

The History of the Clarinet in South Africa

by Becky L. Steltzner

M.Mus. (University of Southern California)

Thesis Presented in partial fulfilment of the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the

South African College of Music

Faculty of Humanities

University of Cape Town

February 2016

Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Rebekka Sandmeier

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

Copyright © 2016 Becky L. Steltzner

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Abstract

This thesis explores and traces the history of the clarinet in South Africa. After discussing the problems of researching western European music history in South Africa from the arrival of the Dutch in 1652, and briefly summarising that music history up to the first clarinet reference, the thesis goes through the existing clarinet references. These have been sourced from travellers' journals, newspapers, military histories, other theses, etc., with particular emphasis on the 19th century, since the clarinet was introduced to South Africa near the beginning of it, and the most unknown part of the clarinet's South African history is within it. The references are noted, discussed, and where possible, the performers' biographical details are given and discussed. This carries through to the beginning of the 20th century, at which point South Africa got its first professional symphony orchestra, and first College of Music. From here, the clarinet is deemed to be more readily available, so at this point, the focus changes to South African compositions for clarinet. Finally, a case study is done on Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle, who was the first clarinet soloist to visit South Africa, as well as one of the most interesting and mysterious characters encountered in this research.

Declaration

I,, , hereby declare that the work on which this thesis is based is my original work (except where acknowledgements indicate otherwise) and that neither the whole work nor any part of it has been, is being, or is to be submitted for another degree in this or any other university. I authorise the University to reproduce for the purpose of research either the whole or any portion of the contents in any manner whatsoever.

Signature:..... Date:

Becky L. Steltzner

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following people:

Professor Dr. Rebekka Sandmeier, my supervisor, whose insight gave clarity and direction to the whole project. It was refreshing always to walk out of a supervision session less worried, and more motivated, than I was going in.

Felicity Grové, whose editing made my strange mixture of American and British English consistent.

Rev. Gedeon Cloete of The Moravian Church Archives (SA), for giving permission to print the portion of the Genadendal diaries that include the clarinet reference.

Antoinette Lohmann, who helped me with many of the old Dutch translations, which were by no means easy for me.

Prof. Nigel Worden, of the Department of Historical Studies at the University of Cape Town, for giving insight into whether Leibbrandt's translations were affected by his bias toward Willem Adriaan van der Stel.

Carika Smit, who did much translation from Afrikaans into English; these translations will be of use to not just me, but many other people in the future. She also did the tedious and menial work of checking the citations for inaccuracies.

Lucia Di Blasio-Scott, who helped me with some Italian translation.

Natalie Lawrenson, who mobilised her family to find her grandfather's piece (Lemmer, *Romance in C*) for clarinet and piano.

Lastly, I would like to thank my husband, Mike Nixon, whose support was invaluable, and whose ability to cook meant that I was well fed throughout the degree.

While I am relatively certain the major events have been found, there will always be more that can be read, so there is the possibility that earlier dates will be found, more clarinetists will be identified, and more details of concerts and pieces played will be unearthed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1,	Introduction	1
Chapter 2,	Literature Review	11
Chapter 3,	Problems of Researching Music History in South Africa	25
Chapter 4,	Preliminary Considerations:	
	a) Where to start looking	41
	b) Where clarinets were not found.....	45
Chapter 5,	Western European Instrumental Music in the Early Colony	51
Chapter 6,	The First Woodwinds in South Africa.....	55
	a) The appearance of the first western European woodwinds—oboes.....	55
	b) Flutes, fifes, and Huguenots	60
Chapter 7,	Potential Clarinet References from the Late Dutch Period to the Final British Takeover	67
Chapter 8,	The Earliest Clarinet References in South Africa, 1803-1850	75
Chapter 9,	The Clarinet References in the Second Half of the 19 th Century	97
Chapter 10,	The Increasing Prevalence of the Clarinet in 20 th -Century South Africa:	
	a) Performances in the First Half of the 20 th Century.....	131
	b) Compositions for Clarinet	141
Chapter 11,	Case Study: Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle	149
Chapter 12,	Conclusion	165
Appendix 1,	Creative Component Programmes.....	169
Appendix 2,	Chronological Database of 19th-Century Clarinet References in South Africa	181
Bibliography	201

Figures

Figure 1,	Moravian diary extract showing the clarinet played on 31 December 1807	83
Figure 2,	Title page of Iwan Müller’s <i>Concerto no.3</i>	100
Figure 3,	Page 1 of the “Clarinetto Principale” part of Iwan Müller’s <i>Concerto no.3</i>	100
Figure 4,	Advertisement for E.A. Lefebvre, in <i>Cape Annual Advertiser</i>	103
Figure 5,	Photograph of the band of the 24 th Regiment	106
Figure 6,	<i>Natal Witness</i> advertisement for 6 February 1869 20 th Regiment Band concert	113
Figure 7,	<i>Natal Witness</i> advertisement for 6 March 1869 20 th Regiment Band concert	113
Figure 8,	<i>Natal Witness</i> advertisement for 3 April 1869 20 th Regiment Band concert	114
Figure 9,	<i>The Journal</i> , advertisement for Madame Bishop with “Clarionet Obligato”	116
Figure 10,	Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi, <i>Gratias Agimus Tibi</i> , manuscript	117
Figure 11,	<i>The Natal Witness</i> , and <i>Agricultural and Commercial Advertiser</i> , advertisement for Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle concert.....	155

Chapter 1 Introduction

There is a need for the historical study of individual instruments in South Africa, because the only studies of this kind to date have been general, either to an instrument group, e.g. wind instruments, or military bands in South Africa, or to a city such as Durban, Grahamstown, Johannesburg, or Port Elizabeth, or to a region such as the West Transvaal, or to a genre such as chamber music in South Africa.¹

As for the clarinet, the specific studies that have been done on it in South Africa are either purely repertoire- or technique-based.² There are South African papers that have dealt with history of the clarinet in Europe,³ but none that cover specifically South African history.

Further, with regard to information available on the clarinet in South Africa, some published information is entirely incorrect, starting with a date for its arrival in South Africa that is 30-40 years before its invention,⁴ and continuing with incorrect information about the first clarinet recitalist.⁵ These examples will be discussed in more detail later, but clearly, a more thorough and accurate version of the clarinet's presence in South Africa is needed.

Why study European instruments at all in South Africa?

South Africa is a mixed society, and has been for over three and a half centuries. Today, young people have the choice of studying either European or African music, or both. As long as playing any instrument is a career option, the study of that instrument remains relevant.

1 Jooste, *Westerse Blaasinstrumentspel en -onderrig in Suid-Afrika van 1652 tot 1902: 'n Kultuurhistoriese Evaluering*; Imrie, *The Military Band in South Africa*; Jackson, *Music in Durban from 1850 to 1900* (this Ph.D. thesis was later published in an abridged version); Bromberger, *Music in Grahamstown 1812-1862*; Radloff, *Music in Grahamstown 1863-1879*; Johnson, *Music in Grahamstown 1814-1918*; Sparrow, *Music in Grahamstown 1880-1900*; Wolpowitz, *James & Kate Hyde and the development of music in Johannesburg up to the First World War*; Troskie, *The Musical Life of Port Elizabeth 1875-1900*; Voorendyk, *Die Musiekgeskiedenis van Wes-Transvaal (1838-1960)*; Krynaauw, *Suid-Afrikaanse kamermusiek: 'n historiese oorsig en evaluasie van geselekteerde werke*.

2 Hartshorne, *Die komposisies vir klarinet van Suid-Afrikaanse komponiste*; Webb, *An Annotated catalogue of selected works for clarinet by South African Composers*; De Villiers, *Clarinet tone production: an acoustical approach*.

3 Wei, *The historical development of the clarinet with specific reference to its musical repertoire*; Olivier, *The clarinet as an orchestral instrument in the years 1690 to 1830: technical, artistic, and historical developments*; Olivier, *The Clarinet as a chamber music instrument in England from 1850 to 1985*.

4 Imrie, *The Military Band in South Africa*, p.8.

5 Jackson, *Music in Durban* (book), p.14.

Methodology

The methodology for this thesis was to read as much primary historical material as possible, and note the references to clarinet, as well as other woodwind instruments, in order to build up the knowledge base. In the earliest period of the clarinet and its predecessor, the chalumeau, the players were other wind players who “doubled”, in other words, played several instruments, so the other woodwind instruments need to be explored. For example, the oboe/clarinet pairing was a common one. Historical clarinet specialist Albert Rice states that the “orchestral musician did not specialise in a single instrument until the 19th cent.”,⁶ and several of the earliest chalumeau and clarinet parts in operas involve only one or two arias played while other wind instruments are tacet. In many cases, these operas have oboe or recorder parts, so it would have been logical for these musicians to play the chalumeau parts.

Thus, the groups of woodwind instruments are intertwined. In looking for clarinetists in this period, a look at oboists or other woodwind players might well give some leads. In this thesis, woodwind instruments other than the clarinet are discussed fairly thoroughly for the first reference, and then not again unless it is tied to the clarinet directly.

In addition, the discussion of this period also proves that enough material was scrutinised to gain a relatively solid confirmation that clarinets did not exist in it.

Problems of researching

Before discussing the references, a chapter is given on the problems of researching. It is important to remember that, especially the earliest period of South African history has its own distinct set of problems of researching: no newspapers, a relatively illiterate society, very few journals or letters written compared to the size of the society, etc. Conclusions cannot always be drawn because of this lack of references. In several cases, a conclusion can only be listed as “probable”. Even after 1800, there is always a remote chance that clarinets might have existed within South Africa, but not recorded. Throughout both of these periods, issues arose of whether translations are correct, or instruments correctly identified. At best, the statement “there were no clarinets in South Africa before 1803” is “almost” certainly correct, but subsequent research may unearth an obscure reference from before 1803.

⁶ Rice, *The Baroque Clarinet*, p.138, footnote 1.

Defining the periods to be looked at

The first period to be looked at is 1652-1803; this is the period in which no clarinets were found. However, this will be subdivided in order to deal with the subjects of oboes, flutes, and foreign regiments. The 19th century will be divided into two halves; the second half of the century is where travelling soloists start visiting South Africa. The 20th century will contain a discussion of the first professional orchestra and music college; at this point the clarinet is deemed more readily available. The breakdown is thus:

1652-1685	no woodwind instruments found at all, but a cursory discussion of what instruments were at the Cape.
1685-1750	discussion of oboes
1688-1781	discussion of flutes and fifes, with particular emphasis on 1705 (the first flute reference), and a summary at the end stating that from 1705, the instrumentation at the Cape will be relatively stable with no new instruments until the end of the century.
1781-1803	no clarinets found in definite references, but some possibilities are discussed due to the influx of musicians in foreign regiments, as well as the change of government, which marks changes in society, and therefore, a fresh influx of musical ideas, and hence, instruments.
1803-1850	the first definite clarinet reference, a discussion of where it could have come from, and other clarinet references in the first half of the 19 th century.
1850-1900	the clarinet references in the second half of the century; the pace picks up, and the beginning of this period marks the occurrence of the first travelling clarinet soloist to visit South Africa.
20 th century	the establishment of the first professional orchestra, and the first music college, i.e. professional music training.

Materials used

A detailed discussion of the materials will be done in the Literature Review. Briefly, the materials are mostly government documents, archival material such as deceased estate inventories and auction lists, travellers' or residents' journals, and newspapers. These are mostly considered primary references, with the exception that some travellers took material from other writers without citing them. In some cases, the source of the material is known and the traveller's "account" can be identified as secondary. In other cases, it is difficult to tell.

Secondary references have only been used if primary resources were not available. For this reason, general histories of South Africa have been used for background information only.

Detailing all the individual issues of the newspapers in the bibliography will make it too lengthy, so the bibliography lists only the name and place of publication of the newspaper. The individual issue dates will be in the chapter footnotes.

While on the subject of the newspapers, much of this research would not have been possible, or at least not as thorough, without the current commitment toward digitisation that many libraries are showing, especially with their older collections. The Australians in particular have put much of their newspaper archives on to the internet in a word-searchable form, and it was this collection that made it possible to prove that Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle could not have been the clarinetist/saxophonist who was on Jullien's tour of America, which in turn solved a mystery over a pseudonym.⁷

Analysis of the material

With all references, once found, the next step was to ascertain how likely it was that the named instruments were accurately identified, or if the names were generic (e.g. *fluit*), to try to ascertain more specifically what the instruments are. Where the original text was in an English translation, the original text was checked to see whether the translation was accurate. Because inaccurate translations were encountered on several occasions, the original instrument names will be put in square brackets after the translated words.

Especially for generic words, it also involved looking at the type of usage, e.g. military usage vs. more of a concert usage, indoors or outdoors, etc. Where a person was identified as playing the instrument, as much information as possible was sourced on that person.

⁷ On the other hand, unless digitisation is done carefully, and this also applies to microfilms and microfiches, the material is incomplete. Many of the microfilms of South African newspapers have been done in such a way that margins are cut off, or a light setting was chosen for page one, but not checked again after that, and because papers and inks all darken or fade at different rates, many subsequent pages are unreadable. The microfilm is assumed to be "complete", but in fact is not. Yet again, where digitisation has not been done at all, researchers are stuck with having to travel to an archive, which may or may not be feasible, and deal with the (disintegrating) physical material. Depending on the age of that material, it may not stand up to being handled. It was more than a little heartbreaking to pick up a bound set of 19th century newspapers in Pietermaritzburg, only to have many small bits of paper—corners of the newspapers—fly off and on to the ground. By the time this material is digitised, much of it will be missing.

Structure of the thesis

The study starts with a literature review, and then details the problems of researching. After this, the periods given above are explored; the references are listed and discussed as the history is built up, with particular emphasis on the 19th century. After the early 1900s, the clarinet was being played professionally within South Africa, and was more readily available, so the part of the study dealing with the introduction and growth in popularity has been mostly fulfilled. A short chapter follows summarising developments in the 20th century.

After this, there is a chapter on South African compositions for clarinet, because it is a mark of an instrument's prevalence that compositions are written for it on a regular basis. In addition, there are some pieces which previous researchers missed,⁸ and many that have been written since those studies were done. The theses dealing with South African repertoire will be discussed briefly, in order to avoid duplicating too much information, and then a selection of pieces outside those theses will be explored. Last is a case study of Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle, who belongs in the second half of the 19th century, but is so enigmatic, and there is so much material on him, that it was less disruptive to the chronological flow to mention him in Chapter 9, and then deal with him separately.

Creative component

For the practice-based part of this research, five recitals were given. To integrate research and practice, some works were chosen to match a specific reference, and others were chosen because they were the type of general repertoire that would have been played by any of the professionals, students or good amateurs working or studying within South Africa. These were found mostly on lists of works recorded at the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), or on current and historical examination and diploma syllabi from the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM), the University of South Africa (UNISA), or Trinity College London; ABRSM in particular has given exams in South Africa since 1894, initially in conjunction with UNISA. In two cases, pieces were chosen because they were premières of new South African works, which brings the repertoire up to date as of 2014.⁹

8 The basic surveys of clarinet repertoire written in South Africa were done by Leon Hartshorne, *Die Komposisies vir Klarinet van Suid-Afrikaanse Komponiste* (M.Mus. thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1989), and Clare Webb, *An Annotated Catalogue of Selected Works for Clarinet by South African Composers* (M.Mus. minor dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2005).

9 Hofmeyr, *Concerto for Clarinet and Orchestra*, and Hofmeyr, *Sonata for clarinet and piano*, though in the case of the Sonata, the full première had taken place slightly previous to the lecture-demonstration, and only one movement was repeated in the lecture-demonstration, in order to give more lecture time.

Only three works, out of 23 performed, did not match a specific reference. One of these was intended as a substitution to ameliorate the proportionally large number of references to 19th-century paraphrases of opera tunes, or works in the *Air Varié* format, because modern audiences will consider large amounts of that style to be unbalanced programming. Therefore, only one piece was chosen to represent that style, Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle's *Souvenir de Cap de Bonne Esperance*; this was also chosen because it represents a *Souvenir* of South Africa, and was performed by one of the visiting artists. To bring in another virtuosic work from the French school of playing that many of the *Air Varié* type of piece come from, Paul Jeanjean's *Deux Pièces (Andantino et Scherzo Brillante)* was played, and the fact that this is a later, impressionist-influenced piece balanced the periods better. The two pieces that did not relate to any reference were Aleksandr Gedike's *2 Pieces, op.28 (Nocturne and Etude)*, and Gregorio Sciroli's *Sonata in B-flat*. These short pieces were chosen to balance programmes and required timings.

The early part of the clarinet history was impossible to match exactly, because some pieces were not identified fully or at all. For example, the music in the very first performance in South Africa is totally unidentified, but since the source mentions marches and dances, a march by Ludwig van Beethoven and a minuet by Vincenzo Righini were chosen, because they match the 1803 instrumentation. Similarly, one of Jean-Xavier Lefèvre's concertos was played in Cape Town in 1826, but he wrote at least six, and the Cape Town programme does not identify which one. The fourth was chosen, based on the availability of orchestral parts.

The same happens with Romantic and 20th-century music—some pieces are identified, and others not. So for example, the titles of the works performed by Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle in Pietermaritzburg were advertised, but other concerts did not have such extensive advertisements, and neither the advertisements nor the reviews mention specific titles.

The first Doctoral recital, a chamber recital, was Messiaen's *Quartet for the End of Time*. While it is unlikely that this work was performed in South Africa any time close to the date of its composition, it was performed in the mid-1970s in Cape Town,¹⁰ and also broadcast on Radio South Africa on 11 May 1990.¹¹

10 Van Schalkwyk, e-mail to the author, 7 September 2015. Though the concert date of the concert is not certain, the performers were Pierre de Groote, Oliver de Groote, Eric Martens, and Lamar Crowson.

11 SABC, Archive List of Clarinet Recordings, 2015.

The second recital was a solo recital that included Johannes Brahms' *Sonata in F Minor*, op.120 no.1. Apart from the fact that this work is standard repertoire that any professional must know, and any advanced clarinet student would learn, it is on all the exam syllabi, and appears eight times on the SABC recording and broadcast list.¹² A standard repertoire item from the late 20th century was Robert Muczynski's *Time Pieces*, which has been on both the ABRSM FRSM (Fellowship of the Royal Schools of Music) list from at least 2005 and the Trinity FTCL (Fellow of Trinity College London) list from 2009.¹³ The other two pieces on this programme were the Jeanjean and Sciroli works mentioned above.

The third recital, also a solo recital, included two works that appear on the SABC recording and broadcast list: Arthur Benjamin's *Le Tombeau de Ravel*, and Witold Lutosławski's *Dance Preludes*.¹⁴ Other works on this recital were Béla Kovács' *Hommage à J.S. Bach* and *Hommage à M. de Falla* as well as Charles V. Stanford's *Sonata* op.129; all five are standard repertoire that are on various syllabi, and have been played many times in South Africa.¹⁵

The fourth recital was the world première of Hendrik Hofmeyr's *Concerto for Clarinet*, at the time, the latest addition to South African clarinet repertoire. The fifth recital was a lecture-demonstration in which everything on the programme was something that had appeared in the chronology of the South African clarinet references, with particular emphasis on three areas: a) the 19th century references, particularly the earliest ones and the known solo performances; b) the earliest compositions written in South Africa, or by South Africans, for solo clarinet;¹⁶ and c) the latest composition (as of that recital date) written by a South African.¹⁷

12 In its entirety, this work was on both the UNISA Performers' Licentiate and Teachers' Licentiate from at least as far back as 1989 (UNISA, *Woodwind Examination Syllabuses [. . .] 1989*, p.72-73); it was on the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music LRSM and FRSM lists from 2005 (ABRSM, *Diploma Repertoire Lists*, 2005, p.66); it is on the Trinity College LTCL (Trinity College London, *Diplomas in Music: Performance and Teaching*, from 2009, p.45); it is also on the SABC, *Archive List of Clarinet Recordings*, 2015.

13 ABRSM, *Diploma Repertoire Lists*, 2005, p.67; Trinity College London, *Diplomas in Music: Performance and Teaching*, from 2009, p.45.

14 SABC, *Archive List of Clarinet Recordings*, 2015.

15 For example, Benjamin's *Tombeau de Ravel* is on the ABRSM FRSM lists from 2005 (ABRSM, *Diploma Repertoire Lists*, 2005, p.66), and on the Trinity College LTCL (Trinity College London, *Diplomas in Music: Performance and Teaching*, from 2009, p.45). The Stanford *Sonata* in its entirety is on the ABRSM DipABRSM lists from 2005 (ABRSM, *Diploma Repertoire Lists*, 2005, p.65). UNISA has Kovács' *Hommage à J.S. Bach* on its Advanced Certificate in Performance from 2012, and *Hommage à M. de Falla* on its Performer's Assessment also from 2012 (UNISA, *Woodwind Syllabus: 2012 until further notice*, pp.84 and 89 respectively).

16 One of these, Priaux Rainier's *Suite for Clarinet and Piano* is also on UNISA's Performer's Assessment from 2012 (UNISA, *Woodwind Syllabus: 2012 until further notice*, p.73).

17 As will be seen in Chapter 10, there have been at least four solo clarinet compositions written since then.

All periods relevant to the clarinet were covered, and a movement of a new South African piece (the world première of which had been given a short while before) was added to bring the timeline up to the present. Given that there was a lecture involved, in order to get through more of the chronology, there was not enough time to do full pieces. So where pieces had multiple movements, only single movements were played.

Connections from specific references to recitals will be made as the references come up, and will be put in footnotes, if it would disrupt the flow of the text to do otherwise. Full programmes are given in an appendix. A further appendix will list the 19th-century clarinet references in a database. This will be useful, as it can be added to as further references are found, so eventually an even fuller picture will emerge.

Drawing conclusions

In some cases, conclusions are difficult to draw, as information is incomplete. For example, there are copies of the newspaper *The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser* and its Dutch counterpart, the *Kaapsche Stads Courant, en Afrikaansche Berigter* available for most years, but not all. The University of Cape Town does not have the 1805 set of newspapers. That year is available in microfilm, but the image quality is so poor that much of any given page might be unreadable. Thus, any reference to something being a “first” has to be taken as “probable” only, because there is a slight chance of a missing reference from 1805.¹⁸

Inevitably, more information has been unearthed on some people than on others, so the narrative gives some things in depth, and almost glosses over others, doing little more than mentioning that a certain concert took place. Given that the early newspapers were for official announcements only, it is unlikely that more information will be found on these concerts and the people who played them. It is because of this unequal nature of different available sources that the vast material on Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle has been left for last. As stated above, he will be discussed fully in a case study at the end.

¹⁸ For example, clarinet reeds were “first” advertised in 1823. If there were advertisements in 1805, one would almost certainly see other references between 1805 and 1823, so the 1823 “first” is almost certain; with references closer to 1805, there would be less certainty.

Organisational details: Abbreviations

Several abbreviations come up regularly in early South African historical research. Unfortunately, they are not obvious to the reader, but the alternative—spelling the phrase out in full—is lengthy and disruptive to the text. Therefore, the abbreviations have been used. These include “VOC”, which stands for the “Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie”, or in English, the Dutch East India Company. It was this trading company that established the settlement at the Cape in the 17th century as a stopover station for its ships. The VOC established an “Orphan Chamber” at the Cape in 1673; this was “responsible for the making of inventories, acting as the guardian of minors and administering the minors’ property until they came of age.”¹⁹ It was headed by a “Master”, so the acronym “MOOC”, or “Master of the Orphan Chamber”, comes up in all records related to these estates and inventories. The MOOC records have been transcribed for modern use by a project called “TEPC”, which stands for “Transcription of Estate Papers at the Cape of Good Hope”. Thus, “TEPC” is used in all citations related to the inventories, or to TEPC’s introductory material.

Examination syllabi come from organisations with abbreviated names: the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music is commonly known as ABRSM, and the University of South Africa is commonly known as UNISA.

Consistency and clarity considerations

Spellings may seem inconsistent, but there are differences in languages, e.g. the French “clarinette” vs. German “klarinette”, or the older English “clarionet” vs. modern “clarinet”, and then “clarinetist” vs “clarinettist”. Within quotation marks, the spelling will be whatever is in the quoted text. Within the rest of the paper, the spellings will be “clarinet” and “clarinettist”. Similarly, “obbligato” is used unless a quotation uses “obbligato”.

Spelling in old Dutch has highly variant spellings; if a name also appears in alternate spellings, this is noted in a footnote. The spelling of Dutch surnames sometimes includes a colon; this indicates a truncated suffix. For example, “Pieter Anthonisz:” is mentioned in Chapter 3; his full surname is “Anthoniszoon”, or “son of Anthony”. The colon is not always used, so where the name is “Anthonisz”, it still implies a full spelling of “Anthoniszoon”. This was the common way of constructing Dutch surnames in the 16th and 17th century.

¹⁹ TEPC/Sentrum, “Inventories, Auction Lists and Estate Accounts of the Orphan Chamber of the Cape of Good Hope”, p.79.

In some cases, books titles and the authors' names can have different spellings in different editions and in translations. This makes it very confusing for the reader. In all cases, the spelling used in this thesis' references will be the spelling from the earliest publication used for this thesis, in the original language by the author, with the exception that if the author's name appears in a quotation from another source, it will have to be in whatever spelling that person used. Spellings from translations will not be used, but will be notated in two places: in the bibliography, and in the very first footnote reference.

For the most part, English translations will be used within the text, as paraphrases if the translation is by the author of this thesis; the original language quotation will be in the footnote should the reader wish to check it. Exceptions are that instrument names will be put in the original language in square brackets in the main text; the immediacy of knowing what the original word is will be necessary, especially for the discussions of (the many) translation problems. In longer passages where the discussion centres around translation issues, both the translation and the original language quote may be in the main text.

Music titles for full works are italicised throughout; where titles are within quotations from texts that do not italicise them, they have been changed to italics. Selections from works are within quotation marks (e.g. an aria from an opera). Where an in-text (as opposed to a block) quotation contains a smaller section that is within double quotation marks, the inner section's quotation marks have been changed from double to single.

Where footnotes are found in quoted text, in order to make the section less visually confusing, the quotation footnote number is in square brackets, and not in superscript. The only footnote numbers that are in superscript are the ones from this thesis.

Redundancies

There are dissertations that have covered some areas relatively thoroughly, and given the size limitation of the thesis, it seems unnecessary to go over that material again. The two main areas that fall into this category are the military bands in Natal in the second half of the 19th century, which is well covered by Jackson,²⁰ and much of the earlier 20th-century clarinet repertoire, which is covered in the Hartshorne and Webb theses cited above.

²⁰ Jackson, *Music in Durban 1850-1900* (book), Chapter 18, "Military Bands", pp.95-101.

Chapter 2 **Literature Review**

Since the methodology for this thesis was to read as much primary historical material as possible, and note the references to clarinet as well as other woodwind instruments in order to build up a knowledge base, there has been a focus on finding and using primary sources.

Where source material was secondary, the aim was to find corroborating primary material. This was not always possible, as the material on Simon van der Stel's 1685 Namaqualand expedition in Chapters 3 and 6 shows. Where primary material could not be found, the secondary material is discussed in terms of reliability, plausibility, etc.

Therefore, where a primary source is available, direct quotations are taken from that, or an English translation of it, rather than a secondary source. In the case of translations, if both the English and original language editions are available, the citation will include both, in case the reader wishes to check the translation. In some cases, accurate translation is crucial to conclusions, as can be seen in the material dealing with oboes vs. shawms, and some translations have proven to be incorrect, as can be seen in the chapter dealing with the first clarinet reference in South Africa and, in fact, in several other places.

Primary sources

There are four types of primary source documents available: official government documents, documents by residents who could and did write, reports of visiting travellers, and newspapers. However, some of these are both primary and secondary, since they include both first- and second-hand accounts. In addition, even where writers are observing activities themselves, they may or may not know exactly what instruments they are looking at.

Archival resources

The MOOC, as stated in the "Introduction", was the Master of the Orphan Chamber, an organisation that managed estates for minor children from 1673-1834, and the TEPC (Transcription of Estate Papers at the Cape of Good Hope) project made the lists available on CD.¹

¹ TEPC was a joint project of the Universities of the Western Cape and Cape Town in partnership with the Cape Town Archives Repository and the National Archives at The Hague.

The MOOC/TEPC lists include inventories taken shortly after a death, as well as auction lists for the items sold. Theoretically, the inventories list all belongings at the time of death, before any bequests or auction sales. However, the MOOC did not deal with all deceased estates, only those of people who died in the colony leaving “minor heirs, or heirs residing abroad, either *ex testamento* or *ab testamento*, provided the orphan chamber was not expressly excluded by the deceased; with the exception, however, of the estates of military, leaving no children in the colony”.²

Even if estate records for soldiers could be found, they probably would not include instruments used for official duties. The garrison kept at least some drums and trumpets in their stores,³ so it is likely that soldiers did not have to own their official instruments, and therefore when they died in service, these instruments would not have been auctioned as part of their estates.

Secondly, it is possible that family members removed items before the inventory was done, even if they were not supposed to, and thirdly, there is a phrase that comes up regularly in the lists—the “rommelerije” or similar spelling. This translates as “junk”, “clutter”, or “mess”, and in the context of an inventory, indicates a container of small insignificant items. It is possible that small musical instruments, such as fifes, might have been put in this kind of miscellaneous category, and if a list is not very detailed, this seems plausible. On the other hand, some lists are very detailed, listing individual utensils, pillows, etc. The musical instruments should have been at least as important as these items.

Finally, not all the records are in the Cape Town Archives:

There are household inventories filed elsewhere in the Archives, for instance in the 1/STB (Stellenbosch) series. The papers of the Council of Justice and the Master of Insolvent Estates also include inventories of people’s possessions. Inventories spanning the 18th and 19th centuries are therefore to be found in other places. At the Deeds Office, Cape Town, several early inventories are filed under ‘Transporten en Schepenkenisse’”.⁴

2 Bird, *State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822*, p.53.

3 Leibbrandt, *Precis [. . .] Journal, 1671-1674 & 1676*, pp.271-273 & 280; these lists are from August 1676.

4 TEPC & Sentrum, *Inventories, Auction Lists and Estate Accounts of the Orphan Chamber of the Cape of Good Hope*, p.11.

Musical instruments do appear in some of the MOOC/TEPC lists, but for the reasons given above, it cannot be assumed that the proportion of instruments found would carry over to the population as a whole. Still, the lists are indispensable in looking for evidence of musical instruments in the early Cape. Thus, they became a source of information for the discussion of whether Jooste was correct in concluding that it was the Huguenots who most probably introduced fifes to South Africa; this will be covered in Chapter 6.

TEPC also transcribed the VOC muster rolls. These are useful in finding the earliest official musicians working at the Cape, although, as will be discussed later, there are several examples of soldiers who played instruments but are not on the muster rolls as official musicians.

British Army Service Records were used to get more information on John Brown, the bandmaster of the 72nd Regiment who retired to Cape Town to teach piano, flute, and clarinet. This was used in Chapter 8.

VOC Records

Hendrik C.V. Leibbrandt was Keeper of the Archives in the Cape from 1881 to 1908, and was particularly important for translating some primary reference material. His *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope* contains selected VOC archival material, some in Dutch, but mostly translated into English. It includes selections from journals, resolutions, correspondence, and other documents. As such, it is invaluable as a source for some of the earliest references to music in South Africa. Of note is that Leibbrandt was fluent in both English and Dutch, though in the “Preface” to volume 1 of Van Riebeeck’s journal, he says: “[i]t has by no means been plain sailing always to gather the meaning of the journalist, his sentences being so complicated, and in a few cases made almost unintelligible through clerical errors; but I have done my best to interpret him truly, and trust that I have succeeded”.⁵

Leibbrandt’s work is generally held in high esteem. However, his views on the guilt or innocence of Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel were at odds with Theal’s, who will be discussed below, and this could call his work into question generally.

⁵ Leibbrandt, *Precis* [. . .] *Riebeeck’s Journal &c.*, vol.1, p.v.

Leo Fouché, of the Transvaal Universiteits-Kollege in Pretoria, and editor of the 1914 edition of Adam Tas' diary, holds that Theal was correct in branding Van der Stel an avaricious tyrant, while Leibbrandt was “whitewashing” the situation in order to depict Van der Stel as a victim and martyr.⁶ Fouché says: “out of close upon two hundred documents there is not one single series of any importance that has not either been mutilated or falsified, and that in the most shameless fashion. So far from serving to reveal the truth, the excerpts in question were purposely framed to suppress it.”⁷

As a result, Fouché questions other works dependent solely on Leibbrandt where the authors made no attempt to look at original archival documents themselves.⁸ Nigel Worden, of the University of Cape Town, says it “is not so much that his translations were inaccurate as that he selected what he translated—so there are sometimes gaps and highly selective entries”.⁹

For the music researcher, however, a bias toward Van der Stel does not necessarily mean that translations of the musical references in the Archives would be altered in meaning. And Leibbrandt's *Precis* contains many such references. Some are mere records of Company employee deaths; these seem to have been meticulously noted, since the VOC needed to take deceased employees off the payroll. Others, even where the musical reference is indirect, give insight into the role of music in the early settlement.

The VOC Dagregister, or the Day Report, on one occasion, was accessed directly at the Western Cape Archives and Records Services, in order to check a translation.¹⁰

Residents

Otto F. Mentzel was one of the few living in the Cape who wrote about his experiences.¹¹ Fortunately for music researchers, he included more musical information than most writers, and gives some of the first information about woodwind instruments.

6 Tas, ed. Fouché, *The Diary of Adam Tas (1705-1706)*, pp.156ff. The left pages are in Dutch, the right pages are in English.

7 Ibid., pp.158 (Dutch), 159 (English).

8 Ibid., pp.158 & 160 (Dutch); pp.159 & 161 (English). Fouché includes the histories written by Trotter, Colvin, and Edgar among the works he questions. This thesis has not used those histories, mostly because a general historical review by its very nature is not primary. For general information, the chosen general history was Theal, *History of South Africa under the Administration of the Dutch East India Company*.

9 Worden, e-mail to the author, 5 October 2014.

10 *VOC Dagregister*, C.2066, 29 August 1875.

11 Mentzel, *Vollständige [. . .] Beschreibung des [. . .] Vorgebirges der Guten Hoffnung, and Lebens-*

Though there were some errors, his two works are among the few that give information on music at the early Cape. And despite the errors, Harry J. Mandelbrote, editor of the English translation of *Vollständige und zuverlässige Beschreibung* considers Mentzel more accurate than most other writers. His stay was lengthy; Mandelbrote says that Kolbe “alone had resided at the Cape for about the same length of time” and that Mentzel’s account “does not break down under the acid test of archive records.”¹² Mentzel is discussed more in Chapters 3 and 6.

Though Mentzel’s account was written from memory years after he left the Cape, William Mann’s journal¹³ was written at the time of his travels, so there can be no memory errors. The same is true of Adam Tas’ diary, though the fact that much of it is missing makes it of minimal use in and of itself. What is useful, however, for music research is Fouché’s appendix to the diary, which in turn cites the *Contra Deductie*, a primary source that gives a flute reference.¹⁴ This will feature in Chapter 6.

Travellers

Travellers to the Cape were in a unique position to observe and comment on what they saw. However, many of them were dismissive of each other, sometimes in the extreme. Of particular note in these spats were Barrow vs. Lichtenstein, and the many writers who felt Le Vaillant to be rather inventive. In the case of Barrow vs. Lichtenstein, there was a possible issue of loyalty to the Dutch vs. British sides and therefore a consequent slant.

As with the Leibbrandt issue, the question for the music researcher is whether or not potential or perceived problems would make the musical references inaccurate. Reasons to believe a passage or not should have something to do with how observant an author is, how interested he is in musical endeavours, the accuracy of his other observations, corroboration from other sources, regardless of the opinions derived from the observations. Ego alone is not enough to dismiss an author, since being an explorer in any era requires a certain daring.

Geschichte Herrn Rudolph Siegfried Allemanns, gewesenen Kapitäns der Miliz.

12 Mentzel, *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope*, English transl., part 2, pp.12 and 14. Though all other translations in this thesis will have the name of the translator in the citation, this particular set of volumes will say “English transl.”, because the three volumes have different translators, and designating by name will be confusing, since they belong to the same edition. (Kolbe’s name is also found as “Kolb” and “Kolben”. “Kolbe” has been used throughout this thesis, because it is the spelling in the earliest edition of his book.)

13 Mann, *The Cape Diary and Letters of William Mann, Astronomer and Mountaineer, 1839-1943*.

14 Heiden & Tas, *Contra-Deductie*.

William Burchell was also observant, and mentioned many native music encounters.¹⁵ Though there is only one clarinet reference in his work, he was himself a flute player, and could be expected to be more musically educated than some other travelers. Therefore, his musical observations are taken to be accurate.

Letters

Collections of letters are primary sources, but unfortunately, the letters contained in the Leibbrandt and Mann sources, along with those of Lady Anne Barnard, Sir John and Lady Herschel, Thomas Maclear, and Jane Waterston¹⁶ do not contain any clarinet references, although Mann's journal does. They are, however, good for background information, as were many other books that had no clarinet-specific, or even general, musical references in them.

Newspapers

There were no newspapers before 1800, but after that, they give a glimpse of musicians through concert announcements, as well as advertisements for sales of instruments and musicians offering to teach. These are important in tracing the rise in popularity of any given instrument, and the first advertisements for the sale of clarinets and clarinet reeds are found there. The *Cape Gazette, and African Advertiser* and its Dutch counterpart, the *Kaapsche Stads Courant, en Afrikaansche Berigter*¹⁷ published their first issue on 16 August 1800, and were the only newspapers until 1824, when the *South African Commercial Advertiser* started.

Concert and theatre announcements often do not specify the instruments played. Reviews sometimes give more information than advertisements, but the earliest South African newspapers contain no reviews.¹⁸ Although originally owned privately, the government took them over about two months after the first issue, so they effectively became official government publications, purely for official announcements and commercial advertisements.

15 Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*.

16 Barnard, ed. Wilkins, *South Africa A Century Ago: Letters Written from the Cape of Good Hope*; Evans et al., *Herschel at the Cape*; Herschel, Lady Margaret, *Letters from the Cape 1834-1838*; Ruskin, *John Herschel's Cape Voyage*; Warner & Warner (ed.), *Maclear & Herschel Letters and Diaries at the Cape of Good Hope 1834-1838*; Warner & Warner (ed.), *Maclear & Herschel Letters and Diaries at the Cape of Good Hope 1834-1838*; Waterston, ed. Bean & Van Heyningen, *The Letters of Jane Elizabeth Waterston 1866-1905*.

17 The *Kaapsche Stads Courant* was mostly a Dutch translation of *The Cape Town Gazette*. Government announcements were printed in both languages. Advertisers could choose one, or the other, or both newspapers but most of the time chose both. There was a break from October 1801 to April 1803.

18 In the early colony, the only newspapers were the aforementioned *Cape Gazette and African Advertiser*, and the *Kaapsche Stads Courant, en Afrikaansche Berigter*.

Reviews, or editorial comment of any kind, were not allowed. In fact, the civil servant William Bird described them in 1823 as a “mere list of proclamations, of civil and military appointments and promotions, marriages, births, christenings, deaths, the price of articles of produce, and advertisements of sales, the notices of the sequestrator, of the orphan chamber, of the burgher senate, and other boards; all of which is extremely useful to buyers and sellers, but by no means amusing or instructive”.¹⁹ He also makes the point that the press was government-controlled, and therefore not a free press.²⁰ There was, in fact, quite a battle in the Cape over freedom of the press that was only resolved some decades later.²¹

Slightly later periodicals such as the *South African Commercial Advertiser* and *De Verzamelaar* (which was a later version of the Dutch *Kaapsche Courant*) still had issues with freedom of the press, so they also ran only announcements and advertisements, though *De Verzamelaar* ran until the mid-1840s, and thus goes into the period where editorial comment was allowed.

Newspapers that appeared after the freedom of the press issues had been sorted out include *De Mediator* (also published as *The Moderator or, Cape of Good Hope impartial observer*), which ran from 1837-1839, *Sam Sly's African Journal* (1843-1851); these do have editorials and concert reviews. Regional newspapers such as the *Natal Witness, and Agricultural and Commercial Advertiser*, which ran the full programme of Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle, the first travelling clarinet virtuoso who came to South Africa,²² the *Natal Mercury*, and the *Graham's Town Journal* (later called *The Journal*) are helpful in identifying concerts, instruments and musicians.

Newspapers also advertised auctions, but detailed lists of items to be sold are usually not given in the advertisements; at best they mention some of the large items to be sold, such as pianos or organs, and only occasionally mention smaller instruments. Notices of auctions of insolvent estates give the least information of all.

19 Bird, *State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822*, p.58-59.

20 Ibid., pp.59ff.

21 Anyone wishing to research this further should read about Thomas Pringle and John Fairbairn, and the issues surrounding the closing down of the *South African Journal* and *South African Commercial Advertiser*. A good place to start is Wigston, “A History of the South African Media”, in *Media Studies*, vol.1, pp.29-30.

22 *Natal Witness, and Agricultural and Commercial Advertiser*, 11 March 1859, p.2.

Sources that can be considered both primary and secondary

Plagiarism issues today make scholars very aware of what can and cannot be used of other authors' material, and that they need to be acknowledged. But this was not an issue in the 17th to 19th centuries. Authors freely used material that was not their own, and they may or may not have deliberately intended to pass the information off as first-hand. Thus, only some of their material is primary.

One example is Johann Wilhelm Vogel, who, like Mentzel, wrote about his Cape visits several decades after they happened.²³ In Vogel's case, it is easy to work out that his material on Governor Van der Stel's Namaqualand trip is second-hand, since his visits were in 1679 and 1687, and the Namaqualand trip happened in 1685.

Other cases are not so easy. Petrus Serton discusses François Valentyn in his "Introduction" to the English translation of the *Description of the Cape of Good Hope*. He says Valentyn

was not a researcher in the modern sense, but rather a tireless compiler of facts, not distinguishing between data obtained by his own observation (or correspondence) and that found in existing publications or painstakingly delved from manuscripts. [. . .] the furthest points he (rather fleetingly) visited were Stellenbosch and Hottentots-Holland in 1705. On the other hand he saw the Cape four times over a period of 29 years, and was able to observe changes and progress in the young colony [. . .] For his descriptions of the interior he relied on Cape spokesmen and other writers (Kolbe!). It is possible that he even met Kolbe at the Cape in 1705, but the rather careless use he made of Kolbe's work took place later. He also used the descriptions by O. Dapper, A. Bogaert and Grevenbroek, he relied on H.B. Oldenland for plant names and perhaps even on J. van Spilbergen's reports for some details.²⁴

In some cases, works are still deemed to be of value,²⁵ but for authors like this, historians go through a painstaking process to sift out what is primary and what is secondary. With relatively unresearched authors, it can be difficult to tell.

And while Valentyn took from Kolbe, Kolbe also took from others. W. Peter Carstens, in his "Introduction" to Kolbe's *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, discusses "the controversy regarding Peter Kolb as a plagiarist. Kolb did undoubtedly borrow from earlier writers without including elaborate footnotes detailing his sources, but this does not justify

²³ Vogel, *Ost-Indische Reise-Beschreibung*.

²⁴ Valentyn, *Description of the Cape of Good Hope*, transl. Raven-Hart, part 1, p.7-9; this surname is also found as "Valentijn".

²⁵ *Ibid.*, part 1, p.xi; Frank Bradlow, Chairman of the Van Riebeeck Society, says in the "Foreword", "the fact that these other sources have been used does not detract from the value and importance of this work".

the vicious attacks made against his work.”²⁶ Others in this category are François Le Vaillant, Guy Tachard, and Gerrit van Spaan.²⁷ Van Spaan is discussed in more detail in the chapter “Problems of Researching” because he refers to oboists at the Cape.

Secondary sources and the general historical overview

For the history of Western Classical European instruments in South Africa, it is necessary to start at the beginning of the Dutch settlement in 1652. For this purpose, three archivists are of importance: Leibbrandt has already been discussed, and the other two are George McCall Theal and Colin Graham Botha. All three had access to official government documents dating from the start of the settlement, and in fact, worked in turn for a commission appointed in 1876 “whose most important task was to collect, examine, classify and index the archives of the Colony.”²⁸

However, while Leibbrandt’s translations fit more into the primary source category, the other two used their archival knowledge to write general histories, and although they do not deal specifically with music, their works are vital to understanding the VOC period. As with any secondary source, musical references must be checked against a primary source if available.

From 1879 to 1881, Theal supervised the Cape Archives in a part-time capacity, and thus worked with these records before Leibbrandt did. Theal’s *History of South Africa Under the Administration of the Dutch East India Company* is based on his work as an archivist, but it is very general. However, as stated above, his views on the guilt or innocence of Willem Adriaan van der Stel were at odds with Leibbrandt’s.

26 Kolbe, *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, vol.1, “Introduction”, p.vii, footnote. Carstens uses “Kolb”, one of the variant spellings of the surname. This book, unfortunately, has two sets of pages with Roman numeral page numbers, since it is essentially a facsimile of the original 1731 English translation. That book has a “Preface”, written by the translator Guido Medley, which also uses Roman numerals.

27 Vaillant, *Voyage de Mr. Le Vaillant dans l’Intérieur de l’Afrique, par le Cap de Bonne-Espérance, dans les années 1780, 81, 82, 83, 84, & 85*; Tachard, *Voyage de Siam*; Van Spaan, *De Gelukszoeker over zee, of Afrikaansche Weg-wijzer*.

28 Western Cape Archives and Record Service (accessed 26 December 2010).

Perhaps not surprisingly, some historians take issue with Theal for the same reasons that others had problems with Leibbrandt. Douglas H. Varley, in “Adventures in Africana”, says “Alas for Theal! Historians following in his tracks and re-examining his documents have only too often come to entirely different conclusions. Moreover, they have not infrequently had cause to complain that—whether wilfully or not—Theal has omitted evidence which would have spoilt the line of argument on which he was at that time working.”²⁹

In working with Theal, as with Leibbrandt, a translation of the musical references in his writing must be evaluated separately from opinions, and consideration of any passage must include whether the translation is accurate, and what the original observer knew about music that would make him capable or incapable of correctly identifying instruments.

Botha was appointed Chief Archivist from 1912. Like Theal, his material tends to be general history extracted from the records. He wrote on topics such as the Huguenots, and this material is used for the section on “Flutes, fifes, and Huguenots”.³⁰

General military background on the period of the 1780s-1790s, when the VOC hired foreign regiments to help protect the Cape, is taken from Willem Steenkamp’s *Assegais, Drums & Dragoons*. There is very little available on specific foreign regiments that were stationed in Cape Town. Two, however, do have published histories: the Swiss Meuron Regiment, and the Württemberg Regiment, by Adolphe Lindner and Johannes Prinz respectively.³¹

Published histories exist for many British regiments, though bands and bandmasters are usually not mentioned, and only higher-ranking officers are listed. Because these are compiled many years after the events they describe, they are secondary sources, although occasionally, as is the case with Richard Cannon’s *Historical Record of the Seventy-Second Regiment*, they contain extracts from journals written by soldiers.³² In this case, Cannon’s *History* was used to confirm what instruments the pipers played. As such, the journal extract is a primary source, since it was written by someone who was there at the time.

29 Varley, “Adventures in Africana”, p.48.

30 Botha, *The French Refugees at the Cape*.

31 Lindner, *The Swiss Regiment Meuron at the Cape and afterwards, 1781-1816* and Prinz, *Das Württembergische Kapregiment 1786-1808*.

32 Cannon, *Historical Record of the Seventy-Second Regiment, or, The Duke of Albany’s Own Highlanders*, pp.13-14, 17, 18-19, 25-26, 27-30, 32, 37, 40, and 41.

History of Western Classical European music in South Africa

The general music history of South Africa has been dealt with by Jan Bouws and Anton Hartman, though Hartman's work is an unpublished thesis.³³ Bouws' works are better known because they were published. Both researchers delved into primary sources such as Van Riebeeck's journals, early documents in Leibbrandt's *Precis*, and travellers' journals, but their works are secondary sources, and will only be quoted if there is no primary source available or there is a problem with a citation or analysis. Bouws is discussed in the chapter "Problems of Researching", because many of his statements are uncited and uncorroborated; in other places, he used sources that must have seemed to him to be first-hand accounts, but are now deemed second-hand.

More recently, as mentioned in the "Introduction", theses and dissertations have been written about music in specific cities or regions within South Africa. In 1970, George S. Jackson published *Music in Durban, An account of musical activities in Durban from 1850 to the early years of the present century*;³⁴ this is an adaptation of his doctoral thesis. Jackson relied heavily on newspapers for primary source material.

Grahamstown's 19th century musical history is covered by four researchers: Bruce Johnson covers 1814-1918, Karen Bromberger covers 1812-1862, Timothy Radloff covers 1862-1879, and Marion Sparrow covers 1880-1900.³⁵ A later work by Sparrow, on music education in Grahamstown, covers 1832-1950.³⁶ Albert Troskie deals with Port Elizabeth, and Pietermaritzburg is covered by Hubert Van der Spuy.³⁷ The Free State region is dealt with by Jacob Human, and Elizabeth Krynauw did her doctoral research in a genre, not a region, so there is also a study of chamber music in South Africa.³⁸

33 Bouws, *Die Musieklewe van Kaapstad 1800-1850*, "Frederik Carl Lemming. Musikmeister in Kaapstad (1805-1817)", "Kultuurlewe: Musiek", *Musiek in Suid-Afrika*, "'n Hollandse musiekhandelaar in Kaapstad (1860-1862): 'n Hoofstuk uit die geskiedenis van die Kaapse musiekhandel", *Solank daar musiek is* (amongst others, but these are the most important for this thesis); Hartman, *'n Oorsig van die Europese Musiek in Suid-Afrika 1652-1800*.

34 Jackson, *Music in Durban* (book).

35 Johnson, *Music in Grahamstown 1814-1918*; Bromberger, *Music in Grahamstown 1812-1862*; Radloff, *Music in Grahamstown, 1863-1879*; Sparrow, *Music in Grahamstown 1880-1900*.

36 Sparrow, *Aspects of musical education in Grahamstown, 1832-1950*.

37 Troskie, *The Musical Life of Port Elizabeth 1875-1900*; Van der Spuy, *Die Musieklewe van Pietermaritzburg 1850-1902*.

38 Human, *Musiek in die Oranje-Vrystaat vanaf 1850 tot aan die begin van die Anglo-Boere-oorlog* (M.Mus.) and *Die Musieklewe in Bloemfontein 1900-1939* (DPhil); Krynauw, *Suid-Afrikaanse kamermusiek: 'n historiese oorsig en evaluasie van geselekteerde werke*.

These studies are too broad to contain much clarinet-specific material, and are in any case secondary sources. However, what little reference to clarinet material there is was checked in the primary sources for verification and added to the clarinet history. The bibliographies are very useful for more reading material.

History of Western Classical European wind music in South Africa

The most comprehensive and reference-rich source for wind instruments is Stephanus Jooste's 1987 doctoral dissertation.³⁹ Although it is unpublished, Jooste published articles on various smaller topics stemming from that dissertation;⁴⁰ the most important for clarinet are on the musicians of the Württemberg and Waldeck Regiments.⁴¹ These are used in Chapter 7 on potential clarinet references prior to the 1806 final British takeover of the settlement.

Jooste has done a great deal of research into winds in South Africa, but his material deals with the broader subject of all winds, including brass, so there is no emphasis on clarinet specifically. In addition, a few references in his dissertation are not entirely correct, though in one case, it does not affect his conclusion.

He is one of the many researchers who took Van Spaan's book on Africa as factual, while it is now considered fiction; the book talks about the Dutch playing oboes on Van der Stel's trip to Namaqualand.⁴² This is discussed later, in the chapter "Problems of Researching", since it is a woodwind reference, as is the fact that Jooste seems to have not always checked primary references in the original languages, which caused him to accept a mistranslation.

Despite the problems, several of Jooste's articles and particularly his dissertation make reference to the clarinet, and these references have been followed further in order to get more detailed information about the clarinet in South Africa.

39 Jooste, *Westerse Blaasinstrumentspel en -onderrig in Suid Afrika van 1652-1902: 'n Kulturhistoriese Evaluering*.

40 For example, Jooste, "Die Aufführung abendländischer Kammermusik für Bläser in Kapstadt (1652 bis 1870)", and "Die bydrae van Duitse musici tot die musieklewe in Suid-Afrika in die negentiende eeu".

41 Jooste, "Die Musikante van die Württembergse Kaapregiment", "Die Invloed van die Musikante van die Waldeck-Bataljon op die Kaapse Musieklewe (1802-1806)".

42 Van Spaan, *De Gelukzoeker over zee of d'Afrikaansche Wegwijzer*.

Another book that deals specifically with winds is by John M.M. Imrie, Commander in the South African Defence Force. He published *The Military Band in South Africa*, but unfortunately gives much erroneous information. Firstly, he places the clarinet in South Africa some 30-40 years before its invention, and then makes some unsupportable conclusions. These are cited and discussed in Chapter 3, “Problems of Researching”, and Chapter 8, “The Earliest Clarinet References in South Africa”. Nevertheless, Imrie’s book was useful, because after the primary references were found, the dates could be corrected; the bibliography was also useful for finding other sources for general reading.

Instrument-specific research

Instrument definitions, where necessary, have been taken from Sibyl Marcuse, *Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary*. General oboe history has been taken from Bruce Haynes.⁴³ Auxiliary saxophone history for the case study on Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle has been taken from Harry Gee, Thomas Dryer-Beers, and Thomas Liley.⁴⁴

Clarinet-specific research

The basic surveys of South African clarinet repertoire were done by Leon Hartshorne and Clare Webb.⁴⁵ General clarinet history has been taken from Colin Lawson, Eric Hoepflich, Albert Rice, and Pamela Weston, as these are leading researchers in this field.⁴⁶

43 Burgess & Haynes, chapters in *The Oboe*, and Haynes, chapters in *The Eloquent Oboe*.

44 Gee, *Saxophone Soloists and Their Music 1844-1945*, Dryer-Beers and Liley, chapters in *The Cambridge Companion to the Saxophone*.

45 Hartshorne, *Die Komposisies vir Klarinet van Suid-Afrikaanse Komponiste*; Webb, *An Annotated Catalogue of Selected Works for Clarinet by South African Composers*.

46 Lawson (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Clarinet*; Hoepflich, *The Clarinet*; Rice, *The Baroque Clarinet* and *The Clarinet in the Classical Period*; Weston, *Clarinet Virtuosi of the past* and *More Clarinet Virtuosi of the past*.

Chapter 3 Problems of Researching Music History in South Africa

The clarinet was developed from the chalumeau in approximately 1700, possibly slightly earlier. From the date of this development alone, it is no surprise that there were no clarinets in South Africa at the beginning of the Dutch settlement in the Cape in 1652. However, the period still needs to be examined, partly because of Imrie's claim that clarinets were present in South Africa in 1660 (see below, Chapter 8), and also because the predecessor of the clarinet, the chalumeau, was available in its single-reed form by the late 1600s in both France and Germany, and both of these countries had some influence in South Africa. Germans were among the earliest military musicians in the Cape, and the French Huguenot influx would have brought that country's influence to the Cape from 1688 onward. There is a slight possibility that the chalumeau may have arrived with one of those groups. However, there are several problems in researching this period, and although the problems lessen in the 19th century, they do not go away altogether.

Problem 1: uncited statements or unsupported conclusions by researchers

Jan Bouws, who did much of the groundbreaking historical research on South African music, frequently left statements uncited, making it impossible to trace the primary sources. One such reference is in *Musiek in Suid-Afrika*; Bouws mentions specific numbers of drummers and trumpeters—four and two respectively—“from the beginning” of the settlement.¹ There is no citation, and at least two references are at odds with this statement.

Firstly, the 1656 muster roll is the earliest available, and it gives only one trumpeter and one drummer;² it seems unlikely that three times as many musicians were needed four years earlier. Secondly, in 1655, when the Batavian Council wanted Van Riebeeck to reduce his forces, he sent a letter outlining what he felt was a minimum for running the garrison. On this list is one drummer, and no trumpeters; further, he said there were only 115 men at the fort, which was fewer than the minimum he said he needed.³

1 Bouws, *Musiek in Suid-Afrika*, p.23; “Van die begin van die volkplanting af was daar verskillende musikante onder die garnisoen: vier tamboers en twee trompetters.”

2 Leibbrandt, *Precis* [. . .] *Letters Despatched from the Cape, 1652-1662*, vol.3, pp.283-286; also in Cape Archives, VC 39 General Muster Rolls, TEPC/Sentrum; VC 39/0014, Pieter Dirx's, “tamboer” and 39/0084, Hendrick Volckerts, “trompetter”. “VC” stands for “Verbatim Copy”.

3 Leibbrandt, *Precis* [. . .] *Letters Despatched from the Cape, 1652-1662*, vol.2, pp.14-20.

Although there are also rare references to soldiers stationed at the Cape, employed in other positions, who played instruments (see below, Problem 4), it is difficult to see where Bouws came up with such specific numbers for each instrument when the official documents do not mention such numbers, and the rare existing references do not add up to such high numbers.⁴

Another uncited reference, and one specific to the clarinet, comes from Bouws' *Solank daar musiek is*. In the chapter on "Music Practice at the Cape in the Company Time", he states there were clarinets in the Cape Town fort (the "Castle") toward the end of the VOC rule (i.e. "the Company Time").⁵

Apart from the fact that no references have been found in this period to clarinets at the Cape Town Castle, the first firm reference to clarinets anywhere in South Africa is a slave orchestra performance on a farm, not a government post, and it is post-1795, though still from the second Dutch period.

It is possible that, since the farm had previously been part of a government post, the slave performance is the event to which Bouws refers. It will be fully cited and discussed later, since it is the first hard reference to clarinets. In the meantime, it might also not be the same event, since strictly speaking it is not from a government post or the Castle. Thus, there is still the question of whether Bouws found earlier clarinet references that he did not cite.

A general lack of musical documentation

A lack of references to any particular instrument at the Cape is not necessarily a reason to conclude that there were none at the Cape. The problems listed below give several possibilities that could explain an existence of instruments but a lack of written references, followed by some typical problems with references that exist, but are incomplete or problematic in some way.

4 Mentzel, writing about the Cape in the 1730s, does mention higher numbers of these instruments, and specifically mentions "the four drums of the garrison" (*Vollständige [. . .] Beschreibung des [. . .] Vorgebirges der Guten Hoffnung*, for example vol.1, pp.154-155, English transl., part 1, pp.101-102). However, the 1730s seems too long after 1652 to qualify as Bouws' "beginning of the settlement".

5 Bouws, *Solank daar musiek is*, p.6, "[i]n later jare het die faktorye en kastele, ook die kasteel aan die Kaap, ook hobo- en klarinetspelers gehad."

Problem 2: general illiteracy in the early Cape

The first reason for a lack of references is large-scale illiteracy, and it is particularly prominent early on. It improves later, but education in the early Dutch settlement consisted of learning psalms and other basics that are not literacy in any modern sense. Theal said of the school that existed in 1666: “children were taught to read and write, to cast up accounts in gulden and stivers, to sing psalms, and to repeat the catechism and sundry prayers”.⁶

By the time the Huguenots came to South Africa, there was a school at Stellenbosch; it had been started in 1683. The burghers’ petition for the establishment of this school states: “as yet there was no school in which the children could be taught the principles of Christianity as well as to read and write, so that the young were in danger of growing up as barbarians”.⁷ Note that reading and writing are the second reason, not the first. Once set up, the curriculum was the same as detailed in the previous paragraph.⁸

The fact that these schools were primarily for the general population and farmers’ children might excuse the large-scale illiteracy, but there are examples of illiteracy among Company officials, including expedition journals that should have been written by the expedition leaders, but were not.⁹

Given that people only had to learn to write “a little”, most did not keep journals or write to relatives back in Europe. Almost the only documentation in the early settlement is the VOC documentation, and the musical picture it gives is very incomplete.

Problem 3: The VOC documents: few musical references and very incomplete information

The official muster rolls sometimes give only names, but not occupations, of the soldiers. Even when a soldier is listed as “trumpeter” or “drummer”, it gives a calculation of how many were employed as musicians, but no other information. In the case of other VOC documents, the level of detail necessary for music research is not there.

6 Theal, *History of South Africa Under the Administration of the Dutch East India Company*, vol.1, p.153.

7 Ibid., vol.1, p.255.

8 Ibid., vol.1, p.256.

9 Bergh and Schrijver, *Journals of the Expeditions of Olof Bergh (1682 & 1683) and Isaq Schrijver (1689)*, p.39 and pp.198-199, footnote 8a.

Official journals and reports to the VOC mention important and unusual events, but day-to-day duties were so commonly known that the VOC did not need reports on them, hence there is no record of many of them. Thus, there is a general lack of information on musicians within the garrison. More has to be gleaned from other VOC sources, and even then, musical references are scarce, since official documents mention musicians only when there is a reason to do so. In one such rare case, a 1652 court martial declaration mentions a drummer getting thrashed by a corporal who was drunk and insubordinate to Commander van Riebeeck.¹⁰

Occasionally, musicians are mentioned because they got into trouble themselves. In one example, a trumpeter was caught doing some black market trading with incoming ships. Whether the provisions doled out to residents were not as plentiful as they wished, or whether greed simply prompted some to exploit the desperation of those who had been at sea for long periods, in 1657, visiting commissioner Ryckloff van Goens discovered quite a healthy black market in produce. And the trumpeter was very much in the middle of it, having been caught trading carrots for bread.¹¹ He may have been dismissed, since the next muster roll has a different trumpeter's name on it, and there is no record of him at the Cape after that.¹²

A couple of years later, another trumpeter, Martin Jochumsz Flockaert of Ter Goude, applied to become a free burgher, and was released from service. He must have found the going a little too rough, and later deserted, thereby guaranteeing himself several references in the VOC documentation.¹³

10 Leibbrandt, *Precis* [. . .] *Riebeeck's Journal &c.*, part 1, pp.123-124. According to Anna Böeseken, in *Uit die Raad van Justisie, 1652-1672*, Corporal van der Laeck was tried on the grounds of opposition and *crimen lese majestatis*, a charge which covers attempts to overthrow or attack a ruler or government, as well as offensive statements made against such a ruler or government. He was found to be unfit for any military office, and his sentence was that he was expelled from the soldiery, demoted to an ordinary sailor at the lowest monthly salary, and, on account of drunkenness, was not to be trusted to do any watches, thereby being deprived of an extra portion of income. However, on review, the sentence was lessened to the said demotions until such time as his behaviour proved him more worthy, provided he refuted his previous claims. He was out of favour only until the end of the year, but his name disappears from all Cape documents after July 1653, so he probably went to Batavia or back to Holland (pp.5-11). There was no charge, and therefore no conviction or sentence, for assaulting the drummer.

11 Leibbrandt, *Precis* [. . .] *Letters and Documents Received* [. . .] *Instructions and Placcaten, 1649-1662*, part 2, p.327.

12 The trumpeter on the 1656 muster roll is Hendrick Volckerts (Leibbrandt, *Precis* [. . .] *Letters Despatched from the Cape, 1652-1662*, vol.3, p.285 (spelled "Hendrik Volkerts"); also in Cape Archives, VC 39 General Muster Rolls, TEPC/Sentrum, VC 39/0084). The trumpeter on 31 May 1657 muster roll is "Pieter Anthonisz:", of 's Hertogenbosch (Leibbrandt, *Precis* [. . .] *Letters Despatched from the Cape, 1652-1662*, vol.3, p.288; also in Cape Archives, VC 39 General Muster Rolls, TEPC/Sentrum, VC 39/0212. See the "Introduction" for notes on the colon in Dutch surnames). Volckerts' name does not appear on the list of people granted free status.

13 Leibbrandt, *Precis* [. . .] *Riebeeck's Journal &c.*, part 2, p.156 (a resolution dealing with desertions, but his surname is not given, just "Marten Jochumsz"), *ibid.*, part 2, p.183 (a journal entry mentioning that a ship

Between muster rolls and incidents like these, it is possible to get a reasonable picture of the numbers of official musicians at the Cape, and perhaps a glimpse into what their lives were like, but apart from titles, e.g. “trumpeter”, there is usually little detail given about their activities, and there is still the problem of finding other musicians.

Problem 4: soldiers who played instruments but are not on the muster rolls as musicians

There were soldiers who could play instruments but were not officially employed to do so, at least not initially. There are cases of men listed in a muster roll as soldiers, who appear in later documents (muster roll or otherwise) as drummers or trumpeters.

For example, Louys Isaacqsz is on the 1 March 1661 muster roll as an “arquebusier”,¹⁴ but a journal entry from 15 March 1661 notes: “[t]his evening the drummer of the fort, named Louys Isaacqsz, of Amersfoort, died from a sudden sickness”.¹⁵ This type of musician came to the Cape doing one job, and later moved to a different job. In Isaacqsz’ case, the 1 March 1661 muster roll has no drummer on it, so the position seems to have been vacant. Isaacqsz’ musical skills would probably have been used in other settings prior to his being appointed to a post requiring those skills, but unless such a person eventually moved to a post involving music, there will be no record at all of him as a musician.

The fact that musicians sometimes moved from non-musical to musical posts is not always a negative research factor. It can explain discrepancies; for example, Mentzel describes oboists at the Cape almost twenty years before they first appear on the 1750 muster rolls.¹⁶ This is uncorroborated, but as Jooste correctly found, four of the later 1750 oboists are on slightly earlier rolls as ordinary soldiers.¹⁷ While these specific oboists were not at the Cape in Mentzel’s time, it is possible that his unnamed oboists existed, but are listed as soldiers.

had been searched for him but he was gone, and that his house was empty), *ibid.*, part 2, p.205 (a mention of him in a response to a petition by the free burghers that the officials labelled “seditious”). The surname is sometimes spelled “Vlockaert” in these entries.

14 Leibbrandt, *Precis* [. . .] *Letters and Documents Despatched 1652-1662*, vol.3, p.302 (spelled “Isaacsz”); also in Cape Archives, VC 39 General Muster Rolls, TEPC/Sentrum; VC 39/0793 (first name spelled “Louijs”. His occupation in the original Dutch is “boss:r”, or “bosschieter”), and though “arquebusier” and “bosschieter” may have slightly different connotations as to the use of the firearm, the point is that he was not listed as a drummer at this point.

15 Leibbrandt, *Precis* [. . .] *Riebeeck’s Journal &c.*, part III, p.243.

16 Mentzel, *Vollständige* [. . .] *Beschreibung des* [. . .] *Vorgebirges der Guten Hofnung*, for example vol.1, p.296, “hautboisten” (English transl. part 1, p.162, “hautboy players”), amongst others.

17 Jooste, *Westerse Blaasinstrumentspel*, p.39-40.

Problem 5: finding out what non-military music existed in the garrison

As the above passages imply, the musical references in the early primary sources mostly mention drummers and trumpeters, which is not surprising, since the VOC ran its settlements as military ones. Getting a complete picture of how much, and what type, of other instrumental music existed at the early Cape is much more difficult.

There were soldiers who played instruments that would not have a military use, so they could only have been used for casual entertainment. The official VOC records do not refer to entertainment, unless that entertainment had something to do with an official event. Such references are rare, but a few exist. For example, there are references to entertainments for local chiefs; the harpsichord and violin make a very early appearance in this regard. This will be mentioned in Chapter 5, but for the most part, unless a soldier was employed as an official musician, there will be no record of what instruments he played, if any.

In time, the settlement developed more. When ships stopped for replenishing, passengers had several days to explore. Sometimes they wrote journals or letters containing their observations on the Cape, so if there is little written material from the residents, there is more material from the visitors. In addition, a few visitors were resident in the Cape for several years, and some of the books and journals include long sections on the Cape. However, even these can have problems, and need to be scrutinised for causes of inaccuracies. Some of the problems are exactly as listed above. The one that affects music research the most overlaps problems 3 and 4. Many of the musical references mention dancing, singing, or entertainment, but it seemed to not be important to write down what instruments were used. Therefore, for the most part, it is obvious that music was part of casual entertainment, but there are no other details. And this is by far not the only problem.

Problem 6: visitors; writings: errors, alterations, omissions, exaggerations, and biases

Possible errors of memory

Mentzel, already mentioned in the literature review, lived in the Cape from 1732 or 1733 to 1741. His work is extremely important for woodwind players, since he discusses the duties of the musicians in the garrison, and in particular, includes some of the first information on oboes. Though he wrote extensively on music within the Castle, and less so about social music, there is a possibility of memory errors, because he wrote about these events some 40 years after he had left the Cape.

He left by accident—a ship he was delivering letters to set sail suddenly without allowing him to get off—so he cannot have used notes or documents from the time of his stay to assist in his writing, because he had none of his personal belongings with him when the ship sailed.¹⁸

Mandelbrote, as already stated, considers Mentzel to be largely accurate, but does find errors within the texts, although he considers them to be minor. He believes Mentzel's "memory, after he had passed his 70th year, played him tricks as regards facts that he had learned from books. These, however, matter little, and do not impugn the value of his personal observation".¹⁹ Still, care needs to be taken with any references written so long after the actual events and observations.

Deliberate omissions or alterations

Sometimes omissions or alterations are deliberate. Elizabeth Helme, in translating François Le Vaillant's *Travels*, says that, apart from "curtailing a few repetitions [. . .] I have likewise softened (if I may be allowed the expression) a few passages that possibly might be accounted mere effusions of fancy and vivacity in a French author, but which would ill accord with the delicacy of a female translator, or indeed with the temper and genius of English readers".²⁰ One can hardly expect an accurate picture from such a translation, though Le Vaillant himself comes under fire for exaggeration; see below.

Still other omissions were marketing choices. Visitors intending to sell their travel books, as in any era, took into account what their target markets wanted to read about. Unusual tales of foreign cultures would have been far more interesting (and marketable) than the day-to-day activities of the European settlers, which may not have been unusual enough, compared to the readers' lives, to sell. Much of the content, therefore, is about the indigenous population, and what is needed for Western European music research is simply omitted.

18 Mentzel, *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope*, English transl. part 2, p.11.

19 Mentzel, *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope*, English transl., part 2, p.14.

20 Le Vaillant, *Travels from the Cape of Good-Hope*, transl. Helme, vol.1, pp.ix-x.

Sometimes omissions had to do with what the writers' wanted to observe. Visitors who were scientists were interested in documenting animals and plants (Burchell), or minerals, or astronomical calculations (Tachard). They were not always interested in observing human behaviour at all. One exception was Burchell, already mentioned in the "Literature Review"; he was himself a flute player, and very observant about humans as well.

Bravado and exaggerations

In some cases, writers deliberately exaggerated. One notable case was Le Vaillant, already referred to for mistranslations, and who changed his name to mean "the valiant one".²¹ Theal felt his volumes "contain a little interesting matter, but the author's vivid imagination caused him to colour his descriptions too highly".²² Both Lichtenstein and Barrow wrote about one of the exaggerations when, on separate occasions, they visited a man who took part with Le Vaillant in a "tiger" (leopard) hunt; the man declared Vaillant's version to be untrue.²³

As it happens, Le Vaillant refers to Western European music only in a short section that mentions singing, the harpsichord ["clavecin"], and dancing,²⁴ but caution about exaggeration applies to any travel book; corroboration from other sources is always preferable.

Biases

An example of bias comes from the 19th-century missionaries, several of whom wrote about their work in South Africa. However, depending on the religion, music was more or less important. For example, music was very important to the Moravians, but not necessarily to other denominations. Sometimes this simply caused omissions, because music was not important enough to take much notice of, and sometimes it caused a distinct negativity. Examples include Jane Waterston and James Backhouse.

21 Le Vaillant, *Travels into the Interior of Africa via the Cape of Good Hope*, transl. Glenn, vol.1, pp.xvii-xviii.

22 Theal, *History of South Africa*, vol.2, p.379.

23 Le Vaillant, *Voyage [. . .] dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, vol.1, pp.49-55; transl. Glenn, vol.1, pp.34-38. Lichtenstein says he was told that "the principal circumstances were mere invention" (*Reisen im südlichen Africa in den Jahren 1803, 1804, 1805 und 1806*, p.47; transl. Plumtre, vol.1, pp.30). Barrow's version is similar (*An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa*, pp.338-339).

24 Le Vaillant, *Voyage [. . .] dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique*, vol.1, pp.14-15, transl. Glenn, vol.1, pp.16-17, pp.16-17.

Waterston, a missionary from the Free Church of Scotland, was not biased against music in the church, though she never wrote about it.²⁵ However, secular music was a different thing altogether. During a visit to London, she wrote that “[c]ivilisation bores me and luxury does not suit me. I seem made for a younger country and a simpler life. I was at a grand concert last night with Miss Stephen and put my hands to my ears to shut out the squalls”.²⁶ There was not much chance of her going to concerts in South Africa, much less writing about them.

Backhouse, whose Quaker religion considered music negatively,²⁷ tolerated hymns in services but preferred psalms to be read, not sung. He was particularly negative about dancing, which, admittedly, sometimes went with inebriation, but he was also negative about dancing that was part of traditional ceremonies such as the circumcision ceremonies.²⁸ Such a person would not be expected to write about music much at all, or objectively when he did choose to write about it, although even a negative comment shows that music existed.

