig) en ‘Ons voorgeslacht’ (vir solosang); *Helpmekaar!* [sic] (’n vierstemmige sangstuk wat op 9.3.1919 by Slagtersnek uitgevoer is); *Afscheid naar kommando*; *Dingaansdag*; *Ik ken ’n liefste volksman* [sic] (1915); opgedra aan oud-president M.T. Steyn, en *Lijkzang* [sic] (1915), vir solo en koor, ter gedagtenis aan wyle prof. C.F.J. Muller (De Villiers 1987:203).

³⁴ See addenda for a complete list.

³⁵ Neither of these two ‘known’ artists is included in either the *South African Music Encyclopedia* or the *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek*.

This prepared the way for a series of songs, with his own patriotic words and settings, like ‘Two Memorial Songs’, namely ‘Slachtersnek’ (four voices) and ‘Ons voorgeslacht’ (for solo voice); ‘Helpmekaar!’ (a song for four voices that was performed on 9.3.1919 at Slagtersnek); ‘Afscheid naar kommando’; ‘Dingaansdag’, ‘Ik ken ‘n liefste volksman’ (1915); dedicated to the previous president M.T. Steyn, and ‘Lijkzan’ (1915), for soloist and choir, in memory of prof. C.F.J. Muller (De Villiers 1987:203).

When De Villiers moved to Simon’s Town in 1919, he also enrolled as a part-time student at the University of Cape Town where he studied composition with William Henry Bell. At this time, he started setting to music the poetry of J.F.E. Celliers, A.G. Visser and C. Louis Leipoldt, who were some of the most important Afrikaans poets of that time. Dirkie de Villiers (1987:203) writes that although his father was culturally and historically important in South Africa’s history before 1919, his compositions prior to this time were on a ‘lower musical level’ than the works that followed. Today, M.L. de Villiers is remembered primarily for his setting of *Die Stem van Suid-Afrika*, which he composed in 1921. Much is made of this fact in the two biographical inscriptions that I consulted, namely that of Dirkie de Villiers and J.P. Malan. As Bouws’s writing also confirms, De Villiers’s legacy will continue primarily as the composer of the song that became the national anthem of the Afrikaner nationalist regime.

In 1923, De Villiers wrote his first article for *Die Huisgenoot* with the title ‘Schubert en ons’. Schubert and then Schumann continued to be a focal point in subsequent articles with titles like ‘Schubert en Schumann’ (1923a) and ‘Schumann ‘n Reus!’ (1924). Two articles about the Flemish composer, Peter Benoit (1924a and 1924b), followed this. Until 1926, De Villiers continued to write articles about famous European composers, including Gustav Mahler. Between 1926 and 1929, his regular column ‘Grammofoonmusiek’ contained short notes about a variety of records produced by His Master’s Voice, Columbia and Parlophone. He clearly aimed to make his writings accessible for readers who may not have been familiar with the European music tradition. He would give advice, for instance, about how to listen to certain gramophone records, such as when he wrote about Albert Coates’s recording of Wagner’s *The Valkyrie*:

Hoe om na ’n grammofoon te luister? – Ek het hierdie musiek aangehoor, met die vlamme in my voorkamerkaggel in ’n toetswedstryd teen die “All Blacks” van die koolmyne gewikkel. Dan voel ’n man met Wotan saam! (1926:23)

How to listen to a gramophone? – I listened to this music with the flames in my fireplace in a test match with the “All Blacks” of the coal mines. Then a man feels with Wotan! (1926:23)

In 1931, De Villiers left the ministry and started a career as freelance musician in Wellington. He toured South Africa seventeen times, giving organ recitals, small concerts and talks about

music (Malan 1979:346). De Villiers describes in an interview (published in *Die Burger* of 3 January 1936) the activities related to his sixth tour which would last a couple of months and be sponsored by General Johannes Wessels. De Villiers has already started compiling Afrikaans folk songs for publication by the Afrikaanse Taal- en Kultuurvereniging and he had proposed writing sport songs for the workers of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines. He also wrote anthems for the South African Air Force and the Special Services Battalion (Anonymous 1936:4). According to Malan (1979:346), De Villiers composed more or less 250 official songs for Afrikaans schools, some of them settings of his own texts. These tours, it seems, became something like a propaganda campaign for his composing activities. This man clearly believed in his own ability to compose and perform. However, not everyone shared his confidence. Malan, for one, is apologetic about De Villiers's musical abilities: 'Because he was committed to many things outside music – his religious vocation, his studies – he was never really able to fully develop his musical talents' (Malan 1979:346). Just before that, Malan also writes:

As a musician, M.L. de Villiers was an energetic supporter of the Afrikaners' cultural life. He identified himself with their drive towards cultural progress and was emotionally involved in their hopes and aspirations, composing Afrikaans school songs, songs for festivals and special occasions and music to Afrikaans poems. His greatest triumph [sic] came when his melody for Langenhoven's *Die Stem van Suid-Afrika* was accepted as the national anthem. Thereafter he became a well-known musical personality, who was often honoured by the Afrikaners (Malan 1979:346).

The title of M.L. de Villiers's first article in *Die Huisgenoot*, 'Schubert en ons' (Schubert and us), deliberately joins Europeans and Afrikaners on a level that tentatively suggests equality. As one reads the article, it appears as if the author believes this 'equality' to be latent in Afrikaner culture and therefore he aims to activate this potential by using it as the point of departure for his writing. Through this article, then, a cultural leader intentionally fashions an ideology of 'Europeanness' for Afrikaners. Pictures that appear on the two adjacent pages of the article visually reinforce this European-Afrikaner juxtaposition. Appearing on the left page, in each of the three columns, are profile pictures of three 'Great Masters', namely Peter Tchaikovsky, Mikhail Glinka and Anton Rubenstein. De Villiers's choice to illustrate his article with three Russian masters is interesting, because, traditionally, only Glinka is considered a truly national composer, while Tchaikovsky and Rubenstein, with their affiliation to the Moscow conservatoire and their tendency to draw from European sources in their compositions (to the chagrin of the radical nationalist school), are generally connected to a Russian cosmopolitanism. On the right page, across the last two of the three columns, appears a larger picture, not of a South African composer or other local musical figure, but of

the newly installed organ at the Groote Kerk in Cape Town. This in itself is telling. Since the earliest years of the magazine, visual additions would have a specific function in *Die Huisgenoot*. The editor explains this in the first edition: ‘ons doel is’t, in ons tijdschrift niet alleen in woorde, maar ook in beeld te laten zien wat schoons Zuid-Afrika bezit’ (our goal with our magazine is to exhibit South Africa’s beauty, not only through words, but also through image) (Smith 1916:2). This explanation accompanied a call for readers to send in any photographs that they would want to see published. By responding to this call and participating in a competition to provide visual material for the magazine, the readers (volk) actively participated in ‘imagining community’ and shaping the Afrikaner imagination to favour certain spaces and visual representations of the national self (see Viljoen 2006).³⁶ ‘For the first seven years of its existence’, writes Du Toit, *De Huisgenoot* ‘apparently employed no official photographer although pictures were evidently often provided by *Die Huisgenoot*’s staff or other contributors and accompanied their articles’ (2001:82). It is clear that an amateur took the picture of the Groote Kerk’s organ,³⁷ thereby including the photograph in a pictorial narrative of imagining.



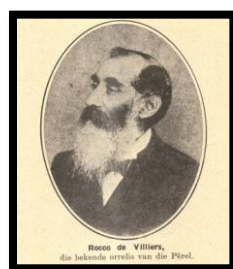
The organ in De Groote Kerk, Cape Town

The first palpable visual contrast in De Villiers’s article, namely that of a South African musical chamber on the right over the European composers on the left, obliquely refers to local sound-spaces that are predominantly inhabited by European musical compositions. By choosing these illustrations for De Villiers’s article, the editor could suggest that local (white) music spaces, which resembled those in Europe, were complementary to ‘sophisticated’ European art. From this, the reader could infer that European art music was not foreign to South Africans. In fact, when one considers the Afrikaners’ preoccupation with their genealogical history drawing from, amongst others, France, Germany and Holland, it seems

³⁶ Du Toit writes: ‘Via their snapshots, readers could be drawn to participate in the discursive spaces of Afrikaner nationalism’ (2001:82).

³⁷ The picture is taken at a slight angle.

only natural that Western music history should belong to the Afrikaner's musical heritage. But at the same time, De Villiers's article draws attention to the absence of accomplished local composers who could create suitable music for these settings, hence the picture of an empty chamber. These settings, represented here by the Groote Kerk with its architectural and religious connections to Europe and its European instrument (organ) and interior designs (chandelier, podium and pews), ask specifically for a European music. It is as if the article encourages the reader to see that the local music-space belongs first to Europe, (just like the Afrikaner is first European before she is South African) and therefore that South African composers should preferably write in a European idiom before they could be acknowledged as accomplished composers locally. A subsequent article, 'Schumann 'n Reus!' (De Villiers 1924), in which De Villiers considers Schumann's philosophy regarding composition, has a single illustration: a profile picture of Rocco de Villiers, 'die bekende orrelis van die Pêrel' (the renowned organist from Paarl) (DeVilliers 1924:13). What is striking about the illustrations of these and other articles by De Villiers is that, apart from its musical significance, it does not seem to relate to the content of his writing. One cannot, for instance, imagine that Rocco de Villiers, who is presented here primarily as a performer and not a composer (even though he did also compose), would have any direct bearing on a discussion about Schumann's compositional philosophy. Was De Villiers suggesting that Rocco de Villiers, with his high forehead, dark moustache, grey beard, bowtie and suit, was the ideal visual representation of a South African Schumann or, at least a South African composer/performer?



Great Composers in Die Huisgenoot

**Top: Rocco de Villiers (De Villiers 1924);
Bottom, left to right: P. Tchaikovsky, A. Rubinstein, M. Glinka, F. Schubert, J. Brahms (De Villiers 1923).**

Comparing Rocco de Villiers's picture with other composers' profile pictures employed in previous articles, one notes several similarities, such as their elaborate facial hair (with the exception of Schubert and Anton Rubinstein) and their formal attires. For Afrikaners of the early twentieth century, beards signified dignity and honour just as formal attire did the same in Europe. It is not unimportant, therefore, that De Villiers's beard is the most extravagant, with Brahms's a close second.

The youthful absence of facial hair in Schubert's picture (published 21 December 1923) is not necessarily coincidental. In De Villiers's first article (1923), he writes '[o]ns kultuur is jonk' (our culture is still young), which he then follows up with the question: 'wat kan ons van Schubert leer aangaande die daarstelling van die Suid-Afrikaanse Lied, uitgaande van die veronderstelling dat dit ons grondslag moet wees vir egte nasionale musiek?' (what can we learn from Schubert when it comes to creating the South African Lied, which should form the basis for a pure national music?) (1923:20). This question contains the essence of what De Villiers's article is all about. It echoes the sentence with which De Villiers also introduces this particular article: 'Die lied is, en moet altyd wees, die grondslag van ons musiek' (Song is, and should always be, the foundation of national music) (1923:20). As a statement of fact, this declaration launches the narrative into a discussion of Russia's national music (not Germany's), with Glinka as 'die vader van moderne Russiese musiek' (the father of modern Russian music) who 'walked among sharecroppers on his father's farmstead and, like a sponge, drank in the folk tunes that they sang among each other for entire days' ('rondgeloop het onder bywoners op sy pa se plaas en, soos 'n spons, ingedrink het die volksdeuntjies wat hulle so heeldagdeur onder mekaar gesing het') (1923:20). This seems at first like a strange way to introduce an article that supposedly discusses Schubert's music in the parameters of one and a half pages, but from the very first sentence it is clear that the 'Us' in the title is more important than Schubert. For the writer it was important to reduce the distance between the continents of Africa and Europe in his reader's mind. The image of Glinka on his father's farm was thus particularly useful towards this aim, since Afrikaners could imagine themselves in what for them would have been a familiar setting. On the surface, this little anecdote seems to presage Stefans Grové's narration of his Damascus-like encounter with a worker's song (see Muller & Walton 2006:17-18) that resulted in a new Afrocentric approach to his compositions. However, just a little further on in De Villiers's telling, one would find that Glinka did not encounter the music of an Exotic Other, but rather the music of his own people:

Glinka het dit ingesien, en hy het die liedere, die heerlike volksdeuntjies, liefgekry. Sy pa se bywoners het vir hom alte lekker gesing! En hoekom het hy dan juis hierdie liefgekry? Omdat hy Rus was, en hulle was Russies (1923:20).

Glinka perceived it and he learned to love the songs, the lovely folk tunes. He enjoyed the singing of his father's sharecroppers! And why did he learn to love these particular songs? Because he was Russian and they were Russian (1923:20).

For De Villiers, the singing of folk songs is the most fundamental expression of nationalism:

Die mense het gesing, nie omdat hulle opdrag gekry het om te sing nie, maar omdat hulle dit nie kon help nie: hulle *moes* sing! Dit was volks-, sieledrang. En wat uitgekrom het, was egte, eie goed. Dit was nasionaal (1923:20).

The people sang, not because they were commanded to sing, but because they could not help it: they *had to* sing! It was urged by the nation, the soul. And what emerged was pure and unique. It was national (1923:20).

Yet, despite the supposed nationalist significance of folk songs and folk singing, De Villiers does not take the matter any further by commenting on the state of folk music in South Africa (the 'ons' in his title),³⁸ or by relating his observation of the Russian 'volks-, sieledrang' with the other subject of his article – Schubert. He prefers to itemise the lineage of Russia's nationalist composers – Balakirev, Glazunov, Rimsky-Korsakoff, the Rubenstein, Tchaikovsky, Moussorgsky, César Cui, Borodin – who all built on the 'grondslag en hoeksteen' (foundation and corner stone) of '*die Volkslied van Glinka*' (*Glinka's Folk Music* – italics in the original). De Villiers's phraseology is interesting. It is possible that the terminological overlap or interchangeable use of the Afrikaans words 'volksliedjie' (folk song) and 'Volkslied' (national anthem) could bring another meaning of the text to the surface. The capital letter, the singular noun and the use of italics may lead the reader to consider the latter meaning of the word, rather than the former, even though Russia's national anthem at the time was not a Glinka composition.³⁹ Coming from the composer of 'Die Stem van Suid-Afrika', this wordplay, whether done consciously or subconsciously, could reveal De Villiers's personal wish to be recognised as a composer. At this point in the article, there is still silence on the two titular subjects, but this does not mean that they are not yet part of the narrative. Not far below the surface of the text stirs De Villiers's 'us' and the contemporary question of an own national anthem that could distance Afrikaners from 'God save the King'. In *Die Burger* of 19 July 1918, Johanna Luijt (1918:2) writes in agreement

³⁸ S.P.E. Boshoff and L.J. Du Plessis were the first people to collate Afrikaans 'volksliedjies' and publish it in 1918. Folk music received little attention in Afrikaans journalism between 1910 and 1930. During the thirties it gradually featured more often and only in the forties did it become a regular part of the discourse.

³⁹ It was only late in the twentieth century when Glinka's 'Patriotic Song' became Russia's national anthem. In early twentieth century South Africa, the lyrics for the national anthem 'Die Stem van Suid-Afrika' existed long before the melody was chosen through a competition in the thirties. In late twentieth century Russia a competition was launched to find lyrics to accompany Glinka's nineteenth century melody (Daughtry 2003).

with another critic that ‘Die Stem van Suid-Afrika’, a poem by one K.R.N. (later identified as Cornelis Jacobus Langenhoven), is suitable for a national anthem. She also judges K.R.N.’s own setting of the poem to be less successful. Therefore, when De Villiers composed the music for ‘Die Stem van Suid-Afrika’ in 1921, it could only have been with the hope of hearing this work voiced collectively by his people. Is it therefore possible that De Villiers was hoping to cast himself as the ‘father’ of a South African national music, the Afrikaner Glinka? Certainly the link constructed between Russian nationalism/folk music and Schubert is tenuous:

Tereg, dan, voer ook Hullebroeck vandag hierdie leus in sy skild as hy, singende en propagerende, die wêreld rondtrek: ‘t Lied beheerscht het leven!’ (1923:20).

Surely then Hullebroeck has designs on this slogan when he travels the world, singing and propagating: ‘The song controls all life!’ (1923:20).

Emiel Hullebroeck (1878-1965) was a Flemish composer and singer who toured South Africa in 1920 and 1921. Jan Bouws writes:

While on a concert tour in South Africa (Sept. 1920-1921), he visited 64 cities and towns and evoked considerable enthusiasm with his settings of poems by A.D. Keet, Jan Celliers, C.J. Langenhoven and C.F. Visser, which he introduced at his concerts. In their published form as *Zes kunstliederen*, some of these added authority to the advance of the art song in Afrikaans. Although they are numerically not important in Hullebroeck’s complete works, their influence on Afrikaans music at the time of their publication should not be underestimated (Bouws 1982:248).

The similarities between Hullebroeck and De Villiers include a zeal for folk songs and singing, setting poetry to music and introducing their own compositions to various audiences during extended concert tours. It may even be possible that De Villiers’s concerts in the thirties were inspired by (and modelled on) Hullebroeck’s visit to South Africa in the previous decade. Bouws’s words regarding Hullebroeck may also be applicable to De Villiers:

Sy propaganda vir gesonde volksang het aanvanklik van die ou Nederlandse [in De Villiers se geval, Afrikaanse] volksliedere uitgegaan, maar daarna het hy hierdie repertoire met eie liedere in die volkston uitgebrei en by talle sang-aande self as sanger [pianis] opgetree’ (Bouws 1982a:243).

His campaign [propaganda] for sound folk singing was initially based on old Dutch [for De Villiers, Afrikaans] folk songs, but he later extended this repertoire by composing new songs in the folk style. As a singer [pianist] he himself interpreted a wide variety of these songs at numerous vocal concerts (Bouws 1982:247).

The word ‘propaganda’, interestingly, is used by both Bouws (in the Afrikaans version of the *Suid-Afrikaanse Musiekensiklopedie*) and De Villiers when they write about Hullebroeck. And the maxim ‘t Lied beheerscht het leven!’ could as easily describe De Villiers’s existence

as it is here imposed onto Schubert, the composer who rummaged the works of ‘100 poets’ and composed ‘600 songs’. De Villiers quotes Grove as saying:⁴⁰

Schubert se liedere, beskou as ’n afdeling van die musiek, is absoluut en heeltemal sy *eie*. Daar was liedere vóór hom gewees, roerende en pragtige openbaringe van eenvoudige gedagtes en gevoelens, maar die lied soos ons dit uit sy hand ken: vol van dramatiese vuur, poësie en gevoel, aangepas by geen eenvoudige volksliedere nie, maar by uitvoerige, ingewikkelde gedigte, die beste poësie van die grootste digters; ’n absolute vertolking, voorts, van elke gevoelskakering of uitademing in die poësie, met ’n akkompagniment uiters kragtig, doeltreffend en gevarieer – sulke liedere was syne, en syne alleen! (1923:20).

Schubert’s songs, seen as a subdivision of music, are absolutely and entirely his *own*. There had been songs before him, moving and beautiful revelations of simple thoughts and emotions, but the song as we know from his pen: full of dramatic fire, poetry and passion, not adjusted to simple folk songs, but to broad and complicated poems, the best works of the greatest poets, further, of each hue of sentiment or exaltation in the poetry, with a remarkably powerful accompaniment, efficient and varied – such songs belonged to him and him alone! (1923:20).

Despite the nationalist project that De Villiers supports, he introduces here Grove’s Schubert who is an individual – a distinct individual with a particular passion for representing poetry in sound – before he is a nationalist composer. Yet this kind of individuality seems to appeal to De Villiers. When he asks the question ‘Sal Suid-Afrika so ‘n man eendag oplewer vir die eie Afrikaanse lied?’ (Will South Africa one day produce such a man for a particular Afrikaans song?), he imagines an individual who is born from a nation already in existence and not a personage who comes before to mobilise the people into becoming a nation. Despite the political divisions between Afrikaners in the 1920s, De Villiers seems to believe that Afrikaners constituted a nation culturally and that therefore the time was right for the individualist song composer to emerge.

In his writing De Villiers circumvents the challenge raised by Grove’s phrase ‘Daar was liedere vóór hom gewees’ (and the consequent lack of Afrikaans songs) by situating Afrikaners’ history within a German-Dutch context (‘Dietse Verbond’) who brought forth important figures like Peter Benoit. Afrikaners are therefore a nation, because they possess a history, even of music. And since, at that time, a literature was developing from the efforts of the second language movement, sufficient resources were becoming available from which to draw material that could marry language and music in an expression particular first to the composer and subsequently belonging also to the nation. De Villiers underscores the importance and integrity of the word by referring to Schubert’s habit of preserving the authentic text of German poetry when setting it to music, something he did not do when he composed his Roman Masses based on Latin texts. De Villiers writes:

⁴⁰ He does not mention the source.

In die eie Afrikaanse lied het ons te doen met geen vreemde taal hoegenaamd nie. Die ware Afrikaanse lied moet in Afrikaans wees. Dit spreek tog vanself! En hoe akkuraat kan 'n landseun of –dogter dan nie in die bewerking van ons groot digters word nie, waar elke woord warm en vertroulik klop in die hart van die komponis! As digter en komponis waarlik een is op taalgebied, is hierdeur dan nie reeds 'n uiters hegte grondslag gelê vir waaragtige eenheid in vertolking nie? (1923:20).

