Music, 'Movement and Displacement': Black Musical Innovations, 1920s-1960s

BY

RUBY MCGREGOR-LANGLEY

(16001274)

A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the

requirements for the degree

Master's in Social Sciences (MSocSci History)

In the department of Historical and Heritage Studies

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

SUPERVISOR: Dr G. Paleker

0

UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

DECLARATION:

Full name: Ruby McGregor-Langley

Student Number: 16001274

Degree/Qualification: Masters in Social Sciences (MSocSci History)

Title of thesis: Music, 'Movement and Displacement': Black Musical

Innovations,1920s-1960s

I declare that this thesis is my own original work. Where secondary material is used, this has been carefully acknowledged and referenced in accordance with university requirements.

I understand what plagiarism is and am aware of university policy and implications in this regard.

SIGNATURE: *Rmcgl*   DATE: 23 January 2023

RESEARCH ETHICS DOCUMENTATION: HUM031/0221 Approved: 31 March 2021

1

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

I would like to thank my husband Shawn, and my mother Helen, for their support while completing this dissertation. More importantly, I would especially like to thank my supervisor, Gairoonisa Paleker, for her never-ending patience in helping me to reach the finish line, particularly with regards to all the challenges we encountered throughout the writing and research process. Without her assistance I would not have been able to complete this study.

ABSTRACT:

Music, 'Movement and Displacement': Black Musical Innovations, 1920s-1960s, is an investigation of the emergence of music genres and performance styles in urban Black South Africa from the 1920s to the 1960s. The research uses Veit Erlmann's concept of "movement and displacement" in examining how urban music and performance styles were shaped in a rapidly changing urban environment such as Johannesburg. Furthermore, the research also focuses on the creation of an urban consciousness which was shaped by the cultural heterogeneity of Black townships, which in turn both shaped music and was shaped by music, among other factors. This urban consciousness was also the outcome of "movement and displacement" as a result of internal migrations, especially rural to urban, as well as intellectual and cultural exchanges between the urban Black community and international cultural and intellectual currents, particularly from the United States. The dissertation argues that urban Black culture, music, and performance styles of the period, 1920s to 1960s were significantly shaped by movement and displacement both within South Africa and outside.

Table of Contents:

Chapter 1: Introduction:

Veit Erlmann, a German musicologist, and anthropologist, in his book *Music, Modernity and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West,* looks at the role of music in the context of the "global imagination". For Erlmann, the "global imagination" is constituted by the dialectic between individual and group (local and transnational) consciousness of symbolic representations of knowledge, style, and expression. It is, therefore, representative of how people change under different contexts and how this reflects their personal experiences. Erlmann argues that music is a more reliable source to use in relation to examining the "global imagination" as music is reflective of a "collective consciousness" with regards to groups of people. Music is dynamic and musical genres and performance styles are constantly shifting and hybridizing with increasing global connections.[1]

By relating music to globalization, Erlmann tries to separate his work from other scholarly works which attempt to root music as a personal cultural experience. Erlmann instead roots music into the "global consciousness" which in turn is characterised by *movement and displacement. Movement and displacement*, therefore, accounts for the fact that culture is often shaped by social interaction whereby different groups of people come into contact with one another. In relation to Africa, Erlmann argues that "global consciousness" is further shaped by the complex relationship between Africa and the West as a result of nineteenth-century imperialism. Furthermore, music, he argues, often contains ambiguities with regards to imperialistic tropes that concern race, nationhood, and personal identity because, in a more globalised context, the consumption of music is no longer limited to one place and one cultural group.[2] Therefore, music, as a cultural product and personal experience, is itself subject to constant *movement and displacement*.

This research engages critically with Erlmann's argument by looking at the impact of urbanisation on Black South African music during the decades 1920 to 1960. Furthermore, the research aims to investigate other factors besides movement and displacement that shaped new genres of music, performance culture and subjectivities in this period. These decades are significant because they can be divided into two phases of *movement and displacement*. The first phase comprises of the decades 1920 to the late 1940s. During these decades the Union of

---

[1] V. Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West,* pp. 3-10
[2] V. Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West,* pp. 3-10

South Africa (formed in 1910) was subject to increased industrial development resulting from the discovery of gold in 1886 and later the First World War (hereafter WWI) in 1914. The increase in industrial development was accompanied by a further rise in rural to urban migration where Black South African men moved into the cities to work on the mines.[3] This increased during the decades 1920 to the late 1940s as more Black South Africans moved into the cities. In urban centres, Black rural migrants were forced into segregated communities frequently located on the peripheries of 'White' South Africa. Therefore, Black South Africans who moved into the cities during the 1920s were able to assimilate into already existent Black communities. This increased rural to urban migration also impacted traditional performing arts. Traditional performance culture became more hybridised, with an increase in urban performing arts and performance culture.[4]

The second period of *movement and displacement* spans the decades 1948 till the late 1960s. A distinct urban Black culture was discernible during these decades, but the urban Black population was now subject to new legislation introduced under the newly established apartheid state from the late 1940s. As a result of this, music during this period adopted a new form of political consciousness which was rooted in a more militant resistance to apartheid, while music in the prior decades appeared to be less confrontational and more reflective of the personal experiences of musicians under colonisation.[5] This reflects music's dialectical relationship with context, thus underscoring Erlmann's conceptual framework of *movement and displacement*. Movement in time, heralded a political change from segregation to formalised apartheid, while movement and displacement in space introduced new legislation that impacted expression, performance, and thus shaped meaning.

The domestic influences shaping South African Black urban culture and music is further complicated by transnational cultural and political flows. For instance, Christopher Ballantine points out that Black urban music during these decades was influenced by events such as the Second World War as well as the Civil Rights Movement in the United States.[6] This was further impacted by the movement and displacement of Black South African musicians who went into exile during the 1960s. These global connections, which in the later decades reflect more

---

[3] C. van Onselen, *New Babylon New Nineveh: Everyday Life on the Witwatersrand 1886 – 1914,* pp. xvii – xix.
[4] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p.8.
[5] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p.8.
[6] C. Ballantine, *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race', and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa,* p.7.

diasporic connections, again signify the notion of *movement and displacement* as argued by Erlmann.[7]

Research Objective:

The primary aim of this research is an exploration and analysis of emerging genres of music and performance style shaped by the movement and displacement of Black South Africans from the 1920s to the 1960s. The research will also investigate additional factors that impacted new genres and performance cultures. For the purposes of this research movement and displacement is applied very specifically to transnational and rural-urban migration of Black South Africans, specifically to the city of Johannesburg. Based on the primary research objective, this research also focuses on the creation of an urban consciousness which was shaped by the cultural heterogeneity of Black townships, which in turn both shaped music and was shaped by music. The music that emerged during this study period will therefore be analysed in relation to the broader social, political, and cultural context in which it was created and how it was received by society.

Research Questions:

1. How and to what degree did *movement and displacement* in the form of migration, especially rural to urban migration for labour purposes, shape and impact an emerging Black urban consciousness and culture, as expressed in music, in the period 1920-1960?
2. How did the broader urban context, social, political, economic, and cultural, impact and shape Black urban culture and music?
3. How did Black urban culture and music reflect lived experiences of Black South Africans in urban, 'White' South Africa?
4. How was this music received by the community? And how was this reflected in performance, recordings, and media dissemination?

Research Rationale:

Social cultural histories of South Africa for the period 1920s to 1960s which focus on Black urban experiences have tended to emphasise Black urban experiences from a largely political and economic perspective. This study uses music, and culture more broadly, as a lens to study urban Black history. Significantly also, where music as the primary unit of analysis has been used, this has been again largely from within the disciplinary field of music and ethno-

---

[7] V. Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West,* pp. 3-10.

musicology rather than historical studies. And where historians have focused on music this has been for later periods such as the 1980s during which music was deeply rooted in the anti-apartheid struggle. The period of study selected is significant as it is not as fully researched as later decades such as the 1980s. This research thus fills an important gap in the historiography of Black urban experiences and cultural expressions.

Literature Review:

One of the most significant books that has shaped ideas for this research is Veit Erlmann's book *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West*. Erlmann's main argument concerning *movement and displacement* is that it results in the formation of different cultural dynamics due to the interaction between different peoples. When applying this to music, *movement and displacement* therefore also results in the formation of new musical genres. Erlmann takes an ethnographical approach which looks at the interaction of different cultural groups in different 'spaces' and how these spaces have been subject to nineteenth-century imperialism. The spaces which Erlmann focuses on are South Africa, the United States, and the United Kingdom during the nineteenth century.[8] The first half of *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West,* therefore, focuses on the role of music in the lives of Black South Africans during the nineteenth century by using the example of a South African choir which travelled to the United States and the United Kingdom during the 1890s.[9]

By using the example of a South African choir's experiences that travelled to the United Kingdom and the United States, Erlmann demonstrates that *movement and displacement* during this time frame are rooted in the ideologies of imperialism. Firstly, the choir's main purpose for the tour was to raise funding for an industrial school for Africans. The choir felt that by establishing an industrial school for Africans they would be able to teach African students an understanding of the importance of industry and capitalism. This linked to the ideologies of imperialism as rapid industrialism was believed to be economically beneficial and therefore if Africans had a better understanding of industrialism they could integrate into the imperial economy.[10]

In the United States members of the choir were offered hospitality by Ministers of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Ohio. As a result of this, the distinguished members of the choir

---

[8] V. Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West,* pp. 30-31.
[9] V. Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West,* pp. 3-10.
[10] V. Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West,* pp. 13-14.

were exposed to the contemporary expressions of Black modernity which aligned with the choir's objectives. What resulted from this was not only an exchange of world views but also an exchange of music. Following this early cultural interaction, choral performances of South African choirs began to include African American spirituals as well as Christian hymns which were sung in both African vernacular and English.[11] This example of the choir's visit to the US is therefore demonstrative of how *movement and displacement* influenced the adoption of different genres through the interaction of different cultural groups.

The second half of Erlmann's book focuses on music in the post-colonial world. In this section Erlmann analyses Paul Simon's *Graceland,* an album which was released in 1986. Just as in the previous section, Erlmann uses *Graceland* as an example of how *movement and displacement* led to social interaction. *Graceland* features the South African *isicathamiya* group Ladysmith Black Mambazo, and it is a commentary on apartheid South Africa. Critics of the album state that it appropriates Black South African cultural identity, which is best reflected in its music, to benefit the White man, or in this case Paul Simon. Further criticism states that *Graceland* capitalizes on the musical heritage of South Africans who were struggling for their freedom. This being said, *Graceland* has also been praised for its musical hybridity during a time of a global, including American, cultural boycott of South Africa and the apartheid regime.[12]

Erlmann's analysis of *Graceland* highlights the ambiguities that music creates through its consumption. *Graceland* also demonstrates music's ability to transcend racial and cultural boundaries as well as the binary between the West and the rest, in this case, Africa.[13] This second section is also demonstrative of the euphoria that is often applied to South African music of the 1980s. However, the heavy focus of historians on the 1980s ignores the musical achievements of prior decades as Christopher Ballantine states in his book *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa.* Ballantine argues that the early decades of apartheid are just as significant as they too reflected Black South African identity and musical hybridity during a time of repression and should not be ignored.[14] Therefore this research uses Erlmann's theory of *movement and displacement* and applies it to South Africa during the period of the 1920s to the 1960s to investigate the degree to which *movement and*

---

[11] V. Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West,* pp. 13-14.
[12] V. Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West,* pp. 169- 172.
[13] V. Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West,* pp. 169- 172.
[14] C. Ballantine, *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race', and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa,* pp. 1- 15.

displacement for labour, and later as a part of political exile, helped to shape and impact an emerging Black urban society.

In addition to Erlmann's work, the book *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* by Christopher Ballantine also makes a significant contribution to the study of music in relation to *movement and displacement.* Ballantine's book focuses on the South African *jazzing tradition* and how it was influenced by the creation of an urban Black consciousness during the decades 1920 to 1950. The *jazzing tradition* focuses on the influence of jazz music on both South African music and the shaping of urban Black identity during the early years of apartheid. The book adopts a socio-historical lens of analysis in which Ballantine stresses the importance of the influences of economy, class, gender, and power. In this way the book focuses on the interactions between different ethnic groups, but also on further class divisions within urban Black society. Ballantine's focus on the *jazzing tradition* demonstrates that music during the decades 1920 to 1960 in South Africa also had transatlantic connections with the United States.[15] By linking the two countries during these decades Ballantine's work will therefore further demonstrate the impact of *movement and displacement* in shaping an urban Black consciousness during the specified period.

Multiple chapters in *Marabi Nights* are useful for this research. In a chapter titled "Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz between the 1920s and the Early 1940s" Ballantine elaborates on what musical elements constituted the origins of the *jazzing tradition.* According to Ballantine, some of the early origins of the *jazzing tradition* are rooted in rural to urban migration. Urban Black South Africans who migrated from the rural areas to work on the mines would sing while working and the elements of these traditional songs later began to reflect in the music of the *jazzing tradition* largely through a genre known as *marabi. Marabi* music took elements of traditional music and combined them with American jazz music. The exposure of migrant workers to jazz music on radio and in American films was a major factor popularising jazz among urban Africans. It is doubtful whether this would have been possible in a rural setting as the relatively slower pace of exchanges with rural areas might not have exposed the Black community to American influences as quickly as was possible in an urban setting. *Marabi* further drew elements of choral works which were heard in westernized churches. The exposure to these works was a result of missionaries who had started churches in both the rural

---

[15] C. Ballantine, *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa,* pp. 13-15.

and urban areas. The integration of all these styles came to represent one aspect of urban Black society.[16]

Ballantine states that in order to use music as a source for historical analysis, the subjective nature of music, especially with regards to the lyrics, cannot be ignored. To counterbalance this Ballantine suggests that the structure of music must be included in the analysis to identify different musical influences. He further states that the instrumentation of songs can often highlight the influence of foreign musical genres. This can be coupled with the lyrics as some songs contained English lyrics as a result of exposure to Western genres.[17] Ballantine's methodological approach is essential to this research as it shows that in order to identify the extent of *movement and displacement* in music a comprehensive analysis is essential.

An example of this methodology can be found in the chapter "Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz between the 1920s and the early 1940s". Ballantine states that to understand how *marabi* music was compiled one must know that *marabi* was distinctive from other jazz music as it incorporated aspects of different African music styles such as the traditional songs sung on the mines. Sometimes *marabi* songs had a traditional African rhythm and drew tonal elements such as pitch, melody, and harmonies, from American jazz music. These tones were not always solely based on American blues as the stylistic approach could also be linked to the hymnal tradition, thus demonstrating the hybrid nature of *marabi* music. *Marabi* came to represent a neo-traditional form of music which was learnt in the rural areas as it focused on repeating patterns and rhythms which are similar to the call and response style of traditional African music.[18] *Marabi* was representative of the working class and was especially disliked by the African urban petit bourgeoisie who saw it as a "lower class". This demonstrates that music was entering classed distinctions and the African bourgeoisie were highly discriminatory against what they considered to be low culture.

