# THE POWER OF SONG: THE ROLE OF AFRIKAANS PATRIOTIC SONGS IN THE MAINTENANCE OF APARTHEID

by

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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Title: The Power of Song: The Role of Afrikaans Patriotic Songs in the Maintenance of Apartheid

In this thesis, I examine how the patriotic songs found in the FAK songbook helped maintain the continued imposition of apartheid. During the start of the 20th century the FAK aimed to solve the 'poor white problem' by uplifting the Afrikaner people both economically and culturally. They first set out to unite the Afrikaners by creating a shared heritage, including folk songs. By expanding on Patricia Hill Collins' theory of controlling images, I argue that the FAK created a controlling sound by associating musical genres with class. The patriotic songs affiliated with the uplifted Afrikaner, in turn, narrated the created heritage with lyrics that promoted settler colonialism. I claim these songs encouraged white ignorance—the disbelief or absence of true belief about systemic white supremacy—and, more importantly, that encouraging their performance is in itself white ignorance.

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# INTRODUCTION

The first time I studied apartheid was in grade four in my history class at Laerskool Helderkruin in Johannesburg, South Africa. Like most of my classmates, I was born in 1994—the first year South Africa had a democratic election. I remember seeing the color pictures of "slegs blankes" (whites only) sign on a public bench in the glossy pages of the new Oxford University textbooks we received. A young, white, blonde girl sits on the bench while an older Black woman, her babysitter, sits on the floor. I could not understand how Afrikaners would support this behavior, much less advocate for it, since our culture is strongly rooted in respecting anyone older than you. Moreover, my Sunday school lessons at church taught me to "love thy neighbor." When I asked who the neighbor is my reverend replied: "the person literally closest to you." Yet, six years prior, my rebellious teenage brother was criticized for questioning the anti-Black teaching of an elder. The elder explained in a lesson that God replanted Europeans in South Africa to save Black people. When my brother questioned his statement, the elder yelled at him "do you hear what you are saying, child?" The elder was not reprimanded for his lesson and he continued to teach at the church until 2011, when he and others left after the larger denomination declared that apartheid was a sin and cannot be justified with the Bible. Nonetheless, racist sentiments are still commonly expressed among Afrikaners, not just by those born and raised during apartheid, but also post-apartheid Afrikaners. Thus, my questions became: how did the apartheid government achieve such contradictory beliefs and how are these beliefs still a part of Afrikaner thought?

To make sense of the present we often look to the past for answers. This in turn, provides the knowledge which helps shape our own identity, and as André Wessels asserts, "the destruction of someone's past is one of the most effective ways to deprive a person or a group of self-respect" (64). Therefore, controlling knowledge is one of the most effective tactics to create a unified identity in a community. Knowledge is not just gained in books or through education, but also through commemoration, cultural artifacts—like music—stories we hear from grandparents, mundane everyday tasks, and almost every aspect of our redundant daily life. Thomas Turino explains that "redundancy is the central mechanism for creating new social habits of thought and action—making them cultural common sense and core aspects of the individual" (2008, 197). In other words, if these sources of knowledge are spreading one unified ideology, it becomes redundant and accepted. Turino expounds that redundancy is used especially during propaganda campaigns and it becomes particularly effective if the dominant group takes control of all forms of social and public life—as a result, the production of knowledge. Consequently, this ideology can become systemic, like white supremacy or the patriarchy and lead to illogical premises, like racism, which become 'common sense'. Therefore, to understand how apartheid remained in place for four decades, I turned to the production of knowledge, specifically music, and investigated the role of music in social and private life.

In the beginning of the 20th century the Afrikaners were highly divided, particularly when it involved the British. In 1901 the South African War[1] ended,

[1] Also known as the Anglo-Boer War and Second Boer War. South African War is used to acknowledge the participation of all other South Africans. For more see Peter Warwick's *Black People and the South African War* and Bill Nasson's *Abraham Esau's War*.

where 27,000 Boer women and children died in the British concentration camps. As a result, when World War I broke out, many Afrikaners did not want to now fight for the Crown and there was even a conspiracy to overthrow the Union of South Africa and become an independent republic. Nonetheless, as a British Dominion, South Africa joined the War and the Afrikaans pro-British prime minister was supportive. This divide manifested among party lines, those in favor of the British in the South African Party (SAP) and opposed to the British in the National Party (NP). In the hope to bring an end to the divide, Afrikaner intellectuals and churchmen created a subtle distinction between *partypolitiek* (party politics) and *kultuurpolitiek* (culture politics), using the latter to unite despite political differences, which led to the development of many cultural organizations. One of these were the *Afrikaner Broederbond*, which established in 1918 to help 'uplift' the Afrikaners through educational, cultural, and financial development after their defeat at the hands of the British. During the South African War, many Afrikaners, who were mostly farmers, lost their farms which led to mass urbanizations of both the Afrikaners and their Black workers. Unfortunately for them, they had less education and had fewer resources than their English counterparts. Historian Mariana Kriel writes that the *Broederbond*'s primary focus in the early years was the 'poor white problem' (2010, 408). In 1921 the *Broederbond* decided to become a secret organization that only allowed white Afrikaner Calvinist men to join. Membership was by invitation only and usually reserved for men in leadership positions throughout society. By 1948 it was apparently easier to count the parliament members who were not *Broeders* than those who were (Kriel 2010). Although their influence is

still disputed, every prime minister and later president was a *Broeder* from 1948 till 1994.

To create a unified Afrikaner nation, the *Broederbond* established *Die Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge* (Federation for Afrikaans Culture Associations, or FAK) in 1929 which would lead all Afrikaner cultural organizations with a united goal. The FAK become the front organization for the *Broederbond*; therefore, publicly the FAK took care of the *kultuurpolitiek* while the *Broederbond* secretly handled *partypolitiek*. One of the FAK's best-known publications is their songbook, which has become canonical with Afrikaner identity. The newest edition of the songbook consists of four hundred songs and is divided into several sections to help the singer or musical leader find appropriate songs for each occasion. Although this enormous collection of songs needs to be studied in full, this study only primarily focuses on the first two sections, which include the most overtly nationalistic songs: the approved arrangements of "Die Stem van Suid-Afrika" (The Call of South Africa or Die Stem), first an anthem for Afrikanerdom and later the national anthem, and 45 songs for *Volk en Vaderland* (Nation and Fatherland). One of the central figures at the FAK, and the broader music administration of South Africa, was Anton Hartman. He served on the FAK music committee, was head of music at the South African Broadcasting Commissions (SABC), conductor of the SABC orchestra, and was head of the music department at the University of Witwatersrand throughout his life. Chris Walton (2004) argues that his successful career was in part due to his membership with the *Broederbond*, which implicates his musical legacy with their ideologies.

In this thesis, I explore the role of these patriotic songs, found in the FAK songbook, in Afrikaner life during apartheid. I collected five oral histories from Afrikaners that grew up and attended school, as well as spent their early adulthood under apartheid. My interlocutors were born between 1948–1968; thus, they lived three to five decades in apartheid. As Devault et al. (2012) explain, life histories allow a researcher to understand her participants' lives through their own words and "provides a touchstone by which to evaluate theories of social life" (103). Turino states that cognitive dissonance occurs when our perception of events contradicts our beliefs. Life histories allowed me to assess the presence of dissonance by exploring the participants' racial relationships, personal experiences in apartheid with people of color, and parents' views on Afrikaner nationalism and apartheid. In other words, I explored if and how they justified discriminatory practices and laws around them. Furthermore, my interlocutors and I discussed the role music played in their lives, particularly their relationship with the songs found in the first two sections of the FAK songbook. Most importantly, I investigated if these songs played a role in their identity as Afrikaners, how this musical identity was achieved, and how that identity strengthens the apartheid racist ideology.

Charla Schutte and John Visagie (2012), Winfried Lüdemann (2003), and Carol Steyn (2013) have explored how these nationalistic songs were used as propaganda. Schutte and Visagie (2012) provide an ideology-critical analysis of two political songs, one song from apartheid South Africa and the other from the German Democratic Republic, to prove music can be used for indoctrination by circumventing logic and evoking emotion. With the help of Visagie's "topographic

analysis of topographic culture" (111) and John Thompson's "theoretical framework for ideology" (111) they showcase how song lyrics and power interrelate. This leads to a construction of ideological meaning, in these cases the indoctrination into ethno-nationalism. When the performer experiences this subliminally they may be unaware of its influence on their value systems, therefore making it the ideal propaganda tool. Lüdemann analyzed the songs by using an archetypal interpretation that is found in patriotic songs throughout the world in an attempt to "identify underlying—i.e. subconscious—thought patterns… which in turn contributed to the inculcation if Afrikaner nationalism amongst the youth over several generations" (2003, 13). Steyn's (2013) study is about "Die Vlaglied." She draws on her own experience of accompanying school children during the 1980s and conducts a small qualitative study to determine that "Die Vlaglied" was more popular in tow provinces: the Transvaal and Oranje-Vrystaat. Thereafter, she analyzes the songs by using Du Preez' master symbols, identified in school textbooks during apartheid. She finds that nine out of the twelve master symbols are present in "Die Vlaglied."

METHODOLOGY

I conducted five semi-structured interviews (see Appendix B) via Zoom in Afrikaans, which I recorded with the interviewees' consent. As always, technological issues did occur. Two of my interviews had no technology problems, with one the camera was not working for the first ten minutes, and for the last two I could not see my interviewees. Therefore, I was unable to see their visual communication and as a result those descriptions do not include body language. As Kirsten Ghodshee (2016) and Devault et al. (2012) suggest, I

attempted to provide the non-verbal ques in my descriptions, without my own interpretation. In other words, if the interlocutor's facial expression indicated sadness, the description includes what I perceived that drew me to that conclusion. I reached out to people I know for the interviews because of the time constraints of a master's program and the Covid-19 pandemic. Since I collected oral histories, the IRB granted me exemption. Nonetheless, I still reminded my interlocutors that they are in control of the conversation and that they can stop the interview at any time. Moreover, they are allowed to redact anything they said, including the whole conversation during the interview or afterwards. It is also important to remember that the opinions and stories that they shared was their opinion at the moment of the interview. Everything leading up to the interview had an influence on these opinions, which might have been expressed differently on another occasion. To limit the scope of the study, I used gender neutral pseudonyms and pronouns. Although I do think gender plays a role in the perception of race and music, with such a small sample size it would be irresponsible to draw any conclusions. I also changed the names of the people my interlocutors mentioned and tried to avoid sharing any identifiable information such as, their birthdates, where they grew up, which school they attended, and their places of employment.

Since the interviews were conducted over Zoom, I used the opportunity to listen to four patriotic songs from the FAK songbook with my interlocutors. We started with the old South African national anthem "Die Stem van Suid-Afrika,"and I chose the other three songs since the literature (Lüdemann 2008; Muller 2011; Steyn 2013; Schutte 2021) suggested that these songs were some of

the most popular songs during apartheid. I correlated this observation with my parents, and they knew all three songs. The songs were: “Afrikaners, Landgenote” (Afrikaners, Compatriots), “Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika” (The Song of Young South Africa), and “Die Vlaglied” (Flag song). I followed the guidelines set out by Robert Emerson et al. (1995) on open coding, which helped me to “move beyond the particular event the particular event or situation in the fieldnotes to capture some more general theoretical framework” (1995, 150). Furthermore, I acknowledge myself within the data. Kristen Ghodsee (2016) explains subjectivity is always at play in ethnographic methods, thus she encourages using the first person in your writing. She argues this is an “invitation to the reader, exposing the human being lurking behind the words on the printed page” (21).

The historical facet of my research synthesizes secondary literature that is seldom discussed in North American musicology. I also use two important firsthand sources: four editions of the FAK songbook, and a memorial book published after the reenactment of the Great Trek. The latter provided programs of the events and ceremonies during the reenactment, the orations given at the ceremonies, letters from organizers, and photos.

In chapter one I provide a historiographic chronicle of the development of Afrikaner nationalism. I pay particular attention to the differentiation of *kultuurpolitiek* and *partypolitiek,* with the FAK taking the lead on the former. This is followed by a discussion of the motivation behind the FAK songbook. In particular, I show how the conversation surrounding *boeremusiek* in the early 20th century revolved around the ‘poor white problem.’ I argue that the highlight of early Afrikaner nationalism is the *Ossewatrek* (1938), which was a

reenactment of the Great Trek. Thereafter, I conduct a comparative analysis of *Die Stem* and an oration given by D.F. Malan during the reenactment. I end the chapter by looking towards Patricia Hill Collins' controlling images theory, and apply it to Malan's oration, *Die Stem*, the Day of the Vow myth, and my interlocutors' emotions towards *Die Stem*.

Chapter two starts with a brief overview of the political history from the *Ossewatrek* to the start of apartheid in 1948. I contend that a crucial element for the sustainment of apartheid was white ignorance, a theory coined by Charles Mills. He argues that white ignorance is the production of knowledge that leads to a "false belief or the absence of true belief" (2007, 15) of either the existence or immorality of white supremacy. After showing how white ignorance was present in the everyday life of Afrikaners, I turn to education during apartheid. I assert that education played an integral role in the development of white ignorance. Thereafter, I indicate how music education was involved in this process, particularly through the group singing of patriotic songs at school. I provide a semiotic analysis of "Die Vlaglied" (appendix G) and "Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika" (appendix H) and showcase how they unconsciously contribute to the establishment of white ignorance through indexical clusters.

## A NOTE ON LANGUAGE

The Afrikaner people as we understand today—white Afrikaans speaking people—has used many names. Firstly, they were Dutch Settlers who arrived at the Cape of Good Hope in the 17th century with the Dutch East India Company. The servants who received their freedom from the company became *Vryburgers* (free citizens) who had the right to own land. This led to the new name of Boers

(farmers) who farmed at the outskirts of the Cape of Good Hope and later Cape Colony. Thereafter, in the early 19th century some of these Boers trekked into the greater South Africa and become known as Voortrekkers (pioneers). It is important to note that some of the Boers who stayed in the Cape Colony would also become Afrikaners. During the start of 20th century, as will be discussed below, who constituted an Afrikaner was still being determined. However, the majority believed that the Boers, as opposed to the English colonialists, were Afrikaners. This distinction is crucial for Afrikaner nationalism—the white population of South Africa consists of two groups based on heritage and language: Afrikaner and English. This distinction is still prevalent in South Africa, which, I believe, is a result of the separation of Afrikaans and English white schools that will be discussed in chapter two. This short discussion of the various names of the Afrikaner throughout history is by no means exhaustive, but it will help guide the reader through the historical background. Throughout this thesis, I will distinguish the people as Afrikaners and the language as Afrikaans, since other non-white groups in South Africa also speak Afrikaans.

Furthermore, I will use binary language for various groups of people to mark the way the South African population was organized (and still considering postcoloniality and postapartheid). The first large binary will be white and non-white. The white population is the minority, but was the oppressive ruling group from the arrival of European settlers till the fall of apartheid in 1994. The scope of this thesis does not allow for greater specificity between the non-white population, who consisted of:

- The indigenous South Africans – San and KhoeKhoe peoples.

- The Black population who migrated from other parts of Africa around 300 B.C.E. who speak Bantu languages, which can be *roughly* divided into four categories - Nguni, Sotho–Tswana, Vhavenda and Shangana–Tsonga. However, there are specific African tribes within these language categories. I will specifically refer to the Zulu people.
- The Coloured population consists of mixed-race South Africans, "but goes beyond this notion and refers to a conglomerate of diverse peoples and identities that were artificially groups together during apartheid because they did not fit into the easily identifiable racial categories such as 'white' and 'black'" (Roos 2018, xiii).
- A variety of peoples from Southeast Asia, Mauritius and Madagascar who were brought over as slaves during the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC, Dutch East India Company) period.

It is important to note that these racial boundaries were constantly in flux to meet the white oppressor's goals, similar to the history of the United States. (See Omi and Winant *Racial Formation in the United States* and *White by Law* by Ian Haney Lopez.) Thus, the racial categories of VOC Cape differed from the British Colonial era and again from apartheid South Africa. This in turn show the arbitrary nature of racial constructs. Nonetheless, the effects of these constructs had severe consequences on the majority of South Africans.

Throughout the thesis, I will use both post-apartheid and postapartheid. The former referring to any time after 1994, when apartheid ended. While postapartheid will also refer to this timeframe, it will include the consequences of apartheid still experienced in South Africa. For example, although, the segregated

education system—that typically trained whites for professional careers and Black South Africans for manual labor—consequences are still present in South Africa.

## THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE SYSTEM

Unfortunately, we do not live in a post-race society. Those who came before us implemented racist laws, ideologies, and practices that are still at play today. As a white person born after the end of apartheid, I benefitted greatly from this racism. In my view, while studying the political and 'intellectual' leaders is important, we need to question how these laws, ideologies, and practices manifested in the everyday lives of the general public. Eduardo Bonilla-Silva expresses a similar sentiment when he argues that "the reproduction of racial stratification and racial order do not depend on the activities of the Klan… or the Proud Boys" (2022, 22). He argues that researchers need to document the functions of race in routine activities. Since my project deals with a time of overt racist laws, ideologies, and practices, I do believe it is important to understand how they were implemented. However, "it is impossible for individuals *not* to be influenced and take part of the larger social structures of modernity—most prominently, capitalism, patriarchy, and racism. Once a system is in place, we are all habituated by the norms and collective practices of the system" (2022, 27). In other words, whoever is in the dominant group is an "unconscious personification" (2022, 27) of the larger oppressive system. I argue that understanding how apartheid *system* remained in place for over forty years, we need to research the whole system. That includes policies, leaders, cultural artifacts, ideologies, and their unconscious personification in white people. In

this thesis I explore the role music played to maintain the continuous imposition of this system.

# CHAPTER 1: THE CONQUERING AFRIKANER

> Whenever you commemorate, you run the risk of freezing history in time and space. You run the risk of canonising and sacralising a specific narrative of the past. It might seem completely appropriate at the time, as it did for those abovementioned missionaries and pious Afrikaners who commemorated the Great Trek. The problem is that a frozen history might be used as a tool or even a weapon, but it hardly has any use for critically informing the present.
> - Retief Müller, *Afrikaner Reformed*

## INTRODUCTION

In my parent's house in Roodepoort, South Africa there is a small reading nook with various family heirlooms. The light brown wooden chest that makes up the largest part of the nook was on the ox-wagon of my Voortrekker ancestors on my father's side. Before finding a home in my parent's house, the chest lived in my grandmother's home and also served as the surface for her historical reading nook. On either side of the chest are two dark brown wooden 'riempie' chairs—nineteenth century Boer-made chairs. The shape of a 'riempie' chair is similar to a Regency chair, with straight rounded front legs and plain back legs, usually without armrests. The seating of the chair is what makes it unique and gives the chair its name. Riempies, long narrow white pieces of thick leather, are woven into a wide square lattice with the ends secured on the wooden frame. On top of the chest is an old family Afrikaans Bible, two pairs of glasses from some great-grandfathers—one with a cracked lens—and a set of two bowls. The one bowl is made of white porcelain with ochre images, while the other is metal with the same images embossed on it. The images are Afrikaner symbols: an early rendition of the Voortrekker Monument, the Battle of Bloedrivier, Voortrekkers and their ox-wagons struggling over treacherous terrain of South Africa, and the

*Volksmoeder*. Each bowl was given to my grandmothers, respectively, in 1938 after they participated in the *Simboliese Ossewatrek* (symbolic ox-wagon trek), a reenactment for the commemoration of the centenary anniversary for the Great Trek. My grandmothers had each placed a rock on a larger pile to represent the Afrikaner forefathers heroic sacrifice and determination during the Great Trek.

This little nook with all the mementos is a frozen history by itself. Not just a frozen history of my family, but my family's frozen history within Afrikaner history. They symbolize our membership in the Afrikaner imagined community, which indicates that we belong to a larger group. Psychologists agree that belonging to a group is a basic human need and exclusion can have negative consequences. However, what happens when these symbols are used as weapons? Or when they are used to rationalize the superiority of one group over another?

Benedict Anderson explains that nationalism is an imagined community founded in 'cultural artifacts.' If we want to understand why these artifacts "command such profound emotional legitimacy" (2006, 4) we need to investigate how they were established and developed over time. Dan O'Meara claims that the "divinely-created Afrikaner" nation was established in the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century; however, they were "politically divided, culturally disunited, and wracked by severe class divisions" (1983, 71). Albert Grunlingh and Hilary Sapire explain that this frustration could not be solved through politics because the Afrikaners did not yet have enough control within their government; therefore, they turned to cultural expression by adopting a "strategy of aggressive cultural assertion" (1989, 22). Within this cultural strategy, Marianna Kriel (2013) argues that it was when the *Afrikaner*

*Broederbond*—a nationalist secret cultural organization—turned their attention to the Afrikaner economic movement, by establishing a united cultural identity, that the first steps toward a nationalist political power were made. That is, the so-called 'purified' Afrikaner nationalist that came into power in 1948 and instituted apartheid needed an Afrikaner frozen history with cultural artifacts to achieve a cross-class alliance among Afrikaners.

In this chapter I investigate how music was used in this process, particularly the role of "Die Stem van Suid-Afrika"—the Afrikaner *volkslied* (anthem or literally song of the nation) and later the South African anthem. Firstly, I give a brief overview of the early history of Afrikaners. Thereafter, I explore the political divide of Afrikaners in the beginning of the 20th century that sparked the separation of *partypolitiek* (party politics) and *kultuurpolitiek* (cultural politics), leading to the establishment of cultural organizations. I pay particular attention to the *Broederbond* and their front organization, the FAK, which played an integral role in the development of Afrikaner musicking. Next, I turn to the reenactment of the Great Trek and draw comparisons between D.F. Malan's speech and "Die Stem van Suid-Afrika" (appendix E), which was inaugurated as the official anthem of Afrikanerdom during the reenactment. Lastly, I use Patricia Hill Collins' theory of controlling images to showcase how the reenactment played a role in creating Afrikaner symbols to justify white supremacy.

## THE 'POOR WHITE PROBLEM'

The motivation for Afrikaner nationalism stems from what Joshua Fishman describes as 'the urban condition,' or the "widespread and basic social

disorganization and reorganization constituted the major need- and opportunity-systems to which nationalism was a possible response" (1975, 17). He goes on to explain that this happens especially when social structures change, such as the mass movement of a group of people away from their traditional rural life towards the city. Thus, the city becomes an important space for the development of social history. In the following overview of Afrikaner history, I demonstrate how urbanization, and the 'poor white problem' that resulted, was the motivation for the creation of a unified Afrikaner people.

The frozen history of Afrikaners starts with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck at the Cape of Good Hope in 1652 with the Dutch East India Company (VOC). One of my participants, Aubrie, explained that: "our progenitor was one of the helmsmen of the ships of Jan van Riebeeck. That's what my dad told us. He was very proud of this." Most Afrikaners' descendants were Dutch settlers and later French Huguenots that arrived in the following decades. Ben Schiff writes that "Dutch settlers came from the bottom of society—press-ganged workers, people fleeing prosecution, or those opting for emigration instead of jail" (1991, 216). The French Huguenots were escaping persecution and formed an educated elite against the illiterate Dutch settlers who were mostly farmers. It is also important to note that the Dutch settlers did engage sexually with and marry women brought from the East Indies and native women, although this would later be ignored by nationalists advocating for racial purity. It was during this time that the designation Boer (which means "farmer" in Dutch) developed in reference to these people, who also started speaking a 'kitchen Dutch,' which would later become Afrikaans.

In the beginning of the 19th century, the Cape became a colony of the British Empire, which invited a large influx of better-educated and wealthier colonists who lived in tension with the uneducated Boers. The first major source of friction was the language laws, implemented by the British, which outlawed the use of Dutch and the beginnings of Afrikaans in churches, schools, and courts. However, when the British Empire abolished slavery, some of the Dutch settlers—scared of losing their higher position in a society based on white supremacy—embarked on the Great Trek and became known as the Voortrekkers (pioneers). The Great Trek was not one large group of Voortrekkers that trekked together but smaller groups of wagon trains moving inwards and in different directions (see Figure 1). This trek and the Voortrekkers formed the foundational shared heritage used to evoke Afrikaner nationalism in the 20th century. Moreover, the many hardships that the Voortrekkers faced for their descendants "became the foundational myth of Afrikaner nationalism" (Schiff 1991, 217).

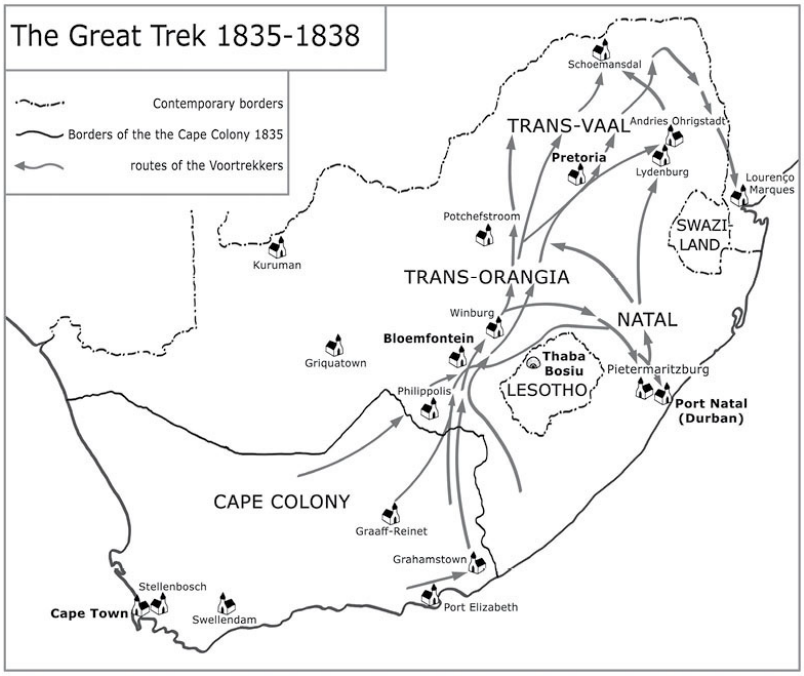


*Figure 1 Map of Great Trek Expeditions*

Throughout these expeditions, Voortrekkers encountered African ethnic groups which were often not peaceful. The Battle of Bloedrivier/Ncome against the Zulus was viewed by political and cultural leaders in the 20th century as crucial for Boer survival, but this myth has been debunked by scholars starting in the late 1970's. The commemoration of this battle became a religious holiday to Afrikaners, because of the supposed vow (or rather, bargain) made to God if they came out victorious. I discuss this battle and the surrounding myths at greater length later in this chapter. Nonetheless, the impact became foundational for Afrikaner identity, particularly the Afrikaner's special relationship with God as a 'chosen nation'. Thus, scholars refer to Afrikaner nationalism as a Christian nationalism, creating an intimate relationship between the nation and Christianity.