In our own Afrikaans song we are not dealing with a strange language. The true Afrikaans song must be in Afrikaans. Surely that is to be expected! And how accurate can a son or daughter of the country not become in the arranging of our great poets' works, where each word should be known and trusted in the heart of the composer! If poet and composer are truly one of heart when it comes to language, is that not a secure foundation for a truly uniform interpretation? (1923:20).

The irony of this statement is located in the fact that the rudiments of Afrikaans as a written language were still in a process of being standardised and therefore the language as expressed through poetry would have been strange to most Afrikaners of the 1920s. De Villiers describes Schubert's approach to composing lieder as follows:

Om musiek te ontwerp vir 'n gedig was vir Schubert geen bykomende saak nie, hoe blitsvinnig hy dit ook soms gedoen het. Nee, hy het hom vereenselwig met die woorde, en, vir die oomblik, was die digter se gemoedstemming ook syne (1923:20).

To design music for a poem was not a subsidiary matter for Schubert, regardless of the speed at which he executed the task. No, he first analyzed the text and, for the moment, the poet's disposition became his also (1923:20).

De Villiers argues for greater unity between poet and composer, but the unity is not premised on the equal mastering of their different fields, but rather on a mutual understanding and experience of language. The success of an Afrikaans song should therefore lie primarily in the text and the emotion it incites in the composer. Whether or not the music successfully communicates this emotion is of little importance to De Villiers, it seems. For him, it is enough that the composer feels the passion as he reads the text, since this emotion would 'naturally' flow into the composition. This is probably also the way that he approached his own compositions (as 'Die Stem van Suid-Afrika' would prove).⁴¹ What remains supreme is language, text, words:

Hoe innig-diep kan dan nie die Afrikaanse komponis hom vereenselwig met die moedertaalwoorde van sy moedertaldigters nie as hulle sing van die land van vader en van moeder? (1923:21).

How deeply sincere could the Afrikaans composer not be when he associates himself with the words in his mother language when it sings of the country of his father and mother? (1923:21).

⁴¹ Venter (2009:72) writes: 'Although 'Die Stem' became the national anthem and foremost national icon for the Afrikaner, it was composed in a musical idiom that was by no means uniquely Afrikaans-national in character.'

At this point, De Villiers introduces the first stanza of Langenhoven's 'Die Stem van Suid-Afrika' as an example of poetry that should inspire composers to compose: 'Dit wek op en laat die (musikale) gemoed bruis' (It stirs and awakens the (musical) emotions) (1923:21). At this time, De Villiers had already set this poem to music, though it is not clear whether his composition had already entered the public sphere or was as yet unknown. He quotes another extract, this time a section in which the poet describes wild antelopes migrating away from areas of drought from J.F.E. Celliers's poem 'Die Vlakte'. De Villiers concludes this remarkably dry article with an amusing statement:

'n Afrikaner het 'n hart vir 'n dier. As 'n dier swaarkry, dan kry hy ook swaar. En, al skiet ons 'n springbok, ons wil darem nie hê hy moet van dors omkom nie!
Besing dit, dan word dit 'n eie lied.
Hou aan daarmee, dan word dit nasionale musiek! (1923:21).

An Afrikaner has a heart for an animal. If an animal suffers, he suffers also. And, even if we shoot an antelope, we would not want him to die of thirst!
Describe it singingly and it becomes a song.
Continue doing that and it becomes national music! (1923:21).

Die Nuwe Brandwag (1929-1933)

In his study of the origin, development and role of the Dutch-Afrikaans press as a social institution, J.H.O. Du Plessis describes the essence of the cultural journal (magazine) in South Africa as follows:

Die hoofsaak van die letterkundige tydskrif was en is nog die uitbouing van die Dietse taal en kultuur. Solank as wat hy alleen die Nederlandse vorm daarvan wou uitbou, kon die tydskrif geen groot opgang maak nie, maar met die koms van die Afrikaanse Taalbewegings en die uitbouing van die Afrikaanse taal, het die letterkundige tydskrif, wat meer en meer literêr-populêr geword het, 'n tydperk van groot bloei tegemoet gegaan (1943:211).

The principal objective of the cultural journal was and still is the extension of the German-Dutch language and culture. The journal could not make progress as long as it exclusively attempted to advance the Dutch version of it. But with the arrival of the Afrikaans Language Movements and the development of Afrikaans as a language, the cultural journal, which increased in literary popularity, entered a burgeoning period (1943:211).

P.G. Nel confirms the specific interest of *Die Nuwe Brandwag* to this cultural project when he relates it to the activities of the South African Academy for Language, Literature and Arts, the Helpmekaar movement and the F.A.K. 'wat die Afrikaner tot gekoördineerde, bewuste kultuuraksie opgeroep het' (that summoned the Afrikaner to coordinated, conscious cultural action; 1987:237). Marthinus Lourens du Toit (1897-1938)⁴² founded and first edited *Die Nuwe Brandwag* that appeared in February 1929 with the slogan 'Vryheid, Waarheid, Reg' (Freedom, Truth, Right) Preller explained the meaning of the slogan by saying: 'Vryheid vir ons strewe, waarheid in ons werk, en reg om dit só te betrag en nie anders nie. Dit is al' (Freedom for our pursuit, truth in our labour and the right to regard it as such and nothing else. That is all; Preller 1929:3). The rest of the editorial team included M.C. Botha, D.F. Malherbe en E .C. Pienaar. In 1932, G. Dekker and H.G. Viljoen took over the editorial responsibilities for *Die Nuwe Brandwag*.

In an article that discusses the historical and cultural importance of *Die Nuwe Brandwag*, Maria Hugo writes:

Die hoofsaak het op die letterkunde geval en talle gedigte, sketse en kortverhale is gepubliseer, maar voortreflike artikels oor die skilderkuns, beeldhoukuns, die boukuns en musiek, asook afdrukke is opgeneem. Die tydskrif was daarop ingestel om volks- en taaltrots aan te wakker en om die algemene kulturele ontwikkeling van die Afrikaner te bevorder. (Hugo 1993:17).

⁴² In 1932, Du Toit was responsible for the birth of Castalides, an Afrikaans arts and culture society, and its journal *Castalia – Tydskrif vir Kuns en Kultuur* (Nel 1987:237).

The emphasis fell mainly on literature. Various poems, sketches and short stories were published, though first-rate articles about painting, sculpting, architecture and music as well as imprints were also included. The magazine aimed to stir national pride, pride in their language and to promote the general cultural development of the Afrikaner (Hugo 1993:17).

Die Nuwe Brandwag introduced artists and their works, such as Maggie Loubser, Anton Hendriks, Moses Kottler and Fanie Eloff (Nel 1987:237). J.H. Pierneef was the arts editor for the duration of the journal's existence (Hugo 1993:17).

Die Brandwag (1910-1922) and *Die Huisgenoot*, similar in appearance and content, competed for the same readership, which could explain why in 1923, when the publication of *Die Brandwag* ended, *Die Huisgenoot* became a weekly magazine where it had previously appeared monthly. Five years later, the editors would create a unique and distinct character for *Die Nuwe Brandwag* that would not need to compete with the popularity of the established *Die Huisgenoot*. This quarterly journal was published in a 22x19cm format, which was smaller than the earlier *Die Brandwag*. As Afrikaans became an official language in South Africa in 1925, this journal was now Afrikaans in its entirety. The abstract cover page is quite the opposite of *Die Brandwag*.



The Cover page of *Die Nuwe Brandwag*

It was a journal for 'kuns en lettere' (arts and literature), and an issue consisted of more or less 70 pages. The new 'academic' nature of the journal can be illustrated by considering some of the differences between the older and newer versions. Authors who published their articles in *Die Nuwe Brandwag* were generally specialised academics, whereas it was not always clear who wrote the articles for *Die Brandwag*. The contents list of *Die Nuwe Brandwag* was more complete, and included a list of illustrations. Articles were longer and

more detailed, and did not deal with fashion, nor were children's stories featured. One new, 'scholarly' aspect to the articles was the use of references and footnotes. The book review section of the journal discussed mostly Afrikaans books, though a few English publications were also included. A large portion of this journal was dedicated to the history of South Africa, especially as seen from the Afrikaner point of view. Different aspects of the current cultural traditions were evaluated, and cultural development was encouraged. Preller described the nature of *Die Nuwe Brandwag* in the editorial of the first issue:

Ons Sonland is ruim en groot en goed, en sy aantal witmense nouliks die bevolking van 'n ordentlike ou-wêreldse stad. Daarvan eis ons, vir eie beskawing en eie nasionale belange, die helfte op. [...] Ruim en wyd, soos ons land self, is ook die opset van ons werk, waar dit aankom op die gemeenskaplike artistieke en taalkundige eigendommikthede wat ons tot aparte nasie bestempel. (Preller 1929:3).

Our sunny country is spacious and great and good, and the number of white people hardly the population of a proper old-world city. Of that we claim half for our own civilisation and our own national interests.[...] Large and wide, like our country, is our enterprise where it pertains to the communal artistic and linguistic properties that set us apart as a nation (Preller 1929:3).

One notes the two spaces that Preller invokes here. First he describes his immediate context or surroundings as 'sunny', 'spacious', 'great' and 'good'; he uses bucolic language that indicates the rural character of the land in which he lives. But he also links the people with another space – the 'old-world city' as a 'proper' context for urbaneness and sophistication. The inhabitants' connection with the old world is therefore what legitimates their superior position as lords over the uncultivated land. Preller emphasises a sense of nationalist pride, yet he distances himself from the injustices of the segregation policy in a following statement: 'Maar daarom ook sal by ons g'n sieklik-oordrewe waardering aangetref word vir die luttele wat reeds gedaan is nie.' (But for that reason one would not find in us also a sickeningly exaggerated appreciation for the discourtesies that have already been done; Preller 1929:3).

In the four years of publication, music received attention in two ways: through specific articles (such as *Die Nederlandse Musiek* written by Jan Bouws), and as part of general articles on the arts (like Nathan Levi's series of articles entitled 'Semietiese Invloed op Wes-Europese Kuns'). All of these refer to European music history, although the ideals of Afrikaner nationalism were integrated into them. Three music scores appear in these journals: Anna Lambrechts Vos's 'Aan Elektra' (1930) and 'Helderus' (1931) and Johannes Fagan's 'Soos die windjie wat suis' (1931). According to Du Plessis (1943:192), the journal ended in 1933 'weens gebrek aan ondersteuning' (due to a lack of interest).

Gerrit Bon (1901-1983)

Gerrit Bon was born in Amsterdam and received his music training in the Netherlands. In South Africa and later Zimbabwe, Bon occupied several positions at different times. He was organist for the Dutch Reformed churches in Bosman Street (Pretoria) and Pretoria East and again at the Salisbury Cathedral. He lectured in music at the Pretoria Normal College, the University of Pretoria and the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. He founded the Zanglust choir who performed works like Bach's *Die Johannes Passie* (*St. John's Passion* translated into Afrikaans by Bon), Berlioz's *The Damnation of Faust* and Brahms's *Requiem*; and he was music master at the Boys' High School in Pretoria. He composed an estimate of 80 works, including a string quartet and an opera. As a musicologist, he toured Europe to research Leopold Mozart and J.S. Bach (Malan 1979:204-205).

In an obituary printed in *Die Oosterlig* of 30 May 1983 and republished in the journal *Vir die Musiekleier* of January 1984, Gerrit Bon is introduced as 'een van Suidelike-Afrika se groot musiekfigure' (one of Southern Africa's great musical figures; Anonymous 1984:46). Despite having been born in the Netherlands (he immigrated to South Africa when he was 21), Bon is situated in Southern Africa and treated or regarded as a South African. The obituary places much emphasis on the 34 uninterrupted years that Bon lived in Pretoria ('34 jaar ononderbroke in Pretoria') when he regularly performed in the City Hall:

Nadat hy in 1937 die groot orrel van die Pretoriase stadsaal ingewy het en hy daarna weekliks 'n uitvoering op die instrument gelewer het, is hy in 1938 as stadsorrelis aangestel – 'n pos wat spesiaal vir hom geskep is en sedertdien deur niemand anders bekleed is nie (Anonymous 1984:46).

After a large new organ had been inaugurated in the City Hall (1937) he commenced weekly recitals which led to his official appointment as City Organist in 1938. This position was created for Bon and he has been the only person to occupy it (Malan 1979:204).⁴³

While the author states that Bon passed away in Harare, he does not acknowledge the time his subject spent in Zimbabwe.⁴⁴ In contrast, an English obituary published in *The South African Music Teacher* of October 1983 reads:

Professor Bon, who spent the years 1923-1962 in Pretoria, and for the last 20 years of his life settled in Zimbabwe, was a musician of exceptional attainment in many fields of study or practice, concealing his prowess and learning behind an unassuming manner and soundless energy (Anonymous 1983:61).

⁴³ The Afrikaans obituary quoted directly from the Afrikaans *Suid-Afrikaanse Musiekensiklopedie*.

⁴⁴ According to the *South African Music Encyclopedia*, Bon relocated to Zimbabwe in 1957 (Malan 1979:204).

These two obituaries tentatively denote the different attitudes of Afrikaans and English speakers toward a figure like Gerrit Bon. By emphasising ‘34 years’ and ‘Pretoria’, the Afrikaans article situates Bon in the centre of Afrikanerdom (Pretoria) and thereby appropriates him as their ‘own’. Similarly, by only stating the years that Bon spent in Pretoria (‘1923-1962’), the English article discourages readers from ascribing any real significance to the fact; and by emphasising that the ‘last 20 years of his life’ were spent in Zimbabwe, Bon is tolerably distanced from a specifically South African context. In terms of South Africanness then, Bon’s status is ambiguous: Afrikaans-speakers felt that he ‘belonged’ to ‘them’, while English-speakers acknowledged him without claiming him. When one narrows the circle of identity to an early understanding of the term ‘Afrikaner’, a circle to which Bon seemed to belong, the conditions individuals had to meet in order to be regarded as members of the ‘volk’ may appear to have been fluid and adaptable, especially if the individual hails from what was considered a ‘stamland’ (European country of origin). Of course, Gerrit Bon was not the only European in history who successfully integrated into the Afrikaner community. There was Jan and Johanna Luijt (see the section on *Die Burger*) as well as Jan Bouws, who all came from Holland and came to be regarded (also in this thesis) as pioneers in Afrikaans or Afrikaner music circles. It is also not a phenomenon unique to Afrikaners of the twentieth century. John Joubert, for instance, was an English-speaking Cape Afrikaner who became known as a British composer (see Vos 2009:24-26) and South African-born Kevin Volans, who received his Irish passport in 1994, became internationally regarded as an Irish composer (Lucia 2009:19). If one considers the exponents listed here (Johanna Luijt, Jan Bouws and Gerrit Bon), it seems that their mastery of language opened doors to the Afrikaans community. As a woman who wrote in Dutch during the early part of the century when Afrikaans was still a substandard language for formal written discourse, Luijt occupies a unique place in this directory.⁴⁵ Jan Bouws and Gerrit Bon, both Dutch males, wrote in clear Afrikaans about both South African and European music subjects. All these writers shared an interest in a South African nationalist art music and their writings seem to fit seamlessly into an Afrikaner nationalist discourse. They viewed themselves as Afrikaners.

In the first edition of *Die Nuwe Brandwag* there appears an article entitled ‘Musiek in Suid-Afrika’ (Music in South Africa) by Gerrit Bon. After only seven years in South Africa, at the young age of 28, Bon situates his voice as an insider (and not as an outsider looking in) when he introduces the article:

⁴⁵In an older discourse, she could even have been constructed as the ‘moeder’ (mother) of Afrikaans musicology.

In ons jong en veelbelowende land, met sy baie probleme, party van belang vir die hele gemeenskap, ander slegs vir 'n deel daarvan, is die probleem van die kuns en sy ontwikkeling één van die jongste, en seker nie één van die maklikste om op te los nie (Bon 1929:70)

In our young and promising country with all of its problems, some that affect the community as a whole, others only a part of it, the problem of the arts and its progress is one of the most recent and certainly not one of the easiest to solve (Bon 1929:70).

The tension between local and international contexts soon emerges in this article. First Bon (1929:70) states that it would be unfair to compare South Africa directly with other nations, because '[a]nder nasies het ander kenmerke, ander invloede, ander moontlikhede' (other nations have other trademarks, other influences, other possibilities). As an outsider who (clearly) assimilated, Bon criticises artists who come from abroad:

Baie artieste en kunsbeoefenaars in S.A. is van ander nasionaliteit, en probeer die smaak en metodes wat in hul vaderland gangbaar is, hier oor te plant, sonder om te oorweeg of dit ooreenkom met die bestaande nasionale kenmerke (Bon 1929:70).

Many artists and art practitioners in South Africa are of other nationalities. They try to transplant the tastes and methods of their fatherlands here without considering whether these would agree with existing national characteristics (Bon 1929:70).

However, even though Bon acknowledges the existence of 'national music characteristics' in South Africa, he contradicts this idea when he says that 'n musikale, sowel as 'n musikaal ontwikkelde S.A. minstens 'n moontlikheid is' (there is at least potential for a musical as well as a musically advanced South Africa to exist; Bon 1929:70). Here one thinks of Johanna Luijt who, more than a decade before in 1916, could merely identify the potential components that future national art music could comprise (see pp. 55-58). By 1929, national art music that would satisfy musicologists like Bon was, he believed, still dormant. Developing this potential, he argues, depends largely on the 'natural' artistic inclinations of the people and the 'influence' that certain individuals may impose on the process.

The next paragraph introduces a number of paradoxes. Even while Bon encourages the nation to depend on 'insiders' rather than on 'outsiders' to drive the process of musical development, he ignores the dialectic of local and international when his narrative moves effortlessly between continents without questioning or acknowledging the leaps that are being made:

In die verlede (en hier dink ons aan die ou nasies) was dit nie so swaar om invloed uit te oefen nie. Die konsertsaal en die koor- of amateur-orkestervereniging was die enigste plek van vermaak of ontspanning wat beskikbaar was. Ook was die huislike lewe (wat vandag so sporadies is) 'n magtige faktor en 'n ideale middel tot musikale ontwikkeling. Al die besware in oorweging geneem, soos gebrek aan huislike lewe en baie ander leidinge, is die posiesie [sic] nie bepaald ongunstig nie (Bon 1929:70).

In the past (and here we think of the old nations) it was easier to exert influence. The concert hall and the choir or amateur orchestra association were the only available entertainment or recreational spaces. Also the domestic environment (that is so sporadic today) was a powerful factor and an ideal means for musical development. All the objections considered, such as a lack of domestic life and many other drawbacks, the current position is not specifically unfavourable (Bon 1929:70).

It is more or less clear that the ‘old nations’ referred to here are the European nations recognised by the Afrikaners as their countries of origin. It also echoes the ‘old world’ that Preller mentioned in his editorial (Preller 1929:3). The musical practices Bon describes here belong to the Enlightenment. He conspicuously does not comment on musical practices in South Africa during the previous centuries (the period that ran concurrent with the European Enlightenment). Instead it appears as if he traces South Africa’s early twentieth century music life directly to Europe and his reticence to unpack the argument properly invites an uncritical acceptance of the so-called naturalness of this argument. But, as Carina Venter has argued elsewhere, if one should accept the notion of Afrikaners’ Western roots, ‘Afrikaner culture from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries could be expected to replicate the cultural and artistic patterns and developments of Europe’ (Venter 2009:118). Bon’s criticism at the lack of national music in South Africa indicates that no South African musical development since the seventeenth century could parallel that of Europe. Yet, as the previous citation indicates, Bon naively brushes over this fact by constructing continuity between the histories of the two continents. He appropriates European music history by linking it with the existing situation in South Africa. Then he moves away from the historical to juxtapose contemporary contexts of these spaces:

Daar is belangstelling vir goeie musiek en, vir sover die konsertbesoek ‘n maatstaf is, steek Suid-Afrika nie sleg af by ander lande nie. Per slot van rekening is 4000 mense in die Royal Albert Hall in Londen of die “Gewandhaus” in Leipzig nie ‘n sprekender bewys vir die musikaliteit van respektieflik die Engelse of Duitse nasie nie, as 400 in ‘n Stadsaal in ‘n Suid-Afrikaanse dorp van gemiddelde grootte, die dun bevolking in oorweging geneem. (Bon 1929:70).

There is an interest in good music and, if concert attendance is a standard, South Africa does not fare too badly compared to other countries. Ultimately 4000 people in the Royal Albert Hall in London or the “Gewandhaus” in Leipzig is no more significant proof of English or German musicality than 400 in a city hall in a South African town of average size, considering the sparse population (Bon 1929:70).

It is interesting that Bon does not comment on the demographics of South African audiences. References from the collated material offered in the present thesis suggest that it was mostly English-speaking South Africans who attended symphony and other concerts. A lack of interest by the Dutch/Afrikaans community certainly disgruntled musicians/musicologists like Bon, though he does not acknowledge this directly. But he does draw attention to the

correspondence sections in Afrikaans daily newspapers that clearly show how the majority of people prefer public concerts that offer light music over ‘good music’. This influences artists to compromise the standards of their repertoire in order to attract an audience, which, Bon feels, has dismal consequences. ‘Die logiese konklusie is duidelik’ (the logical conclusion is clear), he writes (Bon 1929:71). Bon suggests that the underdeveloped amateur should be swayed:

Die enigste manier waarop hulle kan gewen word vir die skone kuns is, geduldig deurgaans met die beste te gee wat ons kan gee, wanneer ons ‘n geleentheid kry om dié seksie van die publiek te bereik, en sorgvuldig die musiek te kies wat in sy reïne eenvoud die koudste en onverskilligste gemoed beïnvloed (Bon 1929:71).