In the same chapter Ballantine also makes the point that *marabi,* as a fusion of different traditional African music styles, emerged in the context of different linguistic and ethnic groups mixing in urban centres. For instance, certain melodies and rhythms within *marabi* music can be accredited to the popular songs of Xhosa mineworkers who sang songs such as *Tula n'divile* (shut up and forget) while working at the mines. The lyrics of this song were later translated

---

[16] C. Ballantine, 'Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz between the 1920s and the Early *1940s'in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa,* p. 16.
[17] C. Ballantine, *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa,* pp. 13-15.
[18] C. Ballantine, 'Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz between the 1920s and the Early *1940s'in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa,* pp. 34-36.

into Zulu and sung by Zulu migrant workers in the Rand. This sort of adaptation would not have been possible in rural areas where ethnicities were not as mixed and, therefore, came to represent the melting pot of ethnicities which were common in towns and cities. During the 1930s these musical styles were performed in *shebeens* (illegal drinking houses) and later attracted the attention of the recording industry. When performed in *shebeens* the instrumentation of the songs included the saxophone and trumpet as well as the piano therefore demonstrating the further influence of American jazz on traditional African styles of music in relation to instrumentation. *Marabi,* therefore, became reflective of a new subculture which had not existed in the rural areas.[19]

Ballantine's article titled "Gender, Migrancy, and South African Popular Music in the late 1940s and the 1950s", focuses on *marabi* music's continued popularity during the early stages of apartheid. *Marabi* during this time flourished in melting-pot places such as Sophiatown, an urban mixed residential area. *Marabi* during these decades also reflected broader social changes with women vocalists headlining *marabi* performances. Female lead singers were not as prominent in the prior decades, which Ballantine credits to the growth of female autonomy which emerged in urban areas.[20]

Lastly, Ballantine's article "A Brief History of South African Popular Music", argues that the 1960s witnessed extraordinary state repression of Black people. Musically, this was reflected through ethnically based radio services which the apartheid government created. The South African Broadcasting Station (hereafter SABC) controlled these radio services and rather than play music such as *marabi* the SABC played music of a more religious nature which was deemed to be morally acceptable by the National Party.[21]

To understand the reception of music by the urban Black community and how this was reflected in performance and recordings, this research uses the works of David Coplan. In his article "The African Musician and the Development of the Johannesburg Entertainment Industry, 1900-1960", Coplan states that the development of urban centres from 1923 played a significant role in the development of urban Black society. While living in urban areas Black South Africans began to establish closer ties with local churches and organizations. It was at these establishments that urban performances began to thrive. In addition to these formal

---

[19]C. Ballantine, 'Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz between the 1920s and the Early 1940s'*in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa,* pp. 34-36.
[20]C Ballantine, 'Gender, Migrancy, and South African Popular Music in the late 1940s and the 1950s', *Ethnomusicology,* 44(3), 2000, pp.376-407.
[21]C. Ballantine, 'A Brief History of South African Popular Music', *Popular Music* 8(3), 1989, pp.305-310.

associations, informal *shebeens* emerged. Music performances, which were usually singing performances with an instrumental accompaniment, as well as dancing, occurred at both types of establishments and with this came social and cultural exchanges due to attendees coming from different ethnic backgrounds.[22] Urban centres thus came to represent a more homogenous culture between different ethnicities during the specified time.

Coplan's book *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* helps to demonstrate how the broader urban context impacted and shaped Black urban society and music. Coplan, similarly to Ballantine, notes that class divisions began to lead to different responses to urban Black music. The class division during this time consisted of working-class Black South Africans and the mission school-educated African bourgeoisie (hereafter African elite).[23] In the chapter "Black Performance Culture between the World Wars: The 'Situations'", Coplan writes that instability characterised the changing lifestyles of working class Black South Africans. Men were not earning enough wages to support their families in the rural areas and as a result women began to migrate to the cities to seek employment. Some women began to work as domestic workers for White South Africans, but others entered the cities illegally and opened up drinking houses (*shebeens).* Traditionally, women utilized this skill when they brewed beer for the men working on the mines in the cities. As a result, *shebeen culture,* which is similar to bar culture, emerged and became an escape for working-class Black South Africans whose lives were affected by rigid segregation policy and economic insecurity.[24]

Shebeens were reflective of the change in traditional culture as women ran the illegal drinking houses which bestowed them with a degree of autonomy they would not necessarily have had in the rural areas. Another shift from traditional culture was the music which was played in *shebeens. Shebeen* customers grew to enjoy more urban "modern" forms of entertainment as well as new forms of music such as *marabi*. While this was accepted in the working-class community Coplan explains that not all Black South Africans approved of *marabi*.[25]

To the African elite, *marabi* was perceived to be a threat to the Black South African community. They argued that *marabi* posed a threat to traditional family life as was taught to them by mission schools. Furthermore, the African elite believed that *marabi* promoted the

---

[22] D. Coplan, 'The African Musician and the Development of the Johannesburg Entertainment Industry, 1900-1960', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 5(2), 1979, pp. 135-164.
[23] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 135.
[24] D. Coplan, 'Black Performance Culture between the World Wars: The 'Situations'' *in* D. Coplan, (ed.) *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 135-166.
[25] D. Coplan, 'Black Performance Culture between the World Wars: The 'Situations Black'' *in* D. Coplan, (ed.) *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 135-166.

establishment of youth gangs. Lastly, the fact that *marabi* was played in illegal *shebeens* which were run by women did not align with the African elite's ideals of morality and they, therefore, attempted to distance themselves from the genre. To do this the African elite called for a return to traditionalism which was in turn supported by the emergence of the South African music industry.[26]

Although the African elite stigmatized *marabi* and the *shebeens*, they did acknowledge that the development of cinema during the 1920s and 1930s led to an increase in the popularity of jazz music. Due to the nature of segregation during these decades the African elite were not distinguished from the Black working class and therefore they were treated no differently despite their mission school education or their pretentions to a higher-class status. While the African elite looked down on *marabi* they were not discriminatory against American Jazz because jazz represented the African American struggle for equality, something that they could identify with. Coplan points out that the African elite were slightly contradictory as they supported musicians who played African American jazz so long as it was not *marabi.* To further the influence of African performers, the elite would hold performances in concert halls which attracted both Black, and at times, White audiences. These concerts would feature jazz pieces, as well as African American spirituals, western choral works, and traditional South African songs. This was an attempt by the African elite to further stigmatize *marabi.*[27]

In the chapter "Sophiatown: culture and community, 1940-1960", Coplan notes that the wide appeal of American jazz among both the African working class and bourgeoise proved to be beneficial as during the decades 1920 to 1930 the recording industry began to record urban Black artists who could play jazz or sing traditional music. By 1939, this changed as the first *marabi* track was recorded and *marabi* began to be more commercialized. *Marabi's* reputation among the African elite as being immoral and debauched began to fade away as a result of the recording industry's acceptance and subsequent popularisation of the genre.[28]

Coplan, in his article "Third Way: Identity and the African Renaissance in Contemporary South African Popular Traditional Music", argues that the implementation of apartheid and its impact on life in the townships led to the creation of a music genre known as *mbaqanga* (which is a

---

[26]D. Coplan, 'Black Performance Culture between the World Wars: The 'Situations 'Black' *in* D. Coplan, (ed.) *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 135-166.
[27]D. Coplan, 'Black Performance Culture between the World Wars: The 'Situations 'Black' *in* D. Coplan, (ed.) *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 135-166.
[28] D. Coplan, 'Black Performance Culture between the World Wars: The 'Situations'' *in* D. Coplan, (ed.) *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 135-166.

Zulu word for cornmeal porridge or cornbread). *Mbaqanga* was different from *marabi* as it began to include different instrumentation which consisted of amplified electric guitars as opposed to the saxophone and other brass instruments used in *marabi*. This was due to the influence of rock-n-roll as well as *kwela* music which became more prominent in popular music.[29]

Coplan also argues that with regards to commercial accessibly *mbaqanga* recordings were easier to acquire during the later 1950s and 1960s. This was because *mbaqanga* was labelled as more "appropriate" in terms of what the apartheid system expected of the urban Black community. However, the themes reflected in *mbaqanga* music contained ambiguity as the apartheid government thought it encouraged the urban Black community to return to their tribal roots, when in fact the themes of *mbaqanga* actually commented on the urban Black cosmopolitan identity that the Black community had established throughout the 1920s to the 1950s. By the 1960s the urban Black centres where *marabi* and *kwela* music thrived were eradicated and therefore *mbaqanga* recordings represented the identity of: "uprooted African proletarians who were not allowed to put down roots in the city but could not sustain themselves in the country" as it fused elements of both *marabi* and *kwela*.[30] Therefore, the apartheid government thought that *mbaqanga* encouraged rural Black life, but instead it mourned the inability of the urban Black community to express their cosmopolitan identity.

Coplan elaborates that *mbaqanga* also achieved international notoriety during the 1960s, as is discussed in the fourth chapter of this dissertation. This is because *mbaqanga* was easier to record than other genres as it didn't necessarily rely on improvisational performances like *marabi* music did. Artists such as Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela performed some *mbaqanga* songs when they built themselves international careers in the United States. Coplan further explains that *mbaqanga* was also influential in South Africa because it was performed in musical variety shows that were sometimes shown on television and the genre was played on the radio. Performers in the variety shows often wore traditional attire, such as Zulu animal skins, which seemed to align with the apartheid government's perception that the genre supported a return to ruralism. The attire and music were also coupled with elaborate choreography routines that drew in large crowds and highlighted the multitude of talents that *mbaqanga* performers had. Some of the choreography included contortionists, comedy skits

---

[29] D.B. Coplan, 'Sounds of the "Third Way": Identity and the African Renaissance in Contemporary South African Popular Traditional Music', *Black Music Research Journal*, 21(1), 2001, p. 109.
[30] D.B. Coplan, 'Sounds of the "Third Way": Identity and the African Renaissance in Contemporary South African Popular Traditional Music', *Black Music Research Journal*, 21(1), 2001, pp.107-124.

and burlesque dancing, but this was a reinvention of the traditional performance style as these dance styles were first founded in Europe, thus demonstrating further hybridity within *mbaqanga* performances by combining Western influences with traditional elements.[31]

Christopher Ballantine also comments on the variety shows featuring *mbaqanga* performances in *Marabi Nights,* but he stresses the role of female performers in the genre, and how shows featured snake dancers during the late 1950s as well as beauty queens. This links to the points made above regarding the inclusion of female performers in urban Black music and demonstrates that *mbaqanga* reflected Black urbanism as the music supported female autonomy which had developed more in urban Black culture.[32] Ballantine's argument also draws light to the popularity of *mbaqanga* recordings, thus supporting Coplan's point that *mbaqanga* recordings achieved more commercial success and his argument regarding female performers' inclusion in the variety shows furthers the point that *mbaqanga* performances were reflective of the urban Black identity established during earlier decades rather than the return to traditionalism that the apartheid government thought *mbaqanga* represented.

To provide a historical overview of the research the works of social historians must be consulted to understand the broader urban context of South Africa during the specified time. Charles van Onselen's book, *New Babylon, New Nineveh: Everyday Life on the Witwatersrand 1886-1914,* elaborates on the struggles of people living on the Witwatersrand (referred to as the Rand in this research) as a result of increased industrialism. Van Onselen's analysis of the shift from agriculturalism to industrialism and its impact on the South African economy is imperative when analysing the development of urban Black society. In his analysis, van Onselen speaks of the origins of the formation of urban Black communities and the characteristics of these communities. For instance, van Onselen points out that the first urban Black communities lived in slums where poverty was rife. Due to this, the youth within the slums formed gangs.[33] The significance of this is that gangsters later took control of music venues during the 1940s. Van Onselen also highlights the development of the working class alongside the illicit liquor trade. Alcohol was sold to working-class Africans to generate profits for White liquor traders, this, in turn, created a dependency on alcohol and led to the formation

---

[31] D.B. Coplan, 'Sounds of the "Third Way": Identity and the African Renaissance in Contemporary South African Popular Traditional Music', *Black Music Research Journal*, 21(1), 2001, p. 109.
[32] C Ballantine, 'Gender, Migrancy, and South African Popular Music in the late 1940s and the 1950s', *Ethnomusicology,* 44(3), 2000, pp. 376-407.
[33] C. van Onselen, *New Babylon New Nineveh: Everyday Life on the Witwatersrand 1886 – 1914,* pp. xvii – xix.

of illegal drinking houses.[34] This is significant as during the 1920s *shebeens* played a large role in the development of music genres and were an accompaniment to musical performances as an important element of leisure.

One of the main points that van Onselen makes in *New Babylon, New Nineveh* is that the industrialisation of towns contributed to the formation of a new social structure within the urban areas. This social structure consisted of urban Black South Africans who resided mainly in the mining compounds and city slums, and missionary educated Africans who also migrated to the cities and resided in the slums.[35] Although van Onselen's work does not strictly fall within the specified period for purposes of this research, it is still imperative to the understanding of how urban Black society came to be structured in the decades 1920 to 1960.

Leslie Bank in his book *Home Spaces, Street Styles: Contesting Power and Identity in a South African City* writes about the creation of urban Black identity which follows from van Onselen's analysis. Bank argues that the shift from traditionalism in the rural areas to Western modernism in the cities led to cultural shifts as a result of exposure to urban modernity. This new urban culture entailed a shift in social dynamics, such as the one mentioned above by Coplan, whereby women migrated into the cities from the rural areas and had a newfound autonomy. There was also an increase in religious conversion as some urban Black South Africans converted to Christianity. This began to reflect in men and women's clothing as they started to dress in ways that were deemed more appropriate in the cities.[36] These aspects of society would also feature in performances as musicians adopted contemporary fashion trends in order to be appealing to their audiences.

Bank also argues that many academic works often argue that the creation of urban Black society entailed complete conformity to Western culture. This analysis is not entirely accurate as some migrant workers still practised and held onto traditions brought from the rural areas.[37] This is reflected in *marabi* music, and later *mbaqanga* music, as there was not an abandonment of traditional African songs completely, but rather an adaptation of it. For Bank, the creation of urban Black society was therefore a shift from traditionalism and the creation of a new "modernist" identity in the urban areas. He states that one cannot think of urban Black culture as a complete abandonment of traditional beliefs, but rather a search for a new identity which

---

[34] C. van Onselen, *New Babylon New Nineveh: Everyday Life on the Witwatersrand 1886 – 1914,* p. 7.
[35] C. van Onselen, *New Babylon New Nineveh: Everyday Life on the Witwatersrand 1886 – 1914,* p. 2.
[36] L. Bank, *Home Spaces, Street Styles: Contesting Power and Identity in a South African City,* pp. 1-35.
[37] L. Bank, *Home Spaces, Street Styles: Contesting Power and Identity in a South African City,* pp. 1-35.

was not quintessentially European, but also not completely traditional. It should rather be examined as an adaptation of old beliefs in the search of a new cosmopolitan identity.[38]

The book, *Composing Apartheid: Music for and against Apartheid,* by Grant Olwage is an important source for purposes of this research. Olwage argues that "culture" played a significant role during the consolidation years of apartheid as it was utilized by the South African government to justify racial segregation. Many scholarly works which focus on the role of music during the decades 1920 to 1960 are prone to a simplistically binary argument which states that White music was always in support of apartheid while Black music was always politically resistant.[39] Olwage's book is a demonstration of how these notions are not always necessarily true. Just as Erlmann argues that music can reflect ambiguities which contradict colonial tropes of racial superiority, Olwage argues that this point can be applied to music during the height of apartheid. Olwage's analysis draws on genres such as *kwela* which demonstrates an overlap between urban Black music and genres which were classified to be solely White music. The apartheid government utilised "culture" to prevent this from happening in music and although this was successful in some instances, genres such as *kwela* which draw on the styles of both traditional African music and White music, such as rock-n-roll and *boeremusiek*, which were specified by the apartheid government to be "solely white genres", counter the government's aim.[40] Olwage's analysis therefore further contributes to the idea that urban Black society was a result of a mixing-pot of ethnicities.

