

Conquering the Cape: the role of domestic keyboard instruments in colonial society and the colonisation process

by

Erik (Gert Diederick Victor) Dippenaar

MMus (Royal College of Music, London)

Thesis Presented for the Degree of

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in the South African College of Music**

Faculty of Humanities

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

March 2021

Supervisor: Professor 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.

ABSTRACT

Full name of author: Erik (GDV) Dippenaar

Thesis title: Conquering the Cape: the role of domestic keyboard instruments in colonial society and the colonisation process

Date: March 2021

This thesis traces the history and usage of domestic keyboard instruments in the Cape Colony from 1652 until 1852, and brings to light the role that these instruments played in colonial society and in the colonisation process in the Cape Colony.

Chapter 2 sketches the broader historical, social and cultural context within which domestic music making involving keyboard instruments took place in the Cape Colony. Chapter 3 presents an overview of the distribution of domestic keyboard instruments in the Cape Colony as well as historical evidence about the situations in which they were located and used. This chapter also describes importation and building trends during the period covered by this study, and sheds light on the various types of keyboard instruments that could be found in domestic settings in the Cape Colony.

Chapter 4 draws attention to the types of repertoire that would have been played on these instruments and examines the presence (or often absence) of sheet music on premises where keyboard instruments were found in a domestic context.

The concluding chapter of this thesis (Chapter 5) contextualises the historical evidence on domestic keyboard instruments in the Southern African colonial context (as outlined in Chapters 2, 3 and 4) within the broader framework of the global historical and cultural meanings associated with keyboard instruments. It does so by examining the cultural meanings attached to keyboard instruments in other contexts, and ascertaining how these meanings were played out, and sometimes transformed or enhanced, in the Southern African colonial context.

This interpretation is then used to show that domestic keyboard instruments played a significant role in defining a cultural identity in colonial society, and contributed considerably to the colonisation process in a variety of ways. It also highlights *how* domestic keyboard instruments were involved in these processes, on the basis of five broad themes: domestic keyboard instruments and female respectability; keyboard instruments as a diplomatic tool and a display of technology; the 'loud' absence of evidence pointing to slaves playing keyboard instruments; the totemic function of domestic keyboard instruments; and the sonoric and physical impact caused by keyboard instruments.

Plagiarism Declaration

This thesis has been submitted to the Turnitin module (or equivalent similarity and originality checking software) and I confirm that my supervisor has seen my report and any concerns revealed by such have been resolved with my supervisor.

Name: Erik (Gert Diederick Victor) Dippenaar

Student number: DPPGER001

Signature:

Date: 12 March 2021

Acknowledgments

Many thanks to:

- Engela Britz and Shaheema Luckan at the University of Cape Town (UCT) Music Library for going out of their way to source digital versions of sources during the partial closure of libraries during the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic;
- Karen Minnaar and the staff of the NG Kerk in SA: Argief in Stellenbosch for your interest in my work and for being extremely helpful;
- Erika le Roux and staff of The Western Cape Archives and Records Service in Cape Town;
- the staff at the National Library of South Africa: Cape Town Campus;
- the staff at the UCT Libraries: Special Collections;
- Izan Greyling for editing of the sound examples;
- my colleagues and friends Doctors Wayne Muller, Philippa Tumubweinee and Annien Shaw for their valuable advice (and patience) during the writing of this thesis;
- my supervisor Rebekka Sandmeier;
- the Harry Crossley Foundation for funding this study;
- my partner Owen Martin for his endless patience and support during the writing process.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1.....	1
1.1 BACKGROUND	1
1.2 RESEARCH PARAMETERS.....	2
1.2.1 Domestic.....	3
1.2.2 Keyboard instrument	3
1.2.3 Colonialism	3
1.2.4 Time period	4
1.2.5 Spatial demarcation	5
1.2.6 ‘Western’ music vs ‘Western classical’ music.....	6
1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION, OBJECTIVE AND RATIONALE	6
1.3.1 Research question and objective	6
1.3.2 Rationale for this research	7
1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN.....	11
1.4.1 Research stance.....	11
1.4.2 Methodologies	12
1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW	15
1.5.1 Primary sources	15
1.5.2. Secondary sources.....	20
1.6 A HIP APPROACH TO COLONIAL MUSIC MAKING	25
Chapter 2.....	26
2.1 COLONIAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY	27
2.1.1 Beginnings of a colony at the Cape	27
2.1.2 Slaves at the Cape	32
2.1.3 Cape Town as the centre of urban occupations	36
2.1.4 The Cape interior.....	39
2.1.5 The Cape Colony from 1795 onwards	43
2.1.6 Christianity and religious institutions.....	45
2.1.7 Education and domestic music making.....	48
2.1.8 The changing face of the Empire.....	55
2.2 CONCLUSION	56
Chapter 3.....	58
3.1 CONTEMPORARY WRITTEN SOURCES	58
3.2 INVENTORIES OF THE ORPHAN CHAMBER AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE	64
3.3 MENTIONS OF KEYBOARD INSTRUMENTS IN EARLY NEWSPAPERS	70
3.3.1 Pianos	71
3.3.2 Organs	74
3.3.3 Harpsichords.....	75
3.3.4 Table or hand organs.....	75
3.3.5 Reed organs.....	75
3.3.6 General points of interest	76

3.4 EXTANT INSTRUMENTS	79
3.4.1 Instruments and instrument collections	81
3.4.2 Organ by William Hill, built between 1832 and 1837	84
3.5 CONCLUSION	87
Chapter 4.....	90
4.1 MANUSCRIPTS	90
4.1.1 The Meent Borchers manuscript books	90
4.1.2 Manuscript from the Burger family from Piketberg	96
4.1.3 Harriet and Ann Heathcote manuscript books	98
4.1.4 Manuscript book belonging John Rennie	101
4.2 REVIEWS AND ADVERTISEMENTS IN EARLY NEWSPAPERS.....	104
4.2.1 Mentions of composer names specifically in relation to music for keyboard	105
4.2.2 Keyboard accompaniments by local composers	105
4.2.3 References to printed keyboard music, no composer's names.....	106
4.2.4 Teaching material	107
4.2.5 Composers names mentioned in general, with no specific reference to keyboard music.....	108
4.2.6 Hymn books	108
4.2.7 References to manuscript paper	109
4.2.8 References to printed music being sold, without composer's names, or specific instrument designations	110
4.3 ORPHAN CHAMBER INVENTORIES	113
4.4 CONCLUSION	117
Chapter 5.....	119
5.1 DOMESTIC KEYBOARD INSTRUMENTS AND FEMALE RESPECTABILITY	119
5.2 KEYBOARD INSTRUMENTS AS DIPLOMATIC TOOL AND DISPLAY OF TECHNOLOGY	124
5.3 THE 'LOUD' ABSENCE OF EVIDENCE POINTING TO SLAVES PLAYING KEYBOARD INSTRUMENTS.....	130
5.4 THE TOTEMIC FUNCTION OF DOMESTIC KEYBOARD INSTRUMENTS.....	135
5.5 SONORIC AND PHYSICAL IMPACT CAUSED BY KEYBOARD INSTRUMENTS	139
5.6 CONCLUSION	144
<i>Appendix 1 - References to keyboard instruments and sheet music in the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber at the Cape of Good Hope (1724–1833).</i>	<i>146</i>
<i>Appendix 2 - References to keyboard instruments and sheet music found in early colonial newspapers between 1800 and 1852.</i>	<i>155</i>
<i>Appendix 3 – Contents of the first Meent Borchers manuscript book (MB1)</i>	<i>186</i>
<i>Appendix 4 - Contents of the second Meent Borchers manuscript book (MB2).....</i>	<i>200</i>
<i>Appendix 5 - Pieces containing a keyboard accompaniment in the Ann Heathcote manuscript, 1835, A804(1)</i>	<i>210</i>

<i>Appendix 6 - Pieces containing a keyboard accompaniment in the Harriet Heathcote manuscript, 1834, A804(2)</i>	213
<i>Appendix 7 – Contents of the John Rennie manuscript book</i>	223
<i>Bibliography</i>	225

Chapter 1

1.1 BACKGROUND

In this thesis I explore the role that domestic keyboard instruments played in colonial society and the colonisation process in the Cape Colony between 1652 and 1852. I do this by presenting historical data about the occurrence and usage of domestic keyboard instruments in the Cape Colony, and by placing this data within the framework of the cultural meanings attached to keyboard instruments in general and in other colonial contexts. Finally, I look at how these meanings manifested, and were sometimes transformed or enhanced, in the Southern African colonial situation.

Whilst the exact scope and methodologies of this study will be clearly defined later in this chapter, I would like to position myself in relation to the subject matter by stating why I embarked on this very narrow field of study (as a supplement to the points raised in 1.3.2 – the rationale behind engaging in this research). The reason relates to two complementary - professional and personal - vantage points on the subject matter: I have a career-long professional interest in historical Western keyboard instruments, but also a personal curiosity about understanding and contextualising this interest from a post-colonial and post-apartheid viewpoint, especially concerning historical keyboard instruments used in the colonial sphere.

My main professional interest lies in early Western keyboard instruments of various periods, which has manifested in a performance career in Historically Informed Performance (HIP) and the facilitating of performances of early European repertoire on various period-appropriate instruments, as well as research forays into organology. Naturally these performance and research fields brought me into close contact with general history writing and the plurality and complexity of conveying historical concepts within certain specific cultural contexts. This then sparked an interest in, and evaluation of, my own personal experiences relating to Western keyboard instruments, as a person who grew up in South Africa during the last years of apartheid and the first years of the new democracy. I soon realised that there are various very potent cultural connotations attached to Western music making, and specifically the playing of Western instruments in a colonial and post-colonial context. Since my professional speciality field is keyboard instruments, I was especially fascinated by the cultural meanings attached to keyboard instruments (particularly those used within a domestic setting in the colonial sphere), which ignited my curiosity to investigate this in further detail in the current study.

My initial interest in embarking on this research journey was sparked by four prominent observations from the perspective of my own lived experience: firstly, I noticed that there was a set of gender expectations that was present in the playing of keyboard instruments. This was based on practices found in the original European contexts, but seemed to have played out in a very specific way in the colonial context. Secondly, I realised that the playing of Western music,¹ and specifically the ability to read musical notation (especially staff notation, which is considered *de rigueur* in the study of Western classical music) came with certain indicators in terms of respectability politics because of the cultural meanings attached to it. My curiosity was sparked as to whether I could trace

¹ For definitions of the terms 'Western music' and 'Western classical music' see 1.2.6.

these observed meanings back to their historical origins. Thirdly, during the initial research process I was especially puzzled by the fact that (in spite of many references made to slaves playing Western instruments and repertoire in historical sources) I did not find any references to slaves playing domestic keyboard instruments in colonial Southern Africa. This of course strengthened my suspicion that domestic keyboard instruments might have been considered a cultural territory into which slaves were not allowed – a sonoric sanctum. And finally, the question arose as to how I was to reconcile this personal fascination and professional occupation with historical Western keyboard instruments with the fact that these instruments were often associated with the colonial powers and their systems of oppression and exploitation.

In my preparatory research for this study I discovered the following, very significant and over-arching, fact: during the extended colonial period in Southern Africa, the colonists (and colonial institutions) often went to great lengths, in spite of many logistical difficulties, to import keyboard instruments and transport them to very remote regions under very difficult circumstances. They were often kept very far from any urban centres, where the required skills to maintain and tune the instruments were present, and therefore the instruments were often of very little practical use. This sparked a suspicion that, firstly, these instruments were considered important for the extra-musical meanings attached to them, and secondly, that the ideological value of these instruments might have been increased by their impracticality. A further pointer to their potential significance in the colonial context is the fact that keyboard instruments were not only imported by private owners, but very often these instruments were found in the homes of powerful figures of the colonial government. Indeed, the first reference to a keyboard instrument in the Cape Colony was an account of a harpsichord, which might have been part of Jan van Riebeeck's household, played in the presence of Van Riebeeck and Sousoa, the leader of the Chainouqua ethnic group in October 1660.²

All of the above indicated to me that keyboard instruments, and especially keyboard instruments in the domestic sphere, might have played a significant role in colonial society and the colonisation process in Southern Africa. This then led me to specifically investigate the role that domestic keyboard instruments played in colonial society and the colonisation process in the Cape Colony between 1652 and 1852 with the following broad themes as a guide: domestic keyboard instruments and female respectability; keyboard instruments as a diplomatic tool and a display of technology; the 'loud' absence of evidence pointing to slaves playing domestic keyboard instruments; the totemic function of domestic keyboard instruments; and the sonoric and physical impact caused by keyboard instruments.³

1.2 RESEARCH PARAMETERS

As this thesis aims to examine the role of domestic keyboard instruments in colonial society and the colonisation process in Southern Africa, as a starting point, the terms and research parameters will be defined and demarcated in this section.

² Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1952) *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*. Edited by H.B. Thom, Translated by C.K. Johnman and A. Ravenscroft. Vol. 3. Cape Town, Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema. p. 279

³ Whilst this investigation was to a great extent inspired by my quest to understand my own position relating to Western keyboard instruments in a post-colonial context, my study does not adopt a comprehensive self-reflective ethnographical approach (see 1.4 – Research Methodology and Design).

1.2.1 Domestic

For a thorough exploration of the terms 'domestic' and 'domesticity' see McKeon's *The Secret History of Domesticity*.⁴ In the context of this study 'domestic' refers to the home environment, but does not exclude social gatherings of a more public nature that occur in these domestic spaces. 'Domestic keyboard instruments' refers to instruments found and used in these domestic spaces as opposed to spaces intended for public concerts and public religious ceremonies.

1.2.2 Keyboard instrument

For the purposes of this study a keyboard instrument is defined as a musical instrument operated by the player by means of a keyboard, where a 'key' is defined as a 'balanced lever which when depressed by the finger either operates a valve to admit air to a pipe or reed, or mechanically energizes (strikes or plucks) a tuned string'.⁵

Keyboard instruments can be divided into two categories: stringed keyboard instruments and keyboard instruments relying on air flow to produce sound.

Stringed keyboard instruments can in turn be divided into two sub-categories: plucked keyboard instruments (harpsichords, spinets and virginals) and struck keyboard instruments (clavichords and pianos). For a concise and thorough description of the characteristics of these instruments see Waitzman's *Early Keyboard Instruments: The Benton Fletcher Collection at Fenton House*.⁶

Instruments relying on air flow to produce sound consist of organs (including regals, positive organs and portative organs)⁷ and reed organs (harmoniums).⁸ For the purposes of this thesis this category does not include portable⁹ instruments with a key mechanism such as the various types of accordions.¹⁰

Combination instruments of the claviorganum type will be described as such.

1.2.3 Colonialism

In 1652 van Riebeeck came to the Cape with instructions to found a refreshment station to supply passing ships of the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, hereafter

⁴ McKeon, Michael. (2007) *The Secret History of Domesticity*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

⁵ Bate, Philip. (2001) 'Key'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000014943?rskey=1OoZIL&result=6> Accessed: 20 November 2020.

⁶ Waitzman, Mimi. (2003) *Early Keyboard Instruments: The Benton Fletcher Collection at Fenton House*. London: The National Trust.

⁷ Owen, Barbara, Williams, Peter and Bicknell, Stephen. (2001) 'Organ'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000044010?rskey=n7Z5nz&result=5> Accessed: 3 December 2019.

⁸ Owen, Barbara. (2001) 'Reed organ'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000043321?rskey=si03hu&result=1> Accessed: 28 February 2020.

⁹ Portable: held up by the body in the playing position, rather than resting on a stand, table or free standing internal structure.

¹⁰ Harrington, Helmi Strahl and Kubik, Gerhard. (2001) 'Accordion'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000046180?rskey=HTbxoO&result=1> Accessed: 20 November 2020.

referred to as the VOC) at the Cape of Good Hope with fresh food and water. Within a decade after the founding of the refreshment station it reached a level of independence not originally intended by the VOC. It did so for three reasons: the release of some of the VOC employees who were given *free burgher* status, the import of slaves from other Dutch colonies, and the continuous claiming of land at the expense of the indigenous pastoralists, who were present at the Cape prior to the founding of the refreshment station.¹¹

During the turmoil resulting from the French Revolution, Great Britain occupied the Cape in 1795 to prevent it from falling into the hands of the French. The Dutch regained the Cape following the Treaty of Amiens in 1803, but by 1806 the British claimed the Cape back. It remained a British colony until 1910 when it became part of the Union of South Africa.

According to Veracini,¹² the term *colony* can have mainly two connotations: 'a political body that is dominated by an exogenous agency' and 'an exogenous entity that reproduces itself in a given environment'. He goes on to say that the factor that brings both meanings together is that in both cases the term *colony* 'implies the localised ascendancy of an external element'.¹³ In this study the term *colony* will be used in both these senses – in the case of the early Dutch settlement the second connotation would be applicable, whilst the first connotation will be appropriate in reference to the later British colonial period. The term *colonial* can also refer to settler colonialism in this study, where settler colonialism is defined as follows:

Settler colonialism is routinely and rightly distinguished from imperial expansion undertaken for military advantage or trade, for in such cases imperial overlords often concern themselves as little as possible with land seizure or internal governance, seeking instead to find and work through reliable indigenous partners or chartered companies. The presence of a settler population intent on making a territory their permanent home while continuing to enjoy metropolitan living standards and political privileges creates a quite different dynamic [...] in the United States, South Africa, Australia and elsewhere, settlers sought to construct communities bounded by ties of ethnicity and faith in what they persistently defined as virgin or empty land. Indeed, insofar as there was a logic to their approach to the indigenous populations, it was a logic of elimination and not exploitation: they wished less to govern indigenous peoples or to enlist them in their economic ventures than to seize their land and push them beyond an ever-expanding frontier of settlement.¹⁴

In summary: parts of present-day South Africa were under colonial rule for 258 years.¹⁵ In this thesis a shorter time period within the larger 258-year colonial time frame will be demarcated for study (see 1.2.4), and geographical demarcations will be indicated in 1.2.5.

1.2.4 Time period

The time period this thesis focuses on starts on 6 April 1652: not for the apparent reason that this was the date of the arrival of the first Europeans who intended to create a permanent settlement at

¹¹ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers. p. 33.

¹² Veracini, Lorenzo. (2010) *Settler Colonialism – A Theoretical Overview*. Chippenham and Eastbourne: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 2–3.

¹³ Veracini, Lorenzo. (2010) *Settler Colonialism – A Theoretical Overview*. p. 3.

¹⁴ Elkins, Caroline and Pedersen, Susan (eds.). (2005) *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Routledge. p. 2.

¹⁵ For a thorough exploration of the Southern African colonial history in relation to music making, see Chapter 2.

the Cape, but rather for the fact that one of the items that van Riebeeck's company probably brought with them was a European keyboard instrument, the type of instrument which lies at the core of this study (see 1.1).

Concerning the cut-off date for this thesis: from the second decade of the 19th century onwards there was pressure from certain factions within the Cape Colony for a certain level of governance independent from Britain, because of their disillusionment with the autocratic ruling style of Lord Charles Somerset (Governor, 1814–1826) and their belief that they could deal more effectively with their racial problems on the Eastern frontier than a British governor could. The British government reacted to this by making concessions in 1825 and 1834 in putting a system in place where nominated colonists formed part of a council which the governor had to consult in decisions. There was a complete breakdown of this system in 1849 when, at the attempt of the British to offload a shipload of British convicts at the Cape, all the factions of the white population stood together – a rare occurrence – in protest. The government had to yield. This incident played an important role in setting the wheels in motion for the British government to provide the Cape Colony with a bicameral parliament in 1853.¹⁶ This parliament could legislate on domestic matters, whilst a British veto could still be exercised.¹⁷

Hence the time period for this study ends in 1852, the year before the bicameral parliament was implemented, which brought on a significant change in the functioning of the Cape Colony. This cut-off date also pre-dates the discovery of diamonds to the north of the Orange River in the late 1860s, which brought about a dramatic change in the character of colonial society in Southern Africa.¹⁸

1.2.5 Spatial demarcation

This study is concerned with the Cape Colony (with Cape Town as the main urban centre), and the special demarcation adheres to the borders of the Cape Colony (albeit often very vague) at the various stages of its expansion. The term 'Cape Colony' is used generically for all of the various systems of power that governed this geographical expression during the course of its existence: under VOC rule (1652–1795), under British rule (1795–1803), under the rule of the Batavian Republic (1803–1806), and under British rule once again from 1806 onwards.

This study is not concerned with other colonial expressions outside of the Cape Colony such as the Natal Republic (1839–1843), the Colony of Natal (founded in 1843) and the South African Republic (founded in 1852), nor with the intentional movement of peoples beyond the borders of the Cape Colony in order to avoid colonial rule, such as the Afrikaner Great Trek (1836–1854). For the purposes of this study the Swellendam Republic (founded on 17 June 1795 and incorporated under British colonial reign on 4 November 1795) is throughout its existence considered as part of the Cape Colony, not only because of its brief existence, but also because of its central location within the Cape Colony.

¹⁶ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 63.

¹⁷ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 64.

¹⁸ Ross, Robert. (2009) *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750–1870*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 8.

1.2.6 'Western' music vs 'Western classical' music

The terms 'Western music' or 'Western instrument' refer to music or instruments that relate to, or originated in, countries or cultural spaces associated with the Western world. This can either refer to music from the 'classical' tradition (see below) or to numerous folk or popular music traditions with roots in the Western world.

'Western classical music' refers to music from the Western art music tradition, which stretches from Mediaeval times to the present day, and is strongly associated with musical notation and a sense of a historical continuum, which resulted in canonic practices since the 19th century. 'Western classical music' is often referred to in common parlance as 'classical music' or 'art music'.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION, OBJECTIVE AND RATIONALE

1.3.1 Research question and objective

The main focus of this study is to trace the history and usage of domestic keyboard instruments in the Cape Colony from 1652 until 1852, and to bring to light the role that these instruments played in colonial society and in the colonisation process in the Cape Colony.

Chapter 2 sketches the broader historical, social and cultural context within which domestic music making involving keyboard instruments took place in the Cape Colony. Chapter 3 presents an overview of the distribution of domestic keyboard instruments in the Cape Colony as well as historical evidence about the situations in which they were located and used. This chapter also describes importation and building trends during the time this study focuses on. The goal is not to compile a comprehensive catalogue of all instruments imported into or built in the Cape Colony, but rather to identify general trends. This chapter also sheds light on the various types of keyboard instruments that could be found in domestic settings in the Cape Colony, and examine the position and importance of these instruments in the colonial domestic setup.

Chapter 4 draws attention to the types of repertoire that would have been played on these instruments, and examine the presence (or often absence) of sheet music on premises where keyboard instrument were found in a domestic context.

The concluding chapter of this thesis (Chapter 5) contextualises the historical evidence concerning domestic keyboard instruments in the Southern African colonial context (as outlined in Chapters 2, 3 and 4) within the broader framework of historical and cultural meanings of keyboard instruments. This interpretation is then used to show that domestic keyboard instruments played a significant role in defining a cultural identity in colonial society, and contributed considerably to the colonisation process in a variety of ways. Chapter 5 also highlights *how* domestic keyboard instruments were involved in these processes. It does so by examining the cultural meanings attached to keyboard instruments in other contexts, and ascertaining how these meanings were played out, and sometimes transformed or enhanced, in the Southern African colonial context.¹⁹

¹⁹ A note to the reader: Due to the diverse nature of the contents of the chapters I suggest a non-linear reading approach. If the reader has knowledge of the general history of colonial Southern Africa, then I suggest to start

To my knowledge research on the significance of domestic keyboard instruments in the Southern African colonial context and the role they played in the colonisation process has not yet been undertaken by other researchers in Southern Africa, or further abroad.

1.3.2 Rationale for this research

The very valid question might be asked why it is necessary to write about the history of Western classical music in Southern Africa, especially since Western classical music has for much of the 20th century been the primary focus of study at Southern African tertiary music institutions and that ‘music in all of its rich diversity does not live in our South African institutions of higher learning’.²⁰ Focusing on a very specific theme of this thesis, which involves musical instruments from the Western classical realm, might seem like strengthening the idea of ‘musical silos that still exist between essentialist notions of ‘Western art music’ or ‘African music’ or ‘Popular music’ or ‘Jazz’.²¹

Firstly, the answer lies in *how* the history of Western classical music in Southern Africa was written as well as in *why* the history of Western classical music has been such a strong focus of study. As historiography itself is in constant flux, it is important to constantly re-evaluate the way we perceive, think about, and represent history. This is especially relevant to the context of Southern Africa, and South Africa specifically, where the political landscape has changed so dramatically since the mid-1990s (and is still rapidly changing), and with it ways of looking at and thinking about history and history writing. This is at the core of why I think it is important to constantly re-write the history of Western music in Southern Africa. The rest of this section will serve as an illustration, on the basis of examples of source material encountered in the research process for this thesis, of the above point.

There seems to have been a great surge in music-historical research conducted at tertiary institutions in South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s. A few typical thesis and dissertation titles read: *Die Musiekgeskiedenis van Wes-Transvaal 1838–1960*,²² *Die Musieklewe van Pietermaritzburg 1850–1902*,²³ *Die Musieklewe van Stellenbosch 1679–1950*,²⁴ and *Die Musieklewe van Swellendam 1743 tot 1975*.²⁵ In spite of the titles that sound all-encompassing, most of these historical studies focus not only mostly on Western music making, but they also present the research in such a way that creates the impression that very few other modes of music (in other words ‘non-Western’) making took place. Jan Bouws (1902–1978) states in the introduction to his book *Solank daar musiek is...*

with Chapters 3 and 4 (with detailed information about domestic keyboard instruments from primary sources). If the reader has a good grasp of the history of Western music in colonial Southern Africa, I would advise to start with Chapter 5, and refer back to previous chapters when necessary. For the reader whose main interest is the intersection between keyboard instruments and colonialism, I recommend to read Chapters 2 and 5, and refer back to Chapters 3 and 4 if more detail is required. Readers that would like to build further on the primary source material gathered in this thesis, may want to start with Chapters 3 and 4, as well as the appendices with thorough listings of primary source material used during the course of this study.

²⁰ Africa Open Institute. <https://aoinstitute.ac.za/philosophy/> Accessed: 28 November 2020.

²¹ Africa Open Institute. <https://aoinstitute.ac.za/philosophy/> Accessed: 28 November 2020.

²² Voorendyk, Lavinia. (1971) *Die Musiekgeskiedenis van Wes-Transvaal 1838-1960*. Unpublished Masters thesis. Potchefstroom: University for Christian Higher Education, Potchefstroom.

²³ Van der Spuy, Herman Hubert. (1975) *Die Musieklewe van Pietermaritzburg 1850-1902*. Unpublished Doctoral thesis. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.

²⁴ Van Blerk, Benita Elizabeth. (1986) *Die Musieklewe van Stellenbosch 1679-1950*. 3vols. Unpublished Doctoral thesis. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.

²⁵ Marais, Elizabeth Margaretha. (1989) *Die Musieklewe van Swellendam 1743 tot 1975*. Unpublished Masters thesis. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.

about the musical landscape (*musieklewe*) in Southern African between 1652 and 1982 that ‘saam met die stigters van die nedersetting aan die Kaap die Goeie Hoop het die musiekbeoefening gekom’,²⁶ thereby explicitly indicating that the history of music making in Southern Africa started with the music that was practised by the Western settlers and colonists.

Most of the above-mentioned studies present a very narrow perspective on the history of colonial Southern Africa: even as late as 1992, in the seminal work on historical organs and organ builders in South Africa, Albert Troskie’s *Pyporrels in Suid-Afrika*, the first chapter begins with the phrase: ‘Vir ’n anderhalwe eeu sedert die volksplanting in 1652...’.²⁷ The use of the word ‘volksplanting’ implies that the Westerners arrived in Southern Africa and found a space devoid of any humans (or that the humans living there were not worth mentioning). Chris Walton addresses the state of musicological research under apartheid in a rather direct way: ‘For one thing, critical thought was not something encouraged under the apartheid regime, which hampered musicology in South Africa for a long time (or at least deflected it in directions deemed more “harmless”)’.²⁸ He goes on to say that the ‘ostensibly “apolitical” nature of absolute music under apartheid meant that it never became a subject of sustained political or literary debate’. Stephanus Muller also addresses the point that Western classical music during apartheid was seen as an art form somehow devoid of any context within the larger South African artistic and political landscape. Referring to a correspondence between Arnold van Wyk and Anton Hartman in 1960 – in which no mention is made of the significant political events that took place in that year (including the Sharpsville massacre) – Muller states that these two white musicians ‘wie se gemeenskaplike wêreld – die een van Westerse kunsmusiek – in hierdie tyd meer verwyderd as enige van die ander kunste gestaan het teenoor die sosiale en politieke konteks van hulle tyd en plek’.²⁹

Muller extends the argument by stating ‘dat die bevordering van Westerse kunsmusiek *de facto* ’n bestendige en komplementerende funksie ten opsigte van apartheidsideologie sou speel in die leeftyd van Hartman en Van Wyk, is nie te betwis nie. Dat hierdie politieke funksies versterk is deur die “kunsmusiekbedryf” outonom van politiek te verbeel, is eweneens voor die hand liggend.’³⁰

With the above points I do not aim to discredit all musicologists working in South Africa during apartheid, but I would rather like to convey that many of the sources dealing with the history of Western music in South Africa written during this time were written with a political bias, trying to prove that specifically Afrikaners were a noble and cultured people with an affinity with, even a natural disposition for, Western classical music. The quotation below from 1984 it explicitly states that ‘abstract art music’ (*abstrakte toonkuns*) was one of the important ingredients in forming the identity of the Afrikaners, since the victory of the Nationalists in 1948:

Die jare dertig was die groot kulturele voorspel tot die Afrikaanse oorname van die regering in 1948. Sommige van die motiewe daarin verwerk was die Ossewatrek, die

²⁶ Bouws, Jan. (1982) *Solank daar musiek is...* Cape Town: Tafelberg. p. 3.

²⁷ Troskie, Albert. (1992) *Pyporrels in Suid-Afrika*. Cape Town: Tafelberg. p. 1.

²⁸ Walton, Chris. (2009) ‘Secret Agent Man? Verdere gedagtes oor die korrespondensie tussen Hartman en Van Wyk’. *Musicus*. Vol. 37. Issue 2. p. 3.

²⁹ Muller, Stephanus. (2009) ‘Gedagtes oor die korrespondensie tussen Anton Hartman en Arnold van Wyk, 1949–1981’. *Musicus*. Vol. 36. Issue 2. p. 45.

³⁰ Muller, Stephanus. (2009) ‘Gedagtes oor die korrespondensie tussen Anton Hartman en Arnold van Wyk, 1949–1981’. p. 47.

Reddingsdaadbond, die Ekonomiese Volkskongres, die begin van die Voortrekkerbeweging, jukskei, volkspele, die vernuwing van die Afrikaanse lettere, die opbloei van die Suid-Afrikaanse kuns en die geboorte van 'n Suid-Afrikaanse musiek: volksmusiek in 'n Volksangbundel, kerkmusiek in 'n Afrikaanse Psalm- en Gesangboek, 'n Afrikaanse liedkuns gedra deur 'n verskeidenheid van Afrikaans- en Engelssprekende komponiste, en 'n eie abstrakte toonkuns.³¹

To serve as an example of how this idea was perpetuated by a researcher, I will focus on the case of the fifteen keyboard solo pieces found in one of the Meent Borchers manuscript books (MB1 – see Chapter 4). The Meent Borchers manuscript books are among the few primary sources included in this thesis that have been the subject of scholarly study in the past: in this case by Jan Bouws. Bouws seems to have engaged with this manuscript with a preconceived intention (which intensified over the course of a number of years) to promote the idea that these pieces were the first examples of European music composed, and written down, in Southern Africa.

Bouws published six of the keyboard pieces in 1964.³² This was not a facsimile reproduction (which would have been possible seeing that thirteen of the pieces are in fair copy in the manuscript), but rather a heavily edited edition. Bouws rearranged the order of the pieces in order to pair certain minuets with each other and even transposed one of them to facilitate the pairing. He also included fingerings as well as tempo and dynamic indications. In the foreword Bouws gives brief biographical details about Borchers and then writes:

Die speelstukkie wat verwant is aan die wat in Leopold Mozart se Noteboek van 1762 voorkom, is anoniem. Het Borchers hulle self gekomponeer, of miskien tydens sy studentetyd in Groningen leer ken en afgeskrywe?³³

This speculation that these pieces were composed in the Cape Colony (and by Borchers) was often repeated with increasing certainty until it almost came to be accepted as a fact. To illustrate: in September 1964 Bouws repeats the same speculation with an heightened level of certainty in an article for the *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe*:

Die gebruik van die 'Murky'-basse kan 'n aanduiding wees dat die stukke deur 'n dilettant – ds. Borchers self? – gemaak is, hoewel die begeleidingsfiguur ook by komponiste soos J.S. Bach en G.Ph. Telemann voorkom.³⁴

In 1966, in the published version of his PhD thesis, Bouws again repeats the assumption with more conviction:

Die enigste musiek ten opsigte waarvan 'n sterk vermoede bestaan dat dit vóór die eeuwisseling deur 'n amateur gekomponeer is, is die vyftien anonieme [sic] kort speelstukke vir klavesimbel of klavier wat in die eerste van die twee manuskripboeke van ds. Meent Borchers opgeteken is. Die gebruik van oktaafparallele, so ook die toepassing van die

³¹ Malan, Jacques Philip. (1984) 'Arnold van Wyk in kultuurhistoriese perspektief'. *Acta Academica*. Series B19. p. 11.

³² Bouws, Jan. (ed). (1964) *Ses Menuette uit 'n manuskripboek van Ds. Meent Borchers*. Cape Town: Studio Holland.

³³ Bouws, Jan (ed). (1964) *Ses Menuette uit 'n manuskripboek van Ds. Meent Borchers*. Foreword.

³⁴ Bouws, Jan. (1964) 'Ds. Meent Borchers en die Musiek'. *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe*. Jaargang 4. no. 3. p. 194.

‘Murky’-basse wys op die moontlikheid dat dit komposisies van ’n amateur is, i.c. van ds. Borchers self.³⁵

A simple music incipit search on RISM has revealed that quite a few of these pieces are found in other contemporary printed or manuscript sources, some anonymous and some by well-known composers of the day. These pieces are generally, in terms of style, very run of the mill, and were typically music that was composed and copied to be played in a domestic setting by amateurs. In spite of this, through the repetition of Jan Bouws’s assumptions, the historical importance of these pieces has become overestimated, and Bouws’s view has been quoted in other studies. To illustrate: at the end of the preface to his publication of these pieces Bouws continues:

Ons kan geredelik aanneem dat hierdie pretensielose menuette meermale in die pastorie in Dorpstraat en na 1799 in La Gratitude in dieselfde straat gespeel is. Dit verleen aan die stukke nog ’n besondere, historiese waarde, omdat hulle tot die min musiek behoort waarvan ons weet dat dit in dié dae in Suid-Afrika gespeel is.³⁶

In the same article Bouws tries to defend the political honour of Borchers by preferring an argument that someone else had written down a protest song from the 1790s in his manuscript book:

Die noteskrif van die verskillende nommers loop dermate uiteen, dat daar geen sekerheid bestaan dat alle stukke deur dieselfde hand afgeskrywe is nie. Dit verklaar miskien die aanwesigheid van die wysie van die revolusielied uit 1790, ‘Sa jira, sa jira’ in ’n versameling van iemand wat deur dr. Conradie tot die ‘Prinssgesindes’ gereken word en wat ‘bitter gekant was teen die *Nationale Conventie* en die *Vryheidsboom*’.

Chapter 4 of this study will reveal that there are many contemporary sources indicating repertoire that was played in different music-making situations during Borchers’s lifetime in the Cape Colony, and that the Borchers pieces were by no means unique. Bouws, however, elevates these pieces to something special, because they were considered a concrete signal of Western ideals taking root in South Africa. It is therefore wonderfully ironic that Bouws ends the introduction to his book *Die musieklewe van Kaapstad 1800–1850*, with the following quote by H.B. Thom from 1947:

Die tyd toe geskiedkundige navorsing in Suid-Afrika beoefen is deur ’n paar liefhebbers wat min argiefstukke maar baie mondelinge oorlewering – en miskien eweveel verbeeldingskrag – gebruik het, is gelukkig al lankal verby.³⁷

In terms of repertoire it is worth stating that this study to a great extent focuses not on extraordinary musical works (or *masterpieces* as they would be referred to in canonic practice), but rather everyday pieces – *Gebrauchsmusik*. In writing about the history of Western music in Southern Africa, very few writers have followed the ‘from the bottom up’ or ‘history from below’ approach of the revisionist school of South African history writing: putting the spotlight on ‘ordinary people’

³⁵ Bouws, Jan. (1966) *Die Musieklewe van Kaapstad, 1800–1850 en sy verhouding tot die musiekkultuur van Wes-Europa*. Balkema: Cape Town. p. 42.

³⁶ Bouws, Jan (ed). (1964) *Ses Menuette uit ’n manuskripboek van Ds. Meent Borchers*. Foreword.

³⁷ Bouws, Jan. (1966) *Die Musieklewe van Kaapstad 1800–1850*. Cape Town/Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema.

rather than approaching history from the perspective of the rulers.³⁸ Wessel Visser gives a concise summary of this movement and its proponents in his paper *Trends in South African historiography and the present state of historical research*.³⁹ Even though this approach has been around in general history writing since the 1970s, it was sadly slow to find its way into writing the history of Western music in Southern Africa. To a great extent the aim of this thesis is to establish what the domestic repertoire, domestic instruments and domestic music-making situations meant within the colonial context in which they took place. Focusing on the domestic repertoire as described above (and the instruments associated with it), this study can be seen as adhering to the 'bottom up' approach in order to 'recover the experiences of those who had, until then, slipped through the cracks of historical narratives, and in particular the marginalized and dispossessed'.⁴⁰

The second rationale for embarking on this study entails a very practical reason: the increased availability of sources. Especially in the past 20 years many more sources have become available or more easily accessible because of new technologies involved in the preservation of information and opportunities to access it. An example which is especially applicable to this study is the work of TANAP (Towards A New Age of Partnership), which embarked on a project transcribing VOC archives, which made the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber available in digital format. In order to access these inventories 20 years ago one had to travel to archival repositories in Indonesia, India, Sri Lanka, South Africa or the Netherlands to sift through records on brittle paper, deciphering 17th-century Dutch shorthand. Whilst this does not make the records inaccessible, it does limit the amount of time one can spend with the material and also the speed at which the researcher can work. The Inventories of the Orphan Chamber can be browsed by a simple keyword search and translations of the material are available.

The above point links to a further important element in the practice of any researcher, especially where archival research is concerned: serendipity. The process of finding relevant and interesting material by luck can of course be enhanced by developing an instinctive feeling for where to look in a disorganised archive. This is especially applicable to certain South African archives, where there are hundreds of meters of shelf length of uncatalogued material. Two manuscripts that are integral to my research – the two Heathcote manuscript books (see Chapter 4) – were found in an uncatalogued box in the Western Cape Archives and Records Service in Roeland Street in Cape Town. These manuscript books play an integral role in this study, as it emerged during the research process that they could also be linked to probably the oldest playable organ in Southern Africa.

1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

1.4.1 Research stance

The research approach for this thesis relates to the idea that musicology is 'a field of knowledge having as its object the investigation of the art of music as a physical, psychological, aesthetic, and

³⁸ Visser, Wessel. (2004) *Trends in South African historiography and the present state of historical research*. Unpublished conference paper, Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden. p. 11.

³⁹ Visser, Wessel. (2004) *Trends in South African historiography and the present state of historical research*. Unpublished conference paper, Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden.

⁴⁰ Visser, Wessel. (2004) *Trends in South African historiography and the present state of historical research*. p. 11.

cultural phenomenon'.⁴¹ This rather broad definition allows my work to position itself with its feet planted in two seemingly opposing musicological traditions: on the one side a practice which is considered positivist in certain strains of thinking, and on the other side connecting to ways of practising musicology which evolved during the last two decades of the 20th century.⁴² The purely historical part of this study could certainly be classified under the first of the two categories above, but the interpretation of these historical findings will be undertaken through the lens of later musicological conviction that the study of music should not only focus on the notes (or in this case the instruments) themselves, but that it should take into consideration that music is being played and consumed within a specific cultural and social context.

This study explicitly rejects the idea of the objective of history as being to focus on 'the product of great men, great works, great traditions or great innovations'.⁴³ A conscious choice has been made to focus on domestic keyboard instruments and music used for domestic music making, which is often considered to be material on a small scale and therefore of lesser consequence. The duality that lies at the core of my study is that fact that these instruments, and the music that was intended to be played on them, took on very strong political and cultural meanings in the colonial context. My aim is therefore to take a brave and perhaps unorthodox research stance rather than joining the ranks of musical thinkers who 'travel at a respectful distance behind the latest chariots (or bandwagons) of intellectual life in general'.⁴⁴

1.4.2 Methodologies

This qualitative study uses the methods of data collection and analysis that are associated with, and suit, this research paradigm. In order to achieve the research goals a wide range of methodologies are utilized; of these, one of the primary methodologies is archival research (both unpublished material and publications contemporary to the period covered in this study). Here the units of analysis, i.e. that which is specifically studied, are social artefacts (defined as any product of social beings or their behaviour).⁴⁵ In this case the units of analysis are historical documents and extant instruments.

Chapter 2 presents a historical, social and cultural context within which the historical evidence from primary sources in Chapters 3 and 4 will be investigated. This chapter relies strongly on secondary general South African history sources, reliable secondary sources dealing with various kinds of music making during the time period applicable to this thesis, as well as organological sources. These secondary sources are supplemented with references from the primary source materials, in places where it was felt necessary to bring them closer to the domain of keyboard instruments.

⁴¹ Davison, Archibald Thompson et al. (1955) 'Report of the Committee on Graduate Studies'. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*. Vol. 8. No. 2. p. 153.

⁴² This includes gender and feminist approaches and a focus on the role of women in Western classical music.

⁴³ Duckles, Vincent and Pasler, Jann. (2001) 'Musicology'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000046710?rskey=KOve8w&result=1> Accessed: 3 January 2013.

⁴⁴ Kerman, Joseph. (1985) *Musicology*. London: Fontana Press. p. 17.

⁴⁵ Babbie, Earl. (2010). *The Practice of Social Research*. Wadsworth: Belmont. p. 103.

Chapter 3 serves as an overview of the distribution of domestic keyboard instruments in the Cape Colony, describes the types of keyboard instrument that were present, and presents historical evidence about the situations in which they were located and used. It also describes importation and building trends in the Cape Colony during the period on which this thesis focuses. This chapter draws almost exclusively on primary source material, which includes the following: contemporary written sources such as travel journals, diaries and memoirs, the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber, advertisements, auction lists and accounts of domestic concerts found in early newspapers, as well as extant instruments.

In approaching the contemporary written sources, the starting point was to find references to keyboard instruments in secondary sources, and then verify them by returning to the primary source material. This provided a course that indicated which types of primary source material might be of use. Consequently I consulted the complete catalogue of reprints of historical sources (including diaries, journals, travel journals and letters) of Historical Publications Southern Africa (formerly the Van Riebeeck Society). The special collections of the National Library of South Africa (Cape Town Campus) as well as those of the University of Cape Town also proved very fruitful, as often the first editions of the sources could be found in these collections. Since one of the methodologies for this thesis was to read as much primary source material as possible, I embarked on this mammoth task to the best of my abilities. But the sheer volume of the material means this thesis cannot present a complete catalogue of all references to domestic music making involving keyboard instruments during colonial times, and it might be possible that researchers in the future come across many more references of this kind.

The Inventories of the Orphan Chamber were searched by means of a keyword search for a great number of variants of piano (*forte piano*, *piano forte*, *piano*, *klavier*, *clavier*), harpsichord (*harpsichord*, *spinet*, *espinette*, *virginals*, *virginal*, *clavier*, *klavesimbel*, *cembalo*, *clavecin*), organ (*organ*, *orgel*) and reed organs (*reed organ*, *harmonium*, *melodeon*, *vocalion*, *seraphine*, *orgue expressif*, *cabinet organ* or *American organ*, *Aeolina*, *Euphonion*, *Mélodiflute*, *Organochordium* and *Physharmonika*). Each hit (mention) was then evaluated within the context in which it was found, as the terminology used for various types of keyboard instruments depends on their historical context. For example, the term ‘*clavier*’ can refer to either a struck keyboard instrument or a plucked keyboard instrument. The date of the reference would then indicate whether pianos were already commonly in use, or not yet invented, or whether it was beyond the time when harpsichords were in common use. Similarly the term ‘*organ*’ was often used to refer to types of reed organs (with free vibrating reeds), but reed organs became commonly used only from the 19th century onwards, which indicates that the term ‘*organ*’ used in the 18th century probably referred to an instrument where the sound is produced by either flue or reed pipes (with resonators).

A thorough search was made of early newspapers at the Cape, but it was impossible for the purposes of this study to make a complete catalogue of all the mentions of keyboard instruments in all the newspapers. This is because of the large number of publications and the practical difficulties around the research environment in question. None of the early newspaper publications at the Cape Town campus of the National Library of South Africa are available digitally. The only complete catalogue of early newspapers available on microfilm can be found in a handwritten classwork book, compiled by a librarian in the 1980s. Whether or not this is reliable is difficult to ascertain. The list of newspapers on microfilm that is normally presented to the public is a computer print-out that

contains merely a fraction of the classwork book. After months of research at the library, using the print-out as a guide, one of the librarians presented me with the handwritten book which was offered as a complete catalogue. There are no other copies of this book kept at the library. Most of the early newspapers are available to the public or researchers on microfilm. However, the microfilm readers are in an extremely poor condition with broken lamps and other technical difficulties, something that slows down the research process considerably and certainly has an influence on accuracy and thoroughness.

During the course of writing Chapter 3, when dealing with organological matters, the most relevant and thorough secondary sources were consulted on the specific instrument type in question.

Chapter 4 provides evidence and examples of keyboard repertoire that was played in the domestic context in colonial Southern Africa. This chapter draws strongly on archival research as a methodology, seeing that all of the manuscripts mentioned in this study are found in public archives, apart from one manuscript which is in a private collection. Given the general staff shortages at South African archival repositories, and therefore many meters of shelf length of uncatalogued material, the manuscripts featured in this thesis should be seen only as selected examples of the types of repertoire that were engaged with in a domestic setting. I certainly do not mean to imply that these are the only manuscripts of their kind from their respective periods, and there might be many more lurking in boxes of uncatalogued material. An attempt to establish authorship of the musical text for all of the music found in the manuscripts was made through a RISM music incipit search.⁴⁶ The other two main types of source material came from reviews and advertisements in early newspapers, as well as from the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber. Concerning the material in early newspapers: the same problems as described in the methodology for Chapter 3 were experienced, as these two processes (searching for references to instruments and references to repertoire) took place simultaneously.

In order to search for repertoire in the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber, the contents of the properties where instruments could be found were thoroughly scanned for any evidence of sheet music. A generic search for scores were also conducted, including for references to music, sheet music, *muziek* and *bladmuziek*.

In Chapter 5 the historical background provided in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 is used to prove that domestic keyboard instruments played a significant role in defining a cultural identity in colonial society as well as contributing significantly to the colonisation process. As stated above, this dimension was investigated through the lens of five main themes: domestic keyboard instruments and female respectability; keyboard instruments as a diplomatic tool and a display of technology; the 'loud' absence of evidence pointing to slaves playing keyboard instruments; the totemic function of domestic keyboard instruments; and the sonoric and physical impact caused by keyboard instruments. For each of these themes, a thorough overview was made of secondary source material relating to the respective themes in a broader context. Because this study is, as far as I could determine, unique in focusing on the cultural meaning of domestic keyboard instrument in the Southern African colonial context, most of the secondary source material focus on related topics, either in other colonial contexts or in the countries of origin of the colonial powers in the Cape

⁴⁶ Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM). <http://www.rism.info/home.html>. Accessed: April 2017.

Colony. The historical data from Chapters 2, 3 and 4 were then evaluated and interpreted through the lens of these broader contexts.

It is important to note that Chapter 5 serves as a culmination and conclusion to this study, and no separate concluding chapter is presented.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.5.1 Primary sources

Since one of the methodologies for this research was to read as much historical material as possible, a strong focus was placed on finding and referencing primary source material. In the case where a primary source was mentioned in a secondary source, the aim was to refer back to the primary source. When unsubstantiated historical facts were encountered in secondary sources, the aim was to corroborate them with references to primary source material, if possible. Chapters 3 and 4 drew primarily on primary source material, and as mentioned in 1.4, material from secondary sources was supplemented by primary source material described in Chapter 2.

At the onset of this study I initially assumed that I could rely quite heavily on secondary sources in terms of the history of Western music in Southern Africa. However, because of the problematic nature of many of these sources (mentioned earlier in this chapter) I had to revert to primary sources, even in areas which I thought had already been quite thoroughly researched. This, together with the copious volumes of primary source material (especially 19th-century sources), made it not possible to present a thorough catalogue of all references to domestic keyboard instruments or domestic music-making situations involving keyboard instruments in primary sources. Consequently, I rather present an overview of such references in a way which I believe is representative of a variety of primary sources, temporally spread out evenly during the historical period relevant to this study. There is indeed optimal scope for future researchers to compile thorough catalogues of information from primary sources on music making in general in colonial Southern Africa. This will help in developing a more complete image of the nature of the musical landscape (concerning various musics) at various stages of colonial expansion. This type of research will undeniably be hindered by the difficulties encountered in South African archival repositories, described earlier in this chapter, and will therefore be a very time-consuming task.

1.5.1.1 Inventories of the Orphan Chamber at the Cape of Good Hope

The Orphan Chamber is an organisational body that has been in existence in the Netherlands since the late 16th century. It was extended to Batavia in 1624 and to the Cape in 1673, where it operated during the VOC period (until 1795), during the first British occupation (1795–1803), under the Batavian government (1803 to 1806) and well into the second British occupation (until 1834).⁴⁷ After 1834 private companies took over from the Orphan Chamber as executor of estates.⁴⁸ The Orphan Chamber was responsible for the ‘making of inventories, acting as the guardian of minors and

⁴⁷ TEPC Transcription Team, Cape Town. Introduction to the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber. http://www.tanap.net/content/activities/documents/Orphan_Chamber-Cape_of_Good_Hope/introduction/01.htm Accessed: 20 January 2019. p. 6.

⁴⁸ Introduction to the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber. p. 42.

administering the minors' property until they came of age'.⁴⁹ The inventories list the possessions of deceased estates (including detailed lists of the contents of houses) and therefore provide a very insightful glance into the everyday lives of people at the Cape during the abovementioned periods. The inventories and 'Vendurollen'⁵⁰ of the Orphan Chamber are stored in the Cape Archives Repository, Roeland Street, Cape Town. The *Transcription of Estate Papers at the Cape of Good Hope* project (TEPC) made the lists available on CD; this 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.⁵¹ The transcriptions of these records by the TEPC project can also be found on the TANAP website.⁵² A catalogue of all the references to instruments and sheet music in the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber can be found in Appendix 1.

1.5.1.2 Contemporary written sources, which include travel journals, diaries and memoirs

There are several contemporary written sources, written either by foreign travellers or by inhabitants of the Cape Colony. These include travel journals, diaries and memoirs.

Jan Van Riebeeck had to keep a daily journal (*Daghregister*) in his official capacity and this has been reprinted by the Historical Publications Southern Africa (formerly the Van Riebeeck Society) in three volumes in the 1950s. The first references to a keyboard instrument in Southern Africa occurs in these diaries (in the first volume of the reprinted edition).⁵³ Diaries kept in a personal capacity by inhabitants of Cape Town include those of Johanna Duminy (1757–1807)⁵⁴ and Lady Ann Barnard.⁵⁵ Otto Frederick Mentzel,⁵⁶ a resident of Cape Town, wrote a detailed description of a variety of aspects of a historical, topographical and economic nature, including several references to music-making. These include an important description of the first locally built organ, commissioned by Governor Jan de la Fontaine (see Chapter 2).

⁴⁹ Introduction to the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber. p. 39.

⁵⁰ The inventories list the possessions in a deceased estate and the *vendurollen* (auction rolls) list the items sold, names of purchasers, and the prices paid at public auctions of deceased estates.

⁵¹ Introduction to the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber. p. 2.

⁵² Inventories of the Orphan Chamber of the Cape of Good Hope. <http://databases.tanap.net/mooc/> Accessed: 20 September 2010.

⁵³ Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1952) *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*. Edited by H.B. Thom, Translated by C.K. Johnman and A. Ravenscroft. Vol. 1. Cape Town, Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema. p. XXVI.

⁵⁴ Franken, Johan Lambertus Machiel. (ed.). (1938) *Duminy-Dagboeke*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck-Vereniging.

⁵⁵ Lenta, Margaret and Le Cordeur, Basil (eds.). (1999) *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard 1799–1800*. 2 vols. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.

⁵⁶ Mentzel, Otto Frederick. (1921) *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope*. Part 1. Translated by H.J. Mandelbrote. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.

Travel journals that describe various aspects of colonial living include those by Francois le Vaillant,⁵⁷ Mary Ann Parker,⁵⁸ Cornelius de Jong,⁵⁹ Henry Lichtenstein,⁶⁰ John Campbell,⁶¹ William Burchell,⁶² M.D. Teenstra⁶³ and Robert Percival.⁶⁴ Because of the popularity of the travel journal as a genre around the turn of the 18th century,⁶⁵ most of these sources date from the end of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century. When dealing with these journals as primary source material, one has to keep in mind that they were written for a particular readership, and often incidents were related with a certain level of theatrical flair. A good example of this is Le Vaillant's journal, where there are many concerns about factual accuracy and even disputes about authorship.⁶⁶ These concerns have to be taken into account and evaluated on a case-to-case basis with each individual source.

In 1819 Michiel Christiaan Vos (1759–1825) wrote his memoirs in the form of 19 letters,⁶⁷ whilst Petrus Borchardus Borchards (1786–1871), son of Meent Borchards (1762–1830), published his memoirs in 1861 under the title *An Auto-biographical memoir*.⁶⁸ As the earlier part of these memoirs, in which material relevant to this thesis appears, was written by Petrus Borchardus Borchards at a late stage in his life, he admits in the text that it is 'drawn partly from fact and reality'.⁶⁹

1.5.1.3 Early Newspapers

The listed references from early newspapers relevant to this study start with the first edition of *The Cape Town Gazette* (16 August 1800), the first newspaper and advertising medium published at the Cape, and end in 1852, the general cut-off date for this study. Between 1800 and 1852 several references to keyboard instruments, printed music books, sheet music books and manuscript paper can be found in reviews and advertisements in newspapers in Cape Town mostly, but also other colonial settlements in the Cape Colony. In a few instances there are references to repertoire specifically for keyboard instruments or to repertoire in general. These references are taken from the following publications housed at the Cape Town campus of the National Library of South Africa:

⁵⁷ Le Vaillant, Francois. (2007) *Travels into the Interior of Africa via the Cape of Good Hope, 1781–1783*. Translated and edited by Ian Glen. Vol. 1. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.

⁵⁸ Parker, Mary Ann. (1795) *A Voyage Around the World*. London: Mr. DeBrett, Piccadilly.

⁵⁹ De Jong, Cornelius. (1802) *Reizen naar de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Ierland en Noorwegen in de Jaren 1791 tot 1797*. Vol. 1. Haarlem: Francois Bohn.

⁶⁰ Lichtenstein, Henry. (1812) *Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806*. Translated by Anne Plumtre. Vol.1. London: Henry Colburn. p. 168

⁶¹ Campbell, John. (1815) *Travels in South Africa, undertaken at the request of the Missionary Society*. London: Black and Parry.

⁶² Burchell, William John. (1822) *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*. 2 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown.

⁶³ Teenstra, M.D. (1943) *De vruchten mijner werkzaamheden, gedurende mijne reize over de Kaap de Goede Hoop, naar Java en terug, over St Helena, naar de Nederlanden (1830)*, Edited by F.C.L. Bosman. Van Riebeeck Society: Cape Town.

⁶⁴ Percival, Robert. (1804) *An account of the Cape of Good Hope*. London: Baldwin.

⁶⁵ Le Vaillant, Francois. (2007) *Travels into the Interior of Africa via the Cape of Good Hope, 1781–1783*. p. ix.

⁶⁶ Le Vaillant, Francios. (2007) *Travels into the Interior of Africa via the Cape of Good Hope, 1781–1783*. p. xlviii.

⁶⁷ Vos, Michiel Christiaan. (1824) *Merkwaardig verhaal aangaande het leven en de lotgevallen van Michiel Christiaan Vos*. Amsterdam: A.B. Saakes.

⁶⁸ Borchards, Petrus Borchardus. (1963) *An Auto-biographical Memoir*. Facsimile reproduction of 1861 first edition. Cape Town: Africana Connoisseurs Press. p. 204.

⁶⁹ Borchards, Petrus Borchardus. (1963) *An Auto-biographical Memoir*. p. 223.

The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser: Kaapsche Stads Courant en Afrikaansche Berigter,⁷⁰ *The South African Commercial Advertiser, The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, Cape Almanac*,⁷¹ *The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, De Zuid-Afrikaan, De Ware Afrikaan, The Cape Town Mail, And mirror of court and council, Het Kaapsche Grensblad, De Verzamelaar* and *Sam Sly's African Journal*. For a catalogue of references to keyboard instruments and sheet music found in early newspapers, see Appendix 2.

1.5.1.4 Unpublished manuscripts

In Chapter 4, dealing with repertoire, a substantial portion of the source material is found in unpublished music manuscripts. These are two manuscript books that belonged to Meent Borchers in the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa Archive: private collection of Meent Borchers (1762–1832), K-DIV823. One book contains songs, hymns and psalm settings, all with keyboard accompaniment, and the other the same, but with the addition of 15 pieces for solo keyboard. In this thesis they are referred to as MB1 and MB2. The complete contents of these manuscripts are listed in Appendices 3 (MB1) and 4 (MB2).

In the Western Cape Archives and Records Service in collection A804 can be found two manuscript books⁷² that contain songs with piano and/or guitar accompaniment.⁷³ Both books are bound in similar leather bindings, with a marbled front page. A804(1) is inscribed with gold embossed lettering on the front page, reading 'Ann F. Heathcote 1835' (on the first page there is an inscription that reads '10th Sept. 1835'). A804(2) does not have an inscription on the marbled front page, but on the first page of this book there is an inscription that reads 'Harriet F. Heathcote, February 1834'. The complete contents of these manuscripts are listed in Appendices 5 (Ann F. Heathcote) and 6 (Harriet F. Heathcote).

Amongst the collection of hymn books in the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa Archive (no shelf mark) another manuscript book that is relevant to this study can be found, as it contains one piece that is playable on a keyboard instrument. This manuscript originates from the Burger family from Piketberg.

In the private ownership of John Rennie, the Cape Town-based conservation architect, is a manuscript book that contains Scottish folk songs and dances. The contents of this manuscript are listed in Appendix 7.

⁷⁰ *The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser* was the first newspaper in the Cape Colony (founded on 16 August 1800 by Alexander Walker and John Robertson). The title was changed to *De Kaapsche Courant* in 1803 after the Dutch had taken the Colony from the British in 1802. After reoccupation by the British in 1806 the English title was restored, with the addition of the Dutch title: *The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser: Kaapsche Stads Courant en Afrikaansche Berigter*. In June 1826 the name changed to *The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette*. For the purposes of the study I reference the name of the publication as it stood at the time of the article quoted.

⁷¹ In the *Cape Almanac* all the advertisements (where references relevant to this chapter can be found) are found at the beginning or back of the publications as addenda and therefore no page numbers can be quoted for the extracts in this section.

⁷² A804. Donor: Mrs JP van der Merwe, 1956. Western Cape Archives and Record Services, Cape Town.

⁷³ In only four instances is the instrumentation indicated (piano and/or guitar), but the style of notation clearly indicates whether the accompaniment is meant for keyboard (a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff joined by a bracket) or guitar (treble clef only with a chordal writing style that's idiomatic for guitar).

1.5.1.5 Extant instruments

In most cases of surviving pre-1852 historical keyboard instruments which could have been used in a domestic context in South Africa it is difficult or impossible to determine the provenance of the instruments. This is because instruments that used to be in private ownership were often donated to museums and collections, or private collectors, without a clear record of the previous owners of the instruments. In the case of museums, there is often no record of who has donated the instruments to the institution. It is therefore not possible to determine where the instruments were situated during the course of their existence or indeed when they were imported. In some cases historical keyboard instruments were bought internationally and brought to Southern Africa after the time period on which this study focuses. In these cases the instruments do not have a direct relevance to this study. The most substantial collection of keyboard instruments in Southern Africa, the Hans Adler Collection of Early Instruments which belongs to the University of the Witwatersrand, falls into this category.⁷⁴

Organs which belonged to churches are often better documented, as church records are relatively well preserved by several denominations, especially in the case of the Dutch Reformed Church, where the archives were centralized at the end of the 20th century. Moving a relatively large church organ is often a complex architectural act and therefore has to go through many more bureaucratic processes which leave a paper trail, which is not the case given the relative ease of moving a domestic keyboard instrument, much like moving household furniture. Church organs are not relevant to this study, but in some cases organs which were originally meant to be used in a domestic context ended up in a church later in their life, and therefore were the subject of more thorough documentation.

As far as I could ascertain, there are no surviving examples of plucked keyboard instruments (harpsichords, spinets or virginals) that were used during colonial times, and only one surviving organ that was used in a domestic context (see Chapter 3). The most numerous surviving keyboard instruments that could have potentially been used in a domestic context are square pianos, in addition to a smaller number of grand pianos.

In light of the above the other primary sources discussed in this section allow for a more reliable representation of the number, location and nature of domestic keyboard instruments found in the Cape Colony before 1852 than the current distribution of extant instruments. I have none the less included a list of instruments currently found within the geographical region of the Cape Colony during the time period that relates to this study. It is by no means an exhaustive list, but is rather a representation of the types of instrument that could have been encountered and serves as a confirmation of and supplement to the instruments described in the other primary sources.

1.5.1.6 Iconography

In this type of study iconography would normally be an important form of source material, but in the case of the early Cape my search for iconographical evidence has to date not yet revealed any visual representations of keyboard instruments that were used in a domestic context.

⁷⁴ The Hans Adler Collection of Early Instruments. <http://hansadlercollection.blogspot.com> Accessed: 10 February 2020.

1.5.2. Secondary sources

Wessel Visser's conference paper *Trends in South African historiography and the present state of historical research*⁷⁵ helped tremendously to get a general overview of historical research on South Africa. In order to create an appropriate historical and cultural context within which to position the remaining chapters of this thesis, I consulted a variety of general South African history sources⁷⁶ whilst writing Chapter 2. These included Robert Ross's *A Concise History of South Africa*,⁷⁷ the first volume of *The Cambridge History of South Africa*,⁷⁸ Leonard Thompson's *A History of South Africa*,⁷⁹ *The Shaping of South African Society*,⁸⁰ Herman Giliomee's *Die Afrikaners*,⁸¹ as well as Karel Schoeman's *Patrisiërs & prinse: die Europese samelewing en die stigting van 'n kolonie aan die Kaap, 1619–1715*.⁸² Ross's *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750–1870*⁸³ proved to be especially useful in establishing a sense of cultural life in the Cape Colony.

Lorenzo Veracini's *Settler Colonialism – A Theoretical Overview*⁸⁴ and *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century*⁸⁵ was useful in understanding and defining colonialism, whilst Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*⁸⁶ assisted in getting a sense of colonialism in terms of world history.

Much has been written and published on the musical life of various areas in Southern Africa during colonial times (especially masters and doctoral theses during the 1970s and 1980s including those by

⁷⁵ Visser, Wessel. (2004) *Trends in South African historiography and the present state of historical research*. Unpublished conference paper, Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden.

⁷⁶ Patric Tariq Mellet's *The Lie of 1652 – A decolonised history of land* was unfortunately only published during the final stages of writing this thesis, and could not be incorporated into the historical narrative. It does however offer some invaluable perspectives on South African history, and can be consulted alongside Chapter 2 of this thesis.

⁷⁷ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. Cape Town: Cambridge University Press.

⁷⁸ Hamilton, Carolyn, Mbenga, Bernard and Ross, Robert.. (eds.) *The Cambridge History of South Africa, vol.1*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁷⁹ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers.

⁸⁰ Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (eds.) *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652–1820*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman.

⁸¹ Giliomee, Herman. (2004) *Die Afrikaners*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

⁸² Schoeman, Karel. (2008) *Patrisiërs & prinse : die Europese samelewing en die stigting van 'n kolonie aan die Kaap, 1619-1715*. Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis.

⁸³ Ross, Robert. (2009) *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750–1870*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

⁸⁴ Veracini, Lorenzo. (2010) *Settler Colonialism – A Theoretical Overview*. Chippenham and Eastbourne: Palgrave Macmillan.

⁸⁵ Elkins, Caroline and Pedersen, Susan (eds.). (2005) *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Routledge.

⁸⁶ Huntington, Samuel Phillips. (2002) *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. London: Simon & Schuster.

Johanna Groenewald,⁸⁷ Elizabeth Marais,⁸⁸ Albert Troskie,⁸⁹ Benita Van Blerk,⁹⁰ Hubert Van der Spuy,⁹¹ Lavinia Voorendyk,⁹² Anton Hartman,⁹³ C.L. Venter⁹⁴ and Jan Bouws,⁹⁵ but nothing has been written specifically on domestic keyboard instruments. In 1964 Bouws published six minuets⁹⁶ from one of the Meent Borchers manuscript books (see Chapter 4). This publication includes a historical note that gives the background of these pieces. The problematics of Bouws' historiography were discussed earlier in this chapter.

Ample research has been done on the history of the organ in Southern Africa, mostly in the context of the church, although occasionally domestic organs are mentioned. Albert Troskie's *Pyporrels in Suid-Afrika*⁹⁷ gives a thorough overview of the history of organs in Southern Africa, although the information is often not accurate. Furthermore, the historical section of Troskie's book does not reference primary sources, but rather only secondary sources, which makes it less reliable. Troskie's *The Pipe Organ Heritage of South Africa*⁹⁸ has the same problems, although it is useful when used as a catalogue of historical organs in South Africa. McIntyre published a useful booklet on historical organs in Cape Town – *Early Organs and Organists at the Cape*⁹⁹ – but since it was published in 1934, the research is often outdated. In 1958 Kirby wrote a thorough article for *The Organ*¹⁰⁰ about the William Hill organ that features quite strongly in Chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis.

The following general organological sources were also consulted: Frank Hubbard's *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*,¹⁰¹ Donald H. Boalch's *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440–1840*,¹⁰² Mimi Waitzman's *Early Keyboard Instruments: The Benton Fletcher Collection at Fenton House*,¹⁰³

⁸⁷ Groenewald, Johanna Rousseau. (1989) *A Historical Investigation into the Musical-cultural activities of the Cape South-Western Districts from 1879 to 1902*. Unpublished Masters thesis. Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth.

⁸⁸ Marais, Elizabeth Margaretha. (1989) *Die Musieklewe van Swellendam 1743 tot 1975*. Unpublished Masters thesis. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.

⁸⁹ Troskie, Albertus Jakobus Johannes [Albert]. (1969) *The Musical Life of Port Elizabeth 1875–1900*. Unpublished Masters thesis. Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth.

⁹⁰ Van Blerk, Benita Elizabeth. (1986) *Die Musieklewe van Stellenbosch 1679–1950*. 3vols. Unpublished Doctoral thesis. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.

⁹¹ Van der Spuy, Herman Hubert. (1975) *Die Musieklewe van Pietermaritzburg 1850–1902*. Unpublished Doctoral thesis. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch..

⁹² Voorendyk, Lavinia. (1971) *Die Musiekgesiedenis van Wes-Transvaal 1838–1960*. Unpublished Masters thesis. Potchefstroom: University for Christian Higher Education, Potchefstroom.

⁹³ Hartman, Anton Carlisle. (1947) *'n Oorsig van die Europese musiek in Suid-Afrika, 1652–1800*. Unpublished MA thesis. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.

⁹⁴ Venter, C.L. (1977) *Suid-Afrikaanse klaviermusiek - 'n Kultuurhistoriese en stylanalitiese studie*. Unpublished D.Mus. thesis. Potchefstroom: University for Christian Higher Education, Potchefstroom.

⁹⁵ Bouws, Jan. (1966) *Die Musieklewe van Kaapstad 1800–1850*. Cape Town/Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema.

⁹⁶ Bouws, Jan (ed). (1964) *Ses Menuette uit 'n manuskripboek van Ds. Meent Borchers*. Cape Town: Studio Holland.

⁹⁷ Troskie, Albert. (1992) *Pyporrels in Suid-Afrika*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

⁹⁸ Troskie, Albert. (2010) *The Pipe Organ Heritage of South Africa*. Port Elizabeth: self-published.

⁹⁹ McIntyre, D.G. (1934) *Early Organs and Organists at the Cape*. Cape Town: The Cape Guild of Organists.

¹⁰⁰ Kirby, Percival Robson. (1958) 'An Early Organ by William Hill'. *The Organ*. No. 150. Vol. XXXVIII. pp. 87–91.

¹⁰¹ Hubbard, Frank. (1972) *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

¹⁰² Boalch, Donald H. (1974) *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440–1840*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

¹⁰³ Waitzman, Mimi. (2003) *Early Keyboard Instruments: The Benton Fletcher Collection at Fenton House*. London: The National Trust.

Arend Jan Gierveld's *Het Nederlandse Huisorgel in de 17de en 18de eeuw*,¹⁰⁴ William Leslie Sumner's *The Organ, Its Evolution, Principles of Construction and Use*,¹⁰⁵ Cecil Clutton and Austin Niland's *The British Organ*,¹⁰⁶ Jean Perrot's *The Organ from its Invention in the Hellenistic Period to the end of the Thirteenth Century*,¹⁰⁷ as well as Don Bédos de Celles's seminal organ-building treatise from 1766, *L'art du facteur d'orgues*.¹⁰⁸ The articles on organs,¹⁰⁹ reed organs¹¹⁰ and the hydraulis¹¹¹ found on *Grove Music Online* were also consulted.

For genealogical information regarding Meent Borchers I relied strongly on Claude Bennett Borchers's *Genealogy of the Borchers Family*¹¹² and S.B.I. Veltkamp's unpublished doctoral thesis *Meent Borchers: Predikant in overgangstijd (Jemgum 1762–1832)*.¹¹³ The 1861 autobiographical memoir of Meent Borchers's son, Petrus Borchardus Borchers, also provided valuable insights into the life of Meent Borchers.¹¹⁴ This is not a very reliable source, however, as it was written at the end of Petrus Borchardus Borchers's life and he states that some part of the book is 'drawn partly from fact and reality'. For genealogical information about John Rennie's family, and to verify the information that he conveyed to me in person, the website *1820settlers.com*¹¹⁵ was consulted. It must be stressed that this source might rely on crowd research and I therefore cannot vouch for the accuracy of the contents. The information did match John Rennie's account, however, and it was impossible to revert to primary documentation because most institutions where genealogical documents are kept were closed during the Covid-19 pandemic. In addition to this website, *Die Kaapse predikante van die sewentiende en agtiende eeu*¹¹⁶ as well as both the print edition¹¹⁷ and an

¹⁰⁴ Gierveld, Arend Jan. (1977) *Het Nederlandse Huisorgel in de 17de en 18de eeuw*. Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgechiedenis.