The only way that they can be won for the fine arts is patiently to persist in offering only the best we can when we find an opportunity to reach this section of the public, and carefully to select the music that in its pure simplicity would influence the most cool and indifferent of dispositions (Bon 1929:71)

Bon also blames the education system for the continued lack of interest in musical matters among the population, despite the efforts of the ‘last 25 years’ by piano and violin teachers. ‘En wat is die resultaat? Die konsertbesoek het sterk afgeneem’ (And what is the result? A decline in concert attendance.; Bon 1929:72). The problem with the system, according to Bon, is that teachers, who themselves do not possess the basic knowledge of music history, or have sufficiently mastered their instruments, purposefully and unhealthily drive students to achieve at examinations and competitions, thereby stifling their pupils’ interest and enthusiasm.

Apart from the concert hall, Bon identifies other spaces, such as churches and bioscopes, where the population should hear ‘good music’, but do not. He criticises the standard of the music presented in these spaces, impressing it on his readers that proficient church organists⁴⁶ and other musicians should view it as their duty to educate their congregations and audiences.

Throughout this article, Bon never expounds on what he means by the ‘existing national characteristics’ mentioned in the introduction. But the fact that a national art is supposed to be the focus of this article is reiterated at its close: ‘[o]m van ‘n nasionale kuns te praat, lyk miskien bietjie voorbarig in so ‘n jong land’ (to speak about national art in such a young country may seem presumptuous; Bon 1929:75). The tension between local and international influences is far from resolved by the end of the article. In fact, it has hardly been addressed

⁴⁶ ‘Helaas is daar nog altyd invloedryke orreliste wat die publiek (op versoek weliswaar) op Sullivan’s “Lost Chord” onthaal. So ‘n versoek behoort beleefd maar beslis geweier te word’ (Bon 1929:73). (Alas, there are still influential organists who entertain the public (on request, admittedly) on Sullivan’s “Lost Chord”. Such a request ought to be denied, kindly but firmly.)

in the main thrust of the article where Bon discusses music practices in South Africa in very vague terms. This does not prevent Bon from linking his conclusion with the introduction:

Laat ons net dit sê dat vir nasionale kuns seker nie kans sal wees as ons dit eensydig beïnvloed nie. Tot ons ons eie komponiste van betekenis het (vir die hele wêreld), dus mense van hulle tyd, sal ons wel verplig wees om in te voer van vreemde bodem. Daar steek nie kwaad in nie (Bon 1929:75).

Let us concur that national art has little chance if we influence it unilaterally. Until we have our own composers of note (for the whole world), thus people of their time, we will be obliged to import products from foreign lands. There is nothing wrong with that (Bon 1929:75).

The way the introduction and conclusion of the article stand strangely loose from the main argument reveals several paradoxes in Bon's writing. He is critical towards the influences of international artists. A closing warning against foreign influences echoes that of the introduction:

Laat die oorwegend Duitse invloed op die Franse skool van *voor* Debussy en op die Hollandse skool van die 19^e eeu, wat so verlamvend gewerk het op suiwer nasionale kunsuiting, 'n waarskuwing wees vir ons, wat miskien dieselfde hier toelaat uit ander bron (Bon 1929:75).

Let the mainly German influence that had such a debilitating effect on pure national creative expression of the French school *before* Debussy and the Dutch school of the 19th century be a warning to us who perhaps allow the same to happen here, but from another source (Bon 1929:75).

Yet he suggests in the main body of the article, albeit not directly, that South Africa should replicate European music traditions that include a vibrant concert life, Eurocentric repertoires, European music education, etc. The position that nationalism should have in the realm of art music in South Africa is nebulous. A requirement for art music to qualify as being 'national' – even though the implications of the term 'national' remain indistinct – is that local artists or insiders should practice it. The irony in Bon's argument is that he believes international artists would introduce foreign practices and tastes, but at the same time, he also suggests that local artists can only be successful and influential if they are able to duplicate these very same 'foreign' practices and tastes. Regarding the music at bioscopes, for instance, Bon asks whether 'die finale van die Simfonie-Pathétique van Tsjaikowsky nie beter aan die doel beantwoord as "Falling Leaves" of "Hearts and Flowers" by 'n passende tafereel nie?' (the finale of Tchaikovsky's Simfonie-Pathétique would not suit a particular movie scene better than "Falling Leaves" or "Hearts and Flowers"?; Bon 1929:74). One needs to ask how Russian music could be approached as not being foreign to South Africa, in effect, as music that should have a place in South African recreational spaces, while a castigatory glance is

aimed at the historical German subjugation of French and Dutch nationalisms (see previous citation). Additionally, if Gerrit Bon, an immigrant from Holland, viewed himself as an insider, a status consolidated by his mastery of the Afrikaans language, the identity of the outsider in South Africa should come under scrutiny. I would like to suggest that the object of Bon's derision in this article could point us to the identity of the nemesis-outsider. Early on in the article he writes:

Hier soos in ander dele van die wêreld vier "Koning Jazz" hoogty. Selfstandigheid sit daar nie in die vulgêre en hoekige ritmiserings van die gesteelde melodieë nie. Laat ons hoop dat hierdie stokperdjie, wat die laaste jare so hard gery is, één van die dae doodgery sal wees. (Bon 1929:71)

Here as in other parts of the world, "King Jazz" reigns supreme. Autonomy has no place in the vulgar and angular rhythms of the stolen melodies. Let us hope that this hobby, so popular lately, will soon die (Bon 1929:71).

Later he asks: 'Waarom moet 'n voorstelling altyd ingelei word deur 'n vulgêre foxtrot of, wat miskien erger is, 'n verwronge setting van 'n "Musical Comedy" (wat vaker 'n "*Musical* [sic] tragedy" is.)?' (Why must a demonstration [film] always be introduced by a vulgar foxtrot or, even worse, a warped setting of a "Musical Comedy" (more accurately a "*Musical* [sic] tragedy)?); Bon 1929:74). 'King Jazz', 'foxtrot' and 'Musical Comedies' are musical signifiers of America. It appears then as if Bon, with his back turned on the New World, hopes to introduce South Africa into a grand narrative of the Old World in which Russia could be as much part of a particular South African music historiography as an original South African (future) composition should be included in European discourses. Bon has a vision that the international world would regard South Africa as part of Europe in the same way that they regard Holland, Germany, France and Russia. That is why influences from these countries are not to be resisted as robustly. In fact, it is to be welcomed and sought, as long as future composers could fabricate a unique South African slant.

Hou die balans, en laat die invloede nie eensydig word nie. Dan sal daar tenslotte, ondanks alles, 'n nasionale kuns gevorm word, waarop ons trots kan wees (Bon 1929:75).

Keep the balance and do not let the influences be unilateral. Then, despite everything, a national art will be formed of which we can be proud (Bon 1929:75).

From Bon's perspective, South Africa is first a European country before it is African. National art music is therefore not a product induced by a contestation of geological space, i.e. Africa versus Europe. It should create itself as part of a European hegemony, bringing forth composers who will have international renown [(t)ot ons ons eie komponiste van

betekenis het (vir die hele wêreld)'). Bon believes that this will protect South Africa from being culturally marginalised.

***Die Burger* (1931-1948): Charles Henry Weich (1892-1973)**

Unlike his predecessor (Johanna Luijt), Charles Henry Weich was a South African by birth and preferred to write in Afrikaans rather than Dutch. Several sources indicate that he was an avid participator in the cultural life of Cape Town. Muller, for instance, introduces him as ‘die historiese musiek liefhebber, amateur-musiekkritikus en boheem van die musieklewe in die dertiger- tot sestigerjare, Oom Charles (Charlie) Weich’ (the historic music lover, amateur music critic and bohemian of the Cape music life in the thirties to sixties, Uncle Charlie (Charles) Weich; Muller 2008:4).⁴⁷ Muller mentions two prose works of the twentieth century in which Weich is fictionalised: Holmer Johanssen’s *Gety* and, more importantly, Willem van der Berg’s *Reisigers na nêrens*.⁴⁸ Both novels describe music evenings that were regular occurrences at Weich’s home. People who attended these music evenings included musicians/composers like Arnold van Wyk, Stefans Grové and Blanche Gerstman as well as writers like Hettie Smit and, of course, Holmer Johanssen (Botha 2009:73). At these informal gatherings, guests had the opportunity to improvise at leisure or to perform works by themselves or other composers. These performances were occasionally complemented by (or substituted with) listening to recorded gramophone performances.

Charles Weich is also known for his activities related to Die Oranjeklub where he acted as organiser of concerts, sometime secretary, vice-president and president (1938-39; Botha 2009:17). The scope of club-material collated in the Charles Weich Collection housed at the Documentation Centre for Music (DOMUS) at Stellenbosch University witnesses to the personal importance that this club had for him. It is from this material that Yolanda Botha compiled the history of Die Oranjeklub. In the abstract to her thesis, she explains that:

Die Oranjeklub was the first Afrikaans culture organization in Cape Town. Active since 1915, it strove to shape Afrikaner identity and advance Afrikaner art and culture. The main aim of the club was to inspire national sentiment, especially among young Afrikaners, and to help cultivate a love in this constituency for their language and history. This national sentiment was nourished by meetings of social and cultural significance. In this respect, Die Oranjeklub played an integral role in early twentieth-century Cape Town to oppose a perceived English political and cultural supremacy, acting as a buffer against the so-called ‘ver-Engelsing’ or Anglicization that was seen to threaten the identity of especially urban Afrikaners (Botha 2009).

⁴⁷ In his article ‘Musiekgeskiedenis en fiksie: Hans Holleman en Arnold van Wyk in Holmer Johanssen se roman *Gety*’, Muller considers the intersection of fiction and music history in twentieth century South Africa with specific reference to a possible fictionalisation of Arnold van Wyk’s *E minor String Quartet* in Holleman’s novel.

⁴⁸ See Botha (2009) for more information regarding the representations of Weich in both novels.

Understanding the specifically Afrikaans nationalist/anti-British agenda of Die Oranjeclub provides an important perspective on Weich's personal ideologies that inform my analyses of his writing in *Die Burger*.

Weich's tenure at *De Burger* started as early as 1916 when he was appointed to the position of advertisement translator (Botha 2009:65). As a music critic in the thirties, he took on a dual persona, writing as 'Bourdon' for the column 'Ons Musiek- en Grammofoonbladsy' and as 'Emol' for the column 'Musiekale Kroniek' (Botha 2009:66).

When Botha considers Emol's writing, she writes that:

'kritiek' gewoonlik uit Weich se musiekkritiek ontbreek het en dat sy artikels meer soos dagboekinskrywings in plaas van berigte lyk. Die grootlikse gebrek aan terminologie en oorweldigende gebruik van niksseggende beskrywende woorde is deurgaans in sy artikels te bespeur. Hierdie resensies getuig dus terselfdertyd van Weich se nie-akademiese agtergrond en instelling, sowel as sy lewenservaring (Botha 2009:69).

there is a lack of 'criticism' in Weich's music criticism and that his articles rather resemble diary entries instead of reports. The extensive shortage of terminology and overwhelming use of empty adjectives are prevalent in his writing. These reviews bear witness both to Weich's non-academic background and disposition as well as his life experience (Botha 2009:69).

As can be seen from the examples that she quotes in her thesis, Botha formed her judgement based on her reading of Weich's criticism after 1948. His earlier writing largely confirms Botha's observation. But there seems to be more to it. I would argue, that his concert reviews relate both to his personal preferences and to the ideals of Die Oranjeclub. For instance, in a review of a Cape Town Orchestra concert where the programme included works by Dvořák, Glazunov and Richard Strauss, the critic expresses his longing to hear more works by Beethoven and Wagner at these symphony concerts. He also considers it unnecessary to sing 'God save the King' twice at these gatherings. He feels that once at the end should be enough (Weich 1932a:2). This review contains a double slight towards the British in its clear antagonism towards the national anthem and its advocacy for German masters at a time when British-German rivalries were keenly felt. Historiography often describes the specific kinship that Afrikaners felt with the Germans as mere Nazism, which largely ignores the possibility that Afrikaners' cultural or aesthetic affinities for all things German could indicate abhorrence for anything British. A longing for Beethoven and Wagner is a regular feature in Weich's writing and is echoed in a review written by W.E.G. Louw⁴⁹ in 1934. In this review, Louw writes that all people who view themselves as 'sophisticated' should obtain the Columbia

⁴⁹ Louw mentions in this article that he has been on holiday with Bourdon. One could then safely assume that Weich and Louw were friends.

recording of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* performed at Bayreuth: 'Omdat dit die hoogste kuns is, is dit eenvoudig en spreek dit tot die hart met die heldere en suiwere stem van hom wat terselfdertyd kind en God is' (Because it is the highest of arts, it speaks directly to the heart in a pure and simple voice that belongs to him who is both child and God; Louw 1934:1).⁵⁰ Louw's designation of sacredness has more to do with nationalism than it has with religion, since the focus is on the grandeur of the composer's works and its claim to being German Art. For Louw and Weich, Wagner's works thus have a particular function as a model of 'high art' employed in the service of Nationalism.

The column 'Ons Musiek- en Grammofoonbladsy' by one 'Fibreur'⁵¹ first appeared in approximately 1926⁵² and listed the most recent gramophone records released by His Master's Voice, Polyphon, Parlophone and Columbia. These were usually recordings from the European canon that included 'great works' by 'great masters' such as Beethoven's symphonies, extracts from Wagner operas, etc. In this column, Fibreur (and later also Bourdon) wrote mostly deferential short notes about the works and performers that were sometimes framed by allocutions regarding the Afrikaners' listening habits or other idiosyncrasies. In the edition of 4 October 1926, for instance, Fibreur implores Afrikaners not to speak English when purchasing gramophone records, because, he argues, people generally falsely believed that Afrikaans-speakers do not have an interest in music (Fibreur 1926:3). His argument unfortunately has to rest on the assumption that Afrikaans-speaking consumers have mastered their second language to the point where no accent could be detected. While this could be the case for a few individuals, it is still unlikely that a sizable Afrikaans clientele would go unnoticed in the market (as I'm sure Fibreur would have known). Therefore, since there was by any indication only a few Afrikaans consumers of 'classical music', I would like to suggest that Fibreur's article is the first indication of a discrepancy that existed between the tastes or interests of Afrikaans cultural leaders (who wrote for *Die Burger*) and the general Afrikaans public. The nature, extent and development of this discrepancy will become clearer as we consider Bourdon's writing.

Charles Weich started writing for 'Ons Musiek- en Grammofoonbladsy' as Fibreur's co-author in 1930.⁵³ At this time, Columbia proposed to set up recording studios in South

⁵⁰ This is the only review written by Louw before 1948 that the present writer could find.

⁵¹ The present writer could not establish Fibreur's real identity.

⁵² Due to time constraints and sheer volume of the material, the present writer did not work through all the issues of *Die Burger* from 1915-50. She cannot, therefore, give an accurate account of exactly when the first article of these columns appeared.

⁵³ Botha wrongly writes that Bourdon's first article appears on 25 January 1932. Weich became the single author of this column on 8 February 1932.

Africa that would provide local artists with better opportunities to record their music (Fibreur 1930:3). On 17 February 1930, Fibreur suggests that, once the Columbia studios have been established in South Africa, the two national anthems of the old Afrikaner republics should be recorded by an orchestra (Fibreur 1930a:3). The desire for the ‘orchestration’ of the former Boer republics cannot be read as anything other than a desire for the conferral of European legitimacy on the origins of Afrikaner statehood. A year and a half later, on 15 June 1931, the list of recordings by various companies, compiled by Fibreur and Bourdon, included two Afrikaans Columbia records, which suggests that their enterprise had been a success. On the one, soprano Nanez Holtzhausen recorded Alaloeff’s ‘Die Nagtegaal’ and Eckart’s ‘Eggo’ and on the other, baritone Stephen Harry Eyssen recorded his own ‘Segelied’ and Gerrit Bon’s ‘Prinses van verre’ (Fibreur, Bourdon 1931:3). The inclusion of these two recordings in Fibreur and Bourdon’s list seems to suggest that cultural nationalists were interested in an Afrikaans art music that imitated European traditions and customs where performers were identified as ‘sopranos’ or ‘baritones’ and where composers occasionally performed their own works.

That Weich wanted to set himself apart as a broadminded music lover can be seen in an article entitled ‘Stravinsky en die keffertjies’ (Stravinsky and the barking dogs), published in 1932, in which he writes that many contemporary music critics do not approve of Stravinsky’s output. He suggests that listeners should accept the reality of atonality and that they should acknowledge the creativity of Stravinsky’s music (Weich 1932:3). Weich’s criticism seems to suggest that he promotes his personal music preferences as the ideal standard for all Afrikaners’ tastes. Most of his friends, who were culturally influential individuals, probably shared his view. Later that year, Weich writes in the article ‘Musiekskaarste: Suid-Afrika ly swaar’ (Music Famine: South Africa suffers) that companies like Columbia and His Master’s Voice seemingly disregard the music taste of South Africans, since they provide but a few recordings that would interest serious music listeners. He continues to write, however, that the problem lies with the record buyers, not the providers, and that people should learn to differentiate between good and bad music (Weich 1932b:5). For Weich, as I argued earlier, ‘high art’ stands directly in Nationalism’s service as a signifier of a nation’s sophistication. Therefore, when he noticed that the local sales of records indicate the nation’s divergence from this nationalist-cultural ideal, he resorted to continuous pleas that the nation should be educated.

With time, it seems, Weich became more provocative in his criticism of Afrikaners’ music loyalties. On 1 May 1933, under the title ‘Sing hallelujah en bly onmusikaal’ (Sing Hallelujah and remain unmusical), he refers to the ‘high’ musical sophistication in Europe in

sentences like the following: ‘Die Duitse bediende in die kombuis gaan saans met haar partituur na die operagebou’ (The German maidservant in the kitchen attends the evening operas with her score).

Compared to Europeans, Weich believes that Afrikaners’ taste in music is of a low standard, which he ascribes to a lack of suitable music education. He writes that English ballads and Sankey’s gospel hymns, the music he grew up with, is not suitable for developing a child’s music judgement. Instead, he suggests, music should become an integral part of the education syllabi and music authorities should visit schools to lecture on relevant music topics (Weich 1933:3). It should not be surprising that Weich’s first challenge regarding his writing came from a ‘dominee’ (reverend). On 13 August 1934, Weich again entitles his article ‘Sing halleluja en bly onmusikaal’ and writes of an informal conversation that he had with an unnamed church minister. The minister argued that the ‘Hallelujah’ book used by the Dutch Reformed Church had transformed the Afrikaners into a singing nation. Weich defends the title of the present article (which he also employed in previous articles) by stating that he did not aim his criticism at the ‘Halleluja’ compilation, but at people who sing merely for the sake of making sounds rather than to inspire musical development. The hymnbook failed as a source for musical inspiration, since it remained difficult to establish church choirs, concert attendance was still poor, and the already superfluous recordings of ‘boeremusiek’ and Jazz continued to increase (Weich 1934:3).

In 1935, Weich wrote a rather lengthy article with the title ‘Musiek in ons land’ (Music in our country). This article is the only one that the present writer could find where he does not use a pseudonym. Here he writes that music in the Union of South Africa draws from sources of the lowest qualities, namely English music and jazz. However, he observes some positive (albeit minor) changes in the music culture during the previous 25 years. Many people, for instance, have passed licentiate exams, and world-renowned performers have visited the Union. These changes, he continues, unfortunately only pertain to a small portion of the population. Moreover, even while there are more Afrikaner composers than in earlier years, the nation does not support their work (read ‘true art’; Weich 1935:29). Here Weich makes it clear once more that ideally music in South Africa should have no trace of Englishness or Jazz. It is ironic, then, to note that he evaluates the country’s musical progress based on the number of musicians to pass a practical exam by an institution (UNISA) that had strong links with Oxford and Cambridge universities (Handboek vir Musiekeksamens 2005:v). Weich remains displeased with the divide between art music and the larger public sphere, especially where his own people, the Afrikaners, are concerned. It is interesting to note that up to this time (1935), *Die Burger* published only a few letters from its readers that

dealt with music matters. But another level to Afrikaans writing on music appears in the correspondence sections of *Die Burger*'s future editions. These letters create a tension between the nation and their cultural leaders in a surprising way.

