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**VOCAL MUSIC OF THE ANGLO-BOER WAR (1899-1902):
INSIGHTS INTO PROCESSES OF AFFECT
AND MEANING IN MUSIC**

by

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In his poem *The Searchlight* the young poet Joubert Reitz mirrors the feelings of grief and longing of the approximately 30 000 Boers who were sent away from their homeland as prisoners of war. He wrote this poem on the Bermudas. Joubert Reitz was born in 1881 and was the second son of F.W. Reitz, ex-president of the Orange a Free State. He was educated at Grey College in Bloemfontein where he would have received education in English. He joined the Commandos and was captured in June 1901. He was sent to Morgan's Island on the Bermudas but was removed to Burt's Island after he smuggled an anti-British letter to the American press which caused the British military to toughen up on the two clergymen, Albertyn and van Blerk. After the war he spent some time in America before returning to South Africa to study law (Benbow 1994:101).

THE SEARCHLIGHT

“When the searchlight from the gunboat
 Throws its rays upon my tent
Then I think of home and comrades
 And the happy days I spent
In the country where I come from
 And where all I love are yet.
Then I think of things and places
 And of scenes I'll ne'er forget
Then a face comes up before me
 Which will haunt me to the last
And I think of things that have been
 And happiness that's past
And only then I realize, How much my freedom meant
When the searchlight from the gunboat
 Casts its rays upon my tent”

(Benbow 1994:15).

ABSTRACT

The focus of this study was to locate the lacuna that exists between cultural history and musicology, in order to assess processes of affect and meaning in vocal music as a vehicle for understanding the South African Boer psyche and circumstances during the war. The pursuit of locating the lacuna was best served by employing qualitative research methods that reflect the phenomenological paradigm. This allowed for an in-depth understanding of the Boers in terms of their own interpretations of reality, as well as the understanding of society in terms of the meanings that people ascribe to the societal practices in that society.

A cultural-historical approach was necessary in order to highlight the experiential world of the Boers and gain some insider perspectives of the war. This approach did not, however, have much to say about the role of Boer vocal music in generating and articulating social and cultural meanings. On the other hand, the musicological approach which was based on research grounded in an examination of hand-notated musical scores, drew little attention to the role of music's meanings in the social, historical and cultural circumstances of the Boer people during the war.

After the historical context, which generated the vocal music was understood; the researcher was able to identify the lacuna as an aural void, due to the fact that affect and meaning cannot be grounded exclusively in an examination of cultural history or musical symbols decontextualised from sound. The background information allowed for the lyrics to be interpreted in melodic configurations, which were equated with particular moods, emotions and cultural meanings. This thesis thus responded to and succeeded in assessing insight and understanding into the psyche and circumstances of white South Africans during the Anglo Boer War.

The thesis concluded by proving that by highlighting the aural void it was possible to move cultural history towards an accommodation with musicology. Through Boer vocal music it was thus possible to critically shape understanding of the experiential world of the Boer during the Anglo-Boer War.

KEY WORDS

Anglo-Boer War	Music
History	Affect
Diaries	Lyrics
Memoirs	Emotive power
Songbooks	Meaning of sound
Vocal music	Group ideological
Scores	expression

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CHAPTER 1

RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1 INTRODUCTION

With the advent of the centenary commemorations of the Anglo-Boer War, it seemed an appropriate time to reflect on an aspect of the war that is not often considered, namely, the role of music as a mass medium for purposes other than entertainment.

This research is thus about insights into the processes of affect and meaning that can be gained through an examination of the vocal music of the South African Anglo-Boer War.

1.2 HYPOTHESIS

By finding a link between cultural history and musicology¹, it will be possible to assess affect and meaning in the vocal music sung by the Boers during the war. This link will demonstrate how these disciplines are able to inform and enrich each other and lead to an understanding of the psyche² of the people singing the songs. A cultural-historical approach will lead to an understanding of the experiential world of the Boers during the war. The musicological approach will generally be research grounded in an examination of hand-notated scores. A link between these disciplines will not only highlight the fact that vocal music reveals a spectrum of personal and communal perceptions and responses to unfolding events, but that it is central to the very formation of human societies.

¹ musicology (*n.*) As a method it is a form of music scholarship characterized by the procedures of research. A simple definition in these terms would be a scholarly study of music (Duckles et al. 2001:488).

² psyche (*n.*) The soul, or spirit, as distinguished from the body; the mind. *Psychol.* The conscious and unconscious mind and emotions, esp. as influencing and affecting the whole person (Oxford [Internet] 2004).

1.3 PERSONAL MOTIVATION

The researcher developed an interest in the proposed topic after writing an MMus dissertation, *The Liberation Song: with special reference to those used by the African National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and Pan Africanist Congress* (Gray 1996).

This dissertation highlighted the fact that during apartheid³, liberation and protest music played a vital role in the rise of Black Nationalism and the subsequent establishment of a new South African society. By researching the liberation struggle beyond the academic confines of political history, it was possible for the researcher, a white South African, to gain an insight into the experiences of black South Africans during one of the deepest crises in South African history.

As the research for this MMus dissertation progressed, the researcher recognised the importance of a link between South African vocal music and cultural history in order to provide polarised societies with a potent tool for understanding each other's circumstances. This could lead to empathy and reconciliation between societies and an appreciation of cultural diversity in South Africa. This, however, falls outside the domain of this study, as it is necessary to first establish whether vocal music played an important part in the lives of the Boers during the Anglo-Boer War, before any other conclusions can be reached. This thesis thus responds to a need to assess insight and understanding into the psyche of white South Africans by studying the role of vocal music during the Anglo-Boer War. The aim of the study is defined against this background.

1.4 AIM

The aim of the study is to highlight the role of vocal music sung by the Boers in order to determine its significance as a vehicle for gaining a better understanding

³ apartheid (*n.*) Name given in South Africa to the segregation of the inhabitants of European descent from the non-European (Coloured or mixed, Bantu, Indian, etc.); applied also to any similar movement elsewhere; also, to other forms of racial separation (social, educational, etc.). Also fig. and attrib (Oxford [Internet] 2004).

of the people who sang the songs, as well as Boer experiences during the Anglo-Boer War. In order to achieve this, the study aims to find a way to address the lacuna⁴ that exists between musicology and cultural history.

More specifically, it will be a thick description⁵ that evokes emotions and feelings in the reader, and inserts history into experience. It also establishes the significance of an experience or sequence of events for the person or persons in question, “and captures the meanings and experiences that have occurred in a problematic situation” (Denzin 2001:162). A thick description will allow for an historical analysis that attempts to reconstruct the past as accurately as possible so as to assess the role of Boer vocal music. In order to realise this aim, it is necessary to focus on a key research question.

1.5 KEY RESEARCH QUESTION

Is it possible to locate the lacuna that exists between cultural history and musicology, in order to assess processes of affect and meaning in vocal music as a vehicle for understanding the Boer psyche and the circumstances they had to face during the Anglo-Boer War?

To initiate this, careful consideration was given to other questions which link to the research question:

- ❖ Does the axiom that declares music possesses a power or powers that can produce effects on the human psyche, society and civilisations exist?
- ❖ Does an understanding of the experiences of the Boers during the War lead to an understanding of the role of their vocal music?

⁴ lacuna (*n.*) A hiatus, blank, missing portion. Also *trans* (Oxford [Internet] 2004).

⁵ thick description (*n.*) Description that captures meanings and experiences that have occurred in a problematic situation. Reports meanings, intentions, history, biography, and relevant, interactional, and situational processes in a rich, dense, detailed manner. Creates the conditions for interpretation and understanding. Contrasted to thin description, which is only factual (Denzin 2001:162).

- ❖ Is it possible to locate the lacuna between cultural history and musicology by assessing the meaning of the sounds together with the lyrics of the songs?
- ❖ Does an analysis of hand-notated scores by the Boers lead to an understanding of affect and meaning of their vocal music?

The pursuit of answers to these questions will best be served by employing qualitative research methods that reflect the phenomenological paradigm.

1.6 METHODOLOGY

Against the above background, it is proposed that the present study be conducted within the qualitative paradigm that is phenomenological in its orientation. Mouton (2001) explains that qualitative studies usually aim to provide an in-depth description of a group of people or community. This is especially suited to this research as to answer the research questions effectively it is necessary to understand the Boers in their own definition of their world.

According to Babbie and Mouton (2001), the goal of the phenomenological paradigm is primarily directed towards understanding of individuals in terms of their own interpretations of reality, as well as the understanding of society in terms of the meanings that people ascribe to the societal practices in that society. This allows for meaning and affect, through sounds, to be derived from the social and cultural contexts in which the vocal music is situated. It also allows for interpretation of the role of vocal music during the War, within a framework of a cultural system, rather than the result of the meaning implicit in only the musical scores or lyrics. If this methodology is to be applied, it becomes necessary to find a viable theory that allows for understanding of music as a social and cultural form that is unconventional in traditional musicology.

1.7 LOCATING A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In order to understand vocal music as a socially and culturally constituted form of human expression that gives rise to affects and meanings, a theory had to be found where music is given an essential position. At the same time it had to allow for a link between cultural-historical and musicology processes.

The generic nature of the study, however, unavoidably creates difficulties for analysis, since it is not always possible to draw exact parallels between music and its social or political contexts. The sociology of music is an extremely diverse body of work and there is no single or even dominant model of analysis or theory of the relationship between the arts and society. To add to this problem, musicology has often isolated musical processes from the social and cultural milieu of humanity. On the other hand, other disciplines such as sociology, history, communication and cultural studies⁶, do not recognise the role of music's sounds in generating and articulating social and cultural meanings. Finding a theory suited to this research was problematic, mainly because there has been very little research done on mapping the aural void between musicology and cultural-historical studies in order to understand meaning and affect in music.

McClary (1991) has an interdisciplinary approach to address some of the concerns of feminist criticism in music. She considers music as a separate medium with "priorities and procedures, which differ significantly from those of literature" (McClary 1991:81). Though her interdisciplinary approach is important, it does not address the void between musicology and other disciplines. This is mainly because she relies too heavily on the lyrics of the songs for affect and meaning.

Middleton (1990) also uses an interdisciplinary approach in his research regarding popular music. His theory is useful because he has "tried to write a cultural study of music, a study which focuses on music but refuses to isolate it" (Middleton 1990:v). In his effort to balance music, history and sociology he also does not

⁶ cultural studies (*n.*) A field of enquiry that takes as its subject matter the culture-making institutions of a society and their productions of meaning (Oxford [Internet] 2004).

address the void that this study considers necessary for a real understanding of the role of music.

An interdisciplinary approach to the music of the Anglo-Boer War is found in the works of some South African authors. Olivier and Watt (1998) present a survey of musical works about South African wars and sieges. These works are found in the *F.Z. van der Merwe collection of South African Music* section of the library of the University of Pretoria. Olivier and Watt recognise the importance of linking music and history, and suggest that their research “could possibly offer a new dimension to perceptions of history by approaching it from a cultural and specifically music-historical viewpoint” (Olivier & Watt 1998:53).

Grobbelaar (1999) made a collection of the folk songs sung during the Anglo-Boer War. The words of the songs are important historical documents because they highlight events during the war. Similarly, Cillié (s.a.) examined the religious vocal music sung during the Anglo-Boer War. None of these studies, however, presents a theoretical *modus operandi* to map the void between musicology and cultural history. Despite this, they are invaluable sources that should be used in other studies regarding music and the Anglo-Boer War.

Shepherd and Wicke (1997) have the most theoretically grounded critique of the tendency within disciplines to keep music’s sounds separate from the social, historical and cultural processes that are of consequence for them. The researcher was of the opinion that it was necessary to align herself with theorists who also recognise the fact that a void exists which allows for a link between musicology and other disciplines.

1.8 THEORETICAL GROUNDING

Shepherd and Wicke’s (1997) motivation for developing their theory was to interrogate those forms of cultural theory which they consider to discuss music in much the same way as any other cultural artefact. They feed musicology into cultural theory in order to consider the implications of “the social and cultural

constitution of music as a particular and irreducible form of human expression and knowledge ... by thinking of music in ways unprecedented within musicology” (Shepherd & Wicke 1997:1).

In order to address the void between musicology and cultural studies, they argue that sound in music functions in a manner distinct from language and is as fundamental as language to the formation of human societies. “Music is an activity central rather than peripheral to people and society” (Shepherd & Wicke 1997:3). This theory could be an aid to answering the research question, because it attempts to understand the characteristics of music by breaking with the principal paradigm of musicology in thinking of music as signifying practice based on sounds alone. They stress the importance of mapping the void because, according to them, “musicology is the only discipline through which it is possible to access certain processes vital and fundamental to human societies ... [I]f musicology is not successful in formulating and putting appropriate questions, and if other disciplines do not become engaged seriously in answering them, then these vital and fundamental aspects of human life will remain privatized and mythologized” (Shepherd & Wicke 1997:6).

In addressing the void between musicology and cultural studies, a “direct link between the sounds of music and the somatic pathways of the body has been posited in which the manner of connection circumvents the world of objects and the world of language” (Shepherd & Wicke 1997:97).

In terms of theoretical grounding, this research explores some of the issues raised in Shepherd and Wicke’s theory and at the same time places these on an empirical base that is more focussed on:

- ❖ the environment in which the vocal music was created
- ❖ meaning in the sounds and lyrics of the vocal music
- ❖ hand-notated scores, which are a visual analogue of musical sound.

This approach thus deals with the relationship between historical process and vocal music as it is dialectically constituted in performance. The emphasis falls on

the meaning of sounds within a cultural context. This is because the analysis of affect and meaning cannot be grounded exclusively in an examination of cultural history or musical symbols decontextualised from sound. By doing research as undertaken in this study, the aural void is addressed by emphasising the meaning of sound in a cultural context.

1.9 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Limitations of the study are linked to the following points, listed in no particular priority order:

- ❖ the scarcity of literature other than that focused on the factual accounts of the Anglo-Boer War. According to Pretorius (1999:160), “Remarkably, the life and experiential world of ordinary Boer combatants has received little attention from historians so far.”
- ❖ the collection and analysis of archival data, which is very time consuming as the researcher does not have direct access to these resources. Inventories have to be consulted and then the resources are brought from storage to the researcher. This makes it different to research that relies on resources other than archival. Here access to books allows the researcher to page through a book in order to see whether it contains relevant information.
- ❖ archival research inventories which are not always very specific and documents are often moved without this being reflected in the inventory.
- ❖ the incompleteness of the inventory of the library of the Anglo-Boer War Museum Archives. The diaries, songbooks and other archival resources are not easily obtainable. When traced, they are not always correctly catalogued.
- ❖ the lack of access to some valuable resources from the Anglo-Boer War Museum Library, which are kept in sealed plastic bags with a white powder to preserve them. These resources could not be consulted and only the front and back covers could be seen through the bags. It is understandable that archival resources should be treated with respect, as they are old and very delicate. It is, however, regrettable that financial constraints do not

allow for the availability of a librarian who could look at these documents with the researcher to ensure that no damage is done.

- ❖ the fact that requests for resources, especially at the Anglo-Boer War Museum Library, sometimes take very long due to staff shortages caused by financial constraints. It is, however, very frustrating when requests are eventually brought and some cannot be opened, while others have been incorrectly numbered and have nothing to do with the research.
- ❖ the fact that dates indicating when songs were notated, are not always clear from the sources.
- ❖ extensive use of photostats. Some of the documents were in bad repair and the photostatted copies are sometimes illegible. It was, however, decided that these photostats were very important to capture the real meaning of the music.
- ❖ the problems associated with translating the words of the songs, because meaning cannot always be accurately captured in translation.
- ❖ the problem of defining the role of music in the camps divorced from the immediately reality of conditions in the camps and the “sounds” of the songs. In order to give an objective analysis of the vocal music the researcher tried to capture the meaning of the sounds
- ❖ the generic nature of the research, which made it difficult to decide what material should be included or excluded in this study. This was problematic because the researcher had to make subjective choices.
- ❖ sources of error, which are also part of the limitations with regard to authenticity of documents; principles that underlie the selection of documents; representativeness of documentary sources; accuracy of interpretations and subjective bias.

1.10 DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The following delimitations, in no particular priority order, were recognised as:

- ❖ the exclusion of a great number of pieces, which were composed to honour events and personalities of the war. Writers and composers from all over the world were inspired by the events of the Anglo-Boer War. In addition,

new words were written for existing compositions to commemorate events. Apart from all the pro-Boer music published in England and the rest of the Empire, a substantial number of pro-Boer compositions were published. The Kruger House in Pretoria houses 128 published pro-Boer musical scores. According to Swanepoel (1979:47), these works were an expression of kinship of, and by, the people of Europe, America and Russia. It was impossible to include reference to all the works in this study.

- ❖ compositions that did not only flow in one direction. Many of the patriotic songs sung by the Boers grew in stature and inspired the whole of Europe (Swanepoel 1979:47). This makes for an interesting study on its own, but could not be included in this research, as it would have made the study too cumbersome.
- ❖ the exclusion of printed music from *Ons Klyntji, Die Boerevrou* and an unreferenced book with printed songs from the war. It is not always clear whether the people who composed the music had experienced the war and as such these pieces of vocal music were not included in this study.
- ❖ the exclusion of hundreds of interesting concert programmes. The main reason here was that the items were not all vocal and were only performed by individual inmates of camps. Affect and meaning could have been addressed by highlighting the role music played for the inmates attending the concerts. This is, however, a study on its own and, as such, had to be excluded.
- ❖ the decision not to undertake the musical analysis of individual songs. This would lead to a musicological approach, which is beyond the scope of this thesis. Employing this approach could also have prevented the researcher from achieving the objective of highlighting the vocal music as a musicological approach linked to cultural history through the meanings of sound.
- ❖ having to ascertain the validity of the folk songs. It is especially with regard to the so-called folk songs of the War that research needs to be done in order to establish which are true South African folk songs. Grobbelaar's (1999) book on vocal music sung by the Boers on commando is extremely

valuable, but if addressed in this research would take the focus away from addressing affect and meaning through vocal music.

The researcher was of the opinion that, notwithstanding the limitations and delimitations, the study theme has sufficient merit, as it is within the parameters of the aim (as set out in 1.4).

1.11 DATA SOURCES

The sources consulted included unpublished, published and Internet research material.

1.11.1 Unpublished Resources

Data collection relied heavily on primary sources in order to answer the research question. The unpublished material was obtained from the Anglo-Boer War Museum Archives in Bloemfontein (ABWMA), the Free State Archives Depot (FAD), the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town (NLSA), the *Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk* (Dutch Reformed Church) archives in Pietermaritzburg (DRC) and the Transvaal Archives Depot (TAD). As the experiential world of the Boers was so important for this research, the accent fell on primary sources like:

- ❖ Diaries, which were found to be an especially meaningful source of information
- ❖ Hand-notated vocal music
- ❖ Holograph⁷ songbooks
- ❖ Letters, war memoirs, articles and newspaper cuttings written during the war.

Unpublished theses and dissertations also proved to be invaluable resources.

⁷ holograph (a.) Of a deed, letter, or document: Wholly written by the person in whose name it appears (Oxford [Internet] 2004).

1.11.2 Published Resources

Until recently, most research and books on the Anglo-Boer War concentrated mainly on the military course of the War, political aspects and the role of prominent military leaders. With a view to the centenary commemorations, a few books were written containing collections of the vocal music (Grobbelaar 1999; Cillié [s.a.]). Many books surrounding aspects about the war were covered. Books that highlighted the role played by music and a theoretical approach towards music, were also consulted.

1.12 VALUE OF THE STUDY

This thesis is of value due to the fact that:

- ❖ it contributes to the understanding of music as a form of human expression
- ❖ it is useful to researchers in musicology as well as cultural history, as it shows how each discipline can inform and enrich the other
- ❖ it is especially meaningful because it moves cultural history towards an accommodation with musicology
- ❖ it allows for an insight into the psyche of the Boer. This is very important because it promotes an understanding of white South Africans and what they had to suffer during the war. This, together with the understanding of the experiential world of black South Africans during apartheid, could lead to reconciliation between previously polarised South African groups
- ❖ by focussing on the role of the vocal music during the war, it will be recommended reading for students of cultural history and musicology
- ❖ it will be able to make some contribution to commemorate an era.

1.13 CHAPTER LAYOUT

After laying out the research design, the thesis proceeded to ascertain whether the axiom, which declares that music possesses a power or powers that can produce effects on the human psyche and body, could be validated. This had to be established before the research could proceed to assess the role played by vocal

music during the Anglo-Boer War. In order to achieve this, the study aimed at finding a way to link cultural history to musicology.

The experiential world of the Boers was highlighted in order to produce some insider perspectives of the war. This cultural-historical approach did not, however, have much to say about the role of Boer vocal music in generating and articulating social and cultural meanings. On the other hand, the musicological approach, which was based on research grounded in an examination of hand-notated musical scores, drew little attention to the role of music's meanings in the social, historical and cultural circumstances of the Boer people during the war.

In order to assess affect and meaning in Boer vocal music it was thus necessary to find a way to marry the cultural-historical and the musicological approach. The lacuna between these two approaches was identified as an aural void due to the fact that affect and meaning cannot be grounded exclusively in an examination of cultural history or musical symbols decontextualised from sound. The aural void was addressed by assessing the role played by the sounds of the Boer vocal music and an examination of the lyrics of the songs. The background information highlighted in these two chapters, allowed the lyrics to be interpreted in melodic configurations, which are equated with particular moods, emotions and cultural meanings.

The thesis concluded by assessing whether the hypothesis and research question posited in the research design, were answered.

1.14 NOTES TO READER

The following points are made for purposes of clarification, and are listed in no particular priority order:

- ❖ The words “black” and “white” have no racist connotations in this study, but are used solely to identify these two prominent groups in the South African socio-political situation. Similarly, the word “man” has no sexist connotations, but is used solely as a collective noun for humankind.

- ❖ For the purpose of this study, the researcher did not want to focus on the concept of cultural studies that is recognised in Shepherd and Wicke's theory. It was decided that because history is of paramount importance in this research, the study would focus on cultural-historical processes throughout the work.
- ❖ When a quotation is in American English, the term *sic* will not be used to indicate spelling differences between British English, used in this text, and American English. This is done in order to optimise the flow of the text. Similarly no changes were made to misspelled words when quoting lyrics.
- ❖ To avoid confusion between hand-notated songbooks and hand-written songbooks, it was decided to call all hand-written songbooks that only contain the words of the songs without notes, *holograph songbooks*. The researcher decided upon the use of the term *holograph* after consultations with Ms Elizabeth Ralfe, a linguist at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, as well as Prof Jack Kearney, lecturer in English literature at the same University. None of the dictionaries consulted, nor these academics, clearly state that the person in whose handwriting a book appears and is signed by, is necessarily the author. In the case of Boer holograph songbooks most of the lyrics were attributed to other writers.
- ❖ The archival material used for this research was listed in Afrikaans Inventories. The books containing vocal music were listed as *Liederebundels*. Hand-notated songbooks, holograph songbooks, songs with poems and printed songbooks are all referred to as *Liederebundels*. When translating the references from archival inventories, detailed references reflecting the type of songbook became problematic and too long. The researcher thus resorted to calling them all songbooks, as the Afrikaans called them all *Liederebundels*.
- ❖ As the Boers often sang *Psalmen and Gezangen*, suitable translations for these terms had to be found. *Psalm* (pl. *Psalmen*) will be translated as Psalm (pl. Psalms), while it was decided to keep the term, *Gezang* (pl. *Gezangen*). This was decided upon because the researcher often refers to hymns as a more general term for songs of worship. It would thus be

confusing to translate *Gezangen* as hymns and no other suitable terminology could be found.

- ❖ The term “lyrics” is used to refer to the text of a song, while the term “words” is used to refer to text from another source, eg. Biblical quotations.
- ❖ Names of people who donated items to archives are not always listed with initials. In the unpublished sources, some archival resources have initials, while others do not. This is not due to typing errors by the researcher, but due to references in the inventories.
- ❖ If researchers are unable to find resources found in archives under archival references given in this thesis, they must be aware of the fact that resources are often moved and inventories do not always reflect this.
- ❖ The problems with regard to archival research are mentioned to highlight the fact that many of the difficulties encountered by researchers could be overcome if more funds were made available for valuable sources of information like archives. This would allow for inventories to be updated so that resources could be more easily accessible. Archival research is also complicated and there is a need for specialised people to assist researchers. Many valuable documents are not easily available and it is regrettable that the information contained in these historical documents cannot be cited in any research.

CHAPTER 2

THE POWER OF MUSIC

2.1 INTRODUCTION

“Music creates order out of chaos; for rhythm imposes unanimity upon the divergent, melody imposes continuity upon the disjointed, and harmony imposes compatibility upon the incongruous” (Menuhin 1972:9). On reading this quotation, the question arises: Is there indeed something immensely fundamental about these attributes that makes music a power?

This study endeavours to assess the importance of vocal music and the role it played during the Anglo-Boer War. It is, therefore, necessary to ascertain whether there is evidence that the axiom, which declares that music (not just vocal music) possesses a power or powers that can produce effects on the human psyche, body, society and civilisations can be validated. It is against this background that music’s potential as a power will be evaluated in the following cases:

- ❖ Belief in the Power of Music over Many Centuries
- ❖ Influence of Music on the Human Body and Psyche.

2.2 BELIEF IN THE POWER OF MUSIC OVER MANY CENTURIES

There is evidence to indicate that over many centuries people believed in the power of music, although there was no scientific evidence to confirm these beliefs. The vital significance attached to the phenomenon of sound is, however, important and will be studied in the following cases:

- ❖ Music and the philosophers
- ❖ Music in ancient civilisations
- ❖ Music in biblical times
- ❖ Music as emotional manipulation
- ❖ Music as a group ideological expression.

2.2.1 Music and the philosophers

Many of the great philosophers held pronounced opinions about the power of sung poetry (music). There is clear evidence in their works to support the fact that they considered music to be a powerful medium that possessed qualities other than the purely artistic. They emphasised the powerful effect of music upon human character and morals. Tame (1988:18) writes interesting accounts of his belief in the power of music. He believes that: “Since music seemed to hold such a sway in determining the morality of people, it was a subject which none of the great moral philosophers could ignore.” The validity of this statement will be tested in the works of the philosophers Plato, Aristotle and Confucius⁸.

2.2.1.1 Plato (428-347 BC)

The Greek philosopher, Plato, was of the opinion that music is “capable not merely of affecting the emotions temporarily but of permanently influencing character” (Mountford & Winnington-Ingram 1984:67). In Book III of his Republic, music and the arts are discussed entirely from the point of view of the education of the guardians (professional soldiers) and how music should be employed to train both character and moral and aesthetic judgement. The modes and rhythms of music and physical training of the guardians should all aim at producing tough soldiers, “experienced enough in intellectual culture not to treat the unarmed citizens savagely, but not so softened by sweet food and music as to become incapable of fighting the cities’ enemies” (Plato 1995:70). Plato’s viewpoint was thus that music was a power that could influence a character negatively or beneficially. In order to combat the negative power that music could have on the guardians, he suggested a rigid censorship of music and poetry. This censorship meant the subordination of music for the good of the guardians (Grube 1980:206).

In connection with censorship, Plato discusses what Greek scales or modes he considers suitable for shaping young minds. He bans many modes but amongst

⁸ Confucius (551-479 BC), Chinese philosopher, one of the most influential figures in Chinese history (Confucius [Internet] 2004).

others he advocates the use of the Dorian and Phrygian modes because they are fit to express the tones and accents of a brave man. Of these two modes, Plato says, “the one violent, the other tranquil, such as shall best imitate the tones of men in adversity and in prosperity, in a temperate and in a courageous mood” (Plato 1914:95).

So serious was Plato about the power of music, that he gave instructions regarding instruments and rhythms that should be excluded in order “to purge the city of the extravagances which are corrupting it” (Plato 1914:95). He says that a variety of string instruments, or instruments embracing all harmonies, should no longer be used “because rhythm and harmony sink, most deeply into the recesses of the soul, and take a most powerful hold of it ... and also through music people are able to recognise good and bad” (Plato 1914:95.).

Plato was aware of the power of music to influence negatively and thus advocated that all musical innovations be avoided. To achieve this, he advocated that music should be under state jurisdiction, which would disallow innovations and only allow music that would influence a law-respecting society positively (Scott 1969:39). In Book II of the Laws, he praises Egypt for forbidding musicians “to innovate on these models or entertain any but the traditional standards, and the prohibition still persists, both for arts and for music in all its branches ... [and] in this matter of music it has actually proved possible to canonize⁹ melodies which exhibit an intrinsic rightness permanently by law” (Plato:33-34). It is clear throughout Laws that “he regarded the influence of music on behaviour as so profound as to be virtual ‘law’. Thus, in a literal sense, ‘song’ and ‘law’ were inseparable” (Anderson & Mathiesen 2001[a]:900).

Plato took a narrow view of the pleasure-giving function of music and emphasised a noble vision of the moral function of music. He was, however, not alone in his censorship of music, as other Greek philosophers also attributed various

⁹ canonize (*v.*) To sanction by the authority of the church; to give authoritative sanction or approval to (Oxford [Internet] 2004).

emotional and ethical effects to melodies founded on certain modes. This was especially evident in the writings of Aristotle.

2.2.1.2 Aristotle (384-322 BC)

Aristotle presents music as a multi-faceted experience, possessing the power to educate, purge and to be used in the cultivation of leisure. He also considered music to be of fundamental importance in education. Like Plato, he considered music to have the power to influence people negatively or positively. He thus also censored the use of modes and criticised Plato for allowing the use of the Phrygian mode, as he believed that music in the Dorian mode could have the best effect on the soul (Mountford & Winnington-Ingram 1984:67).

Belief in the power of music can also be traced to the writings of one of the greatest Chinese philosophers, Confucius.

2.2.1.3 Confucius (551-479 BC)

Chinese philosophers of all schools recognised the unique role of music as an educational and diagnostic power. Discussion of leadership, public spirit, morale and morality all referred to music and its influence on man (Lam 2001:284).

One of the greatest Chinese philosophers, Confucius, believed there was “a hidden significance to music which made it one of the most important things in life, possessing potentially tremendous power for good or evil” (Tame 1988:17). Throughout his writings, he suggested that music could influence collective thought and it was thus necessary that man be made aware of the negative and positive influence of music. He thus advocated that man should be exposed to music that could purify and harmonise the emotions as opposed to the bewitching power of music found in the songs and dances of shamans and magicians. Confucius (Analects of Confucius) himself admitted that after hearing the song *Shao* he was affected so negatively that he did not know the taste of meat for three months (Lam 2001:246).

Many Chinese philosophers were motivated to study the influence of music on their nation in order to ensure that music that was played was beneficial to the state and its citizens. The writings of these philosophers clearly influenced the thinking of many emperors and as Confucianism, founded by Confucius, represented the way of life followed by the Chinese people for well over 2 000 years, it may be concluded that music played a very vital role in the Chinese culture.

2.2.2 Music in ancient civilisations

Many ancient civilisations were also aware of the inherent powers locked within the heart of all music and the fact that music could influence people positively or negatively. Some references to music in ancient China and Greece will be addressed.

2.2.2.1 Music in ancient China

China was one of the earliest civilisations to recognise the power of music. Long before the birth of Christ, the people of China were already in possession of one of the most “complex and fascinating philosophies of music of which we know today” (Tame 1988:33). According to the ancient Chinese, music had a sacred power, with each composition exerting specific influences over man and civilisation. This is demonstrated by the fact that Emperor Yu Ti Shun, a legendary emperor of the golden age of antiquity (c. 23rd century BC), toured his country during the second month of each year in order to ascertain whether there were problems. In order to check the morale and attitude of the different territories, he tested the exact pitches of the notes of instruments and music used in each territory (Tame 1988:15). On his return to the palace, he would listen to the five notes of the ancient Chinese musical scale. He had eight kinds of Chinese musical instruments brought before him and he compared the tones of the folk songs of the territories he had visited in order to see whether all the music was in correspondence with the five notes of the Chinese musical style. If he discovered that the instruments of the different territories were tuned differently, he “considered it a foregone

conclusion that the territories ... might even lose their unity and begin to squabble among themselves unless the tuning was at once corrected and made uniform from one place to another” (Tame 1988:16). He clearly considered music as the most scientific and accurate mirror of the effectiveness of his government and the mood of his people.

With the founding of the Han dynasty (206 BC), the government, needing to stabilise the country, adopted Confucianism as the official ideology of China until the 1911 Revolution. The Han emperor, Wudi (156-87 BC), thus advocated state control of music based on Confucian music philosophy. He founded a Bureau of Music (Yuefu) which, amongst other things, had to establish national archives of suitable melodies and song texts and maintain the correct pitch standards, which were still considered a barometer for state well-being (Wolpert 1984:362). These conservative ideas concerning music inhibited composers and performers and European music appears to have had very little influence on Chinese music until the collapse of the Bureau of Music in 1911.

2.2.2.2 Music in ancient Greece

All the great Greek philosophers warned against the infiltration of music, which could affect a civilisation negatively. This respect for the power of music led to such artistic conservatism that, at Sparta and Athens, some musical innovators had their instruments destroyed. The works of the Greek composer and singer to the *kithara*, Timotheus of Miletus (c. 450-360 BC), came under sharp attack because of innovations. His boastful words concerning the innovations are reminiscent of the observation of some modern day bands: “I sing not the old songs, for my new songs are better; a young Zeus reigns, and Cronus’ rule was long ago; away with the ancient Muse” (Anderson & Mathiesen 2001[b]:482).

Innovations in Greek music continued but eventually Plato’s suggestions about how the power of music should be utilised for the good of the people were ignored. “Uplifting melodies and the former, disciplined styles were replaced by the novelty-

ridden, insubstantial sounds of exhibitionist stars. Greek music became trite and effeminate, and the people followed suit” (Tame 1988:189).

Tame (1988:189) is of the opinion that music led to the decline of Greece and the subsequent rise of the Roman Empire. He speaks about the power of destructive music within a civilisation. “It attains to a position of power and of widespread popularity with the masses within just a few years or decades; and its influence upon society in general is often similarly sudden, bringing about a swift and negative change in philosophies, politics, morals and lifestyles” (Tame 1988:189).

2.2.3 Music in biblical times

Throughout the Bible there are many references to singing and instrumental playing, which highlights the fact that music was considered a powerful instrument in biblical times. The book of Samuel describes how King Saul’s attendants searched for someone who could play the harp to treat their master’s malaise. “Whenever the spirit from God came upon Saul, David would take his lyre and play. Then relief would come to Saul; he would feel better, and the evil spirit would leave him” (NIV 1995:396 - 1 Samuel 16:23). The energising and ordering function of music, often employed in music therapy, was used by David to calm Saul.

Further evidence that music manifested itself as a power appears in many references to its use in Biblical passages. Trumpets are the most significant musical instruments in Scripture and they are associated with many different events throughout the Bible.

A very interesting passage in Joshua gives a vivid description of how the Lord delivered Jericho into the hands of Joshua through the scientific use of sound. The Lord gave Joshua clear instructions on how to destroy the walls of Jericho using sound produced in sequences of seven. “Have seven priests carry trumpets of rams’ horns in front of the ark. On the seventh day, march around the city seven times, with the priests blowing the trumpets. When you hear them sound a long blast on the trumpets, have all the people give a loud shout; then the wall of the

city will collapse and the people will go up, every man straight in” (NIV 1995:295 - Joshua 6:4-5). According to Scott (1969:38), the writer of the Book of Joshua must also have possessed some knowledge of the power of music and sound, “otherwise it is unlikely that he would have written the story of the Fall of Jericho.”

In 2 Chronicles 5:11-14 (NIV 1995:622) there is a vivid account of the music and singing during the consecration of the temple into which the Ark of the Covenant was placed. The detailed account of the instruments, i.e. cymbals, harps, lyres and 120 priests sounding trumpets, gives the impression of the power of specific tones to invoke sacred energy from heaven for the blessing of the temple. This is conveyed in the verses on the following page.

“The trumpeters and singers joined in unison, as with one voice, to give praise and thanks to the Lord. Accompanied by trumpets, cymbals and other instruments, they raised their voices in praise to the Lord and sang:

‘He is good;
His love endures forever’

Then the temple of the Lord was filled with a cloud, and the priests could not perform their service because of the cloud, for the glory of the Lord filled the temple of God”

(NIV 1995:622 - 2 Chronicles 5:13-14).

The Book of Revelations is almost entirely devoted to prophetic revelations, with many references to music and the playing of trumpets. Trumpets are mentioned more in this book than in any other book in the Bible, and they are associated with the Second Coming. Trumpet sound throughout Revelations can be seen as a symbol of victory. Even when God gave John the special vision of the things he was to write, He spoke in a loud voice like a trumpet, e.g. Revelations 1:10 and 4:1. Another instrument spoken of in Revelations is the harp, always used as an instrument of praise (NIV 1995:1931 - Revelations 5:8; NIV 1995:1941 - Revelations 15:2). The sounds of harpists and singers are associated with deep joy for the predestined (NIV 1995:1930 - Revelations 14:1-3). References in New

Testament passages also teach that a trumpet will announce the Rapture (NIV 1995:1760 - 1 Corinthians 15:52; NIV 1995:1827 - 1 Thessalonians 4:16).

2.2.4 Music as emotional manipulation

In recent times, there is evidence that music is believed to have powers that can influence man. Many of these beliefs have not been scientifically proven. They are, however, important to highlight the fact that people have always believed in the power of music. Many of these beliefs regarding Voodoo¹⁰, Jazz, and the Ku Klux Klan¹¹, affect the human psyche on an emotional level. Here examples will be given of music used in:

- ❖ Voodoo music rituals and Jazz
- ❖ Music in present day society.

2.2.4.1 Voodoo music rituals and Jazz

Concrete examples of the often-perceived destructive use of music can be traced to its use in Voodoo rituals, as well as to Jazz. As Jazz is said to be rooted in the mingled musical traditions of African Americans, Voodoo and Jazz will be considered together (Jazz [Internet] 2004). Examples will be given of criticism with regard to these styles. The very fact that there was opposition to the styles is proof that the music was believed to be a threatening power, but there is still a lack of scientific evidence to validate this claim. Nuzum (2001:9) agrees with the fact that improper scientific method could take research out of context. He states that “[w]hile it is true (and well researched) that certain genres of music attract certain types of people, it is important to remember a fundamental truth of social science: Correlation does not prove causation” (Nuzum 2001:9).

¹⁰ Vodou or Vodun, religion of Haiti, also practiced in Cuba, Trinidad, Brazil, and the Southern USA, especially Louisiana. It is commonly spelled voodoo, a spelling that, according to many scholars today, carries derogatory and inaccurate associations. Vodou combines elements of Roman Catholicism and tribal religions of western Africa, particularly Benin (Voodoo [Internet] 2004).

¹¹ Ku Klux [also Ku Klux Klan] A widespread secret society, which arose in the Southern States of North America after the civil war of 1861-65, beginning with the effort to overawe the Negro population by whipping and arson, and developing a system of political outrage and murder. The Ku Klux Klan regained strength in the Southern States of the U.S. in the 1950s in opposition to the Civil Rights movement of American Blacks (Oxford [Internet] 2004).

During the slave trade, Voodoo crossed the Atlantic and took root in the Caribbean and the USA. Laws were passed against the playing of such music as early as 1619, but with little effect. It is on record that by 1835, blacks would gather in New Orleans to sing and perform acts of Voodoo. It also became the folk religion of Haiti and, in order to avoid persecution, the slave society constructed a Christian façade to camouflage non-Christian beliefs and practices, especially those that honoured ancestors and gods (Olsen & Sheehy 1998:795). There was evidence of malevolent and evil Voodoo music, which had as its very purpose the inflicting of harm upon other life. Tame (1988:189) recognises this when he states, “as the rhythmic accompaniment to satanic rituals and orgies, Voodoo is the quintessence of tonal evil”. The destructive power of this music is found in its rhythm, often executed on drums. Its multiple rhythms, rather than uniting into an integrated whole, are performed in a certain kind of conflict with one another. It is said that subtle nuances that are incorporated into Voodoo rhythms, while being too subtle for the ear of even the trained Western musician to notice, are actually the source of much of Voodoo’s claimed occult power (Tame 1988:190). This music was considered such a destructive power that ritual and musical practices, especially drumming, became the subjects of censorship, including a drum-burning campaign in Haiti as late as the 1930s.

Many musicologists and historians are of the opinion that the drum rhythms of Africa were brought to the USA during the slave trade. According to David Szatmary syncopated rhythms were and indigenous creation of black slaves who adapted their African musical heritage to the American Environment (Is there a connection between Rock Music or African Paganism [Internet] 2004). According to Southern (1971:139), “they [the slaves] brought with them only their worship of gods, their dances and their drum beats”.

The philosophers referred to in 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 spoke about the power of music for good or bad. With regard to the destructive power of music, there have been many discussions about the negative power of Jazz. This a very complex subject and this research will not enter into a polemic about the pros and cons of Jazz.

However, a few examples of opposition to Jazz in the 20th century will be highlighted in order to demonstrate that it was considered a very powerful medium.

The perception of the power of Jazz lay in the fact that many people were of the opinion that it was the cause of moral decay. A newspaper article of 22 June 1922 in the New York American (cited in Tame 1988:194) perceives Jazz as a cause of moral decay: “Moral disaster is coming to hundreds of young American girls through the pathological, nerve-irritating, sex-exciting music of Jazz orchestras, according to the Illinois Vigilance Association. In Chicago alone the association’s representatives have traced the fall of 1000 girls in the last two years to Jazz music. Girls ... are victims of the weird, insidious, neurotic music that accompanies modern dancing.”

The perceived potential of Jazz to manipulate people emotionally can be traced to the American South. Here, members of the Ku Klux Klan, alarmed at the prospect of their youth being influenced by “Negro” music (Jazz), put up posters everywhere warning people of the dangers of this type of music and exerted pressure to force radio stations to stop playing Jazz and rock music on the air (Larson 1972:89). During the Second World War, Nazi Germany condemned all modern musical styles, especially atonality as well as Jazz, because “[t]hey smelled of revolution, of independent thinking and they were not Aryan” (Perris 1985:55).

Today Jazz goes virtually unchallenged and it has developed into a respected musical style. It remains an open question whether the moral decline of present day society can be attributed to, amongst other things, music and especially Jazz. It might be argued that modern man, who often considers music to be a non-essential aspect of human life, has not realised its power to degrade the individual psyche. Tame (1988:204) issues the following warning: “I adamantly believe that rock in all of its forms is a critical problem which our civilisation must get to grips with in some genuinely effective way, and without delay, if it wishes long to survive.”