¹⁰⁵ Sumner, William Leslie. (1981) *The Organ, Its Evolution, Principles of Construction and Use*. London & Sydney: Macdonald & Co.

¹⁰⁶ Clutton, Cecil and Niland, Austin. (1963) *The British Organ*. London: B.T. Batsford.

¹⁰⁷ Perrot, Jean. (1971) *The Organ from its Invention in the Hellenistic Period to the end of the Thirteenth Century*. Translated by Norma Deane. London: Oxford University Press.

¹⁰⁸ De Celles, Dom François Bédos. (1766) *L'art du facteur d'orgues*. Paris.

¹⁰⁹ Owen, Barbara, Williams, Peter and Bicknell, Stephen. (2001) 'Organ'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000044010?rskey=n7ZSnz&result=5> Accessed: 3 December 2019.

¹¹⁰ Owen, Barbara. (2001) 'Reed organ'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000043321?rskey=si03hu&result=1> Accessed: 28 February 2020.

¹¹¹ McKinnon, James W. (2001) 'Hydraulis'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000013639?rskey=9efweN&result=1> Accessed: 8 August 2020.

¹¹² Borchers, Claude Bennett. (1964) *Genealogy of the Borchers Family*. Mossel Bay: self-published.

¹¹³ Veltkamp, S.B.I. (1977) *Meent Borchers: Predikant in overgangstijd (Jemgum 1762–1832)*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Pretoria: UNISA.

¹¹⁴ Borchers, Petrus Borchardus. (1861) *An Autobiographical Memoir*. Cape Town: A.S. Robertson.

¹¹⁵ British 1820 Settlers to South Africa. <https://www.1820settlers.com> Accessed: 10 July 2018.

¹¹⁶ Engelbrecht, S.P. (1952) *Die Kaapse predikante van die sewentiende en agtiende eeu*. Cape Town/Pretoria: H.A.U.M./J.H. de Bussy.

¹¹⁷ Enschedé, Jan Willem. (1912) *Vermooten, Willem*, in P.C. Molhuysen en P.J. Blok (eds.) *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek, deel 2*. Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff.

online version¹¹⁸ of the 1912 *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* were used for obtaining further biographical details about other persons.

In order to verify or establish authorship of some of the musical texts encountered in manuscripts during the research process, I relied on RISM's music incipit search.¹¹⁹ In addition to this several early editions were consulted. These include the second volume of *Orpheus Caledonius*,¹²⁰ Hodgson's *National Songster*,¹²¹ Van Elsland's *Dankbaare naagedachten*¹²² and three editions of C.P.E. Bach's *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*.¹²³

Several sources dealing with the cultural meanings of musical instruments and music were consulted. These include Jennifer Linhart Wood's *An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire*,¹²⁴ Scott A. Trudell's *An organ for the seraglio: Thomas Dallam's artificial life*,¹²⁵ as well as Lawrence Danson's *The Sultan's organ: presents and self-presentation in Thomas Dallam's 'Diary'*.¹²⁶ In addition to these, the following sources gave insights into the cultural meanings of music in European society, highlighted from a historical perspective: John Keeble's *The Theory of Harmonics: Or, an Illustration of the Grecian Harmonica*,¹²⁷ James Haar's *Music of the Spheres*¹²⁸ and Judy Tarling's *The Weapons of Rhetoric*.¹²⁹

Especially enlightening was Anne Marieke van der Wal's *Slave Orchestras and Rainbow Balls: Colonial Culture and Creolisation at the Cape of Good Hope, 1750–1838* in *Identity, Intertextuality, and Performance in Early Modern Song Culture*,¹³⁰ which deals with the cultural significance of various forms of music making in the context of colonial Cape Town. Richard Leppert's *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*¹³¹ was especially inspiring and useful, as

¹¹⁸ Blok, P.J. and Molhuysen, P.C. (1912) *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*. Vol. 2. <http://www.dbnl.org>. Accessed: 25 March 2017.

¹¹⁹ Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM). <http://www.rism.info/home.html>. Accessed April 2017.

¹²⁰ Thomson, William. (1733) *Orpheus Caledonius: or, a collection of Scots songs. Set to music by W. Thomson*. Vol. 2. London.

¹²¹ Hodgson, Orlando. (1832) *Hodgson's National Songster*. London: Hodgson.

¹²² Van Elsland, J. (18th century) *Dankbaare naagedachten en Geboorte Gezangen, Op de blyde en heilryke verschyninge, van licht der Genade, Jezus Christus, begreepen in twintig Zangstukken, met zangkunst verrijkt door C. Kauwenberg en W. Vermooten*. Third edition. Haarlem: Van Hulkenroy.

¹²³ Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. (1758, 1764, 1771) *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*. First, third and fourth editions.

¹²⁴ Wood, Jennifer Linhart. (2015) 'An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire'. *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*. Vol. 15. No. 4. pp. 81–105.

¹²⁵ Trudell, Scott A. (2019) 'An organ for the seraglio: Thomas Dallam's artificial life'. *Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies*. Vol. 34. No. 5. pp. 766–783.

¹²⁶ Danson, Lawrence. (2009) 'The Sultan's organ: presents and self-presentation in Thoman Dallam's "Diary"'. *Renaissance Studies*. Vol. 23. No. 5. pp. 639–658.

¹²⁷ Keeble, John. (1784) *The Theory of Harmonics: Or, an Illustration of the Grecian Harmonica*. London: J. Walter.

¹²⁸ Haar, James. (2001) 'Music of the Spheres'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000019447?rskey=AsY9fA&result=1> Accessed: 28 August 2020.

¹²⁹ Tarling, Judy. (2005) *The Weapons of Rhetoric*. St Albans: Corda Music.

¹³⁰ Van der Wal, Anne Marieke. (2016) 'Slave Orchestras and Rainbow Balls: Colonial Culture and Creolisation at the Cape of Good Hope, 1750–1838'. *Identity, Intertextuality, and Performance in Early Modern Song Culture*. Edited by Dieuwke Van Der Poel, Louis P. Grijp, Wim van Anrooij. Leiden: Brill. pp. 352–371.

¹³¹ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

it deals largely with the social meanings of music. Often these meanings are presented in relation to various colonial contexts (other than the Southern African colonial context) and domestic keyboard instruments. Therefore, to a great extent this book served as a model for Chapter 5 of this thesis. Michel Serres's book *The Five Senses – A Philosophy of Mingled Bodies*¹³² provided a helpful background to a philosophical approach to the embodiment of sound.

The following sources dealing with identity in relation to music were especially useful: Sylvia Bruinders's *Parading Respectability: The Cultural and Moral Aesthetics of the Christmas Bands Movement in the Western Cape, South Africa*,¹³³ Simon Frith's *Music & Identity in Questions of Cultural Identity*,¹³⁴ Vivian Bickford-Smith's *Leisure and social identity in Cape Town, British Cape Colony, 1838–1910*,¹³⁵ and David Coplan's *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre* (second edition).¹³⁶

Denis Constant Martin's *Sounding the Cape: Music, Identity and Politics in South Africa*¹³⁷ was also consulted. It presents a useful theoretical approach to the topic of music and identity, but Martin often misquotes primary sources, or quotes primary sources directly from secondary sources without acknowledging that they were direct quotes. These dubious research practices unfortunately discredits this source.

In her article *Gender and Colonialism: Expansion of Marginalization?* Durba Ghosh gives a very thorough overview of the current state of scholarship regarding the intersection of gender and colonialism, and explores the history of the representation of women in the imperial and colonial context.¹³⁸ Although the following sources fall outside of the time period, special demarcation, as well as the demarcated cultural sphere of this study, I have consulted the work of Claudius Torp¹³⁹ and Martin Rempe,¹⁴⁰ as it did offer useful perspectives on music making in relation to colonisation in Sub-Saharan colonial Africa.

¹³² Serres, Michel. (2008) *The Five Senses – A Philosophy of Mingled Bodies*. Translated by Margaret Sankey and Peter Cowley. London: Continuum.

¹³³ Bruinders, Sylvia. (2017) *Parading Respectability: The Cultural and Moral Aesthetics of the Christmas Bands Movement in the Western Cape, South Africa*. Grahamstown: NISC.

¹³⁴ Frith, Simon. (1996) 'Music & Identity'. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Edited by Stuart Hall, Paul du Gay. London: SAGE Publishing. pp. 108–127.

¹³⁵ Bickford-Smith, Vivian. (1998/1999) 'Leisure and social identity in Cape Town, British Cape Colony, 1838 – 1910'. *Kronos*. No. 25. pp. 103–128.

¹³⁶ Coplan, David. (2007) *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. Second edition. Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

¹³⁷ Martin, Denis-Constant. (2013) *Sounding the Cape: Music, Identity and Politics in South Africa*. Somerset West: African Minds.

¹³⁸ Ghosh, Durba. (2004) 'Gender and Colonialism: Expansion or Marginalization?'. *The Historical Journal*. Vol. 47. No. 3. pp. 737–755.

¹³⁹ Torp, Claudius. 'Missionary Education and Musical Communities in Sub-Saharan Colonial Africa'. (2017) *Itinerario*. Vol. 41. No. 2. pp. 235–251.

¹⁴⁰ Torp, Claudius and Rempe, Martin. (2017) 'Cultural Brokers and the Making of Glocal Soundscapes, 1880s to 1930s'. *Itinerario*. Vol. 41. No. 2. pp. 223–233.

1.6 A HIP APPROACH TO COLONIAL MUSIC MAKING

The historical information provided in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 of this thesis can be used to reconstruct social music-making situations at the early Cape – 'reconstruct' is indeed a dangerous word and it is used, for want of a better word, with reservation. A true reconstruction will be impossible to achieve because of the social context which has receded in time (in spite of our best attempts to understand it), the vagueness and inevitable partiality of sources, unwritten performance conventions and missing pieces of information. Taruskin addresses the problem of the 'gaps between the facts' and the 'necessity of creative guesswork in any attempt at reconstruction, to the point where the word *reconstruction* is put into question'.¹⁴¹ However, this process, which is not unlike building a puzzle when you know that some of the pieces are missing before you start, is intrinsically part of the historical performance movement. Stowell sums up the situation effectively: 'While historical performance will always involve conjecture and inspiration and, above all, instinct and imagination, we can go some way towards achieving its goals through systematic experiment, research and educated guesswork based on artistic intuition and experience gained within parameters defined by historical study'.¹⁴²

As part of the process of immersing myself into the material encountered during the research for this thesis, I presented three separate public recitals concentrating on music that came from the manuscripts discussed in Chapter 4. I especially focused on material for which authorship could not be established. These recitals were recorded, and in Chapter 4 I have supplied links to recordings of some of the pieces.

¹⁴¹ Taruskin, Richard. (1995) *Text & Act*. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 203.

¹⁴² Stowell, Robin. (2001) *The Early Violin and Viola*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. xiv.

Chapter 2

A colonial and cultural history of Southern Africa

'One has to begin somewhere, somewhere you have to consciously cut into the seamless fibre of the past'.¹ This is how Karel Schoeman begins his monumental work in five volumes on the settlement of Europeans at the Cape. My incision will be made at 6 April 1652 – not for the apparent reason that this was the date of arrival of the first Europeans who intended to settle at the Cape permanently, but rather for the fact that one of the items that Jan van Riebeeck's company probably brought with them was a European keyboard instrument, the type of instrument which lies at the core of this study. The first description of such an instrument being played on Southern African soil, in Van Riebeeck's presence in 1660, can be found in his diaries.²

By choosing to begin this study in 1652 I do not mean to imply that the history of South Africa started with the first European settlers at the Cape. Wessel Visser³ identifies several categories of history writing (or historiographical schools) traditionally practised in South Africa: the British Imperialist, the settler or colonist, the Afrikaner nationalist, the liberal and the revisionist or radical school. Often, in earlier forms of history writing, the history of the inhabitants of pre-colonial Southern Africa was ignored and the start date of South Africa as a geographical expression was seen as the arrival and settlement of Europeans. Today it is rightfully agreed in South African historiography that the expansion of the colonial entity at the Cape did not arise in a human vacuum.⁴ This history is indeed intertwined with the history of the various Khoekhoen groupings as well as the San and the amaXhosa.⁵ In addition to these cultural groupings, the history of slavery (whether springing from involuntary immigrants of diverse international origins or Southern African peoples who had undergone a status shift) also contributes to the culturally diverse and complex backdrop within which this study is set.

The aim of the revisionist school of South African history writing was to write history 'from the bottom up' or 'from below' – putting the spotlight on 'ordinary people' rather than approaching history from the perspective of the rulers.⁶ This is one of the most recent trends in South African history writing, and part of this project will adopt this approach, including examining the role of women, in relation to their domestic environment, in the colonisation process, as well as the participation or possibly conscious exclusion of slaves in domestic music making. Having said that, the short summary of the history of Southern Africa below will to some extent focus on the history of the colonisers and the role that colonisation played in creating the social structures in Southern Africa, seeing that this study deals with a European object, the domestic keyboard instrument, as a

¹ 'Erens moet mens begin, êrens moet jy willekeurig insny in die naatlose weefsel van die verlede' Schoeman, Karel. (2008) *Patrisiërs & prinse : die Europese samelewing en die stigting van 'n kolonie aan die Kaap, 1619–1715*. Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis. p. 15.

² Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1952) *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*. Edited by H.B. Thom, Translated by C.K. Johnman and A. Ravenscroft. Vol. 3. Cape Town, Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema. p. 279.

³ Visser, Wessel. (2004) *Trends in South African historiography and the present state of historical research*. Unpublished conference paper, Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden. p. 1.

⁴ Ross, Robert. (2009) *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750–1870*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 6.

⁵ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. Cape Town: Cambridge University Press. p. 8.

⁶ Visser, Wessel. (2004) *Trends in South African historiography and the present state of historical research*. p. 11.

political tool and cultural object. It will inevitably be, in keeping with current tendencies, what Visser calls an 'eclectic enterprise'.⁷

One of the foremost liberal historians in South African history writing, William Miller Macmillan, believed that the primary task of the historian is not to find out 'how things had really been', but to try to understand why the past had been as it was and how that led to the present.⁸ This sums up very neatly the goal not only of this chapter, but also of my research project in general; this point is not only applicable to how people interact within society, but also to the role and the significance they attribute to inanimate objects, in this case domestic keyboard instruments. The above point is raised being cognisant of the fact that one cannot simplify the historical process to a neat chain of causes and effects. Given the broad spectrum of keyboard instrument use shown in this study, as well as the complex colonial history of Southern Africa, it is nearly impossible to present history in such a simplistic way.

Consequently, the aim of this chapter is to sketch a historical, social and cultural context within which the information relating specifically to domestic keyboard instruments provided in Chapters 3 and 4 is set; Chapter 5 in turn will serve as an interpretative extension of the preceding three chapters. This chapter does therefore not attempt to present a comprehensive history of Southern Africa, of which there are ample examples by very competent history writers (several of whose works have been consulted in the writing of this chapter), but rather to present a focused history that will aid in the interpretation of the historical information found in the primary sources presented during the course of this study.

2.1 COLONIAL AND CULTURAL HISTORY

2.1.1 Beginnings of a colony at the Cape

The first account of a Western keyboard instrument being played on Southern African soil can be found in Van Riebeeck's diary, where a harpsichord was played, in the presence of Van Riebeeck, to Sousoa, the leader of one of the Khoekhoen groupings – the Chainouqua – in 1660.⁹ This interaction was in aid of diplomatic relations, to be discussed later in this chapter.¹⁰

The Khoekhoen (or Khoikhoi) kept cattle and sheep¹¹ whilst the San (or Soaqua) existed in close proximity to the various Khoekhoen groupings and lived as hunter-gatherers; it is uncertain whether they were the descendants of pre-Khoekhoen groupings at the Cape or whether they were Khoekhoe who had temporarily resorted to a hunter-gatherer lifestyle in order to regain their

⁷ Visser, Wessel. (2004) *Trends in South African historiography and the present state of historical research*. p. 17.

⁸ Visser, Wessel. (2004) *Trends in South African historiography and the present state of historical research*. p. 7.

⁹ Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1952) *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*. Vol. 3. p. 279.

¹⁰ The social, political and cultural implications of this exchange will be discussed in Chapter 5.

¹¹ Elphick, Richard. (1985) *The Khoisan to c. 1770*, in Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (eds.) *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652–1820*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman. p. 4.

position after losing their stock.¹² The word 'Khoisan' (or 'Khoesan') often used is a portmanteau that functions as a collective word to indicate both the Khoekhoen and the San.¹³ In older sources the Khoekhoen people were often referred to as 'Hottentots' and the San as 'Bushmen'.¹⁴ The Khoekhoen (pastoralists) and the San (hunter-gatherers), together with a variety of Bantu-speaking groupings (agriculturalists), formed the tripartite division of the population of the Western Cape¹⁵ that was encountered by the first Europeans who set foot on Southern African soil.

The abovementioned interaction, which is of great significance for this study as a keyboard instrument was involved, was by no means the first contact between the Khoekhoen people and Europeans; it should be seen in the context of many previous and similar interactions (including musical interactions – see below). At the end of the 15th century the Portuguese sailed to Southern Africa in the hope of finding a sea route from Europe to the southern coast of Asia. Bartholomew Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1488 and dropped anchor at what is today Mossel Bay. During the process of loading drinking water a short confrontation between the Portuguese and the Khoekhoen grouping who were present ensued. This was because the Portuguese interpreted the actions of the Khoekhoen as hostile. In the conflict one of the Khoekhoen was killed.¹⁶ It wasn't until a few years later that Vasco da Gama, on a subsequent expedition, accomplished the ultimate goal of the Portuguese. In a manuscript which is the only known copy of a journal believed to have been written on board his ship during Da Gama's first voyage to India, the following musical exchange occurring in 1497 is described:

On Saturday [December 2] about two hundred negroes came, both young and old. They brought with them about a dozen oxen and cows and four or five sheep. As soon as we saw them we went ashore. They forthwith began to play on four or five flutes, some producing high notes and others low ones, thus making a pretty harmony for negroes who are not expected to be musicians; and they danced in the style of negroes. The captain-major then ordered the trumpets to be sounded, and we, in the boats, danced, and the captain-major did so likewise when he rejoined us. This festivity ended, we landed where we had landed before, and bought a black ox for three bracelets. This ox we dined off on Sunday. We found him very fat, and his meat as toothsome as the beef of Portugal.¹⁷

The original copy of this journal is lost, but it has most often been attributed to Álvaro Velho, who accompanied Da Gama to India in 1497–1499. The manuscript is undated and anonymous, but has been dated to the first half of the 16th century by palaeographic analysis. After this, for a century and a half, European ships called with increasing frequency at bays along the southern coast of Africa for fresh water and to trade cattle and sheep with the Khoekhoen.¹⁸

¹² Ross, Robert. (2010) *Khoesan and immigrants: The emergence of colonial society in the Cape*, in Hamilton, Carolyn, Mbenga, Bernard and Ross, Robert. (eds.) *The Cambridge History of South Africa, vol.1*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 171–173.

¹³ Elphick, Richard. (1985) *The Khoisan to c. 1770*. p. 4.

¹⁴ In the light of the range of different terms used in different sources, and for the sake of consistency I adhere to the usage (*Khoekhoen, San and Khoesan*) as found in *The Cambridge History of South Africa*, Hamilton, Carolyn, Mbenga, Bernard and Ross, Robert. (eds.) (2010) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

¹⁵ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 8.

¹⁶ Ross, Robert. (2010) *Khoesan and immigrants: The emergence of colonial society in the Cape*. p. 169.

¹⁷ Anonymous. (1898) *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama 1497–1499*. Translated by E. G. Ravenstein. New York: Burt Franklin. p. 11.

¹⁸ Ross, Robert. (2010) *Khoesan and immigrants: The emergence of colonial society in the Cape*. p. 170.

The early contacts between Europeans and the inhabitants of Southern Africa were often hostile. In 1510, at Table Bay, a conflict between a Portuguese force and the Khoekhoen led to the killing of a Portuguese admiral, Francisco de Almeida, and fifty of his men. This incident played an important role in leading the Portuguese to rather call on bays along the east coast of Southern Africa.¹⁹ Here it was possible to obtain ivory and gold, not found in the south, and also slaves. Furthermore, harbours further north up the east coast suited them better, as the sailing route of the Portuguese ran through the Mozambique channel since the centre point of their endeavours in Asia was on the west coast of India, namely Goa.²⁰

At the beginning of the 17th century the Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, hereafter referred to as the VOC) started to rival the Iberians in terms of trade in Asia.²¹ The VOC, founded in 1602, operated under a charter from the government of the Dutch Republic. By the mid-17th century it was the major European maritime body in Southeast Asia, consisting of a fleet of approximately 6,000 ships.²² This rivalry is intrinsically linked to the coming into being of a permanent presence of people of European descent in Southern Africa. In the 1610s the Dutch mariners discovered that there was a great advantage to sailing due east from the Cape, utilising the dependable westerly wind, before swinging north in the direction of India or Java.²³ By this time Java had become the heart of their trading activities in Asia.²⁴ As a result Southern Africa became their last landfall, as they didn't have to sail through the Mozambique Channel. Therefore a reliable point of call for fresh water, meat and vegetables on the south coast of Africa became a pressing necessity. This led to a steady increase in contact between Europeans and the Khoekhoen along the south coast of Africa, and particularly in the environs of Table Bay.

During the first half of the 17th century a system of informal trade, where mainly metals were exchanged for sheep and cattle, developed between the sailors and the Khoekhoen of the Southwestern Cape.²⁵

In 1651 the board of the VOC, the *Heren XVII*, made a decision to set up a permanent base in Table Bay. This was done in order to 'provide that the passing and re-passing East India ships, to and from Batavia, respectively, may, without accident, touch at the said Cape or Bay, and also upon arriving there, may find the means of procuring herbs, flesh, water, and other needful refreshments, and by this means restore the health of their sick'.²⁶ Table Bay was chosen because of safe anchorage in the late Southern summer, during which time most VOC ships would be passing in both directions, as well as to take advantage of several constant sources of fresh water and firewood found on the slopes of Table Mountain.²⁷

¹⁹ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 22.

²⁰ Ross, Robert. (2010) *Khoesan and immigrants: The emergence of colonial society in the Cape*. p. 170.

²¹ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 22.

²² Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers. p. 32.

²³ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 22.

²⁴ Ross, Robert. (2010) *Khoesan and immigrants: The emergence of colonial society in the Cape*. p. 170.

²⁵ Ross, Robert. (2010) *Khoesan and immigrants: The emergence of colonial society in the Cape*. p. 170.

²⁶ Moodie, Donald. (1838–1845) *The Record; or a Series of Official Papers Relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa, part 1*. Cape Town: A.S. Robertson. p. 7.

²⁷ Ross, Robert. (2010) *Khoesan and immigrants: The emergence of colonial society in the Cape*. p. 175.

Three ships, under the command of Jan van Riebeeck, a merchant in Vietnam who had fallen into temporary disgrace with the VOC, were sent to establish this base. Van Riebeeck arrived in Table Bay on 6 April 1652, where the initial activities involved the erection of a fort.²⁸ The intent of the VOC was that this establishment should merely be a trading post and a refreshment station for passing ships: the required supplies were to be traded for European commodities from the Khoekhoen.²⁹ This was the diplomatic context within which the interaction referred to at the beginning of this chapter took place, when a keyboard instrument was played to a leader of a Khoekhoen grouping in 1660 (which is also the first reference to a keyboard instrument being played in Southern Africa).

Within a decade after the founding of the refreshment station a problem arose in that the Khoekhoen were not willing, or possibly unable, to supply enough meat, which must have been substantial considering the number of ships and sailors that passed the Cape.³⁰ For example, in the period between 1652 and 1699 the VOC traded approximately 40,000 sheep and 20,000 cattle with the Khoekhoen. Furthermore, other produce – such as cereals, vegetables, fruit and wine – which required agricultural activities were also in demand from the passing ships. In order to meet these needs the VOC appropriated land from the Khoekhoen in order to create an agricultural colony. In 1657, only five years after the establishment of the refreshment station, nine men were released from the service of the VOC and granted land on the banks of the Liesbeeck River in order to contribute to the production of the necessary supplies.³¹ They were the first of several so-called *free burghers* who formed the beginnings of the Cape as a colony and therefore brought it into the sphere of settler colonialism. In *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century* by Elkins and Pedersen define settler colonialism aptly as:

routinely and rightly distinguished from imperial expansion undertaken for military advantage or trade, for in such cases imperial overlords often concern themselves as little as possible with land seizure or internal governance, seeking instead to find and work through reliable indigenous partners or chartered companies. The presence of a settler population intent on making a territory their permanent home while continuing to enjoy metropolitan living standards and political privileges creates a quite different dynamic [...] in the United States, South Africa, Australia and elsewhere, settlers sought to construct communities bounded by ties of ethnicity and faith in what they persistently defined as virgin or empty land. Indeed, insofar as there was a logic to their approach to the indigenous populations, it was a logic of elimination and not exploitation: they wished less to govern indigenous peoples or to enlist them in their economic ventures than to seize their land and push them beyond an ever-expanding frontier of settlement.³²

Ross argues that this expansion into a colony was inevitable, mostly as a result of the expansionist nature of the VOC. This was enhanced by the fact that no powerful monarchies, which the VOC had to regard as their equals or its local superiors – which was the case in other territories invaded by them – existed at the Cape. The VOC regarded the Khoekhoen as ignoble savages.³³

²⁸ Ross, Robert. (2010) *Khoesan and immigrants: The emergence of colonial society in the Cape*. p. 174.

²⁹ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 22.

³⁰ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 22.

³¹ Ross, Robert. (2010) *Khoesan and immigrants: The emergence of colonial society in the Cape*. p. 176.

³² Elkins, Caroline and Pedersen, Susan (eds.). (2005) *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Routledge. p. 2.

³³ Ross, Robert. (2010) *Khoesan and immigrants: The emergence of colonial society in the Cape*. p. 175.

In 1679, 22 years after the first *free burghers* were relieved of their VOC duties, there were about 259 free people of European origin – 55 women, 117 children and 87 men – settled in the Cape Peninsula. Between 1679 and 1717 the VOC encouraged further agricultural activity by granting land beyond the Cape Flats. By 1717, when the policy of granting land was ended, the free population numbered almost 2,000 people.³⁴ After 1717 an increasing number of settlers moved further inland and established themselves as pastoralists, or so-called *trekboers*. Between 1703 and 1780 these *trekboers* were responsible for the almost tenfold increase in size of the Cape Colony – the border of which stretched from the Orange River in the north to the Great Fish River in the South. The expansion of the colony took place parallel to the steady increase in the numbers of the free population: 5,000 in 1751 and 10,500 in 1780.³⁵ By the end of the 18th century (1793) the total number of free *burghers* was 13,830 (4,032 men, 2,730 women and 7,068 children). These numbers are miniscule compared to the size of European settlement in the Americas at the same time.³⁶

Naturally the, mostly forceful, appropriation of land from the Khoekhoen led to conflict: two short wars were fought in the early years of the colony when the settlers had ample opportunity to display their superior technologies of violence. After this the main interactions with the various Khoekhoen groupings were either the trading or the raiding of cattle and sheep – both of these practices reduced the power of these groupings, since the authority of the Khoekhoen leaders were mostly based on the amount of livestock they owned. This led to a decline in the coherence of the social structure of these groupings and ultimately the disintegration of these organised units. Resistance by the Khoekhoen and San who lost their cattle continued and resulted in a long process of guerrilla warfare. By the end of the 18th century the Cape government granted permission for *burgher* commandos to eradicate the San people, which led to a genocide during which hundreds of San people were killed and the children were kept as *de facto* slaves.³⁷ This element in the racial make-up of the slave population in the Cape Colony is important to keep in mind when the possible conscious exclusion of slaves from playing keyboard instruments will be discussed in depth in Chapter 5. An additional fate that befell both the Khoekhoen and the San was unleashed by a homeward-bound Dutch ship which brought smallpox to the Cape in 1713. This epidemic ravaged both indigenous peoples, who had no immunity against it.³⁸

The above expansion from 1679 onwards was one of the two factors which allowed the Cape to fully function as a colony. The other factor was the settling of foreigners with two opposing legal statuses at the Cape: free immigrants and involuntary immigrants. The free immigrants came from Europe and had either been in the previous employment of the VOC as soldiers, artisans or sailors (the *free burghers* could be classified under this category), or they came to the Cape as deliberate immigrants without previous VOC employment (the almost 200 Huguenot French that came to the Cape as religious refugees and were granted land near modern-day Franschoek would be an example).³⁹ In 1685 the VOC tried to encourage immigration by offering free passage for Europeans, although few

³⁴ Guelke, Leonard. (1985) *The white settlers, 1652–1780*, in Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (eds.) *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652–1820*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman. p. 41.

³⁵ Guelke, Leonard. (1985) *The white settlers, 1652–1780*. p. 41.

³⁶ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 34.

³⁷ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 23.

³⁸ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 38.

³⁹ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 24.

made use of the offer. In addition to this the VOC sent a small number of women from Dutch orphanages to compensate for the male-female ratio of about 3:2 amongst white settlers.⁴⁰

On the other hand, about 60,000 involuntary immigrants, or slaves, were brought from Madagascar, India, Indonesia and the east coast of Africa between 1652 and the abolition of the overseas slave trade in 1807. According to Thompson,⁴¹ slavery at the Cape had the following characteristics:

- 1) From 1711 onwards it was the status quo in the colony that there were more slaves than free people. For example, in 1793 there were 14,747 slaves in total (9,046 men, 3,590 women and 2,111 children) compared to 13,830 free burghers;
- 2) The slaves came from very diverse – social, religious and linguistic – backgrounds;
- 3) The increase in the number of slaves was a result of continuous imports rather than being a self-reproducing population. This was because the ratio of men to women until 1765 was 4:1 and in 1793 2.5:1;
- 4) Although a great number of slaves were present in the colony, they were spread relatively evenly amongst slave owners; in other words, small groups of slaves were spread amongst numerous owners. This was not the case in Brazil, certain parts of North America and the Caribbean, where large numbers of slaves were owned by a single owner according to the plantation system. For example, in 1750 there were 681 slave owners in the Cape colony: seven of them owned over 50 slaves, 15 of them owned between 26 and 50 slaves, and 385 of them owned fewer than six slaves.

The ratio of slaves to slave owners, including more importantly the relatively equal distribution of slaves amongst the colonists at the Cape Colony, is another factor to take into consideration in the discussion of the exclusion of slaves from keyboard instrument playing that will be explored in Chapter 5. At this point it is worth delving a little deeper into the history of slavery at the Cape, specifically looking into the practising of crafts and documented music making by slaves.

2.1.2 Slaves at the Cape

The slave population at the Cape escalated from zero in 1652 to 25,754 in 1789, by which stage they outnumbered the free population (excluding the Khoekhoen). Although domestic slavery had disappeared in the Netherlands by the turn of the 17th century, the Dutch gained experience in the slave trade as their sphere of commerce expanded to the West and East Indies. From the 1620's onwards they took part in the slave trade from West Africa to the Americas and from the beginning of the VOC's involvement in the Indies, slavery played an important and accepted part.⁴²

By the time of the settlement of the Dutch at the Cape their previous dealings with slavery meant that they came with a fully developed system of slavery. This system was not influenced by indigenous – to the Cape – systems of bondage, because there were none. Already in May 1652, just over a month of settlement at the Cape, Jan van Riebeeck wrote to Batavia that slaves are needed for the heaviest and dirtiest work. The slaves were to play an indispensable part in the labour force

⁴⁰ Guelke, Leonard. (1985) *The white settlers, 1652–1780*. p. 43.

⁴¹ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 35.

⁴² Armstrong, James. (1985) *The slaves, 1652–1795*, in Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (eds.) *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652–1820*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman. p. 75.

at the Cape: the garrison of about 100 to 200 men during the first decade of the refreshment station was not a big enough labour force for an array of tasks, including construction of buildings, tasks relating to sustaining the livelihood of the settlers and the servicing of passing VOC vessels. After a few, mostly unsuccessful, attempts at importing slaves, the first significant number was imported in 1658, in two ship loads: one consisting of 228 slaves from Dahomey (present-day Benin) and one with 174 slaves, mostly children, from Angola. During the VOC period slaves either belonged to the VOC – most of the VOC slaves were housed in the slave lodge, together with a few Asian and Indonesian convicts – or they were in private ownership, belonging mostly to *free burghers*.⁴³ During the whole period of slavery, from 1652 to abolition in 1808, about 58,500 slaves were imported for the private sector.⁴⁴

The diverse origins of Cape slaves – Madagascar, Angola, Mozambique, India, Indonesia, Ceylon, Siam, Java, Japan and the Philippines – meant that *free burghers* quickly developed stereotypes around certain ethnic groups, in particular about the type of work they were suitable for.⁴⁵ As an illustration: in 1767 there was an attempt to prohibit the import of Bugis slaves from Indonesia as the perception was that they are particularly prone to violent crimes against their owners.⁴⁶ The numerous linguistic backgrounds of slaves necessitated a lingua franca amongst them, which took the shape of ‘an evolving form of Dutch which developed into Afrikaans’.⁴⁷ The diverse cultural origins, as well as a lack of a shared language that was incomprehensible to Europeans between the slaves, created an atomised social model which prevented a collective identity from developing amongst the slaves. This thwarted effective mobilisation and uprisings or revolts in the slave communities.⁴⁸

Some slaves worked in the workshops of craftsmen. Other slaves traded independently in the retail of foodstuff and vegetables. These slaves were expected to pay their owners a weekly sum of money, known as *koeligeld*, for the right to do independent business. The concept of *koeligeld* could also be applied to trade in stolen goods and prostitution. Slaves made up the majority of domestic servants in Cape Town; their tasks included duties such as cooking, cutting wood on Table Mountain and fetching water. The slaves who were owned by the VOC had heavier tasks such as working in the harbour or the forests around Cape Town, clearing the town of rubbish or maintaining the fortifications.⁴⁹

Some of the slaves belonging to *burghers* engaged in specialised activities such as carpentry, smithing and masonry. There are also several accounts of skilled slave musicians.⁵⁰ These skills were often acquired at a previous place of employment, such as in Batavia.⁵¹ Anne Marieke van der Wal in her article *Slave Orchestras and Rainbow Balls: Colonial Culture and Creolisation at the Cape of Good Hope, 1750–1838* describes the voluntary and involuntary adoption amongst slaves of certain European cultural practices in the multicultural context of the Cape Colony, and especially Cape

⁴³ Armstrong, James. (1985) *The slaves, 1652–1795*. p. 76.

⁴⁴ Ross, Robert. (2010) *Khoesan and immigrants: The emergence of colonial society in the Cape*. p. 187.

⁴⁵ Armstrong, James. (1985) *The slaves, 1652–1795*. p. 83.

⁴⁶ Ross, Robert. (2010) *Khoesan and immigrants: The emergence of colonial society in the Cape*. p. 188.

⁴⁷ Armstrong, James. (1985) *The slaves, 1652–1795*. p. 83.

⁴⁸ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 43.

⁴⁹ Ross, Robert. (2010) *Khoesan and immigrants: The emergence of colonial society in the Cape*. p. 189.

⁵⁰ Armstrong, James. (1985) *The slaves, 1652–1795*. p. 91.

⁵¹ Armstrong, James. (1985) *The slaves, 1652–1795*. p. 80.

Town. According to her 'music formed an important part of this cultural transfer, as slaves were expected to sing for the entertainment of their masters, thereby learning European folk songs and music genres in their masters' homes'.⁵² The practice of slaves employed as musicians, with the aim of entertaining their masters, similarly prevailed in the colonial sphere in the Americas. In the Cape, however, numerous accounts of slave music making involve slaves playing Western musical instruments (in so-called slave orchestras). These instances are described in accounts by travellers or in the memoirs of colonists.⁵³

Van der Wal gives a brief summary of such accounts:

1756: On 30 April 1756 a European colonist, Joachim von Dessin, bought a slave named Jason van Madagascar. In his memoirs he describes this as an advantageous purchase, seeing that Jason van Madagascar, in addition to being a good cook, could also play the flute, hobo and French horn ('ook kan denselven op de fluijt, hoboij en waldhoorn spelen').⁵⁴

1781: The French naturalist and zoological collector Francois le Vaillant, on a visit to the Groot Constantia estate, describes how the owner of the farm (Hendrik Cloete) was awakened in the morning by a band of fifteen slaves playing for him and his wife outside of their bedroom window.

1795 – 1806: Pieter van Breda, the owner of Oranjezicht farm (the current location of Oranjezicht suburb in Cape Town), was known to regularly have an orchestra of slaves play at social occasions as described in the following account: 'a music tent stood in one of the gardens of his estate. When Mr van Breda was to have his slaves play music there, he raised the flag so that music lovers in the city knew that they were welcome at Oranjezicht'.⁵⁵

1797 – 1803: Lady Anne Barnard, wife of the first British Colonial Secretary, refers to house parties in her letters and specifically to one instance where the guests could 'talk or hop to half a dozen black fiddlers'.⁵⁶

1803: In the account of his travels through Southern Africa in the first decade of the nineteenth century Lichtenstein describes the following scene on Sebastian van Reenen's farm, Klavervalley, in the Groenekloof district:

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, french horns, and bassoons. 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, violoncellos, and flutes, on

⁵² Van der Wal, Anne Marieke. (2016) 'Slave Orchestras and Rainbow Balls: Colonial Culture and Creolisation at the Cape of Good Hope, 1750–1838'. *Identity, Intertextuality, and Performance in Early Modern Song Culture*. Edited by Dieuwke Van Der Poel, Louis P. Grijp, Wim van Anrooij. Leiden: Brill. p. 353.

⁵³ Van der Wal, Anne Marieke. (2016) 'Slave Orchestras and Rainbow Balls: Colonial Culture and Creolisation at the Cape of Good Hope, 1750–1838'. p. 354.

⁵⁴ Van der Wal, Anne Marieke. (2016) 'Slave Orchestras and Rainbow Balls: Colonial Culture and Creolisation at the Cape of Good Hope, 1750–1838'. p. 355.

⁵⁵ Van der Wal, Anne Marieke. (2016) 'Slave Orchestras and Rainbow Balls: Colonial Culture and Creolisation at the Cape of Good Hope, 1750–1838'. p. 356.

⁵⁶ Wilkins, William Henry. (1910) *South Africa A Century Ago. Letters written from the Cape of Good Hope by Lady Anne Barnard (1797–1801)*. London: Smith, Elder & Co. p. 60.

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 nor scholars know a single note: they all play entirely by the ear. This practise 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, the groom quits his curry-comb and takes his violin, and the gardener throwing aside his spade sits down to the violoncello.⁵⁷

1825: Marten Douwes Teenstra, a Dutch visitor to the Cape describes encountering a slave orchestra of sixteen musicians, connected to a certain Colijn, who played military music on clarinets, flutes, trumpets, bassoons percussion, cymbals and two large drums.

Aardig werden wij verrast door de muziek van een zestiental muzikanten, welke alle als lijfeigenen aan mejufvrouw Colijn toebehoorden; zijn voerden eene volmaakte veldmuziek uit, met al de daartoe benoedigde blaas- en andere instrumenten, als klarinetten, fluiten, trompetten, fagot, slagwerk, bekkens en twee groote trommen, en bespeelden dit alles zoo wel, als het beste Engelsche korps in de Kaapstad durfde denken.⁵⁸

In all the above accounts slaves played Western instruments to colonists or European visitors as a form of entertainment. Van der Wal states that ‘the social context in which these slave orchestral musicians performed at the Cape suggests that music performances were conducted in a state of subjugation. Slave musicians were bought and assigned to entertain their masters, thus they portrayed through their performance the taste and status of their masters rather than a cultural identity of their own.’⁵⁹ Her point is reinforced by a listing of numerous accounts of slaves making music for their own recreational purposes, and in none of them did they play European instruments, but rather instruments from their individual cultural backgrounds.

To conclude this section, it is important to keep in mind that the three-part social structure at the Cape – the (mostly) European masters, the slaves and the Khoekhoen and San, who either by force or not, ended up working in the colonial sphere – would remain until the beginning of the 19th century.⁶⁰ Seen in the light of the high percentage of slaves compared to colonists (see above), and the fact that slaves were active participants in music making involving Western instruments and Western repertoire, the absence of any evidence of slaves playing keyboard instruments speaks of a

⁵⁷ Lichtenstein, Henry. (1812) *Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806*. Translated by Anne Plumtre. Vol. 1. London: Henry Colburn. p. 28.

⁵⁸ Teenstra, M.D. (1943) *De vruchten mijner werkzaamheden, gedurende mijne reize over de Kaap de Goede Hoop, naar Java en terug, over St Helena, naar de Nederlanden* (1830), Edited by F.C.L. Bosman. Van Riebeeck Society: Cape Town. p. 248.

⁵⁹ Van der Wal, Anne Marieke. (2016) ‘Slave Orchestras and Rainbow Balls: Colonial Culture and Creolisation at the Cape of Good Hope, 1750–1838’. p. 358.

⁶⁰ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 24.

possible conscious exclusion of slaves from this instrument group. The cultural implications of this will be fully explored in Chapter 5.

2.1.3 Cape Town as the centre of urban occupations

In spite of the settler colonial expansion by the *burghers* and the *trekboers* into the interior, Cape Town remained the heart of the colony; by the end of the 17th century Cape Town was taking on the shape of a town where urban occupations of various kinds were practised. This included innkeepers, liquor salesmen, masons, carpenters, smiths, wagon makers, potters, shoemakers, tailors, butchers and brewers.⁶¹ Cape Town was the main market in the colony – farmers drove their stock there and brought their agricultural produce by ox-wagon in order to be sold, and in turn buy products that rely on industry or importation, such as cloth, agricultural implements, domestic utensils, coffee, tea, sugar and slaves. On top of this Cape Town was also the seat of the VOC government of the colony;⁶² furthermore, around a third of the non-Khoesan population of the colony lived in the town. Cape Town was therefore the commercial, social and administrative centre of the colony.⁶³

The occupations of the inhabitants of Cape Town under Dutch rule followed the same patterns as those of other contemporary port cities. A census taken in 1713 shows a number of different crafts being practised: plumbing, wagonmaking, shoemaking, barrel-making, tailoring, saddle-making, blacksmithing and thatching. They also included some more artisanal occupations such as silver- and coppersmiths. In spite of this, it seems that the largest category of employment was lodging-house keepers plus a number of innkeepers, shopkeepers and wine sellers. It is only towards the end of the 18th century that there seemed to have been an increase in the practice of more specialised crafts, because by this time Cape society could sustain this.⁶⁴ This is reflected in the very specialised craft of keyboard instrument making: in 1720 the records of the Dutch Reformed Church (*Groote Kerk*) in Cape Town noted the need for an organ and that some members of the church had volunteered to supply the necessary funds for such an acquisition. The church council was petitioned to ask the board of directors of the VOC to send out an instrument with sixteen stops and two manuals from the Netherlands. Close examination of the records reveals that the above request was later modified to a more modest organ of twelve stops. It is unknown who was responsible for compiling the specifications of the proposed organ, nor is the exact specification (stop list) or any other technical details known.⁶⁵ Significantly, no mention is made of the possibility of having an instrument locally built, which is most probably an indication that there was at that stage no one at the Cape with the necessary skills (or who were perceived by the church council to have the necessary skills) to perform such a task.

The first account of a keyboard instrument build at the Cape is related by Otto Frederick Mentzel in his *Beschreibung des Vorgebirges der Guten Hoffnung*⁶⁶ published in two volumes in 1785 and 1787. Mentzel came to the Cape from Brandenburg in 1732 or 1733 as a soldier in the VOC's service and resided there until 1741. In 1737 he was for a short period the private tutor of Governor Jan de la

⁶¹ Ross, Robert. (2010) *Khoesan and immigrants: The emergence of colonial society in the Cape*. p. 177.

⁶² Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 24.

⁶³ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 26.

⁶⁴ Ross, Robert. (2010) *Khoesan and immigrants: The emergence of colonial society in the Cape*. p. 188.

⁶⁵ McIntyre, D.G. (1934) *Early Organs and Organists at the Cape*. Cape Town: The Cape Guild of Organists. p. 3.

⁶⁶ Mentzel, Otto Frederick. (1921) *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope*. Part 1. Translated by H.J. Mandelbrote. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.

Fontaine's⁶⁷ son. In the first volume of Mentzel's description of the Cape, he gives a thorough account of the buildings found in Cape Town. In his account of the interior of the Groote Kerk, he relates a brief history of the organ, which was acquired from De la Fontaine in 1737, after the latter returned to the Netherlands:

The organ that the Church has possessed since 1737 is the identical instrument upon which the daughter of Governor de la Fontaine used to play. This young lady was a great lover of music, and no mean performer herself. In 1735 there arrived at the Cape a serious-minded and solemn-looking man, who was an organ-builder by trade. He was attached to the Governor's household as a free-worker, and boarded with the Governor's major-domo. He was instructed to make a chamber-organ of about ten or twelve stops, and he carried out his work so efficiently that he was appointed 'Baas' over the carpenters, joiners and turners. Before the Governor's return to Holland in 1737 the elders and deacons of the Kerkeraad bade him present this organ to the Church, but the Governor turned a deaf ear to this request, and asked to be paid f500.⁶⁸

According to the above account, this instrument was built for De la Fontaine's daughter in 1735 by Johann Jacob Posse. Posse arrived at the Cape in 1735 and was later employed as the overseer of the VOC's carpenters, joiners and turners. Although it is stated that he was an organ builder by trade, very little is known about his previous place of employment.⁶⁹ The scant details that Mentzel gives about the organ (that it contained between ten and twelve stops) is also the only information available. In Chapter 3 (3.2) the possible specifications of a mid-18th-century chamber organ are discussed, as summarized by Arend Jan Gierveld in his *Het Nederlandse Huisorgel in de 17de en 18de eeuw*.⁷⁰

This above account of De la Fontaine's organ is significant not only because it is the first account of a keyboard instrument built at the Cape, but also that it is the first account of a keyboard instrument explicitly linked with usage in a specific domestic situation, since we know who commissioned and owned the instrument. Further to this it subsequently became the first church organ in Southern Africa.

The De la Fontaine organ forms part of a small number of references to keyboard instruments that were built by craftsmen in the Cape Colony during Dutch rule (see Chapter 3). Another notable reference made to an instrument built in the Cape Colony is made by Lichtenstein; he encountered an organ during his travels in 1803 in the house of Cobus Dupré in the Swellendam district:

On the fourteenth of December we crossed the Krombek-and-Vet rivers, and stopped for the night at the house of Cobus Dupré, the son of our former host. We found here also a great number of the neighbours assembled, among others Dupré's father-in-law, Hilgard Müller, a very worthy old man, and another of the party who went with Van Reenen to the Caffre country in search of the Grosvenor's crew. This place had formerly belonged to him, and was

⁶⁷ Jan de la Fontaine was Acting Governor of the Cape from 8 September 1724 - 25 February 1727 and 23 April 1729 - 8 March 1737, and Governor 8 March 1737 - 31 August 1737.

⁶⁸ Mentzel, Otto Frederick. (1921) *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope*. p. 125.

⁶⁹ McIntyre, D.G. (1934) *Early Organs and Organists at the Cape*. p. 3.

⁷⁰ Gierveld, Arend Jan. (1977) *Het Nederlandse Huisorgel in de 17de en 18de eeuw*. Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgechiedenis.

no way inferior in the excellence of the buildings, and in the good order and regularity of every thing about it, to what we had seen at the senior Dupré's. The cows were here, as there, brought into covered stalls to be milked, a very unusual sight, since they are generally milked in the fields, and left loose in the kraal at night. He had near two hundred, all very handsome animals.

There was an apartment in the house appropriated solely to the performance of divine service; in it was an organ, on which one of Müller's daughters played very well. It was built in the place itself by a person of the name of Hoddersum, who was still living at the Cape Town when I quitted the country, continuing his trade, and gaining a very good livelihood by making harpsichords.⁷¹

In this passage 'Hoddersum' certainly refers to Johannes Ludewig Hodderson, a soldier from Oldenburg near Bremen, who arrived at the Cape in 1779. According to McIntyre,⁷² Hodderson was originally an organ builder by profession. Early in September 1780 he applied for a discharge from his military duties and petitioned to the Council of Policy, the highest authority of the VOC in the Cape of Good Hope, for *burgher* papers. He worked as an organ and harpsichord builder for at least the next 30 years. It is also documented that Hodderson built an organ for the Drakenstein Congregation (Paarl) in 1791, and enlarged and maintained the organ of the Lutheran Church (Strand Street) in Cape Town, of which the builder is unknown. The Drakenstein organ is of some significance in that it is the only 18th-century organ built at the Cape of which the specification⁷³ and a sketch of the prospect are extant. The woodcarvings, painting and gilding on the prospect were executed by Anton Anreith (1754 – 1822).⁷⁴ The last mention of Hodderson is on the 31st of July 1809 when he was paid for maintenance work on the organ in the Lutheran Church in Strand Street, Cape Town.⁷⁵ In addition to the organ-building activities of Posse and Hodderson, a third name comes up: Stephanus Baier, who built two organs (a large one with sixteen stops and a smaller one with six stops) for the Groote Kerk in Cape Town between 1752 and 1754. These instruments were donated to the Dutch Reformed Churches in Stellenbosch and Zwartland (today Malmesbury) in 1830. The lists of raw materials bought from the VOC's warehouses indicated that the instruments in their entirety were made at the Cape: this includes 300 pounds of lead and 300 pounds of tin (for the manufacturing of flue pipes) and copper for the 'vox humana en de basuyne bas' stops.⁷⁶

The above instruments, together with the substantial number of references to organs found in homes during the 18th century,⁷⁷ indicate that there was a much livelier organ-building trade in the 18th century in the Cape Colony than in the first half of the 19th century, in spite of a constantly increasing number of colonists.⁷⁸ This is probably the result of increased import activities under British rule, which might have made a local organ-building scene redundant. This increase in import

⁷¹ Lichtenstein, Henry. (1812) *Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806*. Vol. 1. p. 168

⁷² McIntyre, D.G. (1934) *Early Organs and Organists at the Cape*. p. 9.

⁷³ Bourdon 16', Prestant 8', Holpijp 8', Fluyt 4', Quint 3', Octaav 2', Mikstuur IV, Vox Humana 8', Cornet III.

⁷⁴ Troskie, Albert. (1992) *Pyporrels in Suid-Afrika*. Cape Town: Tafelberg. p. 3.

⁷⁵ Troskie, Albert. (1992) *Pyporrels in Suid-Afrika*. p. 2.

⁷⁶ Troskie, Albert. (1992) *Pyporrels in Suid-Afrika*. p. 2.

⁷⁷ See Appendix 1.

⁷⁸ The history of organ building at the Cape during the 18th century needs thorough investigation, but is unfortunately beyond of the scope of this study. It is potentially an apt topic for a future research project. Although Troskie (1992) gives a summary of active organ builders during this time, he relies completely on outdated secondary sources, some of whose research practices are highly dubious (including Jan Bouws).

activities can be ascribed to the incorporation of the Cape Colony into the British Empire after 1806, which expanded its commercial relations as well as causing the lifting of trade restrictions which had been in place under VOC rule.⁷⁹ Although there was an increase in offerings of maintenance services during the course of the 19th century (see Chapter 3), it was not until the 20th century that an established keyboard instrument-building industry came into being in Southern Africa.

2.1.4 The Cape interior

In 1717 the *Heren XVII* made a decision not to promote further European migration to the Cape - this went hand in hand with a decision to continue relying on slave labour in the process of developing the colony. The reason for this was that, as a result of the growing *free burgher* population and subsequently an increase in local food production, the VOC found it increasingly difficult to sell the produce that was generated at the Cape. The permanent population at the Cape was relatively small and therefore the farmers were dependent on passing ships to serve as a market for their produce. This posed a problem because, in spite of the steady increase of the population at the Cape during the 18th century, the number of ships calling at the Cape remained static between 1717 and 1780. The VOC's attempts to solve this problem by export were not very successful. The 5,000 *muiden* wheat exported annually to the East was insubstantial and Cape wine didn't travel very well and therefore developed a not very positive reputation abroad.⁸⁰

From around 1690, but especially after 1717, settler farmers began moving beyond the mountain escarpment.⁸¹ These colonists were often younger sons of farmers or people with an insufficient amount of capital or land to practise agriculture successfully. They would make a living as pastoralists or hunters, something which was necessitated by their exclusion from other occupations because of the nature of the slave economy at the Cape. These white pastoralists were known as *trekboers* – literally meaning semi-migrant farmers.⁸² The VOC made no attempt to stem this process – the *trekboers* paid an annual sum for the right to occupy a farm of 24 km². In theory these farms were leased, but in practice they were treated as property in the sense that the farms were bought, sold and inherited.⁸³

Although the *trekboers* engaged in agriculture, mainly for their own consumption, it was primarily through the sale of stock and stock products that they maintained contact with the market at the Cape. The extensive herds and flocks of the *trekboers* needed large areas for grazing, largely because of the arid nature of the land away from the coast. Seasonal grazing further increased the size of land necessary in order to maintain large herds and flocks. This led to the area of European settlement expanding rapidly and beyond the reach of effective political control by the VOC government, whose authority was only called on when it suited the *trekboers*.⁸⁴ The first government outpost beyond Stellenbosch was founded at Swellendam in 1745. This was followed by another at Graaff-Reinet only in 1786.⁸⁵

⁷⁹ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 38.

⁸⁰ Guelke, Leonard. (1985) *The white settlers, 1652–1780*. p. 54.

⁸¹ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 26.

⁸² Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 45.

⁸³ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 46.

⁸⁴ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 27.

⁸⁵ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 46.

The main areas settled by the *trekboers* before 1720 included the land north of the Berg River (Piquetberg) and to the east of the Hottentots-Holland Mountains. During the 1720s *trekboers* settled in the Oliphants River Valley, the upper Breede River Valley and the coastal area south of the Langeberg Mountains. In the 1730s they expanded into the Little Karoo, up to Swellendam. In 1745 a group of *trekboers* occupied the most accessible parts of the interior plateau. During the 1750s the Hantamsberg was occupied and during the 1760s the Nieuwveld. During the same decade *trekboers* also occupied land as far as the Camdeboo (near Graaff-Reinet) and the Sneeuwberg Mountains. The areas north and east of the Sneeuwberg Mountains and southeast of Brintjies Hoogte were occupied in the 1770s and by the end of that decade settlers had reached the Zuurveld.⁸⁶

The spreading out of the *trekboers* was halted in all directions by the end of the 1770s: to the north by the arid nature of the land, to the north-east by hunter-gatherers in the Sneeuwberg Mountains and to the east by Bantu-speaking groupings who practised mixed farming.⁸⁷ By the end of the 18th century the *trekboers* on the eastern border of the Cape colony came into contact with the most westerly of the amaXhosa and thus began a war which would last, with interruptions, for almost a century.⁸⁸

These government outposts, or *drostdys*, referred to above, were run by a *landdrost*, who was a salaried employee of the VOC. The *landdrost* had at most two or three salaried employees at his disposal, and therefore had to rely on the unpaid services of leading figures amongst the *trekboer* society who were known as *heemraden* and *veldkornets*.⁸⁹ In each district six *heemraden* were appointed by the VOC from a list of nominees drawn up by the current *heemraden*. The *landdrost* and the *heemraden* formed a court of justice. For each subdivision of a district the *landdrost* and *heemraden* appointed a *veldkornet*. The *veldkornet* was responsible for the maintenance of law and order. The result of this system was that the most substantial *trekboers* had a major impact on the conduct of the local administration and they also had easier access to the authorities in Cape Town.

In spite of the above arrangement, a system of effective government was hindered by how thinly the *trekboers* were spread out over an immense area. To illustrate: in 1793 there were 13,830 *burghers* in the Cape Colony of whom only 3,100 were in the Graaff-Reinet district and 1,925 in the Swellendam district. Transportation between the *trekboer* homesteads and the Cape Peninsula – where the only two harbours that were in use during the 18th century, Table Bay and Simonstown, operated – were extremely troublesome. There were no proper roads - only rough tracks, which had to be negotiated by ox wagon or on horseback. A round trip from Graaff-Reinet to Cape Town could take up to three months. Contact with the Peninsula was crucial in terms of acquiring guns and gunpowder, and also tea, coffee, sugar and tobacco as essential commodities. For the rest, the *trekboers* were left to their own devices.⁹⁰ The *trekboers* were largely a non-capitalist community, who occasionally came into contact with a market economy. The further they moved from the south-west, the more their links to European culture and material comforts were weakened.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Guelke, Leonard. (1985) *The white settlers, 1652–1780*. p. 59.

⁸⁷ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 45.

⁸⁸ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 27.

⁸⁹ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 46.

⁹⁰ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 46.

⁹¹ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 47.

Hendrik Swellengrebel (as quoted by Thompson) gave the following vivid description of *trekboer* living conditions that he observed during his tour of the colony in 1776/77:

As far as Swellendam and Mossel Bay and occasionally as far as the Zeekoei River, one finds quite respectable houses with a large room partitioned into 2 or 3, and with good doors and windows, though mostly without ceilings. For the rest, however, and especially those at a greater distance, they are only tumble-down barns, 40 feet by 14 or 15 feet, with clay walls four feet high, and a thatched roof. These are mostly undivided; the doors are reed mats; a square hole serves as a window. The fireplace is a hole in the floor, which is usually made of clay and cowdung. There is no chimney; merely a hole in the roof to let the smoke out. The beds are separated by a Hottentot reed mat. The furniture is in keeping. I have found up to three households – children included – living together in such a dwelling. The majority, by far, of the farmers from the Overberg come to Cape Town only once a year, because of the great distance – I have discovered that some are reckoned to live 40 ‘schoften’ or days’ journey away – and because of the difficulty of getting through the kloofs between the mountains. To cross them they need at least 24 oxen, two teams of 10 to be changed at every halt and at least 4 spares to replace animals that are crippled or fall prey to lions. Two Hottentots are necessary as well as the farmer himself. The load usually consists of 2 vats of butter (1,000 lb in all) and 400 to 500 lbs soap.⁹²

Because of the poorly developed transportation system and also the low density of the population in the Cape interior, significant labour specialisation was impeded. In the absence of physicians, blacksmiths, masons, wagonmakers, teachers and carpenters, isolated farmers were forced to be jacks-of-all-trades. This went hand in hand with the absence of urban development. Swellendam is a good example: in 1745 a *drostdy* was founded there. Five years later, in 1750, the *landdrost* and *heemraden* discussed a plan to boost the growth of the village and to control the settlement of artisans and business people. In 1774, when the need to repair official buildings arose, no artisans were to be found in the village who could do the work, and by 1777, thirty years after the establishment of the *drostdy*, there were still only four houses in the village, of which one was occupied by the *landdrost*.⁹³ In 1743 Baron van Imhoff summed up the situation regarding the lack of a group of inexpensive and reliable artisans, even in Cape Town, as follows:

It seems incredible that a mason and a carpenter each earns from eight to nine shellingen a day and in addition receives food and drink and withal does not do as much as a half trained artisan in Europe. It is a burden this colony cannot bear and it certainly has a prejudicial effect on agriculture.⁹⁴

Life in the interior took place in extreme social isolation. The monotonous lifestyle was probably even more dire for women than for men, who were often out hunting or supervising their workers. The women were responsible for running the household and rearing, in many cases, a great number of children. However, much of the work was done by Khoekhoen servants.⁹⁵ The *trekboer* communities in the interior had cheap Khoekhoen labour available as a consequence of the disintegration of the Khoekhoen communities. Even Khoekhoen who still belonged to a certain

⁹² Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 47.

⁹³ Guelke, Leonard. (1985) *The white settlers, 1652–1780*. p. 62.

⁹⁴ De Chavonnes, Maurits Pasques and Imhoff, Gustaaf Willem. (1918) *Reports of De Chavonnes and his Council, and of Van Imhoff, on the Cape*. Transcribed by Margaret Ralling. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society. p. 137.

⁹⁵ Guelke, Leonard. (1985) *The white settlers, 1652–1780*. p. 63.

grouping would leave their people for a year or two to take up employment with a *trekboer*. The Khoekhoen were very good stockmen who were very well acquainted with local grazing and water resources. They were regularly paid in kind: often only their keep and a small proportion of the increase in the stock they tended. This availability of Khoekhoen labour made the investment of capital in slaves unnecessary for the *trekboers*.⁹⁶

The combination of boredom and isolation severely blunted the intellectual development of the *trekboers*⁹⁷ and De Jong, in 1802, describes the situation as follows: 'Hoe verder de menschen van die hofdplaats af wonen, hoe ruwer en onbeschaafder zi zijn'.⁹⁸

This social isolation, lack of skilled craftsmen and general lack of education is not a cultural climate conducive to the usage of keyboard instruments, which require a certain level of musical education not only to play, but also to tune and maintain them. In addition to this, the physical isolation, long distances between settlements and homesteads, the complete lack of proper roads and the absence of ports other than at the Cape Peninsula must have made the transportation of keyboard instruments, which are often heavy, always sensitive to temperature and humidity changes as well as abrupt movements, a very difficult task. The expensive and time-consuming nature of travel under such circumstances must also have complicated the procurement of a skilled person to do regular maintenance and tuning. For most of the period applicable to this study such services were available only in Cape Town. By the mid-19th century keyboard instrument maintenance and transport services were offered, by providers in Cape Town and the larger towns, to persons who resided at some distance from these centres, as illustrated in the following newspaper advertisement from 1843 and 1844 from Cape Town and Grahamstown respectively:

T.M. Adney's Musical Repository, No. 4, Market-square. Piano-fortes, by eminent Makers, for Sale or Hire, - and Tuned and Repaired. N.B. Piano-Fortes removed by a Spring Van, to Town and Country.⁹⁹

Forte Piano stemmen en repareeren. H.C. Hallier, Onlangs uit Engeland aangekomen per 'Lallah Bookh,' Verzoekt de Ingezetenenen van Grahamstad en de Buiten Distrekten te verwittigen, dat hy voornemens is bovengemelde Vakke uit te oefenen, hopende dat de Ondervinding welke hy heeft gehad, en de sterke getuigschriften welke hy verkregen heeft van eenigen der voornaamste in de Professie, een deel der publieke gunst en ondersteuning te genieten. H.B. - Seraphinen gestemd en gereguleerd, en Muzyk netjes gecopieerd.¹⁰⁰

In addition to this, the ability of instruments to function in extreme climates were often a selling point for keyboard instrument traders in the Cape colonial context:

One of Wornûm's unique Solo Chorda Picolo Pianos, with double improved check action, admirably calculated to stand extreme climates, as it can scarcely ever be perceptibly out of tune. T.J. Hitchcock.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Guelke, Leonard. (1985) *The white settlers, 1652–1780*. p. 62.

⁹⁷ Guelke, Leonard. (1985) *The white settlers, 1652–1780*. p. 63.

⁹⁸ De Jong, Cornelius. (1802) *Reizen naar de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Ierland en Noorwegen in de Jaren 1791 tot 1797*. Vol. 1. Haarlem: Francois Bohn. p. 99.

⁹⁹ Cape Almanac, 1843.

¹⁰⁰ Het Kaapsche Grensblad, Grahamstad, Donderdag, 26den Dec, 1844, Deel 1, No. 24.

¹⁰¹ Sam Sly, Thursday, 16 November, 1848, Vol. 6, No. 282.

The above advertisements indicate that, in spite of the difficulties around the transport and maintenance of keyboard instruments in the Cape interior, some examples of keyboard instruments in remote settlements and on occasion even on isolated farms could be found. A specific example is the case of the organ built by Hodderson found on the farm of Cobus Dupré in the Swellendam district that Lichtenstein encountered in 1803 (see 2.1.3). Although not much information about the nature and specifications of the organ is given by Lichtenstein, he does indicate that 'it was built in the place itself by a person of the name of Hoddersum, who was still living at the Cape Town when I quitted the country, continuing his trade, and gaining a very good livelihood by making harpsichords.'¹⁰²

Transporting the necessary raw materials (or several pre-made parts to be assembled later) in order to build the instrument in situ, on a forty-day-long ox wagon journey (see Hendrik Swellengrebel's mode of travel description above) over uneven terrain, must have proven an extreme challenge. Sourcing the raw materials in the environs of the farm would have been impossible, as it would certainly have required a variety of specialist materials such as lead, tin, tanned leather as well as specific types of wood and wood treatments or paints. In addition to this, Hodderson must have also taken a whole workshop's worth of instrument-building tools with him. The grandiose extent of this endeavour speaks of a great determination by the owners to possess a keyboard instrument, which will be discussed in Chapter 5.

2.1.5 The Cape Colony from 1795 onwards

As a result of the political turmoil unleashed in Europe by the French Revolution, the British, who had by this time established themselves as the dominant sea power, occupied the Cape Peninsula in 1795. This was to prevent the strategically important Cape colony from falling into the hands of the French.¹⁰³ In 1803 the first British occupation ended when the colony was returned to the Dutch - or rather to the Batavian Republic (1795 – 1806) which was the successor to the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands - under the terms of the Treaty of Amiens. The second British occupation came in 1806 when the Cape was reoccupied by the British. This period of political unrest finally came to an end when the Dutch relinquished the Cape to the British at the London Convention of 13 August 1814.¹⁰⁴ This was done without any consultation with either black or white South Africans. From the British perspective at the time the Cape Colony was significant for the same reason that had attracted the Dutch: the fact that the Cape Peninsula was a stepping stone to Asia. Like the Dutch, the British had no interest in the settlement at the Cape beyond the peninsula. Right up to the late 1860s, when the vast mineral wealth of the interior of Southern Africa was discovered, the Cape Colony produced nothing of great significance to the British Imperial economy. The vast area populated by Europeans was merely an appendix to the strategic prize which was the Cape Peninsula.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Lichtenstein, Henry. (1812) *Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806*. Vol. 1. p. 168.

¹⁰³ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 52.

¹⁰⁴ Freund, William. (1985) *The Cape under the transitional governments, 1795–1814*, in Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (eds.) *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652–1820*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman. p. 213.

¹⁰⁵ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 52.

Largely as a result of this lack of interest in the Southern African hinterland, the British retained the system of political rule which depended heavily on a sustained alliance with the major landowners of the colony (as described in 2.1.4). They also kept the Roman-Dutch system of law used at the Cape prior to their conquest. In spite of this the incorporation of the Cape Colony into the British Empire led to an increase in trade relations abroad; this influenced especially the wine industry, which saw a sharp rise in production as a result of an increasing demand for wine for export.¹⁰⁶ The duty on wines entering Britain was reduced in 1813, which meant that the Cape could for the first time compete with continental wine producers. By 1822 just over 10 percent of wine consumed in Britain was of Cape origin.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, merino sheep, which were well adapted to arid regions, were introduced in many areas and pushed up the production of wool.¹⁰⁸ This new spurt in rural production led to the expansion of coastal shipping, something which did not exist under VOC rule. Direct exports from Algoa Bay (present-day Port Elizabeth) were begun in 1812 by the firm Pohl and Company, which facilitated the export of wool and significantly stimulated economic growth in the eastern part of the Colony.¹⁰⁹ This greater commercialisation of the Cape Colony was further boosted by the importation of British capital and British immigrants, namely a large group of assisted settlers in 1820.¹¹⁰ About 4,000 settlers from the British Isles arrived in the Eastern Cape in 1820. This migration scheme was implemented by the United Kingdom for mainly two reasons: to fight unemployment in post-Peterloo Britain and to act as a barricade against amaXhosa attacks on the eastern border of the Cape Colony.¹¹¹ Most of the settlers were from the lower-middle classes and had no experience in agricultural activities – which they were expected to engage in on lots of about 40 hectares - but the vast majority were urban artisans.¹¹²

The John Rennie manuscript discussed in Chapter 4 (also see Appendix 7) was in the possession of, and brought over to Southern Africa by, one of the 1820 Settlers (as they became known), George Rennie, who was an agriculturist by profession. He was born in 1798 (to parents Alexander Rennie and Elizabeth Brown) and arrived in the Eastern Cape on the ship *Brilliant* as part of the Pringle party. This party was mostly of Scottish origin and the Rennie family came from East Lothian (Haddingtonshire). They sailed from Gravesend on 15 February 1820 and arrived in Algoa Bay (Port Elizabeth) on 15 May of the same year and settled on the Baviaans River, about 50 km from Cradock.¹¹³

Because of their inexperience with agriculture, as well as the fact that the land that was allocated to them was poorly suited to intensive farming, the majority of the 1820 Settlers did not thrive on the eastern border of the Cape Colony. Within a few years most of them had abandoned their farming activities and took up mercantile and artisanal occupations in Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth or other colonial villages.¹¹⁴ Seen within the relative small population of colonists at the time (in 1793 there were estimated to be 13,830 free *burghers* – see 2.1.1) and the relative scarcity of skilled craftsmen

¹⁰⁶ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 37.

¹⁰⁷ Freund, William. (1985) *The Cape under the transitional governments, 1795–1814*. p. 216.

¹⁰⁸ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 37.

¹⁰⁹ Freund, William. (1985) *The Cape under the transitional governments, 1795–1814*. p. 219.

¹¹⁰ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 37.

¹¹¹ Ross, Robert. (2009) *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750–1870*. p. 60.

¹¹² Thompson, Leonard (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 54.

¹¹³ British 1820 Settlers to South Africa. <https://www.1820settlers.com> Accessed: 10 July 2018.

¹¹⁴ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 55.

(see 2.1.3 and 2.1.4), the arrival of the 1820 Settlers led to a significant influx of practitioners of artisanal professions.

In addition to this, Thompson¹¹⁵ argues that the presence of the 1820 Settlers added another layer of complexity to an already complex colonial society; he puts it as follows: 'With their different language, traditions, religious affiliations and experiences, they were culturally distinct from the earlier settlers. They were the first white immigrants who did not assimilate with them'. He goes on to argue that this divide was evident into the 20th century. It is important to keep this aspect in mind when notions of 'home' and nostalgia for the country of origin encountered in English song texts in some of the manuscripts that form part of this study (see Chapter 4) will be discussed in Chapter 5.

In spite of the significant influence that the 1820 Settlers had on the history of the Cape Colony (and later South Africa), it is important to put the above information into an international context: of all the emigrants who left the British Isles before the 1870s only a minute proportion settled in Southern Africa. The same is valid for British investment in the Cape Colony. To put this into context: in 1870 the United States had approximately 85,295 kilometres of railroad and a population of over 32 million people of European descent, whilst all of Southern Africa had merely 113 kilometres of rail and 250,000 people of European descent.¹¹⁶

2.1.6 Christianity and religious institutions

From 1808 the trading of slaves with British colonies was banned. This not only severely affected the way in which the demographic profile of the slave population at the Cape developed, but also brought about a move towards the complete incorporation of the Khoesan as labourers in Cape society. The British did attempt to intervene in the relations between the Khoesan labourers and their employers through codes issued in 1809 and 1812. These measures might have decreased the incidents of naked violence between farmers and their Khoesan employees, but still the balance was heavily in favour of the employers.

During the course of the 19th century these imbalances were increasingly highlighted by missionaries, who worked with a particular agenda: to turn colonial society into a space which made it possible for converts to live, what they considered, proper Christian lives. It also seems that, at least up until the end of the 18th century, when a new wave of Dutch clergy brought the first signs of an evangelical approach, the colonists were rather indifferent to religion.¹¹⁷ It was not until 1745 that the first clergyman arrived at Zwartland, a mere 64 km north of Cape Town. The same happened at Graaff-Reinet only in 1792.¹¹⁸ However, Christian baptism was seen as a necessary condition for acceptance into the upper echelons of society.