Musiekprikkel vir meer melk: Konsertina bring koeie in goeie luim⁵⁴

On 6 January 1936, a Reuter article in *Die Burger* reports that a milk farmer in Ladysmith had discovered that cows yield more milk when they listen to music. He learned this when he practiced playing the concertina in the stalls after his wife refused to let him play in the house. The farmer later employed a gramophone player while milking (Reuter 1936:2). On the very same day, Weich published an article that would provoke a polemic in future editions. Under the title “‘Sarie Marais’ moet verdwyn’ (Sarie Marais has to disappear), he wrote that many people knows that ‘My Sarie Marais’ was not originally an Afrikaans song, but derived from the American song ‘Ellie Rhee’. For this reason, he was troubled by the way Afrikaners used the song to show the world what they had produced (Weich 1936:3). The next day, an article by an unnamed writer appears on the front page under the title ‘Weinig kans dat “Sarie Marais” sal sterf: Gewildheid van liedjie bewys behoefte daaraan’ (Little chance that “Sarie Marais” disappear: Popularity of the song proves its worth). For this article, the author interviewed a number of notable cultural figures to find out what their opinions were about Weich’s article. E.C. Pienaar claimed that ‘die lied het net soveel reg om as nasionale lied beskou te word as wat rugby het om as nasionale spel beskou te word’ (the song has as much right to be a national song as rugby has the right to be a national game) and D.B. Bosman said that ‘[d]ie poging van Bourdon om kuikenmoord te pleeg op die liedjie, beskou ek as ’n voorbeeld van intellektuele snobisme’ (Bourdon’s attempt to kill the song like he would a fledgling is, in my view, an example of intellectual snobbery). W.E.G. Louw was the only interviewee who agreed with Bourdon. Based on these opinions, the interviewer concluded that ‘My Sarie Marais’ would probably continue to exist (Anonymous 1936:1). The debate regarding ‘My Sarie Marais’ was renewed in the same edition on a later page where an anonymous correspondent speculates about the genre of music the Ladysmith milk farmer employed to increase his cows’ milk production. He suggests that, since the farmer most certainly was not an experienced musician, the sounds of his concertina would closely resemble Jazz and if that were the case, the success of the farmer’s experiment would be the only reason the writer would need to acknowledge Jazz as an art form. However, he continues

⁵⁴ Music spurs more milk: Concertina puts cows in good mood.

to say that given the unpopularity of Jazz in South Africa, he believes it is more likely that the farmer played popular folk songs such as ‘My Sarie Marais’. If this was the case, the cows’ increased milk production should convince Bourdon that ‘My Sarie Marais’ should not be patronised (Anonymous 1936:7).

In subsequent editions of the paper, a number of similar letters appeared by writers who either supported or opposed Bourdon. It seems that the debate went beyond the pages of *Die Burger* and was taken up by other newspapers as well. On 13 January 1936, one ‘Logika’ refers to an article that appeared in a local English newspaper in which Afrikaners were requested to keep the Afrikaans song ‘My Sarie Marais’ alive, since it is more popular than ‘Die Stem van Suid-Afrika’ and therefore could even be used as a national anthem. Logika, unimpressed by this suggestion, believes that English speakers prefer ‘My Sarie Marais’ because it does not portray the clear ideals of Afrikaner nationalism as does ‘Die Stem’ (Logika 1936:4). According to an article that was printed in *Die Burger* the previous year, ‘Die Stem van Suid-Afrika’ was commonly sung along with ‘God Save the King’. However, both these songs were criticised: the British national anthem because it did not have a distinctly South African character and ‘Die Stem’ because of its Afrikaans connection (Anonymous 1935:5). This would not be the only time that ‘My Sarie Marais’ would be recommended as a national anthem, as will be seen later on.

Bourdon offers his reaction to the debate on 20 January 1936 in an article entitled ‘Prinsesse en Miriams: Wiegeliedjies’ (Princesses and Miriams: Lullabies). Here he compares Afrikaner musicians to Miriam who sang songs to Moses on two occasions: while he was in the basket on the Nile and again when he led Israel out of Egypt. Weich suggested that Afrikaner ‘Miriams’ are silenced by ‘what the people want’. This, Weich argues, will stand in the way of a united nation that strives to higher ideals (Weich 1936a:5). This is the first time that Weich publicly and deliberately disregards the voice of the nation from an assumed paternal-like position of superiority.

For a while after the last article, the furore over ‘My Sarie Marais’ abated, but by this time there seems to have been a new interest in ‘Afrikaanse volksliedjies’. This could be ascribed partly to the ‘Sarie Marais’ debate, of course, but two other factors should be considered: the first could be the anticipation for the first *FAK Sangbundel* that would appear in 1937 (the following year); and the second could be the publication of I.D. du Plessis’s doctoral dissertation on the contribution of the Cape Malay to Afrikaans folk songs. A week after the last article by Weich appeared on the ‘My Sarie Marais’ polemic, S.P.E. Boshoff reviewed Du Plessis’s work and quoted the following passage: ‘[h]oewel hy [die Kaapse Maleier] die woord “kultuur” nie ken nie, staan hy, wat beoefening van die lied betref,

kultureel hoër as die Afrikaner'.⁵⁵ Here it seems that Weich and Du Plessis (and by implication, Boshoff) are cultural figures who share the opinion that Afrikaners' cultural development is substandard. But where Weich would believe Afrikaner cultural leaders to be acquitted by their endeavours, Boshoff uses Du Plessis's statement as the premise from which to criticise Afrikaner cultural leaders by saying: '[ons stig] kultuurverenigings en soek ons kultuur buitekant onself in plaas van die enigste kultuur wat 'n mens ooit werklik kan besit, in onself te soek en uit te bou' (Boshoff 1936:3). It is possible that Boshoff's criticism is aimed directly at Charles Weich who was known to be an active member of Die Oranjeclub. Boshoff differs from Weich in that he believes the Afrikaners should focus on the self rather than keep their eyes on Europe.

A couple of days later a report appears in *Die Burger* with the title 'Vulgêre liedjies oor die radio: Sterk beswaar in Transvaal' (Vulgar songs over the radio: Strong objections in the Transvaal). This report refers to a letter addressed to *The Star* in which an Afrikaner reader from the Transvaal protested against the broadcasting of Afrikaans folk songs such as 'Bobbejaan klim die berg' and 'Mamma, ek wil 'n man hê'. The correspondent criticises Afrikaners who support songs, which he believes originally belonged to the coloured population in the Boland (Anonymous 1936a:3). Many similar articles that focus on the content of radio broadcasts appear in the late thirties and throughout the forties in which a variety of different opinions are raised regarding volksliedjies, boeremusiek, Jazz and 'Classical Music'. The rising interest in radio broadcasting was probably inspired by the newly established South African Broadcasting Corporation who took over from the African Broadcasting Corporation in 1936.⁵⁶ In October of that year, *Die Burger* announces a competition for radio listeners to write an essay on what they expect from their radio station. From these letters, two strong and opposing strands emerged among Afrikaner listeners: those who preferred classical music, and those who preferred Afrikaans folk and dance music. According to this report, the latter group seemed to be larger than the former (Anonymous 1936b:9).

Political leaders would use this dichotomy to their advantage. In April 1937 *Die Burger* publishes an article with the heading: 'Eerste Minister oor 'n eie volkslied: "Die Stem" en "Sarie Marais" as alternatiewe!' (Prime Minister about national anthem: "Die Stem" and "Sarie Marais" as alternatives!). According to this article, General Hertzog addressed the Nationalists about the importance of having a national anthem other than 'God Save the King' for the Union of South Africa and if the English citizens did not accept 'Die Stem van Suid-

⁵⁵ As quoted by Boshoff in this review.

⁵⁶ < http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_African_Broadcasting_Corporation#Early_years > accessed 2010/04/23.

Afrika', then he suggested 'Sarie Marais' should be considered (Anonymous 1937:5). The acerbic tone that marks this article is directed at Hertzog who fell into disfavour with *Die Burger* when he started negotiating coalition with Smuts in 1932. Whether or not Hertzog was serious about his suggestions cannot be determined. But for *Die Burger*, the fact that these sentiments were his was reason enough to publish an article that aimed to ridicule him among 'purified' nationalists.

The following year was the year of the Eeufees (Centenary Celebration) that was marked by a re-enactment of Die Groot Trek. In her autobiographical account of this event, Elsa Joubert describes how thousands of Afrikaners, dressed in Voortrekker uniform, gathered from all over the country and set up their tents in the north of Pretoria to witness and take part in the laying of the Voortrekker Monument's cornerstone. After the event, she wrote an essay⁵⁷ about the torch ceremony in which many people participated. She quotes this essay at length in her book *'n Wonderlike Geweld*:

Die vlamme is so naby ek voel die brand op my gesig, alles om my is verdoof deur die geknetter van die vlamme wat ons fakkels sal verteer en in vlamme die hoë donker nag sal instuur, om sterre te word, ek hoor in my kop die Wagner musiek wat herr Metzler speel, ek dink aan herr Metzler, ek voel op my mond sy klam soen – van ver uit die groen Pêrel dorpie na hierdie ruwe bruin wrede heuwels van die noorde kom herr Metzler se woorde: by die brandstapel waarin Siegfried verteer word, ruk Brünnhilde haar perd om en storm die vuur binne, ek is Brünnhilde, ek is al digterby die brandstapel, ek moet gooi, wat ek in die nag buitekant die Pêrel geoffer het, moet nou verbrand word, my armbeweging is swak, my fakkel val net naby genoeg dat die offisier dit met sy lang stok kan inhark en in die vuur stoot. Nie so naby nie, dogter, hy het my aan die arm en stoot my weg.

Van êrens begin die skare sing, groepies val in met Prys den Heer, teen die heuwels gaan die spreiligte weer aan. Ons staan nog lank teen die hoogtetjie waarheen ons geneem is en staar na die vuur wat langamerhand uitbrand. Die volgende oggend gaan ek vroeg kyk. Dis 'n hoop as, onverteerde fakkeltjies waarvan die olie opgebrand is, lê soos weggooigoed (Joubert 2005:153).

The flames are so near I feel their glow on my face, everything around me is muted by the crackle of the flames that will consume our torches and send their flames high into the dark night to become stars, in my mind I hear Wagner's music that Herr Metzler played, I think about Herr Metzler, I feel his damp kiss on my mouth – from the faraway green Paarl-town to these rough fierce hills of the north come Herr Metzler's words: at the stake that consumes Siegfried, Brünnhilde and her horse turn in their tracks and charge towards the fire, I am Brünnhilde, I am close to the stake, I must throw, that which I sacrificed in the night outside the Paarl, must now be cremated, my arm movement is weak, my torch falls just close enough for the officer to rake it in with his long stick and push it into the fire. Not so close, lassie, he grabs me by the arm and pushes me away.

From somewhere the crowd starts singing, small groups fall in with Praise the Lord, the flood lights on the hills are switched back on. For a long time we remain on the elevation to which we had been taken and look at the fire as it slowly burns out. Early the next morning I return. It is a heap of ashes, unconsumed torches of which the oil is burnt up, lie around like trash (Joubert 2005:153).

⁵⁷ This became her first published piece of writing.

In this passage, the author's personal nationalism is portrayed in her inner soundscape-experience where she is the only listener of Wagner's music. It would seem, therefore, that the nationalist discourse surrounding Wagner's music had influenced young minds of the time. This is contrasted with a collective articulation of the nationalist experience when the crowd begins to sing 'Prys den Heer'. For Gerrit Bon, this collective nationalist expression was disappointing. Four days after the celebration concluded, in a report about the annual meeting of the South African Academy that appeared on the front page, *Die Burger* focused on Gerrit Bon's paper in which he accused cultural leaders of standing in the way of natural musical development. According to him there were only four songs that the Afrikaners sang at the 'Voortrekker' centenary festival: 'Die Stem van Suid-Afrika', 'Dat's Heeren Zegen op U daal', 'Prys den Heer met Blye Galmen' and the Transvaal Anthem (Anonymous 1938:1). For another front-page article that appears the following day, the (unnamed) author interviewed several music connoisseurs to find out their opinions regarding Bon's paper. I.D. du Plessis was of the opinion that there would have been more Afrikaans folk songs to sing had the original songs of the Dutch colonists not been lost. The music critic Bourdon opined that Bon's accusations were unfair and ungrounded. He believed that the state of Afrikaans folk singing was still poor, but that it was much better after the 'Voortrekker' Centenary Festival than it was before (Anonymous 1938a:1). It is ironic to note that it was Du Plessis, the author of the thesis on the Cape Malays and Afrikaans folk songs, who supported Bon's view while it was Weich (Bourdon), staunch supporter of high art, who disagreed and spoke more positively of the Afrikaans singing tradition. A possible reason for Weich's estimation could be that the *FAK Sangbundel* represented for him the first step towards an Afrikaans canon.

***Die Brandwag* (1937-1948)**

Die Brandwag reappeared as a family magazine in August 1937, this time as a sister-publication of *Die Vaderland* (whereas the earlier *Die Brandwag* was affiliated with the daily *De Volkstem*). A year before *Die Brandwag* first appeared, *Die Vaderland*, closely associated to Hertzog and the United South African National Party, moved its headquarters from Pretoria to Johannesburg (Muller 1990:374). *Die Brandwag* was published at 3 Plein Street, Johannesburg by a recently established publishing company, The Afrikaans Pers. According to Dirk Richard (1957:i), the regular profits made from *Die Brandwag* in the pre-war years allowed the editors to publish work by important writers like Eugène Marais, Louis Leipoldt and Gustav Preller. The reason this weekly publication was so profitable at this time, he further postulates, was that there were only few other magazine publications, each with its own small editorial team who did not require high salaries. Also, prices for paper were low and technical maintenance was affordable at the time. Moreover, many Afrikaners, aware of the ‘kultuurstryd’ (cultural struggle), bought Afrikaans magazines, even though the content might have been too difficult for them to understand.⁵⁸ According to Richard, the situation changed considerably in the years after the War. The increasing numbers of Afrikaans magazines displayed articles and literature in a popular vein, the content of which Richard describes as shallow and verging on the pornographic.

The magazine (approximately 34x25 cm) was slightly larger than *De Brandwag* of 1910 and had a soft cover that exhibited a new picture for each edition (including a bearded old man, sailing yacht, a picture of a young girl’s face, flowers, etc) framed by a mono-colour block with the title very simply at the top of the page.



⁵⁸ Richard (1957:i) further writes that ‘diegene wat goedkoop lektuur wou hê, het hulle toevlug tot Engelstalige “yellow jackets” geneem’ (those who wanted cheap literature could take refuge in English “yellow jackets”).

Front page of *Die Brandwag*

The magazine, which started out with 33 pages per edition, expanded during the mid-forties to 64 pages per edition. Throughout the period in question (1937-1948), the magazine had a standard format. This included a number of short stories per edition that were illustrated with sketches. It appears as if these short stories were the principal focus for *Die Brandwag*, since it took up most of the space in the magazine. There were numerous photographs throughout the magazines, sometimes directly related to the article, sometimes totally unrelated to any of the content. The rest of the content included a historical article (i.e. ‘Die daeraad van die drukpers’, The dawn of the printing press, in the edition of 4 April 1941), a section for spiritual contemplation (usually by Ds. Wm. Nicol), a page with jokes, a section for children that included a cartoon entitled ‘Uit die daeraad van ons geskiedenis’ (From the dawn of our history – these cartoons clearly had an educational function) and a section for women that included usually two articles with titles like ‘Die moderne dametjie, deur ‘n Man’ (The modern woman, by a Man) and ‘Is ek ‘n las of ‘n seën’ (Am I a burden or a blessing? – both from the edition of 4 April 1941). Each edition also had a section for correspondence received from readers and an editorial that provided an overview of the contents of the magazine. The present writer could not ascertain who the editors were, since the publications did not include their names, except for the period between 1941 and 1943 when A.M. van Schoor was the editor and S. Ignatius Mocke was the assistant-editor.

Eupees and Volksliedjies: symbolic inward trek



It is rather surprising to note that ‘volksliedjies’, treasured dearly by most Afrikaners of the late twentieth century, first appear in Afrikaans journalism as late as 1938, the earliest example being a series of articles published in *Die Brandwag* by one N.H. Theunissen. From these articles, as I will illustrate in the rest of this section, it seems that folk singing was not an established or often practiced tradition at the time, even though scholars like S.P.E.

Boshoff, L.J. du Plessis (1918, 1921) and S.J. du Toit (1924) made various efforts to collate and publish Afrikaans songs in book form. However, it was only in 1938 that creating a folk singing tradition became a serious cultural project. This project was probably inspired by – and certainly driven by (and towards) – the anticipated Centenary Celebrations of the Great Trek in December of that year. By the time Theunissen published his first article entitled ‘Ons Volklidjies’ (1938), the symbolic ox wagon trek from various parts in the south was already proceeding towards the north where approximately 200,000 people would gather mid-December to witness the laying of the foundation stone of the Voortrekker Monument. The theatricality of this event, in which all attendees would become actors, were rehearsed in small towns during the symbolic trek when the local communities, dressed up in traditional Voortrekker uniforms,⁵⁹ would welcome the travelling company with singing, dancing, staging of short plays, etc (Kruger 1999:37). However, given the criticism aired in Theunissen’s articles, one cannot but wonder about the enthusiasm with which Afrikaners sang and danced. In the introduction to the first article, Theunissen (1938:13) reiterates the opinion expressed in the editorial of the previous edition and implied in the foreword of the first edition of the *FAK Volksangbundel* (1937):

As daar een ding is wat vir ’n kenner van ons volk byna aksiomaties is, is dit dat ons geheel en al nie kan sing nie.

If there is one thing about our people that the specialist finds almost axiomatic, it is that we cannot sing at all.

There is almost no biographical information available about N.H. Theunissen (1897-?). He is better known as the writer of another series of articles entitled ‘Afrikaner ken uself’ (Afrikaner know thyself; 1944-1947) that he also published in *Die Brandwag*. In this series, he presented research into the genealogies of Afrikaner families, including illustrations of these families’ coats of arms. From subsequent research in which ‘Afrikaner ken uself’ is referenced, it appears that Theunissen’s methodological integrity is suspect. Pama, in his *Groot Afrikaanse Familienaamboek* (1983), argues that ‘if Theunissen found more than one coat of arms for a surname, he simply combined them, and if he found none then he invented some himself’.⁶⁰ As a historian, Theunissen and Carel Potgieter co-authored a biography of the Voortrekker leader, Hendrik Potgieter (1938), a book that according to Muller (1990:550) is of a low standard compared to H.B. Thom’s biographical research. However, it is likely that

⁵⁹ Earlier in 1938, N.H. Theunissen contributed another series of articles in which he described the traditional Voortrekker dress.

⁶⁰ Quoted from <<http://www.oocities.com/heraldrysa/f-gafnb.htm>> on 26 June 2010, 14h00. See also <<http://www.henning.org/CD/kroniek/hs1.htm>>.

his work would have been regarded as important at the time of the centenary celebrations in South Africa. This undoubtedly included his volksliedjie articles.

Like so many writers whose work I collated from early Afrikaans journalism, Theunissen presents a model for Afrikaners in what he imagines to be a typical German familial tradition:

In die woning van 'n Duitse gesin kom baie maal vriende bymekaar en dit is vir hulle doodnatuurlik dat een van die aanwesiges die klavier oopmaak en begin bespeel. Lied ná lied word gesing en laat in die nag sê hulle mekaar vaarwel en dit is vanselfsprekend vir almal dat hulle 'n uiters genoeglike aand deurgebring het (1938:13).

Often friends would gather at the home of a German family where it would only be natural for one of the visitors to open the piano and start playing it. Song after song would be sung and late at night, they would say goodnight and it would be accepted that everyone had enjoyed the evening thoroughly (1938:13).

Imagining a scene like this one, thereby pretending to look 'outward', became a strategy for the writer to invite readers to look 'inward'. Theunissen is not asking his reader merely to observe the German family; he is communicating to her what he thinks the Afrikaner family should look like. Theunissen then attempts to explain why Afrikaners do not have a singing tradition. He suggests that Afrikaners used to sing more prior to 1815, but when Calvinism started to spread, stern Scottish ministers forbade people to sing, dance and play games. Subsequently, he writes:

Oneindige aantalle liedjies moes verlore gegaan het en dié wat ons vandag nog behou, is maar so te sê per ongeluk van moeder na kind oorgedra (1938:13).

An infinite number of songs must have been lost and one could say that those that we still have today were almost accidentally imparted from mother to child (1938:13).

Another reason why Afrikaners were not singing, Theunissen suggests, was that no one had made an effort to document the songs and melodies in the old days. Before it was too late, however, S.P.E. Boshoff, S.J. du Toit and C.F. Groenewald began collating the songs 'that still existed' ('wat daar nog oorgebly het'). Theunissen (1938:13) repeats the question raised earlier: 'Maar wie sou kon sê hoeveel van ons volksliedjies onherroeplik verlore gegaan het?' (But who could tell how many of our folk songs are irretrievably lost?). The implied 'lost tradition' as a trope becomes another means through which Afrikaner history is constructed and its existence is legitimated. Theunissen continues to focus on a few positive aspects in the recent practice of Afrikaans folk singing, including the pioneer work done by N. Mansvelt's *Lieder Bundel* of 1907 and the popularity of songs like 'Perdeby' and 'Bobbejaan klim die berg' on local radio broadcasting. Yet, despite these encouraging observations, Theunissen is not content:

Vandag bestaan daar, afgesien van bogenoemde, nog die omvangryke F.A.K.-liederbundel, maar hoeveel mense koop hulle, hoeveel doen moeite om die woorde van die liedjies van buite te leer? (1938:13)

Today there exists, apart from the works already mentioned, the sizable F.A.K. songbook, but how many people buy it, how many make the effort of memorizing the words to these songs? (1938:13)

The F.A.K. songbook, published one year earlier, was new at the time these articles appeared in *Die Brandwag*. Alette Delpont (2006:8) writes in her article '*Canto Ergo Sum: I sing therefore I am*' that the songbook as a project was part of the F.A.K.'s 'ambitious goal' towards 'cultural independence' in every sphere of national life. Citing Giliomee (2003) as her primary source, she writes that these songs soon 'became part of the popular culture', referring specifically to Afrikaner volksfeeste (Afrikaner national festivals) and braavleisvure (barbeques). Theunissen's article could support Delpont's thesis, 'namely that the *FAK Volksangbundel* contributed to the imposition of my [Afrikaner] identity', in that it shows how the popularity of these songs were constructed, promulgated and enforced by Afrikaans journalism. Theunissen writes:

'n Week of wat gelede is die verrigtinge op 'n groot braaivleesaand [sic] naby Pretoria uitgesaai. Dit was duidelik dat die groot gros van mense nie die woorde van die liedjies geken het nie. Hoewel ons altyd gretig na sulke uitsaai-programme luister, verdwyn die plesier as ons die onderbroke, mompelende sang van 'n duisend of tweeduisend mense moet aanhoor (1938:13).