Olwage also supports the argument made by Coplan with regards to the African elite and their call for a return to traditionalism and the recording industry. Olwage states that the emergence of the music industry during the 1930s prioritised the recording of Black choral works and traditional music which came from the rural areas. Olwage further argues that the recording industry neglected to record the works of *marabi* artists as they prioritised works which were deemed as quintessentially "African" and aligned themselves with the segregationist policy.[41]

---

[38] L. Bank, *Home Spaces, Street Styles: Contesting Power and Identity in a South African City,* pp. 1-35.
[39] See also: P.R. Kirby, 'African Music' *in* E. Hellman (ed), *Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa* pp. 616-627 & J, Sharp, 'Ethnic Group and Nation: The Apartheid Vision in South Africa' *in* E. Boonzaier & J. Sharp (eds), *South African Keywords: The Uses and Abuses of Political Concepts* pp. 79-99 & R. Radano & P.V. Bohlman, 'Preface' *in* R. Radano & P.V. Bohlman (eds), *Music and the Racial Imagination* pp. xii-xv & L. Allen, 'Kwela's white audiences: the politics of pleasure and identification in the early apartheid period', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against apartheid* pp. 89-93.
[40] G. Olwage, *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid,* p. 9.
[41] G. Olwage, *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid,* p. 47.

One chapter in *Composing Apartheid* which is of particular importance is the chapter titled "Apartheid's musical signs: reflections on Black choralism, modernity, and race-ethnicity in the segregation era". In this chapter, Olwage states that the music industry during apartheid had strong ties to imperialism and capitalism. He argues that the music industry commodified racism during the 1950s to the 1960s by only producing works which showed ethnicities as separate. This followed the apartheid government's notion of "self-governing" states. Music, which was produced during these decades, therefore, had to align itself with the government's policies of "separate development".[42] The idea of music being ethnically segregated is significant as it is, therefore, representative of the broader social and political context which helped shape urban Black music.

The work of Lara Allen and her perspective on the music which emerged during the early years of apartheid is also imperative to the research. In her article "'Drumbeats, Pennywhistles and All that Jazz': The Relationship between Urban South African Musical Styles and Musical Meaning", Allen makes the point that during the 1950s the urban Black class searched for a new form of identity through which they could relate their experiences under the apartheid regime. Musically, this was reflected in *vocal jive* which is a genre of music in which the lyrics spoke of the harshness of segregation during apartheid. Allen's analysis pays specific attention to Dorothy Masuka who was a Zimbabwean singer who utilized *vocal jive* as a commentary on the oppressive nature of apartheid legislation.[43]

Allen's article "Kwela's White audiences: the Politics of Pleasure and Identification in the Early Apartheid Period", furthers the argument made by Coplan regarding the influence of *mbaqanga* by stating that it was influenced by American rock-n-roll. Allen states that rock-n-roll's inclusion in *mbaqanga* extended the genre's influence on not only Black audiences, but also English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. *Mbaqanga*, therefore*,* is demonstrative of elements of musical hybridity which emerged during the apartheid years. The mixed audiences who listened to *mbaqanga* came to be known as *kwela* audiences.[44]

Allen further states that to urban Black South Africans, *kwela* was relatable because it utilized the *pennywhistle*. The *pennywhistle* during these decades was considered to be an African

---

[42] G. Olwage, 'Apartheid's Musical Signs: Reflections on Black Choralism, Modernity and Race-ethnicity in the Segregation Era' *in* G. Olwage (ed), *Composing apartheid: music for and against apartheid* p. 39.
[43] L. Allen, '"Drumbeats, Pennywhistles and All that Jazz": The Relationship between Urban South African Musical Styles and Musical Meaning', *African Music,* 7(3), 1996, pp. 52-59.
[44] L. Allen, 'Kwela's White Audiences: The Politics of Pleasure and Identification in the Early Apartheid Period', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against apartheid* p. 88.

man's instrument because they could not afford western instruments. This speaks to issues of class and the effects of rural to urban migration which was similar to the themes that *marabi* music covered. Later, *kwela* also drew from elements of African American jazz which combatted previous conceptions of the use of the *pennywhistle* which characterized it as a 'tribal' or 'rural' instrument.[45]

To understand whether and how music reflected the lived experiences of Black South Africans in urban "White" South Africa the research must give attention to the changing nature of music during the later decades of 1950 to 1960. Ingrid Byerly in her article "Mirror, Mediator and Prophet: The Music Indaba of Late-Apartheid South Africa" argues that urban Black society during the 1960s was characterized by resistance to apartheid. With regards to music, it began to reflect themes which refused to conform to the social and political norms of apartheid and instead called for mass mobilisation in protest to racial oppression. Due to the apartheid government's efforts to restrict urban Black music to what was being played on the radio, this decade saw a return of more traditional styles of music such as *maskanda,* which was a Zulu style of music, as well as *Sefela* which was a Sotho style of music.[46] The forced return to traditionalism reflected the stricter imposition of segregationist policy onto urban Black South Africans.

Byerly further states that during the 1960s there was a resurgence of choir music. Choral music, being more religious, reflected a more "ethnic" image according to the National Party which utilised radio to further its segregationist policies. However, Byerly argues that most Black choir conductors were trained under European choral principles, meaning that it was not as "authentically African" or "ethnic" as the National Party claimed it to be.[47]

With regards to music styles which showed hybridity, Lindelwa Dalamba in her article "A Sideman on the Frontlines: Gwigwi Mrwebi and South African Jazz History" states that genres such as *marabi* and *mbaqanga* were still able to maintain their popularity despite the disapproval of the apartheid government. This was made possible through performance culture overseas. There was a decline in the popularity of jazz during the 1960s due to the exodus of jazz musicians from South Africa mainly due to being exiled. Musicians who were exiled, or

---

[45] L. Allen, '" Drumbeats, Pennywhistles and All that Jazz": The Relationship between Urban South African Musical Styles and Musical Meaning', *African Music,* 7(3), 1996, pp. 52-59.

[46] I.B. Byerly, 'Mirror, Mediator and Prophet: The Music Indaba of Late-Apartheid South Africa', *Ethnomusicology,* 42(1), 1998, pp. 1-44.

[47] I.B. Byerly, 'Mirror, Mediator and Prophet: The Music Indaba of Late-Apartheid South Africa', *Ethnomusicology,* 42(1), 1998, pp. 1-44.

who chose exile, often moved to the United States or the United Kingdom and the impact of this on urban Black music was that genres such as *mbaqanga* became more commercialized as opposed to being unique to urban Black society in South Africa. Regardless of this, the genres were still influential as the musicians in exile performed pieces which spoke about the struggles of Black South Africans under apartheid.[48]

The work of Colette Guldimann provides insightful information on the role of media in shaping popular culture, including music. Guldimann's dissertation, "A Symbol of the New African: *Drum* magazine, popular culture and the formation of Black urban subjectivity in 1950s South Africa", focuses on the origins of *Drum* magazine in the context of urbanization and the struggle for new forms of Black identity during the apartheid era. The importance of Guldimann's work is that it draws parallels between Black urban society and African American identity. She focuses on how *Drum* magazine's writing often utilized forms of American literary genres as a means for the creation of an urban Black identity.[49]

Guldimann argues that the use of American genres in *Drum* magazine should not be seen as imitation, as the writers of *Drum* utilized these genres and appropriated them into a South African context. She argues that *Drum* magazine's use of American culture was therefore a response to local traditions which related to the urban Black population. The parallel between South Africa and America in this instance could be used to support Erlmann's idea of *movement and displacement.* This is reflected in the fact that *Drum* magazine readers adapted American cultural forms and transformed them to the extent that they were no longer American, but rather indigenous as they applied to urban Black society in South Africa.[50] This is comparable to how Ballantine and Coplan argue that *marabi* music was adapted from American jazz, but that it was not an exact duplicate due to its incorporation of local musical elements.

One thing that must be noted in Guldimann's work is that the writers of *Drum* magazine formed part of the African elite during the 1950s and later decades. In the third chapter of her dissertation, "Re-framing the Politics of the Popular: *Drum* magazine and American Popular Culture", Guldimann traces how the writers of *Drum* magazine used American genres to

---

[48] L. Dalamba, 'A Sideman on the Frontlines: Gwigwi Mrwebi and South African Jazz History', *The World of Music* 5(2), 2016, pp. 67-89.
[49] C. Guldimann. 'A Symbol of the New African: Drum Magazine, Popular Culture and the Formation of Black Urban Subjectivity in 1950s South Africa'. 2003, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) thesis, University of London pp. 6-43.
[50] C. Guldmann. 'A Symbol of the New African: Drum Magazine, Popular Culture and the Formation of Black Urban Subjectivity in 1950s South Africa Black'. 2003, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) thesis, University of London pp. 6-43.

perpetuate the development of Black modern identity which rooted itself in urbanisation. This contradicts the arguments made above by Olwage and Coplan which state that the African elite called for a return to traditionalism. The stories in *Drum* magazine propagated "detribalization" and focused on a cultural transition into an urban Black society.[51] This demonstrates a lack of homogeneity among the African elite where *Drum* writers were actively attempting to foster global linkages while the more conservative elements of the African elite were looking inward and arguing for a return to tribalism.

Therefore, this research evaluates Erlmann's argument for movement and displacement in relation to the arguments made by these scholars discussed above. The arguments made by the scholars reflect that there is significance in evaluating the way in which segregation, and later apartheid, shaped the consumption of music genres as well as the perceptions of genres such as *marabi, kwela* and *mbaqanga* were received. The works of the scholars mentioned above also provide insight into the reach of *movement and displacement* as the inclusion of European and American elements of music show that urban Black South African music is shaped not only at the local level, but at a global level.

Methodology:

Both primary and secondary sources are utilized in this research in order to substantiate the arguments presented, therefore, the research uses a qualitative methodology in order to present its argument. The majority of primary material used in the research consists of newspaper and magazine articles which are used to discuss and analyse the reception of the music from the 1920s to the 1960s. These media sources also provide useful contextual information. These sources are primarily from the *Rand Daily Mail* which is available on the *Newsbank* platform via the University of Pretoria. The research also uses documentaries available on *YouTube* in order to understand the reception of music genres as well as to understand the personal experiences of musicians as they elucidate these experiences in the documentaries. Secondary sources detail the scholarly terrain of music studies, in particular ethnomusicology. South African historiography provides information about the historical context of the time 1920 to 1960.

---

[51] C. Guldmann. 'A Symbol of the New African: Drum Magazine, Popular Culture and the Formation of Black Urban Subjectivity in 1950s South Africa Black'. 2003, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) thesis, University of London pp. 160-210.

Chapter Outline:

1. Chapter 1 presents the background and rationale of the study, research objectives, guiding research objectives and related questions, followed by a literature review and the methodological approach utilised.

2. Chapter 2 examines the Rand during the decades 1920 to 1940 in a context of increased industrial development. The chapter concentrates on how increased industrialism contributed to the establishment of an ethnically diverse "melting-pot" of cultures which in turn, led to the creation of new cultural practices in the urban Black community as well as the formation of new music genres and performance styles.

3. Chapter 3 analyses the Rand from the late 1940s to the 1960s. The chapter concentrates on how apartheid shaped and impacted the established cultural practices of the prior decades. The chapter also explains how music and musical performances subverted the goals of the apartheid state.

4. Chapter 4 focuses on the way in which a more confident apartheid state tried to entrench apartheid through both legislative and repressive measures during the 1960s. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part comments on how musicians who chose to remain in South Africa dealt with the entrenchment and intensified repression of apartheid while the second half comments on musicians' experiences in exile and how exile impacted their performance styles and music in general to appeal to overseas audiences.

5. Chapter 5 draws together the arguments of the dissertation and presents several conclusions in respect of this research.

Research Ethics:

This research does not involve any human participants. Oral testimonies will not be sourced from interviews as this is a literary study.

Chapter 2: Urban Centres, Black Migrants and Segregation on the Peripheries of 'White' South Africa:

This chapter focuses on Johannesburg during the decades 1920 to 1940, which witnessed increased industrial development resulting from the earlier discovery of gold in 1886, and then later World War I. This chapter therefore roots itself in a "space", as Veit Erlmann has argued, as an ethnographical area that was subject to nineteenth-century imperialism and an intensifying Afrikaner nationalism.[52] The chapter focuses specifically on how increased industrialism contributed to the establishment of an ethnically diverse "melting-pot" which in turn, shaped a new urban sensibility among different Black communities. This in turn influenced traditional performing arts and music and more broadly an urban cultural identity.

The chapter first outlines the process of urbanisation followed by a discussion of the establishment of cultural hybridity resulting from urban settlement. The settled urban Black communities thus comprised a "melting-pot" of cultures, which, with reference to music, shaped a hybridisation of traditional music forms which drew from the rural-urban binary that was prominent during these decades. *Movement and displacement* in the chapter therefore is firstly, applied to the rural-urban migration and because of this, cultural connections, and contacts, which in turn shaped the larger cultural lived experiences of urban Black communities on the peripheries of 'White' South Africa.

The decades 1920 to 1940 were marked by the First and Second World Wars as well as the Great Depression which affected the global economy. With these global shifts, labour trends shifted as well. The demand for labourers in the mines increased to keep up with the newly founded capitalist and industrial economy. Therefore, Black men, who had previously worked in the agricultural labour sphere, began to work in the mines, and Black women replaced the men as domestic labourers. The culture of the working class, therefore, was influenced by the material conditions of urban life and shaped by capitalist development. What is significant is that this development affected the different spheres of the urban Black community in different ways.[53]

According to Charles van Onselen, the struggles of the urban Black community living in Johannesburg during the Union of South Africa were characterized by the economic shift from

---

[52] V. Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West,* pp. 30-31.
[53] E, Koch. 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg'. 1983, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand pp. 42-242.

agriculturalism to industrialism. Contrary to Erlmann's analysis of globalisation and the emergence of a "global consciousness", Van Onselen places more emphasis on the importance of rural culture, and the mixing in urban Johannesburg of different ethnicities giving rise to a culturally hybrid urban consciousness, that in turn, contributed to the formation of a new urban culture. In the logic of van Onselen's argument, cultural hybridisation, was a result of contact and connection between rural and urban, and between members of different ethnic groups who all converged in the urban centre.[54] The rural-urban migration argument acknowledges a two-way flow of migration as migrant workers periodically returned to the rural areas. The implication of this is that rural and urban spaces entered a dialectical relationship of cultural exchange. This blurring of the rural-urban divide contributes to the creation of urban Black culture during the decades 1920 to the late 1940s.