Problem 7: tavern and entertainment music

One of the least researchable areas of Cape music is tavern music. It existed, but many of the travellers to the Cape who wrote of their experiences did not write about these taverns or the entertainments they offered. As mentioned above, some of the patrons would have been illiterate, many were interested only in writing about non-European subjects because that was more marketable to their readers, and others would simply never have visited taverns or gone to entertainments—certainly this would be true of the missionaries.

One writer who did mention tavern music was Mentzel, but although he was quite specific in his description of military music, he was much less so with regard to other music. He detailed several different classes of taverns, mentioning music only with regard to the taverns in a type of middle tier, “frequented by non-commissioned officers and men of similar standing [. . .] sometimes music is provided and dancing is permitted and then some sailormen are bound to become tipsy and rowdy”.²⁹ Alas, he does not specify instruments.

25 Waterston, *The Letters of Jane Elizabeth Waterston 1866-1905*, p.70; her sole mention of music in South Africa was a discussion about the purchase of a harmonium for the mission station, although in the end, it was never bought; others at Lovedale decided to borrow one and use the money on crockery and curtains.

26 *Ibid.*, p.212.

27 For example, see Taylor, “Richard Farnworth [. . .] The Earliest Quaker Writers on Sacred Music”.

28 Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to Mauritius and South Africa*, p.286; he says they were dancing “with indecent gesticulations”, and claims the horses were “affrighted” at the “strange appearance” of the dancers.

29 Mentzel, *Vollständige [. . .] Beschreibung des [. . .] Vorgebirges der Guten Hofnung*, vol.1, p.502; English transl., part 2, p.86.

The only source that gives us some specific instruments in the taverns is the auction and estate records, but even this has to be gleaned circumstantially from the fact that in some cases, instruments were auctioned off in numbers, and with other items, that indicate a place of entertainment. Antonia Malan, who has done much work on the estate records in the Cape, mentions Christiaan Paulman, whose estate was sold in 1746. She says he

supplied his friends, or more probably his customers as we can assume that this was a tavern of some sort, with games and music and plenty of drink. In the large corner room there was a *troktafel* with 11 cues and 4 balls, along with nine candleholders (for night-time activities), in the middle room were two French horns, two violins, a bassoon and a backgammon board, and in the attic were extra beds and a set of skittles with their ball. 138 empty bottles were stored in a little side room.³⁰

At higher-class functions, mention is sometimes made of balls, dances, and entertainments, but again, usually with no mention of the instruments used, and again, Mentzel is one of the rare exceptions; he mentions music at weddings, including dance music, which sometimes involved the garrison's oboe players.³¹

As for references to other entertainment music, newspapers can be a good source of advertisements and reviews, which can be used to track who was advertising music lessons on which instruments, or what sorts of performances happened. However, as previously mentioned, South Africa got its first newspaper only in 1800, five years after the British takeover, and the earliest newspapers were not allowed editorial comment of any kind, so there are no reviews that would give extra information until several decades later. Announcements are the sole source of information in the early 1800s.

Advertisements and announcements were paid for by space used, as is the case today, so many of them were small, with no space to list all performers and instruments. Even where repertoire was specified, it cannot be assumed that it was done with the original instrumentation. Reduced orchestrations, arrangements, and transcriptions, are always a strong possibility in relatively small communities that have little possibility of putting together a full orchestra. As an example, Haydn's *Creation* was performed in 1875 in Port Elizabeth with an "orchestra" consisting of "three pianofortés [*sic*], harmonium, and a pair of kettledrums".³²

30 Malan, "Building Lives at the Cape in the early VOC Period", p.63.

31 Mentzel, *Vollständige [. . .] Beschreibung des [. . .] Vorgebirges der Guten Hofnung*, vol.2, p.180; English transl., p.117.

32 Troskie, *The Musical Life of Port Elizabeth*, p.51.

Problem 8: does the text give the correct instrument name—is the translation correct?

In some cases, references have been made to the wrong musical instrument due to mistranslations. This can be a result of the original language not distinguishing sufficiently between various instruments within one family. For example, the French “made no distinction between the shawm and the hautboy; both were called ‘Hautbois’ ”.³³ Translators would have to know that this might mean one of two different instruments, and choose the appropriate one, but sometimes they do not have the organological knowledge to do this even when the context is clear, and sometimes the context is not clear. This has ramifications particularly for Simon van der Stel’s 1685 Namaqualand journey described in Chapter 6.

Sometimes the language is not to blame, and the translator has simply made an error. Even translators who are considered very reliable can mistranslate musical referents if they do not have the musical background to distinguish between instruments. It is also more complicated where words are obsolete and refer to the modern instruments’ predecessors. An example of this is Raven-Hart, who used the word “flageolets” to translate “schalmeyen” and “Schallmeyen-Pfeiffer” in Vogel’s version of Van der Stel’s Namaqualand journey.³⁴ The confusion may be that the German “pfeif” is similar to “fife”, which is a type of flute. However, “pfeif” is a “pipe”,³⁵ which is very generic, and a “pfeiffer” is a person who plays flutes, reed instruments (including bagpipes), or any blown instrument. The qualifying word here is “schalmey”, which is a shawm, the predecessor of the oboe.³⁶ If Raven-Hart did not have the organological knowledge to know what “schalmeyen” are, then it is easy to see how he arrived at a flute-, instead of an oboe-family, instrument. Vogel’s instrument is definitely not a flageolet, which alters the identification of instruments on the Namaqualand trip, but researchers who cite Raven-Hart, such as Jooste, incorrectly use the word “flageolette”.³⁷

The solution is to source the primary text to get the exact original words; all translations should be treated as suspect until the translation has been confirmed as correct.

33 Burgess & Haynes, *The Oboe*, p.27.

34 Vogel, *Ost-Indische Reise-Beschreibung*, 1716, pp.60 and 62, transl. Raven-Hart in *Cape Good Hope 1652-1702*, p.214. Though Raven-Hart translated the second edition, these words are the same in the first edition (1704, pp.55 and 58), the only difference being that “Schalmeyen-Pfeiffer” is spelled with one “l” in the 1704 edition.

35 Marcuse, *Musical Instruments*, p.400, spelled “pfeife”.

36 Marcuse, *Musical Instruments*, p.462, spelled “schalmei”; in the entry on the “Shawm” (p.471), she refers to the oboe as “its offspring”.

37 Jooste, *Westerse Blaasinstrumentspel*, p.25, citing Raven-Hart, *Cape Good Hope*, vol.1, p.214. See footnote 43 for an analysis of how this affected Jooste’s conclusions.

Problem 9: trusting sources—did the writer see the instruments himself, or is the account second-hand?

As stated in the literature review, writers often compiled information from any available source without saying where they had got it, and the information may be primary or secondary. An example would be the first references to oboes in South Africa, which are questionable precisely because of issues of primary vs. secondary sources.

For example, Jan Bouws, in a chapter written for *Stellenbosch: Drie Eeue*, cites Gerrit van Spaan's *De Gelukzoeker over Zee, of d'Afrikaansche Weg-wijzer*; it lists the instrumental musicians on Simon van der Stel's Namaqualand trip as two trumpeters, some schalmey players, and five or six violinists.³⁸ Bouws prefaces the sentence with "Van Spaan vertel daarvan:" (Van Spaan relates), implying that it is Van Spaan's observation. Anna Böeseke, another very reputable researcher, quoted the same passage.³⁹ Though she quoted it in addition to another version of the trip, she implies that Van Spaan's version is just a more colourful narration, and does not call it into question at all. Jooste also quoted it.⁴⁰ The problem is that Van Spaan's book is almost certainly fiction.⁴¹ As a result, the information on the musicians should be excluded, or at least treated with extreme caution.

While it can probably be proved that Van Spaan took his information from Guy Tachard,⁴² who incidentally was also not personally on that trip, and had to have obtained his information second-hand, what is important for this chapter, which deals with research

38 Bouws, "Kultuurlewe: Musiek", p.391, citing Van Spaan, *Die Gelukzoeker over Zee, of De Afrikaansche Weg-wyzer*. Bouws' citation is without page number but it comes from the 1694 edition. In the 1752 edition, this passage is on p.318 ("ze twee trompetters, eenige schalmeyen, en vyf of ses violon speelders met zig hadden genomen"). [Bouws uses slightly different spellings, e.g. "ij" for "y".]

39 Böeseke, *Simon van der Stel en sy Kinders*, p.78.

40 Jooste, *Westerse blaasinstrumentspel*, pp.25-26.

41 Broos, "Batavian slavery, or Eighteenth-century Dutch adventurers of the colonial West", p.13; he states that Van Spaan's book is "a bawdy novel of adventure". Secondly, Van Spaan's biography, as given in Haitsma Mulier & Van der Lem, *Repertorium van geschiedschrijvers in Nederland 1500-1800* (p.391), indicates that he went on only one sea expedition, against Algerian pirates, which means he never got further than North Africa, and certainly never made it to the Cape. Thirdly, the list of works cited in the *Repertorium* includes only the historical volumes, and *De Gelukzoeker* is not included in it (*ibid.*, p.391-392). Finally, the biography specifically says that besides his historical work, Van Spaan published guides on Africa and Asia and wrote plays (*ibid.*, p.391, "Behalve zijn historisch werk publiceerde Van Spaan gidsen over Afrika en Azië en schreef hij toneelstukken." (English transl. B. Steltzner) *De Gelukzoeker* would be the African guide, so it cannot be considered history.

42 Tachard, in *Voyage de Siam des Peres Jesuites, Envoyez par le Roy aux Indes & à la Chine*, p.106 has the exact same numbers of the same instruments ("deux Trompettes, quelques Hautsbois, cinq ou six Violons"); transl. Raven-Hart in *Cape Good Hope 1652-1702*, vol.2, p.291 ("two trumpeters, some oboe-players, and five or six violinists"). Incidentally, some authors, e.g. Kolbe, spell the surname "Tachart", but "Tachard" is how it is spelled in the introductory "epistre" (i.e. a letter addressed to the King) to the 1686 French edition of *Voyage de Siam*.

problems, is that although many people wrote about this trip, there is no longer a primary source for it, and the second-hand versions vary. Unless the primary source can eventually be found, every “second-hand” source is in the “not to be trusted” category; in the case of Van der Stel’s oboists, this must include both Tachard and Van Spaan. In turn, this calls into question any conclusion or statement made by researchers who took information from either of these two as factual, and unfortunately, this includes Bouws, Böeseken, and Jooste.⁴³

And also unfortunately, the Van Spaan example is not an isolated occurrence, but rather, a very common problem in the writings of this period, as the Literature Review shows. One needs to know whether information is first-hand or second-hand before drawing conclusions from it. At the very least, the researcher should make it clear if a conclusion is only possible or probable, and that it could change if a source turns out to be primary or secondary.

Problem 10: if the writer did see the instruments, was he educated enough musically to know what he was looking at?

Once there is the luxury of finding a first-hand reference to a specific instrument in the original language, the problems do not end there. Some instruments are easy for a layman to identify, but things are not always easy when dealing with woodwind instruments, most especially because they were still developing in the 17th and 18th centuries. A writer may only be capable of mentioning the general, not the specific. If he attempts the specific, he might get it wrong, and some of the existing instrument references can be questioned or dismissed because of an apparent lack of musical knowledge on the part of the writer.

The above-mentioned example of oboes on Simon van der Stel’s journey to Namaqualand, used to illustrate translation problems, suffices to highlight this problem as well, because a layman would find it almost impossible to tell whether he was looking at an oboe or its predecessor, the shawm. Ironically, Van Spaan translated the instrument name from Tachard’s French *hautsbois* into the Dutch *schalmeyen*, which might be more accurate than the broad word *hautsbois*. This will be discussed more in the chapter on the first woodwinds in South Africa, because there are ways of ascertaining the probability of oboe vs. schalmey.

⁴³ In Jooste’s case, it does not affect his conclusion. He felt Van der Stel had shawms, since two sources mention shawms or oboes. Van Spaan’s reference falls away, since he was never in South Africa, but Vogel’s mistranslated “flageolets” are now shawms (see above, Problem 8), so there are still two references to shawms or oboes.

In another example from the same trip, Tachard described some of the native flutes seen at Namaqualand as “des flageollets & des flûtes”.⁴⁴ Assuming this is the word used by Tachard’s source, and not a translation error, then “flûtes”, being generic, is not problematic, but “flageollets” is. A flageolet of this period, by definition, will be a duct flute,⁴⁵ and none of the indigenous flutes of the time were duct flutes.⁴⁶ The conclusion has to be that an observer using this word in this context is not very knowledgeable about musical instruments, which in turn means that every reference to a musical instrument made by that writer has to be treated with extreme caution—they are possibly correct in only the vaguest description.

Problems that can happen in any period

Problem 11: Simple quotation or citation mistakes.

Imrie cites what seems to be the first official announcement of a military band concert in Cape Town, on 17 July 1801,⁴⁷ but the citation is misleading on two accounts. Firstly, he cites “Geauth” followed by “K.C. and A.B.”, and “Geauth” is not a publisher, author, or title; it merely stands for “Geauthorizeerde”. The version printed in the English paper was “Published by Authority”.⁴⁸ The rest of it, “K.C. and A.B.” is an abbreviation of the title *Kaapsche Stads Courant, en Afrikaansche Berigter*. A correct citation would have been the unabbreviated full title without “Geauth”. Secondly, the date of the concert is wrong, though not as far wrong as Imrie’s initial placing of clarinets in South Africa; the band concert was on 17 June 1801, not July, and his wording of the quotation is quite different to the advertisement, though the gist of it is correct.⁴⁹

44 Tachard, *Voyage de Siam*, pp.106-107, transl. Raven-Hart, in *Cape Good Hope 1652-1702*, vol.2, 291.

45 According to Beryl Kenyon de Pascual, in “Flageolet”, the flageolet had acquired the specific meaning of a duct, or fipple, flute, by the 17th century. She quotes Marin Mersenne of 1636, which is half a century before the Namaqualand trip. Jeremy Montagu, in “Fipple”, recommends abandoning the term “fipple” because some people take it to mean the block in the mouthpiece of a recorder-type flute, the edge of which creates the vibration of the airstream, others take it to mean the edge itself, and still others take it to mean the whole head of a recorder or just the airway. Nevertheless, fipples are always associated with duct flutes, and from the 17th century onward, a flageolet was specifically a duct flute.

46 Kirby discusses rudimentary fipples in early indigenous flutes only insofar as players created a rudimentary fipple with their lips. In one of Kirby’s descriptions of reed flutes, he says “[t]he performer directs the stream of air across the V-shaped opening, which thus acts as a rudimentary ‘fipple’, and causes the instrument to ‘speak’ readily. This type of embouchure undoubtedly represents a transition stage between the common ‘stopped’ tube blown ‘pan-pipe’ fashion, and the more modern ‘fipple’-blown flute” (*Musical Instruments of the Indigenous People of South Africa*, p.136). This would indicate that the earliest flutes were of the pan-pipe variety, not fipple (i.e. flageolet) flutes.

47 Imrie, *The Military Band in South Africa*, p.15, citing “GEAUTH, K.S. and A.B., 1, number 44, dated 13th June, 1801”.

48 For example, *Kaapsche Stads Courant, en Afrikaansche Berigter* and *The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser*, 6 December 1800, p.1 mastheads.

49 *The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser*, and *Kaapsche Stads Courant en Afrikaansche Berigter*, 13 June 1801, p.1.

The first problem merely causes the annoyance of wasted time in chasing non-existent publishers. The second can be a minor or major problem. An example of a major mistake would be Imrie's placing of the entry of the clarinet into South Africa in 1660,⁵⁰ 30-40 years before its invention, and this will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

Problem 12: Unsupportable conclusions

What is probably Imrie's strangest conclusion involves a quotation mentioning clarinets. In discussing church music, Imrie says the Dominee or Precentor led the singing, "but now, with the advent of more suitable instruments such as Basses, Oboes, Flutes, and later Clarinets, and with the services of the Company and the other part-time musicians being available, a new era of church music came into being at the Cape".⁵¹ There are two references given in this sentence: one for the Dominee or Precentor leading the singing,⁵² and one at the end of the sentence, presumably covering what Imrie felt was a development of instruments being used in church music. It is this second reference that is odd; Imrie cites Daniel Scheurleer, *Van Varen en van Vechten*. The subtitle of this Dutch book is "Verses from the era of our sea heroes and battles, odes and satirical poems, sailors' songs".⁵³ It consists of the texts only (no music), arranged chronologically, with some short explanations.

The song Imrie references is from a chapter on "Matrozenliederen", or sailor's songs. Two lines of this particular song, dated at 1713, are "Speelt en Zingt overluyt / Op Bas, Hobo en Fluyt".⁵⁴ Firstly, there is no mention of clarinets here, or anywhere else in the song. Secondly, it is a sailor's song, so while it might be an indication that basses, oboes, and flutes were played on ships, it cannot be taken as a firm primary reference that any of these instruments were played at the Cape generally, or specifically in church music at the Cape.

At best, one could point out a probability or possibility that if an instrument existed on a ship, it would then exist in the settlements visited by that ship, but there still would not necessarily be a connection from there to music in the churches in any one settlement.

50 Imrie, *The Military Band in South Africa*, p.8, citing Lichtenstein, "Reizen", p.181.

51 Imrie, *The Military Band in South Africa*, p.8, citing Scheurleer, *Van varen en Vechten*, vol.3, p.208.

52 Imrie cites Grove, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. VII, 5th edition, (R-SO), page 1006.

53 Scheurleer, *Van varen en van Vechten*, vol.3. "Verzen van tijdgenooten op onze zeehelden en zeeslagen, lof- en schimpdichten, matrozenliederen". Imrie cites p.208 only, but the entire song is on pp.205-208.

54 Ibid., vol.3, p.208.

Thirdly, the song's subject matter makes it wholly unsuitable as a reference to church music. The gist of it is that a young sailor is trying to entice a girl to go on a ship to Batavia. He says he will dress her as a sailor, and the many verses detail what will happen on the voyage. At Batavia, he says "Apple orange and lemons are blossoming / Noble food and drink / Birds sing sweetly / Girl, there we will feel our bodies."⁵⁵ In other words, they will have sex.

Apart from the fact that the song cannot be said to reflect general practice at the Cape—the sailor and his girl(s) only stop there for supplies on the way to Batavia—it is impossible to imagine a song soliciting girls for a ship, or mentioning bodies being felt, being sung in a church anywhere, not just in the Cape. This reference simply does not support a "new era of church music" at the Cape, never mind one that includes clarinets.

Summary

In the end, there is much that is "under the radar", so to speak. There is a fairly good picture of the official military musicians and their functions, more due to Mentzel than to any official documents, but there is a much less clear picture of casual or social music making, apart from the fact that it took place.

Tracking one specific instrument is difficult, indeed. The best that can be done is to say "at this point, there are no clarinet references prior to . . .", with whatever date is the earliest known at that time. The first reference to clarinets is in 1803, but those clarinets must have come from somewhere, and that elusive source has not been pinned down yet. Short of a source that says "for the first time in South Africa, clarinets are on sale at . . .", with a dealer's name (which is not going to come from newspapers, given that there was only one at that time, and there are no advertisements for clarinets prior to the first clarinet reference), or "so-and-so bought clarinets from so-and-so, and they are the first in the colony", room must be left for an earlier reference to be found.

55 Scheurleer, *Van varen en van Vechten*, vol.3, p.207. The original Dutch for the last line is "Appel-Sinaas en Lamoenen bloeien. *bis*. Edele Spijs en drank: Vogele zoet van zank. *bis*. Meisje, daar zullen wy ons Lijf voeijen. *bis*." (transl. Antoinette Lohmann).

Chapter 4
Preliminary Considerations:
a) Where to start looking
b) Where clarinets were not found

Where to start looking

It is difficult to pin down an exact date when clarinets arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, but it is certain they were not represented in the early Dutch period, since the clarinet did not yet exist. However, as stated in Chapter 3, the Dutch period was examined to see whether the predecessor of the clarinet, the chalumeau, had been brought to South Africa. Though at the end of this line of investigation, the conclusion was that there is no evidence chalumeaux¹ were brought to South Africa during the Dutch period, the process of investigation is set out for the sake of thoroughness.

There are certainly no written references to chalumeaux or clarinets at the Cape during the VOC period, but because of the issues outlined in Chapter 3, one cannot necessarily conclude that there were none at the Cape. Two reasons to look into this period anyway would be that: a) there are references to oboists, and early woodwind players have traditionally doubled on other woodwind instruments, and b) the chalumeau was prevalent in France and Germany, and can be connected directly to cities that provided immigrants to South Africa.

Brief history of the chalumeau

The word “chalumeau” has different meanings depending on the date of its usage. Rice, in *The Baroque Clarinet*, says “[s]everal French dictionaries from the sixteenth century use the same term, ‘chalumeau’ (or the Latin *calamus*) to identify a variety of instruments.” He goes on to list several, none of which can be identified as a specifically single-reed instrument;² the word seemed to indicate only that the body of the instrument was made of reed, and not whether it used a single or double reed, or was flute-blown. Rice says “references to single-reed instruments begin to appear only in descriptions from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.”³

1 “Chalumeaux” is the plural of “Chalumeau”. Though the anglicised spelling of the plural would be “chalumeaus”, this is not in use in English texts on the early clarinet, e.g. by Lawson (*Cambridge Companion to the Clarinet*, p.12).

2 Rice, *The Baroque Clarinet*, p.3.

3 *Ibid.*, p.3.

The first reference to an instrument that specifically has a single reed is in Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* of 1636-1637, though the two single-reed instruments shown have no keys and an idioglot reed.⁴ Rice says "[i]n France, the word 'chalumeau' continued to designate a pipe which utilised a single or double reed throughout the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth."⁵ He cites several dictionaries that define the chalumeau, but says "[a]dditional evidence for the use of a single-reed wind instrument in European music before the end of the seventeenth century seems to be lacking".⁶ In other words, there are no extant instruments and no printed music.

Rice also discusses an instrument called the "mock trumpet," which has been considered a type of chalumeau because of "its resemblance to the recorder and its probable use of an idioglot reed."⁷ However, it is associated with England, and apart from the fact that there are no extant examples, and much about it is speculation, England was in conflict with Holland for much of the time it was in use. There has been no evidence found of the mock trumpet in the Cape, but in any case, importation of it would be highly unlikely, due to the conflict.

An invoice from 1687 shows that the Duke of Römheld-Sachsen bought "Ein Chor Chalimo von 4.stücken" from Nuremberg.⁸ This is significant for two reasons. Firstly, Nuremberg is the town where the "inventor" of the clarinet, Johann Christoph Denner, worked, and indeed, Rice cites Herbert Heyde, the author of *Historische Musik-instrumente im Bachhaus Eisenach* as implying that these chalumeaux were made by Denner himself, possibly because Denner's stamp appears on a "Basset-Blockflöte" in the Bachhaus collection.⁹

Secondly, the invoice proves that there were chalumeaux from the period under question, not only in a geographical area (Germany) that supplied musicians to the VOC, but also specifically in Nuremberg, a city to which many Huguenot refugees fled from Catholic France. They may have become familiar with the chalumeau either in France or in Nuremberg.

4 Mersenne, "Des Instruments à Vent", pp.229-230.

5 Rice, *The Baroque Clarinet*, p.10.

6 Ibid., p.10.

7 Ibid., p.11.

8 Ibid., p.15; Rice says Heyde quotes from this invoice in his catalogue to the Bachhaus wind instrument collection. The implication is that the invoice is also part of the collection.

9 Ibid., p.15-16.

The Huguenots and the Cape

While religious tolerance in Catholic France depended very much on the rulers, and persecution waxed and waned along with their attitudes, the Edict of Nantes, issued by Henry IV at the turn of the 17th century, granted rights to Protestants; persecution on the grounds of heresy was not allowed. This was revoked in 1685 by Louis XIV, and the persecutions began once again, leading to an exodus of at least 200,000 Huguenots. Some of these asked to be considered for settlement in the Cape:

About one thousand souls represented by two hundred families, Piedmontese and Vaudois refugees, had taken refuge in Nuremberg. Their number included agriculturists, experienced tradesmen, and four ministers; they all expressed a wish to go to any of the Colonies of the Dutch East or Dutch West India Companies, but on condition that they be allowed to settle close to each other and exercise their own religion.¹⁰

The VOC later wrote to the Cape that these particular Huguenots “had changed their minds and settled in Germany, and that forty refugees bred to agriculture were being sent out in ‘*t Wapen van Alkmaar*’”; they arrived in the Cape on 27 January 1689.¹¹ The implication from Botha’s writing is that these were also from Nuremberg, so it is very likely that some Huguenot refugees from Nuremberg did end up at the Cape. Since there is the possibility of the chalumeau making its way to South Africa via the Huguenots, that period and group was researched. It will be discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 6, because the first musical reference pertaining to them mentions fifes.

The Netherlands

Another place to look for importation of chalumeaux or clarinets would be the Netherlands itself, since Rice cites evidence for some of the earliest printed chalumeau music there:

The early arrival of the chalumeau in the Netherlands is shown by the publication of two volumes of duets by J.P. Dreux during 1703-4 (Lesure 1969:66). Originally published by Estienne Roger in Amsterdam [. . .] Their titles read: ‘*FANFARES / Pour les Chalumeaux & Trompettes / Propres aussi à jouer sur les Flûtes, Violins & Haubois / Composées Par / JAQUES PHILIPPE DREUX / Livre Premier [Second] / A AMSTERDAM / Chez PIERRE MORTIER sur le Vygendam / qui vend les Livres Nouveaux en Musique*’.

In his catalogue of 1706 Roger listed these *Fanfares* and offered chalumeaux for sale at three florins apiece.¹²

10 Botha, *The French Refugees at the Cape*, p.10, citing Res[olution] XVII, C.200.

11 Botha, *The French Refugees at the Cape*, p.10, citing a letter from the Chamber of Amsterdam dated 21 July 1688.

12 Rice, *The Baroque Clarinet*, p.14-15.

This refers to printed music, but where there is a market for that, someone must be playing those instruments. So it is probable that chalumeaux themselves arrived in the Netherlands somewhat prior to this, and there was a demand for sheet music because the instrument was becoming popular. On the other hand, the fact that there were alternatives listed for instrumentation indicates that the sheet music was perhaps more financially viable with the alternatives, which argues somewhat against a huge popularity of the chalumeau.

Brief history of the clarinet

The early clarinet history is covered in works by Brymer, Lawson, Rice, and Hoeplich.¹³ The salient points for this thesis are that sometime just prior to 1700, the chalumeau had one of its two keys re-positioned to make an upper register possible, and a bell replaced the chalumeau foot-joint; this was the birth of the clarinet,¹⁴ though it had a distinctly different tone to the chalumeau and thus was used for different musical purposes. In fact, the two instruments existed side by side for several decades, until the chalumeau finally became obsolete.

It would also be decades before the clarinet was common enough to make assumptions about where it might be found in the New World. Individuals would have been able to get hold of them in Europe from the early 1700s, although in the first half of the century, the clarinet was used more in concerti, opera obbligatos, and genres that were not in evidence at the Cape.¹⁵

Whitwell, who deals with wind bands and will be cited more thoroughly in Chapter 7 when French military bands are mentioned, discusses the development of *Harmoniemusik*;¹⁶ this ensemble was the original, but much smaller, version of the military band, or wind band, and it included clarinets.

13 Brymer, *Clarinet*; Lawson, *The Chalumeau in Eighteenth-Century Music, The Cambridge Companion to the Clarinet, The Early Clarinet*; Rice, *The Baroque Clarinet, The Clarinet in the Classical Period*; Hoeplich, *The Clarinet*. Of these, Brymer's history is an historical summary within a larger work, and the others are more in-depth historical studies.

14 Lawson, *The Cambridge Companion to the Clarinet*, p.3. According to Brymer (*Clarinet*, p.22), both of the tone holes that were covered by keys were moved; however, the tone hole covered by the key that we call the "A key" was not one that produced the 2nd register, so for the purposes of this summary it is not important to sort out these different sources, and whether the tone hold under the A key moved.

15 For example, Rice discusses Vivaldi's clarinet parts in the 1716 oratorio *Juditha Triumphans* RV 644 (*The Baroque Clarinet*, pp.81-82). Hoeplich discusses Vivaldi's clarinet parts in the *Concerto per la Solennità di San Lorenzo* RV 556 and the two Concerti for 2 oboes and 2 clarinets of the late 1710s, RV 559 and 560 (pp.35-36); Molter wrote at least 6 concerti for the D clarinet BWV 6.36-41 (Hoeplich, pp.36-38); Rameau used clarinet in three operas (Hoeplich, p.38); Handel wrote the *Overture* HWV 424 for 2 clarinets and horn in the 1740s (Hoeplich, p.36), and Handel also included a clarinet obbligato in one aria in the 1744-1745 production of *Tamerlano* HWV 18 (Hoeplich, p.36).

16 Whitwell, *A Concise History of the Wind Band*, pp.149-157.

European countries did not adopt the new clarinet all at the same time, and in fact, were even decades apart in terms of when they started using it. But in no case did they start using it before the middle of the century, and it most certainly did not become common until closer to the end of the century. Incidentally, Whitwell also says “it appears to be untrue” that Frederick the Great “established a new band instrumentation of pairs of oboes, clarinets, horns, and bassoons”.¹⁷

Thus, the lack of references to the clarinet in South Africa in the first half of the 18th century is undoubtedly due to the fact that it was not commonly available in Europe until later in the second half of the century.

Where clarinets were not found

In order to keep the text flowing nicely once the clarinet section is begun, two areas need to be mentioned so that they can be omitted later.

The Moravians

There is one reference in the Moravian settlement of Genadendal to a clarinet played in a service, though by whom is not clear. However, since it is the only reference, and woodwinds never became a permanent part of the mission stations, the general Moravian history will be discussed here, and the single clarinet reference will be discussed in Chapter 8.

The Moravian Georg Schmidt started the first missionary effort in South Africa in 1737, though it was not to last, and he left South Africa in 1744.¹⁸ After about 50 years, the Moravians tried again; the second attempt, started in 1793, was much more successful.¹⁹ Since the Moravians placed a high value on music, it was a natural place to look for references to the clarinet. Even more tantalizing is the fact that Christian Ignatius Latrobe, an English Moravian sent to inspect the missions at the Cape in 1815, was an amateur clarinetist (in addition to playing piano and organ), who had written three clarinet concertos.²⁰

17 Ibid., p.227.

18 Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, p.42.

19 Ibid., p.53.

20 Woodfield, “John Bland: London Retailer of the Music of Haydn and Mozart”, p.212. Woodfield cites Latrobe’s journal in order to date a journey Bland made to the Continent; it contains a reference to the concertos.

However, despite the fact that music was very important to the Moravians, and the second set of missionaries who came to South Africa all played musical instruments (violin and flute), the initial music training given to the converts was choral, not instrumental. The instrumental references up to about the mid-19th century are all to missionaries playing.²¹

It is possible that when Latrobe was sent to inspect the mission in 1815, he brought his clarinet with him and played it while in South Africa. However, he does not mention the clarinet at all in his book on his travels, only singing (throughout the book), pianos (in several places, including Genadendal), organs in the Lutheran church in Cape Town and in the churches of Stellenbosch, George (in a house used as a church while a new church was being built), and Swellendam, a violin played on a farm, and flutes, played by one of the other missionaries, as well as the surveyor in Uitenhage, and a Veldcornet's house.²²

Interestingly, Latrobe may have heard clarinets in Cape Town during his visit. This can be inferred from his description of the inappropriateness of the use of Haydn's "*Military*" *Symphony* for a worship service at the Lutheran church in Cape Town. He objected to the choice of "the" middle movement, and said "this martial piece was surely a very improper preparation for religious worship".²³ In fact, this symphony has four movements, so there are two middle movements, of which only one uses clarinets. Latrobe said it was performed with "piano-forte and violin, assisted by about six or eight of the military band", and described it as "this martial piece".²⁴ Both second and third movements are quite martial, but perhaps the one with clarinet more so than the other. The band played other, unspecified, music by Haydn as well. As with the symphony, Latrobe found it "rather suited to accompany a dance, than to excite devotional feelings;" he left the church "with pain and disgust".²⁵

21 Bredekamp et al., *The Genadendal Diaries*, for example, p.2, a diary entry that reads "Brother Kühnel held the singing class in front of the house". There are entries such as this throughout the diaries, and it seems they held a singing class twice a week unless the weather was bad.

22 Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa in 1815, and 1816, with some account of the missionary settlements of the United Brethren, near The Cape of Good Hope*, pp.34, 54, 92, 109, 146, 174, 212, 249, 267.

23 Ibid., p.299.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid., pp.299-301.

Unfortunately, though the military band may well have been able to provide clarinets, there is no specific reference to which instruments they used on that occasion, and thus there is no clue as to whether they played the symphony with complete instrumentation, or what the other pieces were, so it is hard to tell whether clarinets were involved in this service at all. Latrobe was not against secular music in general; unlike many missionaries, he did attend concerts. On 10 October 1816, he “attended an instrumental concert, given by Mr. Lemming” and commented that he “admired Mr. Lemming’s performance on the violin”.²⁶

In short, Latrobe made quite a few references to music, but none to the clarinet. The reason clarinets do not become a regular feature in the Moravian stations is that when a school was eventually started in 1855, music was taught as a subject, but it was the brass instruments that were taught, and because of one specific missionary:

A talented brother, Benno Marx, was the director of the training-school from 1855 onward [80]. He was a joiner by trade and had served the church as a teacher and an organist in Germany. He lived in the institution together with the students. [. . .] Music played a great role: The students sang choral music and played the organ, the piano or the violin [82]. Marx formed a brass band among them, which edified the congregation on festival days after the pattern of the Moravian congregations in Germany [83].²⁷

This meant that as the mission stations developed, the solid foundation of music was continued with formal training, but it was brass bands that became the popular instrumental ensemble. Krüger describes the spread of brass music during the 1860s, when, despite financial problems, there was “the further advance of the indigenous helpers. They learnt to love their church and its music at Genadendal. After they had become teachers, they disseminated the periodicals and booklets, which they had helped to print in the training-school, some became organists, and one station after another obtained its own brass band [52].”²⁸

In summary, it seems the only wind instruments formally taught in the 19th century by the Moravians were brass instruments, leaving the flutes as played only by missionaries, and the sole reference to clarinet as a visiting phenomenon not to be repeated.

²⁶ Ibid., p.356.

²⁷ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, p.269. Footnote 80 cites Minutes of the *Helferkonferenz ins Ganze*, 1816-1906, 17.7.1855. Footnote 82 cites *Nachrichten aus der Brüder-Gemeine*, 1862, p.63). Footnote 83 cites the Diary of Baviaanskloof/ Genadendal, vol.XIII, p.232 and *Nachrichten aus der Brüder-Gemeine*, 1860, pp.314, 315.

²⁸ Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, p.279, citing G.Th. Reichelt, *Geschichte der Brüder-Missionsstation Silo* [. . .] Herrnhut, 1878, p.133, and the *Diary of Elim, 1824-1874*, 27 March 1864.

The 1820 Settlers

Another potential source of instruments being brought to South Africa would be the influx of the English to the eastern Cape in 1820. However, the first clarinets in this area were in the British regimental bands, and an extensive search of the 1820 Settlers themselves has revealed no clarinets, and in fact, few instruments of any sort in the first two decades of the settlement. The reasons for this are very similar to the reasons for the Huguenots not bringing much with them; the 1820 settlers were, for the most part, poor and/or unemployed.

Edwards' *The 1820 Settlers in South Africa* gives a good political overview of this part of South African history.²⁹ A few citations from her book will illustrate the Settlers' poverty.

Edwards quotes Lord Charles Somerset, Governor of the Cape; shortly after some attacks by Xhosa tribes, he recommended in a letter to Lord Bathurst, the Colonial Secretary in England, that

to overcome the restlessness of our hostile and surly neighbours, two measures appear to be absolutely indispensable, viz. to occupy a front line with cavalry and to organise colonisation in the rear which by spreading over a fine and fertile country shall at no distant period be strong enough to support itself against aggression. I cannot too strongly recommend [the latter] to your Lordship's notice, hearing in various quarters that a great part of our overflowing population is in want of the first necessities of life; there seems to be here a spot of great resources.³⁰

As a result, the English Chancellor of the Exchequer, Nicholas Vansittart, asked Parliament for "£50,000 to assist 'unemployed workmen to remove to one of His Majesty's colonies' ".³¹ Edwards says "Vansittart was astute enough to omit all reference to the strategic aim of the settlement, for even paupers might object to forming a bulwark against advancing [Xhosa] tribes".³² Once the settlers were in South Africa, and more particularly in Albany, there were many more problems to overcome before this group of people was to become even a moderately prosperous group. Apart from their proximity to raids and attacks, the first harvest failed, as did the second, and the third.³³

29 Edwards, *The 1820 Settlers in South Africa; a study in British colonial policy*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1934.

30 Ibid., p.52, citing the original letter in the Colonial Office, "C.O. 48/39. Somerset to Bathurst, 22 May 1819".

31 Edwards, *The 1820 Settlers in South Africa*, p.52.

32 Ibid., p.52. The word "Xhosa" replaces Edwards' original word, which is now considered highly derogatory and offensive.

33 Ibid., pp.68, 79, & 81.

The area the government chose is called *Zuurveld* in Afrikaans, meaning acid, or sour, field; “[t]he wonderful fertility of Albany was found to exist only in travellers’ fables and in the eager imagination of Lord Charles Somerset [. . .] the soil proved quite unsuited to agriculture”.³⁴ This was hardly surprising, since it was chosen only for its use as a strategic buffer zone against Xhosa attacks. As for those attacks, the settlers could not expect protection from the government; Edwards says Somerset wanted the settlers to protect themselves against Xhosa raids.³⁵

Hence, even amongst the 1820 Settlers who were affluent enough to either bring instruments with them or buy them in South Africa, some had to sell them later, as shown by an 1828 advertisement for the sale of a piano, as part of the sequestration of Alexander Biggar in Bathurst.³⁶

Existing instrumental references mention mostly violin, cello, and piano. Some of the most interesting material comes from Sophia Pigot’s journals and while not mentioning clarinets, shows general music making in the first two years of that community.³⁷ Her father was one of the very few settlers who had money, so they could afford to bring their piano with them from England. The journals contain many entries about copying music, and because they did not have pre-printed staff paper, one entry mentions her sister “ruling paper for music”.³⁸

The Albany settlement would eventually be prosperous; Edwards says “[b]y 1842 the district had become one of the most successful pastoral districts”,³⁹ though this would be some twenty years later. But as stated above, the clarinet was not part of the early music making in this community. What is found in later years will be discussed in Chapters 8 and 9.

34 Ibid., p.79.

35 Ibid., p.69.

36 *The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette*, 1 August 1828, p.4.

37 As a side note, Sophia was the great-grandmother of Beatrice Marx, the violinist who wrote *She Shall Have Music*, and whose second husband was Ellie Marx, the first concertmaster of the Cape Town Orchestra, later called the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra.

38 Pigot, *The Journals of Sophia Pigot, 1819-1821*, p.88.

39 Edwards, *The 1820 Settlers in South Africa*, p.147.

Chapter 5 Western European Instrumental Music in the Early Colony

The 1652 settlement

As stated in Chapter 3, the muster rolls for 1652-1655 are missing, so there is no extant list of the official musicians in the first three years of settlement. For this period, journal entries and correspondence with the VOC in the Netherlands or Batavia are the only sources of information. The original landing party, tasked with the establishment of the Cape settlement, had at least one drummer, as the example of the drunk corporal above shows. However, even if there were no permanent trumpeters assigned to the settlement, there would have been trumpeters on the ships, and they would have been at the disposal of the settlement while staying there. Also as stated in Chapter 3, the 1656 muster roll shows one trumpeter and one drummer. Appearing at about the same time is the first reference to a non-military use of an instrument, the violin, in 1658. The harpsichord makes an appearance shortly after, in 1660.

The first recorded Dutch non-military instruments

In 1658, a Khoi servant named Eva suggested to Commander van Riebeeck that he “send a commission with some presents to Oedasoia [. . .] *also one or two persons who could play on the fiddle and (other) instruments [. . .] in short, whatever might serve to draw them nearer and amuse them.*”¹ Oedasoia was the chief of the Chochoquas, who were “very fond of music”.²

Van Riebeeck sent Ensign Jan van Herwerden with 15 “well-armed” men.³ Both sides entertained each other; the report states that the “whole night was passed in recreation to amuse the ensign, who amused them with the fiddle, whilst a certain soldier made a lot of fun to the great amusement of all. Only at daybreak a little sleep was indulged in”.⁴

Van Riebeeck’s journals have several references to a “claversingel”, which Van Riebeeck himself played, and on which he also apparently accompanied the violin from time to time. An entry in his journal from 29 and 30 September 1660, refers to a meeting with Sousoa, the chief of the Chainouquas:

1 Leibbrandt, *Precis* [. . .] *Riebeeck’s Journal, &c.*, part II, p.176-177. The italics are in the Leibbrandt volume with no explanation.

2 Ibid; the Chochoqua was a clan within the Khoi-San people.

3 Herwerden’s surname is also frequently also spelled “Harwarden”.

4 Leibbrandt, *Precis* [. . .] *Riebeeck’s Journal, &c.*, part II, p.179.

mutual assurances were given that unalterable and everlasting friendship would be maintained. For that purpose he would come nearer, that we might more conveniently trade together, for which he seemed much inclined. He was therefore treated to cheese, fresh bread, and sugar in a tin dish, and seated on a mat in the Commander's room [. . .] We also played for him on the 'claversingel'.⁵

And from a few days later:

October 10th (Sunday). During the usual Parade this afternoon the musketeers fired a salvo, and he [Sousoa] was told that this was never done except for great lords, such as we deemed him to be. We further amused him with the violin, the 'Claversingel' and other instruments, saying that we were thus showing our good will towards him, and that when he brought in some gold and stones (which he still said he would do) we would once more have a handsome present ready for him, &c.⁶

About three weeks later, Oedasoa visited Van Riebeeck, and was also treated to a performance on the claversingel. "He, the chief, was specially honoured, as Sousoa was, with a parade and discharge of musketry, and beautifully and lustily with Koukosoa and his daughter entertained at, and from the Commander's table with 'Claversingel' music".⁷

Leibbrandt suggests a translation of "claversingel" as "(primitive piano?)".⁸ The word does not exist in modern Dutch, or in Sewel's 1691 dictionary, but Sewel does list the Dutch word "Klavecimbel",⁹ and translates it as the English virginal. A related spelling, "clavecimbal" comes up in the Cape auction lists at least once.¹⁰ The virginal, a plucked keyboard, was popular in northern Europe during the Renaissance. Since, as with surnames, spelling was never consistent in that time, "claversingel" probably means "klavecimbel", so this instrument would be a type of harpsichord; private correspondence from Harm Stevens at the Rijksmuseum¹¹ indicates that this is also his interpretation of the word.

Van Riebeeck's son Abraham, having grown up around parents who played music, would probably know his instruments and describe them accurately. In 1676, he was travelling out to India as a junior merchant.

5 Leibbrandt, *Precis* [. . .] *Riebeeck's Journal, &c.*, part III, p.165.

6 *Ibid.*, p.169.

7 *Ibid.*, p.174.

8 *Ibid.*, p.165.

9 Sewel, *A Large Dictionary English and Dutch*, part 2, p.158.

10 Cape Archives, MOOC10/3.82, TEPC/Sentrum, p.750, from the estate of Catharina Elisabeth Meijer.

11 Stevens, e-mail to author, 11 April 2011.

In his “Aenteekeningen Rakende Cabo de Boa Esperança”, he mentions the use of slaves to play music, which they played by ear, and he also mentions two instruments that are new references:

Saturday 28 [November]. We being on shore with the Hon. the Governor, he gave us the pleasure of hearing his black steward and another slave playing on harp and tiorba* [theorbo], in which the steward showed a very pleasing skill, principally in the roulades and preludes which he played like a master; but he never played from notes, only by ear.¹²

Van Riebeeck’s group was given a farewell dinner at the end of their stay, but there was a delay in leaving, so the Governor summoned them ashore again, and gave them another farewell feast (probably not the normal procedure in all delays), and again, they were entertained:

When we came ashore, we were entertained very cordially and magnificently by the Hon. the Governor for the last time at our farewell-feast, as also during the same by the music of harp and tiorba* played by the blacks, and of a violin [“hantfiole”] which a soldier played, from time to time replacing the others.

After the meal we were regaled with some tea and sweetmeats, and then for those who so desired and were able a little dancery [“dansereijtje”] was added.¹³

Organs do not make their appearance in the references until the 1720s when, according to Theal, a subscription was taken up to purchase an organ for the church,¹⁴ though the organ was not bought until quite a bit later. The earliest hard reference is that on 31 May 1724, a “hand orgeltje” was sold in an auction of the deceased estate of Stijnte Christoffelse de Bruijn.¹⁵ Slightly later, on 24 November 1730, an organ formed part of the auction of the deceased estate of Elisabeth Pretorius.¹⁶

By this time, however, the first woodwind references have already appeared.

12 Van Riebeeck, Abraham, transl. Raven-Hart, in *Cape Good Hope 1652-1702*, vol.1, p.194. The asterisk merely points the reader to the index for a definition. The Dutch words for the instruments, as given in the version of Abraham’s journal published in *Briewe van Johanna Maria van Riebeeck en Ander Riebeeckiana*, p.48 are *harpe* and *toirbale*.

13 Van Riebeeck, Abraham, transl. Raven-Hart in *Cape Good Hope 1652-1702*, vol.1, p.196. The asterisk again points the reader to the index for a definition. The bracketed original words are Raven-Hart’s additions. The only difference in spelling between Raven-Hart’s bracketed original words and the version in *Briewe van Johanna Maria van Riebeeck* is “danssereytjie” (p.52) instead of “dansereijtjie”, but the “y” and “ij” were interchangeable in this period, and frequently impossible to differentiate depending on the handwriting.

14 Theal, *History of South Africa Under the Administration of the Dutch East India Company*, vol.1, p.453.

15 Cape Archives, MOOC10/3.67, TEPC/Sentrum, Auction Lists, p.647. According to Marcuse, *Musical Instruments*, pp.225 & 37, this would be a barrel organ.

16 Cape Archives, MOOC10/4.104, TEPC/Sentrum Auction Lists, p.854.

Chapter 6 The First Woodwinds in South Africa

The first reference to woodwind instruments in South Africa is, indeed, as early as the first contact between local tribes and the Portuguese under Vasco da Gama in 1497:

De Gama, having at length run 70 leagues beyond the Cape, arrived at another bay, to which he gave the name of Angra de San Blas, near which is a small island, where the ships lay to take in a supply of water. [. . .] A few days after, above 200 blacks came down with 12 oxen and four sheep, and on the Portuguese going on shore, they began to play upon four flutes, accompanied with several voices, which made no disagreeable music. The admiral striking in with this humour, ordered the trumpets to sound, while his men danced along with the natives, and thus the day passed in mirth and feasting.¹

But it would be almost another two centuries before western European woodwinds appeared within the settlement, and not just played by temporary visitors.

The appearance of the first western European woodwinds—oboes:

The first reference to a western European woodwind instrument in South Africa is to oboes. Although oboists only appear on the muster rolls for the first time in 1750,² the earliest reference to them is in 1685, when oboes were supposedly played on Simon van der Stel's birthday during his Namaqualand journey. This reference was mentioned briefly in Chapters 2 and 3 as problematic, because there is no primary source for it, and the secondary sources are unconfirmed. Since it is the very first reference to western European woodwinds in South Africa, and since oboists traditionally doubled on other instruments, including chalumeaux, it needs to be discussed in some detail, in an attempt to verify or dismiss it.

In addition, even if it cannot be verified nor dismissed, it might still be a plausible account, so it needs to be discussed, because it could well be that these instruments were shawms and not oboes. Finally, because of the issue of oboists doubling on instruments that could include chalumeaux, the reference needs to be scrutinised for possible related instruments.

1 Knox, *A New Collection of Voyages, Discoveries and Travels*, vol.2, pp.309-310. He spells the name "Vasquez de Gama".

2 Cape Archives, VC 39 General Muster Rolls, TEPC/Sentrum; VC 44/00639-44/00649, Jan Jurgen Kimmel, Valentijn Luitrouw, Jacobus Vastenouw, Johannes Wilhelmus Rigterink, Johan Fredrik Krijpst, Jan Eijserman, and Carel Kratsen are listed as "[houboisten]", Jan Robbertsz is listed as "tamboor maj:", "[houboisten]"; Willem Mingel and Willem Otto are listed as "tamboor:, [houboisten]", and Johan George Borghard is listed as "dwarspijper, [houboisten]".

The journey to Namaqualand

Of the texts that relate the Namaqualand journey, the primary source is Van der Stel's original day-to-day journal. However, this is missing from the Cape Archives and has been for a very long time. Waterhouse, in "Simon van der Stel's Expedition to Namaqualand, 1685", cites Jacob Abraham de Mist, who lists it as missing already from the late 1600s.³ Waterhouse further speculates that Simon's son, Willem Adriaan, may have taken documents with him when he left office in disgrace.⁴ If this is what happened to the journal, then it has been missing since no later than 1707.

The secondary sources

Of the secondary sources, four are the most important, since their authors claim to have heard the information from people either on the trip themselves, or people connected to someone on the trip. Though anecdotal, they are at least second-hand rather than third- or fourth-hand. These sources are: 1) a manuscript in the archives of Trinity College Dublin that Waterhouse thinks is the official report Van der Stel sent to the VOC in the Netherlands, 2) the account by Guy Tachard, who says he got his information from Simon van der Stel himself, 3) the account by François Valentyn, who claims to have got his information from Willem Adriaan van der Stel, Simon's son and successor at the Cape,⁵ and 4) the account of Johann Wilhelm Vogel, who, in his *Ostindianische Reise-Beschreibung*, says he learned of the trip from the mine overseer who was with Van der Stel, Friederich Mathias von Werlinhoff.⁶ All other accounts of this journey must have used one of these texts as their source.⁷

3 Waterhouse, "Simon van der Stel's Expedition", 1924, p.300; Mist's original may be read in *The Memorandum of Commissary J.A. de Mist*. p.67 (Dutch), pp.217-218 (English).

4 Waterhouse, "Simon van der Stel's Expedition", 1924, p.300.

5 Willem Adriaan van der Stel was old enough to have gone on this trip, but undoubtedly did not. Firstly, Raven-Hart cites a 26 January 1686 journal entry saying Van der Stel arrived back from the expedition "with his son", but Raven-Hart identifies the son as Frans, not Willem Adriaan (*Cape Good Hope 1652-1702*, vol.2, p.298). Further, Waterhouse states "[a]s far as can be discovered, Willem Adriaan had no first-hand knowledge of the details of the expedition, and it is clear from the occasional gaps in Valentijn's text that the latter was not in a position to obtain authoritative corrections" ("Simon van der Stel's Expedition", 1924, p.300).

6 This spelling is how he signed a report to the VOC Directors (Waterhouse, *Simon van der Stel's Journal of his Expedition to Namaqualand 1685-1686*, Supplement, p.10). However, the name is also found as "Friedrich Mathias von Werlinghof" (Valentijn, *Description of the Cape of Good Hope with the matters concerning it*, transl. Raven-Hart, Part I, p.249 footnote 83), and Vogel omitted first names, and spelled the surname "Werlinhoff" (Vogel, *Zehen-Jahrigte Ost-Indianische Reise-Beschreibung* (1704 edition), p.55).

7 For example, Bouws and Böeseken, as mentioned in Chapter 3, used Van Spaan, now considered to be fiction, but the information almost certainly came from Tachard.

The Trinity manuscript makes no mention of oboes, though bugles and drums are mentioned elsewhere in it. However, Waterhouse says it is “condensed and gives the impression of a carefully edited official report”.⁸ According to Tachard, Van der Stel told him he took “with him two trumpeters, some oboe-players, and five or six violinists”.⁹ As stated in Chapter 3, Tachard’s original word was *hautsbois*, which could have been oboes or shawms. Valentyn, like the Trinity manuscript, mentions the Namaquas playing for the Dutch on Van der Stel’s birthday, but does not mention the Dutch playing anything on this day at all,¹⁰ though his source mentions trumpets and drums at other times. No oboes are mentioned at all. Vogel mentions “Schalmeyen” and “Schalmeyen-Pfeiffer”,¹¹ which makes his text a corroboration of Tachard’s, at least as far as these instruments are concerned.

In short, two versions mention oboes or shawms, and two versions do not mention any woodwind instruments. Given that none of these are primary references, this issue cannot be resolved completely. What can be done is to look at other references, to see if it is likely there were such instruments in the Cape at this time.

Other references to oboes or shawms in or around South Africa at the time

A close reference in terms of dates, but one that is on a ship coming to the Cape, and not at the Cape itself, is Masurier’s 1678 journey to the Cape on the French ship *Dromadaire*; he was also with Tachard’s Jesuit group. During the trip, the accompaniment to the holy mass was played on violins [“violons”], oboes [“hautbois”], and flutes [“Flûtes douces” *sic*—this should probably be “douces”, i.e. a recorder].¹² Though this shows oboes in use on French ships of the time, it does not necessarily prove they were used by the Dutch at the Cape. In fact, Masurier prefaces his comments with the observation that the care and frequency with which services on board took place were due to “the special care and pains exercised with ardent zeal by the Jesuit Fathers that we had the good fortune to have with us” and “the oldest naval officers declared they had never seen the like”.¹³

8 Ibid., p.299.

9 Tachard, *Voyage de Siam*, p.106-107, transl. Raven-Hart in *Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1702*, vol.2:291.

10 Valentyn, *Beschryvinge*, p.71, transl. Raven-Hart, *Description of the Cape of Good Hope*, part 1, pp.292-295; both the Dutch and English are in this edition.

11 Vogel, *Ost-Indische Reise-Beschreibung*, 1716, pp.60 and 62. As previously mentioned Raven-Hart mis-translated these words as “flageolets”.

12 Masurier, “Journal du Voyage des Ambassadeurs de Siam”, pp.184-186, transl. Robinson, “A Voyage to the Cape in 1687”, p.118.

13 Ibid., pp.184-185, transl. Robinson, “A Voyage to the Cape in 1687”, p.118.

Thus, the presence of oboes or shawms on French ships of the time cannot be said to be normal practice, and there is a good chance the musicians who played for these services were Jesuits, not sailors. However, as it happens, a “schalmeij” appears in the 1692 Cape Orphan Chamber auction lists. Although this is seven years after Van der Stel’s trip, and relatively isolated—the next sale of a shawm or oboe is in 1721—it shows that shawms were in use in South Africa well prior to their appearance in the muster rolls, and close to the period in question. On 29 July 1692, goods from the estate of Joost Lons and his wife Arriaantje Sterrevelt were auctioned; these include a brass trumpet, purchased by Willem Duijster, and a schalmeij, purchased by Ocker Cornelisz.¹⁴

These references show that Tachard and Vogel’s second-hand stories could be true, and that oboes or shawms could have been taken on Simon van der Stel’s trip, so is there a way of determining which instrument they were? Given that the date of the trip is at the cusp of the development of the oboe, they could be either shawm or baroque oboe.

Oboe or shawm?

The 1600s was a pivotal period in the development from shawm to oboe. At the beginning of the century, the oboe was not yet in existence, but by the end of the century, it had replaced the shawm. Bruce Haynes, in *The Oboe*, makes the point that the difference between the instruments was mostly tonal—the shawm was “boisterous, festive, and impressive [. . .] it was heard in consorts of different sizes”,¹⁵ and the oboe was developed for expressiveness and solos. Apart from this timbral difference, “nothing in [the shawm’s] physical design sets it apart from later forms of oboe”.¹⁶ Given that Tachard’s source called the Namaqua flutes “flageolets”, it is doubtful whether he would have had the level of training to distinguish an oboe from a shawm.

Based on dates alone, the newer oboes could have been in South Africa by 1685. Since there is a clear distinction in how oboes were used, as opposed to shawms, the final part of this discussion will look at usage.

14 Cape Archives, MOOC10/1.4, TEPC/Sentrum, pp.4-7, from the estate of Joost Lons and Arriaantje Sterrevelt. The next such instrument auctioned was in 1721, “een haut bois met een borst” in MOOC10/2.34, TEPC/Sentrum, p.526, from the estate of Cornelis Valk.

15 Haynes, “From consort oboe to ‘eloquent’ oboe, 1610-1680”, p.27.

16 Ibid., p.27.

Mentzel's description of music in the Castle, albeit from the 1730s, probably did not change much from 1685, given that the VOC ran a military-style operation. He says the six oboists ("Hautboisten") were part of the Governor's guard of honour.¹⁷ Mandelbrote's translation later says they had "comparatively light duties. They play on parade at 8 a.m. and after sunset for half an hour in front of the guard barracks".¹⁸ In the original German, this quote also mentions bassoons: "Die 6 Hautboisten müssen alle Morgen um 8 Uhr die Wachtparade mit ihren Instrumenten, welches 4. Hautbonen und 2 Fagots senn, anführen [. . .]".¹⁹ This more accurately translates as "The 6 oboists must lead the Watch Parade every morning at 8:00 a.m. with their instruments, which are 4 oboes and 2 bassoons . . ."²⁰

This combination of multiple oboes with bassoons is more of a consort type of usage, and since it was an outdoor Watch Parade, it fits the "boisterous, festive, and impressive" description that Haynes uses for shawms. The oboe's expressiveness would not fit here.

In summary, Tachard's assertion that there were "oboes" present in 1685 is corroborated by Vogel's account which he got from the mine overseer, Werlinghoff, though, due to the louder, ceremonial-style use of them, it is highly likely they were actually shawms.

Oboists doubling on other instruments

The muster rolls show that the official Company oboists did, in fact, double on other instruments. Already in the 1750 muster roll, within the Company's first official oboists, Jan Robbertsz is listed as "tamboer maj:, [houboisten]"; Willem Mingel and Willem Otto are listed as "tamboor:, [houboisten]", and Johan Georg Borghard is listed as "dwarspijper, [houboisten]",²¹ which shows that they also played drums and fifes. However, none of this research unearthed any connection to chalumeaux or clarinets.

17 Mentzel, *Vollständige [. . .] Beschreibung des [. . .] Vorgebirges der Guten Hofnung*, vol.1, p.441, English transl., part 2, p.59.

18 Mentzel, *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope*, part 2, p.70.

19 Mentzel, *Vollständige [. . .] Beschreibung des [. . .] Vorgebirges der Guten Hofnung*, vol.1, p.464.

20 English transl. B. Steltzner. If Mentzel remembered this correctly, then bassoons existed in the Cape from at least the 1730s, and this is likely, since it is also quite close to the first mention of bassoons in the auction lists. As stated in the discussion of tavern music, the 1746 auction list of Christiaan Paulman's estate includes "2 basonnen [. . .] 2 violen [. . .] 2 waldhoorens" (Interestingly, the inventory only shows one "basson" (Cape Archives, MOOC8/6.107, TEPC/Sentrum, p.401-402), but the auction (Cape Archives, MOOC10/5.71, TEPC/Sentrum, p.1341) sold two "basonnen"). It is not clear why Mandelbrote deleted the reference to bassoons.

21 Cape Archives, VC 39 General Muster Rolls, TEPC/Sentrum; VC 44/00646-00649.

Flutes, fifes, and Huguenots

The next woodwind instrument of which there is evidence at the Cape is the flute, and almost simultaneously there are two references.

The first reference is to Johann Ernst Jering of Brunswick, though his name comes up under several varying spellings.²² Jering arrived at the Cape no later than 1699, as a soldier. He received two promotions; he is listed as a corporal in the 1701 muster roll and as a sergeant in the 1704 roll. He is never listed as an official VOC musician and, as with many of the musical references, his musical activities are only evident because he got into trouble.

Jering was present at the Cape during Willem Adriaan van der Stel's Governorship; this was a period of increasing resentment and outright rebellion against the Governor's corruption that came to a head in 1705. In 1706, the free burghers smuggled a document back to the VOC in Holland that incriminated Van der Stel,²³ who immediately retaliated by publishing a document entitled *Korte Deductie*,²⁴ which was intended to be his defense.

In *The Diary of Adam Tas*, Fouché cites several examples of torture and other underhand measures used to extract statements for Van der Stel's defence,²⁵ and says that Van der Stel, "[s]o soon as he encountered the slightest opposition he was seized by fits of almost maniacal fury". A footnote says that a typical example of this was the case of Sergeant Johan Ernst Jering, who was called from the watch and thrashed by Van der Stel himself.²⁶

22 Cape Archives, VC 39 General Muster Rolls, TEPC/Sentrum; the surname in 1699 is "Jerg" (VC 39/5827). In the 1701 roll, it is "Herrig" (VC 40/0115). In 1702, 1704, 1708, 1709, 1710 and 1712 it is "Jerrigh" (VC 40/0647, 40/1756, 40/3025, 40/3551, 40/4126, 40/5531 respectively). In 1703 and 1705, he is "Jerrig" (VC 40/1231 and 40/2497). On the 1710/1711 roll it is "Jerringh" (VC 40/4824). In all cases, the German "Johann" has been altered to the Dutch "Jan". On the 1713 roll, he is again "Jerrigh", but seems to have been demoted to the rank of soldier (VC 40/6338), and after that his name does not appear on the Cape muster rolls. Finally, it is probable he was actually in the Cape earlier, as there is a Jan Ernst Serrigh on the 1697 muster roll (VC 39/5158), also from Bronswijk (Brunswick), with the rank of soldier. The muster rolls for 1668, 1700, and 1706-1707 are missing. "Names of German Immigrants", via the safrika.org website, gives another alternative, "Güricht". "VOC Sea Voyagers" via gahetna.nl spells the surname "Jerrig", and has two entries for this name. One says he signed on in 1693, with employment terminating in 1718 in Asia due to death. The other says he signed on in 1714, with employment terminating in the Cape due to resignation. Possibly this is the same person, who resigned and then signed up again in Asia, or it could be two different people, perhaps father/son. The point here is more about the spelling.

23 Tas, *The Diary of Adam Tas*, p.179.

24 Van der Stel, *Korte deductie*, worldcat.org entry (accessed 7 February 2016).

25 Tas, *The Diary of Adam Tas*, pp.225-267.

26 Tas, *The Diary of Adam Tas*, p.xxiv footnote ("Een typies geval was dat van de sergeant Johan Ernst Jering, die van de wacht geroepen werd en door van der Stel eigenhandig afgerost werd." English transl. B.Steltzner), citing Heiden and Tas, *Contra Deductie* p.52, and Kolbe, *Caput Bonae Spei Hodiernum* p.760.

According to Kolbe, Jering was suspected of conspiring with Tas.²⁷ It is in Jering's sworn statement to the VOC that the flute teaching is mentioned. He testified that he was interrogated and beaten by both Ensign Jesse Slotsboo and Van der Stel, and at one point, the Governor asked why his oldest son did not get his flute lessons, by which time the Deponant was disabled by the blows received from His Honour.²⁸

Because Jering was unable to answer, the question is unresolved, and the flute is not mentioned again. In fact, the flute lessons themselves had nothing to do with Adam Tas, the Governor's corruption, or the rebellion; it seems Van der Stel was just trying to come up with anything Jering could be said to have neglected, but for the purposes of music history, the passage shows that the flute was being taught in the Cape at this time.

The date of the Jering assault is unclear, but can be worked out. Adam Tas was arrested on 27 February 1706,²⁹ so anyone who was seen to be conspiring with him would be in trouble at about the same time. Since this is fairly early in the year, and flute lessons had been missed, it is probable that the flute lessons went back into 1705 at least. But what kind of flute was it? The word "fluit" itself is very generic, and in this period could mean a transverse flute, fife or recorder. The answer may come from the second reference.

According to Jooste, two "dwarspype" players are listed in the 1705 muster roll for Drakenstein.³⁰ This is specifically a fife,³¹ and it is the first reference to the fife in an official use. Interestingly, there are no fifers listed in the Cape Town muster rolls at this time, and there will not be until 1729.³² In fact, this is the only other reference to any flute before 1728.³³

27 Kolbe, *Naauwkeurige en Uitvoerige Beschryving van de Kaap de Goede Hoop*, part 2, p.359 ("onder eene deken lag", i.e. laying under a blanket with Tas (English transl. B. Steltzner)). Medley did not translate this part of Kolbe's books.

28 Heiden & Tas, *Contra-Deductie*, p.53 ("waarom hy zyn oudste zoon op de fluit nie meer leerde spelen, by welke gelegentheit den Deposant zyn onvermogen, onstaande uit de ontfangene slagen zyn Ed. heest voorgesteld", English transl. B.Steltzner). This statement was only taken a few years after the actual assault, so it may contain some memory errors.

29 Tas, *The Diary of Adam Tas*, p.xxvii.

30 Jooste, *Westerse Blaasinstrumentspel*, p.28.

31 "Dwarspyp" is a direct translation of "Querpfeife", which is a synonym of "Querflöte", or "Cross-flute" (Marcuse, *Musical Instruments*, pp.181, 429-430, & 133). Without a prefix, a generic "piper" can be a musician playing any wind instrument. The German "stadtpeifer", or town piper, of this period played many instruments (Schwab, "Stadtpeifer"), even strings.

32 Cape Archives, VC 39 General Muster Rolls, TEPC/Sentrum; VC 42/42037, Jan Dirk Maartensz, from Munster, stationed with "De Compagnie onder Evert Walrave Coggius".

33 Cape Archives, MOOC10/3,79, TEPC/Sentrum, p.729, auction list from the estate of Margaretha Gildenhijzen, "2 fluijten".

The lack of evidence for other kinds of flutes, in addition to the fact that Jering was a soldier, makes it highly probable that Van der Stel's son was learning to play the military fife. Where did the fifes come from, and who brought them to South Africa?

1705 also happened to be the first year the Huguenot immigrants were given their "own" commando company, meaning that it was a new Drakenstein company, but most of the people in it were French Huguenots.³⁴ Jooste believes that although the Huguenots left most of their belongings in France, they nevertheless quite probably brought these fifes out of France with them.³⁵ It is indeed tempting to look to Huguenots for wind instruments. France was a centre for woodwind development in the 1600s, especially with the work the Hotteterre family did on flutes and oboes. Besides, the fife was known in France by 1507.

However, the fife was also known to the rest of Europe,³⁶ including Germany, at the same time. Agricola included it in his 1532 *Musica instrumentalis Deudsch*.³⁷ Praetorius later included it in his 1615 *Syntagma Musicum*.³⁸ Since, according to Jooste himself, there were German musicians in the Cape already from 1656,³⁹ and during the first half of the 18th century the "trumpeters and pipers of the garrison were in this period almost exclusively of German origin",⁴⁰ either nationality could have brought fifes into South Africa before 1705.

The case against Huguenots being the initial importers of the fife starts with the fact that the VOC wanted to bring in farmers and tradesmen, especially those who could improve the Cape wine. Botha says they "were only allowed such luggage as was necessary for their use, and that was to be according to the discretion of the Seventeen. They were permitted to take as much specie as they liked, and were to earn their living at the Cape by agriculture, trade or any industry."⁴¹

34 Jooste, *Westerse Blaasinstrumentspel*, pp.27-28. "Alhoewel hulle eie kompanjie eers in 1705 'n werklikheid geword het [. . .]" (p.27) and "Die meeste Franse Hugenote was in die Drakensteinse kompanie ingedeel alhoewel 'n paar Hollandssprekendes ook daarin voorgekom het" (p.28, footnote 125).

35 Ibid., p.28. "Alhoewel hulle die meeste van hulle besittings in Frankryk agtergelaat het, het hulle heel waarskynlik tog hierdie dwarspype saam met hulle van Frankryk af gebring" (transl. B.Steltzner).

36 Marcuse, *Musical Instruments*, pp.181-182; "Fifes and drums have been associated with foot troops from the 15th c. on, when the Swiss became mercenary soldiers and introduced the instrs. to much of W. Europe".

37 Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis Deudsch*, p.xiii, under the name "Schweizerpfeiffen"; four sizes are shown. (There is an earlier edition of this (1529), but the only scan available is missing the relevant pages.)

38 Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, book 2, p.35 using "Querpfeiffen" and "Schweizerpfeiff".

39 Jooste, "Duitse blaasmusikante aan die Kaap", pp.160-161.

40 Jooste, *Westerse Blaasinstrumentspel*, p.34; "Die trompetters en pypers van die garnisoen was in hierdie tydperk omtrent uitsluitlik uit Duitsland afkomstig" (transl. B.Steltzner).

41 Botha, *The French Refugees at the Cape*, p.3. "Specie" is cash.

There were a few more educated people among them,⁴² but by and large they were what the VOC wanted—farmers and tradesmen. Jooste is correct in stating that they had left most of their belongings behind; Botha says “[t]he majority of the Refugees to the Cape possessed little or nothing when they landed. Many had escaped with only their lives.”⁴³ However, fifes are small, and would be easy enough to bring. The question is how likely is this?

Jooste posits that the fact that the first two pipers were French, and the majority of musicians of the Drakenstein company for many years were French-speaking people or French descendants with surnames like Celliers, Amiel, Del Port, Jourdaan [Jourdan] and Du Plessis, shows that the French section of the men in the company were responsible for this innovation.⁴⁴

However, given the Jering reference, the Drakenstein fifers may not have been the first fifers. Jering’s arrival in the Cape was no later than 1699, possibly as early as 1697, if “Jan Ernst Serrigh” from Brunswick is the same man. If Jering already knew how to play the flute when he arrived, he could have been playing and teaching for up to eight years prior to 1705.

Jooste cites Kolbe, saying companies were responsible for their own instrument purchases,⁴⁵ but these would have been done through the Company, which did not allow “free trade” or independent importers. It is possible the Huguenots asked the VOC to import fifes, and then the VOC decided to import many, making them available to others as well, including Jering. Equally, it is possible that Jering, having arrived several years before these references, came with his own fife, and this sparked VOC interest in the instrument, not the other way around.

42 Ibid., pp.59-96; the list shows six surgeons, three ministers, two teachers, and other people who obviously were educated, judging by the professions of their parents in Europe, or positions they held with the VOC, but these count for less than 20% of the men; other professions mentioned, apart from agriculturist, are shoemaker, blacksmith, mason, carpenter, and hatmaker.

43 Botha, *The French Refugees at the Cape*, p.12.

44 Jooste, *Westerse Blaasinstrumentspel*, p.48 (“Die feit dat die eerste twee pypers Franse was, en dat die meerderheid van die musikante van die Drakensteinse kompanie baie jare Franssprekend of Franse afstammeling met vanne soos Celliers, Amiel, Del Port, Jourdaan [Jourdan] en Du Plessis was, toon dat die Franse gedeelte van die manskappe in hierdie kompanie vir hierdie vernuwung verantwoordelik was.” English transl. B. Steltzner).

45 Jooste, *Westerse Blaasinstrumentspel*, p.48, citing Kolbe, *Naaukeurige [sic] en Uitvoerige Beschryving van de Kaap de Goede Hoop*, vol.2, p.216. The passage details a system of fines, from which companies bought new drums, wagons, and horses [“Van deze gemelde geldboetens als de eenige bron en toevloed der gantsche krysgas, worden hoofzakelyk alle onkosten betaalt, welke de Krygsraad dragen moet, en in nieuwe trommels, wagens en paarden bestaan”]. Medley did not translate this part of Kolbe’s books.

There is another place to get information. If the companies purchased the instruments, they would be company property. If the instruments belonged to the Huguenot men personally, and especially if they brought them into the country themselves in or after 1688, one would expect them to show up in deceased estates or auction lists. Botha⁴⁶ lists about 217 Huguenot men and women who came before 1705, not including soldiers, who may have left again, and anyone who came after 1705.

As mentioned in the “Literature Review”, the MOOC records do not include all people living in the colony, and because of entries like “rommelerije”, there are unidentified items in the lists. Still, if Huguenots exercised the musical influence on South Africa that Jooste believes they did, one would expect to find at least a few musical instruments among the inventories.

So what are the existing references? The only two references in the inventories and auction lists that can be tied to first-generation Huguenots are both violins, and one owner’s identification as a Huguenot is only “probable”.⁴⁷ Also notable is that neither reference is from prior to 1705—in fact, the first is from almost three decades after the Huguenots started arriving, even though there were deaths among them almost immediately after their arrival⁴⁸. There are no woodwind instruments at all in these lists that can be associated with first-generation Huguenots.

46 Botha, *The French Refugees at the Cape*, pp.59-96.

47 The violin owned by the person who is definitely identified as a Huguenot belonged to Pieter Bissieu (27 April 1735 inventory, Cape Archives, MOOC8/5.129, TEPC/Sentrum, p.1683); this was sold on auction on 16 May 1735 (MOOC10/4.131 1/2, p.988; the auction list has the name spelled “Pieter Bissieux”). The other violin was owned Gerrit Meijer (auction list dated 30 December 1716, Cape Archives, MOOC10/1.92, TEPC/Sentrum, p.340); this is only “probably” a Huguenot because Botha lists a “Gerrit Meyer” who died in 1714 and was “probably a Refugee” (*The French Refugees at the Cape*, p.64; entry for Susanne Costeux, his wife). Incidentally, Olga Racster, in *Curtain Up!* (p.82), tells a story that is probably very false. She says during the violinist Remenyi’s time in South Africa, he was, “when not performing, straying round the country collecting fine Italian fiddles on the system of ‘new lamps for old’. Mostly they belonged to Huguenot families who had brought them from overseas as part of their household belongings. Many a superb Stradivarius was taken down from the wall where it hung and gladly given for a shiny new instrument worth a few shillings. It was a shocking advantage to take, but to be fair, he probably saved many precious fiddles from destruction by owners who were unaware of their importance”. If the TEPC inventories and auction lists are indicative of the proportions of musical instruments found among the Huguenots, “many” is undoubtedly an exaggeration, and given what the Huguenots gave up when they fled France, and the fact that most who came to South Africa were farmers and tradesmen, what Remenyi did take was probably not Stradivari or the like.