The first missionary to arrive in the colony was Georg Schmidt, sent by the Moravian Brotherhood in 1736.¹¹⁹ Although his sponsors included prominent figures in the VOC, his stay lasted only seven years, because of conflict between him and the authorities and clergy at the Cape. It was only in 1792 that the Moravians returned to Southern Africa, and specifically to the place where Schmidt

¹¹⁵ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 55.

¹¹⁶ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 52.

¹¹⁷ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 40.

¹¹⁸ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 47.

¹¹⁹ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 38.

had previously worked: Baviaans Kloof (later renamed Genadendal), 160 km east of Cape Town. The Moravians were soon followed by other missionaries funded by British non-conformist organisations, namely the Methodists and the London Mission Society (LMS).¹²⁰ In addition to this, the South African Missionary Society was organised and formed by Cape colonists in 1799. More than 2,500 Khoesan and people of other origins were living in mission settlements by 1815, whilst thousands of slaves and servants came into contact with these establishments.¹²¹ By the 1830s missionaries of other Protestant denominations, of especially German and British origins, could also be found in the Cape Colony. As a result the Cape was in all probability the most thoroughly missionised area in the world by that stage. This was the case mainly for three reasons: firstly, deaths amongst missionaries were relatively low compared to other colonies as the Cape climate was healthy for Europeans; secondly, the colony provided a fairly stable social infrastructure which facilitated the work of the missionaries;¹²² and thirdly, the mission stations were extremely successful seeing that they provided the Khoesan with a refuge from the harsh circumstances on the farms.¹²³

This led to the employers feeling that the missionaries represented a threat to them – the fear that the employees might desert them in favour of life on a mission station. The government was torn between sympathy for the position of the farmers and an appreciation of the role that the missions played in ensuring social stability in the Colony.¹²⁴ This increasing Christianization of the Khoekhoen went hand-in-hand with a systematic destruction of their culture and social structures. It was, for instance, already noted in the 1820s that in the eastern districts some Khoekhoen could be found who were unable to speak any other language than Dutch.¹²⁵

In 1819 John Philip, one of the directors of the London Missionary Society (LMS), was sent to the Cape in order to supervise the work done by LMS missionaries in Southern Africa. Philip was a radical evangelical and saw it as his duty to fight for the welfare of the oppressed classes.¹²⁶ In 1826 he went back to Britain where he tried to convince the Anti-Slavery Society that the fate of the Khoekhoen was bound up with that of the slaves on the basis of a detailed description of the poor living circumstances and the injustices suffered by the Khoekhoen. His mission proved to be successful and on 15 July 1828 the House of Commons passed a motion instructing the colonial government that all people in South Africa, whether indigenous, English or Dutch, should enjoy the same freedom and protection. The Cape government anticipated this and on 17 July 1828 they published Ordinance 50. This overruled previous legislation concerning the Khoekhoen and determined that ‘Hottentots and other free people of colour’ are equal before the law and to whites. The result was that, upon emancipation in 1834, the slaves stepped into a protected legal status.¹²⁷

In spite of Ordinance 50, the freedom won by the Khoekhoen and emancipated slaves was limited. Ordinance 50 did free them from direct discrimination via legislation, but it did not do anything to

¹²⁰ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 39.

¹²¹ Freund, William. (1985) *The Cape under the transitional governments, 1795–1814*. p. 225.

¹²² Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 39.

¹²³ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 40.

¹²⁴ Freund, William. (1985) *The Cape under the transitional governments, 1795–1814*. p. 225.

¹²⁵ Freund, William. (1985) *The Cape under the transitional governments, 1795–1814*. p. 227.

¹²⁶ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 58.

¹²⁷ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 59.

help them in overcoming their poverty.¹²⁸ By 1828 almost all of the productive land in the colony belonged to people of European descent: this was especially significant in the context of the pre-industrial and mostly rural Cape Colony, where land ownership and independence went hand-in-hand. This left the Khoekhoen and emancipated slaves with no alternative but to continue working for white people. The only exception was the option to join the ranks of the Cape Regiment. Khoekhoen units had formed part of the garrison at the Cape under Dutch rule and this was sustained by the British. From 1806 the Cape Regiment - which consisted of white officers and Khoekhoen, whose highest rank could be that of sergeant – fought in frontier wars against Africans and also in conflicts with Afrikaners. It was disbanded in 1870.

The other option for Khoekhoen and freed slaves was to take up residence at a mission station, which offered some insulation from civil society and also training in skills that would help them in the transition into colonial life. However, the shortage of suitable land on the stations, which were often overcrowded, frequently left the inhabitants with no other option than to hire themselves out to farmers, at least periodically, or to enlist in the Regiment.¹²⁹

Other than might have been expected, there are far more references to organs in a domestic context during the 18th century (see Appendix 1) than in churches. Evidence points to organs being used in four churches during the course of the 18th century: the Groote Kerk (Cape Town), the Lutheran Church in Strand Street (Cape Town), the Dutch Reformed Church in Stellenbosch, and the Zwartland congregation (Malmesbury). As organised Christianity-based religious activities started to increase in the Cape Colony from the end of the 18th century onwards (as described earlier in this section), churches and mission churches at an increasing frequency imported keyboard instruments, or bought keyboard instruments that were offered for sale locally. Although this is not directly relevant to domestic music making, it did contribute to the level of activity in the keyboard instrument trade and maintenance landscape in general. Missionaries often travelled with portable harmoniums for liturgical use.¹³⁰ As can be seen in Appendix 2, an increase in marketing organs and harmoniums for use in churches and chapels can be observed during the course of the first half of the 19th century. The following advertisements from 1835 and 1848 respectively serve as an example:

Organ. – For Sale, an excellent toned finger and barrel Organ, containing a Stopt Diapason, Principal, Dulceana, Fifteenth, and Mixture, with two Barrels, each playing 8 tunes. The above Instrument is sufficiently powerful for a Country Church or Chapel, and will be Sold reasonably, - Enquire of Mr. Hitchcock, Shortmarket-street.¹³¹

Seraphines. The Undersigned have received per 'Aeasta,' a few splendid Seraphines, particularly adapted for use in Churches or Chapels, being of a full rich tone. - Also, a few of a smaller size, for use of private families. H.&E. Suffert. 10, St George's-street.¹³²

¹²⁸ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 59.

¹²⁹ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 60.

¹³⁰ Owen, Barbara. (2001) 'Reed organ'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000043321?rskey=si03hu&result=1> Accessed: 28 February 2020.

¹³¹ De Zuid-Afrikaan, Vrydag, 18 December, 1835, Vol. 6, No. 301.

¹³² Sam Sly, Thursday, 12 October, 1848, Vol. 6, No. 277.

In some cases organs that were originally intended for use in a domestic context had a second life in a church: Governor De la Fontaine's organ (see 2.1.3) and the organ imported for Henry Somerset (see Chapter 3) serve as examples.

The earliest extant organ in Southern Africa was imported for the Genadendal Mission Station in 1831. The organ was probably built at an earlier date, as the year '1820' is legible on a piece of parchment below the wind chest, but the builder is unknown. According to church records, the instrument was imported from the United Kingdom.¹³³ This is verified by certain clearly English construction features of the instrument. An American missionary, George Champion, who visited the church in 1835, gave the following description of the instrument being used: 'The harmonious voices of the Hottentots, combined with the solemn tones of the organ as they resounded through the spacious building were truly delightful'.¹³⁴

2.1.7 Education and domestic music making

Domestic music making involving keyboard instruments is intrinsically linked to general education for several reasons: it relies on the ability to read music or transfer music aurally; it is dependent on the transfer of technical skills relating to the playing of instruments (either by tuition or by copying); and often a level of technical knowledge of the instruments is necessary in order to tune and maintain them. Music education, as an extension of general education, is furthermore often related to certain class and gender associations, a theme that will be more fully explored in Chapter 5. It is therefore necessary to have a look at evidence around education in the Cape Colony during the period applicable to this study.

In comparison to contemporary European colonies in the Americas, the population of the Cape Colony was notably unsophisticated and there were very few formal education institutions. Elementary schools where basic skills were taught were found in Cape Town and attached to the churches founded at Stellenbosch (1686), Drakenstein (1691), Roodezand (1743) and Zwartland (1745). The first high school in the colony was founded in 1714, but enjoyed so little support that it was closed in 1725.¹³⁵

But beyond these more densely settled areas there were no schools. If literacy was maintained, and in many cases it was not, it was transferred within a family. Former VOC employees sometimes made a living as travelling teachers – they would attach themselves to a *trekboer* family for a few months at a time. These *meesters* (teachers) were infamous for their level of incompetence – so much so that the word *meester* acquired a derogatory connotation.¹³⁶

Le Vaillant also comments on the level of formal education at the Cape in his account of his travels in Southern Africa in the 1780s:

In general, I found the men well made, and the women charming. I was surprised to see that the women dress and adorn themselves with the same fastidious elegance as our French ladies, but they have neither their style nor their graces. As it is always the slave women who breast-feed the master's children, the great familiarity between them has a strong influence

¹³³ Troskie, Albert. (2010) *The Pipe Organ Heritage of South Africa*. Port Elizabeth: Self-published. No. 2.

¹³⁴ Troskie, Albert. (2010) *The Pipe Organ Heritage of South Africa*. No. 2.

¹³⁵ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 40.

¹³⁶ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 47.

on manners and education. The education of the men is even more neglected, if we except the children of the rich who are sent to Europe to be educated, for the only teachers one finds at the Cape are teachers of writing.¹³⁷

Cornelius de Jong (1762–1838) also sketches the following picture of the level of education amongst colonists at the cape in 1792:

De Kaapsche scholen, waar heen het nu gezonden moest worden, zijn armhartig, en daarom ziet men op de zes en zeven jaren, wanneer het kind nog nauwlijks A. B. kent, noch ergens eenige grondden van heft, naar een onderwijzer om. 's Compagnies schepen zijn dan de eenige toevlucht; op voorspraak van die Regeering lost men een matroos of soldaat, die lezen en schrijven kan; en aan dezen mensch, die zelden om zijn goed gedrag aan deze zijde der linie komt, die dikwijls bedorven zeden heft, en meesttijds een dronkaard is, wordt het knaapje nu toevertrouwd; en zoo dra het wat lezen, schrijven en de beginselen van het rekenen kent, houdt men de opvoeding voor voltooid.¹³⁸

He links the general level of education directly to certain character traits of the colonists:

Als een gevolg dezer opvoeding is hij onwetend, trotsch, hoovaardig, verwaand, vol van zich zelve en ledig van denkbeelden, weet weinig en veracht, hetgeen hij niet weet, is vrij ruw van zeden, bezit gene de minste kieschheid, en vergeeft niet ligt, wanneer eens de haat gezet is. Van der jeugd gewoon, slaven te gebieden, gelooft hij zich boven alles verheven en kan slecht gehoorzamen. Hij vergeet ligtelijk, wat zijns elijken, en nog gemakkelijker wat een meerderen toekomt; het welk mogelijk ook al weder daarin zijn grond heeft, dat alle rangen schier gelijk zijn. De Regeering is wel de eerste klasse, maar derzelve leden zijn aan alle de anderen aanverwant. Dit hoog gevoelen van zich zelve maakt, dat zelf een boer zijnen staat met dien van niemand verwisselen zoude. Op den naam Africaan is hij trotsch; Kaapsch Burger schijnt hem een grootsche titel. Deze te verre gaande trotschheid heeft de luiheid ten gevolge. Weinige blanken zullen een hand aan den landbouw slaan of den arm in het pakhuis gebruiken; 't is slavenwerk! Waar zijn de slaven voor? Is het andere woord. Zij raken dus bijna niets aan, en wars van alles, wat den naam van werken heeft, is de heerschende liefhebberij rijden en schieten, waarin zij een bijzondere handigheid hebben, gelijk bijna in alles, wat werktuigkunde aangaat; maar hetgeen zij weten, is meest oppervlakkig en door gebruik en gewoonte verkregen; het is practijk zonder theorie; en het gantsche mensch maak een zeer gemengd karakter uit. Jammer is het, dat zijn gezond natuurlijk oordeel niet beschaafd is, en hij in andere landen door betere opvoeding geen anderen smaak en andere gewoontens aanneemt. Het verlaten van zijn vaderland ware hem zeer noodzakelijk, en zou 'er een zeer goed geheel van maken. Evenwel, geloof ik, dat de Kapenaars over het algemeen niet geschikt zijn tot afgetrokken oefeningen. Zij schuwen alles, wat daarnaar zeemt, en lezen zeer zelden. Dit maakt den omgang vrij eentoonig en vervelend. Daar de gesprekken altoos over jag ten landbouw loopen, is men schielijk uitgepraat, en niemand levert nieuwe stof.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Le Vaillant, Francois. (2007) *Travels into the Interior of Africa via the Cape of Good Hope, 1781–1783*. Translated and edited by Ian Glen. Vol. 1. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society. p. 16.

¹³⁸ De Jong, Cornelius. (1802) *Reizen naar de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Ierland en Noorwegen in de Jaren 1791 tot 1797*. Vol. 1. p. 133.

¹³⁹ De Jong, Cornelius. (1802) *Reizen naar de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Ierland en Noorwegen in de Jaren 1791 tot 1797*. Vol. 1. p. 134.

In 1804 Robert Percival is of a contrary opinion regarding the state of education amongst the female colonists in Cape Town:

As most of the Dutch inhabitants are respectable, and though not rich, have enough to live comfortably on after their own way, their daughters are pretty well educated in music and dancing.¹⁴⁰

Burchell in his *Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa* (1806) states: 'The management of the young people is almost wholly left to the slaves, and their education is much neglected. The government made an attempt, but without success at the establishment of a public school; and the individual has no other ambition but that of qualifying his sons, by writing and accounts, to become servants of the Company'.¹⁴¹ He later goes on to comment on the education of women at the Cape, and specifically mentions music education, in agreement with Percival: 'It is but justice to the young females of the Cape to remark, that many of them have profited much more than could be expected from the limited means of education that the place affords. In the better families most of them are taught music, and some have acquired a tolerable degree of execution. Many understand the French language, and some have made great proficiency in the English.'¹⁴²

As stated above, these mentions of music education specifically relating to gender and class will be discussed further in Chapter 5. To some extent it seems that education was the domain of women within households, as explained by Petrus Borchardus Borchers in his description of life at the Cape around the turn of 19th century:

The mother of the family gave the tone to the household, and in order that nothing might escape observation, she was in the habit of sitting at a small table, with a drawer for her keys, nic-nacs, &c., in the back hall, whence she regulated the duties to be performed by the daughters and female domestics. Sometimes there stood before her a tea-pot and shining kettle to serve those inclined with weak tea, which, in some places, where the water was indifferent, was very acceptable. It would have been deemed rude not to offer a cup to the visiting stranger. The 'good wife' was, moreover, usually the family scribe; the internal arrangement of the household was therefore considered her department exclusively, and it was surprising to see how well versed and clever some were in the performance of these domestic duties. As there were but few medical practitioners in former days, those too often living very distant, the mother of the family was usually expert and consulted in cases of sickness or accident. In order to be prepared she was in most houses provided with medicines or remedies, composed partly from the apothecary shop and partly from herbs of the country known from experience to possess medical or healing qualities. Great faith was placed in small boxes of medicine prepared at Halle, in Germany, and known under the name of *Halsche medicynen*. In ordinary cases, and before medical aid is called in, these remedies are resorted to. They are known as *huysmiddeltjes* (domestic medicines), and are sometimes applied with good success.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Percival, Robert. (1804) *An account of the Cape of Good Hope*. London: Baldwin. p. 277.

¹⁴¹ Burchell, William John. (1822) *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*. 2 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown. p. 96.

¹⁴² Burchell, William John. (1822) *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*. p. 108.

¹⁴³ Borchers, Petrus Borchardus. (1963) *An Autobiographical Memoir*. Cape Town: Africana Connoisseurs Press. p. 197.

Although there is very little evidence of formal music education during the course of the 18th century, Lichtenstein, relating to his travels in 1803, states that 'there are many freed-men in the town¹⁴⁴ who gain their living by instructing the slaves in music: but neither master nor scholars know a single note: they all play entirely by the ear'.¹⁴⁵ This aural transmission of repertoire is possibly the reason why there are very few extant manuscripts that were used in the Cape Colony during the 17th and 18th centuries, and why so little is known about the repertoire that the slave orchestras or colonists were playing. The manuscripts discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis attempts to bridge the gap in knowledge concerning this matter, at least in terms of keyboard repertoire used in the domestic context.

During the first half of the 19th century there was a significant increase in offerings of music education and music lessons in Cape Town, as demonstrated below by a selection of representative advertisements from early newspapers:

Music Academy, No. 45, Bree-street. E.K. Green is now happy to announce to his Friends and the Public, that Mr. F. Logier is arrived from London, for the purpose in conjunction with himself, of opening an Academy on his Father's system, for Piano Forte playing, and the Theory of Music. Prospectus of the same is in the Press - and every necessary preparations are making for the immediate opening of the Academy. Early applications are particularly requested to be made, for the better arrangements of the different classes. N.B. Mr. Logier will undertake to instruct a limited number of Pupils on the Violin, Violoncello, Flute and French Horn.¹⁴⁶

Mr. C.E. Boniface, Sworn Translator and Master of Languages, Also teaches the Spanish Guitar, and can accommodate his Pupils and others with Elementary Books of all descriptions; such as Grammars and Dictionaries in the French, Dutch, English, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian Languages: the best and newest Instruction-books for the Guitar; Vocal and other Music set for the same Instrument, and also Silver and real Italian Gut Strings. No. 5, Buitengracht, Cape Town.¹⁴⁷

Mrs. Swaving's French Academy for young ladies, Roeland Street, Cape Town. Teaching includes: Guitar. At additional prices. Pianoforte, Harp, Vocal music.¹⁴⁸

Madame Chardon. From Paris. Has the honor to announce that it is her intention to establish herself in Cape Town, and that she is prepared to give lessons on the piano forte, the harp, and in singing. Madame Chardon, -having succeeded as a Teacher at Madras and Calcutta, as well as at Bourdon and the Maritius, and having had the entire Education of several persons now established as Professors in those places, - trusts that she may claim the confidence of Parents, and others, who may select her as their Instructress. Madame Chardon will be happy to call upon persons living out of Town, if required. No. 37, Loop-street.¹⁴⁹

Music. Charles Junghenn, Teacher on the Piano Forte, begs to inform the Public that several of his Pupils having left Cape Town and the Colony, part of his time is unoccupied, and he can now enter on new engagements. He trusts that he requires no other recommendation

¹⁴⁴ i.e. Cape Town.

¹⁴⁵ Lichtenstein, Henry. (1812) *Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806*. Vol. 1. p. 28.

¹⁴⁶ The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 3 March, 1826, Vol. 21, No. 1051.

¹⁴⁷ Cape Almanac, 1830.

¹⁴⁸ Cape Almanac, 1830.

¹⁴⁹ Sam Sly, Thursday, 26 June, 1845, Vol. 2, No. 105.

than the rapid improvement made by his numerous Pupils during the two years he has been in Cape Town. For Terms, apply at Mr. Adney's Music Warehouse, St George's-street.¹⁵⁰

Musical Academy. Mrs. R.J. Joseph, from the Royal Academy of Music, and Pupil of Crivelli, takes leave to inform the Ladies of Cape Town and its Vicinity, that she intends receiving a limited number of Pupils at her Residence, No. 11, Keizersgracht, for the purpose of imparting a thorough knowledge of the Piano-Forte, Singing, and Harmony. - The terms may be ascertained on application. Cape Town, Oct. 14th, 1846.¹⁵¹

The Misses RUFFE's Select Establishment for the education of Young Ladies. No. 53, St. George's-street. For Instruction in the English and French Languages, Reading, Grammar, Geography, History, Writing, and Arithmetic; Plain and Fancy Work: Piano-Forte, Italian, Guitar, and Singing, taught by competent Masters.¹⁵²

The following detailed description from a newspaper advertisement of the Logerian Musical Academy, which opened its doors in 1826, gives an insight into the education methods used, the duration and frequency of lessons, as well as repertoire that was considered important:

The Logerian Musical Academy 45, Bree-street. In consequence of the repeated solicitations of so many respectable Friends, E.K. Green and Frederick Logier, Beg to inform the Public, that they have been induced to alter the Terms of the Charges to 60 Rds. per Quarter, in advance. The following are the Regulations of the Academy: A Suit of commodious Rooms is appropriated to the use of Pupils. In one, are several Instruments for simultaneous performance; here, also, the Pupils receive Lectures upon, and write Exercises in Harmony.

Each Class will meet twice a week, two hours each Lesson; one of which will be occupied in receiving Individual Instructions on the Piano Forte, and writing Exercises; the other in Lectures on the Principles of Harmony, and occasionally playing in concert.

Mondays and Wednesdays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, will be the days fixed for Ladies' Classes; Fridays and Saturdays for Gentlemen.

Each Class not to be composed of more than six pupils. Hours of the Classes will be from 8 o'clock until 10: from 10 till 12; from 12 to 2; and from 2 to 4 o'clock each Day.

Any Lesson lost in consequence of non-attendance at the proper Class hour, may be regained by the Pupil's attendance with one of the other Classes.

A Parent of a Female Friend is allowed to accompany a Pupil to any of the Lectures.

No extra charge is made for the use of Piano Fortes, Chiroplasts, Lecture Board, &c. &c. in the Academy; but should a Chiroplast or Hand Director, be necessary for a Pupil at home, such may either be purchased by the Parents, or hired from Messrs. E.K. Green & F. Logier, at 5 Rds. per Month, so long as it may be required.

Charge will be made for Music, blank Books, And Slates.

¹⁵⁰ Sam Sly, Thursday, 23 April, 1846, Vol. 3, No. 148.

¹⁵¹ Sam Sly, Thursday, 13 October, 1846, Vol. 3, No. 173.

¹⁵² Cape Almanac, 1850.

The course of study to consist of Mr. Logier's elementary Books, and a selection from the works of the most classical Authors, ancient and modern, viz: S Bach, Corelli, Handel, Scarlatti, Haydn, Mozart, Clementi, Cramer, Dussek, &c. &c. after parsing through this course, the whole range of musical Authors will be left open to the choice of the Student.

Prospectus and every other information respecting this new method of Instruction in the principles of harmony and composition combined with the new mode of practice on the Piano, with the Chiroplast, may be had on application at the Academy, or at E.K. Green's Music Repository, No. 26, Long-marked-street.

N.B. The Academy will commence on Monday, 3d April, 1826.¹⁵³

As stated above, general education is intrinsically linked to music education, which, together with musicmaking at home (and dancing), seems to have been a clear class indicator. The following section gives a selection of quotes from historical sources describing various domestic music-making situations. This is in addition to the music making by slaves which was discussed in 2.1.2.

De Jong also describes social dancing in his account of life at the Cape as he encountered it in the 1790s:

In de nabijheid van de Kaap gaan de buitenlieden als eerste burgers, de vrouwen als jufvrouwen gekleed; velen zelfs zijn gekapt. Deze kleeding pas weinig bij de ruwe manieren, verwaarloosde opvoeding en boersche bevalligheid. Zij danssen alle, en niet zoo als onze boerinetjes, maar wezenlijk contradansen en menuetten. 'Er komt wel eens een enkele schop of stoot tuschen beide; maar buiten ziet men zoo nauw niet.¹⁵⁴

Mary Ann Parker, on a visit to the Cape, describes the following scene that took place after supper at the house of the De Wits, where they were staying on 17 July 1791:

...the evening concluded with dancing, which they are remarkably fond of at this town; particularly a dance somewhat like the *Allemande*, excepting the figure, which is not variable, and the long continuance of turning round: it is surprizing that the ladies are not giddy with the swiftness of the motion; for it would certainly turn any person's head unaccustomed to it.¹⁵⁵

Again, on 24 July of the same year, she gave the following account of dancing and singing at the house of Colonel Gordon:

...we were occupied in feasting and singing till the evening, when we returned home, and found the company waiting for us. Upon our arrival, the dances immediately began...¹⁵⁶

In 1804 Robert Percival gives the following account of domestic music making in his *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope*:

¹⁵³ The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, Tuesday, 28 March, 1826, Vol. 2, No. 85.

¹⁵⁴ De Jong, Cornelius. (1802) *Reizen naar de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Ierland en Noorwegen in de Jaren 1791 tot 1797*. Vol. 1. p. 99.

¹⁵⁵ Parker, Mary Ann. (1795) *A Voyage Around the World*. London: Mr. DeBrett, Piccadilly. p. 54.

¹⁵⁶ Parker, Mary Ann. (1795) *A Voyage Around the World*. p. 57.

The women at the Cape, whilst young, are pretty and engaging, remarkably fair in their complexions, too much so indeed, as they want that expression and those animated tints which our amiable country women possess. They really seem to have a greater share of liveliness and good humour than what naturally belongs to the national character of the descendants of Hollanders. Dancing and visiting are the principal amusements with them, and of these they are very fond. There are no public balls or other amusements at Cape Town, except those parties given by the English families and officers of the garrison, which the young ladies embrace with avidity. Any private house which has musical and dancing parties at it, is open to any stranger or inhabitant of respectable character.¹⁵⁷

Borcherds also mentions the lack of professional and public entertainments, which, as Percival states above, brought it into the domain of the domestic:

In those days there were scarcely any balls; amateur concerts and plays constituted chiefly the public amusement. The most respectable members of society joined. Even the President of the Court of Justice assisted at the concert in playing a bass, so large that he was obliged to stand during the performance. The plan was, to form the subscribers into a club. Each member was obliged, if called upon, to join, so that those who were capable and took an active part were not subject to hissing or censure. For whoever thus disturbed the company was sure to receive a ticket and programme to join the next performance, and hence much ill-feeling and unpleasant remarks were avoided.

The terms were made so reasonable that I attended six interesting performances during a winter for fifteen shillings; and concerts were even less. The public theatre (now St. Stephen's Church, in Hottentot or Riebeeck-square) was hired for the purpose. That theatre was held by different shareholders. The military officers mixed frequently with the inhabitants, and, having no mess, lived with the families as members, and thus became familiar acquaintances.¹⁵⁸

In some cases music making at home took place in relation to religious practice. Section VIII of the memoirs of Petrus Borcharodus Borcherds (son of Meent Borcherds, whose two manuscript books form a core part of this study – see Chapter 4) is a description of life in Stellenbosch during his youth, around the turn of the 19th century. The last part of this section is, in PB Borcherds's words, a 'sketch of an evening in the days of youth, also drawn partly from fact and reality'.¹⁵⁹ Here we find the following reference to domestic music making involving a keyboard instrument, in relation to religious practice:

The sacrifice of a feeling and religious heart was now lighted on the family altar; that Word by which the will of the Supreme for time and eternity is prescribed was explained, and the head of the family expounded it in a plain and intelligible manner, brief and to the point, such as was calculated to meet the comprehension of those belonging to the family circle; and with Gellert's beautiful German hymn, 'Für alle gute sey gepreist,' translated by the leader in Dutch, accompanied by the pianoforte, this impressive home solemnity closed.¹⁶⁰

He also mentions the singing of psalms and hymns in a domestic setting:

¹⁵⁷ Percival, Robert. (1804) *An account of the Cape of Good Hope*. p. 276.

¹⁵⁸ Borcherds, Petrus Borcharodus. (1963) *An Autobiographical Memoir*. p. 237.

¹⁵⁹ Borcherds, Petrus Borcharodus. (1963) *An Autobiographical Memoir*. p. 223.

¹⁶⁰ Borcherds, Petrus Borcharodus. (1963) *An Autobiographical Memoir*. p. 225.

No respectable family was seen without the Bible in its possession, some too with books of prayer or hymns, which, with other religious books, were read with attention and reverence. Some families owned a Flavius Josephus and books of martyrology, and it was not unusual to hear in some houses the singing of psalms and hymns before daylight and in the evening before supper; at meals, prayer and thanksgiving, either by the father, mother, one of the children, or schoolmaster, was observed, and in some families I cannot recollect to have seen it ever neglected; I know, when yet young, that religious instruction was given in the evening even to the slaves belonging to the household, particularly by a Mr. Frans Roos of Moddergat, Hamman of Stellenbosch, Roux, and others.¹⁶¹

The organ built by Hodderson (see 2.1.3) that was encountered by Lichtenstein during his travels in 1803 stood in the house of Cobus Dupré in the Swellendam district, in a room specifically reserved for religious practice: 'There was an apartment in the house appropriated solely to the performance of divine service; in it was an organ, on which one of Müller's daughters played very well'.¹⁶²

2.1.8 The changing face of the Empire

By the mid-19th century Britain took the final steps in breaking with its mercantilist heritage, most importantly parting with the idea that the Empire should be run like a closed economy.¹⁶³ This new approach to the colonial question 'was fashioned, not by a calculated appraisal of economic interests, but by a desire to give British communities overseas the fullest possible control over their internal affairs that circumstances permitted'.¹⁶⁴ This approach was also 'echoed by British colonists in North America, Australia and New Zealand, who were involved in various conflicts with their metropolitan officials and nominated councils'.¹⁶⁵ However, Canada set the pace for a more independent form of colonial rule by moving from a 'representative government' to a 'responsible government'. Australia and New Zealand were soon to follow. It is important to remember that in all the above cases nearly all the settlers came from Britain and outnumbered the first nations segment of the population.¹⁶⁶

From within the Cape Colony there was pressure from the 1820 Settlers for a certain level of governance independent from Britain based on their disillusionment with the autocratic ruling style of Lord Charles Somerset (Governor, 1814–1826) and their belief that they could deal more effectively with their racial problems on the Eastern frontier than a British governor could. The British government responded to this by making concessions in 1825 and 1834 in putting a system in place where nominated colonists formed part of a council which the governor had to consult in decisions. There was a complete breakdown of this system in 1849 when, at the attempt of the British to offload a shipload of British convicts at the Cape, all the factions of the white population stood together – a rare occurrence – in protest. The government had to yield. This incident played an important role in setting the wheels in motion for the British government to provide the Cape

¹⁶¹ Borchers, Petrus Borchardus. (1963) *An Autobiographical Memoir*. p. 179.

¹⁶² Lichtenstein, Henry. (1812) *Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806*. Vol. 1. p. 168.

¹⁶³ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 62.

¹⁶⁴ Burroughs, Peter. (1984) 'Colonial Self-Government'. *British Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*. Editor: C.C. Eldridge. London: Macmillan. p. 58.

¹⁶⁵ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 62.

¹⁶⁶ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 62.

Colony with a bicameral parliament in 1853.¹⁶⁷ This parliament could legislate on domestic matters, whilst a British veto could still be exercised.¹⁶⁸

The time period for this colonial and cultural history, and for this study in general, ends in 1852, the year before the bicameral parliament was implemented, which brought on a significant change in the functioning of the Cape Colony. This cut-off date also pre-dates the discovery of diamonds to the north of the Orange River, in the late 1860s, which brought about a dramatic change in the character of colonial society in Southern Africa.¹⁶⁹

In closing this section it is fitting to give an indication (albeit vague) of the population of the Cape Colony at a date as close as possible to the cut-off date for this study. The first official census of the population at the Cape Colony was taken in 1865. The profile of the population – keeping in mind that this was in all probability subject to a large margin of error – was: 180,000 ‘Europeans’, 200,000 ‘Hottentots and Others’ and 100,000 ‘Kafirs’. The term ‘Hottentots and Others’ referred to what is known today as the coloured people and ‘Kafirs’ to Bantu-speaking Africans.¹⁷⁰

2.2 CONCLUSION

This chapter gave an overview of colonial society and social structures in the Cape Colony between 1652 and 1852. Robert Ross¹⁷¹ sums up the basic stages in the development of Cape colonial society as follows: under Dutch rule it contained a broad range of interconnected statuses. These statuses were not always consistent, and were expressed in a variety of ways. During the 19th century, under the new colonial power, these statuses were gradually diminished and dominated by the social order that was inherited from Great Britain. Under this order, English ethnicity and cultural values were greatly emphasised. The British ideas of respectability manifested especially in matters of gender. Those who were socially outside of the inner sanctum of society could aim for acceptance by adopting modes of behaviour and assuming outward signs of what was considered as appropriate for respectable society. The acceptance of these attempts was conditional and most often only partial, and depended on the denial of identity politics. There was a systematic ethnicisation of political life which was strongly based on feelings of English superiority. Any claims of acceptance could only be made by groups of people, determined by communal criteria rather than individual respectability. In practice these criteria were often perceived as a matter of racial difference. This in turn helped in strengthening a sense of ethnic exclusiveness. These matters reached a culmination point in the middle of the 19th century, notably with the Kat River rebellion, where whites revolted against the political oligarchy. This resulted in the liberal constitution of 1853.

Ross¹⁷² lastly adds that social respectability became the outward signals of a class ideology. This ideology was very successful and therefore became to be seen as the natural order in society, which in turn resulted in suppressing class-based conflict. These ideas will be explored further in Chapter 5.

¹⁶⁷ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 63.

¹⁶⁸ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 64.

¹⁶⁹ Ross, Robert. (2009) *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750–1870*. p. 8.

¹⁷⁰ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 65.

¹⁷¹ Ross, Robert. (2009) *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750–1870*. p. 4.

¹⁷² Ross, Robert. (2009) *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750–1870*. p. 5.

In addition to giving a general background to Cape colonial society, this chapter has also provided an overview of music-making activities amongst the colonists (including some in a domestic setting). It showed that slaves were often involved in playing Western instruments, mostly in providing entertainment for colonists. The lack of evidence pointing to slaves playing keyboard instruments will be addressed in Chapter 5 (5.3). This chapter showed that there was a level of craftsmanship (albeit on a very limited scale) that allowed for keyboard instruments to be built in the Cape Colony during the 18th century, and that this industry was mostly necessitated because of trade limitations by the VOC. This situation changed drastically after the Cape became an British colony. Another point of interest is that education amongst the colonists that facilitated music making (and music literacy) involving keyboard instruments. However, music literacy is not a necessary skill in this regard, as proved by the number of slaves playing Western instruments and repertoire. The question of music literacy, and its cultural connotations relating to status and respectability will be explored fully in Chapter 5.

Chapter 3 will present historical information relating specifically to keyboard instruments that were used, or intended to be used, in a domestic setting. It will focus on the physical distribution of these instruments within in the Cape Colony, and provide evidence about the situations in which they were used. Information about importation and building trends will be presented, as well as evidence about the types of keyboard instruments that were found in domestic situations.

Chapter 3

The distribution of domestic keyboard instruments and the contexts in which they were used

Mainly four types of sources give an insight into the domestic keyboard instruments that were used at the Cape: 1) contemporary written sources, which include travel journals, diaries and memoirs; 2) the meticulous records of the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber which documented the contents of properties of the deceased owner; 3) advertisements, auction lists and accounts of domestic concerts in early newspapers; and 4) extant instruments.

In this type of study iconography would normally be an important form of source material, but in the case of the early Cape I could find no examples of visual representations of keyboard instruments that were used in a domestic context.

In each section of this chapter references to domestic keyboard instruments from the relevant type of source material are listed chronologically, whilst points of interest are highlighted at the end of each individual section. At the end of the chapter some conclusions applicable to the final outcome of the study are highlighted, with reference to their relevance to Chapter 5 – the interpretative chapter.¹

3.1 CONTEMPORARY WRITTEN SOURCES

The first mentions of Western keyboard instruments at the Cape occur in the journal (*Daghregister*) kept by Jan van Riebeeck. The journal was not a personal endeavour for Van Riebeeck: on 6 December 1621 the *Heren XVII* ordered that a journal detailing day-to-day activities should be kept at all of the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) stations, with particular attention paid to the relationship between the VOC and their rivals, including the English.² This was also the case at the Cape: the instructions to Van Riebeeck and his fellow officers, issued on 25 March 1651 in Amsterdam specify the keeping of a journal.³

In Van Riebeeck's journal a harpsichord is mentioned on three separate occasions: in September, October and November of 1660. The first reference, from 30 September 1660, is in the context of a visit by Sousoa, the leader of the Chainouqua people, to the fort at the Cape.

...daer hij hem, soo't scheen, seer genegen to thoonden, werdende derhalven met kees, vers broot ende suycker in een tinne schotel getraceert ende op een matjen in des Commandeurs camer met voorss. smeerige prinsesse (sijn soons vrouw) te sitten geset,

¹ A note to future researchers: the chronological listing of material from contemporary written sources (3.1 in the main text), along with Appendix 1 (References to keyboard instruments and sheet music in the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber at the Cape of Good Hope) and Appendix 2 (References to keyboard instruments and sheet music found in early colonial newspapers between 1800 and 1852), offers a systematic foundation (presented chronologically) of primary source material onto which future knowledge gains can be added.

² Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1952) *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*. Edited by H.B. Thom, Translated by C.K. Johnman and A. Ravenscroft. Vol. 1. Cape Town, Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema. p. XXVI.

³ Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1952) *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*. Vol. 1. p. XXVII.

sulcx noch noyt ymandt gedaen is. Item oock eens op de claversingel gespeelt, alle 'twelcke hem wonderlijck aengenaem scheen, mitsgaders 't bier, Spaens ende France wijn, seer wel smaecten, doch soo veel niet na sigh nam dat beschoncken wierd...⁴

[The king was treated to cheese, fresh bread and sugar in a tin dish and was given a seat upon a mat in the Commander's room, together with the aforesaid greasy princess, his son's wife. They were first to be accorded such an honour and were further entertained to a tune on the harpsichord. All of this seemed to please him mightily and the beer and Spanish and French wine were very much to his taste, but he did not take enough to intoxicate him.]⁵

The second mention, on 10 October 1660, is again in reference to a visit by Sousoa:

... 's namiddags de gewoonelijcke parade geschiedende, voor hem eens van de musquettiers los gebrandt, ofte gechargeert ende hem wijs gemaect sulcx niet anders als voor groote heeren (gelijcq wij hem achteden) gedaen wierd, latende wijders voor hem eens op die fiool ende claversingel speelen en voorts andre vreughden aenrechten ende seggen dat wij daarmede onse goede genegentheyt tot hem bethoonden, etc. Ende wanneer hij ons van 't gout ende gesteenten (daer hij noch bij bleeff ons te sullen beschicken) verthooninge dede, dat alsdan weder geen cleyne vereeringe voor hem soude gereet wesen...⁶

[When the usual parade took place in the afternoon, the musketeers fired their guns for the benefit of Sousoa, who was informed that this was done only for such mighty lords as we considered him to be. Next we had the fiddle and the clavichord⁷ played for him and we treated him to other pleasures, saying that this was our way of showing him our friendly disposition, but that when he brought us specimens of gold and precious stones (which he still insists he will deliver to us), there would be a far from trifling present awaiting him.]⁸

The third mention, from 4 November 1660, relates to Oedasoä, leader of the Cochoquas people, being received at the fort at the Cape:

Ondertusschen wierden van sijn volcq de 5 oud ende jonge beesten ende 19 schapen buyten gehandelt ende altemaelen wel treffelijcq met eeten, tabacq ende brandewijn drie mael daegs lustigh getracteert. Ende hij voornamentlijck met een parade ende charge van musquettiers (gelijcq Sousöa geschiet was) vereert, mitsgaders bij ende van des Commandeurs taeffelcost met Koukosöa ende sijn dochter onder een claversingelspel fray ende lustigh onthaelt.⁹

[In the meantime the 5 old and young cattle and 19 sheep were bartered from his people outside and they were all excellently treated to food, tobacco, and brandy three times a day. Oedasoä himself was specially honoured by a parade and discharge of musketry, as had been

⁴ Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1957) *Daghregister gehouden by den oppercoopman Jan Anthonisz van Riebeeck*. Edited by D.B. Bosman. Vol. 3. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema. p. 274.

⁵ Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1958) *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*. Edited by H.B. Thom, Translated by C.K. Johnman and A. Ravenscroft. Vol. 3. Cape Town, Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema. p. 267.

⁶ Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1957) *Daghregister gehouden by den oppercoopman Jan Anthonisz van Riebeeck*. Vol. 3. p. 279.

⁷ In the original Dutch the word *claversingel* (harpsichord) is used, but the Van Riebeeck Society's English edition wrongly translates it as *clavichord*.

⁸ Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1958) *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*. Vol. 3. p. 271.

⁹ Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1957) *Daghregister gehouden by den oppercoopman Jan Anthonisz van Riebeeck*. Vol. 3. p. 286.

*done for Sousoa. Furthermore he, his daughter and Koukoso sat at the Commander's table and shared his meal while being pleasantly and gaily entertained by a performance on the clavichord.*¹⁰¹¹

The next mention of a keyboard used in a domestic context refers to the 1770s: in 1819 M.C. Vos (1759–1825)¹² wrote his memoirs in the form of nineteen letters, which he sent to his friend S. van Beuningen, who had them published in Amsterdam in 1824 under the title *Merkwaardig Verhaal aangaande het leven en de lotgevallen van Michiel Christiaan Vos, als predikant der Hervormde Christelijke Gemeente op onderscheidene plaatsen in Nederland, Afrika en Azië; van zyne jeugd af tot den tyd van zyn Emeritusschap: door hem zelve in den jare 1819 briefsgewyze aan eene vriend medegedeeld*.¹³ In the first letter he describes part of his daily activities as a 14-year-old (therefore around the year 1773):

Nu was ik veertien jaren oud, en moest den ganschen dag in dat werk bezig zijn; terwijl ik 's avonds, bij kaarslicht, het *teekenen* leerde. En daar ik grooten lust voor de *muzijk* had, werd mij *één* uur 's daars vergund op het klavier te leeren spelen. Dat een en ander deed ik, naar mate mijn ligchaamsgestel zulks toeliet, met grooten lust.¹⁴

In the 1780s Francois le Vaillant remarked on the use of harpsichords in a domestic setting at the Cape in his travel journal:

Almost all the women play the harpsichord; it is their only talent. They like to sing and are mad about dancing; thus rarely a week passes without several balls taking place.¹⁵

In a list of expenses for January 1790 Johanna Duminy (1757–1807) mentions an amount of 22 rijksdaalers spent on having 'de clavier late repareeren van sanet' in their house in Cape Town.¹⁶ The name 'sanet' refers to Duminy's eldest daughter, Jeanne Francoise (1779–1850).¹⁷

Mary Ann Parker (1765/66–1848) accompanied her husband, Captain John Parker, on a journey from London to New South Wales and back during 1791/1792. They arrived at Simon's Town on 21 June 1791 for a stopover during their outwards journey. It is an interesting coincidence that, during their time in Cape Town, Mary Ann and John Parker were staying with Aletta Jacoba de Wit née Blanckenberg (1738–1806), the mother of Aletta Jacoba de Wit (born 1762),¹⁸ spouse of Meent

¹⁰ Again a wrong translation of the word *clavresingel*.

¹¹ Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1958) *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*. Vol. 3. p. 278.

¹² Engelbrecht, S.P. (1952) *Die Kaapse predikante van die sewentiende en agtiende eeu*. Cape Town/Pretoria: H.A.U.M./J.H. de Bussy. p. 92.

¹³ Engelbrecht, Stephanus Petrus. (1952) *Die Kaapse predikante van die sewentiende en agtiende eeu*. p. 97.

¹⁴ Vos, Michiel Christiaan. (1824) *Merkwaardig verhaal aangaande het leven en de lotgevallen van Michiel Christiaan Vos*. Amsterdam: A.B. Saakes. p. 5.

¹⁵ Le Vaillant, Francios. (2007) *Travels into the Interior of Africa via the Cape of Good Hope, 1781–1783*. Translated and edited by Ian Glen. Vol. 1. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society. p. 17.

¹⁶ Franken, Johan Lambertus Machiel. (ed.). (1938) *Duminy-Dagboeke*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck-Vereniging. p. 333.

¹⁷ Franken, Johan Lambertus Machiel. (ed.). (1938) *Duminy-Dagboeke*. p. 60.

¹⁸ Borchers, Claude Bennett. (1964) *Genealogy of the Borchers Family*. Mossel Bay: self-published. p. 4.

Borcherds (1762–1832)¹⁹ since September 1785,²⁰ whose two music manuscript books occupy an important position in this study (see Chapter 4).

On the morning of 18 July 1791 she visited a certain Colonel Gordon in Greenpoint and describes the following scene:

The next morning we again visited the hospitable villa, where we were regaled in a manner that bespoke the attention of the providers: during a desert that would have gained applause from the nicest Epicure, singing was introduced, in the course of which we were favoured with a *Hottentot* song from the Colonel: to describe any part of it would be impossible; but, without a wish to offend, I must say that it appeared to me the very reverse of all that is musical or harmonious; and the Colonel, who gave us strict charge not to be frightened with what we were to hear, seemed to enjoy the laughter it occasioned. Different songs having gone round, the Colonel's son amused us with several pieces upon the organ; and shortly after we were agreeably surprised with the bands belonging to the regiments without: nor did this conclude the amusement; for, after drinking coffee, we danced until our return into town, when the same music accompanied us, to prevent, I suppose, our spirits from drooping at the thought of leaving such good company.²¹

Cornelius de Jong (1762–1838) was a Dutch naval officer who undertook travels to the Cape, Ireland and Norway between 1791 and 1797.²² He published an account of his travels in three volumes (the first volume in 1802) under the title *Reizen naar de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Ierland en Noorwegen*.²³ Each volume is made up of several letters. In the sixteenth letter of the first volume, written on the 20th of December 1792, de Jong gives the following account of domestic musical activities amongst Westerners at the Cape:

De gewoone uitspanningen, waarop zij, zoo als alle vrouwen, zeer gezet zijn, bestaan in het Klavercimbel, een partij Quadriile, Ombre of Whist, en onvermoeid, onmatig danssen.²⁴

In 1803, during his travels in the first decade of the 19th century, Lichtenstein mentions an organ in the house of Cobus Dupré in the Swellendam district:

On the fourteenth of December we crossed the Krombek-and-Vet rivers, and stopped for the night at the house of Cobus Dupré, the son of our former host. We found here also a great number of the neighbours assembled, among others Dupré's father-in-law, Hilgard Müller, a very worthy old man, and another of the party who went with Van Reenen to the Caffre country in search of the Grosvenor's crew. This place had formerly belonged to him, and was no way inferior in the excellence of the buildings, and in the good order and regularity of every thing about it, to what we had seen at the senior Dupré's. The cows were here, as there, brought into covered stalls to be milked, a very unusual sight, since they are generally

¹⁹ Borcherds, Claude Bennett. (1964) *Genealogy of the Borcherds Family*. p. 5.

²⁰ Borcherds, Claude Bennett. (1964) *Genealogy of the Borcherds Family*. p. 5.

²¹ Parker, Mary Ann. (1795) *A Voyage Around the World*. London: Mr. DeBrett, Piccadilly. p. 55-56.

²² Blok, P.J. and Molhuysen, P.C. (1912) *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*. Vol. 2. <<http://www.dbnl.org>>. Accessed: 25 March 2017.

²³ De Jong, Cornelius. (1802) *Reizen naar de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Ierland en Noorwegen in de Jaren 1791 tot 1797*. Vol. 1. Haarlem: Francois Bohn.

²⁴ De Jong, Cornelius. (1802) *Reizen naar de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Ierland en Noorwegen in de Jaren 1791 tot 1797*. Vol. 1. p. 130.

milked in the fields, and left loose in the kraal at night. He had near two hundred, all very handsome animals.

There was an apartment in the house appropriated solely to the performance of divine service; in it was an organ, on which one of Müller's daughters played very well. It was built in the place itself by a person of the name of Hoddersum, who was still living at the Cape Town when I quitted the country, continuing his trade, and gaining a very good livelihood by making harpsichords.²⁵

In this passage 'Hoddersum' refers to Johannes Ludewig Hodderson, a soldier from Oldenburg near Bremen, who arrived at the Cape in 1779. According to McIntyre,²⁶ Hodderson was originally an organ builder by profession, and he worked at the Cape as an organ and harpsichord builder for at least 30 years (see 2.1.3 for more details about Hodderson's life and work).

In 1861 Petrus Borchardus Borchards (1786–1871),²⁷ son of Meent Borchards (1762–1830), published his memoirs under the title *An Auto-biographical memoir*. Borchards mentions the organ as a domestic instrument in a description of 'the customs and manners of my countrymen' in an 'attempt to give some further idea thereof and of their general character and domestic circumstances':²⁸

I fancy myself entering the house of an old respectable countryman, and especially the hall. There was the mistress of the house usually seated, receiving her familiar guests, in dress clean and orderly, surrounded by members of the family and several female servants, generally well employed in needle or other necessary work. On the tea table which she occupied stood the urn and kettle, alongside the waterbuckets mounted with copper, the copper fountain hanging on the wall with a little cock, destined to wash hands, -and these were all kept remarkably bright; the floors, when of clay, were weekly rubbed with blood to preserve it, and in inferior dwellings with cow-dung; in the houses of those in easy circumstances linseed oil or grease was used to give it, when floored with Batavian tiles, a polish. This made it sometimes so slippery that it really required a steady step to preserve one's balance.

One of the front rooms was usually a parlour, and particularly in summer kept dark and cool. It was furnished with stinkwood furniture, and the chief piece was a large wardrobe (cabined), with folding doors and drawers, silver mounted, and this was destined for the neat Sunday dresses and extra linen. In some rooms I have seen organs for sacred music, but no carpets or fireplaces were in my younger days in use; the stinkwood furniture was preserved by the rubbing of linseed oil or wax, or varnishing.²⁹

In a sketch titled 'an evening in the days of youth' Borchards describes the following domestic setting 'drawn partly from fact and reality':³⁰

²⁵ Lichtenstein, Henry. (1812) *Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806*. Translated by Anne Plumtre. Vol. 1. London: Henry Colburn. p. 168.

²⁶ McIntyre, D.G. (1934) *Early Organs and Organists at the Cape*. Cape Town: The Cape Guild of Organists. p. 9.

²⁷ Borchards, Claude Bennett. (1964) *Genealogy of the Borchards Family*. Mossel Bay: self-published. p. 5.

²⁸ Borchards, Petrus Borchardus. (1963) *An Auto-biographical Memoir*. Facsimile reproduction of 1861 first edition. Cape Town: Africana Connoisseurs Press. p. 204.

²⁹ Borchards, Petrus Borchardus. (1963) *An Auto-biographical Memoir*. p. 204.

³⁰ Borchards, Petrus Borchardus. (1963) *An Auto-biographical Memoir*. p. 223.

I consequently return to the home where contentment once dwelt. It was when the day had declined and the evening star appeared, and her course was observed from the garden of 'La Gratitude,' until in the west it seemed to sink below the horizon and out of view; eminent in lustre to the other stars it could not fail to attract the attention of father and son; agreeable instruction were given and received, observations were made with reference to its rapid course, until after a pleasant walk the parental dwelling was entered, in which the family was gathered by the fireside, and soon was the cold forgotten, which in winter nights sometimes produced ice, and we were in the habit of collecting it out of the large cabbage leaves.

The sacrifice of a feeling and religious heart was now lighted on the family altar; that Word by which the will of the Supreme for time and eternity is prescribed was explained, and the head of the family expounded it in a plain and intelligible manner, brief and to the point, such as was calculated to meet the comprehension of those belonging to the family circle; and with Gellert's beautiful German hymn, 'Für alle gute sey gepreist,' translated by the leader in Dutch, accompanied by the pianoforte, this impressive home solemnity closed.³¹

Here can be found a direct link between a domestic performance situation where a keyboard instrument was used and a reference to a specific piece of music from a manuscript (discussed in Chapter 4) that was in the possession of the individuals who took part in this specific music-making occasion. The Gellert/C.P.E. Bach setting of the hymn *Für alle Güte sey gepreist* can be found in one of the manuscript books of P.B. Borchers's father, Meent Borchers (see Appendix 1, as well 4.4.1). The above quotation is also the only reference to a keyboard instrument in Meent Borchers's home. We do know, however, that he was instrumental in obtaining a pipe organ for the church in Stellenbosch in 1800, which P.B. Borchers also refers to:³²

The Sabbath was the day of rest. The family dressed for church, and about an hour before service wagons and vehicles of different sorts were to be seen coming to the village with well and decently-dressed families, and gradually the villagers in their best attire were seen moving to the house of God. Men and women sat separately in church, some according to their respective ranks, the one in pews the others on chairs. The landdrost and heemraden, and minister's family and churchwardens occupied pews distinguished by prominent boards above their seats. The pulpit was so placed as to command a sight of the whole congregation; the organ stood opposite, supported by a gallery, in the midst of which were beautifully painted, in oil, figures expressive of Love, Hope, and Charity.

Previously to the minister ascending the pulpit and between the ringing of the second and third bells the Dominie, or parish clerk, read chapters out of the Bible, and usually also the one from which the text was to be taken. He also published banns, and named the members who were desirous of moving to other parishes, if any, and had applied for certificates of membership, and when the ringing of the third bell had ceased he gave out the psalm or hymn to be sung by the congregation, with the time, leading the singing and accompanied by the organ.

³¹ Borchers, Petrus Borchardus. (1963) *An Auto-biographical Memoir*. p. 225.

³² Borchers, Petrus Borchardus. (1963) *An Auto-biographical Memoir*. p. 179.

From the above examples we see that, within the domestic context, keyboard instruments were used for mainly four purposes: political, educational, for religious practice and for social entertainment. The cultural implications of this will be explored fully in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

In the case of Jan van Riebeeck, the leaders of the Chainouqua and the Cochoquas peoples, Sousoa and Oedasoia, were entertained in the 'Commander's room' and at the 'Commander's table' as part of a diplomatic process. This was done with a clear primary agenda, the facilitation of bartering for livestock, but such cultural exchanges tend to contain an array of implicit cultural meanings. One of these meanings, using a keyboard instrument as a display of technology, is of particular relevance to this study and will be discussed in Chapter 5.

M.C. Vos serves as an example where learning to play the piano was seen as part of his rigorous daily education regime, whilst the examples described by Lichtenstein and Borchers shed light on the use of a keyboard instrument as an aid to religious practice in a domestic setting.

All the other examples of keyboard instruments used in a domestic setting were for social entertainment purposes. Both Le Vaillant and De Jong specifically mention the playing of a keyboard instrument in connection with other activities that were seen as suitable for women in this specific cultural context: singing, dancing and the playing of card games.

3.2 INVENTORIES OF THE ORPHAN CHAMBER AT THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

The Orphan Chamber is an organisational body that had been in existence in the Netherlands since the late 16th century. It was extended to Batavia in 1624 and to the Cape in 1673, where it functioned during the VOC period (until 1795), during the first British occupation (1795–1803), under the Batavian government (1803–1806) and well into the second British occupation (until 1834).³³ After 1834 private companies took over from the Orphan Chamber as executor of estates.³⁴ The Orphan Chamber was responsible for the 'making of inventories, acting as the guardian of minors and administering the minors' property until they came of age'.³⁵ The inventories list the possessions of deceased estates (including detailed lists of the contents of houses) and therefore offer a very insightful glance into the everyday life of people at the Cape during the abovementioned period. For the purpose of this study these lists provide ample references not only to musical instruments, but also to other items related to domestic music making (such as sheet music, manuscript paper, music stands etc).³⁶

Between 1724 and 1833 there are:³⁷

³³ TEPC Transcription Team, Cape Town. Introduction to the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber. http://www.tanap.net/content/activities/documents/Orphan_Chamber-Cape_of_Good_Hope/introduction/01.htm Accessed: 20 January 2019.

³⁴ Introduction to the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber. p. 42.

³⁵ Introduction to the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber. p. 39.

³⁶ Please note: in this section the spelling of the names of instruments is given as they appear in the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber.

³⁷ For a complete catalogue of the references to keyboard instruments and keyboard music in the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber at the Cape of Good Hope, see Appendix 1.

5 references to a 'klavier' (1764, 1795, 1809 and 1821)

22 references to a 'clavier' (1776, 1787, twice in 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, twice in 1796, 1797, 1798, twice in 1801, twice in 1805, 1806, 1807, 1812, 1814, 1816, 1821)

1 reference to a 'claviertje' (1787)

14 references to a 'forte piano' (1786, 1791, 1807, 1809, 1814, 1816, three times in 1817, 1820, twice in 1823, 1824, 1825)

1 reference to a 'fortepiano' (1817)

8 reference to 'piano forte' (1814, 1822, 1824, twice in 1827, 1828, 1830, 1831, 1833)

1 reference to a 'piano' (1832)

1 reference to a 'pianoforte' (1827)

2 references to a 'piano forté' (1824, 1825)

7 references to 'orgel' or 'organ' (1730, 1768, 1773, 1776, 1778, 1814, 1830)

3 references to 'cabinet orgel' (twice in 1786, 1808)

3 references to different versions of 'house organ' (1808 'huijs orgel', 1811 'huis orgel', 1831 'house organ')

3 references to versions of a 'table organ' (1776 'tafelorgel', 1783 'tavel orgel', 1804 'een tafel kast orgel')

6 references to versions of 'hand orgel' (1724 'hand orgeltje', 1794 'twee hand orgeltjes', 1796 '2 deffecte handorgels', 1816 a small hand organ defective', 1827 'a hand organ', 1828 'hand organ')

3 references to 'organ' or 'orgel' in the diminutive (1776 'orgeltje', 1795 'orgeltje', 1827 'a box containing a small organ')

3 references to 'draai orgel' (1808 'een draay orgel', 1814 'een defecte draay orgel', 1816 'twee kleine draai orgels')

1 reference to a 'orgel spel' (1807)

The following matters of interest arise:

It seems that many of the instruments were not in playing condition, judging from the following references:

'een clavier onbruykbaar' (1791), 'een clavier defect' (1792) 'een clavier defect' (1796), 'clavier defect' (1801), 'een clavier/defect/' (1821) and 'een oude en defecte klavier' (1823)

This might point to the shortage of skilled instrument makers/repairers which is strengthened by the following point: often, on properties where pianos could be found, extra strings were also found, which might indicate that basic maintenance would have been performed by the owners themselves:

‘een doosje met clavier snaaren’ (1793), ‘thien pakjes met clavier snaaren’ (1794), ‘drie stellen forte piano snaren’ (1814), ‘klavier snaren’ (1816) and ‘some pianoforte strings’ (1827)

On one property there is a mention of two tuning wrenches:

‘twee klavier sleutels’ (1817)

Although the above two points might have indicated a shortage of instrument repairers, we know from the account by Johanna Duminy in 1790 (section 3.1 of this chapter), from the advertisements for keyboard instrument repairs mentioned in 3.3.6 and from the general history of keyboard instrument playing and building at the early Cape (Chapter 2) that such services were available from at the latest the second half of the 18th century.

There is only one reference where not only the type (style) of the instrument is specified, but also the maker, namely ‘a square piano forte by Clementes’ [Clementi] from 1822.

Several references probably refer to small mechanical instruments rather than keyboard instruments. In some cases, they are referred to as ‘draay orgel’ (1808, 1814, 1816), denoting the crank that is turned by the hand in order to set in motion the bellows and the cylinder onto which the music has been programmed. The term often used is ‘hand organ’ or ‘hand orgel’ (1724, 1794, 1796, 1816, 1827 and 1828), which also points to a mechanical instrument: in the Graham’s Town Journal of 25 September 1852 an advertisement appears in which N. Birkenruth sells several types of musical instruments. This includes the following line: ‘Large and small Hand organs, playing from 10 to 25 tunes.’³⁸ The reference to the number of ‘tunes’ (i.e. the number of musical pieces programmed onto a cylinder or other mechanical device) is clear proof that the term ‘hand organ’ referred to mechanical instruments. Sumner writes that ‘until the end of the first half of the nineteenth century organists were not easily found for the smaller and country churches in England. Barrel organs, on which a number of hymn and psalm tunes could be played by means of pins on the surface of a slowly rotating cylinder, became popular, and many hundreds were made’.³⁹ Presumably a similar situation existed in Southern Africa, both in religious practice in a domestic situation or in church. Dom François Bédos de Celles (1709–1779) devotes an extended section in the fourth part of his ground-breaking organ-building treatise *L’art du facteur d’orgues* of 1766 to such mechanical instruments,⁴⁰ a clear indication that they were commonly in use at the time.

Very often mechanical organs were found as part of a clock, and were often referred to as a ‘Flötenuhr’ (flute-clock) or a ‘Lauffwerk’⁴¹ (wheel mechanism). These were the instruments that

³⁸ The Graham’s Town Journal, or, Cape of Good Hope Eastern Province Register, 25 September, 1852, Vol. XXI, No. 1058. Front page.

³⁹ Sumner, William Leslie. (1981) *The Organ, Its Evolution, Principles of Construction and Use*. London & Sydney: Macdonald & Co. p. 23.

⁴⁰ De Celles, Dom François Bédos. (1766) *L’art du facteur d’orgues*. Paris.

⁴¹ Historical spelling of the term.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791) and Joseph Haydn (1732–1809) wrote for, as this type of instrument was particularly popular in Vienna at the end of the 18th century. In his three compositions for mechanical instruments (K. 594, K. 608 and K. 616) Mozart refers to them as ‘Ein Stück für ein Orgelwerk in einer Uhr’, ‘Ein Orgelstück für eine Uhr’ and ‘für eine Walze in eine kleine Orgel’, and Haydn, referring to his thirty-two pieces for mechanical instrument, mentions they are ‘für das Lauffwerk’. Earlier composers such as Hans Leo Hassler (1564–1612) and George Frederic Handel (1685–1759) also wrote for instruments of this kind.⁴² Keeping the above information in mind, a reference from 1807 (from the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber) on the property of Johan Adam Neumeister to ‘een tafel horologie met een orgel spel’ clearly indicates a mechanical instrument.

Mechanical instruments varied considerably in size, but were generally quite small: the measurement of the biggest of the musical clocks for which Haydn wrote in 1793 was 30 cm (height) by 74 cm (width) by 36 cm (depth).⁴³

The following three references mention the small size of the instruments, and the fact that they are contained in a box is a clear indication that these might be mechanical instruments:

‘In de galderij, in de glase kas in de muur gemetseld’ (1724), ‘in een kist’ (1776) and ‘a box containing a small organ’ (1827).

Arend Jan Gierveld in his book *Het Nederlandse Huisorgel in de 17de en 18de eeuw* divides house organs in the Netherlands between 1730 and 1820 into four categories:⁴⁴

- Instruments of which the shape is not influenced by any external factors apart from the size and specification of the instrument itself: in short, a positive organ;
- Instruments of which the external appearance and shape is derived from certain styles of furniture that were fashionable at various stages (cabinet organ, bureau organ, secretaire organ);
- The so-called ‘tafelorgel voor de rechterhand’;
- Combination instruments (claviorganum and pianoforte organ).

The three very clear references to ‘cabinet orgel’ (twice in 1786 and one in 1808) probably refer to a very specific Dutch-style house organ, which was housed in a very specific Dutch piece of furniture: the so-called ‘kabinet’.⁴⁵ The lower part of this type of cabinet had drawers and the upper part two symmetrical doors. The top is crowned by a curving pediment. This style of cabinet had a long development process and reached the above form by the 1730s. It was possible to fit a complete organ within the cabinet, without compromising the shape of the piece of furniture.⁴⁶ This type of instrument reached a high point in popularity in the late 18th century and a large number of instruments were manufactured between the years 1770–1790 in the Netherlands.⁴⁷ Although no

⁴² Brinkmann, Friederich (ed). (1968) *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart – Drei Stücke für die Orgel*. Kassel: Bärenreiter. Preface.

⁴³ Brinkmann, Friederich (ed). (1968) *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart – Drei Stücke für die Orgel*. Preface.

⁴⁴ Gierveld, Arend Jan. (1977) *Het Nederlandse Huisorgel in de 17de en 18de eeuw*. Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgechiedenis. p. 24.

⁴⁵ Gierveld, Arend Jan. (1977) *Het Nederlandse Huisorgel in de 17de en 18de eeuw*. p. 28.

⁴⁶ Gierveld, Arend Jan. (1977) *Het Nederlandse Huisorgel in de 17de en 18de eeuw*. p. 29.

⁴⁷ Gierveld, Arend Jan. (1977) *Het Nederlandse Huisorgel in de 17de en 18de eeuw*. p. 34.

details about the cabinet organs mentioned in the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber are known, Gierveld makes a list of the general characteristics of cabinet organs in the Netherlands between 1770 and 1820:⁴⁸

- the average number of stops varies between 5 and 6.5;
- the wind chests can either be above keyboard level, with a roller board, or below the keyboard level with a pin-action chest;
- the range of the keyboard can be one of the following: C - d''', C - e''' or C - f''';
- the specification is either based on a 4' or a 2' foot principal;
- during this period the popularity of the *Viola da Gamba* and *Flûte travers* stops increased, whilst after 1785 an extra stop at 2' or 1' pitch was included in the bass half of the keyboard;
- after 1780 compound stops became less common;
- after 1780 the Quint 3' became less common, and if it was present it was only available in the treble, to be used with the Tierce to form a Sesquialter;
- during this period the sound became less strident due to the changes in the specification, but also due to changing trends in pipe scaling;
- in rare cases double manual instruments do occur.

The three references to versions of a 'table organ' in the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber are of particular interest:

'tafelorgel' (1776), 'tavel orgel' (1783), 'een tafel kast orgel' (1804).

Gierveld devotes a short paragraph to the so-called 'tafelorgel voor de rechterhand'.⁴⁹ He describes this type of instrument as a continuation of the medieval portative organ, as this instrument is placed on a table and the keyboard played with the right hand only, the left hand being used to pump the bellows. The distinction between a portative organ and a 'tafelorgel' is that the latter has several stops, with sliders. Gierveld points out that there are no extant examples of this type of instrument, but that there references to 'tafelorgels' in written sources from the second half of the 18th century:

- in 1763 in Gorinchem an instrument with '3 Registers aan de Regterhand, als een Fluit 4 vt, Octaaf 2vt en Holpyp 8vt' was for sale;
- in Amsterdam the medical doctor J.E. Kemper leaves a 'Capitaal Tafelorgel' in his testament;
- the organ builders Jacob François Moreau (1684–1751) made several, for only one of which we have vague details about the specification: it had three stops;
- Johannes Josephus Mitterreither (1733–1800), who worked for Moreau, leaves a 'tafelorgel' in his will;
- in 1796 in Middelburg Frederik van der Weele offers for sale a 'fraay Tafelorgeltje van 2 octaven en 5 registers'.

Gierveld⁵⁰ mentions that the regal was not popular in the Netherlands during the second half of the 17th century and first half of the 18th century, and therefore it is unlikely that any of the references in

⁴⁸ Gierveld, Arend Jan. (1977) *Het Nederlandse Huisorgel in de 17de en 18de eeuw*. p. 38.

⁴⁹ Gierveld, Arend Jan. (1977) *Het Nederlandse Huisorgel in de 17de en 18de eeuw*. p. 45.

⁵⁰ Gierveld, Arend Jan. (1977) *Het Nederlandse Huisorgel in de 17de en 18de eeuw*. p. 21.

the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber indicate a regal, although the possibility cannot be dismissed with certainty.

Three references allude to the aesthetic aspect of the instruments, with the 1814 reference the only one which indicates a specific decorative technique (silver leaving):

‘1 cabinet orgel met vijf wit steene beeltjes’ (1786), ‘een fraaye forte piano’ (1824), ‘een orgel met zilver beslag’ (1814).

An interesting case arises on the property of Carel Christoph Pabst (1805), violinist, music teacher, conductor and organiser of concerts (see Chapter 2). On his property the following can be found: ‘een oude orgelkast’ found ‘Op de zolder’ (attic), ‘een kast met korte pypen’ also found ‘Op de zolder’ and ‘een kist met instrumenten tot het orgel behorende’ found: ‘Op de agterplaats’. The *zolder* seems to have been used as a storage space for instruments which were not in a playable condition as the following could also be found there: ‘twee defecte bassen en eenige defecte vioolen’.

On the same property the following music related items were also documented: ‘een quantiteit viool snaren en musicq’ found ‘In de voorkamer aan de linkerhand’ and ‘twee vioolen’ found ‘In de agter kamer’.

Pabst was involved in several professional musical activities in Cape Town, possibly in the instrument trade as well, and therefore the keyboard instrument found on his property is not directly representative of other situations where keyboard instruments could be found in a domestic context. This is confirmed by an auction in 1803 (on the property where Pabst lived, 79 Long Street) where a substantial number of instruments were offered for sale: ‘eenige musiek-Instrumenten, een fraai positief of cabinet-Orgel, Fioolen, Alt-Fioolen, Bas, Walthoorns &c &c.’⁵¹ In 1804 Pabst himself advertises a ‘fraay Forte Piano’ that is up for sale.⁵²

In the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber several keyboard instruments can be found as part of the contents of houses. Between 1724 and 1833 the following number of references to two overarching types of instruments are encountered: 55 indicate some form of piano (‘klavier’, ‘clavier’, ‘claviertje’, ‘forte piano’, ‘fortepiano’, ‘piano forte’, ‘piano’, ‘pianoforte’, ‘piano forté’) and 16 indicate some form of organ with a keyboard (‘orgel’, ‘organ’, ‘cabinet orgel’, ‘huijs orgel’, ‘huis orgel’, ‘house organ’, ‘tafelorgel’, ‘tavel orgel’, ‘een tafel kast orgel’). The remaining of the references to versions of organs, 13 in total, probably refer to mechanical instruments, and are therefore not relevant to this study (‘hand orgeltje’, ‘twee hand orgeltjes’, ‘2 deffecte handorgels’, ‘a small hand organ defective’, ‘a hand organ’, ‘hand organ’, ‘orgeltje’, ‘orgeltje’, ‘a box containing a small organ’, ‘een draay orgel’, ‘een defecte draay orgel’, ‘twee kleine draai orgels’, ‘orgel spel’). There are no direct references to harpsichords or harmoniums.

There is only one reference to a specific maker and style of an instrument: a square piano by Clementi. In addition to this, some properties included instruments that were not in a playable condition, and other properties contained material to aid the maintenance of the instruments (extra

⁵¹ De Kaapsche Courant, Saturday, 27 August, 1803, Vol. 1, No. 21.

⁵² De Kaapsche Courant, Saturday, 17 November, 1804, Vol. 3, No. 14.

wire and tuning wrenches), which would indicate that owners often did basic maintenance on the instruments themselves.

3.3 MENTIONS OF KEYBOARD INSTRUMENTS IN EARLY NEWSPAPERS

Appendix 2 provides a list of references to keyboard instruments in early newspapers. These references were chosen to focus on instruments that were, or might have been, used in a domestic context. In this section only references to actual instruments are taken into account, and not references to keyboard teaching and domestic music making. The latter two are discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis. The references listed start with the first edition of *The Cape Town Gazette* (16 August 1800), the first newspaper and advertising medium published at the Cape, and end in 1852, the general cut-off date for this study.