Leslie Bank further argues for the blurring of the rural-urban divide by stating that when migrant workers moved to the urban areas, they did not completely abandon their traditional roots. Bank argues this based on the formation of a new identity that was a hybridisation of their traditional identity with a cosmopolitan one.[55] For the purposes of this chapter, Bank's argument for hybridisation and Van Onselen's cautionary point about the blurring of the rural-urban divide are critical in understanding the rise of new music genres such as *marabi.*

The urban Black community was heterogeneous, characterised by social divisions within the community which had become more entrenched during the period of colonialisation of the previous centuries. According to Austin Okigbo, one marker of distinction in urban Black society can be attributed to the establishment of missionary education from the middle of the nineteenth century to the first quarter of the twentieth century. The majority of urban Black elites, or bourgeoisie, were missionary educated. Christian values and moral principles that Black people imbibed through missionary education, found expression in the numerous news articles and books written by the Black elite. These expressions of morality were frequently in response to the perceived negative influences of urban modernity. This was a key theme that presented itself in commentaries on urban Black music, especially in publications such *Umteteli wa Bantu* (Voice of the People).[56]

---

[54] C. van Onselen, *New Babylon New Nineveh: Everyday Life on the Witwatersrand 1886 – 1914,* pp. 379-389
[55] L. Bank, *Home Spaces, Street Styles: Contesting Power and Identity in a South African City,* pp. 1-35.
[56] A.C. Okigbo, 'Musical Inculturation, Theological Transformation, and the Construction of Black Nationalism in Early South African Choral Music Tradition', *Africa Today,* 57(2), 2010, pp. 42-65.

Umteteli wa Bantu's first issue was launched in 1920 and the newspaper was established by the Chamber of Mines and Native Recruitment Corporation (hereafter NRC).[57] It covered events such as the Rand Rebellion of 1922, which was a miner's revolt on the Rand, and the events leading up to and during WWI. *Umteteli wa Bantu's* main focus was on chronicling the achievements of Black South Africans, particularly with regards to urban Black achievements. However, the newspaper was often criticised of being more conservative in nature and of using "soft power" by means of propaganda.[58] For purposes of this research the dissertation takes examples of *Umteteli wa Bantu's* social commentary on the urban Black community.

During the early 1920s, the African elite saw themselves as a "repressed elite" as they were subjected to the same laws as their working-class counterparts. Some grew frustrated with the fact that their western education had equipped them for positions that they could not obtain due to their race.[59] Despite this, the African elite lived in an existential reality in which they attempted to hold onto their rural roots, while at the same time trying to assimilate into Western culture.[60] To further emphasize this contradiction, due to their westernized education the African elite were able to: "gain the ear of sympathetic Whites, [which] reduced their sense of cultural inferiority"[61], but their calls for equality and Black advancement in the urban areas were ignored.[62]

During the mid-1920s to the mid-1930s the African elites, although struggling to come to terms with segregation and the limits racial segregation placed on their socio-political inclusion and advancement, adopted the ideology that any individual could succeed through education, hard work and self-help. This was shaped in large measure by the work of Booker T Washington and his philosophy of self-help, and the *New Negro Movement* in the United States. Sol Plaatje's attempts to import this philosophy and approach to South Africa were encapsulated in what became known as the in the *New African Movement*.[63] Despite this, the severe constraints of a racially segregated society undermined, frustrated, and set concrete limitations

---

[57] University of Johannesburg, n.d., https://www.uj.ac.za/library/information-resources/special-collections/online-exhibitions/the-teba-collection/umteteli-wa-bantu/ >, access: 18 January 2023.

[58] N. Erlank, '*Umteteli wa Bantu* and the Constitution of Social Publics in the 1920s and 1930s', *Social Dynamics,* 45(1), 2019, pp. 75-102.

[59] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 135.

[60] A.C. Okigbo, 'Musical Inculturation, Theological Transformation, and the Construction of Black Nationalism in Early South African Choral Music Tradition', *Africa Today,* 57(2), 2010, pp. 42-65.

[61] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 136.

[62] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 136.

[63] T. Raditlhalo, 'Modernity, Culture, and Nation', *in* R. Ross, *et al.* (ed.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa* pp. 573-599.

on their advancement.[64] To express their frustration with the system, the elites published their opinions and their calls for equality with Whites in newspapers such as *Umteteli wa Bantu.* For example, to emphasise their opinion on the importance of missionary education one author in *Umteteli wa Bantu* wrote, as a counter argument to alcohol prohibition, that:

> "The Native to whom education has brought a sense of personal responsibility might safely be given the same privileges as are enjoyed by Europeans on the same level of intelligence, but while the mass of the Native people is mentally underdeveloped and irresponsible …"[65]

This extract demonstrates one opinion of the African elites who felt that missionary education could remedy some of the issues that the urban Black community experienced during this time but also shows their ambition to be on the same level as their White counterparts. Thus, missionary education succeeded in creating aspirations for political equality and social and economic upward mobility. However, it also simultaneously created social divisions whereby missionary-educated Black people felt themselves to be in a position of social superiority to other Black people.

According to van Onselen, before 1920, the Rand was characterised by class conflict and that by the time WWI started there was an increase in industrial unrest. This unrest continued during the interwar years due to uneven industrial growth and development. The political structure of Johannesburg was also influenced by inter-White tensions arising from the South African War of 1899 to 1902. Furthermore, this period was also characterised by inter-White tensions between "Boer and Brit" arising from the South African war. Therefore, this tumultuous period affected the lives of the urban Black community who were migrating to and from the Rand.[66]

From van Onselen's analysis, it is important to note that urbanization in South Africa did not follow a "straightforward pattern".[67] The Union of South Africa, formed in 1910, viewed the settled urban Black community that stayed on the Rand as a temporary presence which would eventually return home to the rural areas. This view would later be formalised in legislation under the Natives Land Act of 1913 and the Natives (Urban Areas) Act in 1923. Both Acts were tasked with the allocation of a small amount of land for the urban Black community, but

---

[64] H. Gliomee & B. Mbenga, *New History of South Africa,* p. 261.
[65] Umteteli wa Bantu, 'Statutory Morality', *Umteteli wa Bantu,* 18 March 1922.
[66] C. van Onselen, *New Babylon New Nineveh: Everyday Life on the Witwatersrand 1886 – 1914,* p. 4-5.
[67] N. Kagan, 'African Settlements in the Johannesburg Area, 1903-1923'. 1978, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand p. 1.

both could not provide adequate housing provisions, particularly the Natives Land Act of 1913, which could not keep up with the demands of the growing community who migrated to the cities for labour purposes. This in turn led to the development of slums within the urban areas on the Rand.[68]

By the time of the implementation of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 the slums had grown exponentially, so much so that the municipal areas which had been allocated by the Natives Land Act were insufficient. This led to the inevitable development of slum areas to accommodate increasing urbanisation. The growth of the urban Black community was also perceived to be a threat to the White population of the Rand as Black labourers were cheaper to employ than White labourers. On top of this, slum life provided the urban Black community with some autonomy over their own lives which threatened the Union government.[69] Therefore, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 imposed more regulations onto the urban Black community such as initially forcing the Black male population to carry passes. This later extended to include Black women as well.[70]

The life of the urban Black community under segregationist and discriminatory legislation is significant because the legislation is indicative of the contradictory nature of the government during the 1920s. The contradiction which arises is that while the Rand grew as a commercially viable area, which the urban Black community aided by providing cheap labour, the government could not provide suitable housing to the community, therefore, forcing them to live in poverty. To further the contradiction, the slums allowed the urban Black community to form a sense of community which subverted the government's segregationist policies. The significance of this is that, despite segregation, the community formed aided in the creation of new cultural practices which should not have arisen under segregation.[71] The further significance of the newly arisen culture will be demonstrated later in the chapter.

Another aspect of the lives of the urban Black community which was affected by legislation was the consumption of alcohol. Charles van Onselen comments on how alcohol consumption in the early years of the Rand helped to shape the working-class community and that alcohol dependency served as a means for control over the urban Black community. The Native Beer

---

[68] H. Gliomee & B. Mbenga, *New History of South Africa,* pp. 245-281.

[69] N. Kagan, 'African Settlements in the Johannesburg Area, 1903-1923'. 1978, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand p. 176.

[70] E, Koch. 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg'. 1983, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand pp. 42-242.

[71] E, Koch. 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg'. 1983, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand pp. 42-242.

Act of 1908 was strictly enforced and prohibited the urban Black community from brewing traditional beer and restricted the amount of alcohol that could be consumed. [72] These restrictions on alcohol continued into the 1920s and the Natives (Urban Areas) Act attempted to prohibit the members of the community living in the slums from selling alcohol.[73]

In the opinion of the African elite, these restrictions made illicit drinking more appealing to the urban Black community. One extract from *Umteteli wa Bantu* reads as follows:

> "Long before the Urban Areas Bill came prominently under public notice we pleaded for the open beer house for Natives, and we are still firmly of the opinion that in no other way can the illicit trade be checked. The *shebeen* is created and made profitable by prohibition, we do not exaggerate when we say that there are dozens of Native men and women in every big Native location who make a livelihood by selling liquor"[74]

This extract not only demonstrates the opinion of the African elites on prohibition but also shows the attempts of the urban Black community to gain some autonomy in their own lives from the government.

Initially, the urban Black community consisted mainly of African men who had moved to the city either working in the mines or the agricultural sector to earn wages that were repatriated to the rural areas.[75] This shifted during the 1920s as more women also moved to the Rand and did domestic work while the men began to work in the mines as it paid better wages. During this time, women and men lived in slums that had formed in the urban areas, and Black women were not subject to pass laws like Black men were.[76]

Many reform movements which were led by the African elite regarded the urban areas as depraved places which were plagued by overcrowding and poor sanitation which resulted in the spread of diseases. Slum conditions were further exacerbated by the Depression of the 1930s which had hit urban areas so badly that the urban Black community could not afford staple food items such as bread due to the high cost of living.[77]

---

[72] C. van Onselen, *New Babylon New Nineveh: Everyday Life on the Witwatersrand 1886 – 1914,* p.7.
[73] E, Koch. 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg'. 1983, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand pp. 42-242.
[74] Umteteli wa Bantu, 'Prohibition', *Umteteli wa Bantu,* 20 May 1922.
[75] C. van Onselen, *New Babylon New Nineveh: Everyday Life on the Witwatersrand 1886 – 1914,* p. 6
[76] E, Koch. 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg'. 1983, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand pp. 42-242.
[77] E, Koch. 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg'. 1983, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand pp. 42-242.

One of the most significant contributions of the slum yards is the fact that the slums served as spaces where different people from different walks of life could come into contact with one another. Here they lived with a measure of freedom from the norms prescribed by the government and White community. The slums were therefore not only a "melting pot" of different ethnicities but also different genders, classes, as well as different ages. With the instability of the economy during the interwar years, the slums were also subject to periods of employment and unemployment which helped to further shape slum life and culture.[78]

Despite the modicum of "freedoms" offered by the urban areas the lives of the urban Black community were still heavily restricted by legislation. The mineworkers had to carry passes that stipulated their place of employment and restricted their movement in the cities. In 1925 pass laws extended to include women in an effort to control the influx of women to the urban centres. Pass restrictions were tightened during the 1930s when the Urban Areas Act was amended. The amendments allowed the police to ask a Black individual to produce a pass at any moment and if they could not do so they would be sent back to the rural areas. By 1937 further amendments to the Act allowed for more and stricter police intervention in the movements of the urban Black community.[79] The implication of such strict regulations demonstrates the extent to which Black lives on the "peripheries" of White South Africa were regulated and constrained.

Marabi as a music and performance style emerged in this complex context, characterised by economic flux, and increasing political control and repression. Edward Koch defines *marabi* as: "a cluster of activities that formed the foundation of [the urban Black communities'] defence against the exacting conditions [of the slums]".[80] The "cluster of activities" that Koch refers to focus on communal living within the slum areas, and more specifically, *marabi* activities focused primarily on dancing and socialising in illegal *shebeens*. Essentially, *marabi*, therefore, constituted a form of resistance to the oppression that the urban Black community was experiencing in the Union of South Africa. *Marabi* not only drew from elements of life in the urban areas but reflected some traditions which stemmed from the rural areas such as traditional beer brewing. The development of *marabi* culture also further widened societal

---

[78] E, Koch. 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg'. 1983, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand pp. 42-242.
[79] E, Koch. 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg'. 1983, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand pp. 42-242.
[80] E, Koch. 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg'. 1983, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand p. 108.

divisions between the African elite and the working class during these decades. *Marabi* culture therefore represented the combination of traditions from the rural areas and the new traditions that would be formed in the urban areas. Key elements of *marabi* culture would be communal living, illegal drinking, and socialising in the *shebeens*.[81]

One of the essential characteristics of *marabi* culture was its link to beer brewing. During the early stages of the interwar years, women employed as domestic workers, earned inadequate wages. The Depression years and the increase in the cost of living placed further economic strain on these women. As a response to these circumstances, alcohol proved to be a viable source of income.[82] Women were primarily responsible for beer brewing, which was a tradition that had been adapted from the rural areas. Beer, therefore, came to represent a source of nourishment, as well as financial revenue. But it also became central to sociality, leisure, and entertainment.[83]

In the urban areas, beer brewing became a regular occurrence as it contributed greatly to social events which were held. For women, beer brewing also became a source of income compensating for the lack of opportunities. As beer brewing became more popular, women began to open *shebeens* which contributed additional income. Interestingly, *shebeens* were not a new concept to the urban Black community as the origins of the *shebeen* date back to the seventeenth century in Cape Dutch society. The word *shebeen* originates from Gaelic and means "little shop" and the word was used by the Irish police during the twentieth century, but more significantly the idea for *shebeens* in the urban Black community was further inspired by the African elite.[84]

Affecting the cultural mannerisms of White South Africans, the African elites organised "tea meetings" which were held on Sunday afternoons. At these meetings, the elite would drink tea and eat cakes as well as listen to their friends perform hymns and songs. Much to the dismay of the elite, this tradition was then copied in the *shebeens*.[85] The African elite voiced

---

[81] E, Koch. 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg'. 1983, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand pp. 42-242.
[82] M. Friedman. 'A History of Africans in Pretoria with Special Reference to Marabastad, 1902-1923'. 1994 Master of Arts (MA), University of South Africa p. 149.
[83] E, Koch. 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg'. 1983, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand pp. 42-242.
[84] E, Koch. 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg'. 1983, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand pp. 42-242.
[85] E, Koch. 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg'. 1983, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand pp. 42-242.

disapproval of this mimicry which is evident in the journalism of the time. For instance, one entry in *Umteteli wa Bantu* describes alcoholism in the slums as follows:

> "There are many swinish Natives. We read about them every day, and every day we read about police raids and the prosecution on beer sellers who trade and fatten on the weakness of their fellows"[86]

The word usage in this example demonstrates a particular resentment not only towards alcoholism and the slums but a further dissatisfaction with the lower classes within the community as a whole.[87] Another entry regarding the *shebeens* reads as follows:

> "The *shebeen* is created and made profitable by prohibition, and we do not exaggerate when we say that there are dozens of Native men and women in every big Native location who make a livelihood by selling liquor. Strong drink is obtainable wherever Natives congregate, and Kafir beer of various degrees of potency is secretly brewed in vast quantities."[88]

This entry shows how the popularity of beer brewing was perceived by the African elite during the early 1920s. Some African elites criticised the *shebeens* and beer drinking based on religious sentiment and stated that drinking led to depravity which was closely associated with *marabi* culture:

> "… the consequences of the immoral and unnatural relationship between Black and White would range outside the circle immediately affected, and that there would be a far-reaching decline of Native morality. It is clearly a case for determined and well-directed missionary effort, and it should not be forgotten that the White undesirable is as fit a subject for reformatory work as the Native *shebeen* runner. It is not improbable that the ministrations of the missionary might succeed where the law fails …"[89]

One thing that stands out in this extract is its commentary on morality and the faith that the writer has in missionary work, but also it further demonstrates the commitment of the African elite to the preservation of their elite identity. From the above quote what is evident is the missionary education with its emphasis on a particular conception of morality. The writer further argues that Christian missionary work is arguably the best means of addressing the

---

[86] Umteteli wa Bantu, 'Low Whites', *Umteteli wa Bantu,* 30 September 1922 p. 2.
[87] Umteteli wa Bantu, 'Low Whites', *Umteteli wa Bantu,* 30 September 1922 p. 2.
[88] Umteteli wa Bantu, 'Prohibition', *Umteteli wa Bantu,* 20 May 1922 p. 2.
[89] Umteteli wa Bantu, 'Low Whites', *Umteteli wa Bantu,* 30 September 1922 p. 2.

moral depravity associated with *shebeen* and *marabi* culture.[90] The logic behind this particular statement can be traced back to the fact that elites who received a missionary education found themselves tied to Christian morality, and the developments within urban centres often countered the Christian respectability that the elites sought after.[91]

Despite the obvious disapproval from not only the White government, who made beer brewing illegal, but also the African elite, beer brewing still thrived in the urban areas. To add to this the process of brewing was also adapted to make larger amounts of beer as well as increase its potency. The original traditional beer which was served was called *umqombothi* which took twenty-four hours to brew and required boiling and constant stirring, but constant police raids made it difficult to perfect the brewing process. Therefore, other brewing methods were developed, and new names were given to beer such as the infamous *isishishimeyane* which plays on the swaying of a drunk person. Another beer was known as *isigataviki* which, when directly translated means "kill me quick". Some staple ingredients of the new forms of beer were pineapple skins, brandy and most shockingly, carbide from old batteries to make the beer more potent.[92]

Due to its traditional roots, beer brewing represented a connection between the culture of the rural areas and the urban areas. However, the dynamics of beer brewing were not the same as they were in the rural areas. Women in the rural areas would brew beer for the men who were the breadwinners in the traditional Black household, but during the 1920s women's ability to earn wages by themselves changed the traditional family dynamic.[93] Due to the profitability of beer brewing, there were times when married couples who lived in the slums merged their earnings to provide for themselves and their families[94]. This, initially, would not have been heard of in the rural areas, but the migrant labour system also caused a shift in the dynamics of the rural areas in the sense that women and the elderly also had to provide and maintain the homes in the rural areas which was initially the job of men. Therefore, the changes in beer brewing became hybridised and what was taught in the rural areas, was adapted to the changed

---

[90] Umteteli wa Bantu, 'Low Whites', *Umteteli wa Bantu,* 30 September 1922 p. 2.
[91] S. Marks, 'Class, Culture, and Consciousness in South Africa, 1880-1899', *in* R. Ross, *et al.* (ed.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa* pp. 102-156.
[92] E, Koch. 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg'. 1983, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand pp. 42-242.
[93] E, Koch. 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg'. 1983, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand pp. 42-242.
[94] E, Koch. 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg'. 1983, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand pp. 42-242.

lifestyle, surveillance and control by the authorities and availability of ingredients in the urban areas.[95]

Not all women considered marriage to be viable when they moved to the urban areas. Some women and men entered into *"vat-en-sit"* (live in) relationships whereby men and women would live together without being formally married. In these relationships, men and women would pool their money to have a substantial income to survive. Furthermore, *vat-en-sit* relationships allowed women to be more entrepreneurial than they could have been in the rural areas, as they could participate in *shebeen* society.[96]

David Coplan characterizes *shebeen* society as: "a time where female entrepreneurs developed the *shebeen* into a centre of African social life".[97] Women who ran the *shebeens* became known as "shebeen queens" and these women were known for their reputable personalities as well as the fact that they were quite wealthy. For *shebeen* clientele, the *shebeens* provided them with a sense of home away from home because of the sense of community. This was aided by the fact that traditional beer was served in *shebeens*.[98] It was this sense of familiarity and escapism that elevated *marabi* culture as mentioned earlier.

Beer was not the only contributor to the sense of "home away from home" that the urban Black community experienced. With their newfound independence, women started support groups and associations known as *stokvels. Stokvel* originated in the nineteenth century, and it initially entailed cattle auctions or 'stock fairs' which were hosted by English settlers in the Cape. Cape Africans developed this tradition and made it their own by bringing it to the Rand. Rather than bartering cattle, the new hybridised forms of *stokvel* related to monetary credit associations whereby the urban Black community would help one another survive in the capitalist economy.[99]

Essentially, women contributed a portion of the money to other members of associations and the combined contributions of all the members was used to throw *stokvel* parties which entertained everyone living in that area. The principle of mutual assistance derived very much from the rural areas where members of the community would help one another in times of struggle. To attend a *stokvel* party, members of the community had to pay an entrance fee and

---

[95] C. van Onselen, *New Babylon New Nineveh: Everyday Life on the Witwatersrand 1886 – 1914,* pp. xvii – xix.
[96] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 113.
[97] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 113.
[98] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 114.
[99] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 123.

they would be provided with food and liquor as well as free entertainment, which was usually a musical performance. Any profits derived from the *stokvel* party would then go to the hostess who was nominated during the week. Eventually, the success of *stokvel* parties spread to encompass much of Johannesburg, they were initially most popular amongst Tswana speakers, but later more ethnicities adopted the practice and *stokvel* extended into *stokvel* networks.[100]

In the period of the 1920s to the early 1940s, the urban Black community, therefore, experienced many hardships which were only worsened by White resistance to their urbanisation. The struggle for autonomy by the urban Black community in Johannesburg, therefore, came to be characterised by social as well as economic pressures which amplified the need for *shebeens* as well as *stokvel* traditions. A further characteristic that is exceedingly prominent is the differentiation between the African elite and the urban working class. All of this was reflected in Black performance culture as well as music.[101]

It, therefore, does not seem coincidental that the music during these decades received the same name as the culture that emerged.[102] *Marabi* culture became synonymous with *marabi* music and music became the primary source of entertainment accompanying social drinking. As the popularity of the *shebeens* rose so did the need for musical entertainment. *Shebeen* queens would employ musicians to play at weekend parties to get their clients to consume an abundance of liquor. Initially, the music was provided by *shebeen* customers themselves, but as the demand for music increased some members of the urban Black community took to musicianship as a profession.[103]

Residents who frequented the *shebeens* played African neo-traditional, Afro-Western, and sometimes even Afrikaans folk music. Some of the first instruments which were used to perform these genres were guitars, concertinas, and violins. *Shebeen* customers also contributed to the "melting pot" culture of the cities. David Coplan notes this by saying: "Zulu, Tswana, and Pedi municipal, commercial and domestic workers crowded the slum yards, and Sotho, Xhosa, and Tsonga (Chankane) miners joined them on the weekends"[104] to escape the

---

[100] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 123.
[101] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 131.
[102] E, Koch. 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg'. 1983, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand pp. 42-242.
[103] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 114.
[104] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 113.

confines of their employment and enjoy music which provided them with a sense of nostalgia.[105]

As time progressed, *shebeen* customers began to request more urban, 'modern' forms of entertainment that related to their new urban lifestyles. From this, new types of semi-professional *shebeen* musicians arose. These musicians came from many different regions, but to differentiate themselves from those who performed part-time in *shebeens*, they sought full-time careers. Unfortunately, pass regulations under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act only recognized musicians if they were part of bands that were officially registered by the Act and were sponsored by White cultural organisations or White managers. Night passes also made performances challenging as performers would be arrested if they were found without their passes during police raids.[106]

Marabi music, therefore, became synonymous with the cultural hybridity of the urban areas and reflected this. Christopher Ballantine describes *marabi* as: "a style forged principally by unschooled keyboard players who were notoriously part of the buoyant culture and economy of illegal slum yard dens".[107] Ballantine further points out that *marabi* took hybridisation a step further with the incorporation of American popular cultural influences during the same decades. This is also reflected in the incorporation of the instrumentation as well as other elements of American jazz music which will be discussed later.[108]

Marabi music may have been popular in the *shebeens,* but it was not necessarily always played at *stokvel* parties. Some *stokvel* communities were linked to Christian organisations which meant that some *stokvel* parties would host singers who sang Christian hymns. On some special occasions brass bands would play at *stokvel* parties. These bands were influenced by early vaudeville performances as well as popular music especially American brass band music. These influences also included marches that musicians had heard played by the South African Military Corps.[109]

Stokvels traditionally started with a marching band which was used as an advertisement to get people to join the *stokvel* parties. For instance, organ music was often played in a *stokvel* parade to attract passers-by from the community to join the celebration. To add to the sense of a parade,

---

[105] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 113.
[106] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 114.
[107] C. Ballantine, *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa,* p. 6.
[108] C. Ballantine, *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa,* p. 7.
[109] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 124.

musicians often wore uniforms as they played to indicate organisational affiliation, this tradition drew very much from the Cape Minstrel Carnivals where participants created a spectacle to attract audiences in a similar manner. Once the *stokvel* parades had stopped and the parties entered the homes of the hostesses who had organised the event, musicians would then play music on keyboards as well as sing songs. A person would most likely hear *marabi* music being played at the party and not parade music as they would have in the streets.[110]

Christopher Ballantine further highlights the difference between *stokvel* music and *marabi* based on its instrumentation. *Stokvel* music not only drew elements from Cape Minstrel Carnivals but also American vaudeville entertainment.[111] Traditionally, vaudeville performances would last from 8 pm to midnight and the bands would play brass instruments. Frequently, the brass bands who played at the *stokvel* parade would not play the entire evening. To *stokvel* hostesses, this was beneficial as the more members who attended their parties the more status they would acquire in the community, but they could not afford to have the bands perform for such a lengthy period as too much attention could get hostesses into trouble if they ran *shebeens* or had illegally brewed beer at their establishments.[112]

By the late 1930s, the lines between *marabi* and *stokvel* music became very blurred. More and more *marabi* music was played at *stokvel* parties due to its popularity. The increasing popularity of *marabi* music drew more people to *stokvel* parties which in turn boosted the social status of the *stokvel* hostesses, since increased attendance meant an increased income. Unfortunately, this meant that *stokvel* parties were treated in the same manner as *marabi* parties which took place in the *shebeens*. The musicians who played at *marabi-stokvel* parties would often be arrested for their participation in the parties and the same applied to the hostesses of the parties. When hostesses were arrested, they would invoke a principle of *stokvel* whereby the rest of the community tried to post bail for the hostess and looked after her family in her absence. This highlights the importance of community that was stressed in *stokvel* tradition.[113]

By the 1930s, police raids increased and were justified by the police as: "an incessant, relentless war against liquor brewers" [114] and the municipal government of Johannesburg attempted to control the liquor trade by monopolizing the production of beer in urban locations. This meant

---

[110] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 125.
[111] C. Ballantine, 'Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa,* pp. 16-48.
[112] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 126.
[113] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 126.
[114] C. Ballantine, 'Music and Repression: 'Race', Class, and Gender in Black Jazz Culture up to the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa,* pp. 86-114.

that parties were often subjected to police raids and *stokvel* bands were broken up and arrested by the police who used the excuse that members were excessively drunk and were acting disorderly. This excuse was also used to break up performances by competing bands who participated in *stokvel* parades. [115]

Some *marabi* musicians played a form of *marabi* known as *ndunduma.* This style of *marabi* was preferred by those who were known as town boys who wanted to incorporate more elements of urban culture. This type of *marabi* used elements of rural Zulu drum and dance rhythms. The Zulu term *ndunduma* (mine dumps) was symbolic as it demonstrates the incorporation of one aspect of the contribution made by Zulu culture on the Rand. Performances of *ndunduma* consisted of a pianist who played dance music that merged into *ingoma busuku* (night music) melodies and this was then incorporated into the structure of *marabi* music. *Ndunduma* performances were targeted at audiences who felt that traditional music was too uncivilised and rural for towns, but interestingly *ndunduma* was unfamiliar with Western and Black American musical culture, unlike other *marabi* music. *Ndunduma*, therefore, spoke mostly to Zulu audiences who felt that they needed music that represented their newly forged, urbanised image.[116]

Despite these differences in form, with regards to *marabi*, Christopher Ballantine points out that: "knowledge of *marabi* is still inadequate in its details and foundations"[117] and that to remedy this, research must be conducted on the foundations of the music as well as how it was shaped. One important aspect that contributed to the popularity of *marabi* music was that it did not require professional training. As long as a musician could play a rhythm on either the keyboard, banjo, or guitar they would be able to play *marabi.* The further appeal of this was that the musician's literacy level did not impact his ability to perform, thus making *marabi* more inclusive than other genres.[118]

The musical form of *marabi* also contributed to its appeal. The chord structure of *marabi* mainly concentrated on the primary chords just as in American blues music. The basic chordal structure in a *marabi* song would be I-IV-I$\frac{6}{4}$-V.[119] This chordal structure is beneficial as it is

[115] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 126.
[116] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 127.
[117] C. Ballantine, 'Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 16-48.
[118] C. Ballantine, 'Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 16-48.
[119] C. Ballantine, 'Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 16-48.

easy to improvise on top of primary chords, and singers are therefore free to sing any tune on top of the chord structure. With regards to sound, playing primary chords in a major key also makes the music more upbeat than it would be if it were in a minor key, which encourages listeners to sing along as well as get up and dance.[120]

In terms of rhythm, *marabi* was very cyclical in nature. This stems from indigenous African music which uses a call and response structure. Call and response entails one lead who plays a phrase which is known as the call and a second musician will respond with the same phrase, but the second phrase may be altered. With regards to *marabi*, call and response was often utilized to encourage audience engagement. If the musicians acted as the leads, they could then get the audience to respond to them by repeating phrases. This also applied to harmonic progressions in the music as well as the singable melodies which made it very easy to dance to as well as easy to improvise on.[121] Ballantine states that the use of call and response with regards to *marabi* makes it a form of neo-traditional music since it draws from traditional roots but was adapted to the urban context.[122]

To understand the development of performance culture it must be highlighted that it was greatly impacted by where performances could take place. *Marabi* thrived in venues such as *shebeens* because of its direct link to drinking and dancing as well as weekend-long slum yard parties, but the *shebeens* were not the only platforms available to the urban Black community.[123] The social divisions in the urban Black community also contributed to different performance cultures that emerged. For instance, institutions such as schools, as well as cultural and sports clubs served as venues where White liberals and the African elites could work together and host performances that strayed from *marabi* culture and music. One popular venue was the Bantu Men's Social Centre, that held performances promoted in *Umteteli wa Bantu.*[124]

Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews, a founding member of the South African National Native Congress (hereafter SANNC), noted in 1935 that competition was one way in which performance culture served to promote the African elite's emphasis on the importance of western education. This was particularly prominent in missionary schools where Africans were

---

[120] Understanding Music, 2021, < Primary Chords - Music Theory Academy>, access 02 July 2021.