In addition to Christianity's key role in Afrikaner nationalism, the development and establishment of Afrikaans became crucial. Kriel (2013) explains that language serves as a tool to define a social community from another; furthermore, Anderson (2006) argues that all communities are socially constructed. Put differently, language creates the boundaries of belonging to socially constructed communities. Thus, as mentioned earlier, the tension between the Afrikaners and the British started at the fight for the recognition of Afrikaans. This tension came to a climax with the South African War when gold was discovered in the Transvaal, a Boer republic. During the war the British implemented a scorched earth policy, destroying over 100,000 farmhouses of both Boers and their Black workers, as well as forty towns (Wessels 2010). Subsequently the women, children, and farm workers were sent to concentration

camps where about 26,000 Boer women and children and another 20,000 non-white South Africans died from starvation and disease. My interlocutors spoke about this war with some pain, as it is still in what Hobsbawm explains as the "twilight zone between history and memory" (1989, 3). Dani explained:

> She [their grandmother] was in a concentration camp. Their farm was burnt down. She was 5 years old when they were there. One of the skeletons in the closet is that my grandfather was a 'hensopper' [referring to surrendering with your hands up; *Boers* that defected to the British side] and he 'hensopped' [verb] to get food for the mother and for her [grandmother] and her sisters. He betrayed some people. And she always told us how her mother refused to take the food that he tried to give to them through the fence.

On the other side, Aubrie's father, who was a child during the South African War, did not speak about it often:

> My dad did not really tell us about the Boer War, he did not want to tell us. He said with the concentration camps and everything that there was just too much pain. And he rather believed in being positive. He did not want to tell you about all that pain.

Towards the end of this chapter, I investigate how these twilight zones are encouraged in the grand narratives found in the Afrikaner folk songs. The war ended with the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging in 1912; however, as will be discussed below, this war played a key role in Afrikaner pride and has caused a great divide between the Afrikaners and the English for many decades.

Now unskilled Boers and their non-white workers rushed to the cities and mines leading to mass urbanization, which confirmed their lost Boer (farmer) identity. Giliomee explains that while in 1890 fewer than 10,000 Afrikaners lived in urban areas (two to three percent), by 1921 that had increased to 391,000 (41%) and by 1936 it was over 535,000 (50%). The great population increase of mostly unskilled workers caused politicians to describe Afrikaners, since their

skills were farming, as the 'poor white problem.' My interlocutors never directly mentioned the 'poor white problem,' but references to poverty were often made. Aubrie tells:

> My dad was a farmer in the earlier years who then lost his farm because of the droughts and so. Then he completely started a new career… at a wholesale meat supplier… There's not a lot of funds with so many children, uhm… so we grew up a little bit poor, but we were always clean and neatly dressed and there was always food on the table. Especially since he worked at the meat supplier, uhm… did he, a part of his salary was a weekly meat hamper. So even if there was nothing else, there was always meat. Meat and pap.

Later when explaining why their father did not allow them to take part in Voortrekkers [2] they said:

> If they [the Voortrekkers] had to go on fieldtrips, there was never money for us to do it. Then my dad said you should rather not do it [Voortrekkers], because he does not want to embarrass you when you have to say there's not money for the camp. He was a very proud man. He always told you: 'you don't wear your poverty on your sleeve.' So, you had your neat clothes that you wore to church, and you had your neat clothes that you wore to school. And then my mother made us clothes, like to wear at home, but you were still neat and clean. But you couldn't do all types of activities since there was no money for that. And it wasn't like it is today where someone else would pay for you.

Nonetheless, the wages of white unskilled laborers were three to four times higher than their Black counterparts in the first decade of the century; notwithstanding the systemic racism caused by settler colonialism expected the urbanized Boers to live like other whites. The need to solve the 'poor white problem' was the political motivation for Afrikaner nationalism, which Fishman coins 'the urban condition.' Nevertheless, who constituted an Afrikaner, and who did not, was still contestable and caused political turmoil.

[2] Afrikaner boys and girls scouts.

## UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Thus far I have explored the history that led to the 'poor white problem' and, therefore, Afrikaner nationalism, as well as the two important foundational pillars for this nationalism: Christianity and the Afrikaans language. During the Union of South Africa, these foundational pillars were developed and used in the name of Afrikaner unity. The Union of South Africa was established in 1910 with Louis Botha, a Boer hero from the South African War, as the prime minister from the South African Party. Botha followed the united white vision which argued South Africa belongs to all white South Africans in the hopes that it would attract political support from British settlers. On the other hand, Botha's first minister of justice, J.B.M. (Barry) Hertzog (another South African War Boer hero) believed that South Africa needed to be ruled by the Afrikaners—a white nation with their loyalties to South Africa and not the Crown. In 1912, he explained that "only one nation has the right to be 'boss' in South Africa, namely the Afrikaner… The people who have become conscious of themselves as a nation" (qtd in Moodie 1975, 77). Nonetheless, Botha and Hertzog considered white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans and white English-speaking South Africans to be separate 'races.' Therefore, the British and Boer friction that started a century before, based on differing languages, led to the racialization of whiteness, again presenting the inherent desire to define a community by its own language.

By 1914 the Afrikaner would, for most, consist of an imagined community of white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans that nonetheless lacked a united political ideology. World War I demonstrated this divide in terms of South Africa's role in the war. Some Afrikaners wanted to join the British dominion in

the war, while for others the wounds had not healed from the South African War just over a decade before. In 1914, Botha and his minister of defense Jan Smuts (another South African War Boer hero) did not resist joining the Allies. Hertzog did not support Botha's decision and consequently formed his own party, the National Party, in 1914. Hertzog argued that each dominion should be allowed to choose whether they want to join the war. However, there was a third group of Afrikaners that violently advocated against South Africa's participation in the war by forming an armed rebellion consisting of old Boer veterans from the South African War, which caused instability. The South African Union responded by declaring martial law, further aggravating the rebels. A few South African towns were occupied, but the rebellion did not have enough manpower and organization to be effective. Nonetheless, it deepened the divide among Afrikaners.

In addition to the unrest caused by the First World War, unhappy white miners caused great unrest starting in 1913 and continued until 1922 with the Rand Rebellion. During this time, the government declared martial law several times, deployed over 20,000 troops, tanks and bomber aircraft, and killed about 500 rebels and civilians. Consequently, Afrikaners grew severely distrustful of the government. Giliomee explains that "the combination of the militant white workforce and the 'poor white problem' had become a major source of instability" (2008, 330). To gain the support of rural Afrikaners the nationalist rebels used

racism to create fear, declaring that the government cannot control Black labor.[3] In a pamphlet, they argued that if Black workers received higher wages, they would take a new place in society and, as a result, marry their white daughters. Smuts, now Prime Minster, realized if the racist rebels gained enough momentum it could lead to uncontrollable violence between white and Black people.

The 1924 election marked the end of the SAP's political leadership. Hertzog used this opportunity to gain political support for the NP when he declared that Smuts' footsteps were "dripped with blood" (qtd in Giliomee 332) after the Rand Rebellion, reminding the white unskilled workers how the SAP failed them. The 1924 election resulted in Hertzog replacing Smuts as prime minister of South Africa.

The NP was concerned with the separation of ethnicities from their inception. Hertzog and the NP wanted to unite white South Africans, while maintaining two separate identities based in white supremacy. The NP's "Program of Principles" explains that a united white South Africa could be attained by "the cultivation of an intense conception of national autonomy [in which] the interests of the Union are empathetically placed above those of any other country or people" (Van den Heever 1943, 352). Moodie explains that Hertzog's and the National Party's ideas were based on the theoretical work of Tobie Muller expressed in a lecture and the subsequent pamphlet (*Die*

[3] There was a divide within the rebels: communists who were concerned with the capitalist ideologies of the mine houses and nationalists who placed the blame on uncontrollable Black labor. The former was made up of English workers and the latter a combination of Afrikaner and English workers.

*Geloofsbeslydenis van die Nationalist* - A Nationalist's Confession of Faith) delivered to the Afrikaans Language Union at Stellenbosch University in 1913. Muller argued that the best method to achieve a strong 'Union consciousness' was for both the English and Afrikaner—which he believed were two separate races—to develop their own 'individual consciousness' (qtd in Moodie 1975, 79). He suggested that the Afrikaners form a healthy national self-respect by developing their own language and traditions. It is important to note that Hertzog never advocated for Afrikaner control, but rather for two separate but equal white 'ethnicities' known as his 'two stream policy.' This equality, evidently, did not extend to the non-white population; the National Party believed that 'superior' Europeans could help the non-white population realize their full potential through Christian guidance. Therefore, Moodie explains that "we find in nationalist policy at its inception a glimmering of respect for the Black African's own ethnic rights, firmly checked by the assertion of white superiority" (1975, 81). Nonetheless, the assertion of an abundance of ethnicities in South Africa ensured that there was no minority or majority, which, as I discuss in chapter two, was necessary for the justification of apartheid.

Building on these principles of separate but equal white population, Afrikaner intellectuals and churchmen advocated to separate *partypolitiek* (party politics) and *kultuurpolitiek* (culture politics) "which allowed them to pursue the goal of *volkseenheid* (national unity) and at the same time to eschew party-political squabbles" (Moodie 1975, 98). The *Afrikaner Broederbond* was formed in 1918 to help guide the process for Afrikaners to separate their cultural identity from their political affiliations. Thus, to achieve the healthy national self-respect

that Muller proposed, the *Broederbond* set out to uplift the Afrikaners through educational, cultural, and financial development by placing them on equal grounds with the English. Charlie, my interlocutor who knew more about the Broederbond than most of the others, echoed this sentiment:

> He [my father] told me it was an organization that the Afrikaner established to promote the interests of Afrikaans-speakers. Uhm… contracts, uhm… investments, uhm… opportunities in the business world and political world, positions and stuff like that. They worked for the promotion, or the advancement, of the Afrikaner. Cause, look, we came into an oppressed state after the war of the English till the National Party took over. Thereafter, did the Afrikaner only awaken, politically awaken… so we had to keep up. I mean, one of the biggest things is, to give you an idea, after the war they paid the English speakers that worked on the mines double what they paid the Afrikaans speakers that did the same work. This was blatant discrimination and the Broederbond was one of the organizations that brought these types of malpractices to light.

Some scholars agree with Charlie that the reason for the *Broederbond* was the 'poor white problem,' while other argue it was the divided Afrikanerdom. Kriel (2010) writes that the *Broederbond*'s primary focus in the early years was solving the 'poor white problem.' They focused on creating an Afrikaner pride that would secure mutual economic support among Afrikaners. In other words, when possible, Afrikaners would rather buy from a fellow Afrikaner than an Englishman. Therefore, they organized in Johannesburg where the poorest Afrikaners were and made the city a space for social historic development, as explained earlier with the help of Fishman's urban condition for nationalism concept. However, Wilkens and Strydom (1978) and Giliomee (2003) argued that it was the divide among Afrikaners that inspired the *Broederbond's* establishment. These authors explain that the *Broederbond* was created after a hostile crowd broke out at a National Party (NP) meeting in 1918, leading to the

vandalization of the National Club building, as well as physical altercations in Johannesburg. Subsequently, a group of Afrikaner men met with the vision to establish unity among Afrikaners. At the meeting, D.F. Malan, Cape NP leader, gave a speech which was "blatant propaganda for a republic" (Kriel 2013, 252) and he even declared that prime minister Botha cannot be trusted with gaining independence from the British Empire. Nonetheless, I believe the 'poor white problem' cannot be separated from the divide; both the NP and the SAP wanted to solve the 'poor white problem,' but in different ways. Later in this chapter, I illustrate how the 'poor white problem' was used to control the music that Afrikaners engaged with by casting certain genres as working-class. Since many *Broeders* held positions of power, like teachers, pastors, and radio broadcasters, they could prescribe a *Broeder*-approved soundscape.

One of the founding members of the *Broederbond,* Lourens Erasmus Botha van Niekerk, who later left the group, explained its ideals:

> We formed the *Broederbond* as a kind of counterpart to societies and clubs, which in those days, were exclusively English-speaking. Those were hard days for the Afrikaner. Everything was English and Afrikaans-speaking people found it hard to make out. We decided the *Broederbond* would be for Afrikaners only – any Afrikaner – and that it would be a sort of cultural society. We started raising funds to build up a library and we invited prominent Afrikaners to give lectures. There was nothing sinister about the Bond in those days. (Wilkens and Strydom, 1978, 46)

It was in 1921 that the *Broeders* decided to become a secret organization with the argument that civil servant members believed that they faced discrimination due to their association with the *Broederbond* because they wore a recognizable *Broederbond* pin. This marked a major turn away from being a cultural organization to being a "secret elite Afrikaner organization, determined to rule

South Africa" (1978, 47), in the words of Wilkens and Strydom. My interlocutors often echoed this sinister side. Charlie, at the end of their description of the Broederbond, said: "Further, I don't know [more about the Broederbond]. I am not a member [laughs and laughingly continues] of the illuminati or any of the far-right groups." Drew explained they only asked their father about the Broederbond in their adulthood: "as a child I did not know they existed, just like the freemasons… I think it was very secretive. Like, people did not even know, you know, everything was hush-hush, under the table." Nonetheless, authors do not agree on how influential the *Broederbond* really was. Wilkens and Strydom (1978) believe that the *Broederbond* controlled the parliament up until the 1970's. Saul Dubow explains that the *Broederbond* "proved highly influential in developing strategies and propaganda to support the achievement of a Christian-National republic under Afrikaner rule" (2014, 6). Giliomee (2003) argues that critics of the *Broederbond* give them too much credit. Regardless of scholarly opinion, every prime minister and later president of South Africa from 1944–1994 was a *Broeder*.

Furthermore, the *Broeders* occupied leadership roles throughout South Africa—from Parliament to universities (both white and non-white), schools, churches, national and private companies, and cultural organizations. Kriel uses these leadership roles to argue against Giliomee, explaining that many Members of Parliament and leaders throughout the country met secretly once a month to discuss "a new piece of nationalist writing" (409). Additionally, Charles Bloomberg explains that by 1949 the *Broederbond* controlled all major aspects of Afrikaner life through other organizations. "In politics, the *Broederbond* works

through the NP; in culture the FAK and in religious matters, the DRC [Dutch Reformed Church]" (1989, 35). In this way Bloomberg supports Kriel's belief that the *Broederbond* had significant influence on Afrikaner ideology. Kriel further explains that the *Broederbond* used their members in power.

> [The politicians] translated Afrikaner nationalism into apartheid policy and as lawyers and civil servants they implemented that policy. As press barons, editors of Afrikaans-language newspapers, board members of the South African Broadcasting Corporation and ministers of the Afrikaans churches, their potential influence on public opinion – the power to govern the minds of Afrikaners – knew no bounds. Most importantly, as principals of universities and teacher training colleges, professors, provincial heads of education, school inspectors, headmasters and teachers they had every opportunity to bend the will of the young to the will of the nation. (410)

Kriel (2010) explains that their core motivation from the beginning was power, which had to be gained politically, hence her assertion that they cannot be described simply as a cultural organization. Yet they were still aware of the power in controlling the cultural narrative, especially when it supported their political ideologies. Thomas Turino (2008) argues that redundancy is the most effective tool for propaganda with continued and various iterations of the same ideology. That is, effectiveness of these ideologies is in repeating them in all aspects of social life—both the mundane and extraordinary—until it becomes cultural 'common sense.' Therefore, the *Broederbond* used redundancy to spread their ideals by infiltrating every aspect of Afrikaner social and public life.

## THE FAK

As explained above, the *Broederbond* wanted to unify the Afrikaner by separating *kultuurpolitiek* and *partypolitiek*. The secretary of the *Broederbond* believed that cultural chaos would ensue if all the small cultural organizations across the

country were not united in their goals. To mend this divide, the *Broederbond* planned a conference for all Afrikaner cultural organizations. At this conference in 1929, the *Federasie vir Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge* (Federations of Afrikaans Cultural Organizations or FAK) was founded to provide central guidance for the establishment of Afrikaans language, art, and culture. Scholars agree that the FAK served as a public front organization for the *Broederbond* and that the FAK would thus publicly guide *kultuurpolitiek* and leave the *Broederbond* to focus their attention on *partypolitiek*. A similar tactic was used in United Kingdoms of Norway and Sweden in the second half of the 19th century with the establishment of cultural history museums. Magdalena Hillström explores how the relationship between early Scandinavian nation building and early museum building was influenced by Scandinavianism— "a strong cultural and political force" (2010, 583). However, as Hillström asserts, the idea of the nation shifted from the people and culture to state and political territory in the 20th century, leading Norway and Sweden to develop separate folk museums guided by political territory. Similarly, the *Broederbond* and the FAK were politically motivated to establish an Afrikaner *volk*.

Once again, like with the first language movement, the FAK focused their attention on establishing Afrikaans as a recognized language. Giliomee (2003) explains that Afrikaans was still being publicly shamed by newspapers during the 1930s. *The Star* in Johannesburg wrote "at best it has to be regarded as a national disability and at worst a national misfortune" (401). In 1931, the FAK started releasing English-Afrikaans glossaries on various themes like groceries, automotive, cricket, and farming. Giliomee explains that the FAK's executive

committee stated in 1934 that they wanted the Afrikaner to be completely self-sufficient. They did not believe that singing, talking, reading, and writing in Afrikaans was enough; rather, they wanted to have Afrikaners to use furniture produced by Afrikaners, live in houses built by Afrikaners, name important places in Afrikaans, and everything to be authentically Afrikaans. This in turn, would be an effective strategy to solve the 'poor white' problem.

Nonetheless, Hertzog insisted that any white South African who placed the country above the British empire is deemed an Afrikaner, regardless of their home language. In 1933, Hertzog and Smuts formed a coalition government and the following year a new combined party, the United Party (UP), in an attempt to stabilize the country by uniting white English and Afrikaans speakers as one *volk*. However, the pro-republican politicians were convinced this coalition meant the end of Afrikaner nationalism and formed a new party, the Purified National Party, led by *Broeder* Malan. They insisted Afrikaners were white Afrikaans speakers and advocated for the advancement and recognition of Afrikaans as way to improve economic interests of the Afrikaner (Van Wyk 1991).

For the FAK, solving the 'poor white' problem included 'uplifting' the Afrikaner culturally and socially by improving the etiquette of the 'poor whites.' This included uplifting the musical taste of Afrikaners to reflect upper-class taste (Van der Merwe 2017). During the 1930s, the most popular Afrikaans music was *boeremusiek*, which the FAK regarded as working-class music and, accordingly, not in line with their goals. Despite this clear contempt for *boeremusiek*, the FAK could not clearly define the genre. At a 1953 FAK Music Committee meeting about the 'quality of *boeremusiek,*' the committee determined:

> There is no clarity about what 'Boeremusiek' and a 'Boere-orkes' [Boere-Band] really means. Originally, the bands now called 'Boere-orkeste' used to provide accompaniment to dances. Later they were also at Boere events, where the term 'Boere-orkes' seemed to originate. (Qtd in Muller 2012, 171).

Trevor Sacks describes that *boeremusiek* "could be considered the bluegrass of South Africa, although perhaps it's closer in sound to Cajun music, or polka mixed with Parisian cafe kitsch" (2014, 1).

*Boeremusiek* is often considered an instrumental genre, but later vocal songs like "Brandewyn laat my staan" would be included in the genre. Nonetheless, not just any type of Afrikaans music is considered *boeremusiek*. A *boere-orkes'* lead instrument is typically the concertina, similar but smaller than an accordion, that would play the melody derived from Dutch, German, or French folk music and sometimes with Coloured or Malaysian influences. The rest of the band may include an accordion, harmonica, guitar, banjo, and violin. As the genre moved through the 20th century bands could also include a cello, bass guitar, and drums. Since *boeremusiek* is primarily used for *langarm* (long arm) dancing, a casual ballroom-style partnered dance, the music consists of waltzes and polkas.[4]

The blame for the 'poor' taste in music was not solely placed on the Afrikaners, but also the negative influences from abroad. These influences included jazz, evangelical church songs, and opportunistic record companies.

[4] Interestingly, *langarm* is still danced by young Afrikaners, although slightly differently, but not to Boeremusiek and rather Afrikaans pop music.

This disdain is clearly conveyed in the report by N.J. van der Merwe, chairman of the FAK, during the *Kultuurkongres* (Cultural Congress) in 1931:

> When the Columbia [Record] Company made public its plans to make Afrikaans recordings, the FAK felt that the taste of the developed Afrikaner should be tainted as little as possible by frivolity. We ensured the company of our support if they released records of outstanding quality. Yet business and sentiment mostly do not go hand in hand, and we later had to complain in a letter against the release of such songs as "Brandewyn laat my staan" [Brandy allows me to stand] and "Hou jou roksak toe" [Keep your dress' pocket closed]. Ladies and gentlemen, we can only counteract these inferior records by buying recordings with higher artistic content and to not give the performers of "Brandewyn – en roksak"-songs a personal stage to perform in front of us. (Qtd from S. Van der Merwe 2017, 40)

The songs mentioned above were among the best-selling records for urbanized Afrikaners. The FAK, along with their smaller cultural organizations, moved into these spaces during the 1930s in the name of Afrikaner ethnic nationalism (also known as purified Afrikaner nationalism) for their united goal, as the *Broederbond* had planned. They feared that the cultural density in the urban areas would encourage racial mixture, thus losing the purity of the Afrikaner 'race' (Van der Merwe 2017). To the FAK, *boeremusiek* motivated working-class behavior, like dancing and drinking, which was not encouraged.

This disdain for *boeremusiek* continued into the 1950s, with the FAK's Dirkie de Villiers lamenting:

> Walk into a music shop: the shelves are full of superficial so-called "boeremusiek" songs; but can you walk in and, for argument's sake buy Hartman's "Kom vanaand in my drome" from the shelf? The same unbalanced relationship applies to South African produced gramophone records (although the Afrikaner is not solely to blame here, since the big record companies are in English hands). The companies capitalise on the uncritical taste of a large section of the Afrikaans population by releasing an uninterrupted stream of recordings every month in the country – releases that from a music

> quality perspective, are very low to the ground. (Qtd. in Van der Merwe 2017, 65)

Froneman (2014) argues that despite the name, *boeremusiek* was mostly played and developed by people of color during colonial South Africa, since they were performing for the whites in slave and servant orchestras. For example, the *vastrap* (stamp firmly) rhythm (see figure 2 below) that has become synonymous with *boeremusiek* can be traced back to the hop dance Khoisan tradition. This same rhythm is also found in the *riel* dance and *ghoema* beat of the Cape Coloured people. Therefore, Froneman (2014) argues that the Afrikaner cultural elite's disdain for Boeremusiek was rooted in racism.

*Figure 2: Vastrap or Ghoema rhythm*

Stephanus Muller (2011) explains that the Afrikaner elites did not regard *boeremusiek* as Culture (with a capital 'C'). These attitudes towards *boeremusiek* may have started in the beginning 20th century but remain today when Muller writes that he always thought of *boeremusiek* as "a little low, a little feeble, a little simple, a little direct, a little too close to our uncultivated needs and past" (2011, 164). Consequently, he never deemed it worthy of academic study. I found, among my interlocutors, that this dislike towards *boeremusiek* was still present. Charlie explained: "My music taste is fairly wide, I just do not like *boeremusiek*, I cannot tell you why." Although the FAK wanted to change the musical taste of Afrikaners, *boeremusiek* remained popular with my interlocutors' parents. Lee told about the music during their childhood:

> Yeah, I heard a lot of *boeremusiek* during my childhood, you know. My dad really loved his *boeremusiek*. He liked *boeremusiek* and silence.

Charlie told a very similar story:

> Yeah, we did, my dad of course played *boeremusiek* over the weekend in the house [laughing]. And it was not very pleasurable to us kids. So, we tried to avoid it if we could.

In Audrie's house, *boeremusiek* was another way to avoid the English:

> You see, my dad was very serious about the English. You could practically not even speak English in the house. He was against the English because of the Boer War, the Anglo-Boer War and so on; even though he did not really talk about it, he told you: no English music is played in this house. Which was a little difficult sometimes, [belly laugh] especially when you are older, and you wanted to play some English music.

Nonetheless, Aubrie had fond memories of *boeremusiek,* since they danced to it in the house:

> We danced, then the music played and everything and we moved the furniture away in the sitting room and we danced! So, music was with dance… We mostly played records, mostly *boeremusiek* and waltzes. Oooooh… [in a high voice, slowing down] my dad and my mom waltzed gloriously. That was probably also to *boeremusiek*.

I have to agree with Van der Merwe when he explains that in an attempt to uplift the Afrikaners' music taste, the FAK undermined the "organic locally developed culture" (63).

One of the FAK's best-known publications is their songbook, which is regarded as one of the four most important books for Afrikaans cultural identity; the other three being the Afrikaans translation of the Bible, a cookbook found in every Afrikaans household, and an important collection of Afrikaans poetry

(Malan, 2012).[5] Benedict Anderson (2006) explains that imagined community is easily achieved with print capitalism since it helps preserve a language and creates imagined community among those reading in that language. Preserving Afrikaans folksongs in one book would serve a dual purpose: creating a musical identity and preserving Afrikaans. The distribution of the songbook was successful; the FAK boasts on their website that between the years 1937 – 1979 the FAK distributed about 200,000 copies of the songbook. Anderson clarifies that national consciousness was encouraged by the dissemination of literature in the vernacular languages during the Renaissance because readers experience connection through language. He argues that nationalism is substantially linked to racism; however, the nation also inspires love, which is found in creative outlets like music and poetry, among other art forms. The FAK leaders understood that the success of the songbook would play a crucial role in Afrikaner nationalism and identity. It could help promote both the love for the united group as well as racism for those excluded from the group. Therefore, the songbook ultimately served many purposes: uniting the Afrikaner, preserving Afrikaans language and song, and uplifting the Afrikaner with healthy, pure, and enriching songs.