Certain practical limitations (discussed below) meant that Appendix 2 does not offer a comprehensive list of references to keyboard instruments in all the early newspapers in the Cape Colony, but rather gives an overview of the types of instruments that were found, as well as shedding light on the changing tastes and preferences for certain types of instruments offered for sale in these early publications. Most of the newspapers can be accessed at the Cape Town campus of the National Library of South Africa. None of the newspapers had been digitalised at the time the research for this study was undertaken, which excluded the possibility of a keyword search. Most of the publications can be viewed on microfilm and some in hard copy. The microfilm viewing machines are often out of order, or in bad condition with broken lamps or dirty glass panels. This slows down the research process considerably. The National Library of South Africa does not have a digital catalogue of early newspapers in their collection, but rather a hard copy in the form of a print out. After a couple of years of visiting the National Library, a librarian offered me a much more thorough and comprehensive catalogue of early newspapers in their possession: this catalogue was handwritten in the 1980s by an ex-National Library librarian, and includes several publications that are not mentioned in the printout that is most often offered to researchers. The above factors, in addition to the huge volume of the material, would make compiling a comprehensive list a life-long task.

The first reference to a keyboard instrument can be found in the *Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser*, in the first edition in August 1800. Here 'fine-toned small Piano Forte, made by Corrie' is offered for sale for 200 rixdollars. In the same edition another advertisement also offers 'musical instruments' for sale.⁵³ It is quite significant that there are two references to musical instruments in the first edition of the earliest newspaper publication at the Cape: it shows that there was already a lively trade in musical instruments, and especially keyboard instruments, by the beginning of the 19th century.

The first reference to an organ can be found in the same publication in 1801, where 'an elegant organ, two forte pianos, and other valuable furniture' are offered for sale.⁵⁴ In the same year specific

⁵³ The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, Saturday, 16 August, 1800, Vol. 1, No. 1.

⁵⁴ The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, Saturday, 21 February, 1801, vol. 1, No. 28.

reference is made to an instrument maker in an advertisement of ‘a very fine toned Piano Forte, with additional keys, made by Broadwood and Son, to stand any climate’.⁵⁵

During the period applicable to Appendix 2 the following broad categories (with the number of references included)⁵⁶ can be identified:

Pianos - 78 references:

1800, 1801 (three times), 1803, 1804, 1806, 1807 (twice), 1810, 1814, 1815 (twice), 1819, 1823, 1824 (twice), 1825 (three times), 1826 (twice), 1828 (twice), 1835 (three times), 1838 (seven times), 1839 (four times), 1840 (three times), 1841 (five times), 1842 (twice), 1843 (six times), 1844 (four times), 1845 (five times), 1846 (six times), 1848 (four times), 1850 (three times), 1852 (twice)

Organs - 13 references:

1801, 1802 (twice), 1803, 1806 (twice), 1811 (twice), 1814, 1815, 1826, 1828, 1835

Harpsichords - 1 reference:

1806

Table or hand organs (see 3.2) - 3 references:

1809, 1814, 1824

Reed organs - 4 references:

1842, 1844, 1845, 1848

Pianos were by far the most popular keyboard instrument, with a significant increase in references during the course of the first half of the 19th century. Organs, the keyboard instrument with the second most number of references, follow an inverse curve to that of pianos, with most references at the beginning of the 19th century and a considerable decrease towards the mid-century. Various types of reed organs, in keeping with the history of their development, first make an appearance in 1842, and the hand or table organs (possibly mechanical instruments – see 3.2) seem to dwindle in popularity. Points of interest relating to the separate instrument groups are discussed below.

3.3.1 Pianos

Because of the substantial number of references to pianos during the course of the first half of the 19th century, it is possible to obtain a quite nuanced image about the types of instruments that were in circulation at the Cape. Amongst the 78 references to pianos there are 26 references to specific makers: 7 references to Broadwood, 4 references to Stodart, 3 references to Collard, 3 references to Harper, 2 references to Clementi, 2 references to Tomkinson, 1 reference to Dale & Sons, 1 reference to Talbot of London, 1 reference to Noble, 1 reference to Cooks & Son, 1 reference to

⁵⁵ The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, Saturday, 4 July, 1801, Vol. 1, No. 47.

⁵⁶ These references do not take regular repetitions of advertisements (for example weekly repetitions in a weekly publication) into account, but rather note them only the first time they appear.

Wornûm, two references to the city of origin, 'London makers' and 'London Manufacturers', and one reference to the country of origin: 'English'. All of these makers were based in the United Kingdom.

Most of the mentions use only the term 'piano forte' with variations of spelling including 'piano-forte', 'forte piano' or only 'piano'. In relatively few instances the type of instrument is specified: 6 references to 'square piano forte' (1826, 1835, 1844, twice in 1845, 1852), 4 references to 'grand piano forte' (1801, 1839, 1841, 1845), two references to 'cottage piano forte' (1848, 1850), two references to 'cabinet piano forte' (1843, 1846), one reference to 'boudoir piano forte' (1844) and one reference to 'solo chorda piccolo piano' (1848).

The following advertisements offer a glimpse into the types of pianos that were available for sale during the course of the first half of the 19th century:

To Amateurs of Music. An elegant Piano-Forte, with five Pedals, wherof two directs a Drum and Triangle; Manufactured on the most approved Principles of Mechanism.⁵⁷

E.K. Green's, Music Repository, 26 Long-market-street. Just received per *Britannia*, from London, a fresh supply of elegant and plain square Piano Fortes; also fine-toned upright Cabinet Pianos, 5 ½ and 6 octaves, warranted superior to any every imported in this Colony and particularly recommended to any Person desirous of furnishing themselves with good Instruments.⁵⁸

Musical Instruments and strings. J.F. Aschen has just received per "Argyle," a select Assortment of Cabinet and Square Piano Fortes, with and without Metallic Plates.⁵⁹

Newly Invented Piano-Forte. The Undersigned has just received per Carnatic, among other Instruments - a newly invented sola Chorda Piccolo Piano- Forte, most convenient for traveling, being on a small scale. T. Hitchcock.⁶⁰

Piano fortes. The Undersigned have received a fresh supply, of fine tuned Piano Fortes, comprising Mahogany Cabinet, do. COTTAGE and Square, which are for Sale at reasonable prices at 24 Heeregracht. COLLARD & Co.⁶¹

A Fine-toned 6 1/2 octave Piano-Forte with improved sounding-board, Metallic Plate, Plate glass front, and crimson silk in the centre.⁶²

W. Anderson Sen. & Co. are receiving per 'Harlequin,' Two Imported Grand Square Piano Fortes, with Circular Eads, by Collard & Collard. One Patent Microchordon Piano Forte, with Square Fall. These instruments are warranted and can be confidently recommended to purchasers requiring a good Instrument.⁶³

To be sold. An excellent Piano Forte, with Metallic Plate, by Broadwood & Son's - price pound 50, for which an approved Bill at three months will be taken.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 28 June, 1806, Vol. 1, No. 24.

⁵⁸ The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, Tuesday, 23 May, 1826, Vol. 2, No. 93.

⁵⁹ The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, 14 August, 1838, Vol. II, No. 85.

⁶⁰ The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, 30 October, 1838, Vol. II, No. 100.

⁶¹ The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, Tuesday, June 25, 1839, Volume III, No. 143.

⁶² The Cape Frontier Times, Wednesday, 9 June, 1841, Vol. 2, No. 58.

⁶³ The Cape Frontier Times, Thursday, 21 October, 1841, Vol. 2, No. 77.

⁶⁴ The Cape Frontier Times, Thursday, 8 December, 1842, Vol. 3, No. 136.

Piano Fortes, For Sale Daily Expected per 'Horwood', Two elegant albuma wood Piano-Fortes by Collard, with carved Ornaments and Trusses, French polished, &c. These Instruments are of a manufacture and finish seldom to be met with here.⁶⁵

Furniture, Piano forte, harps &c. Cabinet Piano Forte, but Talbot of London.⁶⁶
Piano-fortes. Just imported and for Sale, a fine-toned Mahogany square Piano-Forte, with metallic plate and bar. Also, a splendid-toned Rosewood Boudoir Piano-forte, by Harper.⁶⁷

Grand Piano Forte, By Broadwood. To be Sold, cheap, a fine toned 6 ½-Octave Grand Piano Forte, which has lately been in use at the Concerts held at the Commercial Rooms. Piano Fortes by different makers, for Sale at London prices.⁶⁸

Piano fortes. Received per Bengal, 2 patent square pianos, from Messers. Stodart&Sons, and as improvements are ever being made, these Instruments are described as superior in tone and manufacture to any that have hitherto been exported by them.⁶⁹

Piano-forte. Just received per 'True Briton,' and for sale, a fine toned Rosewood Boudoir Piano-Forte, by Harper. May be inspected on application at the Office of Messrs. Thomson, Watson, & Co., 13 Heerengrath, to H.C. Carpenter. N.B. Also a fine-toned Grand Piano-Forte, by the same Maker, to be sold cheap.⁷⁰

Piano Fortes, Accordions, &c. J. Derry, Piano forte Manufacturer, 58, Short-Market-Street, Begs respectfully to acquaint the Public, that he has brought direct from England, a large Stock of Piano Fortes, by the first London Manufacturers, consisting of Cottage, Piccolo, and Square Pianos; N.B. - Piano Fortes let on hire, at (pound)1 per month, as also repaired or taken in exchange.⁷¹

Muziek Instrumenten. 2 superieure Pianos, 6 1/2 octaven, met de jongste verbeteringen.⁷²

Piano Fortes. Recently imported by the Undersigned, and for Sale-
A Rosewood Cabinet Piano 6 ½ octaves. All elegantly finished, and by the well-known eminent maker, Harper.⁷³

One of Wornûm's unique Solo Chorda Picolo Pianos, with double improved check action, admirably calculated to stand extreme climates, as it can scarcely ever be perceptibly out of tune. T.J. Hitchcock.⁷⁴

By the mid-19th century piano rental and transport services are also offered:

⁶⁵ The Cape Frontier Times, Thursday, 19 January, 1843, Vol. 3, No. 142.

⁶⁶ Sam Sly, Thursday, 21 December, 1843, Vol 1, No. 30.

⁶⁷ Sam Sly, Thursday, 18 July, 1844, Vol. 2, No. 56.

⁶⁸ Sam Sly, Thursday, 30 January, 1845, Vol. 2, No. 84.

⁶⁹ Sam Sly, Thursday, 28 August, 1845, Vol. 3, No. 114.

⁷⁰ Sam Sly, Thursday, 13 November, 1845, Vol. 3, No. 125.

⁷¹ Cape Almanac, 1846.

⁷² Het Kaapsche Grensblad, Grahamstad, Donderdag, den 2 Julie, 1846, Deel II, No. 105.

⁷³ Sam Sly, Thursday, 2 July, 1846, Vol. 3, No. 158.

⁷⁴ Sam Sly, Thursday, 16 November, 1848, Vol. 6, No. 282.

T.M. Adney's Musical Repository, No. 4, Market-square. Piano-fortes, by eminent Makers, for Sale or Hire, - and Tuned and Repaired. N.B. Piano-Fortes removed by a Spring Van, to Town and Country.⁷⁵

Piano Fortes, Accordions, &c. J. Derry, Piano forte Manufacturer, 58, Short-Market-Street. N.B. - Piano Fortes let on hire, at (pound)1 per month, as also repaired or taken in exchange.⁷⁶

T.J. Hitchcock, Organ builder and Piano Forte Manufacturer. No. 4, Keizersgracht, Cape Town, (Established eighteen years), Importer of all kinds of Musical Instruments. Tunings, general and partial Repairs, &c. as usual. Fine-toned Instruments constantly on hand, for Sale and to Hire. Received from the Manufacturer, Jones' celebrated Felt for buffing Piano Fortes; - the exquisite tone produced by this covering to the Hammers, (if put on by a delicate and practised hand,) in place of the Baize hitherto used, is really surprising. N.B. A light spring Music Covered Van for removing Instruments.⁷⁷

3.3.2 Organs

The terminology used for the references to organs matches that of the references found in the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber, with the term 'cabinet organ', which refers to a specific type of Dutch-style house organ⁷⁸ occurring most often. There are five references to a 'cabinet organ' or 'kabinet orgel': in 1803, 1806, 1811, 1814 and 1815. In 1802 and 1826 there are references to 'chamber organs', and in 1828 there is a reference to a 'house organ'. In 1801, 1806, 1811 and 1835 the more generic term 'organ' is used. The reference from 1803 refers to an organ as 'een fraai positief of cabinet-Orgel',⁷⁹ with both terms clearly indicating a smaller instrument for domestic use (see 3.2).

The following advertisement in a supplement to a Cape Town Gazette edition in 1815 is of particular interest, because of the fact that the casework of the instrument was made out of a wood that is native to Southern Africa ('Stinkwood' – *Ocotea bullata*). This probably indicates that the instrument was locally made. Stinkwood was a very popular type of wood for furniture making, panelling, cabinetry and turnery during the 18th and 19th centuries at the Cape. It was used for wagon and boat building.

Notice is hereby given, that the President and Members of the Orphan Chamber intend, on Monday the 6th of March next, to expose to Sale to the highest Bidders, on three payments, or on such terms as the Conditions of Sale may specify; - A House and Premises situated No. 27, Castlestreet; likewise for ready money, Household Furniture of every description, Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, Iron, Porcelain, Glass, and Earthenware, four capital male Slaves, and what further may be exposed on the day of Sale. – The whole belonging to the Estate of the deceased Wilhelm Buisinne, Esq. There will also be put up, on account of the Estate of the deceased Isaac Johannes de Villiers, a Stinkwood Cabinet Organ, silver mounted, a Table

⁷⁵ Cape Almanac, 1843.

⁷⁶ Cape Almanac, 1846.

⁷⁷ Cape Almanac, 1848.

⁷⁸ See 3.2 for a summary of the different types of Dutch house organs, including a detailed description of the traits of a 'cabinet organ'.

⁷⁹ De Kaapsche Courant, Saturday, 27 August, 1803, Vol. 1, No. 21.

Clock, and a Tea Table. The Organ may be daily seen previous to the Sale, at the House of Cornelis Mosterd, No. 15, Leeuwe street.⁸⁰

A reference to an organ from 1835 is insightful for two reasons: it gives the stop specification of the organ in question, and also indicates that the instrument had two modes of operation. It could either be played manually or be operated mechanically:

Organ. – For Sale, an excellent toned finger and barrel Organ, containing a Stopt Diapason, Principal, Dulceana, Fifteenth, and Mixture, with two Barrels, each playing 8 tunes. The above Instrument is sufficiently powerful for a Country Church or Chapel, and will be Sold reasonably, - Enquire of Mr. Hitchcock, Shortmarket-street.⁸¹

3.3.3 Harpsichords

The only reference to a harpsichord can be found in The Cape Town Gazette in 1806, where a ‘Harpsichord made by Kirckman, London’ is advertised.⁸² This advertisement is of special interest because it mentions the name of the maker, in this case the eminent family of harpsichord, and subsequently pianoforte, makers who started producing instruments in London from around 1730.⁸³

3.3.4 Table or hand organs

There are two references to hand organs (1814 and 1824) and one reference to a table organ. As seen in 3.2, hand organs are probably mechanical instruments without a keyboard, and therefore not relevant to this study. The reference from 1824 indeed confirms that this is the case:

For Sale, a handsome Hand-organ, which plays 30 different tunes. - Apply at the Counting House of Wm. Liesching.⁸⁴

The exact nature of a ‘table organ’ is unknown, but it can be either a small organ which is playable with the right hand only or a mechanical instrument (see 3.2).

3.3.5 Reed organs

There are 4 references to reed organs, using the following designations: ‘Phys-Harmonica’, ‘Seraphine’ and ‘Aeolodion’:

Publieke Vendutie In den gezamenl. Moedel van wylen den Hr. William Bevil Porteous, en nagelaten Weduwe Mej. Geertruida Maria Barbara von Ludwig. Op Maandag, 28 February, ten 10 ure a.m. Alsmede, een Phys-Harmonica, of kleine Seraphine, Frats&Sons dubbele actie Harp en verscheiden stellen zilveren en andere Snaren, Snaardoozen, enz. Enz.⁸⁵
H.B. - Seraphinen gestemd en gereguleerd, en Muzyk netjes gecopieerd.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, Saturday, 25 February 1815, Vol. 10, No. 476. Supplement.

⁸¹ De Zuid-Afrikaan, Vrydag, 18 December, 1835, Vol. 6, No. 301.

⁸² The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, Saturday, 18 October, 1806, Vol. 1, No. 40.

⁸³ Boalch, Donald H. (1974) *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440–1840*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p. 83.

⁸⁴ The South African Commercial Advertiser, Wednesday, 28 January, 1824, No. IV. p. 31.

⁸⁵ Ware Afrikaan, Tuesday, February 22, 1842, Vol IV, No. 178.

⁸⁶ Het Kaapsche Grensblad, Grahamstad, Donderdag, 26den Dec, 1844, Deel 1, No. 24.

Newly invented Musical Instrument, The Aeolodion. T.J. Hitchcock invites the attention of his Friends and the Public, to the above Instrument, which combines all the sweetness of the Dulceana, with the full power of the Organ, and is considered by all who have heard it, to be a wonderful improvement on the Seraphine.-The only one in the Colony. No. 3, Short-market-street.⁸⁷

Seraphines. The Undersigned have received per 'Aeasta,' a few splendid Seraphines, particularly adapted for use in Churches or Chapels, being of a full rich tone. - Also, a few of a smaller size, for use of private families. H.&E. Suffert. 10, St George's-street.⁸⁸

The term 'reed organ' is a generic term for 'keyboard instruments whose sound is produced by freely vibrating reed tongues (usually without individual resonators) and activated by air under either pressure or suction'.⁸⁹ True reed organs became popular from the early 19th century onwards, and they were produced independently in several countries under a variety of names: seraphine, Aeolina, Physharmonika, orgue expressif, harmonium, melodeon, vocalion, American organ, Euphonion, Mélodiflute, and Organochordium. These instruments could vary greatly in size, from a single-manual instrument with one set of reeds (the wind being supplied by one or two foot treadles) to double-manual instruments with a pedal board and several sets of reeds, operated by stop knobs, with an electric motor or separate blowing lever like a pipe organ. The smaller instruments were popular during the 19th century as domestic instruments, for which the terms 'cottage organ' or 'parlour organ' were often used, whilst larger instruments were often encountered in chapels or small churches as inexpensive substitutes for pipe organs.⁹⁰

3.3.6 General points of interest

The following reference from 1846 is the only instance in this study where a tuning system or temperament is mentioned, in this case equal temperament.

Piano forte Tuning and Repairing. H.C. Hallier, lately arrived from London, begs respectfully to inform the Inhabitants of Cape Town and the Gentry thereof, that he intends following the above Branches. From the extensive experience he has had, having studied under some of the first Masters of the day, Parties may rely on having their Instruments Tuned on the system of equal temperament, so universally admired, on the shortest notice. Apply at Mr. J.P. Anchen's at present at No. 3, Corner of Hout and St. George's-streets.⁹¹

The following two advertisements by Thomas Hitchcock from 1845 and 1848 respectively gives an interesting overview about what types of instruments were popular and available in mid-19th century Cape Town:

T.J.H. offers his Services to the Public generally, who may require Instruments as under, having made arrangements with an old-established Manufacturer in London to furnish him

⁸⁷ Sam Sly, Thursday, 9 October, 1845, Vol. 3, No. 120.

⁸⁸ Sam Sly, Thursday, 12 October, 1848, Vol. 6, No. 277.

⁸⁹ Owen, Barbara. (2001) 'Reed organ'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000043321?rskey=si03hu&result=1> Accessed: 28 February 2020.

⁹⁰ Owen, Barbara. (2001) 'Reed organ'. Accessed: 28 February 2020.

⁹¹ Sam Sly, Thursday, 19 March, 1846, Vol. 3, No. 143.

with superior Church and Chamber Organs, Pianos, Seraphines, and all other Musical Instruments, on the most Approved Principles, and with all the Modern Improvements, at considerably reduces prices. No. 3, Short-marked-street, Cape Town, Opposite Mr. McKenzie's.⁹²

T.J. Hitchcock, Organ builder and Piano Forte Manufacturer. No. 4, Keizersgracht, Cape Town, (Established eighteen years), Importer of all kinds of Musical Instruments, Printed Music, &c. &c., Orders for which are executed with the greatest dispatch, at London Prices. - Organs and Seraphims at two-thirds of their usual Prices. Tunings, general and partial Repairs, &c. as usual. Fine-toned Instruments constantly on hand, for Sale and to Hire. Received from the Manufacturer, Jones' celebrated Felt for buffing Piano Fortes; - the exquisite tone produced by this covering to the Hammers, (if put on by a delicate and practised hand,) in place of the Baize hitherto used, is really surprising. N.B. A light spring Music Covered Van for removing Instruments.⁹³

The following reference seems to describe a combination instrument of an organ and a piano:

Music repository, 45, Bree-street. Received per *Margaret*, a fresh supply of elegant and plain Piano Fortes, one Piano with an Organ adapted, Spanish Guitars, and an elegant Harp Guitar, Violins, Flutes, Clarionets, Trombones, French Horns, and every description of Military Instruments; Piano Forte Brass Wire, and covered Strings, and Strings for other Instruments; ruled Music Paper, and all sizes of blank Music Books, with a most extensive assortment of new Music. E.K. Green. Piano Fortes hired out, and tuned on the shortest Notice.⁹⁴

Although combination instruments were not very commonly found, several historical examples exist. Frank Hubbard in his seminal book *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making* includes a chapter on the *claviorganum*, an organ-harpsichord combination instrument.⁹⁵ Dom Bédos mentions a piano-organ combination instrument in his organ building treatise of 1766, *L'art du facteur d'orgues*.⁹⁶ Between 1782 and 1789 an organ builder from Copenhagen, Kirschnigk, manufactured a type of *claviorganum* (which he referred to as an 'Organochordium') in which a pianoforte was combined with free reeds.⁹⁷

In advertisements the ability of instruments to withstand the specific climate in the Southern African context was often used as a selling point, as can be seen in the following examples:

For Sale, At Walker, Robertson, and Co's, A Very fine toned Piano Forte, with additional keys, made by Broadwood and Son, to stand any climate.⁹⁸

⁹² Sam Sly, Thursday, 22 May, 1845, Vol. 2, No. 100.

⁹³ Cape Almanac, 1848.

⁹⁴ The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, Wednesday, 1 June, 1825. Vol. 1, No. 42.

⁹⁵ Hubbard, Frank. (1972) *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. p. 334.

⁹⁶ De Celles, Dom François Bédos. (1766) *L'art du facteur d'orgues*. p. 641.

⁹⁷ Owen, Barbara. (2001) 'Reed organ'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000043321?rkey=si03hu&result=1> Accessed: 28 February 2020.

⁹⁸ The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, Saturday, 4 July, 1801, Vol. 1, No. 47.

One of Wornûm's unique Solo Chorda Picolo Pianos, with double improved check action, admirably calculated to stand extreme climates, as it can scarcely ever be perceptibly out of tune. T.J. Hitchcock.⁹⁹

Keyboard instrument maintenance services are often offered in newspaper advertisements, as demonstrated in the following examples:

The undersigned also tunes and regulates Piano Fortes and Organs, with the greatest care and attention by the month or the year. EDW. KNOLLES GREEN.¹⁰⁰

Music Repository, No. 45 Bree-street. E.K. Green begs to inform his Musical Friends, and the Public, that he has just received per *Patience*, a fresh supply of elegant and plain Piano Fortes, Spanish Guitars, Clarionets, and Flutes, good violin Strings and Reeds, with a very extensive assortment of printed Music for the Piano, Violin, Flute, and other instruments.

N.B.-Piano Fortes hired out, tuned, and repaired, on the shortest notice.¹⁰¹

T. Hitchcock, Organ Builder & Manufacturer of Piano Fortes, and Musical Instruments in general, Begs to acquaint his Friends and the Public, that he has commenced business in the above branches at the Stores, No. 55, Long Market-Street. All kinds of Musical Instruments repaired, tuned, and regulated. Also, Instruments in the Country attended.¹⁰²

E.J. Bailey, Accountant, Piano-forte tuner, &c. Corner of Strand-Street, and Chiappini-street, Books kept, Counts made out, and Piano Fortes tuned, on the shortest Notice and most reasonable Terms.¹⁰³

Forte Piano stemmen en repareeren. H.C. Hallier, Onlangs uit Engeland aangekomen per 'Lallah Bookh,' Verzoekt de Ingezetenen van Grahamstad en de Buiten Distrekten te verwittigen, dat hy voornemens is bovengemelde Vakke uit te oefenen, hopende dat de Ondervinding welke hy heeft gehad, en de sterke getuigschriften welke hy verkregen heeft van eenigen der voornaamste in de Professie, een deel der publieke gunst en ondersteuning te genieten. Alle aanzoeken te worden gelaten by den Heer Giani, Horologiemaker, Kerkplein, by den Heer B. Attwell, Laarzenmaker; en ten zyne Woning, annex die van den Hr. Wienand, Settler's Hill. H.B. - Seraphinen gestemd en gereguleerd, en Muzyk netjes gecopieeerd.¹⁰⁴

In summary: newspapers published during the time period of this study provide an invaluable source of information concerning the types or keyboard instruments that were imported, locally made and offered for sale in the Cape Colony. This starts with the first edition of the earliest newspaper and advertising medium published in Cape Town, *The Cape Town Gazette*, and ends in 1852, the general

⁹⁹ Sam Sly, Thursday, 16 November, 1848, Vol. 6, No. 282.

¹⁰⁰ The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 25 March, 1815, Vol. 10, No. 480.

¹⁰¹ The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, Wednesday, 9 March, 1825, Vol. 1, No. 30.

¹⁰² Cape Almanac, 1831.

¹⁰³ Cape Almanac, 1839.

¹⁰⁴ Het Kaapsche Grensblad, Grahamstad, Donderdag, 26den Dec, 1844, Deel 1, No 24.

cut-off date for this study. Because of logistical research difficulties and the great volume of primary material, a complete catalogue of every reference to a keyboard instrument in every early newspaper was not achievable within the scope of this study, but it might be considered as a dedicated task for a future researcher. The examples found by the author serve as an overview of the period in question and can be seen in their entirety in Appendix 2. During this period the following references to keyboard instruments could be found: 78 references to pianos, 13 references to organs, 4 references to reed organs of various kinds, 1 reference to a harpsichord and 1 reference to a table organ.

Most of the pianos seem to have been imported from the United Kingdom, and the following names of makers and firms were noted: Broadwood, Stodart, Collard, Harper, Clementi, Tomkinson, Dale & Sons, Talbot of London, Noble, Cooks & Son and Wornûm. In some cases the makers are not mentioned but rather the city or country of origin. These are: 'London makers', 'London Manufacturers' and 'English'.

Most of the mentions use only the term 'piano forte' with variations of spelling including 'piano-forte', 'forte piano' or only 'piano'. In relatively few instances the type of instruments are specified. These are: 'square piano forte', 'grand piano forte', 'cottage piano forte', 'cabinet piano forte', 'boudoir piano forte' and 'solo chorda piccolo piano'. Quite often technical advancements in instrument building are used as a selling point in advertisements, which also provides a glimpse of the specifications of pianos that were sold in the Cape Colony. By the mid-19th century piano rental and transport services are also offered, and the ability for pianos to withstand the climate of Southern Africa was often used as an additional selling point in advertisements.

Next to pianos, organs seem to have been the most popular keyboard instrument sold for domestic usage. Often the terminology used indicates that these instruments were smaller pipe organs intended for use in houses: 'cabinet organ', 'kabinet orgel', 'chamber organs', 'house organ', 'cabinet-Orgel' and 'positief', in addition to the usage of the generic term 'organ'. Unlike pianos, organs seem to have been made locally, as can be seen not only in section 3.1 of this chapter, but also in a newspaper advertisement from 1815 where an organ made from a local wood is offered for sale. One reference to a table organ might indicate a so-called 'table organ for the right hand' (see 3.2), but this could also indicate a mechanically operated instrument. One unusual case is a reference from 1825 that describes a piano-organ combination instrument.

Only one reference to a harpsichord could be found: an instrument by the London maker, Kirckman, whilst various types of reed organs seem to have become increasingly popular towards the middle of the 19th century.

In one reference from 1846 a tuning system is mentioned, in this case equal temperament, and towards the middle of the 19th century keyboard instrument maintenance services are increasingly offered in advertisements.

3.4 EXTANT INSTRUMENTS

As described in Chapter 1 (see 1.5.1.5), in most cases of surviving pre-1850s historical keyboard instruments which were used in a domestic context in South Africa it is difficult or impossible to

determine the provenance of the instruments. Historical instruments that were initially in private ownership were often donated to museums and collections, or private collectors, and often no clear records of the previous owners of the instruments were kept. Museums are frequently not in possession of records of who donated the instruments to the institution. It is therefore very difficult to ascertain the various locations of the instruments during the course of their existence or indeed when they were imported. In some cases historical keyboard instruments were bought internationally and brought to Southern Africa outside of the time period that this study focuses on: these instruments have no direct relevance to this study. The Hans Adler Collection of Early Instruments at the University of the Witwatersrand falls into this category.¹⁰⁵

Since church records were relatively well preserved by several denominations, church organs were often better documented. This is especially relevant in the case of the Dutch Reformed Church, where the archives were centralized at the end of the 20th century. In addition to this, the act of moving a relatively large church organ is often a more architectural task in nature, and therefore has to go through many more bureaucratic processes which leave a paper trail than the relative ease of moving a domestic keyboard instrument, which is not unlike moving ordinary household furniture. Although church organs are not relevant to this study, in some cases organs which were originally meant to be used in a domestic context ended up in a church later in their life, and therefore were the subject of more thorough documentation. A good example of this is the organ that Governor de la Fontaine had built for his daughter in the 1730s (see 2.1.3). Although this instrument is no longer extant, and was first mentioned in the context of a church, it is worth mentioning the history of this instrument in this chapter, seeing that it started its life as an instrument intended for domestic use. This instrument was built by Johann Jacob Posse from Eisleben (Germany), who arrived at the Cape as an employee of the VOC in 1735. Posse was an organ builder by profession, and shortly after his arrival Governor Jan de la Fontaine requested him to build an organ of between ten and twelve stops for his daughter, Barbara Elizabeth.¹⁰⁶ Although it was originally built as a domestic instrument, most of the references to the organ in primary and secondary sources are in relation to the fact that at a later stage the organ belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church (Groote Kerk) in Cape Town: Governor De la Fontaine sold the instrument to the Groote Kerk in 1737, when he had to return to the Netherlands.

As far I could ascertain, there are no surviving examples of plucked keyboard instruments (harpsichords, spinets or virginals) that were used during colonial times, and only one surviving organ that was used in a domestic context (discussed in section 3.4.2 of this chapter). The most numerous surviving keyboard instruments that could have potentially been used in a domestic context are square pianos, in addition to a smaller number of grand pianos.

In the light of the above, and in spite of the fact that it seems like a contradiction, the sources utilized in 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3 in this chapter allow for a more reliable representation of the number,

¹⁰⁵ The Hans Adler Collection of Early Instruments. <http://hansadlercollection.blogspot.com> Accessed: 10 February 2020.

¹⁰⁶ Troskie, Albert. (1992) *Pyporrels in Suid-Afrika*. p. 1.

location and nature of domestic keyboard instruments at the early Cape than the current distribution of actual instruments.

Below is a table of several instruments found within the geographical region of the Cape Colony during the time period that this study focuses on. It is by no means an exhaustive list, but rather a representation of the types of instrument that could have been encountered, and serves as a confirmation and addition to the instruments described in the rest of this chapter. The data collection for this list was scheduled to take place during the course of 2020. But because of the travel regulations and limited accessibility during the Covid-19 pandemic, this process was severely hampered. I therefore supply as much information as possible, but in the future a more thorough catalogue could be compiled by myself or by future researchers.

3.4.1 Instruments and instrument collections

South African College of Music, University of Cape Town.

Type: Square piano

Maker: Clementi & Company, 26 Cheapside, London. New Patent.

Serial number: 14547.

Date: 1800

Range: FF – c^{'''}

Additional notes: Renovated by Bothner, Lincoln & Co. Ltd.

Type: Square piano

Maker: Johannes Broadwood, Londini fecit 1786 Patent. Great Pulteney Street, Golden Square.

Serial number: 494

Date: 1786

Range: FF – f^{'''}

Additional notes: Soundboard by John W.F. Juritz, July 1963. Wood presented by C. Bothner Industries. Presented by Lady Beattie, 1913.

Type: Square piano

Maker: John Broadwood and Son, London. 1797 Patent. Great Pulteney Street, Golden Square.

Serial number: 3702

Date: 1797

Range: FF – c^{'''}

Type: Square piano

Maker: John Broadwood and Son, Makers to His Majesty and the Princesses, Great Pulteney Street, Golden Square, London. 1801.

Serial number: 5818

Date: 1801

Range: FF – c^{'''}

Additional notes: Donated by Michael and Gill Lodge of England and Sheila and Gerald Mare of Canada in Memory of their aunt Mary Louise Morse, August 1999.

Type: Square piano

Maker: Erard, Patent Harp and Piano Forte maker, London.

Serial number: 2415

Date: -
Range: CC – g''''

Castle of Good Hope, Cape Town.

Type: Square piano
Maker: Baumgarten and Heins, Hamburg.
Serial number: 2442
Date: 1840's
Range: CC – g''''

Iziko Slave Lodge, Cape Town.

Type: Grand piano
Maker: John Broadwood & Sons. Patent: Repetition Grand Pianoforte.
Serial number: 17616
Date: c. 1850 according to museum notes
Range: CC – a''''

Type: Square piano
Maker: Small, Bruce and Co.
Serial number: 18365
Date: c. 1840 according to museum notes
Range: FF – f''

Type: Upright piano
Maker: Stodart & Sons.
Serial number: 2755
Date: c. 1850 according to museum notes
Range: -

Type: Upright piano
Maker: John Broadwood & Sons.
Serial number: 49991
Date: c. 1875 according to museum notes
Range: -

Koopmans-De Wet House Museum, Cape Town.

Type: Square piano
Maker: William Stodart of London.
Serial number: -
Date: 1802
Range: -

Stellenbosch Dorpsmuseum, Stellenbosch.

Type: Square piano
Maker: G. Astor & Co. No. 79 Cornhill, London.
Serial number: -
Date: -

Range: FF – c^{'''}

Victorian House Museum, Tulbagh.

Type: Square piano

Maker: Small Bruce & co. Piano Forte Makers. Amphion Place, London.

Serial number: -

Date: -

Range: FF – f^{'''}

Oude Kerk Volksmuseum, Tulbagh.

Type: Square piano

Maker: T. Green, Manufacturer, No. 33 Soho Square, London.

Serial number: -

Date: -

Range: FF – c^{'''}

Drostdy Museum, Swellendam.

Type: Square piano

Maker: Broadwood

Serial number: -

Date: 19th century, according to museum notes

Range: -

Private owners:

Collection of Barry Smith, Cape Town.

Type: Square piano

Maker: John Broadwood & Sons, Manufacturers to her Majesty, Great Pulteney Street, Golden Square, London.

Serial number: -

Date: -

Range: CC – a^{'''}

Type: Square piano

Maker: John Broadwood & Sons, Manufacturers to His Majesty, Great Pulteney Street, Golden Square, London.

Serial number: -

Date: -

Range: FF – c^{'''}

Type: Grand piano

Maker: John Broadwood & Sons, London.

Serial number: -

Date: -

Range: AAA – a^{'''}

Type: Square piano
Maker: John Broadwood & Son, Patent, London, Great Pulteney Street, Golden Square.
Serial number: -
Date: 1797
Range: FF – c''''

Cloeteskraal Farm, Velddrif district.

Type: Square piano
Maker: Dettmer, London.
Serial number: -
Date: 1830's, according to owner
Range: -

3.4.2 Organ by William Hill, built between 1832 and 1837

The following surviving instrument will serve as a case study of an instrument which was originally imported to be used in a domestic context, and for which there is ample information concerning not only the original location, but also a very strong link to two manuscript books which are discussed in Chapter 4 (section 4.1.3).

Although this instrument is currently housed in the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Grahamstown, it was originally imported as a domestic instrument. The organ was imported by Major Henry Somerset for his wife Frances Heathcote. Henry Somerset was Deputy Magistrate of Grahamstown and the son of Lord Charles Somerset (1767–1831), Governor of the Cape Colony from 1814 to 1826.¹⁰⁷

Henry Somerset's wife, Frances Sarah Heathcote (b. Est. 1810), had five siblings: Willian Lovell Heathcote (b. Est. 1801), George Gage Heathcote (b. 1806, Isle of Wight, d. 1 Jan. 1854, Durban, South Africa), Ann Forbes Heathcote (b. Est. 1819), Harriet Forbes Heathcote (b. Est. 1820) and Susan Maria Ansley Heathcote (b. Est. 1821).¹⁰⁸

It is almost certain that the two manuscript books discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis belonged to two of the Heathcote siblings, considering the correspondences with first, middle and surnames, the dates of the books and the estimated birth dates of Ann and Harriet (they would have been teenagers when they acquired the books) and also the fact that their sister had clear musical interests.

In 1821 Henry Somerset purchased a large estate, close to the centre of Grahamstown, called Oatlands, where in 1823 he built an imposing residence on the grounds. This house included a large drawing room which had a ceiling almost 4m high. This was probably the space in which the 2.78m chamber organ was accommodated.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, it is known with certainty that Henry Somerset and Frances Heathcote were in possession of two pianos (one of which was made by Broadwood)

¹⁰⁷ Troskie, Albert. (2010) *The Pipe Organ Heritage of South Africa*. Port Elizabeth: self-published. No. 53.

¹⁰⁸ British 1820 Settlers to South Africa.

<http://www.1820settlers.com/genealogy/getperson.php?personID=I73344&tree=master>. Accessed: 10 July 2018.

¹⁰⁹ Kirby, Percival Robson. (1958) 'An Early Organ by William Hill'. *The Organ*. No. 150. Vol. XXXVIII. p. 90.

and a harp. In the year of their departure for India an auction list appeared in the Graham's Town Journal of 25 September 1852, where the sale of the contents of Oatlands are announced:

Pote's General Sales. Sale of valuable household furniture. To be sold by auction at Oatlands, on Wednesday next, The 29th instant, The whole of the furniture and effects belonging to Major-General Somerset.¹¹⁰

Amongst the list of furniture, other house hold items and hand guns, the following can be found:

Also, A very superior and brilliant toned square piano-forte. with Music Stool complete, 1 do. by Broadwood. A magnificent Harp by Erard. An instrument such as the latter could not be bought in London under 60 guineas, and is the first thing of the kind ever sold at an Auction on the Frontier.¹¹¹

An identical announcement appeared in the *Cape Frontier Times* (Grahamstown) on 28 September 1852.¹¹² The presence of these instruments is a clear indication that domestic music making was a regular feature in this household.

Kirby¹¹³ gives a detailed history and description of the Hill organ in possession of Henry Somerset and Frances Heathcote: research into the provenance of this instrument is hampered by the fact that much of the early material in the archives of W. Hill & Sons were destroyed in a fire in 1882 and a considerable portion of the archives of Hill, Norman & Beard (the company formed in 1916 by the merger the two organ building firms W. Hill & Sons and Norman & Beard) was lost during the Second World War.

An approximate date of construction of the instrument can be determined through deductions made through the inscription on the name plate of the organ, which reads as follows: *W. Hill. Organ Builder to His Majesty. 21 Tott [enham Court, New Road].*

William Hill was born in 1798. In 1815 he started working for the organ builder Thomas Elliot and in 1818 married Elliot's daughter Mary. In 1825 Hill went into partnership with Elliot, after which they traded under the name 'Elliot & Hill'. After Elliot's death in 1832 Hill inherited the company which then became known simply as 'William Hill'.¹¹⁴ It can therefore be safely deduced that the Grahamstown organ was not built before 1832.

The part of the inscription on the name plate reading 'Builder to His Majesty' marks the latest date of construction as 1837: Queen Victoria ascended to the throne on 20 June 1837. This instrument must therefore have been built between 1832 and 1837.

The specification of the organ is as follows:

¹¹⁰ The Graham's Town Journal, or, Cape of Good Hope Eastern Province Register, 25 September 1852. Vol. XXI No. 1058. Front page.

¹¹¹ The Graham's Town Journal, or, Cape of Good Hope Eastern Province Register, 25 September, 1852, Vol. XXI, No. 1058. Front page.

¹¹² The Cape Frontier Times, 28 September, 1852. Vol. XII, No. 643. Front page.

¹¹³ Kirby, Percival Robson. (1958) 'An Early Organ by William Hill'. pp. 87–91.

¹¹⁴ Clutton, Cecil and Niland, Austin. (1963) *The British Organ*. London: B.T. Batsford. p. 89.

Manual compass: GG - f''' (with GG# omitted - 58 keys)

Pedal compass: GG - G (with GG# omitted - 12 keys)

There are eight drawstops, four on the bass side of the keyboard and four on the treble side of the keyboard.

Bass:

Cornet [2']

Principle [4']

Stopt diap [bass 8']

Pedal [coupler]

Treble:

Flute [4']

Open diap. [8']

Hautboy [8']

Stopt diap [treble 8']

Two composition pedals.

One swell pedal lever.

Blowing by hand lever.

The casework is of mahogany with the following dimensions: 2.78m (height), 1.52m (width) and 1.03m (dept). Both the keyboard and pedalboard can slide into the casework when the instrument is not in use, so that both are flush with the casework. A mahogany panel folds up over the drawstops and keyboard (in the internal position), so that nothing overhangs the casework when the instrument is not in use. The front of the case consists of a row of wooden dummy pipes which are colourfully decorated. Behind the front pipes are a row of swell shutters (with a so-called 'Nag's Head' mechanism). The whole of the front (pipes and swell shutters) is hinged and swings outwards in order to allow access to the internal pipework. Troskie includes photos of all the above physical attributes of this instrument in *The Pipe Organ Heritage of South Africa*.¹¹⁵

Kirby noticed that all the separate parts of the organ were marked and numbered very carefully and he speculates that Hill anticipated the fact that the instrument was in all probability to be assembled by someone who does not have specific training as an organ builder.¹¹⁶

After Henry Somerset and Frances Heathcote left for India in 1852, the organ was donated to the chapel at Fort England (the headquarters of the Cape Corps). Here it remained until 1914, when it was moved to its present location. In 1960 this organ was declared a National Monument.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁵ Troskie, Albert. (2010) *The Pipe Organ Heritage of South Africa*. No. 53.

¹¹⁶ Kirby, Percival Robson. (1958) 'An Early Organ by William Hill'. p. 88.

¹¹⁷ Troskie, Albert. (2010) *The Pipe Organ Heritage of South Africa*. No. 53.

3.5 CONCLUSION

To summarise the contents of this chapter: From the examples encountered in the contemporary written sources it is noted that, within the domestic context, keyboard instruments were used for mainly four purposes: political (in the case of Van Riebeeck), educational (in the case of Vos), for religious practice (in the cases Lichtenstein and Borchers) and for social entertainment (in the cases of Le Vaillant, Parker and De Jong). The cultural and political significance of this will be explored fully in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

In the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber references to several types of keyboard instruments are encountered as part of the contents of houses. Between 1724 and 1833 the following number of references to two overarching types of instruments are encountered: 55 indicate some form of piano ('klavier', 'clavier', 'claviertje', 'forte piano', 'fortepiano', 'piano forte', 'piano', 'pianoforte', 'piano forté') and 16 indicate some form of organ with a keyboard ('orgel', 'organ', 'cabinet orgel', 'huijs orgel', 'huis orgel', 'house organ', 'tafelorgel', 'tavel orgel', 'een tafel kast orgel'). The remaining of the references to versions of organs, 13 in total, probably refer to mechanical instruments, and are therefore not relevant to this study ('hand orgeltje', 'twee hand orgeltjes', '2 defecte handorgels', 'a small hand organ defective', 'a hand organ', 'hand organ', 'orgeltje', 'orgeltje', 'a box containing a small organ', 'een draay orgel', 'een defecte draay orgel', 'twee kleine draai orgels', 'orgel spel'). No direct references to harpsichords or harmoniums are made, and only one reference to a specific maker and style of an instrument: a square piano by Clementi. Often properties included instruments that were not in a playable condition. Some properties contained material to aid the maintenance of the instruments, which would indicate that owners often did basic maintenance on the instruments themselves.

Newspapers published during the time period covered by this study provide an invaluable source of information concerning the types of keyboard instruments that were imported, locally made and offered for sale in the Cape Colony. These references start in 1800, when the first edition of the earliest newspaper and advertising medium published in Cape Town, *The Cape Town Gazette*, was published, and end in 1852, the general cut-off date for this study. Because of logistical research difficulties and the great volume of primary material, a complete catalogue of every reference to a keyboard instrument in every early newspaper was not achievable within the scope of this study. The examples presented in this chapter serve as an overview of the period in question and can be seen in their entirety in Appendix 2. During this period the following references to keyboard instruments could be found: 78 references to pianos, 13 references to organs, 4 references to reed organs of various kinds, 1 reference to a harpsichord and 1 reference to a table organ.

Most of the pianos seem to have been imported from the United Kingdom, whilst the majority of the mentions use only the term 'piano forte' with variations of spelling including 'piano-forte', 'forte piano' or only 'piano'. In relatively few instances the type of instruments are specified. Quite often technical advancements in instrument building are used as a selling point in advertisements, which also gives a glimpse of the specifications of pianos that were sold in the Cape Colony. By the mid-19th century piano rental and transport services are also offered, and the ability of pianos to withstand the climate of Southern Africa was often used as an additional selling point in advertisements. The implications of this point will be addressed fully in Chapter 5.

Next to pianos, organs seem to have been the most popular keyboard instruments sold for domestic usage. Often the terminology used indicates that these instruments were smaller pipe organs intended for use in houses: 'cabinet organ', 'kabinet orgel', 'chamber organs', 'house organ', 'cabinet-Organ' and 'positief', in addition to the usage of the generic term 'organ'. Unlike pianos, organs seem to have been made locally, as can be seen not only in section 3.1 of this chapter, but also in a newspaper advertisement from 1815 where an organ made from a local wood is offered for sale. One reference to a table organ might indicate a so-called 'table organ for the right hand' (see 3.2), but it could also indicate a mechanically operated instrument. One unusual case is a reference from 1825 that describes a piano-organ combination instrument.

Only one reference to a harpsichord can be found: an instrument by the London maker, Kirckman, whilst various types of reed organs seem to have become increasingly popular towards the middle of the 19th century. In one reference from 1846 a tuning system is mentioned, in this case equal temperament, and towards the middle of the 19th century keyboard instrument maintenance services are increasingly offered in advertisements.

Because it is not possible to trace the provenance of the extant keyboard instruments that might have been used in a domestic situation in Southern Africa as well as logistical research limitations, the sources discussed in 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3 in this chapter allow for a more reliable representation of the number, location and nature of domestic keyboard instruments at the early Cape than the current distribution of actual historical instruments.

Serving as a confirmation and addition to the instruments described in the rest of this chapter, this section includes a list of keyboard instruments currently found within the geographical region of the Cape Colony during the time period that this study covers. This list of instruments, which dates from the broader time period discussed in this study, does not attempt to be exhaustive, but rather serves as a representation of the types of instrument that could have been encountered.

An exception is the chamber organ by William Hill, still preserved in its original condition, that was imported by Henry Somerset in the 1830s. This instrument serves as a case study of an instrument which was originally imported to be used in a domestic context, and for which there is ample information concerning not only the original location and owners, but also a very strong link to two manuscript books which form part of this study.

The main points of interest that came to the fore in this chapter are:

- 1) Keyboard instruments were encountered in households from the very early stages of the Cape Colony. This might indicate that some cultural importance was attached to these instruments. These potential political, educational, religious and social meanings will be fully explored in Chapter 5.
- 2) Related to the above point, often instruments were present in locations very far from any urban centres, with owners having very little access to musical instrument maintenance and tuning services. Colonists often went to great lengths to transport keyboard instruments to distant sites that are difficult to access as appropriate means of transport were not available, and even have them built (in the case of the Hodderson organ in Swellendam) in situ. This was done at the risk of causing harm to these instruments, which are quite easily damaged, and sensitive to temperature

and humidity changes. The significance of these instruments, as objects occupying a physical space, will be addressed in Chapter 5 (5.4).

3) It seems that especially organs were popular as domestic instruments during the 18th century. In Chapter 5 (and specifically 5.5) the idea of an organ as a living and breathing organism is discussed, and the sonic and physical impact that they had on the colonial environment will be explored.

4) A specific tuning system (equal temperament) is mentioned earlier in this chapter, although only once. The significance of tuning systems relating to keyboard instruments, and the meanings attached to them in the colonial context, will be discussed in Chapter 5 (5.4).

5) In spite of all the references to keyboard instruments in primary sources encountered in this chapter, no links between these instruments and slaves could be found. This absence of evidence will be interpreted in Chapter 5 (5.3).

6) Often accounts of domestic keyboard instruments being played were linked to women. Chapter 5 (5.1) will investigate the significance of this.

Following on from the focus on the domestic keyboard instruments themselves in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 draws attention to the types of repertoire that would have been played on these instruments. It also examines the presence (or often absence) of sheet music on premises where keyboard instruments were found in a domestic context.

Chapter 4

The colonial repertoire

In this chapter evidence and examples of keyboard repertoire that was played in the domestic context in colonial Southern Africa is brought to light. Mainly three types of source material contain sheet music or references to repertoire: 1) manuscripts, 2) advertisements and reviews found in early newspapers, and 3) the Orphan Chamber inventories of the contents of houses. In spite of the scant evidence in the above sources, an overview of the types of repertoire that were popular in a domestic context can be constructed.

4.1 MANUSCRIPTS

In this section the background of the manuscripts as well as special points of interest are described and discussed in the body of the text, whilst descriptions of the complete contents of each individual manuscript can be found in table format in Appendices 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7.

4.1.1 The Meent Borchersds manuscript books

In the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa Archive: Private collection of Meent Borchersds (1762–1832),¹ K-DIV823, there are, amongst several manuscript books and loose sheets that belonged to Meent Borchersds, two manuscript books containing sheet music. One book contains songs, hymns and psalm settings, all with keyboard accompaniment, and the other the same, but with the addition of 15 pieces for solo keyboard.

Most of the known biographical details concerning Meent Borchersds come down to us via an autobiographical memoir² of his son, Petrus Borhardus Borchersds (1786–1871).³ This memoir, which was published in Cape Town in 1861, and reprinted in 1963, includes a section devoted to the life of his father.⁴

According to PB Borchersds,⁵ Meent Borchersds was born on the 3 September 1762 in Jemgum, a village in East Frisia, as the youngest son of Borhardus Borchersds and Titia Kempen. He went on to study theology in Groningen and in 1784 received an appointment as minister of the congregation at the Cape. He left the Netherlands on 22 December 1784 on a VOC vessel called *Het Meeuwjtje* and arrived at the Cape on 19 April 1785. On 13 May 1785 he was sworn in as the third minister of the Dutch Reformed church in Cape Town. Because of ill health, he requested to be appointed in a position in the countryside and consequently he became minister of the Dutch Reformed congregation in Stellenbosch on 17 September 1786. In order to supplement his income of 1,000 rixdollars (£75) per year, he bought a piece of land for cultivation between the Eerste River and what is today Dorp Street. On this piece of land he built a house, still in existence, facing Dorp Street,

¹ Borchersds, Claude Bennett. (1964) *Genealogy of the Borchersds Family*. Mossel Bay: self-published. p. 5.

² Borchersds, Petrus Borhardus. (1861) *An Autobiographical Memoir*. Cape Town: A.S. Robertson.

³ Borchersds, Claude Bennett. (1964) *Genealogy of the Borchersds Family*. p. 5.

⁴ For a complete overview of Borchersds' life and professional activities see: Veltkamp, S.B.I. (1977) *Meent Borchersds: Predikant in overgangstijd (Jemgum 1762–1832)*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Pretoria: UNISA.

⁵ Borchersds, Petrus Borhardus. (1963) *An Autobiographical Memoir*. Cape Town: Africana Connoisseurs Press. Chapter 1, section 1.

named *La Gratitude*. Both the name of the house and a depiction of the 'all-seeing eye of God' can be seen on the front gable of the house.

On 9 December 1830 he retired with a state pension of £300 per year. Meent Borchersds passed away on 28 February 1832. He was buried in the same burial vault as his wife, who passed away on 12 October 1830. This vault can be found on the grounds of the Dutch Reformed *Moedergemeente* in Stellenbosch.

As discussed in 3.1, Section VIII of Petrus Borchardus Borchersds's memoirs is a description of life in Stellenbosch during his youth, around the turn of the 19th century. The last part of this section is, in PB Borchersds's words, a 'sketch of an evening in the days of [my] youth, also drawn partly from fact and reality'.⁶ Here the following reference to domestic music making involving a keyboard instrument can be found, but also a reference to specific hymn:

The sacrifice of a feeling and religious heart was now lighted on the family altar; that Word by which the will of the Supreme for time and eternity is prescribed was explained, and the head of the family expounded it in a plain and intelligible manner, brief and to the point, such as was calculated to meet the comprehension of those belonging to the family circle; and with Gellert's beautiful German hymn, 'Für alle gute sey gepreist,' translated by the leader in Dutch, accompanied by the pianoforte, this impressive home solemnity closed.⁷

The Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715–1769)/Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788) setting of the hymn *Für alle Güte sey gepreist* can be found on page 76 (real page number) of the first manuscript book (MB1) under the title *Langsam Gellert Bach*. The song is copied with its original German text as found in the first,⁸ third⁹ and fourth¹⁰ editions of the Bach/Gellert *Geistliche Oden und Lieder* and on the next page a Dutch translation by Borchersds appears. The Borchersds copy of the musical text is mostly true to the printed editions, apart from an added three-bar instrumental introduction and minus the ornament signs found in the original.

Both of the manuscript books in K-DIV823 that contain music are titled *MANUSCRIPT HYMNS BY THE REVD. MR. M BORCHERDS*. The two books have an identical appearance with gold embossed lettering on a green marbled background and both are bound in black leather. The only marked difference between the two books is the size (indicated below). For the purposes of this study I will refer to the books as MB1 and MB2.

For both Borchersds manuscript books an attempt to establish authorship of the musical text has been made through an RISM music incipit search.¹¹ The complete contents of the manuscript books, occurrences of similar musical texts in other contemporary manuscript and printed sources,

⁶ Borchersds, Petrus Borchardus. (1963) *An Autobiographical Memoir*. p. 223.

⁷ Borchersds, Petrus Borchardus. (1963) *An Autobiographical Memoir*. p. 225.

⁸ Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel (1758) *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*. First edition. Berlin: George Ludewig Winter. p. 1.

⁹ Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel (1764) *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*. Third edition. Berlin: George Ludewig Winter. p. 1.

¹⁰ Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel (1771) *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*. Fourth edition. Berlin: George Ludewig Winter. p. 1.

¹¹ Authorship was determined by a RISM music incipit search. Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM). <https://opac.rism.info/index.php?id=7&L=0> Accessed: April 2017.

determination of authorship or any clues to potential authorship, as well as general points of interest are catalogued in Appendix 3 (MB1) and 4 (MB2). Sections 4.1.1.1 and 4.1.1.2 below highlight the main points of interest relevant to this study.

4.1.1.1 MB1

The measurement of MB1 is 31 cm x 20 cm. The first nine pages are not numbered, and they contain 13 solo keyboard pieces in fair copy. The pieces are numbered (often there are two on one page) in the following way with the following titles:¹²

1. *Menuet*¹³
2. *Jannitscharen Marche*¹⁴
3. *Menuet cum Trio*¹⁵
4. *Menuet*¹⁶
5. *Murki*
6. *Marche*¹⁷
7. *Menuet*¹⁸
8. *Menuet*¹⁹
9. *Murki*²⁰
10. *Menuet*²¹
11. *Menuet*²²
12. *Menuet*²³
13. *Gigue*²⁴

All of the above pieces are anonymous, although two correspond to pieces in other contemporary manuscript books currently in collections in Germany and Switzerland: the first *Menuet* corresponds to a piece titled *Menuette allegretto* found in the *Frankfurter Goethe-Haus Bibliothek* (D-Ff) and the *Menuet* No. 11 corresponds to pieces in three separate contemporary manuscript books in three different collections (two in Germany and one in Switzerland). One of these collections, the *Stadtarchiv, Konstanz* (D-KZa), mentions the name of Johann Baptist Vanhal (1739–1813) as a possible composer.

After these thirteen initial pieces in fair copy there are a further two solo keyboard pieces, both in the same more informal hand, but written in different ink to each other. The first of these two pieces are titled *Commolan*,²⁵ the melody of which corresponds to a folk tune called *Drops of*

¹² Text in italics refer to the titles as found in the manuscript.

¹³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JCIwg7jesfE>

¹⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ABmM8W1ppJw>

¹⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8G3_AcvIqyE

¹⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JCIwg7jesfE>

¹⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EWOYCmFcNx8>

¹⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EWOYCmFcNx8>

¹⁹ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8G3_AcvIqyE

²⁰ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8G3_AcvIqyE

²¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=83raDgWELkg>

²² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=83raDgWELkg>

²³ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8G3_AcvIqyE

²⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=83raDgWELkg>

²⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EWOYCmFcNx8>

Brandy, found in similar arrangements for solo keyboard in two in collections in the United Kingdom. In one collection (US-CAward) in the United States this piece appears in a manuscript under the title *Cammolan*.

The second of these two keyboard pieces (notated in a more informal hand) in MB1 is titled *Sa jra sa jra*.²⁶ This piece corresponds to instrumental pieces found in three contemporary manuscript books: one in a collection in the USA (US-NH), one in a collection in the United Kingdom (GB-HFr) and one in a collection in Germany (D-LEm). In all three of the above sources the piece is titled *Downfall of Paris*. The 1954 edition of *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* gives a detailed history of this tune, listed under the title *Ça ira*.²⁷

This song was first heard on the night of 5 October 1789 during the French Revolution. The protest text was added to a *contredanse* composed by Bécourt, a violinist in the orchestra of the Théâtre des Beaujolais. The tune soon became popular in England and was published several times as a song with French text. The melody was used in an opera, arranged by Shield, titled *The Picture of Paris* in Covent Garden in 1790. During the first half of the 19th century the melody was often published as a piece for solo piano under the title *The Downfall of Paris* or *The Fall of Paris*.²⁸

The rest of MB1 contains psalm settings and religious songs. Several of the religious songs in this manuscript are copied from *Geistliche Oden und Lieder 1* with texts by C.F. Gellert and music by C.P.E. Bach. I had access to the first edition (1758),²⁹ third edition (1764)³⁰ and fourth edition (1771)³¹ of *Geistliche Oden und Lieder 1* and the musical texts of all the editions are identical: the later editions seem to have been reprints of the same plates. There are only minor discrepancies between the copies of these songs in the manuscript and the printed editions, which could possibly indicate copyists' oversights rather than intentional changes to the text.

In the preface to the first edition C.P.E. Bach states that he has composed the keyboard accompaniment of the songs in such a way that it can be played as solo keyboard pieces:

Ich habe meinen Melodien die nöthige Harmonie und Manieren beygefügt. Auf diese Art habe ich sie der der Willkühr eines steifen General-Baß-Spielers nicht überlaßen dürfen, und man kann also zugleich als Handstücke brauchen. Da die Singestimme allezeit in der Höhe liegt, so werden ungeübte Häse dadurch eine große Erleichterung spüren.³²

The remainder of the religious songs in the MB1 manuscript are anonymous. The following songs correspond to songs in other manuscripts:

²⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ABmM8W1ppJw>

²⁷ Chouquet, Gustave. (1954) *Ça ira*. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Volume II, Fifth Edition. Editor: Eric Blom. London: Macmillan & Co Ltd. p. 1.

²⁸ Kidson, Frank. (1954) *Ça ira*. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Volume II, Fifth Edition. Editor: Eric Blom. London: Macmillan. p. 2.

²⁹ Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. (1758) *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*. First edition. Berlin: George Ludewig Winter.

³⁰ Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. (1764) *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*. Third edition. Berlin: George Ludewig Winter.

³¹ Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. (1771) *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*. Fourth edition. Berlin: George Ludewig Winter.

³² Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. (1758) *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*. First edition. Berlin: George Ludewig Winter.

- The song titled *Der letzte Wille* corresponds to a keyboard piece with the title *Aria* found in MS Mus. 511 dating from 1751–1850 in *Frančiškanski samostan, Knjižnica* (SL-Nf). The composer is anonymous and the key of this keyboard piece is G-major (F-major in the Borcherdts manuscript);
- The song titled *Die Freundschaft* can be found as a piece for voice and keyboard in three different manuscripts in collections in Germany (D-HER), the USA (US-LAum) and Denmark (DK-Kk) and as a keyboard piece in a collection in Germany (D-LEm). All four of these pieces are anonymous and in the same key as in the Borcherdts manuscript (D-major);
- The song titled *Wat is het Schoon* corresponds to a German song titled *Die Zufriedenheit* found in kr IV 408 (Ms.8380) dating from 1800 in the *Basel Universitätsbibliothek, Musiksammlung* (CH-Bu). The composer is anonymous and it is in the same key as in the Borcherdts manuscript (G major).

The psalm settings in MB1 are chorales³³ with anonymous harmonisations, all with a similar texture: only a melodic line on the right-hand stave, with three- or four-part chords in the left hand. The voice leading in the chordal writing is very poor due to parallel movement and big leaps between chords. This almost gives the impression of a type of short-hand, indicating which harmonies fit with which melody notes, rather than an exact notation of the left-hand part. Sometimes short melodic ornamentations occur between the melody notes of the chorale, and quite frequently ornament signs are to be found on the melody notes (especially on cadence notes). Typical of contemporary practice, the end of each phrase is indicated by a fermata sign.

Psalm 19 (on real page number 14) is especially interesting: in spite of the clumsy harmonisation in the left hand (see remarks above), there are very florid melodic ornamentations between the melody notes of the chorale, several ornament signs on the melody notes and also a short, free interlude before every line of the chorale.³⁴ This may be reflective of the type of congregational accompaniment that was prevalent at the Cape at the time. Blume states that it was common practice in Germany from 1750 onwards for the congregation to sing in unison and that congregational singing got worse towards the end of the 18th century, because melodies were no longer printed in the hymn books. Therefore the practice was to have a singer (German: *Vorsänger*, Dutch: *voorzanger*) in the front of the church leading the singing and in addition to that the interludes were used to lead the congregation to the starting note of the next line. Some of the printed hymn accompaniment books from this era included the leads/ornamentations between the lines of the chorales.³⁵

Petrus Borchardus Borcherdts describes this practice in the *Moederkerk* in Stellenbosch during the early 19th century:

Previously to the minister ascending the pulpit and between the ringing of the second and third bells the Dominie, or parish clerk, read chapters out of the Bible, and usually also the one from which the text was to be taken. He also published bans, and named the members who were desirous of moving to other parishes, if any, and had applied for certificates of membership, and when the ringing of the third bell had ceased he gave out the psalm or

³³ The chorale melodies are identified in Appendix 3.

³⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eRN83KCOrMA>

³⁵ Blume, Friedrich. (1965) *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik*. Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag. p. 233.

hymn to be sung by the congregation, with the time, leading the singing and accompanied by the organ.³⁶

Wie wird mir dann (the chorale melody *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern* – on real page number 38) is an exception to the other psalm settings: it has a short chordal introduction of two-and-a-half bars to the chorale.

4.1.1.2 MB2

The measurement of MB2 is 37 cm x 24 cm. As with MB1, an attempt to determine the authorship of the pieces in this manuscript has been made through an RISM music incipit search.³⁷

The contents of MB2 are very similar to those of MB1. It contains no solo keyboard music, but rather hymn and psalm melodies with anonymous keyboard accompaniments or harmonisations very much in the same vein as those found in MB1. Several of the hymns have short written-out keyboard introductions (real page numbers 37, 41, 57, 63 and 67). The treble line of 'Avond=Gezang' on page 43 has elaborate melodic ornamentations between the melody notes (the melody being the German chorale *O Welt, ich muss dich lassen*).

A few date indications can be found in this manuscript, pointing to the date on which the music was copied, all between July and October 1806 (real page numbers indicated):

Page 9: '11 July 1806'

Page 15: '6 July 1806'

Page 20: '10 July 1806'

Page 22: '20 July 1806'

Page 25: 'gecopieerd d: 21 July 1806'

Page 27: 'gecopieerd d: 25 July 1806'

Page 30: '2 Aug 1806'

Page 36: 'gecopieerd d: 27 July 1806'

'gecop: d: 3 Aug 1806'

Page 39: 'gecopieerd d: 25 July 1806'

Page 42: 'gekopiëerd 28 July 1806'

Page 50: 'gekopiëerd 29 July 1806'

Page 64: 'Gecopieerd d: 2 Aug 1806'

³⁶ Borchers, Petrus Borchardus. (1963) *An Autobiographical Memoir*. p. 179.

³⁷ RISM music incipit search. Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM). <https://opac.rism.info/index.php?id=7&L=0> Accessed: April 2017.

Page 66: '6 Oct 1806'

Page 68: 'gecopieerd d: 3 Aug 1806'

The erratic page numbering in the manuscript as well as the fact that the dates does not follow each other chronologically could be an indication that the manuscript might originally have been loose sheets which were bound together, or perhaps rebound at some stage.

4.1.2 Manuscript from the Burger family from Piketberg

Amongst the collection of hymn books in the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa Archive (no shelf mark) another manuscript book with likely relevance to this study can be found. The pages of this book are bound in a modern binding dating from 1967, done by the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa Archive. In spite of the fact that the binding is modern, we know that the pages were bound together before they came into the possession of the archive from Gabriël Gideon (Gawie) Cillié's description of his first encounter with the manuscript. This is related in a handwritten note by Cillié found in the manuscript:

Hierdie 'Singboek' is aan my, Dr G. Cillié jr, oorhandig deur Mev. Egbert Olivier (Maggie Lubbe), Bosbokspruit, Steynsrust, C.V.S., tydens 'n besoek van die Stellenbosse Kweekskoolkoor aan Steynsrust in Julie, 1950, vir uiteindelijke bewaring vir die Kaapse Kerkargief. Volgens Mev Olivier is die boek afkomstig van die Burger-familie van Piketberg. (Haar oor grootvader was 'n Burger). Volgens haar moeder is die boek afgeskryf deur 'n Hollandse onderwyser wat die familieplaas besoek het.

Die titelblad en bladsye 1 en 2 ontbreek...³⁸

This account is confirmed by a letter dated 29 July 1950, written by Mrs Olivier to Cillié, also found in the manuscript book.³⁹

There are two clues pertaining to the date of the manuscript. Firstly, the history of one of the song texts contained in the manuscript and, secondly, the watermarks of the paper. Although only the text (no music) of the song titled *Lied Gemaakt op die Komste Van den Eerwaarde heer M.C. Vos Als Leeraar in de Gemeynte te wareren* is copied in the Burger family manuscript, it does contain an instruction to which tune it should be sung: 'Op de Wys geeft een Aalmoes Voor de Blinde'. The song text refers to Michiel Christiaan Vos (1759–1825)⁴⁰ who, after a stay of several years in the Netherlands, returned to the Cape to take up the position of minister of the congregation in the *Land van Waveren* (now Tulbagh) in 1794. His first sermon in the Tulbagh church was on 4 May that same year and the song was written to celebrate his appointment there. This account is also related

³⁸ Cillié, G.G. (1910–2000). Handwritten note found in the manuscript book from the Burger family. Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa Archive. No shelf mark.

³⁹ Lubbe, Maggie. Handwritten letter dated 29 July 1950 from Mrs Egbert Olivier (Maggie Lubbe) to G.G. Cillié, found in the manuscript book from the Burger family. Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa Archive. No shelf mark.

⁴⁰ See Chapter 3.

in an article by Jan Bouws published in *Die Burger* in 1966.⁴¹ Bouws's article relates his search for the tune *Geeft een Aalmoes voor den Blinden* to which this song was sung.

According to the watermarks on the sheets of paper contained in the Burger family manuscript book, it can be divided into four distinct parts.

The first part consists of printed pages, namely the supplement from the 1804 edition of Antoine Hugo (ca.1761–1803) and Johann Georg Wunderlich's (1755–1819) *Méthode de flûte de Conservatoire*, published in Paris.

The second part is a fair copy with beautiful and consistent handwriting throughout. Especially the music notation is very clearly written. The content is mostly psalms and other religious songs. Very often the text plus a single melodic line can be found (no accompaniment) and for some psalms only the text is penned. There is one exception to this, discussed below. All of the sheets on which this part of the manuscript book is written have the watermark 'Coles 1795'.

The third part is written by the same hand as part two. The content of this section consists of texts of religious songs (without any music). The sheets of this section have a different watermark to those of part 2, in the form of an insignia. A separate index, applicable to this section, can also be found on the last pages.

The contents of the fourth part of the manuscript consists of the following: 4 prayers (text only) in fair copy, one incomplete religious song (text plus melody) as well as several sheets of religious song texts in an informal hand. This part contains pages with the above two watermarks mixed, apart from the very last page which has a watermark with the date 1835.

In the second part of this manuscript book a religious song titled *De Vlucht na Egipte* can be found. This piece differs from the rest of the manuscript in that not only is a melodic line written down, but also a bass line. Bouws assumes that this is a part for a bass singer: 'vir twee stemme (sopraan en bas)',⁴² but could not identify the origin of this piece. Although the bass rhythmically mostly moves note-to-note with the soprano and often in parallel intervals, some characteristics of it resemble an instrumental line, rather than a vocal one. These include relatively wide leaps, cross-relations and the fact that the bass and treble lines are joined together with a brace.

This song was copied from a publication titled *Dankbaare naagedachten en geboorte gezangen op de verschyninge van Jezus Christus, begreepen in twintig zangstukken, met zangkunst verrijkt door C. Kauwenberg en W. Vermooten* by J. van Elsland published in Haarlem in 1718, with a second reprint in 1735, an undated third reprint and a fourth reprint in 1764.⁴³ The music of *De Vlucht na Egipte* is by Willem Vermooten (d. 1755). Vermooten was a Dutch musician who spent most of his working life in Haarlem in the Netherlands.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Bouws, Jan. 'n *Vergete Franse wysie: Welkomslied vir Nuwe Leraar in Tolbagh in 1794*. *Die Burger*, 15 December 1966. p. 4.

⁴² Bouws, Jan. (1966) *Die Musieklewe van Kaapstad 1800–1850*. Cape Town/Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema. p. 34.

⁴³ Enschedé, Jan Willem. (1912) *Vermooten, Willem*, in P.C. Molhuysen en P.J. Blok (eds.) *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek, deel 2*. Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff. p. 1491.

⁴⁴ Enschedé, Jan Willem. (1912) *Vermooten, Willem*. p. 1490.

In the preface to the third edition Van Elsland writes: ‘Tot gemak der Zangers en Speelers, zyn deeze Gezangen op de gemeene G Sleutel gesteld, geaccompagneert met de Bas, om gelykelyk te kunnen Zingen en Speelen.’⁴⁵ This practice can also be observed in the Gellert/Bach songbooks: an indication that the pieces can either be performed as a vocal piece with keyboard accompaniment or as a keyboard solo piece. Both of these options might therefore be applicable to *De Vlucht na Egipte*.

4.1.3 Harriet and Ann Heathcote manuscript books

In the Western Cape Archives and Records Service in collection A804 can be found two manuscript books⁴⁶ that contain songs with piano and/or guitar accompaniment.⁴⁷ Both books are bound in similar leather bindings, with a marbled front page. A804(1) is inscribed with gold embossed lettering on the front page, reading ‘Ann F. Heathcote 1835’ (on the first page there is an inscription that reads ‘10th Sept. 1835’). A804(2) doesn’t have an inscription on the marbled front page, but on the first page of this book there is an inscription that reads ‘Harriet F. Heathcote, February 1834’.