A week or so ago the proceedings at a large barbecue gathering near Pretoria were broadcast. It was clear that the majority of attendees were not familiar with the words of the songs that were sung. Although we always listen enthusiastically to these broadcasts, the pleasure diminishes when we hear the broken, muttered singing of a thousand or two thousand people (1938:13).

Theunissen then advises that the programmes for these barbecue events should be planned and that all songs on the programme should be disseminated among those who plan to attend. He also suggests that, if possible, a practiced choir should lead the singing, as Stephen Eyssen's choir had already done in Heidelberg. Concerning the pending centenary celebrations, Theunissen calls on his readers to pay attention to this series of articles that would appear weekly:

Ek raai die lesers aan om elkeen 'n skryfboek aan te skaf en sorgvuldig die woorde daarin af te skryf of in te plak en dit mee te bring na feesgeleenthede. Maar nie alleen gaan ek die woorde weergee nie; ek wil graag die hulp van alle belangstellendes inroep om ook die woorde van vergete liedjies in te stuur. Van tyd tot tyd sal aangedui word van watter liedjies inligting verlang word (1938:13).

I advise readers to buy a notebook in which they can rewrite or cut out and paste the words so that they could bring it along to the festival events. But not only will I give the words; I also want to call on the help of all who may be interested to send in the words of forgotten songs. From time to time specific songs of which we require information will be indicated (1938:13).

Although Theunissen claims that he aims to familiarise his readers with the lyrics of Afrikaans songs, the actual content of the subsequent articles points to another motive. In most of these articles, he gives multiple versions of the same song to illustrate, for instance, how the words of ‘Sarie Marais’ differ depending on the region where it is sung (1938c).

Baie van hierdie liedjies [piekniek en dans] is fragmentaries en dis duidelik dat hulle maar stukkies en brokkies is van baie langer liederere wat in die 18de eeu goed onder die mense bekend was (1938d:13).

Many of these [picnic and dance] songs are fragmentary and it is clear that they are bits and pieces of much longer songs that had been familiar to people in the 18th century (1938d:13).

This could confuse the readers as to which of these versions they would have been expected to sing during festivities. But Theunissen often points to the FAK songbook as a reliable source

In die F.A.K.-bundel sal die leser nog baie Volksliedere vind, wat nog die vuur van beproewing moet deurmaak [...]. Probeer hulle maar gerus. (1938:30)

In the F.A.K. songbook, there are many folk songs that still have to stand the test of time [...]. Do try them out (1938:30).

The call for public participation cited above is another instance, similar to *Die Huisgenoot*'s photography competition (see p. 65), in which the people were mobilised collectively to ‘imagine’ or, more correctly in this case, ‘construct’ national memory or fashion nationhood. This imagining had already begun with the publication of the FAK songbook one year earlier and would be interpreted by a later generation as follows:

The stories conveyed through the lyrics of these songs represented Afrikaners’ grand narratives, the ‘stories’ Afrikaners had been telling themselves about their own history, practices and beliefs. These narratives articulated the criteria an Afrikaner would require for identification with this particular group [...]. The FAK *liedjies* thus also functioned as the justification and affirmation of a particular discourse, a set of practices and a cultural self-image (Delport 2006:9).

1938 was thus a pivotal year in the history of the Afrikaner imagination. Later generations would remember it as a grand moment when the nation gathered in their multitudes in Pretoria to celebrate and perform their identity for the first time. But, as we know today, the memory of an event is different from the event itself. And articles like this one by Theunissen could

reveal how the Afrikaans press and its journalistic effort imparted an artificial quality to the early ingredients, or early imagination that would be moulded or transformed into a national memory. The FAK songbook provided the substance for this early imagination that was introduced to the nation by *Die Brandwag*. Theunissen's aim in writing these articles may have included more than merely getting the people to sing. It was also a strategy to help them collectively imagine a self or meditate on a national narrative that was already constructed and could be found in the FAK songbook. But it was still early days for the FAK songbook at the time and the collective imagination was still young and impressionable. That is why interventions, like Theunissen's articles or getting choirs to lead song, were important to shape the tradition while also masquerading it (the tradition) as an authentic experience to the world.

The semantic ambiguity of the terms 'volkslied' and its diminution 'volksliedjie' clouds the distinction between national anthems (as the first would normally translate) and folk songs (usually associated with the second). In this article, Theunissen includes the texts to the anthems previously used by the two colonies (Cape and Natal) and the two Boer republics (Free State and Transvaal) that became the four provinces of the Union of South Africa (1938). The importance of the 'volkslied' or national anthem in *Die Brandwag* can also be seen in the contributions by one P. Beukes in which he discussed the anthems of France (Beukes 1938) and Germany (Beukes 1938b). While the rest of Theunissen's articles include texts to songs like 'Sarie Marais', 'Saai die Waatlemoen' and 'Daar kom die wa', it would appear that 'folk songs' and 'national anthems' (and therefore also the notions of culture and politics) operated in close proximity to each other. In the heading to most of these articles appears a simple notation of De Villiers's 'Die Stem van Suid-Afrika', the future national anthem of South Africa. Before giving the texts to the four national anthems, Theunissen explains once more that Afrikaners should learn from the example of other countries. Previously it was Germany, this time it is America. He writes that, apart from the national flags and national anthems, each of the 48 states also has its own flag, its own badge, its own emblematic flower and its own sobriquet. Each American feels deeply attached to his provincial state, although the feeling does not detract from his loyalty to his nation (1938:13). An anecdote of how the old Transvaal National Anthem became one of the official anthems in the United States serves to reinforce this connection with America:

Baie jare gelede het twee seuns in dieselfde dorpie van Holland gelewe. Hulle was neefs en albei se naam was Willem Eduard Bok. Altwee het roem verwerf in die lande waarheen hulle verhuis het. Die eerste het lateraan 'n hoë rang bekleed in die staatsdiens van die Republiek (Boksburg, bv. heet na hom), terwyl die ander Willem Eduard, 'n joernalis geword het en die wêreldberoemde "*Ladies Home Journal*" [sic] gestig het. Die

blad het hom 'n miljoenêr gemaak. Hy was 'n vurige bewonderaar van die Boere en toe die Republiek sy vryheid moes afstaan, het hy besluit dat die Transvaalse Volkslied nooit vergeet sou word nie. Hy het dit in Engels vertaan en in sy blad gedruk. Dis geesdriftig gesing deur sy miljoene lesers en het soveel opgang gemaak, dat dit een van die Amerikaanse volksliede geword het (1938:30).

Many years ago, two boys lived in a Dutch town. They were cousins and both their names were Willem Eduard Bok. Both became famous in the countries to which they moved. The first eventually occupied a high position in the state service of the Republic (Boksburg was named after him), while the other Willem Eduard became a journalist and founded the internationally known *Ladies Home Journal*. The journal made him a millionaire. He was an ardent admirer of the Boers and when the Republic had to yield its freedom, he decided that the Transvaal National Anthem would never be forgotten. He translated it into English and published it in his journal. It was sung enthusiastically by its millions of readers and grew increasingly popular until it became one of the American anthems (1938:30).

From the early years of the twentieth century (1910 in particular), this continued gaze to the outside while imagining a self was a way through which Afrikaners hoped to blend into or be accepted by the international community. But by the end of 1938, as illustrated by these examples, the perspective on the outside world had become a rosy but uninformed picture of an ideal German family-gathering and the perspective on the self was boosted by an anecdote through which Afrikaners were included in a narrative of the American dream.

In February 1939, not too long after Theunissen's articles, Gideon Uys published an article entitled 'Ons eie musiek kan ontwikkel uit ons volksliedjies' (Our own music can develop from our folk songs) in which he argues that music is the only art form that Afrikaners have not yet developed to an adequate standard. Boeremusiek, a bastard offspring of Jazz, is heard as the national music of South Africa and, although this music may be pleasing in its natural environment of the rural areas, Uys is embarrassed by it. Composers, he writes, should learn to write music that would equal that of Liszt's Hungarian Dances, or music by Granados and Ravel. During the following decade, many similar articles appeared, making a case for creating national art music from Afrikaans folk songs. In November 1946, for instance, E.C. Pienaar jr. writes that there had been many complaints about the expense of establishing what he calls the first 'official' orchestra in Johannesburg, namely the Johannesburg City Orchestra. The symphony orchestra in general has significant cultural value, writes Pienaar, and he continues to argue that local orchestras should comprise local players. Unfortunately, this is not yet the case with the City Orchestra. Pienaar argues that an innate culture should be developed slowly, in and of itself and therefore that there should be a return to boeremusiek. Let music be developed from simple folk tunes, he writes. Arnold van Wyk's resolve to compose a symphonic poem on 'Vanaand gaan die Volkies Koring Sny' should be an inspiration to his people.

The obvious difference between the respective articles by Uys and Pienaar is their perspectives on boeremusiek. For Uys, boeremusiek and volksliedjies are two different genres, while for Pienaar they are the same. This could of course indicate how the perspective on local music practices changed from one generation to the next. It is also significant, I should like to argue, that the absence of a direct reference to Europe in Pienaar's article contrasts with the importance of Europe in Uys's text. For Uys, music by Liszt, Granados and Ravel shows how local composers could use their own folk material to create unique music. But Pienaar places emphasis on local material and remains silent about the example of Europe. He deliberately adjusts the eye to focus primarily on the Afrikaner self, seemingly disregarding the West as its prototype. Yet he positions Arnold van Wyk, a local composer fully embedded in the Western classical tradition, as the progenitor of the local music tradition he envisions. If these two articles could be taken as prototypes, one could argue that, during the seven years separating the one article from the next, there had been a shift in tension between the outward and inward gaze: Uys looks primarily to the Western music tradition as a model that the future local music tradition should resemble, while Pienaar turns his back on the West to focus primarily on the local material from which this music tradition could be formed. Both these arguments rest on an existing tradition of folk singing and therefore could only be made after 1938. The Eeufees and the discourse surrounding the event at that time, including Theunissen's series of articles, was therefore a historical turning point after which the Afrikaners' conditional outward gaze would gradually turn inward.

Die Transvaler (1937-1948)

When the National Party and South African Party merged into the United National South African Party, the opposition party, called the Purified National Party, did not have a daily publication that could represent their views in the Transvaal like they had in the Free State and in the Cape. In 1935, discussions towards establishing a paper in the north started in Stellenbosch, because ‘die gevoel was sterk dat Kaapland geroepe is om ook in hierdie opsig leiding te gee’ (the feeling was that the Cape was destined to give direction in this regard; Geysers 1972:2). In 1936, the Nasionale Pers played an important part in the founding of Voortrekkerpers in Johannesburg. Voortrekkerpers, under the directorship of J.G. Strijdom, had the responsibility of establishing a mouthpiece for the Purified National Party (Muller 1990:492).

Die Transvaler first appeared on 1 October 1937 and its intended readership was the high concentration of Afrikaners who lived in the area of the Witwatersrand. Geysers (1972:1) writes that Afrikaners in this area faced a number of challenges, most important of which was the difficulty of providing education in Afrikaans, their first language. Many Afrikaners were concerned that the increasing anglicisation of their children would mean the end of Afrikaans and its traditions.

H.F. Verwoerd, the first editor of *Die Transvaler*, would aim to protect this Afrikaner identity in its new urban environment where other (particularly English) identities seemed to threaten it (Geysers 1972:4). In a letter he wrote to ‘Oumatjie Stofberg’, he explained that urban Afrikaners should be retained for Afrikanerdom in religious, social and political spheres (Prinsloo 1981:9). Before taking on the editorship, Verwoerd obtained a doctorate in psychology and founded the Department of Sociology at the University of Stellenbosch. He saw in his editorial position an opportunity to address the ‘armblankevraagstuk’ (question of the poor whites), specifically in the Witwatersrand, from political as well as economic perspectives. Politically, he would advocate the Union of South Africa’s complete separation from Britain, based on the belief that South Africa should become a Republic. He worked towards this goal from the first edition of *Die Transvaler* until he delivered the republic as prime minister in 1961 (Geysers 1972:5).

Verwoerd made it clear to A.J. Van Zyl, manager of *Die Transvaler*, that the paper should be substantial and include a large variety of articles from the outset, since it would have to assert its nationalist position against *Die Vaderland*, mouthpiece of the United Party (Prinsloo 1981:8-9). In his first editorial, Verwoerd established the character of *Die Transvaler*:

Die Transvaler kom met 'n roeping – hy kom om 'n volk te dien deur die geluid van troue en verhewe nasionalisme te laat weerklink waar sy stem ook reik. Uit hierdie roeping sal sy besieling spruit; dié strewe sal sy karakter bepaal (Geyser 1972:7).

Die Transvaler has a calling – it comes to minister unto the people by raising the sound of devotion and sublime nationalism wherever its voice is heard. From this calling will it draw its inspiration; this pursuit will determine its character (Geyser 1972:7).

The language Verwoerd uses here has a similar proselytising tone to D.F. Malan's in *Die Burger*. And, like Malan's early *De Burger*, *Die Transvaler* was first a propaganda medium before it was a newspaper (Muller 1990:495). Its main concern was therefore not the newsworthy incidents that would interest journalism, but rather the proliferation of ideology through which these incidents could be interpreted. Yet *Die Transvaler* would be different from *Die Burger* in several ways, not least in its emphasis of Republicanism that Malan never supported (Muller 1990:493). The two papers seem to have had different approaches to the same nationalism. In *Die Burger*, Europe's presence would not be too far from the surface (see pp. 51-52), whereas in *Die Transvaler*, especially in Verwoerd's editorials, it would not be Europe, but rather the resisters of Empire, Canada and Ireland, that would emerge as models for Afrikaner nationalists (Geyser 1972:4). As editor, Verwoerd practiced strict control over the content published in his paper. He only allowed advertisements by Afrikaners and refused to publish anything that would promote the War (Prinsloo 1981:12). His anti-British position rings in the silence of his paper regarding the King's visit in 1947 (Prinsloo 1981:10). However, Verwoerd would probably not describe his position as being 'anti-British'. As he wrote at the end of August in 1939: 'Nasionalisme [was] nie pro- of anti-Nazi of -Brits nie, maar pro-Afrikaans alleen' (Nationalism was neither pro- nor anti-Nazi or -British. It was pro-Afrikaans. – cited in Prinsloo 1981:15). *Die Transvaler* would continuously endeavour to highlight and renounce any discrimination toward Afrikaans-speakers by the government, such as a neglect of language rights or a disregard of Afrikaner volksfeeste (folk festivals). The paper also aimed to support Afrikaners' cultural development through competitions aimed to kindle interest in Afrikaans literature and by regular reporting on local Eisteddfods that paid attention to the performing arts (Prinsloo 1981:17).

Verwoerd's relentlessness, coupled with his antagonistic position towards a perceived Jewish capitalism,⁶¹ affected the success of the paper's dissemination and could be seen as the root of the Voortrekkerpers's financial difficulties. This, in turn, affected the relationship between the Voortrekkerpers and the Nasionale Pers. When the Nasionale Pers finally withdrew their

⁶¹ See Mendelsohn and Shain (2008:105-109).

support in the forties, the Voortrekkerpers almost ended in bankruptcy. By 1948, when Verwoerd's tenure as editor came to a close, these two companies acted independently from each other in a mutual project of nationalism.

Groot Volkskonserte, Groot Opvoedingswerk, Great composers and performers: Forging an Afrikaans musical identity

During the early twentieth century, the so-called Western classical music scene in Johannesburg was a busy one. By the mid-thirties, the city boasted three orchestras, namely the Johannesburg City Orchestra, the SABC symphony orchestra and the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra. Joseph Trauneck, pupil of Arnold Schoenberg, founded the last-named orchestra and established it as an amateur body in 1934. The orchestra was known for its yearly Youth Concerto Festivals, a tradition that continues up to the present time. At the same time, the Johannesburg Musical Society often hosted chamber music concerts at venues like the Carlton Hotel, Selborne Hall and the Jewish Guild Hall. A symphony concert series known as Music Fortnight began sometime early in the fourth decade of the century. By 1938, the series comprised five concerts and the following year's series had five more. Five years later, the series had become so popular that it had to be offered in two instalments. The first eight concerts ran from October to December and were followed by an opera series early in the next year. Both local and international artists appeared on these opera stages. J.P. Malan (1984) comments more than once that Johannesburg's music industry flourished during the Second World War. John Connell established the Johannesburg City Orchestra with 46 professional players in 1946. This had a positive effect on other spheres of the city's music life, since these musicians, many of them immigrants, were eager to collaborate and perform in smaller ensembles (1984:27). From these collaborations ensembles like the De Groote String Quartet, the Johannesburg Wind Quartet and the Johannesburg Reed Trio were formed. (1984:33).

Die Transvaler's readership was spread across the whole of the Witwatersrand and was printed in the centre of Johannesburg and yet, despite its central location, the paper reported very little about the music activities mentioned above. This was in stark contrast to *Die Burger* in Cape Town that had a music column since its first edition. Mostly, whenever a small article about a performance by the City Orchestra did appear in *Die Transvaler*, it would not include any of the criticisms or even descriptions of the performance that one could expect from a review in a daily newspaper. Instead, it would only report the names of

performers and the works that were included in the programme.⁶² Generally, the opera season would receive more attention in *Die Transvaler*, but even in this case, apart from a few superficial commentaries made about certain soloists' powerful voices, little else was said about the actual performances or the aesthetic experiences of the production. A group of writers whose names rarely appear in print together with their articles created the music discourse in *Die Transvaler*, marked by hiatuses and blind spots. This renders it impossible to identify particular voices writing on music in *Die Transvaler*. By any account, the representation of music appears as a homogenous construct in service of a particular political propaganda programme.

This programme virulently opposed any foreign influences. Headlines like 'Afrikaner word op elke gebied bedreig: Daadwerklike optrede noodsaaklik' (Afrikaner threatened in all areas: Deliberate action needed; Anonymous 1937a:5) are prevalent throughout the paper. This particular article reported that various external influences threatened the Afrikaners' economy and entertainment industries. To counter this, the FAK (Federation of Afrikaans Culture Associations) endeavoured in multiple areas to improve the Afrikaner's situation. By supporting boeremusiek, for instance, they facilitated an upliftment of the Afrikaner poor while they also worked towards unity as a nation. Overall, *Die Transvaler* addressed the genres of boeremusiek and volksmusiek, rather than Western classical music. Where reviews of the weekly symphony concerts appear in *Die Burger*, the space in *Die Transvaler* is occupied by a proliferation of small reports on boeremusiek gatherings, school concerts, Eisteddfods, church music and other folk concerts in different suburbs and towns of the area, from Nylstroom to Heidelberg, Lichtenburg and as far as Memel. Sometimes these articles, with ostentatious titles like 'n Goedgeslaagde volkskonsert' (A successful folk concert; Anonymous 1937a:5), vaguely report that an evening of Afrikaans songs, recitation and boeremusiek was held in Johannesburg over the weekend.

Apart from these entries, several smaller articles, scattered in editions of these papers, introduce and discuss individuals who made important contributions to the Afrikaners' music life. In the pivotal year of 1938, a series of short biographical entries, entitled 'Afrikaanssprekendes in Unie se musiekwêreld' (Afrikaans speakers in Union's world of music), appeared in *Die Transvaler*. The first article, 'Groot liefdeswerk van Willem Gerke' (Willem Gerke's great benevolence, Anonymous 1938b:4), explained that Gerke's interest in South Africa was stirred during the Second Boer War (1899-1902), and that he left the Netherlands and settled in South Africa in 1922. Four years later, he established *Euterpe*, a

⁶² See for instance: 'Tweede konsert van musiekfees' (Second concert of music festival), 14 February 1940, p. 5.

music organization that hosted high quality performances to aid Afrikaners' musical development. Since these concerts were mainly for Afrikaans speakers, Gerke refused to include the traditional singing of the British national anthem in an evening's programme, a fact highly praised by this article. Gerke found acceptance from the volk by a simple act of political alliance with Afrikaner ideology. In the second of these articles, 'Prof. G. Bon se groot opvoedingswerk' (Prof. G. Bon's great educational work, Anonymous 1938c:38), the protagonist's Dutch background is not mentioned. Yet his position as music educator was by any indication prestigious enough to bestow on him the honours of this written tribute. According to this article, Bon positively believed that music life in Pretoria could compare to European cities of comparable sizes.