The idea for an Afrikaans songbook was originally initiated by the *Afrikaanse Studentebond* (Afrikaans Student Union, or ASB), an organization founded by Afrikaner students who wanted to promote Afrikaner nationalism in 1929, but the ASB felt that they did not have the manpower for this great task and

[5] *Kook en Geniet* (Cook and Enjoy) and *Groot Verseboek* (Great Verse Book)

reached out to the FAK. Stephen Eyssen, a classically trained musician, took on the project in 1931, but struggled to complete this large task by himself. Thus, Hugo Gutsche (a teacher, missionary, and composer) took on the role as chief editor for the 1937 publication, and W.J. du P. Erlank, a well-known poet, joined him.

The FAK songbook was, however; not the first collection of Afrikaans folk songs and attempt at a unified musical taste. Previous Afrikaner musicians, scholars, and critics were also inspired by the nationalist project and aimed to shape Afrikaner musical identity. In 1916 Johanna Luit, the first Afrikaans music critic, wrote in *Die Burger* (The Citizen) that opera is the perfect genre for the Afrikaner (Venter 2018, 277). On the other hand, Marthinus Lourens De Villiers (1885-1977) took the Afrikaner musical identity into his own hands. As a prominent reverend in Bedford between 1911-1918, he met influential Afrikaner figures like Hertzog, Malan, and poet C.J. Langenhoven. During this time, he composed patriotic songs, some with texts from already established poetry and others which he wrote himself. In 1919 De Villiers enrolled part-time at the University of Cape Town to study composition under William Henry Bell and during this time he secured his place as Afrikaner composer with his musical settings to well-known Afrikaans texts. Most notably, in 1921 he set C.J. Langenhoven's "Die Stem van Suid-Afrika" (The Call of South Africa) to music, which was inaugurated as the anthem for Afrikanerdom in 1938 and later the national anthem for apartheid South Africa (Stimmie 2010, 64 – 65). In all, De Villiers composed the anthems for the Special Service Battalion, the South African Airforce, and approximately 250 school anthems. Carina Venter explains

that De Villiers's music was viewed as a “cultivation of good (European) taste, combined with a distinctly Afrikaner ethos” (2008, 277).

The first Afrikaans songbook collections were compiled for legitimization of the Afrikaans language during the second language movement (Lötter 1986, 17). In 1904 N. Mansvelt started collecting ‘authentic’ Afrikaans folk songs for his collection the *Hollands-Afrikaanse Liederbundel* (Dutch-Afrikaans Songbook) published in 1907. While in Holland Mansvelt’s correspondents, who were in South Africa, claimed that the folk songs in Afrikaans were “more or less thoughtless versions of Dutch folk songs or own composition with personal poetry in poor taste not suited for a nation’s songbook” (Huisgenoot). They went on to state that the songs were simply “too silly, too lousy, too ugly” (Huisgenoot) to send on to him. In the end, Mansvelt did publish 66 songs, but the songs were later criticized for being too Dutch, both in text and music, by Schoken, whose *Afrikaanse Volksliedjies* (Afrikaans Folk Songs, also known as *Pieknieksliedjies*, Picnic Songs) were posthumously published in 1918. However, Mansvelt’s songbook received greater success and a second print was needed. In 1927 a piano teacher from Stellenbosch, Joan van Niekerk, published a “extended and reviewed” edition of Mansvelt’s songbook, *Die Groot Afrikaanse-Hollandse Liederbundel* (The Big Afrikaans-Dutch Songbook) with thirteen new songs. In 1938 journalist Theunissen wrote in his collection of articles on the singing of Afrikaans folk songs, that Mansvelt’s songbook was trailblazing work for Afrikaner musical identity.

When the ASB contacted the FAK in 1929 they had already spearheaded folk song collecting. The University of Stellenbosch published a two-volume

songbook in 1920 and 1922, commissioned and gathered by the Afrikaans Student Union. The first volume, which consisted of 35 songs, was published specifically for university students and was used during weekly group singing classes led by Eyssen when he was a student. The introduction to the second volume claims that the first received a "generous reception" (qtd in Lotter 1986, 17). The second volume (thirteen songs) included songs that were well-known in the Afrikaner republics; however, the Dutch text had been "verafrikaans" (adopted into Afrikaans, not necessarily translated). Importantly, this is the first publication of De Villiers' *Die Stem* and many other Afrikaans poem settings by him.

Consequently, as the FAK's aim to unite Afrikaner cultural organizations with one goal, Eyssen, Gutsche, and Erlank aimed to create one complete Afrikaner folk songbook. The introduction to the 1937 proposes that the FAK songbook be the successor to Mansvelt's and Van Niekerk's. Gutsche, who wrote the introduction, goes on to thank both Mansvelt and Van Niekerk, explaining that their songbooks "collaborated in taking the claimed national song that the Afrikaans *volkslewe* (national life) demanded" (FAK 1937).[6] From these two songbooks Gutsche, Erlank, and Eyssen decided to include 28 songs. They also included songs from Gutsche's three songbooks for primary school, the songbooks compiled by the *Afrikaanse Studentebond,* and Schoken's *Pieknieksliedjies*. Nonetheless, almost one hundred songs printed in the first edition of the FAK songbook had not appeared in print before. These included

[6] As Lötter explains, the language used in the FAK is often filled with grammatical and spelling errors. I aim to deliver accurate translations, even when the sentence structure of the original is awkward. [cite Lötter pp. here]

newly commissioned songs and settings of new texts to already established melodies, including those from the European tradition (Lötter 1986): for example, "Afrikaners, Landgenote" uses Haydn's hymn *Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser*, "Weeklag" (Mourning) uses Brahms' "In stiller Nacht, zur ersten Wacht", and "Sluimer, Sluimer" uses Schubert's "Wiegenlied" (D498). The main criterion was that each song should be *volksvriendelik* (nation friendly) and not *volksvreemd* (foreign to the nation). Thus, the 314 songs consisted of already established Afrikaans folksongs, liturgical songs, anthems (from the Boer Republics and others written by De Villiers), text set to existing melodies, and new commissions. As van der Merwe (2017) points out, there is some irony to the use of non-Afrikaans melodies when they were keen to avoid anything that was *volksvreemd*. Moreover, songs that were *volkvriendelik*, like "Suikerbossie" (Sugar Bush; appendix F)—still today a very well-known song—were excluded since it was associated with *boeremusiek* and Columbia Records. [7] David de Lange released "Suikerbossie" in 1936 and it was one of the biggest hits of the 1930s, despite the fact that the FAK deemed his music of "too low a standard and an embarrassment to the culture of the Afrikaner" (Van der Merwe 2017, 44). The introduction also included "three wishes" for the songbook:

> a) that the songs should contribute to the growth and elevation and to the appreciation of all things beautiful;
>
> b) that it should help to strengthen the feeling of unity of Afrikaners; precisely because of that the songbook includes 275 songs for group singing;

[7] In 1952 Doris Day and Frankie Lane released an English version of "Suikerbossie" – "Sugar Bush" – which reached the top ten of the American hit parade (Van der Merwe, 2017).

> c) that in the future at school, home and union, at gatherings, functions and festivals we will extensively make use of *our own* songs and that in general we will sing more and sing cheerfully, because in the past we as Afrikaners have sung far too little and with not enough passion

Unlike the previous songbooks, the FAK songbook arranged the songs almost consistently in four-part chorale harmony. It reflects a hymnal much more than a folk songbook that consist of a melody line and text. (See appendices for song examples). The first edition also included a song selection guide for the reader. For example, the editors wrote: "Special indication for important occasions: For commemorative days: See group I, *Volk en Vaderland* and the following songs from groups I, VI and VII…" (For the full guide see appendix C). During the 1938 reenactment of the Great Trek, heated debates surfaced about the appropriateness of lighthearted songs at "serious nation building events." In fact, Anna Steyn wrote in a letter to *Die Transvaler* that the crowds should avoid singing songs like "Suikerbossie" and should make use of the true Afrikaner songs in the FAK songbooks. The song selection guide had a clear educational goal: to teach the Afrikaner songs that can replace the lower-class music like "Suikerbossie." I argue that the FAK wanted to mold Afrikaner music to their ideal and did not produce a songbook of the people's music.

In the early 1950s, the printing plates of the first edition could not be used anymore; therefore, the FAK decided to release a new edition. By 1956 the FAK wrote to the publishers that the music committee, of which Anton Hartman was the director, had decided which songs of the first edition they would keep, arrange, and omit from the following edition. Nonetheless, despite the initial

plans for publishing in 1957, the second edition was released in 1961 during the Republic Festival. In the introduction of the new edition, Hartman wrote that the committee decided on the following guidelines:

1. The songbook would not be divided into two different books, but rather stay as one.

2. The songs would be limited to 400 to ensure the book is physically manageable.

3. The well-known and popular songs from the old edition would form the basis of the revised edition and the existing rubric will be, with slight modifications, maintained

4. As many Afrikaans songs as possible would be included.

5. School songs will be removed and songs from unions, organizations and universities will only be included if they have found a general use within the *volk*.

6. Special attention will be paid to arrangements for two, three and four-voices and easily playable, yet attractive, accompaniments, while the keys would be closely examined to ensure that the range is appropriate for *volksang* [patriotic singing events].

From these guidelines, the new edition left out more than 140 songs that they believed are not "generally accepted" (Hartman intro) by the nation. Of the 156 that were kept, many were arranged to accommodate more voices, revised accompaniments, and keys that were easier to sing in four-part harmony. The new songs that were added for this edition were gathered from older songbooks, like Mansvelt's and Van Niekerk's and, importantly, popular songs by Afrikaans composers.

During the 1950s the FAK and the SABC—who were now on good terms with each other, since both were controlled by the nationalist, and Hartman held strong leadership roles for both—started to accept and legitimize *boeremusiek*. The FAK music committee started to plan a *boere-orkes* gathering, while the SABC sponsored thirty *boere-orkeste* to produce authentic Afrikaans music. By the 1970s, Van der Merwe argues that the authentication process of *boeremusiek* was complete since the following was published in the *Handhaaf* (Maintain), the FAK's journal:

> You know, a quarter of a century ago, 'O Brandewyn laat my staan' was an ugly song and we were not allowed to sing it. But such snobbery wears off, and with the years such a song develops into an 'antique' work. Out of sentimentality, or love for our heirlooms, it is finally considered good enough for our college and university choirs.

Van der Merwe explains that the recognition of *boeremusiek* was motivated by an anti-English sentiment. The Afrikaner cultural leaders started promoting *boeremusiek* to combat the influx of American folk and jazz music and ultimately the anglicization of young Afrikaners. Hartman started giving radio talks and public lectures about traditional Afrikaans folk songs and *boeremusiek* in the mid-1940s. He explained in 1955 that Afrikaners had lost their music since they gave it to the indigenous peoples of South Africa in his commentative article *Waarheen boeremusiek?* (Where to boeremusiek?):

> In the same way the word "h****smusiek" [H*******'s music] originated amongst us. The term referred to almost every form of indigenous folk music. And the reason? It was discovered in the early days of white existence in S.A. that some slaves and Coloureds had an innate talent for music and soon the white man's music at dance parties was performed by these people. The white man left it to them, just like he left certain forms of labour to them and eventually people referred to the music as "h*****smusiek". … The music was

> performed by people of colour for such a long time and on such a large scale that they too put their stamp on it. But in its essence it was Afrikaans folk music and as the walls of prejudice broke down, it resounded from our cities, towns and far-flung plains.[8]

Van der Merwe goes on to explain that "traditional *boeremusiek* was now considered part of a cultural heritage that had become ever more sanctified as Afrikaner history was re-written by cultural entrepreneurs during a time when the National Party's grip on power increased" (67).

Despite this shift in the musical identity of the *volk*, the FAK songbook still did limit the *boeremusiek* to the traditional *boeremusiek* like Hartman envisioned. The FAK had to balance intruding English popular music, while uplifting the Afrikaner musical taste and promoting musicking in Afrikaans. Importantly, the musical taste should not be associated with the 'poor whites.' Poverty is often associated with dirt, filth, and vulgarity, thus the FAK did not want to include *boeremusiek* that referenced drinking alcohol and sexual behavior. They believed that these songs would encourage these vulgar behaviors in Afrikaners and encourage mixed-race socializing that was all the more likely in urbanized communities. In the preface to the 1961 edition, the chairman of the FAK, Hendrik Bernardus Thom, expressed the need to unite Afrikaners in a pure and healthy manner, both at home and at social gatherings:

> That the new songbook can provide *pure*, *healthy* pleasure in Afrikaner homes and at Afrikaner gatherings; that it will *unite* Afrikaners and make them aware of a beautiful, *mutual* cultural property; that it will forever bear witness to a *positive* cultural contribution of South Africa. [My emphasis.]

[8] H******** is an Afrikaans racial slur for the indigenous peoples of South Africa..

Thom also emphasized that the songbook would provide healthy pleasure, which to the FAK is not *boeremusiek*. B.Kok, a prominent FAK leader, expressed a similar sentiment in the 1979 edition, referring to the 'pervasive influence' of the songbook:

> The appearance of the FAK-songbook in 1937 was an *enriching* event in the music—and cultural life of Afrikaners so much that the *pervasive* influence of it would not be easy to determine… One can claim with great certainty that this delightful treasure of Afrikaans songs became the Afrikaner's 'Liedereboek der boeke' for decades. [My emphasis.]

Therefore, the FAK songbook later editions include *boeremusiek* songs like "Suikerbossie," but not "O Brandewyn laat my staan."

It is difficult to determine from historical narratives what the role was of the FAK songbook for most Afrikaners. For that reason, I turned to my interlocutors about their experiences with the songbook. They were all born at least ten years after the first publication and would have been the first generation that grew up with the songbook. When I asked my interlocutors if they knew about the FAK songbook, they all knew exactly which book I was referring to. Specifically, Blake immediately responded proudly: "Yes, of course! It is on my bookshelf." Yet, few could mention any songs from it, explaining that they have not thought about it in years. More importantly, the songbook did not occupy the role the FAK imagined; although it was found on Afrikaner bookshelves, Afrikaners did not sit around the piano and sing the songs together as a family. Blake again responded laughingly to this idea: "No… we were not those type of people." While Dani explained:

> We weren't really a very 'singing' family… In our house we did not sit around the campfire and sing, you know? [chuckling] And during Christmas we did not stand around the piano and sing Christmas songs. That really wasn't our thing.

On the other hand, Drew did tell me about family musicking, but it was always in English:

> My dad is very musical… He taught us a love for music. And he would just sit around and start singing and playing guitar and then we would all sing together… Till today, I'll hear some songs and know my father played it, like 'Green, Green Grass.' That was one of his favorites, and stuff like that. He would always be singing and playing [guitar]… My dad taught us the English stuff [music], like my dad loved old Jim Reeves' stuff and, what was his name? Elvis Presley and that's how we learnt it. Oh, and Pat Boone. We learnt more English stuff with my dad and his records and his music.

Therefore, my interlocutors all had this perception that Afrikaner families were singing Afrikaans folksongs together as a family, like the FAK had hoped. Stimmie points out that this image of a singing Afrikaner household was also promoted through journalism. She analyzes the writings of Theunissen who specifically promotes a German familial tradition when he writes in 1938:

> Often friends would gather at the home of a German family where it would only be natural for one of the visitors to open the piano and start playing it. Song after song would be sung and late at night, they would say goodnight and it would be accepted that everyone had enjoyed the evening thoroughly (qtd in Stimmie 2010, 106).

Stimmie points out that Theunissen is not merely asking his reader to observe a German family, but he "is communicating to her what he thinks the Afrikaner family should look like" (2010, 106). In that same article, Theunissen also complains that not enough Afrikaners are buying the FAK-songbook and importantly memorizing the words, even though the songbook was published only a year earlier. When considering the literature and their stories, I believe

they were the 'normal' Afrikaner household. Perhaps the idea of a singing Afrikaner family was created by the nationalist. Nonetheless, I cannot help but wonder, whether it was 'tasteful' or not, whether the singing Afrikaner household would have been more prevalent if the FAK had encouraged the organic musical traditions that developed.

REENACTMENT OF THE GREAT TREK

During the 1930s, the FAK's reputation suffered from their blatant involvement in politics; to help combat this reputation, they joined the *Afrikaans Taal- en Kultuurvereniging's* (Afrikaans Language and Culture Association or ATKV) cultural reenactment project. The negative press came especially from leading pro-UP newspapers, who argued that the FAK should stay within the realm of *Kultuurpolitiek*. *Die Vaderland* (The Fatherland) reported in 1938 that if the FAK "were a genuine cultural organization, it would have to bridge political divisions and not simply represent one section of the Afrikaner people… The FAK has become a political dummy of the Purified National Party" (qtd in Moodie 1975, 175). *Die Burger* (The Citizen) asked the year before if "it fall[s] within the work-terrain of the FAK to make propaganda for one or another economic system…" (qtd in Moodie 1975, 176).

Most scholars (Moodie, Van der Merwe, and Kriel) agree that the FAK gained greater support after the reenactment of the Great Trek (the reenactment is also known as *Die Ossewatrek*) for the centenary anniversary, but it was not their project. The idea for the reenactment came from Henning Klopper—one of the founders of the *Broederbond*—who "had long harboured the wish to trek in the footsteps of the forefathers" (Marx 2009, 270). For Klopper and other

nationalists, the Great Trek represented the liberalization and the birth of the Afrikaner nation. During this time, Klopper was chairman of the ATKV, an association established by and for railway workers that was also viewed as another front for the *Broederbond*. Since the ATKV had the support of railway workers, they had the support of the working-class Afrikaner—unlike the FAK. Thus, the FAK's involvement in this seminal event fostered/encouraged trust among Afrikaners.

Since the Great Trek spanned over decades, there is no one year that serves as the anniversary. Nonetheless, 1938 was chosen because it commemorated the Battle of Blood River, which held special significance in the 20th century as proof that Afrikaners were sent to South Africa by God. As the story goes within the Afrikaner community, on 16 December 1838, God protected His Afrikaner *volk* against the Zulus to ensure the Afrikaners received their promised land. During the Great Trek, when Voortrekkers moved from the Cape Colony to the interior regions of South Africa with ox-wagons, many followed Piet Retief to Natal in the hopes to obtain some land from the Zulus. However, in a double-crossing in 1838, Dingane, the Zulu King, betrayed Retief on the promise of signing a land treaty. Retief and his men arrived for a beer-drinking celebration at the royal residence and while they were being entertained by Zulu dancers and singers, Dingane ordered his men to kill the Voortrekkers who had left their weapons, per Zulu request, at the entrance. All one hundred men were clubbed to death, with Retief being killed last. Thereafter, Dingane sent warriors to other Voortrekker camps who killed three hundred Voortrekkers and two hundred servants and stole over 20,000 cattle. Many other Voortrekkers rushed

to the aid of those in Natal, but it was only when Andries Pretorius arrived in November that success was achieved. Pretorius, with the help of Voortrekker spiritual leader, Sarel Cilliers, made a vow to God that if He granted them victory, they would build a church on the battleground and the Voortrekkers, along with all their descendants, would treat the day as a sabbath. On the 16th of December 1838 during the Battle of Blood River, 468 Voortrekkers, three Englishmen and six Black servants defeated the Zulu army of over ten thousand soldiers. Three Voortrekkers were slightly injured, while about three thousand Zulus were killed. If it was not for God's love on that day, Afrikaners would not have survived. Therefore, Afrikaners treat the 16th of December as a sabbath, The Day of the Vow, thanking God.

Interestingly, the Voortrekker leader, Andries Pretorius, never built a church at the battleground, and the following year, only a small group of those 468 surviving Voortrekkers kept their promise to God and commemorated the day.[9] It was only decided in 1864, at the General Church Meeting of the Afrikaners' Natal Church, that the day should be commemorated at all the congregations (Bailey, viii). During the late 1870s, Afrikaner nationalism was on the rise in the Transvaal, and in 1877 the Day of the Vow was established as a historical festive day (Ehlers 2019). In 1881, the Transvaal regained its independence and commemorated the 16th of December as Dingane's Day with a state festival. Every five years, thereafter, state festivals were organized to celebrate not only the victory over the Zulus, but also the Transvaal victory over

[9] A Church was built in 1841 in Pietermaritzburg, but disagreement among scholars whether the intention of the church was about the Vow. At the battleground there is a memorial to the battle.

Britain. When the Union of South Africa was established in 1910, Dingane's Day was declared a public holiday for the whole union. In 1952, the ruling party (NP) of the Republic of South Africa changed the name to *Geloftedag* (Day of the Vow).

One of the most important influences of the reenactment was the establishment of The Day of the Vow myth: that with God's help Afrikanerdom was saved at the Battle of Blood River. The Vow was celebrated at the end of the reenactment and received the most attention, with about hundred thousand Afrikaners gathered in each location listening to powerful orations from important Afrikaner leaders. In the decade leading up to this event, Afrikaner writers started to cite the Vow as proof of God's special purpose for the Afrikaners; however, in the ninety years before this, there is barely any mention of the vow—God's affinity was simply accepted without proof. The reenactment solidified the myth as Afrikaner history, despite that this myth has various secular explanations. Firstly, such a great victory was not out of the ordinary for the Voortrekkers because they always circled the wagons, creating a wagon fort as a shield. However, more importantly—they had guns, while the Zulus used *iklwa* (Zulu spears). Lastly, as explained above, the great trek was not one trek of all Voortrekkers; instead, the 468 Voortrekkers at Blood River was a small portion of the greater population. Additionally, most Cape Dutch settlers, who would later become Afrikaners, stayed in the Cape Colony. In fact, scholars (Liebenberg 1988 and Ehlers 2004) now believe the Blood River Voortrekkers were less than 5% of the Boer population.

One hundred years after the Battle of Blood River, the victory formed an integral part of the *Ossewatrek*. The trek started modestly in August of 1938 with only two ox-wagons in Cape Town at the statue of Jan van Riebeeck—whom nationalists considered the father of the nation and who would receive his own holiday (Van Riebeeck's day) in 1952.[10] The two wagons headed in different directions, one to Pretoria and the other to Blood River, and culminated at their designated destinations on the Day of the Vow. At their first stop, the ox-wagons were met with a crowd of over 20,000 Afrikaners, and soon after many towns en route requested a visit. Thus, they commissioned eight more ox-wagons and visited almost 500 centers in the four-month reenactment.

Moodie (1975) argues that the reenactment was the epitome of the Afrikaner civil religion, especially with the baptizing of the wagons at historically significant points en route. Moreover, Afrikaners dressed in traditional Voortrekker attire, complete with traditional beards for the men, and displayed great euphoria. The wagons were also treated as monuments, with children being baptized and couples getting married in their shade. They renamed streets after Voortrekker heroes (like Retief, Pretorius, and Cilliers), erected monuments along the route, and spoke about the bravery of the Voortrekkers in orations. The official historical narrative of the reenactment tells of crowds gathering around campfires in the evening, singing hymns and folksongs, some from the songbook

[10] Various writers (Grundlingh, 1991 and Rassool & Witz, 1993) have explored that Van Riebeeck was not the moral leader the nationalists made him to be. In fact, he did not choose to settle at the Cape of Good Hope but was sent there as a demotion for conducting personal business. Furthermore, the image used of him on banknotes and coins is now believed to be Bartholomeus and not Van Riebeeck.

published the year before. During one of these evenings that the FAK chairman exclaimed: “Tonight I thank God I am an Afrikaner!” (Van Rensburg 1972, 18).

Despite the positive remembrance of the reenactment, it was not without its disagreements, particularly with regards to music. As explained above, the FAK and other cultural leaders, argued that the Afrikaner is not a singing people, yet Stimie (2010) and Froneman (2014) have contested this belief. Stimie argues that the insistence that Afrikaners do not sing was supported through journalism to promote the FAK songbook. She references Theunissen’s series of articles about Afrikaans folksongs leading up to the reenactment. In 1938 Theunissen wrote about a radio broadcast made in Pretoria at a large gathering where the group was singing folksongs, but that the pleasure of the broadcast was “diminished when we heard the broken, muttered singing of a thousand or two thousand people” since they did not know the words well enough. He goes on to suggest that choirs should lead the singing during the reenactment celebrations and, when possible, that the lyrics should be disseminated to the public. However, he also places the responsibility on the reader when he explains that if they are unsure of lyrics, they should consult the FAK songbook. Lastly, he writes, “I advise readers to buy a notebook in which they can rewrite or cut out and paste the words so that they could bring it along to the festival events” (qtd in Stimie 2010, 100). Adding onto Stimie’s research, Froneman tracks the conversation surrounding *boeremusiek* during the reenactment, as opposed to the ‘official folksongs.’ She finds evidence that contradicts the ‘non-singing Afrikaner’ narrative, not in the official reporting’s of the reenactment, but “hidden in the margins of newspapers and magazines” (2014, 422). These articles and letters

indicate that the Afrikaner did sing with great enthusiasm, but not the songs that the cultural leaders expected them to. At the festival in Kroonstad between 28 and 30 October 1938, the official report by Duvenage explained that there was nothing out of the ordinary; however, Froneman questions Duvenage's report since *Die Burger* (The Citizen) reported on 31 October of the "Suikerbossie incident" (2014, 432) which disrupted the festivities: "The trouble started, because after a broadcast of prof. S.P.E. Boshoff's speech [...] there was about ten minutes left and that it was filled by the band [*boere-orkes*] playing Afrikaans little songs [liedjies]. 'Brandewyn Laat my Staan' and 'Suikerbossie' were played, among others" (qtd in Froneman, 432). This led to prof. Labuschagne, who was leading the festivities, to lose his temper about the "banality of the festival." He went on to state that "we cannot mix this type of thing... With deep earnestness, we cannot allow such things" (qtd in Froneman 2014, 432). Henning Klopper, leader of the reenactment, then added "I'm willing to listen *volksliedjies* [small folk songs] and jokes, but there is a time and place for everything. Currently we are busy with a serious *volksfees* [national festival]. Yet, sometimes we find that "Siembamba" [Afrikaans folk song] receives more attention than serious matters. If we cannot be serious once every hundred years, then it is a serious matter" (qtd in Froneman 2014, 433). After the 'Suikerbossie incident' more complaints arose about the 'banalities' at the festival events. Letters anonymously published in *Die Burger* and *Die Transvaler* complained about crowds erupting in songs like "Suikerbossie" or "Janpierewiet" after a choir's 'moving' performance of "Slaap rustig dapper helde" (Sleep softly brave heroes). Moreover, crowds always chose to sing "Suikerbossie-type" songs and not Psalms or 'serious folk songs' and sang

them with far greater enthusiasm than the 'serious folk songs.' "Have you ever heard that a crowd demand the singing of 'Prys den Heer'? But give them half a chance then the frivolous people would scream us to death with 'Brandewyn' and alike" (qtd. in Froneman 2014, 433). In Anna Steyn's letter to *Die Transvaler*, she goes so far as to claim that these "popular joyful songs" creates "superficial noise, which has never been a foundation on which a nation [uses 'nasie' not *volk*] can be built" (qtd. in Froneman 2014, 434). After the 'Suikerbossie incident', Klopper left the trek party on the first of November to inspect the upcoming destinations and circumvent any further 'Suikerbossie incidents' (Froneman 2014, 433).