2.2.4.2 Music in present day society

The secular world has been active regarding exploiting the power of music. Advertising has long since recognised the insidious effects of repetitive jingles. What appears to be a new heightened sense of fun may hide a more sinister effect behind the 'fun' factor. As the sound environment has increased, modern man has become so de-sensitised that he barely notices that the advertisements on the media tend to be louder, that he no longer hears sports commentaries or news report without a dominantly rhythmical musical rendering in the background. Whilst the use of music is recognised to promote interest, to engender fun, to lift spirits and to provide motivation, the balance is easily tipped in favour of the 'fun/feel good factor' allowing music to become mainly manipulative. Whilst captivated by the enjoyment factor, modern man ceases to be discerning or questioning and, as a result, is far more accepting of what he hears.

2.2.5 Music as a group ideological expression

Politicians who use music to manipulate people realise and believe in its power. That music was used as a tool for propaganda, is a clear indication that these governments saw music as a powerful weapon, and even turned to music to make an alien ideology survive. For the purpose of this study the following countries, which had strong ideologies that emphasised the group over the individual, will be studied:

- ❖ Russia
- ❖ China
- ❖ Nazi Germany.

2.2.5.1 Russia

When Stalin¹² came into power in the Soviet Union, he realised that music that did not reflect Communist ideology posed a real threat to the stability of his regime. He

¹² Joseph Stalin (1879-1953) Russian political leader, who was the undisputed leader of the USSR from 1929 until his death. He helped to convert communism in the USSR from an egalitarian,

was thus of the opinion that popular and devotional music was incompatible with Soviet society. In 1927, the avant-garde Association of Contemporary Musicians was absorbed into the conservative, ideological Russian Association of Proletarian Musicians. In 1936, the Union of Soviet Composers, whereby musicians and composers were given guidelines on how to echo Party ideologies, replaced this Association. If composers wanted their music performed, it had to be simple and conspicuously melodic and somehow had to describe the happy life (or supposition of it) in New Russia. The tragic effect of this restriction on Russian music resulted in the fact that by 1936, Russia's "musical language had retrogressed to that of the nineteenth century" (Perris 1985:75).

Clearly the Communists saw music as a power that could change society if uncontrolled, hence the necessity to make music a vehicle which had to be controlled by the state. This was corroborated by the Russian composer, Dmitri Shostakovich, who, in an interview granted to The New York Times in December 1931, stated: "There can be no music without ideology ... We, as revolutionaries, have a different conception of music ... It is not a leader of masses, perhaps, but certainly an organising force! For music has the power of stirring specific emotions ... Music is no longer an end to itself, but a vital weapon in the struggle. Because of this, Soviet music will probably develop along different lines from any the world has ever known" (Schwarz 1983:130).

Tame (1988:165) makes the point that what the Communists considered dangerous music was the very music that they used to upset the stability of Western youths. David Noebel (cited in Tame 1988:165) documented the attempts of Soviet-related radicals to set up record companies in the West "for the promulgation of hypnotic and harmful musical recordings for children, as well as for the releasing of left-wing and anarchistic rock and folk-rock discs."

revolutionary movement into an authoritarian, bureaucratic governmental system. He helped to turn Russia into a great industrial nation, to defeat Hitler in World War II, and, after the war, to establish Communist regimes throughout Eastern Europe. At the same time, however, he institutionalised terror and was responsible for the death and deprivation of millions of people (Stalin [Internet] 2004).

2.2.5.2 China

The power of music for ideological purposes clearly manifested itself when, around 1940, the Chinese Liberation forces initiated the organised use of music for propaganda by broadcasting revolutionary songs and choruses to the populace over a 300-watt transmitter. A revolutionary song was also composed with the text of Mao Tsetung's¹³ early instructions on conduct for the Red Army, *The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight points for Attention*. By means of this song, the Chinese Communists were determined to show the people on the farms and in the villages that the soldiers of the Red Army were not like the brutal, pillaging troops of the past. The text of the song dates from 1928, but as late as 1971 Mao was still urging the troops to sing this song (Gray 1996:51). Mao (cited in Perris 1985:99) stated, "An army without culture is a dull-witted army, and a dull-witted army cannot defeat the enemy."

Further proof of the power of music can be seen in the fact that, during the Chinese Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), the government achieved almost total control of revolutionary music. The government was not prepared to expose people to outside music in case it portrayed a different ideology from their own. "Perhaps at no time in the history of music, Eastern or Western, has society endured such an extreme censorship of the performing arts" (Perris 1985:88-89). The control of music in China was extended to the schools where Western songs popular with teenagers were replaced with songs depicting rules of conduct. These rules, e.g. love of motherland, the people and Communist party, doing of homework conscientiously, keeping of clean clothes and not spitting, were all set to music to help young students remember (Perris 1985:105). During the second half of the twentieth century, the Chinese also had to observe a daily routine of anti-Capitalist songs (Tame 1988:69).

¹³ Mao Tse-tung (1893-1976) [also Mao Zedong] He was a man who rose from the peasantry to become the pre-eminent revolutionary theorist, political leader and statesman of Communist China. Mao's influence endured more than 40 years from the Long March of the 1930s, through the Red Army's victory in 1949, until his death in 1976 at age 83. He remained chairman of the party to the end (CNN [Internet] 2004).

2.2.5.3 Nazi Germany

The Nazis were prepared to sacrifice artistic principles for ideology. The function of music in this repressive political system was threefold:

- ❖ aimed at uniting its own people
- ❖ propaganda
- ❖ purifying German music.

In an effort to exercise direct control of the country's cultural life, the Nazis carried out an organised campaign of terror in 1933. Political agitation was employed to prevent some prominent musicians and composers (mainly Jewish) from carrying out their work. By the start of the Second World War, the Ministry of Propaganda's Music Division was firmly entrenched and it detailed music that was declared unacceptable in the Reich. Numerous decrees were issued, banning the printing and performance of Jewish music and banning Jewish conductors. By 1938, 2 310 Jewish musicians were expelled from Germany (Levi 1994:15).

Nazi control of music was extended to the tempos and keys that could be used. Composers were told to use major keys, not the minor key used by Jews and the tempos for compositions should be brisk but not exceed allegro which they felt was "commensurate with the Aryan sense of discipline and motivation" (Perris 1985:56). All opera houses were controlled by the Nazis and in 1940 the *Reichsstelle für Musikbearbeitungen* was established with the brief to rearrange librettos of neglected 18th and 19th century operas to reflect pro-Nazi propaganda and to alter the music to suit new political realities (Levi 1994:35). Anti-Semitism had serious repercussions for Handel's works, which had texts drawn from the Old Testament, so many of his works were changed in line with Nazi ideology. His oratorios generated many arrangements, one of which was a revision of Judas Maccabeus, in the guise of the 16th century Netherlands freedom fighter, Wilhelm von Nassauen (Levi 1994:38).

2.3 INFLUENCE OF MUSIC ON THE HUMAN PSYCHE AND BODY

Examples given in 2.2 draw attention to beliefs in the power of music. Modern man has been able to prove, through scientific studies, that many of these beliefs are true. Instruments now exist not only for verifying, but also for measuring the effects of music on the body and its functions: galvanic reaction, blood pressure, body movement, metabolism, and electroencephalographic (brain wave) patterns (Feder & Feder 1981:132). This has resulted in many studies directed towards demonstrating what had previously only been believed - that music is able to influence the human psyche and body.

There are so many instances where music has been used to bring about emotional, bodily and mental effects that it would be impossible to address them all in this research. The therapeutic use of music is also so varied that only two examples will be highlighted in order to substantiate the theory that music is a fundamental power:

- ❖ Music therapy
- ❖ Music in education.

2.3.1 Music therapy

Controlled clinical studies have led to a growing understanding of how music can be applied to therapeutic advantage. Increasingly researchers are suggesting uses for sound and music in treating both physical and mental disabilities. To music therapists, music is a universal curative agent and what makes therapy particularly attractive is the fact that it heals the psychological cause behind disease, rather than merely suppressing the symptoms, as do most forms of medical treatment.

Music's use as a palliative is also extensively documented. Don Campbell is one of these theorists who has devoted his life to making a case for healing through music. He reveals how exposure to Mozart's music can have a lifelong effect on health, learning and behaviour and speaks of "the Power of Music to heal the Body, Strengthen the Mind, and Unlock the Creative Spirit" (Campbell 1997:v). He

specifically uses Mozart's music for strengthening the mind and body and unlocking the creative spirit.

Tomatis¹⁴ reported that regardless of taste, the music of Mozart invariably calmed listeners, improved spatial perception and allowed them to express themselves more clearly. He also stated that the rhythms, melodies and the high frequencies of Mozart's music had the ability to stimulate and charge the creative and motivational regions of the brain (Tomatis [Internet] 2004).

The therapeutic power of the music of other composers is also appreciated. Beethoven's works are said to play a role in psychoanalysis. Scott (1969:66) confirms this in his statement that "people who listened to, but more especially played, his [Beethoven's] works were conscious of a pronounced emotional relief. His music gave utterance to all those feelings which they could not, perhaps even dared not, express in any other way." Tame (1988:74) agrees with Scott and states that Beethoven's nine symphonies contain numerous themes and tonal references pertaining to the path of self-transcendence and its challenges.

There are many other examples of the therapeutic role of all kinds of music. The examples given, however, attest to the fact that music is a healing power and can be used in many situations to improve the quality of life. As it is such a broad field, it is virtually impossible to give a detailed description of the values of music therapy. It is also a field that is showing rapid development as therapists continue to discover more about the therapeutic powers of music.

2.3.2 Music in education

Increasingly the impact of music on every stage of human development is being revealed as research and technology probe the boundaries of knowledge, showing that many cognitive processes such as recall, creative thought, concentration,

¹⁴ Tomatis Method, founded in the 1950's by Alfred Tomatis (1920 - 2001), a French ear-nose-and-throat specialist, who recognised the affects of Mozart's music on patients with auditory problems (Tomatis [Internet] 2004).

problem solving and transfer of knowledge are affected by music. Michels (2001:6-28) states that neuromusical research uses “[s]cientific data on which new approaches to music education can be based, as well as some important answers to ‘why’ the musical intelligence needs to be developed in **all** learners, as an autonomous intelligence and for its role in associated learning.”

In 1994, Dryden and Vos warned against evaluation or testing systems in education that rewarded only a limited number of abilities. They recognised the fact that everyone has access to many different “intelligences” or intelligence traits. Harvard Professor of Education, Howard Gardner, who used prolific research to prove that each person has multiple intelligence centres, also challenged the view that intelligence was generally only defined as a combination of verbal and mathematical aptitudes. In 1996, Gardner, together with Hatch, developed the theory of Multiple Intelligences and identified music as one of eight intelligences. According to them, Musical Intelligence is the ability “to produce and appreciate rhythm, pitch, and timbre; appreciation of the forms of musical expressiveness” (Hatch & Gardner 1996:11).

The book, *The Learning Revolution* (Dryden & Vos 1994), provides descriptions of learning possibilities using music, especially Baroque music. It teaches people how to learn more in less time, enjoy and retain it. Throughout the book, music features as a learning tool. According to Colin Rose (cited in Dryden & Vos 1994:164), “Music can do in minutes what weeks of meditative practice strive towards.” Music suggestions are also given to enhance learning, as can be seen in Example 2.1.

In accelerated learning programmes, the use of music is especially valued as an educational tool. Michels (2001:5-42) states that music forms an integral part of the curriculum in many studies of academic, scientific and mathematical achievement. This is mainly because learning through music and sound and rhythmical activities activates the whole brain and makes it possible to master difficult concepts faster and with greater retention. According to Lehr (cited in Michels 2001:5-46), “[b]rain scan studies indicate that music more fully involves

brain functions in **both** hemispheres than any other activity the researchers studied”.

Example 2.1 Music Suggestions: Dryden and Vos

Music suggestions

Use different music for different purposes.

For creating a calm atmosphere

Relaxing music, like *Watermark* by Enja, non-vocal music such as *The Lonely Shepherd* by Samphir, *Andante* from the Lind Institute, or some of the tracks from Ray Lynche's *No Blue Thing*.

For getting in the mood

Especially for cooperative learning activities, *Deep Breakfast* by Ray Lynch.

For “clustering” and fast writing

Antarctica by Vangelis or *Brazilian* in the *Invisible Touch* album by Genesis (the latter is especially popular with teenagers).

For “poetry writing”

December by George Winston.

For putting poems and whole language to raps

A selection of Hammer's tapes, but just the instrumental part.

For “state changes”

Vary the music depending on the age groups, but generally any upbeat instrumental music, such as *Switched On Beatles* by Chase and Rucker for those who grew up in the Beatles era; C C Music Factory for today's teenagers, and Elvis Presley music for those from an earlier era.

For getting started with teenagers

Right after a break, *Strike it up* by Black Box.

For goal setting

Chariots of Fire by Vangelis.

For “visualizations”

Slow music such as Kitaro's *Silk Road*, Michael Jones' *Sunsets*, and George Winston's *December*.

*These are from selections used by Jeannette Vos in class. See page 174 for specific “active” and “passive” concert music. See also our resource lists at end of book for music catalogues and training manuals. Unfamiliar terms above are covered in later text.

(Dryden & Vos 1994:166)

The Bulgarian psychologist, Georgi Lozanov, also stresses the importance of music in accelerated learning. He “believes a well-orchestrated music concert can in effect do most of the teaching in a greatly reduced time.” The key elements of

the Lozanov technique are the so-called active and passive concerts where music is used “to maintain, and synthesize with the most effective learning state: alpha” (Dryden & Vos 1994:175). A summary of Lozanov’s technique using Baroque, Classical and Romantic music is given below. The mediums in Bach and BWV numbers are however lacking in his chart, making it difficult to know which works are mentioned. It is, however, still of interest to show his chart.

Example 2.2 Music for learning: G. Lozanov

Georgi Lozanov’s music for easier learning

The Georgi Lozanov technique uses music in three distinct ways to accelerate learning:

1. **Introductory music, along with deep breathing exercises, to relax participants and achieve the optimum state for easy learning.**
2. **An “active concert,” in which the information to be learned is read in time to expressive music.**
3. **A “passive concert” in which the learner hears the new information read softly against a background of baroque music, to help move the information into the long-term memory banks.**

Here are a few typical selections:*

FOR ACTIVE CONCERT

Beethoven, Concerto for Violin and Orchestra in D major, Op. 61.

Tchaikovsky, Concerto No. 1 in B flat minor for Piano and Orchestra.

Mozart, Concerto for Violin and Orchestra, Concert No. 7 in D major.

Haydn, Symphony No. 67 in F. major; Symphony No. 69 in B. major

Beethoven, Concerto No. 5 in E flat major for Piano and Orchestra, Op. 73 (“Emperor”).

FOR PASSIVE CONCERT

Corelli, Concerti Grossi, Op. 6, No. 2, 8, 5, 9.

Handel, The Water Music.

J.S. Bach, Fantasy in G major, Fantasy in C Minor and Trio in D minor; Canonic Variations and Toccata.

Corelli, Concerti Grossi, Op. 4, No. 10, 11, 12.

Vivaldi, Five Concertos for Flute and Chamber Orchestra.

*Selections are from *Language Teacher’s Suggestopedic Manual*, by Georgi Lozanov and Evalina Gateva (1988), and *Suggestology and Outline of Suggestopedia*, by Lozanov (1978), both published by Gordon and Breach, New York.

(Dryden & Vos 1994:174)

The fact that Musical Intelligence is recognised as one of eight autonomous intelligences, highlights the fact that music is recognised as an essential educational tool and that educators are becoming more aware of the relationship of music to achievement in academic disciplines. This is mainly because “[n]euromusical research is providing valuable information about music processing. Brain imaging techniques have made it possible to understand how music learning affects brain activation patterns and networks, and to monitor how the brain learns and thinks” (Michels 2001:6-19).

2.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter highlighted the fact that over the ages there have been many beliefs regarding the power of music and that modern scientific tests have been able to prove the validity of many of these beliefs. The chapter thus highlighted the potential and possibilities inherent in music to make it a power that is able to operate on the human psyche and body. This is confirmed by Feder and Feder (1981:31), “The compelling interrelationship between the structured energy demands of music and the natural rhythm and responses of the body makes music a logical ordering instrument.”

CHAPTER 3

A CULTURAL- HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE BOERS DURING THE ANGLO-BOER WAR

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 2, research validated the fact that music is a fundamental human resource, which influences the body, mind and emotions of society. It will, however, be necessary to produce some insider perspectives of the Boer people during the war in order to understand affect and meaning of Boer vocal music. Shepherd and Wicke (1997:7) also argue that it is impossible to isolate the affect and meaning of music “from their embeddedness in social and cultural processes and the everyday lives of people.” This is corroborated by Philip Tagg (1991:144), who states that “a viable understanding of culture requires an understanding of its articulation through music as much as a viable understanding of music requires an understanding of its place in culture.”

This chapter will be from a cultural-historical perspective with the main purpose of leading the research towards analysing affect and meaning in vocal music as a vehicle for understanding the Boer psyche. Understanding of the Boer and his or her experiences during the war will be captured by a thick description, which conceptualises experience.

3.2 AN OVERVIEW OF THE ANGLO-BOER WAR

The Anglo-Boer War broke out on 11 October 1899 between the a coalition of two former Boer republics, namely the *Oranje-Vrijstaat (OVS)* and the *Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR)*, and Britain. It was a conflict characterised by Afrikaner Nationalism and British Imperialism. A selection of random items regarding the war gives an indication of the wide range of materials available in archival manuscript collections. Diaries, memoirs and letters help to unravel the experiential world of the Boers. Many quotations are used, as it is only by quoting

the exact words of the writers of these sources that one is able to empathise and understand the psyche and experiences of the Boers during the war.

3.2.1 Background history

The Anglo-Boer War was fought by opposing forces, each satisfied that their cause was just and with a determination to win. As a conflict characterised by Boer Nationalism and British Imperialism, it could not be resolved without military confrontation. The Boers were fighting the war for national survival and were fired by genuine patriotism. This is reflected in the words of the *ZAR* Secretary of State F.W. Reitz, “I know the character of the Boers, their stubbornness and desire for independence. They will continue to resist and then a real people’s war will begin for every inch of ground to the last drop of blood” (Izedinova 1977:58).

As England was a respected military power, it was almost unthinkable that two small South African Republics, the *OVS* and the *ZAR*, could have challenged her. The emotion of the Boers regarding the war is poignantly conveyed in the diary of Elsa Levisieur, a well-educated lady from Bloemfontein. She wrote: “We are in the right; we feel that it is a stand Afrikanerdom is making against the Britisher, who little by little is creeping up and trying to take our resources for himself” (Anglo-Boer War Museum Archives [ABWMA] 6032/1). She measured the Boers against the mighty British war machine and alleged that “we are fighting for our independence - we are small and weak ... while England, if she loses, begins her downward career - loses her prestige in Africa, nay in the eyes of the world, as she is the stronger power and yet, if there is a just God, surely her punishment will come!” (ABWMA 6032/1).

The war diary of Alie Badenhorst provides an excellent example of a woman who reacted actively to the challenge of surviving a war. Despite the fact that she was a pacifist, due to religious convictions, she expressed patriotic sentiment: “It is true that I had always been against the war with England, knowing they were a powerful people; still I could not wish to give up our country, loving our freedom as I did” (Badenhorst 1923:79).

3.2.2 Lack of animosity between warring parties

Despite the fact that the two warring parties blamed each other for the war, there is substantial evidence to prove that they were almost sorry they had to fight each other. A newspaper clipping from a British newspaper states “that there is no personal animosity shown by the burghers against their opponents in arms ... [and] they look upon them [the British] as innocent men fighting a bad cause” (Free State Archives Depot [FAD] A296).

Winston Churchill, a British journalist, also highlighted this lack of animosity in a tribute to the Boers who captured him: “[T]hey were not cruel men, these enemies. That was a great surprise to me, for I had read much of the literature of this land of lies, and have fully expected every hardship and indignity” (FAD A155/133/2). When he was deported to another camp he gave two of his captors a slip of paper on which he requested that these people be treated well should the British catch them, as they had shown courtesy and kindness to British prisoners. He wrote: “[W]ith much respect I bade good-bye to this dignified and honourable enemy” (Churchill 1900:124).

Sister Izedinova, a Russian nurse who came out to nurse the Boers during the War, corroborates Churchill’s view: “No one will deny, I think, that the Boers, through their humane and I would add Christian treatment of prisoners, fully demonstrated the correctness of their approach to military behaviour between civilised peoples” (Izedinova 1977:141). She contrasted this to the treatment meted out by the British who, she said, achieved submission through the ill-treatment of the so-called non-combatants, women, children and old people (Izedinova 1977:141).

Sarah Heckford, a British trader, also gave an account of Boer goodwill when she related praise by a fellow Englishman of the Boers who had beaten them at Nooitgedacht. According to her, he stated that “[t]hey treated the wounded well and gave them everything they wanted. There was no ill feeling between us. When we were leaving, I shook hands with them and thanked them. One old fellow

brought us some pumpkins and things and said we hadn't burnt his house so he must give us something" (Allen 1979:218).

The writing of another British war correspondent illuminates the uniqueness of the Boer fighters. They were very hospitable towards him and, on a commandeered train full of Boers and their horses, he witnessed the partings of loved ones and wrote: "It is bad enough to witness when our soldiers go to the front. But these men are not soldiers at all. Each of them come direct from his home or some isolated farm" (FAD A296).

Though there are many accounts of Boer kindness, it is difficult to generalise, and instances of kindness on the British side were evident as well. This can be observed by many cuttings in the British Press denouncing the war and reports of petitions to Queen Victoria regarding the situation in South Africa (FAD A296). Reservations about the merits of the war were also expressed by Winston Churchill, who, on hearing the Boers sing their evening hymns, remarked that "it struck a chill into my heart, so that I thought after all that the war was unjust, that the Boers were better men than we, that Heaven was against us, that Ladysmith, Mafeking, and Kimberley would fall ... So for the time I despaired of the Empire" (Churchill 1900:109).

It is, however, not the purpose of this study to apportion blame to either the British or the Boer, or to compare their strategies, but merely to see the war through Boer experience. The situations of combatants, non-combatants, and prisoners will be discussed to gain insight into the Boer psyche.

3.3 BOER COMBATANTS

The majority of Boer combatants were the men and boys who fought on Commando. Isolated incidents are selected to give an insight into their experiential world.

3.3.1 Call-up system

In terms of the Commando laws of the ZAR and the OVS, male citizens were liable for military service from the age of sixteen. This did not, however, deter teenagers younger than sixteen from joining the Commandos. Deneys Reitz, who joined a Commando at the age of seventeen, echoed the thoughts of many teenagers when he explained “I looked on the prospect of war and adventure with the eyes of youth, seeing only glamour, but knowing nothing of the horror and the misery” (Reitz 1933:19). It was, however, especially in the later stages, the so-called guerrilla phase when Boers fought mainly in their own districts, that young boys fought beside their fathers and older brothers. According to Sister Izedinova (1977:180), many young boys were prepared to fight due to the patriotic character of education introduced during the fifteen years prior to the war by the ZAR Superintendent of Education, Mr Mansveldt.

The call-up system was not without fault and gave rise to many problems. The result was that all the foreign medical personnel spoke at one time or another of patients feigning sickness to obtain home leave. Izedinova (1977:148) states: “I was frequently irritated by strong, healthy men, presenting themselves to the doctor with an imaginary *hoofpein, maagpein, pyn in die rug, pyn in die been.*” This lack of discipline in many Commandos led to “a military organization peculiar to the Boers, with the absence of real discipline and sense of responsibility in their ranks” (Izedinova 1977:111).

3.3.2 Life on Commando

One British war correspondent supplied a clear description of his perception of the Boer on Commando. According to him, these Boers were brave and able to make good plans but they were always twenty-four hours late. He wrote that there was no uniform in the Boer Army and the Boers rode on Commando with a Mauser, a kind of magazine rifle, and full cartridge belt over the shoulder or around the waist. Their only distinguishing feature was the broad-brimmed grey or brown soft hat they all wore. “It is generally very stained and dirty, and invariably a rusty crepe

band is wound around the crown. For the Boer, like the English poorer classes, has large quantities of relations, and one of them is always dying” (FAD A296).

The uniqueness of the Boer fighter on Commando was not limited to his unusual dress but also to fighting tactics. This was highlighted in a letter to a British newspaper written by a Canadian officer fighting in South Africa. According to him, the Boers had no planned strategy. They were attached to Commandos, some with two hundred and others with thousands of men, who were independent of one another “so that it is impossible to strike a blow so as to injure the whole” (FAD A155/133/2). He went on to explain how each Commando split up into parties between ten to a hundred men and wandered all over the country. He wrote that “they are fast, know the country, and never fight, but content themselves with a few shots at our outposts” (FAD A155/133/2).

Many documents reflect conditions of the Boer fighter on Commando. Generally speaking, they had a continual struggle for existence. The Commando camp was called a *laager* and from there the Boers proceeded on horseback to take up positions and carry out military activity. In the *laager*, they busied themselves with daily tasks, and passed leisure and recreation time. They produced decorative articles, beautiful carvings from wood and bone, played card games, chess, draughts, held debating societies, held mock courts, literate Boers read newspapers, periodicals and books, and they also sang. There are many accounts, some contradictory, of how Boers spent their time sleeping or reading Bibles when they were not involved in skirmishes. Every Boer had a Bible and a hymnbook in his possession and an observant Boer noted that the main reading matter of the Boers was their Bible (Pretorius 1999:122).

Alie Badenhorst’s diary includes letters from her husband on Commando. They give readers an insight into the hardship of Commando life and the firm belief that the Boers had in God. In one of his letters about a fearful night in the open veld, he wrote: “If the Lord does not give us strength, I know not what will become of us or how we shall hold out. There is much to do so that we barely find time to rest” (Badenhorst 1923:78).

3.3.3 Boer faith and nationalism on Commando

There are many accounts of Dutch Reformed ministers who left their congregations to go on Commando and they provided strong leadership in the religious sphere. According to Pretorius (1999:172), “the war deepened many burghers’ spiritual lives, and progressively more so as the struggle continued. It not only strengthened the faith of the pious, but also touched the indifferent ones.”

The importance of prayer to the Boer is reflected in a report on the Battle of Elandslaagte by a British war correspondent. He wrote about how he nearly trod on the face of the Commandant of the Boer Commando, who was lying quite still with a kind of dignity. The Commandant told him that during the battle he had not fought but read the Bible and prayed instead, so that God could take over the role of Commandant (FAD A296).

Day-to-day records of the sieges of Mafeking, Kimberley and Ladysmith reveal that the Boers did not fight on Sundays as they had religious services. During the siege of Mafeking, Sol Plaatje wrote in his diary of a letter of warning written by a General Snyman, “notifying us for the last time with regard to the Sunday, as he sees that so far from worshipping we use it as a day of building forts, [and] chopping wood” (Comaroff & Willan 1973:121). Plaatje clearly heeded the warning issued by Snyman as he withdrew the pony he had entered for a run in a gymkhana on a Sunday, “lest [he] be guilty of blatant sacrilege and thereby further imperil [his] already dangerous condition” (Comaroff & Willan 1973:131). Plaatje, however, gives examples where Boers broke the Sunday truce. In one example, he humorously stated that “[t]he Boers must be getting some nasty knocks somewhere, for they now don’t care a hang about worshipping their God on Sundays” (Comaroff & Willan 1973:130).

By March 1900 the Boer forces were faced with many military losses. On 13 March 1900, Lord Roberts occupied Bloemfontein and on 5 June 1900, Pretoria fell. The OVS and the ZAR became British territory later in 1900 and many Boers surrendered. Due to these events, there was a general decline in Boer morale.

President Kruger of the ZAR thus considered it his duty to boost the morale of the Boer fighters and went to the OVS, where he addressed the troops with a short, fiery speech in which he urged them to place their hopes in God and not lose heart because of the reversal of fortunes (Izedinova 1977:73). After the loss of Pretoria, morale was so low that many Boers left the Commandos and were given the name of “hands-upper”.¹⁵ There was, however, an upside to this: “The chaff was divided from the grain; cowards and traitors remained behind, and the willing ones went to the veld, even though in a retreating position” (van Warmelo 1977:34).

The last pitched battle of the war was fought at Dalmanutha in August 1900 and this was followed by the guerrilla phase of the war. During this phase, when the battle zone was spread across large parts of South Africa, the Commandos were broken into smaller units and sent all over the country. Battles only happened occasionally and “the interminable days were often passed in idleness” (Pretorius 1999:117).

Diary entries and letters attest to the fact that the Boers on Commando intermixed faith and nationalism. “In fact, this was one of the outstanding features of the burghers on commando. Firstly, many of them compared the Afrikaner people with Israel ... they saw their dire straits as similar and drew strength from God’s deliverance of Israel” (Pretorius 1999:177). The religious and nationalist fervour of the Boers was even more evident during the guerrilla phase of the war. The Generals had made it known to all Boers that 16 December 1900, Dingaan’s Day, would be celebrated by all on Commando and that the oath which their forefathers had taken at Paardekraal would be renewed and a new monument, Ebenaezer, would be erected to commemorate the event.

December 15 was a day of preparation to which about 5 000 Boers came. They were addressed by a Rev Kriel, and Generals Beyers and de la Rey who said that the sins of the day e.g. drunkenness, neglect to educate and raise the natives in their midst and desecration of the Sabbath had led to the war which was a

¹⁵ hands-upper (*n.*) Surrender. So hands-up (*n.*): the action of putting up the hands; hands-upper: one who surrenders. Also hand-up (*n.*): one who throws up his hands (Oxford [Internet] 2004).

punishment from God for having deserted His ways. They were ordered to spend the rest of the day in prayer for the next day when they would renew the oath of their forefathers with God. They were told to ask God to purify their hearts and to humble themselves before Him and that “[o]nly by serving God and putting sin out of our hearts could we hope for His help, and only then would we succeed in driving the enemy out of our land” (Taitz 1996:130).

Needless to say, the men were worked up to a pitch of religious fervour and patriotism by speeches delivered by the generals who urged them to fight to the last man for liberty and independence. Commandant Ludwig Krause explained how this ceremony stirred his soul “to its innermost depths and an intense pity for my poor persecuted race filled my heart and choked my utterances ... [and] the time will come when they [the British] will in sorrow reap the harvest seeds of which they are now sowing broadcast with a lavish hand” (Taitz 1996:131-132).

Krause acknowledged that the value of this ceremony was incalculable as the fainthearted had their weakness turned to strength, and the earnest and resolute were confirmed in their determination. He went on to say: “I felt then, that as long as the memory of the monument of ‘Ebenaezer’ lives, the English will find it difficult to force our race to submit to their hateful yoke” (Taitz 1996:131).

Many records show that the British thought it would be a quick war, mainly due to Boer inexperience. They did not take cognisance of the innovativeness of the Boer fighters. To their surprise, they found the Boer ready for them and according to Krause, “they have never been able to forgive the Boer for having been so ready for the war” (Taitz 1996:15). Britain, with an experienced army trained to fight in Europe, soon realised that the war being fought in South Africa against the elusive Boers was a unique war where conventional military strategy was not the answer.

3.3.4 Innovativeness of the Boers on Commando

It was especially during the guerrilla phase of the war that innovativeness of the Boers was especially evident under the leadership of dynamic young leaders.

Pretorius states that the tactics employed by Generals Christiaan de Wet, Louis Botha and J.H. de la Rey, resulted in the continuation of Boer resistance for almost two years during the guerrilla phase of the war. They swiftly gathered scattered Commandos whenever the occasion arose and then attacked isolated British columns with great success (Pretorius 1999:14).

It was especially General de Wet who became one of the real heroes of the war when he succeeded in his mission to protect President M.T. Steyn of the OVS, despite repeated attempts by the British to capture him. He was said to have had an army of about 15 000 Boers. Van Warmelo also joined de Wet's Commando and he gives many examples of his innovativeness and skill at misleading and dodging the enemy. He says that in this Commando he gained "a first experience of the long and tiresome marches that enabled de Wet to mislead the enemy" (van Warmelo 1977:51). A letter from a Canadian officer, published in the *Montreal Daily Witness*, speaks about the fact that there was considerable trouble amongst the Boer leaders as many had made advances for peace. He wrote that this was contrary to de Wet, who everyone knew would fight to the bitter end. British troops were often given the order: "After de Wet" (FAD A155/133/2).

According to Hanekom and Wessels (2000:17), "De Wet can truly be described as the father of mobile warfare in South Africa." A British correspondent wrote that de Wet's operations would in future be studied and copied and form the subject matter of studies at every military institution. He stated that "his [de Wet's] name will be handed down to posterity as a great exponent of partisan warfare" (FAD A296).

The British Commanders soon realised that if they wanted to win the War, they needed to resort to unconventional methods. This led to the scorched earth policy and all its ramifications. Boer war diaries bear witness to the fact that these strategies by the British soon began to bite deep into the fabric of Boer family life.

In order to understand the effect of the war on the Boers, the research will give insight into aspects of:

- ❖ The scorched earth policy
- ❖ Life in concentration camps
- ❖ Life in prisoner of war camps.

The scorched earth policy and life in concentration camps will fall under non-combatants.

3.4 NON-COMBATANTS

The women and children, as well as the elderly, were the non-combatants and they were the ones who suffered most from Lord Kitchener's attempt to break the Boer fighters' resistance. Descriptions of the life of non-combatants, mainly women, inevitably occupied the position of onlookers in what was a man's war and thus their diaries cast a somewhat different perspective on events to that of the men on Commando. A diary entry by Alie Badenhorst is an anguished cry of the despair felt by Boer women, "O my country, my country, wilt thou be torn from us by the cruel enemy? Surely it can never be! I will trust in my God, He alone can help us, He alone" (1923:93).

3.4.1 Plight of the women in towns and on the farms

Many women in similar situations would have echoed Alie Badenhorst's feeling of sadness and foreboding when her husband had to leave for Commando duty. An entry in her diary states "you do not know what this parting is costing me, nor how earnestly I have prayed for you" (Badenhorst 1923:80). She explains how they knelt down together to pray and that "[a]fter my prayer, it was as if a Voice said to me: 'I will never leave thee or forsake thee' " (Badenhorst 1923:93).

A female Russian doctor, V.A. Kukharenko, having witnessed many of these sad partings, spoke about the bravery of the women in these situations. She observed how they would encourage their husbands on Commando and joke as they

accompanied them to the station to go to war. They only cried after their husbands had left and never complained about their fate. She admired them for their exceptional courage, faith and belief that everything that happened was the will of God (Izedinova 1977:223).

In Bloemfontein, the news from the front was attached to a tree trunk in front of the offices of the local newspaper, *The Express*. People eagerly gathered there to get the latest news and according to Hanekom and Wessels (2000:52), there were often “[s]cenes of joy and sorrow as the names of the wounded and the dead were read.” They also wrote about how “the inherent qualities of courage, humility and firm belief in the will of the Lord siphoned through to dictate the daily existence of the women of the Anglo-Boer War” (Hanekom & Wessels 2000:18).

Diaries by many women convey the ambivalent emotions they felt at the start of the war. On the one hand, there was the sadness of the partings, while on the other hand there was a feeling of anticipation and excitement. Diary entries by Clara Levisseur in 1899 convey something of this spirit. She imparts the excitement felt at the station in Bloemfontein, when the women took refreshments to the Boers on their way to battle (ABWMA 6032/2). Russian medical personnel travelling on a military train also encountered this feeling of excitement. According to Izedinova (1977:62), at all the stations they were greeted with friendly excitement, and at one station, a chorus of local girls sang the anthems of the *ZAR* and *OVS* to those on the train. She explained how the troops, who were mainly young men, climbed down from the train to add their voices to those of the women. “The picture with the fiery South African sunset as a background was poetic and very beautiful” (Izedinova 1977:62).

The situation for the women on the farms was very difficult after the men left for the Commandos. They were faced with continual uncertainty about the fate of their husbands and sons and many of them were forced to do the work that had been done by their husbands before the war. This was problematic, as “[m]any of them had been delicately nurtured, in spite of the simplicity of their lives, and were not accustomed to hard work” (van Warmelo 1977:100). Hanekom and Wessels

(2000:20-21), however, give many accounts of how well these women adapted to their circumstances and managed to run the farms and find innovative ways to survive without the help of their husbands.

The situation of the women in their own homes on the farms was exacerbated by the fact that they had to live with continual looting and theft. This, together with the fact that they were living in their own homes surrounded by the British, resulted in some women leaving their farms and flocking to the towns because they had no food or clothing and felt imperilled. Other women complained of ill treatment by the British and the hands-uppers and endeavoured to leave their farms in order to be nearer to their husbands and sons. In so doing, they left their properties to the enemy. Sister Izedinova (1977:149) relates how two women and seven little girls between the ages of a few months and seven years old arrived at the Russian “surgery”. They were all wet, tired and chilled, since they had taken advantage of the darkness to escape from Warrenton and cross the river. They had had to hide in the bushes and wait until morning light so as not to be seen by the enemy and they had had nothing to eat since the previous day.

Many of the women left their farms with wagons loaded with grain, furniture, cattle and clothing. Van Warmelo (1977:102) gives an account of hundreds of wagons with women and children outspanned on either side of the Waterval River. According to him, it was a pitiful sight to see these frightened women and children and his words convey the feeling of helplessness of Boer fighters. “It is indeed a tragic sight! – we men, with our weapons in our hands, not able to defend them at such a time. And then a great feeling of shame came upon us. These same women had only the day before called down God’s blessing upon us, and now they cried to us to hurry, or we would be surrounded” (van Warmelo 1977:85).

The Boer women were generally very dependent on their husbands and scriptural arguments were often used as a basis for their lives. This dependency made it all the more difficult for them when their husbands left. To exacerbate the situation further, the ministers whom they relied on for spiritual guidance and whom they needed more than ever in their dire situations, had also in a sense deserted them

by joining the Commandos. Reitz (1933:37), on seeing the wife of General Kock, commander of the Johannesburg Commando, trying to get through the British lines to visit her badly wounded husband, observed that “the memory of her tear-stained face gave me the first hint of what women suffer in war.”

3.4.2 The scorched earth policy

In an attempt to break the lingering Boer resistance, Kitchener implemented the scorched earth policy. His main intention was to denude the ZAR and the OVS of forage and supplies so that no means of subsistence would be left for any Commando attempting to make incursions. In an interview, Mrs L.H. Lombaard explained to H.N. Conradie (FAD A289/3) how the British, who also burnt forty bags of wheat, their furniture and their home, killed all their cattle and poultry. Many women on other farms had to face similar situations.

Diaries and letters give an insight into the emotions felt by women during the implementation of this policy. In his war memoirs, Krause (cited in Taitz 1996:124) gives a poignant account of farmhouses that the British had burnt and destroyed. In one of the destroyed houses, he found women and children in scant clothing with nothing but a candle. The British had told them that they would be back for them and on hearing the sound of the Boer Commando horses, they thought the British had returned. He tells about their terror-stricken faces and how, with arms entwined, they were kneeling together on the ground and singing hymns. Even when Krause entered they ignored him and they sang “their hymn to the Almighty with increased fervour, as a prayer for protection ... the sight was sad and stirred my very soul with pity” (Taitz 1996:124).

Needless to say, many British soldiers were unhappy to follow these orders as can be seen by the testimony of a British soldier on the front who stated, “that we should force the surrender of our enemies by starving their children and degrading their wives and daughters is surely a barbarity that no European nation, except Turks, would be guilty of at the end of the nineteenth century of the Christian era ... I am deeply convinced that ruthless destruction of property, and the deliberate

exposure of women and children to horrors worse than those of the battle-field, will draw sooner or later the vengeance of God on the perpetrators” (FAD A155/133/2).

Farwell (1977:367) was of the opinion that it was unhealthy for an army to be forced to carry out such a policy, as it tended to corrupt and brutalise soldiers. This led to aloofness on the part of many soldiers, which often resulted in brutality. This could be seen in the manner that many British officers implemented the scorched earth policy “without enthusiasm and without guilt or rancour, with little feeling for or against the folk whose ruin they were accomplishing” (Farwell 1977:367). Captain March Phillips, a British soldier, also conveys something of the mind-set that marked many British soldiers implementing this policy. According to him, (cited in Farwell 1977:367) the British soldiers “are men who have discarded the civil standards of morality altogether.”

British soldiers extended this brutality to cruelty towards the animals. Many diaries bear witness to the terrible fate of these farm animals. The diary of J.L. van Oostrum, a young boy on a farm, gives a clear account of the burning of their farm. He says they were allowed to keep a bed, mattresses and some sacks of corn to take with them to the Potchefstroom Concentration Camp. Everything else on the farm was burnt and he felt so sorry for the chickens because the English soldiers tied their legs together and they were then tied to their saddles even though they were still alive. On the way to the camp, they heard a terrible cry from a pig and a British soldier came towards them with a leg of pork, which he had cut from the pig while it was still alive (TAD A1887/2). Doubtless to say many such incidents would remain indelibly etched on the minds of many families who had experienced the scorched earth policy.

Although there were many atrocities committed, it would be unfair to generalise, as not all British officers exhibited this total lack of feeling. There are many examples of officers who hated fulfilling the task of burning farms. Farwell gives the example of a Lieutenant Cyril Rocke who sat helplessly on his horse and watched a farm

being burnt. He said (cited in Farwell 1977:368) “I could have sobbed. In fact I think I did.”

Diary entries offer readers an insight into the special characteristics of these Boer women and children. Their patriotism and religious fervour was evident in many cases. Captain March Phillips (cited in Fisher 1969:179-180) explained how on arriving to burn a farm “a small girl interrupted her preparation for departure to play indignantly their national anthem on an old piano ... Their talk is invariably, and without so far a single exception, to the same effect – ‘We will never give in, and God sooner or later will see us through’.”

Jan Smuts also often told the story of the woman who stood outside her house while a British officer was burning it down singing, *Praise the Lord*. The British officer had tears in his eyes but he was under strict orders to continue (Neethling 1917:80). This occurrence of passive piety on the side of the women Smuts regarded as a sign of hope for the future of the country (Landman 1994:15).