[121] MasterClass, 08 November 2020, < What Is Call and Response in Music? - 2021 - MasterClass>, access 02 July 2021.

[122] C. Ballantine, 'Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 16-48.

[123] C. Ballantine, 'Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 16-48.

[124] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 135.

taught to assimilate to western choral traditions. Schools would compete against one another in choir competitions, but conflictingly, the works taught were more traditional and rooted in rural life. This proved to be problematic as White missionaries believed traditional culture to be primitive and conflicted with the teachings of missionary education. To further this, the judges of choral competitions judged performances according to Western criteria.[125] One of the major contradictions of Black urban experiences was precisely this kind of confusion which framed tradition as rural, and modern as urban, but constantly blurred the boundaries between both, creating existential dissonance.

This dissonance, contradiction and blurring is evident in the opportunistic way in which African elites at times disparaged African traditional life (rural) while at other times embraced it enthusiastically. In the search for acceptance in 'civilised' White society, tradition was deployed as evidence of the 'worthiness' of Africans and their traditions, but of course contingent on assimilation into Western habits, norms, and values.[126]

Another argument for the promotion of African traditional music is rooted in the economics of the music industry. Some African elites felt that if they could increase the popularity of traditional African music then they could "play the system".[127] The assumption was that if traditional African music were to gain popularity and make artists rich and famous, it would also improve the quality of life for traditional artists in 'White' South Africa. The idea that the system could be played gained more popularity during the later 1930s. This was because musicians' repertoire expanded to include jazz and vaudeville. The increase was heightened by female musicians who joined performances as vaudeville suited their voices. The increased inclusion of women in the music profession also reflected the changes within the community as more women entered waged employment than they had done in the rural areas. However, not all of society was happy with the changing role of women as the African elite felt that female performance showed an increase in immoral behaviour.[128]

---

[125] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 127.
[126] C. Ballantine, 'Music and Emancipation: The Social Role of Black Jazz and Vaudeville between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 54-82.
[127] C. Ballantine, 'Music and Emancipation: The Social Role of Black Jazz and Vaudeville between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 54-82.
[128] C. Ballantine, 'Music and Emancipation: The Social Role of Black Jazz and Vaudeville between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 54-82.

These competing views on the role of music essentially led to different venues allowing for different performance types. For instance, in 1924 the Bantu Men's Social Centre was built on the Rand. The fact that the centre specifically reserved itself to Black men was no accident, as it was run by African men with an executive committee which felt that the Centre should exclude women. This committee was made up of both White and Black men. The Centre itself provided educational, athletic, and performance activities for all classes of Africans, but its largest, competitive, cultural activity was its annual *eisteddfod*.[129]

Eisteddfod is a Welsh term which translates to choral festival and was first applied to African school choir competitions in the early twentieth century. By the 1920s the *eisteddfod* tradition extended to include adult choirs which were trained by African choir conductors who had been taught music at missionary schools or by liberal Whites. The significance of this was that it led to the formation of the South African Bantu Board of Music in 1931, which organised *eisteddfods* at provincial level. The first competitive *eisteddfod* took place in the same year and followed a mandate which had two aims: "to preserve and develop the individuality of Native music, and to encourage the finer refinements of European music".[130]

By 1934 the reach of the *eisteddfod* increased to national level where renowned choirs, as well as solo artists, visited the Rand to compete against one another at the Bantu Men's Social Centre. Competitions also served as a backdrop for Black South Africans to meet and discuss national and community issues as well as to form personal and organisational links with one another. The *eisteddfod* came to represent an opportunity for the White government to promote a liquor-free activity. This was controversial because White members on the executive committee of the Bantu Men's Social Centre felt that the Centre should be open to all members of the urban Black community while Black members of the committee wanted *eisteddfods* to be exclusive to the African bourgeoisie.[131]

Much to the dismay of the African elites, *eisteddfods* were opened to all members of the urban Black community. The works performed at *eisteddfods* included English and African classical songs, folk songs, and hymns. Instrumental groups such as brass bands and mixed quartets played classical European works as well as works on African instruments, which were mainly percussive such as rattles and *djembe* drums. There were also dance works performed at *eisteddfods* where miners would perform different traditional works such as gum boot dancing.

---

[129] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 138.
[130] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 138.
[131] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 139.

Other dancers performed western ballroom dances such as the waltz, foxtrot, and quickstep. The one style which was notably excluded was *marabi*.[132] However, interestingly, the inclusion of brass bands demonstrated an overlap between *stokvel* and the *eisteddfod*. The brass bands that played at *stokvel* parties promoted a greater sense of economic solidarity, and the bands that played at the *eisteddfods* represented a more institutionalised conformity to the standards of Western culture.[133]

One of the most striking features of the *eisteddfod* tradition was that it was plagued by contradiction. As the popularity of the *eisteddfod* grew so did the call for new compositions by "Bantu composers". This resulted in a new category being introduced, that White liberals called "modern composition". Modern composition allowed Black composers who were educated in music to compose new works which combined their western music education as well as their knowledge of traditional African music. This countered the goals of the South African Board of Bantu music who wanted to preserve traditional African music and put it on equal footing with Western music. Furthermore, modern composition also subverted, in cultural terms, the segregationist policy of the time, by combining two distinctly cultural music forms. Thus, demonstrating that segregationist efforts to keep cultures isolated were less successful than segregationist efforts in the economy.[134]

The music performed in the "modern composition" category demonstrated further ambiguity. For instance, works were performed in four-part harmony, blended African melodic or polyphonic features, or a combination of both which meant that structurally, the music was both western and African. The tonic solfa system used in notating Western composition was deemed awkward and inconvenient as it could not always match the polyphonic structures of traditional African pieces. Modern compositions were also notated onto sheet music, but this excluded members of the urban Black community who could not read sheet music and conductors would have to resort to teaching the performers the melody of the music aurally.[135]

Some African elites continued to compose works which stuck to traditional African composition standards. Composers who continued to use tonic solfa composed in the tradition of *amakwaya* which refers to the performance of traditional African works in choir

---

[132] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 138.

[133] C. Ballantine, 'Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 16-48.

[134] G. Olwage, 'Apartheid's Musical Signs: Reflections on Black Choralism, Modernity and Race-Ethnicity in the Segregation Ear', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid* pp. 35-50.

[135] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 141.

competitions. Some of the most well-known composers of this time were Benjamin Tyamzashe, Joshua P. Mohapeloa, and Ruben Tholakele Caluza who made use of both traditional music from their rural homes as well as their training in mission school choirs. J.P. Mohapeloa is one of the most well-known of these composers, as in 1931 a collection of his thirty-two compositions was published. The most famous work from this collection is *U Ea Kae?* (Where Are You Going?) which used traditional melodic themes arranged according to Mohapeloa's own interpretation of Western three-part harmony. The reason Mohapeloa included the use of three-part harmony was to make the work sound more appealing to audiences more attuned to western music, but overall, the work embraced more elements of traditional African music.[136]

U Ea Kae? was also significant as it became a reflection of the time in which it was composed. Mohapeloa is quoted as saying: "[it is aimed at] reflecting the feelings of the people who are actively alive today and not those of the dead and dying. [In order to] serve as a record of the popular trend in musical development today".[137] The collection draws on the consciousness of Sotho workers. It is an adaptation of a traditional Sotho threshing song and came to be regarded as the "clan song of the Moletsanes" who were the people of Lesotho.[138] Work songs such as *U Ea Kae?* became popular with political parties as they were said to be expressions on African nationalist political consciousness and cultural identity.[139]

Mohapeloa is a perfect example of how African elites attempted to combine the principles of western music with traditional African music. Unfortunately, Mohapeloa's third volume of choral works entitled *Melolo le Lithallere tsa Afrika* (African Fires and Talons) was criticised for not being written in the same manner as his first volume. This was due to the fact that African choirs struggled to perform the third volume due to the fact that it was notated, and many traditional African works could be taught by ear. Some members of African choirs were unable to read sheet music and the improvisational qualities of African music appealed more to them.[140]

---

[136] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 142.
[137] C. Lucia, 'Back to The Future? Idioms of 'Displaced Time' in South African Composition', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid* pp. 11-30.
[138] C. Lucia, 'Back to The Future? Idioms of 'Displaced Time' in South African Composition', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid* pp. 11-30.
[139] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 142.
[140] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 143.

Performances at the Bantu Men's Centre therefore came to represent: "[the] high club of the Whiteman's good boys"[141] to the rest of the urban Black community due to the repertoire of the *eisteddfods*. Despite this, the music performed at the Bantu Men's Centre still greatly influenced urban African culture because political leaders used it to promote African unity and to improve social conditions within the urban areas. Events at the Centre changed to include everyone, and the Centre de-emphasized ethnic identity among the urban Black community. The term *eisteddfod* also was significant as those who knew its connotations to Welsh national identity related it back to African nationalism. Many of the songs performed at the *eisteddfods*, such as Benjamin Tyamzashe's *Ivoti* (A Vote), urged Africans to fight for their voting rights, as well as *U Ea Kae*?, and came to be protest anthems in later decades. One of the most famous songs; *Vukani Mawethu* (Awake my people)*,* composed by John Masiza, was sung at later events such as the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960. The song was banned in the 1950s because it was deemed subversive. In the lyrics Masiza reprimanded his people for being "footstools" of other nations and mistrusting one another and thus not taking the initiative to improve their situation.[142]

The *eisteddfod* tradition later evolved due to the introduction of jazz music during the 1920s and 1930s. The growth in popularity of jazz music can be attributed to the introduction of cinema which brought American performance culture to the urban Black community. However, unlike *marabi,* the African elites did not appreciate the hybridisation of jazz with traditional African music and therefore called for performances of "pure" jazz. American "pure" jazz introduced a sense of solidarity and African elites felt that they could relate to the racial discrimination faced by Black Americans.[143]

During the 1920s, 1930s and early 1940s, the urban Black community was inspired by American culture, but more specifically African American culture.[144] Rob Nixon describes the aspirations of the South African Black community as: "a sense of mutual intelligibly" that "emerged from a sense of half-shared histories."[145] Nixon is referring to the fact that both South Africa and America shared a history of racial segregation but South Africa's experience of segregation and later apartheid was on a far greater scale. Nixon also points out that despite the

---

[141] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 143.

[142] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 143-144.

[143] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 144.

[144] C. Ballantine, 'Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 16-48.

[145] R. Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond,* p. 2.

commonalities in historical experience, it is too simplistic to say that the two groups mimicked one another, as this denies the complexity of experience of each group within the historical context of their own countries. The two Black communities inspired each other culturally, as both were discovering their own identities in the context of urbanisation, and the connectedness of a more globalised world, and these commonalities emerged in their music as well as literature cultures. [146] Furthermore, nationalism also motivated both Black communities as both wanted to attain a new sense of political agency under the "political subjectivity" they faced. For the urban Black community in South Africa this was initially under colonial subjugation, but later under the system of apartheid.[147]

One the most prominent examples of how the two Black communities influenced one another based on achieving political agency is Sol Plaatje. Plaatje was the was a founding member of the SANNC(which later became the African National Congress in 1923), as well as a journalist for both Black and White newspapers and authored books such as *Native Life in South Africa* in 1916 and *Mhudi* (hard work) which was first published in 1930. His works critiqued government legislation which aimed to further subjugate the Black community in South Africa.[148] In the years 1921 and 1922 Plaatje travelled to the United States to participate in meetings of the Universal Negro Improvement Association where he was exposed to the ideas of Garveyism as well as the teachings of Booker T. Washington.[149] Washington's philosophy of self-help appealed greatly to Plaatje, who wrote letters to the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, a Black university that trained teachers, regarding Washington's philosophy self-help.[150] Washington felt that his philosophy extended to Africa as Africans, just like the African-American in America, could benefit greatly from accepting: "their own individual initiative and acceptance of Western religion".[151] Plaatje, being missionary educated, related to this and adapted these principles to his own causes in South Africa regarding the "Native plight" under segregationist legislation.[152]

---

[146] R. Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond,* pp. 1-7.
[147] R. Suttner, 'African Nationalism', *in* P. Vale, *et al,* (ed.), *Intellectual Traditions in South Africa: Ideas, Individuals and Institutions* pp. 121-145.
[148] B. Willan & S. Mokae, *Sol. T. Plaatje: A Life in Letters,* pp. ix-xxi.
[149] M. Ndletyana, 'Pan Africanism in South Africa: A Confluence of Local Origin and Diasporic Inspiration', *in* P. Vale, *et al,* (ed.), *Intellectual Traditions in South Africa: Ideas, Individuals and Institutions* pp. 121-145.
[150] B. Willan & S. Mokae, *Sol. T. Plaatje: A Life in Letters,* pp. ix-xxi.
[151] W. Manning Marable, 'Booker T. Washington and African Nationalism', *Phylon,* 35(4), 1974, pp.398-406.
[152] P. Chrisman, 'Black Atlantic Nationalism: Sol Plaatje and W.E.B du Bois', *in* P. Chrisman (ed.), *Post-Colonial Contraventions: Cultural Readings of Race, Imperialism, and Transnationalism* pp. 73-89.

Plaatje's incorporation of Booker T. Washington's philosophy, although highly significant, cannot be simplified to the idea that he copied Washington's philosophy in South Africa. It also needs to be noted that his works also identified with ideas of English civilisation as he lived most of his life under British colonisation. Therefore, while he identified with the successes of the *New Negro Movement* in the United States and applied Booker T. Washington's ideology of self-help to his own life, he was still subject to his own context as a Black man living under British colonialism and a man who was educated by British missionaries. Therefore, Christianity and its ideal of "universal humanity" are also present in Plaatje's writing as well as in the works of other African elites.[153] Plaatje made trips to both the United Kingdom and the United States throughout his career as secretary general of the SANNC to create an awareness of the conditions that the urban Black community were experiencing under the Native Land Act of 1913, but these trips had little success as he received no material backing. Despite this Plaatje was inspired by the cultural achievements in Harlem and brought back films with uplifting messages regarding urban Black culture in the United States which he screened to the Black community living in compounds.[154] The exposure to African American culture in these films played a role in the later adaptation of Harlem culture in the urban Black community during the late 1940s and 1950s.