There was, however, one occasion during the reenactment where the crowd did spontaneously erupt with a 'serious folk song' – *Die Stem*. At the commemoration for the Battle of Blood River, in his speech, D.F. Malan referenced "Die Stem" and, consequently, the crowd responded by singing the Afrikaner anthem. Malan compared the Blood River myth—extinction of the Afrikaner—to the current 'poor white problem' in his lengthy address titled "The New Great Trek: South Africa's Emergency Call and the Answer for it" (Malan 1940, 625). He claimed that the 'poor white problem' would mean the end of the Afrikaner, and that the imperialists were uplifting the non-white South Africans by providing equal housing, education, and wages to all South Africans. However, as I explained earlier, white miners were making up to four times more than their non-white counterparts. Malan proclaimed: "The battle with weapons is over. That was the Voortrekkers'. But the more violent and deadly battle is now underway. The battlefield has shifted. Your Blood River is not here. Your Blood River lies in the city" (Malan 1940, 625). Corresponding to the FAK's goals, he

urged the Afrikaners to wake up as a nation, 'uplift' themselves, and become a united *volk*—helping each other and not any other 'race.' Here he again used Bloedrivier, asking them to be as selfless as Pretorius and, if need be, give up their own safety to stand up for the *volk*. Pretorius became a god-like figure by the end of his address: "I am urging you and every Afrikaner today: praise Andries Pretorius with your words. But praise him foremost through your actions and follow his example" (Malan 1940, 630). He professed that the Voortrekkers created this *volk* for them with their strong religion and their will to have their own country, emphasizing that the audience members had no choice but to be Afrikaners. "With the Afrikanerdom you have to live and with the Afrikanerdom you have to die" (Malan, 1940 627). Thus, Malan created jingoistic propaganda by using a contrived frozen history as a weapon to incite warlike violence.

Malan's speech is an example of what Henrich Härke calls conquest ideology, which he defines as "an attitude of mind and a set of related practices which explain and justify current social and political conditions (particularly in relation to power) with a real or imagined conquest in the past" (2002, 109). In Malan's case, this conquest ideology served the needs of white supremacy with a mythical victory at Blood River. Moreover, Anna-Karin Evaldsson and André Wessels argue that "stories about the past can provide a sense of meaning in a seemingly chaotic world" (2003, 63). With the help of the 'poor white problem,' anti-British sentiment, and the *swartgevaar* (Black scare), Malan transformed the city into a 'chaotic' and violent battlefield. Thus, with the help of God, Afrikaners could rid themselves of the British and the non-white, a perfect

justification for becoming an independent republic and, more severely, for apartheid.

Malan also signaled another Afrikaner symbol to his assembly: *"*Die Stem van Suid-Afrika*"* (The Call/Voice of South-Africa), an anthem that was inaugurated during the reenactment as the "Official Anthem of the Afrikanerdom" (*Gedenkboek van die Ossewatrek,* 221). Referencing *Die Stem,* Malan asserted that the Voortrekkers heard 'the call' from South Africa and answered by conquering South Africa and establishing the Afrikaner *volk*. He went on to explain that the Voortrekkers never sang *Die Stem*. Thereafter he read the opening verse "From the blue of our heaven, from the depths of our sea, over our everlasting mountain ranges where the cliffs answer" claiming that they "heard this sound and understood it" (Malan 1940, 626). He expounded that they know the song, and that "he ['Die Stem'] is on their lips because they love him and have confessed that he is their one and only anthem" (Malan 1940, 626). Malan was not the only speaker to use "Die Stem" in his speech; it was a common theme throughout the *Ossewatrek*. Therefore, Malan created a clear link from answering the call of South Africa to racist ideologies and violence. Moreover, all events during the reenactment, to the best of my knowledge, ended with the singing of "Die Stem." Benedict Anderson (2006) explains that the act of singing together creates a strong sense of community, and that community often builds an identity around the oppression of others. Moreover, Shana Redmond (2014) explains further that songs can obscure the lines between art and politics because they create unity between people of different ideologies, therefore making it ideal

for the *Broederbond's* division of *kultuurpolitiek* and *partypolitiek*. After Malan's speech, the crowd started spontaneously singing *Die Stem*.

The text for *Die Stem* was written by Langenhoven in 1918, originally consisting of a poem of three stanzas. The fourth stanza was added after a letter appeared in the Afrikaans newspaper *Die Burger* (The Citizen), which praised the poem but asked that the poet add a fourth stanza owing the Afrikaners successes to God. Langenhoven accepted the request and added a fourth stanza, which Schutte believes is the most ideologically damaging because it again justifies white supremacy with Christianity. During the decade of collecting songs for the first edition of the songbook, the music committee requested musical settings of *Die Stem*. They received forty musical settings and chose De Villiers' setting. Although the poem was written before the Vow was being used to justify God's love to the nation, the text still resembles Malan's speech by calling on the Afrikaner to serve the nation.

Throughout the *Ossewatrek*, civic rituals and ceremonies took place in every town, which included orations by important community leaders and members of the trek party, processions, and the singing of patriotic songs. Ben Roberts (2017) explains that these rituals and ceremonies have been a part of European urban communities dating back to at least the Middle Ages with the civic celebratory rituals of the saints in Holy Roman Empire. Furthermore, in Archaic Greece feasts, rituals served an important role in the political organization and reflected the existing power hierarchy (Van den Ejinde 2018). Rituals can create communal bonds and help to create or acknowledge a shared identity. Moreover, as is the case in ancient Greece, 19th century Britain, and

many other communities, civic rituals played an integral role in the transformation of the societal structure. That is, they can "demonstrate power and convey hierarchical structures to wider urban communities" (Roberts 2017, 444). Roberts widens the lens of the civic ritual by examining a century of rituals in two British towns and proves the fluidity of civic rituals over class lines. During the *Ossewatrek,* local community leaders not only participated in the ceremonies, but also served an organizational role, often forming an organizational committee. That is, the trek party did not become a 'traveling civic ritual' and the ceremonies and rituals in each town were not identical. For example, in Oudtshoorn the ox-wagons entered the town in a procession with Voortrekkers (girl's and boy's scouts) in uniform, children of the town and district, people in traditional Voortrekker attire, and a musical ensemble.[11] The procession sang as they walked until they reached Janstraat (Jan Street), and thereafter they walked in silence until they reached the "Afrikaanse Koffiehuis" (coffee house). Here they were welcomed by a local choir and, from there, sang *Die Stem* until they reached the church square. On the other hand, in Montagu the ox-wagons were simply welcomed at the primary school with no procession. Roberts explains that when local municipalities are included in the organization of civic rituals, these rituals attract greater crowds. In his case, the rituals were competing with other forms of entertainment in the twentieth century; however, when children and the elderly were involved, the ritual was more successful. The *Ossewatrek* incorporated the local communities and allowed them to model the rituals and ceremonies based

[11] The program uses 'orkes' which can translate to orchestra or band. I believe it would have been some sort of marching Boereorkes.

on their own town's resources. Nonetheless, a few elements were always present: (1) singing of *Die Stem*, other patriotic songs from the FAK songbook, and hymns, (2) opening and closing with prayer, and (3) an oration by one of the leaders of the trek party. Therefore, they could secure significant turnout while still controlling the narrative and unifying the Afrikaner.

Die Stem was inaugurated as the anthem of Afrikanerdom during the reenactment at Oudtshoorn on 3 September 1938. Typical of civic rituals, the ceremony mimicked a religious ritual by "including repetitive action and dramaturgical devices" (Van den Eijnde 2018, 11). The ceremony started with the singing of a Psalm, followed by reading of scripture and prayer, and ended, again, with a benediction. (See appendix C for the full program.) Although the inauguration was not religious, there was religious symbolism that again motivated the link between God and the Afrikaner, as well as the connotations between Die Stem and Christianity. The rest of the program included speeches, musical performances, and the singing of Afrikaans folksongs—all from the songbook. Die Stem was sung together before the benediction and is now considered the Afrikaner anthem forever. Since the Great Trek is national epic for the civil religion, "Die Stem" becomes a civil religious symbol, gaining the power of both an religious and national symbol.

Throughout Die Stem, South Africa is referred to as the Afrikaner 'fatherland,' which Anderson (2006) explains is a form of political love, creating the illusion of a natural tie to a nation. On the other hand, Carla Schutte (2015) argues that the personification of South Africa helps the singer experience the anthem on a personal level. Referring back to Malan's speech, a personified

father is thus calling on the Afrikaner to fight for their *volk*. One is also reminded of the Biblical use of father, as the Bible teaches Christians to pray using father (*Nuwe Vertaling Bybel,* Luke 11: 11 – 13).

Thus, in the first verse the voice of South Africa is calling the Afrikaner, and the Afrikaner will serve South Africa by conquering the deep seas to the high mountains, even if the ox-wagon is struggling. In the second verse South Africa becomes a paternal figure with the use of "fatherland" indicating an unconditional love for his child—the Afrikaner. The third verse shows that in return for this unconditional love, the Afrikaner will always serve South Africa—even if it means death. In the last verse God is introduced, and the singer is reminded that their ancestors trusted God and that He helped them conquer, and so too the singer be protected if they trust in God.

| "Die Stem van Suid-Afrika" | The Call of South Africa |
|---|---|
| Uit die blou van onse hemel,<br>uit die diepte van ons see,<br>Oor ons ewige gebergtes<br>waar die kranse antwoord gee,<br>Deur ons ver-verlate vlaktes<br>met die kreun van ossewa -<br>Ruis die stem van ons geliefde,<br>van ons land Suid-Afrika.<br>Ons sal antwoord op jou roepstem,<br>ons sal offer wat jy vra:<br>Ons sal lewe, ons sal sterwe,<br>ons vir jou, Suid-Afrika | From the blue of our heaven,<br>from the depths of our sea,<br>Over our everlasting mountain ranges<br>Where the cliffs answer,<br>Through our far-off deserted plains<br>with the groan of ox-wagon -<br>The voice of our beloved rises,<br>of our country South Africa.<br>We will answer your call,<br>we will offer what you ask:<br>We will live, we will die,<br>we for thee, South Africa. |

| | |
|---|---|
| In die merg van ons gebeente,<br>in ons hart en siel en gees,<br>In ons roem op ons verlede,<br>in ons hoop of wat sal wees,<br>In ons wil en werk en wandel,<br>van ons wieg tot aan ons graf -<br>Deel geen ander land ons liefde,<br>trek geen ander trou ons af.<br>Vaderland! ons sal die adel van jou<br>naam met ere dra:<br>Waar en trou as Afrikaners –<br>kinders van Suid-Afrika. | In the marrow of our bones,<br>in our heart and soul and spirit,<br>In the glory of our past,<br>in our hope of what will be,<br>In our will and work and conduct,<br>from our cradle to our grave -<br>No other land shares our love,<br>no other loyalty can turn us away.<br>Fatherland! We will carry your<br>noble name with honour:<br>True and faithful as Afrikaners -<br>children of South Africa. |
| In die songloed van ons somer,<br>in ons winternag se kou,<br>In die lente van ons liefde,<br>in die lanfer van ons rou,<br>By die klink van huweliks-klokkies,<br>by die kluitklap op die kis -<br>Streel jou stem ons nooit verniet nie,<br>weet jy waar jou kinders is.<br>Op jou roep sê ons nooit nee nie,<br>sê ons altyd, altyd ja:<br>Om te lewe, om te sterwe –<br>ja, ons kom Suid-Afrika. | In the sun glow of our summer,<br>in our winter night's cold,<br>In the spring of our love,<br>In the crape of our mourning<br>At the sound of wedding bells,<br>at the sodfall on the coffin -<br>Your voice never soothes us in vain,<br>you know where your children are.<br>When you call we never say no,<br>We always, always, say yes:<br>To live, or to die -<br>Yes, we come, South Africa. |
| Op U Almag vas vertrouend<br>het ons vadere gebou:<br>Skenk ook ons die krag, o Here!<br>Om te handhaaf en te hou -<br>Dat die erwe van ons vad're | Firmly trusting Your omnipotence<br>our fathers have built:<br>Grant us the strength as well, o Lord!<br>To maintain and to preserve -<br>So our fathers' heritage |

| | |
|---|---|
| vir ons kinders erwe bly:<br>Knegte van die Allerhoogste,<br>teen die hele wereld vry.<br>Soos ons vadere vertrou het,<br>leer ook ons vertrou, o Heer -<br>Met ons land en met ons nasie sal<br>dit wel wees, God regeer. | remains heritage for our children:<br>Servants of the Almighty,<br>free before the whole world.<br>As our fathers trusted,<br>teach us to trust as well, o Lord:<br>With our land and with our nation<br>it will go well, God rules. |

The symbols constructed throughout the reenactment are present in *Die Stem*: South Africa belonging to the Afrikaner, the bravery of the Voortrekkers and their ox-wagons, a nation that developed as one from the Great Trek, and, most importantly, the deep connection between God and the Afrikaner. Although no direct reference is made to Blood River, the shared symbols showcase why the crowd spontaneously erupted in this song after Malan's address.

Patricia Hill Collins (2008) explains that when symbols like these are exploited by leaders in power, they define societal values by creating a 'controlling image,' which is a typical part of ideology of domination. She goes further to explain that "these controlling images are designed to make racism, sexism, poverty, and other forms of social injustice appear to be natural, normal, and inevitable parts of everyday life" (2008, 86). For Collins, the 'controlling image' is used to manipulate the image of the oppressed by creating damaging stereotypes of marginalized communities to justify domination. I argue that this can also be used to explain the other side of the coin; the belief that the dominant group is superior. Consequently, Christian Nationalism, and more directly white supremacy, is here explained by a 'controlling image' of the Afrikaner simply employing God's will. The nation is already accepted as natural and normal

(Anderson 2002), which is further emphasized with the help of the 'controlling image' that the nation was created by God and deserves to rule South Africa.

Collins also explains that controlling images can create an insider/outsider binary. In this case, the myths surrounding Blood River were created by the insider, the Afrikaner, to serve their purpose. One is already less likely to listen to an outsider's perspective because of the imagined community created among insiders, but now the controlling image of the insider is also that of superiority. Thus, it becomes impossible to disprove the Blood River myths, since there is fiction hidden within a real historical event. Moreover, psychologist David Butz (2009) explains that national symbols (like anthems) are representations of membership to this group, and when their membership, or the imagined community itself, is questioned, it can lead to conflict. Therefore, it becomes almost impossible to separate these symbols from the community.

I reason that "Die Stem" helps to create a controlling image of the superior chosen people of God. With the help of this controlling image, the personification of South Africa, and the love created for the nation, "Die Stem" provokes an emotional response among those who sing it. This sentiment was reflected in my conversations with my interlocutors about "Die Stem" after we listened to it together. Each expressed feelings of pride, belonging to a nation, and patriotism. Charlie explained:

> *Die Stem* was our inspiration for a long time. As a child it was, uhm… we always sang it thunderously because we bought into the idea of togetherness and unity in our community… Unity between our *volksgenote* [people of the nation]. I am now talking about the Afrikaners… It has a feeling of pride, [sighs] I don't know. It is just an emotional song to us, to me. I always felt, uhm… you know, one would just have new energy when you sang this song. And sang it

> with other people, with fellow South Africans. I am now talking about whites. Then you got this feeling of 'we can.' It is an empowering song for me… We would sing it at sporting events every now and then. It's the thing that brought people to action. You are activated for the day when you sang *Die Stem*.

Drew and Dani immediately started humming along while listening to the excerpt. Drew said:

> [Sighing with a slight smile.] It is probably just the only and most beautiful national anthem that exists. [Laughs with a twinkle in their eyes.] From what I can remember we learnt it at school, at university we would sing it at big university events. You always sang it. It is like any official thing that we ever attended in our youth, you started with reading scripture and prayer, and then you sang the anthem. So, it is a part of you, a part of your being.

Audrie explained *Die Stem* confirms their identity: It means I am "a citizen. It's South Africa. It's Afrikaans. It's our people. It's, yeah, what more can I say. Pride. A proud song."

However, for Lee it is the poetry that makes the song:

> You just sang it everywhere. And of course, that Langenhoven is just beautiful, especially the second [third] verse. [Gesturing with their hand while quoting the poem] 'In the sunglow of our summer… In the spring of our love' it's beautiful. Yes, it brings back a lot of fond memories.

In 1957, "Die Stem" was proclaimed the official national anthem, and the FAK rejoiced and explained that this was one of the "most important milestones on our road to full nationhood" (Muller 2011, 175). However, more turmoil about the arrangements of *Die Stem* emerged soon after. Anton Hartman—who was the conductor of the South African Broadcasting Commission Orchestra, chair of the FAK music commission, and a *Broeder*—wanted to record "Die Stem," but the Gideon Fagan four-part arrangement instead of the original De Villiers

arrangement. Muller has explored the meeting minutes and correspondence between Afrikaans professors, the music committee, and Thom, the head of the FAK. After much debate, it was decided that the Fagan arrangement sounds anglicized—with a slower tempo and complex harmonies—and not like the *volk*. Following the establishment of "Die Stem" as the national anthem, the government, with the help of the FAK music committee, determined strict rules of its performance. "Die Stem" was never allowed to be performed as a solo—only in unison with piano or orchestral accompaniment, or in a four-part choir with or without the same accompaniment. Additionally, only one official recording made by the South African Broadcasting Commission could be used (Walton 2004). Muller, who is typically less critical of Afrikaner nationalism, concludes that the restrictive control that would characterize the Afrikaner Republic would stunt this song in "self-glorified mediocrity. Finally, that music, too, could not escape the machinations of the secret *Broederbond*" (178).

## CONCLUSION

Throughout this chapter, I tracked the strict control the FAK tried to assert over all aspects of Afrikaner's interactions with music. Evidently, their controlling image of the Afrikaner did not just include the historical narrative, religious affiliation, where, with whom and how to live, and much more, but also which sounds are affiliated with the Afrikaner. Therefore, it became a 'controlling sound.' That is strong audio ideas of what sounds surround the united Afrikaner. I imagine this did not just include music, but also how and when to speak. In order to achieve the ideal Afrikaner controlling sound, the FAK had to create a inferior controlling sound and used class through the 'poor white problem' to

deter this sound. Their controlling sound was, consequently, successful since like my interlocutors, Afrikaners often say "I'll listen to anything but *Boeremusiek!*" This, of course, is not unique to Afrikaners and is used to defend many oppressive ideologies.

Turino (2008) explains that when rituals are constantly repeated and become a mundane activity in everyday social life, new and poweful social habits are created, which reduces any cognitive dissonance. My interlocutors all expressed that they sang "Die Stem" regularly. Audrie believed it might have been as regularly as every morning during their primary school years, while the others remembered singing it at least once a week. Although it is just one aspect of Afrikaner social life, by repeatedly singing *Die Stem* the controlling image of the Afrikaner is reinforced. That is, if the singer experienced any cognitive dissonance about the Afrikaner controlling image, this mundane repetition "functioned to constantly erode opponents' sense of self and notions of right and wrong" (Turino 2008, 196). Turino argues that it takes a particularly strong person to avoid this erosion, especially when socially important people are advocating for the ideology. Thus, it becomes nearly impossible for any child to fight this erosion when observing parents and teachers taking part in the ritual. I suggest that the cognitive dissonance might be completely avoided when the ritual is presented at a young age; therefore, in chapter two I investigate this suggestion further and explore my interlocutors' navigations of this avoidance. Ritual then becomes a 'peaceful' method to establish a controlling image with cognitive manipulation.

A frozen history can be illustrated in many ways: as a historical nook in a home, orations by political figures, large-scale reenactments and ceremonies, and through song. These commemorations can contribute to the collective knowledge of a community and help to understand the present. This is particularly useful when the community is experiencing great identity transformations which create feelings of uncertainty. In turn, if the historical narrative is controlled, it can provide justification for oppression and violence. In other words, if we are to understand the controlling images of the present, we must look at their origins in the past.

# CHAPTER 2: APARTHEID WITHOUT RACISTS

Will South Africa then still be a white man's country? – D.F. Malan, 1938

It has become a standing joke that since democracy in South Africa one cannot find anyone who supported apartheid. – Melissa Steyn, 2011

## INTRODUCTION

In my grade nine history class at Hoërskool Roodepoort, the national curriculum expected my teacher to expand my primary school knowledge of apartheid. Earlier in the year she gave many passionate and detailed lessons on both world wars; however, when we moved on to apartheid history, that passion vanished. She claimed that we are all tired of hearing about apartheid constantly and only gave us two pages of handwritten notes, which was at least ten times less than each world war received, respectively. For one of the few lessons about apartheid, she instructed us to prepare *arguments for and against* apartheid for a class debate. The next day I was, unfortunately, placed on the *arguments for* apartheid and with my research in hand, I argued that it is natural for races to be separated, falsely claiming that we are biologically different. Moreover, South Africa was too diverse, and the cultural differences are simply too big to live peacefully together and keep our unique cultural identity. I cannot remember which side won the debate. I can, however, remember feeling unsettled after the class without knowing the cause. Yet, too scared to broach the topic with a classmate, I cast the feeling aside and continued with the day.

These reasons I gave during the debate, which I parroted from the National Party, were used by them justify apartheid, which was instilled by politicians' orations, the reverend on a Sunday morning, the textbooks used in

school and university, the songs taught at school, and every other form of knowledge the NP could control. Thomas Turino (2008) explains that doubt, or cognitive dissonance, creates discomfort, which most people want to avoid or reduce significantly. He expounds that "the easiest path to reducing cognitive dissonance or doubt is to conform to majority thinking" (196). That is exactly what I did after my history class when I assumed, hopefully wrongly, that my classmates were indifferent. Turino (2008) argues, the social conformity created with majority thinking leads to illogical ideas, like sexism and racism, to become 'common sense.' These ideas are strengthened by redundancy, which is when they are constantly repeated in every aspect of social and public life. In other words, the NP normalized racism by controlling knowledge and consistently reinforcing 'Othering.' This is further exasperated by keeping people apart, consequently, creating 'Others'. By controlling the knowledge, the NP could also create controlling images—that is powerful stereotypes that normalizes oppression (Collins 2008)—which supported their justification for apartheid. In turn, these controlling images stimulate white ignorance, which is a "process of knowing designed to produce not knowing surrounding white privilege, culpability, and structural white supremacy" (Mueller 2017, 220).

In this chapter, I begin by showcasing how *kultuurpolitiek* and *partypolitiek* truly merge when Malan wins in 1948 and starts apartheid. More specifically, I demonstrate that Afrikaner identity became attached to Malan's party. Then I examine the theories surrounding white ignorance and place it in dialogue with scholarly discourse and my own ethnographic work. Next, I return to the FAK songbook and its use in schools, which elucidates the role of music as

propaganda in music education. Thereafter, I provide a semiotic analysis of "Die Vlaglied" (appendix G) and "Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika" (appendix H) and show how the indexical clusters in these patriotic songs create patriotism. I end by arguing that songs like the abovementioned can cause white ignorance by the contriving of fact and, more importantly, the insistence that the continuous teaching and singing of these songs is white ignorance.

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

During Malan's address on the Day of the Vow at Blood River in 1938, he asked his audience four times if South Africa will still be a white man's country if they allow equal education, equal wages, and interrace fraternizing. He also argued that if the Afrikaners allowed this, they would lose their freedom, unity, and relationship with God. However, as Mandisi Majavu (2022) points out, the Union of South Africa was already founded in racist policies with the two white groups accusing each other of racialization. Furthermore, the leftists, against whom Malan argued, were still pro-segregation. Majavu explains that liberals were fighting 'racialism' "by creating [a] colonising institution called the Joint Councils of Europeans and Natives to cultivate and improve 'race relations' between Whites and Blacks in a way that did not disrupt White control of South Africa" (Majavu 2022, 118). Yet, Malan and the National Party (NP) used the leftists' ideas as a scare tactic against the more alarming *swartgevaar* (Black danger/scare). The success of this strategy resulted in even stricter segregation laws culminating in apartheid in 1948.

One year after the *Ossewatrek,* 1939, the Second World War (like World War One) Afrikaners were divided into three sides South Africa's role in the war:

(1) the deputy prime minister, Smuts, whose followers believed Hitler was threatening the future of humanity and, therefore, campaigned to join the Allies, (2) the current prime minister, Hertzog, whose followers wanted to remain neutral, and (3) a small portion of parliament members who were pro-Germany. In 1939, a day after Britain declared war on Germany, the United Party (UP) voted against Hertzog's neutral stance. Hertzog requested that parliament dissolve, and a general election was called. The governor-general refused his request and as a result Hertzog resigned, and Smuts became the new prime minister. Malan and Hertzog joined forces and formed the *Herenigde Nationale Party* (Reunited National Party or HNP) in January of 1940, but by November Hertzog stormed out of a meeting and retired from politics.