The women and children often exhibited extreme courage and bravery. Mrs F.J. Bezuidenhout speaks about the bravery of her daughter, Ellie, who confronted the English plundering their farm. She tried to grab some goods back and eventually took a black wattle branch from the officer and tried to throttle him. He retaliated by trying to shoot her but was prevented from doing this when her mother said: “Shoot you coward if you dare! You are too cowardly to fight our men, that is why you make war on women” (FAD 155/134/vii).

Subsequently the Boer women and children, the elderly and black farm workers had to be sent to concentration camps after the farms had been destroyed.

3.4.3 Concentration camps

The camps had been improvised under wartime conditions and their administration was in the hands of military men who were unacquainted with the needs of women and children. The result was that conditions in the camps were poor and there was

a high death rate. Many diaries and memoirs attest to suffering in the camps. A few examples will be given, allowing for an understanding of the Boer psyche through the hardships they had to endure.

The first camps were opened in the summer of 1900 for hands-uppers whom the British were unable to protect from the wrath of their fellow Boers. The British saw them as potentially valuable allies. Included in these camps were the families of Boers on Commando and Boer prisoners who had been sent by the British to sit the war out in prisoner of war camps in St Helena, Ceylon and India. Most of these families had been brought to the camps after their farms had been destroyed.

Between December 1900 and February 1902 about 120 000 Boers, mostly women and children, were inmates of some fifty camps, which ranged in size from 7 400 people in the Potchefstroom camp to the small Waterval North camp, which contained two men, three women and three children (Farwell 1977:397).

3.4.3.1 Journey to the camps

After their farms had been destroyed, the women, children, the elderly and farm workers were transported to concentration camps; often in open cattle trucks with no food or protection from the elements. In a letter to her grandson, Maria Wagenaar (FAD A621) explains how they were sent to concentration camps in Natal in open train trucks. Many children and old people got very sick from the cold and rain. *En route* to the camps, they were often used as buffers against Boer attacks and shot at by their own men. The feeling of trepidation the women and children faced is highlighted in the memoirs of H.P. Potgieter (TAD A1221/3). She says that, as they approached the Krugersdorp Camp, they saw a donkey cart with 27 coffins. When they enquired about the coffins they were told that between 25-28 people died and were buried every day in Krugersdorp.

Valuable accounts of circumstances facing South African women and children during the war, are gained from the writings of Emily Hobhouse who worked for the South African Conciliation Committee in Britain. She decided to come to South

Africa to see for herself what conditions were like in the concentration camps. In one of her letters, Hobhouse spoke about an aged aunt and uncle of President Paul Kruger, who were both in their 90s and were forced to wait for more than ten days next to a railway line for a train to take them to a concentration camp. The old lady had no skirt so she gave her her underskirt. The British had destroyed their home and they did not know where they were going to be taken. They died very soon afterwards and were buried in the Bethulie Camp. Hobhouse (1994:111-112) remarks, "Brave and dignified old people, they faced their final uprooting as 'the will of the Lord'."

3.4.3.2 *Life in the camps*

All diaries bear witness to the hardships, sickness, bravery and deaths in the camps. Maria Wagenaar's letter to her grandson illuminates the emotions of someone who spent time in a concentration camp. She writes that there were many hardships in the camps but she does not want to give him all the details in case he might hate the English and she could not call herself a Christian if she allowed him to hate. She writes that she will never forget but that she hopes she can forgive when she becomes wiser (FAD A621: Maria Wagenaar). Elizabeth Grobbelaar (FAD A248) writes about the hostility of the Boer women and their lack of fear of the British. They held marches carrying the OVS flag to protest against conditions in the camp. When the British tried to confiscate the flags they were unsuccessful because the women attacked them. There are so many subjective accounts by Boer women pertaining to conditions in the camps, that it makes it almost impossible to select sources that are reflections of the general conditions in concentration camps.

The writings of Emily Hobhouse are thus invaluable sources as during her tours of the concentration camps, she talked to many women and was able to give an insight into the hardship these people had to endure. The conditions in the camps might have remained largely unknown and been of greater magnitude, had it not been for the light of publicity thrown on the camps by her. She found conditions worse than she had thought as she went from camp to camp discovering the

inadequacies, which were almost impossible to remedy. Amongst other things, soap and water were scarce, most were sleeping on the bare ground and there were swarms of flies in the heat. Few of the camps had as much water as they needed and there was a shortage of fuel needed to boil or sterilise supplies for washing and drinking.

In the Bloemfontein Camp, where two thirds of the inmates slept on the ground, overcrowding was a major problem. Emily Hobhouse also gives the example of the Springfontein Camp, which could hold 500 people but within a few months held 3 000. Provision had not been made to supply the superintendent of the camp with additional tents, food and medical supplies for the extra 2 500 inmates (Farwell 1977:405). Overcrowding resulted because in many cases the camps had been built with an eye to defence rather than the comfort of those confined there and it was not uncommon to see sixteen people to a bell tent designed for five.

Hobhouse (1984:50) gives insight into the character and emotions of people in the camps, when she comments that “the women are wonderful: they cry very little and never complain. The very magnitude of their sufferings, indignities, loss and anxiety seem to lift them beyond tears, and these people, who have had comfortable, even luxurious homes, just set themselves to quiet endurance and to make the best of their bare and terrible lot.”

Hobhouse soon became a heroine in the eyes of the Boers due to her efforts to improve conditions in the camps. She wrote to the Distress Committee in England after visiting the Bloemfontein Camp: “I call this camp system wholesale cruelty. It can never be wiped out from the memories of the people. It presses hardest on the children. They droop in the terrible heat ... Entire villages and districts rooted up and dumped in a strange bare place. To keep these camps going is murder for the children” (Fisher 1971:18).

There were, however, people who did not agree with the sentiments expressed by Hobhouse. Sarah Heckford, an English trader, paid tribute to the bravery and power of endurance of the Boer women but she says they proved themselves

dangerous enemies as they served the Commandos as intelligence officers, spies and decoys. She criticised Hobhouse for having sympathy with them as she says that, although everyone admired their courage, they had to be put in concentration camps as “they had forfeited the right to be considered non-belligerents” (Allen 1979:222).

3.4.3.3 Deaths in the camps

The mortality rates and many serious diseases in the camps also horrified Emily Hobhouse. To make matters worse, many of the Boer women preferred their own home remedies, as they did not trust the camp doctors because they were mostly foreigners. Doctors found their advice ignored and this often resulted in disease and death amongst the inmates. The doctors were of the opinion that what was needed was early and careful nursing (Farwell 1977:407).

Maria Wagenaar (FAD A621) wrote about many people dying in the camps in Natal where she was interned. She was sent to another camp in Middelburg where she met a Tante Lenie Botha who had lost five children in concentration camps. She also speaks about the almost daily pitiful sight of children’s bodies piled high on a trolley surrounded by crying women on their knees praying. Elizabeth Grobbelaar also writes about the many deaths in the camp and epidemics of measles and diphtheria. Three of her sister’s four children died in the camp (FAD A248).

According to Farwell (1977:392) more Boer boys and girls under the age of sixteen, died in British concentration camps, than all the fighting men killed by bullets and shells on both sides in the course of the entire war. The exact number is unknown and Farwell gives a conservative estimate at 16 000 but says the actual number was closer to 20 000, most of whom died within a twelve-month period. He says this does not include the unknown number of black and coloured children who also died in the camps.

3.4.3.4 Schools in the camps

There were many children in the camps and every attempt was made to educate them. Originally Boer teachers in the camps taught the children, but the English decided that this was an ideal opportunity to educate the Boer children in English. The first English camp school in the ZAR was established in the camp at Zeerust in January 1901 (Otto 1954:152). The number of these schools grew very fast and soon the British Government decided to open English schools in prisoner of war camps as well.

The main aim for the establishment of these schools can be found in a letter (cited in Otto 1954:152-153) by the Lord Chamberlain to Sir Alfred Milner, British High Commissioner in South Africa. He wrote the following: “My attention has been directed to a suggestion that systematic and special efforts ought to be made to influence the many thousands of Boer prisoners who are now in our hands with the view of making them understand more clearly the causes of the war, the motives of Her Majesty’s Government, and their future position as British subjects under British rule and their long enforced leisure offers an opportunity such as cannot occur again of presenting to them ... a wider point of view than that to which they have been accustomed and one which may possibly modify the prejudices which have largely been the result of ignorance and anti-British propaganda.”

E.B. Sargent was given the mammoth task of forming the Education Department and wherever he went, he was surprised at the enthusiasm of the young Boers to learn. He was a patriotic Englishman who made it his aim to crush the few private Afrikaans-Nederlands¹⁶ schools in the camps. He even acted as Principal and teacher for two weeks in the Norvalspont Concentration Camp, to oversee the establishment of the English School and ensure that children attended the English Government School instead of the private Afrikaans-Nederlands School. His efforts were successful and within two months after establishing the English

¹⁶ Afrikaans-Nederlands: the language which links modern day Afrikaans to the root Nederlands (Dutch). (Visagie:2003)

School, the Afrikaans-Nederlands School was forced to close due to lack of support (Otto 1954:155). Even though many children could not speak English, Sargent's excuse (cited in Otto 1954:156), was: "The modern theory of teaching a language is to immerse the children completely in the new sounds and atmosphere ... [and] not to translate from one language to another. He also stated that South African history should not be taught and that political questions should be avoided."

According to Sargent, the Boers realised that the material advancement of their children was bound up with an adequate knowledge of English. He (cited in Otto 1954:167) warned the English teachers that they would "find apparent stupidity and a depth of ignorance to which you are unaccustomed ... [This will be due to the fact that] the difficulties of comprehension in a foreign tongue are very great." This schooling was clear indoctrination on the part of the British, but, according to Otto, its success was limited as children were not in the camps long enough to benefit from this education and they were also so bitter towards the English that they were hostile to pro-English propaganda (Otto 1954:168).

Van Oostrum (TAD A1887/1) gives an interesting account of his schooling in their camp. They had only English teachers and when his father, a prisoner of war in Ceylon, heard that his children were in an English school he wrote to his mother asking how she dared allow his offspring to be taught by the enemy.

3.4.3.5 Religion in the camps

Despite all their troubles and the terrible conditions, diaries written in the camps bear testimony to the fact that the women maintained their belief in God. Practically all consulted sources have many references to their firm belief. Alie Badenhorst's diary (1923:91) reflects the religious views of many women in the camps. From the entries in her diary, it is apparent that even when confronted by a situation of utter powerlessness, she actively practised piety and seemed to place blame for the war on her personal sins.

Mrs P.J. van der Walt's diary (FAD A155/134/1) also reflects the deep religious fervour of the women in the Klerksdorp Concentration Camp. She speaks continually about God and says that she was often comforted by the words of a Boer nurse who, speaking about the continual hardships and deaths, said "*die Here siet en sal 't vergelde*" (Translation: The Lord sees and He will repay). She says these words were especially meaningful when she heard her son had been killed on Commando.

A letter written on 5 September 1900 and signed as Mother, could be from the daughter of Gen Piet Joubert (TAD A1362). Her total belief in the will of God is reflected in the letter. She is almost desperate, but consoles herself by saying that "God knows his own time ... and should they conquer us now and take our country away from us we shall still become a great nation, and our country will be given back to us through God in His own time, therefore the darker the clouds of adversity, anxiety, suffering and oppression laid upon us, the more steadfast must our trust be in God, the darker the night the brighter the morn breaks."

There are conflicting opinions about the effectiveness of the camps, as weapons in the struggle to break the Boer will to resistance. On the one hand, they relieved the Boers on Commando of anxiety for the safety of their families, and allowed them to devote their undivided attention to fighting the British (Fisher 1969:184). On the other hand, the traumatic experience of life in the concentration camps was to be a source of bitterness for several generations. This is confirmed by Thomas Pakenham (1982:495) when he says that Kitchener is not remembered in South Africa for his military victory but "his monument is the camp - 'concentration camp', ... [which] has left a gigantic scar across the minds of the Afrikaners; a symbol of deliberate genocide."

James Ramsay MacDonald, afterwards Prime Minister of Great Britain and a devout Scotsman, echoed Pakenham's sentiments. He (cited in Fisher 1969:204) stated: "It was the *vrouw* who kept the war going on so long. It was in her heart that patriotism flamed into an all-consuming heat ... She it is who feels most

keenly that all her sufferings, her weary waiting and her prayers have been naught. The camps have alienated her from us forever.”

In contrast to the fate of the women and children in the concentration camps, was that of the captured Boers sent to prisoner of war camps. It will be seen that conditions in these camps, while Spartan, were not unduly difficult. The lot of the civilians, mostly women and children, left behind was considerably grimmer as they were increasingly subjected to restrictions, commandeering, looting, destruction and forced removals.

3.5 PRISONER OF WAR CAMPS

Diaries, memoirs and letters have a tremendous power to recapture the atmosphere of a situation. As there are more documents available on life in prisoner of war camps than on any other aspect of the war, it was necessary to select references that allow readers to gain an insight into the physical and psychological experiences of these Boers.

3.5.1 Life on boats to and from the prisoner of war camps

At first, Boer prisoners of war were kept on board transports converted into prison ships and anchored in Simons Bay, where their health suffered due to close confinement. The prison ships were soon abandoned and the prisoners were moved ashore to the sports ground at Green Point or to the camp established at Simonstown. Boer Prisoners of War were moved successively to Harrismith, Ladysmith, Durban and Green Point, to be despatched to St Helena, the Bermudas, India and Ceylon. By the end of the war, there were 37 000 prisoners of war living in camps.

Diary entries by G.J. van Riet (FAD A252/1) convey the feeling of trepidation, which marked prisoners of war in general when they left South African shores for an unknown destination. Van Riet sailed on the boat, the Montrose, to the Bermudas, with 580 prisoners in one compartment in hammocks. He said that on

losing sight of Table Mountain, the National Anthems of the two Republics were sung and many other patriotic songs. Of the singing, he writes: “It was really most impressive and beautiful.” He gives an evocative account of his feeling of despair on the crowded boat. One of his entries gives the impression of someone talking rather than writing. He writes, “I cannot get a quiet corner to hunt up some consoling words of which I feel oh, so much in need of – my grief cannot be described and will never be known. If only my darling and dear ones are all right.” He almost consoles himself that they are well by saying “I committed them to God’s care and protection upon my departure” (FAD A252/1). The sentiments expressed by van Riet echo those in many other diaries.

Van Riet’s diary also gives us an insight into the treatment on the Montrose. He writes about the bad food, which he said was unfit for dogs. There were also about 80 deaths on the boat due to a measles epidemic and the terrible heat. They were taken by tugs from the Montrose to the Island, where they were ordered to put all their blankets in a hole. His feeling of despair was aggravated on finding that the blankets were stolen and he wrote, “I am now robbed by the hounds of everything – ‘Hope’ and nothing else keeps body and mind together” (FAD A252/1).

Van Warmelo’s diary (1977:123) has entries that also convey something of the conditions on the boats. He was taken to India on board the Manila, together with 490 other prisoners of war. He says about his boat trip, that they suffered terribly for want of space and insufficient and bad food.

Alyce Stopford-Green, a British lady who went to visit the Boers on St Helena, also provides an insight into conditions on the boats. She writes (FAD A621[a]) about the Boers who landed at St Helena after having been imprisoned for over three months in ships, fed on bully beef, shut down from air, had been packed tightly in ships which had been used for cattle and were only allowed one hour a day on the deck. From the harbour, these broken and suffering men had to march five miles to the camp “and their aspect filled all who saw them with pity.”

There is a common thread that runs through almost all prisoner of war diaries, namely, the Boers' strong faith. Almost all documents bear testimony to this. One such diary is that of J.H. du Toit who, with 992 Boers, was taken out to sea by tugs to board the *Aurania*. While waiting to be sent by boat to India he makes many references to God's mercy. He praises God many times. He misses his family and he asks God to help him bear the situation he finds himself in (FAD A10/1).

Rev D.J. Viljoen (FAD A289/2), on his arrival in India, wrote about catechism instruction in the morning and a prayer meeting afterwards where they thanked the Lord for their safe boat trip and beseeched Him to lead and preserve them in India.

3.5.2 Life in the camps

Most of the camps were in beautiful settings, which made life much more bearable. The Dutchman, R.L. Brohier, who was a respected official and engineer living on Ceylon, verifies this: "Sad and dour though they were, who can venture to doubt that it must have been with shock and delight that they beheld in that vast panoramic landscape many of the characteristics of their own country" (TAD A1396/1). Rev P.H. Roux also gave favourable reports about conditions facing prisoners of war. In his personal book written on Ceylon, he calls the Island the gem of the Indian Ocean. "I have as regards treatment no complaints to make and am able even to speak of kindness shown by several amongst who I moved as a captive in Diyatalawa" (FAD A305/2).

Similarly, life on the Bermudas had many positive aspects with regards to living conditions. There were seven separate islands occupied by Boers and their guards. The confined space of the guarded enclosure was small but care was taken to give the prisoners what liberty was possible under the circumstances. They were allowed to bathe in the sea and swim to a distance of fifty yards from the shore, where small naval vessels were moored to guard the islands. The system of self-government that the prisoners were allowed to exercise avoided friction and simplified the discipline in the camp (FAD A621: Elwes).

On the Bermudas, work with pay was provided for the Boers wherever possible. A Recreation Society was formed to provide the prisoners with recreation and exercise. Amongst the earliest gifts sent to the Boers were woodwork tools, carpenters' benches and wood. A shop was even opened in Hamilton for the sale of Boer handiwork.

Deadwood camp resembled a small town where every sort of industry was carried out. The rows of tents and huts were laid out in streets named after places in the ZAR and OVS. Every house was numbered so that a proper register could be kept and the prisoners often sold their stands to each other.

In June 1901, A.L. Paget took over the work and responsibilities of Commandant of the Deadwood Camp. He tried to allow the Boers more freedom as he considered the Boer to be "renowned for his love of freedom" (Paget 1901[a]:516). This resulted in many men from Deadwood earning money outside the camp as they worked all over the island and some did not even sleep in the camp. According to him, the behaviour of the Boers when out on pass and of the working parties was excellent and they were such law-abiding citizens that during his time as Commandant of their camp "I never received a single serious complaint from any of the islanders as to their conduct, although there were often nearly four thousand a day on pass, when they could roam freely all over the island" (Paget 1901[b]:36). There were many talented craftsmen as could be seen by the walking sticks, paper knives, baskets, and fancy toys, which the prisoners made, as well as cooking and baking. Law was not harshly administered: many games were played, clubs established, cultural activities, concerts and singsongs took place. Paget, however, states that life was monotonous for the Boer prisoner and "Beneath this outward cloak of apparent cheerfulness there were many hidden sorrows" (Paget 1901[a]:516).

Paget (1901[b]:36) gives a perceptive and evocative account of the Boer prisoner of war. He describes how depressing he finds it to be in daily contact with these people as they are not only prisoners of the nation they are at war with, but "the whole male population of vast districts, old and young – the halt, the maimed, and

the blind; and ... even some who, by the effects of the long confinement and from brooding over their misfortunes, are losing their reason". He conveys a feeling of sympathy for them but "not with their leaders in the field, and their ex-President [Kruger] in Europe, who through their obstinacy, have brought so much desolation and misery on their fellow-men."

The camps in India seemed to have presented the harshest climatic conditions, yet diary entries bear witness to good living conditions in the camps. Van Warmelo (1977:123) wrote that despite the harsh conditions the morale of the Boers was high, mainly due to the spiritual guidance of a Rev Viljoen and that they were kept alive and "in pretty good health by an extremely temperate manner of life."

Findings (cited in Henning 1975:26) about Boers in prisoner of war camps suggest that there was a revival of cultural activities and that creativity in music, writing and poetry flourished despite the fact that by 1900 the educational background of a large percentage of these Boers was very limited. Notwithstanding the fact that all cultural activities ceased in the two Republics of South Africa, there was a thriving of activity on an unprecedented scale outside South Africa, particularly among the 4 735 prisoners of war in Ceylon, 4 000 of who were held in the Diyatalawa Camp.

In order to pass the long monotonous hours in exile, the resourceful Boer in the Diyatalawa Camp turned to activities of nearly every conceivable type. Two of the newspapers for the Prisoners of War in Diyatalawa, *De Prikkelraad* and *De Strewer*, include many advertisements for services available by inmates (TAD A1727). Newspapers were printed in other camps as well, e.g. St Helena had *De Krijgsgevangene* and the prisoners on Burt's Island published *De Burt's Trompet*.

Music concerts were held in all the camps but they were especially popular in the Diyatalawa Camp. These concerts were popular with the prisoners as well as the local inhabitants. Henning (1975:29) writes about a concert, which was attended by 1 400 people. The proceeds from the concert were sent to the Orphans and Widows' Fund in South Africa.

As has been stated, the arts flourished in Ceylon camps and H.S. Kok (cited in Henning 1975:26) echoes the fact that life was quite good in the camp and he had learnt a great deal there. “*Het is inderdaad de heerlijkste dagen die ik doorgebracht heb. De ballingskap van Ceylon was mij waarlijk een goede leerschool.*” (Translation: This was truly the best day that I have had. My banishment to Ceylon has been a good learning experience.)

3.5.3 Schools in the camps

As has already been noted, many boys fought with their fathers and older brothers in the Commandos and some were captured and sent to prisoner of war camps overseas. There were teachers amongst Boer prisoners of war in the camps who concerned themselves with the education of the boys and often illiterate older men. One such person was O.van Oostrum who described his satisfaction from his work as a teacher in Ceylon, mainly because he was of the opinion that it helped with the upliftment of the Boers. He was paid a small salary and this enabled him to send money to his wife and children in the Potchefstroom Concentration Camp. They used this money to buy a stable to live in. He said that the teaching kept him so busy that he had no time to be bored as many other prisoners were (1943:41-42).

An interesting account regarding British education is given in the memoirs of Rev J.A. van Blerk. He wrote that on the Bermudas there were 177 boys under the age of 16 and the British Government provided the necessary equipment for a school there. As there was only a Boer teacher on Hawkin’s Island, the British had all the boys deported to Hinson’s Island where there was an English School, or a Khaki School, as the Boers called it in reference to their uniforms. The boys were defiant about this forced removal and on the boat that took them to Hinson’s, they sang Afrikaans-Nederlands folk songs, despite the fact that the British captain was watching them. They knew he could not understand them and was thus unaware that they were singing patriotic songs (ABWMA 5074/5).

The Boer boys had never been allowed to sing patriotic songs on the Bermudas and were severely punished and beaten if they did this. This did not deter them and by singing these songs they were able to affirm traditional values in a disintegrating world (ABWMA 5074/5).

3.5.4 Religion in the camps

Spiritual activities flourished in the camps and this was mainly due to the fact that there was never a lack of spiritual and cultural guidance. Dutch Reformed ministers accompanied the prisoners of war to their camps as many of them had joined the Commandos and were captured by the British. A Rev Albertyn had also voluntarily had himself interned on Hawkin's Island so he could minister there.

Diaries bear testimony to the fact that the most important aspect of Boer life in the camps was their faith. The creators of most diaries give details of religious activities. A good example is the diary written by F.P. Venter (Example 3.1) in the Diyatalawa Camp (FAD A261). He continually speaks about religion and in his letters to his family in South Africa he reminds them of God's grace and love, asking them to trust in Him and reminding them that God will give them courage in every circumstance. He reminds them about Jesus' suffering on the cross and he says that they must learn from this and accept their hardship. He clearly sees their circumstances as punishment from God. He writes that he is well and has all he needs, surviving by relying totally on God and accepting every circumstance as God's will. He says he hopes to see them soon but God will decide when the time is right. In his letters there are some Biblical references together with hand-notated music that could possibly have been a religious song that was linked to the references.

Many diaries reflect the stern Puritanism shared by most prisoners of war. Not only do they refer to religious messages but they also refer to psalms, hymns and songs with religious messages. Many hand-notated and holograph hymnbooks compiled in the camps bear testimony to the importance the Boer attached to singing. R.L. de Brohier (cited in Groenewald 1992:41) spoke about the open-air

Out of the sad conditions of the war came a revival of mission endeavour. In Ceylon there was a *Hulp Zending Vereniging*. Members of this society had to promise that after the war they would give a shilling a year towards mission work. They also evangelised on the Island to thank God for all He had done for them as prisoners of war on Ceylon (FAD A621:Rev J.W. de Kok).

The importance of religion to the Boer is once again highlighted in the diary of J.H. du Toit in the camp at Umballa, India. In an entry on 15 February 1902, he writes about the arrival of Rev George McKelvie, a chaplain from the Church of Scotland, who had been sent out to minister to them. School had to be discontinued so that McKelvie could conduct choir practices, confirmation classes and prayer meetings in the tent set aside for the school. McKelvie, realising the importance of religion to the Boers, complained because the prisoners were not given permission to go to the church outside the camp except on Sundays. Du Toit states that McKelvie wrote saying that to deprive the prisoner of war “of a tent in which to worship God according to the rites of the Church of Scotland as by law established, looks like petty persecution” (FAD A10/1).

How seriously religion was viewed is conveyed by C.J.P. Schoeman in Trichinopoly, India. He gave an account of an incident where the Indians had built an enormous temple with a bat idol on top of the building. A young Boer decided to go into the temple and had to remove his shoes because the Indian worshipers said he was on holy ground. On returning to the camp he was scolded for removing his shoes for a bat idol, while he had never removed shoes for his Christian God. He evidently became demented with shame and the result was that he had to be cared for in the camp and on the boat trip back to South Africa (FAD A289/3).

There are also many accounts by British guards and officers of the religious fervour of the Boers. Farwell (1977:425) quotes a British soldier on the Bermudas as saying of the Boers, “I tell you they can pray. They pray ... until we outside get tired of it and call out ‘Oh, gag yourselves!’.”

Many foreigners came out to fight for the Boers in what they believed to be the side of freedom and justice. Many were also captured and sent to prisoner of war camps with Boer prisoners. Needless to say, these foreigners tried to build morale by enjoying singing, music and acting. According to Stopford-Green (FAD A621 [b]), the Boers on St Helena with their stern Puritanism, would not share in these gaieties as secular entertainment was not acceptable to all of them. She says she encountered a Boer who, on seeing these gaieties, said: "It is a good way to spend a sinful evening." She was of the opinion that melancholia developed because they did not want to take part in anything secular. On the other hand, prison forged closer bonds between the Boers and the foreign volunteers. On St Helena, when the British tried to separate the foreigners from the Boers, the prisoners objected and according to a camp newspaper article (cited in Farwell 1977:426), "[f]ellow warriors who have fought with us and shared our trenches in the *veldt* are just as much Boers as we are."

Despite the fact that life in the prisoner of war camps was not unduly difficult, diary entries by inmates remind readers of their longing for loved ones without knowing what lay ahead for them. Many also spoke with great sadness and bitterness when they received news of their farms having been burnt. Stopford-Green (FAD A621 [a]) observed that many of the young men showed bitterness and despair while the older men showed "patience and unquenchable fortitude: their private griefs they carry with grave reserve."

3.5.5 Peace

The news that a peace treaty had been signed reached the prisoner of war camps on 1 June 1902. British soldiers drank a case of whiskey and sang *God Save the Queen* and *Britannia Rules the Waves*. The Boers, who were devastated by the conditions in the peace treaty, got together and sang *Prys den Heer!*

The most contentious issue amongst Boer prisoners after the peace treaty was whether they should accept the inevitable and take the British oath of allegiance. The result was that the "irreconcilables exhibited rancour towards those who took

the oath of allegiance such as they never showed the British” (Farwell 1977:426). According to Paget, race hatred and vindictive feeling against the English was kept alive by these irreconcilables through threats of violence and intimidation towards those with pro-English views, who were prepared to take the oath of allegiance. The groups with opposing sentiments became so antagonistic towards each other that separate peace camps had to be established where views could be expressed freely without threats of violence and intimidation from fellow prisoners (Paget 1901[a]:516). There is evidence that some of the Boer ministers were even banned because they gave political sermons and discouraged the Boers to sign the oath (Groenewald 1992:42).

3.6 RETURN TO FARMS

The diary of Elizabeth Grobbelaar (FAD A248) allows for insight into the scenes that faced most families returning to their farms. She writes about all fruit trees having been chopped down, animals killed, and crops and farmhouses burnt. Despite her feelings of desolation, she is grateful to God for sparing them in the concentration camps and her brothers in the prisoner of war camps. She writes: *“My nasie sal ek nooit verrai nie, mog my nageslag altyd staan by hulle God, wat my God ook is, wat ons krag gegee het om alles te dra wat op ons gelê was”*. (Translation: I will never betray my nation and may my descendants always stand by their God, who is my God, who gave us the strength to face all that came upon our way).

There are many reports about how families returned to their devastated farms and started rebuilding everything without complaint. Most write about gratitude towards God for sparing them during the war. R.L. Brohier, speaking of the Boers returning to their devastated farms, observed that “[t]hese ruined Boers are certainly undismayed and dignified under disaster. Few other people would display such fortitude and bear such heavy losses with so even a mind” (TAD A1848).

3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has given an insight into the experiential world of the Boers during the war. Neither the cultural-historical approach in this chapter nor the musicological approach in Chapter 6 will lead to a viable understanding of the processes of affect and meaning in vocal music, which is the focus of the study. This is mainly because these chapters do not put forward concepts capable of explaining the attraction vocal music had for the Boers, or whether it appears to have had an influence over them.

The lacuna between cultural studies and musicology will be located in the next two chapters in order to lead to an understanding of Boer vocal music as a form of human expression.

CHAPTER 4

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE AFFECT AND MEANING OF THE SOUNDS OF BOER VOCAL MUSIC

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter gave the reader an insight into the experiences that faced the Boers as they were thrust headlong into the vortex of their people's destruction. Despite the fact that the information gained from Chapter 3 was important, a lacuna was identified that would allow for this knowledge to be of assistance in understanding affect and meaning in Boer vocal music. For the purpose of this study the lacuna was identified as an aural void that exists between cultural-history and musicology. This lacuna had to be addressed before affect and meaning in Boer vocal music could be assessed.

This chapter and Chapter 5 will map the theoretical territory of the aural void in order to move cultural history towards an accommodation with musicology. This has to be done since musicology traditionally has little to say on the role of music's meaning in the social and cultural circumstances of people, while other disciplines, such as cultural history, have little to say on the role of music's sounds in generating and articulating social and cultural meanings. According to Shepherd and Wicke (1997:16), "both approaches tend to keep separate music's sounds from the social and cultural processes that are of consequences for them."

4.2 MAPPING THE THEORETICAL TERRITORY OF THE AURAL VOID

A spectrum of personal and communal perceptions and responses to the unfolding events was highlighted in Chapter 3. This chapter and the next will show how the sounds and the lyrics of the songs were a vehicle for the Boers to articulate their responses to the events facing them. The researcher, however, is faced with defining Boer vocal music divorced from the immediate reality of conditions during

the war and the sounds of the songs. It thus becomes necessary to rely heavily on research regarding the meaning of sound.

In any oppressive situation there is evidence to show that the oppressed listen, perform and use the sounds of music for intrinsic rewards. Music becomes an expression of personal emotion and the singer and listener use it as a tool to ease the unbearable situation in which they find themselves. Shepherd and Wicke (1997:12) explain this phenomenon by stating that musical meaning is located within psychological constants presumed to be innate in humans: “The ability to evoke meaning is facilitated through a conformity between the structures of music and the structures of the mind.”

It is interesting to consider a few references that emphasise sound within the Boer culture. These references highlight the fact that there is little to suggest that the sounds of Boer vocal music were important for anything other than intrinsic value. This could be attributed to the fact that the main purpose of the sound was to assuage the anguish of reality. The result was that the aesthetic value of vocal music was secondary to the intrinsic value. This is especially evident from many references to the sounds of Boer religious vocal music, as slow, unmusical and mournful.

A diary entry by C.M. Blankwaard about a visit to General de Wet after the War, describes the sounds of the religious vocal music during devotions as “*ernstig met langzaam, eentonig gezang, begeleid door de sleepende, dreunende tonen van het orgel*” (FAD A80). (Translation: sombre with slow, monotonous singing accompanied by a dragging, droning sound of the organ.)

Sister Izedinova echoes these sentiments regarding unmusical singing. According to her, she often heard the strains of religious vocal music and national anthems coming from Commandos and “[t]he sound was unharmonious, for the Boers are in general not a musical people, but they sang with great inspiration and the effect at night and in such circumstances was a powerful one” (Izedinova 1977:67). Commandant Ludwig Krause also speaks about the fact that many of the men in

his Commando were in the habit of singing around midnight or in the early hours of the morning and “their voices were not too musical” (Taitz 1996:48). A Miss Lorenz, wrote about a burial in the Arcadia Concentration Camp where “a young Boer, assisted by a friend, began singing in a harsh, dragging tone after which we all joined in” (Schoeman 1998:158).

The opinions expressed in the above and other references, highlight the fact that the aesthetic value of the sounds of Boer vocal music was secondary to the intrinsic value. Insights into processes of affect and meaning in Boer vocal music will thus necessitate an objective analysis by capturing the *meaning* of the sounds in this chapter and the next. The aural void will therefore be addressed by emphasising the meaning of sound in a cultural context. The findings of Chapter 3 were thus important in addressing the aural void, as vocal music cannot be looked at outside the society within which it functions. Shepherd and Wicke (1997:3) support this when they state that, “the meanings of a society are encoded and creatively articulated by music ... [and it is] an activity central rather than peripheral to people and society.”

Chapter 3 highlighted two important facets in the Boer personality, namely religion and patriotism. It can thus be understood that most of their vocal music was connected to religious beliefs or patriotism.

4.3 VOCAL MUSIC TO EXPRESS RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The Boers were a rural society and their music was primarily vocal music organised in relation to the needs of the religious meetings, the home, and the community. Their main social diversion was the Church, and the singing of religious music was thus an integral part of the Boer repertory and as such a vehicle of spiritual sustenance. Lagerwall (1996:4) stresses this affective role of the sound of religious music when she says: “although there is nothing intrinsic in music which makes it specifically religious, the use of music (deliberate or unintentional) in a religious setting can elicit certain responses and connotations.”

Almost every kind of worship is connected with vocal music, which is regarded as one of the essential means of conjugation. According to Lagerwall (1996:3), “Music’s capacity to express emotion ... makes it a prime vehicle for the worshipper to identify with the deepest core of his or her faith ... [worship] has always functioned in this way, linking experience to faith in an atmosphere of emotional commitment.”

Due to the importance of Boer religious beliefs, it can be understood why religious vocal music played an important role for survival in circumstances where existence and beliefs were being threatened. Pretorius (1999:157) echoes this when he writes about the Boers on Commando, stating that during the “disruption of normal relationships and bewildering psychological experiences, it is not surprising that the vast majority of them [the Boers] were highly susceptible to the gospel message.”

An understanding of the experiential world of the Boer in Chapter 3 leads to an understanding of the possible role of religious music. There were many references to daily devotions where religious music played an important part. Singing and the sounds of their vocal music could have helped the interned subconsciously circumvent the conditions they had to face. In a sense it was escapism from the reality of internship and could indirectly have helped to bring order out of chaos as the sounds of the songs could have reminded them of the order of their existence before the war.

The number of hand-notated scores highlights the fact that the Boers were a people who depended on God and through their vocal music they could reinforce this belief. Since the 1880s there had been a debate about the infiltration of modern revivalist songs into the Boer church music. The polemic surrounding the introduction of these songs will not be entered into, as it is a study on its own. It is, however, very clear from the contents of many of the *Liederebundels* that the church vocal music sung by the Boers could broadly be divided into two styles:

- ❖ *Psalmen en Gezangen*
- ❖ Revival songs

4.3.1 *Psalmen en Gezangen*

The Boers who preferred singing the *Psalmen* (Psalms) and *Gezangen* had a traditional, conservative attitude. The French theologian Jean Calvin established the strongly held religious beliefs for them and the church vocal music they sang was based on Biblical texts. They wanted to retain the styles that had been handed down from previous generations by singing from *Het Boek van Psalmen* (1898) and *Het Boek van Gezangen* (1898). According to Lagerwall (1996:4) “this group usually tends to keep the church separate from the ‘world’. Their perception of music and worship is that it must be of a high standard and sinners are to be educated ‘up’ to this standard.”

As the Psalms are direct settings from the Bible it is understandable that the message, together with the sound of the Psalm was important to the religious Boer. *Gezangen*, which are based on Biblical passages and thoughts, would have been valued as much as the Psalms. These Boers with religious traditions based on dogmatic Calvinism would have shunned the revival songs because they were the fabrications of men and did not contain the authority of the Bible. The conservative, rural Boers in the camps would have found it difficult to reconcile themselves with the emotionalism and conviction found in revival songs.

Many Boers could also have considered the revival songs as a threat to their cultural identity as their forefathers had not passed them down. Diary entries reveal that many Boers were very critical of the revival songs sung in the prisoner of war camps (ABWMA 4789, ABWMA 5103, FAD A621, FAD A84, TAD W 81/3, TAD A1531). The contents of songbooks show that in some camps only Psalms and *Gezangen* and songs with religious texts were notated, leading one to believe that they did not sing revival songs. This was especially evident in the Shahjahanpur Camp in India where choir books for members of the Excelsior Choir do not contain any revival songs. This can be seen in Example 4.1, which gives the contents of a choir book belonging to D. Rothmann, a member of the Excelsior Choir. Similarly a choir book belonging to another member of the choir, J.J. van Niekerk, also only contains Psalms and *Gezangen* (ABWMA 3766/1).

Example 4.1

Inhoud: Excelsior Krijgsgevangene Zang Vereeniging

Inhoud		Inhoud	
Namen	Bladzij	Namen	Bladzij
A	Alles wat adem heeft	M	Morgen moet ik fort on
B	Bij de Bellenis mijns moeder	M	Mah singel
B	Bondslied	M	Mijn Vaderland (Kriegsgevangene)
D	Bede (Zendinglied)	O	Ons Vaderland (Dorpskerk)
D	Im Schöner Wald	O	Ons Oude God leeft nog
D	De al oude tyding	P	Psalm 25 (Lees)
D	Das Meer	P	Do 25 (Zing)
E	Eine Krone	P	Do 36
E	Englen zang	P	Do 42
G	Gezang 49	P	Do 66
G	Do 62	P	Do 81
G	Do 83	P	Do 84
G	Do 84	P	Do 116
G	Do 160	P	Do 126
G	Do 180	P	Do 134
G	Do 181	P	Do 146
G	Geloofs Room	R	Reddings Boot
G	Glaube Liebe Hoffnung	S	Still rodt de Zee
G	Geloof Liefde Hoop	S	De Transvaalse O'lied
G	Gladdenroslein	T	Troost en Hulpe
G	Hoe lieflijk zijn op de bergen	V	Vrij staatsche Volkslied
G	Kerolied	V	Vrijheid die ik minne
G	Lof en aanbidding	V	Worte had ze nich
G	Lofgezang	W	Waldes Andacht
G	Levensmed	Z	Zijn finaus
G	Mijn Aerdet	Z	Zede met my Jezus

(ABWMA 5848/1)

4.3.2 Revival songs

The second style of Boer religious vocal music was the more liberal revival songs. The musical styles of these songs resembled those of non-church music and were easier to sing than the Psalms and *Gezangen*. Their sounds were said to arouse the emotions of those singing and listening to them (TAD A1751, TAD A1665).

Examples were found in the Boer *Zionsliederebundel* and *De Kinderharpbundel*, many of which were attributed to Ira Sankey (1840-1908). Sankey's tours with the evangelist Dwight Moody were considered to be of the greatest revivalist movements in Britain and America. Sankey's roles were that of singer and collector of songs, and even though he had no musical knowledge and his compositions were generally considered to be inferior, his songs became very popular at all their revivals and also in South Africa (Sankey [Internet] 2004).

The fact that there are many revival songs notated in Boer songbooks leads the researcher to believe that these songs were very popular and served as a tool for survival in the circumstances the Boers had to face in the camps. William McLoughlin (cited in van Niekerk 1970:26) attributes the popularity of the sounds of the Sankey songs to their variety in style, the simplicity of the tunes and words. According to him, if you "[d]etermine the pleasure you get from a circus quick-step, a Negro minstrel, sentimental ballad, a college chorus and a hymn all in one, you have some gauge of the variety and contrast." The researcher is of the opinion that the revivalist and Sankey songs addressed the emotional needs of the Boers in the camps and as such were a coping mechanism in dire circumstances. Lagerwall (1969:48) concurs with this opinion, stating that Sankey songs "were legitimate because they were true folk songs and satisfied the need for refuge and consolation in difficult times."

Example 4.2 gives the contents of a songbook hand-notated by H.J. Storm in the Diyatalawa Camp. This book, with the exception of Psalm 146, contains only revival songs. He wrote *Zionslied*, *Kinderharp* and *Eng. Z* at the top of the contents page when he referred to these songs. The Boers often wrote about the Sankey songs as *Engels Zankey*, even though they had Afrikaans-Nederlands words.

Example 4.2

Inhoudt - Liederebundel: H.J. Storm

146

Inhoudt

Blad 24		Kranslied	Kinderlied	Eng. 3.
50A.	Wijt zij reeds reinig	39	55	398
68.	Werk want de nacht komt dale	40	140	141 66
69	Rijst op,	41	135	123 15
58	Hooft tien duizend harp	42	.	677
71	Transvaalsche Volkslied	43	.	.
73	Jesus mij Heiland der E. H.	44	53	481
75	Hoe lieflijk zijn op de berge	45	232	.
79	De Heiland is geboren (Kerstlied)	46	.	116 .
81	Lieve Heer die in den Hemel <small>(Kerstlied)</small>	47	.	91
83	Laat ons dan heen gaan	48	.	83 <small>nieuw</small>
89	Wij worden vergaderd	49	160	387
6	Mannen broeders	50	136	130 7
91	Vertel mij toch van Jesus	51	99	174 14
92	Zions toekomst	52	.	.
164	Spreek Heiland spreek,	53	.	.
45	O die vreugde,	54	.	.
97	Welkom zalige dag der rust	55	134	.
99	U-Is-Heeren dag	56	132	.

Bladzij	147	33 4 133	Bladzij	Kindertekst	Ref. 3.
100	Psalm 146	1			
101	Ik heb een vader in beloofdeland	145			
102	Kindren spreek van Jezus	181			
104	De rust plaats.	153		111	
105	In de schaduw.	218		535	
106	Hier de middag glans der zon	51			
107	Ben slecht een wakendrager		132	33	
109	In het graf geborgen	77		317	
110	Mijn Heiland sterf op.	48		367	
111	Is het in mij				
114	Leid ons heilig huis waarts				
115	Hier op aard. is leed	151	104		
116	Is het in mij			422	
117	Rijz opwaart naar boven	163			
118	Ik denk als ik hoor	164			
119	Stroomen van zegen.	-	-	522	
120	Heiland als een Heerder.	-	142	98	
121	Eek nu eek oogenblik	62	126	84	
122	Hoe wat is deet hoor van stemmen				
124	Gedenk aan mij O Heer.				
125	Is mijn naam ook wel daar			285	

(ABWMA 3238/2).