But the majority of music articles in *Die Transvaler*, as already mentioned, were small reports on Afrikaner concerts. Important among these were the charity concerts intended to benefit poor whites, a matter that was important to the editor. These concerts, held either in the Johannesburg City Hall or the Pretoria City Hall, drew large crowds and elicited headlines like 'Boereorkes bekoor skare van 2,500' (Boereorkes enchants crowd of 2,500; Anonymous 1940:5), and 'Groot volksfees in Pretoria: 2,000 mense byeen in stadsaal' (Great folk festival in Pretoria: 2,000 people gather at City Hall; Anonymous 1939:1). These were evidently spectacular events. Yet it soon became clear that these 'indigenous' musics had to be embedded in a Western medium, the orchestra, for it to attain lasting value. In April 1941, *Die Transvaler* reported that the SABC was compiling an archive of Afrikaans songs and melodies that would be accessible to future researchers. The archive would include orchestrations of Afrikaans folk songs by S. Le Roux Marais and Herman Herz. The function of these orchestrations would be 'om hierdie liedjies en melodieë in die onsterflike mantel van orkesbegeleiding te verewig' (to cover these songs and melodies with the immortal cloak of orchestral accompaniment; Anonymous 1941:6). This kind of official project seems to have had ramifications in concert practice. An article entitled 'Volkskonsert in Pretoria: Stampvol saal toon sy waardering' (People's concert in Pretoria: Packed hall pays tribute; Anonymous 1943:4) appeared in *Die Transvaler* of 6 July 1943 and reported that the Volksang en Volkspelevereniging (Folk Song and Dance Association) presented a volkskonsert (people's concert) in the Pretoria City Hall on the evening before publication. The programme comprised Afrikaans works with titles like 'Volksliedjie' and 'Die Boerevolk' (The Boer people) by Afrikaans composers like Gerrit Bon, P.J. Lemmer, D.J. Roode, Sydney Richfield and S. Le Roux Marais. Soloists were Gerrit Bon, Dirk Lourens, Stephanie Strauss, Freda Schwartz, Tina Stoffberg, Judith Brent, Emma Stuart and Anna Neethling-Pohl. The success

of the concert signified the Afrikaners' cultural progress, as the writer, only identified by his initials W.M., explained:

Hierdie konsert met suiwer Afrikaanse kleur en komposisies van hoë gehalte – die Afrikaanse musiek het die Suikerbossie tydperk nou beslis ontgroeï – lewer duidelik bewys dat die Afrikaner sy rigting op die gebied van die musiek gekry het (Anonymous 1943:4).

This concert, with pure Afrikaans colour and compositions of high quality – Afrikaans music has surely outgrown its Suikerbossie era – is clearly enough evidence that the Afrikaner has found her way in the area of music (Anonymous 1943:4).

Three days later, the following excerpt appeared in an article entitled 'Die Afrikanerdom verryk' (Afrikanerdom enriched):

Ten spyte van die moeilike tydperk wat die Afrikaner volk moet deurleef, is daar tog nog steeds allerlei moedgewende aanduidings van hoe daar nog vordering is en hoe die Afrikaanse kultuur besig is om te groei en gedy (Anonymous 1943a:4).

Despite the difficulties the Afrikaner people need to endure, there are encouraging signs of progress and indications that Afrikaans culture is growing and prospering (Anonymous 1943a:4).

This article reports that the Radio Corporation intends to broadcast three unknown works by Afrikaner composers, namely Rosa Nepgen's setting of N.P. van Wyk Louw's *Die Dieper Reg*, Henri ten Brink's setting of Jan Celliers's *Unie-Kantate* and Arnold van Wyk's *Eeufeeskantate*. These larger compositions are clearly seen as landmarks in the development of an Afrikaans music tradition:

Omdat die Afrikaanse volk... tot die waardering van die musiekkuns opgevoed moet word, is dit heeltemal begryplik dat na groot werke wat bedoel is vir orkes, koor en soliste daar in die verlede nog nie 'n groot vraag was nie (Anonymous 1943a:4).

Because the Afrikaans people had to be taught to appreciate music as an art, it is easy to understand why there has not been a great demand for large works for orchestra, choir and soloists in the past (Anonymous 1943a:4).

From the writings in *Die Transvaler*, one can deduce that the cultural leaders felt positive about the progress Afrikaners were making in their musical development. The 'progress' was evident in the fact that there now existed Afrikaans-speaking composers who created large-scale works with Afrikaans texts, Afrikaans themes and/or references to Afrikaans folk songs. Their success was valued even more when they composed works with large settings for choir and orchestra. These compositional texts, which rested on the folk song tradition that was in effect 'called into existence' during the previous decade, provided material for a young generation of Afrikaans artists like Betsy de la Porte, Esther Mentz and Anna Neethling-Pohl to perform.

These artists, who became increasingly important in *Die Transvaler*'s reportage of the forties, were protégés of important 'Afrikaans-speaking' educators like Willem Gerke and Gerrit Bon. And it was their (the artists') responsibility to mediate between composer and audience in South Africa, as well as to assert and confirm a particular Afrikaans identity in European music life should they have the opportunity to study and tour abroad. These local artists were important in *Die Transvaler*. Any article about international artists is small and obscure, while articles about Afrikaner artists occupied almost half a page. In May 1948, for instance, shortly before the tenor Dirk Lourens embarked on a concert tour through South Africa, *Die Transvaler* published an article based on an interview with him. He studied music abroad, but was obliged to return to South Africa due to the war. The author (one P.A.E.) comments that "‘n mens kan nie help om hierdie vriendelike, nederige Afrikanerseun te bewonder vir sy moed en standvastigheid nie' (one can only admire this friendly, humble Afrikaner boy's courage and steadiness; Anonymous 1948:3). As an Afrikaner, this article reports, Lourens refused to change his name in order to gain more popularity in Europe. When Lourens tells of some of his experiences while studying in Italy, he draws on a trope that I have found in Bon and Weich's writing:

Dis 'n alledaagse verskynsel om 'n armoedige kamermeisie 'n moeilike gedeelte uit bekende opera-arias met gemak te hoor sing terwyl sy afstof, hoewel sy miskien nie eers haar naam kan skryf nie (Anonymous 1948:3).

It is not uncommon for a poor maidservant effortlessly to sing difficult passages from famous opera arias while she dusts, although she might not even be able to write her own name properly (Anonymous 1948:3).

This excerpt illustrates how the Afrikaans performer patronizingly took up the task of shaping the people's taste in music. One could argue then, that by 1948, the fully forged Afrikaans musical identity had its roots in the constructed volksliedjie tradition of the 1937 FAK songbook, was situated in the musical compositions of Afrikaans composers and was performed by Afrikaans artists whose responsibility it was to proliferate this identity both in South Africa and abroad, even if this identity became a barrier to greater international recognition.

Chapter 4:

Conclusion

Early twentieth century Dutch/Afrikaans journalism is a discourse clothed in contemporary understanding by interpretations and theories of nationalism. These tapered analyses were (and continue to be) predominantly shaped by the political atmosphere of late twentieth century South Africa. From a twenty-first century, perpetually globalising perspective, however, it becomes possible to revisit these materials and allow them to resonate with readings that are more refined. An enquiry into the tension between South Africa and Europe that pervades some of these writings, for instance, creates a unique opportunity to address the dialectic between nationalism and cosmopolitanism in a particular South African or 'Afrikaner' context. Extensionally, this exploration could provide answers to the questions raised in Chapter 2 (see p. 24) regarding the relationship between nationalism and cosmopolitanism.

In pursuing these answers, this thesis introduces and unpacks the early Afrikaans music discourse. It is significant that this discourse originates alongside a nationalist discourse at the important historical and political juncture of Union. The historical intersection of an incipient music discourse and a political union presents us with a fascinating tension between music and politics. From the start, Afrikaans music discourse echoed the nationalist discourse in its pledge to remain a-political, yet both discourses found their *raison d'être* in the politics of the time. Both were products of the Second Language Movement, a project that, in its essence, combined cultural endeavours with inventing a political persona for the collective. Over the course of the next forty years, these discourses would continue to develop in close proximity to each other, while, concurrently the written language would evolve from Dutch to Afrikaans. As nationalism developed into an ideological navigator for both culture and politics, the alliance between discourse, language and political affairs became more apparent. It is clear, for example, that by 1938, the music discourse drew on the underlying political currents of the Centenary Celebrations to advance an overt programme of nationalism. This was less clear in 1910.

The first distinctive Afrikaans voice on music in the twentieth century belongs to (Jan Gysbert Hugo) Bosman di Ravelli. As an internationally accomplished concert pianist, singular among his South African compatriots, Di Ravelli represents the travelling metropolitan who could speak several languages (Muller undated:8) and spent much of his time beyond the borders of his country of birth. His lifelong devotion to Chopin links Di Ravelli to the European Enlightenment ideal and its cosmopolitan attitude of open-

mindedness and impartiality. Yet for all his erudite worldliness, Bosman remained a child of the Swartland and the Karoo and in that capacity, he resists being read as either rootless or apathetic to local concerns. After his studies abroad, he returned to South Africa where he worked hard to establish a performing career. His ambitions did not revolve around individual success, however. His friendship with Gustav Preller, editor of *De Brandwag* in which Di Ravelli's articles appeared, granted him a position at the founding meeting of the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (South African Academy for Science and Art) in 1909 and connected him unambiguously to the political ideal of Afrikaner-British parity (Muller undated:6). When he left South Africa again shortly after his articles appeared in *De Brandwag* – according to most sources, he would only return in 1955 – he initially maintained ties with this country (as the publication of another article from his pen in 1912 illustrates; Bosman 1912) before being 'lost' to South Africa for several decades. A peculiar figure in the history of South African music, the person and biography of Di Ravelli bear strong witness to the hypothesis of the present study. His ability to straddle continents reflects that of Jan Smuts (see Chapter 1, p. 11-12) and points to the tension between cosmopolitanism and nationalism that marks his and other early writings on music.

If one approaches the dialectic between nationalism and cosmopolitanism in Afrikaans music discourse qua Meinecke as a 'complex process of confrontation and union', one should be able to trace the shifting tensions – between 'local' and 'global', 'national' and 'international', 'patriotism' and 'cosmopolitanism' – in the period between 1910 and 1948. On the other hand, if the tension between patriotism and cosmopolitanism differs from one individual to the next due to her particular allegiances, as Appiah argues, individual voices from Afrikaans music discourse could point to nuanced interpretations of history. The remainder of this chapter will carefully consider the narratives submitted in the previous chapter through the lenses of Meinecke and Appiah's respective theories of cosmopolitanism.

Cosmopolitanism and the National State: Contemporaneous texts in conversation

In *Cosmopolitanism and the National State*, Meinecke traces notions of cosmopolitanism and nationalism from the period of reform in eighteenth century Prussia to the emergence and consolidation of the German nation state during the nineteenth century. He argues that the idea of the nation arises in a culturally cosmopolitan environment and that it then develops and shapes into nationalism through its continuing encounters, sometimes clashes, with cosmopolitan ideas and ideals. Cultural cosmopolitanism gradually gives way to nationalism,

while maintaining its ideals to interact with a global community. Germany was still a young nation-state at the time this book appeared; Meinecke published it a mere 36 years after German unification in 1871 and three years before South Africa went through its own process of Unification. As in Germany, a period of conflict preceded South African Union and a period of burgeoning national fervour followed. These and other parallels in history are some of the reasons why the present writer consulted Meinecke's text in her search for a theoretical framework from which to interpret the presence of Europe in Afrikaans music literature.

According to Meinecke, the nation as a collective emerges slowly over a long historical period and is in a continual process of movement and change. This ongoing adjustment lends indeterminacy and fluidity to what defines a nation. Meinecke introduces some variables – a shared territory, common ancestry, a single state, language, blood relationships, etc. – that may join a collective into a nation. The timeframe of the present study (1910-1948) excludes a 'single state' as a variable in Afrikaner nationhood, but includes 'common ancestry', construed as being European, as important. The idea of territory features strongly in Afrikaner nationalist discourse and curiously in later Afrikaans music discourse where, for instance, the harshness of the terrain is posited as explanation for centuries' lack of musical progress (Venter 2009:118). Furthermore, the Afrikaner situation indicates (and it is not unique in this regard) how language as a variable could be equally in a state of flux as the nation emerges. Even so, Meinecke's theory singles out one of these variables as indispensable: blood. In a racially obsessed South African society, the idea of blood purity received ample attention, as it did in Germany. However, blood as a trope has a particular function in Meinecke's theory, giving substance to an otherwise liquescent and shifting definition of 'nation'. In other words, theoretically (and fallibly), Meinecke relies on 'blood' as a phenomenological means to concretise the idea of nation. Today, of course, it is common knowledge that, despite its biological materiality and tangible physicality, blood in nationalist discourse is an abstraction, a mere theoretical device. Therefore, if 'blood' is both the crux and the Achilles heel of Meinecke's theory, it is important to ask what constituent in the Afrikaner context can take its place. How, in other words, did the *concretization* of 'nation' happen for Afrikaners? The answer, I would like to argue, is through culture. A cursory glance at the catalogue of material collated for this project (presented as addenda), could corroborate this suggestion: during the first two decades after unification, articles about *kultuuraande* (cultural evenings) appear occasionally, but rarely. The sparseness of the word 'culture' in the early years resonates with what Meinecke identifies as the primary phase in a nation's development when its condition is still 'vegetative'. Interest in culture proliferated rapidly during the 1930s. *Die Burger* often reported cultural evenings in the different farm

districts of the Western Cape and titles like ‘Kultuur, Kultuurontwikkeling en Kultuurvernuwing’ (Culture, Development of Culture and Renewal of Culture) or ‘Kultuur, moraal en godsdiens’ (Culture, morale and religion) appear regularly in *Die Huisgenoot* of the thirties. Similarly, the theme of ‘arts and nationalism’ was considered an important matter in this discourse.⁶³ Artist Erich Mayer wrote about it in 1914 in *Die Brandwag*. Jan Celliers addressed it in 1917 and in 1919 in *Die Brandwag* as well as in *Die Burger*. In 1936, N.P. van Wyk Louw published an article about it in *Die Huisgenoot* and so did I.D. Du Plessis in an edition of *Die Brandwag* in 1938. Jan Celliers’s series of lengthy articles entitled ‘Kuns in Lewe en Kultuur’ (1932) is an important marker in the point that I am making here. The arts and culture as proffered in these magazines and newspapers were not entities for academic or intellectual engagement. It had to become part of the everyday life of ordinary people. Yet, like blood had to be pure for the nationalists, Afrikaners had to protect their culture against contamination, as one particular headline in a 1945 edition of *Die Transvaler* illustrates: ‘Boerekultuur moet suiwer bly: Besielende rede deur Dr. D.F. Malherbe’ (Boer Culture must remain pure: Inspiring address by Dr. D.F. Malherbe).

Culture had to be pure as blood.

If culture, or, as I will further argue, if *music* could serve as a substitute for Meinecke’s notion of blood – the single ‘indispensable’ constituent in his theory – then it follows that culture/music should serve the same purpose as blood. That is, music should act as a (‘natural’) core from which individualistic strivings in the early period of national development gradually assemble into a community of intellectuals whose task it is to generate, develop, maintain and express the conscious will of the nation. The music writings excavated in this thesis form a suitable collection of material in which to trace the individual and her national/cosmopolitan allegiances in a way that would not be possible in Afrikaans writings about literature or other arts. The abstract quality of music compared to, say, literature, results in a slower and longer period of collective (national) subsumption requiring prolonged and persistent individual mediation. Therefore, the individual stands out from the discourse in a way that she would not in other discourses. Referring back to Meinecke’s model and refocusing on the project at hand, namely to investigate the relationship between cosmopolitanism and nationalism in Afrikaans music discourse, it is important to remember

⁶³ With regards to articles that addressed the arts or culture in general, the present writer tried to include only items that addressed music in its content. Therefore, the addenda only partially represent references to ‘culture’ or ‘arts’ in relation to nationalism.

that the impulse for interaction across borders, according to Meinecke's theory, is situated in the individual.

Of all the individual voices raised in chapter 3, Bosman di Ravelli's is the most unique and eccentric. Born in Piketberg, South Africa, a 'boerseun' who had recently returned from his studies in England, he makes a statement when he writes in a language that is no longer Dutch, nor yet Afrikaans. This declaration places him in alliance with a small group of Dutch people who prefer the younger Afrikaans to the high language of their scriptures. Evidently, the loyalty Bosman feels toward a particular group of people in his native country also indicates his desire to belong to them. However, Afrikaans readers' unwillingness to respond to his invitation alludes to how unconnected Bosman was. His disconnectedness, I believe, derives biographically from an earlier time. It would appear that his (the individual) impulse to interact across borders separated him from his fellow burghers. Di Ravelli arrived in Europe just as the South African War broke out, which excluded him from the one political event that bound the Afrikaner collective together. Moreover, his peripatetic existence as concert pianist continued to bind him to Europe and European social circles, artistically and intellectually, thereby intensifying the divide between him and his people. Therefore, as a person and through his writing, Bosman was wholly individual in his South African context. From his cosmopolitan position, he tried to engage with the local collective through his Chopin-fantasies. If my reading (in Chapter 3, pp. 43-44) of the oak panels in Bosman's narrative is accepted, his depiction of history as being indistinct, moving shadows in the collective imagination corresponds to the early phase in a nation's development where, Meinecke argues, one can only speculate about beginnings. In the first fantasia from Chopin's life, Bosman introduces Chopin to the reader as a young boy, but, as I argued before, it is also possible that Chopin could be a tacit representation of an Afrikaner child from the concentration camps. The boy's ambiguous identity makes it possible to ascribe some of the Chopin depictions to an Afrikaner child. Phraseologies that render the Afrikaner 'musically gifted' and possessing of an 'innate sophistication', like the child in Bosman's narrative, become a trope echoed in writings by Johanna Luijt, Gerrit Bon (who spoke of 'natural artistic inclinations') and Charles Weich. In this discourse, intellectuals argue that the nation has an inborn musical talent that needs to develop 'naturally', while also guarding against foreign impurities like English ballads or American Jazz. It is therefore the people's musicality and their ability to sing (especially after 1938), that gradually concretise the nation in South Africa. This changes the angle on Meinecke's theory in an interesting way. Meinecke draws on the notion of blood because of its biological solidity and its perceived scientific dependability, but in his theory, blood facilitates the passing of the 'national' from

the concrete form to an abstract idea. Paradoxically, the Afrikaans music discourse reveals that music, the most 'abstract' of the arts, becomes more concrete as the nation develops until it becomes a sounding signifier of belonging.

The next important individual voice that emerges from this discourse belongs to the first music critic employed at *De Burger*, Johanna Luijt. After arriving in South Africa from the Netherlands, she and her husband soon became participators in Cape Town's music life. She was keenly interested in the city of Cape Town where she now lived and worked and she devoted her first entry in *De Burger* to various periods in the cosmopolitan music history of Cape Town since the previous century. As an urbanite and regular attendee at orchestral concerts not frequented by Afrikaners, Luijt might have had more contact and better connections with English-speaking South Africans than with Afrikaans speakers. Yet she was an employee at a newspaper unambiguous in its support of Afrikaner nationalism. Her choice of language was Dutch and remained so for her full tenure as music critic, even after Afrikaans replaced Dutch as the official language of the Afrikaner. One can imagine that Luijt attracted an entirely different audience than Bosman had before her. She was not writing for Afrikaans Afrikaners. Instead, she addressed Dutch Afrikaners, possibly even first-generation immigrants like herself, who sympathised and allied with Afrikaners but who were reluctant to relinquish their Dutch heritage. It is therefore significant that she entitles one article 'Our own national South African art' and not 'Our own national Afrikaner art', though the content of the article drops the term 'Afrikaner' often enough to defer pundits from criticizing. It seems then, that Luijt's personal cosmopolitan background coupled with her passion for metropolitan spaces allow her to convey a mellifluous nationalism that is more open towards Europe and less keen to exclude other (Dutch, maybe even English) South Africans. Read in retrospect, Di Ravelli and Luijt stand in consonant counterpoint: the first voice belongs to an Afrikaans son of the Karoo whose encounter with the international world probably broadened his regionalism; the second voice comes from a city dweller and erudite of European background. Apart from limiting her writing to Dutch, one has no sense that Luijt visited or wished to visit any other countries than the Netherlands or South Africa. Her cosmopolitanism seems narrower than Di Ravelli's was, and her nationalism seems more inclusive. Both these writers are highly individualistic. Luijt, however, does engage with another voice, the unnamed theoretician, where Bosman's failure to engage confined him to a Schumannesque conversation with the self.

In my selection of Afrikaans discursive texts about music, M.L. de Villiers is the first producer of such texts who addresses aspects of Western European music history from the

perspective of someone who hardly left the country. This fact reflects in his writing. When he writes in 1923 about composers like Schubert, Schumann and Benoit, he is more concerned with creating an impression of what these figures could represent for the Afrikaner. He is less concerned with the particulars of their work or lives. In other words, De Villiers was interested in what each of these 'Masters' could mean as exemplars for a nation who had still to produce their own masters of note. One could thus argue that De Villiers treated European music history as a diaphanous smokescreen for writing about the self. This tactic may appear on the surface like a repeat of what Bosman does when he writes about Chopin, but I hold that this is not the case. The Afrikanerness of the boy in Bosman's narratives is highly ambiguous and requires a concerted analytical strategy to be 'found'. The Afrikaner-self in De Villiers's texts, on the other hand, lies very close to the surface and is visible to all who only reads as far as its title, 'Schubert en ons'. De Villiers's activities beyond the borders of the discourse attest to his fixation on the national self. He was renowned for touring through the country with a repertoire of Afrikaans songs, most of which he composed himself. His setting of 'Die Stem van Suid-Afrika' was central to this selection of songs and he had it performed regularly during his tours. This song evidently grabbed the imagination of the collective and it turned De Villiers into a certain kind of national hero that Bosman di Ravelli or Johanna Luijt never were. Meinecke's theory makes it possible to argue that when the nation starts singing 'Die Stem', the process of awakening and consequent self-determination is also set into motion. As their voices rise in unison, the nation begins to 'drink the blood' or 'sing the song' of 'free personalities'. If one considers, therefore, De Villiers's attitude toward Western European music history in his writing, one may speculate that he uses it as a strategy to cover his unequivocal and narrow nationalism with an ostensible cosmopolitanism.