48 Botha, *The French Refugees at the Cape*; for example, Charles Prévot died 1688 (p.81), Charles Marais died 1689 (p.77), and Jean Mesnard, who arrived with his wife in 1688, was described as a widower in 1690 (p.78). These seem to be the earliest, but there are very few deceased estate records before the 1690s.

While this is not conclusive, given that less than a third of the first-generation Huguenots have traceable deceased estate inventories, it seems odd that between 1688 and 1705 there are no references to fifes (or any other musical instruments, for that matter) among the Huguenots. This, together with the fact that the other 1705 flute reference is in the Castle itself, to a flute player who had been in the Cape for several years and was from Germany—a country that also knew of and used fifes in the late 1600s, and supplied many trumpeters and pipers to the garrison in the first half of the 18th century—indicates a strong possibility that the VOC brought in the instruments, and that everyone in the Cape had access to them at the same time.

As with the oboe research, none of this research unearthed any connection to chalumeaux or clarinets. For about the next century, there is relatively little change to the instruments within the settlement, with the exception that at some point, the larger transverse flute probably joins the available instruments, although the frequent use of the generic word “fluit” makes it difficult to pin down a date.⁴⁹

Apart from that, brass, woodwind, keyboard, string, and percussion are all represented within South Africa, and within the woodwind family, flute, oboe, and bassoon are represented. All that is missing from the woodwinds is the saxophone, which had not been invented yet, and the clarinet. For these, definite references will not occur until the 19th century, although the next chapter will deal with some possible references from the end of the 18th century.

⁴⁹ Later, Mentzel mentions fifes in 1727, in *Lebens-Geschichte Herrn Rudolph Siegfried Allemanns*. On one occasion he uses the phrase “mit klingendem Spiele” (pp.106-107); this a military band that includes at least drums and fifes. In another place Mentzel uses the word “querpfeif”, which is specifically a fife (“wie auch der Querpfeifer schon in Bereitschaft”, *ibid.*, pp.256-257). As for the auction lists, the first “flute” sold was in 1728, from the estate of “Jan Mindertsz, Cruijwagen”, but it is a “bootsman fluitje” (Cape Archives, MOOC10/3.77, p.709), or a bosun’s whistle, so it can be discounted. The next is “2 fluijten”, also in 1728, from the estate of “Margaretha Gildenhuijsen” (MOOC 10/3.79, p.729). A later flute sold is “1 fluijtje” in 1734, from the estate of “Catharina Marquart” (MOOC 10/4.115, p.883), but this might be a fife, since her inventory names “Albert Andriesz:n Jerff” as her husband and a son named “Andries” (MOOC8/5.102, p.1555). There is an Andries Jerf from “Cabo”, listed in the muster rolls as fifer in 1732 (Cape Archives, VC39, 42/05390); this soldier/fifer was most probably Marquart’s son, so other flutes within the family may also have been fifes. Later flutes in the auction lists include, in 1735, “2 fluijten” from the estate of “Willem Pas” (MOOC10/4.141, p.1014). Since these in particular are listed immediately after two entries, each for “1 viool”, they may have been larger transverse flutes.

Chapter 7

Potential Clarinet References from the Late Dutch Period to the Final British Takeover

Having not found clarinets in South Africa during most of the first Dutch period, there is a place in the late Dutch periods to look for the entry of the clarinet—the foreign regiments that came to reinforce the Cape’s military strength in the 1780s and again in 1802.

The French

The first foreign regiments were French; the Pondicherry Regiment arrived in May 1781, staying until 1784.¹ The Luxembourg Regiment arrived in May 1782; despite its name, it was also French.² This regiment stayed for less than a year, leaving in February 1783, but before it left, the third one, the Waldner Regiment arrived; its stay was also short.³ There seems to have been a fourth, which many historians do not mention, but Grandpré says the Austrasie Regiment had a “depot” unit at the Cape for units that served in India.⁴ There are very few references to any of these regiments’ stay at the Cape, possibly because two of them had such short stays, and another was only a depot, so to get an idea what kind of musical instruments they might have had, it is useful to look at general French military music at the time.

Whitwell says “The first modernization of French military bands occurs at the end of the reign of Louis XV with the addition to the French Guards of bands consisting of clarinets and horns, [9]”;⁵ Louis XV’s reign ended in 1774. The citation is from Georges Kastner, a 19th-century composer who wrote on a wide range of theoretical and historical subjects. Although Whitwell finds some of Kastner’s statements implausible, he cites him again, saying that “by 1785-1788 the regular French infantry bands began to have clarinets and horns”.⁶ He also cites Gottfried Veit as saying that “such bands had oboes, clarinets, horns, bassoons, and timpani by 1781. [15]”⁷ However, Whitwell also says that Veit does not give a source for this statement, so it cannot be checked.

1 Steenkamp, *Assegais, Drums & Dragoons*, pp.99-101.

2 Ibid., pp.101.

3 Ibid., pp.101.

4 Grandpré, *Voyage a la Côte Occidentale d’Afrique*, pp.6-7.

5 Whitwell, *The Wind Band and Wind Ensemble of the Classical Period*, p.101, citing Kastner, *Manuel Général de Musique Militaire*, p.119.

6 Whitwell, *The Wind Band and Wind Ensemble of the Classical Period*, p.101, citing Kastner, *Manuel Général de Musique Militaire*, p.163.

7 Whitwell, *The Wind Band and Wind Ensemble of the Classical Period*, p.101, citing Veit, *Die Blasmusik*, Bozen: Verband Südtiroler Musikkapellen, 1972, p.43.

The difference between these dates is crucial, since the French regiments had all left for the Cape by 1783. If Veit is correct, there could have been clarinets in the Cape. If Kastner is correct, there could not have been. With no extant references to which musical instruments were used by the specific regiments that came to the Cape, the safest conclusion is that, while regiments within France were starting to use clarinets at about this time, it remains to be seen whether this new instrument was taken by any of them to their overseas stations.

The Swiss/German regiments

The Swiss Meuron Regiment arrived when the Luxembourg regiment left in 1783,⁸ and the German Württemberg Regiment arrived in 1786, staying until 1791.⁹ There is more material available on these regiments than on the French. References to the Württemberg Regiment contain nothing specific pertaining to the clarinet during its Cape stay, though Jooste says that since the Regiment had oboists among its musicians,¹⁰ a few of them may also have played clarinet. This is speculation, based on the fact that the Württemberg court had two clarinets in its inventory, but that may not be indicative of what their military bands had. Jooste also cites Whitwell, who says that German oboe ensembles used clarinets in the second half of the 18th century, and various German regiments used clarinets by 1787.¹¹ However, there is a reference to clarinets in the Württemberg Regiment after they left the Cape: Prinz says that by 1799, much of their equipment, including the musical instruments, was worn out. A year later, instruments were purchased, including two “sixth” clarinets, an “octave” clarinet, an “octave” flute, and another clarinet.¹²

8 Linder, *The Swiss Regiment Meuron at the Cape and afterwards, 1781-1816*, p.29; Steenkamp (*Assegais, Drums & Dragoons*, p.107) gives a date of 1784, but this seems to be a mistake, since other sources corroborate the 1783 date, for example Goiran, in “La Marine Française au Cap de Bonne-Espérance pendant la Guerre d'Amérique”, p.96.

9 Jooste, “Die Musikante van die Württembergse Kaapregiment (1787-1791)”, pp.40 (arrival) & 43-44 (departure). Steenkamp (*Assegais, Drums & Dragoons*, p.107) says they arrived in 1786, but that must have been the date of departure from Europe.

10 Jooste, “Die Musikante van die Württembergse Kaapregiment”, p.38. “Die moontlikheid is verder groot dat wat militêre musiek betref, die *Hautboïsten* ook enkele klarinette bespeel het, aangesien ‘n inventaris van musiekinstrumente wat in die Württembergse hof in die tagtigerjare van die agtiende eeu in gebruik was, ook reeds twee klarinette in B-mol bevat. [9] In die tweede helfte van die agtiende eeu het klarinette toenemend in Duitse *Hautboïsten*-orkeste voorgekom, en verskeie Duitse regimente het reeds teen 1787 klarinette gebruik” (English transl. B. Steltzner). He cites J.Sittard, *Zur Geschichte der Musik und das Theaters am Württembergischem Hofe II*, p.164, and Whitwell, *The Baroque wind band and wind ensemble*, p.123.

11 Jooste, “Die Musikante van die Württembergse Kaapregiment”, p.38; see footnote 10 for original language.

12 Prinz, *Das Württembergische Kapregiment 1786-1808*, p.264, “zwei Sechserklarinetten, eine Oktavklarinetten, eine Oktavflöte und noch eine Klarinette.” (Interestingly, the next sentence, “Vom Kaufe neuer Waffen konnte wegen Mangels an Mitteln keine Rede sein”, translates as “they could not afford to buy new weapons due to a shortage of funds”, which implies interesting priorities.) The Sechserklarinetten were piccolo-range clarinets pitched in A-flat, and the octave clarinet was also a piccolo clarinet, pitched in B

Unfortunately, this might not mean much in terms of what instruments the Württembergers had at the Cape 14 years earlier. They could have been replacing clarinets, or buying the latest new innovation.

In documents pertaining to the Swiss Meuron Regiment, there is a reference to clarinets the regiment had purchased, but importantly, in this case the purchase happened before they came to the Cape. This regiment was founded by Charles-Daniel Meuron specifically for the purpose of serving the VOC in its settlements. The contract with the VOC was signed in 1781, after which recruitment and training took place. There were many delays, smallpox amongst the troops being one of them; the regiment eventually sailed for the Cape in September 1782. Prior to this, “twenty drums with interchangeable skins as well as various musical instruments were bought: horns, bassoons, oboes, clarinets and cymbals.”¹³

On one hand, there is no specific mention that these were actually played in Cape Town. On the other hand, many regiments were so large that they were frequently split, with, for example, the light cavalry serving in one country and other divisions serving in different countries. This makes it difficult to tell where the band was, whether each division had its own, or where specific instruments within the band(s) were, at any given time.

However, the Meuron Regiment was never split. It served as a whole unit for the entire time of its existence, the only exception being that it kept a depot in Cape Town after the regiment left for Ceylon. Since the purpose of the depot was merely to help members who had become ill on their journey between the Netherlands and Ceylon, a band would be unnecessary at the depot. One can safely assume the band was with the main part of the regiment at all times. The first time Cape Town residents heard the Meuron band was on 26 March 1783:

On 26 March 1783, after the equipment had been cleaned and made presentable, the whole regiment assembled for general inspection. Governor Van Plettenberg and the captains of the Dutch fleet watched them exercise and manoeuvre; the regiment was lined up with its eight cannon, which were expertly fired. At the end the troops, in full uniform and with flags flying, paraded to the sound of their military band. The local inhabitants were greatly impressed by the manner in which the redoubtable Swiss acquitted themselves [11].¹⁴

(Marcuse, *Musical Instruments*, pp.469 (spelled “Sextklarinette”), p.108).

13 Linder, *The Swiss Regiment Meuron*, p.21.

14 Linder, *The Swiss Regiment Meuron*, p.30, quoted from G. de Meuron, *Le Régiment Meuron, 1781-1816*, p.59, citing VC 33 Dag Register 26.3.1783.

Were there clarinets in this band? Possibly, since they had been bought for the band, but there is another reference to this regiment playing music, and it does not mention clarinets either: Linder cites the Daghregister, translating the passage as: “The procession was headed by drummers and fifers playing traditional martial tunes”.¹⁵ However, the passage in the original Dutch¹⁶ contains nothing that translates as drummers and fifers. In the end, it is unknown what instruments they played in Cape Town. It is only known that they purchased clarinets before leaving for the Cape, and theoretically should have had them here.

The Swiss Meuron Regiment left Cape Town in February 1788 for Ceylon, leaving only the depot behind. The band undoubtedly went with the main part of the regiment. There were, from time to time, soldiers who left the regiment, either to settle in Cape Town or go home. The names of all those who left the regiment are not known,¹⁷ but Linder seems to indicate they were mostly officers,¹⁸ so any musicians settling in Cape Town seems unlikely.

Unless a specific mention is found of a clarinet being played in Cape Town in the 1783-1788 period, it remains merely a strong probability that the first clarinet in South Africa was played in Cape Town at this time by a member of the Swiss Meuron Regiment, but it is equally probable that it was only a temporary addition to the Cape’s musical instrumentation.

The Meuron and Württemberg Regiments were the last of the foreign regiments in the period leading up to the British takeover of the settlement. The final area to explore is what instruments were available in the British military bands of the period.

The British

Clarinets at St. Helena

Just prior to the Battle of Muizenberg in 1795, clarinets are found on the island of St. Helena, a British possession used as a refreshment station. It was used as a rendezvous point for British ships during the South African invasion. Hudson Janisch, a Governor of St. Helena, compiled a history of the island, and in it are two relevant passages:

15 Linder, *The Swiss Regiment Meuron at the Cape*, p.32, citing the Daghregister 29.8.1785.

16 *VOC Daghregister*, C.2066, 29 August 1785.

17 One whose name is known was Louis Thibault, who transferred from the Meuron Regiment to VOC service. In both, he served as an engineer, but he was an architect by training, and his settlement in the Cape meant that the Cape can boast many of his beautiful and historically important buildings that survive to this day.

18 Linder, *The Swiss Regiment Meuron*, pp.47-49.

April 23, 1792.—Amongst the drummers and fifers of this Garrison having several who play on the Clarionet and Bassoon and having no Instruments for them we this day purchased at a low price two p^r of Clarionets, a Bassoon, &c., a p^r of fifes. Some of these Instruments will be useful to assist the Singers in Church as well as pleasing upon the Parade.¹⁹

The second passage shows that the British sent out a regimental band with their troops in 1795, the year the British took the Cape for the first time. The British anchored in Muizenberg in early June 1795. An entry in St. Helena's records from only a matter of days before, 28 May, is as follows: "Orders were then given for disembarking the Treasure, the two Field pieces and the Regimental band of Music."²⁰ This treasure and the field pieces were on the ship *Sceptre*, so presumably the regimental band was as well, but since there is no mention of which regiments were on which ship, it might not be possible to trace what instruments were in this band. A reading of the rest of the text indicates that the goods were removed so that the ship could take part in an excursion to seize Dutch ships that were in the area. Also presumably, once the *Sceptre* returned from seizing Dutch ships, it reloaded the disembarked goods and band, and carried on with its intended journey. The St. Helena records do not say anything about the *Sceptre* or the band continuing on to Cape Town. Nevertheless, the entry shows that at least some of the British regiments did travel with regimental bands.

On a similar note, but not yet in South Africa, British Vice-Admiral (later Admiral) William Hotham took on a clarinetist, but not one who was permanently attached to his own band. During 1794 he spent some days in Naples, and met the King and Queen. At the end of this time, there is a reference to a clarinetist, apparently quite a good one, who was probably an Italian:

A few days before we sailed, many of the King's band deserted and came on board the 'Cyclops.' I had, in consequence, a letter from Sir William Hamilton earnestly recommending me to give them up again, which I accordingly did under a pledge that they were not to be punished. One lad, however, insisted on remaining, and I was almost fearful of his life had I forced him back. I therefore took it upon me to keep him, and I was rewarded for it by his playing the finest clarionet I ever heard, the music being delightful as we drifted past the islands during the fine evenings at this time of the year.²¹

Hotham was eventually sent to St. Helena and the Cape in 1799, though there is no further information on his clarinetist.

19 Janisch, *Extracts from the St. Helena Records*, p.170.

20 Ibid., p.147.

21 Stirling, *Pages and Portraits from the Past, being the private papers of Sir William Hotham*, pp.84-85.

The first British occupation

The reasons for the 1795 British takeover are well documented; a good account of it can be read in Steenkamp's *Assegais, Drums & Dragoons*.²² There were many regiments stationed in Cape Town from 1795 until the Cape was handed back to the Dutch in 1803. And while there is little documentation on which of them had regimental bands and what musical instruments they used, sometimes references are found that indicate the presence of bands.

Concerts by the British regimental bands

Since the first Cape Town newspaper was only printed in August 1800, it is not known whether British regimental bands gave public concerts between 1795 and 1800, but there are advertisements for concerts in the early newspapers. In fact, the very first issue, on 16 August 1800 contains the following announcement: "FOUND. Last Saturday, at the Concert, at the Burger Senate House, a Three-stringed GOLD BRACELET."²³ Clearly, there had been a concert, but there is no record of which instruments were involved, although it cannot have been the first concert; around this time there was a subscription concert series that did not do well and advertised to sell its assets, including musical instruments.²⁴ In the following year, there are references to a Carl Pabst, teaching violin, who ran a subscription concert series from April 1801.²⁵ On 13 June 1801, the following advertisement appeared:

MILITARY CONCERT. Under the patronage of Major General Dundas, Lieutenant Governor, and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's forces in the Cape of Good Hope, &c. &c. Will commence at Half past Seven o'clock on Wednesday evening the 17th instant, at No.7, Roeland Street; and will be continued weekly to the number of twelve nights. The conductors informs [*sic*] the ladies and gentlemen, that a subscription book is opened, and subscribers tickets issued at the 8th Light Dragoons Mess House, by Serjeant Dobson, who will receive all subscriptions. Non subscribers tickets, for each night's performance [*sic*], at Two Rix Dollars, to be had as above.²⁶

22 Steenkamp, *Assegais, Drums & Dragoons*, Chapters 7 and 8, pp.113-153.

23 *Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser*, 16 August 1800, p.2.

24 *Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser*, 6 September 1800, p.1, "PUBLIC AUCTION. At the Venue Kamer, of Bray, Venables and Co. This Day will be Sold, the Effects of the Private Subscription Concert, consisting of Forms, Musical Instruments, &c. Also, a small Quantity of American Tobacco, &c. &c. The Sale to begin at Ten o'Clock."

25 *Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser*, 4 April 1801, p.2, "The undersigned hereby gives notice to the respective Subscribers, for his intended concert, that, according to the conditions, it will take place on Saturday the 11th instant, at half past six in the evening, at Mr. Daniel de Waal's, in Strand Street. Any person inclined to become a subscriber, is requested to apply before that time at C.M. Lind's, No.2, Stadhouse Plein, where the proposals may be seen. CARL PABST."

26 *The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser*, 13 June 1801, p.1. Incidentally, Imrie cites this wrongly in his book (p.15); though the date and volume number (44), and the gist of the content is correct, his quotation (within quotation marks) is "By kind permission of Major-General F. Dundas, Lieutenant-Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, a Military Band concert will be given, on Wednesday, 17th July, 1801, at 7:30 p.m., in Roeland Street, by the Band of the 8th Regiment, Dragoons".

The 8th Light Dragoons were established in 1693 and throughout the years had slight name changes, among them “8th King’s Royal Irish Light Dragoons”; in 1822 they added “Hussars” to their title. They were in service in South Africa from 1796, and stayed for five years. It is not clear from the advertisement whether the 8th merely organised ticket sales, or whether they also had a band participating in the concert. And as usual, there may have been clarinets in these concerts, but there is never enough detail advertised in order to ascertain specific instruments.

In summary, although there are potential references to clarinets from 1780 onward, there are no specific clarinet references until 1803, after the British handed the Cape back to the Dutch. However, there remains one foreign regiment to be discussed from the second Dutch period. The German Waldeck Battalion’s stay at the Cape overlaps the first firm clarinet reference, but is discussed along with the other foreign regiments, because there are no verified clarinet references associated with it, and possible clarinet references are only conjecture.

The Waldeck Battalion was sent to the Cape in 1802, just before the British handed the Cape back to the Dutch, although the VOC was not in charge, as it had already collapsed. Jooste, in his article on the musicians of this battalion,²⁷ has delved into the both the battalion itself, and the musical life at the court of Waldeck in Arolsen, Germany. Conclusions have been made based on that research.

Firstly, after establishing that military *Hautboisten* bands had more instruments than just oboes in them,²⁸ Jooste discusses the typical instrumentation of Prussian military ensembles, though it could vary, and he says that the actual instruments played by the oboists of the Waldeck Battalion are not recorded.²⁹ He later says that whether the Waldeck oboe ensemble at the Cape had a “typical” combination can thus not be stated with certainty, but inferences suggest that it probably consisted of oboes, clarinets, bassoons, and maybe a trumpet.³⁰

27 Jooste, “Die Invloed van die Musikante van die Waldeck-Bataljon op die Kaapse Musieklewe (1802-1806)”.

28 Ibid., pp.111-112.

29 Ibid., p.112.

30 Ibid., p.112; “Of die Waldeckse *Hautbois*-ensemble aan die Kaap indertyd ‘n ‘tipiese’ samestelling gehad het, kan dus nie met sekerheid gesê word nie, maar afledings dui daarop dat dit vermoedelik uit hobo’s, klarinette, fagotte en dalk ‘n trompet bestaan het” (English transl. B. Steltzner).

It is known that the court in Arolsen did have clarinets; Jooste cites sheet music in the castle library in Arolsen that contains clarinet parts, and includes a reproduction of the score of part of a cotillion containing clarinet parts.³¹ In particular, he names oboist Ludwig Feiner as being a virtuoso oboist, English horn player, clarinetist and bassoonist, as well as an orchestral violinist, although Feiner's stay at Arolsen was for only about a year.³²

Jooste establishes connections between the military musicians and the court musicians,³³ and says the oboist Schulz, who was at the Cape in 1804 when he was 35 years old, participated in an Arolsen court ball on 1 January 1792. During this ball, he had the opportunity to play various parts on the flute, oboe, and clarinet.³⁴ His citation for this is "cf. Figure 2 and the description above". Figure 2 is the reproduction of the cotillion with clarinet parts, and it is unclear exactly what "the description above" refers to, so this seems to be less of a firm reference than an inference drawn from Schulz's presence at a ball where music involving clarinets could have been played. It is also possible that another oboist who did not later come to the Cape was responsible for the clarinet parts.

In short, these musicians undoubtedly knew of clarinets, but it has not been firmly established that they actually played them in Germany or at the Cape.

31 Jooste, "Die Invloed van die Musikante van die Waldeck-Bataljon", p.112, citing D. Rouvel, *Zur Geschichte der Musik am Fürstlich Waldeckschen Hofe zu Arolsen*, pp.187, 188.

32 Jooste, "Die Invloed van die Musikante van die Waldeck-Bataljon", p.116; "Voordat Feiner na Arolsen gegaan het, was hy aan die Burgsteinfurter hofkapel as hobovirtuoos, Engelse horingspeler, klarinettis en fagottis, asook as orkesviolis verbonde" (transl. B. Steltzner); he cites D. Rouvel, *Zur Geschichte der Musik am Fürstlich Waldeckschen Hofe zu Arolsen*, pp.202-204.

33 Jooste, "Die Invloed van die Musikante van die Waldeck-Bataljon", pp.118-119.

34 Ibid., p.122; "Die *Hautboist* Schulz wat in 1804 aan die Kaap was, toe 35 jaar oud, het meegespeel tydens die Arolsen-hofbal op 1 Januarie 1792. Tydens hierdie bal was hy ook in die geleentheid om verskillende partye op die fluit, hobo en klarinet te speel" (transl. B. Steltzner).

Chapter 8 The Earliest Clarinet References in South Africa, 1803-1850

Unfortunately, as stated in the “Introduction”, the reference that gives the earliest date for the appearance of the clarinet at the Cape is erroneous. Imrie, in *The Military Band in South Africa*, states that “[i]n 1660 we first hear of the Clarinet in South Africa. In his memoirs, Lichtenstein, an aged Violinist of repute, wrote that he had met two Missionaries who were overjoyed to hear that the natives were being converted, and that the singing of the Psalms was accompanied on the Violin and Clarinet, in unison.”¹

In fact, this took place in 1805. It could be taken as a mere misprint, except that Imrie placed it between references to a 1658 funeral, and changes in European military bands that started in 1663. It certainly looks deliberate, but whether deliberate or accidental, there are several things wrong with it. Most importantly, the clarinet had not yet been invented in 1660.

Apart from that, Lichtenstein was born only in 1780, and he was not “aged” when he came to South Africa; he was only 23 years old. He was still only 32 years old when his book was published. He was also not a violinist by trade, but a medical doctor and naturalist, after whom a few southern African plants and animals are named.

Lichtenstein’s South African travels took place in 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806, not 1660, and in fact, these years are given in the book’s title.² The spelling in Imrie’s footnote (“Reizen”) indicates that he used a later Dutch edition,³ but the years are still in the title. Imrie’s paraphrase wrongly implies that the missionaries heard that other people were converting natives and playing violin and clarinet, when in fact the missionaries did both themselves. Finally, this is not the absolute earliest quotation referring to the clarinet. Imrie does not mention the Meuron Regiment clarinets, and also misplaces an earlier Lichtenstein reference, from the start of his first journey in 1803. Imrie mentions it later, but does not identify it as the first reference, nor cite its source. Lichtenstein’s references still do not really pinpoint the entry of the clarinet into South Africa, but they will be discussed in chronological order of appearance.

1 Imrie, *The Military Band in South Africa*, p.8, citing Lichtenstein, “Reizen”, p.181.

2 Lichtenstein, *Reisen im südlichen Africa in den Jahren 1803, 1804, 1805 und 1806*.

3 Lichtenstein, *Reizen in het zuidelijk gedeelte van Afrika in de jaren 1803, 1804, 1805 en 1806*; worldcat.org (search results for “Lichtenstein Reizen” or “Lichtenstein’s Reizen”) shows edition dates of 1813, 1813-1815, and 1818, but all have the years in the title, though some use “von” instead of “van”.

The Lichtenstein quotations where they belong

The official transfer of the Cape of Good Hope back to the Dutch, as a result of the Treaty of Amiens, did not take place until early 1803. In December 1802, just prior to the transfer, Henry Lichtenstein arrived. Several months later, he accompanied Commissary General Janssens on a journey to inspect the interior. They had a “Halbmondbläser” player in their travelling group, which Plumptre wrongly translates as “French-horn player”,⁴ while it is in fact a bugle. However, it is at a farm that the group was to encounter the clarinet.

Lichtenstein left Cape Town with General Janssens on 9 October 1803, first visiting Rietvallei and then the Klavervallei, neither of which are on modern maps. The Rietvallei he refers to is identifiable as modern Blaauwberg, because Lichtenstein mentions that in 1806 there would be a definitive battle there that would give South Africa back to the English. The Klavervallei is identifiable by the fact that they visited a farm there that was previously part of the government station called the Groote Post in the Groenekloof. This is in the modern Darling area, and the present wine farm named Groote Post was part of that original land:

In the evening Mr. Van Reenen entertained the company with a concert performed by his slaves. They played first a chorus, and afterwards several marches and dances upon clarinets [*Clarinetten*], french horns [*Hörnern*], and bassoons [*Fagotten*]. The instruments were good, and there was great reason altogether to be pleased with the performance, though much was wanting to render the harmony complete. They afterwards played upon violins [*Violinen*], violoncellos [*Bass*], and flutes [*Flöten*], on which they performed equally well. It is not uncommon to find the same thing among many families at the Cape, and there are many freed-men in the town who gain their living by instructing the slaves in music: but neither master or scholars know a single note: they all play entirely by the ear. This practice receives great encouragement from the natural inclination that the slaves, particularly the Malays, have to music, from the passion for dancing that prevails among the young people of the colony, and from the advantage the gentlemen find in having them at hand on all occasions of festivity. I know many great houses in which there is not one of the slaves that cannot play upon some instrument, and where an orchestra is immediately collected together, if the young people of the house, when they are visited in the afternoon by their acquaintance, like to amuse themselves with dancing for an hour or two. At a nod the cook exchanges his saucepan for a flute [*Flöte*], the groom quits his curry-comb and takes his violin [*Violine*], and the gardener throwing aside his spade sits down to the violoncello [*Violoncell*].⁵

4 Lichtenstein, *Reisen im südlichen Africa*, vol.1, p.16, transl. Plumptre, vol.1, p.9.

5 Lichtenstein, *Reisen im südlichen Africa*, vol.1, pp.44-45, transl. Plumptre, vol.1, p.28. The original German is: “Zur Unterhaltung der Gesellschaft Liess Herr van Reenen Abends seine Slaven musiciren. Sie bliesen auf Clarinetten, Hörnern und Fagotten erst einen Choral, nachher mehrere Märsche und Tänze. Man hatte Ursache, mit der Stimmung und Präcision zufrieden zu seyn, wiewohl immer noch viel fehlte, dass man es eine gute Harmonie-Musik hätte nennen können. Sie holten nachher Violinen, Bass und Flöten, worauf sie sich nicht weniger geschickt zeigten. Man findet diese Einrichtung in manchen capischen Familien, und es giebt in der Stadt Freigelassene, die sich ausschliesslich mit dem Musik-Unterricht für Slaven beschäftigen. Aber weder Lehrer noch Schüler kennen eine Note, sondern Alles

Plumptre's translation is again inaccurate; she says, "though much was wanting to render the harmony complete [. . .]". This is, in the original German, "wiewohl immer noch viel fehlte, dass man es eine gute Harmonie-Musik hätte nennen können". "Harmonie-musik" refers to bands of reed woodwinds in pairs, with a pair of horns, i.e. two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons, and two horns. The group Lichtenstein describes is very nearly that, so it seems he was not referring to incomplete harmony as in chords or intonation, but rather that he wished there were two oboes added to make the group complete compared to the "Harmonie-Musik" he was used to in Europe. Despite the mistranslation, the fact is that in 1803, slaves were playing clarinets, so this is, to date, the first hard reference to clarinets in South Africa.⁶

Imrie must have been aware of the reference, because in a section on Malay slaves, he says "Jacob van Reenen had an orchestra of Clarinets, Horns, Bassoons, Violins, Bases and Flutes".⁷ This is the exact instrumentation in the 1803 reference. However, he does not cite Lichtenstein, he misses the fact that this was earlier than the missionary reference, and it was Sebastian van Reenen who owned the farm where the clarinets were heard, not Jacob. Further, in the same paragraph, he makes the comment "from 1657, a gradual emancipation takes place", which is very strange, considering that slavery was not abolished until 1834.

Imrie's missionary quotation is from Lichtenstein's third journey, at Laauwaterskloof, or Bastertskloof, in June 1805. The clarinet and the violin are played by the missionaries Koster and Janssen, and not by other people, as Imrie implies. The Plumptre translation is:

On the same morning the missionaries held a solemn meeting, in the open air, for public worship; since, otherwise, the families living here must have gone to attend church either at Rietfontein or Leeuwenkuil. A psalm was first sung, which the whole audience knew by heart, and which was accompanied by the two missionaries with the violin [*Violine*] and clarinet [*Clarinette*]. One of them then laying aside the instrument, preached a long, drawling, heavy sermon, from Klinkenberg, a celebrated preacher in Holland; the matter of which was far beyond the comprehension of the

wird nach dem Gehör gespielt. Die natürliche Neigung der Sklaven (besonders der Malayen) zur Musik, die Tanzlust der jungen Welt und der Vortheil, den die Herren dabei finden, wenn die Feierstunden auf diese Weise ausgefüllt werden, begünstigen diese Mode gar sehr. Ich kenne grosse Haushaltungen, in welcher kein Slave ist, der nicht irgend ein Instrument spielte, und wo das Orchester gleich beisammen ist, sobald es den Kindern des Hauses einmal einfällt, etwa bei dem Nachmittagsbesuch einiger Bekannten ein Paar Stunden durch Tanz auszufüllen. Es bedarf nur eines Winks und sogleich ergreift der Koch statt der Zange die Flöte, der Stalljunge vertauscht die Striegel mit der Violine, und der Gärtner setzt seinen Spaden bei Seite, um das Violoncell zu streichen."

⁶ In the 2 February 2015 lecture-demonstration for this degree, the pieces chosen to demonstrate this first reference were Beethoven's *March* WoO 29 and a "Minuet" from Righini's *Serenata*. Both are for the sextet instrumentation described in the Lichtenstein passage. See Appendix 1.

⁷ Imrie, *The Military Band in South Africa*, p.9.

assembled auditors. The service was closed with a general hymn.

Immediately after this ceremony we held a conference with the missionaries. They were both young, and not long arrived from Europe, and made a great parade with explaining their principles. It was never their idea, they said, to make mere devotees of the savages, but to infuse instruction into their minds by mild and pleasing impressions, particularly by the aid of music.⁸

As stated above in footnotes 2 and 3, it is obvious by the spelling of the title that Imrie was using a Dutch version, but the original German for the sentence in question is “Zuerst wurden einige Psalme [*sic*] gesungen, die sie Alle auswendig wussten, und die die beiden Sendlinge mit Violine und Clarinette *all’ unisono* begleiteten.”⁹ In this case, Plumptre’s translation is accurate, and the clarinet and violin were definitely played by the missionaries.

Of these two missionaries, Koster eventually settled in Swellendam as a doctor, leaving the missionary service.¹⁰ Since it is not known which missionary was the clarinetist, it is thus not known whether there was eventually a clarinetist in Swellendam.

Where did the clarinets come from?

The missionary probably brought his clarinet with him from overseas, but the slaves’ clarinets would have been obtained locally. The Waldeck Battalion discussed in the previous chapter might be one source, but it is unlikely. The British did not hand over control immediately, and in fact only left the Cape in March 1803. The Waldeck soldiers, who had been housed at Wynberg temporarily, could not move into the Castle when the British left, because the quarters there had apparently been left in such a poor state that the Waldeck Battalion could not be posted there. They moved to the Castle only in June 1803.¹¹

8 Lichtenstein, *Reisen im südlichen Africa*, vol.2, pp.399-400, transl. Plumptre, vol.2, p.245. The original German is: “Am demselben Morgen hielten die Missionäre öffentlichen Gottesdienst, da sonst die hier wohnenden Familien nach *Rietfontein* oder *Leeuwenkuil* in die Kirche gehen müssen. Zuerst wurden einige Psalme [*sic*] gesungen, die sie Alle auswendig wussten, und die die beiden Sendlinge mit Violine und Clarinette *all’ unisono* begleiteten. Dann legte der Eine das Instrumente bei Seite und declamirte eine hochtrabende Predigt von Klinkenberg, einem in Holland sehr berühmten Kanzelredner, die das Fassungsvermögen sämtlicher Zuhörer weit überstieg. Zum Beschluss ward wieder ein Gesang gesungen. Gleich darauf hatten wir eine Zusammenkunft mit den Missionären. Beide waren noch jung, erst kürzlich aus Europa gekommen, und rühmten sich aufgeklärter Grundsätze. Sie seien nicht gesonnen, die Wilden zu Kopfhängern zu machen, sondern ihre Lehre solle durch sinnlich freudige Eindrücke, besonders durch Musik, sich Eingang verschaffen.”

9 Lichtenstein, *Reisen im südlichen Africa*, vol.2, pp.399; the italics are in the original.

10 Latrobe, *Journal of a Visit to South Africa in 1815, and 1816*, p.268. According to Plaskett & Miller, *Proclamations, Advertisements and Other Official Notices*, William Koster was appointed as a medical practitioner on 1 September 1808 (p.90), and resigned as District Surgeon of Swellendam sometime before June 1822, as the appointment of his replacement is dated 14 June 1822 (p.556).

11 Jooste, “Die Invloed van die Musikante van die Waldeck-Bataljon”, p.107; “die Engelse wat reeds op 5 Maart 1803 vertrek het, het die kwartiere in die Kasteel in so ‘n swak toestand agtergelaat dat dit voorlopig nie betrek kon word nie” (English transl. B. Steltzner).

Groote Post is about 60 kilometres from Cape Town, and it seems unlikely that any of the Waldeck troops travelled out there prior to the official visit by Janssens in October, especially since their living arrangements were so unsettled. Further, the soldiers would not have been in a position to sell instruments; military instruments usually belong to the military unit, not to individual soldiers. The Waldeck musicians probably also did not have many personal belongings to sell; they were in financial straits before they left Germany, and these conditions continued at the Cape.¹² Finally, it would have taken time for the slaves to learn a new instrument, and even if there was contact between the Waldeck musicians and the slaves after June 1803, it is not likely that the slaves would have been in a position to give the kind of performance Lichtenstein describes by October of the same year.

So other and earlier local sources need to be investigated for references. As stated in the literature review, Cape Town got its first newspaper in 1800. The first issue of *The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser* and its Dutch counterpart, the *Kaapsche Stads Courant, en Afrikaansche Berigter* ran on 16 August. It had advertisements that were sometimes for auctions of individuals' items, and sometimes for shops selling goods.

Sebastian van Reenen, the owner of the farm, himself had a “pakhuis”, or warehouse, and placed advertisements for it, but there were none during this period. Van Reenen's advertisements only start from 18 February 1804,¹³ so he probably did not import the instruments his slaves played. In fact, clarinets are not advertised specifically until 10 October 1807,¹⁴ four years after Lichtenstein heard Van Reenen's slave musicians. However, the possibilities can be narrowed down by looking at other advertisements to see where a clarinet might have been bought.

12 Ibid., pp.107-108; “Hierdie verhuring van soldate het saamgehang met die algemene finansiële nood wat veral die kleiner howe in Duitsland destyds beleef het [. . . at the Cape] het hulle 'n lae soldy ontvang, en is daar 'n tekort aan kleding en selfs kos ondervind as gevolg van die lang droogte waaronder die Kaap in 1801 gely het” (English transl. B. Steltzner).

13 *Kaapsche Courant* (the title changed when the British handed the Cape back to the Dutch in 1803), 18 February 1804, p.2. Van Reenen advertised primarily foods, but “Westphaalsche Hammen” (Westphalian Hams) would imply imports.

14 *The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser*, 10 October 1807, p.1. Incidentally, Bouws (*Solank daar musiek is . . .*, pp.33-34) gives the impression that clarinets were advertised earlier than 1807. After discussing the activities of J.C. Kemmerling from 1803-1806, he says “in the same years” (“[i]n dieselfde jare”), and then mentions an advertisement from “Watts & Smith”. However, the announcement that Alexander Watts and Edward Smith had merged “into copartnership” only appeared in *The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser* on 14 February 1807 (p.2), so Bouws' plural “years” must extend beyond 1806.

The very first gazette in 1800 already has an advertisement for musical instruments. It says John Elmslie, “No.18, Corner of Lange Markt, and Loop Straat, Has now for Sale, either Whole-sale or Retail, A large and general Assortment of Goods, suitable for the Cape of Good Hope. Among which are, Musical Instruments [. . .]”.¹⁵ The rest of the list includes cloth, housewares, building tools and supplies, along with ammunition and black pepper, so Elmslie was a general dealer and did not sell musical instruments exclusively. In addition, there is no specific mention of woodwinds.

In general, the “piano forte” is the most common instrument advertised. These are possibly specified by name because they are larger, and smaller instruments would just be included as “household goods”. However, from time to time violins or other instruments are mentioned, and on one occasion, a pedal harp, is advertised.¹⁶ There were no specialist music shops at this time, and the following, from 23 May 1801, is a typical advertisement by a general dealer:

Will be exposed to Public Sale, For Account of the Underwriters, At the Store of Thomas Bradley and Co. Bergh Street, On Saturday the 30th Instant, At Ten o’Clock, Four pieces of superfine damaged blue cloth. Also, at the same time, musical instruments on consignment, &c.

For sale, sundry European articles imported in the different arrivals from London.

N.B. A small quantity of iron in bars, and a few 1¼ and 1½ inch yellow Christiana deals.

Cape Town, May 22d, 1801.¹⁷

Bradley was clearly not a music specialist, and no specific instruments are mentioned.

An advertisement that comes closer to indicating the sale of clarinets is from 25 June 1803, where two advertisements separately mention the first woodwinds to be advertised in this paper. The first advertises, amongst other items, a quantity of silverware, a very excellent piano in very good condition, some flutes, and fittings for caskets.¹⁸

¹⁵ *The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser*, 16 August 1800, p.1.

¹⁶ On 13 June 1801, the following was advertised in *The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser*: “opiate, pastils manna, Spanish flies, eau vulneraire music, violins, and strings, earthen and glass ware, corks, &c.” (p.2, *sic*—there are some commas missing). On 24 September 1808, Watts & Smith advertised an auction of household furniture on behalf of a “gentleman returning to Europe” that included “a grand organized Piano Forte, a Pedal Harp, Horses, &c. &c.” (ibid., p.2)

¹⁷ *The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser*, 23 May 1801, p.2; “Deals” in this context are boards or planks.

¹⁸ *Kaapsche Courant*, 25 June 1803, p.2. The original Dutch is “een quantiteit Zilverwerk, een zeer uitmuntend Piano Forte in zeer goode conditien, eenige Fluiten, beslag voor Dood-kisten” (English transl. B. Steltzner).

The second advertisement from the 25 June issue is more important. Firstly, it deals only with musical items; the seller was J.C. Kemmerling, whose name comes up later as taking part in concerts.¹⁹ Secondly, after mentioning violins, violas, basses, and flutes, the next phrase is “and several other sorts of instruments”, and then he offers repairing services, strings, and sheet music.²⁰ The “other sorts of instruments” could have included clarinets.

As the 25 June advertisement shows, supplies are advertised from time to time, and fiddle strings are mentioned, but reeds are only mentioned in 1823, which might indicate that clarinets were not being sold yet. On the other hand, cane existed in the Cape; after all, the name of the valley near Mr. Van Reenen’s farm was Riet Valley, or “reed valley”.

By modern standards South African cane is not good for woodwind reeds because it grows too quickly in the heat, and the resulting reeds are too soft. Nevertheless, one cannot exclude the possibility that reed players in those days made their own reeds and did not need to import them through a shop like Mr. Kemmerling’s. In addition, as outlined in Chapter 6, Mentzel’s oboe and bassoon references came from the 1730s, and those players had to have reeds of some sort, so they were obviously available somehow.

With the first woodwind instruments advertised for sale in Cape Town within four months of the first clarinet reference, the probability is that the slaves’ clarinets were purchased either at Mr. Elmslie’s, Mr. Hudson’s or Mr. Kemmerling’s, or at one of the other shops that sold musical instruments from time to time.

1806

A “Harmony” by Hoffmeister was played at a concert given by Mr. Kemmerling and J.C. Schrupff on 12 February 1806,²¹ but this does not necessarily mean it was played in its original setting for two oboes, two clarinets, two horns, and two bassoons. Schrupff was a violinist²² and it is unclear what Kemmerling’s part was in the concert.

19 See below, the 12 February 1806 concert.

20 *Kaapsche Courant*, 25 June 1803, p.2. The original Dutch is “By J.C. Kemmerling in de Boomstraat No.27 zyn te bekoomen alderhande soorten van Musiek Instrumenten, Violen, Alte, Bassen, Fluiten en meer andere soorten van Instrumenten: – Viool-, Alt-, en Bas-Snaaren, Clavier en Harp-Snaaren, Musiek voor Clavier en andere Instrumenten:–maakt en repareerd ook Violen, Alten en Bassen, &c. &c. De Liefhebbers der Musiek kunnen geriesd worden, van al het geene tot de Musiek behoort en beloofd wyders eene prompte en civiele behandeling” (English transl. B. Steltzner).

21 *The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser*, 8 February 1806, p.2.

22 Bouws, *Solank daar musiek is*, p.28.

It is possible this was a violin and piano duo concert, where they played transcriptions that included symphonies and overtures.²³ However, by this time, the Cape was back in the hands of the British and, as shown below by the 1810 reference to the concert William Burchell attended, there were regimental wind players available in this period to take orchestral parts. Thus, there is a good possibility the Hoffmeister was performed as a woodwind octet.²⁴

1807—the first specified clarinet for sale

As stated above, an advertisement appears in October 1807 that specifies clarinets for sale. It was for the sale by Watts & Smith of goods landed from the ship *Venus*; the first advertisement merely includes a generic “Piano Fortes, and various Music Instruments”,²⁵ but a second, more specific, advertisement on 10 October lists, amongst other items, “Piano Fortes, Organs, Violins, Flutes, Hautboys, Claranets [*sic*], Tambarines [*sic*], Flagelets [*sic*], &c. and a quantity of a new Music.”²⁶

1807-1808—The Moravians

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the Moravians were not only the first group of missionaries to come to South Africa, they also seem to have been the group that placed the most importance on music. However the clarinet only gets a transitory mention, and it is not even certain it is a missionary who played it. Krüger says: “Singing and music played a great role. The brethren would brighten the services by the playing of instruments. In the ‘Old Year’s Night’ service on 31 December 1807, the hymn ‘Now thank we all our God’ was sung to the accompaniment of cornet, clarinet, flute and violin”.²⁷

Although the clarinetist is unidentified, four missionaries are mentioned in this service: Marsveld and Kühnel, who were previously cited as flute players, leaving either Bonatz or Schmidt who could have been the clarinetist.

23 There is no way to tell, because the concert was not reviewed. As stated in the literature review, the paper in this period was government-controlled, and merely for lists, proclamations, and advertisements.

24 In the 12 February 2015 lecture-demonstration for this degree, the first movement of Hoffmeister’s *Parthia in B-flat* was played. He wrote at least three works for this combination with an optional double bass part, and this one was chosen because the parts were available, and it fit well with the rest of the programme. See Appendix 1.

25 *The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser*, 3 October 1807, p.2.

26 *Ibid.*, 10 October 1807, p.1. The clarinets are advertised again on 14 November 1807, p.2, this time spelled correctly, but after this, no clarinets were advertised again for the next few years; 10 February 1810 is the next advertised sale of clarinets (Supplement, p.1).

27 Krüger, *The Pear Tree Blossoms*, p.109, citing the *Diary of Bavianskloof/Genadendal*, 1792-1880, vol.V, p.53.

An occasional concert was all that the place could offer; and considering that there were but few professed musicians in the orchestra, the performance might be called very good. The leader of the band, a Dane, whose powers on the violin were far above mediocrity, gave us a *concerto* on that instrument, and, on the same evening, another on the harp. These he played without any assistance whatever from written notes; an example of musical memory not very common. The principal parts were filled by the amateurs, all of whom were of the Dutch part of the community; the French-horns, bassoons, and clarionets being supplied from the regimental bands.³⁰

Unless the dates in Burchell's book are wrong, this concert was never advertised in the *Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser*, so no one can be identified. However, the Danish violinist was undoubtedly Frederick Carl Lemming, since there is evidence of him playing both harp and violin, as well as guitar, and it is unlikely there was another Dane in Cape Town who could play a similar combination of musical instruments; Bouws also believes it was Lemming.³¹ Lemming had been giving concerts in Cape Town since at least 1806.³²

1821

Bouws, in *Die Musieklewe van Kaapstad 1800-1850* mentions John Brown, who on 20 January 1821 advertised that he would give lessons on piano, flute, and clarinet:

JOHN BROWN,

Late Master of the Band of the 72d Regt.

RESPECTFULLY informs the Public, that he has disengaged himself from that Situation, for the purpose of Teaching and Tuning the Piano Forte; he will also give Lessons on the Flute and Clarionet.—His Terms will be known, on Application at No.5, Caledon Square.³³

Interestingly, Brown seems not to have advertised in the Dutch version of this issue. He had enlisted in the 72nd regiment on 8 July 1800,³⁴ but only came to South Africa when the regiment took part in the Battle of Blaauwberg in 1806. From 1806, the regiment was stationed in Cape Town until 1809. It is not known which battalion Brown was in, but the 1st Battalion spent some years in Mauritius, coming back to Cape Town in 1814. After a short stay, they were ordered to India in 1815, but by the time they got there, the war they were sent to fight was over; they were ordered back to Cape Town via Mauritius, arriving in February 1816.

30 Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, vol.1, pp.20-21.

31 Bouws, "Frederik Carl Lemming, Musikmeister in Kaapstadt (1805-1817)", p.116.

32 *The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser*, 22 March 1806, p.2.

33 Bouws, *Die Musieklewe van Kaapstad 1800-1850*, p.13. The original advertisement is in *The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser*, 20 January 1821, p.2.

34 British Army Service Records 1760-1915, GBM-W097-0839-104-001, discharge paper.

Four companies were sent to Grahamstown in 1817, but the headquarters were still at Simonstown. The 72nd was in service until December 1821, and returned to England shortly thereafter, but “fifty soldiers of good character who had claims to pension, were permitted to settle in the country”.³⁵

Brown must have been one of these fifty. His discharge paper was signed at Cape Town by Brown and his commanding officer, Col. Henry Monckton, on 24 May 1820, but was not confirmed until 17 October 1820. The paper also says Brown was born in 1777 in the “Parish of Kilbride in or near the Town of Senark in the County of Down” in Ireland. At the time of discharge he was 43 years old. “TO prevent any improper use being made of this Discharge, by its falling into other Hands”, he was described as “Five Feet Eight Inches in height, Brown Hair, Blue Eyes, Brown Complexion; and by Trade or Occupation a Weaver”. His rank was Private throughout his service, and “his general conduct as a Soldier has been very good”.³⁶

This does not necessarily mean clarinets were heard in South Africa while the 72nd regiment was there. Although Whitwell says “[b]y the 1780s the instrument seems truly in common use”³⁷ in English military bands, the 72nd, when raised in 1778 “was to consist of fifty serjeants, two pipers, twenty drummers and fifers, and a thousand and ten rank and file”.³⁸ The “pipers” were not clarinetists; if so, there would be more wind instruments listed.³⁹

As mentioned in Chapter 6, “pipers” could mean one or more of several instruments, and there is documentation from just before the 1806 Battle of Blaauwberg that identifies these pipers as bagpipers. The identification comes from an account of the Battle of Blaauwberg by Lt. Ronald Campbell, read in conjunction with an earlier passage in his journal:

35 Cannon, *Historical Record of the 72nd Foot*, p.38-49.

36 British Army Service Records 1760-1915, GBM-W097-0839-104-001, discharge paper.

37 Whitwell, *The Wind Band and Wind Ensemble of the Classical Period*, p.106.

38 Cannon, *Historical Record of the 72nd Foot*, p.3; although named the 78th in 1778 and only renamed the 72nd in 1786, this is not the same 78th that took part in the Battle of Muizenberg in 1795.

39 Whitwell, *The Wind Band and Wind Ensemble of the Classical Period*, pp.105-106; he cites a 1762 British regimental decree placing the clarinet in a military ensemble with trumpets, french horns, bassoons, and oboes. He also cites Farmer, *The Rise & Development of Military Music*, who “gives evidence of doubled clarinets in the artillery by 1782, when one finds four clarinets, pairs of horns and bassoons, with a trumpet [6]. The instrumentation for the infantry band, during the 1760s, was pairs of obes [*sic*], clarinets, horns, and bassoons [7] and for the cavalry, pairs of clarinets, horns, and bassoons at about this time. [8]” (p.106). Footnote 7 cites an extant march by James Worgan for pairs of oboes, clarinets, horns, and bassoons, “with the addition of a flute, two trumpets, and timpani.” Footnotes 6 and 8 cite pp.62-63 of the Farmer book.

The soldiers suffered excessively from the heat of the sun, which was as intense as I ever felt it in India; though our fatigue was extreme, yet, for the momentary halt we made, the grenadier company (Seventy-Second) requested the pipers might play them their regimental quick step, *Capper fiedth*, to which they danced a Highland Reel, to the utter astonishment of the fifty-ninth regiment, which was close in our rear.⁴⁰

An earlier passage in this journal identifies the “pipes” as bagpipes. Cannon quotes from the journal in discussing the 1793 Battle of Pondicherry between the British and the French:

On the 12th of August, as the Grenadiers and Captain Gordon’s company of the Seventy-Second were on duty in the trenches, exposed to a burning sun, and a severe cannonade from the fortress, Colonel Campbell, field officer of the trenches, sent his orderly to Lieutenant Campbell of the Grenadiers, requesting that the piper of the Grenadiers might be directed to play some *pibrachs*. This was considered a strange request to be made at so unsuitable a time; it was, however, immediately complied with: “but we were a good deal surprised to perceive that the moment the piper began, the fire from the enemy slackened, and soon after almost entirely ceased. The French all got upon the works, and seemed more astonished at hearing the bag-pipe, than we with Colonel Campbell’s request.”⁴¹

Brown must have had a clarinet in order to teach it, so the soldiers probably had other instruments with them for recreational use. But since his advertisement indicates an ability to teach the flute, there is a high probability that officially, he was one of the fifers.

Brown was still in Cape Town in 1823, when he advertised the following: “Mr. Brown, having a few hours at his disposal, intends to devote them to giving private Lessons in the English Language. Unexceptional References can be given.—Apply at No.12, Burg-street.

* * German flute taught.”⁴² The availability of a teacher must have increased the number of amateurs needing supplies; advertisements appear in 1823 for clarinet reeds, and in 1827 for clarinet sheet music; the latter will be mentioned below. The 1823 reference is “E.K. Green’s Music Repository, No.45, Bree-street. Just landed from the *Kerswill*, an assortment of Piano Fortes, Flutes, Music, fresh Violin Strings, and best Bassoon and Clarionet Reeds.”⁴³

40 Cannon, *Historical Record of the Seventy-Second Regiment*, p.40 footnote. Steenkamp, in *Assegais, Drums & Dragoons*, p.263, points out that “neither his facts nor his spelling are quite right. ‘*Cabar Feidh*’ (‘The Antlers of the Deer’) was actually the regimental motto, the quick step being ‘Blue Bonnets Over the Border’. Not that the Sassenach English of the 59th, who were so amazed by this exotic display, would have known the difference” (p.361-362, note 25).

41 Cannon, *Historical Record of the Seventy-Second Regiment*, p.32; the first part of the text is Cannon’s, the quoted part is Cannon’s quoted section from Lt. Campbell’s journal.

42 *The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser*, 14 June 1823, p.1; in the *African Court Calendar and Directory for 1824*, “12 Burg Street” was occupied by S.H. Truter (p.145). This was probably a lodging house.

43 *The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser*, 8 November 1823, p.1.

Further evidence of Brown is hampered by the commonness of the name. Various almanacs of the period contain directories of the Cape's inhabitants, and no Browns are listed as music teachers in this period. However, starting in 1822, there is a tailor listed: "Brown, J. Taylor, 21, Castle Street";⁴⁴ given that John Brown's discharge paper says "by Trade or Occupation a Weaver", this might be the same person. On the other hand, the 1823 entry is "Brown, J.M. Taylor, 35, Bree-street"⁴⁵ and the discharge paper does not give a middle name. This tailor was resident in Cape Town until his death in 1844 or 1845; the last entry for him is in 1845, and in 1846, there is an entry for his widow.⁴⁶ If this is the clarinet teacher, then he was not able to make a living with just music teaching.

Further afield, there were at least two other musician-soldiers named John Brown, though both were associated more with the eastern Cape.⁴⁷ A John Brown died in the eastern Cape in 1836; he may be one of the soldier-musicians, or yet another John Brown.⁴⁸ There are references to John Browns in the deceased estate inventory lists, though most of them are from the eastern Cape.⁴⁹ Unless the flute/clarinet teaching John Brown eventually moved there, these do not refer to him. The only items in the inventory lists that connect a John Brown to Cape Town are both from the 1831 estate of John Hopkinson Lolley, who was a partner in the firm of Cape Town Distiller; a "John Brown" is listed as owing this firm two separate amounts. This could be two different John Browns, or, more probably, two different invoices for the same John Brown.⁵⁰

44 *African Court Calendar, and Directory for 1822*, p.117. The almanacs for any given year were available at the end of the previous year, so the information in them would be from that previous year, e.g. the 1822 almanac was available at the end of 1821, with the statistics in it taken from 1821.

45 *African Court Calendar, and Directory for 1823*, p.117.

46 *The Cape of Good Hope Almanac and Annual Register for 1846*, n.p.

47 Rivett-Carnac, in *Thus Came the English in 1820*, p.11 (though uncited), says that the Grahamstown Municipal Commissioners "appointed a street-keeper, John Brown, late drum-major of the 75th (Stirlingshire) Regiment who was to improve the neglected and filthy state of the streets". Since the 75th was in South Africa in the 1830s to fight one of the Xhosa Wars, this is undoubtedly a different person. The second John Brown was a bugler in the 27th Inniskilling Regiment (Trimble, *The Historical Record of the 27th Inniskilling Regiment*, pp.99-102). This regiment did time in both Cape Town and Grahamstown, took part in a march on Natal, and is the same regiment cited below, whose bandmaster was "Mr. Wallace".

48 *The Graham's Town Journal*, 4 August 1836, p.1, advertisement for the sale of his land.

49 Cape Archives, MOOC8/40.28, TEPC/Sentrum, p.1659, showing "John Brown" as witness for the John Stubbs estate (undated); the reference to stolen cattle and horses places this in the eastern Cape. The inventory, interestingly, lists 2 violins (p.1657). MOOC8/46.70, TEPC/Sentrum, p.264, showing a "note of hand" on a "John Brown" in the John Fuller Price estate (inventoried 31 March 1831); this inventory lists "a flute and some music books" (p.263). MOOC8/47.11a, TEPC/Sentrum, p.383, showing a claim by a "John Brown" on the Arnoldus Bernardus Dietz estate (inventoried 2 March 1832); this inventory lists a violin and case, a broken violin, music, and four music stands (p.381).

50 Cape Archives, MOOC8/46.43, TEPC/Sentrum, p.183 & 184, 16 June 1831.

Clarinets at Klein Constantia

In 1825, Marten Teenstra, a Dutch “gentleman-farmer”, while travelling to Java, stopped for an extended stay at the Cape, because he had fallen ill on ship.⁵¹ He wrote about his experiences at the Cape, including music at Klein Constantia. He heard “veldmuzik”, or feldmusik, played by the slaves of the owner, a widow Colijn;⁵² according to Teenstra, it was played with all the necessary wind and other instruments such as clarinets, flutes, trumpets, bassoon, serpent, cymbals, and two large drums, and was played as well as the best English corps in Cape Town dared imagine.⁵³

The first clarinet concerto played in South Africa

There is evidence of the first clarinet concerto played in South Africa in 1826.⁵⁴ The advertisements for the 30 August concert⁵⁵ do not list pieces, but a review does.⁵⁶ In amongst an overture, symphony, and smaller pieces by Küffner, two arias and four concertos were performed; one of these was a clarinet concerto by “Le Febre”, played by Mr. Dolton, bandmaster of the 49th Regiment. The review says he played with grace and purity.⁵⁷

Two years later, in a very similar programme, a clarinet concerto by “Le Feire” was played. The clarinetist was unidentified, but the 5 August review in *The Colonist* says the concert was “for the benefit of the Master of the 49th Band.”⁵⁸ Since Dolton was the bandmaster in 1826, the probability is that he played once again. The programme was as follows:

51 Teenstra, *De Vruchten mijner werkzaamheden*, p.301; he was in the Cape from 12 March to 7 July 1825.

52 This surname is also sometimes spelled “Colyn”.

53 Teenstra, *De Vruchten mijner werkzaamheden*, p.284; “zij voerden eene volmaakte veldmuzik [158] uit, met al de daartoe benoedigde blaas- en andere instrumenten, als klarinetten, fluiten, trompetten, fagot, [159] slang, bekkens en twee groote trommen, en bespeelden dit alles zoo wel, als het beste Engelsche korps in de *Kaapstad* durfde denken” (English transl. B. Steltzner). Footnote 158 (p.296) defines “feldmusik” as military music using a brass band (“Militêre musiek deur middel van ‘n ‘brass band’ ”). This definition is not entirely correct. According to Grove Music, it is military in nature, but long before the date of Teenstra’s book, it included oboes and other non-brass instruments, and by 1800 was known as “Harmonien” (Unverricht & Page, “Feldmusik”). Footnote 159 (p.296) defines a “fagot” (bassoon) as a “Baspyp, van hout”.

54 According to the review in *The South African Commercial Advertiser* (2 September 1826, p.3), this was also the “first public Amateur Concert in South Africa.” Given that Burchell described amateurs playing with Lemming in December 1810, this is not entirely true. This review says nothing about the clarinetist.

55 *The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette*, 25 August 1826, p.1; *The South African Commercial Advertiser*, 29 August 1826, p.1. No advertisement was placed in the *Kaapsche Courant*, *Afrikaansche Berigter*; (*Of, De Verzamelaar*.), though this paper did review the concert.

56 *Kaapsche Courant*, *Afrikaansche Berigter* (*Of, De Verzamelaar*), 2 September 1826, p.3.

57 *Ibid.*; “met aangenaamheid en zuiverheid gespeeld” (English transl. B. Steltzner).

58 *The Colonist*, 5 August 1828, p.3. *The Colonist* only ran between 22 November 1827 and August or September 1828. Scans of this paper are included in the National Library of South Africa’s microfilm of *The South African Commercial Advertiser*, with the explanatory note “After 10 Mar 1827 this paper [*The South African Commercial Advertiser*] was suspended. Between 22 Nov 1827 and 30 Sept 1828 it was superceded by ‘The Colonist’ [. . .] ‘The S.A. Commercial Advertiser’ resumed publication on 3 Oct 1828.”

GRAND AMATEUR CONCERT,
Under the Patronage of His Honor the Lieut.-Governor, and Mrs.
Bourke,
Will be given on Saturday Evening, the 2d August, in the
Commercial Exchange, to begin precisely at 7 o'Clock, under the
Direction of Mr. Wagner.

PLAN OF CONCERT.—PART I.

<i>Overture,</i>	by Kuffner.
<i>Grand Symphony,</i>	Dr. Haydn.
<i>Flute Variations, Russian Air,</i>	C. Lafond.
Song.—“Within these Sacred Bowers,”	Mozart.
<i>Grand Symphony,</i>	Gyrowitz.

PART II.

<i>Grand Symphony,</i>	by A. Romberg.
<i>Concert Clarinet,</i>	Le Feire.
<i>Concert Piano Forte,</i>	Beczwarzowsky.
<i>Minuet en Rondo,</i>	Gyrowitz.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Tickets 3 Rds. each, may be had at Mr. BRIDEKIRK'S, Gazette Office, Heeregracht, at Mr. GREIG's, Keizersgracht, and at the Commercial Exchange.⁵⁹

The review is scant, but says “the effort was on the whole highly creditable to the Musical talent of the Cape.”⁶⁰ Dolton's contribution to South African clarinet playing was to be a transitory one; the 49th Regiment was replaced in October of 1828.⁶¹

Despite the spelling differences of the composer's name—“Le Febre” vs “Le Feire”—these were undoubtedly the same person, Jean-Xavier Lefèvre (1763-1829), whose name on the first editions of at least two of his concertos is spelled similarly to both programmes above, i.e. “Le Febre”. Lefèvre was a clarinetist himself, and one of the first professors at the relatively recently-founded Paris Conservatoire.⁶² There are six known clarinet concertos by him, all written prior to 1826,⁶³ so without a number or opus number, there is no way of knowing which ones were played in Cape Town.⁶⁴

Clarinet sheet music

By 1827, there was at least some demand for clarinet sheet music, as shown by the following:

⁵⁹ *The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette*, 1 August 1828, p.6.

⁶⁰ *The Colonist*, 5 August 1828, p.3. *The Kaapsche Courant, Afrikaansche Berigter; (Of, De Verzamelaar.)*, did not advertise or review the concert.

⁶¹ Theal, *History of South Africa Since September 1795*, vol. 2, p.85

⁶² Weston, *Clarinet Virtuosi of the past*, pp.59-66.

⁶³ Weston, *More Clarinet Virtuosi of the past*, pp.160-162.

⁶⁴ In the 12 February 2015 lecture-demonstration for this degree, Lefèvre's *Concerto no.4* was chosen because the orchestral parts were available; the slow movement was chosen for the contrast it would provide after the first three pieces. See Appendix 1.

Received per *William Parker*, Capt. Brown, fresh Sweetmilk Cheese, single Hellenbroeks, A B Books, Van den Berg's Bible History, Van der Pyl's Commercial Letters, Holtrop's and Sewel's Dictionaries, Murray's Grammars, Psalm and Hymn Books, C. Mel's and P. Immen's Works, Freemasons' Calendars, New Print Books, varnished Segar Boxes, Cravats, Doctors' Inkstands, Ladies and Gentlemen's Gloves, a variety of Toys, New-year Letters; Piano Forte, Violin, and Clarionet Music; Silver-mounted Horn, and Paper Snuff-boxes, with a variety of other articles too numerous to mention.

J.C. van der Chys,
No.17, Shortmarket-street.

☞ J.C. van der Chys will under take to execute Foreign Commissions at a moderate charge; and he requests all outstanding Debts to be forthwith paid, otherwise he will be unable to make good his remittances.⁶⁵

1830

On 8 and 15 January 1830, "Mrs. the Widow Colyn, wishing to concentrate her Affairs," advertised the "Public Sale of Slaves, &c. at Constantia"; she was selling a farm called "Zweetvallei".⁶⁶ This would be the widow mentioned by Teenstra above. In addition to the slaves, the list of items for sale included "a complete set of Musical Instruments for a Band, quite new".⁶⁷ If the complete set was being sold, the clarinets played in 1825 were sold as a part of it, though there is a possibility, if the set was "quite new", that it was a different set.

Social mores and the economy were changing. Mary Kuttel, great niece of Hildagonda Duckitt, wrote *Quadrilles and Konfyt: The Life and Journal of Hildagonda Duckitt*, a somewhat fictionalised version of Duckitt's life (1839-1905), but she was working from Duckitt's journal. Kuttel writes "[i]n the old days, when the wealthy landowners had slaves, many of them had a band, but all these are things of the past."⁶⁸ Slavery was abolished in 1834,⁶⁹ but long before that, the British government was preparing for it. Theal speaks of "the ever-increasing stringency of the laws for weakening the authority of slaveholders".⁷⁰ Mrs. Colyn may genuinely have needed to cut expenses, or may have been preparing for the inevitable abolition, or perhaps a combination of the two. Whichever it was, the 1825 Teenstra passage and this advertisement are among the last references to slave orchestras at the Cape.⁷¹

65 *The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette*, 24 August 1827, p.3.

66 *The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette*, 8 January 1830, p.5, and 15 January 1830, p.7.

67 Ibid.

68 Kuttel, *Quadrilles and Konfyt: The Life and Journal of Hildagonda Duckitt*, p.17.

69 Theal, *History of South Africa Since September 1795*, p.75.

70 Ibid., p.60.

71 The very last slave orchestra must have been the one belonging to Pieter van Breda, owner of Oranjezicht. According to Bouws (*Die Musieklewe van Kaapstad*, p.140), Van Breda's orchestra contained mostly flutes and violins, and the family still had a house orchestra ("huisorkes") after the abolition of slavery.

The first clarinet in a deceased estate inventory

Also in 1830, a clarinet appears for the first time in a deceased estate inventory. Dated 8 June 1830, the Orphan Chamber has an “Inventory of all such property as has been relinquished by the demis [*sic*] of Henry Grant / a native of Somersetshire England / who died at the Somerset Hospital Cape of Good Hope June 6:th 1830”. In this is a “clarionet”.⁷² The inventory was received from “Major Mitchell”, which may indicate that Grant was with the military. On the other hand, “Mitchell” could also be a misspelling of Michell; Major Charles Collier Michell was the surveyor-general and civil engineer for the Cape Colony at this time. He had both military and civilian duties, as he was also a Justice of the Peace.⁷³

This is a rather odd case. On one hand, as stated previously, the Orphan Chamber did not normally deal with military estates, indicating that Grant was a civilian. On the other hand, if “Mitchell” was carrying out a civilian duty, one would expect him to be mentioned in other MOOC inventories, and he is not. Adding to the probability that Grant was with the military is that the 1829 and 1830 almanacs list no one with the surname Grant, although *The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette* announced his death on 11 June, with no other information than his name and “aged 27 years”.⁷⁴ Finding more on Henry Grant would be difficult.⁷⁵

1832, one of the first musical societies in South Africa, and an absent clarinetist

Kirby, in “An Early Cape Musical Society”⁷⁶, discusses what he believes is one of the first musical societies in South Africa. The group’s full instrumentation is unknown, but it had a clarinetist, which, as has been the case with many musicians in this research, is only documented because he was in trouble. Minutes from a meeting show that “Mr. Henning, who was not present, having ceased to be a member ‘through neglect or otherwise’ was asked to return his B flat and C clarinets which were, by regulation, the property of the Society”.⁷⁷

72 Cape Archives, MOOC8/45.19, TEPC/Sentrum, p.736.

73 Richings, *The Life and Work of Charles Michell*, pp.8-10. This name also appears as Charles “Cornwallis” Michell, a change Michell made in 1820 (*ibid.*, p.26).

74 *Cape of Good Hope Almanac for 1829*; *Cape of Good Hope Almanac for 1830*, *Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette*, 11 June 1830, p.6.

75 *The South African Commercial Advertiser* did not print anything on Henry Grant’s death, nor did *De Zuid-Afrikaan*. There were at least three British regiments in South Africa at this time; the 55th, the 72nd Highlanders, and the 75th Stirlingshire. Of these, the 55th had just arrived in Cape Town in May 1830, after being involved in a battle with the Xhosa on the banks of the Umtata River (Noakes, *A Historical Account of the Services of the 34th & 55th Regiments*, pp.73-74). One possibility is that Grant died from battle wounds.

76 Kirby, “An Early Cape Musical Society”, pp.67-72.

77 *Ibid.*, p.72.

A concert in February 1838 featuring clarinet

Bouws cites an advertisement in *De Mediator*, where a clarinetist named “Wallace”, who was the 27th Regiment’s bandmaster, was to play a *Solo* by “Iwan Müller” in a concert by the harpist Douchez.⁷⁸ A look at the advertisement itself shows this was not the only clarinet solo on the programme:

CONCERT,

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF HIS EX-
CELLENCY THE GOVERNOR, &C. &C.

M. Douchez, Professor of the Harp, has the honour to announce to the Gentry and Public, that his GRAND MISCELLANEOUS CONCERT will take place at the Commercial Hall, on the 21st instant; when every attention, will be paid to render the Room cool with Indian Kuskahs’ Mats.

On this occasion, M. DOUCHEZ will be assisted by some of the first Musical Talent in the Colony; and, by the kind permission of the Hon. Colonel Hare, CB. the BAND of the 27th Regt. Will atten.

Leader, Mr. WALLACE—Conductor, Mr. DOUCHEZ

PROGRAMME.

PART 1st.

1. Grand Overture—“*Il Don Giovanni*” [*sic*]..... Mozart
2. Glee—“Mynheer van Dunck”..... Bishop.
3. “Solo”—Clarinet (with Harp Accompaniment)..... Müller.
4. Song—“The Pirate” Leo.
5. *Fantasia, and Variations*—HarpBochsa.
6. *Concertina*—(Clarinet, Flute, and Violin)..... Kramer.

PART 2d.

1. Grand Overture—“*Les deux Aveugles de Toledo,*” Mehul.
2. Song—“The Light of other Days” (Harp and Cornette Accompaniment)..... Balfe.
3. *Concerto*—Flute, with Orchestra Accompt.Keller.
4. Glee—“The Watchman” Moore.
5. *Solo*—Harp Douchez.
6. Finale—“*Prometheus*”Beethoven.

“*The Queen’s Anthem*”Wallace.

Doors open at half past 7;—Concert to commence on the arrival of His Excellency the Governor.

Tickets, 5s. each. To be had of Mr. Rose, Commercial Hall, and of Mr. J. Dyason, Keizersgracht.⁷⁹

As can be seen in the advertisement, the composer’s first name is not given, so the attribution to Iwan Müller is Bouws’. This is reasonable, though, since Müller, the inventor of the 13-key clarinet, wrote many virtuoso clarinet pieces for himself, some of which are entitled “Solo”. The harp accompaniment could be an arrangement of an orchestral or piano accompaniment.

⁷⁸ Bouws, *Die Musieklewe van Kaapstad 1800-1850*, p.93. Bouws, in *Solank daar musiek is* (p.49) says Wallace played in Bochsa’s *Fantasia en Variasies* but the advertisement clearly says the Bochsa is for harp. Bouws’ reference in *Die Musieklewe van Kaapstad* matches the newspaper advertisement.

⁷⁹ *The Mediator, or, Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer*, 20 February 1838, p.1; with minor differences, this was also advertised in the *South African Commercial Advertiser*, 14, 17, and 21 February 1838, p.1.

Worldcat.org shows a *Grand Solo* for clarinet and orchestra,⁸⁰ as well as a *Solo* for clarinet and piano based on Halévy's opera *Guido et Gineva*.⁸¹ Weston lists a *Grand Solo in C minor*.⁸² There is also a work for clarinet and harp by Müller with a different name.⁸³ The "Kramer" work is undoubtedly the *Concertino* op.70 for flute, clarinet, violin, and orchestra by Franz Krommer, whose birth name was František Vincenc Kramář.