Subsequent chapters will highlight the fact that many camp songbooks catered for differing opinions regarding religious music as well as the emotional needs of the interned. These books contain revival songs as well as *Psalmen en Gezangen*. Songbooks for Diyatalawa choirs are good examples of books with a variety of vocal religious music (ABWMA 64/3, ABWMA 3419/9, Cleave [s.a]).

There is evidence of many choirs established in prisoner of war camps and a large part of their purpose was hymn singing.

4.4 THE IMPORTANCE OF CHOIRS IN PRISONER OF WAR CAMPS

Chapter 3 highlighted the fact that practically all cultural activities during the war ceased in the two republics of South Africa, while cultural activities amongst the prisoners of war thrived. Various amateur choirs were established, especially amongst the about 4 000 Afrikaners in the Diyatalawa Camp in Ceylon. These choirs sang mostly religious music. Chapter 6 will give many examples of four-part religious vocal music for choirs. According to Henning (1975:32), this was an unusual occurrence as, almost until the beginning of the war, choir singing was regarded with suspicion. Added to this was the fact that most Boers lived on isolated farms, which was not conducive to choir singing. This leads researchers to suppose that choirs that sang in four-part harmony were often products of the prisoner of war camps as, before the war, almost all religious vocal music was sung in unison. None of the *Psalmen en Gezangen* books consulted by the researcher contain songs in four-part harmony. However, many Sankey songs are written in four-part harmony.

Henning (1975:32) is of the opinion that choirs were established because singing was so important to Boers. It allowed them to honour God, enrich themselves and keep their morale high in tragic circumstances. The social function of the choir could also explain the establishment of these choirs. According to Muller (1994:444) song performance is inherently social as each person is united through a common sense of history and a collective emotion and, through song, they are able to articulate their emotions. According to Wishart (cited in Shepherd & Wicke

1977:130) sound is so important because “it enters into our experience as part of an immediate concrete reality; it impinges on us and in so doing affects our state.”

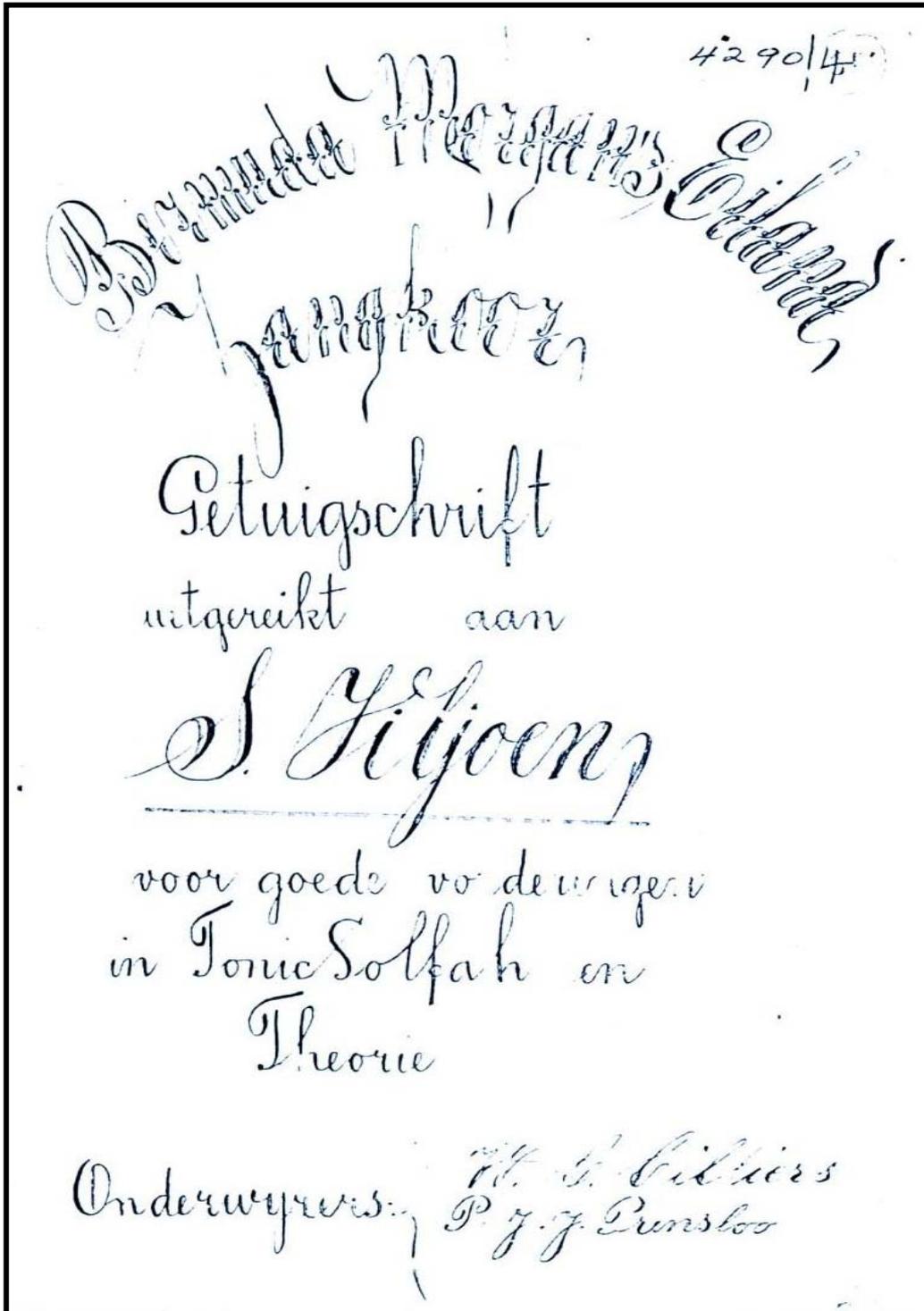
Little was said about the aesthetic sound of the choir performances in diaries, while much of what is written indicated that, through choir performance, participants and listeners were involved in an experience that allowed them to forget, for that moment, their state of degradation. There is evidence to suggest that in order to sing in the choirs, members needed to learn how to read and write music. The more knowledgeable choir members possibly taught sol-fa and theory. A certificate presented to S. Viljoen, a member of the Morgan’s Island Choir for progress in these fields, can be seen in Example 4.3.

There are many examples of choir books, all hand-notated. Some of these books contain songs notated in different handwritings indicating that different choir members compiled them for a particular choir. The value attached to vocal music can be seen in the number of songs notated in the books. Some books have up to one hundred notated songs, although not all in the same handwriting. It is interesting to note that the best examples of staff notated choir books come from inmates in Shajahanpur, India. This could suggest that there were some inmates in the camp who had learnt music theory before arriving there and therefore could instruct others in the camp.

There were many music concerts held in all the prisoner of war camps. The programmes invariably included items by the camp choirs. Example 4.4 shows the programme for a *Gewyd-Concert* (Religious Concert) in the Diyatalawa Camp. The programme has items by three different camp choirs, namely the choirs conducted by G. v. Deventer, P. de Lint and L. Fourie. This is clear evidence that choir singing was a popular pastime.

Example 4.3

Theory certificate: S. Viljoen



(ABWMA 4290/4)

Programma
van het
Gewyd - Concert

te worden gehouden in het Diyatalawa-kamp op Dinsdag
aând den 26^{sten} Aug: 1902, na 'roff call'

1. <u>Ps. 116: 8; Gebed</u> door <u>G. v. Deventer</u>	9. " <u>Halleluja oor het Kruis</u> " Quartet v. <u>P. de Lint</u>
2. " <u>Het kleine woord dat groot is</u> " Koor v. <u>G. v. Deventer</u>	10. " <u>Ik ben de opstanding en het leven</u> ". Koor v. <u>T. Schalkwijk</u> .
3. <u>Aanspraak: "Hoe kon hij die zelf</u> <u>naar het kending veld gaat, kending-</u> <u>[werk doen!]</u> <u>M. Odendaal.</u>	11. <u>Voordracht: "Het leven van</u> <u>Millie Keethling"</u> <u>M. de Wet.</u>
4. " <u>Ik ben de opstanding.</u> " Koor v. <u>P. de Lint.</u>	X 12. <u>Avondlied</u> <u>Avondlied:</u> Quartet v. <u>S. Dippenaar</u>
5. <u>Samenspraak: "De Kiden -</u> <u>[Apostel.]</u> <u>L. Fourie</u> <u>van Kok.</u>	X 13. <u>Vioolstuk: "Mijn best mijn al"</u> <u>O. van Oostrum</u>
X 6. " <u>Do londaar en het lied</u> " Quartet <u>G. v. Deventer.</u>	X 14. " <u>Er ruischt langs de wolken</u> " Quartet v. <u>O. v. Oostrum.</u>
X 7. " <u>Maak zacht.</u> " Koor v. <u>L. Fourie</u>	15. " <u>Maakt en bidt</u> ": Koor v. <u>P. de Lint.</u>
8. " <u>Alleen in Afrika: Kort ver-</u> <u>haal van het leven van een ken.</u> <u>[dingarbeester]</u> <u>J. M. L. Steyn.</u>	16. <u>Vioolstuk: "Blue Bells"</u> <u>O. v. Oostrum.</u>
	17. <u>Gen. 15: 5; Dankgebed</u> <u>J. v. Straaten.</u>

4.5 SONGS TO EXPRESS PATRIOTISM

Chapter 3 drew attention to the singing of patriotic songs on many occasions. The power of this type of song is that it communicates moods and thoughts of people from similar ideological and cultural backgrounds through its sounds. The sound is an emotional experience that excites patriotic fervour. “A stirring, patriotic song during wartime can encode, unify and intensify the thoughts of an entire nation” (Tame 1988:149). Similarly, E.O. Wilson (cited in Storr 1992:20) states that singing of patriotic songs “serves to draw groups together, direct the emotions of the people, and prepare them for joint action.”

Most of these songs idealise a remembrance of the past and in this way serve to negate the present situation. The sound of patriotic songs reminds the singers of their common heritage and, as such, is a source of comfort. Many examples were given in Chapter 3 where the Boers demonstrated patriotic fervour. Through the songs they could express a strong ideology that emphasised the group over the individual, the sharing and working together for immediate survival and even more so for the future.

Krause highlighted the power of the patriotic song when he spoke about farm families who had been told to pack and prepare to be deported to a concentration camp the next day as their farms were to be burnt and destroyed. His Commando sang patriotic songs with the women and children and then took them away to safety before the British returned. Krause observed that the sounds of these songs gave them courage to face the future away from their farms (Taitz 1996:135).

Resistance took many forms and there are countless accounts of singing of the *Volkslieder* by woman and children in concentration camps carrying OVS and ZAR flags (Fisher 1969:184). Patriotic fervour also formed the core idea and gave cohesion to the youth organisations. The British must have been aware of the affective power of music because, on the Bermudas, young Boer boys were never allowed to sing patriotic songs and were severely punished and beaten if they did (ABWMA 5074/5).

Many of these songs are also historical records as they portray the context that generated the song and, as such, are records for posterity. The sounds of songs of freedom and honour proved to be of great benefit to the demoralised Boers in the camps. There are also examples of some secular songs in songbooks.

4.6 SECULAR SONGS

Secular songs helped to boost the morale of the inmates. The singing and sounds of these songs also brought some relief from the stark realities of camp-life and helped to relieve boredom. The lyrics often provided comic relief as they were frequently altered and the underlying messages mocked the enemy. There is also an element of catharsis in these types of songs, because the Boers were able to put their normally repressed feelings into song, without fear of reprisals from the enemy, who could not understand their language. A few examples of songbooks will be given to show that singing was a popular pastime and it can thus be assumed that the sounds of the songs had special meaning for the Boers.

Many holograph songbooks contain both patriotic and secular songs. Example 4.5 is a holograph songbook that belonged to J. Bosman in the St Helena Camp. There is no arithmetic in the book, as the cover suggests, but it contains the words of many English secular songs.

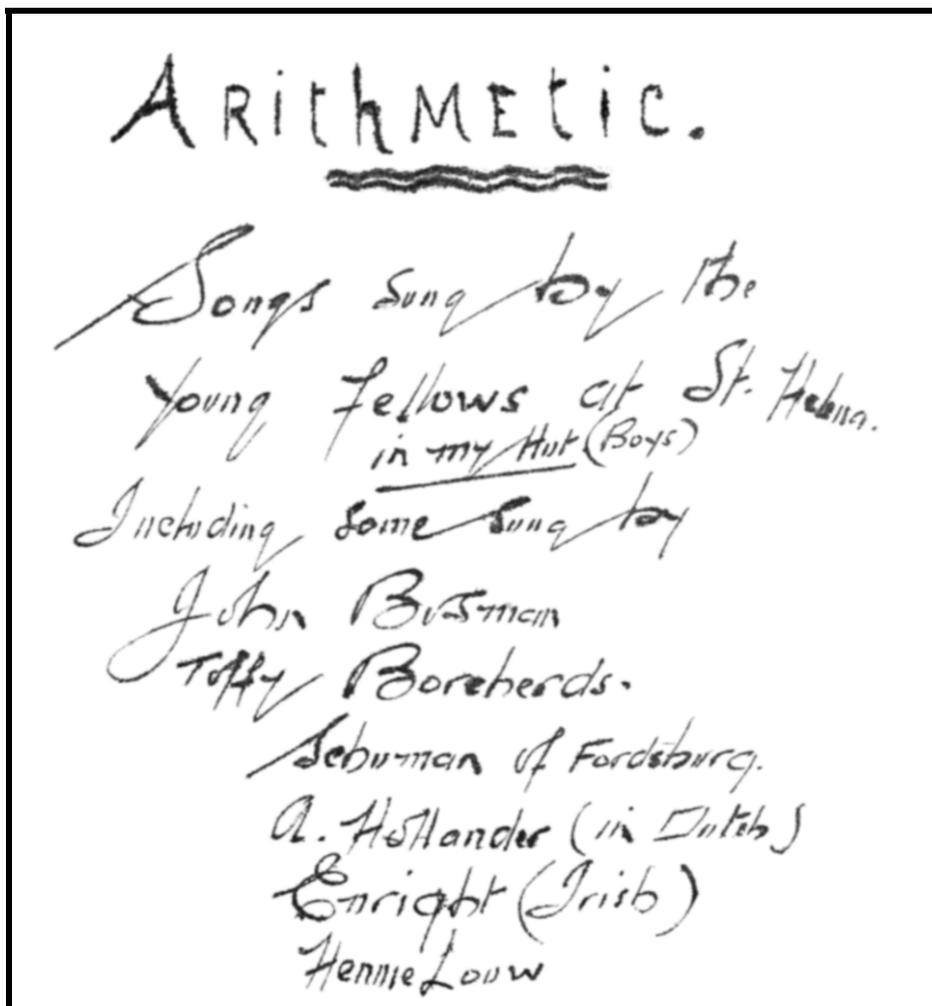
J. H. L. Schumann was very familiar with staff notation, as can be seen in his three hand-notated manuscripts. Schumann wrote the majority of the song lyrics, with a few examples written by other inmates. These books are of great value as they articulate experiences of the war and allow the performer and listener the opportunity to empathise with the conditions faced by the Boers. Example 4.6 illustrates the amount of attention Schumann paid to the outside cover of his manuscripts.

Example 4.7 demonstrates the pride attached to the collection of songs sung in the prisoner of war camp in Trichinopoly, India. The inscription on the book, *God en de Mauser* (Translation: God and the Boer rifle), is significant because it once

again highlights the belief that the Boers had that God would be with them in this war. The book also contains secular songs.

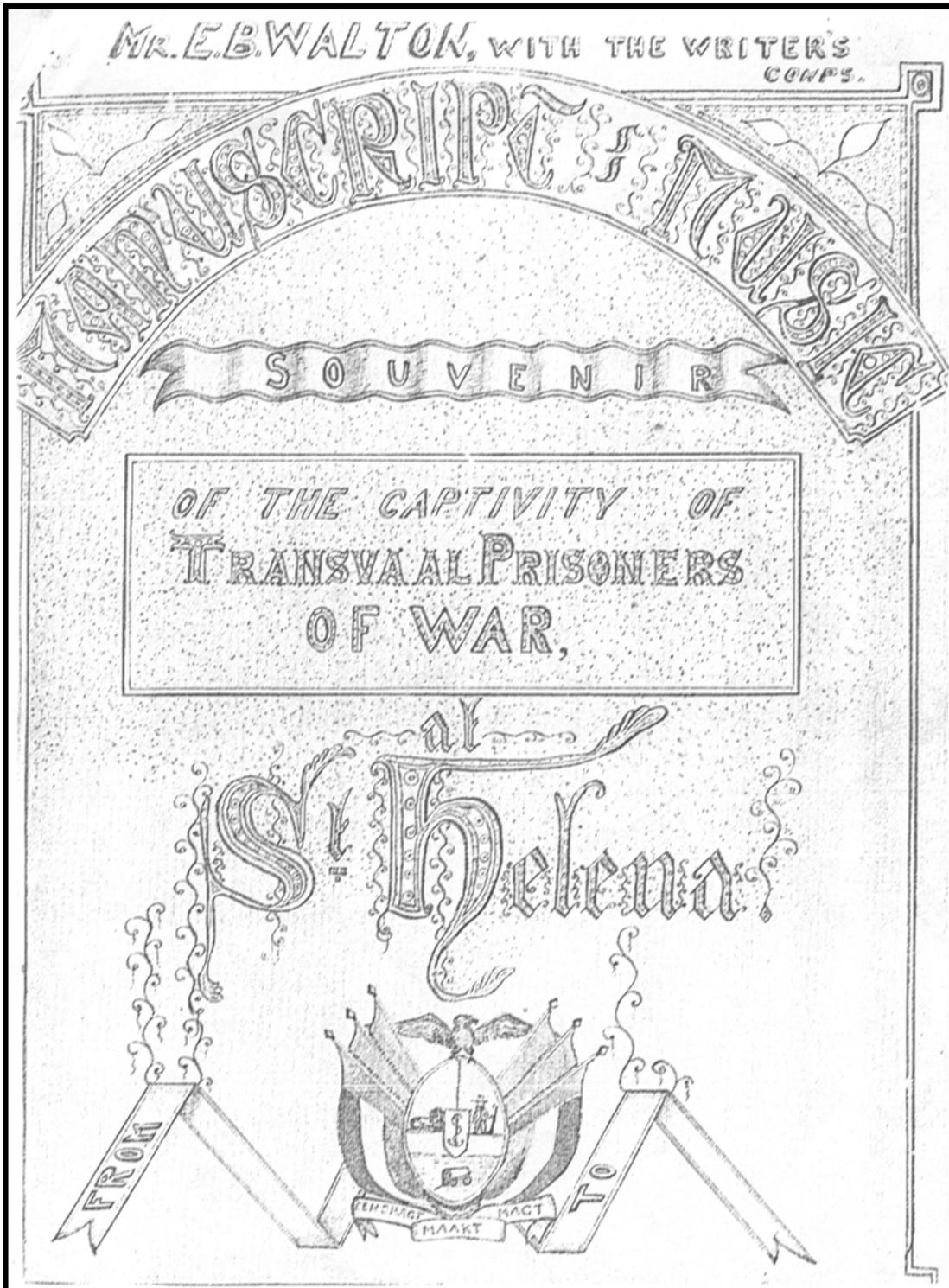
There were even songbooks for men fighting in the Commandos, as can be seen from Example 4.8. This book, which was printed, has many humorous secular songs. This once again emphasises the importance of singing and the sound of their songs to the Boers. The songbook would not have been printed if it was not considered important for the men on Commando to have the words of songs to sing from.

Example 4.5 Holograph Songbook: J. Bosman



(TAD A1793/2)

Example 4.6 Manuscript: J.H.L. Schumann



(NLSA 559/3)

Example 4.7 Songbook: S.F. Hugo



(Lategan & Potgieter 1988:119)

Example 4.8

Orange Free State Songbook 1901



(ABWMA 6350/2)

4.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter demonstrated how the Boers used the sounds of their vocal music as a vehicle to articulate their responses to events of the war. Shepherd and Wicke (1997:97) highlight the importance of the sound of music when they argue that it functions in a manner distinct from language and, despite this, it is as fundamental as language to the formation of human societies.

Whilst recognising the importance of the sounds of Boer vocal music, it is important to link the sounds to the lyrics of the songs in order to understand vocal music as a socially and culturally constituted form of human expression. Chapter 5 will thus assess the lyrics of Boer vocal music. By linking sounds and lyrics, the aural void will be addressed and allow for insights into processes of affect and meaning in music.

CHAPTER 5

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE AFFECT AND MEANING OF WORDS AND LYRICS IN BOER VOCAL MUSIC

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the analysis of affect and meaning is grounded in an examination of language that is not decontextualised from the sounds of the songs. The lyrics will thus be interpreted in melodic configurations that are equated with the particular moods, emotions and cultural-historical meanings that were highlighted in previous chapters. By linking the lyrics to the sounds of the songs it will be possible to address the aural void that was identified as the lacuna between cultural history and musicology.

Chapter 4 dealt with an illustration of the various musical song genres used by the Boers, while this chapter will deal with the lyrics according to the degree of functional effectiveness in a specific context. Previous chapters highlighted the fact that two of the most important facets of the Boer psyche were their religious fervour and their patriotism. In this chapter, the lyrics of religious vocal music and popular songs they sang during the war will be considered in conjunction with Biblical references to the words of the Psalms, as well as other books of the Bible, to draw attention to these two facets.

5.2 RELIGIOUS VOCAL MUSIC

The Boers interpreted many religious concepts in the light of their everyday experiences during the war. It is from Biblical texts on which religious vocal music is based that the Boers were able to receive solace. Aaron (1985:5) also stresses the affective role of messages from religious music when he speaks about its meaning to the Jews in the Concentration Camps. According to him, “Even when the catastrophe was perceived as being unprecedented, the historical song, with its use of Biblical quotations, its liturgical framework and its theodicy, all served to

console the listener, to mitigate the disaster, to render the actual, time-bound event into something transtemporal” (Aaron 1985:5).

Many examples have been given that verify the fact that the Boers never lost faith and continuously sang religious songs to praise the Lord. Pretorius (1999:138) points out that most Boers went into battle with faith because they believed that their cause was just in God’s eyes and that He would preserve them. In order to gain insights into processes of affect and meaning in Boer religious vocal music, the lyrics of some of the most frequently sung and notated songs will be examined. Reputable commentaries dealing with religious music will be consulted in order to prevent a subjective analysis of affect and meaning by the researcher. The religious music will be highlighted under the following categories:

- ❖ Psalms
- ❖ *Gezangen*
- ❖ Revival songs
- ❖ Songs with religious messages.

5.2.1 Psalms

According to Kidner (1973:7) “critical opinion had seemed likely to remain agreed that the Psalter was a product of Israel’s post-exilic maturity, when the teaching of the prophets and the collapse of the monarchy had combined to give new prominence to individual piety.” The role of the prophet thus disappeared and a new kind of voice was heard, namely, the poets of the Psalter who addressed God rather than man. This has resulted in the book of Psalms becoming a pivotal book for Old Testament study and has a continuing relevance today (Kidner 1973:7).

Translations of the Psalms into metrical verse go back to the 2nd century. In the 16th century a new innovation was added, namely that of public worship. According to Temperley (2001:483), Hus and Luther acknowledged the power of congregational singing that required texts in verse because the people at large could not easily sing prose. The enormous increase in the quantity of metrical Psalms after 1520 was thus a direct outgrowth of the Reformation.

The creation of a metrical Psalter in the vernacular, complete with melodies and attendant polyphonic settings is the chief contribution of Calvinism to the music of Western Europe. The complete Genevan Psalter in Dutch was published in 1566. Petrus Dathenus translated French texts into Dutch and fitted his translations to the Genevan melodies. It remained the official Psalter of the Dutch speaking Calvinist Christians for more than two centuries. Dathenus' texts were replaced in 1773 by order of the Dutch Government, although Genevan melodies were retained (Mundel 2001:491).

All three Dutch Reformed Churches, to which practically every Boer belonged, used the Genevan Psalter. Whenever the use of Psalm singing by the Boers is mentioned it generally refers to the versified Psalm sung to the Genevan Psalm tunes. There are, however, some exceptions and details will be given when referring to these Psalms. Kloppers (2004) points out that a few Psalms were not Genevan melodies. He gives the example of Psalm 130 to a *Voortrekkerwysie* and the very popular Psalm 146 to the German tune of F.G. Bäsler.

The fact that the Psalms are still relevant today partially explains their popularity during the Anglo-Boer War. Amongst other things the Psalms allowed the Boers to:

- ❖ articulate their emotions
- ❖ give voice to their sufferings in a hostile and evil world
- ❖ be reminded of God's goodwill and faithfulness toward his people
- ❖ articulate the great divide between a righteous and what they perceived as wicked nation
- ❖ express the fact that human pride will be humbled and wrongs will be readdressed.

It is, however, easy to fall into the trap of subjectively deciding why certain Psalms were important to the Boers. Ideally the 19th century Dutch Bible read by the Boers should be used as a reference point since translations carry their own hermeneutics and differ widely. The researcher is, however, not a scholar in theology and had to rely on the NIV Study Bible (1995) and reputable 20th century

classification systems that allowed for an objective examination of some of the most popular Psalms notated and sung by the Boers. The 19th century Dutch Genevan Psalter would have been the most reliable source as it carries its own hermeneutics due to cultural conditioning, force of rhyme and verse metre, which would give it a slightly different slant to the Biblical verse. The 20th century sources mentioned, however, proved to be invaluable as they gave insight into the general meaning of the Psalms and were necessary for an understanding of the versified Psalms found in hymnbooks.

For the purpose of this study, the classification system according to type given by H. Gunkel (cited in Seybold 1990:112) will be considered. Gunkel pioneered a new approach to Psalm studies as far back as 1904, “which was to force a reappraisal of the provenance and function of the psalm” (Kidner 1973:7). Gunkel’s classification will thus provide the researcher with a frame of reference under which Boer preference for certain Psalms can be understood. For Gunkel (cited in Seybold 1990:112) there must be three conditions before individual Psalms can be put into a common group or type:

- ❖ there must be a ‘particular *basis in worship*’ in which the texts are all rooted, a uniform setting in cultic life
- ❖ there must be a ‘common treasury of *thought and feeling*’, a uniformity of meaning and mood
- ❖ there must be a ‘shared diction’, a uniformity of style and structure.”

Seybold (1990:112) provides the eight major types recognised by Gunkel, but highlights the fact that no single Psalm represents a type completely. Despite this, he considers Gunkel’s criteria for types as valid to this day.

Major types

- ❖ Hymns
- ❖ Songs of Yahweh’s enthronement
- ❖ Laments of the nation
- ❖ Royal Psalms
- ❖ Laments of the individual

- ❖ Thanksgiving of the individual
- ❖ Prophecy in the Psalms
- ❖ Wisdom in the Psalms

Minor types

- ❖ Blessings and Curses
- ❖ The Song of the Ascents
- ❖ The Song of Victory
- ❖ Thanksgiving of Israel
- ❖ The Legend
- ❖ The Torah

Only types with Psalms that were popular amongst the Boers will be addressed. Favourite psalm verses quoted in the context of song refer rather to the Psalter verses than to the Biblical prose verses.

5.2.1.1 Hymns

According to Seybold (1990:113) this type embraces texts “which combine song, profession of faith, and prayer, and which had their fixed place in the public worship of both the first and the second temple.” Psalms assigned to this type that were popular with the Boers are 100, 105, 146, 148, 149 and 150.

Many diary entries highlighted the fact that the Boers intermixed religion and patriotism. Pretorius (1999:177) corroborates this when he says that many of the Boers on Commando “compared the Afrikaner people to Israel ... [and] saw their dire straits as similar and drew strength from God’s deliverance of Israel.” Psalm 105 would have allowed the Boers the opportunity to articulate this conviction as it is an exhortation to Israel to worship and trust in the Lord “because of all his saving acts in fulfilment of his covenant with Abraham to give his descendants the land of Canaan” (NIV 1995:890).

The last five Psalms, 146-150, were particularly popular and found in many songbooks. All these Psalms begin and end with “Praise the Lord”. Psalm 146 was sung on many occasions and is also an exhortation to trust in the Lord.

The words of verses 1 and 2 read as follows:

“Praise the Lord.
Praise the Lord, O my soul.
I will praise the Lord all my life;
I will sing praise to my God
As long as I live”

(NIV 1995:931 – Psalm 146:1-2).

Verses 7 and 8 allowed the Boers to draw comfort from words that express circumstances which they perceived as similar to theirs. At the same time they were reminded of the goodness of the Lord:

“He upholds the cause of the oppressed
and gives food to the hungry.
The Lord sets prisoners free,
the Lord gives sight to the blind
the Lord lifts up those who are bowed down,
the Lord loves the righteous”

(NIV 1995:931 – Psalm 146:7-8).

5.2.1.2 *Laments of the Community*

According to Seybold (1990:115) these Psalms are prayers of a community in a time of trial and are built on lament and supplication. Through these Psalms the Boers were able to articulate their heartache for their homeland that was involved in a war. According to Seybold (1990:116) a characteristic feature of the *Laments of the Community* “is the argumentative style, recalling promises of the past, pointing out contradictions in the present, suggesting conclusions, offering motives, all in order to win God’s intervention.” The words of Psalm 85

demonstrate many of these features and through them the Boer was able to identify with the hardships of Israel and be comforted by God's intervention.

Psalm 79 also falls under this type. Kidner (1973[b]:286) states that though it is filled with pathos "its prevailing tone is one of indignation, and its appeal is to God's honour." Interestingly enough the words of verses 4 to 8 were often written out in hand-notated scores, suggesting that these verses were more popular than the others. They draw attention to the fact that the Israelites had been banished from God's land and that as exiles they pleaded their special covenant relationship with God. Mention has been made of the fact that the Boers compared their lot to that of Israel and through the words of Psalm 79 verses 4-8 they were able to articulate this and plead their cause with God:

"We are objects of reproach to our neighbours,
Of scorn and derision to those around us.
How long, O Lord? Will you be angry forever?
How long will your jealousy burn like fire?
Pour out your wrath on the nations
that do not acknowledge you,
On the kingdoms that do not call on your name;
for they have devoured Jacob
and destroyed his homeland.
Do not hold against us the sins of the fathers;
may your mercy come quickly to meet us,
for we are in desperate need"

(NIV 1995:863 – Psalm 79:4-8).

Many diary entries refer to Psalm 123, verses 3 and 4, being sung at funerals. This Psalm is a collective lament by people who are suffering. They beseech God to comfort them in their circumstances and, according to Kidner (1973:436), the repetition of "have mercy on us", is used to reinforce the fact that the writer of the Psalm has had enough. Through these words, the Boers could articulate their feeling of desperation and the urgency needed to save them from their situation:

“Have mercy on us, O Lord.
Have mercy on us,
For we have endured much ridicule from the proud,
much contempt from the arrogant”

(NIV 1995:916 – Psalm 123:3-4).

5.2.1.3 *Laments of the Individual*

Needless to say, this type of Psalm was very popular with the Boers because, through the words, they were able to receive solace by identifying with the hardship the Psalter faced and the fact that God was always there to help in difficult circumstances. This is highlighted in Seybold’s explanation (1990:116) of this type of Psalm: “In actual fact, we are dealing with prayers of supplication of a single person in unfortunate circumstances. Among the components of these prayers are the invocations, the representation of self [depiction of misery], requests, combined with expressions of confidence, arguments to motivate God’s intervention, declarations, and vows of thanks and praise.”

Psalm 31 makes the journey twice from anguish to assurance and could come to mind in moments of crisis. The popularity of this Psalm with the Boers suggests that the words gave them courage in their difficult circumstances. “No psalm expresses a more sturdy trust in the Lord when powerful human forces threaten” (NIV 1995:807 – Psalm 31). Verses 9 and 10 clearly express David’s distress, a distress the Boers were able to identify with. The Boer did not necessarily have a physical affliction, but considered the circumstances surrounding his interment as an affliction.

“Be merciful to me, O Lord, for I am in distress;
my eyes grow weak with sorrow,
my soul and my body with grief.
My life is consumed by anguish and my years by groaning;

My strength fails because of my affliction,
And my bones grow weak”

(NIV 1995:807 – Psalm 31:9-10).

Verses 21-24 also give courage because they remind the reader or singer of the fact that the Lord helped David in difficult times:

“Praise be to the Lord,
for he showed his wonderful love to me
when I was in a besieged city.
In my alarm I said, ‘I am cut off from your sight!’
Yet you hear my cry for mercy
when I called to you for help.
Love the Lord, all his saints!
The Lord preserves the faithful,
but the proud he pays back in full.
Be strong and take heart,
all you who hope in the Lord”

(NIV 1995:808 – Psalm 31:21-24).

Seybold (1990:116) also classifies *Psalms of the Individual* under *Laments of the Individual*. In this group he includes almost a quarter of the Psalms. One of these Psalms, Psalm 25, was very popular with the Boers. Previous chapters highlighted the fact that most Boers put all their trust in the Lord and many of the words of the Psalms that were popular with them articulate this trust. Psalm 25 verses 1-3 not only communicate this trust but, through the words, the Boer is able to ask God to punish the enemy:

“In you, O Lord, I lift up my soul;
in you I trust, O my God.
Do not let me be put to shame,
Nor let my enemies triumph over me”

(NIV 1995:802 – Psalm 25:1-3).

The words of this Psalm allow them the opportunity to beseech God to forgive them their sins:

“Remember not the sins of my youth
And my rebellious ways;
According to your ways remember me
For you are good, O Lord”

(NIV 1995:802 – Psalm 25:7).

5.2.1.4 *Thanksgiving of the individual*

In virtually every Boer songbook we find Psalm 23. This is typical of a Psalm that can be classified under different types. Seybold (1990:116 &118) calls it one of the *Psalms of confidence* and places it under the types, *Laments of the individual* as well as *Thanksgiving of the individual*. According to him, “No single psalm represents the ideal of its ‘type’ completely” (Seybold 1990:112). For the purpose of this thesis it will be classified under *Thanksgiving of the individual*.

The whole Psalm is expressive of personal confidence, joy, and triumph from beginning to end (Spurgeon [s.a] Vol. 1:359). This is understandable as through the words of this Psalm “there is readiness to face deep darkness and imminent attack, and the climax reveals a love which hones towards no material goal but to the Lord Himself” (Kidner 1973:109). The circumstances facing the Boers were indeed threatening and, through this Psalm, they were able to articulate this. At the same time, the Psalm serves as consolation because the lyrics suggest that the reader or singer of the Psalm has a personal relationship with God. The *I* and the *you* suggest this in verse 4:

“Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death
I will fear no evil,
for you are with me;
your rod and staff, they comfort me”

(NIV 1995:800-801 – Psalm 23:4).

According to Kidner (1973:111), this closeness with God is even more meaningful because the words suggest that God is armed. The rod and staff were the shepherd's weapons. This must have been especially important to the Boers because it highlights God as their protector against the enemy. Verse 6 echoes the consolation theme:

“Surely goodness and love will
follow me
all the days of my life,
and I will dwell in the House of the Lord
for ever”

(NIV 1995:801 – Psalm 23:6).

Psalm 30 was also very popular with the Boers and is classified under the type, *Thanksgiving of the individual*. It was from Biblical texts like these that the Boers were able to receive solace. Through these texts they could identify with the hardship David faced and the fact that the Lord came to David's rescue made them believe that the Lord would do the same for them. David's thanks to the Lord in verses 1-4 could thus have reminded them of the Lord's closeness in time of need:

“I will exalt you, O Lord,
for you lifted me out of the depths
and did not let my enemies gloat over me.
O Lord my God, I called to you for help
and you healed me.
O Lord, you brought me up from the grave,
you spared me from going down into the pit.
Sing to the Lord, you saints of his;
praise his holy name”

(NIV 1995:806 – Psalm 30:1-4).

According to the NIV, the grave spoken of is figurative of a “brink-of-death” experience (NIV 1995:806 – Psalm 30:1-4). Spurgeon ([s.a.]:44) emphasises the fact that three times over David is quite sure that God has done great things for him. He has healed him, He has brought him up from the grave and He has spared him from going down into the pit. This is a typical Psalm where religious concepts could be interpreted in the light of the Boer’s everyday experiences during the war.

A Psalm which was also popular with the Boers and which had praise and thanksgiving as the topic, was Psalm 66. The focus of the Psalm is “the Lord’s great works, his gracious benefits, his faithful deliverances, and all his dealings with his people, brought to a close by a special kindness received by the prophet-bard himself” (Spurgeon [s.a.] Vol. 2:108). Verses 1-4 call on all nations to praise God by dictating the words of a suitable song:

“Shout with joy to God, all the earth!
Sing the glory of his name;
Make his praise glorious!
Say to God. ‘How awesome are your deeds!
So great is your power
That your enemies cringe before you.
All the earth bows down to you;
They sing praise to you,
They sing praise to your name’ ”

(NIV 1995:844 – Psalm 66:1-4).

Verses 5-7 invite nations to see the works of the Lord. Spurgeon ([s.a.] Vol. 2:108) suggests that the Psalm writer is referring to the Red Sea and the passage through Jordan. The words of these verses also allow the Boers to identify with the hardships faced by the Israelites and the reassurance of help from the Lord in their own circumstances:

“Come and see what God has done,
how awesome his works in man’s behalf!
He turned the sea into dry land
they passed through the waters on foot –
come, let us rejoice in him”

(NIV 1995:844 – Psalm 66:5-6).

Some of the Psalms and other religious songs are very long and often Boer diaries carry references to certain verses sung at different times. The circumstances they were facing could possibly have dictated what their immediate need was and the verses were chosen to fit the occasion. Such examples are found in a letter written by D.W. Steyn (FAD A621 - Articles). He writes about the terrible circumstances on the boat trip to the prisoner of war camp at Ahmednagar in India and how they often sang Psalm 118 verses 6 & 7 for comfort. These verses are a good example of meaning implied in the versified form as the words speak of being encircled and trampled by enemies, yet expressing the fervent confidence in conquering them in God’s name:

“The Lord is with me; I will not be afraid.
What can man do to me?
The Lord is with me; he is my helper.
I will look in triumph on my enemies”

(NIV 1995:905 – Psalm 118:6-7).

Psalm 116 was a very popular Genevan Psalm often sung by the Boers. Verses 1 & 7 were often used to thank the Lord. An example is seen in the diary of H.P. Erasmus after their safe arrival at Ahmednagar (FAD A621). These verses once again emphasise the Boer’s love for the Lord and their belief that He will help them in their dire circumstances:

“I love the Lord, for he heard my voice;
He heard my cry for mercy.”

“Be at rest once more, O my soul.
For the Lord has been good to you
The Lord is my help and power.
I will praise Him as long as I live ”

(NIV 1995:903-904 – Psalm 116:1 & 7).

5.2.1.5 *Wisdom in the Psalms*

It is fitting to close the section on the role of the Psalms by discussing Psalm 91, which is not listed under any of the types given by Seybold. Due to its popularity it was necessary find a place for it and the researcher decided to classify it under *Wisdom Poems* which Seybold (1990:118) describes as an “open-ended group ... being psalms with a fixed formal structure, and also the free didactic poems which have a variety of objectives.”

The popularity of this Psalm could be attributed to the fact that it was a source of great comfort to the Boers as the whole Psalm is a glowing testimony to the security of those who trust in the Lord. It is divided into two halves of eight verses. In the first half those who trust in the Lord will be assured of security from four threats (vs. 5-7):

“You will not fear the terror of night,
nor the arrow that flies by day,
nor the pestilence that stalks in the darkness,
nor the plague that destroys at midday.
A thousand may fall at your side,
Ten thousand at your right hand,
But it will not come near you”

(NIV 1995:877 – Psalm 91:5-7).

In the second half, they are assured of triumph over four menacing beasts (vs. 13):

“You will tread upon the lion and the cobra;
You will trample the great lion and the serpent”

(NIV 1995:877 – Psalm 91:13).

The last verses must have been especially meaningful to the Boers in their circumstances (vs. 14-16):

“ ‘Because he loves me,’ says the Lord, ‘I will rescue him;
I will protect him, for he acknowledges my name.
He will call upon me, and I will answer him;
I will deliver him in trouble,
I will deliver him and honor him
And show him my salvation’ ”

(NIV 1995:877 – Psalm 91:14-16).

Despite the importance of the words of the Psalms, it is important to link them to the sounds. The link between the lyrics and the sounds of religious music is summed up by C.S. Lewis (1958:2-3) when he speaks of the Psalms as “poems intended to be sung: not doctrinal Treatises, nor even sermons ... [T]he Psalms must be read and sung as poems; as lyrics with the emotional rather than logical connections, which are proper to lyric poetry.”

Gunkel’s classification system according to type, gave the researcher a frame of reference that allowed for the objective interpretation of the role some Psalms played in the life of the Boer. In this respect, less attention will be paid to *Gezangen*, Revival songs and Songs with religious messages. This is because there is much overlapping between the meaning of songs within these types, and the meaning found in the Psalms.

5.2.2 *Gezangen*

The *Gezangen* were of Dutch origin and incorporated songs that were for special Church services. Many of these functional *Gezangen* were hand-notated by the Boers in the prisoner of war camps and must have been considered important for special services in the Church calendar. Examples of these *Gezangen* are:

- ❖ For Communion: 96, 100
- ❖ The birth of Jesus: 111 and 113

- ❖ His suffering on the cross: 118, 133 and 134
- ❖ Ascension day: 146
- ❖ Death and eternal life: 181 and 187
- ❖ The New Year: 160.

In Het Boek van Gezangen (1898) the *Gezangen* are classified by subjects. It is impossible to address all ten subjects given. Only a few popular *Gezangen* will be dealt with because the words of these songs played a similar role to the words of the Psalms even though they were based on Biblical texts other than the Psalms. These *Gezangen* will be placed under the subjects given in Het Boek van Gezangen (1898).