Plaatje's aspirations matched other members of the African elite who also sought their own autonomy under segregation. One newspaper which represented this view best was *The Bantu World* which was established in 1932 and specifically targeted at the urban Black community of Johannesburg. As an example, one entry in *The Bantu World* speaks of: "the demonism of tribalism"[155], the idea of Black society being "tribal" derives from the colonial government's policies of segregation at the time. In 1935 *The Bantu World* published an editorial titled: "The Detribalisation of Africans" which commented on the irregularities of the colonial government's policies on separate development. This is because government policies encouraged the Black community to: "maintain their tribal organisations and cultures [and to] develop along their own lines".[156] Ironically, the call for detribalisation by the African elites

---

[153] A.E. Voss, 'Sol Plaatje, the Eighteenth Century and South African Cultural Memory', *English in Africa,* 21(1), 1994, pp. 59-75.

[154] C. Ballantine, 'Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 16-48.

[155] G. Olwage, 'Apartheid's Musical Signs: Reflections on Black Choralism, Modernity and Race-Ethnicity in the Segregation Ear', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid* pp. 35-50.

[156] G. Olwage, 'Apartheid's Musical Signs: Reflections on Black Choralism, Modernity and Race-Ethnicity in the Segregation Ear', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid* pp. 35-50.

also supported their calls for assimilation to Western society, whereas the state used tribalism as a means for continued exclusion and segregation.[157]

African Americans and African American culture were inspirational because, despite Jim Crow laws, African Americans enjoyed a greater degree of civil liberties than Black South Africans. Liberal White Americans who had visited South Africa and preached the ideology of "racial unity" and attempted to promote "the oneness of race" provided further inspiration. However, it is important to note that these "liberal" White Americans were not advocating for the oneness of Black and White, but rather the oneness of the different Black identities.[158]

Another contribution that liberal White Americans made was that they funded institutions such as *The Bantu Men's Social Centre* with the purpose of it being: "a centre for inter-racial goodwill and harmony".[159] The implications of these interactions was that they communicated a confused message as to whether liberal Whites wanted Black and White races to be connected and live in an equal society, or whether the "inter-racial goodwill and harmony" merely applied to the ethnically segregated classes within the urban Black community. Regardless, the African bourgeoisie interpreted and used these messages to suit their own aspirations for racial equality in South Africa.[160]

A further factor which drew the African elite to American culture was the literature, which was circulated in The Bantu Men's Social Centre. Alan LeRoy Locke's anthology, *The New Negro: An Interpretation* was especially influential. *The New Negro* was an anthology of works by African American authors, edited by Locke, which called for social and political change in America by demanding civil rights under Jim Crow laws. The book promoted artistic development which was separate from racial segregation and argued that this development should not be undermined and compared to the works of White artists. Essentially, the upliftment of African American art was supposed to give birth to a "New Negro", separate from the "Old Negro" who was undermined by segregation. The "New Negro" would understand his or her own identity which was autonomous from the "Old Negro" whose

---

[157] G. Olwage, 'Apartheid's Musical Signs: Reflections on Black Choralism, Modernity and Race-Ethnicity in the Segregation Ear', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid* pp. 35-50.
[158] G. Olwage, 'Apartheid's Musical Signs: Reflections on Black Choralism, Modernity and Race-Ethnicity in the Segregation Ear', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid* pp. 35-50.
[159] G. Olwage, 'Apartheid's Musical Signs: Reflections on Black Choralism, Modernity and Race-Ethnicity in the Segregation Ear', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid* pp. 35-50.
[160] G. Olwage, 'Apartheid's Musical Signs: Reflections on Black Choralism, Modernity and Race-Ethnicity in the Segregation Ear', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid* pp. 35-50.

identity was defined by segregation. [161] To the urban Black community, the book's core value of urban Black art not being secondary to that of White artists appealed to their ideas of Black autonomy under governmental segregation. This was reflected in the writings of *The Bantu World* during the 1930s as lead stories within the paper commented on South African Black advancement, which was similar to the *New Negro's* aspiration for civil rights under Jim Crow laws. [162] The Harlem Renaissance, which was championed by Locke, therefore represented a means for upliftment and also promoted the self-help philosophy which Sol Plaatje advocated. This was interpreted through forms of cultural expression such as music, art, and literature.

The popularity of American music not only stemmed from the fact that the African elite had similar aspirations to Black Americans, but also because of the musical roots of American spirituals which were very distinctly African. Some genres of music which were popular such as the negro spiritual were not new to South Africa as they had already been present from the 19th century. As an example, Sol Plaatje in his correspondence with Robert Moton, the African American principal of the Tuskegee Institute, wrote of how he was inspired by the Jubilee singers, who performed spirituals in Kimberly in the 1890s, and how they represented "Negro America" through their performance.[163] This contribution came from missionaries who had travelled to South Africa and taught spirituals to the Black community. The spiritual was then taken and performed at a competitive level when the *eisteddfod* tradition was established. The "negro spiritual" was also adapted at *stokvel* parties. [164] Thus, showing that American culture affected all classes within the urban Black community.

Drawing on the observation made by Z.K. Matthews regarding performance culture which emerged through competitions held at schools, vaudeville music was also able to enter the mainstream in a similar fashion. Long before the *eisteddfod* tradition arose, schools would host shows where the students would perform vaudeville songs which drew from the negro spiritual. These performances also contained dance works and the performers would wear formal attire such as coat ties, formal white striped trousers, blazers, and at times bright sashes to show

---

[161] G. Olwage, 'Apartheid's Musical Signs: Reflections on Black Choralism, Modernity and Race-Ethnicity in the Segregation Ear', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid* pp. 35-50.
[162] G. Olwage, 'Apartheid's Musical Signs: Reflections on Black Choralism, Modernity and Race-Ethnicity in the Segregation Ear', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid* pp. 35-50.
[163] B. Willan & S. Mokae, *Sol. T. Plaatje: A Life in Letters,* pp. ix-xxi.
[164] C. Ballantine, 'Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 16-48.

which group they were a part of. Vaudeville groups mainly consisted of four dancers and were backed up by a pianist.[165]

As these school performances gained popularity, vaudeville was also performed at parties held by the working class urban Black community. One instance that has already been discussed is that vaudeville performers would perform for *stokvel* queens to generate income for themselves as well as the *stokvel* queen. Vaudeville concerts were also held at community halls and as the popularity of vaudeville grew the artists were able to make a lucrative profession out of it. For instance, during the 1920s, two public cinemas were opened to the urban Black community, on the Rand, where they were exposed to jazz music which accompanied the films. After this, vaudeville artists were employed to keep the party going and get people up and dancing. The films were usually screened at about 8pm and afterwards at about 11pm the artists would perform. This at times would last until 4am. Promoters would hire vaudeville troupes to play at parties and it was not uncommon for them to make 15 to 30 shillings per show which amounted to approximately 80 shillings per month. Sadly, once curfews were introduced, during the 1920s, vaudeville artists began to struggle as they could not play as easily as they had before. Vaudeville performers were regarded as semi-skilled and due to this they often did not carry night passes which stipulated their profession as musicians. As a result, many vaudeville artists were arrested due to the implementation of curfews, leading to a loss of income.[166]

The popularity of vaudeville, however, cannot only be credited to its ties with the negro spiritual. In fact, one of the greatest genres which came from the American connection was jazz music. Its popularity was not only linked to the successes of the Harlem Renaissance, but also to its global consumption. This can partially be credited to the fact that the genre gained popularity during the World Wars and the world becoming more connected. This meant that different music genres circulated with ease, and this aided the popularity of jazz music.[167] Due to its popularity, jazz music was therefore featured in popular films during the 1930s and some of these films were screened in South Africa in the 1940s. This, coupled with the introduction

---

[165] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 148.
[166] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 150.
[167] J. Stewart, *et al.,* 09 September 2019, < https://twentiesjazzmusic.weebly.com/so-why-did-jazz-become-so-popular.html>, access: 30 July 2021.

of broadcast radio in the 1930s meant that the consumption of jazz music albums increased the popularity of the genre.[168]

Despite its obvious ties to African American culture, jazz also appealed to the urban Black community because it could be self-taught.[169] By the 1930s the popularity of jazz had increased significantly as it began to be incorporated in performances within all classes of the urban Black community. This would include it being incorporated into *marabi*, as it was another style which could be self-taught, vaudeville and later into *eisteddfod* performances. Film was of great importance in popularizing jazz and vaudeville performers and their performances as they saw the music in the films as something they could mimic and develop to suit their performance style.[170]

With regards to film's influence on performance style, musicians would not only perform the hit songs from the film's albums but compile dance routines based on the film as well as dress up as characters in the film. This increased the commercial appeal of urban Black musicians as they were able to "re-enact" the films. Promoters of local bands would encourage musicians to go and watch films that starred famous actors such as Fred Astaire and Ginger Rodgers to emulate their styles and make the musicians more marketable. Popular bands of the time such as the Pitch-Black Follies and The Jazz Maniacs then played the repertoire of these films at their shows.[171] The film genre which was the most influential was the Hollywood musical, but rather than play the music from these musicals exactly as they appeared in the movies, artists would play the songs in the *marabi* style. One band who was particularly fond of doing this were the Jazz Maniacs.[172] Thus, American musical styles were not faithfully mimicked but rather given local inflections which contributed to the hybridisation of music, culture, and performance art.

Even though Harlem and jazz were well received by the urban Black community it must be noted that this was not the case initially for some African elites. Some elites felt that jazz threatened the structure of society on the basis of morality. This was because some jazz

---

[168] C. Ballantine, 'Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 16-48.

[169] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 146.

[170] C. Ballantine, 'Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 16-48.

[171] C. Ballantine, 'Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 16-48.

[172] C. Ballantine, 'Music and Emancipation: The Social Role of Black Jazz and Vaudeville between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 86 -114.

performances were deemed to be more suggestive in nature, particularly those present in films. For instance, South African journalist and novelist Rolfes Robert Reginald Dhlomo wrote that performances of Western classical music had: "soothing and inspiring effects" and therefore had a more calming effect on its listeners, whereas jazz performances contained: "suggestive movements and passionate expressions which encouraged youths to behave in a manner that was considered to be debauched and immoral.[173]

One point of particular concern was the newfound independence that jazz brought to women. Some elites argued that jazz served as a means for: "corrupting women's virtues". [174] For example, one entry in the women's section of *The Bantu World* asked women whether after a night of partying to jazz music they could return home in the morning and "still be pure of heart". [175] Another entry asked: "whether you can look for a marriage partner where proper introductions are seldom observed".[176] These opinions most likely were an extended criticism of the greater autonomy women enjoyed in the cities, especially those who frequented the *shebeens* or even fronted jazz groups as lead vocalists. Comments such as these indicate that the writers felt that women who attended these events were cheapening themselves and "becoming everyone's partner".[177] These sentiments echoed reception of *stokvel* hostesses as well as *shebeen queens.*

These opinions arose from performances where women would attend parties and dance for male audiences. *Famo* was one of the dance styles that women used to perform that originated from Sotho culture. The women would dance and sing to reiterative songs which paralleled the traditional *likoata* songs that the men sang in the rural areas. *Famo* performances dealt with topics such as hardships within the city and the women often lamented their lives back at home. Concurrently these performances supposedly also affirmed the woman performer's sexuality as the dancers were said to seduce men and take them home for the night. The suspicion that *famo* dancers were seducing men was based on the provocative dance style. *Famo* was linked to *shebeens,* which were already viewed negatively by the African elites as venues for immoral

---

[173] C. Ballantine, "Music and Repression: 'Race', Class, Gender in Black Jazz Culture up to the Early 1940s", *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 86 -114.
[174] C. Ballantine, "Music and Repression: 'Race', Class, Gender in Black Jazz Culture up to the Early 1940s", *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp .86 -114.
[175] C. Ballantine, "Music and Repression: 'Race', Class, Gender in Black Jazz Culture up to the Early 1940s", *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 86 -114.
[176] C. Ballantine, "Music and Repression: 'Race', Class, Gender in Black Jazz Culture up to the Early 1940s", *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 86 -114.
[177] C. Ballantine, "Music and Repression: 'Race', Class, Gender in Black Jazz Culture up to the Early 1940s", *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 86 -114.

behaviour, so performances of the dance style were further criticised because of where they were performed. However, *famo* was popular in the *shebeens* as they both demonstrated women's changing attitudes and independence in the urban areas. Both jazz and *marabi* suited the *famo* dance style as they all contained repetitive elements and therefore performances of the dance happened often at *shebeen* parties during *marabi* and jazz performances.[178]

By the 1930s the perception of jazz among African elites changed as they acknowledged its popularity in relation to the "swing era". The reason for the change in opinion was that jazz in the 1930s was said to be more "refined" than it had been prior to this decade. Using the term "refined" was significant because it related to the "cultural refinement" mission that the African elite adopted. One significant article written for *Umteteli wa Bantu* by Mark Radebe, one of the founders of the South African *eisteddfod* in the 1930s,[179] stated: "the old jazz of the screeching jazz maniac will not torture its victims much longer"[180] as artists such as George Gershwin had "modified and beautified [the jazz genre]" and had allowed jazz to [purify itself]".[181] In this quote Radebe commented on the newly composed works of Gershwin and how he fused both jazz and classical music to create a new jazz sound, and had thus, "civilised" the genre. [182]

A significant comment made by Radebe with regards to the inclusion of jazz in the *eisteddfod* tradition as well as other performances was that: "if jazz could enrich African Americans in the manner that it did then why would it not be able to bring the same successes to the urban Black community in South Africa."[183] The fact that jazz brought White audiences to Black performances also convinced Radebe that: "Developing [traditional] music and singing [this hybrised music] to the White man [would] do much better than some of the methods adopted in solving intricate Bantu problems in South Africa."[184] His analysis echoed the discourse adopted by African elites that viewed traditional music opportunistically whereby they could

---

[178] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 122.

[179] The Journalist, 15 March 2015, <https://www.thejournalist.org.za/pioneers/mark-radebe/ >, access: 01 August 2021.

[180] C. Ballantine, "Music and Repression: 'Race', Class, Gender in Black Jazz Culture up to the Early 1940s", *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 86 -114.

[181] C. Ballantine, "Music and Repression: 'Race', Class, Gender in Black Jazz Culture up to the Early 1940s", *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 86 -114.

[182] C. Ballantine, "Music and Repression: 'Race', Class, Gender in Black Jazz Culture up to the Early 1940s", *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 86 -114.

[183] The Journalist, 15 March 2015, <https://www.thejournalist.org.za/pioneers/mark-radebe/ >, access: 01 August 2021.