Frances Sarah Heathcote (b. Est. 1810) was married to Major Henry Somerset (1794–1862), son of Lord Charles Somerset (1767–1831), Governor of the Cape Colony from 1814 to 1826.⁴⁸ Between 1832 and 1837 Henry Somerset imported a chamber organ,⁴⁹ built by the British firm William Hill & Sons, for his wife Frances Sarah. This organ was housed in the drawing room of their mansion in Grahamstown called Oatlands.⁵⁰ The history and technical details of this instrument, which is still extant, as well as references to a Broadwood square-piano found on the same property, are discussed fully in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

Frances Sarah Heathcote (b. Est. 1810) had five siblings: Willian Lovell Heathcote (b. Est. 1801), George Gage Heathcote (b. 1806, Isle of Wight, d. 1 Jan. 1854, Durban, South Africa), Ann Forbes Heathcote (b. Est. 1819), Harriet Forbes Heathcote (b. Est. 1820) and Susan Maria Ansley Heathcote (b. Est. 1821).⁵¹

It is almost completely certain that these two manuscript books belonged to two of the Heathcote siblings, considering the correspondences with first, middle and surnames, the dates of the books and the estimated birth dates of Ann and Harriet (they would have been teenagers when they acquired the books). This is strengthened by the fact that their sister, Frances Sarah Heathcote, had clear musical interests and owned two keyboard instruments. This link between a still extant

⁴⁵ Van Elsland, J. (18th century) *Dankbaare naagedachten en Geboorte Gezangen, Op de blyde en heilryke verschyninge, van licht der Genade, Jezus Christus, begreepen in twintig Zangstukken, met zangkunst verrijkt door C. Kauwenberg en W. Vermooten*. Third edition. Haarlem: Van Hulkenroy. Second page (unnumbered) of preface.

⁴⁶ A804. Donor: Mrs JP van der Merwe, 1956. Western Cape Archives and Record Services, Cape Town.

⁴⁷ In only four instances is the instrumentation indicated (piano and/or guitar), but the style of notation clearly indicates whether the accompaniment is meant for keyboard (a treble clef stave and a bass clef stave joined by a bracket) or guitar (treble clef only with a chordal writing style that’s idiomatic for guitar).

⁴⁸ British 1820 Settlers to South Africa.

<http://www.1820settlers.com/genealogy/getperson.php?personID=I66773&tree=master> Accessed: 10 July 2018.

⁴⁹ For a description of this instrument see Chapter 3.

⁵⁰ Troskie, Albert. (2010) *The Pipe Organ Heritage of South Africa*. Port Elizabeth: self-published.

⁵¹ British 1820 Settlers to South Africa.

<http://www.1820settlers.com/genealogy/getperson.php?personID=I73344&tree=master> Accessed: 10 July 2018.

keyboard instrument (the William Hill & Sons chamber organ), as well as a concrete reference to a specific type of piano by a certain maker, and two manuscript books containing repertoire that was probably used in connection with these two instruments, is unique in the context of this study. The fact that this is the only instance where such a direct link could be made, demonstrates the general difficulty of tracing the provenance of instruments as well as of sheet music in the Southern African context.

For both Heathcote manuscript books an attempt to establish authorship of the musical text has been made through an RISM music incipit search.⁵² As RISM's database 'offers the most comprehensive documentation available for music manuscripts and printed music for the time between 1600 and 1800',⁵³ and therefore ends around thirty years before the date of these manuscripts, the search for authorship was extended by consulting printed sources contemporary to the manuscript books. The complete contents of the manuscript books, occurrences of similar musical texts in other contemporary manuscript and printed sources, determination of authorship or any clues to potential authorship, as well as general points of interest are catalogued in Appendix 5: A804(1), and Appendix 6: A804(2). Sections 4.1.3.1 and 4.1.3.2 below serve to highlight the main points of interest relevant to this study.

4.1.3.1 A804(1) Manuscript book of Ann F. Heathcote, 1835

This book contains mostly vocal pieces with guitar accompaniment (pages 1 to 18) except for four vocal pieces with keyboard accompaniment found from pages 19 to 29. Beyond page 29 the book contains only empty pages.

On pages 19 to 21 an anonymous vocal piece with an accompaniment for guitar and piano titled *Lovelj* (French text) can be found. At the end of the song the date '25th Jan. 1837' is written. The vocal, guitar and piano parts are clearly marked 'Singstimme', 'Gitarre' and 'Piano'.

Pages 22 to 24 contain a vocal piece with an accompaniment for guitar and piano titled *Die Laute* by the composer Karl Keller (1784–1855). This same song can be found in five different contemporary manuscripts in German collections: four of them with piano accompaniment only and one with guitar accompaniment only. In the Ann F. Heathcote manuscript the keyboard part is marked 'Piano-Forte'.

On pages 25 and 26 a vocal piece with keyboard accompaniment titled *The meeting of the waters* can be found. The composer is John Andrew Stevenson (1767–1833) and the text is by Thomas Moore (1779–1852). Both names are indicated in the manuscript and the authorship was verified with an RISM search.

Pages 27 to 29 contain an anonymous vocal duet with keyboard accompaniment. The title and text of the song are not decipherable because of the unclear handwriting.

⁵² Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM). <https://opac.rism.info/index.php?id=7&L=0> Accessed: February 2018.

⁵³ Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM). <https://opac.rism.info/index.php?id=7&L=0> Accessed: 15 December 2020.

4.1.3.2 A804(2) Manuscript book of Harriet F. Heathcote, 1834

This manuscript book contains mostly vocal solos and vocal duets with keyboard accompaniment, and a few songs with guitar accompaniment.

There are several songs, all with keyboard accompaniment, with clear musical authorship:

- page 18: the aria *Rose wie bist du reizend*⁵⁴ stems from act one of Louis Spohr's (1748–1859) opera *Zemire und Azor* from 1818/1819. The keyboard accompaniment is an orchestral reduction;
- page 22: a song titled *Volkslied*, composed by Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826);
- page 29: a song titled *Oh! Give me but my Arab Steed* corresponds to a song titled *The Arab Maid* found a collection in the United States. The composer is George Alexander Hodson (c. 1790–1863);
- page 35: a song titled *My Native Land Good Night* with music by Francis Joseph Klose (1783–1830);
- page 76: a song titled *Wartend* with music by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy (1809–1847) and text by Emanuel Baldamus (1815–1893);
- page 77: a song titled *Beruhigung* with music by Karl August Krebs (1804–1880) and text by Emanuel Baldamus (1815–1839). In the manuscript the erroneous indication 'Musik von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy' can be found.

There are two duets with clear musical authorship:

- page 38: an extract from act 3, scene 2 from the opera *Le Nozze di Figaro* by W.A. Mozart (1756–1791) in German translation;
- page 44: an extract from act 1, scene 1 from the above opera, also in German translation.

In both the above cases the keyboard accompaniment is an orchestral reduction.

Several songs in the manuscript are folk songs, or songs in a folk style, with anonymous melodies and keyboard accompaniments, but with texts by well-known poets of the British Isles. These include:

- two anonymous songs (pages 3 and 5) with texts by Thomas Moore (1779–1852). One of these songs, on page 3 – *Farewell! But, whenever you welcome the hour*⁵⁵ - corresponds to an anonymous song titled *Lebt wohl doch wenn euch einst vereint* in a collection in Germany (D-Mbs);
- page 8: a folk song titled *Charlie is my darling* with an anonymous accompaniment and text by Robert Burns (1759–1796);
- page 10: a folk song titled *The banks of the Dee*⁵⁶ with an anonymous accompaniment and text by John Tait (1748–1817);
- page 12: a song titled *Oh! twine me a bower* with text by Thomas Crofton Croker (1798 - 1854);

⁵⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QcP8sLhQ514>

⁵⁵ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3WNpvDUHn4>

⁵⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PB8NH0DMD8Q>

- page 32: an anonymous song titled *My life I love you (Maid of Athens)*⁵⁷ with text by Lord Byron (1788–1824);
- page 67: an anonymous song titled *Musing on the roaring ocean*⁵⁸ with text by Robert Burns (1759–1796).

On page 34 a song titled *Love good night*⁵⁹ is found. Although the author of the text is not known, the text was published in *Hodgson's National Songster*.⁶⁰ A similar case arises with the song *Le Portrait*⁶¹ on page 68; although neither the composer nor the author of the text is known, it corresponds to an individually printed song titled *Le portrait: a popular French song, with English words: arranged for the harp or piano forte*. This was printed by Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co in 1818.

On page 6 of this manuscript a very interesting melodically altered version of the ballad *Lady Anne Bothwell's Lament*, found in the second volume of *Orpheus Caledonius*,⁶² can be found.⁶³ This song has a very idiomatic and skilfully written piano part,⁶⁴ of which authorship could not be determined.

On page 71 the name of either a composer or poet of a song with keyboard accompaniment is given as 'Keller': in spite of this, authorship could not be established. On page 21 the composer or poet of a song titled *Das Veilchen und das Mädchen* is indicated as 'G. Doering'. Although authorship of the musical text could not be established, the poem is by Karl August Döring (1783–1844).⁶⁵

4.1.4 Manuscript book belonging John Rennie

This manuscript book is in the private ownership of John Rennie, the Cape Town-based conservation architect.⁶⁶ The book was given to Rennie on 1 August 1975 in Queenstown by Bertha Miles, a first cousin of his father. According to Rennie, the book belonged George Rennie, an 1820 settler who was an agriculturist by profession. Inside the back cover the name 'George Rennie' appears and there is a signature in ink on the front cover: G. Rennie. George Rennie was born in 1798 (to parents Alexander Rennie and Elizabeth Brown). He arrived in the Eastern Cape on the ship *Brilliant* as part of the Pringle party. This party was mostly of Scottish origin and the Rennie family came from East Lothian (Haddingtonshire). They sailed from Gravesend on 15 February 1820 and arrived in Algoa

⁵⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oCDiArc5cj8>

⁵⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hxuF-J4hU>

⁵⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fCs-neHriDM>

⁶⁰ Hodgson, Orlando. (1832) *Hodgson's National Songster*. London: Hodgson. Pages unnumbered.

⁶¹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CnNNYh6CkVw>

⁶² Thomson, William. (1733) *Orpheus Caledonius: or, a collection of Scots songs*. Set to music by W. Thomson. Vol. 2. London. p. 40.

⁶³ For a recording of this ballad as it appears in *Orpheus Caledonius* see:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p8zV7rL2bEO>

⁶⁴ For a recording of this ballad as it appears in the Harriet F. Heathcote manuscript book see:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ITzD5fRssqk>

⁶⁵ Deutsches Lied. <http://www.deutscheslied.com>. Accessed: 15 December 2020.

⁶⁶ For a catalogue of the complete contents of this manuscript see Appendix 7. The majority of the pieces in the Rennie manuscript are popular folk songs, and therefore a RISM search has shown numerous matches for each piece. I have therefore not listed the complete concordances as in the other manuscripts: Due to the large number of the concordances this does not fall within the scope of this study.

Bay on 15 May of the same year and settled on the Baviaans River, about 50 km from Cradock.⁶⁷ An inscription on the inside of the front cover of the manuscript reads 'Edin. Sold by N. Stewart & Co. no. 36 South Bridge'. This probably indicates where the manuscript with empty staves was bought: South Bridge is a road bridge in Edinburgh, Scotland, starting at the High Street and finishing at Chambers Street/Infirmity Street.

The dimensions of the manuscript book are 24,5 cm by 18,7 cm (landscape format) and it contains 63 unnumbered pages. It contains Scottish folk songs and dances copied in the same hand throughout. Although there is no specific instrument designation anywhere in the manuscript, it is clearly keyboard music because of the following traits: the bass and treble staves are connected with a bracket in the usual style of keyboard music, chords idiomatic to keyboard instruments can often be found in both the right- and left-hand parts and octave doublings do sometimes occur in the bass part.

In addition to this, two of the pieces, *Highland man Kissed his Mother* on page 8 and *Ewe Burghs Marion* on page 13, have keyboard fingering indications written into the right-hand part,⁶⁸ in different ink, which suggests that they were later additions. Also on this page can be found an untitled piece in a different hand (the only one in the collection in another hand).⁶⁹

On the last page (63) the inscription 'Spittle 17 Nov. 1806' can be found.

In the manuscripts discussed in this study certain general trends can be observed, as outlined below.

- They all contain music in keeping with the contents of other contemporary manuscript books, as determined through an RISM music incipit search. In many cases the music was copied from printed sources. In one example, the song titled *Beruhigung* in A804(2), the composer is wrongly indicated as Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. This might indicate a transferred mistake from another manuscript, rather than from a printed source.

- No larger works (complete sonatas, song cycles, dance suites or complete collections of pieces that were grouped together in publications) are found in the manuscripts, but rather shorter pieces or extracts. Even when several smaller sections of larger works were copied, they were not grouped together in the manuscripts. Here the Gellert/C.P.E. Bach songs in MB1 or the extract from Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro* in A804(2) serve as examples.

- In general composers or lyricists are not indicated in the manuscripts discussed in this study, or in parallel manuscripts in other collections. Before canonic notions of text fetishism and the idea of a musical canon that consists of 'so-called masterpieces destined to stand for eternity',⁷⁰ acknowledging, or even indicating, authorship was not considered a priority. Especially in the case of domestic music making – for either entertainment or religious devotion – it would not be considered

⁶⁷ British 1820 Settlers to South Africa. <https://www.1820settlers.com> Accessed: 10 July 2018.

⁶⁸ The fingerings are marked according to early English fingering practices, using 'x' to indicate the thumb and the other fingers are numbered from 1 (index finger) to 4 (little finger).

⁶⁹ For a recording of two of the pieces from the John Rennie manuscript book see:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p5cwoSDoePU>

⁷⁰ Haynes, Bruce. (2007) *The End of Early Music*. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 70.

important to focus on either 'great'⁷¹ names or monumental works. The aim would rather be to focus on music that is pleasing to the person who owns the manuscript book, and convenient (or within the capabilities of person engaging with it) to play or sing.

- Often folk songs or dances from the British Isles are the core subject matter of material found in the manuscripts; sometimes in the form of songs with keyboard accompaniments, or as instrumental music. The texts of the folk songs often express notions of longing for a (cultural) home or homeland, whilst the names of the dances often contain geographical indicators of the home country. This carries heavy in meaning, especially within the colonial context, and will be explored fully in Chapter 5.

- Many of the songs with a keyboard accompaniment are of a religious nature. Some of these are hymns, which might be argued were for use in church and not in a domestic situation. However, printed hymns books were very popular (as can be seen in sections 4.2 and 4.3 of this chapter) and readily available for use in church. It might therefore be argued that when hymns were copied in manuscript books alongside music which would have been consumed at home (solo keyboard pieces and popular songs of either a secular or religious nature), the intention was for them to be used for religious practice at home. We know with certainty that this was the case with the hymn *Für alle Güte sey gepreist* found in MB1, through an account by P.B. Borchers (see 4.1.1). This relates to notions of cultural identity, and will be explored in Chapter 5.

- Of all the manuscript sources discussed in this thesis, only the fifteen keyboard solo pieces in MB1 as well as *De Vlucht na Egipte* in the Burger family manuscript have been the subject of scholarly study in the past, in both cases by Jan Bouws. In the case of the fifteen Borchers keyboard pieces, Bouws seems to have engaged with this material with a (naïve or ideologically driven) hope that this was the first example of European music composed, and written down, in Southern Africa. For a thorough exploration of the problematics around the research by Bouws and some of his contemporaries, see Chapter 1. In spite of Bouws's assumption that the solo keyboard pieces were composed by Borchers, it is more likely that some of the psalm accompaniments were by Borchers himself. The solo keyboard pieces are in fair copy, which is a potential indicator that they were copied from another source, whilst the nature of the psalm accompaniments (described earlier in this chapter) might indicate an attempt by an amateur at harmonising a chorale melody.

- Composer names that came to the fore in this section are: Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788), George Alexander Hodson (c. 1790–1863), Karl Keller (1784–1855), Francis Joseph Klose (1783–1830), Karl August Krebs (1804–1880), Louis Spohr (1748–1859), Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy (1809–1847), W.A. Mozart (1756–1791), John Andrew Stevenson (1767–1833), Johann Baptist Vanhal (1739–1813), Willem Vermooten (–1755) and Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826).

In the conclusion to this section, it is worth mentioning the differences between manuscript books and printed music books as source material. Generally, it is very difficult to trace the provenance of printed sheet music sources; often they have been passed on from owner to owner, without any documentation of this process. In order not to spoil the original condition of a printed book, owners often do not write their own names or dates in the publication. Without any of the above information, it is impossible to trace at what stage they were brought to Southern Africa, even if

⁷¹ Haynes, Bruce. (2007) *The End of Early Music*. p. 5.

they date from the period relevant to this study. In this respect, when dealing with printed music sources, the researcher faces many of the same challenges as when dealing with extant keyboard instruments. This is illustrated in Chapter 3 of this study, where written documentation of keyboard instruments are more informative than the physical instruments themselves. In this case, advertisements of printed music for sale in early newspapers (see 4.2) do indeed draw a clearer picture of printed keyboard music that was in use during the period relevant to this study.

Manuscript sources, however, are an exception to this. A music manuscript book is often a much more personal and intimate expression of taste and conviction; the owner will copy music into the book which they aspire to play or sing, or which they find aesthetically pleasing. In this sense a personal music manuscript book in the pre-sound recording era can be compared to a modern-day CD collection, or an online personal music library. In most of the manuscripts that form part of this study the owners have branded the manuscripts with their own names, or dates when the empty manuscript books were purchased, or dates when individual pieces were copied. These are all very useful clues for a researcher.

4.2 REVIEWS AND ADVERTISEMENTS IN EARLY NEWSPAPERS

Between 1810 and 1852 several references to printed music books, sheet music books and manuscript paper can be found in reviews and advertisements in newspapers mostly in Cape Town, but also other colonial settlements in the Cape Colony. In a few instances there are references to repertoire specifically for keyboard instruments or to repertoire in general. These references are taken from the following publications housed at the Cape Town campus of the National Library of South Africa: *The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser: Kaapsche Stads Courant en Afrikaansche Berigter*,⁷² *The South African Commercial Advertiser, The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, Cape Almanac*,⁷³ *The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, De Zuid-Afrikaan, De Ware Afrikaan, The Cape Town Mail, And mirror of court and council, Het Kaapsche Grensblad, De Verzamelaar and Sam Sly's African Journal*.

These publications have been thoroughly fine-combed for material relevant to this study, but it should be noted that the following extracts do not attempt to give an exhaustive list of references, but rather to reflect the keyboard repertoire trends during the first half of the 19th century.⁷⁴ This is because of the large quantity of publications and the practical difficulties related to the research environment in question (see Chapters 1 and 3 where these challenges are described in detail).

⁷² *The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser* was the first newspaper in the Cape Colony (founded on 16 August 1800 by Alexander Walker and John Robertson). The title was changed to *De Kaapsche Courant* in 1803 after the Dutch had taken the Colony from the British in 1802. After reoccupation by the British in 1806 the English title was restored, with the addition of the Dutch title: *The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser: Kaapsche Stads Courant en Afrikaansche Berigter*. In June 1826 the name changed to *The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette*. For the purposes of the study I reference the name of the publication as it appeared at the time of the article quoted.

⁷³ In the *Cape Almanac* all the advertisements (where references relevant to this chapter can be found) are found at the beginning or back of the publications as addenda and therefore no page numbers can be cited for the extracts in this section.

⁷⁴ For a complete list of references found to repertoire for keyboard instruments see Appendix 2.

The examples of references to composer names, printed music books, sheet-music books, teaching material and manuscript paper are arranged in categories according to their level of relevance to this study, starting with direct references to keyboard music that include composer names. Within these categories the examples are arranged chronologically. In the body of the text representative examples are given (therefore not an exhaustive list), whilst Appendix 2 includes a complete catalogue of all the references to sheet music found by the author, marked in bold italics.

4.2.1 Mentions of composer names specifically in relation to music for keyboard

Kaapse Stads Courant en Afrikaanse Berigter, December 1823:

Music Repository, No. 45, Bree-street. E.K. Green begs to acquaint his Friends and the Public, that he has just received by the *Aquatic*, an assortment of elegant and plain Piano Fortes, Flutes, Violins, and every description of Strings;-with a very choice Collection of printed Piano and Flute Music;-Watson's, Roger's, and Marchall's Psalms, More's, Stevenson's, and Beethoven's Melodies, and Webb's Mass, all arranged for the Piano Forte and Voice, Music Paper, and bound Books, in great variety;- also, a fresh supply of the useful and much admired Metallic Writing Slates and Pocket Books, particularly recommended to the notice of Schools, Builders, Timber Merchants, Captains of Ships, and others, requiring frequent Calculations.⁷⁵

The Mediator, October 1838:

Newly Invented Piano-Forte. The Undersigned has just received per Carnatic, among other Instruments - a newly invented sola Chorda Piccolo Piano-Forte, most convenient for traveling, being on a small scale. Also several of those beautiful Instruments the Cornopean, greatly improved, New Music for Violin, Violoncello, &c. consisting of Quartettes, Solos, Trios, &c. Organ Music by Nightingale, Novello and other eminent Organists, with other Articles to be notified in a future advertisement. Remaining one or two of those well known and justly celebrated Guitars, by La Cote Paris. Fresh Violin and Guitar Strings, 7c. T. Hitchcock.⁷⁶

Sam Sly's African Journal, August 1849:

Received per 'Royal Alice,' a selection of Vocal and Instrumental Music, consisting of John Bishop's Arrangement of the Messiah and Creation, Hamilton's Piano Forte Tutor, Airs and Inst. Books for the Accordion, Chaulieu's Indispensable, Hertz's Sales and Exercises, Comic Songs, Songs by Mrs. Hemans, Jenny Lind do., Chaulieu's Irish and Scotch Melodies, Overtures, Quadrilles, Waltzes, and Polkas, the Musical Almanac, the Chanters' Handguide, &c. Airs, Quadrilles, Waltzes, and Polkas for the Violin. New Guitar, Harp, and Violin Strings, T.M. Adney. Music Warehouse, 16, St. George's-street.⁷⁷

4.2.2 Keyboard accompaniments by local composers

⁷⁵ Kaapse Stads Courant en Afrikaanse Berigter, 6 December, 1823, Vol. 18, No. 934.

⁷⁶ The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, 30 October 1838, Vol. II, No. 100.

⁷⁷ Sam Sly's African Journal of facts, fiction, news, literature, commerce and amusement, Thursday, 16 August, 1849, Vol. 7, No. 321. (by this stage the name has changed to 'The African Journal').

All of the mentions of sheet music in early newspapers refer to imported material, and therefore music that was not composed in the Cape. There are, however, references to four examples of keyboard music (albeit in the form of a presumed vocal accompaniment) composed in the Cape Colony.

The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, August 1826:

Shortly will be published, Lire Maconne, Or Masonic Songs (English and Dutch,) Original and Select, By J. Suasso de Lima (Price 2 ½ Rds.) Subscription Lists lay at the different Lodges; also, at the Printing Office of Mr. W. Bridekerk, 31, Heeregracht.⁷⁸

Cape Town Mail, February 1844:

New Music. Just published, price 2s. 6d., a Song for a Soprano Voice, with an Obligato Accompaniment for the Piano Forte, 'Oh! Tell me not that Love'. The Poetry by Harry Stoe van Dyk; the Music composed by Gladstones. To be had of the Author, No. 1, Plein-street.⁷⁹

Cape Town Mail, March 1844:

New Music. Just published, price 4s., the National Air, 'Hail Columbia,' With variations, (di Bravura) for the Piano Forte, composed by F. Gladstones. To be had of the Author, No. 1, Plein-street.⁸⁰

Sam Sly's African Journal, April 1844:

Oh! Sweet were the days,' Ballad, For a Soprano or Baritone Voice, Composed by F. Gladstones.⁸¹

4.2.3 References to printed keyboard music, no composer's names

The Cape Town Gazette, February 1810:

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.⁸²

The South African Commercial Advertiser, April 1824:

Music Repository, 45, Bree-Street. The Undersigned begs leave to acquaint his Friends and the Public, that he has received per the Brig Patience, a new Assortment of elegant and plain Piano Fortes; double and single Flageolets; every description of Flutes; Ruled Music Books and Music Paper, with a choice collection of Music, for Piano Forte, Violin, &c. &c. E.K. Green.

⁷⁸ The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, Tuesday, 15 August, 1826, Vol. 3, No. 105.

⁷⁹ Cape Town Mail, Saturday 17 February, 1844. Vol. 3, No. 155.

⁸⁰ Cape Town Mail, Saturday 16 March, 1844. Vol. 4, No. 159.

⁸¹ Sam Sly's African Journal of facts, fiction, news, literature, commerce and amusement Thursday, 25 April, 1844, Vol. 1, No. 48.

⁸² The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 10 February, 1810, Vol. 5, No. 213.

Sam Sly's African Journal, December, 1844:

To the Musical World. Mr T.J. Hitchcock has just received per 'William Bayley,' an extensive assortment of New Music, Comprising all the last new and fashionable Songs, Waltzes, Quadrilles, and Polkas,-Airs from the Operas for Piano-Forte, Violin, Flute, and Guitar,-select pieces, easy and difficult.-Cheap Instruction Books for various Instruments, a small selection of Sacred Music. Also, Violin, Tenor, Violoncello, and Guitar Strings, Bow Hair, Clarionet Reeds, Patent Felt for Piano-Forte hammers, and every requisite for Repairing Piano-Fortes. No. 3, Short-market-street.⁸³

Sam Sly's African Journal, November 1848:

Selected Music. The Undersigned has received per 'Packet', Vocal and Instrumental Music, Sacred and Secular, carefully selected expressly for the various styles of Performers, as well as Schools and private Teachers at the Cape, being the largest Selection of a superior order of Music ever before imported, consisting of modern arrangements of Popular Pieces for the Piano, Harp, Guitar Songs and Pieces, &c.⁸⁴

4.2.4 Teaching material

A special glimpse into repertoire and teaching style at the Logier Academy (see Chapter 2) can be found in the following advertisement. Especially note that certain Baroque and Classical period composers ('most classical Authors') were already canonized at this point, and therefore their music was considered as an essential part of the education in playing a keyboard:

The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, March 1826:

The Logerian Musical Academy, 45, Bree-street. In consequence of the repeated solicitations of so many respectable Friends, E.K. Green and Frederick Logier, Beg to inform the Public, that they have been induced to alter the Terms of the Charges to 60 Rds. per Quarter, in advance.

The following are the Regulations of the Academy: A Suit of commodious Rooms is appropriated to the use of Pupils. In one, are several Instruments for simultaneous performance; here, also, the Pupils receive Lectures upon, and write Exercises in Harmony. Each Class will meet twice a week, two hours each Lesson; one of which will be occupied in receiving Individual Instructions on the Piano Forte, and writing Exercises; the other in Lectures on the Principles of Harmony, and occasionally playing in concert.

Mondays and Wednesdays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, will be the days fixed for Ladies' Classes; Fridays and Saturdays for Gentlemen.

Each Class not to be composed of more than six pupils.

Hours of the Classes will be from 8 o'clock until 10: from 10 till 12; from 12 to 2; and from 2 to 4 o'clock each Day.

Any Lesson lost in consequence of non-attendance at the proper Class hour, may be regained by the Pupil's attendance with one of the other Classes.

A Parent of a Female Friend is allowed to accompany a Pupil to any of the Lectures.

No extra charge is made for the use of Piano Fortes, Chiroplasts, Lecture Board, &c. &c. in the Academy; but should a Chiroplast or Hand Director, be necessary for a Pupil at home,

⁸³ Sam Sly's African Journal, Thursday, 5 December, 1844, Vol. 2, No. 76.

⁸⁴ Sam Sly's African Journal, Thursday, 16 November, 1848, Vol. 6, No. 282.

such may either be purchased by the Parents, or hired from Messrs. E.K. Green & F. Logier, at 5 Rds. per Month, so long as it may be required.

Charge will be made for Music, blank Books, And Slates.

The course of study to consist of Mr. Logier's elementary Books, and a selection from the works of the most classical Authors, ancient and modern, viz: S Bach, Corelli, Handel, Scarlatti, Haydn, Mozart, Clementi, Cramer, Dussek, &c. &c. after parsing through this course, the whole range of musical Authors will be left open to the choice of the Student. Prospectus and every other information respecting this new method of Instruction in the principles of harmony and composition combined with the new mode of practice on the Piano, with the Chiroplast, may be had on application at the Academy, or at E.K. Green's Music Repository, No. 26, Long-marked-street.

N.B. The Academy will commence on Monday, 3d April, 1826.⁸⁵

4.2.5 Composers names mentioned in general, with no specific reference to keyboard music

Ware Afrikaan, March 1841:

New Music. Just received per 'Susan Crisp.' The newest Compositions by Czerny, Herz, and Hüntten. Overtures, by Mozart. Weber, Rossini, Auber, &c. Waltzes, by Strauss, Labitzky, Lanner. Quadriles. Harp and Guitar Music. Roman Strings for Violins, Guitars, and Bass, first quality. A.F. Böhme H.B. - Who has also received a select assortment of Violins amongst them one real Italian Quartetto consisting of two Violins, a tenor Violin and the Bass, also Guitares, Bass, &c.⁸⁶

4.2.6 Hymn books

Hymns seems to have been popular and would certainly have been played on keyboard instruments, either as accompaniment to singers or as instrumental pieces (see 4.1.1. for P.B. Borchers's account of a hymn, with piano accompaniment, being sung at home).

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, January 1839:

A.S. Robertson, 21, Heerengracht. Has just received Bibles and Prayer Books, Lessons and Prayer in a case, Diamond Testaments, Bagster's Treasury Bible, Bagster's Polyglot do., Watt's Psalms and Hymns, large and small sizes. Family Prayers, James' Anxious Inquirer, Family Book, Picture Bible and Testament, Elijah the Tishbite, Elisha, Jacobi on James, Barnes' Notes on the Gospel, Sunday School Hymns, Cottage Hymns, Bogatzky's Golden Treasury.⁸⁷

Cape Almanac, 1843:

AS. H. Collard, Bibles, Prayer Books, Watts' Hymns, Congregational Hymn Books, Bickersteth's Psalmody, in neat and elegant Bindings.⁸⁸

These advertisements are repeated in the *Cape Almanac* of 1844, 1845 and 1846.

⁸⁵ The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, Tuesday, 28 March, 1826, Vol. 2, No. 85.

⁸⁶ Ware Afrikaan, Tuesday, March 9, 1841, Vol. II, No. 128.

⁸⁷ The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, Tuesday, 8 January, 1839, Vol. III, No. 119.

⁸⁸ Cape Almanac, 1843.

4.2.7 References to manuscript paper

Several advertisements make mention of manuscript paper, which can be an indication of the practise of copying music by hand from printed sources.

The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, March 1815.

Music, just landed from the Albion, and on sale by private contract, at No. 30, Long street, By the undersigned, Agent for Messrs. *Clementi & Co.* London, an assortment of elegant and plain Piano Fortes, Flutes, Violins, Flageolets, Tambourins, and Triangles; also a large collection of new Music, Music Paper, ditto bound, best Italian Violin and Violincello Strings, Piano Forte Wire, Harp and Guitar Strings, Bassoon and Clarinet Reeds of the best quality. EDW. KNOLLES GREEN.⁸⁹

The South African Commercial Advertiser, April 1824:

Music Repository, 45, Bree-Street. The Undersigned begs leave to acquaint his Friends and the Public, that he has received per the Brig *Patience*, a new Assortment of elegant and plain Piano Fortes; double and single Flageolets; every description of Flutes; Ruled Music Books and Music Paper, with a choice collection of Music, for Piano Forte, Violin, &c. &c. E.K. Green.⁹⁰

The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, June 1825:

Music repository, 45, Bree-street. Received per *Margaret*, a fresh supply of elegant and plain Piano Fortes, one Piano with an Organ adapted, Spanish Guitars, and an elegant Harp Guitar, Violins, Flutes, Clarionets, Trombones, French Horns, and every description of Military Instruments; Piano Forte Brass Wire, and covered Strings, and Strings for other Instruments; ruled Music Paper, and all sizes of blank Music Books, with a most extensive assortment of new Music. E.K. Green. Piano Fortes hired out, and tuned on the shortest Notice.⁹¹

The following extract from *Het Kaapsche Grensblad* (December 1844) is one of the few instances where a music copyist service is offered:

Forte Piano stemmen en repareeren. H.C. Hallier, Onlangs uit Engeland aangekomen per 'Lallah Bookh,' Verzoekt de Ingezetenen van Grahamstad en de Buiten Distrekten te verwittigen, dat hy voornemens is bovengemelde Vakke uit te oefenen, hopende dat de Ondervinding welke hy heeft gehad, en de sterke getuigschriften welke hy verkregen heeft van eenigen der voornaamste in de Professie, een deel der publieke gunst en ondersteuning te genieten.

Alle aanzoeken te worden gelaten by den Heer Giani, Horologiemaker, Kerkplein, by den Heer B. Attwell, Laarzenmaker; en ten zyne Woning, annex die van den Hr. Wienand, Settler's Hill. H.B. - Seraphinen gestemd en gereguleerd, en Muzyk netjes gecopieeerd.⁹²

⁸⁹ The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 25 Maart, 1815, Vol. 10, No. 480.

⁹⁰ The South African Commercial Advertiser, Wednesday, April 14, 1824, No. XV. p. 122.

⁹¹ The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser Wednesday, 1 June, 1825, Vol. 1, No. 42.

⁹² Het Kaapsche Grensblad, Grahamstad, Donderdag, 26den Dec. 1844, Deel 1, No. 24.

4.2.8 References to printed music being sold, without composer's names, or specific instrument designations

Kaapstads Courtant en Afrikaansche Berigter, May 1814:

Music. On Private Sale. At the House lately occupied by J. Hendriksen, the Baker, No. 30, Long street. By E.K. Green, From the House of Magio, Clementi, & Co. Musical Instrument Manufacturers, London. Several elegant and plain Piano Fortes, warranted of the first quality; also, a quantity of Flutes, Violins, Clarinets, Hand Organs, Flageolets, Military Fifes and Triangles, Spanish Guitars, Walking Stick Flutes, with Dirks, a patent new invented Bugle with Keys for a Military Band, and a very large assortment of the choicest and newest printed Music, for all Instruments. Likewise, some of the best Foreign Violin and Piano Forte Strings. E.K. Green.⁹³

The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, March 1815:

Music, just landed from the Albion, and on sale by private contract, at No. 30, Long street, By the undersigned, Agent for Messrs. *Clementi & Co.* London, an assortment of elegant and plain Piano Fortes, Flutes, Violins, Flageolets, Tambourins, and Triangles; also a large collection of new Music, Music Paper, ditto bound, best Italian Violin and Violincello Strings, Piano Forte Wire, Harp and Guitar Strings, Bassoon and Clarinet Reeds of the best quality. The undersigned also tunes and regulates Piano Fortes and Organs, with the greatest care and attention by the month or the year. EDW. KNOLLES GREEN.⁹⁴

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, January 1837:

Cheap music. The Undersigned intending to make an alteration in his Music Establishment, offers to the Public his remaining Stock of Music, now on hand, at half price on Purchases to the amount of one Pound Sterling, and upwards. J.F. Aschen, Cape Town, corner of Plein and Long-market-streets, December 1.⁹⁵

De Zuid-Afrikaan, September 1838:

De Hr. Hitchcock, verzoekt zyne vrienden en het Publiek te berigten, dat hy per 'Olive Branch' ontvangen heft, een nieuwe voorraad van zang en speelmuziek, en eenige weinige goed gemaakte Piano Fortes, Viool, Guitar, en Piano Snaren, het geheel zal in den loop der aanstaande week te sien zyn. Mr. Hitchcock begs to acquaint his Friends and the Public, that he has received per 'Olive Branch', a fresh supply of Vocal and Instrumental Music; also, a few well manufactured Piano Fortes, Violin, Guitar, and Piano Strings. The whole will be open for inspection in the course of next Week.⁹⁶

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, March 1839:

New Music, Orgens &c. The Undersigned has just received a selection of Vocal and Instrumental Music, consistins of the newest and most polupar Songs, Duetts, Sacred Songs from most of Handel's Oratorios; Blank Music Paper, bound Music Books; Flutes, Clarionets,

⁹³ Kaapstads Courtant en Afrikaansche Berigter, 14 Mei, 1814, Vol. 9, No. 435.

⁹⁴ The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 25 Maart, 1815, Vol. 10, No. 480.

⁹⁵ The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, 10 January, 1837, Vol. I, No. 2.

⁹⁶ De Zuid-Afrikaan, Vrydag, 21 September, 1838.

Cornoceans; a beautiful barrel Harmonican set with sacred music the only one in the Colony; large and small organs.⁹⁷

Cape Almanac, 1843:

T.M. Adney's Musical Repository, No. 4, Market-square. Piano-fortes, by eminent Makers, for Sale or Hire, - and Tuned and Repaired. A variety of Muscial Publications begin supplied quarterly from London, constantly on hand.⁹⁸

De Verzamelaar, February 1844:

At no. 9, Castle-street, ABC Books - copy books. Copy slips - music books.⁹⁹

Sam Sly's African Journal, November 1845:

New Music by public auction. Mr. R.J. Jones will sell at his Rooms, on Saturday afternoon, the 15th instr., A large assortment of New and Fashionable Music, consisting of Fantasias, Operatic Airs, Quadrilles, Waltzes, Polkas, Songs, Duetts, Glees, Oratorios, Instruction Books, Psalmodies; also, some Pieces for Military or small Bands, and for a full Orchestre, Queen's Album, Songs of Enchantment, &c. Thomson, Watson, & Co.¹⁰⁰

Cape Almanac, 1846:

Piano Fortes, Accordions, &c. J. Derry, Piano forte Manufacturer, 58, Short-Market-Street, Begs respectfully to acquaint the Public, that he has brought direct from England, a large Stock of Piano Fortes, by the first London Manufacturers, consisting of Cottage, Piccolo, and Square Pianos; also, a large Investment of Vocal and Instrumental Music, by the most celebrated Composers... N.B. - Piano Fortes let on hire, at (pound)1 per month, as also repaired or taken in exchange.¹⁰¹

Cape Almanac, 1848:

T.J. Hitchcock, Organ builder and Piano Forte Manufacturer, No. 4, Keizersgracht, Cape Town, (Established eighteen years), Importer of all kinds of Musical Instruments, Printed Music, &c. &c., Orders for which are executed with the greatest dispatch, at London Prices. - Organs and Seraphims at two-thirds of their usual Prices.¹⁰²

Sam Sly's African Journal, June 1850:

New Bookselling, Stationery, Circulation Library, And London Piano Forte Warehouse, 5, Adderly-street. Corner of Castle-street. Piano-fortes, By first-rate Makers, will be ordered, both for Sale and Hire; ...and monthly parcels of NEW MUSIC, including all the popular varieties, will be received form Messrs. D'Almaine&Co., Messrs. Metzler&Co., and Mr. Alfred

⁹⁷ The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, Tuesday, 5 March 1839, Vol. III, No. 127.

⁹⁸ Cape Almanac, 1843.

⁹⁹ De Verzamelaar, Tuesday, 13 February, 1844, Vol. 4, No. 188.

¹⁰⁰ Sam Sly's African Journal of facts, fiction, news, literature, commerce and amusement, Thursday, 13 November, 1845, Vol. 3, No. 125.

¹⁰¹ Cape Almanac, 1846.

¹⁰² Cape Almanac, 1848.

Novello, celebrated for the popularity of their Publications, and the elegance of their Musical Annuals.¹⁰³

In spite of the research difficulties encountered in the examination of early newspaper source material, the relevant references found during the period 1810 to 1852 do draw quite a distinct picture of the types of keyboard repertoire that were in demand in the Cape Colony.

Relatively few composers' names specifically relating to keyboard repertoire come to the fore. In 1823 vocal music with keyboard accompaniment is offered by the following composers: More,¹⁰⁴ Stevenson,¹⁰⁵ Beethoven¹⁰⁶ and Webb.¹⁰⁷ In 1826 the following composers are mentioned in relation to solo piano repertoire: Bach,¹⁰⁸ Clementi,¹⁰⁹ Corelli,¹¹⁰ Cramer,¹¹¹ Dussek,¹¹² Handel,¹¹³ Haydn,¹¹⁴ Mozart¹¹⁵ and Scarlatti.¹¹⁶ Organ music by Nightingale¹¹⁷ and Novello¹¹⁸ are offered for sale in 1838. In 1849 a piano tutor book by Hamilton is mentioned.

In keeping with common practice in the pre-sound recordings era, transcriptions of opera arias are offered on sale in 1844.

Very often there are references to printed music for keyboard, but without specific composers' names being mentioned and in 1841 the following composers' names linked to printed music are mentioned, without specific reference to keyboard music: Auber, Czerny, Herz, Hüntten, Labitzky, Lanner, Mozart, Rossini, Strauss and Weber.

The sale of manuscript paper ('Ruled Music Books', 'Music Paper', 'blank Music Books' and 'ruled Music Paper') indicates that copying music from printed sources, and possibly other manuscripts, might have been a common practice. In 1844 a music copying service ('Muzyk netjes gecopieerd') is offered, which might indicate that copying music was more affordable than buying a printed edition.

Hymn books are frequently offered for sale; the hymns could have been played on keyboard instruments in a domestic situation, either as accompaniment to singers or as instrumental pieces (according to the practice which is highlighted in section 4.1 of this chapter).

¹⁰³ Sam Sly's *African Journal of facts, fiction, news, literature, commerce and amusement*, Thursday, 20 June, 1850, Vol. 7, No. 365. By this stage the name of this publication has changed to *The African Journal*.

¹⁰⁴ Biographical details about this composer could not be established.

¹⁰⁵ Probably John Andrew Stevenson (1761–1833).

¹⁰⁶ Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827).

¹⁰⁷ Probably Samuel Webbe the younger (1768–1843) but could also be Samuel Webbe (1740–1816).

¹⁰⁸ Probably Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750).

¹⁰⁹ Probably Muzio Clementi (1752–1832).

¹¹⁰ Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713).

¹¹¹ Probably Johann Baptist Cramer (1771–1858).

¹¹² Probably Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760–1812).

¹¹³ George Frideric Handel (1685–1759).

¹¹⁴ Probably Joseph Haydn (1732–1809).

¹¹⁵ Probably W.A. Mozart (1756–1791).

¹¹⁶ Probably Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757).

¹¹⁷ Biographical details about this composer could not be established.

¹¹⁸ Probably Vincent Novello (1781–1861).

4.3 ORPHAN CHAMBER INVENTORIES

In spite of almost seventy mentions of keyboard instruments listed as part of the contents of houses between 1724 and 1832 in the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber at the Cape of Good Hope, there are only eight references to sheet music specifically (printed or in manuscript) that can be found in houses where instruments were found, with no mention of composers' names apart from the complete listing of the music library of Elzabe Anthoinetta Jacoba la Febre in 1817 (see below).¹¹⁹ Apart from the above references, there is a mention of 'copper music note pens' on one property and on two properties there are indications to books of an unspecified nature found in the same room as an instrument.

The eight references to sheet music specifically are:

- 1) 1793, testator: Christina Hofman/Tobias Christian Rönnekamp

There is only mention of 'een doosje met clavier snaaren' in this property and in spite of a carefully listed library of 388 books, the only references to sheet music are the following four hymns books:¹²⁰

Neues Gesangbuch zu Bremen, 1783

Neu Vermehrtes Hamburgisches Gesangbuch, Hamburg, 1754

Neues Gesangbuch zu Bremen, 1778

Chrisliche gebeden ond gezangen, Jena und Leipzig, 1756

- 2) 1805, testator: Carel Pabst

On this property there was an out-of-order organ with mentions of 'een oude orgelkast', 'een kast met korte pypen' and 'een kist met instrumenten tot het orgel behorende'. Other instruments (two celli, three violins) were also found on the property. 'In een buiten vertrek op die plaats' could be found 'een party muziek' and 'In de voorkamer aan de linkerkant' there was 'een quantiteit viool snaren en musicq'.¹²¹

- 3) 1812: testator: Elisabeth du Toit/Johan Christoffel Vulker

On this property 'Een oud clavier' could be found 'In de agter kamer' and also 'een parthij muziek' in the 'kamer ter regter hand'.¹²²

- 4) 1817, testator: Benoit de la Motte

Two piano-tuning wrenches can be found 'In een bovenkamer' and in the same room 'eenige defecte instrumenten' and 'een party muzieknoten'.¹²³

¹¹⁹ For a complete catalogue of the references to keyboard instruments and keyboard music in the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber see Appendix 1.

¹²⁰ Inventories of the Orphan Chamber, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa. Reference no.: MOOC8/46.28. Testator(s): Christina Hofman/Tobias Christian Rönnekamp, 16 May 1793.

¹²¹ Inventories of the Orphan Chamber, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa. Reference no.: MOOC8/25.26. Testator(s): Carel Pabst, 11 October 1805.

¹²² Inventories of the Orphan Chamber, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa. Reference no.: MOOC8/28.57. Testator(s): Elisabeth du Toit/Johan Christoffel Vulker, 26 Maart 1812.

¹²³ Inventories of the Orphan Chamber, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa. Reference no.: MOOC8/32.24a. Testator(s): Benoit de la Motte, 22 July 1817.

5) 1820, testator: Christiaan Fleck

'Een forte piano' belonged to the owner, although it was at the time of the inventory at someone else's house. Also found amongst the catalogue of books: 'Gedichten van R: Schutte op muziek'.¹²⁴

6) 1823, testator: Jacques Ferdinand Bertran

'Een forte piano' that belonged to the owner could be found 'Ten huize van Johanna Elizabeth Wilthager by wien de overledene heeft ingewoond'. Also found in the same house: 'een bas', 'twee fiolen', 'een party muziek boeken' and 'twee musiek lessenaars'.¹²⁵

7) 1824, testator: Mary Ann Bailey

On this property was '1 piano forté' plus an extended library that include the following items: '9 music books, songs, ect:a' and '1 Hunts hymns'.¹²⁶

8) 1825, testator: Johan Philip Wagener

On the property 'een forte piano' was mentioned and 'in the hall' could be found 'three clarynets' and 'two music books'.¹²⁷

In an inventory from 1807 (testator: Albertina Bienregnier/Jan Ijzelle) there is no mention of sheet music, but a reference to 'copper music note pens' could be found as well as 'een pak koopere muziek noote pennen' in the 'zydkamer bij het inkomen ter regter hand'. There is a mention of 'een clavier' on the property.¹²⁸

For the following two properties no specific mentions are made of music books, but books can be found in the same room as instruments:

1) 1795, testator: Jan Jacob Obermijer

In the same room where 'een orgeltje' can be found there is also 'een boekerak waar op negenthien boeken'.¹²⁹

2) 1816, testator: Catharina Maria Blanckenberg

¹²⁴ Inventories of the Orphan Chamber, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa. Reference no.: MOOC8/34.44. Testator(s): Christiaan Fleck, 30 October 1820.

¹²⁵ Inventories of the Orphan Chamber, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa. Reference no.: MOOC8/45.17. Testator(s): Jacques Ferdinand Bertran, 10 November 1823.

¹²⁶ Inventories of the Orphan Chamber, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa. Reference no.: MOOC8/69.20b. Testator(s): Mary Ann Bailey, 30 December 1824.

¹²⁷ Inventories of the Orphan Chamber, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa. Reference no.: MOOC8/41.3. Testator(s): Johan Philip Wagener, 28 June 1825.

¹²⁸ Inventories of the Orphan Chamber, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa. Reference no.: MOOC8/75.53. Testator(s): Albertina Bienregnier Jan Ijzelle, 1 Maj 1807.

¹²⁹ Inventories of the Orphan Chamber, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa. Reference no.: MOOC8/21.19. Testator(s): Jan Jacob Obermijer, 12 December 1795.

Several instruments are mentioned in a variety of rooms on the property. 'In de schryfkamer agter de voorkamer ter linkerhand' can be found 'een viool met een foudraal' and 'zes en dertig boeken in soort'.¹³⁰

In an inventory from 1817 (testator: Elzabe Anthoinetta Jacoba la Febre) several instruments are mentioned on the property and as well as four music stands: 'In de provisie kamer' - 'een muziek lessenaar' and 'Op de pakhuijs zolder - In het vertrek n:o 1' - 'drie muziklessenaars'.¹³¹

It comes as no surprise that, in an auction list of the above property, the following extensive collection of sheet music is for sale:¹³²

- n: 1 42 Quartetten door J: Pleyel en 4 boeken gebonden
- n: 2 72 Quartetten door Gyrowelz
- n: 3 3 Quartetten door S: Aldaj
- n: 4 Grande quintetto de J: Hayden
- n: 5 1 Quintet door W: Mozart
- n: 6 3 Quartetten door Angel Benenerrie
- n: 7 Ouverture de lopera die Zauberflote per W:A: Mozart
- n: 8 Simphonia concertante par Viotti
- n: 9 Ouverture en grand orchestre Mozart
- n: 10 Ouverture du barbier de Seville p:r M:r Paisiello
- n: 11 Ouverture du Lodoiska p:r Kreutzer
- n: 12 Ouverture la Camilla p:r Raer
- n: 13 Simphonia par Wranizky
- n: 14 Ouverture de lopera de Don Juan p:r Mozart
- n: 15 Ouverture de le noze di Figaro p:r Mozart
- n: 16 Concerto de J: Pleyel
- n: 17 3 Quartetten de Viotti
- n: 18 3 Quartetten de Gyrowetz
- n: 19 6 Quartetten de J: Hayden
- n: 20 6 Quartetten de J: Hayden
- n: 21 Grande simphonia J: Hayden
- n: 22 3 Quartetten J: Hayden
- n: 23 7 Quartetten J: Hayden
- n: 24 3 Quartetten J: Pleyel
- n: 25 3 Quartetten J: Mozart
- n: 26 Simphonien J: Pleyel
- n: 27 2 Simphonien J: Pleyel
- n: 28 Serenate a plusieurs instrument p:r Gyrowetz
- n: 29 4 Duos par Schmet
- n: 30 1 [Duos par] Gretzy
- n: 31 6 Simphonien door J: Abell
- n: 32 Grande simphonien door J: Hayden
- n: 33 6 Quartetten door J: Fodor

¹³⁰ Inventories of the Orphan Chamber, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa. Reference no.: MOOC8/31.70. Testator(s): Catharina Maria Blanckenberg, 28 October 1816.

¹³¹ Inventories of the Orphan Chamber, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa. Reference no.: MOOC8/32.44a. Testator(s): Elzabe Anthoinetta Jacoba la Febre, 1 Augustus 1817.

¹³² Inventories of the Orphan Chamber, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa. Reference no.: MOOC8/32.44d. Testator(s): Elzabe Anthoinetta Jacoba la Febre, 14 Augustus 1817.

n: 34 6 Quartetten door G: Cambeni
 n: 35 6 Quartetten door J: Fodor
 n: 36 3 Duos door J: Fodor
 n: 37 Ouverture par Mozart
 n: 38 Ouverture par Anton André
 n: 39 Ouverture par Mozart
 n: 40 Grande simphonie J: Hayden
 n: 41 3 [simphonie] J: Hayden
 n: 42 6 Trios W: Shield
 n: 43 Grande simphonie m:r Piohl
 n: 44 Six duos par L: Borghi
 n: 45 3 Duos par J: Plyel
 n: 46 Six trios par Cambeni
 n: 47 3 Simphonie J: Hayden
 n: 48 Simphonia par J:C: Bohner
 n: 49 3 Quatuors par J: Hayden
 n: 50 3 Simphonien par W: Piohl
 n: 51 1 [Simphonien] par J: Pleyel
 n: 52 6 Quartetten par L: Birchowie
 n: 53 Ouverture d Adolphe [et] Clare par Dalayra
 n: 54 L chase par G: Cramer
 n: 55 Pot pourri par J: Schmitt
 voorts eener party incomplete tot andere stukken behoorende
 en nog onderscheidene sonates concertos van de voornaamste meesters voor de forte piano

Most of the music in this collection is for chamber combinations, with no clear indication that a keyboard instrument is included in the scoring. However, some of it could have been keyboard transcriptions of symphonies and overtures, and the last sentence 'onderscheidene sonates concertos van de voornaamste meesters voor de forte piano' states explicitly that there were pieces for piano in the collection.¹³³

On the extended property of Jan Christoffel Berrangé a keyboard instrument could not be found and in the library of 1,120 books only one reference to sheet music appears, the hymn book *Duitsche Koraal Melodien tot de liederen voor den Huisselyken Godsdienst. 2 deelen*.¹³⁴

It is a point of curiosity that in all the entries into the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber at the Cape of Good Hope, where a substantial number (67 verified references) of keyboard instruments are listed as part of the contents of properties, there are very few references to printed editions of music or music manuscript books in the same room as the keyboard instruments or anywhere else on the property (only 8). This in spite of the fact that the complete contents of libraries were often listed in the inventories. The cataloguing of the complete music library of Elzabe Anthoinetta Jacoba la Febre in 1817 is the only exception; most of the music is for a variety of chamber combinations, although some of the symphonies and overtures listed might have been keyboard reductions of orchestral scores. A great number of these publications were printed and sold for domestic use in the pre-sound recording era. The last entry in this listing documents that the library included several

¹³³ Due to the lack of detail in the descriptions in this list no attempt at identifying these prints/editions/compositions has been made.

¹³⁴ Inventories of the Orphan Chamber, Cape Town Archives Repository, South Africa. Reference no.: MOOC8/41.41. Testator(s): Jan Christoffel Berrangé, 13 March 1827.

piano sonatas and concerti by preeminent composers ('onderscheidene sonates concertos van de voornaamste meesters voor de forte piano'). It is interesting that these pieces are not listed separately (in spite of the meticulous listing of the other works).

The hymns books found on two properties, as well as the 'Gedichten van R: Schutte op muziek' found on the property of Christiaan Fleck, might have included an accompaniment for keyboard, or might have been played on a keyboard instrument.

The absence of sheet music in the inventories might indicate that music was aurally transmitted and often played 'by ear', or that books were not seen as part of a property. The second is an unlikely scenario: in several properties the contents of complete libraries were listed. Another possibility might be that printed books were seen as a part of the property, but that manuscript books were considered personal possessions. In all likelihood most of the music consumed and played was from manuscripts; the practice of copying music into a manuscript book was very common, as demonstrated by sections 4.1 and 4.2 of this chapter.

4.4 CONCLUSION

To summarise the contents of this chapter: the following composers' names came to the fore, either relating to solo keyboard music or to keyboard accompaniments (arranged chronologically according to the birth year of the composer): Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713), Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), George Frideric Handel (1685–1759), Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757), Willem Vermooten (- 1755), Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788), Joseph Haydn (1732–1809), Johann Baptist Vanhal (1739–1813), either Samuel Webbe (1740–1816) or Samuel Webbe the younger (1768–1843), Louis Spohr (1748–1859), Muzio Clementi (1752–1832), W.A. Mozart (1756–1791), Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760–1812), John Andrew Stevenson (1761–1833), Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), Johann Baptist Cramer (1771–1858), Vincent Novello (1781–1861), Francis Joseph Klose (1783–1830), Karl Keller (1784–1855), Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826), George Alexander Hodson (c. 1790–1863), Karl August Krebs (1804–1880) and Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy (1809–1847). The names More and Nightingale also occurred, but biographical details could not be established. In 1849 a piano tutor book by Hamilton is mentioned. Very often there are references to printed music for keyboard, but without specific composers' names being mentioned and in 1841 the following composer names linked to printed music are mentioned, without specific reference to keyboard music: Auber, Czerny, Herz, Hünten, Labitzky, Lanner, Mozart, Rossini, Strauss and Weber. In keeping with common practice in the pre-sound recordings era, transcriptions of opera arias are often offered on sale.

The sale of manuscript paper indicates that copying music from printed sources, or possibly from other manuscripts, might have been a common practice. In 1844 a music copying service is offered, which might indicate that copying music was more affordable than buying a printed edition. Hymn books are frequently offered for sale; the hymns could have been played on keyboard instruments in a domestic situation, either as accompaniment to singers or as instrumental pieces (according to the practice which is highlighted in section 4.1 of this chapter). As indicated in Chapter 3, domestic keyboard instruments were often used for religious practice at home, and the presence of hymn

books pointed out in Chapter 4, as well as the religious repertoire in the Meent Borchers manuscript books, reinforces the above fact.

Keyboard instruments and their associated repertoire were often used for educational purposes: This has been pointed out in Chapters 2 and 3, and is confirmed by the newspaper advertisements for keyboard instrument tuition indicated in Chapter 4, where certain composer names are also present.

As discussed previously, it is a point of curiosity that in all the entries into the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber at the Cape of Good Hope, where a substantial number of keyboard instruments are listed as part of the contents of properties, there are very few references to printed editions of music or music manuscript books in the same room as the keyboard instruments or anywhere else on the properties. This might indicate that music was aurally transmitted and often played 'by ear', or that books were not seen as part of a property. The second is an unlikely scenario: in several properties the contents of complete libraries were listed. Another possibility might be that printed books were seen as a part of the property, but that manuscript books were considered personal possessions. In all likelihood most of the music consumed and played was from manuscripts; the practice of copying music into a manuscript book was common, as demonstrated by sections 4.1 and 4.2 of this chapter. Notions surrounding music literacy and music notation will be addressed in Chapter 5 (5.3).

Several manuscript sources have been discussed in section 4.1, as well as the notions around authorship encountered in these manuscripts. In addition to this, a manuscript book was seen as a personal and intimate expression of taste and cultural conviction. This, together with notions of 'home' and cultural identity within the colonial context, will be explored further in Chapter 5 (5.5). In the manuscripts discussed in this study certain general trends can be observed: 1) The contents are in keeping with the contents of other contemporary manuscript books; 2) no larger multi-movement works are found in the manuscripts, but rather shorter pieces or extracts; 3) in general composers or lyricists are not indicated in the manuscripts discussed in this study, or in parallel manuscripts in other collections; 4) often folk songs or dances from the British Isles are the core subject matter of material found in the manuscripts, sometimes in the form of songs with keyboard accompaniments, or as instrumental music; and 5) many of the songs with a keyboard accompaniment found in the manuscripts are often of a religious nature, but that does not preclude them from being used in a domestic setting. The fourth point above links to the idea of a sound from a certain cultural sphere claiming a physical space; this is discussed in Chapter 5 (5.5), specifically in relation to the colonial border in the Eastern Cape during the first half of the 19th century. In addition to this, certain of the manuscripts were linked to women. These links will be explored in Chapter 5 (5.1).

Lastly, in spite of all the references to music manuscripts and sheet music for domestic keyboard instruments encountered in this chapter, no links between these objects and slaves could be found (similar to the absence of links between slaves and keyboard instruments). This absence will be interpreted in Chapter 5 (5.3).

The above points, together with the significant points raised in the conclusions of Chapters 2 and 3, will be used in Chapter 5 to show how domestic keyboard instruments played a significant role in defining a cultural identity in colonial society as well as contributing significantly to the colonisation process.

Chapter 5

The role domestic keyboard instruments played in colonial society and the colonisation process in Southern Africa

‘Making music isn’t a way of expressing ideas, it is a way of living them.’¹ This statement by Simon Frith in his article “Music and Identity” neatly sums up his argument that ‘music does not express the cultural identity of a group, rather that a group finds and understands their identity through performance’.² In this chapter I will use the historical evidence provided in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 to show that domestic keyboard instruments played a significant role in defining a cultural identity in colonial society as well as contributing significantly to the colonisation process. In order to do this, I will look at several cultural meanings attached to keyboard instruments, and how these meanings were played out, and sometimes transformed, in the Southern African colonial context. These meanings will be explored around the following themes: domestic keyboard instruments and female respectability, keyboard instruments as a diplomatic tool and a display of technology, the ‘loud’ absence of any evidence pointing to slaves playing keyboard instruments, the totemic function of domestic keyboard instruments, and the sonic and physical impact caused by keyboard instruments. By doing so, this chapter serves as a culmination and conclusion to this thesis, and no concluding chapter will be presented.

When I initially embarked on this study, one of my first observations was that there was a set of gender expectations associated with domestic keyboard instruments. These expectations were based on practices and notions connected to these instruments in the European context. Although these cultural signifiers are perhaps the most apparent and much written about, they did transform and play out in a specific way in the colonial context. This will be the starting point of the current chapter (see 5.1). I did, however, find that in the context of the colonial Cape domestic keyboard instruments took on many other cultural meanings of a diverse and rich nature, often overshadowing, in terms of interest and potency, associations between domestic keyboard instruments and female respectability. These will be explored in sections 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5.

5.1 DOMESTIC KEYBOARD INSTRUMENTS AND FEMALE RESPECTABILITY

From the 17th to the 19th centuries there was a distinct connection in the West between female respectability and playing a keyboard instrument. Leppert states that in the Low Countries during the 17th century ‘art music was well on its way to being classified as a female activity, though this cultural principle would not gain full precedence for another century’.³ During the 19th century the piano ‘located itself almost exclusively among amateurs as a female instrument, completing a

¹ Frith, Simon. (1996) ‘Music & Identity’. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Edited by Stuart Hall, Paul du Gay. London: SAGE Publishing. p. 111.

² Van der Wal, Anne Marieke. (2016) ‘Slave Orchestras and Rainbow Balls: Colonial Culture and Creolisation at the Cape of Good Hope, 1750–1838’. *Identity, Intertextuality, and Performance in Early Modern Song Culture*. Edited by Dieuwke Van Der Poel, Louis P. Grijp, Wim van Anrooij. Leiden: Brill. p. 352.

³ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. Berkeley: University of California Press. p. 6.

historical trend reaching back into the 17th century'.⁴ Historically, stringed keyboard instruments had a distinct feminine connotation as they were among the few instruments considered appropriate to be played by women: 'The Harpsichord, Spinnet, Lute and Base Violin, are Instruments most agreeable to the Ladies: There are some others that really are unbecoming the Fair Sex; as the Flute, Violin and Hautboy; the last of which is too Manlike, and would look indecent in a Woman's Mouth; and the Flute is very improper, as taking away too much of the Juices, which are otherwise more necessarily employ'd, to promote the Appetite, and assist Digestion'.⁵ It is clear that instruments with phallic associations were considered as inappropriate to be played by women, or for women to be seen playing them. For this reason, in the European context, harpsichords and clavichords (and later fortepianos) had a strong domestic and female association during the period this study focuses on.

Often in the literature from the 17th to 19th centuries a connection is made between music and female domesticity. Music was seen as an important aspect of the education and social accomplishment of girls, not in order for them to pursue a career in music, but rather to 'amuse their *own family*, and for that domestic *comfort*, they were by Providence designed to promote',⁶ as described in an anonymous pamphlet from the 1770s, as quoted by Leppert.⁷ Domestic music making was often seen as an antidote to the boredom that was a result of the limitations of women's roles in upper-class society; music was seen as being able to increase happiness, harmonise the mind and spirits, and inspire tranquillity during those '*ruffled or lonely hours*, which in almost every situation, will be your lot'.⁸ In spite of the fact that this was an indispensable part of the education of women, when playing or performing music in a domestic setting it had to be done 'Carelessly like a Diversion, and not with Study and Solemnity, as if it was a Business, or yourself overmuch Affected with it'.⁹ It therefore required a level of passivity and apparent detachment. It was indeed seen as improper to spend too much time and energy developing a musical, or any other, gift:

It is perhaps more desirable, that young ladies should play, sing, and dance, only so well as to amuse themselves and their friends, than to practice those arts in so eminent a degree as to astonish the public; because a great apparent attention to trivial accomplishments is liable to give suspicion, that more valuable acquisitions have been neglected.¹⁰

And overdeveloped talent would have been seen as an attempt to compete with her husband in the public eye.¹¹ Many writers of the 18th and 19th centuries worried that an excess of music education

⁴ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 134.

⁵ Essex, John. (1722) *The Young Ladies Conduct: Or, Rules for Education, under Several Heads; with Instructions upon Dress, Both before and after Marriage. And Advice to Young Wives*. London. p. 84.

⁶ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 67.

⁷ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 67.

⁸ Bennett, John. (1789) *Letters to a Young Lady, on a Variety of Useful and Interesting Subjects Calculated to Improve the Heart, to Form the Manners, and Enlighten the Understanding*. Vol. 1. Hartford : Hudson & Goodwin. p. 234.

⁹ Anonymous. (1701) *The Whole Duty of a Woman, or a Guide to the Female Sex. From the Age of Sixteen to Sixty*. London. pp. 48-49.

¹⁰ Darwin, Erasmus. (1798) *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education, in Boarding Schools, Private Families, and Public Seminaries*. Philadelphia: John Ormrod. p. 13.

¹¹ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 68.

would cause females to ‘overstep the bounds of modesty and deference’, as for men time was ‘developmental, lived socially’ and for women time was ‘nondevelopmental, lived familiarly’.¹² Whilst activities which were expressive of stationary time and nondevelopmental were considered inappropriate for men, they were seen as not only appropriate, but also important for women, as such activities delineated both gender difference and gender hierarchy.¹³

In her article *Gender and Colonialism: Expansion of Marginalization?* Durba Ghosh gives a very thorough overview of the current state of scholarship regarding the intersection of gender and colonialism, and explores the history of the representation of women in the imperial and colonial context.¹⁴ Whilst this is a field that is too broad to explore fully in this current study, there are a few points of interest especially in the Cape colonial sphere that will be investigated below.

Also in the Cape Colony there seemed to have been a distinct association between keyboard instruments and a sense of feminine respectability. In the 1780s Francois le Vaillant remarked on the use of harpsichords in a domestic setting at the Cape in his travel journal: ‘Almost all the women play the harpsichord; it is their only talent. They like to sing and are mad about dancing; thus rarely a week passes without several balls taking place’.¹⁵ In a list of expenses for January 1790 Johanna Duminy (1757–1807) mentions an amount of 22 rijksdaalers spent on having ‘de clavier late repareeren van sanet’ in their house in Cape Town.¹⁶ The name ‘sanet’ refers to Duminy’s eldest daughter, Jeanne Francoise (1779–1850).¹⁷ Cornelius de Jong, in a letter written on the 20th of December 1792, gives the following account of domestic musical activities amongst female colonists at the Cape: ‘De gewoone uitspanningen, waarop zij, zoo als alle vrouwen, zeer gezet zijn, bestaan in het Klavercimbel, een partij Quadriile, Ombre of Whist, en onvermoeid, onmatig danssen’.¹⁸ Lady Anne Barnard (wife of the Colonial Secretary at the Cape) often refers, in her unpublished diaries, to domestic music-making situations, including the following account from 1799 at the house of ‘Yufrouw Scandeliers’, where Barnard comments on the piano playing of the hostess and a friend: ‘The Robust Young Lady of the House playd a very ugly & ill chosen concert in the old fashioned stile without taste, and Caroline De Lisle gave us another with a bold thumping finger.’¹⁹ In 1804 Robert Percival remarks on the state of education amongst the female colonists in Cape Town: ‘As most of the Dutch inhabitants are respectable, and though not rich, have enough to live comfortably on after their own way, their daughters are pretty well educated in music and dancing.’²⁰

Advertisements in newspapers in the Cape Colony from the first half of the 19th century abound with offers for music lessons specifically for females: in 1830 ‘Mrs. Swaving’s French Academy for young

¹² Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 69.

¹³ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 69.

¹⁴ Ghosh, Durba. (2004) ‘Gender and Colonialism: Expansion or Marginalization?’. *The Historical Journal*. Vol. 47. No. 3. pp. 737–755.

¹⁵ Le Vaillant, Francois. (2007) *Travels into the Interior of Africa via the Cape of Good Hope, 1781–1783*. Translated and edited by Ian Glen. Vol. 1. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society. p. 17.

¹⁶ Franken, Johan Lambertus Machiel. (ed.). (1938) *Duminy-Dagboeke*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck-Vereniging. p. 333.

¹⁷ Franken, Johan Lambertus Machiel. (ed.). (1938) *Duminy-Dagboeke*. p. 60.

¹⁸ De Jong, Cornelius (1802) *Reizen naar de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Ierland en Noorwegen in de Jaren 1791 tot 1797*. Vol. 1. Haarlem: Francois Bohn. p. 130.

¹⁹ Lenta, Margaret and Le Cordeur, Basil (eds.). (1999) *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard 1799–1800*. Vol. 1. pp. 189–190.

²⁰ Percival, Robert. (1804) *An account of the Cape of Good Hope*. London: Baldwin. p. 277.

ladies, Roeland Street, Cape Town' offers lessons which includes 'Guitar. At additional prices. Pianoforte, Harp, Vocal music.'²¹ In 1846 the following advertisement appears in a Cape Town newspaper, aimed specifically at the 'Ladies of Cape Town and its Vicinity': 'Musical Academy. Mrs. R.J. Joseph, from the Royal Academy of Music, and Pupil of Crivelli, takes leave to inform the Ladies of Cape Town and its Vicinity, that she intends receiving a limited number of Pupils at her Residence, No. 11, Keizersgracht, for the purpose of imparting a thorough knowledge of the Piano-Forte, Singing, and Harmony.'²² whilst in 1850 the following is on offer: 'The Misses RUFFE's Select Establishment for the education of Young Ladies. No. 53, St. George's-street. For Instruction in the English and French Languages, Reading, Grammar, Geography, History, Writing, and Arithmetic; Plain and Fancy Work: Piano-Forte.'²³

A significant incident, where domestic music making is used as a way to express a public opinion, relates directly to Anne Barnard. Cape Town's first custom-built theatre, The African Theatre,²⁴ was built in 1801 during the first British Occupation on so-called Hottentot Square (today Riebeeck Square). It was designed by Sir George Yonge, the governor at the time, and paid for by subscriptions originating equally from Dutch and British shareholders.²⁵ During the building process of the theatre there was some dispute about a subterranean water source that was unearthed. The dispute occurred mainly between two parties: the Dutch- and English-speaking communities in Cape Town. Anne Barnard often refers in her diaries to this affair, and often expresses quite strong opinions about it. As a woman, however, she could not express her opinion publicly, but rather conveyed her thoughts about the quarrel by means of a song that she wrote.

On Friday 18 July 1800, in her diary, she writes about this song, expressing the wish that it would end up being seen by the governor of the Cape Colony:

As Nobody has seen it, it having been wrote but half an hour – not even B. or Anne - & as there is nothing illnated or improperly pointed to vex any creature, I have a great mind if I can to get it conveyd in some Sly way into the Governors pocket & Col Barlows, it will be a good song to sing after the Doctors new piece a week or ten days hence – I know not how the business of the water is to be arranged, I hope Mr B will be able to tell me today then he returns – but in whatever way I think my song will do well enough – if suspected I am undone – I would not for all the songs in Europe that any body in Africa could suppose I have sense enough or nonsense enough to make one – oh how they would hate me.²⁶

On Saturday 19 July 1800 she visited the building site of the theatre, and later that evening read extracts from the song to her husband.²⁷ On Sunday 27 July 1800, it transpires that Barnard was writing a letter to the governor, to accompany the song, expressing her opinion about the building of

²¹ Cape Almanac, 1830.

²² Sam Sly, Thursday, 13 October, 1846, Vol. 3, No. 173.

²³ Cape Almanac, 1850.

²⁴ The theatre was designed by the architect Louis Thibault. The building is still extant, and is used as a Dutch Reformed Church, known as St. Stephens, in Bree Street.