5.2.2.1 Geloof en Vertrouwen (*Translation: Christian belief and courage*).

Gezang 75 is classified under this heading and was very popular with the Boers. The words are based on 1 Corinthians 15 verse 58, 16 verse 13 and 2 Peter 1 verses 5 & 6 where courage is the central theme. By singing this *Gezang* the Boers were able to encourage each other to remain courageous despite their circumstances:

“Therefore, my dear brothers, stand firm. Let nothing move you.
Always give yourselves fully to the work of the Lord,
because you know that your labor in the Lord is not in vain”

(NIV 1995:1760 – 1 Corinthians 15:58).

“Be on your guard; stand firm in the faith;
be men of courage; be strong”

(NIV 1995:1761 – 1 Corinthians 16:13).

“For this very reason, make every effort to add to your faith goodness,
and to goodness, knowledge; and to knowledge, self-control;
and to self-control, perseverance; and to perseverance, godliness”

(NIV 1995:1898 – 2 Peter 1:5-6).

5.2.2.2 Op Bijzondere Tijden en Gelegenheden (*Translation: For special occasions*)

Chapter 3 highlighted the fact that the Boers often attributed the war to their sins such as drunkenness, neglect to educate and raise the blacks in their midst, desecration of the Sabbath and other personal sin. It can thus be understood why so many Boers notated *Gezang* 159, which referred to the conversion of sinners. The words are based on Biblical passages from Hosea 11 and Ezekiel 33. The Boers could have drawn strength from these passages as they remind the singer and reader of God's love despite man's sin:

“When Israel was a child, I loved him,
and out of Egypt I called my son.
But the more I called Israel, the further they went from me.
They sacrificed to the Baals
and they burned incense to images.
It was I who taught Ephraim to walk,
taking them by the arms;
but they did not realize it was I who healed them.
I led them with cords of human kindness,
with ties of love; I lifted the yoke from their neck
and bent down to feed them”

(NIV 1995:1326 – Hosea 11:1-4).

Other words in this *Gezang* come from Ezekiel 33 vs. 18-19.

“If a righteous man turns from his righteousness
and does evil, he will die for it.
And if a wicked man turns away from his wickedness
and does what is just and right, he will live by doing so”

(NIV 1995:1265 – Ezekiel 33:18-19).

5.2.3 Revival Songs

In Chapter 4 much was said about the revival songs that were popular with so many Boers. The words of most of these songs were attributed to Ira Sankey and the book, *Sankey Sacred Songs and Solos with standard Hymns* [s.a.] supplies an index of forty-seven subjects. Only a few of these subjects will be highlighted in order to show that the Boers chose songs alluding to topics which could have helped them cope with the circumstances that faced them.

5.2.3.1 Affliction and Trial

An important subject in the classic evangelical hymns is a persistent concern for the relief of suffering. This can be observed in the following excerpts from Sankey Songs that were not only hand-notated, but also translated from English to Afrikaans-Nederlands by the Boers.

Sankey song 375 was particularly popular and this could have been due to the fact that the words served as a great comfort to the Boers, because through them they were able to articulate their belief that God would be with them in all circumstances:

“He will hide me! He will hide me!
Where no harm can e'er betide me;
He will hide me! Safely hide me.
In the shadow of His hand.”
“Enemies may strive to injure,
Satan all his arts employ;
God will turn what seems to harm me
Into everlasting joy”

(Sankey 375 vs. 1 & 6).

The words of Sankey 643 and 656 express similar sentiments to those expressed in the song above. A possible explanation for the popularity of the Sankey songs is that the words of the songs are much more emotive than the words of the Psalms and *Gezangen* and possibly addressed the emotional needs of the Boers in the camps. As such they could be considered a coping mechanism to the Boers:

“As pants the hart for cooling streams,
When heated in the chase,
So longs my soul, O God,
for Thee and Thy refreshing grace.”

“God of my strength, how long shall I
Like one forgotten, mourn? –
Forlorn, forsaken, and exposed
To my oppressors’ scorn?”

(Sankey 643 vs. 1 & 3).

“Dear Refuge of my weary soul,
On Thee, when sorrows rise,
On Thee, when waves of trouble roll,
My fainting hope relies.

To Thee I tell each rising grief,
For Thou alone canst heal;
Thy Word can bring a sweet relief
For every pain I feel”

(Sankey 656 vs. 1 & 2).

5.2.3.2 Faith

Faith and Christian confidence is clearly articulated in Sankey no. 739, which was hand-notated and translated in many songbooks:

“How firm a foundation, ye saints of the Lord,
Is laid for your faith in His excellent Word!
What more can He say, than to you He hath said
To you, who for refuge to Jesus have fled.”

“Fear not, I am with thee; oh, be not dismayed!
For I am thy God, I will still give thee aid;
I’ll strengthen thee, help thee, and cause thee to stand
Upheld by My gracious, omnipotent hand.”

“The soul that on Jesus hath leaned for repose,
I will not – I will not desert to his foes;
That soul – though all hell should endeavour to shake,
I’ll never – no never – no never forsake!”

(Sankey 739 vs. 1, 2 & 6).

5.2.3.3 Christian Courage and Endurance

This rousing song could also have served as encouragement to the Boers to endure and persevere in all circumstances:

“Onward, Christian soldiers! Marching as to war,
Looking unto Jesus, who is gone before.
Christ, the Royal Master, leads against the foe;
Forward into battle see His banners go.
Onward, Christian soldiers! Marching as to war,
Looking unto Jesus, who is gone before”

(Sankey 611 vs. 1).

5.2.3.4 *Heaven and Home*

This section is closes with the Sankey hymn, *We're going home*. The Boers often expressed their longing for home through hymns about eternity.

“We're going home, No more to roam, No more sin and sorrow;
No more to wear the brow of care. We're going home tomorrow.
We're going home, we're going home tomorrow;
We're going home, we're going home tomorrow”

(Sankey 113 vs.1).

5.2.4 **Songs with religious messages**

Songs with religious messages are problematic due to the fact that there is no classification system that allows for an objective analysis of the role of these songs. A few will be mentioned, but meaning is grounded in a subjective analysis by the researcher. The lyrics of some of these songs were written in response to circumstances. This is highlighted by three songs by J.H.L.Schumann, *The Boer Prisoner's Prayer* and *By a Grave* and *How long, o Lord?*

Many other songs with religious messages are found in hand-notated songbooks, diaries and holograph songbooks. It is, however, difficult to say which were written in camps and which were sung before the war. [Example 4.1](#) shows the contents page of a choir book belonging to the *Excelsior Krijgsgevangene Zang Vereeniging*, Shahjahanpur. The book contains many songs with religious messages, the words of which would have played similar roles to those of other Psalms, *Gezangen* and Revival songs, e.g. *Troost en Hulp* (Translation: Comfort and Hope), *Lof en Aanbidding* (Translation: Praise and Worship) and *Kerstlied* (Translation: Christmas Song).

Songs that start with *Houd moed* or *Houdt moed* are found in many books and diaries. They all seem to convey the same message, 'be courageous', although they have different wording. In the diary of Elizabeth Grobbelaar she writes about a card that a minister gave her friend in a concentration camp. The card was sent from a prisoner of war camp in India with the words of the song *Houd Moed*.

The translation reads:

Be courageous women
Your worry, sadness and tears in your eyes,
God sees all

Be courageous women
There is an end in sight and we will be victorious
Despite the loss of farms and blood

(FAD A248).

5.2.5 Christian expression through religious vocal music

References to religious vocal music by the Boers highlighted the fact that through this music the Boers were able to express a wide range of Christian praise, worship, testimony and response to God. It was also a coping mechanism because, through the words of the songs, they were able to articulate their needs.

Much has been said about the importance of the Bible to the Boer and the singing of these texts must have been especially meaningful to them. Elizabeth Grobbelaar (FAD A248), highlights the importance of Biblical references to the Boers in a song *Die Afrikaanse Bybel*. The words of the song clearly express her love of the Word of God and the guidance she receives from the Word. She expresses the wish that all Boers will read and trust the Bible that she considers a light in dire circumstances.

In previous chapters two outstanding characteristics of the Boers were recognised, namely religious fervour and patriotism. The war was a conflict between Afrikaner nationalism and British imperialism. It can thus be understood that the Boers were filled with patriotic fervour and a fierce nationalism and their vocal music allowed them to articulate these sentiments. Chapter 3 gave examples of patriotic music being sung on many different occasions throughout the war. Patriotism, expressed through the words of songs will now be addressed in pro-Afrikaner vocal music.

5.3 PRO-AFRIKANER VOCAL MUSIC

With each threat to the Afrikaner identity came a flood of patriotic songs. Swanepoel (1979:iv) is of the opinion that, had there been no wars of independence (1880-1881 and 1899-1902), this pro-Afrikaner patriotic music would not have been composed as there would have been no tragedy to portray in music.

This section will be divided into:

- ❖ Official *Volksliedere* of the *Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek* and the *Oranje-Vrijstaat*
- ❖ Patriotic music
- ❖ Documentary vocal music about the war.

5.3.1 Official *Volksliedere* of the *Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek* and the *Oranje-Vrijstaat*

During the war, the greatest threat to Afrikaner identity was experienced in the OVS and the ZAR. It is thus understandable that the musical resources of the Afrikaner were channelled there. Previous chapters drew attention to the fact that the official *Volksliedere* of these two provinces were sung on many occasions. Swanepoel (1979:iv) explains a *Volkslied* as a national anthem, chosen by a nation as an audible emblem, comparable to a flag and coat-of-arms as visible emblems. The official *Volksliedere*, namely *Ken gij dat volk?* (ZAR) and *Heft Burgers* (OVS) clearly had the power to collectively evoke the sentiment of

patriotism. These anthems were mostly sung in Afrikaans-Nederlands and there were many official printed scores and texts available. Many hand-notated scores of these two *Volksliedere* are, however, found in archival documents from the prisoner of war camps, suggesting that there were no official printed scores and texts available in the camps. A few hand-notated scores of these *Volksliedere*, with English words are found in songbooks from prisoner of war camps. Numerous holograph songbooks provide English examples, suggesting that these were also sung in English.

An English translation of vs. 1 of *Ken gij dat volk?* is given below. It is not a true translation but a free versified option in English. Although it reflects something of the sentiment of the anthem in a more reserved manner, it fails to portray the rousing spirit of the original Dutch (Kloppers 2004):

“Right nobly gave voortrekkers brave
Their blood their lives their all
For freedom right in death despite
They fought at duty’s call
Oh burgers high our banner waveth
The standard of the fire
No foreign yoke our land enslave
There reigneth liberty
T’is heavens command here we shall stand
And oh defend the folk and land”

(ABWMA 3451/1).

Kloppers (2004) suggests the following translation to portray the spirit of the Dutch anthem:

“Do you know a people with heroes’ courage and yet so long enslaved?
They have sacrificed their goods and blood for freedom and justice.
Come, burghers, let the flags stream; our suffering is at an end!

Rejoice in the triumph of our brave:
That we are a free nation! a free nation, a free nation
That we are a free, free nation!”

An English translation of Verses 1 and 8 of *Heft Burgers* clearly reflects the Boer’s patriotism and religious fervour.

“O Burgers of our country rise
And sing of our own enterprise,
From foreign bondage free,
May our Republic, young and pure,
In order, law and right, secure,
Ranked with the nations be.”

“ ‘With God, for Folk and Fatherland’
By this great motto shall we stand
Tho’ hot the strife may be.
For him, who has in war’s alarms
His God impressed upon his arms,
Is surest victory”

(ABWMA 1647/2).

5.3.2 Patriotic and documentary vocal music about the war

Documentary songs are often inspired by patriotism as they proclaim a national devotion to the ideals of freedom and honour. Some also encourage people to fight for their country. In documentary songs, the artistic value of the song is considered less important than the meaning of the song, as the context allows for the documentation of circumstances for posterity. They are day-to-day chronicles of unfolding events, which often attempt to identify or name the facts surrounding the writer. Most of these types of songs are found in holograph songbooks. Occasionally there are references to tunes to which the songs are to be sung.

One such song by an unknown writer was found amongst archival newspaper clippings. It is called *Op, Afrikaners, Op* (Rise, Afrikaners, rise) and has instructions that it should be sung to the tune of *Grandfather's Clock*. The whole song encourages Afrikaners to fight for their homeland and closes with the words that they will triumph because God will give them strength (FAD A296).

Chapter 3 highlighted the fact that General Christiaan de Wet was considered one of the real heroes of the War. Many documentary songs were written about him, praising his strategies and giving details of battles and the enemy he defeated. One such song in Afrikaans-Nederlands is found in a holograph songbook from the library at Diyatalawa, Ceylon. The song, *Generaal Christiaan De Wet*, has instructions to sing it to the tune *Prinsje nog zoo klein*. The Boer who wrote the lyrics clearly fought under de Wet because his words speak about De Wet's strategies that caught the British by surprise. His pen takes the reader to some of the battle terrains and writes how Lord Roberts failed to block the route De Wet and his men had taken across the Vaal River. There is also mention of how Lord Kitchener, with his large army of British soldiers, was unable to hunt down De Wet's small army. The writer has the greatest respect for De Wet, continually praising him (FAD A12).

Diyatalawa Zang, to the tune of the *Transvaal Volkslied* (not *Ken gij dat volk?*), was a very popular song and is found in many books. The words convey the mood of the prisoners of war and speak about the fact that God has not deserted the Boers on the Island of Ceylon. The song articulates the prisoners' pride in their official *Volksliedere* and flags. Not only is this a documentary song because it gives the reader a window into life in the Diyatalawa Camp, but it also emphasises the patriotism and religious conviction of the Boers (ABWMA 5469/1).

It is interesting to compare the emotions expressed by R.D. van Wyk (ABWMA 5469/1) in what he calls *Ons Kamp Leven te Groen Pint* (Translation: Our Camp Life in Green Point). None of the feeling of desolation portrayed in *Diyatalawa Zang* is found. He speaks about many good conditions in the camp, the good food, how well their clothes are washed, tennis, football and cricket. There is no

indication that, when he wrote the song, he had any idea that he would be deported to Diyatalawa. Van Wyk's songs are excellent historical documents because through his lyrics he allows for insight into the emotions of the Boers and their circumstances.

The holograph songbook by J.A. Grimm (ABWMA 3451/1) contains a song called *A Famous Story*. He does not say to what tune it is sung, but writes that it was composed and sung by prisoners of war on St Helena. The song also gives readers some interesting facts about the war. It was clearly written before the end of the war because he speaks about the *Afrikander* who will win the war.

A few supporting excerpts are given:

A FAMOUS STORY

“Lord Roberts in his cables ‘I’ve annexed those states and men
To give those conquered countries [Transvaal¹⁷ and Freestate] as a
present to my queen.’

But it was a lying story. It’s known far and wide.
They brought a quartermillion soldiers a handful boers to fight.
From England and Australia, from India and the Cape
From Canada they came and failed to conquer two small states.

Lord Bobs [Roberts] went home to England and said the war was over
The Transvaal and the Freestate and the boers exist no more
Just fancy his surprise my friend when he stepped on to England there
To hear those boers had just invaded the colonies once more”

¹⁷ The British referred to the *Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek* as the *Transvaal* and the *Oranje Vrijstaat* as the Freestate.

His closing chorus echoes these sentiments:

“Oh it’s a famous story it has been prophesied
And may our children’s children reecho it with pride
How the Afrikaner nation shall England’s downfall be
They will be forced to recognise us Afrikaner folk”

(ABWMA 3451/1).

According to Pretorius (1999:125) there was a great deal of singing by the Boers on Commando, especially around the campfires. Some Commandos even had their own special Commando song. These songs should not be lost to posterity as they are an integral part of a nation and, as such, significant historical documents.

A particularly popular Commando song found in many holograph songbooks is *Traansvaal Oorlogs Lied* (Translation: Transvaal War Song). The words of the song serve as a window to important events during the war and can thus be considered a historical document. Mention is made of the scorched earth policy, Buller’s problems at the Tugela River, Lord Roberts’ loss at Ladysmith, the hands-uppers, Lord Kitchener and the fact that British strategy is not working against the Boers. The words of this song can be found in the holograph songbook of H.P.N. Viljoen (TAD W81/4). Example 5.1 is a patriotic song without a name, found in the diary of Johannes Buijs (ABWMA 6305/1). It is also a historical document with some information about the war. The song clearly portrays Boer patriotic sentiment.

Songs about Boer internment in prisoner of war camps allows for an insight into the emotions of those in captivity. A typical example is the *Bermudas Lied* found in a holograph songbook belonging to W.C. Cilliers, a prisoner of war in Morgan's Island Camp, on the Bermudas. The words portray his feeling of utter desolation while sitting next to the sea. He explains his longing for his loved ones and the heartache that the scorched earth policy has brought to his people (ABWMA 5848/38).

The Dutch Reformed Church Archives (DRC B34) in Pietermaritzburg have many examples of songs and poems written about the death of Philip Cronje, a Boer prisoner of war. He was shot in the Green Point Prisoner of War Camp while holding a religious service. Cronje's death was so distressing that many tributes and songs were written on boats to prisoner of war camps, while others were written in camps overseas.

Most of the tributes are in Afrikaans-Nederlands but there are also some in English. James L. Molloy, a prisoner of war from Boston, USA wrote about Cronje's death while he was on Morgan's Island in the Bermudas. Molloy came to South Africa to fight on the side of the Boers and was sent to a prisoner of war camp in the Bermudas after having spent time in Green Point Camp with Philip Cronje. Cronje's death clearly had a profound effect on him as he paid tribute to him in his holograph songbook, explained the circumstances that led to his death and speaks about it as "a sad and unwarrantable occurrence, which I consider nothing more nor less than wilful murder on the part of the sentry" (DRC B34). His holograph songbook also contains the words of a song by W. Naude about the death of Cronje ([Example 5.2](#)).

Example 5.1 Song: Johannes Buijs

Vers No. 1
England has proclaimed;
"The Transvaal once again
"A part of old South Africa's domain,
"But little did she know—
"In partaking of the foe,
"It would cost her many a hero to maintain,
"She thought her policy clear,
"In sending her troops here,
"And thought we would never
 Stop her through great fear,
"But haven't heard on cry,
"We stood to vanity defy.
"And simply say old England if you dare,
 Chorus
While the Transvaal has her sons
And Botha all his guns
No Englishman shall ever take the Vaal
We will show the British Queen.

That we died for liberty and mean
To keep our independence in the Transvaal,

Vers. 2

"Here's to victory host,
"If old England wished to boast,
"She must send some better hero's of her brave,
"Since her noble Union Jack,
"Was lost at Laingsnek,
"She can only be the ruler of the waves,
"While the Frustate has her sons,
"De Wet his Mouser guns,
"No Englishman shall ever rule the Vaal,
"We'll show the British star,
"What kind of men we are
"To keep our independence in the -

Transvaal

Chorus

Example 5.2

Song about Philip Cronje by W. Naude: James Molloy

Have you ^{1st} heard of the death of young ^{Cronje}
Who was killed on the Green Point track
He was holding a Bible in his hand
When the bullet entered his back

^{2nd}
They were holding a meeting for prayer
They had stood there night after night
On a spot ~~to~~ close to the fatal wire
They chose to get near to the light.

^{3rd}
The singing was loud & hearty & strong
What thought they of danger so near
When the sentry cried out "Stand off from ^{wire} the?"
They were singing & could not hear.

^{4th}
When suddenly there came a report of a gun
Which scattered the praying band
And he, whom they loved, fell down by their side
His Bible still clasped in his hand.

^{5th}
He died in the night, no mother was near
To kiss him or hold his dear hand,
But he told the doctor he did not hear
The sentinals rough command

6th
Blessed boy, your name is written in heaven
You have answered the call there
and a crown of life to thee is given
Who your Master's cross did share
7th
you took up your arms at your country's call
Your heart was loyal and true,
But loyal more to the One you loved,
Who first loved ~~you~~ ^{thee}, and died for you.
8th
No need have you now for music or words
No need to get nearer the light,
You have learned the song, that the ransom ^{is} ~~is~~
In the land that knows no right.
9th
a prisoner here, but a victor there
In Heaven you reign and live,
and the comrades you left behind still pray,
"Our enemies, Father! forgive"
By W. Naudé

(DRC B34)

Another holograph songbook about the war is a compilation of songs by J. Nouthout, a prisoner of war in the Deadwood Camp on St Helena. The words of the first song, *De Oorlog*, articulate his longing for his family and the fact that he has been in captivity for two years. He is worried about his wife and child and wonders who is looking after them. The words throughout the song express feelings of desperation and sadness, but verse 20 concludes with the words that despite the hardship he is experiencing he is still prepared to suffer for his country (ABWMA 1475/10).

The words of all of Noothout's songs convey his great love for his country and God. They are not real historical documents, because he speaks about people he encountered but he does not explain in what context. Throughout the songs he speaks about the *Khakis* (English) and how they are going to be driven out of the country. He mentions names like the good General Botha, Buller who could not stand up to the Boers, Lord Roberts who thought he would be President of South Africa and others. He does not, however, give sufficient information in his songs to make them true historical documents. Many of the words of his songs convey the longing he has for his home and as such are valuable documents because they give the reader an insight into the experiential world of the Boer.

The compositions of J.H.L. Schumann, another prisoner of war on St Helena, were discussed in the previous chapter. The words of his songs also portray the emotions of prisoners of war and as such are valuable documents. The titles of some of his songs are self-explanatory. *How Long, o' Lord, By a Grave, They will miss me, Come Back, Love and The Boer Prisoner's Return*. He wrote most of the lyrics for his compositions. However, there are a few with words by other prisoners. One such composition, *The Boer Prisoner's Prayer*, has lyrics by a Lieutenant Kyle. The lyrics of this song were found in many holograph songbooks and are typical of sentiments expressed in many Boer songs, such as longing for farm and freedom.

The first verse is as follows:

“More boundless than our great *Karoo*,
Vast glorious ocean now I view.
Strange wonders now I'm seeing
In Prisonship out on the main.
The sad, sad thoughts course thro' my brain:
When shall I be, shall I be returning?
To my dear old *plaats*,
To my only home,
Where the *Duiker, Springbok*, and *koo-doo* roam

And the fire of freedom is burning;
Say stars above on this lonely night,
Say waves as you dash with majestic might:
When shall I be returning? (x3)”

(NLSA 559/3).

According to Pretorius (1999:126), F.W. Reitz, who became president of the OVS in 1887 and then ZAR Secretary of State in 1899, was also a well-known poet who also wrote lyrics for songs sung to familiar tunes, lauding the heroics of the Boers in battle.

The use of verbal art where, through innuendo and metaphor, people utilise their songs as outlets for emotional release, i.e. catharsis, is a common feature of a great deal of music where oppressive circumstances are faced. In the collection of songs from the library at Diyatalawa (FAD A12) there is a song that has to do with *England's Disgrace*. This song seems to have been sung by H. Hall in the Green Point Prisoner of War Camp and copied for the library collection in Diyatalawa Camp. Throughout the song the writer is able to express his disgust of the British and their strategies. The lyrics of this song also allow for an element of cathartic release, as can be seen from an excerpt from verse six:

“But a day of reckoning is coming these dark deeds of shame can't last
This foul stain which for blots for ever England's name
Yet remember in your anguish when you are thinking of the past
That the best of England's manhood felt the shame”

(FAD A12).

Through the above songs the Boers were able to articulate their patriotism and their sentiments regarding the war. The words of many of the songs are also valuable historical documents because they give information about persons and events concerning the war. By gaining an insight into the experiential world of the Boers in Chapter 3, it became possible to understand the words of the pro-Afrikaner songs. The insight gained was necessary to place the songs in their

proper context. The Boers did not, however, only sing religious and patriotic music as will be highlighted in the following section.

5.4 OTHER WAR VOCAL MUSIC

Most of these songs are found in holograph songbooks. In comparison to religious and patriotic music, very few of these popular songs were notated. This could possibly be because the Boers did not attach as much importance to these songs and did not consider it essential to preserve them. It is difficult to categorise the songs because they deal with so many subjects. Some are songs that would have been sung in most Victorian homes, while others seem to have words written in response to specific situations. These songs will be divided into:

- ❖ Words of songs to American and English tunes
- ❖ Satirical songs
- ❖ Afrikaans-Nederlands folk songs and songs to well-known tunes.

5.4.1 Words of songs to American and English tunes

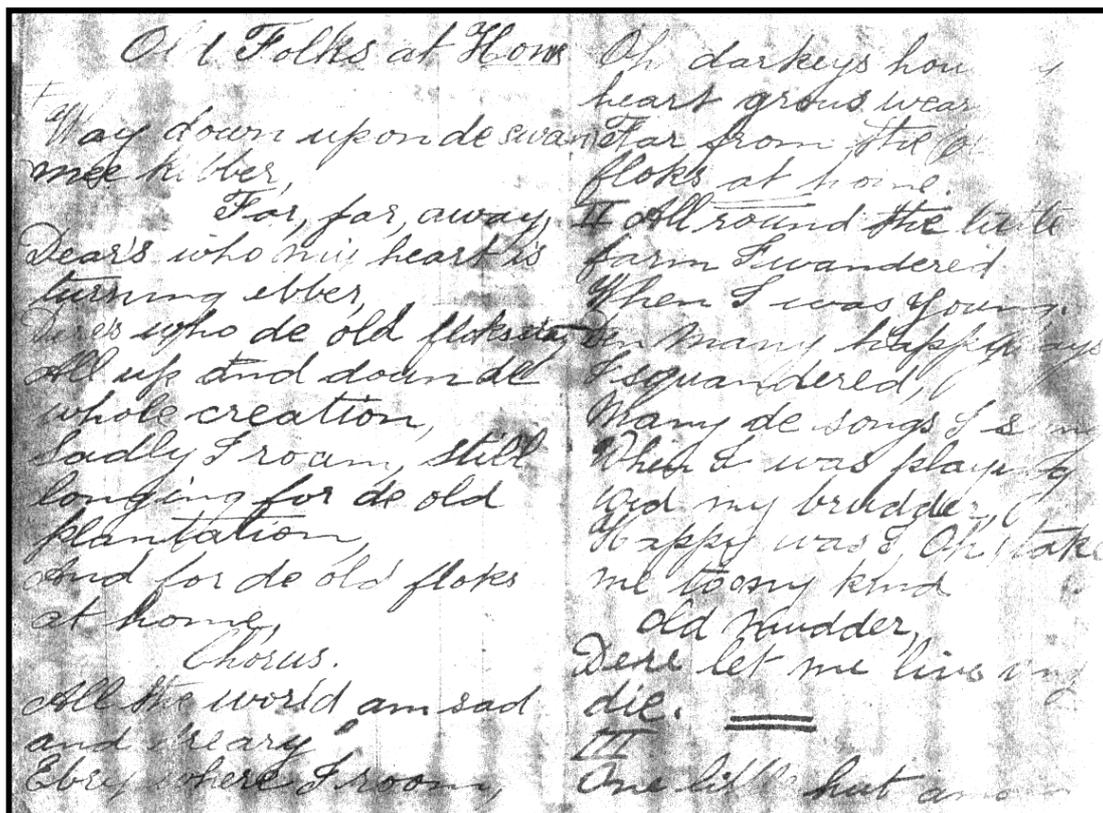
Many songs from the Christy Minstrel Books and the Globe Song Folio appear in holograph songbooks. Songs from these sources were very popular amongst Boer families in the 19th century. This was mainly due to the fact that at the time of the Anglo-Boer War, there were virtually no transcribed Afrikaans folk songs and this necessitated cross-cultural borrowing (Oosthuizen 1975:249; Gray 1996:7). Some of the words of these songs were adapted to portray emotions pertaining to situations the Boers had to face during the war.

The words of *Old Folks at Home* from the Christy Minstrel Book could not only have echoed the emotions felt by Boers who were missing their families, but it could possibly have reminded them of times before the war when family and friends sang together. These songs had become particularly popular with the Boers through regular visits by the Christy Minstrel Group from 1848 onwards and the visits of Orpheus McAdoo and his Jubilee Singers between 1891 and 1898. They performed blackface minstrelsy, which consisted of an exploitation of the

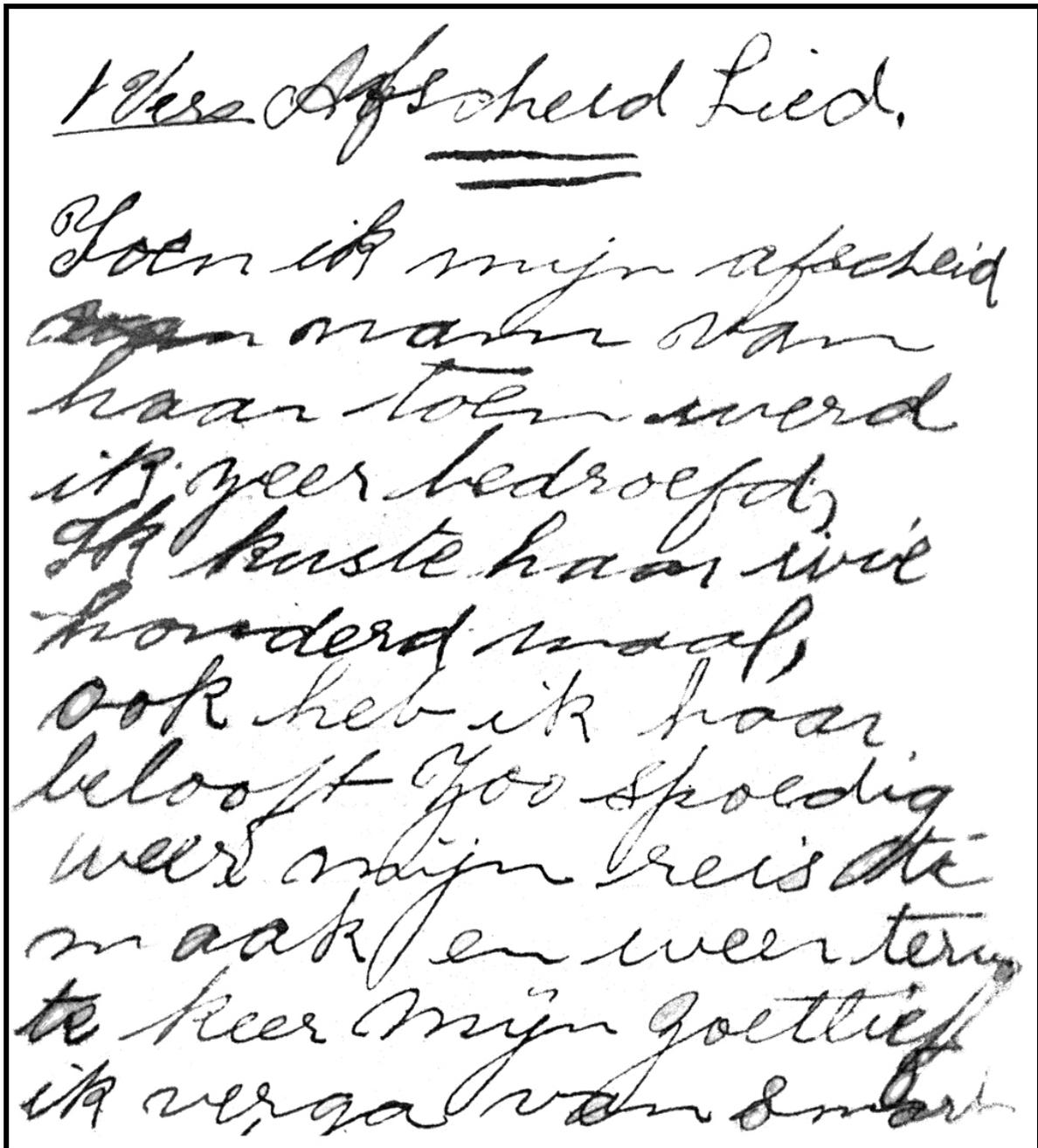
slave's style of dancing and music, by white men who blackened their faces with burnt cork and went on stage to sing 'Negro songs' and to tell jokes based on slave life (Gray 1996:106).

Wouter Kirstein's holograph songbook (TAD A1463/2) is a harsh reminder of the realities of war. The book, which was covered in blood and contains many holograph songs, was found in his pocket after he was killed in March 1901 while on Commando near Lichtenburg. His version of *Old Folks at Home* in [Example 5.3](#), which clearly shows the bloodstains, is interesting because it is written in the English used by the Minstrel singers. He uses words like *ribber* for "river" and *de* for "the". It is also interesting to note that he regularly misspells "folks" as "flocks". Ironically the *Afscheid Lied* (Farewell Song) in [Example 5.4](#), could have indicated that he was mindful of his mortality. This song is found in many other songbooks and was presumably sung to an English or American melody.

[Example 5.3](#) *Old Folks at Home*: Wouter Kirstein



(TAD A1463/2).

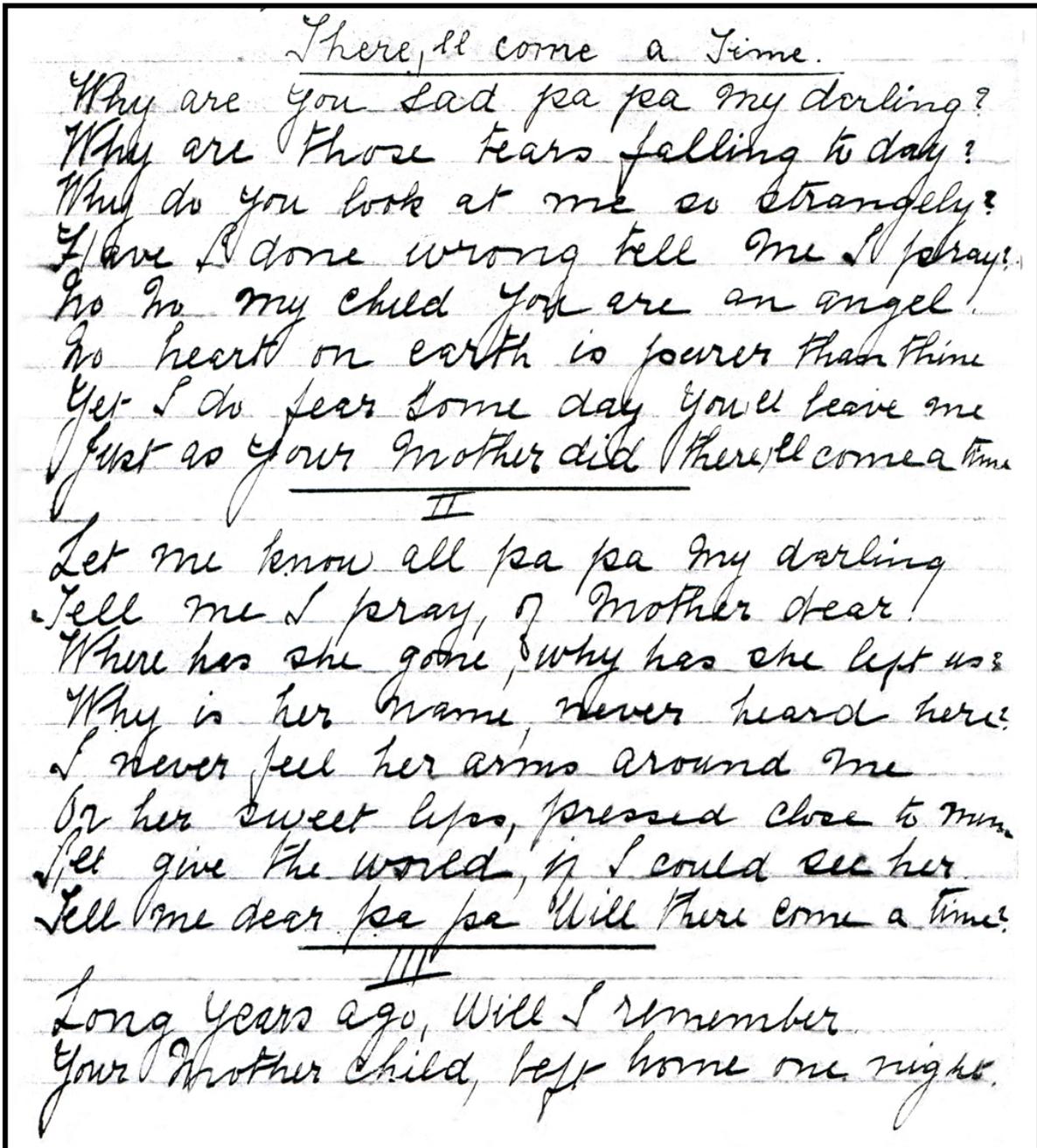


(TAD A1463/2)

It can be assumed that the following songs were meant to be sung to popular American or English tunes because they were found in English holograph songbooks.

Example 5.5

Excerpt from *There'll Come a Time*: J. Bosman



(TAD A 1793/2)

Many of the songs in J.A. Grimm's holograph songbook articulate desolation and longing, emotions that were probably shared by most of his fellow prisoners on St Helena. In the words of the song, *No one cares for me*, the technique of personification is used. Through the words of the song, Grimm is able to express

his feeling of desperation and weariness. Verse 4 is especially poignant. He writes:

“Once I heard it said
In a Sunday school
Jesus takes his children to his breast
Saviour pity me
Let me come to Thee
Where the weary now art at rest”

(ABWMA 3451/1).

Grimm also articulates his longing for home in other songs. Examples are *They will miss me*, *Vacant Chair* and *Flower for mother's grave*. His songs, *The Innocent Babe* and *The Baby's name* seem to suggest that he had children he was missing. Words of another song, *Transvaal Heroes Grave*, clearly pertain to the war as Grimm writes about a Boer who was wounded in a battle and lay dying. The chorus of the song reads:

“Then he whispered good bye
To his comrades so dear
His head upon his knapsack gently laid
If you live to get home,
You may tell them I'm gone,
And laying in a Transvaal Heroes grave”

(ABWMA 3451/1).

Some of these songs appear in other songbooks as well and it is thus not possible to accurately attribute the words of these songs to the writer of the songbook. They could have been well known songs that had been sung before the war. Even if they were songs he was familiar with, they must have aroused meaningful emotions in him, otherwise he would not have written down the words

John O'Reilly's holograph songbook also has many well-known songs. It is difficult to say whether O' Reilly was an Irish South African or whether he was an Irishman

fighting for the Boers when he was caught and sent to Diyatalawa. Many foreigners believed in the Boer cause and came to South Africa to fight for the Boers. Some of the songs found in his songbook were also found in other books. The Boers could have been familiar with them before the war or foreigners like O'Reilly could have taught them these songs in the camps. Many of the songs also reflect emotions of longing and heartache, e.g. *A flower for my Mother's grave*, *My old Kentucky home good-night*, *I'll take you home again Kathleen*, *The Vacant Chair* and *Silver threads amongst the gold*. Most of these songs come out of various Minstrel Songbooks.

A poignant song comes from the pen of Petrus Elardus Erasmus. This song, *Farewell*, found in a letter to Lily Maré, was written from the boat taking prisoners of war to India in 1900. The writer of the letter was a cousin of Petrus Erasmus.

“Oh Fare thee well my own love,
I am going so far from thee;
But do not weep for me dear love
When I am o'er the sea.

(Chorus)

Fear not I ever shall forget thee
Too dear wert thou unto me,
And though-so-ever far from thee dear love
My heart is ever with thee”

(TAD A1580/1).

Sadness pervades most of the words of the above songs. There were, however, times when satirical songs were sung. Well-known Minstrel Songs also presented comic relief to the Boers.

5.4.2 Satirical Songs

In Ludwig Krause's memoirs (Taitz 1996:14) there is a translation of an amusing song. The song, *Vlucht Field-cornet* by a B.H. Dicke, was a parody to the tune of the *Traansvaal Volkslied*. Apparently Field-Cornet Briel often boasted about how well he was going to fight for the Boers. While on Commando, a flock of locusts evidently presented the appearance of a huge streak of dust, which Briel and others saw as the enemy. They evidently made a hasty retreat and when they heard that the "enemy" was locusts, those who had fled returned in shame. It was after this incident that Dicke wrote the song. According to Krause, the Boers often sang "with great gusto for Briel's especial benefit, to the tune of the *Volkslied*" (Taitz 1996:14). The translation reads as follows:

Behold the Field-Cornet who flees,
A bursting bomb gives him D.T.'s
A cloud of locusts fills his heart with fear
He runs for life is very dear.
I've come to show you how to fight, boys,
Come on! Advance! Advance!
Halt! Yonder, I see those frightful locust clouds,
Come back! Retire! Come back!
Saddle up! Come back! Saddle up! Retire!
Oh men! Oh, please! Come back! Retire!

(Taitz 1996:14).

Klem (1976[b]:13) relates an amusing anecdote of how the women in the Bloemfontein Concentration Camp were told to make *vetkoek* for the *khakis*. They were so annoyed that while the *khakis* were eating the *vetkoek*, they tied them to the shaft of a wagon and sang songs lampooning them and their leaders. These nonsense rhymes must also have allowed for an element of catharsis because most of the rhymes were a parody about the British Commander Sir Redvers Buller.

Two examples are:

*“Tiekie-tiekie trippens,
Buller met sy blikpens”*

*“Ou Buller het gevlug
Met ’n ai op syn rug,
Appjubel-Appjubel-Appeljy”*

Klem (1976[b]:13).