Although the advertisement does not name the clarinetist, the review in the next issue identifies him as Wallace:

On Wednesday last, the 21st inst. a brilliant Concert was given at the Commercial Rooms by Mr. Douchez, Professor of the Harp, in presence of His Excellency the Governor, General Napier, and his family; Sir J. Herschel and his Lady, and a numerous assembly of the most respectable inhabitants of the Town. Among the Performers on this occasion, we noticed several already favourably known to the public, such as Messrs. Knobel and Roselt. Mr. Douchez has not deceived the high opinion we had formed of his execution on the Harp; among others, that of the *Solo* with variations of the Italian air "Sul Margine d'un'Rio," especially, did great credit to his taste. The Band of the 27th Regt did justice to three excellent selections from Mozart, Mehul, and Beethoven. But we have especially to notice, that the masterly execution of a Solo upon the Clarinet, by Mr. Wallace, leader of the military band, surpasses any thing we ever heard during thirty years residence in the Colony. It is impossible to produce from the instrument sounds more soft and harmonious, and at the same time, with more exquisite taste, than Mr. Wallace. The loud and long applause bestowed upon him, ought to be a sure guarantee of the general opinion, which he has so well deserved. For the rest, the Concert was very well conducted, and the company retired perfectly satisfied.⁸⁴

Wallace performed on at least one other occasion that year. On 3 July 1838, a concert took place featuring Signora Schieroni. One of the items was "*Divertimento 'son vergin vezzosa'* clarinet obligato *Mr. Wallace, . . . Bellini*".⁸⁵ There is no such title in Bellini's output, but "*Son vergin vezzosa*" is a soprano aria from his opera *I puritani*. On the surface, this looks like an arrangement for voice, piano, and obligato instrument (in this case clarinet) taking the orchestral woodwind solos.

80 Müller, *Grand Solo pour clarinette principale avec accompagnement d'orchestre*, Bonn: Simrock 1823, worldcat.org entry (accessed 7 February 2016). There is another worldcat.org entry for manuscript material (held by University of Cambridge) for a *Grand solo pour clarinette avec orchestre* that may be the same or a different work (worldcat.org entry (accessed 7 February 2016)).

81 Müller, *Solo (B) tire de l'opera Guido et Gineva de Halevy* op.72 no.1, Leipzig: Frederic Hofmeister, [18--], worldcat.org entry (accessed 7 February 2016).

82 Weston, *More Clarinet Virtuosi of the past*, p.182; since this was published by Dufaut & Dubois, it is not the same as the *Grand Solo* cited in footnote 81, and published by Simrock.

83 Müller, *Serenade pour clarinette avec accompagnement de piano ou harpe ou guitarre*, Mayence: B. Schott fils, [1825?], worldcat.org entry (accessed 7 February 2016).

84 *The Mediator, or, Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer*, 27 February 1838, p.2.

85 *The Mediator, or, Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer*, 3 July, 1838, p.1.

However, the advertisement also says “[t]he whole of Signora Schieroni’s pieces will be sung with full Orchestral Accompaniments”, and there are no substantial instrumental solos in the original orchestral version of this aria; if a full orchestra was available, the original score could have been used. Unlike Wallace’s previous concert, this concert was not reviewed, so there is no more clarity on the piece, its arrangement, or what Wallace’s obligato entailed.

Also in 1838, Grahamstown got its first clarinet teacher. Like Brown, he was a former bandmaster from the military, and like Brown, he also taught flute and piano. On 22 March, the following appeared in *The Graham’s Town Journal*:

INSTRUCTION IN MUSIC.

Mr. Harvey, late Music Master to the 75th Regt., begs leave to acquaint the Ladies’ and Gentlemen of Graham’s Town, that he purposes remaining in Town for some time, when he will give instructions on the Pianoforte, Flute, and Clarionet, &c.

To such as prefer it, Mr. H. will give attendance at his own residence in Market-square, next door to Mr. Powel’s, where terms will be made known.

N.B. Pianofortes tuned, and Music arranged.⁸⁶

1841—two clarinets appear in a dance band in Paarl

The background to the following incident is that William Mann, Second Assistant at the Cape Town Observatory, and a colleague, Lieutenant H.F. Cust, had spent time north of Cape Town doing survey work. On returning to Cape Town, they got lost in the mountains above Paarl. The pass they chose turned out not to be a pass, and only went to the top of the mountain, not all the way through. In trying to descend in the dark, “the ground became steeper & steeper & the horses refused to move”.⁸⁷ They had plenty of ammunition with them, so they fired signal shots and were eventually helped down by a goatherd.⁸⁸ They found the lodging house in Paarl, but only at about midnight, and they would also have been very tired from their exertions in getting off the mountain.

Unfortunately, it was New Year’s Eve, and they “found that the passage & way room was filled with men drinking, swearing & dancing, the master of the house being as drunk as the rest, & from him we could obtain no assistance”.⁸⁹ Mann and Cust waited for some of the party to leave, and eventually, room was available. What happened next involves clarinets:

⁸⁶ *The Graham’s Town Journal*, 22 March 1838, p.4.

⁸⁷ Mann, *The Cape Diary and Letters of William Mann*, p.55.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.56.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.56.

Our bed room was separated by a partition only from the room in which the party was supping, & one little bedstead in a state of delapidation [*sic*] was provided for us two, but you may fancy that we did not go to sleep very soon when I tell you that in the adjoining room there was a select band of Music, consisting of two fiddles, one base ditto, two clarinets, one Big drum & a pair of cymbals; the performers on these above mentioned instruments, whether excited by drink, or led on by professional Zeal—it matters little which—had wound themselves up to a pitch of frenzy, each man exerted himself to the utmost in his own particular department perfectly irrespective of his neighbour. The fiddles rasped away, the big drum was banging like a 32 p[oun]d[e]r but the Clarinets, tho' evidently played by *masterly* hands, were almost entirely silenced by their more powerful neighbours, whose combined effect, however, proved to be quite inadequate in counterbalancing the din which proceeded from the jingle of glasses—the shouting, cheering, clapping of hands & stamping of feet of about 30 greasy Dutchmen. This went on without cessation for a considerable time; the men began to waltz—which was an evident sign that they were all beastly drunk—the big drum stopped—then one fiddle—then another—till at last one clarionet only was left to continue the fight, assisted by occasional volleys from the drum—the waltzing ceased, one after one of the party retired till at last all became silent as the grave—& I went to sleep.⁹⁰

They could not afford to sleep long, because they wanted to arrive in Cape Town the next day. Unfortunately, they could not get breakfast so early, “none of the inmates having recovered from their exertions”, and Mann’s final analysis of the situation was that “we might just as well have spent the night on the mountain”.⁹¹

1843

In 1843, a new newspaper appeared in Cape Town, *Sam Sly’s African Journal*. Modelled on England’s *Punch*, which was a satirical and humorous magazine, it ran, in addition to articles, advertisements, announcements, and reviews of concerts. In the very first issue, a clarinet is mentioned in a report on celebrations for the Queen’s birthday, so although tracing specific instruments in regimental bands is at times difficult, the 45th obviously did have clarinets:

Hark! what sounds are those on the Parade? Oh! it is a great novelty and wonder at the Cape—*Music*—the sweet band of the 45th Regt.—and we trust they are not going to send it away, (they can do what they please with the Grenadiers.) See what a large circle of admirers they have around them. The Africanders—particularly the shoeless—are the best judges of happiness after all. How astonished they seem at the “*Musicians*”—those clean-looking gentlemen in white, turned up with green velvet, and green feathers, and all their instruments so bright and shining. Even in that little group, there are grades and shades of consequence and importance, distinguishable from the rest by certain marks and badges. That gentleman with the gold epaulettes and the black clarionet, standing a little aloof from the rest, is the *leader*; [. . .]⁹²

90 Mann, *The Cape Diary and Letters of William Mann*, pp.56-57.

91 *Ibid.*, p.57.

92 *Sam Sly’s African Journal*, 1 June 1843, p.3.

It can also be inferred that music at the Cape was not a frequent occurrence, at least in the form of public entertainment. Later that year, on 7 December 1843,⁹³ *Sam Sly's African Journal* ran an advertisement for both clarinets and clarinet reeds:

J.F. ASCHEN,
MUSICAL INSTRUMENT MAKER,
No.3, Hout-street,

Begs to inform the Public that he has received Instructions from H. Wrede, to sell his Stock, (at present on hand) at reduced prices, consisting of Bassoons, Clarionets, Flutes, Guitars, Violins, and Violin Bows; Piano-forte, Guitar, and Violin Strings; Bassoon and Clarionet Reeds, and a collection of Piano Forte Music, consisting of Songs, Marches, Rondoes, Quadrilles, Waltzes, &c. &c. Also for Sale, Lanza's Elements of Singing, in 4 parts.

* * Music sold 25 per cent. under publishing price.

1847

As with the 45th Regiment, it is only known indirectly that the 91st Regiment had clarinets. On 3 July 1847, an advertisement was placed in *The Graham's Town Journal* offering a reward for information leading to the recovery of two music books, "one volume being marked 1st Clarionet 4th set, and the other Cornetto, 5th set".⁹⁴ £2 10 was offered for each book. Also in this year, a benefit concert in Grahamstown featured three items with clarinet: a duet for two clarinets with harp accompaniment, another duet for two clarinets based on Bellini's *Norma*, and an aria from Bellini's *La Sonnambula* with clarinet obbligato.⁹⁵ Unfortunately, neither the advertisement nor review mentions the names of the clarinetists.⁹⁶

1849

Closing out the first half of the 19th century is the clarinetist "J. Cranney", who performed in "Mr. Woollard's Musical Soiree" in Cape Town on 7 July.⁹⁷ The review says some singing was "a little out of tune", and "[i]n short the whole of the concert, may be considered as highly meritorious". Mr. Cranney's piece was Joseph Beer's "*Air, with Variations*".⁹⁸ Nothing more is known of Mr. Cranney himself, and since he is not listed in the two almanacs of the period, he is possibly from the military.⁹⁹

93 *Sam Sly's African Journal*, 7 December 1843, p.1.

94 *The Graham's Town Journal*, 3 July 1847, p.2.

95 *The Graham's Town Journal*, 15 May 1847, p.1.

96 *The Graham's Town Journal*, 15 May 1847, p.1 (advertisement); *The Graham's Town Journal*, 22 May 1847, p.3 (review).

97 *The African Journal*, 12 July 1849, p.3.

98 *Ibid.*; this is probably more specifically Beer's *Adagio & Air with Variations* (Weston, *Clarinet Virtuosi of the past*, p.31; Weston says it was his first work, written in 1782).

99 *Cape of Good Hope Almanac and Annual Register* for 1847-1849 were checked, and *Cape Almanac and Directory* for 1848 was checked.

Chapter 9 The Clarinet References in the Second Half of the 19th Century

The organisation of this chapter is difficult in that some general discussion of the various groups of clarinetists is necessary, but solo, amateur, and military groups overlap quite a bit. For example, most musicians were mentioned only if they played a solo or leading role such as an obligato part. Thus, almost all identifiable clarinetists in this research were soloists regardless of which other group they were from. In addition, many concerts involved both amateur and military musicians, so the chapter will be roughly chronological, with general discussion inserted where necessary, even though it might temporarily upset the chronology.

Soloists

The start of the second half of the 19th century is dominated by two men who became seminal figures in the popularisation of the saxophone, but both were originally clarinetists, and both spent time in South Africa playing both instruments.

Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle

The first clarinet soloist to tour South Africa was Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle, born Charles Jean Baptiste Soualle; he is a very enigmatic figure. The subject of the case study in Chapter 11, he was in South Africa from 22 February 1858 to 30 March 1859, playing both clarinet and saxophone at concerts in Cape Town, the eastern Cape, and Natal.

Edward Lefebvre

Within a year of Sou-Alle's visit, there was another clarinetist in Cape Town who also played the saxophone. According to Bouws, "Eduard Abraham Lefèbre [. . .] came to Cape Town to establish a branch of his brother's firm, registered in The Hague as F.J. Weygand en Kie."¹ He participated actively in concerts in Cape Town as a clarinet and saxophone soloist. In addition, he became a member of the Cape Rifles band, and director of a mens' choir, the German Liedertafel group named "Germania".²

1 Bouws, "Lefèbre, Eduard Abraham", p.147. However, James Noyes, in his Doctoral thesis, states that Lefebvre's business was "presumably supplied by his father's business" (p.18), and cites (p.16, footnote 3) the *American Art Journal* (vol.XXXIX no.1, 28 April 1883, p.3) for the information that Louis J. Lefebvre owned the Weygand company. Either way, the Cape Town branch was part of a family business. Noyes' thesis does correct one mistake in Bouws' articles, which give the birthdate as 16 September 1835 (p.147 in the *S.A. Music Encyclopedia* article, and p.64 in the *Quarterly Bulletin* article); Noyes appends a copy of the birth certificate to his thesis (p.288); the birthdate is "den achttienden dag", i.e. the 18th.

2 Bouws, "n Hollandse Musiekhandelaar in Kaapstad (1800-1862)", pp.64-67.

The surname on his birth certificate is “le Fèbre”,³ though in *The Cape Argus* advertisements for his Cape Town concerts, it is spelled “Lefebre”⁴ or Lefèbre.⁵ When he later went to the United States, the spelling remained for the most part as one word with no accent.⁶

There is some discrepancy as to Lefebre’s arrival and establishment in Cape Town. Noyes says that he came to Cape Town in 1859,⁷ but gives no source for this date.⁸ The announcement of his shop was on 15 March 1860, in both Dutch and English:

MUSIC.

The undersigned begs to give notice to the Public and to the friends of Music in the Cape Colony, that he has settled in the City of Cape Town, and that he has on hand a large assortment of PIANOS, VIOLINS, VIOLINCELLOS [*sic*], GUITARS, FLUTES, CLARINETS, from the *most celebrated manufactories* [*sic*] of Europe, also ITALIAN STRINGS, well selected English, German, French, Italian Music, by the most popular composers. His connection with the largest Establishments in France and Holland enables him to supply the latest Publications on Music from Europe, as well as other articles in the above Branch. Further he begs to announce that he will give Lessons on the PIANO, CLARINET and SAXOPHONE, also in SINGING, and the Tuning of Pianos, and hopes to merit a share of the public patronage and confidence.

E.A. LEFEBRE

Cape Town, 14 March, 1860.

Market-Square, next door to Messrs. STURK & Co., Tobacconists.⁹

Lefebre’s concerts

It did not take long for Lefebre to start playing in Cape Town. Just ten days later, at “The Inauguration of the D’Urban Organ” on 24 March, a review says: “Every one, we think, performed his part well; we particularly mention Mr. Lefebre, whose performance on the saxophone, an instrument quite new in this colony, and nearly so in Europe, attracted general attention.”¹⁰ As with many of his concerts, the pieces he played are unidentified.

3 Noyes, *Edward A. Lefebre*, p.288.

4 For example, *The Cape Argus*, 21 June 1860, p.4; 23 June 1860, p.2; 27 June 1860, p.2.

5 For example, *Het Volksblad*, 12 April 1860, p.2; 17 April 1860, p.1.

6 Noyes, *Edward A. Lefebre*, p.16, footnote 1.

7 Noyes, *Edward A. Lefebre*, p.18; he has no citation for the year 1859.

8 Bouws, “n Hollandse Musiekhandelaar in Kaapstad (1800-1862)”, p.64. Supporting an 1860 arrival is that *The Cape of Good Hope Almanac and Annual Register for 1861* [n.p.], which is a compilation of facts and figures for the previous year, in this case, 1860, is the first almanac that lists Lefebre as a resident of Cape Town: “Lefebre, Eduard Abraham, music seller, 15 shortmarketstreet” [*sic*, one word]. If he had arrived in 1859, unless it was extremely late in the year, he would have been listed as resident in the 1860 almanac. [*The Cape of Good Hope Almanac and Annual Register* is paginated up to the Directory, but the Directory itself is unpaginated, probably because it was alphabetical. In the 1860 almanac, this comes after p.262.]

9 *Het Volksblad*, 15 March 1860, pp.1 (Dutch) & 4 (English). Lefebre did not advertise in *The Cape Monitor*, or *The Cape Argus*.

10 *The Cape Argus*, 29 March 1860, p.2; D’Urban is not the city of Durban in Natal, it is modern Durbanville outside of Cape Town.

Including this inauguration, Lefebvre gave at least nine concerts in South Africa, and was important enough locally to be included in a concert attended by the visiting Prince Alfred in September 1860.¹¹ As stated above, works and composers are not always mentioned, but of the nine known concerts, the clarinet works are known for five of them. They were:

1. Beethoven, *Le Désir*, played on 27 June 1860;¹²
2. “Ivan” Müller, *Air Varié*, played on 18 September 1860;¹³
3. Weber, *Concertino*, played on 22 April 1861;¹⁴
4. “J. Müller”, *Fantaisie*, played on 23 June 1862;¹⁵
5. “J. Wagner”, *Tannhauser—Grand Duet for Piano and Clarinet*, played on 23 June 1862;¹⁶
6. Kiel, *Elegy*, played on 23 July 1862;¹⁷ and
7. “J. Müller”, *Air Varié*, played on 23 July 1862.¹⁸

Of these, only one is still considered standard repertoire, and that is Weber’s *Concertino*. “Ivan” Müller is Iwan Müller, who was discussed in the previous chapter. He wrote at least two works entitled “Air Varié” that were paraphrases on other melodies: *Air italien varié* and *Don d’Amitié, air varié*, op.25.¹⁹

As for *Le Désir*, Bouws says that, although on the programme as a work by Beethoven, it was actually the *Clarinet Variations* on Schubert’s *Waltz*, op.9 no.2.²⁰ He gives no citation for this, but there is no real discrepancy. “Beethoven’s” *Le Désir*, published by Schott in 1828,²¹ is undoubtedly not by Beethoven. Grove Music does not list it,²² and it is in the appendix to the thematic catalogue of Beethoven’s works, with the number Anh.14.²³ What is certain is that whoever wrote it based it on the second of Schubert’s *Erster Wälzer*, op.9, and there was, in fact, a set of variations for clarinet on this waltz available well before Lefebvre’s concert—Ferdinand David’s *Introduction et variations sur un thème de Franz Schubert*, op.8, published by Breitkopf & Härtel in 1838. This is most likely the piece Lefebvre played.

11 *The Cape Argus*, 22 September 1860, p.2.

12 *Het Volksblad*, 30 June 1860, supplement, p.1.

13 *The Cape Monitor*, 22 September 1860, p.2.

14 *The Cape Argus*, 18 April 1861, p.4; *Het Volksblad*, 18 April 1861, p.1; *The Cape Monitor*, 20 April 1860, p.1. All give the complete programme.

15 *The Cape Argus*, 21 June 1862, p.4.

16 *Ibid.*; the scan is unclear, but it looks like “Tannhäuser” is anglicised, i.e. it is without an umlaut.

17 *The Cape Argus*, 22 July 1862, p.4.

18 *Ibid.*

19 Weston, *More Clarinet Virtuosi of the past*, p.182.

20 Bouws, “n Hollandse Musiekhandelaar in Kaapstad (1800-1862)”, p.65.

21 Kinsky, *Das Werk Beethovens*, p.727; it was published under the title “Souvenir à Beethoven: Six Valses et une March funèbre pour le Piano”.

22 Kerman, et al., “Beethoven, Ludwig van”.

23 Kinsky, *Das Werk Beethovens*, p.727.

That leaves the “J. Müller” and “J. Wagner” works to identify. There is a Johann Müller who wrote some clarinet etudes, and may have been a clarinettist himself, but according to IMSLP,²⁴ he was born only in 1856, and could not have written works for the clarinet by 1860-1862. Weston lists another possibility, Johann Gustaf Gottfried Müller, a “clarinettist and double bass player [. . . who] may have been a pupil of Crusell’s”.²⁵ This places him in the first half of the 19th century, and thus easily able to produce works that would be available to Lefebre. However, there is a third possibility. Iwan Müller’s name, which has several transliterations, is printed on at least one of his works as follows:

JWAN MÜLLER.

*Auteur de la nouvelle Clarinette et Clarinette – Alto, première Clarinette
au grand Opera et Membre de la Societé Philharmonique à Londres,
Correspondant de la 4^{me} Classe de L’institut royal à Amsterdam &c. &c.:*

Figure 2, from the title page of Iwan Müller’s *Concerto no.3*.²⁶

This could be due to the “I” and “J” being very similar in cursive script; Müller’s first name on the parts of this same edition is given as:



Figure 3, from the solo clarinet part of Iwan Müller’s *Concerto no.3*.²⁷

Thus, it is far more probable that the two “J. Muller” pieces Lefebre played were from the substantial output of Iwan Müller, who was extensively published during his lifetime,²⁸ and thus readily available to Lefebre. Unfortunately, since the very generic names *Fantaisie* and *Air Varié* are used, it is impossible to say which specific pieces were played.

24 “Müller, Johann”, International Music Score Library Project (accessed 18 October 2015).

25 Weston, *More Clarinet Virtuosi of the past*, p.184.

26 Müller, *Concerto no.3* (Offenbach: Johann André, n.d.).

27 Ibid.

28 Weston, *More Clarinet Virtuosi of the past*, pp.181-184.

“J. Wagner” is the last composer, but unfortunately, nothing definitive as yet has been found on him. Worldcat.org has no entry matching a “J. Wagner” to a paraphrase on Richard Wagner’s *Tannhäuser*. Since many paraphrases were composed by instrumentalists as show-pieces for themselves, another logical place to look is among clarinetists, but Weston’s extensive research on clarinet virtuosi shows no Wagner with a first name starting with J (or I as with Iwan/Jwan Müller). There are, however, two local possibilities. The 1828 performance of Lefèvre’s concerto had a “Mr. Wagner” as its director;²⁹ his initials are identified as “J.G.” in an 1826 concert advertisement.³⁰ If he was in Cape Town 30 years later, he could have still been contributing to local musical life, or Lefebvre could have discovered an older, local, composition by him. The second option is a different Cape Town Wagner, contemporary to Lefebvre’s stay, whose first initial is also “J”. He advertised the sale of “Oil Paintings. [. . .] A superior 6¾ octave Cottage Piano, Of superior tone, by the celebrated makers, Winkelman and Zeitter. [. . .] E.Burmeister, At Mr. J.C.A. Wagner’s, 8, Adderley-street.”³¹

The newspapers reviewed some of Lefebvre’s concerts. These critiques, cited below, may or may not be an accurate reflection of his playing. At the best of times, music criticism is subjective, and depends on the reviewer’s musical education and experience. In an example that says rather more about the reviewer than Lefebvre, a review of the saxophone performance for Prince Alfred says “we have seldom or never heard a better performer upon that instrument out of England”.³² Given that only one other saxophonist had ever come to South Africa, perhaps he should have simply said that of the two, he preferred one over the other.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to look at the reviews, and apart from general comments, they seem more enthusiastic about Lefebvre’s saxophone playing than his clarinet playing, but perhaps this was only because the saxophone was still a very novel instrument to South Africans. Of the clarinet pieces, *Het Volksblad* says *Le Désir* (David, *Introduction et variations sur un thème de Franz Schubert*, op.8), played on 27 June 1860, was justly applauded.³³ *The Cape Monitor* review of same concert says the “effort on the clarionet by Mr. Lefebvre was greatly appreciated, and proved that the performer was no mean master of the instrument”.³⁴

29 *The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette*, 1 August 1828, p.6.

30 *Ibid.*, 30 August 1826, p.1.

31 *The Cape Argus*, 25 November 1858, p.1.

32 *The Cape Argus*, 22 September 1860, p.2.

33 *Het Volksblad*, 30 June 1860, supplement, p.1; “met regt zeer toegejuicht”. [English transl. B. Steltzner]

34 *The Cape Monitor*, 30 June 1860, p.2.

Although no pieces were mentioned for the 8 August 1860 concert, *Het Volksblad* says his clarinet made a much better effect because the accompaniment was quartet rather than piano.³⁵ Müller's *Air Varié*, played on 18 September 1860, was "loudly applauded".³⁶ The last comments about his clarinet playing are in regard to the "J. Müller" *Fantaisie* and the Tannhäuser paraphrase; *Het Volksblad* says he earned well-deserved acclaim for his clarinet playing, and when discussing his accompanist's contribution, says the Duet was masterful.³⁷

Lefebre is also mentioned twice in the diary of John Rose, a Capetonian who initially worked as a customs clerk, eventually becoming the Assistant General Auditor of the Colony.³⁸ Rose attended concerts on 13 April 1860 and 23 June 1862. He was not effusive with his praise, and did not mention instruments or compositions on either occasion. He calls the first concert "very fair",³⁹ and the second was deemed "very good".⁴⁰

Toward the end of his stay in Cape Town, Lefebre advertised in *The Cape Annual Advertiser* of 1862, which was published at the back of the *Cape of Good Hope Almanac and Annual Register* (see Figure 4, next page). Additionally, in the almanac's residence directory, his listing is "Lefebre, Eduard Abraham, music instrument warehouse, 61 longmarketstreet" [*sic*].⁴¹ Lefebre's stay in the Cape was just under three years, and he left Cape Town in October 1862.⁴² He eventually became famous in America as a saxophonist,⁴³ but according to Noyes, later gave up the clarinet.⁴⁴

35 *Het Volksblad*, 11 August 1860, supplement, p.1; "maakte een veel beter effect, nu zij door een kwartet in plaats van een piano geaccompagneerd werd". [English transl. B. Steltzner]

36 *The Cape Monitor*, 22 September 1860, p.2.

37 *Het Volksblad*, 24 June 1862, p.1; "vooral gaf de concertgever blijken van zijn talent in het bespelen van de clarinet, waarvoor hij de welverdiende toejuichingen verwierf. [. . .] Mevrouw Brouwer,accompagneerde de solo's zeer goed op de Piano, terwijl zij het duet met den concertgever meesterlijk uitvoerde." [English transl. B. Steltzner]

38 Rose, *The Diaries of John Rose*, p.ix.

39 *Ibid.*, p.78.

40 *Ibid.*, p.101.

41 *Cape of Good Hope Almanac and Annual Register for 1862*, Directory. [As with some other years of the Almanac, the directory is unpaginated, but in this case comes after p.232. *The Cape Annual Advertiser* is placed after the directory, starting again with p.1.]

42 Bouws, "'n Hollandse Musiekhandelaar in Kaapstad (1800-1862)", pp.66-67.

43 Noyes, *Edward A. Lefebre*; Noyes describes Lefebre as "preeminent" in the subtitle to his thesis, and later, and "icon" (p.iii).

44 Noyes, *Edward A. Lefebre*, p.17, citing "Conn Saxophone Catalog, c.1919". However, the catalog is available via Saxophone.org (accessed 4 October 2015), and its title is *The C.G. Conn New Wonder Saxophones*. It is undated, but the Saxophone.org web page for "C.G. Conn Publications" dates it at 1917 (accessed 4 October 2015).

44 THE ANNUAL ADVERTISER.

Music Warehouse
OF
E. A. LEFEBRE,
(FIRM OF F. J. WEYGAND & Co.)
Longmarket-street, No. 65, between Heerengracht and St. George's-street.

Always on hand the finest PIANOS (ERARD'S, &c.) expressly manufactured for this Colony, and MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS of every kind; besides English, German, French, and Dutch Music, both Classical and Modern. Also Hymns set to Music. E. A. L. also gives Lessons on the Piano, Clarinet, and Saxophone, as well as in Vocal Music.

Pianos Repaired and Tuned.
ORDERS EXECUTED WITH THE UTMOST DISPATCH.

MUZYK MAGAZYN
VAN
E. A. LEFEBRE,
FIRMA F. J. WEYGAND & Co.,
Langemarktstraat, No. 65, tusschen de Heerengracht en St. Georgestraat.

Altyd voorhanden de fraaiste PIANOS, (ERARD, enz.) byzonder vervaardigd voor deze Kolonie, en verdere MUZYK INSTRUMENTEN, benevens Engelsche, Hoogduitsche, Fransche en Hollandsche Muzyk, Klassiek en Modern, en Evangelische Gezangen.
E. A. L. geeft tevens Lessen op de Piano, Klarinet en Saxophone, en in de Zangkunst,

EN REPAREREERT EN STEMPT PIANOS.
ORDERS WORDEN IN DEN KORTST MOGELYKEN TYD UITGEVOERD.

Figure 4, *Cape Annual Advertiser*, in the *Cape of Good Hope Almanac and Annual Register for 1862*, p.44

Citing Lefebvre's obituary from the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Noyes says that "[d]uring his tenure in South Africa, Lefebvre introduced the saxophone as a solo instrument to admiring audiences that included numerous South African dignitaries."⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Noyes, *Edward A. Lefebvre*, p.18; citing the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 23 February 1911, p.3, cols.4-5. The actual *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* obituary merely says "[. . .] and there first introduced the saxophone as a solo instrument." Though Lefebvre did play for the visiting Prince Alfred, and the reviews were good, Noyes' "admiring audiences" and "dignitaries" did not come from this obituary.

The impression that Lefevre was the first to introduce the saxophone to South Africa may have been given by, for example, the 1860 article quoted above, saying the saxophone was “quite new in this colony”.⁴⁶ Although that statement is true, Sou-Alle’s 1858 visit pre-dates Lefebvre’s, and in addition, Sou-Alle played in many more South African cities than Lefebvre, so the statement that Lefebvre introduced the saxophone to South Africa is not true. Nevertheless, since Sou-Alle did not take up residence, and thus never taught in South Africa, it is fair to say that Lefebvre was the first saxophone teacher in South Africa.

Other clarinetists

Apart from those who were famous at the time, or became famous later, other clarinetists in South Africa in the second half of the 19th century came from two groups—military musicians and amateurs. As previously stated, these groups were often intertwined; regimental bands frequently took part in community concerts, and soloists could be from either group. However, finding references is dependent mostly on very meagre newspaper advertisements and reviews, along with the odd reference in books, and as stated before, many musical references contain scant information. Explaining the lack of instrumental references at this time, Jackson believes that “singing was so highly esteemed that the purely instrumental part of a concert was sometimes regarded as only a means of providing rest for the singers.”⁴⁷ Thus, it was not as important to identify instrumental soloists and pieces as it was for vocal soloists and pieces. Many programmes give a generic title such as “*Solo*”, with or without a subtitle, for example, as in the Müller *Solo* played in the 1838 concert cited in the previous chapter, and some programmes do not even list the instrument or soloist.⁴⁸

Military bands

Two types of military band existed in this period: those employed by professional regiments, and those attached to volunteer regiments. In discussing the Cape Royal Rifles, Botha puts volunteers into a social perspective; his comments about this aspect obviously do not apply to professional regiments, but his comments about the band apply to all regimental bands:

46 *Cape Argus*, 29 March 1860, p.2.

47 Jackson, *Music in Durban 1850 to 1900* (dissertation), p.257-259; as an example, he cites an advertisement in the *Natal Star*, 19 February 1850, p.2; it describes the non-vocal music generically as “a selection of instrumental music including overtures etc.” There was no need to be more specific, because something else was the focal point of the concert.

48 For example, *The Natal Witness* of 31 October 1871, p.3 reviews a concert where the vocal performers and pieces are listed but neither the “Clarinet Solo” nor the clarinetist are identified, and the concert was not advertised beforehand, so there is no other information available.

If Volunteering was formally regarded as practice for war, it must also be admitted that in reality it was a particularly glamorous form of the stratified social clubs and friendly societies that were a feature of Victorian times. [. . .] There was no pre-packaged entertainment for the citizens of Cape Town, who were obliged to create their own diversions and amusements. Volunteering drew large crowds on Review days, when there was usually all the noise, colour and movement of sham attacks by one unit on another. A favourite was the dashing cavalry charge against the traditionally rock-steady infantry square. Not only the Rifles, but the townsfolk generally, were proud of the regimental band, which became something of an institution at both Reviews and refined civilian gatherings.⁴⁹

Botha's comment about the value of the bands is echoed in this newspaper announcement:

THE PARK.—Owing, we believe to the recent death of the Quarter-master of the 80th Regt., there was no band in the Park on Saturday afternoon. As a result, the proceedings were very dull, notwithstanding the attractions of a foot-ball match. People are anxious to have an opportunity of hearing the band of the 24th Regiment before it proceeds up-country. Going to the band in the Park on Saturday afternoon is unquestionably one of the great institutions of Maritzburg.⁵⁰

Bands from professional regiments also had functions other than entertainment. They played while troops marched and for ceremonial functions, including funerals.⁵¹ During battles, the musicians were usually stretcher bearers,⁵² and in a grim reminder that they were not safe from battle, the band of the 24th Regiment mentioned above was killed almost entirely at the Battle of Isandlwana. Out of the entire regiment, only six privates escaped, of which two were bandmen.⁵³ This band had clarinetists, as shown in the photograph on the next page.

Military clarinetists

The first of these in the second half of the 19th century is a "Sergeant McMahon" who, on 9 February 1858, played the *Grand Fantasia from Montechi Capulett* for clarinet and althorn in a Grahamstown concert presented by the 85th King's Light Infantry band.⁵⁴ The composer is unidentified, but it would have been based on the opera by Bellini, and there is at least one known paraphrase for clarinet on this opera.⁵⁵ The concert was not reviewed.

49 Botha, *The Cape Royal Rifles and other Volunteer Units*, pp.4-5.

50 *The Natal Witness*, 13 August 1878, p.2.

51 *The Natal Witness*, 4 April 1878, p.3.

52 *The Natal Witness*, on 24 August 1878, printed the following: "THE 80th BAND.—A correspondent, alluding to a paragraph in our last issue concerning the temporary breaking up of the band of the 80th Regiment, points out that this is the general course before regiments take the field in war-time, the bandmen being usually told off to carry stretchers for the wounded" (p.2).

53 Brinton, *History of the British Regiments in South Africa*, p.204; this is also spelled "Isandhlwana".

54 *The Graham's Town Journal*, 6 February 1858, p.1.

55 Salieri, Girolamo. *Andante con variazioni: per clarinetto* [. . .] sopra un tema dell'opera *I Capuleti e I Montecchi del M. Bellini*, worldcat.org entry (accessed 26 December 2015).



Figure 5, Photo: 1879zuluwar.com, “The band of the 1/24th Regiment of Foot”
(accessed 9 November 2015)

Vincenzo Bonicoli

Italian clarinetist Vincenzo Bonicoli was a foreign bandmaster working in the British military. Though this might seem odd, John Mackenzie-Rogan, who will himself be discussed below, says that before Kneller Hall was established, “the men in charge of our Army bands were invariably civilians, and the majority was [*sic*] foreigners. These were gradually replaced by British musicians”.⁵⁶ Since Kneller Hall was only established in 1857,⁵⁷ foreign bandmasters were used up to this time, and for some time beyond.

Born in Prato, near Florence, in 1825, as a young adult Bonicoli got good reviews for his concerts in Italy.⁵⁸ As with Lefebvre, there is a discrepancy as to the date of his arrival in South Africa. The earliest is from Adriano Amore who gives the date as 1853.⁵⁹ However, there are no references from within South Africa before 1864.

⁵⁶ Mackenzie-Rogan, “Regimental Bands: Their History and Rôle of Usefulness”, p.28. Kneller Hall was established as the home of the British Royal Military School of Music.

⁵⁷ Mackenzie-Rogan, *Fifty Years of Army Music*, p.76.

⁵⁸ For example, *Gazzetta Musicale di Napoli*, 13 May 1854, p.156.

⁵⁹ Amore, *La Scuola Clarinetistica Italiana: Virtuosi e Didatti*, p.16: “Dal 1850 si dedicò anche alla direzione di bande musicali e in questa nuova veste, nel 1853, venne nominato dal governo britannico, prima direttore ed ispettore di bande al Capo di Buona Speranza ed in seguito responsabile della riorganizzazione delle bande musicali dell’esercito britannico, incarico che tenne fino al 1882.” The translation of this is that since 1850, he has also devoted himself to directing bands, and in this new role, in 1853, was appointed by the British government, first as director and inspector of bands at the Cape of Good Hope, and subsequently as the person in charge of the reorganisation of the bands of the British Army, a position he held until 1882 [English transl. Lucia Di Blasio-Scott]. Bonicoli may have started working for the British in 1853, but he only appears in the Cape in the mid-1860s.

Bouws, in *Solank daar musiek is*, says Bonicoli participated in a concert on 5 December 1864,⁶⁰ but the advertisements or reviews for that concert do not mention him.⁶¹ In addition, an article by Bouws in the *South African Music Encyclopedia* gives the arrival date as 1865.⁶² Date differences aside, Bouws says “[f]ollowing his first public appearance at an agricultural show in Cape Town (14 November 1865), he participated in concerts organised by the Cape Town Musical Society, the Apollo Union, and the German Liedertafel Germania”.⁶³

Bonicoli also featured in John Rose’s diary; the entry for 5 April 1866 says that at the Cape Town Musical Society’s Annual General meeting, “Signor Bonicoli [1a] the talented bandmaster of H.M. 9th Reg^t was requested to act as conductor, and consented with pleasure.”⁶⁴ Later in 1866, on 10 September, he played in a concert of sacred music. The review in *De Zuid-Afrikaan* mentions “the Band of the 9th Regiment, and the exquisite feats in clarinet playing of their accomplished bandmaster Signor Bonicoli.”⁶⁵ It did not name pieces, but a review in a relatively new Cape Town newspaper, *The Cape Standard*, did. Bonicoli played a “*Sacred Melody* for the clarionet, composed expressly for this occasion by Signor Bonicoli”.⁶⁶ Given the review in *De Zuid-Afrikaan*, the fact that it was specifically a sacred concert did not prevent him from engaging in showy display.

Soon afterwards, Bonicoli played again, and this time, the pieces he played are identified in an advertisement that printed the full programme. For the concert on 24 September 1866 “by the Amateurs of the 1st 9th Regiment, assisted by Signor Bonicoli”,⁶⁷ the programme included a “*Solo*” for A-flat clarinet based on the Cavatina from Bellini’s *I Puritani* and the “*Quintette* for Clarinet, Cornet, Althorn, and Trombone, with Pianoe [*sic*] Accompaniment.”⁶⁸

60 Bouws, *Solank daar musiek is*, p.101. Bouws gives no citation for this.

61 *The Cape Argus*, 1 December 1864, p.1 (advertisement) and 8 December 1864, p.2 (review); *Het Volksblad*, 1 December 1864 and 3 December 1864 (both p.1 advertisements); 8 December 1864, p.3 (review); *De Zuid-Afrikaan* reviewed the concert on 8 December 1864, supplement p.1, but did not advertise it.

62 Bouws, “Bonicoli, Venceslao”, p.208. The initials at the end of the article are “J.B.” and the only contributor with these initials is Jan Bouws (vol.1, p.vi), so Bouws is seemingly at odds with himself. However, this article also says “(amplified)”, so it is likely that someone else expanded the article, which is a reasonable assumption, since Bouws died in 1978 and the first volume of this encyclopedia was published only in 1980.

63 *Ibid.* Bouws cites no specific dates of newspapers. The 14 November 1865 concert was not advertised nor reviewed in *The Cape Argus*, *De Zuid-Afrikaan*, or *Het Volksblad*, perhaps because the agricultural show itself was the main focus.

64 Rose, *The Diaries of John Rose*, p.133. Footnote 1a merely cites the same biographical information as has been quoted from Bouws’ article in the *South African Music Encyclopedia*.

65 *De Zuid-Afrikaan*, 17 September 1866, p.3; the review was in a letter to the paper, in English.

66 *The Cape Standard*, 13 September 1866, p.2.

67 *The Cape Argus*, 22 September 1866, p.1. In this context, “1st 9th” is the 1st battalion of the 9th regiment.

68 *Ibid.*

Next to “*Solo*”, it says “by Bonicoli”, but unfortunately, this wording is vague and it is not clear whether it refers to the performance, or to the composition as well as the performance. No such work appears in worldcat.org for A-flat clarinet,⁶⁹ so it may have been written by Bonicoli for himself to play. Given the numerous references to other works he wrote, this is the most likely possibility. Of the performance itself, *The Cape Argus* review says,

The instrumental portion of the entertainment opened with a quartette and polonaise from “*I Puritani*,” in which Signor Bonicoli, who kindly volunteered his services on the occasion, made his favourite instrument, the A-flat clarinet, almost speak. Passing over a cavatina from Czaar and Zimmermann, by Herr Weber,—which, however, was encored,—there followed a brilliant quintette for pianoforte (Herr Boettger, executant), clarinet, piston, alt-horn, and trombone [. . .].⁷⁰

The A-flat clarinet is an unusual instrument in most of the world; Marcuse, in discussing high clarinets, says it exists in Italy, which is Bonicoli’s home country, and was called the “sestina”.⁷¹ Though this is the first reference to the instrument in South Africa, it may have been played there before. As shown in Chapter 7, the Württemberg Regiment purchased two “sixth” clarinets and an “octave” clarinet in about 1800.⁷² Technically, this was after they left South Africa, but they were possibly replacing existing instruments, not getting new ones.

Bonicoli played several clarinet solos again on 23 October 1866: “some choice morceaux from *Norma*”, a “cavatina from *Beatrice ditenda*”, and “a fantasia composed by the Signor, in which the instrument is made to imitate all the sounds of the farm-yard, from the cackling of the poultry to the hee-haw of the donkey; the whole appropriately concluding with the well-known ‘Midnight Galop.’ ”⁷³ In the following month, on 15 November, he gave another concert; it was advertised as the “Grand and Last Concert by Signor V. Bonicoli, Clarinetist”. The advertisement gave the full programme, in which he was to play four works: *Eco d’Italie*, written by himself, a *Potpourri* from *Traviata*, *Les Amours de Naples*, *Morceaux Brilliant* by himself, and the *Farm-Yard Dance—Burlesque*.⁷⁴ Given that he was in Cape Town, and still performing, until 1867, it is not clear why this was advertised as the last concert by him.

69 There is a fantasia on *I Puritani* by Henry Lazarus, but it is for B-flat clarinet (in Lazarus, *Lazarus Clarinet School*, ed. Paul De Ville, part III, pp.410-412).

70 *The Cape Argus*, 27 September 1866, p.2. None of *The Cape Standard*, *De Zuid-Afrikaan* nor *Het Volksblad* ran advertisements for this concert or reviewed it.

71 Marcuse, *Musical Instruments*, p.107; Marcuse also mentions another high instrument created in Italy, the high B-flat clarinet, which is called the “settimino”.

72 See Chapter 7, p.68, including footnote 12.

73 *The Cape Argus*, 27 October 1866, p.2 (review); “*Beatrice ditenda*” is Bellini’s *Beatrice di Tenda*.

74 *The Cape Argus*, 3 November 1866, p.1; this advertisement was repeated on 15 November 1866, p.1.

The following year, on 28 August 1867, Bonicoli played in a concert that was attended by the visiting Duke of Edinburgh. On this occasion, he played a *Fantasia* by himself, a *Variation on The Scotch Mountaineer*, “composed expressly for this concert”, as well as the “*Farm-yard Burlesque Dance*”,⁷⁵ which he had played before, but this time, a report says it involved him playing three different instruments.⁷⁶ *The Cape Standard* review criticised the organisation of the concert, though not the participants.⁷⁷ In response to that review, a letter to the paper objected to the harsh criticism of the organization of the concert, and pointed out that the Prince stayed for the whole concert, which was “a compliment rarely accorded”.⁷⁸ However, John Rose also had strong opinions about the concert; he says “[t]he playing of Mr. Darter [4] & Signor Bonicoli were the only good things of the evening.”⁷⁹

During the period of Bonicoli’s stay in Cape Town, there are frequent announcements for open air concerts by the band of the 9th Regiment,⁸⁰ which Bonicoli led. But even where a programme is given, these announcements, as opposed to advertisements where the person paying for it could buy as much space as he wanted, give very few names, or differentiate between pieces solely for band, and pieces for soloist and band. Much of the time, the announcements simply give the date, time, and venue. Further, open-air concerts were not reviewed like formal concerts, and thus there is no source of information from reviews. It is therefore possible that Bonicoli did much more solo work for Cape Town audiences.

Other clarinet compositions by Bonicoli

Bouws’ *South African Music Encyclopedia* article contains a list of works written by Bonicoli; in this, apart from the *Burlesque*, *Quintette* and *The Scotch mountaineer variations* discussed above, there is a “*Grand fantasia, souvenir de Bellini* (based on extracts from the operas *La Straniera*, *Beatrice*, *Norma*, and *I Puritani*) for E flat-clarinet [*sic*] and piano”.⁸¹ This last work may or may not be the same as any of the works cited above.

75 As will be seen in the various citations, this work is given with several slight variations in title.

76 *The Cape Standard*, 19 September 1867, p.4. This concert was advertised extensively, because it was a benefit for the Poor Fund, but neither *De Zuid-Afrikaan* nor *The Cape Argus* printed a programme in their advertisements. *The Cape Argus* did not review it, and although *De Zuid-Afrikaan* did, the reviewer did not mention Bonicoli or his piece(s). *Het Volksblad* advertised it, but only mentioned it in a diary of the royal visit, with nothing extensive enough to count as a “review”.

77 *The Cape Standard*, 31 August 1867, p.4.

78 *The Cape Standard*, 7 September 1867, p.2.

79 Rose, *The Diaries of John Rose*, p.140; footnote 4 (p.144) gives a short biography of the musician, composer, and bookseller George Silver Darter.

80 For example, *The Cape Argus* 29 August 1867, p.2. These announcements were in the column “Local and District News”, which was usually on p.2 of the newspaper.

81 Bouws, “Bonicoli, Venceslao”, p.208.

Given that the concerts cited above do not mention all these opera extracts in one piece—the advertisement and review for the 24 September 1866 concert specify only *I Puritani*, and the review for the 23 October 1866 concert implies that the “choice morceaux from Norma” and “cavatina from *Beatrice ditenda*” were separate works—it is difficult to tell whether the work Bouws cites is one of them, or a different piece altogether. Either the newspapers mentioned only one opera for brevity, or they were all separate works. The primary source for Bouws’ listing of a “*Grand fantasia*” has not yet been found.

Bouws’ list mentions another composition by Bonicoli, the *Grand quartet*, for piano, harp, harmonium and clarinet.⁸² To his list, of course, can be added the *Sacred Melody* played on 10 September 1866, and at least two of the works played on 15 November 1866: *Eco d’Italie*, and *Les Amours de Naples, Morceaux Brilliant*. The Traviata *Potpourri* only gives Verdi’s name, but he did not write any works for clarinet, so this must be by someone else. Since the majority of works Bonicoli played in South Africa were written by himself, it is a reasonable assumption that this was as well.

Overall, what is clear from the available programmes is that Bonicoli favoured variations or fantasias on pre-existing, usually operatic, melodies. He also wrote other works that have no connection to South Africa; Internetculturale.org lists the manuscript “*Esercizi progressivi con mute di variazioni, per clarinetto*,”⁸³ and Amore lists both that and “*La danza dei Folletti, Capriccio per clarinetto piccolo Mib e banda*.”⁸⁴ Later in 1867, Bonicoli went to King William’s Town in the eastern Cape, and then in 1870 he returned to Italy where he was knighted in 1883.⁸⁵

Mr. Moran

Unlike the more famous clarinetists discussed above, and like Sergeant McMahon, much less is known about Mr. Moran, apart from the fact that he was the bandmaster of the 5th Fusiliers, and played an unnamed clarinet solo in a concert on 2 November 1866 in Grahamstown.⁸⁶

82 Bouws, “Bonicoli, Venceslao”, p.208.

83 “Bonicoli, Venceslao: *Esercizi progressivi con mute di Variazioni per Clarinetto*”, 1844, internetculturale.org entry (accessed 30 November 2015).

84 Amore, *La Scuola Clarinettistica Italiana: Virtuosi e Didatti*, p.16.

85 Bouws, “Bonicoli, Venceslao”, p.208.

86 *The Journal*, 5 November 1866, p.3; Radloff (*Music in Grahamstown 1863-1879*, p.53) erroneously says this concert was on 31 October, and it had originally been advertised for that date, but was postponed.

Mr. Barron

Not much is known about Mr. Barron either, starting with the fact that there are two Barrons, father and son, both associated with the Durban Rifle Guard,⁸⁷ but neither have a first name in print associated with them. According to Jackson, the elder Mr. Barron became bandmaster of the Durban Rifle Guard in 1865, having previously been bandmaster of the 11th Regiment.⁸⁸ As will be seen below, the 11th Regiment was in South Africa in 1867, so the Barron family had possibly been in South Africa for a while. The father died in 1867 and the son, who was already a member of the band, took over as bandmaster, but the group was disbanded in 1868, and the son and his sisters went back to England in 1869.⁸⁹

The first mention of the clarinettist is in a review of a Durban Rifle Guard band concert given on 7 June 1866 where “Miss Barron, especially, deserves praise for the style in which she executed a very difficult selection on the pianoforte, accompanied in a masterly manner by her brother on the clarionette.”⁹⁰ However, with no programme in either the advertisement⁹¹ or review, it is unknown what was played. A review for a 5 November 1868 concert, says “to Mr. and Miss Barron much applause was accorded”,⁹² but again, no programme is listed.

Jackson describes the Durban Rifle Guard band as “always short of money”.⁹³ In 1867, “the public subscribed enough money to pay the Band-master’s salary”,⁹⁴ but it was not enough to guarantee a long-term existence. He says Barron “decided to return to England after the disbanding of the D.R.G. Band at the end of 1868.”⁹⁵ A benefit concert was given on 23 March 1869; the advertisements give no programme,⁹⁶ but the review mentions that Barron played two items on the clarinet, both with his sister on piano. As with the advertisements, no pieces are named, apart from one being a “duet” and the other being a “solo”.⁹⁷ The family left South Africa on 2 April 1869.⁹⁸

87 For the purposes of this research, bands that are attached to volunteer corps are treated as military bands. In this particular case, Barron’s background would have been military anyway, since his father had been the bandmaster of a formal military regimental band.

88 Jackson, *Music in Durban 1850-1900* (book), pp.97-98.

89 Ibid.

90 *The Natal Mercury*, 9 June 1866, p.2, in the column “This Week’s News”.

91 *The Natal Mercury*, 5 June 1866, p.3.

92 *The Natal Witness*, 13 November 1868, p.3.

93 Jackson, *Music in Durban from 1850 to 1900* (thesis), p.164.

94 Jackson, *Music in Durban from 1850 to 1900* (thesis), p.169.

95 Jackson, *Music in Durban from 1850 to 1900* (thesis), pp.170-171.

96 *The Natal Mercury*, 20 March 1869, p.1 and 23 March 1869, p.1.

97 *The Natal Mercury*, 25 March 1869, pp.2-3.

98 *The Natal Witness*, “Shipping Intelligence: Sailed”, 2 April 1869, p.2.

John Mackenzie-Rogan

John Mackenzie-Rogan is important because he wrote an autobiography⁹⁹ that gives insight into military music making in the British regiments. Since he spent part of his early army years, from 1867, in South Africa as part of the 11th (North Devon) Regiment of Foot, there are direct references to British military music in South Africa. However, he writes about South Africa generally, and does not mention anything specific about clarinet playing, his or anyone else's, although much of what he says about general music making—entertainments, marches and anecdotal incidents—is very interesting. Nevertheless, his name is unlikely to appear in newspaper advertisements for concerts. He came into the army playing the flute,¹⁰⁰ but was told at Grahamstown they did not need flute players. He was to learn the clarinet:

The day after my arrival at Grahamstown I met the bandmaster of the regiment, Mr. W. Burton, for the first time. He told me they were not in want of flute players and thought I would be better suited by the clarionet. I was taken in hand forthwith and instructed in the manner of holding and producing the tone of that instrument. The band-sergeant was a very fine performer, as also was the bandmaster himself, and he took much pains in instructing me, with the result that after a few months I was considered competent to take my place with the clarionet as a member of the band. I had not, of course, attained a high standard of playing in that short time, yet I felt I had done justice to the excellent tuition given me by my instructors.¹⁰¹

Therefore, he was a beginner clarinettist while in South Africa and, since his stay was only about three years long, would not have advanced to any great level of playing. He almost certainly would not have taken solos while in South Africa. Mackenzie-Rogan eventually became a bandmaster back in England and though he studied clarinet with the famous Henry Lazarus while attaining his bandmaster qualification, he may not have done any playing after that, only conducting and arranging. He did not return to South Africa. And while the one clarinet teacher must have been Burton,¹⁰² the band-sergeant's name is unknown.

An unnamed clarinettist with the 20th Regiment

There is another clarinettist at about this same time, mentioned in concerts given by the 20th Regiment, which was stationed in Pietermaritzburg. Their band gave regular outdoor concerts, and the advertisements list programmes, so it is known that at least three of the concerts included clarinet solos. On 6 February 1869, the following was played:

⁹⁹ Mackenzie-Rogan, *Fifty Years of Army Music*, London: Methuen & Co., 1926.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p.4.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.16.

¹⁰² Burton's name is yet to come up as a soloist in the source material.

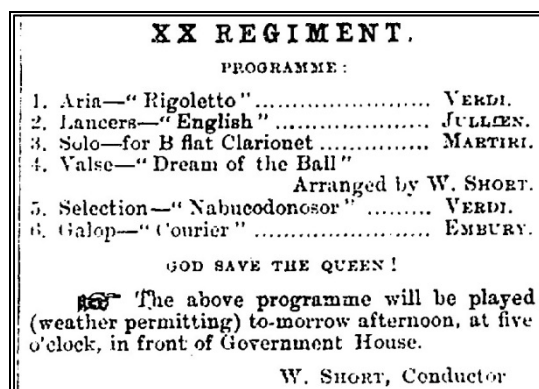


Figure 6, *Natal Witness* advertisement for 6 February 1869 20th Regiment Band concert¹⁰³

No trace of a composer named "Martiri" can be found, but there is an opera by Donizetti called *I Martiri*, so the most likely piece played on this concert is Jacob Adam Kappey's *Clarinet Solo. Airs from Donizetti's "I Martiri"*, with band accompaniment. Though only published in 1890, more than 20 years after this performance,¹⁰⁴ it is part of Boosey's series "Military Journal", so any piece in the series could have been written many years before. Kappey was a bandmaster who was born in 1826 and active around 1848, well before this concert, and in the time frame of this discussion. Unfortunately, these outdoor concerts were never reviewed, so it is impossible to identify the clarinetist.

The second concert involving the clarinet was on 6 March 1869; the programme was:



Figure 7, *Natal Witness* advertisement for 6 March 1869 20th Regiment Band concert¹⁰⁵

103 *The Natal Witness*, 5 February 1869, p.2. "W. Short" is clarified in an 1885 photograph of the Old Durban Philharmonic Society as "Mr. Wallis Short" (Jackson, *Music in Durban From 1850 to 1900* (thesis)), p.208.

104 Kappey, "Clarinet solo. Airs from Donizetti's 'I Martiri'" (London: Boosey & Co., 1890), worldcat.org entry (accessed 21 November 2015).

105 *The Natal Witness*, 5 March 1869, p.2.

The first composer is probably Damaré, though it looks like Damark or Damary. As to the clarinet solo, there is a George Eugene Griffin (1781-1863), but it is not known whether this is the correct Griffin, or whether the work was an arrangement.

Finally, on 3 April 1869, the 20th Regiment once again included a clarinet solo:

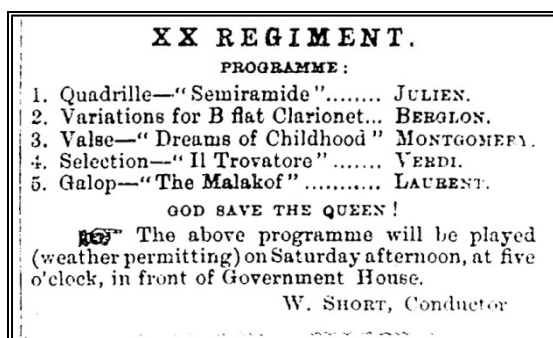


Figure 8, *Natal Witness* advertisement for 3 April 1869 20th Regiment Band concert¹⁰⁶

“Berglon” must be Michał Bergson (1820-1898), who wrote one very popular opera, *Luisa di Montfort*, and whose catalogue shows several works for clarinet, at least one of which is based on this opera;¹⁰⁷ unfortunately none of them are named “*Variations*”. However, as with many such pieces, arrangements on Bergson’s melodies could have been composed by others. Indeed, worldcat.org shows a *Grand Duo brilliant* that was co-written by Iwan Müller, published as Bergson’s op.10, and Müller’s op.97.¹⁰⁸ This is, of course, the same Iwan Müller whose works had been played in South Africa by Lefebvre a few years earlier.

Since the younger Barron was in South Africa until 2 April 1869, he could have been the soloist in two of these concerts, even though he was not formally employed by that regiment. However, since he was based in Durban, and had left by the third concert, it is more likely that this clarinettist is a different, as yet unidentified one.

Amateur clarinettists

In 19th-century South Africa, there was not as much amateur playing on clarinet as there was on instruments such as piano and violin. However, there were some amateur clarinettists, and the references to them, though few and far between, contain some very interesting stories.

¹⁰⁶ *The Natal Witness*, 2 April 1869, p.2.

¹⁰⁷ Bergson, *Scene und Arie*, op.82, Offenbach am Main: Johann André, 1879; Boston: W.H. Cundy, 1884; though these dates are after the 1869 concert, the opera itself dates from no later than 1847.

¹⁰⁸ Bergson, “Gr. Duo brillant [de] Mich. Bergson op.10, et Iwan Müller, op.97”, worldcat.org entry (accessed 21 November 2015).

Ernest Edward Galpin

Ernest Edward Galpin, son of Grahamstown watchmaker, jeweller, and optician Henry Francis Galpin, was to become a famous South African botanist, but as a child he played the clarinet, as seen in this story about the 1867 discovery of South Africa's first diamond:

[Henry Galpin's] passion was astronomy. But one evening every week when the day's work was done, he would lay aside his jeweller's instruments and reach for his solid-silver concert flute. His son Jim would be summoned to fetch a smaller flute, his brother Walter would tune his 'cello and George his violin. Ernest Edward would fetch his clarionet and Alfred would seat himself at the piano. Then they fell to and enjoyed themselves while Mrs Galpin – disinherited by her wealthy father in Cape Town for eloping with Henry Francis – sat down in peace to enjoy their music with her two youngest sons safely in bed.

But Henry Francis Galpin was differently occupied today. His friend Atherstone (Professor Rose Innes's most brilliant pupil at Uitenhage) had burst into the jeweller's shop in the highest excitement with a shining pebble posted to him for identification from Colesberg by the trader called John O'Reilly, who thought it 'of some value'.

Ernest Edward shared in the excitement. He was a boy of eight at the time. Many years later, when he had won fame as an African botanist, he would still recount the events of that day. It changed the course of South African history, and converted Cecil Rhodes from an obscure cotton-planter in Natal to the founder of an African empire.¹⁰⁹

Mr. Kelly

Another amateur clarinettist was Mr. Kelly, who was apparently described by the world-famous soprano Anna Bishop as one of the best amateur clarinettists she had known. This will be cited below, but Bishop toured South Africa in 1875. On 26 November, during her stay in Grahamstown, she sang a work that involved a "clarionet obligato" (see Figure 9 on the following page).

The review says,

Every attendant at the concert on Friday evening experienced great gratification, both Madame Bishop and Mr. Lascelles doing themselves immense justice. One of the most noticeable features of the evening was Madame Bishop's singing of "*Gratias Agimus Tibi*" with a clarionet obligato by Mr. Kelly, of Grahamstown, who played the obligato so well, and conduced [*sic*—this word is very unclear] to such a capital effect, as brought down the house.¹¹⁰

109 Bond, "Pioneers", p.164. This story is also told in James McNish's *The Road to El Dorado*. There are some substantial differences, including that the clarinet player was "Earnest Edwards" and the violinist George Edwards, described as a "visiting friend" (p.22). McNish apparently missed the fact that "Edward", not "Edwards", was a middle name, not a surname, and that these were other sons of Henry Francis Galpin.

110 *The Journal*, 29 November 1875, p.2; if the unclear word is "conducted", then it is missing a "t".

ALBANY HALL.
 FOUR LAST CONCERTS!
Madame Anna Bishop,
 THE WORLD-RENOUNDED CANTATRICE,
 WILL GIVE HER FOURTH
 GRAND CONCERT
 (DE BALON.)
 THIS (WEDNESDAY) EVENING, NOVEMBER 24,
 Assisted by the celebrated Vocalist and Pianist,
MR. CHAS. LASCELLES.
 TENTH CONCERT,
 AND THE LAST BUT THREE,
 Friday Evening, November 26th,
 ON WHICH OCCASION
 MADAME BISHOP WILL SING
The Grand Aria Gratias Agimus Tibi
CLARINET OBLIGATO.
 Doors open at 7.30, Commencing at 8 o'clock.—Carriages may be ordered at 0.45.
 PRICES OF ADMISSION :—Reserved Seats, 5s. ; Unreserved do., 2s.
 6d. ; Gallery, 1s. 6d. Family Tickets, admitting Five, £1. May
 be had at Mr. F. BARR'S High-street.

Figure 9, *The Journal*, 24 November 1875, p.1

No composer is mentioned, but the work is undoubtedly Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi's *Gratias Agimus Tibi*; his original instrumentation was soprano, solo clarinet, tutti clarinet, two oboes, two horns, two violins, viola, cello, and organ.¹¹¹

It may have become popular because it was adapted and used as an insert aria in Boieldieu's *La Dame Blanche* in about 1825. Novello published an arrangement for soprano, clarinet, and piano in approximately 1858,¹¹² so the 1875 Grahamstown performance could have been either in the orchestral or trio version. The aria was at one time very well known, even to excess, as shown in this review of a concert in London on 28 April 1830, which also discusses the style of the piece:

111 Guglielmi, *Gratias agimus: Motetto di Guglielmi* (accessed 9 August 2015).

112 Guglielmi, *Gratias agimus: solo for soprano with clarinet obligato*, worldcat.org entry (accessed 4 February 2016).

Miss Paton had only one song allotted to her during the evening, No. 9 [*Gratias agimus*], which we have heard till we are heartily tired: it abounds with rapid divisions and trite passages, in which the composer's aim seems to have been to establish a sort of rivalry between the voice and the clarionet; it is, in fact, a fair specimen of the bravura style so prevalent throughout Italy about the commencement of the last century. Let us, however, do justice to the manner in which Mr. Willman accompanied the song: while it showed him to be completely master of his instrument, it also proved that his judgment and taste were equal to his knowledge; it was an admirable performance, and he merits our unqualified praise.¹¹³

It may have been considered by some to be trite music, but Grahamstown's Mr. Kelly must have had a fair amount of finger facility in order to play the "rapid divisions", as shown by the following passage, which is the last cadenza before the final tutti:

The image displays a handwritten musical score for three parts: Soprano, Clarinet, and Violini. The top system features the Soprano line with a melodic line and the Clarinet line with rapid sixteenth-note divisions. The middle system shows the Soprano line with a melodic line and the Clarinet line with a cadenza marked 'cadenza tutti'. The bottom system shows the Violini line with a complex rhythmic pattern marked 'fatti tutti'.

Figure 10, Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi, *Gratias Agimus Tibi*, manuscript from Staatsbibliothek Berlin.

Kelly is mentioned again in an advertisement of 3 December 1875, for Bishop's concert that evening: "On this occasion, Madame Anna Bishop will be assisted by Miss Streak [. . .] Mr. Kelly [. . .] and other leading amateurs of Grahamstown".¹¹⁴ The review says "[t]here was an orchestra of much power in Mr. Lascelles (at the pianoforte), Mr. Kennelly, Mr. Muire, Mr. Kelly, Mr. Evans, &c."¹¹⁵ There is no further mention of works with obligato clarinet, however.

113 *The Harmonicon*, 1830, part I, p.261; the reviewer is not credited.

114 *The Journal*, 3 December 1875, p.1.

115 *The Journal*, 6 December 1875, p.2.

The compliment from Ms. Bishop is found in a review of a concert the following year. On 2 February 1876, *The Journal* advertised at “Albany Hall, Grand Amateur Concert, In aid of the Funds of the Ladies’ Benevolent Society. On Friday Evening Next, 4th February [. . .] consisting of Vocal and Instrumental Music, Pianoforte Solos, Harp Solo, Clarionet Solos, &c.”¹¹⁶ It was postponed to the next night, and the review mentioned the instrumental duo:

by Miss Macpherson and Mr. Kelly, the latter on the clarionet. Mr. Kelly has not fallen off since he so admirably assisted Madame Bishop and won her cordial recognition of himself as one of the very best amateur clarionettists she has known. The performance was very fine, the piece being selections from “*Norma*,” and there was a loud encore, which was answered in equally good style.¹¹⁷

Either this Kelly later joined in the military, or there is a second clarinet-playing Kelly. “Corpl. Kelly” played Lazarus’ “*Fantasia on the favourite French air—‘Ma Normandie’*” in an 1878 Pietermaritzburg concert. The concert was “[b]y the kind permission of the Colonel and Officers, the Band of the Buffs”, so the corporal probably belonged to that regiment.¹¹⁸

Mr. Downard and Mr. Wright

Sometimes there is so little information that it is impossible to tell anything about a clarinetist other than that he played something; such is the case with “Mr. Downard” who, at a “Penny Readings” in November 1871, “played a solo on the clarionet with very great ability.”¹¹⁹ A week later he, “by special request, repeated his solo on the clarionet; it was well received.”¹²⁰ Similarly, “Mr. Wright” played Bassi’s “*Air, Tyrolienne*” on 26 December 1879,¹²¹ but comes up in no other references.

George Hind

It is unclear whether George Hind had a formal military background or not, but musically, he is associated with amateur bands and societies in the eastern Cape. He was in Grahamstown from at least as early as 1878, but according to Jacques Malan, eventually went to Kimberley to follow the diamond craze.¹²² He played clarinet well enough to take solos, but also played solos on other instruments, amongst them, flute, piccolo, cornet, and even the violin.¹²³

116 *The Journal*, 2 February 1876, p.1.

117 *The Journal*, 7 February 1876, p.3.

118 *The Natal Witness*, 25 July 1878, p.2.

119 *The Natal Mercury*, 28 November 1871, p.3, “Penny Readings” concerts include literature readings.

120 *Ibid.*, 5 December 1871, p.3, “Penny Readings”.

121 *The Natal Witness*, 27 December 1879, p.3.

122 Malan, “Hind, George”, pp.231-232.

123 *The Journal*, 12 June 1884, p.3, 23 May 1883, p.3, and 19 August 1878, p.2.

The first mention of a clarinet solo by Hind is in a 19 August 1878 review, though no title or composer is mentioned in the review or advertisement.¹²⁴ On 22 November 1878, Hind participated in a benefit concert; the review says he “gave a very charming solo on Scotch airs—‘Ye Banks and Braes’ and ‘Auld Robin Gray’—on the clarionet, and had to reappear.”¹²⁵ He played this work a few times in South Africa, but the composer is not noted. However, it is probably the *Fantasia on Favorite Scotch Melodies* by Henry Lazarus, as that work has the subtitle “Introducing ‘Ye Banks and Braes and Auld Robin Gray’ ”.¹²⁶ Hind, having been born in Canterbury,¹²⁷ could easily have known of this work while in England.¹²⁸

Though he was involved in many concerts, Hind frequently played solos on the other instruments as well, so there are large time gaps between the clarinet solos. In Queenstown, the review of a November 1881 concert for the inauguration of a newly-built hall says it

was under the able management of Mr. George Hind, the bandmaster, and a very excellent programme he put on the platform. The gem of the evening was undoubtedly Wekerlin’s serenade, “*Stars the Night Adoring*,” which was sung by Miss Ogle with a freshness and piquancy which was quite charming, and the effect was considerably enhanced by a beautiful clarionet obligato by Mr. Hind.¹²⁹

“Wekerlin” is undoubtedly Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin, who wrote a *Sérénade de Ruy Blas*; it has the English subtitle “Stars of Night”.¹³⁰

Hind was back in Grahamstown in 1882; a review of a band concert given on 20 September 1882 says “Mr. Hind carried off the honours in his rendering of beautiful Scotch airs on the clarionet. In this he was accompanied by Mr. Winny on the piano, and the music was very sweet and much appreciated. Mr. Hind is a master of many instruments, and is a valuable acquisition to the town”.¹³¹

124 *The Journal*, 19 August 1878, p.2; the concert was advertised on 14 August 1878, p.1.

125 *The Journal*, 25 November 1878, p.3; a “benefit” or “complimentary” concert is one in which the named person keeps the profits. Hind was given several benefit concerts of his own over the next few years.

126 In Lazarus, *Lazarus Clarinet School*, ed. Paul De Ville, part III, pp.407-409. The earliest firm publication date shown for any edition on worldcat.org (using the search words “Lazarus clarinet method”) is 1881, a few years after this concert, but Lazarus could have used any part of it in his own concerts and teaching well before it was published.

127 Malan, “Hind, George”, p.231.

128 According to private correspondence from Esther Mann of Kneller Hall, Hind did not study there. However, he could have known Lazarus and his works from other performances or contacts.

129 *The Journal*, 3 December 1881, p.3.

130 Weckerlin, *Sérénade de Ruy Blas*, work page from IMSLP (accessed 5 December 2015).

131 *The Journal*, 21 September 1882, p.3.

A review of another “complimentary concert” for Hind in May 1883 says the band that played for this concert consisted of 20 members (small by modern standards). The orchestra had a J. Bishop on clarinet, and Hind’s solo on this occasion was on cornet, not clarinet.¹³² Hind was later given yet another “complimentary” concert on 11 June 1884 that included, in addition to a piccolo solo, a “clarionette solo of Scotch melodies”, which was described as a “rich treat”;¹³³ this is probably the same work he played in 1878 and 1882.

Concerts for which he played clarinet, but for which the pieces were unidentified, were 24 November 1884—the reviewer called his performance “admirable”,¹³⁴ and on 14 October 1886.¹³⁵ Hind played the clarinet at still another “complimentary concert” for him that took place on 17 May 1886. The review does not give a composer but says “the first part of the programme was brought to a close by a variation for pianoforte and clarionette by Mrs. Espin and Mr. Hind. We have seldom heard Mr. Hind to better advantage on this instrument.”¹³⁶

Music societies

Just as there is an overlap with military and amateur music making, there is also an overlap with amateur playing and developing orchestral music making, because the early orchestras grew out of amateur musical societies. Therefore, after discussing the early music societies and orchestral developments, the rest of this chapter will give examples chronologically regardless of the genre. The discussion will inevitably come back to players who could also take solos with orchestras and bands.

Many of the early music societies were choral, but when they performed works like oratorios, there was an “orchestra”, though it was inevitably small, and with a highly variable instrumentation. Even the societies that were orchestral in nature were small compared to what would be considered a full orchestra today. The instrumentation of these societies is not always specified in concert advertisements or newspaper reviews, which makes it difficult to trace whether a given society had clarinetists. Where there were clarinetists, they would be amateurs, like everyone else in the society, or borrowed from a nearby regimental band.

132 *The Journal*, 23 May 1883, p.3.

133 *The Journal*, 12 June 1884, p.3.

134 *The Journal*, 25 November, 1884, p.2; the concert was announced, but not advertised with a programme.

135 *The Journal*, 16 October 1886, p.2.

136 *The Journal*, 18 May 1886, p.3; advertisements without programmes were in *The Journal*, 11 May 1886, p.2, and 15 May 1886, p.1.

And if the early music societies already had problems with members who did not attend regularly, later music societies also had problems, though sometimes these were caused by rules that modern societies would consider ridiculous. Jackson quotes someone who, in reminiscing about his years in Natal, spoke of the Durban Philharmonic Society: “What were the amusements and diversions for the young people of 1850 to 1860? We had a Philharmonic Society. The constitution and rules were its own destruction. [. . .] no married man was qualified to be a member. [. . .] our orchestra consisted of flutes, violin, violoncello, clarionet and cornet. I think there was also a triangle. A piano was out of the question.”¹³⁷ Jackson comments “[i]f celibacy was a condition of membership it is not surprising that the Durban Philharmonic Society did not last for more than about four years.”¹³⁸

There would be other music societies in South Africa from time to time, with roughly the same inconsistency of instrumentation that depended on whatever happened to be available. These societies had a precarious existence. Jackson says “[t]he people of Durban were magnanimous in their praise of these early musical efforts – until they were asked to offer something more tangible than praise; hence so many musical organisations were fated not to live long. Indeed, at the close of the century the survival of a music society for more than three years was considered remarkable.”¹³⁹

Orchestral clarinetists in this period

In the second half of the 19th century there were as yet no professional orchestras in South Africa, but orchestral performances did happen. Also, professional theatre companies toured South Africa, but did not always travel with their own musicians, so they advertised for local musicians. In 1893, Luscombe Searelle advertised for a 1st violin, double bass, flute, cornet, and clarinet to play at the Theatre Royal in Johannesburg,¹⁴⁰ and Wirth’s Circus advertised in 1898 for two cornet players, bass euphonium, clarinet, and drums.¹⁴¹

Of course, much of the repertoire played in South Africa in the late 19th century has clarinet parts, but given the problems these small orchestras had throughout the country, it can never be assumed that a performance of any work was given in its original instrumentation.

137 Jackson, *Music in Durban from 1850 to 1900* (thesis), p.51, quoting *Natal Advertiser*, 1 July 1891, p.3, “Forty Years in Natal”.

138 Jackson, *Music in Durban from 1850 to 1900* (thesis), p.52.

139 *Ibid.*, p.55.

140 *The Journal*, 16 May 1893, p.1. Note that Searelle advertised in Grahamstown, for work in Johannesburg.

141 *The Journal*, 26 November 1898, p.1.