²⁵ Bickford-Smith, Vivian. (1998/1999) 'Leisure and social identity in Cape Town, British Cape Colony, 1838–1910.' p. 114.

²⁶ Lenta, Margaret and Le Cordeur, Basil (eds.). (1999) *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard 1799–1800*. Vol. 2. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society. p. 192.

²⁷ Lenta, Margaret and Le Cordeur, Basil (eds.). (1999) *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard 1799–1800*. Vol. 2. p. 193.

the theatre, but written in a masculine handwriting, in order to hide her true identity. She showed it to her husband, who thought that the handwriting looks too much like her own and she then 'took it into my head to try again & assumed one so masculine that I think it must do – I would rather forego any amusement from it than run a chance of detection or even of having it approved of & being suspected at the same time.'²⁸ Barnard had the letter and song posted anonymously to the governor, and a few days later references to, and lyrics from, the song circulated within the upper social classes in Cape Town, and it was mentioned in conversation in Barnard's company.²⁹

Below is the accompanying letter, and the lyrics of the song³⁰ can be found in Barnard's diaries:

Sir- Happening a few evening ago to be where there were some Dutch and English, who in good humour disputed a point respecting the water found on digging the foundation of the New Theatre...the Dutch contending it should be given to the *Town*, and the English that it belonged to the *subscribers*, I threw the matter over into a few doggerel rhymes. if upon looking them over with Doctor Somers, you and he think there is nothing offensive in the *license* which a *Poet* has taken with the *Highest* and most *respected characters* who are supposed to have held conversations which never took place, and if they are not deemed unworthy of being introduced into your part of Major Sturgeon or into the Doctors character in his next (and as I understand *last*) theatrical, you are welcome to make use of them. I have heard that both the doctor and you excel in rhyme when you please, and I have also reason to believe that both patronise the *Jeu D'Esprits* of others with an indulgence you do not show to your own...the best chance of these lines being well received is there being sung by one gentleman or the other...if they are not approved of you have only to burn them – *no other copy shall appear*.

I have the honor to remain with the
Highest Respect & Regard
Lt Col: Barlows most Faithfull Sert.³¹

Two matters of interest arise from the above account: the first is that Barnard expressed her (anonymous) opinion in the handwriting of a man, which would certainly have given it more gravitas in the cultural environment of the time. The second point of interest is significant in that it relates to this study in a direct way: Barnard expressed her opinion through musical means, which was the domain of women, and therefore a genre within which she felt she could voice her opinion lucidly. Bickford-Smith discusses how leisure activities helped to shape gender identities in the context of 19th-century Cape Town, and how, through these activities, the home was marked as the domain of women.³² These domestic activities included 'reading, music, games, and conversation'.³³ Barnard was fully aware of the complexities of the social structures of the time, as can be seen in the

²⁸ Lenta, Margaret and Le Cordeur, Basil (eds.). (1999) *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard 1799–1800*. Vol. 2. p. 196.

²⁹ Lenta, Margaret and Le Cordeur, Basil (eds.). (1999) *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard 1799–1800*. Vol. 2. p. 202.

³⁰ Lenta, Margaret and Le Cordeur, Basil (eds.). (1999) *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard 1799–1800*. Vol. 2. pp. 198-202.

³¹ Lenta, Margaret and Le Cordeur, Basil (eds.). (1999) *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard 1799–1800*. Vol. 2. p. 197.

³² Bickford-Smith, Vivian. (1998/1999) 'Leisure and social identity in Cape Town, British Cape Colony, 1838–1910'. p. 110.

³³ Bickford-Smith, Vivian. (1998/1999) 'Leisure and social identity in Cape Town, British Cape Colony, 1838–1910'. p. 111.

following account: at the end of 1799, when Barnard invited the future wife (newly arrived at the Cape) of the current Governor of the Cape, Miss Cummings, to a Dutch wedding ball (which was held, contrary to English custom, on a Sunday), Barnard explained to her that it's the custom of the Dutch to have celebrations on a Sunday out of respect for the day and also because it is their only day of rest. One of the other ladies in the company reacted in the following way – 'may be so said Mrs Blake, but you know it must be *our* business to introduce English customs amongst them'.³⁴ Domestic music making must have formed part of these customs and contributed to the strong policy of anglicisation³⁵ that the English implemented at the Cape.

As seen in the above section, several questions about identity, gender and power arise around colonial domestic keyboard instruments. These instruments can be seen as symbols of feminine domestic appropriateness and education, but domestic music making was also utilised to express social opinions. In the following section I would like to focus on a more direct cultural claim by the colonial power and governmental structures by tracing the history of keyboard instruments as a diplomatic tool and a display of technology, and by exploring how these meanings were projected onto domestic keyboard instruments in the Cape Colony.

5.2 KEYBOARD INSTRUMENTS AS DIPLOMATIC TOOL AND DISPLAY OF TECHNOLOGY

The first three mentions of a Western keyboard instrument at the Cape occur in the journal (*Daghregister*) kept by Jan van Riebeeck. As described in Chapter 4, the keeping of a detailed day-to-day journal was required by the VOC as proclaimed in 1621 by the *Heren XVII*. Furthermore, they required that particular attention was to be paid to the relationship between the VOC and their rivals, including the English.³⁶ The Cape was no exception; in the instructions to Van Riebeeck and his fellow officers, issued on 25 March 1651 in Amsterdam, the keeping of a journal is also specified.³⁷ In Van Riebeeck's journal a harpsichord is mentioned on three separate occasions: in September, October and November of 1660. The first reference, from 30 September 1660, is in the context of a visit of Sousoa, the leader of the Chainouqua people, to the fort at the Cape.

The king was treated to cheese, fresh bread and sugar in a tin dish and was given a seat upon a mat in the Commander's room, together with the aforesaid greasy princess, his son's wife. They were first to be accorded such an honour and were further entertained to a tune on the harpsichord. All of this seemed to please him mightily and the beer and Spanish and French wine were very much to his taste, but he did not take enough to intoxicate him.³⁸

The second mention, on 10 October 1660, is again in reference to a visit by Sousoa:

When the usual parade took place in the afternoon, the musketeers fired their guns for the benefit of Sousoa, who was informed that this was done only for such mighty lords as we

³⁴ Lenta, Margaret and Le Cordeur, Basil (eds.). (1999) *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard 1799–1800*. Vol 1. p. 364.

³⁵ Giliomee, Herman. (2004) *Die Afrikaners*. Cape Town: Tafelberg. p. 156.

³⁶ Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1952) *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*. Edited by H.B. Thom, Translated by C.K. Johnman and A. Ravenscroft. Vol. 1. Cape Town, Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema. p. XXVI.

³⁷ Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1952) *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*. Vol. 1. p. XXVII.

³⁸ Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1958) *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*. Edited by H.B. Thom, Translated by C.K. Johnman and A. Ravenscroft. Vol. 3. Cape Town, Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema. p. 267.

considered him to be. Next we had the fiddle and the clavichord³⁹ played for him and we treated him to other pleasures, saying that this was our way of showing him our friendly disposition, but that when he brought us specimens of gold and precious stones (which he still insists he will deliver to us), there would be a far from trifling present awaiting him.⁴⁰

The third mention, on 4 November 1660, relates to Oedaso, leader of the Cochoquas people, being received at the fort at the Cape:

In the meantime the 5 old and young cattle and 19 sheep were bartered from his people outside and they were all excellently treated to food, tobacco, and brandy three times a day. Oedaso himself was specially honoured by a parade and discharge of musketry, as had been done for Sousoa. Furthermore he, his daughter and Koukoso sat at the Commander's table and shared his meal while being pleasantly and gaily entertained by a performance on the clavichord.⁴¹

The context within which these interactions took place is described in Chapter 2. In summary, the primary agenda was to build trade relations between the VOC and the Khoekhoen people, which was essential in order for the VOC trading post at the Cape to function fully. These interactions might be seen as isolated incidents, but they can be positioned within a long history of keyboard instruments utilised in a diplomatic process initiated by a Western political entity. This history will be explored further in order to sketch the historical context within which the exchanges between Van Riebeeck and the leaders of Khoekhoen peoples, as well as other related encounters in the Southern African colonial sphere, took place, and to divulge their meanings beyond the immediately apparent.

The earliest accounts of keyboard instruments being exchanged for diplomatic purposes all concern organs. Wood states that 'the Portuguese gifted organs to Eastern potentates beginning in the fifteenth century; the Russia Company was the first of the English companies to send a keyboard instrument as a gift abroad in 1569. Organs journeyed with European travellers to China, Africa, India, Japan, and Russia between the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries, as gifts for foreign dignitaries or for use by missionaries.'⁴² The history of gifting organs for diplomatic purposes, however, goes back even further than the above examples and can be traced back to a single significant exchange: in 757 the Byzantine Emperor Constantine V sent an organ as a gift to Pepin the Short, King of the Franks, as an 'outward manifestation of far reaching political design'.⁴³ Although there was a prominent organ-making tradition in Ancient Rome, these instruments (and the skills necessary to make them) disappeared during the unravelling of the Western Empire during the course of the 5th and 6th centuries, and 'by the 8th century was completely forgotten'.⁴⁴ The organ-building tradition, however, was kept alive in the Eastern Roman Empire. The 757 instrument, sent from Constantinople to Francia by Emperor Constantine V, is generally regarded as the first

³⁹ In the original Dutch the word *claversingel* (harpsichord) is used, but the Van Riebeeck Society's English edition wrongly translates it as *clavichord*.

⁴⁰ Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1958) *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*. Vol. 3. p. 271.

⁴¹ Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1958) *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*. Vol. 3. p. 278.

⁴² Wood, Jennifer Linhart. (2015) 'An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire'. *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*. Vol. 15. No. 4. p. 90.

⁴³ Perrot, Jean. (1971) *The Organ from its Invention in the Hellenistic Period to the end of the Thirteenth Century*. Translated by Norma Deane. London: Oxford University Press. p. 206.

⁴⁴ Perrot, Jean. (1971) *The Organ from its Invention in the Hellenistic Period to the end of the Thirteenth Century*. p. 170.

example of an organ in the Christian West, and the instrument that prompted the development of the Western pipe-organ tradition.⁴⁵ As Constantinople became ‘a new focal point in world culture at a time when the West was plunged in darkness’,⁴⁶ this gift can be interpreted as Constantine V reinforcing the point that the Eastern Empire was surpassing the West in a domain that was once theirs – the East helping the West to revive their own lost tradition. The 757 organ was the first, but not the only, example of an organ sent for diplomatic purposes in an East-West direction – Byzantine organs would in subsequent years become much valued possessions in foreign courts.⁴⁷

For the purposes of this study, I will focus on an account of a specific instrument that was gifted, and played, with a diplomatic aim: a pipe organ sent from London by Queen Elizabeth I as a gift to the Ottoman Sultan Mehmet III in Constantinople (Istanbul) in 1599. This account is extraordinary for two reasons: the organ was accompanied by its builder, the young Thomas Dallam (c. 1575 - after 1629), as well as a number of his craftsmen colleagues. Moreover, Dallam documented his journey in the form of a meticulously kept travel journal, including an account of his personal appearance, and presentation of the organ, before the sultan. This narrative not only gives us an intriguing look into the inner workings of Anglo-Ottoman relations at the time, but it also allows us this glimpse into this world from the ‘unusual perspective of a craftsman with no particular investment in English mercantile or diplomatic agendas’.⁴⁸ The manuscript of Dallam’s account⁴⁹ was purchased by the British Museum in 1848. It remained unpublished until the appearance of the first edition by Theodore J. Bent in 1893, as part of the Hakluyt Society series.

Thomas Dallam undertook his voyage on the ship *Hector* with the purpose of delivering an organ, built by him, as a gift in support of English mercantile and diplomatic interests in the Mediterranean at a time when England was far from being one of the Ottoman Empire’s strongest rivals on the Continent. By sending this gift to Mehmet III, leader of the world superpower at the time, Elizabeth I aimed to establish an Anglo-Ottoman alliance against Spain. This gift, however, was long overdue; after the death of Mehmet III’s predecessor in 1595, the English ambassador in Constantinople, Edward Barton, as well as officials from the Levant Company (founded in 1592 to maintain political and trade alliances with the Ottoman Empire), wrote to Elizabeth I, requesting a gift to be sent. This was a customary, and obligatory, act when a new Sultan came into power. However, this process was slowed down by Barton’s death in 1597, leaving his successor, Henry Lello, with very little diplomatic leverage.⁵⁰ Lello would not have been officially recognised by Mehmet III until he had fulfilled his gift-giving obligation. Dallam’s organ was not originally conceived as a diplomatic gift, but Elizabeth I had heard of it partly due to the automated nature of the instrument, and had requested Dallam to demonstrate it to her at Whitehall Palace. She then decided that this was a gift with

⁴⁵ McKinnon, James W. (2001) ‘Hydraulis’. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000013639?rskey=9efweN&result=1> Accessed: 8 August 2020.

⁴⁶ Perrot, Jean. (1971) *The Organ from its Invention in the Hellenistic Period to the end of the Thirteenth Century*. p. 170.

⁴⁷ Trudell, Scott A. (2019) ‘An organ for the seraglio: Thomas Dallam’s artificial life’. *Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies*. Vol. 34. No. 5. p. 778.

⁴⁸ Trudell, Scott A. (2019) ‘An organ for the seraglio: Thomas Dallam’s artificial life’. p. 766.

⁴⁹ Original title by Dallam: *The Straite of mariemediterranum and what hapened by the waye*.

⁵⁰ Trudell, Scott A. (2019) ‘An organ for the seraglio: Thomas Dallam’s artificial life’. p. 768.

sufficient gravitas to settle the historical debt with Mehmet III.⁵¹ Around the time of this decision, the English, and most probably Elizabeth I too, would have been acutely aware of the history of organs being exchanged with diplomatic aims, and specifically the 757 instrument: several period chronicles, including some printed only a few years before Dallam's journey, referenced the 757 organ. This includes a printed edition, dating from 1592, of the 12th century history of the world *Chronicon ex chronicis*, where the entry for 757 notes that 'Organum primitus venit in Franciam, missum à Constantino rege Graecorum Pippino imperatori'⁵² (The first organ in France was sent to Emperor Pippin from Constantine, king of Greece), as well as the 1596 edition of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*.⁵³ Seeing that the 757 instrument was sent from Constantinople to the West, and a similar exchange took place, but in reverse, in the late 16th century (Dallam's organ), Elizabeth I's gift to the Sultan can be seen as the paying back of a historical debt, or trying to undo a historical imbalance, in light of the fact that the 757 organ was something which was in the collective (elite) public consciousness during the late Elizabethan period.

Dallam's organ encapsulated various aspects of a musical, mechanical and visual nature. The instrument could be set in motion by mechanical means (a playerless clockwork instrument – see 3.2 for a description and history of instruments of this nature) and represented various early modern versions of animatronics, which must have had an impressive visual impact. The following description of the debut of Dallam's organ in the Topkapi palace in the presence of Mehmet III comes directly from Dallam's diary:

The Grand Sinyor, being seated in his Chaire of estate, commanded silence. All being quiett, and no noyes at all, the presente began to salute the Grand Sinyor; for when I left it I did allow a quarter of an houre for his cominge thether. Firste the clocke strouke 22; than The chime of 16 bells went of, and played a songe of 4 partes. That beinge done, tow personagis which stood upon to corners of the seconde storie, houldinge tow silver trumpetes in there handes, did lifte them to there heades, and sounded a tantara. Than the muzicke went of, and the orgon[68] played a song of 5 partes twyse over. In the tope of the orgon, being 16 foute hie, did stande a holly bushe full of blacke birds and thrushis, which at the end of the musick did singe and shake there wynges. Divers other motions thare was which the Grand Sinyor wondered at.⁵⁴

In addition to these automated functions of the organ (a clock that strikes the hour, bells that chime a musical piece in four parts, two automatons playing a tantara⁵⁵ on trumpets, a five-part musical piece played twice, and mechanical birds that warble and flutter their wings) it also had a manual (keyboard), which allowed it to be played by an organist in a conventional way; after the above described demonstration, Dallam went on to play the organ manually to the Sultan.

⁵¹ Wood, Jennifer Linhart. (2015) 'An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire'. p. 2.

⁵² Trudell, Scott A. (2019) 'An organ for the seraglio: Thomas Dallam's artificial life'. p. 778.

⁵³ Trudell, Scott A. (2019) 'An organ for the seraglio: Thomas Dallam's artificial life.' p. 778.

⁵⁴ Dallam, Thomas. (1599–1600) *The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599–1600* in *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant* (1893). Edited by J. Theodore Bent. The Hakluyt Society: London. pp. 67–68.

⁵⁵ A brass fanfare with military connotations.

An organ containing a clockwork would have been, at this stage in European history, 'one of the most technologically advanced objects then in existence',⁵⁶ as an organ was 'together with the clock, the most complex of all mechanical instruments developed before the Industrial Revolution'.⁵⁷ In keeping with contemporary practice, Mehmet III's predecessor, Murat III, had received a gift in support of diplomatic relations from England in 1583, presented to him by William Harborne, who went to Constantinople in his capacity as ambassador at the founding of the Levant Company. This gift consisted of an array of objects, including a clock of the following description:

over it was a forrest of trees of silver, among the which were deere chased with dogs, and men on horsebacke following, men drawing of water, others carrying mine oare on barrowes: on the toppe of the clocke stood a castle, and on the castle a mill. All these were of silver. And the clocke was round beset with jewels.⁵⁸

Dallam's organ, which was in essence a clock mechanism with an added musical aspect, could be seen, in the context of the above gift to the previous sultan, as a way of trumping the gift presented to Mehmet III's predecessor by adding an additional layer of functionality. This musical aspect increased the sonic reach (see 5.5), and therefore physical impact, in the sphere of the Topkapi palace.

To return to the context of the Cape Colony, a more blatant display of technology springs to mind, in this case one which involves Sir Harry Smith, who became governor of the Cape Colony in 1847. Within the context of the conflicts around land on the Eastern border of the colony (touched on in 2.1.5) Smith, in the first December since his appointment, paraded his troops and read out a proclamation – whilst sitting on horseback, in the presence of 2,000 Africans – that re-annexed the land between the Keiskamma and the Kei rivers as a separate colony, later known as British Kaffraria. According to one report, he then summoned the leaders of various amaXhosa groupings present to come forward and to kiss his feet. It is within the context of this extreme stance of colonial superiority that the following incident, a fortnight later, is reported: Smith assembled the leaders of the amaXhosa groupings again, and after lecturing them, focused their attention on a wagon that he had loaded full of explosives. He then ordered someone to fire a rifle into the wagon, which exploded spectacularly. Smith is reported to have said: 'That is what I will do to you, if you do not behave yourselves'.⁵⁹ Thompson states that 'whether or not apocryphal, these stories celebrate the importance of technological superiority'.⁶⁰

On a surface level this explosion links to the sonoric and physical impact of sounds discussed in 5.5, and this account might seem unrelated to the more 'gentle' display of technology by means of a keyboard instrument, where the sound emanating from the technological device is not as bold as the sonic impact of an explosion. However, two of the three accounts of Jan van Riebeeck having a

⁵⁶ Wood, Jennifer Linhart. (2015) 'An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire'. p. 82.

⁵⁷ Owen, Barbara, Williams, Peter and Bicknell, Stephen. (2001) 'Organ'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000044010?rskey=n7ZSnz&result=5> Accessed: 3 December 2019.

⁵⁸ Danson, Lawrence. (2009) 'The Sultan's organ: presents and self-presentation in Thoman Dallam's "Diary"'. *Renaissance Studies*. Vol. 23. No. 5. p. 645.

⁵⁹ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers. p. 75.

⁶⁰ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 75.

keyboard instrument played in a diplomatic context in 1660 were directly preceded by a display of artillery. Firstly on 10 October 1660 in the presence of Sousoa, leader of the Chainouqua people:

When the usual parade took place in the afternoon, the musketeers fired their guns for the benefit of Sousoa, who was informed that this was done only for such mighty lords as we considered him to be. Next we had the fiddle and the clavichord...⁶¹

And secondly on 4 November 1660 in the presence of Oedaso, leader of the Cochoqua people:

Oedaso himself was specially honoured by a parade and discharge of musketry, as had been done for Sousoa. Furthermore he, his daughter and Koukoso, sat at the Commander's table and shared his meal while being pleasantly and gaily entertained by a performance on the clavichord.⁶²

The last occasion happened directly after an immediate mercantile goal had been achieved: 'In the meantime the 5 old and young cattle and 19 sheep were bartered from his [Oedaso's] people outside and they were all excellently treated to food, tobacco, and brandy three times a day.'⁶³

In the above cases the playing of a keyboard instrument served, in the same way as Thomas Dallam's organ did, as a display of the technological capabilities of a culture. Moreover, the two cases where the playing of a keyboard instrument was preceded by the artillery display served as an extension and reinforcement of a more blatant exhibition of technology, where the idea was strongly communicated by means of artillery that, although cooperation from the Khoekhoen peoples seems voluntary and optional, the Westerners do possess the means of staking their claims by force. In other words, where the artillery is used as a blatant form of intimidation, the keyboard instruments are used as a more subtle, quiet way of emphasising the same idea. This display of technology (on both levels) would be reflected many centuries later by the statement of Huntington in *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* that 'The West won the world not by the superiority of its ideas or values or religion (to which few members of other civilizations were converted) but rather by its superiority in applying organized violence. Westerners often forget this fact; non-Westerners never do'.⁶⁴

It is also a noteworthy point that three of the examples of keyboard instruments that feature prominently in this study were found in the homes⁶⁵ of Governors or people who occupied a high position in government: the harpsichord which was used in Jan van Riebeeck's presence (see above), the organ which Governor De La Fontaine had built for his daughter by local craftsman, Johann Jacob Posse in 1735 (see 2.1.3), and the still extant organ by William Hill which was imported by Henry Somerset, Deputy Magistrate of Grahamstown in the 1830s (see 3.4.2). A house organ was the

⁶¹ Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1958), Vol.3. p. 271.

⁶² Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1958), Vol.3. p. 278.

⁶³ Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1958), Vol.3. p. 278.

⁶⁴ Huntington, Samuel Phillips. (2002) *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. London: Simon & Schuster. p. 51.

⁶⁵ Two of these instruments were clearly intended for domestic use (De la Fontaine and Somerset), whilst the third instrument (Van Riebeeck) was in all probability associated with his household, as other engagements on the days in question took place 'in the Commander's room' and 'at the Commander's table'.

costliest domestic instrument of the period; next in line would be a double-manual harpsichord⁶⁶ or later a grand fortepiano. In addition to being an indicator of wealth (and therefore power), the instrument communicates a much more potent message as a signifier of the technological prowess of a culture. It then follows logically that subjugated factions of society must be excluded from utilising or developing this technology, just as colonial history is permeated with narratives of guns and ammunition that should be kept from falling into the hands of slaves, escaped slaves, or people who were not considered upholders of the colonial status quo. As an example, Armstrong states that in the context of the Cape Colony the widespread presence of firearms in the *burgher* community was seen as a temptation for slaves who contemplated escape and that ‘a *plakkaat* of 1688 endeavoured to thwart such slaves by ordering all slave-holders’ guns to be partially dismantled when not in use’.⁶⁷

Indeed, often escaped slaves were in possession of stolen guns⁶⁸ and experience in the use of firearms was seen as an advantage for these slaves.⁶⁹

The above possible exclusion of slaves from certain technologies is discussed in the next section, which revolves around the complete absence of any accounts of slaves playing keyboard instruments in the Southern African colonial context during the time period relevant to this study.

5.3 THE ‘LOUD’ ABSENCE OF EVIDENCE POINTING TO SLAVES PLAYING KEYBOARD INSTRUMENTS

Chapter 2 (2.1.2) discusses the history of slavery in the Cape Colony, with special reference to music making by slaves that involved Western musical instruments and Western repertoire. Both the skills and the repertoire (which was aurally transmitted) were often acquired at a previous place of employment, such as Batavia.⁷⁰ Anne Marieke van der Wal in her article *Slave Orchestras and Rainbow Balls: Colonial Culture and Creolisation at the Cape of Good Hope, 1750–1838* describes the voluntary and involuntary adoption amongst slaves of certain European cultural practices in the multicultural context of the Cape Colony, and especially Cape Town. According to her, ‘music formed an important part of this cultural transfer, as slaves were expected to sing for the entertainment of their masters, thereby learning European folk songs and music genres in their masters’ homes’.⁷¹ Often, in the context of the Cape Colony, a level of musical education was seen as an important part of the skill set of a slave. An example of this is European colonist Joachim von Dessin, who bought a slave, named Jason van Madagascar on 30 April 1756; Von Dessin specifically mentions in his memoirs that his purchase was exceptionally successful, seeing that Jason, in addition to being a good cook, could also play the flute, oboe and French horn.⁷² In 2.1.2 several accounts are quoted of

⁶⁶ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 106.

⁶⁷ Armstrong, James. (1985) *The slaves, 1652–1795*, in Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (eds.) *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652–1820*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman. p. 105.

⁶⁸ Elphick, Richard. (1985) *The Khoisan to c. 1770*, in Elphick, R. and Giliomee, H. (eds.) *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652–1820*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman. p. 31.

⁶⁹ Armstrong, James. (1985) *The slaves, 1652–1795*. p. 105.

⁷⁰ Armstrong, James. (1985) *The slaves, 1652–1795*. p. 80.

⁷¹ Van der Wal, Anne Marieke. (2016) ‘Slave Orchestras and Rainbow Balls: Colonial Culture and Creolisation at the Cape of Good Hope, 1750–1838’. p. 353.

⁷² Van der Wal, Anne Marieke. (2016) ‘Slave Orchestras and Rainbow Balls: Colonial Culture and Creolisation at the Cape of Good Hope, 1750–1838’. p. 355.

colonists who regularly hosted musical entertainments provided by so-called 'slave orchestras' – whole ensembles of up to 18 slave musicians playing Western instruments. These musical performances by relatively large ensembles were naturally quite impressive and mostly took place in the presence of friends, neighbours or officials of a high rank. These ensembles were therefore a very effective tool to display wealth and social success, as well as reinforce a sense of the European cultural identity of the owner. Van der Wal states that 'the social context in which these slave orchestral musicians performed at the Cape suggests that music performances were conducted in a state of subjugation. Slave musicians were bought and assigned to entertain their masters, thus they portrayed through their performance the taste and status of their masters rather than a cultural identity of their own.'⁷³ Her point is reinforced by a listing of numerous accounts of slaves making music for their own recreational purposes, and in none of them do they play European instruments, but rather instruments from their individual cultural backgrounds. The following account described by Anne Barnard in 1799 in Cape Town serves as an example: 'we passd the Sunday Slave Ball ... dancing & shim strum by the side of a long & high wall, what a concourse of Slaves there were in their Sunday cloaths, dancing round the Hottentots instrument – a gourd at the end of a bit of wood with a few strips of catgut, it makes an uncouth & wild sound – they seem to strip when they dance & I fancy the ladys do so as well as the men, they dance Mr B tells me in a very indecent manner sometimes, he says it is rather a licentious meeting.'⁷⁴

During Dutch colonial rule at the Cape, these ensembles of slave musicians can be understood within the context of the Low Countries, where lower-class music making by the peasantry was seen as a disorderly 'sonoric and social threat'.⁷⁵ This stems from an ideological necessity to differentiate, 'according to principles that delineate *socio-political* superiority, the sounds of one class from those of the other, as established by the particular group enjoying power' where the sounds of the lower classes are associated with 'anarchy', 'vulgar physicality', 'drunkenness' and 'leering sexuality' as opposed to the sounds of the upper classes that are associated with 'a high degree of order' and 'self-control'.⁷⁶ Van der Wal does mention, however, that the playing of Western instruments could potentially have an influence on the social status of the slaves engaging in these activities, because 'by learning and performing the music of the politically and culturally dominant group in colonial society, these musicians managed to obtain a higher status themselves'.⁷⁷ This might explain why, even after their emancipation, there are numerous accounts of newly freed people of colour who provided entertainment for the mainly white ruling class, such as an account from 1834 where black men, dressed up in British military uniforms, were responsible for providing musical entertainment at an army ball in Cape Town.⁷⁸ This trend can be traced well into the second half of the 20th century in relation to certain organisations in Cape Town, notably the opera performances

⁷³ Van der Wal, Anne Marieke. (2016) 'Slave Orchestras and Rainbow Balls: Colonial Culture and Creolisation at the Cape of Good Hope, 1750–1838'. p. 358.

⁷⁴ Lenta, Margaret and Le Cordeur, Basil (eds.). (1999) *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard 1799–1800*. Vol 1. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society. p. 283.

⁷⁵ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 7.

⁷⁶ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 9.

⁷⁷ Van der Wal, Anne Marieke. (2016) 'Slave Orchestras and Rainbow Balls: Colonial Culture and Creolisation at the Cape of Good Hope, 1750–1838'. p. 356.

⁷⁸ Bickford-Smith, Vivian. (1998/1999) 'Leisure and social identity in Cape Town, British Cape Colony, 1838–1910'. *Kronos*. No. 25. p. 123.

of the Eoan Group, where people of colour performed to mainly white audiences in spite of apartheid segregation laws.⁷⁹

In the light of the above it is notable that, in spite of all the accounts of the slaves orchestras where slaves played Western instruments and Western repertoire to colonists or European visitors as a form of entertainment, no account could be found during the research process for this study of a slave playing a keyboard instrument. This is a possible signifier that keyboard instruments represented cultural territory into which slaves were not allowed – a sonic sanctum. In a culture where keyboard instruments can be seen as serving as standard-bearers of European ‘refinement and high culture’,⁸⁰ it was probably intentional that the subjugated were excluded from engaging with these objects.

Moreover, several of the accounts of music making on Western instruments by slaves indicate that this music making took place outdoors. This is in stark contrast to most of the accounts of music making on keyboard instruments, in the Cape colonial context, taking place indoors. In the case of the Hodderson instrument in the Swellendam district (see 2.1.3), a room in a house was purpose built and reserved for one purpose of a slave playing a keyboard instrument – religious practice – which involved a keyboard instrument. Here we come across tropes familiar in Western culture: the dichotomy between indoors/outdoors, feminine/masculine and in this case urban/rural. The urban/rural dichotomy can be associated with Western notions of education. The urban environment is associated with the ability to read and negotiate abstract ideas from a cerebral perspective, whilst the rural environment is associated with manual tasks and an instinctive understanding of the world. This inevitably leads to assumptions and questions concerning education (and therefore the ways in which the slave musicians transmitted the music). In Western Classical music, the division between formally and informally trained musicians is often perceived as the ability to read musical notation. There is a marked absence of notated examples of the music that the slave ensembles played, since it was mostly aurally transmitted (see above). This absence of notated music has great significance in the context of the history of music in the West; Leppert states that it is ‘no accident that the early history of notation coincides with the codification (regularization for ideological and political purposes) of the liturgy in the medieval Church’.⁸¹ Musical notation facilitates a certain level of preservation and continuity, and ‘the only purpose in preserving – making replicable – sounds is that they mean something; and their meaning helps mediate the social and cultural order in which they are born.’⁸² This can still be observed in the present day canonic practices in music conservatoires where Western Classical music is taught, where the ability to read musical notation is a non-negotiable divider between ‘serious’ and ‘informal’ musical cultures.⁸³ It is a matter of interest that, in contrast to the music making by slaves which was not notated and of which no notated examples survive, a number of music manuscripts connected to domestic music-making situations involving keyboard instruments could be found in the research process for this study. This includes the two Meent Borchers manuscript books (see 4.1.1), as well as the two Heathcote music manuscript books (see 4.1.3).

⁷⁹ Roos, Hilde and Muller, Wayne (eds). (2013) *Eoan – Our Story*. Johannesburg: Fourthwall Books.

⁸⁰ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 95.

⁸¹ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 11.

⁸² Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 11.

⁸³ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 134.

A performance, in a domestic setting, of one of the hymns contained in the Borchers manuscript books is described in the memoirs of his son, Petrus Borchardus Borchers. In a section that he describes as a 'sketch of an evening in the days of youth, also drawn partly from fact and reality',⁸⁴ we find not only reference to the name of the hymn, but also to the author of the text, Gellert:

The sacrifice of a feeling and religious heart was now lighted on the family altar; that Word by which the will of the Supreme for time and eternity is prescribed was explained, and the head of the family expounded it in a plain and intelligible manner, brief and to the point, such as was calculated to meet the comprehension of those belonging to the family circle; and with Gellert's beautiful German hymn, 'Für alle gute sey gepreist,' translated by the leader in Dutch, accompanied by the pianoforte, this impressive home solemnity closed.⁸⁵

The hymns by Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715–1769), set to music by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788), were tremendously popular during the 18th century. This collection of hymns was reprinted five times during Bach's lifetime and set a trend for other composers to print editions of Gellert's hymns set to their own music. The song by Bach and Gellert is indeed found in the first of the two Borchers manuscript books (see 4.1.1.1. MB1). On the next page the Dutch translation referenced above, made by Borchers himself, appears. Apart from the apparent matter of interest that this is a reference to a domestic music-making situation, using a specific song of which the sheet music is still extant, however, there is another significant point of interest in this account: the fact that Borchers mentions specifically in this account the hymn and the translation – as if to point out that this is an educated household, where literacy extends not only to words, but also to musical notation. Here also the mention of the 'pianoforte' forms part of conveying this status of education.

We know that playing a keyboard instrument, for both men and women alike, was considered part of a rigorous education at the Cape, as is evident from this quote by Michiel Christiaan Vos (1759–1825)⁸⁶ reflecting on his childhood in the 1770s:

Nu was ik veertien jaren oud, en moest den ganschen dag in dat werk bezig zijn; terwijl ik 's avonds, bij kaarslicht, het *teekenen* leerde. En daar ik grooten lust voor de *muzijk* had, werd mij *één* uur 's daars vergund op het klavier te leeren spelen. Dat een en ander deed ik, naar mate mijn ligchaamsgestel zulks toeliet, met grooten lust.⁸⁷

Ross states that 'Education and Christianity were among the main components of respectability, the criteria by which those acceptable in society were distinguished from the disreputable.'⁸⁸ It then comes as no surprise that, after emancipation, many ex-slaves made a great effort to learn to read and write, thereby effectuating their freedom.⁸⁹ This point resonates significantly with Sylvia Bruinders's exploration of the respectability politics around musical literacy amongst the band members of the *Christmas bands* in Cape Town in Chapter 2 of her seminal book *Parading*

⁸⁴ Borchers, Petrus Borchardus. (1963) *An Autobiographical Memoir*. Cape Town: Africana Connoisseurs Press. p. 223.

⁸⁵ Borchers, Petrus Borchardus. (1963) *An Autobiographical Memoir*. p. 225.

⁸⁶ Engelbrecht, Stephanus Petrus. (1952) *Die Kaapse predikante van die sewentiende en agtiende eeu*. Cape Town/Pretoria: H.A.U.M/J.H. de Bussy. p. 92.

⁸⁷ Vos, Michiel Christiaan. (1824) *Merkwaardig verhaal aangaande het leven en de lotgevallen van Michiel Christiaan Vos*. Amsterdam: A.B. Saakes. p. 5.

⁸⁸ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. Cape Town: Cambridge University Press. p. 50.

⁸⁹ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 48.

Respectability: The Cultural and Moral Aesthetics of the Christmas Bands Movement in the Western Cape, South Africa.⁹⁰ In the context of the 20th and 21st centuries, the Christmas Bands she refers to evince 'deep social aspirations that are attached to musical literacy and a respectable presentation of the self to the world'⁹¹ and adds that the band members' 'attitude and subjective experiences around learning in the early years can be related to deep psychological reverberations connected to their slave and fraught past in segregationist colonial South Africa'.⁹² I argue that playing a keyboard instrument was, like reading or writing, a signifier of respectability, but the possibility of doing so, unlike learning to read and write, forever eluded the slave population in the Cape Colony during the time period this study is concerned with, because they were excluded from doing so because of their social status.

One last point to mention: as stated in Chapter 2, although a great number of slaves were present in the colony, they were spread relatively evenly amongst slave owners, in other words, small groups of slaves were spread amongst numerous owners. This was unlike Brazil and certain parts of North America and the Caribbean, for example, where large numbers of slaves were owned by a single owner according to the plantation system. For example, in 1750 there were 681 slave owners in the Cape colony: seven of them owned over 50 slaves, 15 of them owned between 26 and 50 slaves, and 385 of them owned fewer than six slaves. The ratio of slaves to slave owners, and more importantly the relatively equal distribution of slaves amongst the colonists in the Cape Colony, has some significance for this study, seeing that, unlike other colonial contexts where many slaves were employed by one owner and were often tasked with agricultural duties, in the context of the Cape Colony the duties of slaves were more diverse and wide-ranging, and therefore they were often in contact with households and their contents (where keyboard instruments could be present). It can therefore be argued that slaves moved in close proximity to these objects, but were excluded from playing them. This exclusion can also be compared to another aspect of slave music making at the Cape Colony: the fact that the slave ensembles often played for social dancing occasions by Europeans.

Social dancing was a very important organisational ritual in Western culture during this time. Social dancing is at once a public but also a private ritual, 'itself a ritual form of lovemaking, a rehearsal of bodies organizing their sensualities and desires, guided by musical sonorities that give form to their practices.'⁹³ Slaves were therefore facilitating these interactions/rituals, and observing them, but were not allowed to participate in social dances for colonists, and hence not allowed into the inner sanctum of Western culture, much like slaves moving in close proximity to keyboard instruments but not allowed (or not encouraged) to play them. Although it is unclear whether the so-called slave orchestras played for these social dancing situations indoors or outdoors, it can be assumed that because of the size of the slave ensembles (see Chapter 2), it would have been logistically difficult to host the whole group of musicians inside an average-sized domestic room. The dancing might therefore have taken place in a similar situation as indicated in the following account from between

⁹⁰ Bruinders, Sylvia. (2017) *Parading Respectability: The Cultural and Moral Aesthetics of the Christmas Bands Movement in the Western Cape, South Africa*. Grahamstown: NISC.

⁹¹ Bruinders, Sylvia. (2017) *Parading Respectability: The Cultural and Moral Aesthetics of the Christmas Bands Movement in the Western Cape, South Africa*. p. 73.

⁹² Bruinders, Sylvia. (2017) *Parading Respectability: The Cultural and Moral Aesthetics of the Christmas Bands Movement in the Western Cape, South Africa*. p. 71.

⁹³ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. XXIV.

1795 and 1806, on the farm *Oranjezicht*, owned by Pieter van Breda: 'a music tent stood in one of the gardens of his estate. When Mr van Breda was to have his slaves play music there, he raised the flag so that music lovers in the city knew that they were welcome at Oranjezicht',⁹⁴ where all those involved – musicians and guests – were outside. Or alternatively it could have been a situation similar to the 1781 account by Francois le Vaillant on a visit to the Groot Constantia estate, where the owner of the farm (Hendrik Cloete) was awakened in the morning by a band of 15 slaves playing for him and his wife outside of their bedroom window (also see Chapter 2).⁹⁵ I therefore argue that, even when slaves played for the significant social rituals of Europeans, they might have been excluded on the basis of an indoor/outdoor dichotomy (see urban/rural symbolic paradigm above).

This exclusion is even more potent considering that a substantial part of the slave population had its origins in the Cape government granting permission by the end of the 18th century for *burgher* commandos to eradicate the San people, which led to a genocide where hundreds of San people were killed and the children were kept as *de facto* slaves.⁹⁶ The cultural exclusion can therefore be seen as a continuation of this previous violation, and a re-affirming of the status of slaves from the viewpoint of colonists and the colonial power: not allowing these formerly free peoples to find their way back into free society by consciously withholding access to certain cultural realms with significant status and respectability implications.

The significance of the exclusion of slaves from playing domestic keyboard instruments is heightened in the light of the fact that colonists often went to great lengths in order to possess domestic keyboard instruments themselves. This often involved transporting the instruments over great distances and under logistically challenging conditions, which is an indicator of their cultural importance within the Cape colonial context. This theme is explored more fully in 5.4.

5.4 THE TOTEMIC FUNCTION OF DOMESTIC KEYBOARD INSTRUMENTS

Keyboard instruments are expensive and physically heavy (even before the rise of steel-frame pianos). In addition to this, keyboard instruments are often oddly shaped, which therefore makes them difficult to pack and ship. They are delicate, easily damaged, and sensitive to temperature and humidity changes. Keyboard instruments are difficult to maintain and complex to keep well-regulated and in a playable condition, especially in a climate that is not sympathetic to the instruments, as was often the case in the Southern African colonial sphere. These instruments can therefore be considered highly impractical within the context of their colonial setting. Leppert argues that this impracticality increases their ideological value and, referring to the Indian colonial context, states that their significance has 'as much to do with a totemic function as a musical one'.⁹⁷

In addition to the above traits of keyboard instruments, they can also be considered as expensive pieces of furniture, as they are often made of precious or very rare materials such as exotic woods, ivory or silver. The use of these materials was signs of the owner's wealth, but in addition to that the

⁹⁴ Van der Wal, Anne Marieke. (2016) 'Slave Orchestras and Rainbow Balls: Colonial Culture and Creolisation at the Cape of Good Hope, 1750–1838'. p. 356.

⁹⁵ <https://slavery.iziko.org.za/cloeteera> Accessed: 16 December 2020.

⁹⁶ Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. p. 23.

⁹⁷ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 107.

fact that keyboard instruments do not ‘do’ anything (they are of very little practical use as a piece of furniture, apart from producing sounds) positioned them as the ‘perfect signs of social position’ because ‘the very ethereality of what they “produced” – sound’ ensured the correct reading of the significance.⁹⁸

Leppert, in exploring the modes of consuming music, looks at different definitions of music itself, with its variety of definitions ‘interlocking and mutually mediating but inevitably dialectical and different’.⁹⁹ According to his fourth definition, music is ‘a potential but *unrealized* practice, specifically and only a sight, but one nonetheless semantically rich: musical furniture as an accoutrement of domestic, private space, without regard to whether it was actually played or, if played, how often and how well.’¹⁰⁰

In the context of the Cape Colony, examples can often be found of domestic keyboard instruments which were transported to, and kept, very far from any urban centres where the required skills were available to maintain and tune the instruments, in spite of all the logistical difficulties which were mentioned at the beginning of the section. Several instruments could be found in the Cape interior, either in remote settlements or on isolated farms. A specific example is the case of the organ built by Hodderson on the farm of Cobus Dupré in the Swellendam district that Lichtenstein encountered in 1803 (see 2.1.3). Although not much information about the nature and specifications of the organ is given by Lichtenstein, he does indicate that ‘it was built in the place itself by a person of the name of Hodderson, who was still living at the Cape Town when I quitted the country, continuing his trade, and gaining a very good livelihood by making harpsichords.’¹⁰¹

As discussed in 2.1.3 transporting the necessary raw materials (or several pre-made parts to be assembled later) in order to build the instrument in situ, on a forty-day long ox-wagon journey over uneven terrain, must have proven an extreme challenge. Sourcing the raw materials in the environs of the farm would have been impossible, as it would certainly have required a variety of specialist materials such as lead, tin, tanned leather as well as specific types of wood and wood treatments or paints. In addition to this, Hodderson must have taken a whole workshop worth of instrument building-related tools with him.

The Hodderson organ was certainly not the only keyboard instrument found in a very remote location, as often references can be found to services for transporting keyboard instruments over great distances, such as this advertisement from 1843 offering the following service: ‘T.M. Adney’s Musical Repository, No. 4, Market-square. Piano-Fortes removed by a Spring Van, to Town and Country’.¹⁰² This indicates that there was a need for ownership of keyboard instruments outside of the urban centres. In addition to this, often suppliers of keyboard instruments focused in advertising on the ability of instruments to withstand the specific climate in the Southern African context, using this as a selling point. The following two advertisements serve as examples: ‘For Sale, At Walker, Robertson, and Co’s, A Very fine toned Piano Forte, with additional keys, made by Broadwood and

⁹⁸ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 8.

⁹⁹ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 64.

¹⁰⁰ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 64.

¹⁰¹ Lichtenstein, Henry. (1812) *Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806*. Translated by Anne Plumtre. Vol.1. London: Henry Colburn. p. 168.

¹⁰² Cape Almanac, 1843.

Son, to stand any climate'¹⁰³ and 'One of Wornûm's unique Solo Chorda Picolo Pianos, with double improved check action, admirably calculated to stand extreme climates, as it can scarcely ever be perceptibly out of tune. T.J. Hitchcock.'¹⁰⁴ The firm of T.J. Hitchcock also offered repairs, tuning and regulation outside of urban centres: 'All kinds of Musical Instruments repaired, tuned, and regulated. Also, Instruments in the Country attended'.¹⁰⁵

Returning to Leppert's stance that the ideological value of keyboard instruments is increased by their impracticality: this is an especially potent consideration in the context of the further outreaches of the Cape Colony, where the general level of education was, until the beginning of the 19th century, quite low amongst colonists (see 2.1.4). The practicality of a keyboard instrument is further reduced in a location where nobody possessed the necessary musical education to play them; in these contexts they would have fulfilled an exclusively totemic function and not a musical one at all. In the case of the Swellendam organ the instrument was used for Christian worship. Christian practice was seen as both a declaration of a cultural identity (being a white colonist and Christian were synonymous – in 1815 John Campbell refers to 'people called Christians, which means in South Africa, white people'¹⁰⁶) and as a sign of social respectability. I argue, however, that in spite of the above meanings of this specific instrument, the more potent meaning of the instruments is conveyed by simply *being there*. This argument is reinforced by the fact that in the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber at the Cape of Good Hope many of the instruments listed are not in playing condition (see Appendix 1).

I also argue that the difference in attitude towards the Cape Colony between the Dutch (VOC) and the English is reflected in the trends of keyboard instruments imports and making. Thompson states that already by the 1710s the Cape Colony had 'become a far more complex society than the mere refreshment station that the directors of the Dutch East Indian Company had envisaged in 1652, and it had developed a wholly unforeseen dynamic'.¹⁰⁷ The VOC's investment in infrastructure in the Cape Colony, beyond the needs directly related to the supply of produce to passing ships, remained minimal until the end of the VOC period in the 1790s. This trend can also be observed in relation to the specialist craft of keyboard instrument making; in 1720 the church council of the Dutch Reformed Church (*Groote Kerk*) in Cape Town noted a need for an organ and raised the necessary funds. The church council was petitioned to ask the board of directors of the VOC to send an instrument from the Netherlands (see 2.1.3). Nothing came of this request and the *Groote Kerk* later bought a locally made organ (the one that used to belong to Governor Jan de la Fontaine). This incident partly spurred the coming into being of a series of organs being built by local craftsman during the course of the 18th century. After the Dutch finally relinquished the Cape to the English in 1814, the incorporation of the Cape Colony into the British Empire led to an increase in trade relations abroad (see 2.1.5), which in turn led to an influx in English-built keyboard instruments, which can clearly be seen in the representation of keyboard instruments of English origins in Chapter

¹⁰³ The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, Saturday, 4 July, 1801, Vol 1, No. 47.

¹⁰⁴ Sam Sly, Thursday, 16 November, 1848, Vol. 6, No. 282.

¹⁰⁵ Cape Almanac, 1831.

¹⁰⁶ Campbell, John. (1815) *Travels in South Africa, undertaken at the request of the Missionary Society*. London: Black and Parry. p. 15.

¹⁰⁷ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 38.

3. All evidence points to the fact that this process slowed down the demand for locally produced instruments; the local craft landscape that would resume significantly only in the 20th century.

In addition to the above non-musical meanings of keyboard instruments, there is one more point of significance that can be explored: in Western culture, apart from the immediate cultural meanings of music and music making, there is a deeper underlying relation between music and the perceived order of the world. I refer to the notion of the music of the spheres, a 'Pythagorean doctrine postulating harmonious relationships among the planets governed by their proportionate speeds of revolution and by their fixed distance from the earth',¹⁰⁸ as defined by James Haar. This theory makes a connection between the ratios that produce pure musical intervals (and therefore harmonies), and the numerical proportions that bring order to the heavenly bodies, and therefore the universe in general. This concept remained present in Western intellectual life, with numerous writings during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance referring to the association between music and mathematics. Even by the late 18th century John Keeble writes that 'among the theories which have appeared at different periods, those of the Greeks seem to have all the advantages that can be wished to lead us to the true knowledge of Harmonics; for as their principles are in nature, they must be fixed and immutable'.¹⁰⁹ The increased importance of a rhetorical approach to music (from the Renaissance onwards), led to music taking on a dual role, where one of the roles was based on the above theories: 'speculative' (the heavenly music of the spheres, based on resonance and proportion) and 'practical' skill (earthly music making).¹¹⁰

In spite of this division, the mathematical basis of music remained present in practical music making, especially when dealing with keyboard instruments, and other fixed-pitch instruments, where a conscious choice concerning temperament, and therefore a compromise in terms of pure and tempered intervals, had to be made. Well into the 18th century it was hoped that that these conscious ratios and proportions resonate directly with the heavens. Even within a Christian context, it was believed that pure intervals facilitate direct communication with God. Thomas Mace writes in 1676 that out-of-tune singing in church prevents effective communication with the heavens, and therefore also with God.¹¹¹ Following on from Keeble's quote above, it was often thought that the Western system of tuning developed from the Greeks, and is therefore natural, has universal validity, and consequently has to be obeyed. Leppert proposes that 'the musical order (theoretical systems and the values attached to them) defined by Keeble is constituted by, and hence reinforces, and identical ideological base of Western self-legitimation.'¹¹² Engaging with the matters of proportion and tuning is unavoidable when dealing with keyboard instruments; a temperament or tuning system has to be applied to a keyboard instrument, and the instrument therefore becomes a vehicle for carrying and transmitting the chosen system. This transmitting of a tuning system onto the colonial sphere links with the idea of a keyboard instrument as a display of technology (as described in 5.2). The conviction that certain tuning systems applied to keyboard instruments are

¹⁰⁸ Haar, James. (2001) 'Music of the Spheres'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000019447?rskey=AsY9fA&result=1> Accessed: 28 August 2020.

¹⁰⁹ Keeble, John. (1784) *The Theory of Harmonics: Or, an Illustration of the Grecian Harmonica*. London: J. Walter. p. 5.

¹¹⁰ Tarling, Judy. (2005) *The Weapons of Rhetoric*. St Albans: Corda Music. p. 12.

¹¹¹ Tarling, Judy. (2005) *The Weapons of Rhetoric*. p. 12.

¹¹² Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 99.

representative of natural and rational principles (as described above), validates their transferral onto the colonial space, from the view point of the colonists. Therefore a keyboard instrument in the colonial context becomes a bearer of meanings beyond the musical and cultural; it becomes a signifier of rational and 'natural' principles, and therefore a motivation and justification for colonial expansion. It also perpetuates the idea of science as a Western concept. This is a point which is especially applicable and relevant to the Cape colony, where great efforts were made to secure the presence of keyboard instruments throughout the colony, in spite of many logistical difficulties this entailed.

An additional layer of meaning, especially concerning instruments which are transported to remote locations, often close to colonial borders, is addressed in 5.5, relating to Jennifer Linhart Wood's suggestion that a keyboard instrument can have a sonoric and physical impact on the physical matter in the location where it is played: in this case the outreaches of the Cape Colony.

5.5 SONORIC AND PHYSICAL IMPACT CAUSED BY KEYBOARD INSTRUMENTS

Trudell, in his article *An organ for the seraglio: Thomas Dallam's artificial life*, addresses a further point in relation to the ancient history of the organ: 'Organs had long been understood to be quintessential exempla of the human capacity to harness the power of the Greek *pneuma*, a term connected to the Hebrew *ruach* and the Latin *spiritus* to mean the movement of air through the body, the creation of human life in the Book of Genesis, and the divine animation of the spirit'.¹¹³ This historically inherited belief about breath (and therefore air) as the source of animation is intrinsically linked to organs, which rely on a constant flow of air to function. It is especially potent in the case of the Dallam organ, which was able to be operated by mechanical means (without the aid of a player), therefore taking on a life of its own without human interference once it is activated/brought to life.

Jennifer Linhart Wood, in her article *An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire*, takes this point further by arguing that, in the English language the word *organ* can be suggestive of both a musical instrument and a human body part, and that at different points in his narrative Dallam (see 5.2) refers to the organ as if it were animated, and possessed the ability to act independently and produce a musical performance independent of human interference. The sounds of Dallam's embodied organ 'resonate with a new approach to cultural contact: it is not merely that the organ is an object of exchange (commercial or even musical), but that the sounds of this instrument move bodies present at its performance quite literally along the same wavelength, changing them in the process'.¹¹⁴

Relating to Wood's statement above, in his book *The Five Senses – A Philosophy of Mingled Bodies*¹¹⁵ Michel Serres includes an exploration of sound and hearing where he states that sound occupies space and that all matter vibrates and conducts sound:

¹¹³ Trudell, Scott A. (2019) 'An organ for the seraglio: Thomas Dallam's artificial life'. pp. 776-777.

¹¹⁴ Wood, Jennifer Linhart. (2015) 'An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire'. pp. 82-83.

¹¹⁵ Serres, Michel. (2008) *The Five Senses – A Philosophy of Mingled Bodies*. Translated by Margaret Sankey and Peter Cowley. London: Continuum.

A sound event does not take place, but occupies space. Even if the source often remains vague, its reception is wide and general. Vision provides a presence, sound does not. Sight distances us, music touches us, noise besieges us. Absent, ubiquitous, omnipresent sound envelops bodies. The enemy can intercept radio transmissions but does not have access to our semaphore; sight remains unintrusive, sound-waves will not be contained. Looking leaves us free, listening imprisons us; we can free ourselves from a scene by lowering our eyelids or putting our fists over our eyes, by turning our back and taking flight. We cannot escape persistent clamour. No barrier or ball of wax is sufficient to stop it. Practically all matter, particularly flesh, vibrates and conducts sound. Hermetic to light, the black veil blinds and other bodies may obstruct other passages, but Hermes works in a medium that knows no hermetic barriers. Local vision, global listening: more than just ichnography, geometral for both the subject and object, hearing practises ubiquity, the almost divine power of universal reach. Singular optics, total acoustics. Hermes, the god of passage, becomes a musician, for sound knows no obstacle...¹¹⁶

Consequently, in addition to its mercantile and diplomatic signification, Dallam's organ had a physical impact on the spaces (not least of all the Topkapi palace) that it was played in, because 'when sound is conceptualized as a vibrating wave that touches all matter present at a sonic event – like Dallam's organ's performance – networks or assemblages are formed among bodies, objects, and environments as they are attuned to the same frequency of vibration'.¹¹⁷ She continues by stating that the categories of non-human and human are disrupted by vibration, since 'soundwaves pass through various forms of matter and alter them'.¹¹⁸

The Dallam instrument is significant for an additional reason: unlike many other keyboard instruments which seemed to have disappeared in the mists of time, or have been unrecognisably altered, the destruction of Dallam's organ is well documented, and happened very much intentionally, having to do with its ability to animate (or be animated). Just a few years after the organ was erected at the Topkapi palace, it was destroyed by Mehmet III's son, Ahmed. An account of this event appears in the *Zubdetu't-tevarih* (The Cream of Histories) written by the Ottoman author Seyyid Lokman:

Exceedingly valuable and precious though the clock was, as has been described, he showed it no respect but took a heavy battle-axe into his hand that routed the enemy, and in accordance with the Words of Truth "he smashed them into fragments," like Ibrahim the Friend of God he destroyed that assembly and razed those idolatrous images to the ground. To the men of the Bostancis he then gave an order as irrevocable as a decree of God, and they burnt them as in the Words of Truth: "we shall burn it, then reduce it to dust and scatter it into the sea."¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ Serres, Michel. (2008) *The Five Senses – A Philosophy of Mingled Bodies*. p. 47.

¹¹⁷ Wood, Jennifer Linhart. (2015) 'An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire'. p. 82.

¹¹⁸ Wood, Jennifer Linhart. (2015) 'An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire'. p. 82.

¹¹⁹ Wood, Jennifer Linhart. (2015) 'An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire'. p. 96.

The organ was destroyed because the moving sculptures were considered to be idolatrous, and perhaps because it was considered too 'alive', which meant that an end had to be put to its 'life' (as described above), rather than merely keeping it as an object of interest.

The animated nature of Dallam's organ links with Wood's argument about the dual meaning of the word *organ* (human body part/musical instrument). It might seem like a play on words that is only relevant in the English language, but it is directly applicable to the Southern African colonial context (and specifically to the account of the Hill organ discussed below), seeing that English was the language of the second colonial regime in the Cape Colony. In the context of the Eastern Cape and the substantial presence of the English-speaking 1820 British Settlers 'with their different language, traditions, religious affiliations and experiences',¹²⁰ which were 'culturally distinct from the earlier settlers',¹²¹ the twofold meaning of this word is rather poignant.

The following statement by Wood, referring to the Dallam instrument, does resonate with the case of the Hill instrument that was imported from London by Henry Somerset for his wife, and kept at their house in Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape (see 3.4.2): 'This "English" instrument is altered as air passes through the pipes, still sounding the English tones Dallam constructed, but within a pneumatic framework that is now Turkish. Air or wind is shared between the organ and human bodies, mutually affecting one another: it circulates among the natives of Istanbul, those visiting, and those who have converted, all of whom are present at this concert.'¹²² She argues that, like the air moving between the organ and human bodies, the soundwaves that pass through all matter present when the instrument is played, create an assemblage among the subjects and objects present. At such a sonic event, the soundwaves emitted by the instrument 'calibrate everything on the same frequency of vibration', producing what she refers to as the 'sonic uncanny'.¹²³ 'Uncanny', as described by Sigmund Freud, refers to the sensation of experiencing the foreign and the familiar simultaneously. Wood postulates 'a theory of the uncanny that addresses sonic phenomena where oscillating soundwaves blur the demarcation between the familiar and the foreign, the self and the "other"'.¹²⁴ As the soundwaves oscillate, the sonic uncanny occurs, resulting in the breaking down of binary differences: between familiar and foreign, self and other, human and mechanical. This process takes place because all these forms of matter are entangled in the same forcefield of sound. An assemblage created through sound does revise several notions of positionality or mimicry that are part of postcolonial and critical race theory discourses, seeing that 'sound instead aligns all selves and others through calibration on the same sound frequency'.¹²⁵

The above principles, relating to the Dallam instrument, could be applied to the Hill instrument, mentioned in the previous paragraph. To rephrase Wood: *the Hill instrument imported from England still sounded the English tones Hill constructed, but within a pneumatic framework that is now*

¹²⁰ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 55.

¹²¹ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 55.

¹²² Wood, Jennifer Linhart. (2015) 'An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire'. p. 90.

¹²³ Wood, Jennifer Linhart. (2015) 'An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire'. p. 90.

¹²⁴ Wood, Jennifer Linhart. (2015) 'An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire'. p. 91.

¹²⁵ Wood, Jennifer Linhart. (2015) 'An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire'. p. 91.

colonial/of the Eastern Cape. Air or wind is shared between the organ and human bodies, mutually affecting one another: it circulates among the inhabitants of the Eastern Cape, those visiting, and those who inhabit this space permanently, all of whom are present at the sounding of this instrument.

Serres ascribes a further meaning to the presence of certain sounds:

Society makes a colossal noise, the latter increases in direct proportion to the former, the town rat can be distinguished from the country rat by its immunity to this din. Our megalopoli are deafening: who would put up with this hellish din if we didn't simply expect that with a group comes a racket? Being part of one means not hearing it. The better integrated you are, the less you notice it; the more you suffer from it, the less well-integrated you are.¹²⁶

It can be argued then that, in addition to the Englishness of the sound that the Hill organ projected, it also produced an urban sound. This urban 'racket' links directly to the urban/rural dichotomy mentioned in 5.3

The meaning of the Hill instrument is further enriched by the fact that it was owned by Henry Somerset, Deputy Magistrate of Grahamstown: an influential person in the colonial structure. This links to 5.2, where it is stated that three of the examples of keyboard instruments that feature prominently in this study were found in the homes of people who occupied a high position in government, and links keyboard instruments to a display of technology and the associated signifiers of power. With both the above points considered, Wood's extension of her own theory can be applied to the Southern African colonial context: 'uncanny sound offer a new framework to consider cross-cultural interactions of the early modern period. Sound need not only be interpreted through the categories of western musical theory, mimicry, or colonization projects; when conceptualized as a vibrating wave calibrating bodies on the same frequency, sound opens up other possibilities for exploring intercultural encounters.'¹²⁷

Here the playing of a domestic keyboard instrument, especially if the instruments are linked to persons who are instrumental in maintaining the colonial status quo, becomes an instrument of colonial expansion, by sonically claiming (and altering) a space; as Wood puts it:

The model of the sonic assemblage created by uncanny sound is a vital concept for reconsidering the importance of music and sound to cross-cultural encounters. It does not depend on musical knowledge or terminology for those who experience it, but rather depends on presence at a sonic event. The vibrating sonic uncanny makes the foreign familiar through the connective soundwave.¹²⁸

In the context of Grahamstown, and the conflict surrounding land on the Eastern Cape border (see 5.2), this point is significant, especially considering Thompson's argument above that the presence of

¹²⁶ Serres, Michel. (2008) *The Five Senses – A Philosophy of Mingled Bodies*. p. 107.

¹²⁷ Wood, Jennifer Linhart. (2015) 'An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire'. p. 98.

¹²⁸ Wood, Jennifer Linhart. (2015) 'An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire'. p. 91.

the British 1820 Settlers added another layer of complexity to an already complex colonial society. To quote Thompson: 'With their different language, traditions, religious affiliations and experiences, they were culturally distinct from the earlier settlers. They were the first white immigrants who did not assimilate' with the earlier settlers.¹²⁹ He goes on to argue that this divide was evident into the 20th century. Here we come across, musically speaking, notions of 'home' and nostalgia for a country of origin. In the context of mid-19th-century Cape Town, Bickford-Smith refers to cultural symbols of Britishness, and how these symbols would have only been familiar to recent immigrants. Therefore recognition of these symbols 'may have at least temporarily reinforced their sense of "European or White" identity'.¹³⁰ This would surely have reminded them of 'old occasions of fun and frivolity "back home"'.¹³¹

These reminders of situations 'back home' or the country of origin can be encountered in three manuscripts that form a part of this study: the manuscript containing Scottish folk songs and dances brought from Scotland by George Rennie in 1820 (see 4.1.4), as well as two manuscript books (see 4.1.3) that belonged to two sisters of Frances Sarah Heathcote, wife of Major Henry Somerset, for whom the William Hill & Sons chamber organ (mentioned earlier in this section) was imported. It is notable that George Rennie, as well as the two Heathcote sisters, were first-generation immigrants.

The names of the instrumental dances in the Rennie manuscript often contain geographic indicators from Scotland ('Perth', 'Highland', 'Loch-ness', 'Dundee', 'Brechin Castle'), whilst, in the case of the two Heathcote manuscripts, many of the song texts revolve around ideas of nostalgia and longing for a home country. I quote two extracts from song texts found in the Harriet F. Heathcote manuscript book - A804(2) – as very typical examples:

Musing on the roaring ocean,
Which divides my love and me,
Wearying heaven in warm devotion
For his weal where'er he be.¹³²

The above text is by Robert Burns (1759–1796), whilst the one below is by Lord Byron (1788–1824):

ADIEU, adieu! my native shore
Fades o'er the waters blue;
The night-winds sigh, the breakers roar,
And shrieks the wild sea-mew.
Yon sun that sets upon the sea
We follow in his flight;
Farewell awhile to him and thee,
My native Land – Good Night!

The geographic indicators in the Rennie dances come in the form of concrete place names. In the colonial context these indicators became reminders of specific places (and perhaps accompanying

¹²⁹ Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. p. 55.

¹³⁰ Bickford-Smith, Vivian. (1998/1999) 'Leisure and social identity in Cape Town, British Cape Colony, 1838–1910'. p. 108.

¹³¹ Bickford-Smith, Vivian. (1998/1999) 'Leisure and social identity in Cape Town, British Cape Colony, 1838–1910'. p. 108.

¹³² https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_hxuF_-J4hU

associations), and therefore falls in the domain of the nostalgic. In the songs in the Heathcote manuscript books there is a high frequency of texts of a nostalgic nature, alluding to a longing for a country of origin or to notions of displacement. I argue that, rather than these surface-layer meanings, a more potent significance of these pieces of music lies in their being sounded (played or sung), and therefore being given an audible voice, in colonial spaces. Therefore, in addition to being a strong cultural indicator, a sound was brought from numerous 'home countries' through these songs and dances. Following on from Wood's argument (see above): by being sounded within the Southern African colonial sphere, these pieces made a physical change to the new country. In these cases the potency of their influence on peoples in the colonial sphere did not necessarily depend on their knowledge or understanding of texts, or musical styles or cultural references, but rather on their being in the physical presence of these musics being sounded. As Wood puts it: 'The model of the sonic assemblage created by uncanny sound is a vital concept for reconsidering the importance of music and sound to cross-cultural encounters. It does not depend on musical knowledge or terminology for those who experience it, but rather depends on presence at a sonic event. The vibrating sonic uncanny makes the foreign familiar through the connective soundwave.'¹³³ In the context of the Cape Colony, often domestic keyboard instruments were transported to, and kept, very far from urban centres, and several instruments could be found in the Cape interior, either in remote settlements or on isolated farms. Often these instruments were situated in areas which were close to the outer limits of the colony. Therefore I argue that these instruments can potentially be seen as physical markers of the outline of the Cape Colony, mapping the colonial area in a continuous process.¹³⁴ In addition to this, the repertoire associated with these instruments sonically did the same: in the far outreaches of the colony the sounds of these instruments moved bodies present where they were being played 'quite literally along the same wavelength, changing them in the process'.¹³⁵

5.6 CONCLUSION

As mentioned in Chapter 1, this final chapter serves as a culmination and conclusion of this study, seeing that it is an interpretation of the historical data present in the rest of the thesis. It contextualised the historical evidence presented in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, within the broader framework of the historical and cultural meanings of keyboard instruments, but also in comparison to other colonial contexts. This interpretation was done on the basis of five broad themes: domestic keyboard instruments and female respectability; keyboard instruments as a diplomatic tool and a display of technology; the 'loud' absence of evidence pointing to slaves playing keyboard instruments; the totemic function of domestic keyboard instruments; and the sonoric and physical impact caused by keyboard instruments. In using these themes I showed that domestic keyboard

¹³³ Wood, Jennifer Linhart. (2015) 'An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire'. p. 91.

¹³⁴ A potential future research project could entail pin-pointing the physical locations of domestic keyboard instruments at various stages during colonial expansion, thereby creating a graphic representation of this process. Due to the challenges determining the physical locations of especially extant instruments (discussed in 1.5.1.5), this action fell outside of the scope of this thesis.

¹³⁵ Wood, Jennifer Linhart. (2015) 'An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire'. pp. 82-83.

instruments played a notable role in defining a cultural identity in colonial society as well as contributing significantly to the colonisation process.

Many questions about identity, gender and power arise around colonial domestic keyboard instruments – on the one hand, a symbol of appropriate feminine domesticity and education, and on the other hand, a very strong masculine cultural claim by the colonists – a claim of a physical and sonic landscape, as discussed in this chapter. Not only does a keyboard instrument as a form of technology carry significant cultural meanings, but a keyboard instrument as a piece of furniture also occupies a physical space (as stated in 5.4). In contrast to many other Western musical instruments they are relatively heavy and expensive to transport, sensitive to temperature and humidity changes and easily damaged – which would have been the root of considerable maintenance problems in the relatively harsh Southern African climate. The impractical nature of these instruments within their colonial context and the great lengths to which colonists went in order to have them present in settlements are clear indications that significant extra-musical connotations were present. Unlike most other pieces of furniture, keyboard instruments were inessential within their domestic environments – not fulfilling a useful and practical function, or as Leppert puts it: ‘Inessential, like most other furnishings, to the economic and political success of colonialism, they are nonetheless important as cultural fetishes and markers of racial difference’.¹³⁶ Connections between women and domestic keyboard instruments (especially in the context of the 19th century and the piano) were multiple and often complex. Leppert explored the meanings of the piano as an object to look at, besides being heard and played, and how ‘the looking was insistently gendered, driven by the instrument’s extra-musical function within the home as the visual-sonoric simulacrum of family, wife, and mother.’¹³⁷ An extension of this thought is that the fragile nature of these instruments also mirrors the sensitive nature of women as perceived by men at the time. Men paved the way into the colonies for women, who were not only responsible for the continuation of the race, but also for the transmission of cultural values. Domestic keyboards played an important part in this process.

In addition to the above points, it emerged during the course of this study that slaves (and especially slave musicians) seem to have been excluded from music making involving domestic keyboard instruments. This indicates that domestic keyboard instruments functioned as a potential marker of the inner sanctum of European cultural values in the colonial situation.

According to Leppert,¹³⁸ music has a dual force in society: it reflects and responds to social forces and it also is involved in shaping a society and its culture. In the Cape colonial context musical instruments, and the repertoire associated with them, often played an important role in affirming political and economic policies. As a result of the very potent historical and societal connotations attached to keyboard instruments, and especially domestic keyboard instruments, they were especially significant in colonial society in Southern Africa. This statement does not imply that music and musicians (professional or amateur) were solely responsible for sustaining colonialism, but that they often functioned as a vessel to affirm (or at least not challenge) the status quo.

¹³⁶ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 107.

¹³⁷ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 119.

¹³⁸ Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. p. 116.

Appendix 1 - References to keyboard instruments and sheet music in the Inventories of the Orphan Chamber at the Cape of Good Hope (1724–1833).

Note: References to sheet music or items relating (or potentially relating) to sheet music are indicated in *red bold italics*.

Note: Original spellings, as found in the source material, have been kept.