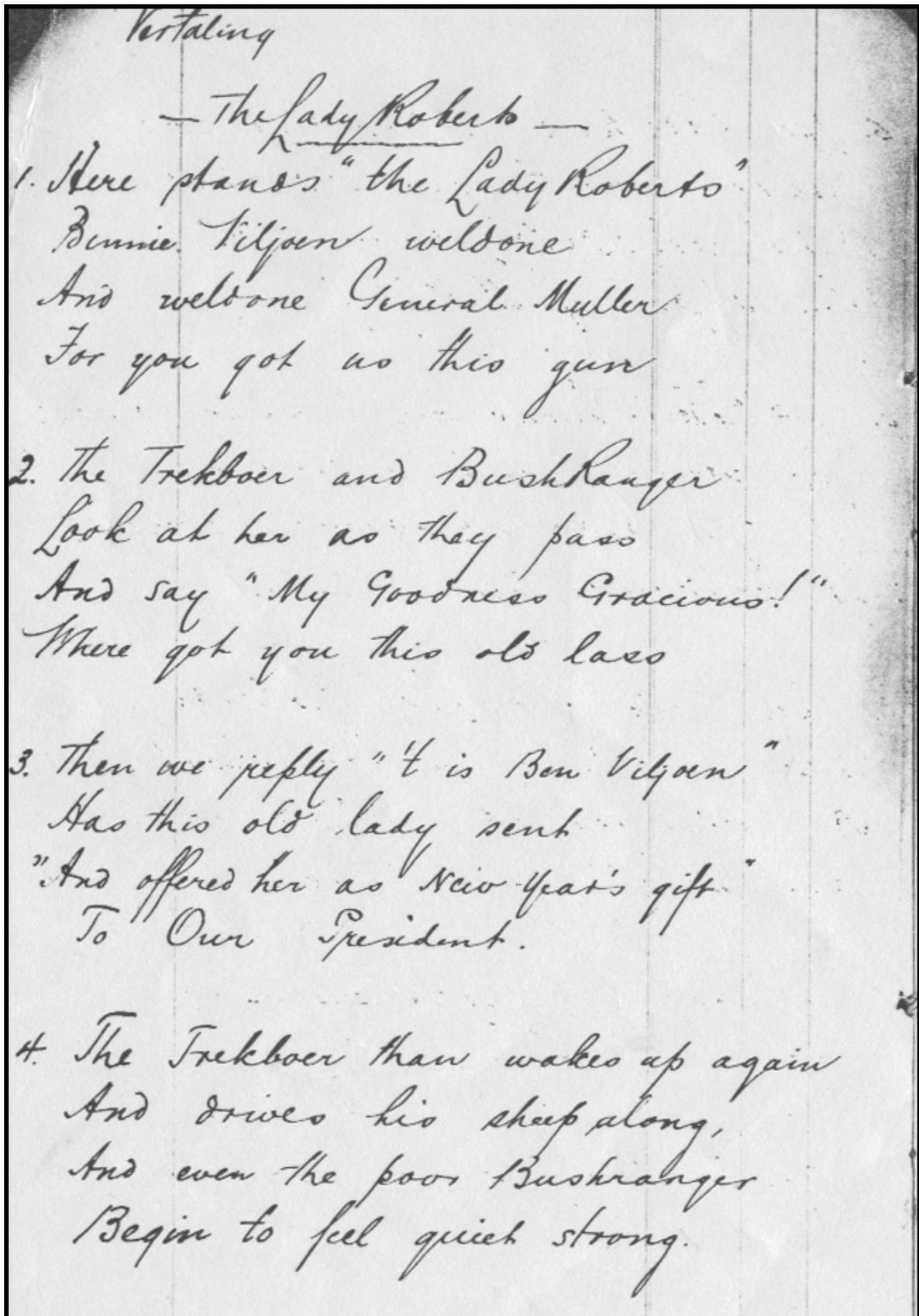
Klem (1976[b]:13) also tells about how the women in the Bloemfontein Camp complained about the bad meat they were given. When nothing was done about it, they marched through the camp singing folk songs after sunset and ignoring the lights out order. When the Camp Constable, Pat, stormed at them, they circled around him singing a nonsense rhyme:

*“Oats and Beans and Barley
Ou Pat se vrou se tjalie.”*

Klem (1976[b]:13).

Example 5.7 gives an example of a satirical song that could have offered an element of cathartic release. *De Lady Roberts* was written about a very big ship’s cannon named Lady Roberts. The British soldiers it this name in honour of their Commander-in-Chief, Lord Roberts. According to Grobbelaar (1999:119), it was one of the most popular songs during the war and was sung to the tune of the American song *Riding Down from Bangor*. The song lampoons the British because the Boers had been able to take the Lady Roberts from them. Grobbelaar (1999:119) notes that the lyrics were written by F.W. Reitz and later translated into English by him in order to allow the enemy to hear how they were joking about their loss of the cannon.

Example 5.7 Translation of De Lady Roberts: F. W. Reitz



5. Lord Roberts, 'e 'as 'ooked it 'ome,
He hav' scooted poor old Chap,
But he left th' Old Lady here with no:
She 's fond of Mielcipap.

6. Lord Roberts burns our houses down,
The women out he drives
He can not overcome the men,
So persecutes their wives.

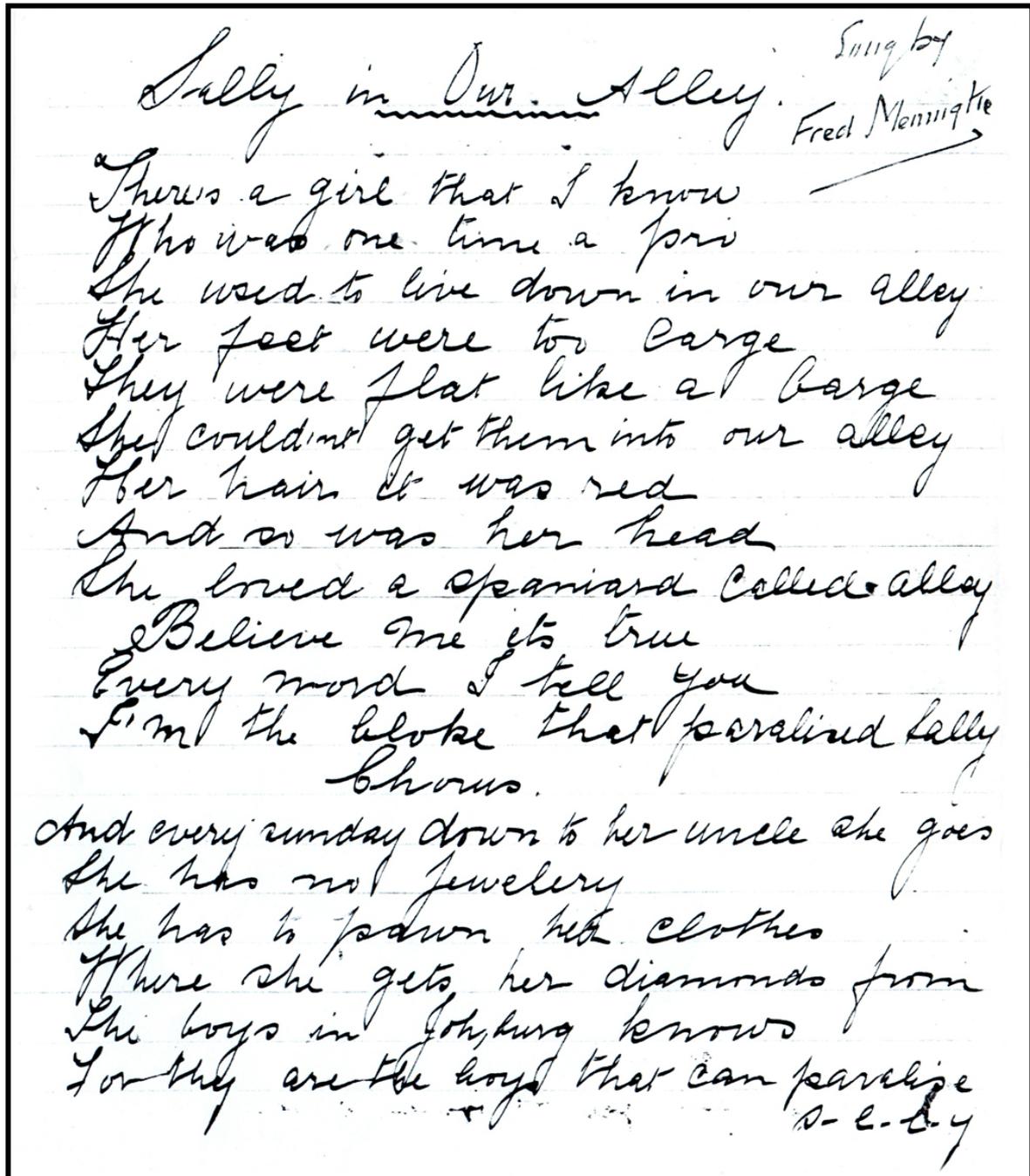
7. But his old Lady Roberts
Who lyddite spits for sport
He puts her at Helvetia
For safety in a fort.

8. He thought there was no danger
For that confounded Boer
With his confounded Mauser
Would trouble her no more

(TAD W81/3)

Satirical songs did not necessarily all pertain to the war as can be seen in the words of songs from the holograph songbook belonging to John Bosman in St Helena. Example 5.8, is one such song and must have offered comic relief to the singers and listeners.

Example 5.8 Sally in our Alley: J. Bosman St Helena



(TAD A1793/2)

Similarly John O'Reilly's (ABWMA 5709/1) holograph song, *Looking for a Coon like me*, must have brought comic relief to the inmates in the Diyatalawa Camp. O'Reilly's song is a typical Minstrel Song as the following excerpt demonstrates:

“Say boys have you seen a gal
Who's looking for a coon like me,
Oh, if says her name is Sal,
Then she's looking for a coon like me
For when I get upon the job
If I don't [illegible] her she will sob
And her poor heart go wibly, wibly, wob,
Looking for a coon like me”

(ABWMA 5709/1).

5.4.3 Afrikaans-Nederlands folk and other songs to well-known tunes.

So popular were the Minstrel and other American tunes that they were used for Afrikaans-Nederlands songs. Grobbelaar (1999:146) gives the following examples: *Khoekha, Khaki (Daisy)*, *De Lady Roberts* and *ABC van die oorlog (Riding down from Bangor)*, *Ons burgers is getrouw (Marching through Georgia)*, *Blauwe bergen (Clementine)* and *Sarie Marais (Ellie Rhee)*. The popular Christy Minstrel song, *Silver threads among the gold*, was given Afrikaans-Nederlands words and was called *Kaatjie Kekkelbek* (de Coning 1978:12-13).

Sarie Marais is still a popular South African folk song. Many versions of lyrics for this melody are, however, found. Lategan and Potgieter (1988:119) also speak about the unfamiliar lyrics to *Saartjie Maree*, found in the songbook written by S.F. Hugo, a prisoner of war in India. Clearly the lyrics were continually adapted to reflect situations during the war and later.

Grobbelaar, in his book *Kommandeer! Kommandeer* (1999), gives many other interesting Afrikaans-Nederlands songs sung during the war. He calls them South African folk songs, but this is a debatable issue as most of the tunes originated in

other countries. What constitutes a folk song is a source of controversy and heated debate that falls outside the parameters of this thesis. What is, however, of interest is that there is evidence to suggest that the lyrics of these songs were adapted throughout the war to reflect Boer experiences. Grobbelaar's book contains many interesting versions of the songs and cannot be included in this thesis as they need to be linked to the circumstances reflected in the lyrics and this would make the thesis too cumbersome.

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter highlighted the fact that the words and lyrics read and sung by the Boers were a instrument of empowerment. They allowed them to express their emotions regarding the war and helped them to cope with the circumstances facing them. Ellison (1989:102) argues that music which empowers, releases human energies as well as inviting investment of affective powers. Pratt (1990:38) supports this by saying that when one is empowered one is "energised rather than depressed; one might sense the possibility of enormous and positive changes, rather than being overwhelmed by the immensity of what apparently cannot be accomplished."

Shepherd & Wicke (1997:3) also emphasise the importance of the lyrics of the songs when they state that music is no different to language with characteristics that link it to a culture and society, which "gives rise to affects and meanings to particular sets of historical contingencies."

Whilst recognising the importance of the lyrics, it is important to link the lyrics to the sounds of the songs in order to understand vocal music as a socially and culturally constituted form of human expression, which gives rise to affect and meaning. The aural void was addressed by linking the lyrics and the sounds of the songs, in order to make it possible to accommodate cultural history with musicology.

CHAPTER 6

A STUDY OF HAND-NOTATED VOCAL SCORES BY THE BOERS DURING THE ANGLO-BOER WAR

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is research grounded in an examination of hand-notated scores, which are a visual analogue of musical sound. The approach is musicological, but not in the traditional sense of the word, as it is linked to the cultural history of the Boers in Chapter 3, in order to understand the processes of affect and meaning in vocal music. This link was made possible by insights gained in Chapters 4 and 5, which addressed the aural void identified in Chapter 1.

Hand notated scores by the Boers will be examined as the sound of Boer vocal music reveals itself concretely in the form of musical notations. An understanding of the reason why the Boers needed to capture the sounds of their vocal music in some or other concrete form is required to highlight the role their vocal music played. The musicological approach, however, will preclude a detailed stylistic analysis and aesthetic evaluation.

6.2 REASONS FOR NOTATIONS

By gaining access to the experiential world of the Boers in Chapter 3, insights into processes of emotion and meaning were gained. This led to findings in Chapter 4 and 5 of the reason why the Boers needed the sounds of their vocal music as a coping mechanism in the harsh circumstances that confronted them. Without the information gained in previous chapters it would be impossible to understand why so many hand-notated scores are found. This is corroborated by Bent (2001:73), who highlights the fact that notation is “the result of the social and cultural context in which it has been developed.”

Musical notation is a mnemonic device as well as a means of communication. The Boers had no idea how long they were going to be interned and the notated scores served as a code for remembering what their vocal music sounded like, before it could be forgotten. The scores also served as a testament for posterity. As a means of communication, the scores facilitated performances for those singing in choirs. Through notation, vocal music, which had special meaning for the Boers, could be popularised in the “print tradition” as well as the oral tradition. Boer vocal music could thus be perpetuated and furnish the Boers with a tool against oppressive circumstances.

Chapter 4 highlighted the fact that choirs were very important in the Prisoner of war camps. Most of the Boers had probably never sung in four-part harmony and they needed to write down their part in the choir in order to sing it correctly. If there was some four-part vocal music available, it would not have been very helpful to copy it exactly, as the music needed in the prisoner of war camps had to be arranged for men’s choirs. To do this requires quite a good knowledge of music notation. Needless to say this was a skill that not many Boers had. To most inmates it must thus have been an onerous task to learn notation in order to write scores. To make matters worse, the only books they had in which to notate their music, were school exercise books and diaries. They thus had to draw the staves before beginning to notate. Some examples given below clearly show the ruled lines of the exercise books together with the hand drawn staves. There were thus many obstacles facing Boers who wanted to notate their vocal music and the fact that so many hand-notated scores are found, highlights the importance they attached to their vocal music.

An understanding of the Boer people gained in Chapter 3 leads to an understanding of the vocal music they would need to sustain their morale. It is thus understandable that the most of notations are hymns, songs with religious and comforting messages, as well as patriotic vocal music.

6.3 RELIGIOUS SCORES

It was mainly inmates from prisoner of war camps who contributed hand-notated religious scores. Having gained an understanding of the importance of religion to the Boers, it is understandable that they would sing as part of their worship. There is no evidence of printed hymnbooks in the prisoner of war camps and thus many inmates resorted to transcribing hymns in school exercise books and diaries. Cosmo Henning (1981:20) also mentions the fact that the Boers were forced to notate the hymns in order to preserve them due to lack of printed religious material.

In his memoirs of his internment on the Bermudas, Rev J.A. van Blerk writes about his efforts to have a hymnbook printed in America, with easily singable melodies for use in the camps. The books were, however, confiscated because the British in charge of the camps considered the words of the psalms a threat, thinking they would incite the inmates (ABWMA 5074/5).

Rev J.R. Albertyn, who had voluntarily arrived in the Bermudas to assist Rev van Blerk, brought with him hymnbooks, *Enige Psalm- en Gezangen en Geestelijke Liederen*. The books could, however, not be distributed before they had been censored. Who the censor was and how good his knowledge of Afrikaans-Nederlands was, is not known, but when he saw *Psalm 68* in the book he decided to have all the books confiscated because he considered the singing of these psalms a threat to stability in the camp (Groenewald 1992:125).

Groenewald (1992:125) also writes about how the new governor for the Bermudas summoned the two Boer ministers, van Blerk and Albertyn, to appear before him. He accused them of inciting the Boers and placed a ban on the singing of certain hymns. When Albertyn returned to South Africa, he brought all the hymnbooks back with him.

The words of *Psalm 68* vs. 1-2 are:

Original Afrikaans-Nederlands:	Modern Translation:
<p>“Die Heer sal opstaan tot den strijd; Hij zal zyn haters wijd en zijd Verjaagd, verstrooid, doen zuchten. Hoe trotsch zijn vijand wezen moog; Hij zal voor zijn ontzaglijk oog Al sidderende vluchten...”</p> <p><u>Het Boek van Psalmen</u> (1898:124).</p>	<p>“May God arise, May his enemies be scattered; May his foes flee before Him. As smoke is blown away by the wind, May you blow them away; As wax melts before the fire, May the wicked perish before God”</p> <p>NIV (1999:847).</p> <p>It is interesting to note the first line versified Dutch text reads: “God will aris to the battle”.</p>

It thus became necessary to notate these hymns in the absence of hymnbooks. The Boers did not only want to write down the words of the hymns, they also wanted to preserve the melodies. This was difficult as many Boers clearly knew little about musical notation but they considered it so important that they used any means of notation to preserve these sounds. The correctness of the notation will not, however, be considered in detail for this study. The purpose of the examples given is to highlight the fact that the Boers considered it very important to capture their vocal music symbolically.

6.3.1 Different notational systems used

Different notational methods were used and some are even reminiscent of neums found in plainsong manuals of the Church from the seventh century. The hymns in Example 6.1 were notated by P.W. van Rensburg in the Diyatalawa camp. They are not accurate enough for other singers to understand, but they must have reminded van Rensburg of the general curves and rhythms of the melodies. His notation is reminiscent of the notation of the *Ars Nova* period of the fourteenth century from which present-day notation evolved.

Example 6.1

Psalm 81 and Psalm 105: P.W. van Rensburg

124

Psalm 81
Altus Ps 81

Bassus Psalm 81 2. Stem

Altus 3. Stem

The image shows a handwritten musical score for Psalm 81. It consists of eight staves of music. The first two staves are labeled 'Altus Ps 81'. The third staff is labeled 'Bassus Psalm 81 2. Stem'. The fourth staff is labeled 'Altus 3. Stem'. The music is written in a simple, square-note style on a five-line staff. The notes are square-shaped and connected by stems. The score is handwritten and appears to be a study or working draft.

This is a clear example of the Genevan Psalm 81 and the lower Bassus and Altus clearly fit into the metric pattern of the Psalm.

Descant 4 Stem 15
Psalm 105

Bassus Psalm 105-2 Stem

Altus 3 Stem *Psalm 105*

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation. At the top, it is titled 'Descant 4 Stem' with the number '15' in the upper right corner. Below this, the text 'Psalm 105' is written. The notation consists of several staves. The first two staves are for the 'Descant 4 Stem' and contain square notes on a five-line staff. The next two staves are for the 'Bassus Psalm 105-2 Stem' and contain standard musical notation with stems pointing up or down. The final two staves are for the 'Altus 3 Stem' and also contain standard musical notation with stems pointing up or down. The handwriting is in cursive and appears to be a personal or working manuscript.

(ABWMA 64/3)

The religious songs that were written down in collections could possibly represent an approximation of how they actually sounded. It must be realised that a song transcribed from memory is conditioned by how it is sung and the sound your mind is attuned to and expects. Example 6.2 shows that S.J. Venter (ABWMA 6220/1)

has a reasonable idea of pitch but he does not understand the finer nuances of rhythmic notation. This is, however, a fairly accurate notation of the German melody of Psalm 146 by Bäsler. It was not in the official Dutch hymnbooks yet, but used in some churches to replace the Genevan tune. It seems intended for the tenor clef and the melody is in equal note values transposed to C major (Kloppers 2004).

Example 6.2 Psalm 146: S.J. Venter

The image shows a handwritten musical score for Psalm 146. It is written on tenor clef staves. The title 'Psalm 146' is written at the top left, and 'B d' is written above the first staff. The lyrics are written in Dutch and are: 'Prijst den heer met blijde galmen gij mijn ziel hebt rijke stof te gal zoo lang ik leef mijn psalmen vralijk wy den aan zijn lof te gal zoo lang ik licht ge niet hem ver hozen in myn lied'. The music consists of square notes on a five-line staff, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature. The notes are arranged in a way that corresponds to the lyrics, with some notes being beamed together. The handwriting is in cursive.

(ABWMA 6220/1)

Example 6.3 and Example 6.4 are *Psalm 6* from songbooks printed towards the end of the 19th century, while Example 6.5 is Venter's version of *Psalm 6* with different pitches to the melodies of the printed copies. It could be that he was a member of a camp choir and was notating the part he was singing in the choir. It is quite probable that the Boers sang from these books in proportional notation before the war. Yet many of the initial hymns, as notated, demonstrate little evidence and understanding of this.

Example 6.3 *Psalm 6: Psalmboek from 1884*



(DRC B100)

Example 6.4 *Psalm 6: Psalmboek from 1898*



(Het Boek van Psalmen 1898)

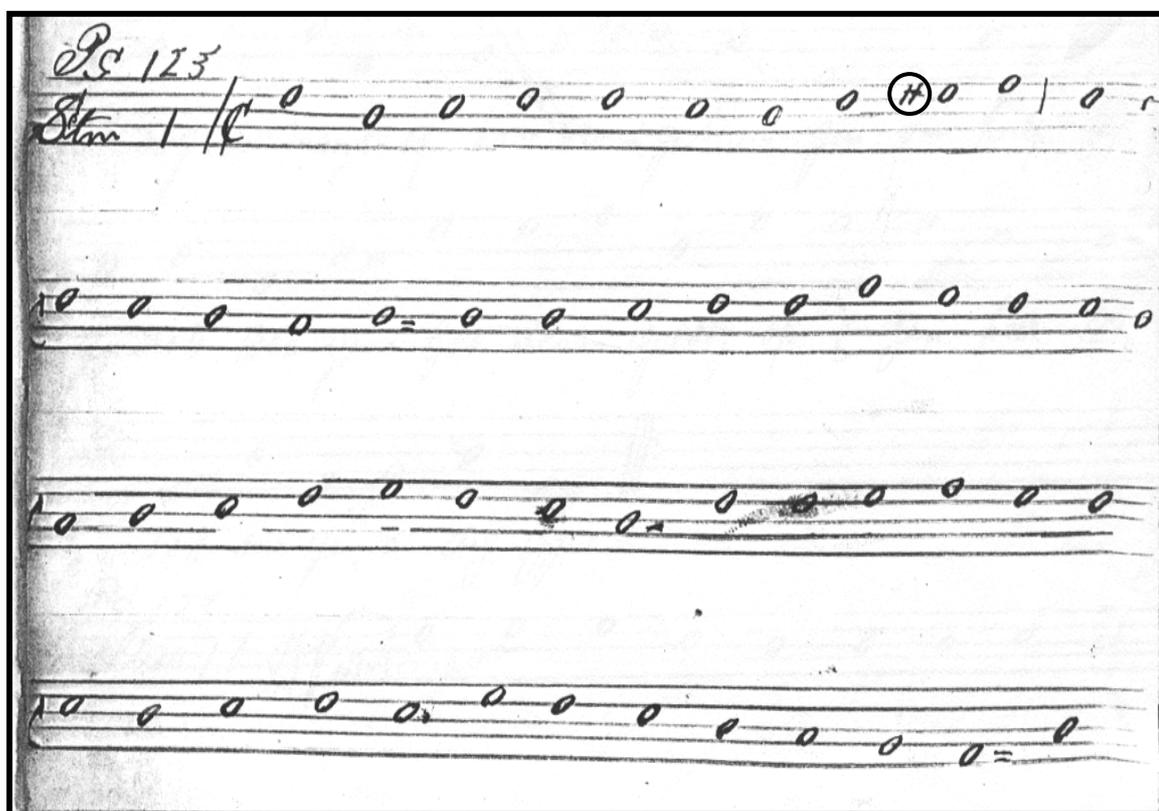
Psalm 6

O Heer gij zyft weldafig straf mij
niet ongenadig in uwen toorn
ne gloed aimatig uwe kasteiden
Sla mij met medelieden gelijc
Een vader doet

(ABWMA 6220/1)

In Chapter 3 there were many references to the fact that the Boers learnt so much from each other in the camps. This can be seen in the improvement of notational skills of P.W. van Rensburg. In another his songbooks he progressed from a type of notation reminiscent of the *Ars Nova* (Example 6.1), to a semibreve in modern notation. Although he did not understand rhythmic notation, he seems to be aware of chromatic change in pitch, as can be seen by the raised note circled in the first line of Example 6.6.

Example 6.6 Psalm 123: P.W. van Rensburg



k(FAD A155/202/1)

Although there is no clef in Example 6.6, a comparison with Example 6.7 clearly shows that Van Rensburg's notation is a 3rd higher than that of the original, which indicates that he possibly understood pitch but not key signatures. The example of Psalm 123 seems, however, to be an accurate notation of the 19th century isorhythmic form of this Psalm transposed to the key of C.

Example 6.7 Psalm 123: hymnbook 1898

PSALM 123.

1. Ik hef tot U, die in den he-mel zit, Mijn
oog-gen op, en bid. Ge-lijk een knecht ziet op de
hand zijns hee-ren, Om nood-druft te be-gee-ren,
En 'toog der maagd is op haar vrouw ge-sla-gen,
Om hulp of gunst te vra-gen; Zoo slaan wij 'toog
op on-zen HEER, tot Hij Ook ons ge-na-dig zij.

(Het Boek van Psalmen 1898)

Most scores found are, however, in tonic sol-fa notation. This system of teaching sight-singing arose in England in the mid-nineteenth century and it is understandable that this method of notation was passed on to the Boer children as some of them had English governesses and teachers. Giliomee (2003:202) also mentions the Grey Institute in Bloemfontein, which was one of the top schools attended by the white elite and which became one of the bastions of English cultural history. Needless to say, many of the prisoners of war were from the Free State and could have been educated at Grey College where they became familiar with this notational system.

In his annual report in 1877, the director of Free State Education, Dr John Brebner, spoke about how well the children were singing according to sol-fa notation (Cillié [s.a.]:8-9). Sol-fa theory exams could also be written as can be seen by a certificate awarded to D. Rothmann a year before the war. This certificate

was pasted in a songbook compiled for the Choral Society at the Shahjahanpur Prisoner of War Camp in India.

Example 6.8 Certificate for sol-fa examination: D. Rothmann



(ABWMA 5848/1)

In Chapter 4 reference was made to the many camp choirs. In order to sing the different voices, choir members needed to be able to read notation of some kind. The more knowledgeable choir members must have taught sol-fa and theory, as can be seen by the certificate presented to S. Viljoen for progress in these fields (Example 4.1).

Many diaries have instructions on how to write in sol-fa. This could have been done for the benefit of the person notating the vocal music or to teach other inmates. The instructions shown below are somewhat confusing and it would seem that the writer has not yet mastered sol-fa notation.

Example 6.9 Theory instructions: H.J. Storm

149

Tonic Solfa music reading
Division of one pulse

1	d: Taa	
2	d,d: Taa-taa	H.J. Storm
3	- d: aa-taa	H.J. Storm
4	- d,d: ta-fe	H.J. Storm
5	- : aa-saa	H.J. Storm
6	- : saa	H.J. Storm
7	- d,d,d: ta-fe-fe	De tijd van de of tonenrolps.
8	- d,d,d: ta-fe-fe	
9	- d,d,d: ta-fe-tai	
10	- , d: aa-e-fe	<u>Sleutels</u>
11	- ; d: saa-le-fe	G. sleutel; d.
12	- . d: saa-tai	A. ,, d is re
13	- : aa-saa	C. ,, d ,, f
De voor- komst der Sleutelen der liederen		D. ,, d ,, s
		E. ,, d ,, y
		F. ,, d ,, ta
		Ab. ,, d ,, de
		Bb. ,, de ,, va
		bb. ,, d ,, re

(ABWMA 3238/2)

Other instructions for sol-fa singing are also seen in the following example:

Example 6.10 Theory instructions: P. Kotze

The image shows a handwritten musical score for sol-fa singing, organized into two columns and five rows. Each row represents a different key signature and clef. The notation includes a treble clef with a key signature symbol (C, F#, G, D, E, Bb) and a series of notes on a five-line staff. Below each staff is a line of sol-fa syllables (d, r, m, f, s, e, t, d) and their corresponding letter names (C, D, E, F, G, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, A).

- Row 1 (Soprano):**
 - Left: *Alteutel C* (C major, C-clef). Sol-fa: d r m f s e t d | r m f s e | C D E F G A B C D E F G A
 - Right: *Alteutel G* (G major, C-clef). Sol-fa: d r m f s e t d | r m f s e | G A B C D E F G
- Row 2 (Alto):**
 - Left: *Alteutel D* (D major, C-clef). Sol-fa: d r m f s e t d | r m f s e | D E F G A B C D E F G
 - Right: *Alteutel A* (A major, C-clef). Sol-fa: d r m f s e t d | r m f s e | A B C D E F G A
- Row 3 (Soprano):**
 - Left: *Alteutel E* (E major, C-clef). Sol-fa: d r m f s e t d | r m f s e | E F G A B C D E
 - Right: *Alteutel B* (B major, C-clef). Sol-fa: t d r m f s e t d | r m f s e | A B C D E F G A B
- Row 4 (Tenor):**
 - Left: *Tenor Alteutel C* (C major, F-clef). Sol-fa: t d r m f s e t d | r m f s e | C D E F G A B C D E F G A
 - Right: (Empty staff)
- Row 5 (Soprano):**
 - Left: *Alteutel F* (F major, C-clef). Sol-fa: d r m f s e t d | r m f s e | F G A B C D E F G A
 - Right: *Bb Alteutel B duur* (B major, C-clef). Sol-fa: s e t d r m f s e | t d r m f s e | F G A B C D E F G

(Cleave Private Collection)

Dr John Brebner made mention of the fact that that some schools were singing religious and secular songs in four parts (Cillié [s.a]:8-9) in Free State Schools. Although Brebner does not mention whether these songs were in English or Afrikaans, they could have influenced the singing of four-part songs in the camps. Four-part singing is an interesting occurrence, as many Boers came from isolated farms where unison singing would probably have been the norm. It can thus be assumed that through choir singing, they became familiar with four-part singing and notated what they heard and sang in the camps. They could probably have learnt the different parts from each other and notated the part they had to sing.

None of the *Psalmen en Gezangen* books consulted contained songs in four-part notation. This tradition has stayed the same, as the only modern harmonised Afrikaans religious music books that contain four-part harmony, are those used by organists for accompaniment. Congregational singing in Afrikaans churches has to this day remained unison (Olivier 2004).

A very interesting example of a hymn notated in four-part sol-fa is Example 6.11 on the following page, by Almero du Plessis, who was interned on Tucker's Island in the Bermudas. A letter, dated 17 June 1984, was found in his songbook in the Anglo-Boer War Museum Archives. It is from his daughter, Mrs Nettie Immelman, a retired lecturer of music at the University of the Orange Free State. She writes that Almero du Plessis, her stepfather, was choirmaster in the Bermudas and that he played by ear on the harmonium and violin. According to her, she never saw him writing or reading notated music (ABWMA 5848 [no number]). Du Plessis' songbook was probably notated for the benefit of his choir members and if one takes cognisance of what his stepdaughter writes, it is quite probable that he learnt to write and read sol-fa in the Bermudas.

Most songbooks found in the archives are clearly compiled by one person, possibly for a choir. The notation in the songbooks is not, however, always in the same handwriting. Hymns in a book are thus not necessarily all notated by the owner of the book. These books lead to confusion and the referencing is not intended to offend relatives who attribute the notations to their own family

members. Example 6.12 shows the book belonging to P.W.G. van Rensburg from Hut 15 in the Diyatalawa Camp, Ceylon as well as the names of other contributors to the book (ABWMA 64/3). Many books do not give the names of other contributors, which leads to confusion.

Example 6.11 Lied 134: A. du Plessis

Lied. 134

S	s:-m1s:-d	d:-l1s:- mb	l:-s1m:-d	m:-:-1 r:-	S	s:-m1s:-d
m	m:-d1m:-s	l:-f1m:-d	f:-m1d:-d	d:-:-1 t:-	r	m:-d1m:-s
d	d:-s1d:-d	d:-d1d:-s	d:-d1s:-s	s:-:-1 s:-	t	d:-s1d:-d
d	d:-d1d:-d	f:-f1d:-d	d:-d1d:-m	s:-:-1 f:-	s	d:-d1d:-m

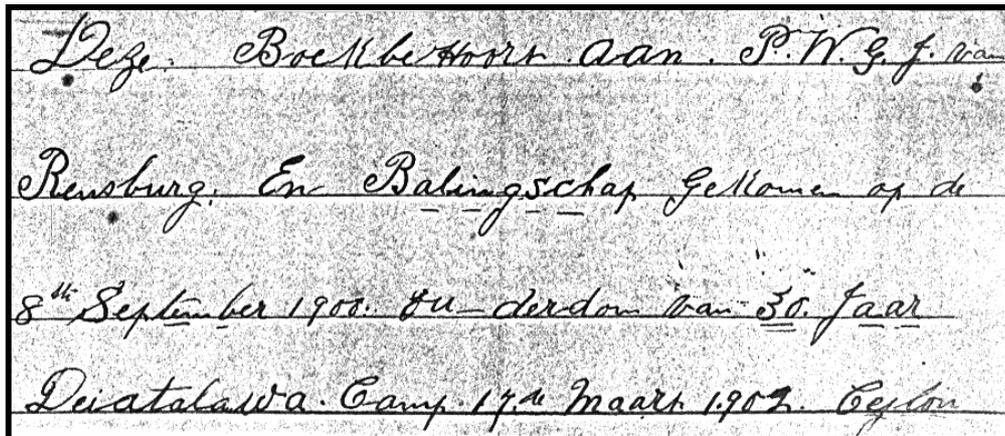
d:-l1s:-d	m:-d1m:-r	r:-1- d:-	d	r:-d1r1-m	d:-l1d:-d
l:-f1m:-m	s:-s1s:-f	f:-1- m:-	m	f:-m1f:-s	m:-m1m:-f
d:-d1d:-d	d:-d1d:-s	s:-1- s:-	s	s:-s1s:-t	d:-d1d:-d
f:-f1d:-d	d:-m1s:-s	d:-1- d	d	s:-s1s:-s	l:-l1l:-f

S:-s1l:-s	m:d, r:-	S	s:-1- s:-s	l:-1- d:-d	m:-d1m:-r	d:-1- d:-
m:-m1m:-m	d:-d1 t:-	m	m:-1- m:-m	f:-1- l:-m	s:-s1s:-f	m:-1- i:-m:-
d:-d1d:-d	s:-s1s:-	.	d1d:-	d1d:-d	d:-d1d:-s	s:-1- s:-
d:-d1d:-d	d:-m1s:-	.	d1d:-	f1f:-d	d:-m1s:-s	d:-1- d:-

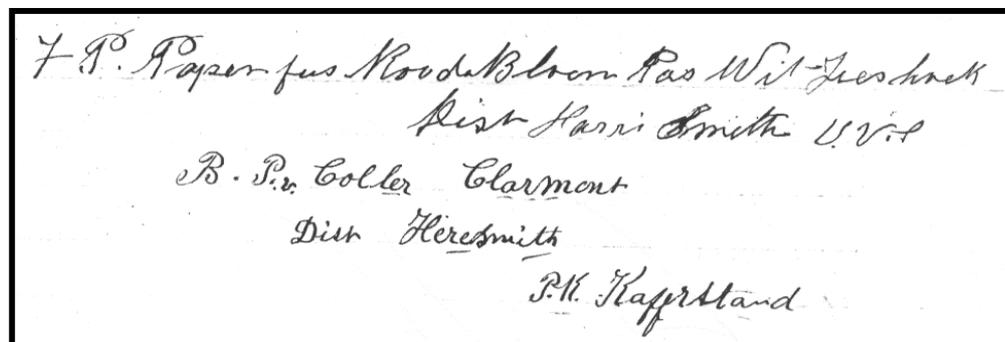
Linde

(ABWMA 5848 [no number])

Example 6.12 Songbook: P.W.G. van Rensburg



Deze Boek behoort aan P.W.G. van
Rensburg. Een Balingenschap Gekomen op de
8^{de} September 1900. Nu deden van 30. Jaar
Diyatalawa Camp 17. Maart 1902. Ceylon



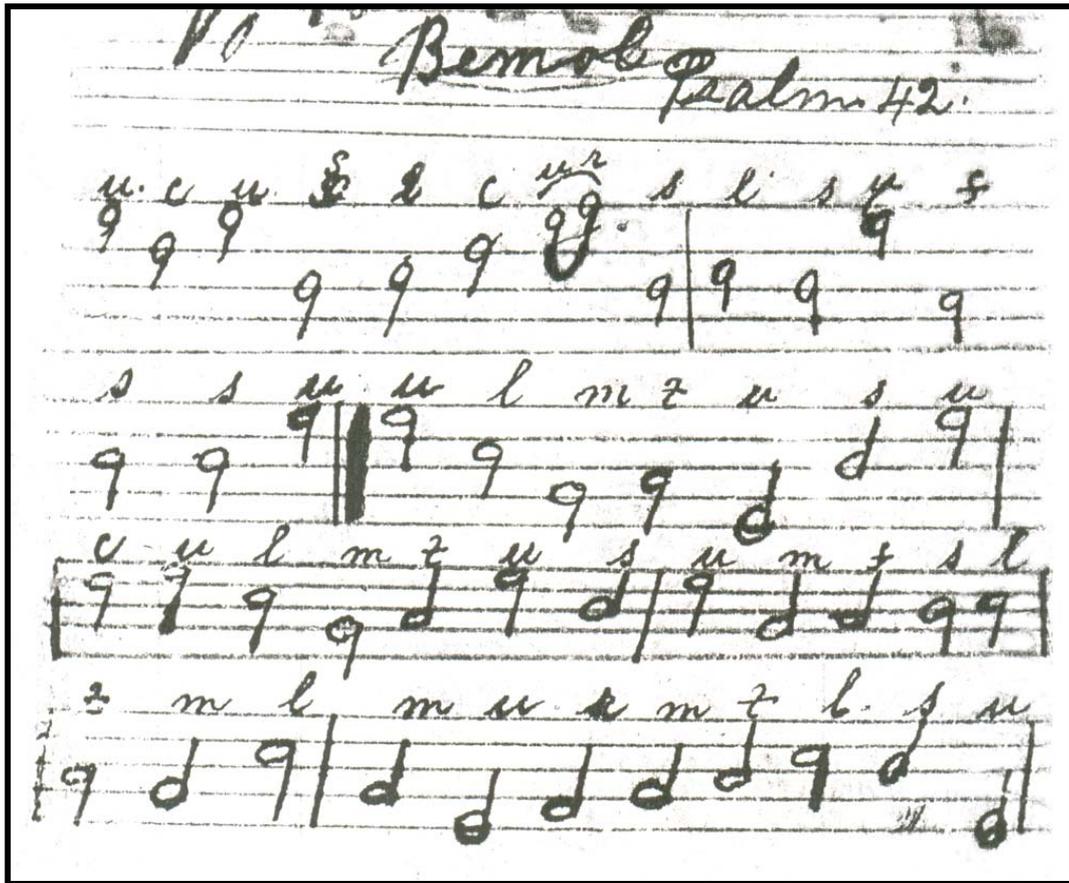
F.P. Papier van Noodakbloem Ras Wit-Jeshaek
Dist Harris Smith U.V.S
B.P. Collier Clarmont
Dist Heresmith
P.H. Kapprstand

(ABWMA 64/3)

Example 6.13 is interesting to note, as it contains not only minim notes, but sol-fa notation as well. H.P. Venter was clearly not familiar with rhythmic notation, but seems to be aware of key signature (“Bemol” – B flat).

The songbook, belonging to P. Kotze, has forty-five hand-notated hymns written in tonic sol-fa. They are clearly notated by different people. Inmates in the Diyatalawa camp must have notated the hymns that were compiled and printed by the *Strevens Drukkerij*, Diyatalawa Camp, Ceylon. This book must have had great value for Kotze, as it is covered in thick khaki material that could have been used to make trousers. The material is folded to the inside of the front and back covers and neatly sewn by hand to keep it in place (Cleave Private Collection). There are many other diaries and songbooks also covered in khaki. The care and neatness with which the hymns and songs were notated, is a testimony to the importance the prisoners of war attached to these books.

Example 6.13 Psalm 42: H.P. Venter



(FAD A261)

Many examples of theory instructions for writing in staff notation are written in such a way that it can be assumed that the writer was teaching notation. The theory instructions, shown in Example 6.14, indicate that Almero du Plessis is starting to learn staff notation but continues notating in sol-fa.

Example 6.14 Theory instructions and song: Almero du Plessis

M. . M.F. F. ff. Cres. < dim. > m. mp. p
pp. 1 2
 Die Het Land Lied 183 Bladwij. 21.
 Wy knielow Lied 58 " 22
 Vondag kin volmorgen 117 " 23

This could be because Shahjahanpur had an exceptionally good choirmaster, Cornelius Nieuwenhuijse. He must have received a good grounding in staff notation in the Netherlands before emigrating to the ZAR in 1897, where he became a teacher. He joined a Commando in September 1899 and was captured in 1901 and sent to Shahjahanpur. According to Cillié ([s.a.]:67), there is no evidence to suggest that he had any experience of choir training before coming to the ZAR and he suggests that he was self-taught with regard to music didactics. Most of the choirbooks belonging to Nieuwenhuijse's choir members have very clear and detailed examples on how to write staff notation (Examples 6.15, 6.16 and 6.17).

Example 6.15 Theory instructions: D. Rothman

(ABWMA 5848/1)

Example 6.16 Theory instructions: J.J.J. van Noordwyk

The image shows handwritten musical notation examples. At the top, there are two staves of music. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains the solfège syllables: c, d, e, f, g, a, b, c, d, e, f, g, a, b, c. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains the solfège syllables: c, d, e, f, g, a, b, c, d, e, f, g, a, b, c. Below the staves is a legend for rests:

Whole rest	.....	—o.
Half rest	.....	—p.
Quarter rest	.....	—q.
Eighth rest	.....	—e.
Sixteenth rest	.....	—s.

Below the legend is another set of two staves of music. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains the solfège syllables: do, re, mi, fa, so, la, ti, do. The lower staff is in bass clef and contains the solfège syllables: do, re, mi, fa, so, la, ti, do. Below the staves is a legend for notes:

Whole note	.....	o
Half note	.....	q
Quarter	.....	q
Eighths	.....	q
Sixteenth	.....	q

Example 6.17 Theory instructions: J.J. van Niekerk

"De majeuren." G, D, A, E, B, F, + C.

"Geef, Dem, Nap, Gem, Deetje, Kreten."
Eze woorden dienen tot, gemak de Majeuren
van eenig lied of Kunststuk uit te vinden.

"Dit zijn de toon schalen, der Majeuren."