The role and future of Afrikaans in South Africa, as opposed to English, was the leading cause for Hertzog's discontent with the HNP. The HNP had strong republican ideals, while Hertzog now believed white English speakers also deserve a place in South Africa. (See chapter one for his previous belief of separate but equal for Afrikaners and English.) Moreover, the HNP had several extremists, like Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd (prime minister from 1958 till 1966), who advocated for a Christian-national republic with Afrikaans as the sole language. The less extreme members wanted to at least ensure separated single-medium Afrikaans and English schools. On the other hand, Hertzog strongly believed that all white children should attend bilingual schools together, which marked the end of his political career.

As for the Afrikaner public, most were opposed to joining the Second World War; however, the anti-war sentiments had various causes. O'Meare

(1983) argues that the anti-war sentiment was because anti-British sentiments were still common and because there was no economic interest for Afrikaner farmers, working-class laborers, or the petty bourgeoisie. My interlocutor, Aubrie explained that their father did not want to join, because he was angrier at the British than the Black South Africans. Dani, one of my interlocutors, explained that their father was publicly shamed by English women, who "told him he was coward and he just said there is no way he will fight for the Queen." La Granga (2020) points out that there were still some Afrikaners who supported the war, but it was not all from the pro-British or even pro-war stance. The economic difficulties persisted for working-class Afrikaners, which meant that joining the Union Defense Force (UDF) could provide a good income. For the extreme nationalists, the anti-British sentiments translated into a goal of a national-socialist Afrikaner republic, styled after Nazi Germany. They believed in 'state authority;' completely rejecting the parliament system and democratic elections. Moreover, they hoped Malan would become their Führer (Kriel 2013). One of the strongest organizations in this movement was the gender-inclusive *Ossewabrandwag* (Ox wagon guard, or OB), founded after the *Ossewatrek* in 1939 as a pro-German cultural organization. Their seal (figure 3) is similar to Nazi Germany's coat of armor with the *Reichsadler* (Imperial Eagle) at the top looking to its right. In late 1940, OB became a paramilitary political organization

*Figure 3 Ossewabrandwag Seall*

aiming to disrupt the government's war efforts. Kriel (2013) believes that, by 1941, they had a membership of between 300,000 and 400,000, while Giliomee (2007) estimates their membership at 100,000 lower; nonetheless, this would still equate to one in every ten Afrikaners being a member by 1941. OB was not the only pro-Nazi organization that formed before and during the Second World War. The *Nuwe Orde Studiekring* (New Order Study Circle, or NO) was established by Oswald Pirow, who met with Hitler when he was Hertzog's defense minister, in 1940. Kriel (2013) agrees with some scholars (Sparks and Furlong) who believe that Afrikaner nationalism was heavily influenced by Nazi ideologies during the formative years of apartheid; however, she argues that the "relationship did not progress beyond flirtation, but that the flirtation was more than skin-deep" (47).

By 1948, the HNP would gain enough support to win the election—the crucial election that led to apartheid—and, for the first time, to merge *partypolitiek* and *kultuurpolitiek* by associating an Afrikaner identity to a political party. Since the Second World War accelerated industrialization and Black urbanization, the HNP focused their attention towards the *swartgevaar* (Black scare) and exploited white fears of miscegenation and Black domination. H.F. Verwoerd wrote in *Die Transvaler,* still under his editorship: "

> VOTE, THEREFORE, FOR THE HNP, THE AP [Afrikaner Party] AND INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES THAT STAND FOR APARTHEID POLICY. (Qtd. in Brits 1994: 114)

Nonetheless, the literature (Brits 1994, Kriel 2013, Giliomee 2003 & Du Bouw 2014) now suggests that the success of the HNP in 1948 was because of their

nationalist ideologies. These authors argue that there were three main positions that won over most Afrikaner votes: (1) anti-imperialism, (2) anti-big-capital, and (3) anti-English sentiments. In other words, (1) Afrikaners wanted independence from Britain and established the republic; (2) they were against big English corporations and believed that both the Afrikaner community and the state should take responsibility for the 'poor white' problem; and (3) they believed in the importance of mother-tongue education and the recognition of Afrikaans language and Afrikaner culture by the state. Since the nationalist controlled the South African Broadcasting Commission and education, they could further regulate their controlling image and controlling sound. Moreover, the HNP formed a part of the controlling image. A participant in Brits' survey who voted for the HNP explained: "In those days we literally assumed that every Afrikaner must be a nationalist [HNP] and often that was the case" (1994, 126). I found similar sentiments with my own interlocutors: Audrie explained that their father was angered by the HNP's apartheid policy, yet he continued to vote for them.

> He was very mad at Verwoerd [and Malan] when he started apartheid… He said this is the biggest mistake he can make in this country. But yeah, he was completely against it, even though he voted for the National Party, he said this is completely wrong… My dad worked with lots of Black people on the farm. He often said some of the Black people on the farm was neater and cleaner and that he would rather eat at their houses than some whites.[12]

I do agree with Kriel (2013) that the Afrikaner nationalist agenda was one side of the apartheid coin; however, white supremacy and anti-Black sentiment

[12] Audrie noted in chapter one that their father said it is always important to be neat and clean and that you should not "wear you poverty on you sleeve." While it is already a bold to state you would rather dine at Black people, being neat and clean was very important to him.

played an equally important role in the 1948 election. These two ideologies are exhibited in one of Malan's first speeches as prime minister:

> No one expected this to happen. It exceeded our most optimistic expectations. Afrikanerdom has lived under a dark cloud and the future has been black for many years. We feared for the future of our children. But the cloud has disappeared and the sun is shining once more. In the past, we felt like strangers in our own country, but today South Africa belongs to us once more. For the first time since Union, South Africa is our own. May God grant that it always remains our own. (Quoted in Kriel, Malan 1948)

The sentiments Malan expresses in this speech resembles that of the speech at the Battle of Blood River ten years prior. The question he asked the crowd on that day—"will South Africa then still be a white man's country?"—is answered here when he specifically claimed that South Africa belongs to the Afrikaner. He also reminded the listener that it is God's intention for South Africa to belong and remain in the hands of the Afrikaner. Later in this chapter I show how these master symbols that Malan uses were present in music education through the songs found in the FAK songbooks *Volk en Vaderland* section.

Malan's continuous comparison of light and dark, white and Black, and Afrikaner and English create what Collins explains as "binary thinking" (2008, 87)—that is, the understanding of human difference in terms of opposition, which I show in the song analysis in this chapter.

> One part is not simply different from its counterpart; it is inherently opposed to its 'other.' Whites and Blacks, males and females, thought and feeling are not complementary counterparts—they are fundamentally different entities related only through their definition as opposites. Collins 2008, 87

The binary thinking therefore became ingrained in Afrikaner nationalism and identity, furthering the inherent white supremacist ideologies established at the

inception of Afrikaner nationalism (see chapter one on the controlling image). Thus, in this crucial election, an Afrikaner voter did not have to actively think about racism to cast her vote. Rather, racism was instilled in her identity, and she might even have become ignorant to these beliefs.

WHITE IGNORANCE

Deborah Posel (2001) argues that apartheid lasted for forty years because of the bureaucratization and normalization of race. This is in large part due to the Population Registration Act of 1950, which ensured that every child was registered as a specific race at birth. Accordingly, race became the country's basis for all social, economic, and political organization of the country. That is, the race you are assigned at birth determines where you can live, who you are allowed to socialize with, where and what type of education you receive, which door to use in public and private spaces, and every other aspect of your life. Therefore, as Posel argues, "the idea of an objective biological basis for a racial difference had popular currency as a self-evident truth, part of the racial 'common sense' that permeated white South African society" (2001, 89). In other words, since race was bureaucratically assigned, it was accepted as 'normal' and never questioned as a social construct.

The normalization of racial organization was clear in my conversations with my interlocutors. When Dani told me stories of Theresa, their parent's maid, they would consistently justify their home's racial organization as something encouraged and enforced by Theresa.

> One of her [Theresa] stepchildren was a school principal. We never knew this. We didn't really know much about her family… My mom told me: [one day] there was a knock on the front door, and she walks

> to the front door and opens it. And there stands a Black man, who she says was neatly dressed. And he gives his Zulu name and puts out his hand. My mom says: 'Now, I don't know what is going on, so I shake his hand…' He says that he just wants to know if Theresa works here… My mom says: 'yes, she's here.' He says: 'because I am her son. I was here [in the area] for training and I just want to hear how she is doing.' And my mom says: 'yes of course' and tells him he can come in. She calls: 'Theresa! Come here, you have guests.' Theresa was in the kitchen and as she gets into the corridor and sees her son, she bursts out in Zulu and she's talking! [Mimics conversation with her hand.] And the son starts retaliating and he is out of the door. And my mom asks him: 'what's going on?' and Theresa responds: 'no, what gives him the right to knock on the front door, he has to come around. [Makes a semi-circle with their arm.] 'He has to walk to the back.' And my mom says: 'but I invited him in. He can [come in], just walk him through [the house].' [Theresa replies] 'No, he must know his place and walk around.' So, it's kind of funny how all these things happened [holds chin in hand]. I always say: yeah, if you look back on it now, then you wonder. How did this all happen, that it was *her* [Theresa] way, how *she* wanted to handle it and it was not the white people's way of handling the situation. [Dani's vocal emphasis.]

Melissa Steyn (2012) argues that this reconstruction of personal histories of apartheid lies in white ignorance, which Charles Mills (2008) calls a 'feel-good' history. Mills coined the term white ignorance and theorized that it is a cognitive phenomenon that can be traced back to the social construction of race. Moreover, it is an ignorance that is pervasive, grounded in white supremacy, and an "non-knowing, that is not contingent, but in which race—white racism and/or white racial domination and their ramifications—plays a crucial causal role [in the sustainment of white supremacy]" (2007, 20). Therefore, to Dani, the bureaucratization that enforced the discriminatory customs in their house was at the hand of Theresa and not their parents. However, if Theresa did not follow these customs, it could have severe consequences. Moreover, Mills explains that white ignorance can also be experienced by anyone, regardless of race, but it is always a result of white supremacy, in the same way that people of all genders can

uphold the patriarchy. Theresa was raised in the same racial organization as Dani and thus, the insistence on her stepson using the back door could also be rooted in white ignorance about the atrocities of apartheid.

Despite the unequal treatment of their maids, my interlocutors always spoke fondly about them, often considering the maids as maternal figures. Drew explained that since their parents were community leaders and very busy, they and their siblings were raised by the three maids:

> They [the maids] were actually like aunts to us. You went to them for comfort when you bumped your toe. They would 'abba' [wrapping a baby to your back] your baby sister… We loved to eat pap out of the pot with them. There we [all the children] would sit outside with them and with our hands, press the pap into small little balls and dip the pap into the milk.[13] And my mom would just leave us because it wasn't strange… The helped raise us. So, I would say they were just like aunts who helped raise you… And they, they always wanted to know what happened to us. When we got married, they were just as happy as we were. Yeah, I think they considered us as their children.

Drew was not the only one who recognized the relationship between maid and white child as a familial one. Charlie, also spoke about their maid, explained their relationship:

> Oh, very good… we had a maid who was named Anna and she was absolutely like a second mother to us. We had a great relationship with her… She would get her tasks from my mom. And she would then give us our tasks and make sure we did them. She was quite strict with us! [Laughs]… So, we got certain tasks and she made sure we did them… So, she didn't sleep in, like on the property with us, because we were five children and a mom and a dad and a dog! [laughs] Then there's not a lot of space left in a three-bedroom house you know!

[13] Pap is a South African dish similar to porridge, grits, or polenta. While it is inexpensive, many people across class and racial lines eat pap regularly. However, it would be considered distasteful by white parents to eat directly from the pot.

Dani expressed that Theresa had similar authority with the children: "My parents told us, if Theresa tells you it is time for bed, then you go to bed." Nonetheless, this authority was restricted and contradictory—as Posel (2001) explains many aspects of apartheid were. Dani told of one night when Theresa was babysitting the children:

> We were all sitting with her on the floor because she cannot sit on the chair. And I don't think it was because she was told she cannot [sit on the chair], I think that is just how it worked.

Theresa and Anna had the authority to tell the children to complete their homework and chores, but unlike the children, they were not allowed to sit on the chair. These contradictory values were also present in the manner the children addressed the maid. In Afrikaans culture children are expected to call any person ten years older aunt or uncle—unless they have another title, like doctor or pastor. Moreover, it is considered disrespectful to use the pronoun 'you,' causing every pronoun to be replaced with the appropriate title. However, my participants who grew up with a maid explained that their parents told them to call the maid by her first name. Additionally, Drew said their maids called the children *klein-missies* (little madam) or *klein-baas* (little boss). Therefore, as Posel (2001) asserts the contradictions were overruled by the bureaucratization which normalized the 'objective' truth: that racial differences are biological and not socially constructed. Mills explains that ignorance covers "both false belief and the absence of true belief" (2007, 16). Additionally, white ignorance is not just an ignorance of facts, but also a moral ignorance that creates false judgments of right and wrong. This complete acceptance of racial differences was expressed

by Charlie when we discussed their emotions during the early 1990s, when apartheid came to an end:

> I was actually passionately looking forward to the so-called New South Africa, because we gave the power over to a Black majority government peacefully. And here was the opportunity, as the English would say 'to shine' [in English] and to prove that everyone is equal and can perform equally, and that the country can now move forward. This, unfortunately, did not happen. We have seen dramatic corruption and crime in this country under the new government.

For Charlie, the economic decline of South Africa after apartheid was proof and justification for his belief that white and Black people are not equal. That is, the Black majority government caused the economic decline, instead of the years of oppression and international sanctions of the 1980s. Thus, in Charlie's mind, race can determine your ability to successfully govern a nation.

Nonetheless, Charlie expressed that they are open to other people's opinions, and acknowledged that their experiences may differ from other people's experiences. After the end of apartheid, they attended a lecture about the "facts of apartheid" and they were shocked to hear how Black people were picked up in the middle of the night and forcibly relocated. Charlie expressed, "well that is just wrong," but that most South Africans did not know about this. They argued that the average person was not aware of the political news and that is why they only learned about these atrocities afterwards. However, when Charlie and I discussed the *Broederbond*, and thus the oppression of the Afrikaner, they explained that one should always be aware of the decisions that politicians are making on your behalf. Yet, according to Charlie, this did not justify Mandela's rebellion against the government, despite acknowledging that the NP was probably viewed as an illegal and undemocratic government by Mandela. This clearly points to an

ignorance that is pervasive because Charlie was politically aware when it involved the Afrikaners' well-being, yet unsuspecting of apartheid's harm towards Black people. Charlie's constant renegotiation of white supremacy is not unique and, in fact, quite typical for white ignorance. In Jennifer Mueller's (2017) analysis of college undergraduate students' essays on the racial wealth gap, she found similar maneuvers. She asserts that this indicates how white ignorance can fight back, even when presented with contradictory information. In Mueller's analysis, white ignorance was used to avoid both guilt and responsibility for upholding white supremacy. I believe this is similar for my interlocutors. Lee explained that they were relieved when apartheid ended partly because:

> You [as an Afrikaner] started feeling like there was a mountain on your shoulders. You feel responsible for everything. Everything is your fault. Thank goodness, now everyone can look after themselves. And everything is not our fault anymore. We, I was very relieved.

Thus, ignorance served as a tactic, knowingly or not, to avoid guilt for apartheid, which requires emotional work.

## CONTROL OF KNOWLEDGE

White ignorance has an incentive to continue, and like all ignorances it is cultivated by a lack of knowledge, or as Mueller (2017) explains contriving of facts like the Battle of Blood River and *Die Stem*. Steyn (2012) explains, that like "knowledge, ignorance can be put in place through communicative practices and disseminated across social settings, cultivated and nurtured intersubjectively, circulating through social networks and activities" (10). The apartheid government and associated cultural organizations cultivated white ignorance to achieve the 'common sense' racialization, that Posel (2001) believes was integral

for the sustainment of apartheid. I argue that education played a crucial role in developing white ignorance among children. Walton Johnson (1982) explains that apartheid education was used to socialize people of all races, into the "values, norms, myths and ideology of the ruling group" (225). That is, the knowledge that is transmitted through education consists of myths, such as the vow made at *Bloedrivier,* which favors Afrikaners and 'proves' God's love for Afrikaners.

The pervasive nature of white ignorance was achieved through a highly controlled education system. One of the most important aspects of apartheid education was the separation of races, and different systems of education for each racial group. This tactic of controlling the level, type, and amount of knowledge that various socially constructed groups receive is not unique to apartheid. For example the continuous exclusion of groups in higher education in the West since. In the United States, *Brown* v. *Board of Education* was the landmark case of 1952 that established that racial segregation in public schools is unconstitutional. Many scholars argue that the Bantu education act of 1953 in South Africa was one of the most oppressive pieces of apartheid legislation. This act caused the racial and ethnic segregation of all South African education (Kriel, Thobejane, & Engelbrecht). Four racial groups were recognized: white, Black, Indian, and Coloured. Black institutions of education were further divided into ethnic groups: Zulu, Pedi, Tswana, Sotho, Shangaan, Venda, and Ndebele—which were collectively referred to as 'Bantu' by the government. White institutions were also divided between Afrikaans and English. Not only did the curricula of each of the four racial groups differ, but they even had separate departments of education for each. The principal draughtsman of the act, Werner Eiselen,

justified the segregation of educational institutions, by arguing that each *volk* needs to maintain their own language and culture. Kriel (2013) and Moodie (1975) argue that Eiselen was motivated not by racism, but rather ethnic nationalism, as he wanted to prevent the Westernization of Africans. Thobejane believes Eiselen's motivation was openly racist, and that Eiselen wanted to 'civilize' the non-European races. As Kriel points out, "to speculate on the true motive of politicians is pointless" (2013, 73); however, Moodie argues that Eiselen's justification still served to replace "negative racial nationalism" with "positive cultural nationalism" (1975, 265). Therefore, separate culture development was a justification for not only segregated schools, but more importantly apartheid.

On top of the justification for apartheid, the segregation of educational institutions also helped to maintain apartheid by modeling the racial hierarchy of apartheid in the access and standard of education. That is, each racial group received different funding and curriculum based on their position within the racial hierarchy. At the top of the hierarchy was white education and at the bottom Black education. Black students paid tuition, while white students received free education. In 1960, the average white student received R114.50 in educational funding from the government, while the average Black student received R13.50. By 1977, a white student received R654 compared to R48.50 for a Black student (Johnson 1982, 7). Thobejane explains that the Bantu education act was soon amended since the commission claimed, "Blacks were too backward to determine their own curriculum" (2013, 2). Therefore, white students received compulsory primary and high school education, and the curriculum mimicked

typical Western schooling. For example, they had the following compulsory core subjects between grades seven and nine: English, Afrikaans, mathematics, natural sciences, a third language, and human social sciences (Johnson 1982). On the other hand, most Black students only received primary education, divided between lower primary and higher primary. Black students were not required to attend school and because of extreme poverty, many students dropped out in the early years of schooling. Therefore, the lower primary was considered "complete in itself" (Johnson 1982, 220). The compulsory subjects for Black students from grades seven to nine were: English, Afrikaans, the student's mother tongue, arithmetic, and social studies. This again shows the contradictions within the apartheid policies, while the apartheid leaders insisted on separate cultural development Black students had to learn Afrikaans, while white students were not expected to learn an African language. This was similar for the songs taught in school, students of color had to memorize and perform "Die Stem" when it clearly tells the grand historical narrative of the Afrikaner. Therefore, the control of knowledge was racially motivated and could further fuel white ignorance surrounding Afrikaner history white superiority. White students were taught, implicitly, that they are intellectually superior—within a Western frame of knowledge—while Black students did not receive the knowledge necessary to achieve that level of 'intelligence.' [14] Returning to Patricia Hill Collins' (2008)

[14] The educational policy leaders 'believed' that race is biological and, therefore, Black students are not capable of grasping the intellectually challenging concepts. Verwoerd said: "What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? … That is absurd" (qtd in Jansen 1990, 201). Jonathan Jansen (1990) argues that this implicitly led to white students assuming superiority. However, a case can also be made about the *swartgevaar* in educating these students that could lead to economic development. It was also important to maintain inexpensive

theory of controlling images I used in chapter one, the education system, including music education, reinforced the controlling images necessary for the maintenance of apartheid. That is, if the justification for apartheid was the innate 'intelligence' of white people, the controlling image is the same and apartheid's education system favors this controlling image. Consequently, for Black people the controlling image and justification would be a lack of 'intelligence,' which is a direct result of the poor education system. Thus, the Bantu education act was the perfect recipe for apartheid.

Furthermore, the controlling image of Afrikaners discussed in chapter one was maintained through the separation of white schools and the deleterious and explicit presumptions about race that were presented in textbooks for white and black children. The *Broederbond* was behind the establishment of Christian National Education (CNE), which was used in Afrikaner schools. Wilkens and Strydom (1983) explain that CNE meant that Afrikaner children "could be nurtured on the philosophy of republicanism, based mainly on the glorious memories of the past" (1978, 258). The textbooks used in Afrikaner schools were one of the crucial elements for CNE. Engelbrecht explains that textbooks "act as an officially sanctioned version of knowledge and culture and, consequently, have the power to foster judgmental perspectives" (2006, 71). The textbooks published in schools during apartheid had to be approved by the government; moreover, cabinet members served on the boards of the textbook publishing houses. One of

labor for 'uplifting' Afrikaners, which would make the teaching of white supremacy explicit. Therefore, if viewing the education from the student's perspective it would be implicit, while from the policy's perspective explicit. That being said, as Bonilla-Silva states, the intentions of the oppressor is of less or even no concern when the outcome is white supremacy.

the most prolific studies of apartheid textbooks were done by J.M. du Preez in 1983 and had great implications for the textbook landscape in South Africa (Engelbrecht 2006). In this study Du Preez analyzed 53 textbooks used in Black and white schools (English and Afrikaans) and established twelve master symbols, summarized by Engelbrecht (2006, 72) as:

- Whites are superior, while blacks are inferior.
- Legal authority is not questioned.
- The Afrikaner has a privileged relationship with God.
- South Africa rightfully belongs to the Afrikaner.
- The Afrikaner is a Boer nation.
- South Africa and the Afrikaner are isolated.
- The Afrikaner is militarily innovative and resourceful.
- The Afrikaner has always felt threatened.
- World opinion of South Africa is important.
- South Africa is a leader in Africa.
- The Afrikaner has a God-given task to fulfill in Africa.
- South Africa is an afflicted country.

Master symbols become a part of a society's collective consciousness by establishing sociocultural generalizations (Engelbrecht 2006). Carol Steyn analyzes "Die Vlaglied" with Du Preez' master symbols, which I discuss below. Moreover, these symbols are present in "Die Stem," which I analyze in chapter one. I argue that these pro-Afrikaner master symbols had a far greater impact than just generalizations; they became a controlling image that had the power to override personal 'logic.' This in turn, led to white ignorance, which is "militant, aggressive, not to be intimidated, an ignorance that is active, dynamic, that refuses to go quietly-at the highest levels of the land, indeed presenting itself unblushingly as knowledge" (Mills 2007, 13). White ignorance, thus, successfully impersonated knowledge in the apartheid curriculum.

Lee was my only interlocutor that acknowledged this control of knowledge, and they focused not on education, but on authoritarian censorship laws. They expressed that it felt like apartheid was also restricting their freedoms—to a much lesser extent than people of color—and thus, they were relieved when apartheid ended. In their first year of university, they were in a philosophy class, which gave them access to censored books in the library. Out of pure curiosity they borrowed "the small little red book," *The Communist Manifesto*. Several years later, they came in contact with a man that use to work for the *veiligheidspolisie* (security police) and he explained:

> They surveilled me for two years, because I borrowed that little book from the library. After two years they decided I'm probably not a communist. [Laughs] They researched my history and that of my family and what we are up to. But then I guess they thought I was alright. And it was not like many communists were coming to my house!

Later in their university career, Lee had a friend that had access to Andre Brink's novels, which were also censored. Their friend borrowed *Kennis van die Aand* (Looking on Darkness) and "she photocopied the whole book and bounded it [laughing] it was a thick folder [showing with hands]. And then she gave it to me as a birthday gift." Therefore, the knowledge established in early education was further controlled through censorship during their higher education. It is important to note that universities were also separated between Afrikaans and English, although it was not strictly mandated for Afrikaners to attend an Afrikaans university. Moreover, the strict censorship laws influenced people outside of education, ensuring that no piece of literature, music, or film portrays a message contrary to the master symbols found in the school textbooks.

## MUSIC AS KNOWLEDGE

Music education supported the ideologies set out by the textbooks by using the power of music as knowledge. David Elliot (1991) argues that musicking is a form and source of knowledge. He explains that it is not simply an aural representation of notation, but rather like understanding and interpreting another's ideas. He legitimizes this claim by explaining that if it was just an actualization of a musical score, performances would not be critiqued. However, unlike textbooks, music can be experienced and produced with other people. As I discussed in chapter one, Anderson (2006) argues that group singing, even if the songs are mundane, has the power to create an imagined community. Shana Redmond asserts music is a "complex system of mean(ing)s and ends that mediate our relationship to one another, to space, to our histories and historical meanings" (2014, 1). In other words, music can create unity, while also providing knowledge about our identity, which can reinforce a controlling image. Therefore, music education can be utilized as a system to not only control knowledge, but also establish community that is, comparatively, impossible to achieve in a history class with textbooks.