Even when professional companies toured, they used small orchestras; *The Natal Mercury* advertised the Edgar Perkins Opera Company, which was “the largest opera company ever to visit Durban. [. . .] The chorus consisted of 20, and the orchestra 12.”¹⁴² They played works by Gilbert and Sullivan, and Offenbach; these require a much larger orchestra than twelve.

So the mere fact that clarinets are required for Haydn’s *Creation*, Mendelssohn’s *Elijah*, all of the Gilbert and Sullivan operas, and most of the repertoire popular at that time, does not mean clarinetists played in those productions. In references where only a number of musicians is stated, that number is usually too small to make for a balanced string section if the wind and percussion sections were complete. Given that these orchestrations include a minimum of double woodwinds, two horns, two trumpets, two trombones, and timpani, it stands to reason that at least some of the orchestration was left out most of the time.

For example, when Planquette’s *Les Cloches de Corneville* was performed in 1882, it had an orchestra of only five: flute, violin, cornet, double bass, and piano. The pianist would have had to cover all parts not covered by the other four.¹⁴³ This is perhaps an extreme example, but it was not unusual for the time. A review for a performance of Wagner’s *Tannhäuser* says the “orchestra was quite inadequate for the requirements of the opera: it was a large one for Durban but had only two first violins and no trombones at all.”¹⁴⁴

It seemed to be a remarkable feature to mention if the orchestra was over 30. In fact, Jackson quotes someone who “suggested that playing choral accompaniments on a piano-forte or harmonium might prove to be musically more satisfying than a weak orchestra.”¹⁴⁵

The known orchestral clarinetists

Apart from Kelly, orchestral clarinetists for whom we have names include “Mr. Lyons”, the sole clarinetist among the thirteen players in the second incarnation of the Durban Philharmonic Society; an 1881 review mentioned “very good playing of the clarionette and flute”.¹⁴⁶ In December of 1881, Lyons played a solo with this orchestra.¹⁴⁷ The review indicated that

142 *The Natal Mercury*, 15 October 1889, p.3, “Theatre Royal”.

143 *The Natal Mercury*, 7 February 1882, p.2 (advertisement).

144 *The Natal Mercury*, 19 August 1899, p.9 “The Opera”.

145 Jackson, *Music in Durban from 1850 to 1900* (thesis), p.96, citing *Natal Advertiser*, 23 July 1891, p.3, “Choral Union Concert”.

146 *The Natal Mercury*, 19 September 1881, p.3.

147 *The Natal Mercury*, 1 December 1881, p.1. Advertised for “tonight”, there was no programme, apart from

he was still the only clarinetist in the orchestra, and that in the second half he “performed very successfully a clarinet solo, ‘*Lovely night*,’ and the variations introduced were supplied with considerable smartness. The solo is new to many, but it was much appreciated, and the performer secured the plaudits of the audience.”¹⁴⁸

By April 1882, this orchestra had expanded, and a second clarinetist, “Mr. Knox”, had joined.¹⁴⁹ In an 1885 photograph of the Society, Knox is still there but Lyons is not.¹⁵⁰ Knox’s name appears in a review of a concert in June 1885 and, apart from the fact that Knox handled his part with aplomb, what is obvious is that the orchestra was still not quite complete in its instrumentation, filling out scores with unusual choices:

we must congratulate them on the evident signs of progress they are making. [. . .] an additional feature was found in the use of a “kettle” drum. It was also noticeable that the orchestra now has now obtained a member to take charge of the double bass [. . .] The most difficult performance by the orchestra was the selection from Rossini’s “*Semiramide*,” with which they closed the first part of the programme, and the audience listened with marked attention to it. Mr. Knox deserves special mention for the admirable use he made of his clarinet, and Mr. Ingle’s English concertina had also a telling effect.¹⁵¹

By 1886, the section was “Mr. Spence and Mr. Knox”, as listed in a concert where Spence played a “Clarinet Solo (with orchestral accompaniment), Recitative, ‘*Andante and Rondo*’ ” by Kidd.¹⁵² No clarinet works by a composer named Kidd have yet been traced.

The Durban Philharmonic Society lasted until August of 1888.¹⁵³ Almost immediately, there was a new group, the “Durban Orchestra”, also known as the “Durban Orchestral Society”. Many of the players were from the old Philharmonic Orchestra, and indeed, the 1889 list of members includes the names Spence and Knox, the previous clarinetists. However, this orchestra lasted only about two years.¹⁵⁴

specifying that the first half would include “Selections from Handel’s ‘*Messiah*’ ” and that the second part would be “Secular Music, Vocal And Instrumental”.

148 *The Natal Mercury*, 5 December 1881, p.3.

149 Jackson, *Music in Durban from 1850 to 1900* (thesis), p.75. Around this time there are many advertisements for a retailer named George Knox, so the clarinetist could possibly be him.

150 *Ibid.*, p.208.

151 *The Natal Mercury*, 1 June 1885, p.3, “The Philharmonic Society’s Concert”.

152 *The Natal Mercury*, 14 August 1886, p.2.

153 Jackson, *Music in Durban from 1850 to 1900* (thesis), p.85. Jackson also says that the Society still existed in name (p.85) until January of 1889, when it morphed into another society, though choral, called “MacColl’s Choir” (p.216).

154 *Ibid.*, pp.87-88.

A later society, the Durban Orchestral Society had, in 1900, two clarinetists, Mr. H. Field and Mr. S.C. Baylis.¹⁵⁵ Another Durban orchestra of 1900 had only one clarinetist, Mr. Baylis,¹⁵⁶ so he was obviously playing in both orchestras.

Colla Marini—a clarinetist/mercenary?

A clarinet soloist in Port Elizabeth is mentioned for the first time in 1880, when Mr. Geo Castledon, the owner of a music store, ran Promenade Concerts at the Empress Skating Rink. He included clarinetist Colla Marini¹⁵⁷ in all these concerts, and all but the first advertisement give programmes.¹⁵⁸ Thus, it is unknown what Marini played on 2 February 1880, but in the next concert, he played “ ‘*Nel cor piu*’ (*Fantasia Pastorale*) [by] Waterson”, and obligato clarinet in Guglielmo’s “*Lover and the Bird*” and Bishop’s “*Lo! Hear the Gentle Lark*”.¹⁵⁹ The review says “We cannot dismiss the concert without a word on the clarionet playing of Signor Marini. As a rule we are not in love with the clarionet and [*sic*—should be ‘as a’] solo instrument, but in his hands it was equal to the Hautboy. We never heard better tone from any player, and his execution is wonderfully rapid and precise.”¹⁶⁰

Waterson is undoubtedly James Waterson, a British clarinetist, bandmaster, and composer. According to Jesse Krebs, he is associated with the 1st Life Guards, first as a bass clarinetist, and later as its bandmaster.¹⁶¹ He composed many works for clarinet. Guglielmo’s “*Lover and the Bird*” may have come from a larger work such as an opera,¹⁶² or may originally have been for voice and piano, but worldcat.org shows no extant publications that have an obligato part.¹⁶³ Nevertheless, if it was originally orchestral, the obligato part could easily be extracted from the score and sung in a trio combination. Not much is known about Guglielmo. Bishop’s “*Lo! Here the Gentle Lark*” comes from his *Comedy of Errors*,¹⁶⁴ and the obligato part in the opera was flute, not clarinet; Marini obviously adapted the flute part.

155 Jackson, *Music in Durban from 1850 to 1900* (thesis), p.111.

156 *Ibid.*, p.113.

157 Apparently not to be confused with “Colla’s Italian Automatic Troupe”, for example in an advertisement in *The Journal*, 23 October 1882, p.1; no connection between these has been found.

158 *The Eastern Province Herald*, 30 January 1880, p.2. The first advertisement mentions six programmes, but the advertisement for the fifth concert says it is the last. This first concert was not reviewed.

159 *The Eastern Province Herald*, 6 February 1880, p.2.

160 *The Eastern Province Herald*, 10 February 1880, p.5.

161 Krebs, “Remembering James Waterson (1834-1893) Clarinetist, Bandleader and Composer”, p.84.

162 Guglielmo wrote operas entitled *Teresa Navagero* (Biblioteca Digitale Italiana entry, accessed 24 December 2015), and also *Giulietta, ossia la Fanciulla abbandonata* (*The Musical World*, vol.II p.74); there may have been others.

163 Guglielmo, “*Lover and the Bird*”, worldcat.org entries (accessed 24 January 2016); this list includes one item (*The Opera Manual*), that does not actually include “*Lover and the Bird*”.

164 Bishop, *Comedy of Errors*; the opera itself was written in 1819.

For Marini's performance in a benefit concert the following night, the review says "Signor Colla Marini electrified the audience by his wonderful command of the clarinet – we never heard the instrument better played."¹⁶⁵ Unfortunately, the piece is unnamed.

In the third promenade concert on 16 February 1880, he played " 'Blue Bells of Scotland' (With Variations.)";¹⁶⁶ on the fourth promenade concert on 23 February 1880, the programme included " 'La Cenerentola' [by] Rossini";¹⁶⁷ and on the fifth and last promenade concert on 1 March 1880, he played " 'I Puritani' [by] Bellini".¹⁶⁸

Unlike Bonicoli, who wrote most of his own solos, there is no evidence that Marini wrote anything for himself, and there are works composed by others based on these pieces. For example, Harry Prendiville, under the pseudonym Paul De Ville, wrote an *Air Varié* for clarinet on "Blue Bells of Scotland";¹⁶⁹ Waterson wrote a work for clarinet based on Rossini's *La Cenerentola*,¹⁷⁰ and Lazarus wrote a clarinet work based on Bellini's *I Puritani*.¹⁷¹

The name "Colla Marini" comes up in 1886 in connection with land claims in British Bechuanaland (modern Botswana). Two claims in Marini's name were denied; both state that he had already received grants in Stellaland, and one states that "[t]he claimant has neither appeared personally nor by counsel before the Commission. There is a report that he is dead."¹⁷² Though there is no primary reference to the land grants in Stellaland, it is known that mercenaries who fought in an 1881-1882 war between the chiefs Mankoroane and Massouw were granted land,¹⁷³ and Marini's claim states that his Stellaland grants were "in lieu of the title deed which he held from Mankoroane."¹⁷⁴ Since the name is not a common one, it is almost certain that the clarinetist Marini was one of the mercenaries.

165 *The Eastern Province Herald*, 13 February 1880, p.3; the concert was announced in *The Eastern Province Herald*, 6 February 1880, p.3, but with no pieces named.

166 *The Eastern Province Herald*, 13 February 1880, p.3. This concert was not reviewed.

167 *The Eastern Province Herald*, 20 February 1880, p.3. The review of this concert (*The Eastern Province Herald*, 27 February 1880, p.3) mentioned very little other than poor attendance due to bad weather.

168 *The Eastern Province Herald*, 27 February 1880, p.3. This concert was not reviewed.

169 De Ville, Paul [pseudonym of Prendiville, Harry], *Blue Bells of Scotland: air varié*, worldcat.org entry (accessed 26 December 2015). Although only published in 1917, Prendiville's dates are 1848-1910.

170 Krebs, "Remembering James Waterson (1834-1893) Clarinetist, Bandleader and Composer", p.84.

171 Lazarus, *Lazarus Clarinet School*, ed. Paul De Ville, part 3, pp.410-411.

172 House of Commons Parliamentary Papers. *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Determine Land Claims and to Effect a Land Settlement in British Bechuanaland*, p.55.

173 *Ibid.*, p.24; according to this time line, Mankoroane only enlisted his volunteers after January 1882.

174 *Ibid.*, p.55.

Later, back in Port Elizabeth on 26 September 1882, an unnamed clarinetist played Mohr's "Aria – B-flat clarinet solo with variations".¹⁷⁵ The advertisements name only the bandmaster; the review merely mentions that the concert took place. The soloist could have been Marini, since the Bechuanaland peace treaty was signed in July 1882.¹⁷⁶ The composer must be Jean Baptiste Victor Mohr; he wrote at least four clarinet works entitled *Air Varié*.¹⁷⁷

If Marini was deceased by the time of the 1886 claim, he did not die in Mankoroane's war. His name appears in a Pretoria concert review in October 1883. It says "I must not omit to mention the magnificent solo on the clarionette by Signor Colla Marini, whose execution on that instrument was something wonderful."¹⁷⁸ Unfortunately, no pieces are mentioned.

More blurred lines – the clarinetists of the 41st/Welsh Regiment and the first chamber music

The next two clarinetists seem to be from different regiments, since the first reference specifies the Welsh Regiment, and the second specifies the 41st. However, they are the same regiment; an 1881 announcement refers to "the 41st (The Welsh)".¹⁷⁹ The first of its clarinetists is named Pope, of the Welsh Regiment. In a concert review in Pietermaritzburg, the piece he played is not named, but the performance "met with a hearty reception". The conductor was his bandmaster, and the second of these clarinetists, "Mr. Rowlandson".¹⁸⁰

Chamber Music involving clarinets

Thus far, very little has been seen of the more serious works for clarinet. An explanation for this might be found in a review of the first true chamber work for clarinet encountered in this research. On 13 October 1885, there was a performance of Mozart's "Kegelstatt" *Trio* K.498, in a benefit concert for the singer "Mrs. Richards". As is usual for this period, much of the programme consisted of songs, caprices, and "solos", and since audiences were undoubtedly not ready for full concerts of a more serious nature, only two movements of the Mozart were played.¹⁸¹ The clarinetist was Rowlandson.¹⁸² The review says,

175 *The Eastern Province Herald*, 22 and 25 September 1882, both p.1 (advertisement).

176 House of Commons Parliamentary Papers. *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Determine Land Claims and to Effect a Land Settlement in British Bechuanaland*, p.24.

177 "Mohr clarinet 'Air Varié' " (keyword search); worldcat.org has entries for the first, second, and fourth (accessed 28 January 2016). Mohr's dates are 1823-1891.

178 *The Natal Witness*, 27 October 1883, p.8 in the column "The Transvaal. (From our own Correspondent.) Pretoria, October 19, 1883." The concert was "Friday last", which makes it 12 October 1883.

179 *The Natal Witness*, 17 March 1881, p.3.

180 *The Natal Witness*, 28 October 1882, p.5.

181 *The Natal Mercury*, 3 October 1885, p.2 (advertisement) and 12 October 1885, p.2 (advertisement).

Mr. Rowlandson, so popular in Maritzburg musical circles, came down specially for the concert, and he received handsome recognition when he stepped forward with his clarinet for the trio in E flat, with Mr. Duffli (viola) and Mrs. MacColl (pianoforte). The trio was Mozart's, and both *andante* and *allegretto* movements were ably treated. Fewer repetitions, however, would not have detracted from the performance, which was given with much ability, although not appreciated so much as a more popular selection would have been.¹⁸³

It would be quite some time before audiences would want more than just popular or opera tunes and variations on those tunes. In fact, Charles Lascelles started a "Chamber Music" concert series in 1881, but a reviewer mentioned that the ticket prices were too high to hear "songs which have their proper place in a sixpenny music-hall".¹⁸⁴ Despite this complaint, the review indicates that "a considerable part" of the audience enjoyed the concert.¹⁸⁵ The reviewer may have expected higher class music, but it seems Lascelles was not willing to risk putting that type of music in front of a general audience.

The next reference to a true chamber work involving clarinet only comes toward the end of the century. On 17 March 1894, movements from Beethoven's *Septet*, op.20 were performed in Durban. The main instrumentalists were "F. Israel" on violin and "Madame Jonquier" on viola.¹⁸⁶ As usual, there were several other pieces and songs on the programme, and only the Allegro and Presto movements of the *Septet* were played. The review merely says the hall was "totally unsuited for the rendition [. . .] many wishes were expressed that these works had been performed in a larger hall. The several performers, however, kept their instruments well under, and the selections were much appreciated. Nevertheless, it was the gem of the evening, and, notwithstanding its difficulties, was admirably performed."¹⁸⁷ Despite being called "the gem of the evening", the review calls two pieces that Israel performed on violin, one with Jonquier on viola, "the most enjoyable of the evening [. . .] brilliantly executed."¹⁸⁸

Given the comments about the "several" performers, it can be inferred that the *Septet* was performed in its original instrumentation, but neither the review, nor the advertisement¹⁸⁹ give the names of the other instrumentalists who participated in the *Septet*.

182 *The Natal Witness*, 16 July 1881, p.5 (a review identifying Rowlandson as conductor of the 41st band).

183 *The Natal Mercury*, 15 October 1885, p.3.

184 *The Natal Witness*, 2 December 1881, p.3.

185 Ibid.

186 Ferdinand Israel was from a well-known family of Bloemfontein musicians (Malan, "Israel", pp.509-512); nothing has been found on Madame Jonquier.

187 *The Natal Mercury*, 19 March 1894, p.3.

188 Ibid.

189 *The Natal Mercury*, 17 March 1894, p.3.

Signor Tardugno

On 12 August 1890, Grahamstown's *The Journal* says "Signor Tardugno, the clarinettist, announces a grand promenade concert in the Drill Hall for Wednesday evening"; no other details are given.¹⁹⁰ The programme was not advertised, nor was the concert reviewed. According to C.G. Henning, Tardugno was in the Prince Alfred's Volunteer Guard in Port Elizabeth from 1883, later becoming its bandmaster; he had also been bandmaster of the Victorian Rifles in Kimberley.¹⁹¹ His name appears later in advertisements, first as conductor of a Port Elizabeth "Military Band" (probably the Prince Alfred's Guard band) in a concert on 3 April 1894,¹⁹² and then for a 4 October 1905 concert, with Tardugno as bandmaster of the Boys' Band of the Marist Brothers of Uitenhage.¹⁹³ Henning says he often played solos at concerts organised by Roger Ascham;¹⁹⁴ as yet, no details of these have been found, and may have involved Tardugno playing other instruments; according to Henning, he also played "flute, cornet, violin, banjo, zither and mandoline".¹⁹⁵

Johannesburg, the Transvaal, and Bloemfontein

Johannesburg and the Transvaal did not develop more culturally until the very late 1800s, because the gold that was to make it a wealthy area was not discovered until the 1880s. Thus, we only find references to clarinettists after that.

An English conductor who mentions a clarinettist in Johannesburg is Sir Dan Godfrey. In his autobiography, Godfrey says he was asked in 1891 "to go to South Africa as musical director of an opera company. [. . .] Accordingly I was introduced to Mr. A. Bonamici who had been commissioned by a syndicate in Johannesburg to engage an opera company from England to open the Standard Theatre".¹⁹⁶ Apart from singers and a scenic artist, they took a violinist, cellist, and pianist to be the core of the orchestra, and intended to recruit the rest in South Africa. Later, he says the chorus was recruited locally as well.¹⁹⁷

190 *The Journal*, 12 August 1890, p.3, in "Musical Notes".

191 Henning, "Tardugno, Raffaello", p.318.

192 *The Journal*, 29 March 1894, p.2; the advertisement was repeated on 31 March, 1894, p.1

193 *The Journal*, 3 October 1905, p.3; there is both an advertisement for a "Grand Military Concert", and an announcement as part of an article on the Cadet Corps Camp, of which this concert was a part.

194 Malan, "Ascham, (Askham), Roger", pp.53-58; Ascham was a blind pianist and organist who played the major role in Port Elizabeth's musical life for 44 years ("wat vier en veertig jaar lank die hoofrol in Port Elizabeth se musieklewe gespeel het"), English transl. B. Steltzner.

195 Henning, "Tardugno, Raffaello", p.318.

196 Godfrey, *Memories and Music*, p.50.

197 *Ibid.*, p.52.

Godfrey is known to have had a clarinettist, because he relates a sad story about him. One night, this unnamed clarinettist saw “an arm come through the window, which had been left open on account of the heat, and grope for his little girl.”¹⁹⁸ Whether real or imagined on the first night, it became a recurring vision, and he “eventually went mad”.¹⁹⁹

The clarinet in light music

References to the clarinet in light music are scarce. However, Mr. Luscombe Searelle’s “Mammoth Minstrels” toured South Africa in 1891. A Grahamstown review says their orchestra consisted of “piano, violin, bass violin, flute, clarionet, and cornet” and that they “excelled anything in that line heard here before.”²⁰⁰

1895, August Gräder

Like Johannesburg and the Transvaal, Bloemfontein was a rather late arrival on the instrumental music scene, and for the same reason: a community has to be relatively developed economically before it can afford to have much instrumental music. Nevertheless, toward the end of the 19th century, a clarinettist appears in Bloemfontein whom one reviewer described as the best in South Africa. His name was August Grader (Gräder).

According to Jacob Human, Grader was at one stage bandmaster of the Free State Artillery corps.²⁰¹ An announcement for a 23 July 1895 concert says Grader, “who has the reputation of being the best clarionet player in South Africa will contribute two clarionet solos, and will assist in the concerted pieces. Mr. Grader was formerly solo clarionet player at Hans von Bulow’s Symphony Concerts at Hamburg, and since then soloist at the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden”.²⁰² The concert, with the Bloemfontein Orchestral Society, was reviewed on 26 July 1895, and apart from saying the “orchestra now numbers twenty eight” it says,

Next to Middle. Trebelli’s reappearance, the chief interest attached perhaps to the first appearance of Mr. August Grader, who was understood to have made a name in London as a clarionet player. Mr. Grader achieved an instantaneous success, and it may with truth be said that never in Bloemfontein has his melodious and pleasing instrument been heard to such advantage. His mastery of the clarionet was marvellous, and his first solo, Bassi’s *Fantasia in [sic] Rigoletto*, was received by the audience with an outburst of applause [*sic*] which sufficiently indicated their delight,

198 Godfrey, *Memories and Music*, p.60.

199 Ibid., p.60.

200 *The Journal*, 27 October 1891, p.3 “Mammoth Minstrels”.

201 Human, *Musiek in die Oranje-Vrystaat*, p.5.

202 *The Friend of the Free State and Bloemfontein Gazette*, 12 July 1895, p.3.

and Mr. Grader had to submit to an imperious recall. In the second part he rendered with equal effect Harmston's "*Romance Anglaise*," and Bassi's *Fantasia on Bellini's "I Puritani*." Bloemfontein musical circles are to be congratulated on the acquisition of so gifted an instrumentalist.²⁰³

T. James

The 19th century ends with the same uncertainty which is so much a feature of research in this century. Grahamstown held a "South African Industrial & Arts Exhibition" in 1899; there were many advertisements for concerts given there by the "Exhibition Orchestra". Included in a 17 January advertisement is "Solo Clarionet: Mr. T. James".²⁰⁴ The concert was not reviewed in *The Journal*, so there is no information on what he played, but there are advertisements for two other concerts he did in Commemoration Church, with organist Mr. T.E. Speed, and Mr. W.T. Green on bassoon. Both concerts were reviewed, and included the same clarinet and bassoon pieces. They played Mascagni's "Intermezzo", for clarinet, bassoon, and organ; this must have been an arrangement of the famous *Cavalleria Rusticana* "Intermezzo". James' solo work was a "Serenade" by "Beresford". The second review says it was "rendered in excellent style [. . .] Mr. James is a master of his instrument and did his work perfectly."²⁰⁵ Unfortunately, there is no trace of a composer named Beresford.

Mr. Green played a "Berceuse" by Gounod as a solo work, and then they finished the concerts with a piece that, although by a well-known composer, cannot be traced. The first review says: "The greatest treat of the whole programme was Saint-Saens, 'Commemoration Overture' which was played on the organ, bassoon and clarionet by Mr. Speed, Mr. James, and Mr. Green. To say that all this music was well rendered would be to give it only a very small part of the praise it deserved, for the clarionet and bassoon solos were really beautifully played and greatly enjoyed, and all Grahamstown knows how well Mr. Speed plays."²⁰⁶

There is no such work by Saint-Saëns, and in fact he wrote no work for a trio of that instrumentation. Since the name of the church they played in was the Commemoration Church, it must have been an arrangement of something else by Saint-Saëns, but given the name "Commemoration Overture" in honour of the church. Thus, it is impossible to ascertain which of Saint-Saëns' works they played.

203 *The Friend of the Free State and Bloemfontein Gazette*, 26 July 1895, p.3.

204 *The Journal* (Grahamstown), 17 January 1899, p.2.

205 *The Journal* (Grahamstown), 25 January 1899, p.3

206 *The Journal* (Grahamstown), 21 January 1899, p.4.

Chapter 10
The Increasing Prevalence of the Clarinet in 20th-Century South Africa:
a) Performances in the First Half of the 20th Century
b) Compositions for Clarinet

Performances in the First Half of the 20th Century

The early 20th century saw the development of tertiary music training institutions, music examinations, and the establishment of professional South African symphony orchestras, starting at first with Cape Town. Tracing these developments can be used to track the increasing prevalence of an instrument. While it is outside the scope of this thesis to document every 20th-century clarinet performance in the same way as the previous two chapters did for the 19th century, some citations will be given for the first half of the century. These will not be strictly chronological, but rather by type, as discussed under the topics mentioned above: tertiary training institutions, music examinations, and professional orchestras.

The South African College of Music

In 1909, the South African College of Music (SACM) opened, and though it was initially “an unincorporated and unsubsidised institution”,¹ it was incorporated into the University of Cape Town early in the 1920s. The SACM put the study of music on a more formal footing, and in time, music education courses were added. In *A History of the South African College of Music until 1935*, Hector Robertson quotes from documents and minutes draughted during negotiations surrounding the incorporation of the SACM into UCT in the early 1920s:

In the last few years the College of Music has made important new departures in its Courses. New courses have been introduced, chiefly courses for teachers and organized music curricula: the need for them has been shown by the readiness with which they are taken up, and it is likely that further additions will still be made to the existing curricula.²

Robertson quotes William H. Bell, the SACM’s first Director,³ saying in 1923: “at present we have two hundred students taking what are to all intents and purposes professional courses like the course at R.A.M. and R.C.M.”⁴ However, in the period Robertson covers, woodwinds are not mentioned.

1 Robertson, *A History of the South African College of Music until 1935*, p.1.

2 Ibid., p.62; this section is in quotation marks, but is not cited. If it is from the same source as the quoted section on the next page, then the citation is [UCT] “Council minutes: 27 March 1923: after p.988” (p.64).

3 Robertson, *A History of the South African College of Music until 1935*, p.18.

4 Robertson, *A History of the South African College of Music until 1935*, p.75, citing Bell, “The College and the University”, *S.A. College of Music Quarterly Magazine*, July 1923, pp.2-3.

The full-time staff taught piano, string instruments (mostly violin), and singing. This does not mean other instruments could not be studied; the 1909 preliminary prospectus states: “Wind instruments: ‘Professors will be appointed when required.’”⁵ Even in the mid-1920s, the only approved full-time instrumental positions were in piano and violin; wind teachers were still part-time. Robertson says “[p]resumably the demand for instruction was so limited (and probably so volatile) that the enlistment of part-time teachers, who would only function as teachers when there were students to teach, remained more appropriate.”⁶

This lack of full-time teachers makes it difficult to track when the first wind instrument tuition began there. Certainly, piano and violin were more popular, and since professional orchestras in South Africa were in their infancy, wind instruments might not have been as attractive a proposition for teaching as piano, string instruments, or singing.

However, it is highly probable that there were students playing other instruments. In Bell’s 1935 summary of the SACM, he mentioned that there had been quite a large contingent of part-time students; the student numbers seem to have peaked in about 1923 at over 700 students.⁷ This is quite a surprising number, given the lack of full-time music jobs in South Africa at the time, but in explaining the subsequent drop to between 300 and 400, Bell said “the main cause has undoubtedly been the financial depression which had the effect of greatly reducing the numbers of students who were studying music as an amateur accomplishment, rather than as a means of livelihood.”⁸ Given that there were professional wind players available from 1914 onward in Cape Town’s orchestra, and that the SACM’s stated aim was to employ teachers where required, it would be surprising if at least some of the 700+ students were not wind players, and that could include clarinet.

Despite that probability, there was still a lack of wind players at SACM in the 1930s, as shown in a 1933 estimate of opera production costs at UCT; one item in the budget estimate was £60 for “7 professional players of wind instruments [who] would be needed at 10s 0d. per rehearsal and £1 per performance, at a cost of £35”.⁹ Clearly, the university itself did not yet have student wind players to cover these parts, or at least in sufficient numbers.

5 Robertson, *A History of the South African College of Music until 1935*, p.2.

6 Ibid., pp.143-144, footnote 180b.

7 Robertson, *A History of the South African College of Music until 1935*, p.299, quoting Bell’s memorandum.

8 Ibid.

9 Robertson, *A History of the South African College of Music until 1935*, p.245.

Bell's 1935 pre-retirement report on the SA College of Music still shows no full-time wind positions; he lists among the staff "Odd teachers of special subjects as required, the orchestral instruments being taught by the principals of the Cape Town Orchestra".¹⁰ Of note, however, is that Bell also stated that no one had yet graduated with the Bachelor of Music (then called "Mus.Bac.") degree, "for the reason that the country has no outlet for musicians of the kind to whom such a degree would be useful: and which would warrant a student spending the four years of intensive training in degree subjects. [. . .] students generally find it far more profitable to study in our three years teachers-training course".¹¹

The South African College of Music produced programmes for its concerts, and while the collection of extant programmes is not complete—it only starts at 1920, 1924-34 is entirely missing, and there are gaps in the years that are in the set¹²—wind players are scarce in the first few years. The first woodwind player in the programmes is Norman Jobson, who played two movements of Widor's *Suite* for flute and piano, op.34 on 19 September 1921.¹³

The lack of programmes for the 1924-34 period makes it impossible to check the première date of the first solo clarinet work written in South Africa. Bell wrote his *Sonata in D minor* for clarinet and piano in 1926. It will be discussed more fully below, but there is a chance it was premièred at UCT shortly after it was written. Another problem is that orchestra rosters are frequently not listed, so for example, it is unknown whether a 1947 performance of Saint-Saëns' *Carnival of the Animals* used the original instrumentation with clarinet.¹⁴

In the available programmes, the first clarinetist appears in 1947; "M. Gardiner" played in an all-Mozart programme; the work requiring clarinet was the *Piano Concerto in D*, K.451.¹⁵ The pianist was Stefanus Grové, who had written a *Sonatine* for clarinet and piano the previous year.

10 Reprinted in Robertson, *A History of the South African College of Music until 1935*, p.300.

11 Ibid., p.299.

12 For example, the set goes from the "Thirty-Third Students' Concert" (20 September 1920) to the "Thirty-Seventh Students' Concert" (19 September 1921), and then to the "Forty-Third Students' Concert" (27 March 1923).

13 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, "Thirty-Seventh Students' Concert" (programme), 19 September 1921.

14 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, "Fourth Recital of the Instrumental Works of Johann Sebastian Bach" (programme), 4 March 1947; for some reason they ended with a non-Bach work.

15 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, "First Classical Orchestral Concert: Mozart Programme" (programme), 26 March 1947.

The première of Grové's *Sonatine* may have taken place at UCT, but it does not appear in the programmes, though they are very incomplete in that year.¹⁶ This work will be discussed further below, as it formed part of the creative component of this research.

Later in 1947, Malcolm MacDonald played a *Trio* written by himself for violin, clarinet, and piano, and Finzi's *5 Bagatelles*.¹⁷ The Finzi was only published in 1945,¹⁸ so it was still new, and this may have been a South African première.

In the 1948-1949 period, quite a few clarinet references appear in these programmes, and the clarinettist most often listed is Michael Muskett. On 10 November 1948 he played in a performance of Riddell Hunter's *Music for a Ballet "Nic Niven"*.¹⁹ Muskett played again in a concert of student compositions, in which he performed Neil Solomon's *Trio* for clarinet, violin, and piano.²⁰ He played again a short while later, in Flemming Weis' *Sonate for Klarinet og Klaver*.²¹

Finally, in August 1949, Muskett was soloist with the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra, in "Frederick" (Friedrich) H. Hartmann's *Concerto*.²² This was not the première of the work, as it was written while Hartmann was teaching at Rhodes University in Grahamstown and premièred there. It will be discussed further below. A month later, Muskett played both Bartók's *Contrasts* and Khachaturian's *Trio* for clarinet, violin, and piano.²³

16 The SACM programme collection for that year only has three programmes: one in June, one in October, and one in December.

17 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, "Third Recital of Contemporary Music", 18 November 1947.

18 Finzi, *5 Bagatelles*, Boosey & Hawkes, 1945; though published in 1945, Grove Music's date for this is "1920s, 1941-43". Josephine Finzi (e-mail to author) says "I'm afraid Gerald was a bit of a devil for starting a piece, and then finishing it ten or twenty years later. Some of his compositions were either 'going well, or going into a drawer'." She cites Diana McVeagh (*Gerald Finzi: His Life and Music*, p.134): the Carol was originally an early song, other movements dated from 1938-1942, and he added only the Fughetta in 1943. Despite the fact that only the Fughetta was new, it is unlikely anyone in South Africa would have had access to this work prior to publication.

19 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, "Third Contemporary Music Concert", 10 November 1948.

20 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, "The Students' Music Society presents A Concert of Students' Compositions", 18 May 1949; Neil Solomon eventually became a Senior Lecturer in Piano at the SACM.

21 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, International Society for Contemporary Music, South African Section, "First Chamber Music Concert", 25 May 1949.

22 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, International Society for Contemporary Music, South African Section, "Second Orchestral Concert", 23 August 1949.

23 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, International Society for Contemporary Music, South African Section, "Third Chamber Music Concert", 7 September 1949.

Oddly enough, Muskett's name, along with "A. King" appear in an orchestral roster at the back of a programme for Purcell's *King Arthur*, which does not have clarinets in its original scoring, so they must have used an expanded orchestration.²⁴

In 1950, the first female clarinetist appears; Doreen Taylor played the Larghetto of Mozart's *Quintet in A, K.581*.²⁵ Muskett was still at SACM that year, and played Brahms' *Trio in A minor, op.114*.²⁶ Muskett and Taylor, along with "A. King" are mentioned again in an orchestral concert in which no works involved clarinet in their original instrumentation.²⁷

Next is one of the first solo clarinet works written by a South African: Priaulx Rainier's *Suite for Clarinet and Piano*. Composed in 1943, it will be discussed below, as part of the creative component for this research.²⁸ It appears on an SACM programme of 14 June 1950, played by Muskett.²⁹ Since it was only published in 1949, this was probably the South African première, but not the world première; that had taken place in London on 3 May 1945.³⁰

One week after Muskett's performance of Rainier's *Suite*, he played Mozart's *Divertimento no.2* for two clarinets and bassoon, with Doreen Taylor, and John Juritz on bassoon, as well as Tartini's *Concertino* for clarinet and piano.³¹ On 12 August 1950, both of these works were played again in Stellenbosch; this time the Mozart was played by Doreen Taylor, Anthony King, and John Juritz, and the Tartini by Michael Muskett and Doreen Taylor.³²

24 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, "King Arthur", 26 October 1949 and 18 November 1949.

25 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, "Student's Quarterly Concert", 26 April 1950.

26 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, "Chamber Music Concert", 17 May 1950.

27 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, "Grand Orchestral Concert by The Cape Town University Orchestra", 9 June 1950.

28 Fifth recital, 12 February 2015 lecture-demonstration; the "Lento e tranquillo" and "Allegro con fuoco" were played.

29 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, International Society for Contemporary Music, South African Section, "First Chamber Music Concert", 14 June 1950.

30 Van der Spuy, *The Compositions of Priaulx Rainier*, p.157. There is a discrepancy as to where the première was; Van der Spuy says Cowdray Hall, but the programme notes for the SACM concert says Wigmore Hall. Schott's composer brochure for Rainier (p.8) confirms Cowdray Hall.

31 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, "Concert by Students and Members of the University Orchestra", 21 June 1950; Tartini wrote no such piece for clarinet, and this is actually the arrangement for clarinet by Gordon Jacob, of movements of Tartini violin sonatas. Mozart's *Divertimento* was originally for 3 basset horns. It is unknown who did the arrangement performed here.

32 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, [no header, since the concert was given in Stellenbosch] "Concert by Students of the Faculty of Music", 12 August 1950; in this programme, the Tartini is attributed correctly as "Tartini-Jacobs".

This means Taylor also played the piano. A couple of weeks later, both works were performed again, with the players from the 12 August performance.³³ A short while afterwards, all three clarinetists took part in eight performances of Berlioz' *Beatrice and Benedict*.³⁴

A new clarinetist appears next—Margaret Latutin. On 4 October 1950, she played Paul Hindemith's *Sonate* for clarinet and piano, and Darius Milhaud's *Suite* for violin, clarinet, and piano.³⁵ Latutin both taught at the SACM and was a student there; she had trained at the Royal Academy of Music, but was widowed during WWII. Finding her widow's pension too small, she came to South Africa in March 1948 and got a job "in the Cape Town Broadcast Orchestra, and with various string quartets; she also got a music teaching post at the University of Cape Town and managed in addition to take a diploma in music teaching."³⁶

On 6 June 1951, there was a "Combined Orchestral & Chamber Music Concert" in which Latutin performed Bartók's *Contrasts*.³⁷ She may have also participated in the orchestral part of the concert, and on the programme was Kodaly's *Galanta Dances*, with its virtuoso clarinet cadenzas, but since the orchestra roster is not printed in the programme, it is unknown who was on the 1st clarinet part. In 1952, Latutin again played the Hindemith, but in the same programme, was also the soloist in what must have been the South African première of Gerald Finzi's *Concerto*; the orchestral part of the programme was broadcast on radio.³⁸ It is unknown whether Latutin was the teacher of Muskett and Taylor, but she went back to England in August 1953.³⁹ She later authored a scale workbook, *Top-Knots and Tail Pieces for the Clarinet*.⁴⁰

33 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, "Song Recital", 23 August 1950; the clarinet items were the only instrumental works on the concert.

34 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, "Eight Performances of Berlioz' *Beatrice & Benedict* and Purcell's *Dido & Aeneas*"; the archived programme is from 16 September 1950, and given that there were other "enlarged orchestra" performances, the clarinetists may well have played in the Purcell as well.

35 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, International Society for Contemporary Music, South African Section, "Second Chamber Music Concert", 4 October 1950.

36 Jewish Virtual Library, "Simmon Latutin", (accessed 2 January 2016).

37 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, The South African Broadcasting Corporation, "Programme: International Society for Contemporary Music. Combined Orchestral & Chamber Music Concert", 6 June 1951.

38 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, International Society for Contemporary Music (South African Section), "Fourth Special Combined Orchestral and Chamber Music Concert", 20 August 1952.

39 Jewish Virtual Library, "Simmon Latutin" (accessed 2 January 2016).

40 Latutin, *Top-knots and tail-pieces for the clarinet* (Edinburgh; Cambridge; Durham: Pentland Press, 1996).

By 1953, the clarinetists in the student orchestra were completely different than before; no doubt Muskett, King, and Taylor had graduated. In a programme that included Schubert's *Symphony no.6*, the clarinetists were "M. Bruynzeel", "M. Goldberg", and "J.R. Matter".⁴¹

"M. Bruynzeel" was Marlene Bruynzeel, who played Weber's *Concertino* on 27 November 1953.⁴² In 1954, Marylen Sternweiler played *Three Pieces for Clarinet* by Gretchaninoff.⁴³ Sternweiler does not appear in any other programmes, and was not in the student orchestra; given the nature of these pieces, she was probably a part-time amateur student.

On 1 December 1954, the orchestra played a programme in which the clarinet section was Bruynzeel along with "R. Gilbert" and "S. Whiteman". The last clarinetist is Sybil Whiteman, who was a private student at this time; she later did her music training in London and Amsterdam, coming back to do a Master of Music in piano at the SACM; clarinet was her second instrument.⁴⁴ There are no clarinet references in the extant 1955 programmes.

To summarise, even with the missing and incomplete years, these programmes indicate the number of woodwind students in the first half of the 20th century. They also go some way toward explaining why, for many years, most of the principal winds in the South African professional orchestras would be sourced from foreign countries; tertiary music training was in its infancy and would not produce professional wind players yet. But if one considers the level of difficulty of most of these pieces, assuming the performances were competent, the programmes also are indicative of a relatively high standard of playing.

41 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, "University Music Society Hiddingh Hall Concert", 16 June 1953).

42 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, "Students' Concert", 27 November 1953. This performance was done with piano, not orchestra.

43 South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes, "Students' Quarterly Concert", 27 April 1954. The three pieces were "Fanfare de Coquelicots", "Phantasme", and "Humoresque", which are nos.5, 9, and 3 respectively from Grechaninov's *Suite Miniature: 10 Easy Pieces for Clarinet and Piano*. They are roughly Grade 5 compared to the ABRSM or UNISA syllabi.

44 Fine Music Radio, "Presenters V-Z" (accessed 12 January 2016).

Music examinations

South Africa had music examinations from as early as 1894. These were initially administered by the University of the Cape of Good Hope⁴⁵ “in partnership with the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, who supplied the curriculum, the music books and the examiners.”⁴⁶ However, wind players were not involved in these until much later, and the earliest practical exams were only offered in “piano, violin, organ or in singing”.⁴⁷

The first request for a woodwind examination was in 1938. Not surprisingly, it was for flute, as was the next request in 1940.⁴⁸ The 1941 handbook provided for examinations in “any other instrument of the classical orchestra, provided the necessary arrangements can be made and timely notice is given to the Registrar”.⁴⁹ Presumably, when a request was made, a repertoire list was drawn up specifically for that request. Chronologically, the formal clarinet syllabi were established in the following order: Grade 4 and “Final” (later named “Grade 8”) were introduced in 1950, Grades 6-8 and the Performer’s Licentiate in 1955; Grade 5 in 1960, the Teacher’s Licentiate in 1974, Grades 2-4 in 1988, and finally, Grade 1 in 1989.⁵⁰

It may seem from this that it took a long time to establish clarinet exams, and therefore, the instrument was not very popular. However, it must also be noted that apart from Grade 4, the higher grades came first, which means there were already advanced players in South Africa during the early years of the exams, and they must have gotten their training somewhere. It was the development of a more formal beginner and teaching curriculum that came later.

Cooperation between the Associated Board and the University of South Africa gradually became problematic, and from 1950 the two bodies ran their exams separately. In the meantime, Trinity College London also started offering music exam qualifications in South Africa, so from 1950, there were three music examining bodies within South Africa.

45 Not to be confused with the University of Cape Town, the University of the Cape of Good Hope was the predecessor of the University of South Africa (UNISA), which came into existence in 1916, after which UNISA inherited the music examinations. (UNISA, “Directorate Music” (accessed 5 September 2015), and UNISA (accessed 5 September 2015)).

46 UNISA, “Directorate Music” (accessed 5 September 2015).

47 Ibid.

48 Paxinos, “Syllabuses and curriculums”, p.128.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid., pp.132-136; Grade 4 appears twice in this section; the 1988 syllabus must have been a revision of the 1950 syllabus.

For all three, the repertoire required, especially in the diplomas, is standard repertoire that would be played by any professional. Eight works from these lists were included in the creative component for this degree. They were: Benjamin's *Le Tombeau de Ravel*; Brahms' *Sonata in F Minor*, op.120 no.1; Kovács' *Hommage à J.S. Bach* and *Hommage à M. de Falla*; Lutosławski's *Dance Preludes*; Muczynski's *Time Pieces*; Rainier's *Suite*; and Stanford's *Sonata*, op.129.⁵¹

1914—The first professional orchestra in South Africa

The Cape Town Municipal Orchestra was launched in January 1914; its first concert was on 28 February. It initially had only 30 musicians, but this included two clarinetists.⁵² Ingrid Gollom, in her M.Mus. dissertation, reproduces the first programme; the clarinetists are “Mr. Duncan, E.” and “Schofield, A.”⁵³ Edward Cameron Duncan was dismissed before the end of the first year “for frequently being intoxicated and quarrelling with other players.” Gollom says “The ensuing court case received much attention. Although [the] decision to dismiss Duncan was upheld by the court, the publicity was not to the Orchestra's advantage.”⁵⁴ His replacement was probably René Caprara, whose name appears on a 1917 orchestra roster.⁵⁵

Nothing is known about Schofield, but Caprara later became more important for his work as a broadcaster than as a clarinetist. His duties with the orchestra initially included “all broadcasting matters which concerned the Orchestra.”⁵⁶ In 1934, he resigned to work full time at the SABC in Johannesburg,⁵⁷ and in time became its first Director General.⁵⁸

Three other clarinetists with this orchestra are mentioned in Sjoerd Alkema's thesis. Edward Kealey played Mozart's *Concerto in A*, K.622 with the orchestra in March 1935;⁵⁹ this is undoubtedly the “Ted Kealy” who is the dedicatee of Walter Swanson's *Lyric Poem*.

51 See the “Introduction” for examples of which syllabi these come from.

52 Alkema, *Conductors of the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra*, pp.19-20.

53 Gollom, *The History of the Cape Town Orchestra*, p.13.

54 Gollom, *The History of the Cape Town Orchestra*, pp.20-21, citing the *Cape Argus*, 18 November 1914.

55 Van der Post, *Theo Wendt 1874-1974*, fig.2, inserted between pages 52 and 53; in Malan's *Suid-Afrikaanse Musiek-Ensiklopedie* article on Caprara (vol.1, p.246), the date of Caprara's appointment to the orchestra is February 1921, but Van der Post's reproduction of the 1917 programme proves that to be wrong.

56 Gollom, *The History of the Cape Town Orchestra*, p.79.

57 Ibid.

58 Malan, “Caprara, René Silvio”, p.246.

59 Alkema, *Conductors of the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra*, p.70, footnote 423.

Hartshorne says Kealey was variously involved as a clarinet player with the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra, and the SABC Orchestra.⁶⁰ Kenneth Lee played Weber's *Concerto no.1 in F minor*, op.73 in September 1958.⁶¹ At the beginning of 1965, Lee replaced David Woodman as principal clarinetist. Woodman's contract was not renewed, apparently because he had been "uncooperative" during a tour; the resulting case lasted 18 months.⁶²

Durban, in 1922, was the second city to get a professional orchestra. According to Jackson, the first musicians all came from England; the first principal clarinetist was Henry Oney.⁶³

In the 1930s, an orchestra was formed that was initially the orchestra for the South African Broadcasting Corporation. According to the SABC Library's website, "The SABC Music Library came into existence in the 1930s as a supporting library for the SABC Orchestra which eventually became known as the National Symphony Orchestra."⁶⁴ As is apparent from the material on Magaret Latutin above, Cape Town had its own "Broadcast Orchestra" by the 1950s, and it must have been attached to the SABC, since there was only one broadcast company in the country until the late 20th century.

The theatre orchestras were established later. The South African government had created "Performing Arts Councils" in 1965,⁶⁵ and these became the main source of theatre productions, whether operas, musicals, ballets, or plays. Thus, by the time the government built a new theatre complex in Cape Town in 1971, there were four full-time orchestras in South Africa—the two attached to municipalities (Cape Town and Durban), plus the SABC Orchestra, and the PACT (Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal) Orchestra.⁶⁶ The next city to get a Performing Arts Council orchestra was Cape Town.⁶⁷

60 Hartshorne, *Die Komposisies vir Klarinet van Suid-Afrikaanse Komponiste*, p.118, "destyds onder andere as klarinetspeler aan die Kaapstadse Simfonie-orke en die SAUK-orke verbonde was." [transl. B. Steltzner] It is unknown which surname spelling is correct.

61 Alkema, *Conductors of the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra*, p.170.

62 *Ibid.*, pp.251-253.

63 Jackson, "Die Durbanse Orkes", p.434.

64 "SABC Media Libraries" (accessed 10 January 2016).

65 Tidboald, *People I Made Music With*, p.93.

66 *Ibid.*, p.94.

67 This does not mean that prior to this time, there were no operas, musicals, or ballets performed in Cape Town; Tidboald says that before the Arts Councils were established "the main provider of opera and ballet in Cape Town has been UCT, which was a strictly non-racial organisation, and part of my duties with the Municipal Orchestra between 1960 and 1965 had been to conduct for these productions" (*ibid.*, p.93).

David Tidboald gives some interesting history to the two Cape Town Orchestras: “When the question of an orchestra for the Opera House came up, the City Council, which was deeply opposed to the policies of the Nationalist government, declared that if the complex were to operate with a ‘whites only’ restriction, the Municipal Orchestra would never play there.”⁶⁸ Hence this theatre had to have a separate orchestra, and at that point, South Africa had five professional orchestras; the new one was at “CAPAB”, or the Cape Performing Arts Board. Tidboald was to be its head.⁶⁹

In summary, South Africa’s three major cities each had a professional orchestra by no later than the 1930s. This means that by that decade, South Africa had tertiary institutions teaching music, a system of external examinations, and professional orchestras in the major cities.

Compositions for Clarinet

At a certain point, references to clarinettists and their performances become frequent enough that detailing all of them is outside the limitations of a thesis, and is also somewhat unnecessary, given that the trajectory from “non-existent” to “available” has already been shown. The next point of interest becomes clarinet compositions written in South Africa or by South Africans, because it is a mark of an instrument’s prevalence that compositions are written for it on a regular basis. Due to space constraints, this chapter is selective, and only solo works (unaccompanied, with piano, or with orchestra) are covered, noting what previous researchers found, what they missed, and works written since their studies were completed.

As stated in the “Literature Review”, the two available studies are by Leon Hartshorne⁷⁰ and Clare Webb.⁷¹ Hartshorne details and analyses 24 solo works, and lists one other work that he could not analyse because it was unfinished at the time of the composer’s death. Webb details and analyses 19 works, and lists 32 other solo works.⁷² For the purpose of discussing the earliest, five will be chosen from these studies; all are for clarinet and piano (the footnote cites the analysis):

68 Tidboald, *People I Made Music With*, p.93.

69 Ibid., pp.93-94.

70 Hartshorne, *Die Komposisies vir Klarinet van Suid-Afrikaanse Komponiste* (M.Mus. thesis, University of Stellenbosch, 1989).

71 Webb, *An Annotated Catalogue of Selected Works for Clarinet by South African Composers* (M.Mus. minor dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2005).

72 Both researchers included some chamber works (e.g. two clarinets and piano) that are not dealt with here.

1926	William H. Bell, <i>Sonata in D minor</i> ⁷³
1928	Walter Swanson, <i>Lyric Poem</i> ⁷⁴
1943	Priault Rainier, <i>Suite</i> ⁷⁵
1946	Stefans Grové, <i>Sonatine</i> ⁷⁶
1948	Gerard de Vries, <i>Sonatine</i> ⁷⁷

There are three others that neither researcher listed, probably because there are no extant copies of two of them, and there are extant copies of the third but they are rare. Rainier wrote an *Incantation* for clarinet and orchestra, dating from 1933.⁷⁸ This was unfortunately withdrawn by Rainier later in her life; it pre-dated her studies with Nadia Boulanger, which were from 1937, and according to John Amis, she did “not look with favour on any of her works written before this date, with the exception of the ‘Two Archaic Songs’ of 1927”.⁷⁹

The second early work that neither researcher found, undoubtedly because the composer himself does not include it among his important works and no longer has a copy of it, is the *Intermezzo* for clarinet and piano by John Joubert, written in 1944, when he was about 17 years old. It would count along with Rainier and Grové as works written by South Africans in the 1940s. However, in private correspondence with Joubert’s daughter, she says it

was written for a school friend at Diocesan College, Rondebosch and was performed at a school concert. Dad does not have a copy of the piece and thinks of it as a bit of juvenalia rather than a “proper” composition. He left SA for England in 1946.⁸⁰

The third unlisted piece is by Friedrich Hartmann, a Viennese composer who fled to South Africa at the start of WWII and became Head of Music at Rhodes University.⁸¹ He returned to Vienna in 1960, but wrote a clarinet concerto in South Africa,⁸² it was premièred by James Farley on 14 October 1945 in Grahamstown,⁸³ and, as mentioned above, was performed in Cape Town by Michael Muskett. It is also on the SABC recording/broadcast list.⁸⁴

73 Hartshorne, *Die Komposisies vir Klarinet van Suid-Afrikaanse Komponiste*, p.4.

74 Ibid., p.118.

75 Webb, *An Annotated Catalogue of Selected Works for Clarinet by South African Composers*, p.2.

76 Hartshorne, *Die Komposisies vir Klarinet van Suid-Afrikaanse Komponiste*, p.44.

77 Ibid., p.31.

78 Amis, “Priault Rainier”, pp.354-355.

79 Ibid., p.354.

80 Joubert, e-mail to the author, 16 March 2015.

81 “Lost Composers” (accessed 12 January 2016). Hartmann had a partly-Jewish wife, and himself was anti-Nazi, but for an alternate view of him as a “redeployed fascist”, see Kagablog, “sequel – jean pierre de la porte on music and exile” (accessed 18 January 2016).

82 The scoring is clarinet, strings, and percussion.

83 Bell, *Letters from William Henry Bell*, p.84.

84 SABC, Archive List of Clarinet Recordings; the entry is undated.

Identifying which of these is “first” depends on what criteria the reader wants to set; Bell’s and Swanson’s works were the earliest written in South Africa, but both were British and did not take South African citizenship, though they made South Africa their home and died there. De Vries was also an immigrant who made South Africa his home and died there, but the *Sonatine* was written while he was still in Holland. Rainier’s withdrawn work is the earliest written by a South African, but she left South Africa at age 16 to study in London, and thereafter made London her home; even this withdrawn work was written outside South Africa. Hartmann’s *Concerto* was written in South Africa, but he later returned to Vienna, and did not settle in South Africa permanently; in any case, Bell’s and Swanson’s works pre-date his. Joubert’s 1944 work is the first clarinet work written in South Africa by a South African, but it is no longer extant. The earliest extant solo clarinet work written in South Africa by a South African is Grové’s *Sonatine*, but it is chronologically the seventh of the eight pieces.

Swanson’s *Lyric Poem*, along with movements of Bell’s *Sonata*, Rainier’s *Suite*, and Grové’s *Sonatine* were played as part of the creative component for this thesis,⁸⁵ so some brief details of these compositions will be given. Bell, who was Director of the SA College of Music at the University of Cape Town, wrote the *Sonata in D minor* for his son Oliver, and as stated above, it is impossible to tell whether the première was given at UCT, since the programmes for that period are lost. Sadly, Oliver Bell was killed in action during WWII.⁸⁶ According to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, he was 37 years old when he died in 1943,⁸⁷ which makes him approximately 20 years old when the *Sonata* was written.

Swanson was a British composer and conductor who moved to South Africa in 1924. He variously taught violin, conducted, worked for the SABC, and lectured in composition and orchestration.⁸⁸ The published edition of his tonal and romantic *Lyric Poem*⁸⁹ does not contain a dedication, but both Malan and Hartshorne say it was dedicated to Edward (Ted) “Kealy”,⁹⁰ who was mentioned above as having played the Mozart concerto, and being variously involved as a clarinet player with the Cape Town and SABC Orchestras.⁹¹

85 See Appendix 2.

86 Bell, *Letters from William Henry Bell*, p.54, footnote “Par.2”.

87 Commonwealth War Graves Commission (accessed 12 January 2016).

88 Malan, “Swanson, Walter Donald”, p.311

89 Swanson, *Lyric Poem* (Cape Town; Rondebosch: Amanuensis Quality Editions, 1991).

90 Malan, “Swanson, Walter Donald”, p.312; Hartshorne, *Die Komposisies vir Klarinet van Suid-Afrikaanse Komponiste*, p.118; the surname in both is spelled differently than the “Kealey” in Alkema’s thesis.

91 Hartshorne, *Die Komposisies vir Klarinet van Suid-Afrikaanse Komponiste*, p.118, “destyds onder andere as klarinetspeler aan die Kaapstadse Simfonie-orke en die SAUK-orke verbonde was.” [transl. B. Steltzner]

As stated above, Rainier's *Suite* was performed at UCT in 1950, though the première had happened in London in 1945. Amis feels that by the time Rainier wrote it, she "had found her personal idiom"; he compares the *Suite* to her other works from this period:

The music proceeds by a logic of its own that owes little or nothing to conventional forms; harmonic colouring is absent, texture and rhythm become vital elements. Structures are built up out of small melodic units or figurations which are constantly changing or juxtaposed; these units are almost inseparable from rhythmic ostinatos. The favourite intervals are seconds, augmented fourths, sevenths, eighths (!) and ninths. What modulations there are pass almost unnoticed, because the composition is not concerned with harmony. Counterpoint has rarely more than two parts and the texture is fascinating but spare; it is music of sinew which sometimes tends to gristle. The impression gained from listening to this music is that it more nearly resembles architecture or sculpture than painting. There are times when Miss Rainier pares her music, I feel, too vigorously, so that its structure seems so devoid of body as to become a fantasy of wire, a dancing 'mobile' that almost irritates by its impersonality. At its best, however, the shapes fascinate, containing as they do great strength and great passion.⁹²

At the time Grové wrote his *Sonatine*, in 1946, he was studying with Bell at UCT, but Bell was starting to become severely ill and died in April 1946. According to Hartshorne, Erik Chisholm and Cameron Taylor were also strong influences in Grové's composition.⁹³ It is unlikely that Bell ever saw the finished *Sonatine*, and, as stated in the previous chapter, it may have been premièred at UCT, but the programmes for that year are incomplete.

Later works

In listing the missed and newer works, the reader might still have criteria that affect which works to consider. Some of the composers are now resident in other countries, and may have taken citizenship in those countries. The following list is chronological, and in order to not duplicate information, only the source will be cited. In the case of pieces sourced from the Hartshorne and Webb studies, a note will be made if the piece was analysed. Dates may come from a secondary source if the studies listed no composition date. Unless otherwise specified, these are for clarinet and piano.⁹⁴

92 Amis, "Priault Rainier", p.356.

93 Hartshorne, *Die Komposities vir Klarinet van Suid-Afrikaanse Komponiste*, p.44.

94 Since, only solo clarinet works are being considered, Hubert du Plessis' *Suite* for two clarinets (Hartshorne, pp.38-43) and Klaas van Oostveen's *Sonata vir twee klarinette* (Hartshorne, pp.132-141) have not been included. Similarly, Michael Blake's *Whistle Duet* for two clarinets (Webb, pp.39-43), Ian Holloway's *Kunst der Clarinette* (Webb, pp.12-15), Ashley Ross' *Phantasmagoria Op.1* (Webb, pp.33-38), both for clarinet quartet, Braam du Toit's *troetelwoorde vir ogilvie douglas* for soprano, flute, and clarinet (Webb, pp.63-69), and James Wilding's *Crazy Jane* for soprano, clarinet, and piano (Webb, pp.79-84) have not been included.

- n.d. Albrecht Holm (b.1937), *Suite I* (unaccompanied) (Hartshorne, pp.63-65)
both this and the next piece are “youthful” works; both are analysed
- n.d. Albrecht Holm, *'n Reeks vir klarinetsolo* (unaccompanied) (Hartshorne, pp.65-66)
- n.d. Albrecht Holm, *Clarinet Solo Series* (Webb, p.102, but this may be the same as the two works above)
- 1964 Peter Klatzow, *Movement* (Hartshorne, analysed pp.67-73)
- 1964 Peter Klatzow, *Sonatina* (the score for this is lost)
(Composer, e-mail to the author, 6 January 2016)
- 1965-66 Henk Temmingh, *Sonatine* (Hartshorne, analysed pp.121-131); this started out as an unaccompanied piece, later with piano accompaniment added (the date is identifiable because it was written during his studies in the Netherlands).
- n.d. Albert Honey, *Brave Banner* (Webb, p102)⁹⁵
- n.d. Livio Ventyra, *Notturmo* (Webb, p.101)
- n.d. Stephen O'Reilly, *Colloquy* (Webb, p.101)
- n.d. Stephen O'Reilly, *Thieves Carnival* (unaccompanied) (Webb, p.102)
- <1970 Gideon Nxumalo, *A Little Song for Clarinet* (Hartshorne, p.152; not analysed because it was unfinished at Nxumalo's death)
- 1970 Thomas Rajna, *Dialogues* (Webb, p.101)
- 1970 Hans Maske, *Concerto Malgache* for clarinet (with strings, piano, percussion) (Hartshorne, analysed p.82)
- 1971 Petrus Lemmer, *Romance in C* (Hartshorne, analysed pp.74-77)
- 1971 Norbert Nowotny, *Thirteen Pieces for Oboe, Flute, or Clarinet Solo* (unaccompanied) (Webb, p.102)
- 1971-3 Hans Maske, *Sonate* (Hartshorne, analysed p.78)
- 1973 Hans Roosenschoon, *Tarantella* (Webb, p.101)
- 1973 Carl van Wyk, *Sonatine* (Hartshorne, analysed pp.142-150)
- 1975 Jacques de Vos Malan, *Wind Piece* (unaccompanied) (Hartshorne, pp.27-30)
- 1976 John Coulter, *Two Bagatelles* (Hartshorne, analysed pp.12-16)
- 1979 Arthur Wegelin (“Oom Willem”), *Indrukke van Montagu* (Hartshorne, pp.100-106 and Webb, p.101)
- n.d. Dirk de Klerk, *Dans* (unaccompanied) (Hartshorne, pp.17-19); a date of c.1980 can be estimated from Hartshorne's comment that it was written when De Klerk was 21 years old; he was born in 1959.
- n.d. Peter McLea, *Four Studies for Clarinet* (Webb, p.101)
- n.d. Graham Newcater, *Concerto for Clarinet and Orchestra* (Hartshorne, pp.91-99)
“1982” from the Documentation Centre for Music, University of Stellenbosch
- n.d. Laurie Potgieter, *Sonate I* (Hartshorne, pp.107-111); Hartshorne (p.111) says this was on the UNISA Performer's Licentiate list for 1983.
- n.d. Laurie Potgieter, *Sonate II* (Hartshorne, pp.112-115)
- n.d. Laurie Potgieter, *Toccata* (Hartshorne, pp.115-117)
- 1981 John Simon, *Threnody II* for clarinet, strings and timpani (Webb, p.91)
- 1983 Hendrik Hofmeyr, *Partita Canonica* (unaccompanied) (Webb, analysed pp.19-21)
- 1983 Allan Stephenson, *Concertino Pastorale for Clarinet and Small Orchestra* (Webb, p.91)
- 1983 Peter Klatzow, *Variations on a Theme of Bartók* (unaccompanied) (Webb, p.102)
Webb says “n.d.” but the typeset part shows a date of “1983/2000”
i.e. 1983, revised 2000

95 Estimating the date of this piece is difficult, since Honey, according to his obituary in the Fluteworx “Commemorative Concert, Konsertkamer Da Capo Concert Chamber, 10 November 2002” (accessed 23 January 2016), lived from 1919-2001. Webb does not cite the work, and just says her list was “compiled from various sources, including the South African Music Rights Organisation (SAMRO), the Internet, and personal communication with certain composers” (p.90). Since he was in Europe until at least 1964, *Brave Banner* has been placed after that, assuming Webb found a source within South Africa for it.

- n.d. Peter Klatzow, *Moments of Nights* (Webb, p.100; date is c.1984 (Composer, e-mail to author, 13 January 2016))
- n.d. Dirk de Klerk, *Drie Tarot Kaarte* (Hartshorne, pp.19-26); date from the author's copy is 1984 for final revision
- 1985 Johan Cloete, *IHS-1* (unaccompanied) (Webb, p.101)
- 1985 Periandros Lykiardopulos, *Homage to Alban Berg* (Webb, analysed pp.22-23)
- 1985 Periandros Lykiardopulos, *Sonata: Beyond good and evil* (Webb, p.100 has "n.d.", but the date at the end of the manuscript is 1985)
- n.d. Étienne van Rensburg, *Fragment I* (Webb, p.101)
- 1985 Étienne van Rensburg, *Episode* (Webb, p.101)
- 1986 Peter Klatzow, *Concerto for clarinet and small orchestra* (Webb, analysed pp.24-29)
- 1987 Johan Cloete, *Nimrod* (unaccompanied) (Webb, p.102)
- 1987 Etienne van Rensburg, *Fantasy* for solo clarinet (unaccompanied) (Webb, analysed pp.30-32)
- n.d. Stefans Grové, *Vier Stukke* (Hartshorne, pp.53-62 and Webb, pp.16-18, no.4 only); Though Hartshorne lists the four collectively by the title *Vier Stukke*, they were not published under that title, but were published separately: 'n Hartseer Melodie (also called "Hartseerlied"), Die Bose Kabouter, Kronkelsleepsels in die Sand, Spieëtjie aan die Wand (Webb (p.16) dates this movement 1981); all have been on the UNISA clarinet syllabus from 1989
- 1988 Étienne van Rensburg, *Sonatina* (Webb, p.101)
- 1988 Étienne van Rensburg, *Procedures* for clarinet and orchestra (Webb, p.91)
- 1988 Johan Cloete, *Dal – Hdyor – Phun – Sum – Tshogs – Phai – Mi – Lus* (Webb, p.100)
- 1988 Johan Cloete, *Omumbo – Rombonga* (Webb, p.100)
- 1989 Paul Kitto, *Two Pieces for clarinet and piano* (M.Mus. portfolio, UCT)
- 1989 Johan Cloete, *Empire of Lights I* for clarinet and strings (Webb, p.91)
- 1991 Johan Cloete, *Concerto for Clarinet and Chamber Orchestra* (Webb, pp.85-88)
- 1991 Étienne van Rensburg, *Sonata in Three Parts and Seven Movements* (Webb, p.101)
- 1992 Alexander Johnson, *Jazz Sonatina* (Webb, analysed pp.44-47)
- 1993 Hannes Taljaard, *Nacht und Träume* (SA Composers, "Taljaard, Daniël Johannes" (accessed 12 February 2016))
- 1994 Étienne van Rensburg, *Concert Fantasy for Clarinet, Percussion, Piano and Orchestra* (Webb, p.91)
- 1995 Bongani Ndodana[-Breen], *Sonatina* (Webb, p.101; Webb says "n.d." but 1995 was confirmed in an e-mail from the composer to the author, 24 January 2016)
- 1995 Denzil Weale, *Heed the Rainbows Calling: Suite in Three Movements* (SAMRO Archive)
- 1996 Surendran Reddy, *Game I for Lila* (unaccompanied) (Webb, analysed pp.48-51); also in the SAMRO Archive with a date of 1995, but that was probably the commission date; it was for the 1996 overseas scholarship competition
- 1997 Johan Cloete, *Empire of Lights II* for clarinet and strings (Webb, p.91)
- 1997 Robert Fokkens, *The True Confessions of Bonzo the Clown* (Webb, analysed pp.52-57)
- 1997 R. [Nan] Adams, *Clarinet Sonata in D major* (Webb, p.99); Webb has "n.d.", but the manuscript date is 1997, with a dedication "To Edward on his birthday 1997"
- 1999 Stefans Grové, *Portrait of a Clarinet Dancer* (Webb, p.102)
- 2000 Michael Blake, *Untitled* (Webb, p.100, SAMRO Archive)
- 2000 Peggy-Ann Haddon, *Cape to Rio—a Journey* (Webb, analysed pp.58-60)
- 2000 Allan Stephenson, *Little Piece for Rachel* (Webb, analysed pp.61-62)
- 2001 Braam du Toit, *Gebed* (Webb, p.100)
- 2001 Paul Loeb van Zuilenberg, *12 tempos* (Webb, analysed pp.70-72)

- 2001 Allan Stephenson, *Youth Concertino for B-flat Soprano Saxophone and Small Orchestra*; this has an alternate solo part for clarinet (SAMRO Archive)
- 2002 Isak Roux, *Kleine Chronik: Konzertstück* (Webb, analysed pp.73-78)
- 2004 David Kosviner, *Untitled (Étude I)* (Webb, analysed pp.85-88)
- 2004 Kevin Volans, *Double Take* (from Kevin Volans: Works (composer's website))
- 2008 Matthijs van Dijk, *Concerto for Clarinet and Strings "5 AM Farewell"* (Composer, e-mail to the author, 25 January 2016)
- 2009 Stefans Grové, *6 Mantras and Salutations* (SAMRO Archive)
- 2009 Niel van der Watt, *Rietery vir Klarinet en Klavier* (SAMRO Archive)
- 2010 Niel van der Watt, *Kaperjol for Clarinet* (SAMRO Archive)
- 2010 Roelof Temmingh, *Concerto for Clarinet and Orchestra* (SAMRO Archive)
- 2010 Hendrik Hofmeyr, *Canto Notturmo*
- 2011 Clare Loveday, *Just So* (SAMRO Archive)
- 2011 Matthijs van Dijk, *Apogee* (SAMRO Archive)
- 2012 David Earl, *Clarinet Concerto* (Composer, e-mail to the author, 20 January 2016)
- 2012 Hendrik Hofmeyr, *Concerto per Clarinetto e Orchestra* (premiered by the author)
- 2012 Hendrik Hofmeyr, *Sonata for Clarinet* (premiered by the author)
- 2012 Niel van der Watt, *Sonata for Clarinet and Piano* (SAMRO Archive)
- 2013 Martin Watt, *Elegy* (unaccompanied) (Composer, e-mail to author, 17 January 2016)
- 2013 Alexander Johnson, *Colour-Keys* (unaccompanied) (SAMRO Archive)
- 2016 Matthijs van Dijk, *Smokeless Fire* and *Smoke and Mirrors* (Composer, e-mail to author, 25 January 2016)

From this list, Petrus Lemmer's *Romance in C*, Hendrik Hofmeyr's *Concerto* and *Sonata* were chosen to be played in the creative component for this thesis.

Lemmer wrote the *Romance in C* for his son Richard, who played the clarinet. Although Richard later became a physicist who worked at MIT in Cambridge, he did music as a subject in high school, but did not pursue music at university. Richard came back to South Africa and settled in Johannesburg in 1971, at which point, his father wrote the *Romance in C* as a " 'welcome home and good luck for the future' gesture".⁹⁶ It is in a fairly traditional late-Romantic style.

Hofmeyr wrote his *Concerto* (as well as the *Canto Notturmo*) as a commission from the Hugo Lambrechts Music Centre for Danielle Rossouw, a talented clarinetist who was then a high school student. However, the world première was performed by the author of this thesis. The *Sonata*, written in response to some of the author's discussions with the author, also formed part of the creative component for this degree, and the author performed the world première. Subsequently, the final movement was performed in the lecture-demonstration.

⁹⁶ Lawrenson, e-mail to the author, 28 January 2016.

In summarising the compositions, the vast majority of these works are from the second half of the 20th century, so it is obvious that the clarinet had become prevalent by that time. Though there are not many compositions from the 1950s and 1960s, the pace picks up from the 1970s onward, most particularly with a concerted effort on the part of organisations like UNISA, SAMRO and the Hugo Lambrechts Music Centre, to make sure there is an increasing number of South African compositions available to clarinetists.

Chapter 11

Case Study: Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle

a.k.a. Charles Jean Baptiste Soualle, Charles-Valentin Soualle, Souallé, Patrick Sullivan, or Ben Sullivan. The first travelling solo clarinetist/saxophonist to visit South Africa

This musician is significant globally as the first travelling saxophone virtuoso, and given that the saxophone was only patented in 1846,¹ Sou-Alle's 1850s tours are early indeed. But he is also significant for the purposes of this study, because his original music diploma was in clarinet, not saxophone, and he is the first travelling clarinet soloist to play in South Africa, as well as the first clarinetist in South Africa to play virtually an entire concert on his own, though he played both clarinet and saxophone in his concerts. In addition, there is an important sociological aspect to his concerts, in that he frequently wrote "Souvenirs" of places he toured, and there are indeed two such pieces for South Africa, one each for Cape Town and Natal. He is certainly one of the more interesting characters, judging by the many different names, the confusion about who he was, and the fact the almost every source of information has something inaccurate in it. But first, about his concerts.

The World Tour

Under the name "Soualle", this instrumentalist did concerts in England from November 1850² until at least March 1852, when an advertisement in *The Times* for a concert at Exeter Hall listed "Instrumental soloists—Miss A. Goddard, M. Billet, M. Lütgen, and M. Soualle."³ However, at this time, the instrument he was playing was called the "Corno-musa",⁴ described as "one of the sweetest-toned instruments of the Sax generation".⁵

After leaving England, he changed his name, according to some, because of a conversion to Islam; according to others, he used a stage name as part of a "masquerade". This will be discussed later, but by the time he got to Australia in 1853, he was already performing on the "turkophone" as "Ali Ben Soualle",⁶ although it is not clear whether the lack of hyphens in the name is the newspaper's omission, or whether he was as yet unsettled as to the format of the new name. After spending some two years there, he left.

1 Liley, "Invention and development", p.6.

2 *The Times*, 19 November 1850, p.4.

3 *The Times*, 2 March 1852, p.1.

4 *The Times*, 19 November 1850, p.4 and 3 December 1850, p.4.

5 *The Times*, 11 November 1851, p.5.

6 *The Argus* (Melbourne), 10 June 1853, p.5.