Up to this point, I showed how Bosman's cosmopolitanism and Luijt's urbanism gave way to an unambiguous nationalism through which De Villiers translated the global into the local. Previously, Bosman and Luijt were distinctly individual and separate in many ways, but De Villiers moved in closer proximity to the collective. The fourth individual, Charles Weich, music critic and member of Die Oranjeklub, was both distinctly individual and mysteriously collective. As an individual, one could argue that Weich became part of the collective imagination through fictional representations of his character. Consequently, each novel, and each copy of a book that presented his image to readers, represented the proliferation of the individual in the national imagination. As member of Die Oranjeklub, he had regular contact with notable figures like W.E.G. Louw and others in Cape Town who were concerned for Afrikaner culture. Important people like Arnold van Wyk and Stefans Grové were regular

guests at his house. A community of intellectuals surrounded him and, given the nature of their interactions, one can safely assume that these personalities influenced the ideas he charted in his newspaper entries. The ideologies of Die Oranjeklub indubitably seeped into his writing. These include his ideas about language in trade, the importance of Wagner and Beethoven in the concert and gramophone repertoire and his anti-British sentiments. Weich compares 'true' Afrikaner composers to biblical Miriam, Moses's sister, whose voice drowned under the nation's preferences. For him, pure Afrikanerdom found its expression in the work of intellectuals and artists. This work had to resemble German or Wagnerian high art in mode of production. However, since these works did not yet exist, he advocated Wagner's music as a symbol of deep-felt nationalism for Afrikaners. One could argue that Weich, even though he was not an intellectual, would have agreed with Meinecke's idea that it is the intellectual community's responsibility to elevate a people into a nation – generating, developing and maintaining the collective conscious will. One could also argue, as I will do presently, that the 1930s in South Africa represent a time of increasing Afrikaner national awakening and self-determination, with all the inconsistencies that go along with it. This process starts when Weich accuses Afrikaners of being 'unmusical'. He bases his criticism primarily on an observation that Afrikaners listen to Sankey gospel hymns and American Jazz, rather than 'sophisticated' European art music. In his writings about gramophone recordings, Weich (Bourdon) engages with many different aspects of the trade, including clientele's idiosyncrasies when making transactions, their product preferences and their mode of consuming. In other words, he feels it his duty to inform Afrikaans speakers on how to assert their identity in the public sphere (by dealing in Afrikaans) and in the private sphere. The private sphere – the home – is, of course, the primary location where listening to recordings takes place. When Weich repeatedly urges readers to buy recordings of works by Beethoven, Chopin, Schubert, Wagner and others, he wishes to transform the Afrikaner living room, a space imbued with ideas of nationalism, into a repository for European aestheticism. On a certain level, this suggests that Afrikaners had to integrate European high art into their private lives. They had to internalise and privatise it in order to maintain a personal connection with Europe, the home of their ancestors. However, their European connection was not conducive to expressing particularity in the larger public sphere. For that, they had to find a different mode. Chapter 3 unpacks some of the articles Weich submitted between 1932 and 1938, a period ushering in political tension related to the coalition and merger of the National and South African parties and leading up to the momentous Centenary Celebrations. In 1936, a similar tension made its way into the music discourse with the debate surrounding 'My Sarie Marais'. For the first time, during this debate, the individual voice enters into

dialogue with both an intellectual community on the one hand, and the nation on the other. Weich is concerned that the international world could hear and perceive an Afrikaans song, 'inferior' in quality and of American origin, as representative of the Afrikaners' music. This article elicits a divided voice from the intellectual community, some advocating the song as national property, others reviling it. Politically, Purified Nationalists used a statement made about this song as a means to ridicule Hertzog. The national voice mirrored their cultural and political leaders' division, though there was a sense of more uniform support for 'Sarie Marais'. The conflicting opinions that emerge from this debate are, according to Meinecke's model, a result of increasing individualism in the modern nation, which he also sees as healthy when compared to the inertia of the *Ancien Régime*.

A new interest in the Afrikaans volksliedjie followed the 'Sarie Marais' controversy. This is particularly clear from N.H. Theunissen's articles that appeared in *Die Brandwag* in 1938. Theunissen is less of an individual than any of the authors encountered hitherto. A lack of biographical information in general historiography leaves the impression that he was an inconspicuous figure in social or cultural circles. His work – tracing genealogies of families, traditions and folk songs – points to his interest in collectivity over individuality. He invites his readers to participate in collectively constructing an archive of folk songs that would cover an ostensibly 'lost tradition'. Theunissen employs a trope found in Weich's writing, namely a superficial comparison to Germany, to steer this project. There is one difference, however. Where Weich describes a German house cleaner (individual) who takes her pocket score to the opera house in the evenings, Theunissen depicts a German family (collective) making music together in a living room. The living room, previously a space where Afrikaners were to internalise European aestheticism, become for Theunissen a rehearsal space for performing collective identity through singing Afrikaans volksliedjies. This leads up to the Eeufees in 1938, the first historical moment when Afrikaners collectively declared their distinct nationhood to the world in song. As a young child, Elsa Joubert writes an essay that illustrates part of my argument here. She sets her essay against the backdrop of the torch lighting ceremony during the Centenary Celebrations in December of 1938. When she throws her burning torch into the bonfire, her internal world resonates with Brünnhilde's immolation music – with Wagner and with Europe – while outwardly, her compatriots express themselves in singing songs they presumably rehearsed in living rooms and at other Afrikaner gatherings.

The entries in *Die Transvaler* and *Die Burger* (as one can see from the addenda) show that the singing of folk songs at cultural gatherings moved to the core of the music discourse in the nationalist broadsheets. In *Die Burger*, Weich's individual voice was supplemented with a few others, most notably those of Stefans Grove and Fritz Stegmann. Yet the authors of

the majority of music-related entries in this newspaper – and this applies to the *Die Transvaler* too – wrote anonymously, thereby merging the individual voice into anonymous collectivity. It appears, therefore, that, starting with Weich, intensifying with Theunissen and culminating in *Die Transvaler*, the Afrikaans discourse on music gradually swallowed the individual and became collective. The individual now makes an appearance only in small biographical entries scattered sparsely between the pages; and her individuality is submerged under an overwhelming wave of nationalism. In this particular discourse, the lack of individual figures who could facilitate interaction with ‘outside’, results in a palpable isolation. Despite the music-related activities that took place in the centre of Johannesburg, *Die Transvaler* engages mainly and specifically with beginner and amateur performances of Afrikaner gatherings at the periphery. When these occasions entered spaces like the Johannesburg or Pretoria City Hall, as they occasionally did, they drew large crowds and prompted excessive and adjectivally inflated headlines. The volksliedjie was at the heart of this discourse and a vision for a new national project was emerging. The volksliedjie had to become art song, dressed in symphonic fabrics – large works with large settings of Afrikaans texts composed by Afrikaans speakers and performed by Afrikaners.

Meinecke’s theory enables one to draw a contour of the early twentieth century Afrikaans music discourse. Bosman and Luijt’s writings seem to support Meinecke’s idea that cosmopolitanism precedes an era of national awakening. These two personalities were highly individualistic in their strivings to connect with European ways of thinking, but they were not detached from local allegiances. De Villiers’s writing in the twenties appears to usher in a period of national awakening. His writing appears first to bring cosmopolitan ideas into equilibrium with nationalist perspectives, before it tilts over to wide-ranging nationalism. During the thirties, cosmopolitanism and nationalism enter into battle. Despite his patriotism and advocacy for the Afrikaans language, Weich still clings to European aestheticism as a standard by which to measure Afrikaner sophistication. This position provokes protestations from the intellectual community as well as the emerging national voice. Theunissen’s nondescript voice aspires to embed itself in collectivity when he promotes volksliedjies and the singing thereof at Afrikaner celebrations. From 1938, the discourse tapers markedly, turning inward and becoming insulated. Musical individualism, if it exists, exists outside of the discourse, leaving the discursive space homogenous and univocal. By 1948, *Die Transvaler* revered performers for their nationalism and not their artistic skill. Volksliedjies, volkskonsertjies and ‘educating the volk to be a nation’ stifled any defined notion of universality or international human connectedness. Since 1910, European aestheticism in the Afrikaans music discourse gradually and slowly narrowed to an idea, an impression, a

veneration of the Western European orchestra as medium that became, ultimately, a medium disjunct from the continent of its origin.

Cosmopolitan Patriotism/Rooted Cosmopolitanism: A contemporary text in conversation with history

Appiah develops his idea of rooted cosmopolitanism from Nussbaum's model of individual identity surrounded by concentric circles of being. Individuals operate optimally in the narrow spheres of family, business and communities and less successfully in the larger spheres of nations and humankind. The contemporary atmosphere of global interconnectedness allows the individual to constitute her unique identities according to her particular penchants. The emphasis that Appiah places on the independence of the individual points to a fundamental difference between his and Meinecke's models. Appiah's rooted cosmopolitanism exists at particular points in time, where Meinecke's model evolves along a linear chronological historical continuum. It is clear that Meinecke's model, and not Appiah's, guided the structure of the present thesis's fourth chapter: the narrative meets history in 1910, unfurls it in discursive sequences and departs from it in 1948. While I did not consciously structure the narrative to fit into Meinecke's model, it is clear, even to me, that my reading of the material leaned towards diachronism rather than synchronism. My intuition also resonated with Meinecke's objective to employ cosmopolitanism in a project that would break a nationalist discourse open from its inside. Concerning the model of rooted cosmopolitanism, the points of intersection between the nationalist Afrikaner music discourse and Appiah's loyalty towards cosmopolitanism are less clear. However, this does not render Appiah's model obsolete in the context of the present study. The very contrary is in fact true. The idea of rooted cosmopolitanism and the elevated prominence of the individual, coupled with the synchronicity of the model and its antagonism towards both Meinecke's model and the structure of my narrative have the potential to uncover some properties of the discourse that would otherwise have remained hidden in Meinecke's 'blind spots'.

For Appiah, local rootedness is the point of departure in his understanding of a nation. From this position of local rootedness, a cluster of personalities would arrange themselves into a collective through a set of arbitrary choices mostly driven by political forces. The arbitrariness of nationhood in this model allows the individual to oscillate between localities, making her a cosmopolitan according to Appiah's prototype. In this model, Bosman di Ravelli emerges once more as an appropriate case to consider. This time, he is a cosmopolitan

patriot. Biographically, Bosman reveals his loyalty to the Afrikaners in a number of ways. He returns to South Africa (twice) where he participates at public meetings of nationalist import. He maintains friendships with fellow patriots like Preller, he contributes to public written discourses and he sets Afrikaans texts to music. From this rooted position, Bosman's decisions regarding his career, sexuality and aesthetic predilections spiral outwards, translating him into a cosmopolitan figure. Bosman as an individual serves Meinecke and Appiah's models equally well and he rotates almost effortlessly between theory, discourse and history. This suggests that, even from Appiah's framework, Meinecke could be right in his observation that cosmopolitanism precedes nationalism.

The careful reader might have noticed the absence of one character from the analysis conducted in the previous section, namely the voice that belongs to Gerrit Bon. The absence was not by accident, but by design. Existentially, beyond the borders of the discourse, it is interesting to note that Gerrit Bon, Dutch by birth, came to South Africa, a man in his early twenties. Here he learned to speak and write Afrikaans fluently and he continued to publish about South African music in discursive spaces beyond journalism. He worked in Pretoria, he toured Europe to research Leopold Mozart and Bach and he spent the last twenty years of his life in Zimbabwe. His biography, therefore, implies the life of a cosmopolitan. However, if one reads his article in *Die Nuwe Brandwag* or his later chapter entry in *Kultuurgeskiedenis van die Afrikaner* (1950), one detects no deep intellectual impulse to breach South Africa's national borders. In fact, Bon even seems virulently to oppose any influences from the 'outside'. This makes it difficult to position Bon's writing in Meinecke's model in a convincing way. It is however useful to think of Bon in terms of Appiah's model. Biographically, he relocated and travelled internationally, 'taking pleasure from the presence of other, different places that are home to other, different people' (Appiah 1997:618). But when he writes about 'ons jong en veelbelowende land' (our young and promising country, Bon 1929:70), he makes it clear where he located his loyalties. Not the country of his birth, the Netherlands, although it is possible and likely that he felt connected and loyal to his country of origin (and this would not contradict Appiah's model). But when he learned to speak and write in Afrikaans, he assimilated into the Afrikaner people and he clearly viewed himself as an insider. As a rooted cosmopolitan individual, Gerrit Bon was therefore 'attached to a home of [his] own, with its own cultural particularities' (Appiah 1997:618).

In his music discourse, the space where he pledges his allegiance, it appears as if Bon draws Nussbaum's concentric circles narrowly around the (Afrikaner) individual. He criticises outsider-individuals (his former self, perhaps) who wish to impose their traditions onto the Afrikaner context. He is not antagonistic towards other traditions, – he writes 'other nations

have other trademarks, other influences, other possibilities' – though he prefers the Afrikaners to isolate themselves from these 'other' influences. He reaches to European music as an aide-mémoire of the Afrikaners' (and his own) European heritage, but it is clear that this music belongs to history, and history, it seems, is universal, relevant to South Africa as much as to Europe. Even while Gerrit Bon's profile corresponds to Appiah's idea of the cosmopolitan patriot, his writing imparts ideas of narrow and closed nationalism. Bon paradoxically frustrates and supports both Meinecke and Appiah's ideas of the individual.

When I embarked on this project, my instincts were that an investigation of Afrikaans writings about European culture and music would reveal that Afrikaners were not only a nationalist people as history perceived them, but they were also cosmopolitan in many ways. I expected Meinecke's model of cosmopolitanism and nationalism in Germany's history to contribute positively towards this reading of the Afrikaans music discourse. However, my trawling of the literature and the contextualization thereof with the theories of Meinecke and Appiah, led to unexpected results.

The discourse of Europeanism in Afrikaans music about writings commenced in 1910 and continued through to and beyond 1948. Cosmopolitanism in the earliest writings was fecund and one can identify it both within and outside the discourse – in cultural writings as well as in history. However, as time went by, cosmopolitanism in the discourse gradually thinned down as nationalism unfurled, even and especially in the writings about Europe. By 1923, the act of writing about Europe was merely a strategy to write about the Afrikaner self and in 1938, the discourse almost abruptly sequesters itself and deliberately turns inwards. During the forties, the discourse became a meagre reportage of activities that surrounded it and its content was void of productive tensions or healthy conflicts. In 1910, the discourse of Western European music could have been a marker of cosmopolitanism, but it gradually became a marker of nationalism as it tapered and closed, steering down on an ideology of homogeneity. Between 1910 and 1938, Afrikaans music discourse often looked towards Europe, covering itself with a thin veneer of cosmopolitanism. However, the more it pretended to be cosmopolitan, the more its true nature was nationalist. By 1938, Europeanism was an internalised reality for Afrikaners that validated their nationalist existence and encouraged them to rehearse and perform their identity in song. However, once the volksliedjie tradition began to take shape, the discourse mobilised composers and artists to translate the banality of the 'tradition' into a sophisticated art song through, most notably, the medium of the Western European orchestra. Maybe this was a way the Afrikaner people, who

was still coagulating into Meinecke's idea of the supra-individual, endeavoured to establish themselves as a (European) nation among (European) nations.

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Addenda⁶⁴

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⁶⁴ The magazines and newspapers listed in the appendices are ordered as they appear in the thesis.

Unknown authors' names are left out and not marked as Anonymous.

Where identities are known, real names are used, followed by pseudonyms in brackets.

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1934. Strykstokmakers se moeilikhede: net een houtsoort deug. 1 August 1934. 20(5854):10.

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21(4).
Reuter. 1936. Musieprikkel vir meer melk: Konsertina bring koeie in goeie luim. 6 January
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27 January 1936. 21(3).
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1936. Menings oor die musiekkuns: Albei uiterstes bereik. 15 October 1936. 22(9).

1936. Die enigste Opera-gebou verdwyn: Die ou teaters van Kaapstad. 17 October 1936. 22(13).

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1936. Musiek-graadkursus op Stellenbosch: Nuwe skema van die Konservatorium. 20 October 1936. 22(3).

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1936. Blanche Gerstman. 24 October 1936. 22(15).

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1937. Die Radio: Programme vir die week. 1 April 1937. 22:9.

1937. Radioprogramme vir die aanstaande week. 2 April 1937. 22:10.

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1937. Boerorkes oorhandig sy £1705: Pragtige prestasie van oom Pietie se manne. 5 April 1937. 22:2.

1937. Eerste Minister oor 'n eie volkslied: "Die Stem" en "Sarie Marais" as alternatiewe. 6 April 1937. 22:1.

1937. Premier oor ons volkslied. 6 April 1937. 22:5.

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1937. Radioprogramme vir die week. 9 April 1937. 22:10.

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1937. Afrikaanse Programme vir die week/Die keur van die programme. 15 April 1937. 22:10.

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1937. Radioprogramme vir die aanstaande week. 16 April 1937. 22:13.

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1938. Radioprogramme vir die aanstaande week. 4 February 1938. 23:11.

1938. Keurnommers . 10 February 1938. 23:9.

Weich, C. (Emol). 1938. Musiekkroniek: Wagner. 11 February 1938. 23:2.

1938. Radioprogramme vir die week. 11 February 1938. 23:13.

1938. Wat die vrou van 'n genie vertel. 12 February 1938. 23:17.

1938. Is "Die Stem" 'n amptelike volkslied, of nie? 14 February 1938. 23:1.

1938. Programme vir aanstaande week. 17 February 1938. 23:9.

1938. Radioprogramme vir die aanstaande week. 18 February 1938. 23:14.

1938. Posisie van "Die Stem van Suid-Afrika": Nog geen erkenning as die Unie se volkslied. 19 February 1938. 23:1.

1938. Genl. Hertzog en erkenning van "Die Stem" as volkslied. 19 February 1938. 23:2.

1938. Die radio: Opflikkering in a.s. week se programme. 24 February 1938. 23:12.

1938. Radioprogramme vir die aanstaande week. 25 February 1938. 23:12.

Goldblatt, S. 1938. Die Stem van Suid-Afrika. 26 February 1938. 23:15.

1938: December

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De Villiers, A. 1938. Sosiale lewe op die trek. 1 December 1938. 24:22.

Weich, C. (Emol). 1938. Musiekkroniek: Afskeid Elizabeth Kemp. 2 December 1938. 24:2.

M. 1938. Musiekkroniek: Cavalleria Rusticana. 3 December 1938. 24:2.

1938. Musiek op die treine: Proefnemings met grammofoonplate. 7 December 1938. 24:5.

1938. Koor van meer as 7, 00 skoolkinders. 7 December 1938. 24:7.

1938. Radioprogramme vir die aanstaande week. 8 December 1938. 24:12.

1938. Ons komponiste se gebrek. 10 December 1938. 24:4.

1938. De Aar ontvang die Boerorkes. 13 December 1938. 24:7.

Weich, C. (Emol). 1938. Musiekkroniek: 'n Singende Brahms. 16 December 1938. 24:4.

1938. "Die Stem" as volkslied. 17 December 1938. 24:1.

1938. Haglike toestand van ons volksang: musikus se aanklag teen kultuurleiers. 20 December 1938. 24:4.

1938. Ons kan sing - as ons maar net wil!. 21 December 1938. 24:1.

1938. Gulle ontvangs vir geselskap: Groot geesdrif op Riversdal. 24 December 1938. 24:9.

1938. Cecilia Wessels se a.s. konsert in die stadsaal. 24 December 1938. 24:11.

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1938. Radio se plan om volk aan die sing te kry. 31 December 1938. 24:1.

1938. Maleier-kore se goeie werk in Kaapstad. 31 December 1938. 24:2.

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1939. Die Radio: Programnommers om na uit te sien. 7 June 1939. 24:11.

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1939. Haal politieke bril af by kultuursake. 8 June 1939. 24:9.

Weich, C. (Emol). 1939. Musiekkroniek: Bach-Beethoven. 9 June 1939. 25:2.

Weich, C. (Emol). 1939. Musiekkroniek: Arthur Rubinstein. 14 June 1939. 25:13.

Lugdraad. 1939. Die volksang herlewe: die baanbrekerskoor van ons sangaande. 14 June 1939. 25:13.

1939. Keurnommers vir aanstaande week. 14 June 1939. 25:13.

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1939. Die radio as ekonomiese basis van ons kuns. 21 June 1939. 24:13.

1939. Keurnommers vir aanstaande week. 21 June 1939. 24:13.

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1939. Ons groot sangeres. 22 June 1939. 24:8.

Weich, C. (Emol). 1939. Musiekkroniek: Brilljant, maar koud. 23 June 1939. 24:2.

1939. Steytlerville hoor mooi musiek. 26 June 1939. 24:7.

1939. Klavierspel raak weer gewild. 27 June 1939. 24:11.

Lugdraad. 1939. "Hier is ons weer!". 28 June 1939. 24:11.