Thomas Turino (2008) explains that participatory music can shape the performer's "cultural view as reality and their personal views of what is possible" (234). He employs Charles Peirce's theory of signs to demonstrate how a listener can form connections unconsciously through music. Peirce explains that signs indicate an idea or object leading to an effect, which can be a physical reaction or feeling by the observer. He divides the signs into three categories: icon, index, and symbol. When an observer witnesses an icon, they derive meaning from what it resembles. An index is when the observer experiences both the sign and the

object at the same time, while a symbol's meaning is agreed upon. He goes on to explain that indexical clusters form when pre-existing signs are redundantly grouped together. The redundancy is important as it helps to establish new habits, just like practicing a new skill helps create the basic habits needed to be successful. Thus, signs that will not usually be associated with each other form an association that seems "natural… creating a new context for interpreting the original signs" (236), because they are consistently grouped together. He expounds that these unnatural connections become fact, which achieves the goal of propaganda: "directing people's thinking and shaping common sense" (197). When these techniques are used to produce unnatural connections through music in politics, leaders of governments can "effectively harness the iconic and indexical power of music to further their own pragmatic ends" (Turino 2008, 189).

Therefore, through the inherent power of music and the politics surrounding any education systems, music education can serve to promote nationalism. Estelle Jorgensen (2007) and Deborah Bradley (2009) explore how the National Association for Music Education's (MENC), of the United States, National Anthem Project (NAP) serves as a community building project by "questioning where the lines blur between solidarity, nationalism, and fascistic forms of community" (Bradley 57). NAP was born out of concern that not all Americans know the words to *The Star-Spangled Banner* and the people that do know it learned it at school, which NAP associates with the decline of music education. Bradley points out that NAP's website argues that all Americans should take pride in singing the anthem together, yet they never define who is an

American. She warns that this uniformity privileges whiteness since it ignores diasporic identities. Their website also contains strong military presence with a link to buy patriotic songs performed by military musicians. Bradley cautions that critical thinking is easily ignored when a passionate teacher imposes ideology and more importantly "when the medium within which one works is as potent as musicking" (71). At the same time, authoritarian education systems would impose an ideological curriculum restricting the beliefs of the teacher. In other words, the teacher might blindly follow the curriculum that inculcates white supremacy, while not considering themselves a racist. Consequently, their own white ignorance is then impressed on their students. Moreover, when music education is used for ideological indoctrination, music programs at schools typically receive greater funding. This was exactly the case in Nazi Germany, as Alexandra Kertz-Welzel (2012) highlights, when the Nazi government established mandatory singing of patriotic songs in youth organizations and public schools to advance the Third Reich's ideologies of German superiority. Since music was used as a tool for indoctrination, Hitler supported greater funding for music education, gaining him support from music educators.

In her auto-ethnographic paper on the FAK songbook's role on her own pre-apartheid identity, Anette Delport asserts that music "creates a sense of identity via the direct experiences it offers the body, time and sociability" (2006, 9). Since songs have lyrics, they can foster this individual identity, which can further promote a cultural identity with cultural narrative, like *Die Stem*. That is, songs provide performance and story and "[describe] the social in the individual and the individual in the social, the mind in the body and the body in the mind"

(Firth 2002, 109). Interestingly, when I asked my interlocutors about the role of music during their school career (pre-university), they immediately responded with formal music education answers, mostly with their access to private music lessons. Charlie insisted several times that they experienced "music only in a transient nature;" however, when I asked which music they listened to, they responded: "you know, I was a real rocker." Therefore, they linked their personal identity to music and more importantly they tied their identity as an Afrikaner to *Die Stem*, as indicated in chapter one. None immediately considered that music served a role through listening or group singing, even though all five did have large group singing lessons at school. In Delport's article, "I sing therefore I am" she explores, with standpoint theory, how the music education during apartheid "proved to be another useful allocator of identity" (2006, 8).[15] She explains that during this time, music education was mostly used to improve the literacy skills of students through group singing. However, as she points out, the focus on singing provided the ideal opportunity to teach songs from the FAK songbook, which, in turn, would promote Afrikaner nationalism and "also help young Afrikaners know 'who they are'" (8). Furthermore, the lyrics of the songs creates essentialism, "the conscious use of a few aspects of identity to unite people for political ends" (Turino 2006, 104), by using indices for Afrikanerdom, solidifying the unification. This unity is intensified because of the segregated school system, the children learnt these songs with other white Afrikaans children, thus indexing Othering.

[15] Standpoint theory is based on one's own personal experience.

Music education during apartheid was also political and, accordingly, structured by race. Although Grant Olwage (2008) points out this was already the case during nineteenth century colonial South Africa. Corresponding to the rest of the racialized school system, the music practiced in educational settings differed from race to race. Black students mostly received vocal and choral training through sol-fa system, which limited their musical literacy, as Olwage (2008) points out. Moreover, Black students' music education was limited to primary and high school, while white students could continue music studies in university. White students had access to typical Western music education, such as: music lessons, music theory, choir, staged productions, attending to symphony orchestra and opera concerts, and large group singing. Additionally, my interlocutors grew up in a house with a piano, which was standard for Afrikaner homes; two of them received formal lessons, three participated in choir (Charlie auditioned but was not successful), and two performed in operetta productions. Music education, as with the 'race determines intelligence' fabrication, created and stimulated the false belief that musical capabilities are determined by race. Evidently, everything about the apartheid system supported the perceived 'common sense' of racial difference, which was created and stimulated by the same system. A violent cycle that informs the pervasive and all-knowing white ignorance.

The FAK advocated for their controlling sound of Afrikaners in schools when the music committee decided in the 1950s that the musicking happening at schools should only consist of Afrikaans songs that teach good morals and a love for Afrikanerdom. During this time the committee was chaired by *Broeder* Anton

Hartman, whom Chris Walton, controversially, christened "Gauleiter" (regional Nazi leader) as "leading musical administrator" (2004, 64) of the apartheid regime.[16] During Hartman's tenure on the music committee at the FAK, he advocated for state-controlled media and education that discourage Afrikaner youth from engaging with English popular culture. Furthermore, the music committee sent out a letter to schools—after they became aware that English songs were used at sports occasions—urging the enforcement of strictly Afrikaans songs with lyrics that promote "Afrikaans morals and tradition" (Walton, 2004, 73). In Anette Delport's article "I sing therefore I am" she explores how apartheid music education "proved to be another useful allocator of identity" by using standpoint theory. She explains that during this time, music education was mostly used to improve the literacy skills of students through group singing. However, as she points out, the focus on singing provided the ideal opportunity to teach songs from the FAK songbook, which, in turn, would promote Afrikaner nationalism and "also help young Afrikaners know 'who they are'" (8) Moreover, along with the *Suid-Afrikaanse Onderwysersunie* (South African Teacher's Union or SAO), the music committee believed it is important for the unification of the *volk* that Afrikaner school children should sing *Die Stem* regularly. However, they were concerned that *Die Stem* would lose its power if not sung

[16] In a review of Mia Hartman's book on her uncle, Anton Hartman, Walton asserts that Anton Hartman was not politically naïve about apartheid's cruel policies, but rather actively working to promote them. In a subsequent publicized letter, as a response to Muller's critique of Walton's assessment, Walton explains after the publication of his review, various colleagues at the University of Pretoria photocopied the review and passed it along to "colleagues further up in the university hierarchy to prove how dangerously subversive I was" (2009, 3). He goes on to explain, that "as a testament to their success" he felt "compelled to resign" as the head of the music department and, inevitably, immigrate to Europe (2009, 3).

with the necessary respect, particularly fearing that *Die Stem* would be disrespected like "God Save the Queen"—drunkenly sung at sports events. The FAK and SAO reached out to three scholars and surveyed their knowledgeable opinions surrounding the public performance practices of "Die Stem." Together they decided that any performance of "Die Stem" should always meet the following conditions: (1) "Die Stem" should only be performed at occasions that are deemed to have national representative value, (2) special attention should be paid to ensure that "Die Stem" would not be treated as poorly as "God Save the Queen" (that is, when it is performed it is performed in its entirety), and (3) other songs like "Afrikaners, Landgenote" (Afrikaners, Compatriots) should rather be performed at the end of a function (Muller 2008).

My interlocutors and I listened to four songs from the FAK Songbook in the section *Volk en Vaderland* (Nation and Fatherland). "Die Stem van Suid-Afrika" (The Call/Voice of South Africa) and "Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika" (Song of Young South Africa) were familiar to all five interlocutors. Audrie and Drew knew "Afrikaners, Landgenote" (Afrikaners, Compatriots) and "Die Vlaglied" (The Flag Song). Lee and Charlie had never heard "Die Vlaglied" before, while Dani only recognized the melody of "Afrikaners, Landgenote" as the German national anthem. In Carol Steyn (2013) small quantitative study, she finds that the "Die Vlaglied" was sung more in schools that were in provinces (Transvaal and Oranje-Vrystaat) with a more prominent Afrikaner nationalist presence. With my small sample size, I was unable to deduce a pattern of which songs were performed in which provinces. Nonetheless, I assume that Steyn's argument about "Die Vlaglied" may be the same for "Afrikaners, Landgenote."

Moreover, in Steyn's personal experience of accompanying school group singing periods in the 1980s, she argues that the schools were not pressured into teaching these songs. The tradition may have already been established, since Hartman and the FAK music committee strongly encouraged the singing FAK songs in the early 1950s. Nonetheless, I suspect some schools were simply more concerned with Afrikaner nationalism than others. Drew, for example, could still recall most of the words of the four songs and even ranked them in importance: "Die Stem," "Die Vlaglied," "Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika," and "Afrikaners, Landgenote"—they considered the first three as the most important Afrikaans songs. Drew explained that "as soon as you were able to stand next to a piano with a teacher, you learned 'Die Stem…' When you know the anthem [Die Stem], you learned 'Die Vlaglied'" and this would be followed by "Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika." The other interlocutors could not recall when or where they learned the songs, but all suspected that it was in primary school between the ages of seven and ten.

The songs were received in a neutral to positive manner when the interlocutors knew them. "Die Stem" elicited the most emotion, such as patriotism, nostalgia, and pride; additionally, all five expressed that "Die Stem" was a part of their identity, as discussed in chapter one. Although "Die Vlaglied" was considered the second national anthem by the state, "Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika" was received with greater enthusiasm. With a mischievous smile, Drew said that "I think this one is still my favorite," and quickly added, "except for national anthem, of course." Lee explained that "I think it is that *lekker*

marching beat that makes it so catchy."[17] Audrie explained that their mother often sang "Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika" because "it is a beautiful song," but they still think they learned it at school. On the other hand, Audrie stated that they do not have any feelings towards "Afrikaners, Landgenote," but they also explained that they do not know it very well. "I think it is because I am not as connected to that song, like I am to 'Die Stem.'" After I reminded them of the name, they immediately remembered that it is from the FAK songbook. Lee explained that they knew "Afrikaners, Landegenote" very well and "it brings back feelings of your youth." While listening to "Afrikaners, Landgenote," Drew remembered that they sang many of these songs "once a year, when we went to the Day of the Vow festival on December sixteenth… At these festivals the children had to be quiet and stand to the side, while the adults sang these songs." Overall, my interlocutors felt enthusiastic about the songs and would immediately hum along to the melody or sing the words that they could remember. Since "Die Vlaglied" and "Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika" received the best feedback after "Die Stem," I will analyze those songs below.

DIE VLAGLIED

| Afrikaans | English |
|---|---|
| Nooit hoef jou kinders wat trou is te vra:<br>Wat beteken jou vlag dan, Suid-Afrika?<br><br>Ons weet hy's die seël van ons vryheid en reg<br>vir naaste en vreemde, vir oorman en kneg: | Your faithful children never need to ask:<br>What does your flag then mean, South Africa?<br><br>We know he is the seal of our freedom and right<br>For neighbor and stranger, for master and servant; |

[17] Lekker is an Afrikaans (and Dutch) word that is derived from lick, with the same sentiment as "it's finger licking good." Thus, it is often used to describe very tasty food; however, it not only refers to food and can be used to express approval in many situations. That is, it can mean nice, fun, good, enjoyable, or even sexy when used as an adverb or adjective. It can also be used as an interjection, like nice and in a cunning manner. In other words, with sentiments like "that's what you get."

| | |
|---|---|
| Om te hou vir ons kinders se kinders wat wag:<br>Ons nasie se grondbrief van eiendomsland,<br>Uitgegee op gesag van die Hoogste se hand,<br>Oor ons hoof sal ons hys, in ons hart sal ons dra,<br>Die vlag van ons eie Suid-Afrika.[18] | To keep for our children's children who are waiting;<br>Our nation's deed for our land,<br><br>Issued on authority by the hand of the Highest.<br>We will hoist above our heads, carry in our hearts,<br>The flag of our own South Africa. |

As Drew suggested, "Die Vlaglied" was the second most important state song after Die Stem during apartheid; therefore, it became a national symbol. The FAK music committee, while Hartman was chairman, established it as the second national anthem and placed it, appropriately, as the second song in the third edition of the songbook after "Die Stem" (Steyn, 2013). The text was written by the same author as "Die Stem," Langenhoven. Moreover, in 1974 "Die Vlaglied" was handed over to the South African government and received by the prime minister at an official ceremony; therefore, like "Die Stem," it was no longer owned by the composer and author, but by the government. Steyn (2013) explains that "Die Vlaglied" was the song performed at flag hoisting ceremonies, even though there are six other flag songs in the FAK songbook. The three interlocutors who knew "Die Vlaglied" did indeed recall singing it during these ceremonies. Drew explained that "during high school when the flag gets hoisted… everyone stands around [gestures a semi-circle around an imagined flagpole] and as the flag goes up [gestures upwards] and then people would sing it." Audrie remembered similar ceremonies and described how the song is an aural

[18] This is the fourth verse of the poem; the other three were not included in the musical setting.

representation of the apartheid era South African flag. They went on and described that:

> [The flag] was for a long time our honor. And again we were proud of it, but uhm.. you have to realize that there needs to be changes in our country. So, that is why you have to accept that this song is not going to be sung anymore, because it is a different flag now. And uhm… the cultural groups that now exist will not attach value to it… It is of the previous generation. So, but it is still a lovely song, a really beautiful song.

On the other hand, Drew explained "Die Vlaglied" is "also imprinted on me. But not in a bad way… with good memories. And I am not ashamed to say that I am still proud of it." Thus, "Die Vlaglied," like "Die Stem," is associated with their identity as Afrikaners. As I explained national symbols "are a conceptual representation of group membership" (Butz 2009, 770) and at the same time exclusion. Thus, if "Die Stem," "Die Vlaglied," and the old flag are a representations of Afrikaner identity to my interlocutors and indicate the exclusion of all other South Africans. However, these same symbols represent apartheid to those who are excluded and oppressed for not belonging.

Steyn (2013) provides an interesting analysis of "Die Vlaglied" with the master symbols found by Du Preez (1983) in the textbooks used during apartheid. Steyn find seven of the twelve master symbols in "Die Vlaglied." The first is that the Afrikaner is God's chosen children, like the Jews, and that God provided the South Africa to Afrikaners, like he did for Joshua in Jericho, without violence. She explains the second master symbol is the importance of the *volk* and that South Africa belonged to the Afrikaners. She points out that the textbooks as well as "Die Vlaglied" expected "unquestionable loyalty" (277) to the nation. The third symbol is white superiority and that God sent Afrikaners to

civilize non-whites, which ties in with Afrikaner ownership of South Africa with the lyrics: “Our nation's deed for our land, issued on authority by the hand of the Highest.” Afrikaner children were constantly told—with school textbooks, songs, and political speeches—they had a “right to South Africa” (Steyn 2013, 279); therefore, becoming ‘common sense’ through redundancy. Purity as a master symbol is the genetic purity of Afrikaners and that other national groups are a threat to white Afrikaners. Purity ties in with the next symbol of the proud soldier that protects the Afrikaner. The second last symbol is masculinity and how women remain nameless characters. Lastly the flag is a master symbol of emotion and a representation of white superiority. Thus, Steyn points out that the “Die Vlaglied” had a role in the education of Afrikaans children, which was controlled, politicized, and used to indoctrinate youth, to fortify the racial domination of white Afrikaners.

Sound can create connections between a sign and an object, for example when a listener hears “Happy Birthday” it is an index for a birthday celebration. This in turn, can create an indexical cluster over various senses. That is, a birthday celebration can be an index for cake, which then indexes the taste of cake. Thus, hearing “Happy Birthday” might create an indexical cluster for the taste of cake. Turino (2008) explains that these indexical clusters can become natural or ‘common sense’ if constantly repeated, which creates new social habits. Although my cake example is harmless, this tactic can be highly effective in political movements, particularly when repeated enough for the connection to become ‘fact’. I argue that Du Preez’s (1983) master symbols become an index for Afrikanerdom and as a consequence creates an aural representation for the

controlling image discussed in chapter one. “Die Vlaglied” helps create indices to these master symbols for the visual flag; therefore, when an Afrikaner who sang “Die Vlaglied” regularly (like some of my interlocutors who can still remember the words thirty years later), an artificial connection is created between the flag and Blood River, which leads an unnatural connection between the flag and Afrikaner resilience. Consequently, to the singer, the flag kindles pride for the nation—patriotism. This is not to say “Die Vlaglied” and the flag were able to create this connection alone; rather it is made with redundancy by constantly creating indexical clusters in every aspect of daily life, in turn “directing people’s thinking and shaping common sense” (Turino 2008, 197).

DIE LIED VAN JONG SUID-AFRIKA

| Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika | The Song of Young South Africa |
|---|---|
| En hoor jy die magtige dreuning?<br>Oor die veld kom dit wyd gesweef,<br>Die lied van ‘n volk se ontwaking<br>Wat harte laat sidder en beef,<br>Van Kaapland tot bo in die Noorde,<br>Ruis dawwerend luid die akkoorde:<br>Dit is die LIED van Jong Suid-Afrika,<br>Dit is die LIED van Jong Suid-Afrika,<br>Dit is die LIED van Jong Suid-Afrika, | And do you hear the mighty roar?<br>It comes across the field, soaring widely,<br>The song of a nation's awakening<br>Letting hearts shudder and tremble,<br>From the Cape to far in the North,<br>Chords rise thunderously loud:<br>It is the SONG of Young South Africa,<br>It is the SONG of Young South Africa,<br>It is the SONG of Young South Africa. |
| Die klop van ons ossewawiele<br>Het die eeue se rus verstoor,<br>Die klank van ons voorlaaier skote,<br>Het klowe en kranse gehoor<br>Die diere het stil staan en luister,<br>Die bome het ewig gefluister:<br>Dit is die KOMS van Jong Suid-Afrika,<br>Dit is die KOMS van Jong Suid-Afrika,<br>Dit is die KOMS van Jong Suid-Afrika. | The knocking of our ox-wagon wheels<br>Disturbed the rest of the ages,<br>The sound of our muzzleloader's shots,<br>Was heard by ravines and cliffs<br>The animals stood still and listened,<br>The trees whispered, trembling:<br>It is the COMING of Young South Africa,<br>It is the COMING of Young South Africa,<br>It is the COMING of Young South Africa. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Van glorie van son groet die berge | Where sun-glow gloriously strokes the mountains |
| Oor hul fronsende voorhoof streel, | Across their frowning foreheads, |
| Van winde oor golwende vlaktes | Where rustling winds across the plains |
| Met grassaad karjakker en speel, | frolic and play with grass seeds, |
| Die land wat ons vaders gekoop het, | The land our fathers have bought, |
| Met bloed tot ons eie gedoop het: | Baptized with blood as our own: |
| Dit is die LAND van Jong Suid-Afrika, | It is the COUNTRY of Young South Africa, |
| Dit is die LAND van Jong Suid-Afrika, | It is the COUNTRY of Young South Africa, |
| Dit is die LAND van Jong Suid-Afrika. | It is the COUNTRY of Young South Africa. |
| Die golwende veld is ons woning, | The billowing field is our home, |
| En ons dak is die hemelblou; | And the blue sky is our roof; |
| Die vryheid alleen is ons koning, | Freedom alone is our king, |
| Sy wagwoord is 'Handhaaf en bou.' | His motto is 'Maintain and build.' |
| Die stryd wat ons vaders begin het, | The fight our fathers began, |
| Sal woed tot ons sterf of oorwin het. | Shall rage until we die or win. |
| Dit is die EED van Jong Suid-Afrika, | This is the VOW of Young South Africa, |
| Dit is die EED van Jong Suid-Afrika, | This is the VOW of Young South Africa, |
| Dit is die EED van Jong Suid-Afrika. | This is the VOW of Young South Africa. |

Charla Schutte (2015) states that *Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika* gained such profound importance during apartheid that Afrikaner right-wing political organizations still sing it post-apartheid. As many of my interlocutors noted, the song is a march with the usual 4/4-time signature and dotted rhythms, "urging the music forward" (Schutte 2015, 28). Moreover, the music suits the lyrics: The first eight bars create an urgency with the dotted rhythms in both the melody and the bass, especially with the unison on "And do you hear the mighty roar?" and "The song of a nation's awakening." In the second verse it is even more fitting when the text creates indices for the Great Trek ("Voortrekker wagon wheel") and Bloedrivier ("muzzleloader's shots").[19] Thereafter, the sustained bass notes help establish a more lyrical melody befitting the words again. Although there are no

[19] *Voorlaaiers* refers to the guns that were used at Bloedrivier. It is said that each woman would have been behind a man and load the gun for him while he uses another one, thus creating a cycle.

dynamic indications, the last seven bars would naturally be sung the loudest since the melody is higher, the accompaniment uses full chords or double octaves now instead of broken chords, and not typical for Afrikaans, in each verse one word is written in all caps—signifying greater volume to the reader. Schutte explains that the rhythm and uncomplicated lyrics with repetitive melody are typical features of successful folksongs which could serve as an explanation for "Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika's" popularity. Thus, I argue that popularity of the song is because of these musical characteristics which helped make it "lekker," as Lee said, and Drew's "favorite."

Songs have the ability to hide meaning by appealing to audiences with a "lekker beat" or a "catchy melody." That is, music is known for its aesthetic or cultural value and not its political value, just as the early Afrikaner intellectuals attempted to separate culture and politics. However, in such a highly politicized society like apartheid South Africa, is there anything that was not political? My interlocutors did not consider these songs political. While discussing *Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika*, Audrie explicitly tried to avoid talking about politics and carefully chose their words when comparing the old and new South Africa:

> It [Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika] is not only for Afrikaner children. It can be for any child. Uhm… Since we are all South African. I am not a racist and uhm… you know there really isn't any songs that can bring us as a *volk*, as South Africans, together. If only these songs could be, I don't know if they could be translated, but the other nations might not want to sing them… I don't want to bring politics into this, but everything that uhm… I don't think these types of songs are even sung at schools anymore because of uhm… the other uhm… [long pause] cultures that are brought into the schools. If you just look at Christianity, it is not even practiced in the schools anymore! What are the chances of them bringing these songs back?

Audrie was the only one who expressed the need for these patriotic songs in post-apartheid South Africa to inspire nation building. They also wanted to know what song is now sung when the flag is hoisted; I explained that, during my school career, the flag hoisting was not a ceremony but just a task completed by one or two pupils every morning and no singing ever accompanied it. They responded with an Afrikaans exclamation reflecting disappointment. Moreover, Charlie and Dani were both aware that the FAK was a front organization for the *Broederbond*. Although they acknowledged the *Broederbond* was involved in politics, they did not think it influenced these songs. When I asked Charlie if the *Broederbond's* association influenced his opinion of the songs, they immediately responded: "No, not at all." Dani was a bit taken aback by the question:

> No, [shaking their head and thinning out their lips] it's a song[20] [dismissing with their hand]. To now suggest that the songs that I grew up with had a bad influence on me is completely outrageous. [A short pause] Or that's my view. I think, I think… Let's just sing!

Audrie acknowledged the old South African flag is associated with apartheid; however, they did not feel that "Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika" or even "Die Vlaglied" was associated with apartheid. Yet, these songs were created with the intention of uniting the *volk*, the Afrikaner *volk*. Their lyrics are overtly connected to Afrikaner identity markers and often refer to how Afrikaners conquered South Africa. These are the same sentiments expressed by apartheid leaders. Would my interlocuters believe the songs are political if the lyrics were read aloud by Malan at a political event?

[20] Song in this context in Afrikaans is "liedjie" which is the diminutive form of the word "lied" (song). "Lied" we would use for songs of more "serious" nature, like classical art songs, hymns, and national anthems. "Liedjies" would be used for songs that are "less serious" like folksongs and pop songs.

CONCLUSION

Towards the end of apartheid, many nationalist symbols fell out of favor, because of their association with the apartheid regime. Consequently, the question of whether these symbols should still be displayed or performed has produced much debate in both academic and public spheres. Martjie Bosman explains that the FAK songs lived in "the honor position of the Afrikaans *liedereskat* [treasured songs]… for most of the last century" (2004, 28). She further asserts, that FAK songbook can "easily be oversimplified and labeled… across various political divides… which is often done with a set of imperious morals, and the spontaneous singing of FAK songs has raised many eyebrows among the politically correct" (23). Although Bosman never states that she believes the songs of the apartheid regime should still be sung, her fastidious avoidance of the politics surrounding the history of the songs suggests she deems it unimportant. Moreover, she states that "it can be confirmed that the politics of the government change and the Truth and Reconciliation Committee-investigations had an impact on psyche of especially white Afrikaans speakers" (44). Therefore, she believes that the "cultural self-esteem" (44) of the Afrikaner was harmed post-apartheid. South African Indian musicologist Ambigay Yudkoff draws on her own experience of singing *Die Stem*, the anthem of the oppressor, in a racially segregated school during apartheid. After Yudkoff showcased vocal talent, she was expected to perform it as a solo during the weekly school assembly in Afrikaans, even though there was an official English translation. She explains that "at one level, the supremacy of the Afrikaans language was being reinforced, while at another level, the apartheid regime hoped to inculcate feelings of

patriotism and nationalism in non-whites through an anthem that spoke of the white experience" (2012, 99). Furthermore, she highlights that the beauty of South Africa described in *Die Stem* was only accessible to white people. Moreover, *Die Stem* served as a freedom song for Afrikaners; however, non-white children were obligated to sing about freedoms they were not allowed to enjoy. Yudkoff, understandably, resented *Die Stem* in high school and refused to sing it. Nationalist symbols have the ability to provoke emotional attachment to one's nation (Butz 2009, 780), as all of my interlocutors expressed for at least one of the four songs. However, these same symbols do not only represent the nation "but also condense the knowledge, values, history, and memories associated with one's nation" (Butz 2009, 780). Therefore, these songs might seem like a treasure to Bosman's identity and as a symbol of membership to my interlocutors; however, these nationalist symbols represent a violent exclusion and oppressive government to a much larger portion of South Africans. For Yudkoff, and so many others oppressed for four decades, this exclusion was experienced every day through laws prohibiting them from sitting on benches, voting, living where they preferred, and so many other basic freedoms.