G. Major D. Major
A. Major E. Major
B. Major F. Major
F. Major Bes. Major
Es. Major As. Major
Des. Major Ges. Major

De C. Major heeft geen (Kruis) of (bes)
C. Major

(ABWMA 3766/2)

A few examples will be given of the large number of hand-notated scores to highlight the fact that the Boers considered it necessary to preserve the sounds of their hymns at all costs. It is of special interest to note that the two religious styles were captured in the scores.

6.3.2 Examples of notated religious music

In chapter 4, mention was made of two styles of religious vocal music. Examples will be given under:

- ❖ *Psalmen en Gezangen*
- ❖ Revival songs and other religious songs.

6.3.2.1 Psalmen en Gezangen

Most notated scores are in four-part harmony and where they are notated for one voice it is difficult to say whether it is the melody or for another specific voice. An interesting notated *Lied* is the one by M.J. Cronje. He writes that this is the *Lied* given to them to sing by Rev J. Albertyn on 1 December 1901 (Example 6.18). He gives the words of the second verse, which he says were written by Albertyn. Earlier in this chapter, mention was made of the fact that Albertyn brought hymnbooks out to the Bermudas but they were banned and he returned to South Africa with all the books. Cronje also showed his knowledge of dynamics by giving the Italian words for some of the terminology. The translation of the second verse reads:

Despite the hardship, I have to face in captivity,
You remain wholly part of me,
More so than what has been taken away from me.

It must be remembered that the Boers had sung these hymns for generations and the fact that they notated so many, once again emphasises the importance they attached to the sound of the hymns. They could just have written the words but the sounds were so important they needed to notate them.

Example 6.18

Lied: words of second verse by Rev J. Albertyn

In gese geskied 3 Dec 1901
In Egenwoud (Grahamstown)

Lied opgegeven door Ds J. Albertyn 1 Dec 1901
Key **E^b**

S: - 1S: 8 | S: 8 1S: d' - : - 1 : | t: - 1t: 1S | l: 1S - 1: m |	
O, die vroue die Jesus gese	Vreugd my vreugdige naad bekeend
d': - 1d': d' | d': 1d': l' - : - 1 : | t: - 1t: 1S | l: 1S - 1: d' |	
En sy was nog daar gelyk	meer 4 klein letter word geend

Verse gedicht door Ds Albertyn zelf:

al ontbreek my nog zoveel
 Maar in myn geveengenis
 Gij blyft myn genoegzaam deel
 Meer dan my ontromenis.

Solo Single voices
Sostenuto Sustained
zotte voce with subdued voice
Tutti all together full chorus.
Piano (p) Soft
Pianissimo (pp) very soft
Forte (f) Loud
Fortissimo (ff) very loud

(DRC B34)

The example shown below is a typical example of the regular metre of the traditional hymns sung by the Boers. It is interesting to note that quite a few examples of the same hymns in four-part harmony are similar, even though they were notated in different camps.

Example 6.19 Psalm 146: H.J. Storm

100

Doch is G. Psalm 146

s: d | r: im	l: s | s: im	r: m | f: s	m: r | d: -
s: l | t: d	d: d | r: d	t: d | d: r	d: t | s: -
m: im | s: s	f: im | s: s	s: s | l: s	s: s | m: -
d: l | s: d	f: d | t: d	s: d | l: t	d: s | d: -

Preys den Heer met blijde galmen. Zij, mij ziel! stelt rijke stop.

s: d | r: im	l: s | s: im	r: m | f: s	m: r | d: -
s: l | t: d	d: d | r: d	t: d | d: r	d: t | s: -
m: im | s: s	f: im | s: s	s: s | l: s	s: s | m: -
d: l | s: d	f: d | t: d	s: d | l: t	d: s | d: -

Sal zoo lang ik leef, mijn psalmen. Troolijk wijden aan Zijn lof.

m: r | d: t	d: l | s: -	s: l | s: im	f: r | d: -
d: t | l: s	l: f | s: -	d: d | t: d	d: t | s: -
s: f | m: im	m: r | t: -	s: f | m: d	l: s | m: -
d: s | l: m	l: r | s: -	m: f | s: l	f: s | d: -

Sal zoo lang ik licht geniet. Hem verhoogen in mijn lied.

(ABWMA 3238/2)

The staff notation in Example 6.20, notated by S. Viljoen in the Morgan's Island Camp on the Bermudas, shows that the bass part is exactly the same as that of Example 6.19, notated by H.J. Storm in the Diyatalawa Camp. Example 6.20 is from the songbook belonging to Sarel Viljoen. He calls it *Lied 148* but it is clearly *Psalm 146*.

Example 6.20 Bass part for *Psalm 146*: S. Viljoen

The image shows a handwritten musical score for the bass part of Psalm 146. The title is "Lied 148. Pries den Heer" and it is dated "7 Jan 1902". The score is written on three staves, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written in Dutch below each staff. The first staff has the lyrics "Pries den Heer met blij de gal men Gij dlij w'ziel het rij he's o' lof". The second staff has the lyrics "Zul Goo lang ik leef mijn Babmen vroolyk rij den aan'zijn w' lof". The third staff has the lyrics "Zul Goo lang ik licht ge siet Han verhoor gan in mijn' lud".

(ABWMA 4290/4)

It is difficult to explain these similarities as mention was made of the fact that no printed books could be found in four-part harmony. The similarities could, however, be attributed to the fact that some of the inmates might have sung in four-part harmony before being interned and they taught what they had learnt before the war.

Example 6.21 and Example 6.22 are by van Niekerk and van Noordwyk, who were members of the *Excelsior Zangvereniging* in Shahjahanpur Camp, India. They understood staff notation very well as there are no notational mistakes.

Example 6.22 Psalm 42: J.J.J. van Noordwyk

Psalm: 42: vers 1 *Ex 4.2.8* 11

Hij-gent hert, der jagt ont-kom-men, Schreemt niet ster-ker naar't ge-
not Van de fris-de wa-ter stroo-men, Dan mijn Ziel ver-langt naar
God. Ga mijn Ziel dorst naar den Heer, God des le-vens, ach wan-neer
Ziel ik naa-dren voor uw oo-gen In uw huis uw naam ver-hoer-gen.

(ABWMA 5701/1)

Example 6.23 is notated in a book by D.Rothman and shows very complicated rhythms. It must have been especially difficult to notate in four-part harmony. The words of the *Psalm* were so meaningful to the Boer captives, that van Nieuwenhuijse wanted the Excelsior Choir to sing it, even though quite advanced musical notational skills were needed to write it.

Example 6.23 Psalm 126: D. Rothman

24.

Psalm 126 "Bijbel Versen"

Allegro.

Als de Heer de ge-van-gen zi-on wi-der bracht warden wij ge-lyk aan hen die droeven ten werld

onze mond met lachen verward en onze tong met ge-zuch ja met ge-zuch men zieder toer onder

de hielden wi-der heeft groote dingen groote dingen ons ge daan wi-der heeft groote dingen

aan ons gedaan wi-der heeft groote dingen aan ons gedaan Dies zijn wij blijde die zijn wi-der

grooten dingen ge daan wi-der heeft groote dingen gedaan

Blijde die-der heeft groote dingen ons gedaan Wend O Heer onze gevangenis als-

25

wa-ter sloop-men en zijden wakt juiden die met traanen zaai-en jul-ter juichend

end maaien die met traanen zaai-en jul-ter juichend maai-en die zaad oogt dat her-

jaai-er fal gaat al wevend voort en jaait het al Maar hij zal wi-der komen ter goede snot oogend

Zijn schooven in zijn schuur, die met traanen zaai-en zal-ter juichend maai-en die met topren

zaaien jul-ter juichend maaien Dine

(ABWMA 5848/1)

The only notated vocal music the researcher could find from a concentration camp was from the Camp in Pietermaritzburg. This could be because hymnbooks were

available in the camps. Many diaries also bear witness to the fact that women left their farms, which were to be burnt, with family Bibles, catechism- and hymnbooks. They could possibly have used these books for religious services in the camps. It is difficult to say who notated the *Psalm* given in Example 6.24, as it comes from a collection from the Pietermaritzburg Camp (FAD A155/38/2). This inmate has quite a good understanding of staff notation even though his/her rhythmic notation is not always correct. He/she sometimes has two minims in a bar and other times three.

Example 6.24 *Psalm 79* verses 4 and 7: transcriber unknown

Psalm 79 : 4 en 7

Gedonk niet meer aan 't kwaad dat wij bedreeven; Ons' onvoldaad wordt ons uit ge-
geven! Waak op o God! en wij van 'herder' slytlen ons klein getal door Uwe kracht bevestigd
ons. barmhartig Heer! Uw grooten naam ter eer; Uy trouw kom ons te sta d
Verzoen de zwarg schuld Die ons met schrik vervult, Bewijs ons eens genade.

(FAD A155/38/2)

As it so unusual to see notated vocal music from concentration camps, two other examples of works notated in this Camp will be given, together with a programme for a concert. This programme (Example 6.27) shows that the choir sang *Avondlied* (Example 6.25) and *Des Christens Vaderland* (Example 6.26) at the concert.

It is interesting to note how many choir items there are on the programme and that most of *Avondlied* and *Des Christens Vaderland* are for women's voices. This is because there were more women and children in concentration camps than men. According to Wasserman (2003), there were, however, some men in the Pietermaritzburg Camp who were Cape rebels. This could explain *Psalm 79* notated for women and men's voices (Example 6.24). *Des Christens Vaderland* (Example 6.26) also has a few bars for men's voices.

Example 6.25 *Avondlied*: F.C.H. Rinck

Avondlied
Rustig J.C.H. RINCK

1 O - vond wordt het we - der, Die de rust ons meldt.
2 Slechts de beek blijft vlie - ten, Loopt van jaar tot jaar,
3 Zieh, zoo is uw stre - ven, Niet of zon - der lust;

1 Stil - le vee daalt ne - der O - ver hof en veld.
2 Kent geen rust ge - nie - ten, Immer voorwaarts maar.
3 God slechts kan u ge - ven Ware a - vond - rust.

(FAD A155/38/2)

Example 6.26 Des Christens Vaderland: transcriber unknown

Ex. 4: 32 Des Christens Vaderland. No. 32. 1771

Sopr. Alt. 1. Wat is des Christens Vaderland? Is't Afrika, Is't Engeland? Is't waar de Bijn of Dandiu vloeit? Het Roren goit, die
2. " " " " " " ? Is't Azia? Australia? Is't waar de zon van Zarah schroeit? Is't waar de Missi
wijnstok groeit? O neen, o neen, o neen, o neen! naar beter land noept God mij heen! O
2 sip-pi vloeit?

Innig mf
1. O vaderland, o hemelich land! Dat zard' en hemel beid omgant, Waar Serafs harpoetokkel klinkt, en 't Engelenkoor zyn Hallel zingt!
2. Der heemlen hemel zal het zyn! O God, mijn God dat zal het zyn! Maak sijn mij arm, maak daâr mij rijk, En aan Uw heerlijk Godel
geijkt.

ppp
O va — der — land! Mijn Va — der — land!

mf
ppp

Sopr. Alt. Tenor. Bas.
Dat zal het zyn! Dat zal het zyn! Dat eeuwig vaderland is mijn!
Dat zal het zyn! Dat zal het zyn!

Zangkoor
Berkamp

(FAD A155/38/1)

Example 6.27 Boerenkamp Maritzburg Concert Programma

Boerenkamp Maritzburg.

Concert

ten bate van het Orkefonds, te geven op Dinsdag 6 Aug 1901
des avonds te 7 uur.

Programma.

1	PSALM 150.	.....	Koor.
2	Avondlied	.....	Koor.
3	Het Weeshind	.....	Solo-Sopraan door Mej. Josephine Wepener met autoharp-begeleiding.
4	Woudeconcert	.....	Koor
5	Hymne aan den Nacht	.....	Diestemmig lied voor klein Koor.
6	Noto der Eeuwen	.....	Kwartet met cornet-à-piston-begeleiding door den Heer H. Vermaak
7	Vertrouwen	.....	Koor.

Pause.

8	De legende van Lotharingen, een Vlaamse lieder	.....	Mey. S. Haupt.
9	De vierkantklank in 4 Noorden	.....	Solo-Sopraan door Mej. Josephine Wepener met autoharp-begeleiding.
10	Stille Nacht, heilige Nacht	.....	Koor.
11	De verloren zoen	.....	Kwartet.
12	Vaarwel aan den Winter	.....	Koor.
13	Gebet onder den Veldslag	.....	Solo-Tenor door den Heer H. de Munnik
14	Des Christens Vaderland	.....	Slotzang door het Koor.

(FAD A155/38/1)

The second style of religious music was the revivalist style, especially those songs by Ira Sankey.

6.3.2.2 Revival songs and other religious songs

The singing of Sankey revival songs became a contentious issue amongst Boer prisoners of war, but the fact that so many were notated in the camps is proof of their popularity. The use of Sankey and other revival songs in translation, were more confined to members of the Nederduits Gereformeerde branch of the Reformed Church and other, more evangelical denominations. Conditions of war, including ministry to the soldiers, may have resulted in some hymn sharing though the stark divisions on hymnody among the three Reformed Churches were maintained after the war (Kloppers 2004).

Many pre-existing English hymn tunes were incorporated into the Sankey hymnbook of 1875. According to Cillié ([s.a.]:21), many of the lyrics of these songs can also be attributed to poets and not to Sankey himself and in the case of the Boers they translated the Sankey songs themselves. He writes about a Rev J.M. Louw from Boksburg who ministered to the Boers on Commando and who explained in his diary how he translated Sankey songs to prevent himself from becoming bored while on Commando (Cillié ([s.a.]:20).

These songs have dotted rhythms, syncopations and chromaticism that require a good knowledge of notation, a skill that many of the Boers did not have. It is, however, interesting to note how correctly they were notated. This could be explained by the fact that because the songs were English, the British made Sankey hymnbooks available to the prisoners. These books were in sol-fa, staff notation and in four-part harmony which would have enabled the Boers to copy them directly and so add their own translation. [Example 6.28](#) shows the song, *What a friend we have in Jesus*, from the Sankey songbook. [Example 6.29](#) shows this song as it appeared in a *Zionsliedereboek* and [Example 6.30](#) is hand-notated, in the exact musical notation of [Example 6:28](#). The words, however, differ from those of [Example 6.29](#). This could be due to the fact that English Sankey hymnbooks were available to Boers in camps and they were thus able to copy the musical notation but as they did not have the *Zionsliedereboek*, they had to translate the words of songs in the Sankey hymnbook in their own words.

Example 6.28 Sankey Song 117: Sankey hymnbook [s.a.] (Tune attributed to Charles Converse, 1870).

No. 117. What a Friend We Have in Jesus!

"There is a Friend that sticketh closer than a brother."—PROV. xviii. 24.

J. SCRIVEN. C. C. CONVERSE.

1. What a Friend we have in Je - sus, All our sins and griefs to bear!
What a pri - vi - lege to car - ry Eve - ry-thing to God in prayer!
Oh, what peace we of - ten for - feit, Oh, what need-less pain we bear—
All be-cause we do not car - ry Eve - ry-thing to God in prayer!

The image shows a four-staff musical score for the hymn 'What a Friend We Have in Jesus!'. It includes a title, a biblical quote, and the names of the composers. The score is written in 4/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It consists of four systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The lyrics are printed below the vocal line of each system.

(Sankey)

Example 6.29 Zionslied 542: Gezangen Zions 1899

240 CONVERSE, 8EN & 7s. 8R. C. C. CONVERSE.

1. Welk een vriend is ons de Hei-land, 's Vaders Zoon en troon-ge-noot, Die door't kruis den vrij-en toegang,
D.S.—Dat wij vrij veer als Gods kind'ren
Einde. D. S.
We-der ons tot God ont-sloot. O wat voorrecht ons her-ge-ren, Door de we-reld niet ver-staan,
Tot den Vader mo-gen gaan.

The image shows a two-staff musical score for 'Zionslied 542: Gezangen Zions 1899'. It includes the number 240, the title, and the name of the composer. The score is written in 4/4 time with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It consists of two systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The lyrics are printed below the vocal line of each system.

(DRC B102[a])

Example 6.30 Welk Een Vriend het onze Jesus: P.W. van Rensburg

Die on Lied 168 *Welk Een Vriend is onze Jesus - 64*

Do. f.

S: - S, l. S: m. d d: - l: S: - d, m, d: s. m r: -
d: - d, d. d: d. S | l: - f: S: - s, s, s: d. d l: -
m: - m, f. m: s. m f: - d: m: - m, m, m: m. s S: -
d: - d, d. d: d. d f: - f: d: - d, d, d: d. d S: -
Welk een vriend is onze Jesus, die en onze Heer wil staan

S: - s, l. S: m. d d: - l: S: - d, m. r. d. l. d: -
d: - d, d. d: d. S | l: - f: m: - s, d: s. s l: -
r: - m, f. m: s. m f: - d: d: - m, s: s. m. r. S: -
d: - d, d. d: d. d f: - f: S: - s, s. s. s. S: -
Welk een voorrecht dat is door Hem Ad. tja By het God mag gaan

r: - de, l. m: f. r m: - s: l: - l, s: m. f: m, r: -
t: - l, t. d: r. b d: - d: d: - d, d: d. r: d. l: -
S: - S, S. S: S. S S: - m: f: - f, S: S. S: S S: -
s: - S, S. S: S. S d: - d: f: - f, m: d. b: d S: -
Die wyls deroen py out vre. di. Die wyls deroen go. de Heer:

S: - S, l. S: m. d d: - l: S: - d, m. r: d. l. d: -
d: - d, d: d: d. S | l: - f: m: - s, d: s: s. s S: -
m: - m, f: m: s. m f: - d: d: - m, s. f: m; r. m: -
d: - d, d: d: d. d f: - f: S: - s, s. S: S: S: S: -
Just om dat py val met brin gen fun t. gaba tot onze Heer

(FAD A155/202/1)

A few other examples of Sankey notations will be given to highlight their popularity and the difficulty the Boers would have experienced if they had to notate them by ear. Example 6.31 on the following page was a very popular Sankey song, which was also popular with the Boers.

Another very complicated Sankey song was *A Cry from Macedonia* (Example 6.33). It can be seen how complicated the rhythm is and yet the Boer's rhythmic notation is correct, as seen in Example 6.34. This suggests that he copied it.

Example 6.33 Sankey Song 105: Sankey hymnbook [s.a.]

No. 105. A Cry from Macedonia.
F. J. C. "Come over into Macedonia, and help us."—Acts xvi. 9. W. B. BRADBURY.
In moderate time

1. { There's a cry from Ma-ce-do-nia—Come and help us; The light of the gos-pel
O ye he-ralds of the cross, be up and do-ing, Re-mem-ber the great com-
bring, oh come! Let us hear the joy-ful tid-ings of sal-va-tion, We thirst for the liv-ing
- mand! a-way! Go ye forth & preach the word to ev-ry crea-ture, Proclaim it in ev-'ry
End. **CHORUS.**
spring. land. } They shall ga-ther from the east, They shall ga-ther from the west, With the
pa-tri-archs of old; And the ran-somed shall re-turn To the
D.C. in full chorus.
king-doms of the blest, With their harps and crowns of gold. *D.C.*

(Sankey)

Example 6.35 Excerpt from Sankey Song 63: Sankey hymnbook [s.a.]

No. 63. Pass Me Not.
 "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved."
 F. J. CROSBY. ACTS ii. 21; ROM. x. 13; JOEL ii. 32. W. H. DOANE

1. Pass me not, O gen - tle Sa - viour, Hear my hum - ble cry;
 2. Let me at a throne of mer - cy Find a sweet re - lief;
 While on o - thers Thou art call - ing, Do not pass me by.
 Kneel - ing there in deep con - tri - tion, Help my un - be - lief.
 CHORUS.
 Sa - viour, Sa - viour, Hear my hum - ble cry,

(Sankey)

Example 6.36 Zionslied 542: Gezangen Zions 1899

542 GA MIJ NIET VOORBIJ.
 "En het zal zijn, dat een iegelijk, die den naam des Heeren zal aanroepen, zalig zal worden."—Hand. 2: 21.
 W. H. DOANE.

1. Richt op mij uw oog, mijn Heiland, Ga mij niet voor-bij; Heer, zoo vriend'lijk en ge-
 2. Zwak-ken kunt Gij krachten ge-ven, Sterkte, hoop en moed; Richt, waar ik al-leen zou
 3. 'k Wilaan U mij toe-ver-trou-wen Al - toos en ge-heel; Neem mij aan, en zij mijn
 4. Trou - we Heiland, bron van le-ven, Die in liefde ons hoort, Tot mijn ein - de wil ik
 Koor.
 na - dig, Help en red ook mij.
 dwa - len, In uw spoor mijn voet. Je - zus, Hei - land, help en red ook
 lei - ding, Waar ik ga, mijn deel.
 bou-wen, Je - zus, op uw woord.
 mij, Goe - de Her - der, neen, Gij gaat ons klei - nen niet voor - bij.

(DRC B102[a])

Example 6.37 Excerpt from Sankey Song 89: Sankey hymnbook [s.a.]

No. 89. Lo! He Comes.

“Behold, He cometh with clouds! and every eye shall see Him.”—Rev. 1. 7.
 J. CERNICK & C. WESLEY. (HELMSLEY. 8.7.4.) REV. M. MADAN.

Lo! He comes with clouds . . . descend - ing,
 Thou - sand thou - sand saints . . . at - tend - ing,
 Once for fa - voured sin - - ners slain; . . .
 Swell the tri - umph of His train; . . .

(Sankey)

Example 6.38 Sinkey 89: P. Kotze

Zionl. 81. Ziet hy komt Sinkey: 89

cl: -1 m: s | cl: t/ e: s | e: t/ cl: t/ e: | s: - f/ m: - | s: -1: s
 s: -1 m: - | m: -1 f: s | f: - s/ e: s: f | r: -1 d: - | r: -1: s
 m: -1 d: - | t: t/ cl: - | cl: -1 d: - | r: -1 s: - | t: -1: t
 cl: -1 d: m | e: s/ f: m | f: -1 e: - | t: -1 d: - | s: -1: f

cl: -1: r | m: s/ f: m | m: -1 r: | cl: -1 m: s | cl: t/ e: s
 s: -1: s | s: -1 s: - | s: -1: - | s: -1 m: - | m: -1 f: s
 cl: -1: t | cl: m/ r: cl | cl: -1 t | m: -1 d: - | e: t/ cl: -
 m: -1: s | cl: -1 t: cl | s: -1: - | cl: -1 d: m | e: s/ f: m

e: -1 t/ cl: e: s | s: -1 m: | s: -1: s | cl: -1: r | m: s/ f: m | m: -1 r:
 f: -1 s/ e: s: f | r: -1 d: - | r: -1: s | s: -1: s | s: -1 s: - | s: -1: -
 cl: -1 d: - | r: -1 s: - | t: -1: t | cl: -1: t | cl: m/ r: cl | cl: -1 t:
 f: -1 e: - | t: -1 d: - | s: -1: f | m: -1: s | cl: -1 t: cl

(Cleave Private Collection)

As was stated before, very few Sankey songs were found in staff notation. Most staff notation came from songbooks from Shahjahanpur, which had *Psalmen en Gezangen* as well as songs with religious messages.

According to Cillié ([s.a.]:65), the first songs Nieuwenhuijse taught the Excelsior Choir in four-part harmony were *Engelen Zang*, *Eere zij God in den Hemel* and *Stille rust der Zee*. It is interesting to study the notation of *Engelen Zang* (Example 6.39). It is much more difficult to notate and sing than the *Psalmen en Gezangen*, which consist mostly of minims. Despite the degree of difficulty, it is found in virtually all the songbooks from Shahjahanpur. It must have been very challenging to notate this song and even more challenging to teach it to people who had little musical background. Dynamic variations are often also included.

Example 6.39 Excerpt from *Engelen Zang*: transcriber unknown

Engelen Zang. 4/8
Moderato, f
Ee-re zij God, Ee-re zij God, in den hooge, in den hooge, in den
hooge! The de op aarde, vre--de op aar-de in de
p Enkeli Stemmen Koor

(ABWMA 4641/8)

The many hand-notated hymn scores demonstrated the importance of religion to the Boers. There are also many scores with religious messages, but by examining these songs, nothing new will be learnt with regard to notation.

Another aspect of the Boer psyche was his patriotism. There are many notations that attest to this.

6.4 PATRIOTIC MUSIC

The fierce nationalism of the Boers could be understood as a psychological result of repeated experiences of insecurity in their history. Resistance took many forms and there are many accounts of singing of the official *Volksliedere* by women and children in concentration camps while waving the OVS and ZAR flags (Fisher 1969:184).

All Boers seemed to know the *Volksliedere* and they sang them with great pride. Example 6:40 is the official ZAR *Volkslied*, *Ken gij dat volk?* and Example 6:41, the official OVS *Volkslied*, *Heft Burgers*. As Willie Peacock stated (in Carawan & Carawan 1990:240), “patriotic songs can be used to draw people together and unite them in one common aim, goal and purpose.” This echoes the emotions these songs engendered for the Boers. The fact that so many songbooks have hand-notated examples of these official *Volksliedere*, emphasises the importance the Boers attached to these songs.

It is interesting to see how the patriotic song in Example 6.42 was notated next to the lyrics. It is found in the H. de Booy collection but there is no indication as to who notated it (FAD A296). Example 6.43 and Example 6.44 show patriotic songs written in staff notation. They are interesting because they are not from Shahjahanpur where most songs in staff notation were found. It is difficult to say who notated them but they are in a collection together with diaries and correspondence between a Miss Bredell who was in the Klerksdorp Concentration Camp and then in Howick, and a Johannes Bredell on Commando. It could thus be assumed that they were notated either in a concentration camp or on Commando.

Example 6.40 Trans Vaalsche Volks Lied: Excelsior Zangvereniging

6

Trans Vaalsche Volks Lied.

Kent gij dat Volk vol hel-den moet en noch too lang ge-knecht het heeft ge-of-ferd
goed en bloed voor Vrij-heid en voor recht Hamt bur-gers laat de Plag-gen
wap-pen ons lij-den is voor bij Doemt in de te-ge on-ter Dop-pren dat
Vrij-e Volk zijn wij dat vrij-e Volk dat vrij-e Volk dat vrij-e wij-e Volk zijn wij

(ABWMA 3766/1)

Example 6.41

OVS Volks Lied: Excelsior Zangvereniging

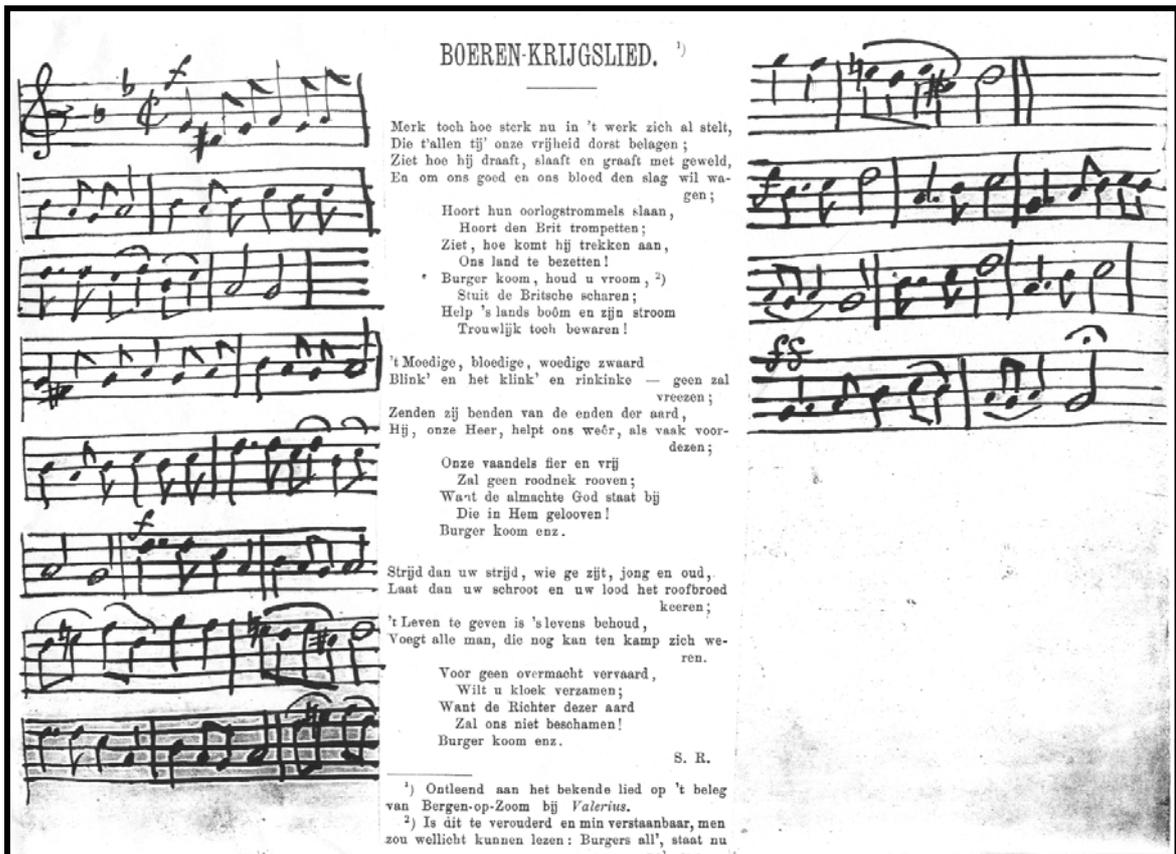
O. V. S. Volks Lied.

Heft bur-gers' lied der Rij-heid aan, in tijt ons ei-gen Volks, be-staan, van vrom-de
van-den Rij, be-kleedt ons klein ge-mee-ne best, op or-de wet in recht ge-vest
Rang in der sta-ten rei Rang in der sta-ten rei;

(ABWMA 3766/1)

Example 6.42 Boeren-Krijgslied (Translation: Boer War song): transcriber unknown

BOEREN-KRIJGSLIED. ¹⁾



Merk toch hoe sterk nu in 't werk zich al stelt,
Die t'allen tij' onze vrijheid dorst belagen;
Ziet hoe hij draaft, slaaft en graaft met geweld,
En om ons goed en ons bloed den slag wil wa-
gen;

Hoort hun oorlogstrommels slaan,
Hoort den Brit trompetten;
Ziet, hoe komt hij trekken aan,
Ons land te bezetten!

* Burger koom, houd u vroom, ²⁾
Stuit de Britsche scharen;
Help 's lands boôm en zijn stroom
Trouwlijk toch bewaren!

't Moedige, bloedige, woedige zwaard
Blink' en het klink' en rinkinke — geen zal
vreezen;
Zenden zij benden van de enden der aard,
Hij, onze Heer, helpt ons weêr, als vaak voor-
dezen;

Onze vaandels fier en vrij
Zal geen roodnek rooven;
Want de almachte God staat bij
Die in Hem gelooven!
Burger koom enz.

Strijd dan uw strijd, wie ge zijt, jong en oud,
Laat dan uw schroot en uw lood het rooifbroed
keeren;

't Leven te geven is 'slevens behoud,
Voegt alle man, die nog kan ten kamp zich we-
ren.

Voor geen overmacht vervaard,
Wilt u kloek verzamten;
Want de Richter dezer aard
Zal ons niet beschamen!
Burger koom enz.

S. R.

¹⁾ Ontleend aan het bekende lied op 't beleg
van Bergen-op-Zoom bij *Valerius*.
²⁾ Is dit te verouderd en min verstaanbaar, men
zou welliecht kunnen lezen: Burgers all', staat nu

BOEREN-KRIJGSLIED. ¹⁾

Merk toch hoe sterk nu in 't werk zich al stelt,
Die t'allen tij' onze vrijheid dorst belagen;
Ziet hoe hij draaft, slaaft en graaft met geweld,
En om ons goed en ons bloed den slag wil wa-
gen;

Hoort hun oorlogstrommels slaan,
Hoort den Brit trompetten;
Ziet, hoe komt hij trekken aan,
Ons land te bezetten!

* Burger koom, houd u vroom, ²⁾
Stuit de Britsche scharen;
Help 's lands boôm en zijn stroom
Trouwlijk toch bewaren!

(FAD A296)

Example 6.43 Zuid Afrika voor My: transcriber unknown

"Zuid Afrika voor My."

staan wy nu hand aan hand, voor volk en va-der-land! staan
 de vy-heid eens ge-kneeld door heb-zucht en ge-weld. Heft
 W' waarmen met ontzag voor God der Britten vlag wy
 wy ver-zend van hart, wie im-mer ons ook tart! ons
 wen het bly-de oog, met dank tot God om -- hoog. Hoe
 gunnen elk zyn recht doch zyn wy niet-mando knecht En
 doel en leu-ge zy: "En wensd of nook ge -- ty Zuid
 droef te ver-le-dew zy. klinkt tens ons lof-lied bly: Zuid
 waar myn hart vindt sy Een leus een lied zoo vry? Zuid
 Afri-ka voor my! myn dier-baar land!"
 A - fri - ka voor my myn dier - baar land!"
 Afri-ka voor my myn dier-baar land.

(TAD A1361/3)

Example 6.44 Zuid Afrikaans Volkslied: transcriber unknown

Zuid-Afrikaans volkslied

O Land ge-kroet door bloed, Dins wie-me hel-de moed, Gij zyt my
 myn ou-der-huis draaft Gij, Waar ik zoo rein en bly, En ter be-
 renkeam werklintek in my als goet-ste melody, waar ik ook ja-
 der, Gij zyt my dier, O Land Gij zyt my dier! Wie ook ues kus-tens
 mind, En ter be-mind, Waar ik, zo ter be-mind, Door moe-der werd ge-
 waar ik ook ja ues naam werklintek in my, O teeder is de band
 siku, Om-kruet door rot-ten reus, Ek ben ver-keefd aan u, En
 wiegd, Ge-kruet, ge-voed, ge-kefd, al heb ik haar ge-griefd, als
 my hechtend aan ues strand my dierbaar vaderland Zuid
 waar liefst hier, En woon liefst hier.
 Klein-ne kind, als Klein-Kind.
 sind a p r i e t e a

(TAD A1361/3)

With the exception of the two *Volksliedere*, very little other patriotic music is notated in sol-fa. Chapter 5 highlighted the fact that many of these songs are found with words only and sometimes suggestions for singing them to a secular tune. An example is *Op, Afrikaners, op!* to be sung to the tune of *Grandfather's Clock* (FAD A296). The words will not be included as the focus of this chapter is the notation of the songs.

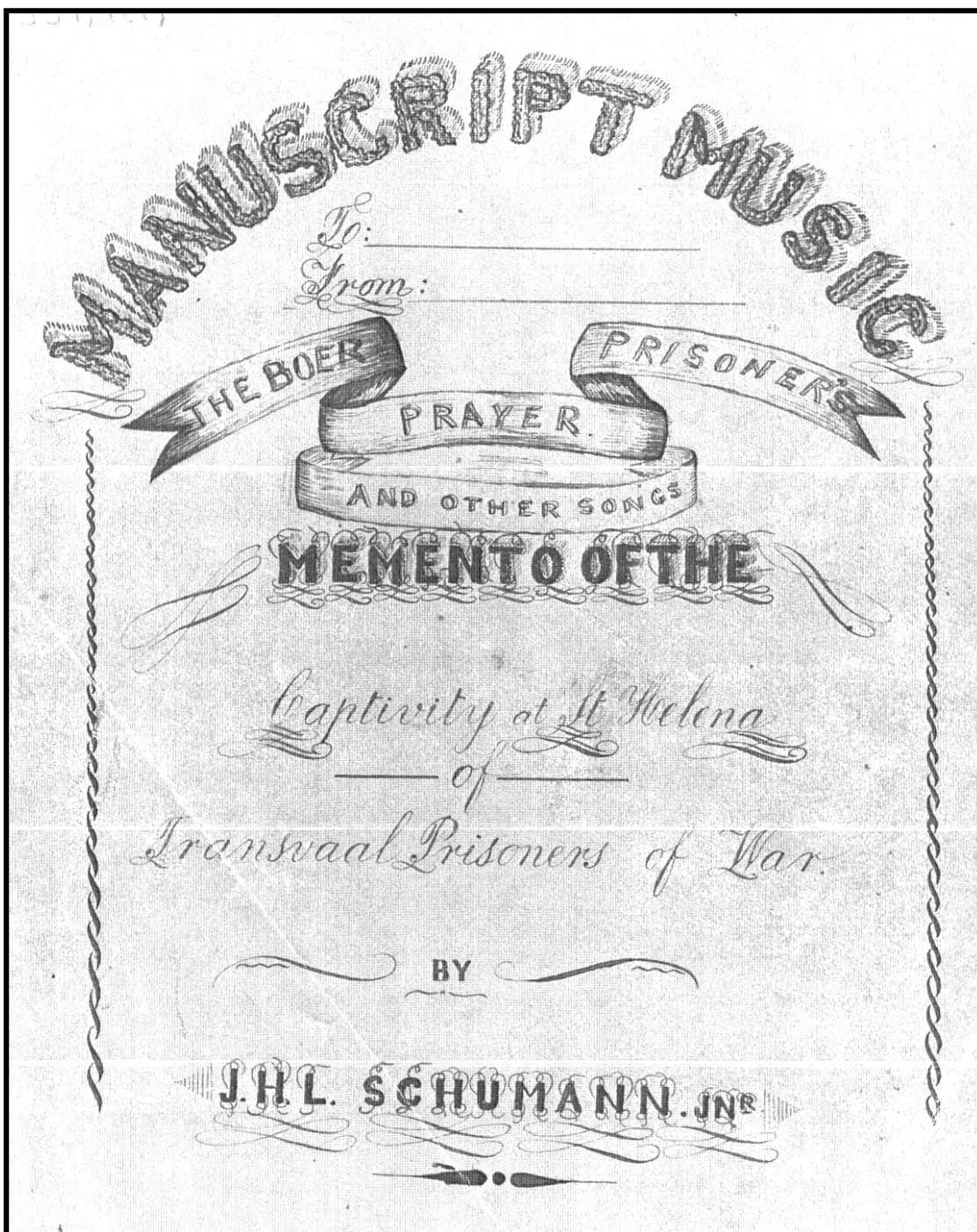
6.5 SECULAR MUSIC

There are only a few examples of hand-notated secular music. The Boers did not, however, seem to think that it was necessary to capture these songs in notation. This leads to the assumption that secular songs were not as important as a coping skill in their situation. It can be argued that they knew the songs so well that they did not need to notate them, but at the same time, they knew the hymns well and yet they notated them.

Of special interest are the compositions by J.H.L. Schumann, a prisoner of war in St Helena. His works are some of the only works composed and notated by a prisoner of war. The lyrics are mostly in English and mirror experiences faced by him in the camp. He has three manuscripts of music composed during his captivity in St Helena. They have a piano accompaniment to the songs and show that he had an excellent knowledge of music. This music is especially meaningful because it articulates, through music, the emotions of a Boer prisoner of war. As such, it is a tool against oppression because, through his words and the sound of his song, the composer is able to use verbal art and sound as an outlet for emotional release. The lyrics of these songs by Schumann were addressed in Chapter 5, but it is interesting to look at the notation of some of the songs. Finer nuances of dynamics, rhythm and expression are captured indicating that to Schumann, the artistic value of the song was important. No programmes from camps in St Helena could, however, be found with concert items with Schumann's music.

A comparison between the melodies of Schumann's songs and the ones sung by choirs in prisoner of war camps clearly shows that choir members would have found these songs difficult to sing due to chromaticism, difficult rhythms and intervals. The accompaniment does not always support the melody line and that makes it even more difficult to sing. Needless to say these are very special compositions that should be preserved for posterity. [Example 4.5](#) showed the cover of one of his manuscripts. [Example 6.45](#) shows the decorated cover of another of his manuscripts.

Example 6.45 Cover of Manuscript Music: J.H.L. Schumann



(NLSA 559/3)

Schumann's compositions reveal a spectrum of personal and communal perceptions and responses to the unfolding events as will be seen in the following examples of some of his works.

Example 6.46 Excerpt from *They Will Miss Me*: J.H.L. Schumann

21

S^T HELENA
Aug. 1900

They Will Miss Me.

(SOLO & CHORUS.)

WORDS & MUSIC BY:
J.H.L. SCHUMANN,
Transv. Pres. of W.A.T.

1. Far away there are loving
2. When they sit around at
3. Yes the dear ones at home will

hearts in the home that I left long ago, And many a silent
miss me when the dusk its silence doth bring They will sadly think in
When the day and its tasks are

ff (Cresc.)

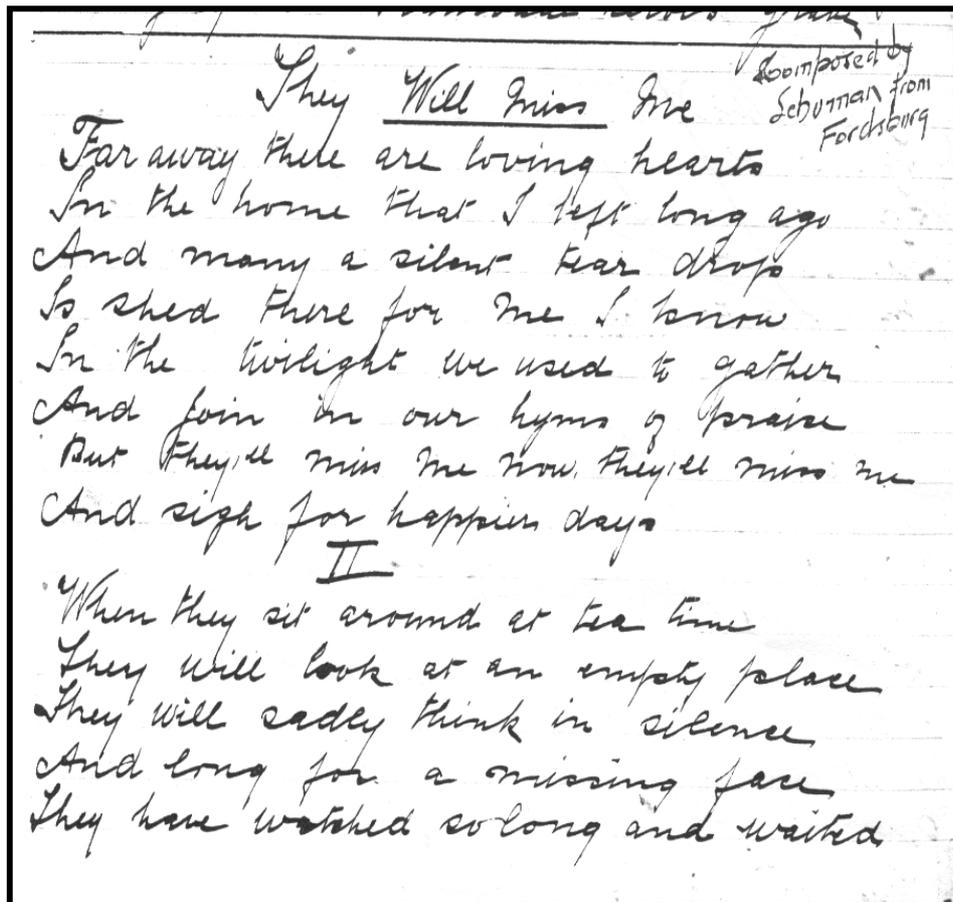
Is shed there for me, I know; In the twilight we used to
And long for a missing face; They have watched so long and
And they gather around to sing In that sacred hour of

gather, and join in our hymns of praise, - But they miss me now, they
wailed at the door of the dear old home, / And their little hearts are
twilight when thoughts begin to roam, / They will sigh and sadly

(NLSA 559/3)

Despite difficulties related to the singing of Schumann's works, the words of some of his songs were found in various holograph songbooks. This shows that the inmates found the words of his songs, as well as the sounds, meaningful. One such example is shown below.