Year	Instrument description	Testator(s)	Commentary
1724	'1 hand orgeltje'	R. Tulbagh	Found: 'In de galderij, in de glase kas in de muur gemetseld'
1730	'1 orgel'	Jan Fredrik de Litsch	Found: 'In het voorhuijs'
1755	'1 klavier met sijn voet'	Frederik van den Bergh	Found: 'In t woonhuijs'
1755	'1 klavier'	Johannes Needer	Found: 'In de camer ter linkerhand'
1764	'1 orgel'	Sergius Swellengrebel	Found: 'In de voorcaamer ter linkerkant'
1768	'1 oude orgel met 1 parthij orgel pijpen'	Johan Nicolaas Schott	Found: 'Op de pakhuijs zolder'
1773	'1 orgel'	Johannes Henricus Blanckenberg	Found: 'In de camer ter linkerhand'
1776	'een clavier' 'een orgel'	William Ferdinand van Reede van Oudshoorn/Susanna Margaretha van Schoor	Found: 'in de agterkamer' Found: 'op de agterplaats'
1776	'een orgeltje'	Johan David Kristens	Found: 'in een kist'
1776	'een tafelorgel'	Lodewijk Hanzen	Found amonst: 'Losse goederen'
1778	'een orgel'	Johan Theowald Andreas	Found: 'In de voorcaamer ter regterhand'
1783	'1 parthij clavier snaren, spijkertjes en voorts eenige boeken en rommeling' '1 tavel orgel'	Fredrik Sigismund Modeman	Found: 'In de camer ter linkerhand' Found: 'In de agtercaamer' Also found: 'In de camer ter regterhand': '3 flutes traversiaires'
1786	'1 cabinet orgel met vijf wit steene beeltjes'	Barend Hendrik Harders	Found: 'in de camer ter regterhand'. Also found in the same room '1 partij boeken in zoort'
1786	'1 cabinet orgel'	Johan Nicolaas Esler	-
1786	'1 forte pianoo'	Agatha Heuning	Found: 'In die camer ter linkerhand'

1787	'1 clavier' '1 claviertje'	David Rejndertsz	Found: 'In t voorhuijs' Also found in the same room: '1 harp' Found: 'In de medicinale winkel'
1791	'een forte piano of clavier'	Jan Jacob Meijer	Found: 'In de kamer ter regterhand'
1791	'een clavier onbruikbaar'	Gerrit Thomas van Rooijen	-
1792	'1 clavier defect'	Gerrit Thomas van Rooijen	Same as above
1793	'een doosje met clavier snaaren'	Christina Hofman/Tobias Christian Rönnekamp	Extended library in this household, catalogued in details. No sheet music apart from a few hymns books.
1793	'1 clavier'	Catharina Mentz	
1794	'een clavier'	Catharina Mentz	Same as above
1794	'twee hand orgeltjes' 'thien pakjes met clavier snaaren'	Andries Jacobs	In the same room (in de kamer ter regter hand) also: 'ses fluyten' and 'twee clarinetten' 'in de voor kamer ter linker hand'
1795	'een klavier' 'een clavier'	Dirk Westerhof	Located 'In de kamer ter regterhand' Located 'In de kamer ter linkerhand' Extended library 'In t vertrek no: 4'. No sheet music apart from the following item: 'Grondig onderwijs int gebruykt der dwarsfluit'
1795	'een orgeltje'	Jan Jacob Obermijer	Also in the same room: 'een boekerak waar op negenthien boeken'
1795	'een piano forte'	Johannes Fischer	Found: 'In de kamer ter linkerhand'
1796	'een clavier defect'	Jacobus Nicolaas Boshof	Also found in the same room: 'twee violen'
1796	'2 deffecte handorgels' 'een clavier'	Maria Johanna van Ass/Arend de Waal	Also: '1 douzyn rolletjes sittersnaaren' '1 half douzyn citersnaaren'

			<p>'1 heele douzyn citersnaaren'</p> <p>'3 douzyn rolletje citersnaaren'</p> <p>'12 [rolletje] citersnaaren'</p> <p>'2 vioolen'</p> <p>'57 rolletjes clavier snaaren'</p> <p>'6 fluyten'</p> <p>'16 kinder fluyten'</p> <p>'een fluit travers'</p>
1797	'Aan de helfde van een clavier waarvoor m:r Stuard presenteerd te betaalen rd:s22:4'	Johan Heinrich Wuste	Also: 'een dwarsfluit'
1798	'een clavier'	Abraham a de Haan	Found: 'Aan de Kaap in t tuinhuis behoorende aan de Societeit Concordia'
1801	'een clavier'	Bartholomeus Eijbergen	Found: 'op de gaanderij zolder'
	'een clavier defect'		Found: 'op de groote pakhuijs zolder'
1804	'een tafel kast orgel'	Hester Jacoba Moor	
1805	'1 oud clavier'	Dorothea Regina Nel/Johannes Strijdom	Also: '10 differente boeken'
1805	'een klavier'	Jacoba Maria de Villiers	Also in the same room: 'een party boeken'
1805	'een oude orgelkast'	Carel Pabst	Found: 'Op de zolder'
	'een kast met korte pypen'		Found: 'Op de zolder'
	'een kist met instrumenten tot het orgel behorende'		Also found 'Op de zolder': 'twee defecte bassen en eenige defecte vioolen'
			Found: 'Op de agterplaats'
			Also found 'In een buiten vertrek op de plaats': ' een party muziek'
			Also found 'In de voorkamer aan de linkerkant': ' een quantiteit viool snaren en musicq'
			Also found 'In de agter kamer': 'twee vioolen'

1806	'een clavier /:zijnde een staartstuk:/'	Pieter Daniel van Papendorp	Found: 'In de kamer ter regterhand'
1807	'een clavier'	Albertina Bienregnier/Jan Ijzelle	Found: 'In het boven hujs, in de kamer n:o 1' Also found: 'In de zydkamer bij het inkomen ter regter hand': 'een pak koopere muziek noote pennen'
1807	'een forte piano'	Johan Adam Lies	Found: 'In de gaanderij' Also found: 'In de kamer ter linkerhand': 'een pakje vioolsnaaren'
1807	'een tafel horologie met een orgel spel'	Johan Adam Neumeister	Found: 'In de kamer ter linkehand' Also found: 'In de looyery op de agterplaats en in de vertrekken tot dezelve behorende': 'een trommel vel'
1808	'een staartstuk van een clavier' 'een cabinet orgel'	Catharina Jacoba Rotenburg	Found: 'In de kamer ter linkerhand' Also in the same room: 'twee fluyten'
1808	'een draay orgel'	Geertruijda Johanna Lingevelder/Hendrik Johannes de Wet	Found: 'In een voorkamer' Also in the same room: 'twee fluyten'
1808	'een hujs orgel'	Helena Catharina de Kok/Hermanus Augustinus Vermaak	Found: 'In de voorkamer ter regterhand'
1809	'een forte piano behoorende aan de oudste zoon George Marthinus Kraf'	Johan Philip Kraft	Found: 'In de kamer no: 2'
1809	'een klavier'	Helena Bintfeld	Found: 'Bij de wed:w Abraham Beneke'
1811	'huis orgel'	Jan van Vugt	
1812	'een oud clavier'	Elisabeth du Toit/Johan Christoffel Vulker	Found: 'In de agter kamer' Also found: 'In de kamer ter regter hand': 'een parthij muziek' , 'een restant viöol snaren', twee viöolen' and 'vier strijkstokken'

			Also found: 'In de provisie kamer': 'twee pauken' and 'een muziek lessenaar' Also found: 'Op de pakhuijs zolder - In het vertrek n:o 1': 'drie muziekllessenaars'
1817	'een forte piano'	Susanna van Breda	Found: 'In de voorkamer ter regterhand'
1817	'twee klavier sleutels'	Benoit de la Motte	Found: 'In een bovenkamer' Also in the same room: 'eenige defecte instrumenten' and 'een party muzieknooten'
1817	'een fortepiano'	Louisa Johanna Mos/Paul Bartholomeus Simons	Found: 'In de kamer n:o 1' Also found: 'In de voorkamer': 'drie fluiten'
1820	'een forte piano'	Christiaan Fleck	Found: 'ten huise van gen: here Smuts' Also found amongst the catalogue of books: 'Gedichten van R: Schutte op muziek'
1821	'een clavier /defect/' 'een klavier'	Jamilla Martha van de Kaap	Found: 'Op een voorzolder' Found: 'In een boven kamer inkomende ter linkerhand'
1822	'a square piano forte by Clementes'	Charles Collins Campbell	Found in: 'N:o 21 C:C:' Also found in: 'N:o 19 C:C:': 'a violin and stick' Also found in: 'N:o 22 C:C:': 'a mahogany pillar and chair music stool' Also found in: 'N:o 25 C:C:': 'a large assortment of pianoforte strings, tuning fork and key' Also found in: 'N:o 74 C:C:': 'sundry musick books'
1823	'een forte piano'	Jacques Ferdinand Bertran	Found: 'Ten huize van Johanna Elizabeth Wilthager

			by wien de overledene heeft ingewoond' Also found in the same house: 'een bas', 'twee fiolen', ' een party muziek boeken ' and ' twee musiek lessenaars '
1823	'een forte piano'	Sara Maria Hurlingh/Gabriel Joh:s Rossouw	Found: 'In de voorkamer'
1823	'een oude en defecte klavier'	Johan Samuel Ecksteen	Found: 'Ten pakhuize van Marthinus Nonnemacher'
1824	'een fraaye forte piano, omtrend welke forte piano Johannes Dorotheus Camyn declareerd dat deze is present gedaan door de overledene aan deszelfs minderjarige zoon Jean Alexandre Camyn'	Anthony Alexander Faure	Found: 'In de kamer ter linkerhand' <i>Note: extended library on this property</i>
1824	'een piano forte'	Jan Fredrik Reitz	Found: 'In de kamer ter regterhand'
1824	'1 piano forté'	Mary Ann Bailey	Classified under: 'Furniture' <i>Note: extended library that include the following items: '9 music books, songs, ect:a' and '1 Hunts hymns'</i>
1825	'een forte piano'	Johan Philip Wagener	Found under: 'Lyst van zodanige goederen welke door de ondergetekende met consent van Heeren Weesmeesteren uit den boedel van wylen Johan Philip Wagener zyn uitgehouden te weeten' Also found: 'In the hall': 'three clarynets' and ' two music books ' Also found: 'Upstairs in the room n: 1': 'a defective bass violl' and 'one violing'
1825	'1 piano forté'	Mary Ann Bailey	

1826	'a small hand organ defective'	Pieter Franciscus Fruy	Found: 'In a room above'
1826	'two pianos'	Maria Elizabeth Mocke/Johan Fredrik Schickerling	Found: 'In the hall'
1827	'a hand organ'	Anna Gysberta Elisabeth Basson Michiels daughter/Hendrik Jacobus Visser Gert son	Found: 'In the room on the left hand'
1827	'a pianoforte' 'some pianoforte strings' 'a box containing a small organ'	Joseph Ranken	Found: 'At the house of Mr Johan Daniel Klinck, in a room upstairs' Found: 'In another room' Found: 'In another room'
1827	'a piano forte'	Jeanette Francoise Duminy/Charles Johannes van Helstrand	Found: 'In the house of Mr Francois de Lettre where the deceased died'
1827	'a piano forte'	Maria Wilhelmina de Waal	Found: 'In the house of Mrs Rowles occupied by the deceased, in the front room on the left hand' Also found in the same room: 'a music stool with white cover'
1828	'an hand organ' 'a piano forte'	Joh:s Jac:s Theron	Found: 'In the room at the right hand' Found: 'In the left hand room'
1830	'an organ stated by the widow to be the property of the three minor children'	Anna Catharina Pfluger/Carel Wilhelm Ludwig Schnaar	Found: 'In the room on the left hand'
1830	'a piano forte'	Johan Fredrik Getze	Found: 'In the front room' Also found in the same room: 'two flutes'
1831	'a house organ'	Geertruyda Johanna van Goeverden	Found: 'In the room right hand side'
1831	'a piano forte'	Alida Johanna van der Lith	Found: 'In the room on the right hand'
1832	'a piano'	Benjamin Croft Goodison	Classified under 'household furniture'

			<i>Note: extended library on this property</i>
1833	'a piano forte stated to be in possession of Mr Meindert Adriaan van Schoor'	Cornelia Sophia Johanna van Schoor	Found: 'At the house of Mr Griffiths occupied by Mr Advocate H:R: van Ryneveld, Roeland Street'
unknown	'1 ouwe klavier divect'	Joh: D: Eggerstein	

Appendix 2 - References to keyboard instruments and sheet music found in early colonial newspapers between 1800 and 1852.

This addendum contains a list of references to keyboard instruments found in early colonial newspapers between 1800 and 1852. It is arranged in chronological order.

Note: References to sheet music are marked in *red bold italics*.

Note: Original spellings and punctuation, as found in the source material, have been kept.

The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, Saturday, 16 August 1800, Vol, 1 No. 1.

John Elmslie, No. 18, Corner of Lange Markt, and Loop Straat, Has now for Sale, either Wholesale or Retail, A large and general Assortment of Goods, Suitable for the Cape of Good Hope. Amongst which are, Musical Instruments. Cape Town, August 11th, 1800.

The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, Saturday, 16 August, 1800, Vol, 1 No. 1.

Piano Forte. A Fine-toned small Piano Forte, made by Corrie, for Sale, at Messrs. Walker, Robertson, and Co's. Price Two Hundred Rix Dollars.

The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, Saturday, 21 February, 1801, Vol, 1 No. 28.

Mr. Haines, No. 20, Parade Square, Intending to Retire from Business, Respectfully informs his Friends and the Public, That he has on hand a large assortment of European goods of the first quality, which he will dispose of at prime cost, as the goods have been laid in on very moderate terms, and imported by himself. Gentlemen from the country, and others, will find their advantage in applying as above. Mr. Haines will also continue his public sales on every Tuesday morning, and every Wednesday and Friday afternoons, as usual, until the whole, or such part of his stock (not disposed of by private contract), is sold.

On Tuesday morning, the 24th instant, will be sold some elegant clocks, some watches, an elegant organ, two forte pianos, and other valuable furniture.

The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, Saturday, 4 July, 1801, Vol. 1, No. 47.

For Sale, At Walker, Robertson, and Co's, A Very fine toned Piano Forte, with additional keys, made by Broadwood and Son, to stand any climate.

The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, Saturday, 29 August, 1801, Vol. 1, No. 55.

Auction At Bray, Venables, and Co's Vendue Kamer, No. 47, Strand Street, This Day the 29th of August, 1801, Will be sold, An elegant grand piano forte, with additional keys, and in excellent condition, will be put up for Sale.

The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, Saturday, 10 July, 1802, Vol. 1, No. 38.

For Sale at Mr. Hogan's Store, by whole Invoice or Package, The Cargo of the ship Phoenix, Capt. Hugh Reid, from London, Consisting of the following Articles. viz.

This includes:

2 chamber organs, with *a quantity of music*

De Kaapsche Courant, Saturday, 25 June, 1803, Vol. 1, No. 12.

Op aanstaande Maandag den 27 deezer zal by openbaare Vendutie verkogt worden aan 't Hotel van de Heeren Hudson No. 7 Heere Gragt. – de Eigenschap van een Heer naar Europa staande te vertrekken, bestaande in fraaye Mahony houte Kaart en Eetens Tafels, Stoelen, Chinees Porcelyn, Patente Lampen, verlakte Mesdoosen, Schryf-Laaden, en een quantiteit Zilver werk, een zeer uitmuntend Piano Forte in zeer goede conditien.

De Kaapsche Courant, Saturday, 27 August, 1803, Vol. 1, No. 21.

B. Storm. by publieke Vendutie eenige musiek-Instrumenten, een fraai positief of cabinet-Orgel, Fioolen, Alt-Fioolen, Bas, Walthoorns &c &c

De Kaapsche Courant, Saturday, 17 November, 1804, Vol. 3, No. 14.

Pabst. fraay Forte Piano

The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 22 March, 1806, Vol. 1, No. 10.

Concert. J.C. Lemming, Will have the honour to give, on Monday next the 3rd of March, 1806, at the Theatre, a Grand Instrumental Concert, to begin at 7 o'clock precisely;

The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 5 April, 1806, Vol. 1, No. 12.

The Executors and Administrators of the Estate of the late Mr Carste Muller

This includes:

an Organ

Add placed by:

C.G. Hohne. C. Weidemann. Cape Town, 5 April, 1806.

The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 12 April, 1806, Vol. 1, No. 13.

The Executors and Administrators of the Estate of the late Mr Carste Muller

This includes:

an Organ

Add placed by:

C.G. Hohne. C. Weidemann. Cape Town, 5 April, 1806.¹

The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 28 June, 1806, Vol. 1, No. 24.

To Amateurs of Music. An elegant Piano-Forte, with five Pedals, wherof two directs a Drum and Triangle; Manufactured on the most approved Principles of Mechanism, is for sale by Mr. Denner, No. 1, Keeromstreet.

The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 18 October, 1806, Vol. 1, No. 40.

On Tuesday the 28 instant, will be sold at the House of Mr. R. D'Ozy, No. 4, Buitenkant, the remainder of the Plate, China, and Furniture.-Likewise the Harpsichord made by Kirckman, London.

The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 14 February, 1807, Vol. 2, No. 57.

Private Contract, Two very fine toned Piano Fortes, of Dale & Son's make, to be disposed of. Enquire at Mr. Hudson's, No. 7, Keizersgragt.

The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 4 November, 1809, Vol. 4, No. 199.

Public Sale. On Friday the 10th November, 1809, at the Dwelling Place of the undersigned at the Paarl, of a great quantity of Breeding Cattle, chiefly Europe breed.

This includes:

Also Household Furniture, amongst which is a Table Organ, and what further may be exposed on the day of the sale. J.J. Haupt.

The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 10 February, 1810, Vol. 5, No. 213.

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.

The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 27 October, 1810, Vol. 5, No. 250.

Sale of Furniture, Books, &c.

Including:

Substantial household furniture, a fine toned Piano, quite new, a few choice books.

¹ In the Dutch editions of the advertisements on 5 and 12 April the organ is described as 'een Kabinet Orgel'.

Kaapsche Stads Courant en Africaansche Berigter, Zaterdag, den 14 September, 1811, Vol. 6, No. 296.

Te Koop. Een pragtige Kabinet Orgel, byzonder wel geschikt voor de Avond Kerk alhier, dan wel voor eene der Buiten Districts Kerken , en is dagelyks te bezigtigen in de Walestraat, No. 9. By J.H. Lambert.

Kaapsche Stads Courant en Africaansche Berigter, Zaterdag, den 21 September 1811, Vol. 6, No. 297.

Te Koop. Een pragtige Kabinet Orgel, byzonder wel geschikt voor de Avond Kerk alhier, dan wel voor eene der Buiten Districts Kerken , en is dagelyks te bezigtigen in de Walestraat, No. 9. By J.H. Lambert.

The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, September 14, 1811, Vol. 6, No. 296.

For Sale. A Handsome organ, which would be well suited for the Building in which the Evening Church is held, or for any of the Country Churches. It may be daily seen at No. 9, Waal street, at the House of J.H. Lambert. Cape Town, 13 Sept. 1811.

The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 11 January, 1812, Vol. 7, No. 313.

Instructions on the Piano Forte. The undersigned feeling himself too far advanced in years to be able to attend his Pupils at their Houses as heretofore, hereby notifies, that he will in future give Instruction at his House No. 63, Loop street.

Kaapstads Courtant en Afrikaansche Berigter, 14 Mei, 1814, Vol. 9, No. 435.

Music. On Private Sale. At the House lately occupied by J. Hendriksen, the Baker, No. 30, Long street. By E.K. Green, From the House of Magio, Clementi, & Co. Musical Instrument Manufacturers, London. Several elegant and plain Piano Fortes, warranted of the first quality; also, a quantity of Flutes, Violins, Clarinets, Hand Organs, Flagiolets, Military Fifes and Triangles, Spanish Guitars, Walking Stick Flutes, with Dirks, a patent new invented Bugle with Keys for a Military Band, *and a very large assortment of the choicest and newest printed Music, for all Instruments.* Likewise, some of the best Foreign Violin and Piano Forte Strings. E.K. Green.

The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 25 June, 1814, Vol 9, No. 441.

H. Heegers has now on Sale, at his Stores, Fiddle Strings of all descriptions, the First will bear 1 Cwt. Also a general assortment of Musical Instruments, Lace and French Pearl Trimmings, Lace Tippets, Handkerchiefs, and Sleeves, Gauze, Crapes, &c. the whole being of very superior quality.

NB. The Fiddle Strings are so excellent that they may be heard at a very considerable distance.

Kaapstads Courant en Afrikaansche Berigter, Zaterdag, den 27 Augustus 1814, Vol. 9, No. 450.

Te Koop, Een CABINET ORGEL in een goede staat, - Adres by G.F. Geyer, Loopstr. No. 80.

Supplement to the Cape Town Gazette, No. 476.: The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, Saturday, 25 February, 1815, Vol. 10, No. 476.

Notice is hereby given, that the President and Members of the Orphan Chamber intend, on Monday the 6th of March next, to expose to Sale to the highest Bidders, on three payments, or on such terms as the Conditions of Sale may specify; - A House and Premises situated No. 27, Castlestreet; likewise for ready money, Household Furniture of every description, Gold, Silver, Copper, Tin, Iron, Porcelain, Glass, and Earthenware, four capital male Slaves, and what further may be exposed on the day of Sale. – The whole belonging to the Estate of the deceased Wilhelm Buisinne, Esq.

There will also be put up, on account of the Estate of the deceased Isaac Johannes de Villiers, a Stinkwood Cabinet Organ, silver mounted, a Table Clock, and a Tea Table. The Organ may be daily seen previous to the Sale, at the House of Cornelis Mosterd, No. 15, Leeuwe street.

The Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser, Saturday, 4 March, 1815, Vol. 10, No. 477.

The undersigned intending shortly to leave this Colony, requests his Creditors, and also Debtors, to come to a Settlement within the term of 14 days. He has for private sale, a beautiful Pedal Harp, and a Piano Forte, being the best in this Colony. 3 March. 1815.

The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 25 Maart, 1815, Vol. 10, No. 480.

Music, just landed from the Albion, and on sale by private contract, at No. 30, Long street, By the undersigned, Agent for Messrs. *Clementi & Co.* London, an assortment of elegant and plain Piano Fortes, Flutes, Violins, Flageolets, Tambourins, and Triangles; **also a large collection of new Music, Music Paper, ditto bound**, best Italian Violin and Violincello Strings, Piano Forte Wire, Harp and Guitar Strings, Bassoon and Clarinet Reeds of the best quality.

The undersigned also tunes and regulates Piano Fortes and Organs, with the greatest care and attention by the month or the year. EDW. KNOLLES GREEN

The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 23 January, 1819, Vol. 14, No. 680.

The Sale Of Mr. Dashwood's Estate, Furniture, &c. &ct. Will take place on the 1st and 2nd of February.

Including:

Household Furniture, Piano Forte, &c. &c.

Kaapse Stads Courant en Afrikaanse Berigter, 6 December, 1823, Vol. 18, No. 934.

Muziek Winkel, No. 45 Breestraat. E.K. Green verwittigt zyne Vrienden en het Publiek, dat hy per *Aquatic* ontvangen heft, een assortement prachtige en effen Piano Fortes, Fluiten, Violen. allerlei soorten Snaren, **benevens eene zeer uitgezochte verzameling gedrukte Muziek voor Piano en Fluit, Walson's, Rogers' en Marchall's Psalmen, More's, Stevenson's**

en Beethoven's Melodies en Webb's Mass, alle gecomponeerd voor de Piano Forte en Stem, Muziekpapier, diverse ingebonden Boeken, alsmede eene verschene toevoer van de nuttige en zoo geprezen Metallic Cyferleyen en Zakboekjes. die aan de byzondere aandacht opgedragen worden van Schoolmeesters, Timmerlieden, Houtkoopers, Scheeps Kapteins en anderen, die dikwyls spoedige berekeningen moeten maken.

Music Repository, No. 45, Bree-street. E.K. Green begs to acquaint his Friends and the Public, that he has just received by the *Aquatic*, an assortment of elegant and plain Piano Fortes, Flutes, Violins, and every description of Strings; *with a very choice Collection of printed Piano and Flute Music; - Watson's, Roger's, and Marchall's Psalms, More's, Stevenson's, and Beethoven's Melodies, and Webb's Mass, all arranged for the Piano Forte and Voice, Music Paper*, and bound Books, in great variety; - also, a fresh supply of the useful and much admired Metallic Writing Slates and Pocket Books, particularly recommended to the notice of Schools, Builders, Timber Merchants, Captains of Ships, and others, requiring frequent Calculations.

The South African Commercial Advertiser, Wednesday, January 28, 1824, No. IV, p. 31.

For Sale, a handsome Hand-organ, which plays 30 different tunes. - Apply at the Counting House of Wm. Liesching

The South African Commercial Advertiser, Wednesday, January 28, 1824, No. IV, p. 31.

De Overgebleven Voorraad van Goederen, van T. Hart&Co. wordt zonder de minste reserve verkocht op Woensdag namiddag den 21 en Donderdag namiddag den 22 dezer: - De Toonbanken, Lessenaar, glaze Kasten, Stoelen met een Sofa, Pembroke Tafel, Sideboard, Piano Forte, en een dozyn Mahonyhoute Stoelen, en wat meer tot deze Firma behoort.

The South African Commercial Advertiser, Wednesday, April 14, 1824, No. XV, p. 122.

Music Repository, 45, Bree-Street. The Undersigned begs leave to acquaint his Friends and the Public, that he has received per the Brig *Patience*, a new Assortment of elegant and plan Piano Fortes; double and single Flageolets; every description of Flutes; *Ruled Music Books and Music Paper, with a choice collection of Music, for Piano Forte, Violin, &c. &c.* April 6, 1824. E.K. Green

The South African Commercial Advertiser, Wednesday, April 14, 1824, No. XV, p. 122.

De Overgebleven Voorraad van Goederen, van T. Hart&Co. wordt zonder de minste reserve verkocht op Woensdag namiddag den 21 en Donderdag namiddag den 22 dezer: - De Toonbanken, Lessenaar, glaze Kasten, Stoelen met een Sofa, Pembroke Tafel, Sideboard, Piano Forte, en een dozyn Mahonyhoute Stoelen, en wat meer tot deze Firma behoort.

The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, Wednesday, 9 March, 1825, Vol. 1, No. 30.

Music Repository, No. 45 Bree-street. E.K. Green begs to inform his Musical Friends, and the Public, that he has just received per *Patience*, a fresh supply of elegant and plain Piano Fortes, Spanish Guitars, Clarionets, and Flutes, good violin Strings and Reeds, *with a very extensive assortment of printed Music for the Piano, Violin, Flute, and other instruments.*

N.B.-Piano Fortes hired out, tuned, and repaired, on the shortest notice.

The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, Wednesday, 16 March, 1825, Vol. 1, No. 31.

Public sale, on Tuesday the 22nd instant, at the House of the Undersigned, of various Articles of Furniture, viz. elegant looking Glasses, a Rosewood Round Table, Kwispedores, a Piano Forte, Chairs, good Fustage for Wine and Vinegar, large Trunks, Brass and Earthenware, &c. &c. Widow S. Leibrandt No. 5, Burg-street

The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, Wednesday, 1 June, 1825, Vol. 1, No. 42.

Music repository, 45, Bree-street. Received per *Margaret*, a fresh supply of elegant and plain Piano Fortes, one Piano with an Organ adapted, Spanish Guitars, and an elegant Harp Guitar, Violins, Flutes, Clarionets, Trombones, French Horns, and every description of Military Instruments; Piano Forte Brass Wire, and covered Strings, and Strings for other Instruments; *ruled Music Paper, and all sizes of blank Music Books, with a most extensive assortment of new Music.* E.K. Green. Piano Fortes hired out, and tuned on the shortest Notice.

The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser, Saturday, 3 March, 1826, Vol. 21, No. 1051.

Music Academy, No. 45, Bree-street. E.K. Green is now happy to announce to his Friends and the Public, that Mr. F. Logier is arrived from London, for the purpose in conjunction with himself, of opening an Academy on his Father's system, for Piano Forte playing, and the Theory of Music. Prospectus of the same is in the Press - and every necessary preparations are making for the immediate opening of the Academy. Early applications are particularly requested to be made, for the better arrangements of the different classes.

N.B. Mr. Logier will undertake to instruct a limited number of Pupils on the Violin, Violoncello, Flute and French Horn.

The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, Tuesday, 28 March, 1826, Vol. 2, No. 85.

The Logerian Musical Academy 45, Bree-street. In consequence of the repeated solicitations of so many respectable Friends, E.K. Green and Frederick Logier, Beg to inform the Public, that they have been induced to alter the Terms of the Charges to 60 Rds. per Quarter, in advance. The following are the Regulations of the Academy: A Suit of commodious Rooms is appropriated to the use of Pupils. In one, are several Instruments for simultaneous performance; here, also, the Pupils receive Lectures upon, and write Exercises in Harmony.

Each Class will meet twice a week, two hours each Lesson; one of which will be occupied in receiving Individual Instructions on the Piano Forte, and writing Exercises; the other in Lectures on the Principles of Harmony, and occasionally playing in concert.

Mondays and Wednesdays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, will be the days fixed for Ladies' Classes; Fridays and Saturdays for Gentlemen.

Each Class not to be composed of more than six pupils.

Hours of the Classes will be from 8 o'clock until 10: from 10 till 12; from 12 to 2; and from 2 to 4 o'clock each Day.

Any Lesson lost in consequence of non-attendance at the proper Class hour, may be regained by the Pupil's attendance with one of the other Classes.

A Parent of a Female Friend is allowed to accompany a Pupil to any of the Lectures.

No extra charge is made for the use of Piano Fortes, Chiroplasts, Lecture Board, &c. &c. in the Academy; but should a Chiroplast or Hand Director, be necessary for a Pupil at home, such may either be purchased by the Parents, or hired from Messrs. E.K. Green & F. Logier, at 5 Rds. per Month, so long as it may be required.

Charge will be made for Music, blank Books, And Slates.

The course of study to consist of Mr. Logier's elementary Books, and a selection from the works of the most classical Authors, ancient and modern, viz: S Bach, Corelli, Handel, Scarlatti, Haydn, Mozart, Clementi, Cramer, Dussek, &c. &c. after parsing through this course, the whole range of musical Authors will be left open to the choice of the Student.

Prospectus and every other information respecting this new method of Instruction in the principles of harmony and composition combined with the new mode of practice on the Piano, with the Chiroplast, may be had on application at the Academy, or at E.K. Green's Music Repository, No. 26, Long-marked-street.

N.B. The Academy will commence on Monday, 3d April, 1826.

The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, Tuesday, 23 May, 1826, Vol. 2, No. 93.

E. K. Green's, Music Repository, 26 Long-market-street. Just received per *Britannia*, from London, a fresh supply of elegant and plain square Piano Fortes; also fine-toned upright Cabinet Pianos, 5 ½ and 6 octaves, warranted superior to any every imported in this Colony and particularly recommended to any Person desirous of furnishing themselves with good Instruments.

Also, a very excellent chamber Organ, English and Spanish Guitars, Violins, Flutes, and Clarionets, of all descriptions; ***a large and choice assortment of printed Music for all kinds of Instruments***, fresh English and Italian Violin and Violincello Strings, warranted of the best quality.

The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser, Tuesday, 15 August, 1826, Vol. 3, No. 105.

Shortly will be published, Lire Maconne, Or Masonic Songs

(English and Dutch,) Original and Select, By J. Suasso de Lima (Price 2 ½ Rds.)

Subscription Lists lay at the different Lodges; also, at the Printing Office of Mr. W. Bridekerk, 31, Heeregracht.

Cape Courant, African Advertiser, Saturday, 9 July, 1828, No. 7.

For Sale, or to Let, a large House situated in the best part of the Town. For Sale, a House Organ. Wanted to Purchase, a little Slave Boy. Apply to the Editor of this Paper.

Cape Courant, African Advertiser, Saturday, 17 September, 1828, No. 17.

Just arrived per Achilles, and for Sale, a fresh supply of Musical Instruments, consisting of Bassoons, Clarionets, Oboes, Flutes, of every description, Guitars, Violins, of superior quality, Key Bugles, Hunting Horns, &c. also, Violin, Base, and Pianoforte Strings, Clarionet and Bassoon Reeds, &c. &c. J.F. Aschen, Church-square. Also for Sale, a second-hand Pianoforte, by Broadwood&Son, and a variety of Shells &c. &c.

Cape Courant, African Advertiser, Wednesday, 31 December, 1828, No. 32.

Mr. Corder, Professor of Music, most respectfully announces to the Amateurs of Music in Cape Town, that he commences to give instructions on the Piano Forte, Singing, Guitar, Violin and Violincello. Mr. Corder, No. 45, Bree-street.

Cape Almanac, 1830.

Mr. C.E. Boniface, Sworn Translator and Master of Languages,

Also teaches the Spanish Guitar, and can accommodate his Pupils and others with Elementary Books of all descriptions; such as Grammars and Dictionaries in the French, Dutch, English, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian Languages: the best and newest Instruction-books for the Guitar; Vocal and other Music set for the same Instrument, and also Silver and real Italian Gut Strings. No. 5, Buitengracht, Cape Town.

Cape Almanac, 1830.

Mrs. Swaving's French Academy for young ladies, Roeland Street, Cape Town.

Teaching includes:

Guitar. At additional prices. *Pianoforte, Harp, Vocal music*

Cape Almanac, 1831.

D Mrs. Swaving's French Academy for young ladies, Roeland Street, Cape Town.

Teaching includes:

Guitar. At additional prices. *Pianoforte, Harp, Vocal music*

Cape Almanac, 1831.

Mr. C.E. Boniface, Sworn Translator and Master of Languages,

Also teaches the Spanish Guitar, and can accommodate his Pupils and others with Elementary Books of all descriptions; such as Grammars and Dictionaries in the French, Dutch, English, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian Languages: the best and newest Instruction-

books for the Guitar; *Vocal and other Music* set for the same Instrument, and also Silver and real Italian Gut Strings. No. 5, Buitengracht, Cape Town.

Cape Almanac, 1831.

T. Hitchcock, Organ Builder & Manufacturer of Piano Fortes, and Musical Instruments in general, Begg to acquaint his Friends and the Public, that he has commenced business in the above branches, at the Stores, No. 55, Long Market-Street.

All kinds of Musical Instruments repaired, tuned, and regulated. Also, Instruments in the Country attended.

Cape Almanac, 1832.

J.F. Aschen, Church-Square, Cape Town, Manufacturer and importer of Musical Instruments,

Returns his thanks to his Friends and the Public for the Patronage he has experienced for the last seven years, *and begs to inform them that he has made arrangements with one of the first houses in England, to receive the newest and most fashionable Music as soon as possible.* Guitars from Rds. 20 and upwards. Also a constant supply of Violin and Guitar Strings, of the best quality.

De Zuid-Afrikaan, Vrydag 9, January, 1835, Vol. 5, No. 258.

Just unpacked. A fresh Investment of Plated, Tubed, and plain Squares and a patent Semi Grand Piano Forte. From the well known house of Stodart & Son, by whom they are warranted, being expressly manufactured for an Eastern climate. *Piano Forte, flute, violin, guitar, violincello, and vocal Music of the latest and most admired compositions;* Clarinets, Flutes, Oboes, Guitars, and Violins of every description; Italian and English harp, guitar, violin, and violincello gut and silver Strings for said instruments; Piano Forte, steel, and brass Wire, Pitchforks and Tuning Hammers, violincello, tenor and violin Bows; Music Paper and Books; Accordeons, with 5, 6, 7, and 8 chords, with mutation; elegant and plain Violin Pegs, Tail Pieces, Bridges &c. N.B. Piano Fortes let out on hire, repaired and tuned, or kept in order, either in Town or Country, by single, quarterly half yearly, or yearly, on the most reasonable term by E.J. Bailey, at J.F. Aschen's

De Zuid-Afrikaan, Vrydag, 30 January, 1835, Vol. 5, No. 261.

Just unpacked. A fresh Investment of Plated, Tubed, and plain Squares and a patent Semi Grand Piano Forte. From the well known house of Stodart & Son, by whom they are warranted, being expressly manufactured for an Eastern climate. *Piano Forte, flute, violin, guitar, violincello, and vocal Music of the latest and most admired compositions;* Clarinets, Flutes, Oboes, Guitars, and Violins of every description; Italian and English harp, guitar, violin, and violincello gut and silver Strings for said instruments; Piano Forte, steel, and brass Wire, Pitchforks and Tuning Hammers, violincello, tenor and violin Bows; Music Paper and Books; Accordeons, with 5, 6, 7, and 8 chords, with mutation; elegant and plain Violin Pegs, Tail Pieces, Bridges &c. N.B. Piano Fortes let out on hire, repaired and tuned, or kept in order, either in Town or Country, by single, quarterly half yearly, or yearly, on the most reasonable term by E.J. Bailey, at J.F. Aschen's

De Zuid-Afrikaan, Vrydag, 23 October, 1835, Vol. 6, No. 293.

Public sale, without the least Reserve. – On Thursday the 29th instant, by Mr. R.J. Jones, on the Parade, of the following Household Furniture, all new and of the best quality ever imported

Including:

An excellent Pianoforte

De Zuid-Afrikaan, Vrydag, 18 December, 1835, Vol. 6, No. 301.

Organ. – For Sale, an excellent toned finger and barrel Organ, containing a Stopt Diapason, Principal, Dulceana, Fifteenth, and Mixture, with two Barrels, each playing 8 tunes. The above Instrument is sufficiently powerful for a Country Church or Chapel, and will be Sold reasonably, - Enquire of Mr. Hitchcock, Shortmarket-street.

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, 10 January, 1837, Vol. I, No. 2.

Cheap music. The Undersigned intending to make an alteration in his Music Establishment, offers to the Public his remaining Stock of Music, now on hand, at half price on Purchases to the amount of one Pound Sterling, and upwards. J.F. Aschen. Cape Town, corner of Plein and Long-market-streets, December 1.

Cape Almanac, 1838.

Mr. C.E. Boniface, Sworn Translator and Master of Languages, Also teaches the Spanish Guitar, and can accommodate his Pupils and others with Elementary Books of all descriptions; such as Grammars and Dictionaries in the French, Dutch, English, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian Languages: the best and newest Instruction-books for the Guitar; *Vocal and other Music* set for the same Instrument, and also Silver and real Italian Gut Strings. No. 5, Buitengracht, Cape Town.

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, 27 February, 1838, Vol. II, No. 61.

Hitchcock. Pianoforte Manufacturer, Organ Builder, all kinds of Musical Instruments repaired and tuned.

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, 8 May, 1838, Vol. II, No. 71.

Concert. The Private Musical Amateur Company, 'Harmonie en Eendragt', will perform, by particular desire of several of their subscribers, on Saturday evening, May 12, 1838, the Concert performed by them last Thursday, with the addition of some new pieces.

A Subscription List lies for signature at the house of Mr. C.C. Mocke, Long-street, where Tickets may be had. By order of the Company. A. Brandt, Secretary.

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, 14 August, 1838, Vol. II, No. 85.

Musical Instruments and strings. J.F. Aschen has just received per "Argyle," a select Assortment of Cabinet and Square Piano Fortes, with and without Metallic Plates, &c.: also, patent-headed 4 and 8 keyed Cacua and Rosewood Flutes; Violins; plain and patent-headed Spanish Guitars, Violincellos, French Horns, Trumpets, Bassoons, Serpents, Bugles, **Music Books**. Cape Town, 10th August, 1838. Corner of Plain and Longmarket-Streets.

De Zuid-Afrikaan, Vrydag, 21 September, 1838.

De Hr. Hitchcock, verzoekt zyne vrienden en het Publiek te berigten, dat hy per 'Olive Branch' ontvangen heft, **een nieuwe voorraad van zang en speelmuziek**, en eenige weinige goed gemaakte Piano Fortes, Viool, Guitar, en Piano Snaren, het geheel zal in den loop der aanstaande week te sien zyn.

Mr. Hitchcock begs to acquaint his Friends and the Public, that he has received per 'Olive Branch', **a fresh supply of Vocal and Instrumental Music**; also, a few well manufactured Piano Fortes, Violin, Guitar, and Piano Strings. The whole will be open for inspection in the course of next Week.

De Zuid-Afrikaan, Vrydag, 28 September, 1838.

Piano Fortes, Te koop in Commissie, van de beste makers en goede klank, kunnen gesien en informative daaromtrent verkregen worden, by P.H. Poleman. Strandstraat no. 20.

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, 9 October, 1838, Vol. II, No. 94.

New Goods Now landing from the Advocate, Gazelle, St George, and other late arrivals;

Including:

A Full Toned Piano Forte by one of the best London Makers. Wollaston&Co. No 2, St George's-street.

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, 30 October, 1838, Vol. II, No. 100.

Newly Invented Piano-Forte. The Undersigned has just received per Carnatic, among other Instruments - a newly invented sola Chorda Picolo Piano- Forte, most convenient for traveling, being on a small scale. Also several of those beautiful Instruments the Cornopean, greatly improved, **New Music for Violin, Violoncello, &c. consisting of Quartettes, Solos, Trios, &c. Organ Music by Nightingale, Novello and other eminent Organists, with other Articles to be notified in a future advertisement**. Remaining one or two of those well known and justly celebrated Guitars, by La Cote Paris. Fresh Violin and Guitar Strings, 7c.

T. Hitchcock.

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, 16 November, 1838, Vol. II, No. 105.

Piano-Fortes. The Undersigned have received per Sir Robert Peel, 3 Splendid Cabinet and Square Piano-Fortes. Borradailes, Thompson, & Pillans.

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, 23 November, 1838, Vol. II, No. 107.

Sale of Mr. Bianci's Furniture. This morning, 23rd inst., at 10 o'clock, a Public Sale will take place at St. Helena Cottage, of the whole of the Household Furniture belonging to Mr. Bianchi;

Including:

A few Musical Instruments,

A fine toned Piano Forte

Cape Almanac, 1839.

Mr. C.E. Boniface, Sworn Translator and Master of Languages,

Also teaches the Spanish Guitar, and can accommodate his Pupils and others with Elementary Books of all descriptions; such as Grammars and Dictionaries in the French, Dutch, English, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian Languages: the best and newest Instruction-books for the Guitar; *Vocal and other Music* set for the same Instrument, and also Silver and real Italian Gut Strings.

No. 5, Buitengracht, Cape Town.

Cape Almanac, 1839.

E.J. Bailey, Accountant, Piano-forte tuner, &c. Corner of Strand-Street, and Chiappini-street,

Books kept, Counts made out, and Piano Fortes tuned, on the shortest Notice and most reasonable Terms.

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, 1 January, 1839, Vol. III, No. 118.

A.S. Robertson, 21, Heerengracht. Has just received Bibles and Prayer Books, Lessons and Prayer in a case, Diamond Testaments, Bagster's Treasury Bible, Bagster's Polyglot do., *Watt's Psalms and Hymns, large and small sizes.*

Including:

Family Prayers, James' Anxious Inquirer, Family Book, Picture Bible and Testament, Elijah the Tishbite, Elisha, Jacobi on James, Barnes' Notes on the Gospel, *Sunday School Hymns, Cottage Hymns*, Bogatzky's Golden Treasury.

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, Tuesday, 8 January, 1839, Vol. III, No. 119.

A.S. Robertson, 21, Heerengracht. Has just received Bibles and Prayer Books, Lessons and Prayer in a case, Diamond Testaments, Bagster's Treasury Bible, Bagster's Polyglot do., *Watt's Psalms and Hymns, large and small sizes.*

Including:

Family Prayers, James' Anxious Inquirer, Family Book, Picture Bible and Testament, Elijah the Tishbite, Elisha, Jacobi on James, Barnes' Notes on the Gospel, *Sunday School Hymns, Cottage Hymns*, Bogatzky's Golden Treasury.

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, Tuesday, 5 March, 1839, Vol. III, No. 127.

New Music, Orgens &c. *The Undersigned has just received a selection of Vocal and Instrumental Music, consistins of the newest and most polupar Songs, Duetts, Sacred Songs from most of Handel's Oratorios; Blank Music Paper, bound Music Books;* Flutes, Clarionets, Cornopeans; a beautiful barrel Harmonican set with sacred music the only one in the Colony; large and smal organs.

Including:

Some of Stodart's firstrate Square Piano-Fortes. 7, Keizersgracht. T.J. Hitchcock

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, Tuesday, 14 May, 1839, Vol. III, No. 137.

'formerly known as Concordia Gardens, --now as Bouquet House'

Auction includes:

A Grand Forte Piano, by Broadwood.

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, Tuesday, 21 May, 1839, Vol. III, No. 138.

'formerly known as Concordia Gardens, --now as Bouquet House'

Auction includes:

A Grand Forte Piano, by Broadwood.

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, Tuesday, June 11, 1839, Vol. III, No. 141.

Piano fortes. The Undersigned have received a fresh supply, of fine tuned Piano Fortes, comprising Mahogany Cabinet, do. COTTAGE and Square, which are for Sale at reasonable prices at 24 Heeregracht. COLLARD & Co.

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, Tuesday, June 18, 1839, Vol. III, No. 142.

Piano fortes. The Undersigned have received a fresh supply, of fine tuned Piano Fortes, comprising Mahogany Cabinet, do. COTTAGE and Square, which are for Sale at reasonable prices at 24 Heeregracht. COLLARD & Co.

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer, Tuesday, June 25, 1839, Vol. III, No. 143.

Piano fortes. The Undersigned have received a fresh supply, of fine tuned Piano Fortes, comprising Mahogany Cabinet, do. COTTAGE and Square, which are for Sale at reasonable prices at 24 Heeregracht. COLLARD & Co.

De Verzamelaar, Tuesday, 10 December, 1839, Vol. 1, No. 17.

Bamboor valley, near Wynberg. Mr. Beningfield Has the honour to announce to the Public, that he has been instructed by Captain Fielding, the Proprietor, who is about removing to the Frontiers, to sell by Auction, on 17 December, 1839, on the spot, without Reserve.

Including:

Elegant Household Furniture, (Including a splendid English Piano Forte)

Cape Almanac, 1840.

Mr. C.E. Boniface, Sworn Translator and Master of Languages, Also teaches the Spanish Guitar, and can accommodate his Pupils and others with Elementary Books of all descriptions; such as Grammars and Dictionaries in the French, Dutch, English, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian Languages: the best and newest Instruction-books for the Guitar; *Vocal and other Music* set for the same Instrument, and also Silver and real Italian Gut Strings. No. 5, Buitengracht, Cape Town.

Ware Afrikaan, Tuesday, January 28, 1840, Vol. 2, No. 70.

Pianoforte. On the Sale at my House on the 6 Feb. next will be sold a splendid Pianoforte. J.G.G. Lindenberg. Stellenbosch 22, 1840

Ware Afrikaan, Tuesday, August 18, 1840, Vol. 2, No. 99.

Plumstead. Peremptory Sale of Household Furniture Splendid Piano-Forte &c. &c.

Residence of Henry Hull

Including:

a splendid Piano-Forte (by 'Tomkinson,') well know to the Musical Profession of the Colony.

Cape Almanac, 1841.

Mr. C.E. Boniface, Sworn Translator and Master of Languages, Also teaches the Spanish Guitar, and can accommodate his Pupils and others with Elementary Books of all descriptions; such as Grammars and Dictionaries in the French, Dutch, English, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian Languages: the best and newest Instruction-books for the Guitar; *Vocal and other Music* set for the same Instrument, and also Silver and real Italian Gut Strings. No. 5, Buitengracht, Cape Town.

Cape Almanac, 1841.

A.F. Böhme, *Dealer in Music*, Musical Instruments, and Strings,

No. 1, Short Market Street, Cape Town.

Ware Afrikaan, Tuesday, March 9, 1841, Vol. II, No. 128.

New Music. Just received per 'Susan Crisp.' The newest Compositions by Czerny, Herz, and Hünten. Overtures, by Mozart. Weber, Rossini, Auber, &c. Waltzes, by Strauss, Labitzky, Lanner. Quadriles. Hard and Guitar Music. Roman Strings for Violins, Guitars, and Bass, first quality. A.F. Böhme

H.B. - Who has also received a select assortment of Violins amongst them one real Italian Quartetto consisting of two Violins, a tenor Violin and the Bass, also Guitares, Bass, &c.

Ware Afrikaan, Tuesday, March 23, 1841, Vol. II, No. 130.

New Music. Just received per 'Susan Crisp.' The newest Compositions by Czerny, Herz, and Hünten. Overtures, by Mozart. Weber, Rossini, Auber, &c. Waltzes, by Strauss, Labitzky, Lanner. Quadriles. Hard and Guitar Music. Roman Strings for Violins, Guitars, and Bass, first quality. A.F. Böhme

H.B. - Who has also received a select assortment of Violins amongst them one real Italian Quartetto consisting of two Violins, a tenor Violin and the Bass, also Guitares, Bass, &c.

Ware Afrikaan, Tuesday, May 11, 1841, Vol. II, No. 137.

Piano Fortes. For sale at the Stores of the Undersigned, two excellent Cabinet Piano Fortes, by 'Mott'. James Searight, & Co. 8, St. George's street.

The Cape Frontier Times, Wednesday, 9 June, 1841, Vol. 2, No. 58.

Just received and for Sale at the Stores of Messrs. J.D. Norden & Co.

Including:

A Fine-toned 6 1/2 octave Piano-Forte with improved sounding-board, Metallic Plate, Plate glass front, and crimson silk in the centre. H.L. Davis. Graham's Town, 12th May, 1841.

Ware Afrikaan, Tuesday, September 21, 1841, Vol. III, No. 156.

A Broadwood Piano. To be sold, at the Commission Sael of Messrs Bevil&Chisholm, a fine-toned Piano Forte, (by Broadwood,) To-morrow, the 22nd instand, Without reserve.

The Cape Frontier Times, Thursday, 21 October, 1841, Vol. 2, No. 77.

W. Anderson Sen. & Co. are receiving per 'Harlequin,' Two Imported Grand Square Piano Fortes, with Circular Eads, by Collard & Collard. One Patent Microchordon Piano Forte, with Square Fall. These instruments are warranted and can be confidently recommended to purchasers requiring a good Instrument. Bathurst-street.

Ware Afrikaan, Tuesday, November 30, 1841, Vol. IV, No. 166.

Piano Fortes. Nu ontpakt en te koop, Twee prachtige Piano Fortes, Op een nieuw en verbeterde principe gemaakt Te zien by Julius Flesch, Burgstraat.

Cape Almanac, 1842.

Mr. C.E. Boniface, Sworn Translator and Master of Languages, Also teaches the Spanish Guitar, and can accommodate his Pupils and others with Elementary Books of all descriptions; such as Grammars and Dictionaries in the French, Dutch, English, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian Languages: the best and newest Instruction-books for the Guitar; *Vocal and other Music* set for the same Instrument, and also Silver and real Italian Gut Strings. No. 5, Buitengracht, Cape Town.

Cape Almanac, 1842.

A.F. Böhme, *Dealer in Music*, Musical Instruments, and Strings, No. 1, Short Market Street, Cape Town.

Ware Afrikaan, Tuesday, February 15, 1842, Vol. IV, No. 177.

Uit de hand te koop. Eene uitmuntende groote vierkante PIANO FORTE, door Tomkison, behoorende aan eene Dame die de Kolonie verlaten heft. Het Instrument is expresselyk uit London bested en zoo goed asl nieuw. P.D. Hohne. Gravestraat, No. 14.

Ware Afrikaan, Tuesday, February 22, 1842, Vol. IV, No. 178.

Publieke Vendutie In den gezamenl. Moedel van wylen den Hr. William Bevil Porteous, en nagelaten Weduwe Mej. Geertruida Maria Barbara von Ludwig. Op Maandag, 28 February, ten 10 ure a.m.

Including:

Alsmede, een Phys-Harmonica, of kleine Seraphine, Frats&Sons dubbele actie Harp en verscheiden stellen zilveren en andere Snaren, Snaardoozen, enz. Enz.

The Cape Frontier Times, Thursday, 8 December, 1842, Vol. 3, No. 136.

To be sold. An excellent Piano Forte, with Metallic Plate, by Broadwood & Son's - price pound 50, for which an approved Bill at three months will be taken. Apply at the Office of this paper.

Cape Almanac, 1843.

Reich. Manufacturer of Piano Fortes and all sorts of String Instruments, No. 17, Keerom-Street

Cape Almanac, 1843.

T.M. Adney's Musical Repository, No. 4, Market-square. Piano-fortes, by eminent Makers, for Sale or Hire, - and Tuned and Repaired. *A variety of Muscial Publications begin supplied quarterly from London, constantly on hand.* N.B. Piano-Fortes removed by a Spring Van, to Town and Country.

Cape Almanac, 1843.

Mr. C.E. Boniface, Sworn Translator and Master of Languages, Also teaches the Spanish Guitar, and can accommodate his Pupils and others with Elementary Books of all descriptions; such as Grammars and Dictionaries in the French, Dutch, English, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian Languages: the best and newest Instruction-books for the Guitar; *Vocal and other Music* set for the same Instrument, and also Silver and real Italian Gut Strings. No. 5, Buitengracht, Cape Town.

Cape Almanac, 1843.

JAS. H. Collard, Bibles, Prayer Books, Watts' Hymns, Congregational Hymn Books, Bickersteth's Psalmody, in neat and elegant Bindings

The Cape Frontier Times, Thursday, 19 January, 1843, Vol. 3, No. 142.

Piano Fortes, For Sale Daily Expected per 'Horwood', Two elegant albuma wod Piano-Fortes by Collard, with carved Ornaments and Trusses, French polished, &c. These Instruments are of a manufacture and finish seldom to be met with here.

The Cape Frontier Times, Thursday, 23 March, 1843, Vol. 3, No. 151.

Departure! Mr. James McMaster intending to leave Graham's Town, will cause to be Sold by Public Auction, in front of his Residence in High-street, on Saturday 1st April, the whole of his Household Furniture consisting of a Splendid-toned Piano Forte, Sideboards, Dining Tables, Occasional Tables, Chairs, Sofas, Lamps, Looking Glasses, Hall Lamp, Decanters, Champagne and Claret Chariots, Wine Glasses, Tumblers, &c.

The Cape Frontier Times, Thursday, 17 August, 1843, Vol. 4, No. 170.

Piano Fortes for Sale. Two Elegant Albuma Wood Michrocordon Piano Fortes, with carved Ornaments and Trusses - French Polished. These Pianos, manufactured by Collard, are of very brilliant tone, and may be seen at the Stores of C. & H. Maynard

Sam Sly, Thursday, 21 December, 1843, Vol. 1, No. 30.

Furniture, Piano forte, harps &c. Cabinet Piano Forte, but Talbot of London

N.B. The Piano may be seen previous to Sale, at the Orrice of Mr. Cauvin.

Cape Almanac, 1844.

T.M. Adney's Musical Repository, No. 4, Market-square.

Piano-fortes, by eminent Makers, for Sale or Hire, - and Tuned and Repaired.

A variety of Muscial Publications begin supplied quarterly from London, constantly on hand.

N.B. Piano-Fortes removed by a Spring Van, to Town and Country.

Cape Almanac, 1844.

Mr. C.E. Boniface, Sworn Translator and Master of Languages, Also teaches the Spanish Guitar, and can accommodate his Pupils and others with Elementary Books of all descriptions; such as Grammars and Dictionaries in the French, Dutch, English, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian Languages: the best and newest Instruction-books for the Guitar; ***Vocal and other Music*** set for the same Instrument, and also Silver and real Italian Gut Strings. No. 5, Buitengracht, Cape Town.

Cape Almanac, 1844.

JAS. H. Collard, Bibles, Prayer Books, Watts' Hymns, Congregational Hymn Books, Bickersteth's Psalmody, in neat and elegant Bindings

Cape Town Mail, Saturday, 3 February, 1844, Vol. 3, No. 153.

Piano Forte and Singing. Mr. F. Gladstones, (from London) has the honour to announce his arrival at the Cape of Good Hope, and his desire to give instructions in Singing and on the Piano Forte, in Cape Town and its vicinity. The originals of the following Testimonials, together with many others with which he has been favoured, may be seen at his residence, No. 1, Plein-street.

De Verzamelaar, Tuesday, 13 February, 1844, Vol. 4, No. 188.

Sale at no. 9, Castle-street. ABC Books - copy books. ***Copy slips - music books.***

Cape Town Mail, Saturday, 17 February, 1844, Vol. 3, No. 155.

New Music. Just published, price 2s. 6d., a Song for a Soprano Voice, with an Obligato Accompaniment for the Piano Forte, 'Oh! Tell me not that Love' The Poetry by Harry Stoe van Dyk; the Music composed by Gladstones. To be had of the Author, No. 1, Plein-street.

Cape Town Mail, Saturday, 9 March, 1844, Vol. 4, No. 158.

Piano Forte and Singing. Mr. F. Gladstones, (from London) has the honour to announce his arrival at Cape Town, and also his wish to dedicate a portion of his time to giving Lessons in Singing and on the Piano Forte. Numerous and most gratifying recommendatory Letters and Testimonials from persons in England of the first respectability, and amongst others, from Sir Henry R. Bishop, under whom he studied for a period of nearly ten years, may be seen at his Residence, No. 1, Plein-street.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 14 March, 1844, Vol. 1, No. 42.

Removal. Charles Junghenn, Professor of Music, No. 16, St. George's Street. Mr. Charles Junghenn (Pupil of the great Thalberg,) lately arrived from Germany, begs to inform the Public that he gives Instruction on the Piano Forte. Pupils who have learned the first rudiments of the Art, will find his instructions valuable. Apply also at Mr. Adney's Music Warehouse.

Cape Town Mail, Saturday, 16 March, 1844, Vol. 4, No. 159.

New Music. Just published, price 4s., the National Air, 'Hail Columbia,' With variations, (di Bravura) for the Piano Forte, composed by F. Gladstones. To be had of the Author, No. 1, Plein-street.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 21 March, 1844, Vol. 1, No. 43.

Removal. Charles Junghenn, Professor of Music, No. 16, St. George's Street. Mr. Charles Junghenn (Pupil of the great Thalberg,) lately arrived from Germany, begs to inform the Public that he gives Instruction on the Piano Forte. Pupils who have learned the first rudiments of the Art, will find his instructions valuable. Apply also at Mr. Adney's Music Warehouse.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 28 March, 1844, Vol. 1, No. 44.

Music Warehouse, 16, St. Georges Street. T. M. Adney is daily expecting a variety of Stodart's superior Square Piano Fortes, which he will sell at London Prices. Received from Messrs. Stodart&Son, superior Buffing, Hammer Cloth, also Damper and other Cloths, the same kind that is used in their Manufactory. T.M.A. has engaged a Person, lately arrived from London, formerly in the employ of the Messrs. Broadwood&Son. N.B. Piano Fortes repaired in a superior style, with the above Materials.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 4 April, 1844, Vol. 1, No. 45.

Music Warehouse, 16, St. Georges Street. T. M. Adney is daily expecting a variety of Stodart's superior Square Piano Fortes, which he will sell at London Prices. Received from Messrs. Stodart&Son, superior Buffing, Hammer Cloth, also Damper and other Cloths, the same kind that is used in their Manufactory. T.M.A. has engaged a Person, lately arrived from London, formerly in the employ of the Messrs. Broadwood&Son. N.B. Piano Fortes repaired in a superior style, with the above Materials.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 11 April, 1844, Vol. 1, No. 46.

Music Warehouse, 16, St. Georges Street. T. M. Adney is daily expecting a variety of Stodart's superior Square Piano Fortes, which he will sell at London Prices. Received from Messrs. Stodart&Son, superior Buffing, Hammer Cloth, also Damper and other Cloths, the same kind that is used in their Manufactory. T.M.A. has engaged a Person, lately arrived from London, formerly in the employ of the Messrs. Broadwood&Son. N.B. Piano Fortes repaired in a superior style, with the above Materials.

Cape Town Mail, Saturday, 20 April, 1844, Vol. 4, No. 164.

'Oh! Sweet were the days-' Ballad, For a Soprano or Baritone Voice,

Composed by F. Gladstones.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 25 April, 1844, Vol. 1, No. 48.

'Oh! Sweet were the days,' Ballad, For a Soprano or Baritone Voice, Composed by F. Gladstones.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 18 July, 1844, Vol. 2, No. 56.

Piano-fortes. Just imported and for Sale, a fine-toned Mahogany square Piano-Forte, with metallic plate and bar. Also, a splendid-toned Rosewood Boudoir Piano-forte, by Harper. - May be inspected on application to the Undersigned, at the Office of Messrs. Thomson, Watson, & Co., 13, Heerengracht.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 25 July, 1844, Vol. 2, No. 57.

Piano-fortes. Just imported and for Sale, a fine-toned Mahogany square Piano-Forte, with metallic plate and bar. Also, a splendid-toned Rosewood Boudoir Piano-Forte, by Harper.-- May be inspected on application to the Undersigned, at the Office of Messrs. Thomson, Watson, & Co., 13, Heerengracht. H.C. Carpenter

Sam Sly, Thursday, 3 October, 1844, Vol. 2, No. 67.

Piano-fortes. Just imported and for Sale, a fine-toned Mahogany square Piano-Forte, with metallic plate and bar. Also, a splendid-toned Rosewood Boudoir Piano-Forte, by Harper.-- May be inspected on application to the Undersigned, at the Office of Messrs. Thomson, Watson, & Co., 13, Heerengracht. H.C. Carpenter

Sam Sly, Thursday, 10 October, 1844, Vol. 2, No. 68.

Piano-fortes. Just imported and for Sale, a fine-toned Mahogany square Piano-Forte, with metallic plate and bar. Also, a splendid-toned Rosewood Boudoir Piano-Forte, by Harper.-- May be inspected on application to the Undersigned, at the Office of Messrs. Thomson, Watson, & Co., 13, Heerengracht. H.C. Carpenter

Sam Sly, Thursday, 24 October, 1844, Vol. 2, No. 70.

Piano-fortes. Just imported and for Sale, a fine-toned Mahogany square Piano-Forte, with metallic plate and bar. Also, a splendid-toned Rosewood Boudoir Piano-Forte, by Harper.-- May be inspected on application to the Undersigned, at the Office of Messrs. Thomson, Watson, & Co., 13, Heerengracht. H.C. Carpenter

Sam Sly, Thursday, 31 October, 1844, Vol. 2, No. 71.

Piano-fortes. Just imported and for Sale, a fine-toned Mahogany square Piano-Forte, with metallic plate and bar. Also, a splendid-toned Rosewood Boudoir Piano-Forte, by Harper.-- May be inspected on application to the Undersigned, at the Office of Messrs. Thomson, Watson, & Co., 13, Heerengracht. H.C. Carpenter

Sam Sly, Thursday, 7 November, 1844, Vol. 2, No. 72.

Piano-fortes. Just imported and for Sale, a fine-toned Mahogany square Piano-Forte, with metallic plate and bar. Also, a splendid-toned Rosewood Boudoir Piano-Forte, by Harper.-- May be inspected on application to the Undersigned, at the Office of Messrs. Thomson, Watson, & Co., 13, Heerengracht. H.C. Carpenter

Sam Sly, Thursday, 14 November, 1844, Vol. 2, No. 73.

Piano-fortes. Just imported and for Sale, a fine-toned Mahogany square Piano-Forte, with metallic plate and bar. Also, a splendid-toned Rosewood Boudoir Piano-Forte, by Harper.-- May be inspected on application to the Undersigned, at the Office of Messrs. Thomson, Watson, & Co., 13, Heerengracht. H.C. Carpenter

Sam Sly, Thursday, 5 December, 1844, Vol. 2, No. 76.

To the Musical World. Mr T.J. Hitchcock has just received per 'William Bayley,' ***an extensive assortment of New Music, Comprising all the last new and fashionable Songs, Waltzes, Quadrilles, and Polkas,-Airs from the Operas for Piano-Forte, Violin, Flute, and Guitar,-select pieces, easy and difficult.-Cheap Instruction Books for various Instruments, a small selection of Sacred Music.***

Including:

Violin, Tenor, Violoncello, and Guitar Strings, Bow Hair, Clarionet Reeds, Patent Felt for Piano-Forte hammers, and every requisite for Repairing Piano-Fortes. No. 3, Short-market-street.

Het Kaapsche Grensblad, Grahamstad, Donderdag, 26den December, 1844, Deel 1, No. 24.

Forte Piano stemmen en repareeren. H.C. Hallier, Onlangs uit Engeland aangekomen per 'Lallah Bookh,' Verzoekt de Ingezetenen van Grahamstad en de Buiten Distrekten te verwittigen, dat hy voornemens is bovengemelde Vakke uit te oefenen, hopende dat de Ondervinding welke hy heeft gehad, en de sterke getuigschriften welke hy verkregen heeft van eenigen der voornaamste in de Professie, een deel der publieke gunst en ondersteuning te genieten.

Alle aanzoeken te worden gelaten by den Heer Giani, Horologiemaker, Kerkplein, by den Heer B. Attwell, Laarzenmaker; en ten zyne Woning, annex die van den Hr. Wienand, Settler's Hill.

H.B. - Seraphinen gestemd en gereguleerd, en *Muzyk netjes gecopieerd.*

Cape Almanac, 1845.

T.M. Adney's Musical Repository, No. 4, Market-square.

Piano-fortes, by eminent Makers, for Sale or Hire, - and Tuned and Repaired.

A variety of Muscial Publications begin supplied quarterly from London, constantly on hand.

N.B. Piano-Fortes removed by a Spring Van, to Town and Country.

Cape Almanac, 1845.

JAS. H. Collard, Bibles, Prayer Books, Watts' Hymns, Congregational Hymn Books, Bickersteth's Psalmody, in neat and elegant Bindings

Cape Almanac, 1845.

Mr. C.E. Boniface, Sworn Translator and Master of Languages,

Also teaches the Spanish Guitar, and can accommodate his Pupils and others with Elementary Books of all descriptions; such as Grammars and Dictionaries in the French, Dutch, English, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian Languages: the best and newest Instruction-books for the Guitar; *Vocal and other Music* set for the same Instrument, and also Silver and real Italian Gut Strings.

No. 5, Buitengracht, Cape Town.

Het Kaapsche Grensblad, Grahamstad, Donderdag, den 2 January, 1845, Deel 1, No. 25.

Forte Piano stemmen en repareeren. H.C. Hallier, Onlangs uit Engeland aangekomen per 'Lallah Bookh,' Verzoekt de Ingezetenen van Grahamstad en de Buiten Distrekten te verwittigen, dat hy voornemens is bovengemelde Vakke uit te oefenen, hopende dat de Ondervinding welke hy heeft gehad, en de sterke getuigschriften welke hy verkregen heeft van eenigen der voornaamste in de Professie, een deel der publieke gunst en ondersteuning te genieten.

Alle aanzoeken te worden gelaten by den Heer Giani, Horologiemaker, Kerkplein, by den Heer B. Attwell, Laarzenmaker; en ten zyne Woning, annex die van den Hr. Wienand, Settler's Hill.

H.B. - Seraphinen gestemd en gereguleerd, en *Muzyk netjes gecopieerd*.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 30 January, 1845, Vol. 2, No. 84.

Grand Piano Forte, By Broadwood. To be Sold, cheap, a fine toned 6 ½-Octave Grand Piano Forte, which has lately been in use at the Concerts held at the Commercial Rooms. Piano Fortes by different makers, for Sale at London prices. T.M. Adney. Music Harehouse, St. George's-street.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 22 May, 1845, Vol. 2, No. 100.

Church Organs and New Music. T.J. Hitchcock, Organ Builder, Pianoforte Maker, &c., begs to inform the several Ministers, Churchwarders, &c., of the Churches and Chapels throughout the Colony, that he has just completed the erection of a new and powerful, rich-toned Organ, ordered by him from London expressly for the Church of Swellendam, and which has given general satisfaction.

The above Instrument is the Sixth Church Organ he has put up, besides manufacturing, in the Colony, the Organ at present in St. George's Church, in all its parts.

T.J.H. offers his Services to the Public generally, who may require Instruments as under, having made arrangements with an old-established Manufacturer in London to furnish him with superior Church and Chamber Organs, Pianos, Seraphines, and all other Musical Instruments, on the most Approved Principles, and with all the Modern Improvements, at considerably reduces prices. No. 3, Short-marked-street, Cape Town, Opposite Mr. McKenzie's.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 29 May, 1845, Vol. 2, No. 101.

Church Organs and New Music. T.J. Hitchcock, Organ Builder, Pianoforte Maker, &c., begs to inform the several Ministers, Churchwarders, &c., of the Churches and Chapels throughout the Colony, that he has just completed the erection of a new and powerful, rich-toned Organ, ordered by him from London expressly for the Church of Swellendam, and which has given general satisfaction.

The above Instrument is the Sixth Church Organ he has put up, besides manufacturing, in the Colony, the Organ at present in St. George's Church, in all its parts.

T.J.H. offers his Services to the Public generally, who may require Instruments as under, having made arrangements with an old-established Manufacturer in London to furnish him with superior Church and Chamber Organs, Pianos, Seraphines, and all other Musical Instruments, on the most Approved Principles, and with all the Modern Improvements, at considerably reduces prices. No. 3, Short-marked-street, Cape Town, Opposite Mr. McKenzie's.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 26 June, 1845, Vol. 2, No. 105.

Madame Chardon. From Paris. Has the honor to announce that it is her intention to establish herself in Cape Town, and that she is prepared to give lessons on the piano forte, the harp, and in singing. Madame Chardon, -having succeeded as a Teacher at Madras and Calcutta, as well as at Bourdon and the Maritius, and having had the entire Education of several persons now established as Professors in those places, - trusts that she may claim the confidence of Parents, and others, who may select her as their Instructrest. Madame Chardon will be happy to call upon persons living out of Town, if required. No. 37, Loop-street.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 28 August, 1845, Vol. 3, No. 114.

Piano fortes. Received per Bengal, 2 patent square pianos, from Messers. Stodart&Sons, and as improvements are ever being made, these Instruments are described as superior in tone and manufacture to any that have hitherto been exported by them. T.M. Adney Music Warehouse, St. George's-street.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 4 September, 1845, Vol. 3, No. 115.

Piano fortes. Received per Bengal, 2 patent square pianos, from Messers. Stodart&Sons, and as improvements are ever being made, these Instruments are described as superior in tone and manufacture to any that have hitherto been exported by them. T.M. Adney Music Warehouse, St. George's-street.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 9 October, 1845, Vol. 3, No. 120.

Newly invented Musical Instrument, The Aeolodion. T.J. Hitchcock invites the attention of his Friends and the Public, to the above Instrument, which combines all the sweetness of the Dulceana, with the full power of the Organ, and is considered by all who have heard it, to be a wonderful improvement on the Seraphine.-The only one in the Colony. No. 3, Short-market-street.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 13 November, 1845, Vol. 3, No. 125.

New Music by public auction. Mr. R.J. Jones will sell at his Rooms, on Saturday afternoon, the 15th instr., *A large assortment of New and Fashionable Music, consisting of Fantasias, Operatic Airs, Quadrilles, Waltzes, Polkas, Songs, Duets, Glee's, Oratorios, Instruction Books, Psalmodies; also, some Pieces for Military or small Bands, and for a full Orchestre, Queen's Album, Songs of Enchantment, &c. Thomson, Watson, & Co.*

Sam Sly, Thursday, 13 November, 1845, Vol. 3, No. 125.

Piano-forte. Just received per 'True Briton,' and for sale, a fine toned Rosewood Boudoir Piano-Forte, by Harper. May be inspected on application at the Office of Messrs. Thomson, Watson, & Co., 13 Heerengrath, to H.C. Carpenter. N.B. Also a fine-toned Grand Piano-Forte, by the same Maker, to be sold cheap.

Cape Town Mail, Saturday, 6 December, 1845, Vol. 4, No. 245.

To be sold. A Square Piano, by Noble, Price 30 pounds. To be seen at the Admiralty House, Simon's Bay.

Cape Town Mail, Saturday, 13 December, 1845, Vol. 4, No. 246.

Advertisement. To be sold, an excellent Piano Forte by Collard, price 30 pounds. Apply to Mr. White, Victualling Office, Simon's Town.

Cape Almanac, 1846.

Hitchcock, Organ builder, Organs and Seraphims
Pianofortes etc.

Cape Almanac, 1846.

Reich, Manufacturer of Piano Fortes and all sorts of String Instruments, No. 17, Keerom-Street.

Cape Almanac, 1846.

Piano Fortes, Accordions, &c. J. Derry, Piano forte Manufacturer, 58, Short-Market-Street,
Begs respectfully to acquaint the Public, that he has brought direct from England, a large Stock of Piano Fortes, by the first London Manufacturers, consisting of Cottage, Piccolo, and Square Pianos; also, a **large Investment of Vocal and Instrumental Music, by the most celebrated Composers...**
N.B. - Piano Fortes let on hire, at (pound)1 per month, as also repaired or taken in exchange

Cape Almanac, 1846.