I argue that the insistence by Bosman (2004), Dani, Charlie, and Audrie that these songs are not political constitute white ignorance. If they were to acknowledge that these songs were motivated by politics, the songs immediately become associated with apartheid and thus racism. As Mills claims white ignorance "fights back" (2007, 13) to uphold white supremacy. Throughout this project, I have wondered when the redundancy of Afrikaner nationalist symbols overwhelms the love my interlocutors expressed toward their maids. Turino

(2008) argues that redundancy can fight against cognitive dissonance, but my interlocutors did not show any signs of cognitive dissonance. That is, they just accepted their maid is not allowed on the chair and creatively argued around their white ignorance. Dani provided one story that indicate illustrate how they experienced cognitive dissonance when they were six:

> I remember this one night when she [Theresa] had to babysit us since my dad and mom went out… She said it is eight o'clock, time to go to bed and we all got up, because we were all chatting with her. She was chatting with us while we were all on the floor. And the I walked over to her, because we had the habit when you go to bed you kiss your mom and dad and if there were guests, then you kiss the guests goodnight as well.[21] [Laughing] And I know I wanted to kiss her and when I wanted to kiss her goodnight [pushes hands in front of face] she outrageously deflects. And my brother who is four years older than me, says: 'No you can't do that' and I say to him 'but why not?' And he says 'but it is Theresa' and I said 'yes, but we kiss everybody' and Theresa just says [waves their hands in front of their face] 'no, no, no, no just go to bed.' And now in hindsight I understand why she said it. But I can also understand that for a child of four or five, it was… [does not finish their thought]. So, we weren't raised that there is necessarily a difference between us. Or at least as a child you don't see it that way.

As Poles (2001) explains, apartheid was filled with contradictions, but when these contradictions are overwhelmed with majority thinking, they are simply dismissed. To create such a potent collective acceptance the NP used the control of knowledge to create controlling images rooted in white supremacy. Consequently, these controlling images helped normalize the separation and oppression of people, which then again in turn help sustain the controlling image. Finally, this manifests in white ignorance which can fight against the original

[21] This is standard social practice in the Afrikaner community to peck kiss each other when greeting and saying goodbye. Two grown men would not kiss each other, but women would kiss each other, men and children. Men would also kiss children but stop kissing boys at some point in their teenage years. It is falling out of practice with younger generations; I would not greet my friends with a kiss, but I am still somewhat expected to greet older men and women with a kiss.

contradictions. Mavis B. Mhlauli, End Salani, and Rosinah Mokotedi explain that during apartheid “the school curriculum was to become a battlefield for institutionalized oppression and racism” (2015, 207). Based on this sentiment, I argue that the control of knowledge is the battlefield of apartheid.

# CONCLUSION

A few months ago, I was working on my thesis at a local pub with a friend late on a Friday night. I was listening to some Afrikaans alternative rock and punk bands that I adored in my teenage years. When I reached the end of my playlist a song came up that I had never heard; the words, though, were very familiar. The song starts with a soft piano introduction of the four-chord harmonic progression of four measures, with legato strings doubling the bassline. The first singer, a baritone, enters softly with the words, "We stand here before the Holy God of heaven and earth, to make a vow to Him," repeating the last phrase twice. He creates an intimacy that mimics a prayer by singing in the lowest range of his voice, resulting in a vocal fry. A tenor enters after him, slightly louder, completing the baritone's sentence with "that, if He will protect us and give our enemy into our hand, we shall keep this day and date every year as a day of thanksgiving like a sabbath." He emphasizes the desperation of the soldier's prayer by using portamenti between several intervals. The next phrase, "and that we shall build a house to His honor wherever it should please Him, and that we will also tell our children that they should share in that with us in memory for future generations," is orated by another man. An electric guitar enters at the same time, building suspense for the anticipated chorus with the repeated strumming. The chorus is performed by an ensemble of men and a full pop band with the last words of the vow: "for the honor of His name will be glorified by giving Him the fame and honor for the victory." The lyrics are the reconstruction of the vow from the Battle of Blood River, written by Afrikaans poet W.E.G Louw. Louw's version was reproduced from various versions written down during the

19th century by Blood River witnesses, given that the original words used by Sarel Cilliers in 1838 have been lost.

When I listen to this newest preservation of this frozen history, recorded almost two centuries after the Battle of Blood River by Appel, I imagine a crowd of Afrikaners standing at *Loftus Versveld* (a rugby field) in Pretoria, perhaps with some raising their fists to their hearts or a silent tear rolling over a few cheeks. When the song is over, eyes are filled with pride, but more importantly the group feels connected to one another. They all share heritage narrated by the song that indicates their inclusion to this community. Frankly, these emotions are relatable, and we enjoy the sense of belonging and purpose that they bring. However, what happens when someone questions them by kneeling during the song as Colin Kaepernick did in 2016 during the *Star-Spangled Banner*?

Psychologist David Butz (2009) explains that national symbols, such as anthems, are representations of membership to a group, and when membership is threatened, violence can occur. In 1979, historian Floris van Jaarsveld discussed the myths surrounding the Day of the Vow at an academic conference at the University of South Africa in a talk called 'Problems in the Interpretation of History with Possible Reference to Examples from South African History such as the Battle of Blood River.' Van Jaarsveld sought to demythologize Blood River and remind the audience that the Afrikaners were not the only people that believed God was on their side. Soon after he started, members of the *Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging* (Afrikaner Resistance Movement) and their leader Eugene Terre'Blanche stormed into the hall and "pushed Van Jaarsveld from the

platform, tarred and feathered him, threatened him with whips and dragged him from the hall" (Quispel 1999, 29).

Van Jaarsveld was not simply debunking the myth of the Blood River but dismantling the controlling image of the Afrikaner people—a controlling image that was redundantly ingrained alongside and through national symbols like "Die Stem" and "Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika," music that stirs great emotions when experienced together. I maintain that, in order to continue experiencing the gratifying emotions achieved in group singing of problematic anthems, an ignorance needs to be achieved. That is, the participant stands at a crossroads: she can choose to remain ignorant or lose the continued feelings of belonging and pride. This is the inevitable choice that faces communities not only in South Africa, but in settler colonialist nations broadly.

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A: THEMES OF THE FAK SONGBOOK (1971)

| Afrikaans | English |
|---|---|
| Die Stem van Suid-Afrika | Die Call of South Africa (Pre-1994 national anthem) |
| Volk en Vaderland | Nation and Fatherland (Father refers to God) |
| Natuurskoon | Beauty of Nature (Scenery) |
| Liefde – Nooiens en Kêrels | Love – Maidens and Fellows |
| Liefde – skeiding en verlange | Love – Separation and longing |
| Gesellige Samesyn | Sociable Togetherness |
| Die Jeug – Kleuters | The Youth – Toddlers |
| Die Jeug – Kinders | The Youth – Children |
| Slaapliedere | Lullabies |
| Besinning | Reflection |
| Gewyd – Kersfees | Religious – Christmas |
| Gewyd – Liederwysies | Religious – Arrangements of existing hymns |
| Gewyd – Algemeen | Religious – General |

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

English:
Family History:

1. When did your family come to South Africa?
2. Were all your grandparents Afrikaans? Did you know them? Do you remember any stories of them? Specifically, with regards to big historical events? Boer wars, world wars?

Childhood:

1. Where did you grow up?
2. Tell me about your childhood home? Did you live with both of your parents? Do you have any siblings?
3. Did you have a housekeeper? Tell me about her, and your relationship with her?
4. What role did religion play in your life growing up? Did you go to church? If so, what were your experience of that? How involved was your family at the church? Did you work at the "kerk basaar" (this is a typical Afrikaans church fundraising event that is similar to a neighborhood market), picnics, Sunday school?
5. What role did music play in your home?

Education

1. Where did you go to primary and high school? How was discipline enforced in your school?
2. Were you apart of the Voortrekkers? (Girl/boy scouts of South Africa)
3. What role did music play in your school career? What type of songs did you sing in assembly? Did you have a singing period where you learnt hymns and/or Afrikaans folk songs? If you sang choir, can you remember the songs you learnt?
4. Did you attend a tertiary institute? Which institute? What is your degree(s) in? Why did you decide to study that?
5. Tell me how your tertiary education would have differed from the tertiary education students receive in South Africa today? Did you have any rules that you had to wear a tie/pantyhose and skirt? If you were in a residence? What was that like?
6. Was music apart of your university experience? Choir? Serenade (acapella singing)?

Adult life

1. Tell about your family? Are you/have you ever been married? How did you meet your spouse? Did you have children? How many? When were they born?
2. Which career path(s) did you choose?
3. How did you feel when Mandela was freed? And F.W. de Klerk's role in it? What was going through your own mind in the early 1990s? Happy/scared/indifferent etc? What changes have you experienced since the end of Apartheid?
4. What role has music played in your adult life?

FAK/*Broederbond*

1. Do you know the FAK songbook? If so, what role has it played in your life? School/home/church? Any favorite songs? Why?

Listening to "Die Stem van Suid-Afrika" (The call – old South African anthem)

2. Which memories/feelings does that bring back? Can you remember when/where you learnt it? Do you remember occasions where you sang it?

Listening to "Die Vlaglied" (Flagsong – used as a sort of second anthem)

3. Do you know this song? Which memories/feelings does that bring back? Can you remember when/where you learnt it? Do you remember occasions where you sang it?

Listening to "Afrikaners, Landgenote" (Afrikaners, countrymen)

4. Do you know this song? Which memories/feelings does that bring back? Can you remember when/where you learnt it? Do you remember occasions where you sang it?

Listening to "Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika" (The Song of Young South Africa)

5. Do you know this song? Which memories/feelings does that bring back? Can you remember when/where you learnt it? Do you remember occasions where you sang it?
6. What does the FAK (outside the songbook) mean to you?
7. Do you know about the *Broederbond*? When did you learn about them? Did your family talk about them? What are your views on them? When Hans Strydom and Ivor Wilkens's exposé came out did you read it/about it? Did you look up family members' names?
8. Do you know about the FAK's affiliation with the *Broederbond*? If so, did you know about it in your youth? Did that influence your view on the songbook or the songs?

APPENDIX C: SONG GUIDE

| Hoe vir ‘n sekere geleentheid ‘n gepaste lied te vind: | How to find an appropriate song for certain occasions: |
|---|---|
| Daar is drie opgawes van inhoud:<br>a) Die alfabetiese lys,<br>b) Die groep-lys,<br>c) Die liedere gerangskik volgens eerste reël. | There are three indices<br>a) The alphabetic list,<br>b) The group list,<br>c) The songs arranged according to their first lines. |
| In die groep-lys word vermeld watter nummers een-, twee- of meerstemmig is. Amper almal is van goeie begeleiding voorsien. Ons weet dat die smaak baie verskil, maar hoop dat iedereen vir verskillende geleenthede in die twaalf groepe genoeg van sy gading sal vind. | The group list indicates which numbers [songs] are one-, two- or multiple voices. Almost all of the songs have good accompaniment provided. We are aware that taste differs, but we hope that everyone will find enough [songs] in each of the twelve groups to his liking for every occasion. |
| Spesiale aanwysing vir besonder geleenthede | Special indication for particular occasions<br>[Songs listed with their first lines] |
| <u>Vir gedenkdae: Sien Groep I, "Volk en Vaderland", ons noem uit groep I, VI en VII:</u><br>Kom Afrikaners sing nou luid;<br>Die Hoogland is my woning;<br>O land van veld en heuwels;<br>Maak die tentseilope, vrinde;<br>En hoor jy die magtige dreuning;<br>Dit is beskik in God se raad;<br>Ek hou van jou, vaal ou Karo[o]land;<br>Ek ken ‘n land van ossewa;<br>Jou kinders wil jou grootheid sing;<br><br>O Rusplaas van helde;<br>Slaap rustig, dapper helde;<br>In stille nag, vol sterreprag;<br>My hande het hul self geplant;<br><br>Moeder hou dag en nag (’n die Konsentrasiekamp);<br>Ek sien as banneling na jare.<br><br><u>en uit Groep X, "Wese en Waarheid" o.m.:</u><br><br>Grootmagtige, U prys die aard en hemel;<br><br>Dit is die Heer se dag;<br>Toe, woed jul storme;<br>Wie onder die skerm van die Hoogste; | <u>For commemorative days: See Group I, “Volk en Vaderland,” we name [songs] from group[s] I, VI and VII:</u><br>Come Afrikaners sing now outloud;<br>The highland is my home;<br>Oh land of field and hills;<br>Open up the tents, friends;<br>And do you hear the mighty drone;<br>It is available to God’s council;<br>I adore you, pale Karooland;<br>I know a land of ox-wagons;<br>Your children want to sing [praise] your greatness<br>Oh resting place of heroes;<br>Sleep softly, brave heroes;<br>In the silent night, filled with starry splendor;<br>My hands planted them [roses] themselves;<br>Mother carry on day and night (in the concentration camp);<br>I see as exile after years<br><br><u>and from Group X, “Being and Truth” among others:</u><br>Great Almighty, You praise the earth and heaven;<br>It is the Lord’s day;<br>And then, rage your storms; |

| | |
|---|---|
| Loof, loof die Here;<br>'n Nag van stilte | Those below the protection of the Highest;<br>Praise, praise the Lord;<br>A night of silence |
| **Vir lentefeeste, blommetentoonstellings, vrugtefeeste:**<br><u>Ons verwys o.m. na die volgende in Groep VIII, "Lentegeur en Lentekleur"</u><br>Al wat lewe<br>Daar's ontwaking<br>Die winter met sy koue<br>Ai die veld is vrolik<br>Dit is die maand Oktober<br><u>en in Groep X, "Wese en Waarheid":</u><br>Vroeg smôrens as die haantjie kraai.<br><br>(Dis verblydend, dat op sommige plekke in die laaste tyd op 1 September of l Oktober elke jaar ‘n mooi gewoonte posvat: skoolkinders neem blomme skooltoe en sing by die geleentheid dan lenteliedere; daarna word die blomruikers deur die kinders na die hospitale of ander siekehuise gebring). | **For spring festivals, flower exhibitions, fruit festivals**<br><br><u>We refer to the following Group VIII, “Spring fragrance and Spring Color”</u><br>All that that is alive<br>There’s awakening<br>The winter with its cold<br>Oh, the field is merry<br>This is the month October<br><br><u>And in the Group X, “Being and Truth”</u><br>Early morning when the little rooster crows<br>(It is heartwarming that lately in some places a beautiful tradition is starting on 1 September or 1 Oktober: school children are taking flowers to school and singing spring songs for the occasion; afterwards they take the floral arrangements to hospitals or other homes with the sickly.) |
| **Vir Kermis:**<br><u>Uit Groep X en XI, "Kermis" en "Wese en Waarheid":</u><br>Dit is die Heer se dag;<br>en vyf Kermisliedere en -motette. | **For Fair:**<br><u>From Group X and XI, “Fair” and “Being and Truth:”</u><br>This is the Lord’s day;<br>And five Fair songs and -motets |
| **Vir Bruilofte:**<br><u>Uit Groep IV, “Vrolikheid en Olikheid”:</u><br><br>Die Ja-woord is uit;<br>Ons wens vir hierdie Paartjie<br>(Kom laat ons saam nou singe);<br>Mag altyd rose van geluk;<br>‘n Heildronk vir die jonge paar;<br>Wees bly my hart.<br><u>Uit Groep X, “Wese en Waarheid”</u><br>My Herder sorg dat niks ontbreek;<br><br>Wie,onder die skerm van die Hoogste;<br><u>en verskillende nummers uit Groep II, "Liefdes-lag en Liefdes-leed" b. v.:</u><br>Laat my dit uitbasuin;<br>Rosekind;<br>Wilde bergroos teen die hang; | **For Weddings:**<br><u>From Goup IV, “Joyfullness and Feeling Unwell”</u><br>No more Yes-word;<br>We wish for this Partnership<br>(Let us sing now);<br>Let there be roses of luck<br>A Toast for this young couple;<br>Be my heart;<br><u>From Group X, “Being and Truth”</u><br>My Shepherd makes sure that nothing is missing;<br>Who, under the screen of the Most High;<br><u>And various numbers from Group II, “Joyful-love and Suffering-love:”</u><br>Let me trumpet it<br>Rose Child<br>Wild mountain flower |
| **Vir die Voortrekkers:**<br><u>Groep V, "Met Dapper en Stapper".</u> | **For the Voortrekkers**<br><u>Group V, “Walking bravely”</u> |

| | |
|---|---|
| **Vir Kerkkore:**<br>Groep X, "Wese en Waarheid"<br>Groep IX, "Kermis"<br>en ons noem ook:<br>Al wat lewe sing Gods eer;<br>Wie het jul so skoon gemaak;<br>Dit is beskik in God se raad;<br>Goeie Nag, die vermoeides kom tot rus;<br>Skeidingsuur is daar. | **For Church Choirs**<br>Group X, “Being and Truth”<br>Group IX, “Fair”<br>and we also mention:<br>All that lives sings God's glory;<br>Who made you so clean;<br>It is available in God's counsel;<br>Good Night, the weary come to rest;<br>Hour of separation is there. |
| **As Studenteliedere noem ons:**<br>Uit Groep IV, “Vrolikheid en Olikheid”<br><br>Al d' eksamens;<br>Beroemde Skots professor;<br>‘n Heildronk vir afskeid;<br>Dit kan tog nie altyd so bly nie;<br>Uit die kantien;<br>Uit Groep VI, “Lewenswel en Lewenswee”<br><br>Windjie, jy kom.<br>Uit Groep VII, “Vriendskap, Vaarwel”<br>Hier is ons vergaderd met één doel;<br>Vaarwel my skat;<br>Gee my jou hart;<br>Alles wissel met die winde;<br>Van Suide en Noorde of Ons kom<br>Alma Mater | **For Student Songs we mention:**<br>From Group IV, “Joyfull and feeling unwell”<br>All the exams<br>Famous Scottish professor<br>A toast on farewell<br>It cannot stay like this<br>From the canteen<br>From Group VI, “Joy and Sorrows of Life”<br>Wind, you are coming.<br>From Group VII, “Friendship, Fairwell”<br>Here we are gathered with one goal<br>Farewell my darling<br>Give me your heart<br>Everything changes with the wind<br>We are from the South and North<br>Alma Mater |

APPENDIX D: DIE STEM VAN SUID-AFRIKA INAUGURATION PROGRAM

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Psalm 146 vers 1 | 1. Psalm 146 verse 1 [assuming singing the psalm together] |
| 2. Skriflesing en gebed, ds. H.L. Pepler | 2. Reading of scripture and prayer, rev. H.L. Pepler |
| 3. Verwelkoming van Trek en besoekers, ds. J.G. Lochner | 3. Welcoming of Trek and visitors, rev. J.G. Lochner |
| 4. ATKV-lied, trekgeselskap en andere | 4. ATKV-song, |
| 5. Skets uit die verlede, mev. Boy de Jongh | 5. Description of the past, mrs. Boy de Jongh |
| 6. Feesrede: Stemme van Suid-Afrika, Dirk Mostert | 6. Festival speech: Voices of South Africa, Dirk Mosters |
| 7. Koorsang: "Slaap Rustig Dapper Helde" dirigent, mnr. E. Gericke | 7. Choir: Sleep Calmly Proud Heroes, conductor, Mr. E Gericke |
| 8. Moederskoor: "Uren, Dagen, Maanden, Jaren," die moeders | 8. Choir of mothers: Hours, Days, Months, Years, the mothers |
| 9. Voordrag, trekgeselskap | 9. Presentation, trek party |
| 10. Solosang: "Die Os," mnr. Jacob Smit (musiek S.C. de Villiers) | 10. Solo: The Ox, Mr. Jacob Smith (composed S.C. de Villiers) |
| 11. Koorsang: "Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika," dirigent mnr. E. Gericke | 11. Choir: The song of Young South Africa, conductor, Mr. E. Gericke |
| 12. Sang, trekgeselskap | 12. Song, trek company |
| 13. Gesamentlike sang: Transvaalse Volkslied, dirigent E. Gericke | 13. All: Transvaal Anthem, conductor E. Gericke |
| 14. Mannekoor: "Uit die Chaos van die Eeue," mnr. K. Hops | 14. Men's chorus: From the chaos of the centuries, Mr. K. Hops |
| 15. Tweesang: "Pappie gaan ons Huisie Haal," Ellen Olivier en Naomi Greeff (S.C. de Villiers) | 15. Duet: Daddy is going to fetch our little house, Ellen Olivier en Naomi Greeff (S.C. de Villiers) |
| 16. Voordrag, trekgeselskap | 16. Presentation, trek company |
| 17. Gesamentlike sang: "Afrikaners Landgenote!", dirigent mnr. E Gericke | 17. All: Afrikaners compatriots!, conductor Mr. E. Gericke |
| 18. Solosang: "Daar ruis 'n Lied," mnr. Stoffel Spies | 18. Solo: A Song is rumbling, Mr. Stoffel Spies |
| 19. Redevoering, leier van die Trek | 19. Speech: leader of the Trek |

| | |
|---|---|
| 20. Gesamentlike sang: Vrystaatse Volkslied, dirigent mnr. E. Gericke | 20. All: Vrystaatse Anthem, Conductor mr. E. Gericke |
| 21. Sang, trekgeselskap | 21. Song: trek company |
| 22. Slotwoord, N.A. Jooste | 22. Closing word: N.A. Jooste |
| 23. Ons volkslied vir ewig "Die Stem van Suid-Afrika." | 23. Our anthem forever, The Voice/Call of South Africa |
| 24. Dankgebed, ds. J.J. Calitz | 24. Benediction, rev. J.J. Calitz |
| Begeleiding, mej. Lamprecht | Accompaniment, Miss Lamprecht |