By November 1855, he was performing in Singapore,⁷ with one article indicating that his plan was to go to Batavia (modern Jakarta),⁸ and then back to Singapore. However, before going back to Singapore, Sou-Alle was in Shanghai. J.H. Haan, in “Thalia and Terpsichore on the Yangtze”,⁹ quotes the *North China Herald* as calling Sou-Alle’s 19 September 1856 concert “The first public concert (properly so called) that has ever been given at Shanghai”.¹⁰ He also said Sou-Alle “had made a tour through Asia and in Hong Kong his success had not been unequivocal”.¹¹

Another Chinese source is Paul French, in *Through the Looking Glass: China’s Foreign Journalists from Opium Wars to Mao*. This material supports Haan’s statement that Sou-Alle’s concerts did not always get glowing reviews. French details a spat in the *North China Herald* over a review of one of Sou-Alle’s concerts. The editor, Charles Spencer Compton, defended the reviewer:

When the now forgotten, but then quite famous, Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle (really the composer Jean-Baptiste Soualle) arrived in Shanghai on his world tour to perform a musical on something called a Turkophone, a sort of early saxophone, he got a good review. Some vehemently disagreed with the paper’s music critic in praising the performance. After publishing several letters of differing opinions, Compton waded in with a stern note to readers that they should respect the judgement of their trained and experienced music critic in the matter of Mr. Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle and his Turkophone and submit to his better judgement. There was an end to the matter.¹²

A *Straits Times* review from December 1856 shows that Sou-Alle was back in Singapore, and from there intended to go to Calcutta.¹³ Whether or not that ever happened, not much is known about his whereabouts during 1857, but by the second half of the year he seems to have been in Mauritius. A Sydney newspaper, dated 30 November 1857, cites the Mauritian *Port Louis Gazette*, from which we get an approximate date for a concert there. The article says it has the Port Louis newspaper “up to 9 October”,¹⁴ and then quotes an announcement of Sou-Alle’s upcoming concert.

⁷ *Straits Times and Singapore Journal of Commerce*, 13 November 1855, p.4.

⁸ *Straits Times and Singapore Journal of Commerce*, 20 November 1855 [the download page says 19 November but the newspaper’s masthead is clearly 20 November], p.6.

⁹ Haan, “Thalia and Terpsichore on the Yangtze”, pp.172-173.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*; Haan cites the *North China Herald* of 20 September 1856.

¹¹ Haan, “Thalia and Terpsichore on the Yangtze”, pp.173, citing *The China Mail* of 14 & 21 August 1856, and 16 October 1856. Haan also gives some excerpts of the concert announcements and reviews on pp.198-199.

¹² French, “Civil and Other Wars – Rebels, Mercenaries and More Dope”, pp.55-56.

¹³ *Straits Times and Singapore Journal of Commerce*, 2 December 1856, p.4.

¹⁴ *Empire*, 30 November 1857, p.5.

The South African part of the tour

Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle probably arrived in Cape Town on 22 February 1858. The 24 February 1858 *Cape Argus* contains the following: “Shipping Intelligence. Arrivals in Table Bay [. . . Feb.] 22.–Meteor (of London) [. . .] from Mauritius 4th inst. to this port. Cargo, sugar. Passengers Miss Godfrey; Messrs. A.B.L. Alle and G.H. Hull; and 2 in the steerage [. . .]”¹⁵ A.B.L. Alle is undoubtedly Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle, with a misprint of L instead of S.

His first concert was advertised in the *Cape Argus* of 27 February 1858: “COMMERCIAL ROOMS. GRAND CONCERT, to be given by ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE. On Thursday Evening, March 4, 1858. Tickets 5s., TO BE HAD OF MR. TAYLOR.”¹⁶

The next issue of the *Cape Argus* contains both a fuller advertisement, and a small article that provides more information:

ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE’S concert, advertised to take place to-morrow evening, under the patronage of His Excellency Sir G. Grey, will embrace performances by the band of the Cape Royal Rifles, vocal music by amateurs, and some excellently-selected *morceaux* of his own arrangement on various celebrated airs—to be performed by him on the turkophone, turkophonini, and grand clarionet. This is the first concert announced to take place in the Commercial Rooms since the introduction of gas; and, judging from the favorable criticisms which Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle has received in other places, the evening’s entertainment will be of a high character.¹⁷

And, on 6 March 1858, the concert was reviewed in the *Cape Argus*:

CONCERT.—Mons. Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle’s concert was given in the large room of the Commercial Exchange on Thursday evening; and fully realised our anticipations of its superior character. The performances on the *Turkophone* (an instrument of great compass) were excellent; the powerful and extremely clear notes produced, called forth deserved applause. The solos “In my cottage near a wood,” and “My lodging is on the cold ground,” were exquisitely executed. Monsieur Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle’s performances on the *Turkophonini* and the grand *Clarionet* were of an equally high character; and the audience were fully convinced of his superior musical abilities. The Rifle Corps Band were present during the evening; and their performances were very excellent, and such as to lead us to desire that they will in future more frequently favor the public with such an entertainment. Some amateurs, who were to assist in singing glees, did not come forward during the evening; but Mons. Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle amply compensated for the disappointment occasioned by this circumstance. His first public entertainment has met with a decided success, and we have no doubt the result of a second will be still more gratifying.¹⁸

¹⁵ *Cape Argus*, 24 February 1858, p.4.

¹⁶ *Cape Argus*, 27 February 1858, p.1.

¹⁷ *Cape Argus*, 3 March 1858, p.2.

¹⁸ *Cape Argus*, 6 March 1858, p.2.

From Cape Town, he went to Port Elizabeth, where he gave two concerts; the review from the *Telegraph* was reprinted in *The Graham's Town Journal* on 15 June 1858.¹⁹ Specific pieces and instruments are not mentioned.

In Grahamstown

Sou-Alle's first concert in Grahamstown was on 21 June 1858. The review indicates that several pieces were played on the clarinet:

THE CONCERT.—Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle has been astonishing the musical world of Grahamstown with his wonderful performances. He gave his first grand concert last evening in the Court House. The house was thronged to excess, and many could not find seats. His excellency Sir James Jackson and Staff were present, and all, without exception, seemed enraptured with the evenings [*sic*] entertainment. Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle certainly did not spare himself, and presented a most pleasing variety of music to his audience. His performances were astonishing, and the various instruments upon which he played were completely at his command—now producing a deep bass, and anon melodious strains dying upon the ear. His “Recollections of Scotland,” imitation of the Scottish bagpipes &c. were first rate, and most vociferously cheered and *encored* by the audience; as also the song sung and played by Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle. The English, Scotch, and Irish, and the Dutch National Anthem, played upon the grand Clarionet, were delightful—especially Auld Lang Syne and Home Sweet Home, which had a most thrilling effect upon his audience. Altogether it was a most pleasant evening, and Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle not only succeeded in attracting a large audience, but in giving every member of it full satisfaction. His dress was most gorgeous and peculiar, and was evidently no mean part of the attraction.

The band of the 85th Regt., kindly lent by Col. Gray, was in attendance in the gallery, and played several overtures, waltzes and polkas, with its usual taste judgment and spirit.

The second Concert will be given on Friday evening next, on which occasion Miss Pearson will preside [looks like it might be misspelled as “presside”] at the piano.²⁰

Sou-Alle gave quite a few more concerts in the eastern Cape before proceeding to Natal. *The Graham's Town Journal* advertised concerts in Fort Peddie, King William's Town, Alice, Fort Beaufort, Bedford, Somerset, and Cradock.²¹

In Natal

The Natal Mercury of 20 December 1858 printed the following review of one of Sou-Alle's Durban concerts, which took place on 14 December:²²

19 *The Graham's Town Journal*, 15 June 1858, p.2.

20 *The Graham's Town Journal*, 22 June 1858, p.2.

21 *The Graham's Town Journal*, 6 July 1858, p.2; 13 July 1858, p.2; 20 July 1858, p.2; Bromberger, *Music in Grahamstown 1812-1862*, p.61 (Bromberger does not cite a date or an advertisement for this concert in Cradock, and a primary reference has not been found).

22 *The Natal Mercury*, 20 December 1858, Supplement, p.1; in the South African Library microfilm of this newspaper, the right margin is cut off, so the most logical completion of the lines is in square brackets.

Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle's grand concert on Tuesday evening was given, by the kind permission of Mr. Hartley, in that gentleman's new and spacious salons, adjoining his residence in Smit[h Street.] The company was as numerous as the room would admit of, [?] have heard only one opinion expressed of the extraordinary [talent] of this musical artiste. His own peculiar instruments—the [turko]phone and the turkophonini—especially the former, are of ex[traordinary] compass and sweetness, and the whole of his perfor[mances,] both instrumental and vocal, elicited the warmest applause. [Ali-]Ben-Sou-Alle's gorgeous and costly dress, and command[ing a] graceful presence added to the effect. It is surprising how th[e art] of one man can sustain for nearly three hours so continuou[s ins]piration of the vital fluid. We can now understand the u[sual] eclat that has attended the world-wide wanderings of this [accom]plished performer. We need not say that Mrs. Cubitt dis[patched] her part of pianist with brilliant effect. It is not creditable t[hat] persons, well able to pay for an evening's entertainment, t[hen] should have crowded round the windows surreptitiously [to see] the fruits of genius and long labour. A professional m[usician,] performances are his stock-in trade. He obliges no one to p[ay for] his wares, but if they wish for them they are bound in all [cases] to pay the price. Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle has received not only the [re]wards of professional skill, but the patronage and personal [(not possible to guess)] of the representatives of British royalty wherever he ha[s gone.] Lords Canning and Harris in India; Sir J. Bowring in Ch[ina], George Grey when Governor of New Zealand, and more rec[ently] the Cape Colony, have all recognised the powers of this artis[te] by public patronage and by private courtesies. To the credi[t of Ali-] Ben-Sou-Alle, he has always been ready to give concerts in [aid of] public and benevolent objects' [*sic*] and no small sums have thus [accrued] to the cause of humanity. It will be seen that he is to give [a] concert at the Masonic Hall on Monday evening, which [will no] doubt be crowded.

By this time, Sou-Alle had become ill and cancelled the second December concert. *The Natal Mercury* announced that “ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE'S final concert announced for Monday evening could not take place on account of the severe illness of that gentleman. He has for a week past laboured under an inflammatory attack which forbids, for the present, any extraordinary use of his lungs.”²³

The illness cannot have been a minor one; it was only announced in late February 1859 that he was nearly recovered and would give a concert before leaving Durban.²⁴ That concert took place on 9 March 1859.

The review says “ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE'S CONCERT last night was not well attended owing to various unforeseen circumstances, but more especially its being the night prior to the departure of the mail. Those who were absent missed a great musical treat. The citizens of Maritzburg will now have an opportunity of hearing this extraordinary performer.”²⁵

23 *The Natal Mercury*, 23 December 1858, p.3.

24 *The Natal Mercury*, 24 February 1859, supplement, p.3.

25 *The Natal Mercury*, 10 March 1859, p.3.

In Pietermaritzburg

To date, the fullest account of Sou-Alle's performances comes from Pietermaritzburg. An advertisement in *The Natal Witness, and Agricultural and Commercial Advertiser* on 11 March 1859²⁶ gives the full programme (see Figure 11, p.155).

Sou-Alle played at least two pieces on the "Grand" Clarinet, undoubtedly the B-flat (Berr, *Air Varié*; Sou-Alle, *Doux Souvenirs Polka*), and one (*Cavatina from Linda di Chamounix*, composer unknown) on the "Petit" clarinet, undoubtedly the E-flat clarinet. Although the E-flat clarinet had been in use in South Africa prior to this,²⁷ it was probably only used in military bands. Sou-Alle's concerts were most likely the first time anyone in South Africa heard it in a solo role.

It is not known who sang "Partant pour la Syrie" and "La Marsellaise", but since Sou-Alle was reviewed in Durban (see above) as having given both instrumental and vocal performances, and since he sang the Comic Song, it may very well have been Sou-Alle himself, although the following review does not mention him singing at all:

On Tuesday evening Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle entertained an audience of our townfolks with a display of his musical talent on the "wonderful turkophone, turkophonine, grand clarionet, petit clarionet," and an instrument imitating the Scottish bagpipes. Mrs. Cubitt presided with her usual talent at the piano, and Mr. Fraser appeared with his violin. The chief musician was in his "native" costume. The room, as it struck us, was not the best adapted in the world for doing justice to the musicians or their instruments. A farewell concert took place yesterday evening.²⁸

This is not as effusive as the Durban review, but it seems to blame the acoustics of the room. An announcement in the Shipping Intelligence column of the *Natal Witness* shows that Sou-Alle left South Africa on 30 March 1859, in the ship *Good Hope*, bound for Mauritius.²⁹

²⁶ *The Natal Witness, and Agricultural and Commercial Advertiser*, 11 March 1859, p.2.

²⁷ *The Natal Witness, and Agricultural and Commercial Advertiser*, 10 February 1854, p.1. P. Ferreira, auctioneer, advertised the sale of quite a few musical instruments. Most of them, apart from 2 violins, were wind and percussion instruments, and the list included "1 Eb clarionet". They must have been for military use, judging by the addition of "plumes" that would have been part of the military uniform.

²⁸ *The Natal Witness, and Agricultural and Commercial Advertiser*, 18 March 1859, p.2.

²⁹ *The Natal Witness, and Agricultural and Commercial Advertiser*, 8 April 1859, p.2.

GRAND CONCERT

ON

TUESDAY EVENING, THE 15TH MARCH,

IN JONES'S ROOM, PIETERMARITZBURG,

TO BE GIVEN BY

ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE.

PROGRAMME.

FIRST PART.

- INTRODUCTION
1. SOLO (Turkophone)—Grand Fantasic on the celebrated Opera "Sonnambula" of Bellini, composed and executed by ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE.
 2. AIR VARIE, for the GRAND CLARINET, by the celebrated German composer F. Berr, executed by ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE.
 3. CONCERTO (Violin)—De Beriot W. A. FRASER.
 4. SONG—"Partant pour la Syrie"
 5. SOLO (Turkophonini)—Grand Air Varie on the favourite melody "Old Folks at Home," with Bolero Finale, composed and executed by ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE.
 6. CAVATINA on the celebrated Opera "Linda di Chamounix," as sung by Jenny Lind at Her Majesty's Theatre, executed on the PETIT CLARINET by ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE.
 7. RECOLLECTIONS OF SCOTLAND—Imitations of the Scottish BAGPIPES, including "Athol Highlanders' March," "Wha wadna fecht for Charlie," "Johnny Cope," "Plough Boy," with variation ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE.

INTERVAL OF TEN MINUTES.

PART SECOND.

- INTRODUCTION
1. SOLO (Turkophone)—"In my Cottage near a Wood," Fantasic with variations and Finale, composed and executed by ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE.
 2. "DOUX SOUVENIRS,"—Polka composed and executed on the GRAND CLARINET by ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE.
 3. SOLO (Pianoforte)—"Schulhoff's Fantasia-Carnival de Venise" Mrs. CUBITT.
 4. SONG—"La Marseillaise"
 5. SOLO (Turkophonini)—"My Lodging is on the cold Ground," with variations, composed and executed by ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE.
 6. COMIC SONG—"Les canotiers de Paris," composed and sung by ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE.
 7. MACEDOINE on the English, Scottish, and Irish Airs, including "Will you love me then as now," "My ain kind Dearie," "Auld Lang Syne," "John Anderson my Joe," "Home, Sweet Home," "St. Patrick's Day" ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE.

God Save the Queen!

Doors open at half-past Seven, Concert to commence at Eight o'clock.

ADMISSION TICKETS. 6s. : to be had at BUTTON'S HOTEL. and of MESSRS. MAY & DAVIS, Pietermaritzburg.

NO MONEY TAKEN AT THE DOOR.

Compositions connected to South Africa

Sou-Alle did not compose “souvenir” pieces only in South Africa; an article in the *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer* reports in its column “The Balls”, that a new waltz was performed there, “arranged by M. Ali-ben-Sou-Alle, entitled the ‘Queen of the South,’ and dedicated to Lady Hotham”.³⁰ It seems to have been normal practice for him to compose and dedicate works to prominent people in the governments and societies of the places he played. Thus, among the works Sou-Alle composed, and available today in an edition by Musik Fabrik are *Souvenir de Natal* for alto saxophone and piano (dedicated to John Cubitt, Esq.),³¹ *Souvenirs de Cap Bonne Espérance* for soprano saxophone and piano, and a piece inspired by a land close to South Africa, *Souvenirs de L’Île Maurice* (Mauritius) for soprano saxophone and piano. For clarinet and piano, he also wrote *Souvenirs de Bade*, which is not a South African location. Most of his published works are for the saxophones, but clarinetists can play any that are written for the B-flat tenor or soprano saxophone.

Who was he?

Since he is a mysterious character, his life will be discussed in some detail. George S. Jackson, in *Music in Durban*, has the following to say about this clarinetist:

Perhaps the strangest of musicians ever to visit the town arrived in December of the same year. Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle was an Irishman masquerading in Turkish costume. With the help of Mrs. Cubitt and Mr. W.A. Frazer, an amateur violinist, he gave three concerts: two in Winder’s masonic Hall and the third at the residence of Mr. William Hartley. He remained in Durban for a few weeks as the guest of Mr W.A. Frazer, and in March 1859 gave another concert prior to visiting Pietermaritzburg. [34] Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle, whose real name was Patrick Sullivan, was a highly-gifted pianist who cleverly improvised variations on popular tunes. He also executed difficult solos on the clarinet and two exotic but doleful-sounding instruments which he called the “turkophone” and “turkophonini”. A contemporary account describes him as “a performer on several brass instruments and the clarionet”. After giving concerts in Cape Town and in many of the villages between the Peninsula and Port Elizabeth, he visited Grahamstown and from there found his way overland into Natal. Six years later he was seen at Covent Garden where he was engaged as a novelty artist by Alfred Mellon whose concerts were held there in the eighteen-sixties. [35].³²

30 *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer*, 17 August 1854, p.5.

31 *The Natal Mercury* ran advertisements, e.g. 3, 10, and 17 February 1859 (all p.1), for “J.Cubitt, Music Depot, West Street, Durban” selling sheet music. This is the most likely dedicatee of *Souvenir de Natal*. “Mrs. Cubitt”, who accompanied Sou-Alle was John Cubitt’s wife. According to Jackson (*Music in Durban 1850-1900* (book), p.11), Cubitt and his wife arrived in Durban in 1850; he was first a bookseller and stationer, then a wine-merchant, and then a clerk. She was the “first accomplished pianist to settle in Durban”.

32 Jackson, *Music in Durban* (book), p.14. Footnote 34 cites *The Natal Mercury*, 10 March 1859, p.3 (an announcement of Soualle’s upcoming Pietermaritzburg concert). Footnote 35 cites *The Natal Mercury*, 6 October 1864, p.2 (“London Music Gossip”).

There are a few inaccuracies in Jackson's information. Firstly, the comment about "masquerading in Turkish costume" seems to be a value judgment. Musik Fabrik, in its biography of Sou-Alle, states that there was a conversion to Islam, though where and when will be discussed below, as it is questionable.³³ In addition, there were some Tasmanian reviews that mention his dress as his "great national costume",³⁴ and "the splendid costume of his country".³⁵

Secondly, Jackson treats Sou-Alle as primarily a pianist. While Jackson did not have recent saxophone research at his disposal, it is difficult to see why he came to that conclusion from articles and announcements in South African newspapers. Jackson's first citation, the 10 March 1859 *Natal Mercury* review quoted above,³⁶ mentions no instruments at all. His second citation, a much later article entitled "London Music Gossip" from *The Natal Mercury*, mentions "several brass instruments", "the clarionet", and "his 'Turkaphone' ". The "several brass instruments" are undoubtedly the different sizes of saxophone, but at any rate, the article says nothing about him being pianist.³⁷

The full programme in the 11 March 1859 *Natal Witness, and Agricultural and Commercial Advertiser* cited above lists only one solo piano piece, and it is specified as being played by Mrs. Cubitt. As for London papers to which Jackson may have had access, there is both an announcement and a review in *The Times* (London) of 9 August 1864, but the announcement simply mentions "[t]his celebrated artiste"; the review mentions "a solo upon an instrument entitled the 'turcophone' (evidently one of the numerous sax-tubic family)".³⁸ Neither mentions Sou-Alle as a pianist.

Thirdly, Jackson's source for the name Patrick Sullivan is anecdotal and unsupported by any other source. The full 6 October 1864 *Natal Mercury* article "London Music Gossip" says the following:

33 Musik Fabrik, notes to *Souvenirs du Cap Bonne Espérance*, rev. Paul Wehage, 2008. In addition to the date and place of conversion being questionable, this biography also states that Sou-Alle "returned to Mysore in 1858 and was almost killed in the Indian Revolution". Since he was in Cape Town already in late February of 1858, and did not leave South Africa for Mauritius until March 1859, this is unlikely.

34 *The Mercury* (Hobart, Tas.), 5 July 1924, p.52.

35 *The Courier* (Hobart, Tas.), 1 November 1854, p.3.

36 *The Natal Mercury*, 10 March 1859, p.3.

37 *The Natal Mercury*, 6 October 1864, p.2. Jackson's original dissertation mentions this source, plus *The Natal Mercury* review, and *The Natal Witness* advertisement shown in Figure 1, but no other references (pp.151-152); if he had another source, it is not cited.

38 *The Times* (London), 9 August 1864, pp.1 & 10.

A musical friend in London has kindly furnished us with the following “scraps,” which will not be uninteresting to your readers:—“About five or six years ago there appeared at the Cape a most singular being calling himself ‘Ali Ben Soala, [*sic*]’ a performer on several brass instruments, and the clarionet. He gave concerts at Cape Town, Simon’s Bay, and at all the towns and villages situate [*sic*] between the Cape and Algoa Bay, then went to Grahamstown, and through Kafirland to Natal. Well, this curiosity in the shape of a man disappeared, and since then has been reported to have lost his life in a fire, to have been thrown out of a balloon, to have burst his windpipe practicing, and a dozen other extraordinary finales; but he is actually alive, and this evening, after leaving my office and taking a cup of tea, I shall put a fiddle under my arm and go down to Covent Garden theatre to the second rehearsal of Mellon’s concerts. About the middle of the first part of the programme, a weird looking object in Turkish costume appears on the platform and performs on his “Turkaphone,” [*sic*] the saddest and most melancholy music you ever heard in your life. “Ali Ben Soala” yes, I recognize him at once as Patrick Sullivan, who went to America in Jullien’s band; he is a good performer, and does not need his Turkish dress and outlandish name for any body to be more delighted with his performance. This eccentric player is engaged by Mellon as a novelty, and as such he is likely to cause a sensation. I send you these particulars because he has been an object of interest at the Cape ever since he appeared there.³⁹

An explanation for associating the Sullivan name with Sou-Alle is that “Patrick Sullivan, who went to America in Jullien’s band” refers to whoever made that tour, and the anonymous “musical friend in London” has made the mistake of thinking it was Sou-Alle. In fact, Sou-Alle had played for Jullien’s concerts in London,⁴⁰ but the saxophonist who went to America with Jullien was Henri Wuille,⁴¹ though there is no evidence that Wuille used a pseudonym while there. Further, Jullien’s first New York concert was on 29 August 1853.⁴² Sou-Alle could not have been there in addition to Wuille, because reviews in Australian newspapers show him to be there already in June of 1853,⁴³ and there are further concert notices for 12 and 13 August in the Geelong Theater Royal.⁴⁴ In the mid-1800s, it was simply not possible to get from Australia to New York in a couple of weeks.

After 13 August there is a gap until January 1854,⁴⁵ which is about five months, and while this would leave time to go and come back, the travelling time alone would leave so little time to do concerts, it does not seem worth the trouble. While it should be considered because it is technically possible, an article has been found which all but proves that Sou-Alle stayed in Australia during that gap.

39 *The Natal Mercury*, 6 October 1864, p.2.

40 *The Times*, 19 November 1850, p.4.

41 Liley, “Invention and Development”, p.13.

42 Howard, “The Foreign Invasion of 1848”, p.220.

43 *The Argus* (Melbourne), 10 June 1853, p.5.

44 *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer*, 10 August 1853, p.5.

45 *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer*, 23 January 1854, p.4.

The 23 January 1854 announcement of Sou-Alle's new concerts in Australia says, "[w]e have the pleasure of announcing to our readers that our friend Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle has now arrived at complete state of convalescence, and is about to depart for Melbourne".⁴⁶ Bearing in mind that Sou-Alle, as stated above, was seriously ill in Natal, the conclusion has to be that he was also ill at Geelong in 1853-1854, and unable to play at all. If "Patrick Sullivan" was on Jullien's tour, he was not Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle.⁴⁷

Although the Patrick Sullivan alias can be dismissed, Jackson is not the only person to treat Sou-Alle's name as an alias. An Australian musician, John Whiteoak, in an article on improvisation for the *Journal of the Australian Music Centre*,⁴⁸ also treats Sou-Alle's name as an alias, but he does not give what he thinks is the real name or a citation for the information. If Whiteoak's alias for Sou-Alle is "Patrick Sullivan", then his comments can also be dismissed, but there happens to be one more name to discuss: "Ben Sullivan".

Sou-Alle's biography in a register of Australian colonial musicians' biographies, says,⁴⁹

Sou-Alle's nationality has often been questioned. In South Africa, it was believed that he was an [*sic*] "Patrick Sullivan" (George S. Jackson, *Music in Durban*, 1970, 14) ; in Australia (according to Lea-Scarlett (1970), 27): "Ben Sullivan attracted crowds as Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle". However, the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* (1857) states that he was born in Pas-de-Calais, France, and documentation for his naturalisation in Mauritius (as a British subject) identifies him as: "No 26 [de 1863]. Pour naturaliser M. Augustin Edmond SOUALLE, alias ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE" (cf. his modern publishers had identified him as Charles-Valentin Soualle, born in 1820 in Arras, who was perhaps his brother) [*sic*—no full stop]

The primary source for the name "Ben Sullivan" is probably this Australian article of 1855:

THE TURKOPHONIST.—Many have been the guesses at the nationality of Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle. He has been fixed as an Irishman, under the name of Alick Ben Sullivan—again as a Scotchman, with the patronymic M Sewell, joined to the christianized Alexander Benjamin. Many people believe him to be a thorough-bred, volatile Frenchman, with as little dislike to good wine and roast pig as any non-Musselman in the universe. If there be anything in these various guesses we are inclined to the latter faith, but should be sorry to name any little incidents in confirmation thereof which may have occurred in Bathurst. At all events, whether

46 *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer*, 23 January 1854, p.4.

47 Adrienne Block, in "New York's Orchestras and the 'American' Composer", p.125, says that Jullien brought 27 musicians with him to New York, but supplemented these with local musicians to make up an orchestra of one hundred. The names of the 27 European musicians are unfortunately not listed.

48 Whiteoak, "Improvisatory Music", p.3.

49 "SOU-ALLE, Ali-Ben" in Skinner, *A biographical register of colonial Australian musicians: S-T*. Skinner says the information in this register "complements and updates data available" in his doctoral thesis.

familiar with mosques, minarets, and the Aleoran, his music is much more French than Turkish, but sounds none the worse from a turbaned head, and a body in embroidered jacket, with thighs clad in loose silk breeches, and well rounded calves in hose of the same texture. Nobody, however, believes Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle to be a Turk, whilst a few profess to know that the turkophone, turkophonini, and clarionet are instruments played upon by a clever and polished Celt, whose native country is bounded on one side by the Straits of Dover and another by the Rhine.⁵⁰

The “Ben” in this account seems to be an assumption based on “Ben” Sou-Alle. Claims that Sou-Alle was Irish, apart from rumours of eating pork and drinking wine, could have been based on the amount of Irish and English music on his programmes. For example, *Souvenirs de Cap Bonne Espérance* is based on “The Irish Immigrant”. On the other hand, as shown above, Sou-Alle was in England before embarking on this tour, so his knowledge of English, Irish, and Scottish folk melodies could easily stem from his time there, and he would have known that many immigrants in the British colonies would recognise tunes from those countries. For example, *Souvenirs de Cap Bonne Espérance* is dedicated to Sir George Grey,⁵¹ who was Governor of the British colony at the Cape of Good Hope. It would be to any artist’s advantage to flatter sponsors with a bespoke piece of music and dedication.

Among the research material available to Jackson when he wrote his 1961 dissertation is an article by F. Geoffrey Rendall,⁵² who uses the name “Soualle”, and mentions no alias. Later resources such as *The Cambridge Companion to the Saxophone*,⁵³ Gee’s book on saxophone soloists,⁵⁴ and an article by Cuper and Paul,⁵⁵ refer to him only as Soualle, Souallé or Sou-Alle; they do not mention an alias or a Sullivan. An 1864 review in the French journal *La Semaine des Familles*⁵⁶ (which may be the source of the publisher’s information) tells a story of the name change, but it is from Soualle to Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle; it does not mention a Sullivan. According to this story, Sou-Alle was a French graduate of the Paris Conservatoire who went to work for an Indian prince, and “became” Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle.⁵⁷

50 *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal*, 17 February 1855, p.2.

51 Musik Fabrik misspells this as “Gray”, but the first part of dedication is to “his Excellency the Governor”, so there is no confusion over who the dedicatee was.

52 Rendall, “A Short Account of the Clarinet in England during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries”, p.79, in the Appendix “Notes on Saxophone, Basset Horn and Bass Clarinet”.

53 Liley, “Invention and Development”, pp.13, and Dryer-Ber, “Influential soloists”, p.37.

54 Gee, *Saxophone Soloists and their Music 1844-1985*, p.13, citing Hemke, Fred, *The Early History of the Saxophone* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1975, p.373).

55 Cuper & Paul, “The Paris Conservatoire Supérieur: ‘Solos de Concours’ and Prize Winners”, p.42.

56 Nathaniel, “Chronique” (Review), *La Semaine des Familles, Revue Universelle*, 7 May 1864, pp.511-512; neither Jackson nor Whiteoak seem to have known of this article.

57 The *La Semaine* article claims Sou-Alle abandoned the clarinet, which the newspaper programmes prove to be false. It also claims he toured America, but there as yet is no evidence of this, although it is strikingly similar to the claim discussed above that Sou-Alle went with Jullien to America.

The conversion supposedly happened while in Mysore, India, as director of the Maharadjah's Royal Music, but the Maharadjah at this time was Mummadi Krishnaraja Wadiyar, or Krishnaraja Wadiyar III; he was Hindu, not Muslim.⁵⁸ If the conversion was genuine, it had obviously happened by the time Sou-Alle was in Tasmania, and unless he was in India before as well as after Australasia, the conversion could not have happened in India. Further, looking at the time line of his known concerts, it does not look like he could have been in Mysore for more than a few months. On the other hand, the Musik Fabrik biography of Sou-Alle says that after graduating from the Paris Conservatoire, he worked in Senegal as director of the French Marine Band, though they do not cite a primary source for that,⁵⁹ but since Senegal is largely Muslim,⁶⁰ it is far more likely that he came into contact with Islam while there, even if a formal conversion did not happen until after leaving England.

Naturalisation papers in Mauritius

Finally, the name "Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle" appears in Mauritius at about this time. The Mauritian naturalisation of "Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle" was mentioned in the Skinner citation above, and he mentions that it could be a brother. However, Skinner seems to have missed the fact that in Mauritius, two ordinances exist for the naturalisation of persons that both had the surname Sou-Alle or Soualle, and both of whom are listed as using the alias "Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle".

The first ordinance is no.8 of 1863: "For the naturalization of Mr. Augustin Edouard SOU-ALLE alias ALI-BEN-SOU-ALLE. (3)".⁶¹ The second ordinance is no.26 of 1863: "For the naturalization of Mr. Augustin Edmond SOUALLE, *alias* Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle".⁶² It is notable that, though the surnames are Soualle, neither are named "Charles". They could perhaps be sons of the musician, although if he married at about age 20, any sons would still be in their teens. If, however, one of these is the musician, he must have applied for naturalisation before returning to Europe. It certainly would explain his disappearance from Europe from the mid-1860s onward; he may simply have retired to Mauritius.

58 Roberts, *History of British India Under the Company and the Crown*, p.245-246. While not mentioning Krishnaraja Wadiyar III by name, Roberts says that after the 1799 overthrow of the then-Muslim ruler, "[a] child of the Hindu Royal family dispossessed by Haider Ali was raised to the throne of Mysore". Thus, by the time Sou-Alle was in Mysore, it had been under the reign of a Hindu for some 50 years.

59 Musik Fabrik, notes to *Souvenirs du Cap Bonne Espérance*, rev. Paul Wehage, 2008.

60 Jones, in "The Catholic Mission and some aspects of Assimilation in Senegal, 1817-1852", says Senegal was "one of the earliest and strongest centres of Islam in West Africa" (p.323).

61 *A Collection of the Laws of Mauritius and its Dependencies*, vol.9, p.160 (in French) & 161 (in English). Footnote 3 says "Cette Ordonnance a été confirmée ; voir la Proclamation du 2 Juillet 1863". However, there is no Proclamation of 2 July 1863 in this book.

62 *A Collection of the Laws of Mauritius and its Dependencies*, vol.9, p.198 (in French) & 199 (in English).

Since the *La Semaine de Familles* article claims he was a student at the Paris Conservatoire, the last word on names will go to the French. The Paris Conservatoire has records of the prize winners, and would know under what names their students were registered at the time. Private correspondence from Sophie Lévy,⁶³ who is in charge of the Conservatoire archives, indicates that foreign students at that time could only be registered “with special authorization of the Director”. She confirms that the winner of the 1844 clarinet first prize was registered as “Charles Jean Baptiste Soualle”, and further, that he was born in Arras on July 14, 1824 (which makes the publisher’s birth year wrong).

The town of Arras certainly claims him as their own; the website of Pas-de-Calais, in its section on musicians who came from this area, says that one of the leading saxophonists in 1850, is an Arrageois, Charles-Jean-Baptiste Soualle (1824-1876?), who has travelled the world and converted to Islam under the name of Ali Ben-Sou-Allé.⁶⁴

Later Life

Before Sou-Alle left South Africa, the following article appeared:

Mons. Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle has lately purchased a fine lioness, on the Frontier, which he intends to take with him to Mauritius. The effect of music upon this animal has been so powerful that it already begins to fondle and play with its master. Mons. Alle expects to be able entirely to subdue its ferocity, and make it as gentle as a lamb. The *Port Elizabeth Mercury* adds:—“Who knows but that under so able a teacher, the animal may become a proficient player upon the Turkophone and Turkophonini.”⁶⁵

This has an element of the apocryphal about it. The article is dated 27 November 1858, and the Cape Town newspaper obviously took it from another earlier report. At this date, Sou-Alle still had the bulk of the Natal concerts ahead of him, and it is notable that none of the newspaper reports there mention a lioness. She would have had to be kept somewhere, and it surely would have been something Natal society would have found even more exotic about Sou-Alle, and hence, newsworthy.

63 23 June 2014.

64 Les Archive du Pas de Calais, “L’enseignement de la musique” (accessed 3 February 2014); “Et l’un des premiers saxophonistes, en 1850, est un Arrageois, Charles-Jean-Baptiste Soualle (1824-1876 ?), qui a parcouru le monde et s’est converti à l’islam sous le nom d’Ali Ben-Sou-Allé”.

65 *The South African Commercial Advertiser and Cape Town Mail*, 27 November 1858, p.2.

Nothing is heard of Sou-Alle after he left South Africa for Mauritius, and there is a gap from 1859 to 1864. Nevertheless, by 1864, he was back in Europe, and gave at least one concert in Paris; this was the source of the 7 May 1864 *Semaine de Familles* article cited above. In August of that year, he participated in concerts in England. Although the *Times* review⁶⁶ was positive, not all were; one reviewer at a concert in August 1864 had no problem with the execution of pieces, but was not impressed with the general choice of music:

The programme of the opening concert contained the usual number of classical works mixed up with vapid fantasias (including one on the “Turkophone,” a new instrument played upon by a gentleman with the unmistakably Oriental name of Ali ben Sou-Alle), quadrilles, and hashes from operas, called by musical cooks *pot-pourris*;—the vocal portion of the entertainment being entirely supported by Madlle. Carlotta Patti. The admirable manner in which these pieces were executed made us doubly regret that the programme was not composed of more solid materials.⁶⁷

In the same year, Sou-Alle also took the opportunity of advertising in *The Times* that he was appointing a publisher, and that “Various compositions are in the press, and will shortly appear.”⁶⁸ This may have been *The Royal Album* that was dedicated to the Prince of Wales.⁶⁹

According to Musik Fabrik,⁷⁰ Sou-Alle gave a command performance on 27 March 1865 for Napoleon III. While there is no primary source for this, *Le Petit Journal*, on 29 March 1865, reviewed a concert Sou-Alle had performed at the Tuileries Palace the previous evening; Napoleon III is not mentioned, so there was possibly an extra public concert after the royal performance. The review mentioned that the concert was given by artists of the Théâtre des Italiens, which may indicate that Soualle was working again in Paris. However, he may also have been a guest solo artist. In any case, the reviewer called Sou-Alle the evening’s “lion”, commented on his oriental costume, and called his performance of *La Sonnambula* “remarkable.”⁷¹

66 *The Times* (London), 9 August 1864, p.10 (no columnist listed).

67 *The Musical Times and Class Singing Circular*, 1 September 1864, p.513-514, citing *The Times* of 9 August 1964.

68 *The Times* (London), 9 August 1864, p.1. This may have been the *Royal Album* that was dedicated to the Prince of Wales.

69 According to the Saxophonemes website (accessed 15 August 2015), Sou-Alle premiered “The Royal Album” in 1858. However, an e-mail from them (Tim de Brie, e-mail to author, 23 April 2015) reveals that they do not know the source of this information. Since Sou-Alle was in South Africa for most of 1858, arrived there from Mauritius, and had been in the East before that, it is difficult to see when he would have been in England.

70 Musik Fabrik, notes to *Souvenirs du Cap Bonne Espérance*, rev. Paul Wehage, 2008.

71 *Le Petit Journal*, 29 March 1865, “Hier soir un brillant concert à été donné au palais des Tuileries par les artistes du Théâtre des Italiens. Le saxophone Ali-ben-sou-Allé a été le lion de la soirée. Cet artiste, qui s’est présenté en costume oriental, a exécuté d’une manière très remarquable un solo la Sonnambula.”

There is an 1871 reference to an “Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle” in Mauritius. However, since it is not a musical reference, and could be either of the naturalised Sou-Alles, neither of whose French names are the exact birth name of the musician, it is uncertain whether this refers to the musician, though there have as yet been no records of the musician uncovered in Europe at this time. The article mentions that he is to return to Europe soon for an operation.⁷²

Summary

This chapter has filled in many of the gaps in the history of this interesting musician, but there is much more scope to complete the picture, should the availability of reliable references permit. For example, there are no primary references available for either the Mysore or Senegal periods, and finding these would help confirm the place of conversion to Islam.

This chapter should also serve as a warning not to accept any historical material as necessarily accurate, and the compounding of quoting inaccuracies only makes it worse. The Sullivan name has made it into many subsequent “histories” and, through anecdotes and conjectures, lives on into contemporary accounts, although it is almost certainly inaccurate. It certainly has been picked up and spread by many people, for instance, Jan Bouws⁷³ and Linda Duminy.⁷⁴

And though Sou-Alle’s disappearance from any records or documentation, along with the Mauritian naturalisation records, implies that he may have retired to Mauritius, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France has recently found a death date; their web page for his biographical information, which was updated on 23 June 2014, now gives his death date as 16 August 1899, in Paris.⁷⁵ As part of the research, all known cemeteries in Paris were contacted to see if Sou-Alle is interred there. So far, eleven have answered saying they have no record of him.⁷⁶

⁷² *Transactions of the Royal Society of Arts and Sciences of Mauritius*, vol.4, 1871, p.150.

⁷³ Bouws, *Solank daar musiek is*, p.75.

⁷⁴ Duminy, *The Royal Hotel: History in the Making 1845-1995*, p.25.

⁷⁵ Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Notice d'autorité personne, “Ali Ben Sou Alle (1824-1899)” (accessed 8 March 2015).

⁷⁶ The cemeteries of Autueil, Batignolles, Gentilly, Montmartre, Montparnasse, Montrouge, Passy, Père Lachaise, La Saint Mande, Vaugirard, Saint-Vincent, and the Diocese of Paris have all replied to say they have no record of him. Cemeteries that did not reply were: Belleville, Bercy, Calvaire, Charonne, Grenelle, La Valmy, La Villette, and Picpus. The names Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle, Charles Soualle, Patrick Sullivan, and Ben Sullivan were checked. However, if the burial was according to Moslem rites, there would be no tombstone.

Chapter 12

Conclusion

A professional clarinet-playing colleague asked about the topic of this research, and on hearing the title “The History of the Clarinet in South Africa”, he asked “Is there one?”

In summary, yes there is, and it comes with a fascinating collection of people and incidents. The first few references, at the very beginning of the 19th century, tie in with the last few decades of slave orchestras. There is early woodwind *harmonie* music, an interesting and relatively unknown clarinet concerto, an early clarinet society with an absent clarinetist who was asked to give back his clarinets, an astronomer-surveyor who was thoroughly disgusted with an allegedly drunken dance band that included clarinets, two visiting clarinetists who were crucial to the early history of the saxophone, one of whom is surrounded by much mystery, a couple of Italian bandmaster-clarinetists, one of whom played solos on the rare A-flat clarinet, and many British bandmen. There is an (over-)abundance of variations and paraphrase solos based on opera tunes, definite criticism when more serious music was presented, a young boy amateur clarinetist who missed a night of music making while his father identified South Africa’s first diamond, an amateur clarinetist who played the difficult obbligato in Guglielmi’s *Gratias Agimus Tibi* for the world-famous Anna Bishop, an Italian clarinetist who was almost certainly involved in mercenary activity in what was then called “Bechuanaland”, a clarinetist who went mad in Johannesburg, and many others who will remain either obscure or unidentified.

What is surprising is that the Dutch, who were the first publishers of chalumeau music, and the French Huguenots, who came from a country where the chalumeau was in use, did not contribute to this history. Even the Moravians, for whom music was so important, only contributed to it peripherally, and even then it was probably a visitor who played clarinet there. But those research journeys also had some interesting stories to tell.

And while one can find fault with what modern audiences would consider an over-obsession with variations, fantasias, or paraphrases on popular tunes, the fact is that 19th-century audiences did not tire of that style. It is no accident that, of all the clarinet pieces cited in this thesis, only one—Weber’s *Concertino*—is still considered standard, and even that is considered rather a student work than other concertos of the same period.

The 20th-century South African clarinet history has an interesting trajectory, starting from mostly British influences, both direct and indirect. Direct contact with England occurred because many South African musicians, such as Petrus Lemmer, went to England to further their training.

Indirect influence came through South African musicians having contact with British musicians in South Africa. British composers who immigrated to South Africa include William H. Bell and Walter Swanson. Both taught, but Bell in particular was a strong influence through his teaching at the South African College of Music. He was genuinely interested in helping students find individual styles, so the first generation of his student South African composers, which included Stefans Grové and Priaulx Rainier, did not simply compose what would be popular for audiences. Unique voices emerged almost immediately.

The 20th-century clarinet in South Africa offers a large and varied repertoire that balances international repertoire with an increasingly local content and some strong individual styles. And the 21st-century South African clarinet history, mostly yet to unfold, has had a very strong opening, indeed.

What is left to do?

Most importantly, the exact source of the first clarinets has not been found. The first firm reference to clarinets in South Africa is on a Dutch farm, but there are no references from the period before the first British occupation, which makes it unlikely that the Dutch were responsible for introducing clarinets to South Africa. It is only “probably” certain that the clarinet was first heard in South Africa while the Swiss Meuron Regiment was in residence, but it is not known whether they inspired any local musicians to take up the instrument, or left any instruments in South Africa when they went to India. More could be done with the music life of Cape Town during this period.

There are clarinets appearing in references to British regimental bands around the time of the first British occupation, so the probability is that the British introduced them, but as yet there is no proof of that. The ultimate would be to find a reference from before 1803, and one that specifically indicates a “first” importation.

The mystery of who played clarinet at the Moravian New Year's Eve service still needs to be solved. It would be nice to know who Henry Grant was, and where, or what type of clarinet music, he played. Similarly, though there is a programme for Mr. Cranney's concert, it would be nice to know who he was, and if he played anything else in South Africa.

Much more can be done with the elusive Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle, for example, what his connection with Mauritius was, and why there were two naturalisations for different Soualle men who both used "Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle".

And at least there are names for these clarinetists; for example, it would be nice to know who played the clarinet obligato and other clarinet pieces in the 1847 Grahamstown concert, and who the clarinetist with the 20th Regiment was. There will always be gaps to fill, and the history can expand to accommodate new material.

How much material is left to sift through?

If one counts the small regional newspapers, there are many, many more newspapers that can still be searched for clarinet references. Bibliographies were very useful in finding more and more material, but one of the side effects of this is that, far from reducing the reading list as the research proceeds, the list just gets longer and longer. It is ironic that the list of what remains to be read is now longer than ever.

Because of this "bibliography creep", a researcher in the historical field has to try to choose wisely, according to title, or a cursory perusal as to what is likely to yield results. Sometimes a choice yields nothing.

Jane Waterston,¹ for example, was chosen because females tended to write more about social observations, certainly more than the male scientists who were only interested in writing about their research subject. And yet, apart from a very amusing pithy comment about a concert Waterston attended in England, there was nothing useful at all for music research.

1 Waterston, *The Letters of Jane Elizabeth Waterston 1866-1905*.

Then again, sometimes what seems useless on the surface ends up yielding something very interesting. The astronomer and surveyor Mann² was nearly discarded because a cursory look at his book did not reveal anything about involvement in music, or even attending entertainments. Indeed, reading the letters and journals of his fellow astronomers at the Cape had yielded nothing, despite the fact that John Herschel was the son of a musician, and played music himself.³ And yet, Mann's journal contained the very funny story about the dance band in Paarl that had two clarinetists.

The “bibliography creep”, and the fact that a researcher has to be selective from an ever-lengthening list, is one of the reasons for saying the statement “there were no clarinets in South Africa before 1803” is merely “almost” certainly correct.

Despite that, the picture for the 19th-century clarinet in South Africa is probably mostly complete, and at least the historical mistakes made by the likes of Imrie have been corrected. As for what may yet be discovered, it could well turn out to contain more fascinating characters and stories.

2 Mann, *The Cape Diary and Letters of William Mann*.

3 Ruskin, *John Herschel's Cape Voyage*; Evans, Deeming, Evans & Goldfarb (comp.), *Herschel at the Cape: Diaries and Correspondence of Sir John Herschel, 1834-1838*; Warner & Warner, *Maclear & Herschel Letters and Diaries at the Cape of Good Hope 1834-1838*; Warner (ed.), *Lady Herschel: Letters from the Cape 1834-1838*. We only find out in the foreword to this book (p.10) that Sir John played the piano and flute; he never mentions it himself.

The South African College of Music at UCT

The South African College of Music was founded by a group of musicians led by Madame Apolline Niy-Darroll and opened in 1910 in Strand street, with six students. The English composer, W.H. Bell (1873-1946), left England in 1912 to become Principal of the SACM which moved to larger premises in Stal Plein two years later. In 1920 Bell became Professor of Music at the University of Cape Town, and in 1923 the SACM was incorporated into the University. Professor Bell was appointed as Dean of the Faculty of Music. "Strubenhalm" - previously the private residence of Harry Struben - has housed the SACM since 1925. It now contains administrative offices and lecture rooms as well as an exhibition hall for the world-renowned Kirby Collection of African, European and Asian instruments.

Two new buildings, linked to Strubenhalm, were completed at the end of 1972. The first contains the 160-seat Chisholm Recital Room (named after Erik Chisholm, Dean and Director 1946-65) and the Fiasconaro Room (named in honour of Gregorio Fiasconaro who directed the Opera School and Opera Company for many years). There are also nearly a hundred teaching and practicing studios. The second building is the W.H. Bell Music Library which houses an extensive collection of books, music and audio-visual materials numbering some 52 000 items. The 638-seat Concert Hall in the Baxter Theatre Centre - completed in 1976, with its outstanding von Beckerath organ - is an important performing and teaching venue for the SACM. In 1999 the Faculty of Music was incorporated into the Faculty of Humanities. The South African College of Music offers a number of degree and diploma courses in African music, Western Classical music, Jazz and Opera.

Website at <http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/sacm/>

Dean, Faculty of Humanities : Prof Paula Ensor
Director, SACM : Prof Peter Klatzow
Director, UCT Opera School : Prof Angelo Gobbato
Head, African Music : Michael Nixon
Interim Director, UCT School of Dance : Dr Franklin Larey
Head, Jazz Studies : A/Prof Mike Campbell
Head, Western Classical : Prof Peter Klatzow
Head, Division of History, Theory & Literature : A/Prof Hendrik Hofmeyr
Head, Postgraduate Studies : A/Prof Anri Herbst
Head, Division of Practical Studies : A/Prof François du Toit

Western Classical Studies

Brass Studies: William Haubrich
Chamber Music: Becky Steltzner
Composition: Prof Peter Klatzow
History, Theory and Literature: A/Prof Hendrik Hofmeyr
Keyboard Studies: A/Prof Graham Fitch
Music Education: A/Prof Anri Herbst
Postgraduate Programmes: A/Prof Anri Herbst
Strings and Orchestral Studies
 A/Prof Farida Bacharova
Vocal Studies: A/Prof Virginia Davids
Woodwind Studies: Becky Steltzner
Musculogy: Dr Morne Bezuidenhout

UCT Opera School

Director: Prof Angelo Gobbato
Jazz Studies
Jazz Ensembles: Darryl Andrews
History, Theory and Literature: Dr Andrew Lilley
Jazz Practical Studies: Prof Mike Rossi

African Music

History, Theory and Literature: Michael Nixon, Sylvia Brundiers
Practical Studies: Diza Praefjes

Other Portfolios

Performers' Class: A/Prof François du Toit
String Ensemble: Anmari van der Westhuizen
Piano Clinic: A/Prof Graham Fitch
Woodwind Clinic: Becky Steltzner
Equipment Committee Representative: Dr Andrew Lilley
Planning and Administration: Angelisa Scheepers
Student Administration, Examinations and Recitals: Sheila Taylor
Senior Technical Officer: Rob Johnson
Publicity and Marketing: Gillian Lindner
Concert Co-ordinator: Gillian Lindner
Private Students: Lisa Diamond
Building Supervisor: Neville Harzenberg
Technical Assistant: Samuel Kruger
Receptionist: Charles Potgieter
Computer/Audio Laboratory: Paul Sedres
Department Assistant: Charles L Potgieter
Secretary: Lisa Diamond

BECOME A "FRIEND OF THE COLLEGE"

Save 50% on ticket prices. Friends are offered 16 tickets for R400. For further details, contact Gillian Lindner, Concert Co-ordinator, on (021) 650 2640 or e-mail: Gillian.Lindner@uct.ac.za

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



SOUTH AFRICAN COLLEGE OF MUSIC CONCERTS 2008

MESSIAEN CENTENARY CONCERT NO. II

Quartet for the End of Time

Farida Bacharova (violin), Becky Steltzner (clarinet)
 Anmari van der Westhuizen (cello), François du Toit (piano)

Narrator: Hendrik Hofmeyr

TUESDAY 28 OCTOBER 2008 ❖ 8.15 PM
 BAXTER CONCERT HALL

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Tonight's concert is being recorded for Fine Music Radio. Please observe scrupulous silence during the performances. Your unimuted cough can ruin a recording, so please make every effort to minimize any coughs or sneezes. Remember to switch off your cell phones and digital watches. The use of any photographic or recording equipment is strictly forbidden.

PROGRAMME

(There will be no interval)

Quatuor pour la fin du temps

Olivier Messiaen
(1908-1992)

- I. Liturgie de cristal (Crystal Liturgy)
- II. Vocalise, pour l'Ange qui annonce la fin du Temps (Vocalise, for the Angel Who Announces the End of Time)
- III. Abîme des oiseaux (Abyss of the Birds)
- IV. Intermède (Interlude)
- V. Louange à l'Éternité de Jésus (Praise to the Eternity of Jesus)
- VI. Danse de la fureur, pour les sept trompettes (Dance of Fury, for the Seven Trumpets)
- VII. Fouillis d'arcs-en-ciel, pour l'Ange qui annonce la fin du Temps (Tangle of Rainbows, for the Angel Who Announces the End of Time)
- VIII. Louange à l'Immortalité de Jésus (Praise to the Immortality of Jesus)

Ranked as one of the great chamber works of the 20th-century, Messiaen's *Quartet for the End of Time* is also an emotional story – it was conceived and written in a concentration camp early in World War II.

Messiaen, who at the start of the War had already achieved some stature as a professional organist and composer in France, was called up to serve in the military. Not quite one year later, he was captured by the Germans and sent to a prison camp. This much is widely known, but recent research by Rebecca Rischin probes the story, and in particular, the compositional genesis of the work, further. This research has culminated in the publication of her book *For the End of Time: The Story of the Messiaen Quartet*.

Stalag VIII A was still under construction in 1940 when Messiaen, Etienne Pasquier (the cellist) and Henri Akoka (the clarinetist) were captured. Germany hadn't expected to capture France quite so easily or quickly, and suddenly thousands of French prisoners had to be accommodated.

The sudden influx caused, amongst other problems, extreme food shortages. Until the Red Cross was able to intervene months later, the daily ration was ersatz (a coffee substitute) for both breakfast and lunch, accompanied by one piece per day of black bread with a lump of fat on it. Nothing for dinner. Even after the Red Cross managed to get packages to the prisoners, the rations were inadequate, but they at least got a regular serving of cabbage stew with potato and turnip.

Conditions improved in the camp, partly due to an increase in German victories, but also due to the collaboration of the French Vichy government (named after the city of Vichy, the capital of their proclaimed territory). This French government organized raids to round up people the Germans declared 'undesirables', including Jews. In exchange, the Germans treated French prisoners better than those of other nationalities.

Within this hierarchy, musicians in particular were treated better. As Messiaen's widow, Yvonne Loriod, observed, "One must admit that the Germans, though Nazis, were musicians." Although Rischin also gives examples of the Nazis using musicians as propaganda tools to prove to outsiders that they were treating prisoners well, it sometimes meant the difference between life and death if a prisoner had musical skills, particularly for those who could survive long enough either to be released, or until the Allies liberated France.

Akoka's brother was also a musician, but interned in a different camp. In Rischin's interviews with family members, it emerged that one François Mitterand, a lawyer later to become President of France, frequented Lucien Akoka's barracks. Here they got a loaf of bread for every four prisoners, instead of six. Their soup, though still meatless, was thicker than that for other prisoners, and they got a little more coal.

Musicians were frequently relieved of the tasks that were hard labour or otherwise disagreeable, so at Stalag VIII A, Pasquier managed to get work in the kitchen. According to Rischin, this allowed him "to sell potatoes to other prisoners and to steal bread, sugar, and even *fromage blanc* ... he was never caught."

The Germans allowed a library to be built up in Stalag VIII A, and Rischin tracks its growth: in the fall of 1940 it had only 500 volumes, a year later it had 6 000 and by 1943, 10 000. So it doesn't seem surprising that when Messiaen arrived at the camp, they allowed him to keep a satchel containing a small library of pocket scores including Bach's *Brandenburg Concerti* and Berg's *Lyric Suite*. They did initially try to take the satchel away from the naked Messiaen, who like all incoming prisoners, had been stripped of his clothing.

Lastly, the Germans provided the instruments for the musicians, some confiscated from who knows where, but Akoka had his clarinet with him when he was captured, and managed to keep it with him in much the same way as Messiaen got his scores in. In exchange for providing or allowing prisoners to keep musical instruments, the Germans wanted concerts. And having an acknowledged composer as a prisoner would be an added benefit for the Germans. They relieved Messiaen of other work duties, and allowed him to compose.

So although the physical deprivation was extreme, the cultural atmosphere was perhaps not as barren as one might imagine. It was in this atmosphere that the *Quartet for the End of Time* was conceived, at least for the most part.

Although Messiaen stated in interviews that the whole work was written in Stalag VIII A, and the 'Intermède' was the first movement completed, Rischin traces Messiaen's collaboration with Pasquier and Akoka to before their time in the concentration camp. Pasquier was a corporal in the army, and during a lull in the battle of Verdun, a French general created a theatre orchestra, putting Pasquier in charge. Under his command was Olivier Messiaen, and this was how they met. Messiaen had already developed an interest in ornithology, so he asked Pasquier to arrange the watches so that the two of them could listen to the birds at dawn.

Soon after, another military orchestra was installed at Verdun, and in this orchestra was Akoka, who quickly became friends with Messiaen and Pasquier. The availability of a clarinetist, and the daily concerts at dawn by birds was the impetus for the third movement of the *Quartet*, 'Abyss of the Birds.'

On 20 June 1940, all three were captured by the Germans, and sent on a 43-mile march. Pasquier told Rischin how Akoka encouraged him to persevere, and supported him when he collapsed from hunger – "This was a man with a big heart, who played very well." At the end of the march, the prisoners were held in an open field for 3 weeks before being transported to Stalag VIII A. In this field, 'Abyss of the Birds' was given its first reading.

Once in the camp, Messiaen set about looking for a violinist. He found Jean Le Bouliaire, and quickly wrote a trio, which became the fourth movement, 'Intermède.' The piano was the last instrument to arrive, and thereafter the other movements took shape.

Messiaen was allowed to go on watch early in the morning, and according to Lortod, one morning he saw the aurora borealis. He was already interested in colour, and was a "synaesthete" – a person for whom one sensory experience immediately provokes another, in this case a musical sound provoking a sensation of colour. (Oliver Sacks deals with this in a chapter of his book *Musicalophilia*.) The intensity of the colour/sound experience may have been increased by the starvation. Messiaen would later describe the piano cascades in the second movement as "blue-orange".

One more person aided the piece – a guard named Brüll, who was a German Nationalist, and anti-Nazi. He supplied Messiaen with manuscript paper, pencils, and erasers.

Brüll also helped many of the Jews in the camp, advising them not to try to escape. This, ironically, was good advice, for civilian Jews were far more at risk of being deported, given the Vichy government's collaboration with the Germans. And those Jews who served in the French army had a kind of double identity.

The Germans apparently didn't deport a single Western European Jew from Stalag VIII A, but 3 weeks after the premiere of the *Quartet for the End of Time*, they ordered the deportation of the Eastern European Jews. This may seem irrelevant, but Akoka was a Jew. Rischin states that, had the Quartet not been ready until one month later, and had the Germans ordered the deportation of all the Jews, the premiere of the Quartet might never have happened.

Akoka tried to escape from the camp twice (both times with his clarinet), and was caught the first time, sadly, only 13 miles from the Czechoslovakian frontier. Le Boulairé related that, brought back to the camp, Akoka's charm and playing ability saved him. He played for the camp commandant, and got off relatively lightly with a couple of weeks in solitary confinement. Pasquier and others brought him food, and he spent the time reading.

In February 1941, Messiaen and Pasquier were released. Akoka had the release papers because he was a *soldate musicien*, but when the time came, he was prevented by German officers from boarding. When he asked why, the answer was "Jude". Le Boulairé was not in the group, possibly because he didn't have the status of the others.

Akoka was to later escape from a train, this time successfully. Akoka's sister related that the Germans designated one prisoner per convoy as chief. If anyone escaped, the chief was to be shot. Henri volunteered to be chief, so that no one else would be sacrificed for him. He leapt from the train in the middle of the night with his clarinet.

Despite religious and philosophical differences, Messiaen was very fond of Akoka and they were good friends. They argued quite a bit, mostly about whether to pray or pragmatically do something concrete, but they remained friends.

These differences caused pain to the families outside the camp, though, and Akoka's widow and sister remember that the Pasquiers gave them support, not Messiaen. The Pasquiers had friends in the Resistance, so were well-informed about round-ups; at one point convincing Mrs Akoka to send the children away before a pending raid.

Akoka was re-arrested in December 1941. His sister went to see Messiaen, who had returned to his post as organist after his release. She hoped that Messiaen would intervene, his name and reputation securing a release. Messiaen refused, saying there was nothing he could do. Although Akoka would survive the war, and never held anything against Messiaen, his sister remained bitter about Messiaen's lack of help.

Cold-hearted? Possibly, but wartime is a time of survival, and when Henri was planning escapes, pleading with Messiaen, Pasquier and Le Boulairé to join him, Messiaen would only say that God willed him to be a prisoner. And after all, Messiaen believed that the immortality of Jesus made everything bearable.

(Programme notes compiled by Becky Steltzner from Rischin, For the End of Time: The Story of the Messiaen Quartet)

In 1992, **FARIDA BACHAROVA**, then the youngest female concertmaster in Russia, was the soloist for more than forty performances of ballets such as *The Golden Age*, *The Nutcracker* and *Swan Lake* in Tokyo's Metropolitan Hall. During twelve years of experience performing in Russia and on international tours, she has appeared as a soloist for ballets and as a symphonic soloist in many of the world's major halls, including, among others, Fischer Hall and Carnegie Hall in New York, Champs d'Élysees in Paris, Concertgebouw in Amsterdam, Berlin's Schauspielhaus, Gevaendehaus in Leipzig, Tonhalle in Zürich as well as the Moscow Conservatory Main Hall and Tchaikovsky Hall. A highlight of her orchestral career was a joint-concert with the New York Philharmonic, under the baton of Zubin Mehta.

As a Solo Recitalist in Moscow, Farida has performed in the Chamber Hall, Rachmaninov Hall and White Hall with internationally acclaimed pianist, Natalie Trull.

As head of UCT's String Department, Farida has been fundamental in the promotion of the String Department across South Africa and abroad. She also maintains an active schedule as a chamber music musician, including a string quartet, the Cape Town Piano Trio and various Baroque ensembles.

BECKY STELTZNER is the Course Convenor for Woodwinds, and teaches Clarinet, Teaching Method, Orchestral Studies and is also responsible for the Woodwind Repertoire and Performing Literature courses, as well as the occasional post-graduate course. She holds an M.Mus (Performance) degree (*cum laude*) from the University of Southern California, and studied under Glenn Bowen and Mitchell Lurie, as well as having master classes with Gervase de Peyer.

In the course of her career, Becky spent 15 years with the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra, and a further three with the Cape Town Philharmonic Orchestra. She has performed Mozart's Clarinet Concerto with the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra, and is very active in chamber music. She is a member of the Amadeus Winds, a group that plays mainly woodwind quintet music, but expands to sextets and octets for other concerts. She is also the Assistant Director of the Franschoek Mountain Chamber Music Workshop, an annual week of concerts and workshops in Franschoek for school-going young adults.

A member of the College of Music staff since 1982, Becky has taught all levels, and has also taught at the Beau Soleil Music Centre since 1990. Several of her students have gone overseas on full scholarships. Becky is a frequent external examiner and adjudicator for competitions. She has also had her first composition, *Hambani kakuhle Kwela* for woodwind quintet, published in America.

ANMARI VAN DER WESTHUIZEN is one of South Africa's most celebrated cellists and has won numerous music competitions and bursaries. Born in Stellenbosch, she began her cello studies at the age of 11 and obtained her B.Mus (Hons) degree *cum laude* at the University of Stellenbosch. She obtained the "Grosses Konzertdiplom" at the Mozarteum, Salzburg, with distinction under Heidi Litschauer, as well as the "Konzertexamen" of the "Hochschule für Musik Köln", under Maria Kliegel. Anmari obtained the Performers' Licentiate and the Teachers' Licentiate in cello from the University of South Africa, both with distinction.

Anmari has appeared as soloist with all the major orchestras in South Africa, and she made her overseas concert debut in Salzburg in 1990. In Vienna she was a member of the "Ensemble Music-on-Line" and of the "Koeerne Streichquartett, Wien," and regularly appeared at international festivals such as the "Wiener Festwochen", "Klangbogen Wien", Festival di Nuova Consonanze, Rome", "Catalonian Festival, Spain" and the "Australian Festival of Chamber Music."

Forthcoming attractions at the South African College of Music

Tuesday 4 November at 7.30 pm Baxter Concert Hall

OPERA KALEIDOSCOPE Director: Angelo Gobatto

UCT Opera School, in collaboration with the Cape Town Opera Studio and Artscape, presents a programme of staged and costumed operatic extracts, showcasing the exceptional youthful vocal talents of the UCT Opera School and the CT Opera Studio. Hear some of your favourite operatic extracts while experiencing some of the more rarely performed gems in the repertoire.

Book at Computicket. Tickets cost R45. UCT Staff R40. Senior Citizens and students: R30.
Learners: R15 at the door.

Saturday 8 November at 7.30 pm Baxter Concert Hall

HERE'S A HOW DE DO! Minstrels, Madrigals and Many More Marvellous Melodies in

A CELEBRATION OF GILBERT & SULLIVAN

Highlights of the popular G&S repertoire sung by the stunning singers of the UCT Opera School, in collaboration with the Cape Town Opera Studio and Artscape.

Directed by Aviva Pelham.

Book at Computicket. Tickets cost R45. UCT Staff R40. Senior Citizens and students: R30.
Learners: R15 at the door.

Tuesday 11 November at 8.15 pm Baxter Concert Hall

SCHOCK FOUNDATION PRIZE FOR SINGING

An annual voice competition sponsored by the Schock Foundation, in two categories, namely: Best male Voice and Best Female Voice.

The competition is open to all full-time classical voice students of the SACM who are presently second or third year students in good academic standing.

Book at Computicket. Tickets cost R45. UCT Staff R40. Senior Citizens and students: R30.
Learners: R15 at the door.

Now a part-time lecturer in cello at UCT, Anmari still performs regularly as soloist and chamber musician in South Africa and abroad. She was the conductor and director of the UCT String Ensemble, and a founder member of the Cape Town Piano Trio, the Collage Ensemble and the I Grandi Violoncellisti cello ensemble. Last year, Anmari gave the world premiere of Hendrik Hofmeyr's cello concerto in Pretoria, and she was invited to take part in the Summer festival for contemporary music on the Faroe Islands where she performed with the Aldubaran Sinfonietta and played three solo cello concerts. She also played a concert of contemporary music for solo cello in Vienna. Due to the success of these concerts, Anmari has been invited again and also as "Guest Professor" at the University of Vienna.

FRANÇOIS DU TOIT is acknowledged as one of South Africa's finest pianists, chamber musicians and music educators. Receiving early musical training from Meryll Preston and diplomas up to Fellowship level from London's Trinity College of Music, he completed an Honours degree at the University of Cape Town under the distinguished pianist and teacher, Laura Searle, and then furthered his studies in Hanover, Germany. During his period of study abroad with the renowned pedagogue Berndt Goetzke, he distinguished himself in several important international piano competitions, taking top prizes in the 1991 Hannover Music Competition, the 1992 Rotterdam and 1993 Marsala Internationals, and the 1994 International Maria Callas Competition in Athens.

François has appeared as an acclaimed concerto soloist with all the orchestras in South Africa since the age of 15, and while still a student in 1988 was selected with Steven de Groot to perform with the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra on tour in the Republic of China. Since his days on the Music Faculty at the University of Potchefstroom he has been a member of The Potch Trio, which performed in Moscow and St. Petersburg in 1999, and now also appears with Franklin Larey as the Ixopo Piano Duo and in the Cape Town Piano Trio with Anmari van der Westhuizen and Farida Bacharova. He is a sought-after partner of visiting international artists in recital for chamber music societies throughout South Africa, and a highly respected adjudicator at the various national music competitions. An Associate Professor of Piano at the University of Cape Town, François du Toit was invited to give masterclasses and a recital last November at the University of West Michigan, where he also acted as an external examiner. François is Deputy Director of the South African College of Music.

South African composer **HENDRIK HOFMEYR** was born in Cape Town in 1957. After completing a Masters degree at the University of Cape Town, a scholarship enabled him to go to Italy, where he furthered his studies in composition, piano and conducting during ten years of self-imposed exile as a conscientious objector. In 1987, he won the South African Opera Competition with *The Fall of the House of Usher*. He also received the annual Nedenburg Prize for Opera for this work subsequent to its performance at the State Theatre in Pretoria in 1988. In the same year, he obtained first prize in the Trento Cinema International Competition in Italy with music for a short film by Wim Wenders.

He returned to South Africa in 1992 to lecture at the University of Stellenbosch, and in 1997 won two major international composition competitions, the Queen Elisabeth of Belgium (with Raptus for violin and orchestra) and the first edition of the Dimitris Mitropoulos in Athens (with Byzantium for soprano and orchestra). His *Incantesimo* for flute was selected to represent South Africa at the 2005 ISCM World Music Days in Croatia, and in 2008 he was honoured with a Kanna Award by the Kleinkaroo National Arts Festival. Hofmeyr currently holds the post of Associate Professor at his alma mater, from which he obtained a Doctorate in Music in 1999.

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
SA COLLEGE OF MUSIC

DMUS RECITAL 2

BECKY STELTZNER
CLARINET

with
FRANÇOIS DU TOIT
PIANO

WEDNESDAY 2ND DECEMBER 2009
CHISHOLM RECITAL ROOM: 19h00

PROGRAMME

Sonata in Bb Allegro moderato Largo Allegro	Gregorio Sciroli (1722 – after 1781) 6 min.
Deux Pieces Andantino Scherzo Brillante	Paul Jeanjean (1874-1928) 14 min.
Time Pieces Allegro risoluto Andante espressivo Allegro moderato Andante molto: Allegro energico	Robert Muczynski (b.1929) 16 min.
--- INTERVAL (10 min.) ---	
Sonata in f, op. 120 no.1 Allegro appassionato Andante un poco Adagio Allegretto grazioso Vivace	Johannes Brahms (1833 – 1897) 23 min.
TOTAL: 59 min.	

Sonata in B-flat Major
Allegro moderato
Largo
Allegro

Gregorio Sciroli
(1722-after 1781)

Although the clarinet was invented (or at least developed) in Germany, it was in Italy that it first gained acceptance, with composers such as Vivaldi writing parts and concerti grossi as early as 1716. The clarinet's migration back to Germany had much to do with the fact that Johann Georg Pisendel, from Dresden, had strong connections with Italy and Vivaldi, travelled there twice for extended periods, and kept a library of Vivaldi's music. Pisendel had many contacts within Germany, so anything Italian he introduced back at home was likely to become known fairly quickly.

If we "fast forward" about 50 years, we find the reverse happening. The 15-year-old Mozart may have influenced Italian composer Gregorio Sciroli, who wrote no other clarinet works that we know of (actually, very little instrumental music at all), to write for the clarinet.

Sometime around 1770, Sciroli wrote the Sonata in B-flat for clarinet and basso continuo, but about that time – 1771 – Mozart visited Milan, and there he wrote the Divertimento, K.113 for 2 clarinets, 2 horns, and 2 bassoons. Some scholars feel this may have been the impetus for the Sonata.

Little is known about Sciroli, but much can be deduced. What is known is that from 1747-1757 he wrote for small theatres in Naples, Rome, and Palermo, and later wrote more serious opera in Northern Italy – Bologna, Milan, Pisa, Venice. There is a large amount of church music, suggesting that at least at one point he held a church position, possibly in Genoa.

The Sonata displays elements that can be assigned to both the Baroque and Classical periods. The Baroque ritornello form mutated eventually into both Sonata-Allegro and Rondo forms, so it is difficult to say when a transitional piece is fully outside the Baroque period. Ritornello themes could re-appear in several keys, but in the case of the first movement of this Sonata, the second statement is in the dominant, and comes back only once again, in the tonic. This reinforces a 3-section movement that could be seen as a rudimentary Sonata-Allegro form, but since there is no second theme, and the movement (with repeat) is only about 2 minutes long, a case could also be made for placing the work squarely in the Baroque ritornello style. The other movements contain similar ambiguities.

And fortunately, Sciroli had not lost that Italianate impetuosity that is so much a signature of the Italian Baroque period.

(notes from Rice, *The Clarinet in the Classical Period*,
Michael Thrasher, *The Clarinetist-Composers of Nineteenth-Century Italy*,
and Becky Steltzner)

--- INTERVAL (15 minutes) ---

and Becky Steltzner)

Paul Jeanjean
(1874-1928)

Deux Pieces
Andantino
Scherzo Brillante

Paul Jeanjean studied clarinet at the Paris Conservatoire under Cyrille Rose. He was a First Prize winner in the 1894 Conservatoire Concours, the annual competition for final year students which commissioned works from composers such as Debussy. He later went on to become solo clarinet of the Garde Républicaine, and of the Classical Concerts at Monte Carlo. He wrote many works for clarinet including both studies and concert pieces. All of them are in the impressionistic style, and full of colourful non-functional harmony with the use of whole tone scales and other devices that were the French way of rebelling against both German Romanticism and the German ways of extending tonality.
(notes from Pamela Weston, *More Clarinet Virtuosi of the Past*, and Becky Steltzner)

Time Pieces

Allegro risoluto
Andante espressivo
Allegro moderato
Andante molto: Allegro energico

Robert Muczynski
(b.1929)

Muczynski studied composition with Alexander Tcherepin and piano with Walter Knupfer at DePaul University, Chicago during the late 1940s. At age 29, Muczynski made his New York debut at Carnegie Recital Hall, performing a programme of his own compositions for piano. At this time he was head of the piano department at Loras College in Iowa.

Meanwhile, Muczynski's compositions were beginning to attract an international following. His Sonata for Flute and Piano received the Concours Internationale Prize in Nice, France, in 1961 and is now unanimously regarded by audiences, critics, and performers as an important addition to the flute repertoire.

Considered one of America's most distinguished contemporary composers, Muczynski retired as Professor Emeritus from the University of Arizona, Tucson, in 1988 after serving as head of the composition department and composer-in-residence for 23 years. During these years, he was the recipient of many honours, including a Pulitzer Prize nomination for the Concerto for Alto Saxophone and Orchestra, Op. 41.

Time Pieces was written in 1984 for Mitchell Lurie, a distinguished Los Angeles clarinetist and teacher. It was premiered by him, with Muczynski at the piano, in London in the same year.
(notes from Theodore Presser Co.)