1939. Boerorkes se segetog: Sale glad te klein. 30 June 1939. 24:5.

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Weich, C. (Emol). 1940. Musiekkroniek: Fraai Tsjaikofski. 2 February 1940. 25:2.

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Weich, C. (Emol). 1940. Musiekkroniek: Madam Butterfly. 9 February 1940. 25:2.

1940. Vioolspelers maar skaars. 12 February 1940. 25:2.

1940. Musiekstudente in die Eikestad. 12 February 1940. 25:11.

1940. Menings van ons lesers: Propaganda in plaas van vastrapmusiek. 13 February 1940. 25:4.

Weich, C. (Emol). 1940. Musiekkroniek: Pragtige Beethoven. 16 February 1940. 25:2.

Nienaber, P.J. 1940. "Jepete" as digter van "Sarie Marais". 24 February 1940. 25:11.

Weich, C. (Emol). 1940. Musiekkroniek: Die orkes verjaar. 27 February 1940. 25:2.

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1940. Geen komponis se musiek moet verbied word. 1 November 1940. 26:2.

Du Plessis, I.D. 1940. Menings van ons lesers: Die Afrikaner en die stadsorkes. 8 November 1940. 26:6.

1940. M.L. De Villiers kry erepenning. 12 November 1940. 26:2.

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1940. Boerorkes gee £2,760 vir die reddingdaad. 19 November 1940. 26:2.

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Sapa. 1941. Ontdekking van geheime musiekinstrument. 1 July 1941. 26:2.

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1941. Plan vir bevordering van Afrikaanse musiek. 29 July 1941. 26:2.

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1942. Musiekfees van Oranjeklub. 14 March 1942. 27:2.

1942. Volkspeler bereik hoe peil. 18 March 1942. 27:5.

1942. Volkspeler ook op Vanrhynsdorp. 19 March 1942. 27:5.

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 1942. Tamboer nie na sy sin. 31 March 1942. 27:3.
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1943. Afrikaanse Eisteddfod: Skoolkinders se prestasies. 17 August 1943. 29:2.
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1943. Eisteddfod: Voordrag en Musiek. 23 August 1943. 29:2.
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1943. Eisteddfod: Klavierspel van hoë gehalte. 27 August 1943. 29:3.

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1944. Kunsgevoel sterf stadig uit. 11 January 1944. 29:5.
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1944. Lied se wysie word hersien. 14 September 1944. 30:2.
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1944. Ballet-uitvoering. 30 September 1944. 30:2.
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 1944. Kantate ter ere van gesangboek. 15 November 1944. 30:2.
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 1944. Mnr. Ingleby oorlede. 20 November 1944. 30:3.
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 1945. Kunswedstryd op Stellenbosch. 25 May 1945. 30:2.
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Melodie. 1925. Die eerste Sportjies van Musiek. 29 May 1925. 9(168):35.

Luijt, J. 1925. Musiekbesprekings. 5 June 1925. 9(169):9.

H.V. 1925. Musiek:fyn vioolspel. 26 June 1925. 9(172):11.

De Villiers, M.L. 1925. Musiek. 10 July 1925. 9(174):15, 17.

Van Lint, J.W. 1925. August Grader. 24 July 1925. 10(176):13,15,17,19.

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De Villiers, M.L. 1925. Musiek. 28 August 1925. 10(181):13, 15.

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Luijt, J. 1925. Nederlanders in die Musiek. 4 September 1925. 10(182):31.

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Luijt, J. 1925. Musiek:R. Wagner. 2 October 1925. 10(186):5, 11.

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Luijt, J. 1925. Die Klokkespel in die stadhuistoring in Kaapstad. 11 December 1925. 10(196):7.

De Villiers, M.L. 1926. Musiek. 15 January 1926. 10(200):3,7.

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1926. Die "Studente Orfeum" Musiekvereniging. 29 January 1926. 10(202):31, 32.

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Luijt, J. 1926. Die Jazz musiek. 9 April 1926. 10(212):3.

Luijt, J. 1926. Musiek. 7 May 1926. 11(216):25, 27.

De Villiers, M.L. 1926. Grammofoonmusiek. 4 June 1926. 11(220):45.

De Villiers, M.L. 1926. Grammofoonmusiek. 18 June 1926. 11(222):13.

Luijt, J. 1926. Musiek. 9 July 1926. 11(225):35.

De Villiers, M.L. 1926. Grammofoonmusiek. 9 July 1926. 11(225):41, 43.

1926. Aantekeninge:Die Eisteddfod. 9 July 1926. 11(225):3.

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De Villiers, M.L. 1926. Die Suid Afrikaanse Eistedfodd. 16 July 1926. 11(226):42, 43.

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De Villiers, M.L. 1926. Grammofoonmusiek. 30 July 1926. 11(228):43.

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De Villiers, M.L. 1926. Grammofoonmusiek. 20 August 1926. 11(231):43.

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Luijt, J. 1926. Musiek:Die orrel. 17 September 1926. 11(235):19, 63.

De Villiers, M.L. 1926. Musiek. 1 October 1926. 11(237):21.

De Villiers, M.L. 1926. Grammofoonmusiek. 15 October 1926. 11(239):43.

De Villiers, M.L. 1926. Grammofoonmusiek. 29 October 1926. 11(241):23.

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Luijt, J. 1926. Musiek. 24 December 1926. 11(249):21, 23.

De Villiers, M.L. 1926. Grammofoonmusiek. 31 December 1926. 11(250):41.

Fagan, G. 1927. Musiek onder die Afrikaners. 21 January 1927. 11(252):11.

De Villiers, M.L. 1927. Grammofoonmusiek. 21 January 1927. 11(252):61.

Verwey, J.E.M. 1927. Ondersteun die Eisteddfod. 28 January 1927. 11(253):19.

Crescendo. 1927. Ons volk en Musiek. 28 January 1927. 11(253):21.

De Villiers, M.L. 1927. Grammofoonmusiek. 4 February 1927. 11(254):59.

De Villiers, M.L. 1927. Grammofoonmusiek. 18 February 1927. 11(256):61, 63.

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Luijt, J. 1927. Beethoven-Eeufees. 25 March 1927. 11(261):32, 33, 63.

Luijt, J. 1927. Musiek:Liefdelewe van groot komponiste:die invloed van die vrou. 8 April 1927. 11(263):29, 31.

De Villiers, M.L. 1927. Grammofoonmusiek. 13 May 1927. 11(268):45, 47.

Jordaan, J.J. 1927. Die Afrikaanse Eisteddfod. 17 June 1927. 12(273):3.

Booyesen, E.M. 1927. Die Afrikaanse Eisteddfod. 15 July 1927. 12(277):7.

Swanepoel, P.F. 1927. Die Ontstaan en Ontwikkeling van die Opera. 5 August 1927. 12(280):11, 13.

1927. Die Afrikaanse Eisteddfod. 26 August 1927. 12(283):7.

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Swanepoel, P.F. 1927. Die Ontstaan en Ontwikkeling van die Opera. 23 September 1927. 12(287):19, 21.

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Luijt, J. 1929. Musiekfees van die Kaapse Orkes. 8 March 1929. 13(362):39, 45.

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Ronel. 1929. Hoogstaande eie Suid-Afrikaanse Kuns (wat op Bloemfontein geprester is). 1 November 1929. 14(396):75, 77.

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Bouws, J. 1930. Nederlandsche Boeken over Muziek. 7 February 1930. 14(410):43, 47.

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Ezerman, J.L.J.F. 1930. Muziek in Holland. 11 April 1930. 14(419):41, 47, 49.

’n Stem in die Woestyn. 1930. Ons Ou Volksliedjies. 9 May 1930. 14(423):29, 47, 49.

Luijt, J. 1930. Die Herring museum ('n Legaat van groot waarde). 9 May 1930. 14(423):53, 55.

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Lujit, Joh. 1930. Dirigent van die kaapstadse orkes (William Pickerill). 22 August 1930. 14(437):15.

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Luijt, J. 1930. Die Suid Afrikaanse Eisteddfod. 21 November 1930. 15(451):47.

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1931. Die Betekenis van moderne musiek. 20 March 1931. 15(468):29.

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Langenhoven, C.J. 1931. Ons Eisteddfod. 24 July 1931. 16(487):61.

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Hoge, I. 1931. Die Beethoven huis. 16 October 1931. 16(499):29.

Straub, H. 1931. 'n Johann Strauss tentoonstelling. 30 October 1931. 16(501):39.

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Straub, H. 1932. Weenen Herdenk Mozart. 12 February 1932. 16(516):23.

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Luyt, J. Jr. 1932. Oor Boeke:Slaapdeuntjie/In Groote Schuur se Tuin. 20 May 1932. 16(530):35.

Heifetz, J. 1932. Met my viool om die wereld. 20 May 1932. 16(530):33.

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Celliers, J.F.E. 1932. Kuns in Lewe en Kultuur. 27 May 1932. 16(531):35, 53.

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Fibreur. 1934. Oor die Grammofoon. 2 November 1934. 19(658):43, 65, 67.

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Uys, A. 1936. Kunsmatige voedsel vir die kuns?. 17 July 1936. 20(747):23, 61.

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1948. Kunswedstryde van Oos-Randse Vereniging: 4,000 inskrywings vanjaar. 9 March 1948. 11(135):5.

1948. Opera more in aanvang. 17 March 1948. 11(141):2.

1948. Kunswedstryd begin van Griekwaland-Wes 19 March 1948. 11(143):5.

M.K. 1948. "La Boheme" opgevoer. 20 March 1948. 11(144):2.

1948. Hollandse musikante in Unie. 22 March 1948. 11(145):2.

Sapa. 1948. Bantoes hou van "Boogie-Woogie" - en Beethoven. 22 March 1948. 11(145):2.

1948. Kunswedstryd op Kimberley: Verdere uitslae. 22 March 1948. 11(145):5.

M.K. 1948. "Madame Butterfly" opgevoer. 22 March 1948. 11(145):6.

1948. Kunswedstryde op platteland: Kroonstad/Kimberley. 23 March 1948. 11(146):7.

G.D.S. 1948. Il Trovatore opgevoer. 24 March 1948. 11(147):2.

G.D.S. 1948. Clara Pignatelli in Barbier van Sevilla. 25 March 1948. 11(148):2.

W.B. 1948. Orkeskonsert in His Majesty's. 29 March 1948. 11(150):2.

M.K. 1948. "La Traviata". 31 March 1948. 11(152):2.

1948. Mnr. Eyssen se kandidaatskap verwelkom. 21 April 1948. 11(164):5.

1948. Die Towerfluit in Afrikaans. 23 April 1948. 11(171):3.

1948. Prof. G. Dekker spreek vergadering toe. 26 April 1948. 11(173):5.

1948. Musiekvereniging bied lesing, sang en musiek. 29 April 1948. 11(176):5.

1948. Orkeskonsert in Biblioteekkamer. 1 May 1948. 11(179):3.

M.K. 1948. Vioolkonsert in Duncan-saal. 3 May 1948. 11(180):2.

M.K. 1948. La Traviata. 4 May 1948. 11(181):2.

1948. Orrel- en sangkonsert groot sukses. 5 May 1948. 11(183):5.

S.J.v.d.W. 1948. Rigoletto. 6 May 1948. 11(184):3.

1948. Musiekaand ten bate van boufonds. 6 May 1948. 11(184):5.

1948. By die uitspanning: Sy kan sing hoor!. 10 May 1948. 11(186):5.

1948. Operaseisoen in Pretoria. 11 May 1948. 11(187):2.

1948. Kenmekaar-vereniging se kunskonsert. 11 May 1948. 11(187):9.

M.K. 1948. Uitvoering duer Sequiera Costa. 13 May 1948. 11(189):2.

P.A.E. 1948. Dirk Lourens oefen vir konsertreis. 14 May 1948. 11(191):3.

1948. Uitnodiging aan jong musikante. 20 May 1948. 11(195):5.

1948. Konsert van Terrasi. 27 May 1948. 11(201):5.

1948. Onderskeiding vir kadette. 28 May 1948. 11(202):5.

G.v.d.W. 1948. Dirk Lourens en Susan Stapelberg in Pretoria. 31 May 1948. 11(203):9.

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1949. "In Duitsland leef die kunste nog". 2 May 1949. 12(179):5.

1949. Konsert as huldeblyk aan Mnr. Schiff. 5 May 1949. 12(182):5.

M.K. 1949. Balletprogram baie geslaagd. 12 May 1949. 12(188):2.

J.J.K. 1949. Rigoletto. 14 May 1949. 12(190):2.

1949. Groot belangstelling vir opera-seisoen. 14 May 1949. 12(190):5.

1949. Gaan musikante geleentheid bied. 17 May 1949. 12(192):5.

1949. Beursfonds gestig vir jong musikant. 19 May 1949. 12(194):5.

1949. Soeklig val a.s. week op S.A. musikante. 20 May 1949. 12(195):5.

1949. Britse volkslied in bioskope. 23 May 1949. 12(197):1.

I.W. 1949. Mario Raucea se uitvoering. 23 May 1949. 12(197):2.

1949. Tit Schipa. 23 May 1949. 12(197):2.

1949. Musiek-agterstand word ingehaal: Mnr. Gideon Roos oor huidige fees. 25 May 1949. 12(199):2.

1949. Volkslied in bioskope. 25 May 1949. 12(199):4.

1949. Groot geesdrif vir wedstryd in Bloemfontein. 26 May 1949. 12(200):5.

1949. Musiekwedstryd lewer ryke oes. 27 May 1949. 12(201):5.

1949. Bekende dirigent na Unie. 28 May 1949. 12(202):5.

1949. Etensuurkonsert Maandag in die stadsaal. 2 June 1949. 12(206):5.

1949. Geesdrif vir volkspele in Diamantstad. 3 June 1949. 12(207):5.

SAPA1949. Arnold van Wyk kry eremedalje. 4 June 1949. 12(208):1.

1949. Inskrywings tot Vrydag vir Kunsvereniging. 7 June 1949. 12(210):5.

1949. Tweede etensuurkonsert Dinsdag. 11 June 1949. 12(214):5.

1949. Ons lesers aan die woord: "Africans" en Boeremusiek. 14 June 1949. 12(216):4.

1949. Glo eerste musiek in S.A. gepubliseer. 14 June 1949. 12(216):9.

1949. Ons lesers aan die woord: Afrikaanse Musiek. 17 June 1949. 12(219):4.

Sapa. 1949. Baie musiektalent in die Unie. 17 June 1949. 12(219):5.

1949. Mnr. Labuschagne slaag m.b.t. musiekonderwys. 18 June 1949. 12(220):3.

1949. Operaseisoen in Pretoria. 20 June 1949. 12(221):3.

1949. Puik Italiaanse musiekfees vir Poliofonds. 24 June 1949. 12(225):5.

1949. Orkesuitvoering aan Wes-Rand. 24 June 1949. 12(225):5.

1949. Groot belangstelling vir Hartman-konsert. 25 June 1949. 12(226):5.

1949. Musiekkonsert vir Polio fonds. 27 June 1949. 12(227):5.

1949. Ere-pennings vir F. Krige en A. van Wyk. 4 July 1949. 12(233):2.

1949. Laaste konsert van Oysher. 4 July 1949. 12(233):2.

1949. Nuwe dirigent eersdaags hier: eerste konsert op 9 Augustus. 5 July 1949. 12(235):5.

1949. Alabama-orke se derde toer. 5 July 1949. 12(235):5.

1949. Alabama-orke baie gewild. 6 July 1949. 12(236):5.

1949. Bekende pianis kom in Goudstad optree vir polio fonds. 9 July 1949. 12(239):5.

1949. Alabama-orke in Tzaneen. 12 July 1949. 12(240):2.

1949. Uitvoerings van bekende violis: Matthews tree op in Kaapstad en Goudstad. 12 July 1949. 12(240):5.

1949. F.Schuurman in Kaapstad: Haastig om in Goudstad te kom dirigeer. 13 July 1949. 12(241):3.

1949. Erna Sack Saterdag in stad verwag. 13 July 1949. 12(241):3.

1949. Mathews (sic) and Hallis se 1e konsert. 15 July 1949. 12(243):2.

1949. Erna Sack kom in Unie aan: sal 3 maande lank hier vertoef. 18 July 1949. 12(245):5.

1949. Alabama-orke weer terug. 21 July 1949. 12(247):5.

1949. Afrikaners aan voet van die Meesters: voorligting gekry by beroemdes oorsee. 23 July 1949. 12(250):5.

1949. Mense op die voorgrond. 26 July 1949. 12(252):5.
1949. "Annie get your gun". 30 July 1949. 12(256):2.
Visser, J.J. 1949. Ons lesers aan die woord: Boeremusiek. 30 July 1949. 12(256):4.

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1950. Dirk Lourens gaan boer. 1 July 1950. 13(230):5.
1950. Geen orkestrale plaatopname van Die Stem. 4 July 1950. 13(232):3.
1950. Alabama-orkeste gaan op toer. 4 July 1950. 13(232):6.
1950. Bekende pianiste saam met twee orkeste. 5 July 1950. 13(233):9.
1950. Trudie Van Zyl tree op in Pretoria. 8 July 1950. 13(236):5.
Marx, I.J. 1950. Ons lesers aan die woord: Orkestrale opname van "Die Stem". 12 July 1950. 13(239):5.
1950. Mense op die voorgrond. 17 July 1950. 13(243):2.
1950. Liederebundel stellig 156 jaar oud 19 July 1950. 13(245):5.
1950. Eileen Joyce kom aan in stad. 21 July 1950. 13(247):2.
1950. Stephen Eyssen dirigent van musiekklub. 22 July 1950. 13(248):6.
1950. Groot kongres oor Kerklike musiek. 24 July 1950. 13(249):12.
1950. Eerste Joodse musiekfees in Unie. 26 July 1950. 13(251):9.
1950. Agt konserte van kamermusiek. 26 July 1950. 13(251):9.
1950. Musiekkonserte nou op Saterdag. 27 July 1950. 13(252):7.
S.M. 1950. Eileen Joyce lewer Chopin-program. 31 July 1950. 13(255):2.
1950. Musiek se uitwerking op plante!. 1 August 1950. 13(256):11.
S.M. 1950. Klavier- en vioolduo. 2 August 1950. 13(257):2.
1950. Kunswedstryde in stad: Reeds 8,000 inskrywings. 2 August 1950. 13(257):8.
1950. "Ragtime" se deuntjie gedemp. 2 August 1950. 13(258):10.
1950. Konsert vir middaguur. 3 August 1950. 13(259):8.
1950. S.A. sangeres eersdaags terug. 4 August 1950. 13(260):4.
1950. Musiekdirekteur van oorsee: 25 Unieburgers nie een geskik. 8 August 1950. 13(262):9.
1950. Sy het in Europa moes studeer. 10 August 1950. 13(264):8.
1950. Konserttoer deur Unie. 10 August 1950. 13(264):8.
1950. Konsert ten bate van kreupelsorg. 11 August 1950. 13(265):11.
S.M. 1950. Mooi sang op Joodse musiekfees. 15 August 1950. 13(268):9.
1950. Musiekfees in Pretoria. 18 August 1950. 13(271):5.
1950. Konsertreis van Duiste tenoor. 18 August 1950. 13(271):5.

1950. Groot lof in Europa vir werk van S.A. komponis 19 August 1950. 13(272):2.

1950. Komitee om musiek te bevorder 19 August 1950. 13(272):3.

1950. Konsertreeks aangebied. 22 August 1950. 13(274):2.

1950. Laat haar musiek leer. 22 August 1950. 13(274):8.

1950. Nie-blanke kinders saam met blankes by musiekkonsert: Durbanse skakelkomitee se onmiddellike protes. 23 August 1950. 13(275):2.

1950. Salzburg-musiekfees lok duisende. 23 August 1950. 13(275):6.

1950. Die wonder-teater van Bayreuth. 24 August 1950. 13(276):8.

1950. Afrikaner blink as dirigent uit tussen 29 ander. 29 August 1950. 13(280):2.

M.K. 1950. Voorsmaak van die simfonie-seisoen. 4 September 1950. 13(285):3.

J.J.W. 1950. Wittrisch tree op. 5 September 1950. 13(286):2.

M.K. 1950. Simfonie-seisoen ingelui. 6 September 1950. 13(287):5.

1950. Onthaal vir Marcel Wittrisch. 7 September 1950. 13(288):8.

M.K. 1950. Marcel Wittrisch se uitvoering. 8 September 1950. 13(289):2.

1950. Besoekende violiste tree op. 8 September 1950. 13(289):5.

1950. Konsert van musiekklub in Pretoria. 8 September 1950. 13(289):5.

S.M. 1950. Uiters geslaagde musiekkonsert. 9 September 1950. 13(290):2.

1950. Kunswedstryd: Neem more 'n aanvang in stad. 12 September 1950. 13(292):9.

1950. "Musiek vir almal" bied lentedans. 15 September 1950. 13(295):7.

1950. Konsertreeks van tenoor. 18 September 1950. 13(297):5.

1950. Tak vier lentedag met musiek 19 September 1950. 13(298):8.

1950. Geslaagde musiekaand. 25 September 1950. 13(303):2.

1950. JAATS bied aan Duitse sangspel. 28 September 1950. 13(306):2.

1950. Kaapse Klopse a.s. week in Johannesburg. 28 September 1950. 13(306):7.

1950. Musiek-hoof nog nie aangestel. 29 September 1950. 13(307):3.

1950. S.A. sangers dalk na Salzburg se musiek-olimpiade. 30 September 1950. 13(308):3.