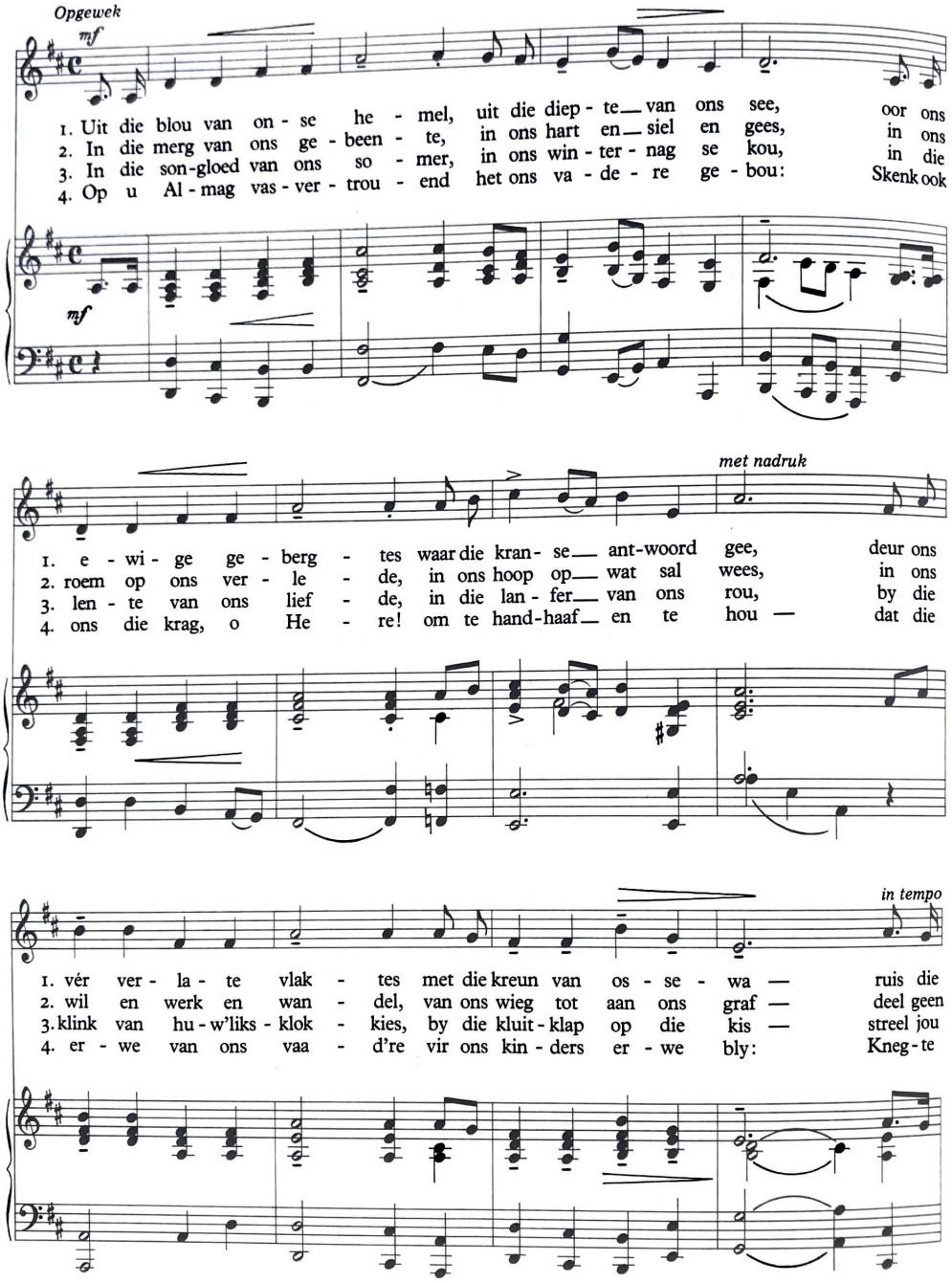
APPENDIX E: DIE STEM VAN SUID-AFRIKA

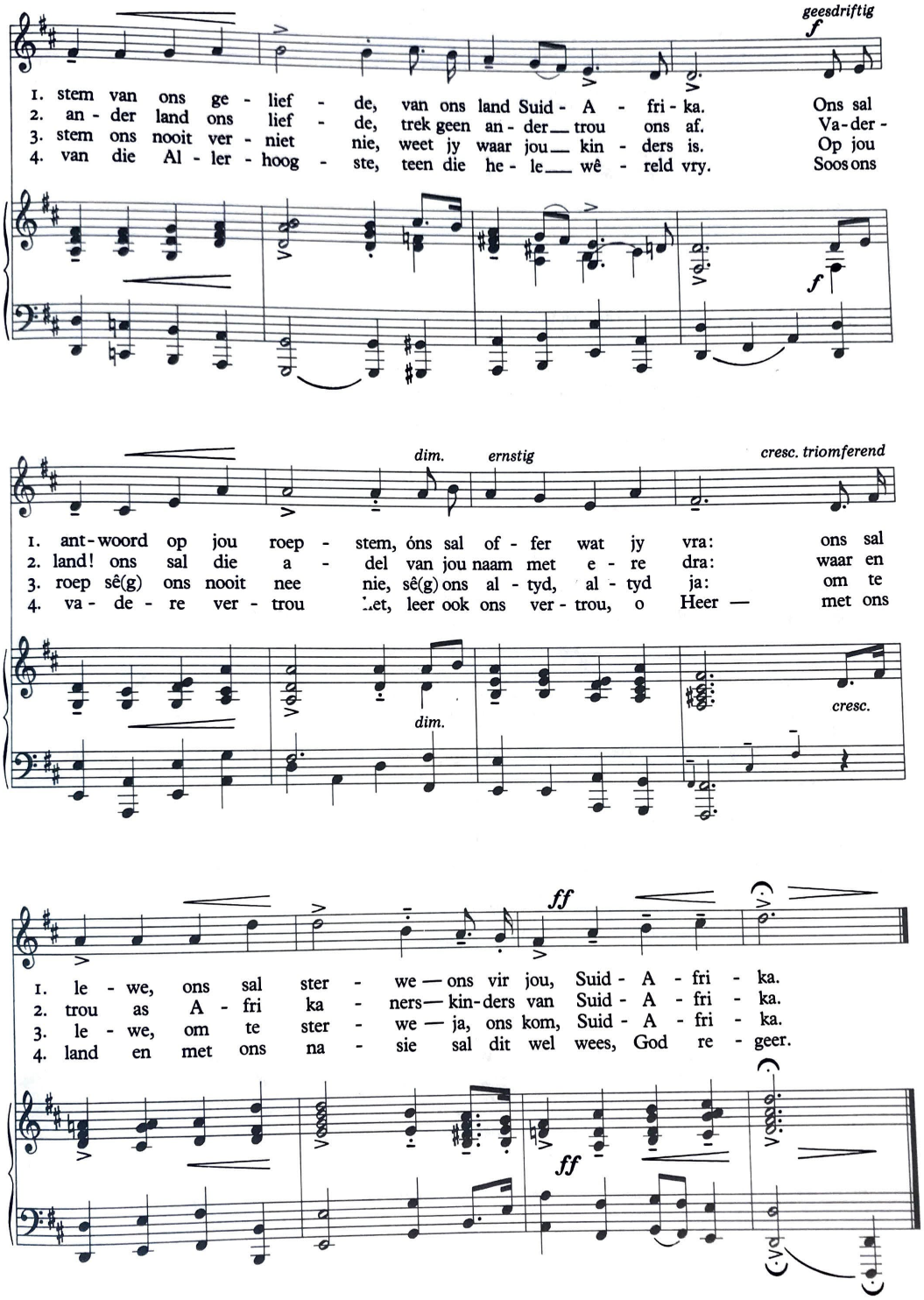


# I. DIE STEM VAN SUID-AFRIKA

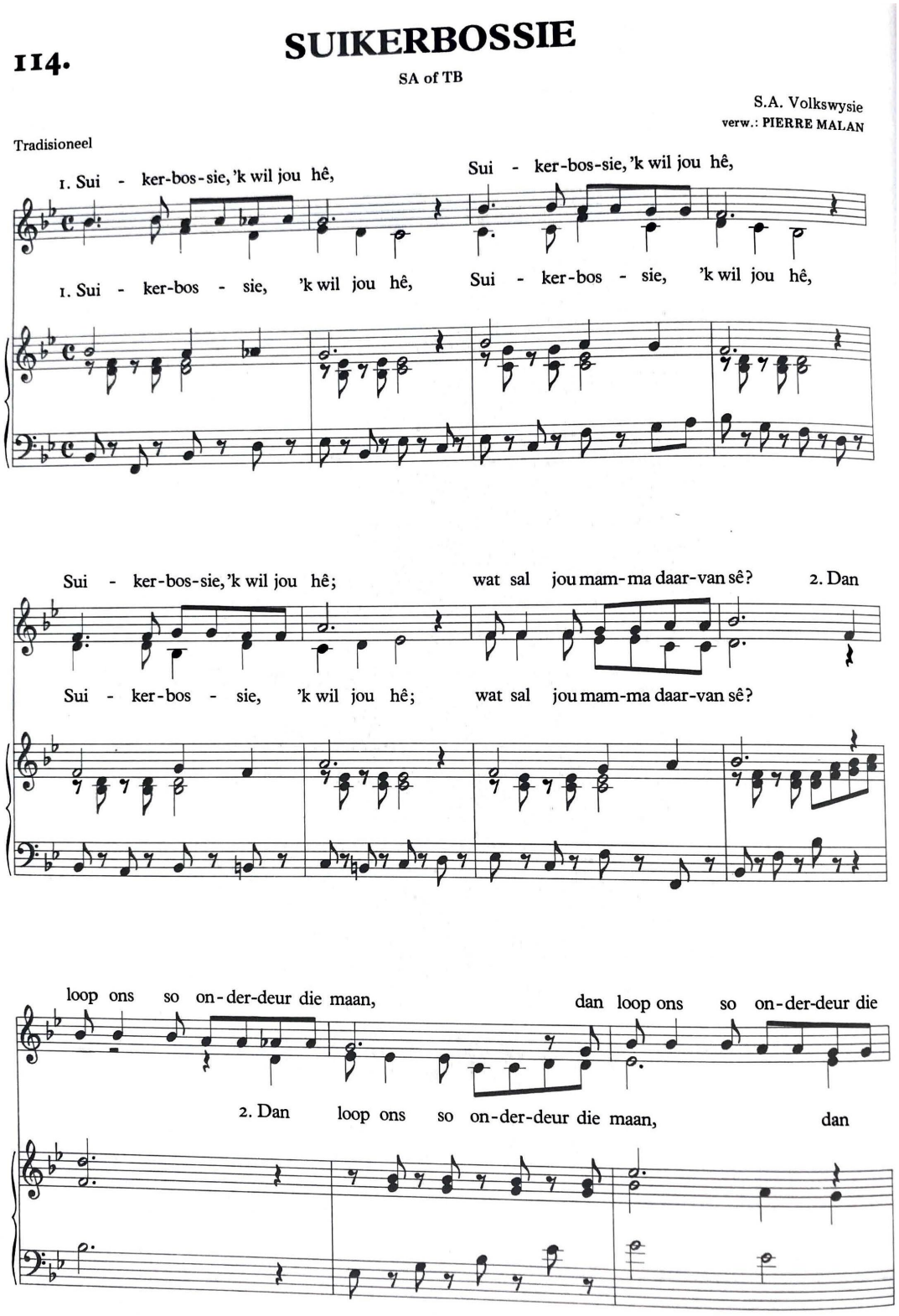
(Met verlof van die Regering)

C. J. LANGENHOVEN — M. L. DE VILLIERS




geesdriftig
f
1. stem van ons ge - lief - de, van ons land Suid - A - fri - ka. Ons sal
2. an - der land ons lief - de, trek geen an - der trou ons af. Va - der -
3. stem ons nooit ver - niet nie, weet jy waar jou kin - ders is. Op jou
4. van die Al - ler - hoog - ste, teen die he - le wê - reld vry. Soos ons
f
dim.
ernstig
cresc. triomferend
1. ant - woord op jou roep - stem, óns sal of - fer wat jy vra: ons sal
2. land! ons sal die a - del van jou naam met e - re dra: waar en
3. roep sê(g) ons nooit nee nie, sê(g) ons al - tyd, al - tyd ja: om te
4. va - de - re ver - trou let, leer ook ons ver - trou, o Heer — met ons
dim.
cresc.
ff
1. le - we, ons sal ster - we — ons vir jou, Suid - A - fri - ka.
2. trou as A - fri ka - ners — kin - ders van Suid - A - fri - ka.
3. le - we, om te ster - we — ja, ons kom, Suid - A - fri - ka.
4. land en met ons na - sie sal dit wel wees, God re - geer.
ff

APPENDIX F: SUIKERBOSSIE



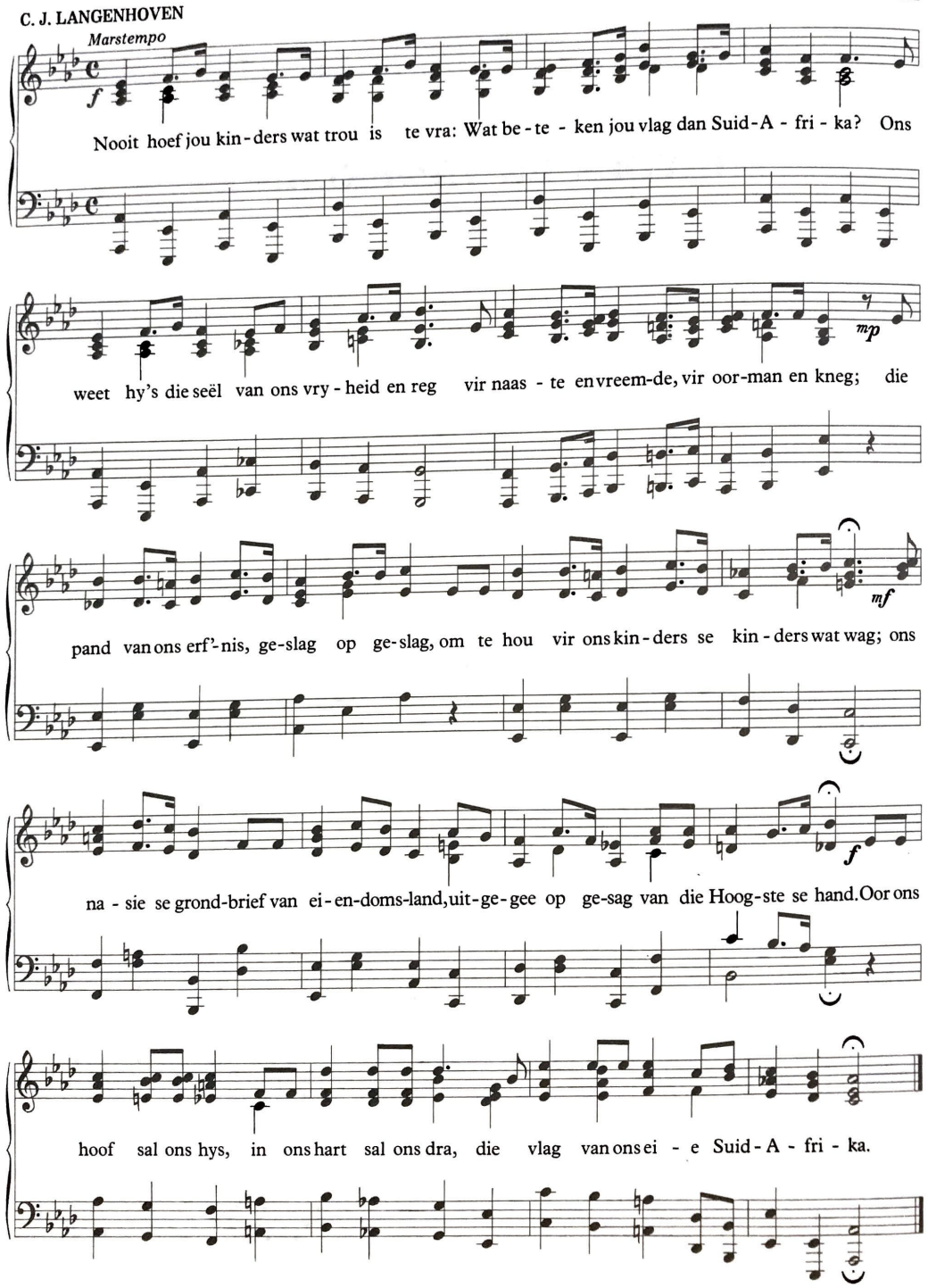
APPENDIX G: DIE VLAGLIED

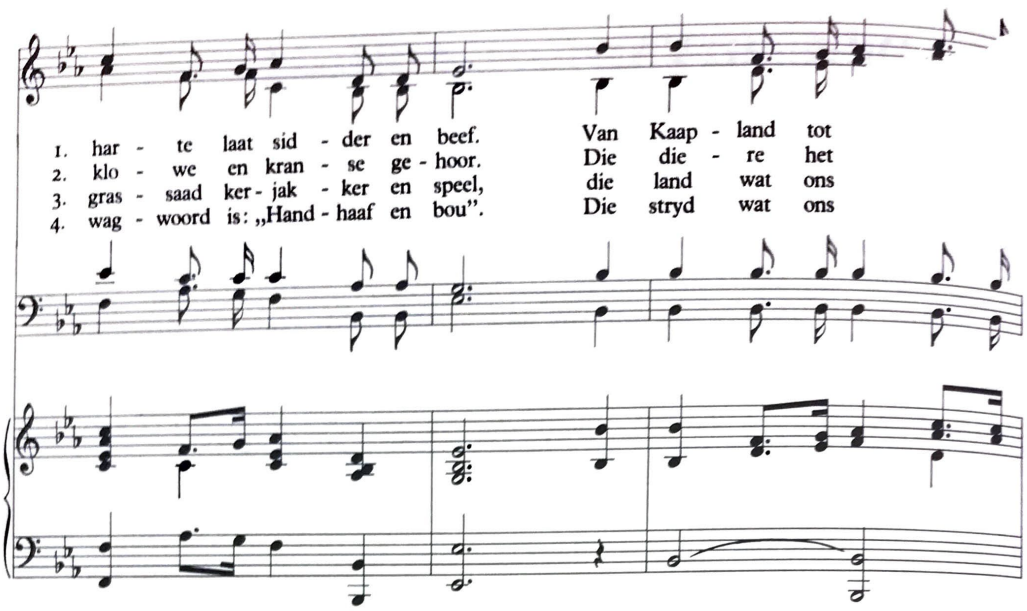
# VLAGLIED

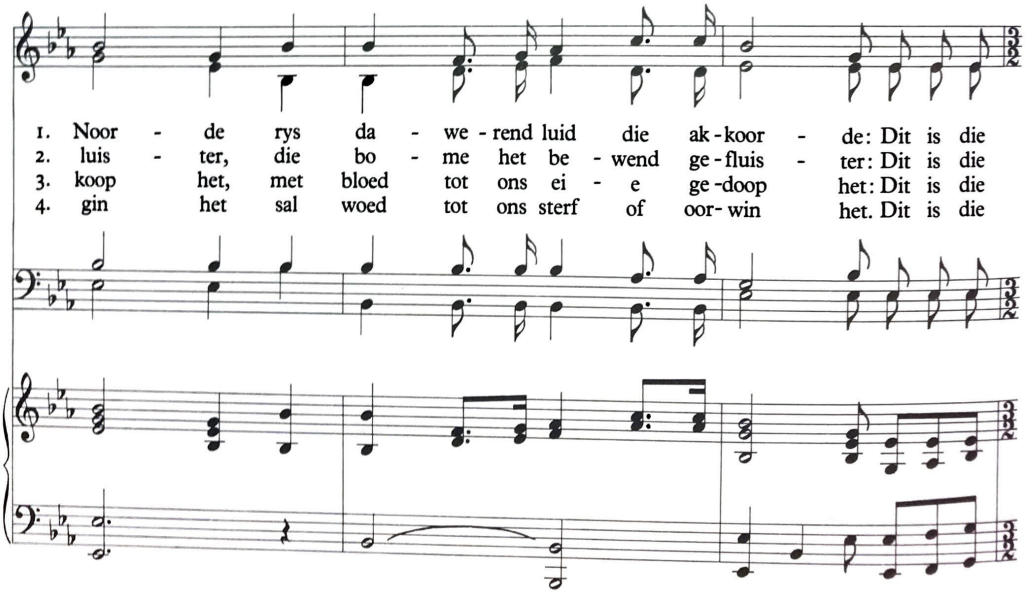
3.

C. J. LANGENHOVEN

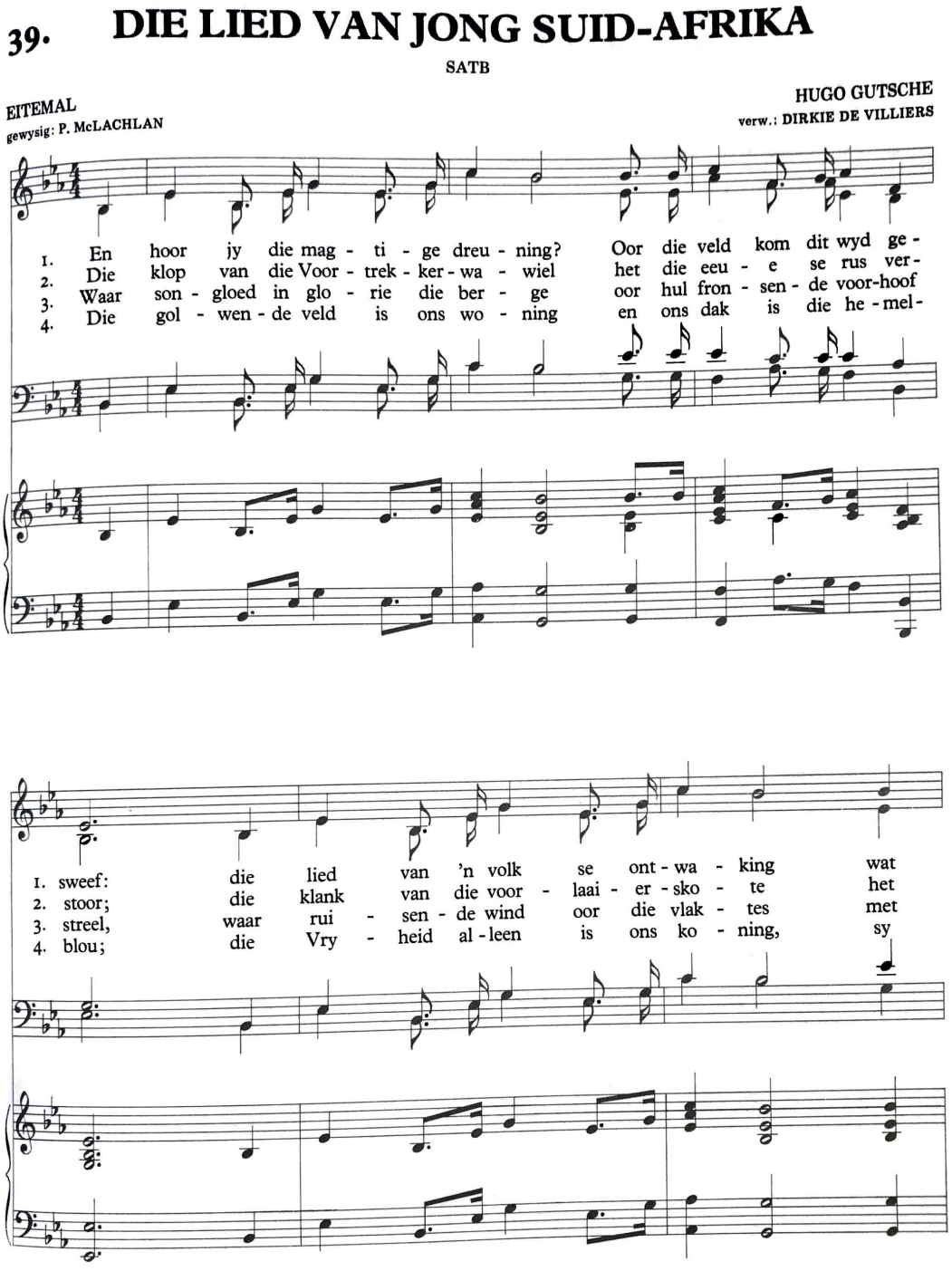
F. J. JOUBERT

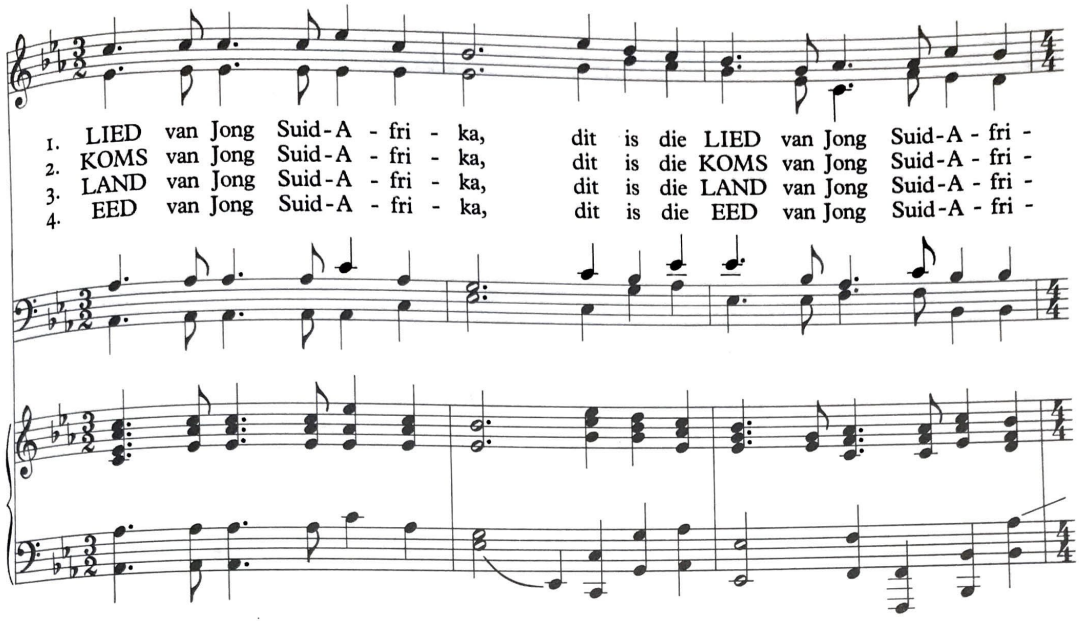


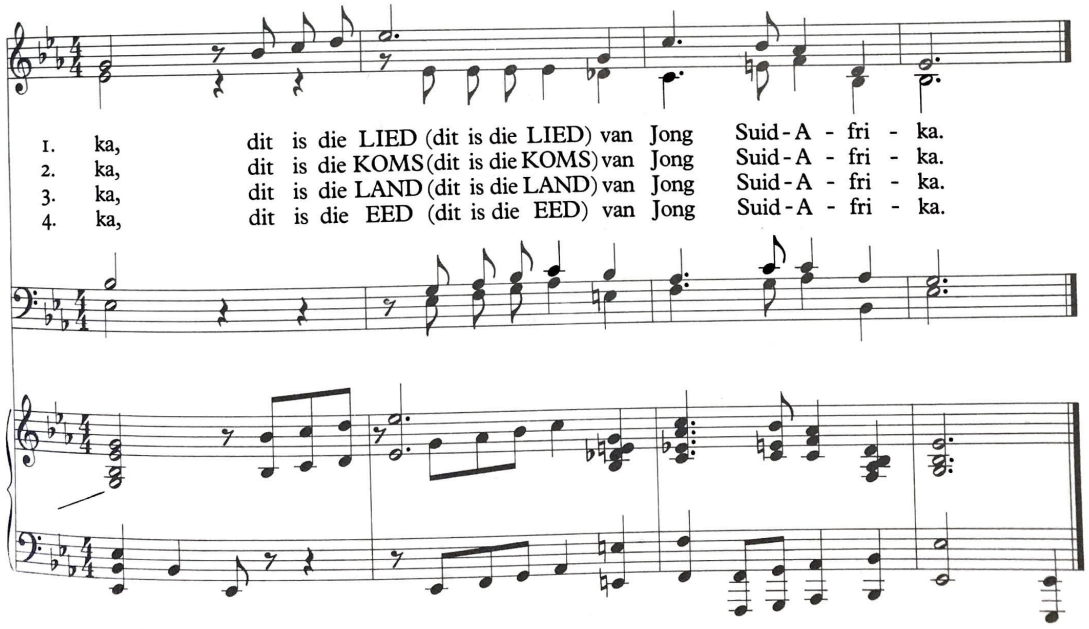

1. har - te laat sid - der en beef. Van Kaap - land tot
2. klo - we en kran - se ge - hoor. Die die - re het
3. gras - saad ker - jak - ker en speel, die land wat ons
4. wag - woord is: „Hand - haaf en bou". Die stryd wat ons


1. Noor - de rys da - we - rend luid die ak - koor - de: Dit is die
2. luis - ter, die bo - me het be - wend ge - fluis - ter: Dit is die
3. koop het, met bloed tot ons ei - e ge - doop het: Dit is die
4. gin het sal woed tot ons sterf of oor - win het. Dit is die

APPENDIX H: DIE LIED VAN JONG SUID-AFRIKA




1. LIED van Jong Suid-A - fri - ka, dit is die LIED van Jong Suid-A - fri -
2. KOMS van Jong Suid-A - fri - ka, dit is die KOMS van Jong Suid-A - fri -
3. LAND van Jong Suid-A - fri - ka, dit is die LAND van Jong Suid-A - fri -
4. EED van Jong Suid-A - fri - ka, dit is die EED van Jong Suid-A - fri -


1. ka, dit is die LIED (dit is die LIED) van Jong Suid-A - fri - ka.
2. ka, dit is die KOMS (dit is die KOMS) van Jong Suid-A - fri - ka.
3. ka, dit is die LAND (dit is die LAND) van Jong Suid-A - fri - ka.
4. ka, dit is die EED (dit is die EED) van Jong Suid-A - fri - ka.

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