Sonata in F minor, op. 120 no.1

Allegro appassionato
Andante un poco Adagio
Allegretto grazioso
Vivace

Johannes Brahms
(1833-1897)

The genesis of Brahms' clarinet works is well known. Twice, once in late 1890, and again in 1894, Brahms declared himself finished with composing. Both times, it was the exceptional clarinet playing of clarinetist Richard Mühlfeld that inspired him to retract his declaration. The first time, the works that resulted were the 1891 Trio and Quintet; the second time, the two Sonatas of 1894.

Brahms left very little in the way of personal correspondence, so we don't know the emotional impetus behind these works. However, he wrote out his last will in 1891, around the time of the Trio and Quintet. Although he didn't finish the will – it was declared invalid when he died, setting off 18 years of disputes – it is fair to say that death was at least partly on his mind when writing these works.

Then, in between the two sets of clarinet works, five very close friends of Brahms died. This list includes Elizabeth von Herzogenberg, whose opinions Brahms valued highly, but who was also a pianist and composer in her own right; the singer Hermine Spies; historian and Bach scholar Philipp Spitta; amateur musician and fellow anti-Wagnerite Theodor Billroth; and the conductor Hans von Bülow.

During the summer of 1894, Brahms retired to his regular summer residence at Bad Ischl, and composed the two clarinet Sonatas.

Of these, the second Sonata seems to have more resolution, is calmer, and more "at peace." The first, in F minor, is widely regarded as the better of the two; certainly it is the more turbulent, and in the end, the more triumphant. Perhaps Brahms was just better when he was less resolved.
(notes from *Grove Online* and Becky Steltzner)

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
SA COLLEGE OF MUSIC

DMUS RECITAL

BECKY STELTZNER
CLARINET

with

ALBIE VAN SCHALKWYK
PIANO

WEDNESDAY, 13 FEBRUARY 2013
19:00

CHISHOLM RECITAL ROOM

Hommage à J.S. Bach

Béla Kovács
(b.1937)

Béla Kovács is a Hungarian clarinetist who has been Principal Clarinet in both the Hungarian State Opera Orchestra and the Budapest Philharmonic Orchestra. He has also had a prominent teaching career at both the Franz Liszt Academy of Music in Budapest and the University of Music and the Performing Arts in Graz. He has written many works for his students, amongst which are the nine *Hommages* for unaccompanied clarinet.

2 Pieces, op.28
Nocturne
Etude

Aleksandr Gedike
(1877-1957)

Aleksandr Gedike was a Russian composer and pianist. He studied piano at the Moscow Conservatory, and though he never studied composition, being known primarily as a concert pianist, he received advice from Arensky, and was influenced by Tanejev. Polyphony was an important part of his music, and he "was regarded as the guardian of strict classical traditions in Russian music." Those who are familiar with Rachmaninov's *Symphonic Dances* might notice a motive that seems to be an inverted quote from that piece; however, the *Symphonic Dances* was written in 1943, and Gedike's work was published in 1929.

Le Tombeau de Ravel: Valse-Caprices

Arthur Benjamin
(1893-1960)

Australian-born Arthur Benjamin entered the Royal College of Music at age 18, studying with Sir Charles Stanford. He eventually joined the staff there, teaching such musicians as Benjamin Britten. Though Brahms was an early compositional influence, Benjamin was also strongly influenced by the Latin American music he encountered in his travels as an adjudicator for the Associated Board. Indeed, he is still probably best known for his work *Jamaican Rumba*. *Le Tombeau de Ravel* was written in 1958; the references are mostly to Ravel's *La Valse*, with other minor reminiscences of *Valses Nobles et Sentimentales*.
14 min.

INTERVAL

Hommage à M. de Falla

Béla Kovács
(b.1937)

Of all of Kovács' Hommages, this is the one most loved by clarinetists, and has been used frequently as a set piece in competitions. There is an obvious influence of works such as the Seven Spanish Folksongs, La Vida Breve, and The Three-Cornered Hat.
3 min.

Sonata, op.129

Charles V. Stanford
(1852-1924)

Allegro moderato
Caoine
Allegretto grazioso

Sir Charles Villiers Stanford was an Irish-born British composer, teacher, and conductor. Studying in both England and Germany, he taught at Trinity College, but eventually moved to the Royal College of Music. It was from this position that he helped lead the late-nineteenth century rebirth of British music; he trained many prominent British composers including Benjamin, Bridge, Howells, Ireland and Vaughan Williams. His music is firmly rooted in romanticism, but with more ties to Brahms than to Wagner; he conducted the British premieres of several of Brahms' works, including the Symphony no.1, but described Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* as "crushingly chromatic". Nevertheless, he did not merely copy, and developed a language that was entirely his own. This mixture of influences and new directions is well represented in the clarinet Sonata. Written in 1911, the nod toward Brahms' clarinet sonatas is obvious, yet the middle movement of Stanford's work is a *Caoine*, or Gaelic mourner's lament. Though the lament itself has a Gaelic flavour, it is very reminiscent of the middle section of the slow movement in Brahms' Clarinet Quintet op.115.

Dance Preludes

Witold Lutoslawski
(1913-1994)

Allegro molto
Andantino
Allegro giocoso
Andante
Allegro molto

Lutoslawski was Polish composer who trained in piano and violin, and wrote his first work for the piano at age 9. The *Dance Preludes* date from 1954, a period in which Lutoslawski made substantial use of folk material; this material is also evident in his well-known Concerto for Orchestra. During this period he also started experimenting with 12-tone material, but this material could not be made public until after the later post-Stalin thaw.

(Notes from Grove Music Online)



FACULTY OF HUMANITIES



The South African College of Music at UCT

The South African College of Music was founded by a group of musicians led by Madame Apolline Niay-Darrall and opened 103 years ago in Strand Street with six students. In 1912 the English composer, W.H. Bell (1873-1946) became Principal of the SACM. Two years later the College moved to larger premises in Stal Plein. In 1920 Bell became Professor of Music at the University of Cape Town, and in 1923 the SACM was incorporated into the University. Professor Bell was appointed as Dean of the Faculty of Music. Struhenholm - previously the private residence of Harry Struben - has housed the SACM since 1925. It now contains administrative offices and lecture rooms as well as an exhibition hall for the world-renowned Kirby Collection of African, European and Asian instruments.

Two new buildings, linked to Struhenholm, were completed at the end of 1972. The first contains the 160-seat Chisholm Recital Room (named after Erik Chisholm, Dean and Director 1946-65) with professional recording facility, and the Fiasconaro Room (named in honour of Gregorio Fiasconaro who directed the Opera School and Opera Company for many years). There are also nearly a hundred teaching and practicing studios as well as a state-of-the-art computer laboratory. The second building is the W.H. Bell Music Library which houses an extensive collection of books, music and audio-visual material numbering some 80 000 items. The 638-seat Concert Hall in the Baxter Theatre Centre, completed in 1976, is an important performing and teaching venue for the SACM. In 1999 the Faculty of Music was incorporated into the Faculty of Humanities. The South African College of Music offers a number of degree and diploma courses in African music, Western classical music, jazz, opera and music technology.

Website at <http://web.uct.ac.za/depts/sacm/>

Dean, Faculty of Humanities : Prof Paula Enser
Director, SACM : Dr Morné Bezuidenhout
Deputy Director : A/Prof Rebekka Sandmeier
Director, UCT Opera School : Prof Kamal Khan

Western Classical Studies

Head: Dr Morné Bezuidenhout
Brass Studies: William Heubrich
Chamber Music: Becky Steltzner
Composition and Music Theory:
 A/Prof Albie van Schaalkwyk (Acting Head),
 Prof Hendrik Hofmeyr (Head),
 Dr Martin Watt
Practical Studies: A/Prof François du Toit
Keyboard Studies: A/Prof Franklin Larey (Head),
 A/Prof Albie van Schaalkwyk, A/Prof François du Toit
Music Education: A/Prof Anri Herbst
Musicology: A/Prof Rebekka Sandmeier (Head)
Music Technology: Theo Herbst (Head)
Postgraduate Programmes:
 A/Prof Rebekka Sandmeier
Strings and Orchestral Studies
 A/Prof Fanda Bacharava
Vocal Studies: Patrick Tikolo (Head),
 A/Prof Virginia Davids, Sidwill Hartman,
 Dr Brad Lieb
Woodwind Studies: Becky Steltzner
Classical Guitar: James Grace
Percussion: Frank Mallows

UCT Opera School

Director: Prof Kamal Khan
Jazz Studies
Head: A/Prof Mike Campbell
Jazz Ensembles: Darryl Andrews
History, Theory & Literature: A/Prof Andrew Lilley
Jazz Practical Studies: Prof Mike Rossi
Jazz Vocal Studies: Amanda Tiffin
Jazz Piano: Jason Reolon

African Music

Head: Michael Nixon
History, Theory and Literature: Dr Sylvia Bründers
Head of Practical Studies: Dizu Placities
Other Portfolios
Concerts: Prof Hendrik Hofmeyr
Performers' Class: A/Prof François du Toit
Concert Co-ordinator: Gillian Lindner
String Ensemble: Alexander Fokkens
Wind Band: Alexander Fokkens
Woodwind Clinic: Becky Steltzner
Equipment Committee Representative:
 A/Prof Andrew Lilley
Senior Administrative Officer: Angelisa Scheepers
Student Administration, Examinations and Recitals: Sheila Taylor
Chief Technical Officer: Rob Johnson
Computer Lab Officer: Meryl van Nie
Publicity and Marketing: Gillian Lindner
Secretary/Private Students: Lisa Diamond
Building Supervisor: Neville Hartzenberg
Technical Assistant: Samuel Kruger
Receptionist: Charles Potgieter
Department Assistant: Charles L Potgieter

BECOME A FRIEND OF THE COLLEGE

Save on ticket prices. Friends are offered 15 tickets for R525. For further details, contact Gillian Lindner, Concert Co-ordinator, on (021) 650 2640, fax (021) 650 2627 or e-mail: Gillian.Lindner@uct.ac.za.

UCT SYMPHONY CONCERT

Conductor
Bernhard Gueller
Soloists
Becky Steltzner (clarinet)
Noluvuyiso Mipofu (soprano), Pelisa Myendeki (mezzo-soprano), Khanyiso Gwexane (tenor), Thato Machona (bass)

MONDAY 20 MAY 2013 AT 8 PM
CAPE TOWN CITY HALL

Tonight's concert is being recorded for archival and broadcasting purposes. Please observe scrupulous silence during the performances. Your unmutted coughs or ruin a recording, so please make every effort to stifle any coughs or sneezes. Remember to switch off your cell phones and digital watches. The use of any photographic or recording equipment is strictly forbidden.

PROGRAMME

Ruslan and Ludmilla – Overture **Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka**
(1804-1857)

Concerto per Clarinetto e Orchestra (2012) **Hendrik Hofmeyr**
(b.1957)
First performance

Becky Steltzner (clarinet)

Allegro tenebroso – Un po' meno mosso – Tempo primo – Un po' meno mosso
Larghetto mediantabondo
Allegro con brio – Cupo e minaccioso – Allegro con brio

Hofmeyr's Concerto for Clarinet and Orchestra is a celebration of the instrument's chameleon-like ability to change colour in different harmonic and timbral contexts. The work is in three movements, which are linked through thematic cross-referencing.

The four-note main motive of the work is heard in the opening bar of the orchestral introduction to the sonata-form first movement, and is further developed in the cadenza with which the clarinet enters a few bars later. It also forms the basis of the widely arched principal theme, which stretches over more than three octaves, exploiting the contrasting colours of the different registers. This theme acts as motto, and recurs in the other movements. The calmer second theme is characterised by a fairly static melody with repeated notes heard against a background of shifting harmonies and timbres. The rate of change in these shifts becomes much faster in the playful third theme. The clarinet cadenza at the close of the development section ends with a reference to the introduction, which leads to an abbreviated recapitulation. The movement ends with brief references to the introduction and the three main themes.

The nocturnal second movement, in ternary form, relies less on timbral variation than the first, but the main theme again (as in the second theme of the first movement, to which it is related) evolves from the idea of repeated notes against shifting harmonies. The middle section consists of a citation of the motto theme, subjected, as in the first movement, to canonic treatment. After an abbreviated reprise of the main theme, the movement ends with a brief reference to the motto.

The lively finale is a free adaptation of sonata rondo form, and starts with an orchestral motive which acts as ritornello. The main section features four interrelated themes. The middle section consists of a dark theme, derived from the development of the second theme from the first movement, with two variations. In the free reprise of the main section, the second and third themes are swapped around, and the fourth is replaced by a citation of the motto theme, which initiates the coda.

The work was commissioned by the Hugo Lambrechts Music Centre for Danielle Rossouw.

INTERVAL

Symphony No. 9 in D minor, **Ludwig van Beethoven**
Op. 125 "Choral" (1770-1827)

Allegro ma non troppo, un poco maestoso
Molto vivace
Adagio molto e cantabile
Finale

Noluyiso Mpofo (soprano)
Pelisa Myendeki (mezzo-soprano)
Khanyiso Gwenxane (tenor)
Thato Madhona (bass)



BERNHARD GUELLER has been music director of Symphony Nova Scotia since 2002 and has been appointed principal guest conductor of the Victoria Symphony in BC, Canada, from the 2013-2014 season.

Well-known to audiences internationally for the passion, mastery and drama he brings to the concert-hall podium, Gueller is also acclaimed for his profound interpretations, his musical purity and the excitement he elicits.

He has served as music director, principal conductor and principal guest conductor with various orchestras, including the Cape Town Philharmonic Orchestra, the Nuremberg Symphony Orchestra and the Johannesburg Philharmonic Orchestra. His career has taken him to many top concert halls from America and Australia to Russia, Japan, China, Korea, South Africa and Brazil, as well as countries in Europe such as Spain, Italy, France, Norway, Sweden and his native Germany.

He has also conducted in festivals internationally, including the Scotia Festival in Halifax (2012 and again in 2014) and the International Chamber Music Festival in Stellenbosch (2011 and 2012). He will make his debut with the Rochester Symphony in the US in October this year.

Gueller has collaborated with many leading soloists such as cellists Daniel Mueller-Schott, Maria Kliegel, Claudio Bohorquez and David Geringas; pianists Anton Kuerti, Jon Kimura Parker, Ivo Pogorelich, Ignat Solzhenitsyn, Lars Vogt, Peter Donohoe, Philippe Bianconi and Wayne Marshall; violinists Joshua Bell and James Ehnes; trumpeter Maurice André and entertainers Lionel Ritchie and David Foster. Most recently he collaborated with Met soprano, Eiza van den Heever, in a concert of Wagner and Strauss with the Cape Philharmonic Orchestra, recorded for South African television by kykNet.

With a reputation for his mastery of contemporary works, Gueller has commissioned several concerti for Symphony Nova Scotia. These include concertos for accordion, for oboe and for

piano respectively. In February last year, he premiered a piece for tabla and orchestra by Canadian composer Dinuk Wijeratne; other Canadian composers he has worked with include Derek Charke and Tim Brady. He has also given the first performance of works by composers such as the German composer Werner Egt and Peter Kitzow.

Beginning his career as a cellist, Gueller won the United German Radios Conducting Competition in 1979 and for nearly 20 years ran tandem careers, deputising for the legendary conductor Sergiu Celibidache who regarded Gueller as his best pupil. Gueller also attracted the attention of the renowned arts administrator Ernest Fleischman, who declared himself "deeply impressed by his extraordinary musicianship, his marvellous ability to communicate with the musicians, and ... his charismatic impact on the audience".

He has made many recordings for national and international broadcast. His CD, *Dancing in the Light*, of works by contemporary Canadian composer, Cristos Hatzis, with Symphony Nova Scotia, was released to critical acclaim. This followed a CD with mezzo soprano Hanneli Rupert and the Cape Philharmonic Orchestra and others with the Radio Symphony Orchestra Stuttgart, German Brass and the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra. The JPO's last CD release, a set of the Beethoven Symphonies, included four conducted by him.

BECKY STELTZNER is the Head of Woodwind and Chamber Music Studies at the SA College of Music at the University of Cape Town. She holds an MMus in Performance *cum laude* from the University of Southern California. She studied under Mitchell Lurie, and has participated in master-classes with Gervase de Peyer. She came to South Africa in 1982 to join the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra, predecessor of the present Cape Philharmonic. She is very active in chamber music, and is a member of the Amadeus Winds. Ms Steltzner has also performed Mozart's Clarinet Concerto with the Cape Town Symphony Orchestra.

Becky is the Assistant Director of the Franschoek Chamber Music Workshop, an annual week of workshops in Franschoek for high-school pupils. She has been a member of the SA College of Music staff since 1982, and has taught at the Beau Soleil Music Centre since 1990. She is a frequent external examiner and adjudicator for competitions. Her first composition, *Hambani kakuhle Kivela* for woodwind quintet, has been published in America.

HENDRIK HOFMEYR was born in Cape Town in 1957. He obtained his MMus at UCT in 1981, after which he left for Italy on an overseas scholarship to further his studies during ten years of self-imposed exile as a conscientious objector. His first major success as a composer came in 1988 with *The Fall of the House of Usher*, which won the South African Opera Competition and was awarded the Nederburg Opera Prize. In the same year, Hofmeyr obtained first prize in an international competition with music for a short film by Wim Wenders. In 1992 he accepted a post as lecturer at the University of Stellenbosch, and in 1997 won two further international competitions, the prestigious Queen Elisabeth of Belgium Competition (with *Raptus* for violin and orchestra) and the first edition of the Dimitri Mitropoulos Competition in Athens (with *Byzantium* for high voice and orchestra). His *Incarcerata* for flute was chosen to represent South Africa at the Congress of the International Society of Contemporary Music in Croatia in 2005. In 2008 he was honoured with a Kanna Award by the Klein-karoo National Arts Festival. Hofmeyr, who has more than a hundred commissioned works to his credit, is currently professor and Head of Composition and Theory at the University of Cape Town, where he obtained his Doctorate in Music in 1999.

NOLUVUYISO MPOFU (22) was born in Port Elizabeth, and became interested in opera while she was still in high school. She participated in the South African Schools Choral Eisteddfod (SASCE) in 2008 and became provincial and then national champion. In 2012 she won first prize at the South African Tertiary Institutions Choral Eisteddfod. She is currently in the fourth year of a Performer's Diploma in Opera at UCT under Patrick Tikolo and Kamal Khan. Last year she performed as Despina (*Così fan tutte*) and Lella (*The Pearl Fishers*) for Opera Kaleidoscope, won second prize in the Shock Foundation Singing Competition and was a soloist in the Artscape Youth Festival. This year, she was part of UCT's *Viva Verat* Gala concert as Giselda (*Lombardi*) and as Nannetta (*Falstaff*). She is currently learning the role of Rosina in Rossini's *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*, which will be staged at the end of the year by the UCT Opera School in collaboration with Cape Town Opera.

PELISA MVENDEKI was born in Buteenworth, Eastern Cape. Pelisa is in her first year of a Postgraduate Diploma in Opera at UCT under the direction of Kamal Khan and Patrick Tikolo. She is also a member of Cape Town Opera Studio under Ean Smit. Roles performed to date include Baba (*The Rake's Progress*) and Mother's Voice (*Les contes d'Hoffmann*), as well as excerpts from *Werther* and *Carmen*. She also sang in the Schleswig-Holstein Festival Choir, Lübeck, under the director of Rolf Beck for two months. Pelisa will appear at Artscape in the role of Berta in *Il barbiere di Siviglia* at the end of the year.

KHANYISO GWENXANE (24) started singing at the age of six in a school choir. He has sung in numerous school competitions and has obtained first position nationally. In 2007-2008, he had the privilege of performing in London's West End with Isango Productions. He then went on to study at the Tshwane University of Technology, where he obtained his National Diploma and B Tech degree in Vocal Performance (Opera) under the guidance of Pierre du Toit.

His roles include that of First Priest (*The Magic Flute*) under the directorship of Marcus Desando and Don Ottavio (*Don Giovanni*). His concert repertoire includes Mozart's Requiem. Khanyiso is currently doing his first year Postgraduate Diploma in Opera at UCT under the guidance of Hanna Van Niekerk and Kamal Khan.

THATO MACHONA obtained his Performers Diploma in Opera from the University of Cape Town under the training of Virginia Davids and Kamal Khan. He is currently working for Cape Town Opera Studio, and has performed for them as Sam in Bernstein's *Trouble in Tahiti*, as Jim in *Porgy and Bess* (UK tour), as the young Mandela in the *Mandela Trilogy*, and as Morales in *Carmen*. In UCT/CTO collaborations he has appeared as Schanuard (*La bohème*), Figaro (*Le nozze di Figaro*), Lord Sidney (*Il viaggio a Reims*), Belcore (*L'elisir d'amore*) and the Badger (*Cunning Little Vhen*).

His oratorio performances include Handel's *Messiah*, Gounod's *St Cecilia Mass*, Fauré's Requiem, Steiner's *Crucifixion*, Mozart's "Coronation" Mass, Schubert's Mass in G and Haydn's *Creation*, Mass in C and "Nelson" Mass. Thato has also participated as soloist with the Cape Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Theodore Kuchar in the Youth Music Festival (2008) at Artscape. Other conductors he has worked with include Conrad Alphen, Kamal Khan, Alexander Fokkens, Felix Krieger, Barry Smith, Brandon William Phillips, Sebastian Langlang and Albert Horne. He has participated in master-classes with George Washington and Koble Van Rensburg.

UCT SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA 2013

Co-ordinator: Farida Bacharova. **Coach:** Alexander Fokkens

Managers: Shaun Karszen, Lisa White, Matthew Ferrandi

Violin 1

Anna van der Merwe
Madri Gerber
Matthew Dennis
Ruby Ayliffe
Sang-Woo Jun
Courtney Oliver
Patrick Goodwin[^]
Caley Garden
Emira Lukin[^]
Samantha Durrant
William Chin
Samantha Rebeln

Violin 2

Nicole d'Oliviera
Avive Buwa
Jane Price[^]
Claudia Ainslie
Petra Hofmeyr[^]
Lwazi Mkula
Petra van Besouw
Nadiah Mony
Larissa Johnson
Marlene Watkins

Viola

Paula Gabriel[^]
Yehden Park
Renette Swart[^]
Samantha Smith
Azra Isaacs[^]
Erin Louise Torres
Cara Coetzee[^]
Ingrid Pienaar

Cello

Edward McClean[^]
Pieter-Adriaan Stobberg
Charles Ainslie[^]
Lynne Donson
Reginal Teys[^]
Teunis Bremer
Wesley Wolhuter

Bass

Christian de Haan[^]
Mfundo Manana
Donat Pellei[^]
Johannes Visser

Flute

Tatiana Thaele
Ema Arthur
Canka Smit (piccolo)

Oboe

Lisa White
Michael Lawrenson (cor anglais)

Clarinet

Matthew Ferrandi
Frances Brand

Bassoon

Simon Ball[^]
Brandon Phillips[^]

Contrabassoon

Charl van der Merwe[^]

Horn

Amy Crankshaw
Christian Setzer
Laura Irving
Shaun Karszen

Trumpet

David Thompson[^]
James Burchell

Trombone

Ryan Klerman
Michael Stack
Siya Charles

Timpani

Christoph Müller[^]
Dylan Jeffreys

Percussion

Julian Schübel
Yohan Chun
Roxanne Hendricks

Piano

Colla-Leah Enderstein
[^]Ad hoc player

UCT OPERA SCHOOL CHORUS

Trained by Kamal Khan

SOPRANOS

Celeste Faro, Athenkosi Hoyi, Mia Justine, Amanda Meke, Yonela Mabutho, Yolanda Moya, Zinziswa Nogavu, Litho Nqai, Nosipho Ntuzi, Itunu Ogunseitan, Brittany Smith

ALTOS

Lindsay Aldrich, Abongile Fumba, Alison Fourie, Claire Holmes, LeOul Janse van Rensburg, Michelle Joannou, Tamara Kesner, Lulu Ngema, Ane Pretorius, Ansa van der Watt, Zion Zuke

TENORS

Stephan Delpoit, Luxolo Jule, Xolane Madalane, Slovo Magida, Xolane Maman, Mixo Mashimbye, Samkelo Matutu, Samukelo Mhlongo, Zwakhele Tshabalala

BASSES

Matthew Cheketri, Garth Delpoit, Sinethemba Dorane, Neo Losaba, Retaliwe Mashego, Keanan Mitchell, Neil Barry Moss, Aborga Sithela, Johannes Slabbert, Ayanda Tikolo, Raimondo van Standen

Symphony Choir of Cape Town

Musical Director: Alexander Fokkens

SOPRANOS

Margaret Barrie, Alex Casey, Kathy Collins, Lucia Earl, Mary Hoigate, Liz Janssen, Eliza Kenyon, Barbara Kropman, Jeanette le Roux, Corrie Luijk, Sandy MacDonald, Kim Makeleni, Deidre Marshall, Elizabeth Pyman, Alayne Semler

ALTOS

Adelaida Bingham, Margaret Berrisford, Margie de Jager, Reanie de Villiers, Beverley Diedericks, Jona Everett, Jenny Hawkins, Erica Leon, Marion Nixon, Kate Peart, Anthea Pinheiro, Gwyneth Phillips, Mary Proust, Sandy Rivera Philippa Skowno, Adrienne Sparks

TENORS

Levi Alexander, Wendy Goode, Greg Marsh Ugo Rivera, Hilida Sandak-Lewin

BASSES

Collin Blake, Anthony Butcher, Roger Cleaver, Andrew Crean, Peter Fiske, John Foxcroft, Derek Drgan, Jan van der Westhuizen, John Ward, Harry Wigggett

<p>UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN SA COLLEGE OF MUSIC</p> <p>DMUS RECITAL 5</p> <p>BECKY STELTZNER <i>CLARINET</i></p> <p>THURSDAY, 12 FEBRUARY 2015 6:00 p.m.</p> <p>Chisholm Recital Room</p> <p>March, WoO 29 Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827)</p> <p>Minuet <i>from</i> Serenata Vincenzo Righini (1756-1812)</p> <p>Becky Steltzner, clarinet Matthew Ferrandi, clarinet Peter Amon, horn Shaun Karssen, horn Glyn Partridge, bassoon Richard Moir, bassoon</p> <p>Allegro <i>from</i> Parthia in E-flat Franz Anton Hoffmeister (1754-1812)</p> <p>Lisa White, oboe Michael Lawrenson, oboe Becky Steltzner, clarinet Matthew Ferrandi, clarinet Peter Amon, horn Shaun Karssen, horn Glyn Partridge, bassoon Richard Moir, bassoon</p> <p>Adagio <i>from</i> Concerto no. 4 in B-flat Jean-Xavier Lefevre (1763-1829)</p> <p>Becky Steltzner, clarinet Lucia de Blasio-Scott, concertmaster Petri Salonen, violin Anna van der Merwe, violin Samantha Durrant, violin Renette Swart, viola Yeh-Chan Park, viola Marian Lewin, cello Lynne Donson, cello Alexander Fokkens, double bass Lisa White, oboe Michael Lawrenson, oboe Peter Amon, horn Shaun Karssen, horn</p> <p>Souvenirs de Cap de Bonne-Esperance Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle (1824-?)</p>	<p>INTERVAL</p> <p>Moderato grazioso <i>from</i> Sonata William Henry Bell (1873-1946)</p> <p>Lyrical Poem Walter Swanson (1903-1985)</p> <p>Presto Vivace <i>from</i> Sonatine Stefans Grové (1922-2014)</p> <p>Lento e tranquillo and Allegro con fuoco <i>from</i> Suite Friedrik Raimier (1903-1986)</p> <p>Romance in D Petrus Lemmer (1896-1989)</p> <p>Con brio <i>from</i> Sonata Hendrik Hofmeyr (b.1958)</p>
--	---

Please note: this programme was a lecture-demonstration, with notes from this thesis.

Appendix 2

Chronological Database of 19th-Century Clarinet References in South Africa

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1803	Groote Post	Clarinets were played in a slave orchestra on a farm near present-day Darling	Lichtenstein, Henry. <i>Reisen im südlichen Afrika in den Jahren 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806</i> , vol.1, p.44-45, trans. Plumpton, vol.1, p.28.	
1805	Laauwaterskloof (also called Bastertskloof)	June, 1805, two missionaries accompanied a psalm on violin and clarinet. They were Koster and Janssen, though it is not possible to tell which was the violinist and which was the clarinetist.	Lichtenstein, <i>Reisen im südlichen Afrika in den Jahren 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806</i> , vol.2, p.399-400, trans. Plumpton, vol.2, p.245.	They both indicated to Lichtenstein that they wanted to return to Europe, though Koster eventually settled in Swellendam. No reference to him yet been found indicating which instrument he played. The missionaries would have brought these instruments with them; they would not have been acquired in SA.
1806	Cape Town	[POSSIBLE, UNCONFIRMED] A Harmony by Hoffmeister was advertised in a concert given by Mr. Kemmerling and J.C. Schrupff (a violinist). There is a possibility that this was a transcription for violin and piano. However, the norm for concerts then was a variety of performers and pieces with different instrumentations. Further, the regimental bands in Cape Town could easily have supplied a woodwind octet for such a piece.	<i>The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser</i> , 8 February 1806, p.2. The concert took place on 12 February.	Currently, <i>The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser</i> issues have been gone through thoroughly through the end of 1810, and after that, the words "clarinet" or "clarionet" have been picked up through word searches (which is not infallible).
1806	Cape Town	[PROBABLY INACCURATE] Bouws (<i>Solank daar musiek is</i> , pp.33-34) gives the impression that clarinets were advertised already in 1806.	Bouws, <i>Solank daar musiek is</i> , pp.33-34.	After discussing the activities of J.C. Kemmerling from 1803-1806, he says "in the same years" ("[i]n dieselfde jare"), and then mentions an advertisement from "Watts & Smith". However, the announcement that Alexander Watts and Edward Smith had merged "into copartnership" only appeared in <i>The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser</i> on 14 February 1807 (p.2), so Bouws' plural "years" must extend beyond 1806.

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1807	Cape Town	Clarinets were advertised in the 10 October 1807 and 14 November 1807 issues of <i>The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser</i> , to be auctioned at the rooms of Watts & Smith.	<i>The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser</i> , 10 October 1807, p.1 and 14 November 1807, p.2.	
1807	Genadendal	31 December 1807, an unidentifiable person played the clarinet at a New Year's Eve service in Genadendal. If one of the missionaries, it could have been Brother Bonatz or Brother Schmidt (Schmitt); the other two missionaries involved in that service had already been identified as playing flute; see also "Comments".	Krüger, <i>The Pear Tree Blossoms</i> , p.109, citing <i>Diary of Baviaanskloof/Genadendal</i> , 1792-1880, vol.V, p.53.	The passage says "the hymn "Now thank we all our God" was sung to the accompaniment of cornet, clarinet, flute and violin", but in the original German, the word for cornet is indistinct and does not look like the German for cornet. There is another possibility; it could be "Arnold Louw" or a similar name, which means he could be the clarinetist.
1810	Cape Town	10 February 1810, Mr. Grondeler advertised "The undersigned takes the liberty to inform the Amateurs of Music, that he has lately received from England, for sale, a large collection of Music, especially for the Piano; besides Wind Instruments, such as Horns with and without Crooks, Clarinets, Bassoons, Tambourines with Bells, and Violin strings, and ruled Paper. Grondeler, Organist. 83, Long Street."	<i>The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser</i> , 10 February 1810, Supplement.	It is unclear from this whether it is music for these instruments, or the actual instruments for sale, but it is likely to be the instruments, since sheet music would not necessarily specify "with" or "without" crooks for the horns.
1810	Cape Town	23 June, 1810, a clarinet was advertised by T.C. Cadogan, as part of the goods landed from the ship <i>Euphrates</i> .	<i>The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser</i> , 23 June 1810, p.2	
1810	Cape Town	8 December 1810, William Burchell heard a concert in which the "principal parts were filled by the amateurs, all of whom were of the Dutch part of the community; the French-horns, bassoons, and clarionets being supplied from the regimental bands".	Burchell, <i>Travels in the Interior of South Africa</i> , p.20-21.	
1814	Cape Town	14 May 1814, Edward Knolles Green, who sometimes advertised under "E.K. Green", advertised clarinets.	<i>The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser</i> , 14 May 1814, supplement, p.1 (English) and p.2 (Dutch)	

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1815-1816	Cape Town / Genadendal / inland tours	[SPECULATIVE] Christian Ignatius Latrobe, a Moravian missionary, was in South Africa from 1815-1816. He is known from other sources to have been an amateur clarinetist and also wrote three clarinet concertos. His book on his visit to South Africa does not mention him playing clarinet here, so it remains only a remote possibility.	<i>Latrobe, Journal of a Visit to South Africa in 1815, and 1816 . . .</i>	Woodfield, Ian, "John Bland: Retailer of the Music of Haydn and Mozart", in <i>Music and Letters</i> , Vol.81 no.2 (May, 2000), p.212. Woodfield cites Latrobe's journal in order to date a journey Bland made to the Continent. In this citation, there is a reference to the concertos.
1821	Cape Town	20 January 1821, John Brown, former bandmaster of the 72 nd regiment, advertised that he was available to give lessons on piano, flute, and clarinet.	<i>The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser</i> , 20 January 1821, p.2.	Brown was probably pensioned off at this point. See also Chapter 9 in this dissertation, and Cannon, <i>Historical Record of the 72nd Foot . . .</i> , p.49. Brown was still in Cape Town in 1823, when he ran an advertisement for "private Lessons in the English Language" (<i>The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser</i> , 14 June 1823, p.1). In the same advertisement, he offered lessons on German flute, but not on piano or clarinet, and he did not offer piano tuning, though this does not necessarily mean he had discontinued those activities.
1823	Cape Town	E.K. Green advertised clarinet reeds for sale. This is the first advertisement for reeds.	<i>The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser</i> , 8 November 1823, p.1.	This does not mean reeds did not exist in South Africa previously. Reed plants, indigenous as well as <i>Arundo Donax</i> , have been available in South Africa since before the Dutch arrived, though they do not make good reeds by modern standards.
1824	Cape Town	14 April 1824, "RECEIVED per <i>Echo</i> , from the Manufacturer, and for Sale at No. 2, Shortmarket-street, a choice selection of Clarionettes, patent Silver and Ivory tipt Concert and other Flutes, Military Fifes, &c. J.H. WILLS."	<i>The South African Commercial Advertiser</i> , 14 April 1824, p.122. (A Dutch version of this advertisement is on the same page.)	

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1825	Cape Town	"J.R. Wills, Brasier and Tin-Plate Worker, . . . Begs to inform that he has on sale a superior Assortment of Flutes and Clarionets, on reasonable terms . . ." He also announced that he had brought in an assistant who could make and repair woodwind instruments.	<i>The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser</i> , 12 March 1825, p.2 (English), p.4 (Dutch).	Possibly this is the first advertisement for a woodwind instrument repairer.
1825	Cape Town	Marten Teenstra, who stopped at Cape Town to recover from an illness, heard clarinets played at Klein Constantia; the "veldmuzijk" was played by clarinets, flutes, trumpets, bassoon, serpent, cymbals, and two large drums.	Teenstra, <i>De Vruchten mijner werkzaamheden</i> , p.284.	Teenstra said they played as well as the best English corps in Cape Town dared imagine ("bespeelden dit alles zoo wel, als het beste Engelsche korps in de Kaapstad durfde denken", English transl. B. Steltzner).
1825	Cape Town	[NOT CONFIRMED] Aschen advertised woodwind instruments.	Bouws, <i>Solank daar Musiek is</i> , p.36.	The primary has not yet been found.
1826	Cape Town	3 April 1826, E.K. Green advertised "Now landing from the <i>Luna</i> , . . . Clarionets . . .".	<i>The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser</i> , 3 March 1826, p.2 (English), p.3 (Dutch).	
1826	Cape Town	12 April 1826, E.K. Green advertised "Clarionets" for sale.	<i>The South African Commercial Advertiser</i> , 12 April 1826, p.1. (A Dutch version of this advertised is on p.4.)	
1826	Cape Town	30 August 1826, Mr. Dolton, bandmaster of the 49th Regiment, played a clarinet concerto by "Le Febre" (probably Jean-Xavier Lefèvre).	<i>Kaapsche Courant, Afrikaansche Berigter (Of, De Verzamelaar)</i> , 2 September 1826, p.3 (review).	The review says he played with grace and purity ("met aangenaamheid en zuiverheid gespeeld") (English transl. B. Steltzner).
1827	Cape Town	J.C. Van der Chys advertised "Piano Forte, Violin, and Clarionet Music".	<i>The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette</i> , 24 August 1827, p.3.	
1828	Cape Town	2 August 1828, an advertised appeared for a concert that included a "Concert Clarinet" by Le Feire (clarinet concerto by Lefèvre). The concert was "for the benefit of the Master of the 49th Band."	<i>The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser</i> , 1 August 1828, p.6. There was a scant review in <i>The Colonist</i> , 5 August 1828, p.3 but it did not mention the soloist's name.	The bandmaster of the 49th two years earlier was Dolton, so the most likely soloist is him.
1828	Cape Town	26 November, 1828, "RECEIVED per Superior, and for Sale at J.F. Aschen's Musical Warehouse, Church-Square, Cape Town, a large assortment of Instruments, consisting of Basoons [<i>sic</i>], Clarionets, Flutes, Violins, Guitars, &c. . . ."	<i>The South African Commercial Advertiser</i> , 26 November 1828, p.1. (A Dutch version of this advertisement is on p.4.)	

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1830	Cape Town	[NOT CONFIRMED] The Widow Colyn, whose slaves played at Klein Constantia in 1825, advertised the sale of her set of band instruments.	<i>The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette</i> , 8 January 1830, p.5, and 15 January 1830, p.7.	It is unknown whether the set was the same set that was played in 1825, and hence, whether it had clarinets in it.
1830	Cape Town	Henry Grant, who died on 8 June 1830 in Somersset Hospital, had a "clarinet" in the inventory of his estate.	CA MOOC8/45.19, TEPC digital copy MOOC8_vol.41-45, pp.736-737.	CA = Cape Archives, MOOC = Master of the Orphan Chamber.
1832	Cape Town	E.K. Green's widow announced an auction of the rest of his musical stock, which included a clarinet and bassoon, to take place on 15 March 1832.	Bouws, <i>Solank daar Musiek is</i> , p.39; citing <i>De Zuid-Afrikaan</i> , 9 March 1832; the other papers might have it as well.	Krynauw, <i>Suid-Afrikaanse Kamer-musiek</i> , p.41 citing Jooste, p.116, who cites Bouws.
1832	Cape Town	What was probably South Africa's first music society held a meeting at which they resolve to demand back a Bb and C clarinets from Mr. Henning who has not used them.	Kirby, "An Early Cape Musical Society", <i>Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library</i> , 13/3, pp.67-72.	Minutes from a meeting mention that Mr. Henning had ceased to be a member "through neglect or otherwise". The clarinets "were, by regulation, the property of the Society . . ."
1838	Cape Town	21 February 1838, Mr. Wallace, bandmaster of the 27th Regiment, played in a concert in the Commercial Hall; the pieces were "Solo" by Müller, with harp accompaniment (played by Mr. Douchez), and "Concertina" by Kramer, for "Clarinet, Flute, and Violin".	<i>De Mediator, or, Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer</i> , 20 February 1838 (advertisement), 27 February 1838 (review). Bouws (<i>Solank daar Musiek is</i> , p.49) says Wallace played in Bochs's "Fantasie en Variasies" but the advertisement clearly says the Bochs is for harp. In addition, Bouws speaks of the same concert in <i>Die Musieklewe van Kaapstad</i> , (p.93), but refers to Wallace playing in the "Solo" by Iwan Müller.	Bouws (<i>Die Musieklewe van Kaapstad</i> , p.93) believes "Müller" is Iwan Müller, inventor of the 13-key clarinet. This is reasonable, since he wrote at least two works entitled "Solo" for the clarinet. Kramer is Krommer, whose op.70 was a concerto for exactly these instruments.
1838	Grahamstown	22 March 1838, Mr. Harvey, "late bandmaster to the 75 th Regiment" advertised piano, flute, and clarinet lessons, as well as piano tuning.	<i>The Graham's Town Journal</i> , 22 March 1838, p.4	Note the similarity to John Brown, teaching the same three instruments.
1838	Cape Town	3 July 1838, a concert primarily featuring the soprano Signora Schieroni featured "Divertimento "son vergin vezzosa" by Bellini, with an obbligato part played by Mr. Wallace, bandmaster of the 27 th Regiment.	<i>De Mediator, or, Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer</i> , 3 July 1838. The concert was not reviewed.	"Son vergin vezzosa" is an aria from Bellini's opera I puritani. It does not have any large clarinet solos in it, and the advertisement also says "[t]he whole of Signora Schieroni's pieces will be sung with full Orchestral accompaniments" so it is unclear what exactly this piece entailed.

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1840	Cape Town	4 August 1840, a concert by the 25th Regiment included a clarinet solo.	Bouws, <i>Musiek in Kaapstad</i> , p.90, citing <i>De Zuid-Afrikaan</i> , 31 July 1840 and <i>De Verzamelaar</i> , 4 August 1840.	
1841	Paarl	31 December 1841, William Mann, 2nd Assistant at the Cape Town Observatory, looked for lodging in Paarl and could not get any sleep because of a New Year's Eve party that included a dance band made up of 2 violins, bass, 2 clarinets, drum and cymbals.	Mann, <i>The Cape Diary and Letters of William Mann</i> . . ., pp.56-57.	
1843	Cape Town	An article in the first issue of <i>Sam Sly's African Journal</i> mentions the band of the 45 th Regiment, and it's leader, who played the "black clarinet".	<i>Sam Sly's African Journal</i> , 1 June 1843, p.3.	
1843	Cape Town	7 December 1843, J.F. Aschen, "Musical Instrument Maker", advertised on behalf of H. Wrede, his stock, which included "Clarionets" and "Clarinet Reeds".	<i>Sam Sly's African Journal</i> , 7 December 1843, p.1.	
1847	Grahamstown	15 May 1847, a benefit concert was advertised in <i>The Graham's Town Journal</i> that included a duet for two clarinets with harp accompaniment, a duet for two clarinets based on Bellini's <i>Norma</i> , and an aria from Bellini's <i>La Sonnambula</i> with a clarinet obbligato.	Bromberger, <i>Music in Grahamstown 1812-1862</i> , p.56, citing <i>The Graham's Town Journal</i> , 15 May 1847.	The 15 May 1847 issue of <i>The Journal</i> is not in the internet database, but this concert was reviewed in the following issue (<i>The Journal</i> , 22 May 1847, p.3). Musicians names were not mentioned, nor were the pieces played.
1847	Grahamstown	The 91st Regiment placed an advertisement in <i>The Graham's Town Journal</i> offering a reward for two lost music books, "one volume being marked 1st Clarinet 4 th set, and the other Cornetto, 5 th set". £2 10 was offered for each book recovered.	<i>The Graham's Town Journal</i> , 3 July 1847, p.2.	
1849	Cape Town	7 July 1849, J. Cranney played Joseph Beer's <i>Air, with Variations</i> in "Mr. Woollard's Musical Soiree".	<i>The African Journal</i> , 12 July 1849, p.3.	Nothing is known about Cranney; the piece was probably Beer's <i>Adagio & Air with Variations</i> ; Weston says it was his first work, written in 1782 (Weston, <i>Clarinet Virtuosi of the Past</i> , p.31).

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1854	Pietermaritzburg	P. Ferreira offered instruments for sale, mostly wind instruments, and the list includes "1 E Flat Clarinet".	<i>The Natal Witness</i> , 10 February 1854, p.1.	This is probably the first reference to E-flat clarinet in South Africa, but given the rest of the list, and the fact that it also included tassels and plumes, it is probably largely for military band use.
1858	Grahamstown	9 February 1858, Sgt. McMahon played the <i>Grand Fantasia from Montechi Capulett</i> for clarinet and althorn.	<i>The Graham's Town Journal</i> , 6 February 1858, p.1. The composer is unidentified, but the piece would be based on the opera by Bellini.	The concert was presented by the 85th King's Light Infantry Band, so McMahon might be with this band.
1858-1859	South Africa	Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle (Charles Jean Baptiste Soualle) arrived in Cape Town on 22 February 1858, toured much of the country playing recitals on clarinet and saxophone, and left Durban on 30 March 1859.	Various newspapers are the primary sources; see the Chapter dealing with Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle.	Most, if not all, of the secondary sources have at least some inaccurate information on this performer. Treat all secondary sources with caution.
1858-1859	Cape Town	Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle gave a concert on 4 March 1858.	<i>The Cape Argus</i> , 27 February 1858, p.1 (advertisement), 3 March 1858, p.2 (advertisement), 6 March 1858 (review).	In addition to the clarinet, he played the "turkophone" and "turkophonini", both types of saxophone. The review mentioned "In my cottage near a wood" and "My lodging is on the cold ground", but these might have been on saxophone.
1858	Port Elizabeth	Some time before 15 June 1858, Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle gives two concerts in Port Elizabeth.	<i>The Graham's Town Journal</i> , 15 June 1858, p.2, citing <i>The Telegraph</i> (no page number given).	Specific pieces and instruments were not mentioned.
1858	Grahamstown	21 June 1858, Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle gave a concert in Grahamstown.	<i>The Graham's Town Journal</i> , 22 June 1858, p.2 (review);	The review does not mention the whole programme, but at least the Dutch National Anthem, and probably a couple of others, were played on the clarinet. The review mentions another concert to be given "next Friday" (25 June 1858)
1858	Eastern Cape	Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle gave concerts in Fort Peddie, King William's Town, Alice, Fort Beaufort, Bedford, Somerset, and Cradock.	Advertisements in <i>The Graham's Town Journal</i> , 6 July 1858 (p.2), 13 July 1858 (p.2), 20 July 1858 (p.2). Programmes or pieces are not mentioned in any of them.	The reference for the concert in Cradock is from Bromberger, <i>Music in Grahamstown 1812-1862</i> , p.61; she does not cite a specific advertisement, and a primary reference has not been found.
1858	Durban	14 December 1858, Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle gave a concert in Durban.	<i>The Natal Mercury</i> , 20 December 1858, Supplement, p.1.	Specific pieces and instruments were not mentioned.
1859	Durban	9 March 1859, Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle gave a concert in Durban.	<i>The Natal Mercury</i> , 10 March 1859, p.3.	Specific pieces and instruments were not mentioned.

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1859	Pietermaritzburg	15 March 1859, Ali-Ben-Sou-Alle gave a concert in Durban.	<i>The Natal Witness, and Agricultural and Commercial Advertiser</i> , 11 March 1859, p.2.	The fullest programme to date is given in this advertisement (see Chapter 13). The clarinet pieces were Air Varié by Berr, <i>Cavatina</i> on <i>Linda di Chamounix</i> on the "Petit Clarionet", and "Doux Souvenirs" by Sou-Alle himself. There are some items where instruments are not identified.
1859 or 1860-1862	Cape Town	Eduard Lefebvre, clarinetist and saxophonist, came to South Africa to open a branch of his family's music firm. He got involved in the Liedertafel and the Cape Royal Rifles band, and played solos on several concerts.	Various newspapers are the primary sources; see Chapter 10. The concert dates are mentioned in this appendix, but not necessarily all of the numerous advertisements separately.	The name is variously spelled as "Le Febvre", "L'efebvre", and "Lefebvre". He became famous in America as a virtuoso saxophonist, and there, even the first name was Anglicised to "Edward".
1860	Cape Town	15 March 1860, Eduard Lefebvre advertised his shop, and that he would teach piano, clarinet, saxophone, and singing.	<i>Het Volksblad</i> , 15 March 1860 pp.1 (in Dutch) & 4 (in English).	Lefebvre did not advertise in <i>The Cape Monitor</i> , or <i>The Cape Argus</i> .
1860	Cape Town	24 March 1860, Eduard Lefebvre played at the inauguration of the D'Urban (Durbanville) organ. It is not known what pieces were played.	<i>The Cape Argus</i> , 29 March 1860, p.2 (review).	Reviewed in <i>The Cape Argus</i> , 29 March 1860, p.2: "Everyone, we think, performed his part well; we particularly mention Mr. Lefebvre, whose performance on the saxophone, an instrument quite new in this colony, and nearly so in Europe, attracted general attention."
1860	Cape Town	13 April 1860, Eduard Lefebvre played at the Masonic Lodge de Goede Hoop.	<i>Het Volksblad</i> , 12 April 1860, p.1 (advertisement) and 2 (article). The article mentions that the two saxophone pieces would be a <i>Fantasy on Themes of Der Freischütz</i> , and a <i>Moreaux de Salon</i> . It mentions that he would play two numbers on clarinet, but does not name them.	<i>Het Volksblad</i> 's review for the concert (17 April 1860, Supplement p.1) says he performed his numbers "meritoriously" ("verdienstelijk"), but gives no details on the clarinet pieces. This concert is also mentioned by John Rose's (<i>The Diaries of John Rose</i>), who called it "very fair" (p.ix).
1860	Cape Town	27 June 1860, Eduard Lefebvre gave a concert in the Music Hall (formerly Union Chapel).	Advertisements in <i>Het Volksblad</i> on 19 and 21 June, review on 30 June (supplement, p.1). The review names the clarinet piece as "Beethoven's <i>Le Désir</i> " (but this is actually David's <i>Introduction et variations sur un thème de Franz Schubert</i> , op.8), and that Vieuxtemps <i>Arpèges</i> for violin, was accompanied by saxophone and piano.	<i>Het Volksblad</i> 's review says the clarinet piece was "justly applauded". <i>The Cape Argus</i> review merely says it "passed off exceedingly well" (28 June 1860, p.2). <i>The Cape Monitor</i> review (30 June 1860, p.2) says the "effort on the clarinet by Mr. Lefebvre was greatly appreciated, and proved that the performer was no mean master of the instrument".

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1860	Cape Town	8 August 1860, Eduard Lefebre gave a concert in the Music Hall (formerly Union Chapel). Some of the advertisements were to notify of a change of the date of the concert from 1 August to 8 August. None of the advertisements or reviews give programmes.	<i>The Cape Argus</i> , 26 July 1860, p.2; <i>Het Volksblad</i> , 26 July 1860, p.1; 28 July 1860, p.2; 31 July 1860, p.2; 2 August 1860, pp.1 (announcement) & 2 (advertisement); <i>The Cape Monitor</i> , 25 July 1860, pp.1 (advertisement) & 2 (announcement); 1 August 1860, p.1; 4 August 1860, p.1; 8 August 1860, pp.1 (advertisement) & 2 (announcement). No programmes are extant.	There were three reviews: <i>The Cape Argus</i> , 9 August 1860, p.2 (“most entertaining concert”); <i>The Cape Monitor</i> , 11 August 1860, p.2 (“Mr. Wetrens and Mr. Lefebre were of course good”); and <i>Het Volksblad</i> (11 August 1860, p.1 (says that his clarinet made a better effect because the accompaniment was quartet rather than piano).
1860	Cape Town	18 September 1860 Eduard Lefebre played in a fundraising concert for the Sailors’ Home Building Fund. The visiting Prince Alfred attended the concert, but left before hearing the clarinet piece (though he did hear the saxophone piece).	<i>The Cape Argus</i> , 22 September 1860, p.2 (review). This mentions that Lefebre played a saxophone solo “from Der Freyschutz”, and “a solo on the clarinet, with orchestral accompaniments [<i>sic</i>], which was loudly applauded.” Thus the clarinet piece is unnamed in this review.	<i>The Cape Monitor</i> reviewed the concert on 19 September 1860 (p.3), but did not mention individuals in this first review. A fuller review on 22 September (p.2) gives the saxophone piece the title <i>Air Varié</i> on “Der Freyschütz”, and identifies the clarinet piece as “Air Varié.—(Clarinet, with Accompaniment) Ivan Muller.”
1861	Cape Town	22 April 1861, Eduard Lefebre (with the violinist Wetrens) gave a concert “In aid of the Fund for the Relief of the Sufferers by the Inundations in Holland”.	<i>The Cape Argus</i> , 18 April 1861, p.4; <i>Het Volksblad</i> , 18 April 1861, p.1; <i>The Cape Monitor</i> , 20 April 1860, p.1. All gave the complete programme; the clarinet piece was Weber’s <i>Concertino</i> .	<i>The Cape Argus</i> reviewed it but merely says “The performance was excellent, but the attendance, we regret to say, scanty” (23 April 1861, p.2). <i>Het Volksblad</i> ’s review just mentions that Lefebre sang a song and played the Weber (23 April 1861, p.3).
1862	Cape Town	23 June, 1862, Eduard Lefebre gave a concert in the Commercial Exchange, under the patronage of Governor and Mrs. Wodehouse. President Pretorius of the Orange Free State also attended, as did John Rose.	<i>The Cape Argus</i> , 12 June 1862, p.2; 17 June 1862, p.1; 19 June 1862, p.4; 21 June 1862, p.4. The last advertisement had the full programme in it. Two clarinet works: <i>Fantaisie</i> by J. Muller, and <i>Tannhauser—Grand Duet for Piano and Clarinet</i> by “J. Wagner” are included, along with an <i>Air Varié</i> for saxophone by L.J. Lefebre. John Rose (<i>The Diaries of John Rose</i>) mentioned the concert in his diary (p.101).	<i>The Cape Argus</i> review (24 June 1862, p.2), says Lefebre’s “performances on the Saxophone cannot be extolled too highly, but all we have space for to-day is to <i>encore</i> the whole concert. Mr. Lefebre must give us more of these delightful musical treats.” <i>Het Volksblad</i> ’s (24 June 1862, p.1) review says that Lefebre earned a “well-deserved acclaim” for his clarinet playing, and the Duet was masterful.

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1862	Cape Town	23 July 1862, Eduard Lefebvre gave a concert in the Commercial Exchange, under the patronage of Governor and Mrs. Wodehouse.	Several advertisements appeared in <i>The Cape Argus</i> , some to change the date, but the advertisement of 22 July 1862 (p.4) has a full programme. The two clarinet pieces were Kiel's <i>Elegy</i> and <i>Air Varié</i> by "J. Müller". The saxophone piece was the <i>Air Varié</i> on Freischütz. <i>Het Volksblad</i> also ran an advertisement with a full programme (22 July 1862, p.1).	The Cape Argus review mentions that the saxophone piece was "rapturously encored", but the clarinet piece is not mentioned (26 July 1862, p.2). <i>Het Volksblad</i> 's review mentions the beautiful playing on the clarinet and saxophone (24 July 1862, p.2).
1862	Cape Town	8 August 1862, Eduard Lefebvre gave a concert at the Lodge de Goede Trouw, "in aid of the Poor Fund of the Institution".	Both <i>The Cape Argus</i> (7 August 1862, p.1), and <i>Het Volksblad</i> (7 August 1862, p.1) ran advertisements, but neither with programme.	The concert seems not to have been reviewed, thus it is not known what was played.
1864	Cape Town	[PROBABLY INACCURATE] 5 December 1864, singer Pauline Bredell gave a concert, involving Vinceslao Bonicoli.	According to Bouws, <i>Solank daar musiek is</i> (p.101), Vinceslao Bonicoli assisted in this concert.	No newspaper advertisements or reviews confirm Bonicoli's participation, and even Bouws himself in an article on Bonicoli for the <i>Suid-Afrikaanse musiek-ensiklopedie</i> (p.209), says he only arrived in 1865.
1865	Cape Town	14 November 1865, Vinceslao Bonicoli had his "first public appearance at an agricultural show in Cape Town".	Bouws, "Bonicoli, Vinceslao" in <i>Suid-Afrikaanse Musiek Ensiklopedie</i> , vol.1, p.208.	Bouws does not cite a specific newspaper or newspaper, and no advertisement or review has been found in <i>The Cape Argus</i> , <i>De Zuid-Afrikaan</i> , or <i>Het Volksblad</i> .
1866	Cape Town	5 April 1866, Vinceslao Bonicoli agreed to act as the Cape Town Musical Society's conductor.	John Rose, <i>The Diaries of John Rose</i> , p.133.	
1866	Durban	7 June 1866, Mr. Barron played in a concert with his sister accompanying him. There are two Barrons in Durban, father and son, but neither has a first name mentioned in print.	<i>The Natal Mercury</i> , 5 June 1866, p.3 (advertisement) and 9 June 1866, p.2 (review).	There was no programme in the advertisement or review, but the review says Barron's sister "executed a very difficult selection on the piano, accompanied in a masterly manner by her brother on the clarionette".
1866	Cape Town	10 September 1866, Vinceslao Bonicoli played in a concert of sacred music.	This was reviewed by both <i>Het Volksblad</i> , <i>The Cape Standard</i> , and <i>De Zuid-Afrikaan</i> , who mentioned the "exquisite feats in clarinet playing".	<i>The Cape Standard</i> (13 September 1866, p.2) gives the programme. Bonicoli's piece was "Sacred Melody for the clarionet, composed expressly for this occasion by Signor Bonicoli".

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1866	Cape Town	24 September 1866, Vineslao Bonicoli played solo clarinet pieces in a concert "by the Amateurs of the 1st 9th".	<i>The Cape Argus</i> , 22 September 1866, p.1 (advertisement). <i>The Cape Standard</i> did not advertise or review this concert.	The programme included "Solo" for A-flat clarinet based on the Cavatina from Bellini's <i>Puritani</i> and the "Quintette for Clarinet, Cornet, Althorn, and Trombone, with Piano [sic] Accompaniment." The Solo may have been written by Bonicoli.
1866	Cape Town	23 October 1866, Vineslao Bonicoli directed a performance of <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> or <i>The Cold Cup of Pison</i> . This was the first part of the programme. In the second half Bonicoli played "some choice morceaux from Norma", "a cavatina from Beatrice ditenda", and "a fantasia composed by the Signor".	According to Bosman (<i>Drama en Toneel in Suid-Afrika</i> , p. 258), "Laat sy klarinet by hierdie geleentheid o.a. "all the sounds of the farm-yard" namaak." But Bosman has no citation for Bonicoli directing it. <i>The Cape Argus</i> review (27 October 1866, p.2) lists the clarinet pieces in the second half, which was musical.	Translation: He made his clarinet on this occasion imitate, amongst others, "all the sounds of the farm-yard". [Primary may be in the Cape Argus]. <i>The Cape Standard</i> announced the concert (23 October 1867, p.2), no names or pieces are mentioned, and the did not review it.
1866	Grahamstown	2 November 1866, Mr. Moran, the bandmaster of the 5 th Fusiliers, played a clarinet solo in a concert in Grahamstown.	<i>The Journal</i> , 5 November 1866, p.3. Radloff (<i>Music in Grahamstown 1863-1879</i>) erroneously says this concert was on 31 October, and it was originally advertised for that date, but was postponed.	Nothing is known about Moran.
1866	Cape Town	15 November 1866, Bonicoli played four works in a concert:	<i>The Cape Argus</i> , 3 November 1866, p.1 and 15 November 1866, p.1.	The four works were: <i>Eco d'Italie</i> , by himself, <i>Poipourri</i> from <i>Traviata</i> (probably by Bonicoli), <i>Les Amours de Naples: Morceaux Brilliant</i> , and <i>Farm-Yard Dance—Burlisque</i> , both by himself.
1867	Cape Town	7 February 1867, Vineslao Bonicoli directed a Promenade concert at the Good Hope Lodge.	Bosman (<i>Drama en Toneel in Suid-Afrika</i>), p.259). Bonicoli was probably a conductor on this occasion; <i>The Cape Argus</i> advertised it (7 February 1867, p.1), but no solos are mentioned. <i>The Cape Standard</i> advertised it (7 February 1867, p.1), but with generalized "Band", "Liedertafel" titles, no solos are mentioned. The review (9 February 1867) only mentions the band, not Bonicoli himself.	<i>De Zuid-Afrikaan</i> reviewed it (11 February 1867, p.2), and no specific pieces, nor Bonicoli, are mentioned. <i>Het Volksblad</i> did not run advertisements, but gave a short announcement on 7 February 1867 (p.2, no pieces mentioned), and the review (9 February 1867, p.2) mentions no solos.

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1867	Cape Town	4 & 5 March 1867, Vincaslao Bonicoli played in a benefit concert for Somerset Hospital.	Bosman (<i>Drama en Toneel in Suid-Afrika</i>), p.259). Bosman specifically says "met Bonicoli op klarinet" but so far no primaries have been found mentioning clarinet. <i>The Cape Standard</i> did not advertise it, but reviewed it (7 March 1867, p.2), and it only mentions amateur theatricals.	<i>Het Volksblad</i> was checked through to 9 March 1867, there were no advertisements or reviews. <i>The Cape Standard</i> reviewed it (7 March 1867, p.2); there was no mention of Bonicoli or the clarinet. <i>The Cape Argus</i> advertised it but did not review it.
1867	Cape Town	28 August 1867, Vincaslao Bonicoli played in a concert attended by HRH Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh; this was also a charity event.	<i>The Cape Standard</i> ran several advertisements, and reviewed the concert on 31 August 1867 (p.2). A later article (19 September 1867, p.4) gave a detailed itinerary of the Prince's visit, and the full programme is given in this. This concert is mentioned in John Roses' diary (p.140); he said "[t]he playing of Mr. Darter [4] and Signor Bonicoli were the only good things of the evening." <i>The Cape Argus</i> advertised the concert, but did not review it. <i>Het Volksblad</i> also advertised it, and mentions it in the diary of the Prince's visit, but there was no review as such.	The <i>Cape Standard</i> review mentions that Bonicoli's played <i>The Scotch Mountaineer</i> and <i>Farm-yard Dance</i> (this was encored), and the Band of the 9 th played "The Cape Town Waltz", which Bonicoli wrote in honour of Prince Alfred. However, in the full programme given on 19 September, there is a third piece, a "Fantasie", written by Bonicoli. It also mentioned that the Farm-yard Dance was played on 3 different instruments.
1867	Landed in Cape Town but primarily stationed in Grahamstown	John Mackenzie-Rogan, probably landed in Cape Town in August 1867, was in Grahamstown on 1 October 1867.	Mackenzie-Rogan, <i>50 Years of Army Music</i> , pp.14ff.	Mackenzie-Rogan came into the army as a flute player, but was told at Grahamstown that they needed clarinetists, so he began to learn that while in South Africa. It is unlikely he took any solos while there.
1867	Cape Town	21 September 1867, Vincaslao Bonicoli played in a benefit concert for the Sick Poor Relief Fund.	Bosman (<i>Drama en Toneel in Suid-Afrika</i>), p.260).	<i>The Cape Standard</i> did not advertise or review this.
1867	Grahamstown	Ernest Edward Galpin, aged eight, gave up an evening of music making on his clarinet, while his father identified South Africa's first diamond.	Bond, <i>They Were South Africans</i> , p.164.	
1869	Pietermaritzburg	An unnamed clarinetist played in at least three concerts given by the 20th Regiment.	<i>The Natal Witness</i> , 6 February 1969, p.2 (advertisement), 6 March 1969, p.2 (advertisement), 3 April 1869, p.2 (advertisement).	The pieces were: "Solo—For B flat Clarinet . . . Martini"; "Solo for the B flat Clarinet . . . Griffin"; "Variations for B flat Clarinet . . . Berglon" [<i>sic</i> , this should be Bergson].

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1871	Durban	[probably 26 October 1871], a clarinetist played in a military concert.	<i>The Natal Witness</i> , 31 October 1871, p.3; this is a Pietermaritzburg paper, but the column is "Durban (From our own Correspondent)".	The date line on the column is "Friday evening", and the correspondent says "last night", which makes the probable date of the concert 26 October.
1871	Durban	5 December 1871, W.G. Downard played an unidentified clarinet solo in a "Penny Readings".	<i>The Natal Witness</i> , 5 December 1871, p.3; this is a Pietermaritzburg paper, but the column is "Durban (From our own Correspondent)".	"At the Penny Readings last night, Mr. W.G. Downard repeated by request a solo on the clarinet." The date line on the column is "Saturday morning", which makes the probable date of the concert 15 November.
1872	Durban	[probably 15 November 1872], Mr. Geo. Forbes played a "delightful piece on the clarinet".	<i>The Natal Witness</i> , 19 November 1872, p.3; this is a Pietermaritzburg paper, but the column is "Durban (From our own Correspondent)".	"The readings last evening were decidedly good [. . .] Mr. Geo Forbes, conductor of the Durban Band, played a delightful piece on the clarinet." The date line on the column is "Friday evening", which makes the probable date of the concert 1 December.
1872	Pietermaritzburg	An unnamed clarinetist played a "Cavatina—"For B flat Clarinet"" by Verdi in an outdoor concert given by the 75 th Stirlingshire Regiment.	<i>The Natal Witness</i> , 13 December 1872, p.3.	"The above programme will be played (weather permitting) on Saturday afternoon . . ."; this makes the date of the concert 14 December 1872.
1873	Durban	The Instrumental Union, sometimes called the Orchestral Union is "[s]ometimes assisted by Mr Downard on the clarinet".	Jackson, <i>Music in Durban</i> (book), pp.87-88	
c.1875?	Port Elizabeth	Mr. W.H. Howard "gives lessons on the Clarinet, Flute, Horn and Cornet á piston as well as in Harmony".	Troskie, <i>The musical life of Port Elizabeth 1875-1900</i> , p.31.	There is no citation, so it is difficult to get an exact date, but in this section, Troskie is discussing the beginning of the last quarter of the 19th century.
1875	Grahamstown	26 November 1875, world-famous soprano Anna Bishop sang Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi's <i>Gratias Agimus Tibi</i> , which had a clarinet obbligato played by "Mr. Kelly".	<i>The Journal</i> , 24 November 1875, p.1.	
1875	Grahamstown	3 December 1875, another advertisement mentions that Ms. Bishop will "be assisted by Miss Streak . . . Mr. Kelly . . . And other leading amateurs of Grahamstown".	<i>The Journal</i> , 3 December 1875, p.1.	The concert was reviewed (<i>The Journal</i> , 6 December 1875, p.2), but with no mention of solo clarinet, or obbligato clarinet parts.

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1876	Grahamstown	2 February 1876, Mr. Kelly played "selections from "Norma"".	<i>The Journal</i> , 7 February p.3 (review).	The review says "Mr. Kelly has not fallen off since he so admirably assisted Madame Bishop and won her cordial recognition of himself as one of the very best amateur clarinetists she has known. The performance was very fine . . . And there was a loud encore, which was answered in equally good style."
1878	Grahamstown	16 August 1878, George Hind played a clarinet solo in a concert given by the First City Volunteers.	<i>The Journal</i> , 19 August 1878, p.2 (review).	No title or composer is mentioned in the review or advertisements (<i>The Journal</i> , 14 August 1878, p.1).
1878	Grahamstown	22 November 1878, George Hind played "a very charming solo on Scotch airs—"Ye Banks and Braes" and "Auld Robin Gray"—on the clarinet, and had to reappear".	<i>The Journal</i> , 25 November 1878, p.3 (review)	The composer was not noted, but Henry Lazarus wrote a <i>Fantasia on Favorite Scotch Melodies</i> that has the subtitle "Introducing "Ye Banks and Braes and auld Robin Gray"".
1879	Pietermaritzburg	26 December 1879, "Mr. Wright" played Bassi's "Air, Tyrolienne".	<i>The Natal Witness</i> , 27 December 1879, p.3.	Mr. Wright has come up in no other references so far.
1880	Port Elizabeth	2 February 1880, a Promenade Concert included clarinetist Colla Marini.	<i>The Eastern Province Herald</i> , 30 January 1880, p.2 (advertisement). The concert was not reviewed.	Because the concert was not reviewed, and the advertisement gives no programme, it is not known what Marini played.
1880	Port Elizabeth	9 February 1880, Colla Marini played in the second Promenade Concert. His solo piece was "Clarinet Solo "Nel cor piu" (Fantasia Pastorale)" by Waterson, and he also played obbligato clarinet in Guglielmo's "Lover and the Bird" and Bishop's "Lo! Hear the Gentle Lark".	<i>The Eastern Province Herald</i> , 6 February 1880, p.2 (advertisement), 10 February 1880 (review).	It is not known whether this was clarinet and piano, or clarinet and orchestra, but in any case, the review says: "We cannot dismiss the concert without a word on the clarinet playing of Signor Marini. As a rule we are not in love with the clarinet and [<i>sic</i> , should be "as"] a solo instrument, but in his hands it was equal to the Hautboy. We never heard better tone from any player, and his execution is wonderfully rapid and precise."
1880	Port Elizabeth	10 February 1880, Colla Marini played in a benefit concert.	<i>The Eastern Province Herald</i> , 6 February 1880, p.3 (announcement); 13 February 1880, p.3 (review).	The announcement gave no programme and the review does not name pieces, but says "Signor Colla Marini electrified the audience by his wonderful command of the clarinet -- we never heard the instrument better played."
1880	Port Elizabeth	16 February 1880, Colla Marini played in the third promenade concert; the piece was "'Blue Bells of Scotland" (With Variations.)".	<i>The Eastern Province Herald</i> , 13 February 1880, p.3 (advertisement); the concert was not reviewed.	This work is probably by "Paul de Ville" (pseudonym of Harry Prendiville).

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1880	Port Elizabeth	23 February 1880, the fourth Promenade Concert included "Clarinet Solo "La Cenerentola" (Rossini) – Signor Colla Marini".	<i>The Eastern Province Herald</i> , 20 February 1880, p.3 (advertisement); 27 February 1880 (review).	The review mentions very little other than poor attendance due to bad weather. James Watson wrote a clarinet work based on <i>La Cenerentola</i> .
1880	Port Elizabeth	1 March 1880, Colla Marini played "I Puritani" by Bellini, in the fifth and last Promenade Concert.	<i>The Eastern Province Herald</i> , 27 February 1880, p.3 (advertisement); the concert was not reviewed.	There is a clarinet work based on Bellini's <i>I Puritani</i> by Henry Lazarus.
1881	Durban	19 September 1881, the Philharmonic Society, gave a concert at Trafalgar Square. One clarinetist is listed, a Mr. Lyons.	<i>Natal Mercury</i> , 19 September 1881, p.3 (review).	The review mentions "very good playing of the clarionette and flute".
1881	Queenstown	[Probably 25 November] 1881, George Hind played an obbligato clarinet part in "Weckerlin's serenade, "Stars the Night Adoring".	<i>The Journal</i> , 3 December 1881, p.3. "Weckerlin" is undoubtedly Jean-Baptiste Weckerlin, who wrote a <i>Sérénade de Ray Blas</i> ; it has the English subtitle "Stars of Night".	The article, "From our own Correspondent" mentions the concert was "on Friday evening". Since it is unlikely a report written on a Friday evening in Queenstown would make it into a Grahamstown paper already on the Saturday, this is most likely Friday, 25 November 1881.
1881	Durban	[probably 1 December] 1881, Mr. Lyons played a clarinet solo, "Lovely night" with variations, with the Durban Philharmonic Society.	<i>The Natal Mercury</i> , 1 December 1881, p.1 (advertisement says "tonight"); <i>The Natal Mercury</i> , 5 December 1881 (review).	The review says "the variations introduced were supplied with considerable smartness. The solo is new to many, but it was much appreciated, and the performer secured the plaudits of the audience."
1882	Durban	19 April 1882, the Durban Philharmonic Society now has 19 players, including a second clarinetist, "Mr. Knox" (first name unidentified).	Jackson, <i>Music in Durban from 1850 to 1900</i> (thesis), p.75.	Around this time, there are many advertisements for a retailer named George Knox, so the clarinetist could possibly be him.
1882	Grahamstown	20 September 1882, the First City Volunteer Rifles Band, under the direction of George Hind, gave a concert in which Hind played some unidentified Scotch Airs.	<i>The Journal</i> , 21 September 1882, p.3 (review). This is probably the piece Hind played on 22 November 1878, identified as probably by Henry Lazarus.	"Mr. Hind carried off the honours in his rendering of beautiful Scotch airs on the clarinet. In this he was accompanied by Mr. Winny on the piano, and the music was very sweet and much appreciated."
1882	Port Elizabeth	26 September, 1882, a concert included "Aria – B-flat clarinet solo with variations – Mohr". The clarinetist could have been Colla Marini, since the peace treaty in the Bechuanaland conflict (in which Marini was probably a mercenary) had been signed in July 1882.	<i>The Eastern Province Herald</i> , 22 and 25 September 1882 (both p.1 advertisements)	There are at least two composers named Mohr who could have been the composer of this work, including Jean Baptiste Victor Mohr (1823-1891) and Hermann Mohr (1830-1896). However, Jean Baptiste Victor Mohr wrote at least 4 clarinet works entitled <i>Air Varié</i> .