T.M. Adney's Musical Repository
No. 4, Market-square.
Piano-fortes, by eminent Makers, for Sale or Hire, - and Tuned and Repaired.
A variety of Muscial Publications begin supplied quarterly from London, constantly on hand. Etc etc
N.B. Piano-Fortes removed by a Spring Van, to Town and Country.

Cape Almanac, 1846.

JAS. H. Collard, Bibles, Prayer Books, Watts' Hymns, Congregational Hymn Books, Bickersteth's Psalmody, in neat and elegant Binding

Sam Sly, Thursday, 19 March, 1846, Vol. 3, No. 143.

Piano forte Tuning and Repairing. H.C. Hallier, latel arrived from London, begs respectfully to inform the Inhabitants of Cape Town and the Gentry thereof, that he intends following the above Branches. From the extensive experience he has had, having studied under some of

the first Masters of the day, Parties may rely on having their Instruments Tuned on the system of equal temperament, so universally admired, on the shortest notice.

Apply at Mr. J.P. Anchen's at present at No. 3, Corner of Hout and St. George's-streets.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 23 April, 1846, Vol. 3, No. 148.

Music. Charles Junghenn, Teacher on the Piano Forte, begs to inform the Public that several of his Pupils having left Cape Town and the Colony, part of his time is unoccupied, and he can now enter on new engagements. He trusts that he requires no other recommendation than the rapid improvement made by his numerous Pupils during the two years he has been in Cape Town. For Terms, apply at Mr. Adney's Music Warehouse, St George's-street.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 2 July, 1846, Vol. 3, No. 158.

Piano Fortes. Recently imported by the Undersigned, and for Sale-

A Rosewood Cabinet Piano 6 ½ octaves. All elegantly finished, and by the well-known eminent maker, Harper. My be inspected on application to Mr. Hitchcock, Short-market-street, or at the Office of Messrs. Thomson, Watson, & Co., to H.C. Carpenter. 15 Heerengracht.

Het Kaapsche Grensblad, Grahamstad, Donderdag, den 2 Julie, 1846, Deel II, No. 105.

Muziek Instrumenten. 2 superieure Pianos, 6½ octaven, met de jongste verbeteringen.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 13 October, 1846, Vol. 3, No. 173.

Musical Academy. Mrs. R.J. Joseph, from the Royal Academy of Music, and Pupil of Crivelli, takes leave to inform the Ladies of Cape Town and its Vicinity, that she intends receiving a limited number of Pupils at her Residence, No. 11, Keizersgracht, for the purpose of imparting a thorough knowledge of the Piano-Forte, Singing, and Harmony. - The terms may be ascertained on application. Cape Town, Oct. 14th, 1846.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 22 October, 1846, Vol. 3, No. 174.

Mr. Corder, Professor of Music, has received per Sir Edward Ryan, Piano Fortes from W. Stodart&Son, which are for Sale at his residence. Albion Cottage, Rondebosch.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 31 December, 1846, Vol. 4, No. 184.

Piano Fortes. Recently imported by the Undersigned, and for Sale- A Rosewood Cabinet Piano 6 ½ octaves. All elegantly finished, and by the well-known eminent maker, Harper. My be inspected on application to Mr. Hitchcock, Short-market-street, or at the Office of Messrs. Thomson, Watson, & Co., to H.C. Carpenter. 15 Heerengracht.

Cape Almanac, 1847.

T.M. Adney's Musical Repository
No. 4, Market-square.

Piano-fortes, by eminent Makers, for Sale or Hire, - and Tuned and Repaired.

A variety of Musical Publications begin supplied quarterly from London, constantly on hand. Etc etc

N.B. Piano-Fortes removed by a Spring Van, to Town and Country.

Cape Almanac, 1847.

The Misses RUFFE's Select Establishment for the education of Young Ladies. No. 53, St. George's-street. For Instruction in the English and French Languages, Reading, Grammar, Geography, History, Writing, and Arithmetic; Plain and Fancy Work: Piano-Forte

Including:

Italian, Guitar, and Singing, taught by competent Masters.

Cape Almanac, 1848.

T.J. Hitchcock, Organ builder and Piano Forte Manufacturer. No. 4, Keizersgracht, Cape Town, (Established eighteen years), Importer of all kinds of Musical Instruments, *Printed Music, &c. &c., Orders for which are executed with the greatest dispatch, at London Prices.* - Organs and Seraphims at two-thirds of their usual Prices.

Tunings, general and partial Repairs, &c. as usual. Fine-toned Instruments constantly on hand, for Sale and to Hire. Received from the Manufacturer, Jones' celebrated Felt for buffing Piano Fortes; - the exquisite tone produced by this coering to the Hammers, (if put on by a delicate and practised hand,) in place of the Baize hithero used, is really surprising.

N.B. A light spring Music Covered Van for removing Instruments

Het Kaapsche Grensblad, Grahamstad, Zaterdag, 17 Juny, 1848, Deel IV, No. 205.

Publieke verkooping te Cradock, De Ondergeteekende sal publiek te koop aanbieden, voor zyn woonhuis, Op Zaterdag, Den 24sten Juny, aanst., al zyn Huismeubelen

Including:

1 Forte Piano. J.L. Pretorius. Cradock, 31 Mei, 1848. J.D. van Dyk, Afslager.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 13 July, 1848, Vol. 6, No. 264.

Sale of Furniture, Piano Forte, &c. Mr. R.J. Jones will sell at his Sale on the Parade, on Saturday next.

Including:

Also, a Sweet-toned Cottage Piano Forte, by Cooks & Son, nearly new, has been very little used. The above, the property of T. Turner, Esq., leaving the Colony, will be sold without Reserve.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 12 October, 1848, Vol. 6, No. 277.

Seraphines. The Undersigned have received per 'Aeasta,' a few splendid Seraphines, particularly adapted for use in Churches or Chapels, being of a full rich tone. - Also, a few of a smaller size, for use of private families. H.&E. Suffert. 10, St George's-street.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 16 November, 1848, Vol. 6, No. 282.

Selected Music. The Undersigned has received per 'Packet', Vocal and Instrumental Music, Sacred and Secular, carefully selected expressly for the various styles of Performers, as well as Schools and private Teachers at the Cape, being the largest Selection of a superior order of Music ever before imported, consisting of modern arrangements of Popular Pieces for the Piano, Harp, Guitar Songs and Pieces, &c.

Including:

One of Wornûm's unique Solo Chorda Picolo Pianos, with double improved check action, admirably calculated to stand extreme climates, as it can scarcely ever be perceptibly out of tune. T.J. Hitchcock.

Cape Almanac, 1849.

J.G. Reich. Piano Forte Manufacturer, No. 17, Keerom-Street

Begs to inform the Inhabitants of Cape Town, that he has returned from the Mauritius, and resumed his Business as above, and trusts, by executing all Orders with which he may be favoured, in a good and work-manlike manner, and at a moderate charge, to gain a share of their patronage.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 24 May, 1849, Vol. 6, No. 309.

T.M. Adney, Music Warehouse, 16, St. George's-street, Respectfully informs his Customers, that in consequence of the recent Fire in his Warehouse, it will not be opened for some time; but he will continue his Business in other apartments of the same building.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 16 August, 1849, Vol. 7, No. 321. (by this time the name had changed to 'The African Journal')

Received per 'Royal Alice,' a selection of Vocal and Instrumental Music, consisting of John Bishop's Arrangement of the Messiah and Creation, Hamilton's Piano Forte Tutor, Airs and Inst. Books for the Accordion, Chaulieu's Indispensable, Hertz's Sales and Exercises, Comic Songs, Songs by Mrs. Hemans, Jenny Lind do., Chaulieu's Irish and Scotch Melodies, Overtures, Quadrilles, Waltzes, and Polkas, the Musical Almanac, the Chanters' Handguide, &c. Airs, Quadrilles, Waltzes, and Polkas for the Violin. New Guitar, Harp, and Violin Strings, T.M. Adney. Music Warehouse, 16, St. George's-street.

Cape Almanac, 1850.

J.G. Reich. Piano Forte Manufacturer, No. 17, Keerom-Street. Begs to inform the Inhabitants of Cape Town, that he has returned from the Mauritius, and resumed his Business as above,

and trusts, by executing all Orders with which he may be favoured, in a good and workmanlike manner, and at a moderate charge, to gain a share of their patronage.

Cape Almanac, 1850.

The Misses RUFFE's Select Establishment for the education of Young Ladies. No. 53, St. George's-street. For Instruction in the English and French Languages, Reading, Grammar, Geography, History, Writing, and Arithmetic; Plain and Fancy Work: Piano-Forte

Including:

Italian, Guitar, and Singing, taught by competent Masters.

Sam Sly, Thursday, 20 June, 1850, Vol. 7, No. 365. (by this time the name had changed to 'The African Journal')

New Bookselling, Stationery, Circulation Library, And London Piano Forte Warehouse, 5, Adderly-street. Corner of Castle-street.

Including:

Piano-fortes, By first-rate Makers, will be ordered, both for Sale and Hire; *...and monthly parcels of NEW MUSIC, including all the popular varieties, will be received from Messrs. D'Almaine&Co., Messrs. Metzler&Co., and Mr. Alfred Novello, celebrated for the popularity of their Publications, and the elegance of their Musical Annuals.*

Sam Sly, Thursday, 20 June, 1850, Vol. 7, No. 365. (by this time the name had changed to 'The African Journal')

Piano Fortes, D. Mitchell, Bookseller, Stationer, &c., 5, Adderley street, Has just imported ex ship Parland, and, offers for sale, several Rosewood cottage piano fortes, purchased from an eminent House in London, and which he will warrant to be first-class, in brilliancy of tone, style, finish, and with all the latest improvements.

The Graham's Town Journal, or, Cape of Good Hope Eastern Province Register, Saturday, September 25, 1852, Vol. XXI, No. 1085. Page 1 (front page).

Pote's General Sales. Sale of valuable household furniture. To be sold by auction at Oatlands, on Wednesday next, The 29th instant, The whole of the furniture and effects belonging to Major-General Somerset,

Including:

Also, A very superior and brilliant toned square piano-forte. with Music Stool complete,

1 do. by Broadwood. A magnificent Harp by Erard. An instrument such as the latter could not be bought in London under 60 guineas, and is the first thing of the kind ever sold at an Auction on the Frontier.

The Graham's Town Journal, or, Cape of Good Hope Eastern Province Register, Saturday, September 25, 1852, Vol. XXI, No. 1085. Page 1 (front page).

Music instruments, &c. &c. The undersigned is now receiving ex PANTALOON,-

Large and small Hand organs, playing from 10 to 25 tunes, SERAPHINES with 12 keys, made of the most approved principle. N. Birkenruth

The Cape Frontier Times, Graham's Town, September 28, 1852, Vol. XII, No. 643. Page 1 (front page).

Pote's General Sales. Sale of valuable household furniture. To be sold by auction at Oatlands, tomorrow, (Wednesday,) 29th inst., The whole of the furniture and effects belonging to Major-Gen. Somerset,

Including:

Also, A very superior and brilliant toned square piano-forte, with Music Stool complete,

1 do. by Broadwood. A magnificent Harp by Erard. An instrument such as the latter could not be bought in London under 60 guineas, and is the first thing of the kind ever sold at an Auction on the Frontier.

Appendix 3 – Contents of the first Meent Borchers manuscript book (MB1)

Note: Original spellings, as found in the source material, have been kept.

Real page	Page number in manuscript	Content	Title in manuscript	Comments
1	-	empty	-	-
2	-	keyboard music	<i>1. Menuet</i>	corresponds to a minuet (for keyboard) with the title <i>Menuetto allegretto</i> found in MS FDH 5487 in Frankfurter Goethe-Haus, Freies Deutsches Hochstift, Bibliothek (D-Ff). Composer anon.
			<i>2. Jannitscharen Marche</i>	anon.
3	-	keyboard music	<i>3. Menuet cum Trio</i>	anon.
4	-	keyboard music	<i>4. Menuet</i> <i>5. Murki</i>	anon. anon.
5	-	keyboard music	<i>6. Marche</i> <i>7. Menuet</i>	anon. anon.
6	-	keyboard music	<i>8. Menuet</i> <i>9. Murki</i>	anon. anon.
7	-	keyboard music	<i>10. Menuet</i>	anon.

8	-	keyboard music	<i>11. Menuet</i>	<p>1. Corresponds to a minuet (for keyboard) without title found in MS B 751/8 (Ms.10622) dating from between 1700 and 1799 in Staatsarchiv des Kantons Graubünden (CH-Ca). Composer anon.</p> <p>2. Corresponds to a minuet (for keyboard) without title conjectured to be composed by Johann Baptist Vanhal found in MS (without number) in Stadtarchiv, Konstanz (D-KZa)</p> <p>3. Corresponds to a minuet for keyboard with the title <i>Menuet</i> found in MS Mk 12 in Universitätsbibliothek der Eberhard, Karls Universität (D-Tu). Composer anon.</p>
			<i>12. Menuet</i>	anon.
9	-	keyboard music	<i>13. Gigue</i>	anon.
10	14	empty	-	-
11	15	keyboard music	<i>Commolan</i>	<p>1. Corresponds to a piece for keyboard with the title <i>Drops of Brandy</i> found in MS North Mus. d.15 dating from 1799 in the Bodleian Library (GB-Ob). Composer anon. Key: C-major</p> <p>2. Corresponds to a piece for keyboard with the title <i>Drops of Brandy</i> found in MS North Mus. d.15 dating from 1799 in the Bodleian Library (GB-Ob). Composer anon. Key: G-major</p> <p>3. Corresponds to a piece for keyboard with the title <i>Commolan</i> found in MS M1497.S555 1796 in the John</p>

Milton Ward private collection (US-CAward).
 Composer anon. Key: G-major.

Sa jra Sa jra

1. Corresponds to an instrumental piece with the title *Downfall of Paris* found in MS 233 dating from 1806–1822 in the Yale University, Library (US-NH). Composer anon. Key: D major.

2. Corresponds to a piece for flute with the title *Downfall of Paris* found in MS D/EHx/F2/1 dating from 1790 – 1800 in the Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies (GB-HFr). Composer anon. Key: D major.

3. Corresponds closely to a piece for keyboard with the title *Downfall of Paris* found in MS PM 9399 dating from 1827 in the Leipziger Stadtbibliothek (D-LEm). Composer anon. Key: C major.

12	16	two empty staves	-	-
13	17	empty	-	-
14	18	Music and text (verse 1)	<i>Psalm 19</i>	Anon. harmonisation of the psalm melody <i>Les cieux en chascun lieu</i> by Guillaume Franc, Genève 1542; Lyon 1548. ¹
15	-	Music and text (verse 1), second page of <i>Psalm 19</i>	-	-

¹ Carstens, J.C., Strydom, W.M. and Troskie, A.J.J. (eds.). (2001) *Liedboek van die Kerk*. Cape Town: ABC Boekdrukkers. Psalm 19.

16	19	continuation of <i>Psalm 19</i> text only (verses 2 – 5)	-	-
17	20	continuation of <i>Psalm 19</i> text only (verses 6 and 7)	-	-
18	21	music only, no text	<i>Psalm 33</i>	Anon. harmonisation of the psalm melody <i>Resveillez-vous chascun fidele</i> by Guillaume Franc, Strasbourg 1545; Genève 1551. ²
19	22	empty	-	-
20	23	music only, no text	<i>Psalm 37</i>	This hymn tune corresponds to Psalm 37 <i>Ne sois fâché si durant cette vie</i> in Claude Goudimel's <i>150 Pseaumes de David</i> . ³
21	23	music and text	<i>De Stervende Banisa</i>	anon.
22	23b	music only, no text	<i>Psalm 89</i>	Anon. harmonisation of the psalm melody <i>Du Seigneur les bontés sans fin je chanteray</i>

² Carstens, J.C., Strydom, W.M. and Troskie, A.J.J. (eds.). (2001) *Liedboek van die Kerk*. Cape Town: ABC Boekdrukkers. Psalm 67.

³ Goudimel, Claude. (1580) *150 Pseaumes de David*. Second edition. Geneva: Pierre de Saint-André.

				by Maître Pierre Davantès, Genève 1562. ⁴
23	24	empty	-	-
24	25	music and text (verses 1 – 7)	<i>Der letzte Wille</i>	Corresponds to a keyboard piece with the title <i>Aria</i> found in MS Mus. 511 dating from 1751–1850 in Frančiškanski samostan, Knjižnica (SL-Nf). Composer anon. Key: G major.
25	-	continuation of <i>Der letzte wille</i> text only (verses 8 - 18)	-	-
26	26	music and text (verses 1 – 4)	<i>Aria: Ach mein Hertz</i>	anon.
27	27	music and text (verses 1 – 4)	<i>Aria: Freyheit is ein edles Leben</i>	anon.
28	28	music and text (verses 1 – 5)	<i>Aria: O Mensch eröfne doch dein</i>	anon.
29	29	continuation of O Mensch (verses 6 and 7)	-	-
		music and text (one verse only)	<i>Aria Gute nacht</i>	anon.

⁴ Carstens, J.C., Strydom, W.M. and Troskie, A.J.J. (eds.). (2001) *Liedboek van die Kerk*. Cape Town: ABC Boekdrukkers. Psalm 89.

30	30	music and text (verses 1 – 4)	<i>Aria: Andante</i>	anon.
31	31	music and text (verses 1 – 5)	<i>Allgemeines Vrolokken</i>	anon.
32	32	music and text (verses 1 – 4)	<i>Chansette</i>	anon.
33	33	music and text (verses 1 – 3)	<i>Die Freundschaft</i>	<p>1. Corresponds to a piece for keyboard and voice titled <i>Wert der Freundschaft</i> found in MS Mus.J 190:2 dating from 1766–1799 in Unitätsarchiv der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität (D-HER). Composer anon. Key: D major.</p> <p>2. Corresponds to a piece for keyboard and voice titled <i>Die Freundschaft</i> found in MS 27 dating from 1750–1774 in University of California, Music Library (US-LAum). Composer anon. Key: D major.</p> <p>3. Corresponds to a piece for keyboard titled <i>Aria</i> found in MS Becker III.8.28 dating from 1750–1800 in Leipziger Stadtbibliothek -Musikbibliothek (D-LEm). Composer anon. Key: D major.</p> <p>4. Corresponds to a piece for keyboard and voice titled <i>Die Freundschaft</i> found in MS mu 9410.2793 dating from 1749 in Det Kongelige Bibliotek (DK-Kk). Composer anon. Key: D major. Other composers present in the collection: Telemann, Marpurg, Bock, Fleischer, Graun, Görner and Hasse</p>
34	34	music and text	<i>Lustig Tans</i>	anon.

		(verses 1 and 2)		
35	39	empty	-	-
36	40	empty	-	-
37	41	empty	-	-
38	42	music and text (verse 1)	<i>Wie wird mir dann</i>	Anon. harmonisation of the chorale melody <i>Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern</i> by Philipp Nicolai, 1599. ⁵
39	-	continuation of <i>Lustig Tans und</i> (verses 2 – 4)	-	-
40	-	continuation of <i>Lustig Tans und</i> (verses 5 and 6)	-	-
41	-	continuation of <i>Lustig Tans und</i> (verses 5 and 6, alternate version)	-	-
42	43	music and text (verses 1 and 2)	<i>Wie gross ist des Allmachtgen Güte</i>	This is a copy of the song <i>Die Güte Gottes</i> (with only minor discrepancies) from <i>Geistliche Oden und Lieder I</i> , H.686 (1 st , 3 rd and 4 th editions) with texts by Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715–1769) and music by C.P.E. Bach (1714–1788)

⁵ Verlagsgemeinschaft für das Evangelische Gesangbuch Niedersachsen. Bremen. (1994) *Evangelisches Gesangbuch*. Hannover: Luthersches Verlagshaus. Hymn number 70.

43	-	continuation of <i>Wie gross</i> (verses 3 – 6)	-	-
44	44	empty	-	-
45	45	empty	-	-
46	46	music and text (verses 1 and 2)	<i>Jesus lebt</i>	This is a copy of the song <i>Osterlied</i> (with only minor discrepancies) from <i>Geistliche Oden und Lieder I</i> , H.686 (1 st , 3 rd and 4 th editions) with texts by Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715–1769) and music by C.P.E. Bach (1714–1788).
47	-	continuation of <i>Jesus lebt</i> (verses 3 – 6)	-	-
48	47	empty	-	-
49	48	empty	-	-
50	49	music and text (verses 1 – 3)	<i>Nun ruhen alle wälder</i>	Anon. harmonisation of the chorale melody <i>O Welt, ich muss dich lassen</i> by Heinrich Isaac, 15 th century. ⁶ Text by Paul Gerhard (1607–1676)
51	50	text only	<i>Avond Zang</i>	-

⁶ Verlagsgemeinschaft für das Evangelische Gesangbuch Niedersachsen.Bremen. (1994) *Evangelisches Gesangbuch*. Hannover: Luthersches Verlagshaus. Hymn number 521.

		(verses 1 – 5)		
52	51	continuation of <i>Avond Zang</i> text only (verses 6 – 8)	-	-
53	52	continuation of <i>Avond Zang</i> text only (verse 9)	-	-
54	53	text only (verses 1 – 3)	<i>Avond Zang op den Melody der pag 26</i>	
55	54	continuation of <i>Avond Zang</i> text only (verses 4 – 6)	-	-
56	55	continuation of <i>Avond Zang</i> text only (verses 7 – 10)	-	-
57	56	continuation of <i>Avond Zang</i> text only (verses 11 – 14)	-	-
58	57	continuation of <i>Avond Zang</i> text only	-	-

		(verses 15 and 16)		
59	58	text only	-	Text on this page: <i>O Sanctissima! O Piissima! Dulcis virgo Maria. Mater amata, intemerata Ora pro nobis, ora pro nobis.</i> Roman Catholic hymn text.
60	59	empty	-	-
61	60	empty	-	-
62	-	text only (verses 2 – 5 of the song on the following page)	-	-
63	61	music and text (verse 1)	<i>Wat is het Schoon</i>	Melody corresponds to a German song titled <i>Die Zufriedenheit</i> found in kr IV 408 (Ms.8380) dating from 1800 in Universitätsbibliothek, Musiksammlung (CH-Bu). Composer anon. Key: G major.
64	62	empty	-	-
65	63	empty	-	-
66	64	music and text (verses 1 and 2, other text written in between)	<i>Aria: Wenn die nacht</i>	anon.
67	65	continuation of <i>Aria</i>	-	-

		text only (verses 3 and 4, other text written in between)		
68	66	text and music (verses 1 and 2)	<i>Danklied, Autoier Gellert Bach</i>	This is a copy of the song <i>Danklied</i> (with only minor discrepancies) from <i>Geistliche Oden und Lieder I</i> , H.686 (1 st , 3 rd and 4 th editions) with texts by Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715–1769) and music by C.P.E. Bach (1714–1788).
69	67	continuation of <i>Danklied</i> text only (verses 3 - 11)	-	-
70	-	continuation of <i>Danklied</i> text only (verses 9 – 12)	-	-
71	-	empty	-	-
72	68	music and text (verses 1 and 2)	<i>Trotsdes ewigen Lebens von Gellert und Bach</i>	This is a copy of the song <i>Trost des ewigen Lebens</i> (with only minor discrepancies) from <i>Geistliche Oden und Lieder I</i> , H.686 (1 st , 3 rd and 4 th editions) with texts by Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715–1769) and music by C.P.E. Bach (1714–1788).

73	-	continuation of <i>Trotsdes</i> (verses 3 – 8)	-	-
74	69	music and text (verse 1)	<i>Andante assai</i>	First line of text: 'Auf den Bergen sass ein Muder' Anon.
75	-	continuation of <i>Andante assai</i> text only (verses 2 and 3)	-	-
76	70	music and text (verses 1 and 2)	<i>Langsam Gellert Bach</i>	This is a copy of the song <i>Abendlied</i> (with only minor discrepancies) from <i>Geistliche Oden und Lieder I</i> , H.686 (1 st , 3 rd and 4 th editions) with texts by Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715–1769) and music by C.P.E. Bach (1714–1788).
77	-	continuation of <i>Langsam</i> text only (verses 3 and 4)	-	-
78	71	music and text (verses 1 and 2)	<i>Gottes Macht und Vorsehung Gellert Bach</i>	This is a copy of the song <i>Gottes Macht und Vorsehung</i> (with only minor discrepancies) from <i>Geistliche Oden und Lieder I</i> , H.686 (1 st , 3 rd and 4 th editions) with texts by Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715–1769) and music by C.P.E. Bach (1714–1788).

79	72	continuation of <i>Gottes Macht</i> text only (verses 3 – 15)	-	-
80	73	music and text (verses 1 and 2)	<i>Werde munter mein gemüthe</i>	Anon. harmonisation of the chorale melody <i>Werde munter, mein Gemüte</i> by Johann Schop, 1624. ⁷
81	74	continuation of <i>Werde munter</i> text only (verses 2 – 4)	-	-
82	75	continuation of <i>Werde munter</i> text only (verses 5 – 7)	-	-
83	76	continuation of <i>Werde munter</i> text only (verse 8)	-	-

⁷ Verlagsgemeinschaft für das Evangelische Gesangbuch Niedersachsen.Bremen. (1994) *Evangelisches Gesangbuch*. Hannover: Luthersches Verlagshaus. Hymn number 475.

84	77	empty	-	-
85	78	empty	-	-
86	79	index of the contents of the manuscript	-	-
87	-	continuation of Index	-	-
88	-	empty	-	-

Appendix 4 - Contents of the second Meent Borchers manuscript book (MB2)

Real page	Page number in manuscript	Content	Title in manuscript	Comments
1	1	music and text (verse 1)	<i>Andante</i>	First line of text: 'Sagt wozu dienen' Anon. melody and harmonization.
2	2	continuation of - <i>Sagt wozu</i> text only (verses 2 – 4)	-	
3	-	continuation of - <i>Sagt wozu</i> text only (verses 5 – 7, plus a Dutch translation of verse 2)	-	
4	4	continuation of - <i>Sagt wozu</i> text only (verses 3 – 5 of the Dutch translation)	-	

5	5	continuation of - <i>Sagt wozu</i> text only (verse 6 of the Dutch translation)	-	-
6	6	empty	-	-
7	7	music and text (verse 1)	<i>Feyerlich/Langsam</i>	First line of text: 'Der Tag ist hin!' Anon. melody and harmonisation.
8	8	text only (verses 1 – 6)	<i>Der am Abend Singende Christ</i>	-
9	9	text only (verses 1 – 6)	<i>Vertaling van het voorstaande Avond Lied</i>	at the bottom of the page the date '11 July 1806' can be found
10	10	music only	<i>Der tag is hin</i>	same music as on page 7
11	11	empty	-	-
12	12	empty	-	-
13	13	text only (verses 1 – 6)	<i>Vertaling van Gellerts Lied</i>	-
14	14	continuation of <i>Vertaling</i> text only (verses 7 – 14)	-	-

15	15	continuation of <i>Vertaling</i> text only (verse 15)	-	at the bottom of the page the date '6 July 1806' can be found
16	16	empty	-	-
17	17	text only (verse 1, written between empty staves)	<i>Vertaling van Gellerts Troost des Eeuwigen Leewens</i>	-
18	18	continuation of - <i>Vertaling</i> text only (verses 2 – 4, written between empty staves)	-	-
19	19	continuation of - <i>Vertaling</i> text only (verses 5 – 8)	-	-
20	20	continuation of - <i>Vertaling</i> text only (verses 9 – 12)	-	below verse 12 the date '10 July 1806' can be found
21	21	text only (one verse only)	<i>Der Dood van een Christen</i>	-
22	22	text only	<i>Hoe Zagt Zien wy</i>	below verse 7 the date

		(verses 1 – 7)	<i>de vromen</i>	'20 July 1806' can be found
23	23	text only	<i>Onzen Bestemming</i>	-
24	24	text only (verses 1 – 5)	<i>Herveling gevoel na waarde</i>	-
25	24	continuation of - <i>Herveling</i> text only (verses 6 – 8)		below verse 8 the inscription 'gecopieerd d: 21 July 1806' can be found
26	25	text only (verses 1 – 3)	<i>Dagelyksche Herinnering</i>	-
27	26	music and text (verse 1)	<i>Choral</i>	First line of text: 'Zou my Dood en graf doen beeven' Anon. melody and harmonization. Below verse 6 the inscription 'gecopieerd d: 25 July 1806' can be found.
28	27	continuation of - <i>Choral</i> text only (verses 1 – 6)		-
29	28	continuation of - <i>Dagelyksche Herinnering</i> (p.25) text only (verses 4 – 6)		-
30	29	continuation of - <i>Dagelyksche</i> text only		below verse 10 the inscription '2 Aug 1806' can be found

		(verses 7 – 10)		
31	30	title only	<i>De Schepping doen</i>	-
32	31	continuation of - <i>De Schepping</i> text only (verses 1 – 4)		-
33	32	continuation of - <i>De Schepping</i> text only (verses 5 – 7)		-
34	33	text only (verses 1 and 2)	<i>Kerslied</i>	-
35	34	continuation of - <i>Kerslied</i> text only (verses 3 and 4)		
36	35	continuation of - <i>Kerslied</i> text only (verse 5)		below verse 5 the inscription 'gecopieerd d: 27 July 1806' can be found
		text only (verses 1 – 3)	<i>Paaschlied</i>	this text is found below the last verse of <i>Kerslied</i> below verse 3 the inscription 'gecop: d: 3 Aug 1806' can be found

37	36	music and text (verse 1)	<i>Melodie – Wer nur den Lieben Gott last walten</i>	Anon. harmonization. of the chorale melody <i>Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten</i> by Georg Neumark (1621–1681). ¹
38	37	text only (verses 1 – 9)	<i>God de Redder</i>	-
39	38	continuation of - <i>God de Redder</i> text only (verses 10 and 11)		below verse 11 the inscription 'gecopieerd d: 25 July 1806' can be found
40	39	empty	-	-
41	40	music and text (verse 1)	<i>Het is volbragt</i>	Anon. harmonization of the psalm melody <i>Rendez à Dieu louange et gloire</i> by Guillaume Franc, Strasbourg; Genève 1551. ²
42	41	continuation of - <i>Het is volbragt</i> text only (verses 1 – 4)		below verse 4 the inscription 'gekopiëerd 28 July 1806' can be found

¹ Verlagsgemeinschaft für das Evangelische Gesangbuch Niedersachsen. Bremen. (1994) *Evangelisches Gesangbuch*. Hannover: Luthersches Verlagshaus. Hymn number 369.

² Carstens, J.C., Strydom, W.M. and Troskie, A.J.J. (eds.). (2001) *Liedboek van die Kerk*. Cape Town: ABC Boekdrukkers. Psalm 118.

43	-	music plus text <i>Avond=Gezang</i> (verse 1)		Anon. harmonization of the chorale melody <i>O Welt, ich muss dich lassen</i> by Heinrich Isaac, 15 th century. ³
44	-	empty	-	-
45	-	empty	-	-
46	-	empty	-	-
47	46	music and text (verse 1)	<i>Die voortreflykheid van de Heer van Jesus</i>	First line of text: 'Wat zwoegt g' o Mensch! Anon. harmonization of the psalm melody <i>O Dieu des armées combine</i> by Maître Pierre Davantès, Genève 1562. ⁴
48	47	continuation of - <i>Die voortreflykheid</i> text only (verses 1 – 4)	-	-
49	48	continuation of - <i>Die voortreflykheid</i> text only (verses 5 – 8)	-	-

³ Verlagsgemeinschaft für das Evangelische Gesangbuch Niedersachsen.Bremen. (1994) *Evangelisches Gesangbuch*. Hannover: Luthersches Verlagshaus. Hymn number 521.

⁴ Carstens, J.C., Strydom, W.M. and Troskie, A.J.J. (eds.). (2001) *Liedboek van die Kerk*. Cape Town: ABC Boekdrukkers. Psalm 84.

50	49	continuation of - <i>Die voortreflykheid</i> text only (verses 9 – 12)	-	below verse 12 the inscription 'gecopieerd 29 July 1806' can be found
51	-	empty staves	-	-
52	-	empty	-	-
53	-	empty	-	-
54	-	empty	-	-
55	-	empty	-	-
56	-	empty	-	-
57	54	music and text (verse 1)	<i>Een Lied voor Lydenden</i>	First line of text: 'O Gy die myn ellende' Anon. harmonization of the psalm melody <i>Du fons de ma pensée</i> by Wolfgang Dachstein or Mathias Greiter, Strasbourg 1539; Genève 1551. ⁵
58	55	continuation of - <i>Een Lied voor</i> text only (verses 1 – 7)	-	-
59	56	continuation of - <i>Een Lied voor</i> text only	-	-

⁵ Carstens, J.C., Strydom, W.M. and Troskie, A.J.J. (eds.). (2001) *Liedboek van die Kerk*. Cape Town: ABC Boekdrukkers. Psalm 130.

		(verses 8 – 13)		
60	57	continuation of - <i>Een Lied voor</i> text only (verses 14 and 15)	-	
61	-	empty	-	-
62	-	empty	-	-
63	60	music and text (verse 1)	<i>Lied na de bediening</i>	First line of text: 'U Loov' en dank' Anon. melody and harmonization.
64	61	continuation of - <i>Lied na de</i> text only (verses 1 – 7)	-	below verse 7 the inscription 'Gecopieerd d: 2 Aug 1806' can be found
65	62	text only (verses 1 – 4)	<i>Vrije navolging des Hoogduitsche Aria</i>	-
66	63	continuation of - <i>Vrije navolging des</i> (verses 5 – 9)	-	below verse 7 the date '6 Oct 1806' can be found
67	64	music and text (verse 1)	<i>Loflied Aan Den Verlosser</i>	First line of text: 'Zingt, zingt blij te moe' Anon. harmonization of the psalm melody <i>Chantez gayment</i> by Maître Pierre Davantès, Genève 1562. ⁶

⁶ Carstens, J.C., Strydom, W.M. and Troskie, A.J.J. (eds.). (2001) *Liedboek van die Kerk*. Cape Town: ABC Boekdrukkers. Psalm 81.

68	65	continuation of - <i>Loflied Aan Den</i> text only (verses 1 – 10)	-	below verse 10 the inscription 'gecopieerd d: 3 Aug 1806' can be found
69	66	text only (verses 1 – 4)	<i>Avond Zang</i>	-
70	6?	continuation of - <i>Avond Zang</i> text only (verses 5 – 8)	-	-
71	-	continuation of - <i>Avond Zang</i> text only (verses 9 – 11)	-	-

Appendix 5 - Pieces containing a keyboard accompaniment in the Ann Heathcote manuscript, 1835, A804(1)

Note: on the first page of the manuscript the date 10th September 1835 is written.

Note: pages 1 to 18 contain vocal music with guitar accompaniment, not relevant to this study and therefore not listed in this table.

Note: beyond page 29 the rest of the book consists of empty pages.

Real page number	Page as numbered in manuscript	Content	Title in manuscript	Comments
19	-	song with guitar and keyboard accompaniment	<i>Lovely</i>	anon. At the end of the song the date 25 th Jan. 1837 is written. Guitar part inscribed: 'Guitarre' Vocal part inscribed: 'Singstimme' Keyboard part inscribed: 'Piano'
20	-	continuation of <i>Lovely</i>	ditto	-
21	-	ditto	ditto	-
22	-	song with guitar and keyboard accompaniment	<i>Die Laute</i>	1. Corresponds to song for voice and keyboard titled <i>Die Laute</i> found in Mus.ms. 30051 dating from between 1825 and 1875 in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung (D-B). Composer: Keller, Karl (1784–1855). 2. Corresponds to a song for voice and keyboard titled <i>Die Laute</i> found in Ms Mus 176-1 dating from between 1844 to 1893 in Landesbibliothek (D-CI). Composer: Keller, Karl (1784–1855).

3. Corresponds to a song for voice and keyboard titled *Die Laute* found in manuscript Mus.ant.pract. 1189 in Ratsbücherei (D-Lr). Composer: Keller, Karl (1784–1855).

4. Corresponds to a song for voice and guitar titled *Die Laute* found in manuscript Mus. 4|o 130 in Herzogliches Georgianum, Bibliothek (D-Mcg). Composer: Keller, Karl (1784–1855).

5. Corresponds to a song for voice and keyboard titled *Die Laute* found in Ms 44 dating from 1800 - 1810 in Schloss (D-SÜN). Composer: Keller, Karl (1784–1855).

Guitar part inscribed: 'Gitarre'

Vocal part inscribed: 'Singstimme'

Keyboard part inscribed: 'Piano-Forte'

23 - continuation of
Die Laute

24 - ditto ditto -

25 - song with
keyboard
accompaniment *The meeting of the waters*

Composer: Stevenson, John Andrew (1767–1833)
Text: Moore, Thomas (1779–1852)
Both names are indicated in the manuscript and the authorship was verified with a RISM search.

26	-	continuation of <i>The meeting of the waters</i>		-
27	-	vocal duet with keyboard accompaniment	Title and text not decipherable due to unclear handwriting.	anon.
28	-	ditto	-	-
29	-	ditto	-	-

Appendix 6 - Pieces containing a keyboard accompaniment in the Harriet Heathcote manuscript, 1834, A804(2)

Real page number	Page as numbered in manuscript	Content	Title in manuscript	Comments
1	-	Text only	-	Inscription: 'Harriet F Heathcote. February 1834'
2	-	empty page.	-	-
3	-	song with keyboard accompaniment	<i>Farewell! But, whenever you welcome the hour</i>	Folk song with anon. piano accompaniment. Text: Thomas Moore (1779–1852). 1. Corresponds to a song for voice and keyboard titled <i>Lebt wohl doch wenn euch einst vereint</i> found in manuscript Mus.ms. 1154 dating from 1820–1840 in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (D-Mbs).
4	-	continuation of <i>Farewell!</i>		
5	-	song with keyboard accompaniment	<i>I'd mourn the Hopes that leave me</i>	Anon. song with piano accompaniment Text: Thomas Moore (1779–1852)
6	-	song with keyboard accompaniment	<i>Lady Bothwell's Lament</i>	Melodically altered version of folk song <i>Lady Anne Bothwell's Lament</i> found in the second volume of <i>Orpheus Caledonius</i> . ¹ Piano accompaniment anon.

¹ Thomson, W. (1733) *Orpheus Caledonius: or, a collection of Scots songs. Set to Musick by W. Thomson*. Vol. 2. London. p. 40.

7	-	continuation of <i>Lady Bothwell</i>	-	-
8	-	song with keyboard accompaniment	<i>Charlie is my darling</i>	Folk song with anon. piano accompaniment. Text: Robert Burns (1759–1796).
9	-	continuation of <i>Charlie</i>	-	-
10	-	song with keyboard accompaniment	<i>The banks of the Dee</i>	Folk song with anon. piano accompaniment. Text: John Tait (1748–1817)
11	-	continuation of <i>The banks</i>	-	-
12	-	song with keyboard	<i>Oh! twine me a bower</i>	Anon. song with piano accompaniment Text: Thomas Crofton Croker (1798–1854)
13	-	continuation of <i>Oh! twine</i>	-	-
14	-	song with keyboard accompaniment	Title not decipherable due to unclear hand- writing.	Anon. song with piano accompaniment. In addition to the text not being decipherable a RISM music incipit search shed no light on the musical content. ²
15	-	continuation of <i>French</i>	-	-
16	-	continuation of		

² RISM music incipit search. Accessed February 2018.

		French		
17	-	continuation of French		
18	-	song with keyboard accompaniment	<i>Romanze aus Zemire und Azor</i>	Composer: Louis Spohr (1784–1859) The aria <i>Rose wie bist du reizend</i> from act one Spohr's opera <i>Zemire und Azor</i> from 1818/1819.
19	-	continuation of <i>Romanze</i>	-	-
20	-	continuation of <i>Romanze</i>	-	-
21	-	song with keyboard accompaniment	<i>Das Veilchen und das Mädchen</i>	Anon. song with piano accompaniment. 'G. Doering' (indicated in manuscript) Text: Karl August Döring (1783–1844).
22	-	song with keyboard	<i>Volkslied</i>	1. Corresponds to a song for voice and piano titled <i>Volkslied</i> found in manuscript Mus. P 512 in the Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek, Musikabteilung (D-LÜh). Composer: Carl Maria von Weber (1786–1826). E-major. 2. Corresponds to a song for voice and piano titled <i>Volkslied</i> found in manuscript 39.3.126 in Heide, Klaus-Groth-Museum (D-HEI). Composer: Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826). E-major. 3. There are several contemporary manuscripts which contain the same song, but with an arrangement of the accompaniment for guitar, and transposed to D-major.

Examples can be found in amongst others: Bonn, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek (D-BNu), PGB 2° 1660/2 and Luzern, Zentral- und Hochschulbibliothek (CH-Lz), Mus 2771.

23	-	vocal duet with keyboard accompaniment	<i>Duettino di M. Canasa</i>	Anon. song with piano accompaniment.
24	-	continuation of <i>Duettino</i>	-	-
25	-	continuation of <i>Duettino</i>	-	-
26	-	continuation of <i>Duettino</i>	-	-
27	-	Song with keyboard accompaniment	<i>Ballade</i>	Anon. song with piano accompaniment.
28	-	continuation of <i>Ballade</i>	-	-
29	-	Song with keyboard accompaniment	<i>Oh! Give me but my Arab Steed</i>	1. Corresponds to a song for voice and keyboard titled <i>The Arab Maid</i> found in manuscript MS 137 in Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library (US-BEm). Composer: George Alexander Hodson (1790c-1863).
30	-	continuation of <i>Oh! Give</i>	-	-

31	-	continuation of <i>Oh! Give</i>	-	-
32	-	Song with keyboard accompaniment	<i>My Life I love you</i>	Music: anon. Text: <i>Maid of Athens</i> by Lord Byron (1788–1824).
33	-	continuation of <i>My Life</i>	-	-
34	-	Song with keyboard Accompaniment	<i>Love good night</i>	Music: anon. Text: found in <i>Hodgson's National Songster</i> , London: Hodgson, 1832. ³
35	-	Song with keyboard accompaniment	<i>My Native Land Good Night</i>	Music: Francis Joseph Klose (1783–1830) published by Falkner: London. Catalogue number: IFK1.
36	-	continuation of <i>My Native Land</i>	-	-
37	-	Song with guitar accompaniment	<i>Mit Empfindung</i>	Not applicable, no keyboard part. The word 'guitarre' is indicated below the instrumental stave.
38	-	Duet with keyboard accompaniment	<i>Atto terzo</i>	An extract from act 3, scene 2 from W.A. Mozart's (1756– 1791) opera <i>Le Nozze di Figaro</i> . German translation.
39	-	Continuation of <i>Atto terzo</i>	-	-

³ Hodgson, Orlando. *Hodgson's National Songster* (1832), London: Hodgson.

40	-	Continuation of <i>Atto terzo</i>	-	-
41	-	Continuation of <i>Atto terzo</i>	-	-
42	-	Continuation of <i>Atto terzo</i>	-	-
43	-	Continuation of <i>Atto terzo</i>	-	-
44	-	Duet with keyboard Accompaniment	<i>Duetto</i>	An extract from act 1, scene 1 from W.A. Mozart's (1756–1791) opera <i>Le Nozze di Figaro</i> . German translation.
45	-	Continuation of <i>Duetto</i>	-	-
46	-	continuation of <i>Duetto</i>	-	-
47	-	Continuation of <i>Duetto</i>	-	-
48	-	Continuation of <i>Duetto</i>	-	-
49	-	Continuation of <i>Duetto</i>	-	-
50	-	Duet with guitar accompaniment	<i>Intro questa</i>	Guitar part inscribed: 'guitar' Not applicable, no keyboard part.

51	-	Duet with guitar accompaniment	<i>Benedetta</i>	Not applicable, no keyboard part.
52	-	Duet with guitar accompaniment	<i>Buona Notte</i>	Not applicable, no keyboard part.
53	-	Duet with guitar accompaniment	<i>Nel tempo felice</i>	Not applicable, no keyboard part.
54	-	Continuation of <i>Nel tempo</i>	-	-
55	-	Duet with guitar accompaniment	<i>Grato momento e caso</i>	Not applicable, no keyboard part.
56	-	Duet with guitar accompaniment	<i>Mia Rosina</i>	Not applicable, no keyboard part.
57	-	Duet with guitar accompaniment	<i>La Constanza</i>	Not applicable, no keyboard part.
58	-	Continuation of <i>La Constanza</i>	-	-
59	-	Duet with guitar accompaniment	<i>Veneziana</i>	Not applicable, no keyboard part.
60	-	Duet with guitar accompaniment	<i>Buona Notte</i>	Not applicable, no keyboard part.
61	-	empty page	-	-

62	-	Song with keyboard accompaniment	<i>Behave yourself before folk</i>	Anon. song with piano accompaniment.
63	-	Continuation of behave	-	-
64	-	Continuation of Behave	-	-
65	-	Continuation of Behave	-	-
66	-	Continuation of Behave	-	-
67	-	Song with keyboard accompaniment	<i>Musing on the roaring Ocean</i>	Anon. song with piano accompaniment. Text: Robert Burns (1759–1796)
68	-	Song with keyboard accompaniment	<i>Le Portrait</i>	Corresponds to an individually printed song titled <i>Le portrait: a popular French song, with English words: arranged for the harp or piano forte</i> . Printed by Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co. 1818. In the collection of Brigham Young University, USA. Catalogue number: M 1624.4 .P67 1818
69	-	Continuation of <i>Le Portrait</i>	-	-
70	-	Song with keyboard accompaniment	<i>Stumme Liebe</i>	Anon. song with piano accompaniment.
71	-	Song with keyboard accompaniment	<i>Ich bin dein</i>	Anon. song with piano accompaniment. Composer or poet name: 'Keller' (indicated in manuscript)

72	-	Continuation of <i>Ich bin dein</i>	-	-
73	-	Continuation of <i>Ich bin dein</i>	-	-
74	-	Continuation of <i>Ich bin dein</i>	-	-
75	-	Continuation of <i>Ich bin dein</i>	-	-
76	-	Song with keyboard accompaniment	<i>No 3. Wartend</i>	The name 'JG Droysen' indicated in manuscript. This song titled <i>Wartend</i> comes from the collection <i>12 Lieder, op. 9</i> (published in 1830) by <i>Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy</i> (1809–1847) with the first line of the song reading <i>Sie trug einen Falken auf ihrer Hand</i> . The text is by <i>Johann Gustav Droysen</i> (1808–1884).
77	-	Song with keyboard accompaniment	<i>Beruhigung</i>	Composer: 'Musik von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy' (indicated in manuscript) Corresponds to a song for voice and keyboard titled <i>Beruhigung</i> found in manuscript Mus. P 1433 Ex. 1 in Lübeck, Stadtbibliothek, Musikabteilung (D-LÜh). Here the composer is indicated (ascertained) as <i>Karl August Krebs</i> (1804–1880). The text is by <i>Emanuel Baldamus</i> (1815–1893)
78	-	Continuation of <i>Beruhigung</i>	-	-

79

-

Continuation of
Beruhigung

-

-

Appendix 7 – Contents of the John Rennie manuscript book

Real page number	Name of piece ¹
1	<i>Miss Forbesses Farewell</i>
2	<i>How Sweets The Love that meets return</i>
3	Untitled piece in $\frac{3}{4}$, C-major <i>Mary gray</i>
4	<i>Roslin Castle</i>
5	<i>Lord George Lennoxes March</i>
6	<i>Maid of The Mill</i>
7	<i>Highland Laddie</i> <i>Duke of Gordens Birth day</i>
8	<i>God save The King</i> <i>Highland man Kissed his Mother</i>
9	<i>The Wedding Day</i>
10	<i>Miss Laucia Campbells Delight</i>
11	<i>Miss Laucia Campbells Delight</i> continued Untitled piece in 4/4, A-major
12	<i>Duke of Yorks March</i>
13	<i>Ewe Burghts Marion</i> Fragment of an untitled piece in an untidy hand
14	<i>Mrs oswalds strathspey</i>
15	<i>The 15th Regt March</i>
16	<i>The American Reel</i>
17	<i>The 19th Regt March</i>
18	<i>The Berkshire March</i>
19	<i>The Berkshire March</i> , continued
20	<i>Sombody</i>
21	<i>Sombody</i> , continued
22	<i>Love in A village</i> <i>The Bra'es of Mar</i>
23	<i>The Morpeth Rant</i>
24	<i>Mrs McDowall Grants Strathspey</i>
25	<i>Brouns Reel</i>
26	<i>Lady Lowdens Strathspey</i>
27	<i>Sir Arch. Grant of Moniemusks Strathspey</i>
28	<i>Ou'er the Hills and fare away</i>
29	<i>Mrs Hobbarts Reel</i> <i>Follow her over the Border</i>
30	Empty page with only a treble cleff, G major key signature and a 6/8 time signature on the beginning of the first stave.
31	<i>The White Cockade</i>
32	<i>Lady Ann Hop's Strathspey</i>
33	<i>Miss Drummond of Perth's Strathspey</i>
34	<i>Duke of Perth's Reel</i>
35	<i>Light and Airie</i>
36	<i>Light and Airie</i> , continued

¹ Original spellings as in the manuscript.

37	<i>one of the best in Scotland</i>
38	<i>Strouen Robertsons Rant</i> <i>The oyster Wives Rant</i>
39	<i>The Highland Laddie</i> <i>Ye'll ay be welcome back again</i>
40	<i>Links of Leith</i> <i>Loch-ness</i>
41	<i>The stuarst Rant</i> <i>I wish you would marry me now</i>
42	<i>Marchment house</i>
43	<i>The grants Rant</i> <i>Just as I was in the morning</i>
44	<i>The Bonnet Makers of Dundee</i> <i>Kiss the Lass ye like best, title only, no music</i>
45	Untitled piece in 2/2, Mixolydian mode
46	Untitled piece in 2/2, F-major
47	<i>Sir Roger de Coverleys Country Dance</i>
48	Untitled piece in 9/8, Aeolian mode
49	Untitled piece in 2/2, Mixolydian mode
50	empty page
51	<i>March for the East Loathan Cavelry – by J.C.</i>
52	<i>A March – By Miss Baird of Laughtonhall</i>
53	<i>March of the 55th Regt</i> <i>The four last bars of the Earl of Moira's welcome to Scotland</i>
54	<i>The Earl of Moira's welcome to Scotland</i>
55	<i>Petty=coat Loose</i> <i>Brechin Castle</i>
56	<i>Brechin Castle, continued</i> <i>Bonnie Annie</i>
57	<i>Andrew Carry Jig</i> <i>The Miller of Drone</i>
58	<i>The Miller of Drone, continued</i> <i>The Marquis of Huntlys highland fling</i>
59	<i>Air=shire Lasses</i>
60	empty page
61	empty page
62	empty page
63	Title not legible. Time signature 2/2. Tempo indication: Play slow. The inscription 'Spittle 17 Nov. 1806' can also be found on this page.

Bibliography

Manuscript sources

Borcherds, Meent. Manuscript music books. Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa Archive: private collection of Meent Borcherds, K-DIV823.

Burger family from Piketberg. Manuscript music book. Amongst the collection of hymn books in the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa Archive. No shelf mark.

Cillié, G.G. (1910 – 2000). Handwritten note found in the manuscript book from the Burger family. Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa Archive. No shelf mark.

Ann F. Heathcote. Manuscript music book. September 1835. A804(1). Donor: Mrs JP van der Merwe, 1956. Western Cape Archives and Record Services, Cape Town.

Harriet J. Heathcote. Manuscript music book. February 1834. A804(2). Donor: Mrs JP van der Merwe, 1956. Western Cape Archives and Record Services, Cape Town.

Lubbe, Maggie. Handwritten letter dated 29 July 1950 from Mrs Egberg Olivier (Maggie Lubbe) to GG Cillié, found in the manuscript book from the Burger family. Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa Archive. No shelf mark.

Rennie, George. Manuscript music book. Private collection of John Rennie.

Sheet music

Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. (1758) *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*. First edition. Berlin: George Ludewig Winter.

Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. (1764) *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*. Third edition. Berlin: George Ludewig Winter.

Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel. (1771) *Geistliche Oden und Lieder*. Fourth edition. Berlin: George Ludewig Winter.

Bouws, Jan (ed). (1964) *Ses Menuette uit 'n manuskripboek van Ds. Meent Borcherds*. Cape Town: Studio Holland.

Brinkman, Friedrich (ed). (1968) *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart – Drei Stücke für die Orgel*. Kassel: Bärenreiter.

Hodgson, Orlando. (1832) *Hodgson's National Songster*. London: Hodgson.

Thomson, William. (1733) *Orpheus Caledonius: or, a collection of Scots songs. Set to Musick by W. Thomson*. Vol. 2. London.

Van Elsland, J. (18th century) *Dankbaare naagedachten en Geboorte Gezangen, Op de blyde en heilryke verschyninge, van licht der Genade, Jezus Christus, begreepen in twintig Zangstukken, met zangkunst verrijkt door C. Kauwenberg en W. Vermooten*. Third edition. Haarlem: Van Hulkenroy.

Hymn books

Carstens, J.C., Strydom, W.M. and Troskie, A.J.J. (eds.). (2001) *Liedboek van die Kerk*. Cape Town: ABC Boekdrukkers.

Verlagsgemeinschaft für das Evangelische Gesangbuch Niedersachsen. Bremen. (1994) *Evangelisches Gesangbuch*. Hannover: Lutherisches Verlagshaus.

Goudimel, Claude. (1580) *150 Pseaumes de David*. Second edition. Geneva: Pierre de Saint-André.

Early newspapers¹

The Cape Town Gazette (1800–1803), De Kaapsche Courant (1803–1806), The Cape Town Gazette, and African Advertiser: Kaapsche Stads Courant en Afrikaansche Berigter (1806–1826), Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette (1826–1910). MP1247 and MP1027. 1800–1910.

Cape Almanac. MP1017. Cape Town: 1800–1860.

The South African Commercial Advertiser. MP1030. Cape Town: 1824.

The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser. MP1107. Cape Town: 1824–1826.

De Verzamelaar. MP1122. Cape Town: 1826–1848.

De Zuid-Afrikaan. MP1035. Cape Town: 1830–1930.

The Mediator; Or Cape of Good Hope Impartial Observer. MP1165. Cape Town: 1837–1839.

De Ware Afrikaan. MP1030. Cape Town: 1838–1842.

The Cape Town Mail, And mirror of court and council. MP1041. Cape Town: 1841–1853.

Sam Sly's African Journal. MP1040. Cape Town: 1843–1851.

Het Kaapsche Grensblad. MP1029. Grahamstown: 1844–1861.

The Graham's Town Journal, or, Cape of Good Hope Eastern Province Register. MP3013.6. Grahamstown: 1832–1919.

Colonial Times, continued as The Cape Frontier Times. MP1042. Grahamstown: 1840–1864.

¹ All the shelf marks refer to the Cape Town campus of the National Library of South Africa, 5 Queen Victoria Street, Cape Town.

Printed sources

- Anonymous. (1898) *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama 1497-1499*. Translated by E. G. Ravenstein. New York: Burt Franklin.
- Anonymous. (1701) *The Whole Duty of a Woman, or a Guide to the Female Sex. From the Age of Sixteen to Sixty*. London.
- Babbie, Earl. (2010) *The Practice of Social Research*. Wadsworth: Belmont
- Bate, Philip. (2001) 'Key'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000014943?rsk=IOoZIL&result=6> Accessed: 20 November 2020.
- Bennett, John. (1789) *Letters to a Young Lady, on a Variety of Useful and Interesting Subjects Calculated to Improve the Heart, to Form the Manners, and Enlighten the Understanding*. Vol. 1. Hartford : Hudson & Goodwin.
- Bickford-Smith, Vivian. (1998/1999) 'Leisure and social identity in Cape Town, British Cape Colony, 1838 – 1910'. *Kronos*. No. 25. pp. 103–128.
- Blok, P.J. and Molhuysen, P.C. (1912) *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*. Vol. 2. <http://www.dbnl.org>. Accessed: 25 March 2017.
- Blume, Friedrich. (1965) *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik*. Kassel: Barenreiter-Verlag.
- Boalch, Donald Howard. (1974) *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440–1840*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Borcherds, Claude Bennett. (1964) *Genealogy of the Borcherds Family*. Mossel Bay: self-published.
- Borcherds, Petrus Borchardus. (1861) *An Autobiographical Memoir*. Cape Town: A.S. Robertson.
- Borcherds, Petrus Borchardus. (1963) *An Auto-biographical Memoir*. Facsimile reproduction of 1861 first edition. Cape Town: Africana Connoisseurs Press.
- Bouws, Jan. (1966) *Die Musieklewe van Kaapstad, 1800–1850 en sy verhouding tot die musiekkultuur van Wes-Europa*. Cape Town: Balkema.
- Bouws, Jan. (1964) 'Ds. Meent Borcherds en die Musiek'. *Tydskrif vir Geesteswetenskappe*. Jaargang 4. no. 3. pp. 188–195.
- Bouws, Jan. 'n Vergete Franse wysie: Welkomslied vir Nuwe Leraar in Tolbagh in 1794'. *Die Burger*. 15 December 1966.
- Bouws, Jan. (1982) *Solank daar musiek is...* Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Bruinders, Sylvia. (2017) *Parading Respectability: The Cultural and Moral Aesthetics of the Christmas Bands Movement in the Western Cape, South Africa*. Grahamstown: NISC.

Burchell, William John. (1822) *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*. 2 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown.

Burroughs, Peter. (1984) 'Colonial Self-Government'. *British Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*. Editor: C.C. Eldridge. London: Macmillan. pp. 39–64.

Campbell, John. (1815) *Travels in South Africa, undertaken at the request of the Missionary Society*. London: Black and Parry.

Chouquet, Gustave. (1954) *Ça ira*. *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Volume II, Fifth Edition. Editor: Eric Blom. London: Macmillan & Co Ltd.

Clutton, Cecil and Niland, Austin. (1963) *The British Organ*. London: B.T. Batsford.

Coplan, David. (2007) *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. Second edition. Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

Dallam, Thomas. (1599–1600) *The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam, 1599–1600* in *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant (1893)*. Edited by J. Theodore Bent. London: The Hakluyt Society.

Danson, Lawrence. (2009) 'The Sultan's organ: presents and self-presentation in Thoman Dallam's "Diary"'. *Renaissance Studies*. Vol. 23. No. 5. pp. 639–658.

Darwin, Erasmus. (1798) *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education, in Boarding Schools, Private Families, and Public Seminaries*. Philadelphia: John Ormrod.

Davison, Archibald Thompson et al. (1955) 'Report of the Committee on Graduate Studies'. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*. Vol. 8. No. 2. pp. 153–154.

De Celles, Dom François Bédos. (1766) *L'art du facteur d'orgues*. Paris.

De Chavonnes, Maurits Pasques and Imhoff, Gustaaf Willem. (1918) *Reports of De Chavonnes and his Council, and of Van Imhoff, on the Cape*. Transcribed by Margaret Ralling. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.

De Jong, Cornelius. (1802) *Reizen naar de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Ierland en Noorwegen in de Jaren 1791 tot 1797*. Vol. 1. Haarlem: Francois Bohn.

Duckles, Vincent and Pasler, Jann. (2001) 'Musicology'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000046710?rsk=K0ve8w&result=1> Accessed: 3 January 2013.

Elkins, Caroline and Pedersen, Susan (eds.). (2005) *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Routledge.

Elphick, Richard and Giliomee, Hermann (eds.). (1985) *The Shaping of South African Society, 1652-1820*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller Longman.

Engelbrecht, Stephanus Petrus. (1952) *Die Kaapse predikante van die sewentiende en agtiende eeu*. Cape Town/Pretoria: H.A.U.M/J.H. de Bussy.

Enschedé, Jan Willem. (1912) *Vermooten, Willem*, in P.C. Molhuysen en P.J. Blok (eds.) *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek, deel 2*. Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff.

Essex, John. (1722) *The Young Ladies Conduct: Or, Rules for Education, under Several Heads; with Instructions upon Dress, Both before and after Marriage. And Advice to Young Wives*. London.

Franken, Johan Lambertus Machiel. (ed.). (1938) *Duminy-Dagboeke*. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck-Vereniging.

Frith, Simon. (1996) 'Music & Identity'. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. Edited by Stuart Hall, Paul du Gay. London: SAGE Publishing. pp. 108–127.

Ghosh, Durba. (2004) 'Gender and Colonialism: Expansion or Marginalization?'. *The Historical Journal*. Vol. 47. No. 3. pp. 737–755.

Gierveld, Arend Jan. (1977) *Het Nederlandse Huisorgel in de 17de en 18de eeuw*. Utrecht: Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgechiedenis.

Giliomee, Herman. (2004) *Die Afrikaners*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

Groenewald, Johanna Rousseau. (1989) *A Historical Investigation into the Musical-cultural activities of the Cape South-Western Districts from 1879 to 1902*. Unpublished Masters thesis. Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth.

Haar, James. (2001) 'Music of the Spheres'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000019447?rskey=AsY9fA&result=1> Accessed: 28 August 2020.

Hamilton, Carolyn, Mbenga, Bernard and Ross, Robert. (eds.) (2010) *The Cambridge History of South Africa, vol.1*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harrington, Helmi Strahl and Kubik, Gerhard. (2001) 'Accordion'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000046180?rskey=HTbxoO&result=1> Accessed: 20 November 2020.

Hartman, Anton Carlisle. (1947) *'n Oorsig van die Europese musiek in Suid-Afrika, 1652–1800*. Unpublished MA thesis. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.

Hubbard, Frank. (1972) *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Huntington, Samuel Phillips. (2002) *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. London: Simon & Schuster.

Keeble, John. (1784) *The Theory of Harmonics: Or, an Illustration of the Grecian Harmonica*. London: J. Walter.

- Kerman, Joseph. (1985) *Musicology*. London: Fontana Press.
- Kidson, Frank. (1954) *Ça ira*. Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Volume II, Fifth Edition. Editor: Eric Blom. London: Macmillan.
- Kirby, Percival Robson. (1958) 'An Early Organ by William Hill'. *The Organ*. No. 150. Vol. XXXVIII. pp. 87–91.
- Lenta, Margaret and Le Cordeur, Basil (eds.). (1999) *The Cape Diaries of Lady Anne Barnard 1799 - 1800*. Vol 1. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- Leppert, Richard. (1995) *The Sight of Sound – Music, Representation, and the History of the Body*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Le Vaillant, Francios. (2007) *Travels into the Interior of Africa via the Cape of Good Hope, 1781–1783*. Translated and edited by Ian Glen. Vol. 1. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- Lichtenstein, Henry. (1812) *Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806*. Translated by Anne Plumtre. Vol. 1. London: Henry Colburn.
- Malan, Jacques Philip. (1984) 'Arnold van Wyk in kultuurhistoriese perspektief'. *Acta Academica*. Series B19. pp. 10–24.
- Marais, Elizabeth Margaretha. (1989) *Die Musieklewe van Swellendam 1743 tot 1975*. Unpublished Masters thesis. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.
- Martin, Denis-Constant. (2013) *Sounding the Cape: Music, Identity and Politics in South Africa*. Somerset West: African Minds.
- Mellet, Patric Tariq. (2020) *The Lie of 1652 – A decolonised history of land*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Mentzel, Otto Frederick. (1921) *A Geographical and Topographical Description of the Cape of Good Hope*. Part 1. Translated by H.J. Mandelbrote. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- McIntyre, D.G. (1934) *Early Organs and Organists at the Cape*. Cape Town: The Cape Guild of Organists.
- McKeon, Michael. (2007) *The Secret History of Domesticity*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- McKinnon, James W. (2001) 'Hydraulis'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000013639?rsk=9efweN&result=1> Accessed: 8 August 2020.
- Moodie, Donald. (1838–1845) *The Record; or a Series of Official Papers Relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa, part 1*. Cape Town: A.S. Robertson.
- Muller, Stephanus. (2009) 'Gedagtes oor die korrespondensie tussen Anton Hartman en Arnold van Wyk, 1949–1981.' *Musicus*. Vol. 36. Issue 2. pp. 45–49.

- Owen, Barbara. (2001) 'Reed organ'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000043321?rskey=si03hu&result=1> Accessed: 28 February 2020.
- Owen, Barbara, Williams, Peter and Bicknell, Stephen. (2001) 'Organ'. *Grove Music Online*. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000044010?rskey=n7ZSsz&result=5> Accessed: 3 December 2019.
- Parker, Mary Ann. (1795) *A Voyage Around the World*. London: Mr. DeBrett, Piccadilly.
- Percival, Robert. (1804) *An account of the Cape of Good Hope*. London: Baldwin.
- Perrot, Jean. (1971) *The Organ from its Invention in the Hellenistic Period to the end of the Thirteenth Century*. Translated by Norma Deane. London: Oxford University Press.
- Roos, Hilde and Muller, Wayne (eds). (2013) *Eoan – Our Story*. Johannesburg: Fourthwall Books.
- Ross, Robert. (2008) *A Concise History of South Africa*. Cape Town: Cambridge University Press.
- Ross, Robert. (2009) *Status and Respectability in the Cape Colony 1750–1870*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Serres, Michel. (2008) *The Five Senses – A Philosophy of Mingled Bodies*. Translated by Margaret Sankey and Peter Cowley. London: Continuum.
- Schoeman, Karel. (2008) *Patrisiërs & prinse : die Europese samelewing en die stigting van 'n kolonie aan die Kaap, 1619-1715*. Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis.
- Stowell, Robin. (2001) *The Early Violin and Viola*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sumner, William Leslie. (1981) *The Organ, Its Evolution, Principles of Construction and Use*. London & Sydney: Macdonald & Co.
- Tarling, Judy. (2005) *The Weapons of Rhetoric*. St Albans: Corda Music.
- Taruskin, Richard. (1995) *Text & Act*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Teenstra, M.D. (1943) *De vruchten mijner werkzaamheden, gedurende mijne reize over de Kaap de Goede Hoop, naar Java en terug, over St Helena, naar de Nederlanden (1830)*. Edited by F.C.L. Bosman. Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society.
- Thompson, Leonard. (2006) *A History of South Africa*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers.
- Torp, Claudius and Rempe, Martin. (2017) 'Cultural Brokers and the Making of Glocal Soundscapes, 1880s to 1930s'. *Itinerario*. Vol. 41. No. 2. pp. 223–233.
- Torp, Claudius. 'Missionary Education and Musical Communities in Sub-Saharan Colonial Africa'. (2017) *Itinerario*. Vol. 41. No. 2. pp. 235–251.
- Troskie, Albert. (1992) *Pyporrels in Suid-Afrika*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

- Troskie, Albertus Jakobus Johannes [Albert]. (1969) *The Musical Life of Port Elizabeth 1875–1900*. Unpublished Masters thesis. Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth.
- Troskie, Albert. (2010) *The Pipe Organ Heritage of South Africa*. Port Elizabeth: self-published.
- Trudell, Scott A. (2019) 'An organ for the seraglio: Thomas Dallam's artificial life'. *Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies*. Vol. 34. No. 5. pp. 766–783.
- Van Blerk, Benita Elizabeth. (1986) *Die Musieklewe van Stellenbosch 1679–1950*. 3vols. Unpublished Doctoral thesis. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.
- Van der Spuy, Herman Hubert. (1975) *Die Musieklewe van Pietermaritzburg 1850–1902*. Unpublished Doctoral thesis. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.
- Van der Wal, Anne Marieke. (2016) 'Slave Orchestras and Rainbow Balls: Colonial Culture and Creolisation at the Cape of Good Hope, 1750–1838'. *Identity, Intertextuality, and Performance in Early Modern Song Culture*. Edited by Dieuwke Van Der Poel, Louis P. Grijp, Wim van Anrooij. Leiden: Brill. pp. 352–371.
- Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1952) *Daghregister gehouden by den Oppercoopman Jan Anthonisz van Riebeeck*. Edited by D.B. Bosman. Vol. 1. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.
- Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1955) *Daghregister gehouden by den Oppercoopman Jan Anthonisz van Riebeeck*. Edited by D.B. Bosman. Vol. 2. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.
- Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1957) *Daghregister gehouden by den Oppercoopman Jan Anthonisz van Riebeeck*. Edited by D.B. Bosman. Vol. 3. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.
- Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1952) *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*. Edited by H.B. Thom, Translated W.P.L. van Zyl. Vol. 1. Cape Town, Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema.
- Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1954) *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*. Edited by H.B. Thom, Translated by J. Smuts. Vol. 2. Cape Town, Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema.
- Van Riebeeck, Jan Anthonisz. (1958) *Journal of Jan van Riebeeck*. Edited by H.B. Thom, Translated by C.K. Johnman and A. Ravenscroft. Vol. 3. Cape Town, Amsterdam: A.A. Balkema.
- Venter, C.L. (1977) *Suid-Afrikaanse klaviermusiek - 'n Kultuurhistoriese en stylanalitiese studie*. Unpublished D.Mus. thesis. Potchefstroom: University for Christian Higher Education, Potchefstroom.
- Veltkamp, S.B.I. (1977) *Meent Borchers: Predikant in overgangstijd (Jemgum 1762–1832)*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Pretoria: UNISA.
- Veracini, Lorenzo. (2010) *Settler Colonialism – A Theoretical Overview*. Chippenham and Eastbourne: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Visser, Wessel. (2004) *Trends in South African historiography and the present state of historical research*. Unpublished conference paper, Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden.

Voorendyk, Lavinia. (1971) *Die Musiekgeskiedenis van Wes-Transvaal 1838–1960*. Unpublished Masters thesis. Potchefstroom: University for Christian Higher Education, Potchefstroom.

Vos, Michiel Christiaan. (1824) *Merkwaardig verhaal aangaande het leven en de lotgevallen van Michiel Christiaan Vos*. Amsterdam.

Waitzman, Mimi. (2003) *Early Keyboard Instruments: The Benton Fletcher Collection at Fenton House*. London: The National Trust.

Walton, Chris. (2009) 'Secret Agent Man? Verdere gedagtes oor die korrespondensie tussen Hartman en Van Wyk'. *Musicus*. Vol. 37. Issue 2. pp. 3–6.

Wilkins, William Henry. (1910) *South Africa A Century Ago. Letters written from the Cape of Good Hope by Lady Anne Barnard (1797–1801)*. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

Wood, Jennifer Linhart. (2015) 'An Organ's Metamorphosis: Thomas Dallam's Sonic Transformations in the Ottoman Empire.' *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies*. Vol. 15. No. 4. pp. 81–105.

Websites

Africa Open Institute. <https://aoinstitute.ac.za/philosophy/> Accessed: 28 November 2020.

British 1820 Settlers to South Africa. <https://www.1820settlers.com> Accessed: 10 July 2018.

Deutsches Lied. <http://www.deutscheslied.com>. Accessed: 15 December 2020.

Inventories of the Orphan Chamber of the Cape of Good Hope.
http://www.tanap.net/content/activities/documents/Orphan_Chamber-Cape_of_Good_Hope/introduction/01.htm Accessed: 20 January 2019.

Iziko Museums of South Africa. <https://slavery.iziko.org.za/cloeteera> Accessed: 16 December 2020.

Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM). <https://opac.rism.info/index.php?id=7&L=0> Accessed: 15 December 2020.

The Hans Adler Collection of Early Instruments. <http://hansadlercollection.blogspot.com> Accessed: 10 February 2020.