Example 6.47 Excerpt from *They Will Miss Me*: W. Kirstein book



(TAD A1793/2)

Further examples of Schumann's works are given on the following pages to illustrate how they articulated the emotions and experiences of all prisoners of war. There are also two Afrikaans-Nederlands songs in his manuscripts. The one is a comical song about a man and a woman, *Japie en Nellie* (Example 6.51). The other one is *Vaarwel* (Example 6.52), which he calls an episode from the war.

Example 6.48

Excerpt from *How long, o Lord?*: J.H.L. Schumann

Words By:-
J.F. SCHUMANN,
Transv. Pris. of War.

"How Long, o Lord?"

13
Music By
• J.H.L. SCHUMANN
Transv. Pris. of War.

1. With eyes that tell the
Andante
hearts despair, With head bowed down with grief, A widow sank upon a chair - His
Cresc.
chair whose life so brief Was given for his country's cause, At
such a fearful cost, More fearful as awhile we pause, to

(NLSA 559/3)

Example 6.49 Excerpt from *The Boer Prisoner's Prayer*: J.H.L. Schumann

Words by
Lieut. Kyle
Cape Garrison Apt?

THE BOER PRISONER'S
PRAYER.
(SONG)

Music by
J.H.L. Schumann
Boer Prisoner

More boundless than our
great Karroo, vast boundless ocean now I view; Strange wonders now I'm
learning in Prisonship out on the main. The sad, sad thoughts, thro' my brain: When shall I
be, shall I be re- turning? - To my dear old plaats, to my on- ly home, where the

(NLSA 559/1)

Example 6.50 Excerpt from *By a Grave*: J.H.L. Schumann

Voices aspirat dies, et inclinentur Umbræ.

Words by
John, Jarvis Beresford
[*"Temple Bar", Vol. 88, '90*]

BY A GRAVE.
(Meditation)

Music by
J.H.L. Schumann.

13

Andantē.

1. She doth but sleep - she will awake a -
2. We will not think of her our child as

non,
dead;
Radiant and happy when the night is gone;
But only waiting till the word be said:

smiling to greet us at the dawn of day. To us the night seems
Let there be light and darkness be no more. Then as the day breaks

long - the slow hours creep;
and the sha-dows flee; But she she knows not
she will all rest - ed

(NLSA 559/1)

Example 6.51

Excerpt from *Japie en Nellie*: J.H.L. Schumann

Woorden uit
"Grappige Stories"
van Melt Brink

JAPIE EN NELLIE
(Lied voor Heer en Dame)

MUZIEK door
J.H.L. SCHUMANN.

1. Zeg my, liefste Nellie Blom, zeg my hoe of dit tog Kom, dat mijn hart zoo treurig
2. Japie, wat jy mij daar vraag, zeg een meise soms niet graag, Maar dit wil ik jou tog
3. Ja, mijn Nellie maak maar staat Daarvoor weet ik wel een raad, Dit zal aan jou zelvvers

is, als ik maar jou byzijn mis, dat mijn hart zoo stadig klop, Sonder ophou, Sonder
3eg, ook mijn hart voel zels niet reg, Somtjds word ik in een uur, Tien Keer Koud en warm als
leg, of jy daarop "ja" wil segg, als jy maar jou hartje fijn, wil verruil voer die van

klop, Nou eens hot en dan weer haer, Op en af en deurmekaar, dat ik halfpadlam en
vuur, Wyl mijn hart zoo hevig klop, Sonder ophou, sonder stop; Soms ik zeg dit zonder
mijn, dit zal zeker, wie ik wed, al die kopperij belet, als dit teen mekaar kan

glaauw mij skaars op die been kan hou, Waandeus zou dit tog kan kom? Zeg my liefste Nellie
lieg, of dit uit mijn keel wil vlieg; Japie, liefste, laat mij hoor, weet jy tog geen raad daar -
rus, word ons onrus gauw gesus, En dit zal, ik geef mijn kop, Voortaan van geluk slags

(NLSA 559/2)

Example 6.52

Excerpt from *Vaarwel* (Translation Farewell): J.H.L. Schumann

Episode uit den
Transv. Oorlog.
1899-1900

“VAARWEL!”
(G.I.E.O.)

WOORDEN en MUZIEK
Door J.H.L. SCHUMANN N
Transvaal'sh Krijgsgevangene

1. De zon ver-dween aan
2. Zyn techter-handhield

's he-mels l'ans, De scheemring dek't veld; Daarlag doorboord met wreede lans Een
nog het paard Dal-trouw en treurend stond; Zyn linkerdrukle zacklen teer Een

prall
dap-pre jonge held, Een dap-pre jonge held. De blos was uit zyn
haarlok aan den mond, Een haarlok aan den mond. Die haarlok droeg hy

aangezicht; De oogen staarden strak, Waaruit wel eer met
naast zyn hart, En voor zyn laatste rust, Had hy te mid-den

(NLSA 559/2)

6.6 AFFECT AND MEANING OF SCORES LINKED TO LYRICS

It is impossible to give a detailed structural analysis of scores as there are so many available. This could be a new avenue for research that would help to express and reaffirm the culturally determined values of the Boers during the war. There are, however, some general features of the song, which, combined with the text lends to the song its affective character.

The patriotic music and anthems sung by the Boers were the equivalent in music of the motto, crest and flag of the two Republics. Accounts throughout the thesis gave examples of how often these songs were used to strengthen Boer resolve. It was clear from the words that the songs rarely had literary merit, but patriotic fervour was usually the keynote. Forms and images to express patriotism varied a good deal but nevertheless revealed much about the character of the Boer nation at the time the words were written. Hymns, marches and fanfares were typical of these songs and the texts usually dwelt on the beauty of the land and the struggle for independence of a Boer nation who depended greatly on the word of God.

Affect and meaning of patriotic music is not grounded in the text alone and by looking at the *Trans Vaalsche Volks Lied* ([Example 6.40](#)) it is possible to illustrate how the gap between a “music-for-music’s sake” musicological approach on the one hand and cultural studies on the other, can be effectively bridged. In 1875 Catherina van Rees wrote the music and words for this Transvaal national anthem. To ascertain why it had such a powerful effect on the Boers it is necessary to point out that the text alone (p 5-24) could not explain this. In order to allow for a real understanding of affect and meaning, the text and music have to be linked while at the same time an understanding of the context in which the song was sung has to be taken into account (Chapter 3). As the text and context have been discussed it is necessary to point out some important general aspects that lend to the music a rousing character befitting the text. The music has a fanfare opening (C-F-G-A notes) in F major for the initial rhetorical question, which returns with strong modulation in the second sentence. This gives the music its progressive feeling. There is a strong march-like rhythm throughout which portrays

a feeling of rhythmic impetus. The final rhetorical repetition of the opening fanfare motif with climatic ascension serves to portray a mood of strengthening the nation's resolve.

Much was said about the importance of religion to the Boers and how through their hymn singing they were able to reaffirm their belief in God. An analysis of the hymn structure would serve little purpose here, as after having gained an understanding of the Boer psyche it was clear that the aesthetic value of the hymn was not of prime importance. It was thus necessary to consider the message of the hymn together with the tune, as well as the context in which they were sung to reach a viable conclusion about the affect and meaning of hymn singing to the Boers.

The link to cultural history allowed for an understanding of the two different types of hymns sung by the Boers. Firstly, there were those with a traditional, conservative attitude who wanted to retain the styles handed down from previous generations. The French theologian, Jean Calvin, established their strongly held religious beliefs which dictated that only the Grace of God redeems Christians. According to Fisher "...the certainty that he was damned unless God willed otherwise made the Calvinist more God-fearing...more subordinate to the Lord's will-more fervent, and subject to a code of austerity surpassed by few other faiths" (Fisher1969:15). This could possibly explain why there are so many accounts of how slowly and solemnly the Boers sang these hymns. Firstly through singing this way they were able to portray their reverence for God and at the same time concentrate on the text. The melodies are characterised by the almost exclusive use of minims and crotchets, syllabic settings and simple flowing melody lines. See Examples 6.2 – 6.7 for examples of hymns that would have suited this style of singing.

Secondly, religious scores found revealed the fact that there were Boers who had a freer more liberal approach to religion. The traditionalists, mentioned above, liked to perpetuate characteristics that are specific to the church whereas the more contemporary oriented group often preferred to bring certain aspects of secularity

into the church to make it more welcoming for unbelievers. One of these aspects was the type of hymns sung (Lagerwall 1966:6). Much was said about these revival hymns in the Sankey songbook (pp 6-36). The link between cultural history and musicology was thus essential for the understanding of affect and meaning in the singing of these songs. A musicological analysis of the two types of hymn styles would not have highlighted the fact that hymn singing was an integral part of the Boer repertory and a vehicle for spiritual sustenance. It was specifically by linking the scores to cultural history through the lyrics and the meaning of the sound of the hymns that the unique affective character of the hymn to the Boers could be understood.

Similarly, the secular songs that emerged during the war presented pure folk art in the sense that they were representative of a pre-industrialised people who were bound up in the processes of everyday life during the war. Once again the link between cultural history and musicology is a prerequisite for understanding affect and meaning in these songs. A musical analysis alone was not of prime importance because it would not have revealed how the "...disempowered Afrikaner culture shared in the 'European' high culture of the British establishment" (van Zyl Muller 2000:34). It is knowledge of the cultural-historical background of the Boers that places these songs in their proper context and gives an understanding of why they were sung. It also allows for the interpretation of the role of the songs within a framework of a cultural system, rather than the result of the meaning implicit in only the musical scores or lyrics.

This thesis thus argues for an interdisciplinary approach towards an understanding of a nation's vocal music. In this case this is achieved by linking cultural history to musicology. A musicological approach should not be allowed to isolate musical processes from the social and cultural milieu of humanity. On the other hand, other disciplines such as sociology, history, communication and cultural studies have to recognise the role of music in generating and articulating social and cultural meanings.

In order to highlight the fact that affect and meaning in music was not a unique aspect of the Anglo-Boer War it is necessary to consider a few accounts of the role of music during times of struggle and war in other situations. This will serve to confirm that history has to take music into account music as it is a powerful building block to an understanding of the past and reveals a spectrum of communal perceptions and responses to unfolding events.

6.7 MUSIC AS IMPORTANT HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

Between 1912 and 1994 liberation songs by black South Africans were used effectively as a positive strategy to accelerate change in South African society. The songs, which are unique to South Africa, are part and parcel of the country's history and echo a collective cry of discontent. The researcher thus argues that the liberation struggle cannot fully be understood if the songs are not taken into account. Steve Biko, the black South African who died in detention, and the well-known South African singer, Miriam Makeba, highlighted this. According to Biko (1978:57&60), "Any suffering we experienced was made more real by song and rhythm which leads to a culture of defiance, self-assertion and group pride and solidarity. This is a culture that emanates from a situation of a common experience of oppression ... and is responsible for the restoration of our faith in ourselves and offers a hope in the direction we are taking from here." Makeba (1988 record sleeve) explained the role of the liberation songs in the following way: "In our struggle, songs are not simply entertainment for us. They are the way we communicate. The press, radio and TV are all censored by the Government. We cannot believe what they say. So we make up songs to tell us about events. Let something happen and the next day a song will be written about it."

The power of music was also recognised during World War II in many cases. The importance of a country's national anthem to strengthen a nation's resolve was demonstrated during this war when the British Broadcasting Corporation regularly played the anthems of the Allied Powers. These broadcasts attracted millions of listeners and singers throughout Europe (Boyd 2001:654). In Germany, the perception that music influences people was so strong that the Nazis laid down

rules for the performing and composing of music which was free from any Jewish and Negro jazz influences. Perris (1985:56) explains how musicians were admonished to use the major key and to sing words “[E]xpressing joy in life rather than Jewish gloomy lyrics ... and to use brisk tempos which do not exceed an allegro, commensurate with the Aryan sense of discipline and moderation.” There was also an arbitrary ban on Jewish musicians and music in Germany.

There are many accounts of traumatic conditions faced by the Jews in German concentration camps and the ghettos. By linking music to the experiential world of the Jews it is possible to understand the affect and meaning that music had for these people. Miriam Harel (cited in Flam 1992:107) writes that: “The Jewish people came to such a deep state of despair that only singing could help. When one sings, even when he sings a sad song, his loneliness disappears when he listens to his own voice. He and his voice become two people. Singing is a manifestation of hope. The song is a cry, and afterwards you feel free.” Similarly, a Warsaw ghetto member, Chaim Kaplan (cited in Aaron 1990:9) states: “More than bread we need music, at a time when we don’t need it at all.” It is thus impossible to dismiss the important role of music in situations of duress.

Much has been written about the importance of song to American slaves who were originally captured from Western African societies. “Slave songs in general were imbued with multiple elements of resistance and the very musical patterns of their spirituals were a symptom of the refusal of black men and women to abandon their African cultural heritage” (Ellison 1989:106). Over the years the slaves developed a sizeable repertoire of songs about the day when freedom would come. One of the earliest activities of the abolitionists was the Underground Railroad, an organisation existing for the sole purpose of helping fugitive slaves to escape. Songs and hymns had to inform the slaves of ways of escaping and also give specific instructions for departure and the route to take. This is corroborated by Southern (1971:195): “We know, of course, from the testimony of ex-slaves that the religious songs, more than any others, often had double meanings and were used as code songs for escape.”

There are many other examples of the powerful role of music. This is explained by the fact that the struggle in wars and against oppression of any kind has clearly provided the perfect climate for the production of music. This statement is corroborated by Willie Peacock (cited in Carawan & Carawan 1990:240), who says “Through song and dance a people are able to share their burden, triumph, sadness and gladness of heart.”

6.8 CONCLUSION

It may thus be concluded that music and singing are fundamental to the constitutive characteristics of human societies and in this way are able to exercise considerable power as a tool for both the oppressed and the oppressor. The affect and meaning in music cannot be ignored, and only by moving cultural history towards an accommodation with musicology can this be understood.

With regard to this study, the fact that the Boers notated so much vocal music is in itself an indication that they were consciously or unconsciously aware of the affective power of their vocal music. They assumed that meaning was inherent in the musical notation. They realised that ideas or emotions are conveyed by meaningful patterns of sounds and thus considered notation as an important factor in the standardisation of their vocal music.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The study aimed to locate the lacuna between cultural history and musicology in order to understand processes of affect and meaning in Boer vocal music. By using music notation to assess these aspects, a new dimension is added to the history of the war. The vocal music serves as a powerful building block to the past and also highlights the fact that music is not merely a form of leisure or entertainment: it is central to the very formation of human societies and as such cannot be ignored.

7.2 ADDRESSING THE RESEARCH QUESTION

The research question on which this thesis was based was:

Is it possible to locate the lacuna that exists between cultural history and musicology, in order to assess processes of affect and meaning in vocal music as a vehicle for understanding the Boer psyche and the circumstances they had to face during the Anglo-Boer War?

In order to answer this question effectively it is necessary to look at:

- ❖ research strategies employed
- ❖ questions linked to the research question.

7.2.1 Research strategies employed

As was stated in Chapter 1, the pursuit of answers to the research question was best served by employing qualitative research methods that reflect the phenomenological paradigm. By conducting qualitative research, an in-depth

understanding of the Boers was gained. The phenomenological paradigm was primarily directed towards understanding of individuals in terms of their own interpretations of reality, as well as the understanding of society in terms of the meanings that people ascribe to the societal practices in that society.

Primary sources were thus of great importance for this study because they have the power to recapture the atmosphere of that time and best reflect the Boer response to situations. Two kinds of primary sources were especially valuable, namely:

- ❖ diaries
- ❖ hand-notated vocal music and holograph songbooks.

Diaries assisted in giving the researcher an insight into the experiential world of the Boer and were thus an indispensable vehicle towards an understanding of the cultural-historical aspect of the war. Entries in diaries are the writer's reality and capture what really happened in their everyday lives, incorporating the context in which they operated, as well as their frame of reference. Allport (cited in Babbie and Mouton 2001:301) speaks of the diary as the document *par excellence* because in it "the author sets down only such events, thoughts and feelings as have importance to him: he is not so constrained by the task-attitudes that frequently control the production of letters, interviews or autobiography."

Notated Boer vocal music and holograph songbooks were also important because they were a concrete form of expressing Boer war experiences and as such proved that "[m]usic is an activity central rather than peripheral to people and society" (Shepherd & Wicke 1997:3). An examination of this notated music was invaluable from a musicological viewpoint as well as for allowing the lyrics to be interpreted in melodic configurations that could be equated with particular moods, emotions and cultural meanings. The role of vocal music in situations of duress was aptly expressed by Flam, a Jewish inmate of the Lodz Ghetto during World War II: "Singing helped to focus the individual's despair, anger, and hope; it expressed the dream, the fantasy of escape; it served to submerge the individual into the group and thus dilute his or her suffering" (Flam 1992:170).

7.2.2 Questions linked to the research question

Before the research question could be answered, careful consideration was given to other questions that could lead to a viable answer.

7.2.2.1 *Does the axiom that declares music possesses a power or powers that can produce effects on the human psyche, society and civilisations exist?*

Research highlighted the fact that over many centuries people *believed* in the power of music although there was no scientific evidence to confirm these beliefs. Examples were given which emphasised the belief in the powerful effect of music upon human character and morals. Many saw music as having the power to exert an influence of either a negative or a beneficial nature on man and “thereby to make or break entire civilisations” (Tame 1988:14). These beliefs are important but are of no value if there is no evidence to support them.

Research highlighted the fact that modern scientific instruments now exist, not only for verifying, but for measuring the effects of music on the body and its functions. This has resulted in many studies directed towards demonstrating what had previously only been believed; that music is able to influence the human psyche and body. Two examples, namely music therapy and music in education, were highlighted in order to substantiate the theory that music is a fundamental power.

The findings about the power of music were important for answering the research question because they provided insights into processes of affect and meaning in music.

7.2.2.2 Does an understanding of the experiences of the Boers during the war lead to an understanding of the role of their vocal music?

In order to answer this question the research sought to highlight the experiential world of the Boers from a cultural-historical perspective, which could help to conceptualise experience. Historical facts alone would serve no purpose towards answering this question. A thick description was thus used, which evokes emotions and feelings in the reader, and inserts history into experience. It also establishes the significance of an experience or the sequence of events for the person or persons in question, “and captures the meanings and experiences that have occurred in a problematic situation” (Denzin 2001:162).

This approach allowed for some insider perspectives of the Boer people that could be helpful in understanding affect and meaning in Boer vocal music. This is corroborated by Philip Tagg (1991:144), who states that “a viable understanding of culture requires an understanding of its articulation through music as much as a viable understanding of music requires an understanding of its place in culture.”

Chapter 3 alone could, however, not put forward concepts capable of explaining the attraction of vocal music for the Boers, and whether it appears to have had an influence over them. A lacuna was thus identified which had to be addressed before coming to viable conclusions which would help to answer the research question.

7.2.2.3 Could the lacuna between cultural history and musicology be addressed by assessing the affect and meaning of the sounds together with the lyrics of the songs?

In order to answer this question, the lacuna had to be located. To achieve this the researcher relied heavily on the theory of Shepherd and Wicke, which feeds cultural theory into musicology “by thinking of music in ways unprecedented within musicology ... the latter becomes a prerequisite for the former” (Shepherd & Wicke 1997:2). This research explored some of the issues raised in Shepherd and

Wicke's theory and at the same time placed these on an empirical base that was focussed on:

- ❖ the environment in which the vocal music was created
- ❖ meaning in the sound and the lyrics of the vocal music
- ❖ hand-notated scores which are a visual analogue of musical sound.

This approach thus deals with the relationship between the meaning in the sounds and lyrics of Boer vocal music as it is dialectically constituted in performance. This is because the analysis of affect and meaning cannot be grounded exclusively in an examination of cultural history or musicology, decontextualised from sound. By doing research in this way, the lacuna was located and identified as an aural void and was addressed by emphasising:

- ❖ sound as a vehicle to articulate a spectrum of unfolding events during the war
- ❖ analysis of the affect and meaning in words of songs.

7.2.3 Does an analysis of hand-notated scores of the Boers lead to an understanding of affect and meaning in their vocal music?

In order to answer this question, the hand-notated scores, which are a visual analogue of musical sound, were analysed. The approach was musicological, but not in the traditional sense of the word, since it precluded a detailed stylistic analysis and aesthetic evaluation. It was linked to cultural history in order to understand the processes of affect and meaning in vocal music. This link was made possible by insights gained from the aural void identified as the lacuna between cultural history and musicology.

7.3 THE RESEARCH QUESTION ANSWERED

By establishing a link between cultural history and musicology it was possible for these disciplines to inform each other and so to establish the fact that Boer vocal music articulated affect and meaning.

The research question was answered because, by identifying the lacuna as an aural void, it was possible to examine Boer vocal music against its cultural-historical background. The aural void thus moved cultural history towards an accommodation with musicology. The vocal music was found to be fundamental to the essential characteristics of the Boer people. It allowed for affect and meaning in vocal music to be recognised as a tool that provided insight into the Boer psyche and the circumstances they had to face during the war.

7.4 VALUE OF THE STUDY

The study established new links between cultural history and musicology by mapping the aural void between these two disciplines. As such, it should be recommended reading for students and professionals in musicology and cultural history studies. It is important for an inter-disciplinary approach, showing how disciplines can inform and enrich each other.

An important aspect of the research was that it promoted an understanding of white South Africans and their circumstances during the war. In Chapter 1, under personal motivation, the researcher recognised the importance of a link between vocal music and cultural history in order to provide polarised societies in South Africa with a potent tool for understanding each other's circumstances. By recognising parallels, as expressed through song, between the experiences of mainly black South Africans during apartheid and white Boers during the Anglo-Boer War, vocal music could become a tool for reconciliation as well as allowing for an appreciation of cultural diversity in South Africa.

This was clearly demonstrated at a concert arranged by the singer, Jennifer Ferguson, in 1993. She attempted to bridge the seemingly gaping differences between white and black South Africans through this concert called *South Africa Love Workshop*, held at Johannesburg's Yard of Ale. Ferguson asked Sibongile Khumalo, the well-known Zulu contralto performer, to sing *My Sarie Marais*, "despite the fact that she has an ardent commitment to black South African identity" (Vinassa 1993:50). According to Ferguson (cited in Vinassa 1993:50) "there was a very excited reaction from the audience who clapped and sang along and who clearly found this song and others to be an unexpectedly powerful cathartic experience for the participants and audience". Sibongile Khumalo observed that "[o]nce I was familiar with the origin of the song, I became aware of the similarities of the black experience, to the emotions expressed by the songwriter of *My Sarie Marais*, about his oppression at the hands of the English. He was fighting for his motherland. History has been so distorted that these things come as a revelation" (Vinassa 1993:50).

This study thus attempts to expand discussion regarding the role of vocal music in the South African context and to open up new avenues of research and understanding.

7.5 CONCLUSION

This thesis has shown that music was not merely a form of leisure or entertainment for the Boers during the war. It was a tool that helped them cope with their circumstances and as such was a vital form of expression. The hypothesis posited in Chapter 1 was thus confirmed. By locating the lacuna between cultural history and musicology, it was possible to assess affect and meaning in the vocal music sung by the Boers. The establishment of a link between these disciplines also allowed for an understanding of the Boer psyche, as Boer vocal music articulated a wide spectrum of personal and communal perceptions and responses to unfolding events.

It is the intention of this thesis to encourage further research, as many aspects of Anglo-Boer War music mentioned in the delimitations of the study, remain outside the domain of the study. It is also important that findings and discussions regarding the war are kept interdisciplinary in order to allow music to take its rightful place as a vital form of human expression. This is stressed by Wilson-Dickson (1992:11): “Music’s power is diverse: it may merely entertain, but it can also excite, persuade, move and cure. It also acts upon its hearers in a number of ways: some react to it simply on an instinctive level, some search for clues about their very existence, others listen for messages about human behaviour.”

LIST OF SOURCES

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- 64 P.W. van Rensburg Accession
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- 393 O.J. van Schalkwyk Collection
Diary in 6 parts: O.J. van Schalkwyk
- 530 Van Toorenborg – Meerkamp Collection
530/38-41, Concert programmes in POW Camps
- 1261 D. Gericke Collection
Diary: C.H. West from Senekal
- 1475 Buijtendorf Accession
1475/10, Souvenir by N. Buijtendorf of internship on St. Helena
- 1647 Thom Collection
1647/2, National Anthem of the OFS translated by E. Liviga, Colombo
Camp
- 3079 Van der Merwe Collection
Diary: H.P. van der Merwe Camp in Ceylon
- 3106 Moodie Collection
3106/10-12, Concert programmes, Deadwood Camp, St Helena
- 3232 Holtzhuizen Collection
3232/2, Notebook with songs: E.J. Holtzhuizen
- 3238 H.J. Storm Accession
3238/2, Songbook: compiled in Diyatalawa Camp
3238/3, Diary: H.J. Storm
- 3419 Mrs H. van Heerden Collection
3419/9, Songs: compiled by J.A. Herholdt, Diyatalawa Camp

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- 3451 Mrs M. Grimm Accession
3451/1, Songbook: compiled by J.A. Grimm in St Helena Camp
- 3465 C.R. Swart Collection
Diary: A.F. Geyer, journey to St Helena
- 3485 Accession
Diary: Johannes Jacobus Steenkamp, Diyatalawa Camp
- 3587 3587/19, Programme African-American Minstrel Group, Diyatalawa Camp
- 3766 Warmenhoven Collection
3766/1, Songbook: songs sung by *Excelsior Zangvereeniging* directed by
C. Nieuwenhuizen in Shahjahanpur, India
3766/2, Notes about singing by J.J. van Niekerk, during internship in
Shahjahanpur, India
- 3974 3974/6, P.P. du Plessis Collection
Songbook: compiled by H. du Plessis in Diyatalawa Camp
- 4029 4029/1, Mrs. J.M. du Plessis Collection
Songbook belonging to J.H. Becker, Diyatalawa Camp
- 4203 P.H.H. Fick Collection
Diary: P.H.H. Fick in Diyatalawa Camp
- 4208 Accession
Diary in memoirs of C.M. Roos
- 4283 L.J. Greyling Accession
Diary: L.J. Greyling in Diyatalawa Camp
- 4290 Sarel Viljoen Collection
4290/3, Diary: Sarel Viljoen in Morgan's Island Camp, Bermuda
4290/4, Songbook: compiled by Sarel Viljoen in Morgan's Island Camp,
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- 4292 C.I.J. de Jager Accession
4292/3, Songbook
- 4411 Prinsloo Collection
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- 4502 Geldenhuys Collection
Diaries: J. Geldenhuys in Umballa and Mrs A.E. Geldenhuys in Kroonstad
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- 4510 Accession
Diary: L.M.E. Brink in Diyatalawa Camp
- 4528 Accession
Diary: J. Teengs from Klerksdorp in Broadbottom Camp, St Helena
- 4641 Van Niekerk Collection
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- 4663 Aucamp Collection
4663/1, Song sung during Anglo Boer War
- 4709 Voortrekker Museum Collection
Diary: Dirk Coetzee, Bermuda Camp
- 4789 Mrs E.C. Lombaard
Diary: C. von Maltitz during stay in Green Point and Trichinopoly Camps
- 4815 D.P. Ackerman Collection
4815/12, Concert programmes: Diyatalawa Camp
- 5074 van Blerk Accession
5074/5, Book: Rev J.A. van Blerk about life in the Bermudas
- 5103 A. Bezuidenhout Collection
Diary: G. van Tonder in Green Point and Trichinopoly Camp
- 5141 NAML Collection
Diary: H de Graaf
- 5301 De Klerk Collection
Diaries: J.J. de Klerk of his experiences on the field and his journey to
Ceylon
- 5362 C.B. Burgers Accession
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- 5423 C.A.R. Schulenburg Collection
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- 5447 P. de Wit Collection
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- 5469 H.J. Stander Accession
5469/1, Songbook: compiled by R.D. van Wyk, Diyatalawa Camp

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- 5557 Accession
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- 5701 Mrs D.R. Fourie Accession
5701/1, Songbook: compiled by J.J.J. van Noordwyk in Shahjahanpur
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- 5703 Venter Collection
Diary: J.H. Visser, kept on commando
- 5709 5709/1, J.H. O'Reilly Accession
Songbook: compiled by J.H. O'Reilly in Diyatalawa Camp
- 5795 Accession
Diary: M.G. Schoeman in Trichinopoly Camp
- 5797 Accession
Diary: J. van der Walt
- 5832 5832/28, Mrs. S. Postma Collection
Sheet music: "*Des Krijgsman's Wachtwoord*"
- 5848 G.C. Cillié Collection
5848/1, Songbook: compiled by D. Rothman, Shahjahanpur Camp
5848/38, Songbook: W.C. Cilliers, Morgan's Island Camp
5848 [no number], Songbook: Almero du Plessis
- 5907 Accession
Diary: F.W. Holloway from the Volunteer Ambulance Corps on the Natal
front
- 5947 Accession
Diary: Florence Shires of Brooklands, Sabie
- 5957 Accession
Diary: J.P.T. Theron, later secretary of the Executive Council of the *OFS*
- 5978 Accession
Diary: Adriana S. Coetzee in Pietermaritzburg Camp
- 6024 Accession
Diary: C. P. Pretorius Diyatalawa Camp
- 6026 H.H. van Niekerk Collection
Diary: H.H. van Niekerk, Diyatalawa Camp

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- 6032 K. Schoeman Accession
6032/1, Diary: Elsa Levisieur 1899 – 1900
6032/2, Diary: Clara Levisieur from Aug. 1899
6032/3, Diary: Sophie Levisieur 1900
- 6071 Accession
Diary: J.G.T. Prozesky in Diyatalawa Camp
- 6102 Van Zeyl Collection
Diary: T.J. Curran in Welikada Prison during exile in Diyatalawa Camp
- 6127 C.S. Smith Accession
6127/1, Concert Programme of concert held in Ragama Camp, by
“Internasionale Mannen Koor”
- 6133 B.S. Roberts Collection
Diary: K.S. de Haas in Morgans Island Camp
- 6149 Evert Collection
Diary: J.P. Watson on commando and in Diyatalawa Camp
- 6201 A.G. Wiggill Collection
6201/3, Concert programme: Farewell concert given by Boers, Diyatalawa
Camp, 21.6.1902
- 6203 D.J. Smuts Accession
6203/2, Memoirs: D.J. Smuts, Ahmednagar Camp
- 6220 D.J. Venter Accession
6220/1, Songbook: compiled by S.J. Venter, Green Point Camp
- 6252 Spies Collection
6252/2, Songbook: M.I. Cronje, Morgans Island Camp
- 6305 Buijs Accession
6305/1 Diary: Johannes Christoffel Buijs
- 6350/2 *Oranje-Vrijstaatsehe Oorlogs Lieder-Bundel*
- 6890 6890/49, Concert programme on board “Aurania” October 1902.

FREE STATE ARCHIVES DEPOT, BLOEMFONTEIN (FAD)

- A5 G.A. Fichardt Collection
Newspaper cuttings
Miscellaneous re the Anglo-Boer War
- A10 Historical Commission of the Saamwerk-Unie Collection
1: Diary: J.A. du Toit
2: Memoirs: J.C. Pretorius
- A12 G.H. van Rooyen Collection
Records from *Christelyke Bibliotheek der krygsgevangenen*,
Diyatalawa, Ceylon, 1900-1901. Names of prisoners of war, hut
numbers, signatures, poems and choir music.
- A60 Sen D.J. Malan Collection
Diary: D.J. Malan, two volumes
- A80 Diverse
Anthem of the Orange Free State
- A84 M.J. de Kock Accession
Memoirs: Michiel de Kock, Ahmednagar Camp
- A113 M.L. Smidt Collection
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- A155 War Museum Collection
A155/29/1, Mrs de Poruin Accession
Diary: H. Schoeman, Diyatalawa Camp
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A155/68/2, War memoirs of a few burghers
A155/75, Programme Religious Concert, Diyatalawa Camp
A155/83, Programme Minstrel Concert, Green Point Camp Accession
A155/97, J.H.Z. Kock Collection
A155/97/1, Some papers re the Anglo-Boer War

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- A155/98, G.W.J. Kooy Collection
A155/98/1, Diary: G.W.J. Kooy
- A155/105, D.A. Lambrecht Accession
Journal of Reddersburg Debating Society
- A155/130, Mrs Hester Muller Accession
Songs and poems written down in Bethulie Concentration camp
- A155/131, F.J.M. Muller Accession
A155/131/1: Concert programme: Deadwood Camp
A155/131/2: Concert programme: Diyatalawa Camp
- A155/133, Mrs H. Naude Accession
A155/133/1: Correspondence
A155/133/2: Cuttings collected in England during the War.
- A155/134, Mrs Tom Naude Accession
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A155/134/2, Memoirs: Mrs F.J. Bezuidenhoudt of Klerksdorp
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A155/202/2: Songbook: compiled by van Rensburg in Diyatalawa Camp
- A155/204, G.J. van Riet Accession
Miscellaneous documents and correspondence
- A155/211, M. van Toorenberg-Meerkamp van Embden Accession
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- A155/217, J.J. van Wyk Accession
A155/217/1, Concert Programmes: Diyatalawa Camp
- A155/223, J.J. Venter Collection
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- A167 J. Arndt Collection
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- A182 Mrs Roos Collection
A182/1, Diary: Thomas Brain
A182/3, "*Kampregulasies voor Jongens, 1899 – 1902*"
- A185 C. Fitzroy Accession
A185/2, Newspapers: Diyatalawa Camp
- A190 J.S.M. Rabie Collection
Newspaper, *De Strever*, 22 February 1902
A190/8, Newspapers, Camps
- A204 P. de Waal Accession
A204/2, Memoirs: Cmdt J.P. Nesor
- A224 Mrs H. van der Watt Accession
A224/1, Photocopy of concert programme in Diyatalawa Camp
- A232 H.S. Erasmus Accession
A232/1, Correspondence: W.J. Erasmus and W. Erasmus
- A234 M. Basson Accession
Manuscript of autobiography of Mostert
- A235 A.P. de Villiers Accession
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- A247 H.L. van der Merwe Accession
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- A248 Mrs Bettie Venter Accession
Diary: Elizabeth Susanna Grobbelaar
- A252 G.J. Reitz Accession
A252/1, Diary: G.J. van Riet written on board "Montrose" to Bermudas
A252/2, Newspaper cuttings about Bermuda and prisoners of war
- A261 Dr P.J. Venter Accession
Letters and Diary: F.P. Venter
- A286 Mrs P.U. Fischer - Collection
A286/5, Notes about Anglo-Boer War by C.J. Reitz.
A286/18, President Steyn's speech at the unveiling of the *Vroue Monument*
- A288 Sergeant A.A.J. Brits Accession
History book with notes by Johannes Petrus Brits

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- A289 Renier Collection
1: Miscellaneous correspondence
2: War memoirs of a few burghers
3: War memoirs told to H.B. Conradie in 1961 by L. Lombaard, L. Jansen van Rensburg, H. Schoeman, P. Spies, C.J.P. Schoeman, F. de Jager, G. Jansen van Vuuren, J. Malan, O. Bergman and a British soldier
- A296 H. de Booy Collection
Scrapbooks
- A305 (Genl) Rev P. Roux Collection
1: Notebook: Roux
2: Newspaper, *De Strever*
- A353 A.G.H. van der Walt Collection
Diary: J.N. van der Walt
- A379 J.P.J. Hugo Accession
Songbook: compiled by J.J. Henning
- A391 J.B. de Villiers Accession
Miscellaneous Documents
- A621 Prof A.W.G. Raath Accession
Articles re the Anglo-Boer War
A. Stopford-Green [a]: "A visit to Boer prisoners at St Helena" (The Nineteenth Century)
A. Stopford-Green [b]: "Our Boer prisoners" (The Nineteenth Century)
K.W. Elwes: "The Boer prisoners in Bermuda" (Fortnightly Review)
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- 559 (1): Manuscript music: JHL Schumann, composed in Deadwood Prisoner of War Camp, St Helena
(2): Manuscript music: JHL Schumann, composed in Deadwood Prisoner of War Camp, St Helena
(3): Manuscript music: JHL Schumann, composed in Deadwood Prisoner of War Camp, St Helena.

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- B34 Diary: M.J. Cronje, Morgans Island, Bermudas
Miscellaneous: Vocal music and poems about the death of P. Cronje
- B100 *Het Boek Salmen nevens de Gesangen.* Amsterdam: Bijbel-Companie, 1884
- B102[a] *Gezangen Zions: Lieder ten Gebruik voor Godsdienstoeningen.*
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- A140 Dr F.V. Engelenburg Collection
Miscellaneous documents and correspondence
- A247 Saamwerk-Unie Accession
Memoirs: P.W. du Toit
- A412 Genl S.W. Burger Collection
Miscellaneous Papers, 1881-1922

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- A449 Secretary of Education, Art and Science Accession
1: *Het Volkslied*
2: *Volkslied van den Oranjevrijstaat*
- A460 R. Boyd Accession
POW camp publications
- A462 M. Miller Accession
Diary: P.G. Horse
- A465 Dr F. van der Merwe Accession
Boereliedjies
465/63: Memoirs: C.S. Roodt, Hawkin's Island, Bermudas
- A564 A.F. Geyer Accession
War Memoirs: Geyer
- A565 J.P. van den Berg Accession
Newspaper, *De Boer*, 30 September 1913
- A787 Dr G.S. Preller Collection
63: Diary: A.P. Roos
- A1000 Mrs H.J. Nell Accession
Diary: H.B. Rothman
- A1116 F.A. Steytler Collection
4: Papers re the Anglo-Boer War
- A1130 H. Betist Accession
Diary: H. Betist
- A1221 Rev H. Martins Collection
1: Autobiographical work by Martins
2: Pioneer's work by Martins
3: Memoirs: H.P. Potgieter
- A1242 Dr A.J. van Rooy Accession
Diary: J.J. Heijnecke
- A1340 A.D.R. Bisschop Accession
Miscellaneous re the Anglo-Boer War

- A1361 Dinah Badenhorst Collection
1: Private correspondence between Miss Bredell and Johannes Bredell re War
2: Camp diary: Miss Bredell
3: Songs and poems
- A1362 Genl Piet Joubert Collection
Letter by Genl Joubert's daughter
- A1396 E. Levin Accession
1396/1 Articles by R.L. Brohier on Boer prisoners of war in Ceylon
- A1443 HSRC Accession
1: Copy of memoirs: D.R. Joubert
2: Diary: W.H.A. Caine
- A1445 Miss Anna Bender Accession
Sheet music: *Salut au President Kruger*
- A1460 P.F. Visser Accession
Anglo-Boer War diary
- A1463 Mrs C.J. Hoogendijk Collection
1: Notebook and funeral letter of Wouter Kirstein
2: Words to a song by Wouter Kirstein
- A1507 P.F. de B. Tengbergen Accession
Hymnbook, printed for prisoners of war, Bermuda
- A1531 F.A. Truscott Accession
Miscellaneous collection Fred Truscott re Anglo-Boer War
- A1580 Dr Jan Lion Cachet Accession
1: Letters: Maré sisters re Anglo-Boer War
2: Letters: P.J.E. Erasmus
- A1644 Archive of the Dutch Corps
Miscellaneous documents, lists and registers
- A1651 J.F. van Staden Accession
Memoirs: J.F. van Staden, Bermuda
- A1653 Mrs J.J. Marnewick Accession
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- A1661 Miss H. Redelinghuys Accession
Diary: Flip du Plessis
- A1665 C.A. van Zyl Accession
Diary: C.A. van Zyl
- A1671 G.D.S. van Heerden Accession
Sheet music: *Terug na Kommando*, by Jan Swart
- A1672 Anglo-Boer War Accession
1: Diary: M.T. Sluiter
2: Travel journal, notebooks and correspondence
3: Two copies of the newspaper "The Captive"
- A1679 G. Diamond Accession
Notes and War Memoirs: J.F. van Staden and Mrs E.A.G. Boshoff and
M.H.J. van Staden
- A1683 Rev H. Martins Collection
Articles and correspondence by Rev Martins
- A1695 HSRC Accession
Memories of her youth by C.M. van Niekerk re Anglo-Boer War
- A1700 Mrs A. de Lange Accession
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- A1727 Mrs M Spies Accession
1: Personal documents of Maartin Spies, Diyatalawa and Ragama Camps
3: POW Camp Newspaper
- A1751 G.T. Lindique Accession
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- A1793 E.L. Marais Accession
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- A1848 Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon
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- A1850 Mrs M.M. Green Accession
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- A1887 Ross and van Oostrum family Accession
A1887/1: Memoirs: Rev David Ross
A1887/2: Memoirs: J.L., L.J. and O. Oostrum

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- W38 P.N. van Rensburg Accession
Diary: P.N. van Rensburg
- W81 Viljoen Accession
81/3: M.J. Viljoen
Notebook: June - Aug 1901, No. 1
Diaries: 04.01.1900 - 05.06.1902, Nos. 2 - 10
81/4: H.P.N. Viljoen
Diaries: 20.5.1900 - 21.02.1902, Nos. 1 - 5
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