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1882	Pietermaritzburg	24 October 1882, the band of the Welsh Regiment played a concert; one of the solo items was a clarinet piece played by "Corporal Pope".	<i>The Natal Witness</i> , 28 October 1882, p.5 (review).	The review says Pope's performance "met with a hearty reception."
1883	Grahamstown	22 May 1883, a "Complimentary" concert was given for George Hind. His solo was on cornet, but the review mentions that the orchestra had a "J. Bishop" on the clarinet.	<i>The Journal</i> , 23 May 1883, p.3.	The review does not mention the composer, or name the piece he played.
1884	Grahamstown	11 June 1884, George Hind was given another "Complimentary" concert. He played a piccolo solo, and a "clarionette solo of Scotch melodies".	<i>The Journal</i> , 12 June 1884, p.3.	The review describes his clarinet solo as "a rich treat". This was probably the same work Hind played in 1878 and 1882 (probably the <i>Fantasia on Favorite Scotch Melodies</i> by Henry Lazarus).
1884	Grahamstown	24 November 1884, George Hind played a clarinet solo in a concert, but it is unidentified.	<i>The Journal</i> , 25 November 1884, p.2.	The reviewer called his performance "admirable".
1885	Durban	In late May 1885, Knox played the difficult orchestral solos in Rossini's <i>Semiramide</i> well enough to get a comment from the reviewer.	<i>The Natal Mercury</i> , 1 June 1885, p.3, "The Philharmonic Society's Concert".	"Mr. Knox deserves special mention for the admirable use he made of his clarinet".
1885	Grahamstown	Mr. J.A. Muire, wrote the <i>Masonic Waltz</i> , which was ball room music; it is in piano score format, but with cues that include cornets and "clarionets".	Sparrow, <i>Music in Grahamstown 1880 to 1900</i> , pp.297-298. The score is given in the dissertation PDF 368-371 (the pages themselves are unnumbered).	Published by T. & C. Sheffield Music, but the publication is undated.
1885	Durban	13 October 1885, "Mr. Rowlandson", played in a performance of two movements of Mozart's "Kegelstatt" Trio.	<i>The Natal Witness</i> , 15 October 1885, p.3.	"Mr. Rowlandson, so popular in Maritzburg musical circles, came down specially for the concert, and he received handsome recognition when he stepped forward with his clarinet for the trio in E flat, with Mr. Duffli (viola) and Mrs. MacColl (pianoforte). The trio was Mozart's, and both <i>andante</i> and <i>allegretto</i> movements were ably treated. Fewer repetitions, however, would not have detracted from the performance, which was given with much ability, although not appreciated so much as a more popular selection would have been."
1886	Grahamstown	17 May 1886, George Hind played "a variation for pianoforte and clarionette".	<i>The Journal</i> , 18 May 1886, p.3	The composer and title are not mentioned, and the advertisements (11 May 1886, p.2 and 15 May 1886, p.1) do not give programmes.

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1886	Durban	The Philharmonic Orchestra had two clarinetists: Mr. Spence and Mr. Knox. Spence played "Clarionette Solo (with orchestral accompaniment), Recitative, "Andante and Rondo"" by "Kidd".	<i>The Natal Mercury</i> , 14 August 1886, p.2.	No clarinet works by a composer named Kidd have yet been traced.
1886	Grahamstown	14 October 1886, George Hind played a clarinet solo in a concert, but it is unidentified.	<i>The Journal</i> , 16 October 1886, p.2.	
1888-1889	Durban	The Durban Orchestral Society replaced the defunct Durban Philharmonic Society. In 1889 there is a list of members, on which are the names of Spence and Knox.	Jackson, <i>Music in Durban from 1850 to 1900</i> (thesis), pp.87-88.	Though the instruments are not included in the list, these two were the clarinetists in the Philharmonic Society (see above, 1886).
1890	Port Elizabeth	"Mr. Percival Quarterman forms an orchestra in April, 1890 consisting mainly of his pupils" (1969:71); he was a violin teacher. "The orchestra consists of 38 players"; Troskie lists them, but the clarinetist is unnamed.	Troskie, <i>The musical life of Port Elizabeth 1875-1900</i> , p.71 (formation of the orchestra), p.72 (list of members, some with names, some without).	
1890	Port Elizabeth	The Prince Alfred's Guard Band resigned in 1890, and was "rapidly reorganised under the new conductor from Kimberley – Signor R. Tardugno. He is Italian by birth and an excellent clarionette player. Under Mr. Tardugno, who remains conductor until well into the twentieth century, the band is placed on a strong footing. At the first Promenade Concert on Wednesday, August 6 th 1890 the Band played two of Mr. Tardugno's compositions: "Victoria March" and "Carnival of Venice".	Troskie, <i>The musical life of Port Elizabeth 1875-1900</i> , p.84. Troskie mentions Tardugno earlier, in the context of teaching: "The conductor of the Prince Alfred's Guard Band, Signor Tardugno, seems to be quite versatile because he claims to be a teacher of the Flute, Clarinet, Cornet, Violin, Banjo, Zither, Mandolino etc." (1969:46-47). No dates are given for this citation, but the section deals with the 1890s.	If any of the local newspapers can be sourced, it would be interesting to know if the Carnival of Venice was a clarinet solo.
1890	Grahamstown	12 August 1890, Grahamstown's <i>The Journal</i> , in its column "Musical Notes", says "Signor Tardugno, the clarinetist, announces a grand promenade concert in the Drill Hall for Wednesday evening".	<i>The Journal</i> , 12 August 1885, p.3 (advertisement).	There is no programme given in the advertisement, and the concert was not reviewed, so it is unknown what he played.
1891	Grahamstown	October 1891, Luscombe Searelle's touring "Mammoth Minstrels" performed in Grahamstown. Their "orchestra" included a clarinet.	<i>The Journal</i> , 27 October 1891, p.3.	The review says the orchestra consisted of "piano, violin, bass violin, flute, clarinet, and cornet" and that they "excelled anything in that line heard here before."

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1891 or 1892	Johannesburg	An unnamed clarinetist in an orchestra Sir Dan Godfrey was conducting saw "an arm come through the window, which had been left open on account of the heat, and grope for his little girl." Whether this was real or imagined, he kept seeing this happen for several nights afterward and "eventually he went mad".	Godfrey, <i>Memories and Music</i> , p.60	The incident merely proves that Godfrey had at least one clarinetist in his orchestra.
1891	Port Elizabeth	A new "Operatic Society" is formed, and on 9 May 1892 the first performance was of <i>The Mikado</i> . The clarinetists in the orchestra were "Clarinet I – Mr. Dee; Clarinet II – Mr. Jarvis".	Troskie, <i>The musical life of Port Elizabeth 1875-1900</i> , pp.88-91.	This Society replaced the "Port Elizabeth Amateur Operatic Company", which was formed in 1881 but ceased to exist after early 1883. Presumably, they performed operas requiring clarinets but there is as yet no evidence of it.
1893	Johannesburg	Luscombe Searelle advertised for a 1st violin, double bass, flute, cornet, and clarinet to play at the Theatre Royal in Johannesburg.	<i>The Journal</i> (Grahamstown), 16 May 1893, p.1.	The advertisement was run in the Grahamstown newspaper, so Searelle obviously advertised throughout the country.
1893	Port Elizabeth	The orchestral musicians involved in an organ concerto on 7 August 1893, shortly after the inauguration of the organ sent out for the Kimberley Exhibition, included a single clarinetist in the orchestra, "Mr. Donaldson".	Troskie, <i>The musical life of Port Elizabeth 1875-1900</i> , p.22.	
1894?	Port Elizabeth	Two years after the 1892 performance of the Operatic Society's performance of <i>The Mikado</i> , they put on <i>Yeoman of the Guard</i> , with quite a different orchestra, and this time, the clarinetist is Signor Tardugno, and "bass-clarinet – Mr. A. Peacock".	Troskie, <i>The musical life of Port Elizabeth 1875-1900</i> , pp.91-92. No citation or exact date of performance is given, so all local newspapers around this time would have to be searched in order to get a primary reference.	So far, this is the first reference to bass clarinet, but there may well have been some in the military bands.
1894	Durban	17 March 1894, the Allegro and Presto movements from Beethoven's <i>Septet</i> , op.20 were performed. Given that the review mentioned "several performers", it is likely this was performed in its original instrumentation.	<i>The Natal Mercury</i> , 17 March 1894, p.3 (advertisement), 19 March 1894, p.3 (review). Neither the advertisement nor the review name the musicians who played piece.	The review merely says the hall was "totally unsuited for the rendition . . . many wishes were expressed that these works had been performed in a larger hall. The several performers, however, kept their instruments well under, and the selections were much appreciated. Nevertheless, it was the gem of the evening, and, notwithstanding its difficulties, was admirably performed."

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1895	Port Elizabeth	The Port Elizabeth Philharmonic Society is "dissolved and reorganised in 1895 under a new name—the Port Elizabeth Orchestral Society" (1969:70). Mr. Tardugno, previously mentioned as the bandmaster of the Prince Alfred's Guard Band, is the conductor. This also only lasts a short time, about three years.	Troskie, <i>The musical life of Port Elizabeth 1873-1900</i> , p. 70 (for the reorganisation), p. 71 (for the reference to lasting only three years).	Troskie mentions Tardugno again (p.85) in connection with the visit of "ex-premier Cecil John Rhodes", but no programme is given.
1895	Bloemfontein	23 July 1895, August Gräder played in a concert.	<i>The Friend of the Free State and Bloemfontein Gazette</i> , 12 July 1895, p.3 (announcement), and 26 July 1895, p.3 (review); the announcement says Gräder, "who has the reputation of being the best clarinet player in South Africa will contribute two clarinet solos, and will assist in the concerted pieces. Mr. Grader was formerly solo clarinet player at Hans von Bulow's Symphony Concerts at Hamburg, and since then soloist at the Royal Italian Opera, Covent Garden".	The review says: "Next to Middle. Trebelli's reappearance, the chief interest attached perhaps to the first appearance of Mr. August Grader, who was understood to have made a name in London as a clarinet player. Mr. Grader achieved an instantaneous success, and it may with truth be said that never in Bloemfontein has his melodious and pleasing instrument been heard to such advantage. His mastery of the clarinet was marvellous, and his first solo, Bassi's Fantasia in [sic] Rigoletto, was received by the audience with an outburst of applause [sic] which sufficiently indicated their delight, and Mr. Grader had to submit to an imperious recall. In the second part he rendered with equal effect Harmston's "Romance Anglaise," and Bassi's Fantasia on Bellini's "I Puritani." Bloemfontein musical circles are to be congratulated on the acquisition of so gifted an instrumentalist."
1898	Port Elizabeth	According to Troskie, the pianist Roger Ascham possibly introduced piano concertos to the Port Elizabeth audiences. At any rate, in 1898, he gave a concert in which the orchestra consisted of 4 violins, 1 cello, flute, clarinet, and piano. The clarinetist was "Signor R. Tardugno".	Troskie, <i>The musical life of Port Elizabeth 1873-1900</i> , p.148 (for the possible introduction of concertos to PE) and p.152 (for Signor Tardugno being part of the orchestra).	
1898	Grahamstown	Wirth's Circus advertised for 2 cornet players, bass euphonium, clarinet, and drums.	<i>The Journal</i> , 26 November 1898, p.1.	

DATE	LOCATION	QUOTE OR DESCRIPTION	SOURCE	COMMENTS
1899	Durban	The Durban Orchestral Society (this one was started in 1899, so it is a different society than the one above, though it has the same name) lists two clarinetists: Mr. H. Field, and Mr. S.C. Baylis.	Jackson, <i>Music in Durban</i> (book), pp.92.	
1899	Grahamstown	17 January 1899, an advertisement for a concert at the "South African Industrial & Arts Exhibition" by the "Exhibition Orchestra" included an item for "Solo Clarinet: Mr. T. James".	<i>The Journal</i> , 17 January 1899, p.2 (review).	The advertisement gives no programme details, and the concert was not reviewed.
1899	Grahamstown	19 or 20 January 1899, T. James played in a concert with Mr. Speed on organ, and Mr. Green on bassoon. The article title is "Commemoration Church. Recital Last Night." This would make it Friday, 20 January 1899, but the first sentence is "An organ recital was given Thursday evening . . ." which would make it Thursday 19 January 1899.	<i>The Journal</i> , 21 January 1899, p.4 (review). James played "Serenade" by "Beresford", Mascagni's "Intermezzo" for clarinet, bassoon, and organ, and a "Commemoration Overture" by Saint-Saëns. No such work exists by Saint-Saëns (or any at all by him for that instrumentation), but since the church they played in was the Commemoration Church, this must have been an arrangement of another work by Saint-Saëns, renamed for the occasion. The Mascagni must have been the famous Intermezzo from <i>Cavalleria Rusticana</i> , and no trace of a composer named Beresford has been found.	The review says "The greatest treat of the whole programme was Saint-Saëns [<i>sic</i>]. "Commemoration Overture" which was played on the organ, bassoon and clarinet by Mr. Speed, Mr. James, and Mr. Green. To say that all this music was well rendered would be to give it only a very small part of the praise it deserved, for the clarinet and bassoon solos were really beautifully played and greatly enjoyed, and all Grahamstown knows how well Mr. Speed plays."
1899	Grahamstown	22 January 1899, T. James played a repeat of the above programme with Speed and Green, with the same repertoire as on 19 or 20 January.	<i>The Journal</i> , 25 January 1899, p.3.	The review says the Beresford was "rendered in excellent style [. . .] Mr. James is a master of his instrument and did his work perfectly."

Bibliography

Archival material

British Army Service Records, GBM-W097-0839-104-001, discharge paper for John Brown.

Cape Archives, MOOC (Master of the Orphan Chamber), Auction Lists and Inventory Lists, sourced from TEPC (Transcription of Estate Papers of the Cape of Good Hope) Project and Sentrum.

Cape Archives, Verbatim Copy Series, VC 39 General Muster Rolls, sourced from TEPC (Transcription of Estate Papers of the Cape of Good Hope) Project and Sentrum.

SAMRO (South African Music Rights Organisation) Archive of South African Music, *Catalogue 07-January-2016* (list of commissioned clarinet solo music, compiled by Masale Ramonyathi).

South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, concert programmes. (These have various titles apart from the UCT derivatives, e.g. “International Society for Contemporary Music, South African Section”, “The Students’ Music Society presents . . .”, etc. For consistency, and to connect footnotes to the bibliography, all entries will use this format.)

TEPC and Sentrum, “Inventories, Auction Lists and Estate Accounts of the Orphan Chamber of the Cape of Good Hope” (an introductory document that comes with the TEPC transcribed material).

VOC Dagregister, C.2066, 29 August 1785 (Western Cape Archives and Records Services).

Printed material

Agricola, Martinus. *Musica Instrumentalis Deudsch* (Wittenberg: George Rhaw, 1532).

Alkema, Sjoerd. *Conductors of the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra, 1914-1965: a historical perspective* (D.Phil. Thesis, South African College of Music, Faculty of Humanities, University of Cape Town, 2012).

Amis, John, “Priaulx Rainier”, *The Musical Times* 96/1349 (July 1955), pp.354-357.

Amore, Adriano *La Scuola Clarinettistica Italiana: Virtuosi e Didatti* (published online by the author, 2006).

Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, Diploma Repertoire Lists (London: Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, 2004 (reprinted 2010)); though the copyright date is 2004, the syllabi in the publication apply to 2005 onward.

Backhouse, James. *A Narrative of a Visit to Mauritius and South Africa* (London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co., 1844).

Barnard, Anne. *South Africa a Century Ago: Letters Written from the Cape of Good Hope (1797-1801)*, ed. by W.H. Wilkins (4th Ed. London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1910).

Barrow, John. *An Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa in the Years 1797 and 1798: including Cursory Observations on the Geology and Geography of the Southern Part of that Continent; the Natural History of Such Objects as Occurred in the Animal, Vegetable and Mineral Kingdoms; and Sketches on the Physical and Moral Characters of the Various Tribes of Inhabitants Surrounding the Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope* (New York: G.F. Hopkins, 1802).

Bell, William H. *Letters from William Henry Bell* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 1973).

Bergh, Olof, and Isaq Schrijver. *Journals of the Expeditions of Olof Bergh (1682 & 1683) and Isaq Schrijver (1689)*, trans., transl., and ed. by Ernest E. Mossop (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1931).

Bird, William Wilberforce. *State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822* (London: John Murray, 1823). Bird published this book anonymously, as “a civil servant of the Colony”.

Block, Adrienne Fried. “New York’s Orchestras and the ‘American’ Composer”, *European Music & Musicians in New York City 1840-1900*, ed. by John Graziano (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2006), pp.114-134.

Böeseken, Anna J. *Simon van der Stel en sy Kinders* (Cape Town: Nasou, 1964).

_____. *Uit die Raad van Justisie, 1652-1672* (Pretoria: Staatsdrukker, 1986, pp.3-11).

Bond, John. “Pioneers”, *They were South Africans* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp.159-169.

Botha, C[olin] Graham. *The Cape Royal Rifles and other volunteer units, 1855-1881* (Cape Town: Castle Military Museum, 2001).

_____. *The French Refugees at the Cape* (2nd ed.; Cape Town: Cape Times, 1921).

Bouws, Jan. “Bonicoli, Venceslao”, *Suid-Afrikaanse Musiek-Ensiklopedie*, vol.1, ed. by Jacques P. Malan (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1980), p.208.

_____. *Die Musieklewe van Kaapstad 1800-1850* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1966).

_____. “Lefèbre, Eduard Abraham”, *Suid-Afrikaanse Musiek-Ensiklopedie*, vol.3, ed. by Jacques P. Malan (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1984), p.147.

_____. “Frederik Carl Lemming. Musikmeister in Kaapstadt (1805-1817)”, *Dansk årbog for musikforskning* 5 (1966-67), pp.113-118.

_____. “Kultuurlewe: Musiek”, *Stellenbosch: Drie Eeue*, ed. by Francois Smuts (Stellenbosch: Stellenbosse se Stadsraad in samewerking met die Oude-Meester Groep, 1979). pp.391-401.

_____. *Musiek in Suid-Afrika* (Brugge: Voorland, 1946).

_____. “’n Hollandse musiekhandelaar in Kaapstad (1860-1862): ’n Hoofstuk uit die geskiedenis van die Kaapse musiekhandel”, *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library* 23/3 (March 1969), pp.61-68.

_____. *Solank daar musiek is* (Kaapstad: Tafelberg, 1982).

Bredenkamp, Henry C., Angelika B.L. Flegg, and Harold E.F. Plüddemann. *The Genadendal Diaries: Diaries of the Herrnhut Missionaries H. Marsveld, D. Schwinn and J.C. Kühnel*, vol.II (1795-1796). (Bellville: University of the Western Cape Institute for Historical Research, 1999).

Brinton, Wilfred. *History of the British Regiments in South Africa 1795-1895* (Cape Town: Department of Extra-Mural Studies, University of Cape Town, n.d.)

Bromberger, K[aren] J. *Music in Grahamstown 1812-1862* (B.Mus. thesis, Rhodes University, 1967).

Broos, Ton. “Batavian slavery, or Eighteenth-century Dutch adventurers of the colonial West”, *Canadian Journal for Netherlandic Studies* XXIV/i (2003), pp.13-21, accessed online 9 September 2012.

Brymer, Jack. *Clarinet* (2nd ed.; London: Macdonald and Jane’s, 1979).

Burchell, William. *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown; 1822 (vol.1), Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1824 (vol.2)).

Cannon, Richard. *Historical Record of the Seventy-Second Regiment, or, The Duke of Albany’s Own Highlanders; containing an Account of the Formation of the Regiment in 1778, and of its Subsequent Services to 1848* (London: Parker, Furnivall, & Parker, 1848).

A Collection of the Laws of Mauritius and its Dependencies, vol.9 (1862-1865), comp. Rouillard, John (s.l.: Published by the Authority of the Government, 1868).

Cuper, Philippe, and Jean-Marie Paul. “The Paris Conservatoire Supérieur: ‘Solos de Concours’ and Prize Winners”, *The Clarinet* 15/3 (May-June 1988), pp.40-48.

De Mist, Jacob Abraham. *The Memorandum of Commissary J.A. de Mist containing recommendations for the form and administration of government at the Cape of Good Hope*, transl. Kathleen M. Jeffreys (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1920).

De Villiers, Stefanus Nicolaas. *Clarinet tone production: an acoustical approach* (M.Mus. thesis, University of Port Elizabeth, 1996).

Dryer-Beers, Thomas. “Influential soloists”, *The Cambridge Companion to the Saxophone*, ed. by Richard Ingham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.37-50.

Duminy, Linda. *The Royal Hotel: History in the Making 1845-1995* (Durban: Three Cities Hotels, 1995).

Edwards, Isobel Eirlys. *The 1820 Settlers in South Africa: A Study in British Colonial Policy* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1934).

Evans, David S., Terence J. Deeming, Betty Hall Evans, and Stephen Goldfarb. *Herschel at the Cape: Diaries and Correspondence of Sir John Herschel, 1834-1838* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1969).

Faktor-Kreitzer, Lucy. *Taking A Bow* (Cape Town: The Gryphon Press, 1988).

French, Paul. "Civil and Other Wars—Rebels, Mercenaries and More Dope", *Through the Looking Glass: China's Foreign Journalists from Opium Wars to Mao* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2009), pp.39-62.

Gee, Harry R. *Saxophone Soloists and Their Music 1844-1945: An Annotated Bibliography* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).

Godfrey, Sir Dan. *Memories and Music: Thirty-five Years of Conducting* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1924).

Goiran, Henri. "La Marine Française au Cap de Bonne-Espérance pendant la Guerre d'Amérique", *Revue Historique* 163/1 (1930), pp.86-102.

Gollom, Ingrid. *The History of the Cape Town Orchestra: 1914-1997* (M.Mus. dissertation, University of South Africa, 2000).

Grandpré, Louis. *Voyage a la Côte Occidentale d'Afrique* (Paris: Dentu, 1801).

Haan, J.H. "Thalia and Terpsichore on the Yangtze A Survey of Foreign Theatre and Music in Shanghai 1850-1865", *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 29 (1989), pp.158-251.

Haitsma Mulier, E[co] O.G., and G[erardus] A[ntonius] C[ornelis] Van der Lem. *Repertorium van geschiedschrijvers in Nederland 1500-1800* (Den Haag: Nederlands Historisch Genootschap, 1990). Digital edition: Eco O.G. Haitsma Mulier and Gerardus Antonius Cornelis van der Lem (2009), <http://www.dbnl.org>, accessed 16 February 2013.

Harmonicon, The: Part the First, containing a Collection of Vocal and Instrumental Music; and Essays, Criticisms, Biography, &c. &c. (London: Samuel Leigh, 1830).

Hartman, A[nton] C. 'n Oorsig van die Europese Musiek in Suid-Afrika 1652-1800 (M.A. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1947).

Hartshorne, Leon André. *Die Komposisies vir Klarinet van Suid-Afrikaanse Komponiste* (M.Mus. thesis, University of Stellenbosch 1989).

Haynes, Bruce. "From consort oboe to 'eloquent' oboe, 1610-1680", Geoffrey Burgess and Bruce Haynes, *The Oboe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), pp.27-39.

_____. “1640-1670: The Transition from Shawm to Hautboy in France”, *The Eloquent Oboe: a History of the Hautboy from 1640 to 1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp.12-61.

Heiden, Jacobus van der, and Adam Tas. *Contra-Deductie, ofte, Grondige demonstratie van de valsheit der uitgegevene deductie, by den Ed. Heer Willem Adriaan van der Stel, gewezen Raad Extraordinaris van Nederlandsch India, en goeverneur aan Cabo de Goode Hoop* (Amsterdam: Ten Hoorn, 1712).

Henning, C[osmo] G[renville]. “Tardugno, Rafaello”, *Suid-Afrikaanse Musiek-Ensiklopedie*, vol.4, ed. by Jacques P. Malan (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp.318-319.

Herschel, John—see Evans, *Herschel at the Cape*; Ruskin, *John Herschel's Cape Voyage*; and Warner and Warner (ed.), *Maclear & Herschel Letters and Diaries at the Cape of Good Hope 1834-1838*. In these cases, either LOC or worldcat.org list the editors name first.

Herschel, Lady Margaret. *Lady Herschel: Letters from the Cape 1834-1838*, ed. by Brian Warner (Cape Town: Friends of the South African Library, 1991).

Hoeplich, Eric. *The Clarinet* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2008).

Hotham, Sir William. See Stirling, A.M.W.

House of Commons Parliamentary Papers. *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Determine Land Claims and to Effect a Land Settlement in British Bechuanaland* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1886).

Howard, John Tasker. “The Foreign Invasion of 1848”, *Our American Music: Three Hundred Years of It* (3rd ed.; New York: Crowell, 1946), pp.211-225.

Human, Jacob Lourens Kriel. *Die Musieklewe in Bloemfontein 1900-1939* (D.Phil dissertation, Universiteit van die Oranje-Vrystaat, 1976).

Human, Jacob Lourens Kriel. *Musiek in die Oranje-Vrystaat vanaf 1850 tot aan die begin van die Anglo-Boere-oorlog* (M.Mus. thesis, Universiteit van die Oranje Vrystaat, 1963).

Imrie, John Murdoch McGregor. *The Military Band in South Africa* (s.l.: The South African Navy Printing Press, 1976).

Jackson, George S. “Die Durbanse Orkes”, *Suid-Afrikaanse Musiek-Ensiklopedie*, vol.1 (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp.433-439.

_____. *Music in Durban: An account of musical activities in Durban from 1850 to the early years of the present century* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1970). For the original thesis, see below. Though this was taken from the thesis, the material in it is abridged, and some of it is organized and worded differently, so both were used.

_____. *Music in Durban from 1850 to 1900* (Ph.D. thesis, Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 1961). For the book published from this, see above.

Janisch, Hudson. *Extracts from the St. Helena Records* (St. Helena: The “Guardian” Office, 1885).

Johnson, Bruce R. *Music in Grahamstown 1814-1918* (B.Mus. thesis, Rhodes University, 1974).

Jones, Douglas Henry. “The Catholic Mission and some aspects of Assimilation in Senegal, 1817-1852”, *The Journal of African History* 21/3 (1980) 323-340.

Jooste, Stephanus Jacobus [this author is also published under “S.J.” or “Fanie”]. “Die Aufführung abendländischer Kammermusik für Bläser in Kapstadt (1652 bis 1870)”, re-print from: *Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Wolfgang Suppan*. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, Tutzing, 1993. [This is published under the name “Fanie” Jooste.]

_____. “Die bydrae van Duitse musici tot die musieklewe in Suid-Afrika in die negentiende eeu”, *Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis* 6/4 (September 1992), pp.150-159. [This is published under “S.J.” Jooste.]

_____. “Die Invloed van die Musikante van die Waldeck-Bataljon op die Kaapse Musieklewe (1802-1806)”, *Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis* 20/2 (November 2006), pp.105-123. [This is published under “Fanie” Jooste.]

_____. “Die Musikante van die Württembergse Kaapregiment (1787-1791)”, *Kongress-bericht Abony/Ungarn 1994*, re-printed in *Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis* 10/2 (November 1996), pp.35-45. [This is published under “S.J.” Jooste.]

_____. “Duitse blaasmusikante aan die Kaap in die sewentiende en agtiende eeu”, *Suid-Afrikaanse Tydskrif vir Kultuurgeskiedenis* 5/4 (October 1991), pp.160-168. [This is published under “S.J.” Jooste.]

_____. *Westerse Blaasinstrumentspel en -onderrig in Suid-Afrika van 1652 tot 1902: ‘n Kultuurhistoriese Evaluering* (D.Mus. dissertation, Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, 1987).

Kinsky, Georg. *Das Werk Beethovens: Thematisch-Bibliographisches Verzeichnis seiner Sämtlichen Vollendeten Kompositionen*. Ed. by Hans Halm (Mainz; Duisberg: G. Henle Verlag, 1955).

Kirby, Percival Robson. “An Early Cape Musical Society”, *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library* vol.13/3 (March 1959), pp.67-72.

_____. *Musical Instruments of the Indigenous People of South Africa* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 2013).

_____. “The Reed-Flute Ensembles of South Africa: A Study in South African Native Music”, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 63 (July-December, 1933), pp.313-388.

Knox, John. *A New Collection of Voyages, Discoveries and Travels: containing Whatever is worthy of Notice, in Europe, Asia, Africa and America*, vol.2 (London: printed for J.Knox, 1767).

Kolbe, Peter (also spelled “Kolb”, “Kolben”, “Colben”). *Naauwkeurige en Uitvoerige Beschryving van de Kaap de Goede Hoop; behelzende Een zeer omstandig Verhaal van den tegenwoordigen toestand van dat vermaarde Gewest, deszelfs Gelegenheit, Haven, Sterkte, Regerings-vorm, Uitgestrektheit, en onlangs ontdekte aanleggende Landen; Nevens Een geleerde Beschryving van het Klimaat en Aart van dat Landschap; van deszelfs Dieren, Visschen, Vogelen, Planten, Kruiden; mitsgaders verscheide Wonderen der Natuur, daar te Lande ontdekt; Waar by nog komt, een zeer nette en uit eige ondervinding opgemaakte Beschryving van den oorsprong der Hottentotten: Vervattende Een merkwaardig Bericht van derzelver Tale, Godsdienst, Levenswyze, zeldzame Overleveringen, Gewoonten, Maniere van Trouwen, Besnydenis, Opvoeding; als mede veele andere kurieuse Waarnemingen aangaande de Zeden van die Natie; den toestand van die Colonie en Europeaansche Inwoners: in gene andere Beschryving van dit Gewest te vinden*, in 2 volumes (Amsterdam: Balthazar Lakeman, 1727).

_____. *The Present State of the Cape of Good-Hope: or, a Particular Account of the several Nations of the Hottentots: Their Religion, Government, Laws, Customs, Ceremonies, and Opinions; Their Art of War, Professions, Language, Genius, &c. Together with A Short Account of the Dutch Settlement at the Cape*, transl. by Guido Medley with a New Introduction by W.Peter Carstens (New York; London: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968).

Krebs, Jesse. “Remembering James Waterson (1834-1893) Clarinetist, Bandleader and Composer”, *The Clarinet* 37/2 (March 2010), pp.84-85.

Krüger, Bernhard. *The Pear Tree Blossoms: A History of the Moravian Mission Stations in South Africa 1737-1869* (Genadendal: The Provincial Board of the Moravian Church in South Africa, 1966).

Krynauw, Elizabeth. *Suid-Afrikaanse kamermusiek: ‘n historiese oorsig en evaluasie van geselekteerde werke*, in 2 volumes (D.Mus. thesis, Universiteit van Suid-Afrika, 1994).

Kuttel, Mary Theodora. *Quadrilles and Konfynt: The Life and Journal of Hildegonda Duckitt* (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1954).

Latrobe, Rev. C[hristian] I[gnatius]. *Journal of a Visit to South Africa in 1815, and 1816, with some account of the missionary settlements of the United Brethren, near The Cape of Good Hope* (London: L.B. Seeley & R. Ackermann, 1818).

Lawson, Colin, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the Clarinet* (Cambridge: University Press, 1999).

Leibbrandt, H[endrik] [Carel] [Vos]. *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Journal, 1671-1674 & 1676* (Cape Town: W.A. Richards & Sons, 1902).

_____. *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters and Documents Received, 1649-1662* (Cape Town: W.A. Richards & Sons, 1898 (part 1), 1899 (part 2)); the second volume’s title also includes “(Including Instructions and Placcaten)”.

Leibbrandt, H[endrik] [Carel] [Vos]. *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Letters Despatched from the Cape, 1652-1662*, in 3 volumes (Cape Town: W.A. Richards & Sons, 1900). The third volume's title also includes "to which are added Land Grants, Attestations, Journal of Voyage to Tristan da Cunha, Names of Freeman, &c."

_____. *Precis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope: Riebeeck's Journal &c.* (Cape Town: W.A. Richards & Sons, 1897), parts I (the title page says "December, 1651-December, 1653", but the journal goes to December 1655, and the transition from 1653 to 1654 is continuous on page 171), II (January, 1656-December, 1658) and III (January, 1659-May, 1662).

Le Vaillant, François. *Voyage de Mr. Le Vaillant dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique, par le Cap de Bonne-Espérance, dans les années 1780, 81, 82, 83, 84, & 85*, vol.1 (s.l.: Journal Général de l'Europe, 1790).

_____. *Travels from the Cape of Good-Hope, into the Interior Parts of Africa, including many Interesting Anecdotes. With Elegant Plates, Descriptive of the Country and Inhabitants*, vol.1. Transl. by Elizabeth Helme (London, William Lane, 1790).

_____. *Travels into the interior of Africa via the Cape of Good Hope*, vol.1. Transl. and ed. by Ian Glenn (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 2007).

Lichtenstein, Hinrich. *Reisen im südlichen Africa in den Jahren 1803, 1804, 1805, und 1806.* (Berlin: C. Salfield, 1811 (vol.1) and 1812 (vol.2)). This has been translated into English as *Travels in Southern Africa . . .* (see below, next entry).

_____. *Travels in Southern Africa, In the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806.* Transl. by Anne Plumptre (London: Henry Colburn, 1812 (vol.1) and 1815 (vol.2)). This is the English translation of *Reisen im südlichen . . .* (see above, previous entry).

Liley, Thomas. "Invention and development", *The Cambridge Companion to the Saxophone*, ed. by Richard Ingham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp.1-19.

Linder, Adolphe. *The Swiss Regiment Meuron at the Cape and afterwards, 1781-1816* (Cape Town: Castle Military Museum, 2000).

Mackenzie-Rogan, John. *Fifty Years of Army Music* (London: Methuen & Co., 1926).

_____. "Regimental Bands: Their History and Rôle of Usefulness", *The Musical Times* 54/839 (1 January 1913), pp.28-30.

Maclear, see Warner and Warner (ed.), *Maclear & Herschel Letters and Diaries at the Cape of Good Hope 1834-1838*.

Malan, Antonia. "Building Lives at the Cape in the early VOC Period", *Kronos* 33 (2007), pp.45-71.

Malan, Jacques P. "Caprara, René Silvio", *Suid-Afrikaanse Musiek-Ensiklopedie*, vol.1, ed. by Jacques P. Malan (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1980), p.246.

_____. “Hind, George”, *Suid-Afrikaanse Musiek-Ensiklopedie*, vol.2, ed. by Jacques P. Malan (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp.231-232.

_____. “Israel, a talented Bloemfontein family”, *Suid-Afrikaanse Musiek-Ensiklopedie*, vol.2, ed. by Jacques P. Malan (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp.509-512.

_____. “Swanson, Walter Donald”, *Suid-Afrikaanse Musiek-Ensiklopedie*, vol.4, ed. by Jacques P. Malan (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp.311-314.

Mann, William. *The Cape Diary and Letters of William Mann, Astronomer and Mountaineer, 1839-1943*. Ed. by Brian Warner (Cape Town: Friends of the South African Library, 1989).

Marcuse, Sibyl. *Musical Instruments: A Comprehensive Dictionary* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1975).

Masurier [first name unknown]. [travel account], in *Mercure galant* (Paris: Guillaume de Luyne (November 1678), pp.169-209. This has been translated as “A Voyage to the Cape in 1678”, below.

_____. “A Voyage to the Cape in 1678”, transl. by A[ntony] M[eredith] Lewin Robinson, *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library* 4/4 (June 1950) 113-124. This is a translation of Masurier’s travel account (above).

McNish, James T. *The Road to El Dorado* (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1968).

Mentzel, Otto F. *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope*. Parts 1 and 2 transl. by Harry J. Mandelbrote; part 3 transl. by G[eorge] V. Marais and John Hoge, revised and edited with an introduction and footnotes by Harry J. Mandelbrote (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society (1921 (part 1), 1925 (part 2), and 1944 (part 3)). This is a translation of *Vollständige und zuverlässige geographische und topographische . . .*, below.

_____. *Lebens-Geschichte Herrn Rudolph Siegfried Allemanns, gewesenen Kapitäns der Miliz, Oberhaupts der Garnison und Kommandant der Festung, wie auch Ober-Kaufmann vom Range, Präsident des Justiz- und Assessor des Polizey-Raths, in Diensten der Holländischen Ostindischen Kompagnie, auf dem Vorgebürge der guten Hofnung* (Glogau: Christian Friedrich Günther, 1784). This has been translated as *Life at the Cape . . .*, below.

_____. *Life at the Cape in the mid-eighteenth century: being the biography of Rudolf Siegfried Allemann, captain of the military forces and commander of the Castle in the service of the Dutch East India Company at the Cape of Good Hope*, transl. by Margaret Greenlees (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 2008). This is a translation of *Lebens-Geschichte*, above.

Mentzel, Otto F. *Vollständige und zuverlässige geographische und topographische Beschreibung des berühmten und in aller Betrachtung merkwürdigen Afrikanischen Vorgebirges der Guten Hoffnung worinnen solches nach seiner Lage, Grenzen, äußerlichen und innerlichen Beschaffenheit, Versassung, Regierungsform, Justiz und Polizeiwesen, militärischen Defensionstand, Finanzwesen, handlung, Gerechtsamen, bürgerlichen und ländlichen Nahrung, Gewerben, Sitten, Gebräuchen und Lebensort derer Christlichen sowohl als heidnischen Einwohner, zwar kürzlich, jedoch gründlich, deutlich und wahrhastig beschrieben wird* (Glogau: Christian Friedrich Günther, 1785 (vol.1) and 1787 (vol.2)). In 2 volumes. This is translated as *A Geographical and Topographical Description . . .*, above.

Mersenne, Marin. “Des Instruments a Vent”, *Harmonie Universelle*, part II, book 5 (Paris: Pierre Ballard, 1637), pp.225-308.

Mossop, Ernest E., see above, Bergh, Olof, and Schrijver, Isaq.

Musical World, The: A Weekly Record of Musical Science, Literature, and Intelligence II (June 17, to September 9, 1836).

Nathaniel [surname unknown], “Chronique”, *La Semaine des Familles, Revue Universelle* 32 (7 May 1864), pp.511-512.

Noakes, George. *A Historical Account of the Services of the 34th & 55th Regiments, the Linked Line Battalions in the 2nd or Cumberland & Westmoreland Sub-District Brigade, from the Period of their Formation until the Present-Time* (Carlisle: C. Thurnam and Sons, 1875).

Noyes, James Russell. *Edward A. Lefebre (1835*-1911): Preeminent Saxophonist of the Nineteenth Century* (D.M.A. dissertation, Manhattan School of Music, 2000); the asterisk points to a footnote that says “*Original title = (1834-1911). See Post-Addendum, page 288” and this gives a copy of the birth certificate, which solves an issue of conflicting references for the birth date.

Olivier, Allen B. *The Clarinet as a chamber music instrument in England from 1850 to 1985* (D.Mus. thesis, University of South Africa, 1990).

_____. *The clarinet as an orchestral instrument in the years 1690 to 1830: technical, artistic, and historical developments* (M.Mus. thesis, University of Pretoria, 1985).

Paravicini di Capelli, Willem B.E. *Reize in de Binnen-Landen van Zuid-Afrika*. Transl. by Wilhelm Johannes de Kock (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1965).

Paxinos, Socrates. “Syllabuses and Curriculumms”, *Musicus* 22/2 (1994), pp.119-137.

Pigot, Sophia. *The Journals of Sophia Pigot, 1819-1821*, ed. by Margaret Rainier (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1974).

Plaskett, Richard and Miller, T[homas] (comp.). *Proclamations, Advertisements and Other Official Notices Published by the Government of the Cape of Good Hope from January 10th, 1806 to May, 21st, 1825* (s.l.: Cape of Good Hope Government Press, 1827).

Praetorius, Michael. *Syntagma Musicum*. part 2 (Wolfenbüttel: Michael Praetorius, 1619).

Prinz, Johannes. *Das Württembergische Kapregiment 1786-1808* (Stuttgart: Verlag von Strecker und Schröder, 1932).

Racster, Olga. *Curtain Up!: the story of Cape Theatre* (Cape Town: Juta, 1951).

Radloff, T[imothy] E.K. *Music in Grahamstown 1863-1879* (B.Mus. thesis, Rhodes University, 1969).

Rainier, Priaulx. *Composer Brochure* (s.l.: Schott, n.d.).

Raven-Hart, Rowland (transl.). *Cape Good Hope 1652-1702: The First Fifty Years of Dutch Colonisation as seen by callers* (Cape Town:A.A. Balkema, 1970). In 2 volumes.

Rendall, F. Geoffrey. "A Short Account of the Clarinet in England during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 68th Session (1941-1942), pp.55-86.

Rice, Albert R. *The Baroque Clarinet* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

_____. *The Clarinet in the Classical Period* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Richings, Gordon. *The Life and Work of Charles Michell* (Simon's Town: Fernwood Press, 2006).

Rivett-Carnac, Dorothy. *Thus Came the English in 1820* (Cape Town: Timmins, 1963).

Roberts, Paul Ernest. "Expansion. Lord Wellesley. Subsidiary Alliances and Annexations", *History of British India Under the Company and the Crown* (3rd ed.; London: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp.243-262.

Robertson, Hector Menteith. *A History of the South African College of Music until 1935* (s.l.: s.n., [1935?]). UCT's record for this book has no location or date because it is listed as "Chapter 9. A history of the University of Cape Town. (Preliminary title)", though UCT does not seem to have the larger work, and possibly it was never finished.

Rose, John E.B. *The Diaries of John Rose*. Ed. by Lily Wolpowitz (Cape Town: Friends of the South African Library, 1990).

Ruskin, Steven. *John Herschel's Cape Voyage* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

Scheurleer, Daniel. *Van varen en van vechten: verzen van tijdgenooten op onze zeehelden en zeeslagen, lof- en schimpdichten, matrozenliederen* ('s-Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1914).

Schrijver, Isaq. See above, Bergh, Olof, and Schrijver, Isaq.

Sewel, William. *A New Dictionary English and Dutch/Nieuw Woordenboek der Engelsche en Nederduytsche Taale*, in two Parts (Amsterdam: By the Widow of Steven Swart, 1691). Part 2 reverses the languages in the titles: *Nieuw Woordenboek der Nederduytsche en Engelsche Taale/A New Dictionary Dutch and English*.

South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), Archive List of Clarinet Recordings. Compiled by Florence Moshatana, Music Archivist, specifically for this study. 2015.

Sparrow, Marion Janet. *Aspects of Musical Education in Grahamstown 1832-1950* (D.Phil thesis, Rhodes University, 1984).

_____. *Music in Grahamstown 1880-1900* (M.Mus. thesis, Rhodes University, 1978).

Steenkamp, Willem. *Assegais, Drums & Dragoons: A Military & Social History of the Cape* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2012).

Stirling, Anna Maria Wilhelmina. *Pages and Portraits from the Past, being the private papers of Sir William Hotham, G.C.B. Admiral of the Red* (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1919).

Strangman, Edward E. *Early French Callers at the Cape* (Cape Town: Juta, n.d. [the preface is dated 1936]).

Tachard, Guy. *Voyage de Siam des Peres Jesuites, Envoyez par le Roy aux Indes & à la Chine* (Paris: Seneuze & Horthemels, 1686).

Tas, Adam. *The Diary of Adam Tas*, ed. by Leo Fouché. Transl. by A.C. Paterson (London: Longman, Green and Co., 1914).

Taylor, Thomas F. "Richard Farnworth and Thomas Atkinson: The Earliest Quaker Writers on Sacred Music", *Quaker History* 75/2 (Fall 1986), pp.83-101.

Teenstra, M[arten] D[ouwens]. *De Vruchten mijner werkzaamheden*. Ed. by Frederik Christiaan Ludolph Bosman (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1943).

Theal, George McCall. *History of South Africa Since September 1795*, in 2 volumes (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1908).

_____. *History of South Africa under the Administration of the Dutch East India Company* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1897). In 2 volumes.

Tidboald, David. *People I Made Music With: candid memoirs* (Cape Town: Umuzi, 2008).

Trimble, W. Copeland. *The Historical Record of the 27th Inniskilling Regiment* (London: Wm Clowes and Sons, 1876).

Trinity College London, *Diplomas in Music: Performance and Teaching*, from 2009, p.45.

Troskie, Albertus Jakobus Johannes. *The musical life of Port Elizabeth 1875-1900* (M.Mus. thesis, University of Port Elizabeth, 1969).

University of South Africa (UNISA), *Woodwind Examination Syllabuses [. . .], Grades and Licentiates, 1989 (until further notice)* (s.l.: Department of Music, UNISA, 1989).

_____. *Woodwind Syllabus: 2012 until further notice* (<http://www.unisa.ac.za/contents/faculties/humanities/mus/docs/Syllabus%202012%20Woodwind%2027%20Sep%202014.pdf>, accessed 4 December 2015).

Vaillant, see Le Vaillant (above).

Valentyn, François. [also spelled “Valentijn”] *Beschryvinge van de Kaap der Goede Hoop, met Zaken daar toe behoorende, Book 10 of Keurlyke Beschryving van Choromandel, Pegu, Arrakan, Bengale, Mocha, Van ‘t Nederlandsch Comptoir in Persien; en eenige fraaje Zaaken van Persepolis overblyfzelen. Een nette Beschryving van Malakka, ‘t Nederlands Comptoir op ‘t Eiland Sumatra, Mitsgaders een wydlustige Landbeschryving van ‘t Eyland Ceylon, En een net Verhaal van des zelfs Keizeren, en Zaaken, van ouds hier voorgevallen; Als ook van ‘t Nederlands Comptoir op de Kust van Malabar, en van onzen Handel in Japan, En eindelyk een Beschryving van Kaap der Goede Hoop, En ‘t Eyland Mauritius, Met de Zaaken tot alle de voornoemde Ryken en Landen behoorende*, in (Vol.5 of) *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën: vervattende Een Naaukeurige en Uitvoerige Verhandeling van Nederlands mogentheyd in die gewesten, benevens eene wydluftige beschryvinge der Moluccos, Amboina, Banda, Timor, en Solor, Java, en alle de eylanden onder dezelve landbestieringen behoorende : het Nederlands comptoir op Suratte, en de levens der Grootte Mogols : als ook een keurlyke verhandeling van ‘t wezentlykste dat men behoort te weten van Choromandel, Pegu, Arracan, Bengale, Mocha, Persien, Malacca, Sumatra, Ceylon, Malabar, Celebes of Macassar, China, Japan, Tayouan of Formosa, Tonkin, Cambodia, Siam, Borneo, Bali, Kaap der Goede Hoop en van Mauritius : te zamen dus behelzende niet alleen eene zeer nette beschryving van alles, wat Nederlands Oost-Indiën betreft, maar ook ‘t voornaamste dat eenigzins tot eenige andere Europeërs, in die Gewesten, betrekking heest*. (Dordrecht: Joannes van Braam; Amsterdam: Gerard Onder de Linden, 1726).

_____. *Description of the Cape of Good Hope with the matters concerning it*, transl. by Rowland Raven-Hart, Part I (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1971). This is a translation of *Beschryvinge van de Kaap der Goede Hoop* (Book 10 of Vol.5 of *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indien*), above.

Van der Post, Marjorie Edith. *Theo Wendt 1874-1974* (Cape Town; Johannesburg: Tafelberg-Uitgewers Ltd, 1974).

Van der Spuy, H. Hubert. *The Compositions of Priaulx Rainier: An Annotated Catalogue* (D.Mus. dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, 1988).

_____. *Die Musieklewe van Pietermaritzburg 1850-1902* (D.Phil. dissertation, Stellenbosch University, 1975).

Van Riebeeck, Abraham. “Aenteekeningen Rakende Cabo de Boa Esperança”, Johanna Maria Van Riebeeck, *Briewe van Johanna Maria van Riebeeck en ander Riebeeckiana*. ed. by Daniël Brink Bosman (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche uitgevers vir die skrywer, 1952).

Van Spaan, Gerrit. *De Gelukszoeker over zee, of Afrikaansche Weg-wijzer, beschyvende verscheideb gewesten, ten dienste van zulke, die in hun vaderland niet kunnen bestaan, in Schermschool der Huislieden, of het koddige leven der boeren, bestaande in minneryen, vegten snywerkhoudens, Vervat in twee Deelen, Waar agter gevoegt is De Afrikaansche en Aziaansche Weg-Wyzer, Beschryvende verscheide Gewestenen Landstreken* (2nd ed.; Rotterdam: Pieter de Vries, 1752), pp.295-483.

Varley, D[ouglas] H[arold]. "Adventures in Africana", *Quarterly Bulletin of the South African Library* 4/2 (December 1949), pp.43-52.

Vogel, Johann Wilhelm. *Zehen-Jahrige Ost-Indianische Reise-Beschreibung*. 1704. Altenburg: Johann Ludwig Richters.

_____. *Zehen-Jahrige Jetzo auff's neue revidirt- und vermehrte Ost-Indianische Reise-Beschreibung*. 1716. Altenburg: Johann Ludwig Richters. [Both the 1704 and 1716 editions were used, because there was a translation issue. Raven-Hart translated the 2nd edition, so the first edition was checked to see if any of the disputed words had changed. Therefore, the footnote uses both editions.]

Voorendyk, Lavinia H.D., *Die Musiekgeskiedenis van Wes-Transvaal* (M.Mus. dissertation, Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, 1971).

Warner, Brian and Nancy (ed.). *Maclear & Herschel Letters and Diaries at the Cape of Good Hope 1834-1838* (Cape Town: A.A. Balkema, 1984).

Waterhouse, Gilbert. *Simon van der Stel's Journal of his Expedition to Namaqualand, 1685-6*: ed. from the manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1932).

_____. *Simon van der Stel's Journal of his Expedition to Namaqualand, 1685-6: Supplement: Addenda et Corrigenda*. (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1953).

_____. "Simon van der Stel's Expedition to Namaqualand, 1685", *The Geographical Journal* 64/4, pp.298-312.

Waterston, Jane Elizabeth. *The Letters of Jane Elizabeth Waterston 1866-1905*. Ed. by Lucy Bean and Elizabeth Van Heyningen (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1983).

Webb, Clare Louise. *An Annotated Catalogue of Selected Works for Clarinet by South African Composers* (M.Mus. minor dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2005).

Wei, Yu-Chi. *The historical development of the clarinet with specific reference to its musical repertoire* (M.Mus. dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2010).

Weston, Pamela. *Clarinet Virtuosi of the past* (Reprint of the 1971 edition (Hale); Borough Green: Novello, 1986).

_____. *More Clarinet Virtuosi of the past* (London: the author, 1977).

Whiteoak, John. "Improvisatory Music", *Journal of the Australian Music Centre* 14/48 (1996), also available from <http://pandora.nla.gov.au/nph-wb/20001113130000/http://www.amcoz.com.au/pdfs/jnl4801.pdf>, downloaded 14 February 2014.

Whitwell, David. *The Baroque Wind Band and Wind Ensemble* (2nd ed., Austin: Whitwell Publishing, 2011).

_____. *A Concise History of the Wind Band* (2nd ed., Austin: Whitwell Publishing, 2010).

_____. *The Wind Band and Wind Ensemble of the Classical Period* (2nd ed.; Austin: Whitwell Publishing, 2012).

Wigston, David. "A History of the South African Media". Ed. Pieter J. Fourie, *Media Studies* (2nd edition, Cape Town: Juta, 2007), pp.3-58.

Wolpowitz, Lily. 1969 *James and Kate Hyde and the development of music in Johannesburg up to the First World War* (Pretoria: J.L. Van Schaik Limited, 1969).

Woodfield, Ian. "John Bland: London Retailer of the Music of Haydn and Mozart", *Music and Letters* 81/2 (May, 2000), p.210-244.

Newspapers and Almanacs N.B. Individual dates and page numbers are referenced in the chapter footnotes. If no country is listed, the newspaper is a South African publication.

African Court Calendar (Cape Town).

The Argus (Melbourne, Victoria, Australia).

Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal (Bathurst, New South Wales, Australia).

Brooklyn Daily Eagle (Brooklyn, New York, United States), <http://bklyn.newspapers.com/image/53949590/?terms=23+february+edward+lefebvre> (accessed 14 September 2015).

Cape Almanac, and Directory, comp. by J. Suasso de Lima (Cape of Good Hope, J. Suasso de Lima); N.B. the date of publication will be the year before the date of the almanac, e.g. 1847 for 1848.

The Cape Argus (Cape Town).

The Cape of Good Hope Almanac and Register, comp. B.J. Van de Sandt (Cape Town: B.J. van de Sandt, Jun.); N.B. the date of publication will be the year prior to the Almanac year, e.g. 1847 for 1848.

The Cape Standard (Cape Town).

The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser (Cape Town). N.B. Titles and volume numbers are very misleading in this newspaper. From 16 August 1800 until 7 January 1824, this was this only newspaper in South Africa, but it went through various name changes, depending on whether the colony was under British or Dutch control. From 16 August 1800 (vol.1 no.1) to 16 October 1802 (vol.1 no.52), the English title is as above, and the Dutch counterpart was called *Kaapsche Stads Courant, en Afrikaansche Berigter*. However, initially, although the information in the paper had to be authorised by the colonial government, the paper was a private one. The British government decided to purchase all printing presses and equipment in 1801. So, from the 24 October 1801 issue, the titles were the same but the volume numbers started again on “vol.1 no.1”. Thus there are duplicate numbers and the date is the only distinguishing feature. 30 June 1826 was the last issue under these titles; from the next issue, 7 July 1826, the English and Dutch newspapers were published under a new title, *The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette*, although the volume numbers remained consecutive, i.e. vol.XXI no.1068 and vol.XXI no.1069. Further, from 7 July 1826 there was no separate Dutch title, although government proclamations and advertisements were still given in both languages.

The Colonist (Cape Town). [This was a very short-lived paper that only ran in 1857-1858. It replaced *The South African Commercial Advertiser* while it was suspended.]

Gazzetta Musicale di Napoli (Naples, Italy).

Empire (Sydney).

The Friend of the Free State and Bloemfontein Gazette (Bloemfontein).

Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer (Geelong, Victoria, Australia).

The Graham's Town Journal (Grahamstown). This newspaper changed its name to *The Journal* in 1864.

Kaapsche Courant, Afrikaansche Berigter (Of, De Verzamelaar.) (Cape Town).

Kaapsche Stads Courant (see above, *The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser*)

The Mediator, or, Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer (Cape Town).

The Natal Mercury (Pietermaritzburg).

The Natal Witness, and Agricultural and Commercial Advertiser (Pietermaritzburg).

Sam Sly's African Journal (Cape Town). 28 June 1849 was the last issue with this title. In the next issue, 5 July 1849, there is an “Editorial” (p.1) which says of the series “it is not deemed requisite to continue further with the capricious and facetious title with which they commenced;—that having fully answered every purpose for which it was introduced.” From here on, the title is *The African Journal*.”

The South African Commercial Advertiser (Cape Town). This was suspended in 1857-1858, and temporarily replaced by *The Colonist*, which ran from from 22 November 1857 to 30 September 1858. The next issue of *The South African Commercial Advertiser* was on 3 October 1858.

Straits Times and Singapore Journal of Commerce (Singapore, Republic of Singapore).

The Times (London, United Kingdom).

Het Volksblad (Cape Town).

Online resources (sheet music is in this category if the reference to it came from the internet, rather than a physical copy of the music)

1879zuluwar.com, “The band of the 1/24th Regiment of Foot”, <http://www.1879zuluwar.com/t1563-24th-regiment-band?highlight=band> (accessed 9 November 2015).

Bergson, Michał, “Gr. Duo brillant [de] Mich. Bergson op.10, et Iwan Müller, op.97”. worldcat.org entry, https://www.worldcat.org/title/gr-duo-brillant-de-mich-bergson-op-10-et-iwan-muller-op-97/oclc/222792545&referer=brief_results (accessed 21 November 2015).

Bibliothèque National de France, Notice d'autorité personne, “Ali Ben Sou Alle (1824-1899)”, *pseudonyme forme internationale*, <http://catalogue.bnf.fr/servlet/autorite?ID=13994856&idNoeud=1.1&host=catalogue> (accessed 15 August 2015).

“Bonicoli, Vincislao: *Esercizi progressivi con mute di Variazioni per Clarinetto*”, 1844, Internetculturale.org entry, http://www.internetculturale.it/opencms/opencms/it/ricerca_metaindice.jsp?semplice.y=5&semplice.x=7&q=bonicoli+vincislao&instance=metaindice (accessed 30 November 2015).

Commonwealth War Graves Commission, <http://www.cwgc.org/find-war-dead/casualty/2182479/BELL,%20O%20M> (accessed 12 January 2016).

De Pascual, Beryl Kenyon and Waterhouse, William, “Flageolet”, *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/42044> (accessed 28 January 2012).

De Ville, Paul [pseudonym of Prendiville, Harry], *Blue Bells of Scotland: air varié*, worldcat.org entry, https://www.worldcat.org/title/blue-bells-of-scotland-air-varie/oclc/49800253&referer=brief_results (accessed 26 December 2015).

Documentation Centre for Music, University of Stellenbosch, http://www.domus.ac.za/component?option=com_frontpage/Itemid,1/ (accessed 13 January 2016).

Fine Music Radio, “Presenters V-Z”, <http://www.fmr.co.za/presenters-v-z/> (accessed 12 January 2016).

Fluteworx, “Commemorative Concert, Konsertkamer Da Capo Concert Chamber, 10 November 2002, Albert Honey” (obituary), <http://www.fluteworx.co.za/articles/AHoney0209.pdf> (accessed 23 January 2016).

Guglielmi, Pietro Alessandro, *Gratias agimus: solo for soprano with clarinet obligato* (London: J.Alfred Novello [1858?]), worldcat.org entry, http://www.worldcat.org/title/gratias-agimus-solo-for-soprano-with-clarinet-bligato/oclc/224600274&referer=brief_results (accessed 4 February 2016).

Guglielmo, Pasquale, “Lover and the Bird”, worldcat.org entries, http://www.worldcat.org/search?q=guglielmo+pasquale+lover+bird&qt=notfound_page&search=Search (accessed 24 January 2016).

_____, *Teresa Navagero*, Biblioteca Digitale Italiana entry, http://cataloghistorici.bdi.sbn.it/resource_viewer.php?IDRES=CSTOR.89.187774 (accessed 24 December 2015).

Huguenot Society of America, <http://huguenotsocietyofamerica.org/?page=Ancestors> (accessed 6 July 2015). (used for the Mahieu surname)

Huguenot Society of South Carolina, <http://www.huguenotsociety.org/hester-mahieu-a-new-ancestor/> (accessed 6 July 2015). (used for the Mahieu surname)

Jewish Virtual Library, “Simmon Latutin”, https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/biography/Simmon_Latutin.html, accessed 2 January 2016.

Kagablog, “sequel – jean pierre de la porte on music and exile”, <http://kaganof.com/kagablog/?s=music+in+exile> (accessed 18 January 2016).

Kaphey, Jacob Adam, “Clarinet Solo. Airs from Donizetti’s “I Martiri”” (London: Boosey & Co., 1890), worldcat.org entry, https://www.worldcat.org/title/clarinet-solo-air-from-donizetti-i-martiri-kaphey-divertissement-doux-yeux-henri-nevaux-barcarolle-c-hoby-conductor-and-military-band-parts/oclc/497397990&referer=brief_results (accessed 21 November 2015).

Kerman, Joseph, et al., “Beethoven, Ludwig van”, *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40026> (accessed 1 October 2015).

Krommer, Franz, *Concertino*, op.70 (International Music Score Library Project (IMSLP), http://imslp.org/wiki/Concertino,_Op.70_%28Krommer,_Franz%29 (accessed 7 February 2016)).

Lazarus, Henry, worldcat.org search results for *Fantasia on Favorite Scotch Melodies: Introducing “Ye Banks and Braes and Auld Robin Gray*, https://www.worldcat.org/search?q=lazarus+clarinet+method&fq=&dblist=638&qt=sort&se=yr&sd=asc&qt=sort_yr_asc, accessed 17 December 2015); used to ascertain earliest dates of publication.

_____, worldcat.org search results for “Lazarus clarinet method”, http://www.worldcat.org/search?q=lazarus+clarinet+method&fq=&dblist=638&qt=sort&se=yr&sd=asc&qt=sort_yr_asc (accessed 7 February 2016).

Les Archives du Pas-de-Calais, “L’enseignement de la Musique”, <http://www.archives-pasdecalais.fr/Activites-culturelles/Expositions-virtuelles/Musiques-Maestro/L-enseignement-de-la-musique> (accessed 3 February 2014).

Lichtenstein, Henry, worldcat.org search results for “Lichtenstein Reizen”, https://www.worldcat.org/search?q=lichtenstein+%22reizen+in+het%22&qt=results_page (accessed 2 February 2016), and search results for “Lichtenstein’s Reizen”, https://www.worldcat.org/search?q=lichtenstein%27s+reizen&qt=results_page (accessed 2 February 2016).

“Lost Composers”, <https://mhte.music.unt.edu/schenker/lost-composer> (accessed 12 January 2016).

“Mohr clarinet “Air Varié””, worldcat.org search results, https://www.worldcat.org/search?q=mohr+clarinet+%22air+vari%C3%A9%22&qt=results_page#x0%253Amsscr-format (accessed 28 January 2016).

Montagu, Jeremy, “Fipple”, *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/42042> (accessed 28 February 2013).

Müller, Iwan, worldcat.org entry for *Grand Solo pour clarinette principale avec accompagnement d’orchestre* (Bonn: Simrock 1823), https://www.worldcat.org/title/grand-solo-pour-clarinette-principale-avec-accompagnement-dorchestre/oclc/35568474&referer=brief_results (there is another worldcat.org entry for manuscript material held by University of Cambridge for a *Grand solo pour clarinette avec orchestre* that may be the same or a different work: https://www.worldcat.org/title/grand-solo-pour-clarinette-avec-orchestre/oclc/163867246&referer=brief_results (both accessed 7 February 2016)).

_____, worldcat.org entry for *Solo (B) tire de l’opera Guido et Gineva de Halevy op.72 no.1*, Leipzig: Frederic Hofmeister, [18--], https://www.worldcat.org/title/solo-b-tire-de-lopera-guido-et-gineva-de-halevy-op-72-no-1/oclc/233134605&referer=brief_results (accessed 7 February 2016).

_____, worldcat.org entry for *Serenade pour clarinette avec accompagnement de piano ou harpe ou guitarre*, Mayence: B. Schott fils, [1825?], https://www.worldcat.org/title/serenade-pour-clarinette-en-si-b-avec-accompagnement-de-piano-ou-harpe-ou-guitarre/oclc/233134591&referer=brief_results (accessed 7 February 2016).

“Müller, Johann”, International Music Score Library Project (IMSLP), http://imslp.org/wiki/Category:M%C3%BCller,_Johann (accessed 18 October 2015).

“Names of German Immigrants (G-K)”, <http://www.safrika.org/Names/PersonaliaG-K.html> (accessed 26 June 2015).

“SABC Media Libraries”, <https://sites.google.com/site/sabcmedialib/music-library> (accessed 10 January 2016).

SA Composers, “Taljaard, Daniël Johannes”, http://www.sacomposers.co.za/sacomposers/Taljaard,_Hannes.html (accessed 12 February 2016).

Salieri, Girolamo, worldcat.org entry for *Andante con variazioni: per clarinetto con accompagnamento di due violini, viola e violoncello o piano forte sopra un tema dell'opera I Capuleti e I Montecchi del M. Bellini*, https://www.worldcat.org/title/andante-con-variazioni-per-clarinetto-con-accompagnamento-di-due-violini-viola-e-violoncello-o-piano-forte-sopra-un-tema-dellopera-i-capuleti-e-i-montecchi-del-m-bellini/oclc/50993015&referer=brief_results (accessed 26 December 2015).

Saxophone.org, Virtual Saxophone Museum, "C.G. Conn Publications", <http://www.saxophone.org/museum/publications/manufacturer/13/museumType/1> (accessed 4 October 2015).

_____, Virtual Saxophone Museum, *The C.G. Conn New Wonder Saxophones*, <http://www.saxophone.org/museum/publications/id/136> (accessed 4 October 2015).

Saxophonemes, "A short history of the Saxophone", [http://saxophonemes.fr/eng.saxophonemes.fr/History_of_the_saxophone_\(short\).html](http://saxophonemes.fr/eng.saxophonemes.fr/History_of_the_saxophone_(short).html) (accessed 15 August 2015).

Schwab, Heinrich W., "Stadtpeifer", *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26515> (accessed 12 July 2015).

"sequel – jean pierre de la porte on music and exile", kagablog, <http://kaganof.com/kagablog/?s=music+in+exile> (accessed 18 January 2016).

Skinner, Graham, "SOU-ALLE, Ali-Ben" in *A biographical register of colonial Australian musicians: S-T*, <http://sydney.edu.au/paradise/australharmony/register-S.php> (accessed 2 February 2014).

UNISA, <http://www.unisa.ac.za/heritage/> (accessed 5 September 2015).

_____, "Directorate Music", <http://www.unisa.ac.za/default.asp?Cmd=ViewContent&ContentID=1972> (accessed 5 September 2015).

Unverricht, Hubert and Page, Janet K., "Feldmusik", *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09437> (accessed August 22, 2015).

Van der Stel, Willem Adriaan. *Korte deductie van Willem Adriaen van der Stel, gewesene extraordinaris Raat van India en Gouverneur aen Cabo de Bon Esperance*, worldcat.org entry, http://www.worldcat.org/search?q=van+der+stel+%22korte+deductie%22&qt=results_page (accessed 7 February 2016).

"VOC Sea Voyagers", <http://www.gahetna.nl/en/collectie/index/nt00344/q/zoekterm/jerrig/q/comments/1> (accessed 26 June 2015).

Volans, Kevin, "Kevin Volans: Works", <http://kevinvolans.com/works/> (accessed 24 January 2016).

Weber, Carl Maria, worldcat.org entry for *Concertino*, op.26 (Munich: n.p., 1811), https://www.worldcat.org/title/concertino-per-il-clainetto-principale-composta-per-uso-dell-signore-enrico-baermann-ed-esequito-la-prima-volta-al-mio-concerto-alla-salle-dell-teatro-a-monaco/oclc/148122024&referer=brief_results (accessed 7 February 2016). This entry is for the orchestral version; the piano reduction, cited in Chapter 10, is in “Sheet Music” (see below).

Weckerlin, *Sérénade de Ruy Blas*, work page from IMSLP, http://imslp.org/wiki/S%C3%A9r%C3%A9nade_de_Ruy_Blas_%28Weckerlin,_Jean-Baptiste%29 (accessed 5 December 2015).

Western Cape Archives and Record Service, <http://www.tanap.net/content/archives/archives.cfm?ArticleID=203> (accessed 26 December 2010); scroll down to the History section. (Used for the history of the Cape Archives.)

Unpublished correspondence

De Brie, Tim. E-mail to the author. 23 April 2015.

Earl, David. E-mail to the author. 20 January 2016.

Finzi, Josephine. E-mail to the author. 3 January 2016.

Joubert, Anna (on behalf of John Joubert). E-mail to the author. 16 March 2015.

Levy, Sophie, responsable des archives, Conservatoire National Supérieur de Musique et de Danse Paris. E-mail to author. 23 June 2014.

Klatzow, Peter. E-mails to the author. 6 January 2016, 7 January 2016, 13 January 2016, 14 January 2016.

Lawrenson, Natalie. E-mail to the author. 28 January 2016.

Lohmann, Antoinette. E-mails to the author. 22 May 2015, 8 June 2015, and 12 July 2015.

Mann, Esther, Curator of the Museum of Army Music at Kneller Hall.. E-mail to the author. 18 December 2015.

Ndodani-Breen, Bongani. E-mail to author. 24 January 2016.

Stevens, Harm, Curator History Department, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. E-mail to the author. 11 April 2011.

Van Dijk, Matthijs. E-mail to the author. 25 January 2016.

Van Schalkwyk, Albie. E-mail to the author. 7 September 2015.

Warden, Nigel. E-mail to the author. 5 October 2014.

Watt, Martin. E-mails to the author. 17 January 2016, 18 January 2016, 19 January 2016.

Sheet Music (in this category is sheet music where the physical copy, or a scan thereof, has been viewed. Sheet music titles for which the reference is IMSLP, or a worldcat.org or other online catalogue, entry are under Online Resources)

Adams, R.N[an]. *Clarinet Sonata in D Major* (Braamfontein: SAMRO, 1997); copy of manuscript.

Bartók, Béla. *Contrasts* for violin, clarinet, and piano (London: Hawkes & Son, 1942, reprinted by Boosey & Hawkes).

Benjamin, Arthur. *Le Tombeau de Ravel* (London: Hawkes & Son, 1958, reprinted by Boosey & Hawkes)

Bergson, Michał. *Scene und Arie*, op.82 (Offenbach am Main: Johann André, 1879; Boston: W.H. Cundy, 1884).

Berlioz, *Béatrice et Bénédict*, H138, ed. Charles Malherbe (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907).

Bishop, Henry. *Comedy of Errors* (London: Goulding, D'Almain, Potter & Co., n.d.); "Lo! here the gentle Lark" is on pp.88-94.

Brahms, Johannes. *Sonata in F minor, op.120 no.1* (Berlin: N. Simrock, 1895).

_____. *Trio in A minor, op.114* (Berlin: N. Simrock, 1892).

Finzi, Gerald. *Concerto* for clarinet and orchestra (London: Hawkes & Son, 1951, reprinted by Boosey & Hawkes).

_____. *Five Bagatelles* (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1945).

Grechaninov, Aleksandr. *Suite Miniature: 10 Easy Pieces for Clarinet and Piano*, op.145 (Moscow: Muzyka, n.d.).

Grové, Stefanus. *Sonatine* (manuscript score, from DOMUS (Documentation Centre for Music), University of Stellenbosch, <https://digital.lib.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.2/2551>, accessed 7 October 2014).

Guglielmi, Pietro Alessandro. *Gratias agimus: Motetto di Guglielmo* (manuscript, held by Staatsbibliothek Berlin, available to view at: http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN766579212&PHYSID=PHYS_0001 (accessed 9 August 2015).

Hartmann, Friedrich. *Clarinet Concerto* (manuscript, held by the University of Cape Town).

Hindemith, Paul. *Sonate* for clarinet and piano (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1940).

Hofmeyr, Hendrik. *Concerto per Clarinetto e Orchestra* (published by the author, 2012).

_____. *Sonata per Clarinetto e Pianoforte* (published by the author, 2012).

Hunter, Riddell. *Music for a Ballet "Nic Niven"* (unknown, score possibly no longer extant).

Kovács, Béla. *Hommage à J.S. Bach and Hommage à M. de Falla* from *Hommages* for clarinet (Leverkusen, Germany: Edition Darok, 1994).

Khachaturian, Aram Il'ich. *Trio* for clarinet, violin, and piano (London; Cape Town; Sydney: Anglo-Soviet Music, n.d.).

Kodaly, *Galanta Dances* for orchestra (London: Hawkes & Son, 1939, reprinted by Boosey & Hawkes).

Latutin, Margaret. *Top-knots and tail-pieces for the clarinet* (Edinburgh; Cambridge; Durham: Pentland Press, 1996).

Lazarus, Henry. *Lazarus Clarinet School: a new and modern method for Clarinet*, ed. Paul de Ville [pseudonym of Harry Prendiville] (New York: Carl Fischer, 1900). Part III contains the *Fantasia On Airs from "I Puritani"* and *Fantasia on Favorite Scotch Melodies: Introducing "Ye Banks and Braes and Auld Robin Gray"*. Part III has no publication date, but the University of Rochester lists a date of 1900 for this edition (<https://urresearch.rochester.edu/institutionalPublicationPublicView.action?institutionalItemId=6226&versionNumber=1>, accessed 17 December 2015).

Lutosławski, Witold. *Dance Preludes* for clarinet and piano (London: Chester, c.1972).

McDonald, Malcolm. *Trio* for violin, clarinet, and piano (unknown, score possibly no longer extant).

Milhaud, Darius. *Suite*, op.157b for violin, clarinet, and piano (s.l.: R. Deiss, 1937, reprinted Paris: Éditions Salabert).

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus. Divertimento no.2, from 5 *Divertimentos*, K.Anh.229 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1905); it is unknown which arrangement of this was used in the cited performance.

_____. *Piano Concerto in D Major*, K.451 (Speyer: Bossler, 1791); it is unknown which edition the SACM orchestra used in the cited performance.

_____. *Quintet in A Major*, K.581 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1883).

Muczynski, Robert. *Time Pieces* for clarinet and piano (Bryn Mawr, Pa.: T. Presser, 1985)

Purcell, *King Arthur*, ed. Edward Taylor (London: Musical Antiquarian Society Publications, 1843).

Rainier, Priaulx. *Suite for Clarinet and Piano* (London: Schott, 1949).

Saint-Saëns, Camille. *Carnival of the Animals* (Paris: Durand & Cie., 1922); it is not known whether the performance cited was done in the original form, i.e. 2 pianos and orchestra.

Schubert, Franz. *Symphony no.6*, D.589 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1884).

Solomon, Neil. *Trio* for clarinet, violin, and piano (unknown, score possibly no longer extant).

Stanford, Charles Villiers. *Sonata, op.129* for clarinet and piano (London: Stainer & Bell, 1918).

Swanson, *Lyric Poem* (Cape Town (Rondebosch): Amanuensis Quality Editions, 1991).

Tartini, Giuseppe, arr. Gordon Jacob. *Concertino* for clarinet and strings (London: Hawkes & Son, 1945 (piano reduction), reprinted by Boosey & Hawkes).

Weber, Carl Maria von. *Concertino*, op.26, arranged for clarinet and piano, ed. Cyrille Rose (Paris: Evette & Schaeffer, n.d.). For worldcat.org entry of the orchestral version, see above, Online Resources.

Weis, Flemming. *Sonata for Klarinet og Klaver* (Leipzig: Kistner & Siegel; Copenhagen, Samfundet til Udgivelse af Dansk Musik, 1935).