[184] The Journalist, 15 March 2015, <https://www.thejournalist.org.za/pioneers/mark-radebe/ >, access: 01 August 2021.

use cultural expression as a means to promote cultural autonomy.[185] Radebe's analysis was significant as by the 1940s jazz had become more accepted in all sections of the urban Black community. What became more significant is that by the 1940s jazz works were performed at *marabi* and *stokvel* parties as well as at *eisteddfods*, and more importantly, jazz offered another route for emancipation. Jazz performances became a means to subvert the expectations of the state as it was a genre that combined both Black and White music styles, and therefore, contradicted segregation, making it revolutionary by the implementation of apartheid in 1948.[186]

Ballantine comments on how music was also used in relation to resistance organisations.[187] One organisation which demonstrates Ballantine's point is the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (hereafter ICU) which was founded in 1919 and grew in popularity during the early 1920s. The ICU essentially utilised music to encourage people to join their protest movement. For instance, they would hire jazz bands to play at the ICU-owned Worker's Hall and would host fancy dress balls to honour members of their union. Other instances where the ICU utilised music was when they hosted meetings and rallies at which they would sing the ICU anthem, *'The Red Flag'*, accompanied by jazz musicians.[188] The musicians who performed for the ICU were usually in full support of their political agendas, however, it was not always good for a musician's career to be known to be political as they could become the targets of arrest for any anti-government activity.[189]

Another organisation which directly associated themselves with performance culture was the Communist Party of South Africa (hereafter CPSA). Before the 1920s the CPSA would hold concerts in African community dance halls to raise funds for the party. By the later 1920s, when the demand for jazz music increased, the party hired White jazz musicians to play in the dance halls, but when Black musicians began to incorporate jazz into their repertoire the party began to employ these musicians instead. Some of the most famous groups that played at these

---

[185] C. Ballantine, 'Music and Emancipation: The Social Role of Black Jazz and Vaudeville between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 54-82.

[186] C. Ballantine, "Music and Repression: 'Race', Class, Gender in Black Jazz Culture up to the Early 1940s", *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 86 -114.

[187] C. Ballantine, 'Music and Emancipation: The Social Role of Black Jazz and Vaudeville between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 54-82.

[188] C. Ballantine, 'Music and Emancipation: The Social Role of Black Jazz and Vaudeville between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 54-82.

[189] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 147.

events were the Jazz Revellers, who were renowned for being one of the first Coloured jazz bands, and the Merry Blackbirds. On top of this the Communist Party also hired vaudeville troupes that they had heard at *stokvel* parties.[190] The involvement of music in political resistance would increase in the later 1940s with the implementation of apartheid.

Conclusion:

This chapter has provided a contextual overview of multiple forms of movement, contact and connections at both the local and global level. The first instance of movement accounted for in the chapter is the impact of rural to urban migration and how this led to the settling of the Black community in urban areas which in turn influenced the creation of an urban sensibility and identity. A second form of movement and displacement can be found in the contact between different ethnic groups living in "melting-pot" communities. These two instances of movement, contact and connections in turn shaped the emergence of new forms of music as well as cultural practices and performance cultures centred in *shebeens, stokvel* parties and *marabi*. Furthermore, class distinctions among the urban Black community also influences perceptions and the popularity of these emerging musical genres and performances styles, as well as a broader urban sensibility. Two other musical genres and performance styles which represented class distinctions were the *eisteddfod* and choral music performances. As time progressed there was a blurring of class distinctions between the high culture associated with the *eisteddfod* and choral music and the low culture associated with *marabi* with the inclusion of *marabi* in *eisteddfod* performances.

The third instance of movement, contact and connection is the global connection fostered, not only through increasing globalisation, but also through the transatlantic linkages forged by people like Sol Plaatje and Langston Hughes as discussed in the following chapter. The exchanges of ideas were not as simplistic as the urban Black community of South Africa imitating African American culture, but rather drawing from the teachings of African Americans and adapting them to apply to their own circumstances. *Movement and displacement*, as a framing concept, thus, operates at three distinct levels leading to convergence which in turn has shaped a distinctly urban genre of music, performance styles, and cultural and leisure trends.

---

[190] C. Ballantine, 'Music and Emancipation: The Social Role of Black Jazz and Vaudeville between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 54-82.

Chapter 3: Shifting Identity Under the State of Apartheid:

Picking up from the last chapter, this chapter looks at the Rand from the late 1940s to the beginning of the 1960s. In this period South Africa experienced a political shift with shades of empire influenced by Afrikaner nationalism. The electoral victory of the National Party in 1948, ushered in the apartheid era.[191] The "space" as specified by Erlmann, therefore, underwent changes shaped by more localised factors specific to South Africa.

One of the most important things to note within this chapter is that, while segregation was not new, it became further entrenched during the years 1940 till 1945. For the urban Black community, this meant that they would live in a state which continually reminded them of their race, but also treated them as inferior. This was particularly prominent in legislation which was enacted to implement apartheid.[192] However, apartheid legislation could not eliminate contradictions from emerging in South African society. This will be highlighted by looking at factors such as labour legislation which was not always as clearcut as the National Party would have liked. This is further demonstrated in music as the apartheid government attempted to commodify culture and classify music accordingly. However, overlapping genres between White and Black members of South African society presented inconsistencies which countered the goals of the apartheid state.[193]

Overall, the chapter addresses the National Party's failure to keep different ethnicities separate despite a plethora of legislation aimed segregation. Furthermore, the apartheid project presents a new phase of *movement and displacement* in South Africa. Despite segregation being refined during these decades, there was still ambiguity with regards to imperialistic tropes that concerned, race nationhood, and personal identity.[194] This is further demonstrated by the music genres which emerged during this changed context.[195]

During the 1930s, under the leadership of James Barry Munnik Hertzog, "Native Bills" were proposed as early as 1926, which allocated a small section of land to the Black community and supposedly allowed for a degree of autonomy within areas identified as "native" reserves. In 1936, under the leadership of J.B.M Hertzog, these Bills were enacted to combat further rural to urban migration. However, the Native Bills failed as they could not prevent the increasing

---

[191] D. Posel, 'The Apartheid Project, 1948-1970', *in* R. Ross, *et al.* (ed.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa* pp. 319-368.

[192] N. Clarke & W.H. Worger, *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid* pp. 35-63.

[193] G. Olwage, *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid* p. 4.

[194] V. Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West,* pp. 3-10.

[195] N. Clarke & W.H. Worger, *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid* pp. 35-63.

rural to urban migration that occurred during and after the Second World War (hereafter WWII).[196]

Increased industrialism during the interwar years was an important factor spurring rural to urban migration. While in the past urban centres were primarily focused on mining, by the start of WWII urban areas became focused on producing finished goods which could be used during the war. Thus, secondary industrialism during the interwar years was further improved and presented better employment opportunities for the different racial groups of South Africa. Due to this, from the 1940s, the majority living in the urban areas were no longer Whites, but Black South Africans.[197]

The agricultural sector also fell victim to secondary industrialism. Before WWII, the agricultural sector contributed significantly to the economy, but with the crash of the American stock exchange and the onset of the worldwide Great Depression, agricultural exports from South Africa shrank. This also broadened the appeal of urban areas as agricultural workers were no longer one of the biggest economic contributors. This was problematic for the government despite Hertzog's "Native Bills" as the boundaries between Black and White began to blur with increase urban interaction between the different groups. Particularly in areas like Sophiatown.[198]

The collapse of Hertzog's segregationist policies is reflected in the living conditions of the urban Black community during and after WWII. With increased rural to urban migration during the interwar years, the slums and racially allocated municipal areas were not large enough to house the urban Black community. With the growth of these areas class divisions within the urban Black community also became more blurred as the classes began to live together in what became known as "squatter camps".[199] Furthermore, the demand for cheap labour motivated the growth of these areas which in turn fed greater cultural hybridity.

The fact that the urban areas were less segregated than they were meant to be during the 1940s was critical to the National Party's victory in 1948. Their campaign to become the new ruling party played on the insecurities of the White community more broadly, but especially within labour sector, in which cheaper unskilled Black labour was framed as "*die swart gevaar",* or

---

[196] B.K. Murray, 'The Period 1924 to 1939', *in* T. Cameron. & S.B. Spies (ed.), *A New Illustrated History of South Africa,* pp. 248-260.
[197] H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New History of South Africa,* pp. 283-303.
[198] H. Giliomee & B. Mbenga, *New History of South Africa,* pp. 283-303.
[199] T. Dunbar Moodie, 'Separate Development as a Failed Project of Social Engineering: The Flawed Logic of Hendrik Verwoerd', *South African Historical Journal* 69(2), 2017, pp. 153-161.

Black danger. Essentially, the National Party framed the Black community as an enemy and a threat to the White community. The *Rand Daily Mail,* a liberal white newspaper, published a regular column titled; "Readers point of view: Origin of the term apartheid", in which it commented on how the National Party used the fear to instil fear in the white voters, which won them the election. [200] However, there were actual shortages of skilled labourers in the urban areas, thus the urban Black community could be taking jobs from White labourers. The rhetoric of "*die swart gevaar"* which they tried to link to "the poor white problem" was thus misleading. [201]

Another rhetoric that the National Party utilized to win the election was the fear of communism, or fears of the "red peril", which emerged during the Cold War. An extract from the *Rand Daily Mail* comments on how Daniel François Malan accused Coloured voters of having "communist leanings".[202] Malan's purpose for doing this was to equate them to "the big evil" of the time regardless of whether they were aligned with communism or not.[203] By doing this Malan essentially furthered the idea of "*die swart gevaar"* by categorising any Black groups with some franchise rights as a danger to South Africa. This was setting the scene for the attempt in the 1950s to abolish the Cape Coloured franchise which would eventually lead to the enactment of the Separate Representation of Voters Act.[204]

The rhetoric utilised against the urban Black community was not the only appeal of apartheid for the Afrikaner community. After the National Party's election, there was uncertainty regarding how apartheid was to be implemented. Despite this uncertainty, the National Party was certain that it would have to reflect the ideals with which the Party identified itself. Therefore, refining segregation from the prior decade, such as the development of legislation, had to reflect the ideals of Afrikaner and Christian nationalism. Legislation became the cornerstone of apartheid as it served a dual purpose. The first purpose was to uphold the

---

[200] Rand Daily Mail, 'Readers' Points of View: Origin of the Term Apartheid', *Rand Daily Mail,* 6 May 1957, p. 11.
[201] D. Posel, 'The Apartheid Project, 1948-1970', *in* R. Ross, *et al.* (ed.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa* pp. 319-368.
[202] The Coloured community refers to people of mixed ethnicity in South Africa.
[203] Rand Daily Mail, 'House of Assembly Rejects Malan's Notion by 87 votes to 44', *Rand Daily Mail,* January 27, 1948, p. 9.
[204] B.K. Murray, 'The Period 1924 to 1939', *in* T. Cameron. & S.B. Spies (ed.), *A New Illustrated History of South Africa,* pp. 248-260.

standards of Christian morality and preserve the Afrikaner race, and the second was to segregate the races within South Africa to ensure White prosperity and race purity.[205]

One of the first pieces of legislation to be implemented was the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act in 1949, which made marriages between members of the White population and anyone of another race illegal. This Act was aimed at the preservation of the Afrikaner race and was followed by similar Acts which targeted social aspects of life such as the amended Immorality Act of 1950, which forbade sexual relations between people of different races.[206] Deliberately targeting aspects of social life was not a coincidence as this legislation was implemented to remedy what the government had deemed as the erosion of segregation due to racial mixing in the wake of increased Black migration to the cities.[207]

Further Acts which targeted aspects of social life in South Africa were the Population Registration Act of 1950, and the Separate Amenities Act of 1953. Under the Population Registration Act, each race was classified based on racial categories, and the Separate Amenities Act separated the races by providing them with separate facilities such as bathrooms, public spaces, post offices and counters to pay for goods in stores.[208] As time progressed, legislation which promoted the separation of the races became normalised, but growing resistance movements and inconsistencies in the system would ultimately lead to the implosion of the system.[209]

Legislation eventually targeted all aspects of society such as labour, education, and government. One of the Acts which played a more significant role in the lives of the urban Black community was the Group Areas Act of 1950, which essentially created separate residential areas for each population group. In doing so it allowed for the forced removals of Black residents from areas that were reclassified for other groups in terms of this legislation. This resulted in the closing down of spaces of cultural expression in the later 1950s. An additional piece legislation was the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, which replaced Hertzog's Native Representative Council. According to Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd these Native

---

[205] D. Posel, 'The Apartheid Project, 1948-1970', *in* R. Ross, *et al.* (ed.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa* pp. 319-368.
[206] D. Sher, 'The Consolidation of the Apartheid State, 1948-1966', *in* F. Pretorius, (ed.), *A History of South Africa: From the Distant Past to the Present Day,* pp. 328-347.
[207] SABC News, 26 May 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yEhG4T_w8OE&t=119s>, access: 27 September 2021.
[208] D. Sher, 'The Consolidation of the Apartheid State, 1948-1966', *in* F. Pretorius, (ed.), *A History of South Africa: From the Distant Past to the Present Day,* pp. 328-347.
[209] D. Posel, 'The Apartheid Project, 1948-1970', *in* R. Ross, *et al.* (ed.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa* pp. 319-368.

Representative councils, "[were trying] to shape Black political development along Western lines" which was contrary to separate development.[210] This idea that the Black community should not develop to Western standards was also the reasoning behind the Bantu Education Act in 1953. This legislation created a new syllabus for Black learners which "played to their skillset" and essentially meant that Bantu Education was geared towards the production of menial labour.[211]

The Rand was significantly impacted by legislation as Verwoerd's mission to eradicate "Black spots" such as Sophiatown. Sophiatown was identified as a Black spot precisely because of its cosmopolitanism in which different groups met, connected, and shared ideas, cultural practices, and traditions. From 1955 to 1960, members of the urban Black community were forcibly removed from Sophiatown and moved to racially demarcated areas under the Natives Resettlement Act of 1954. The destruction of Sophiatown was a sore point as the area was converted into a White area and renamed *Triomf* (triumph), basically symbolizing a victory for the National Party over the urban Black community, and the connotations were condescending.[212] Most of the urban Black community was relocated to the homelands which were supposedly autonomous regions governed by the Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act of 1959. Essentially, Verwoerd was trying to return the urban Black community to their "tribal roots". At the same time the homelands were also segregated according to ethnicity, so the cultural hybridity of the previous decades was thus somewhat curtailed by the start of the 1960s.[213]

Implementation and segregation on the Rand, still created a culture of fierce resistance throughout the 1950s and the early 1960s. Apartheid's design was easy to subvert as well because irregularities within the system still allowed for increased rural to urban migration. Urban workers would still enter the Rand and reside on the outskirts in informal settlements for the duration of their work which later led to permanent residence regardless of pass regulations. Permanent residents of these areas started families, but they had inadequate sanitation, health, and education facilities. The inadequacy was heightened as more people

---

[210] D. Sher, 'The Consolidation of the Apartheid State, 1948-1966', *in* F. Pretorius, (ed.), *A History of South Africa: From the Distant Past to the Present Day,* pp. 328-347.
[211] D. Sher, 'The Consolidation of the Apartheid State, 1948-1966', *in* F. Pretorius, (ed.), *A History of South Africa: From the Distant Past to the Present Day,* pp. 328-347.
[212] D. Sher, 'The Consolidation of the Apartheid State, 1948-1966', *in* F. Pretorius, (ed.), *A History of South Africa: From the Distant Past to the Present Day,* pp. 328-347.
[213] P. Maylam, 'Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 21(1), 1995, pp. 19-38.

migrated to these areas and people started to build corrugated iron shacks on vacant land outside of the urban areas.[214]

In the previous chapter, community practices such as *stokvel* were discussed in relation to communal life in the urban areas. The same practices were applied in the informal areas outside the Rand but became more political. Members of these communities appointed themselves as leaders and looked out for the rest of the community. For instance, on the Rand, James *Sofasonke* (we all die together) Mpanza established a cooperative buying club where he stayed. The club helped members of the community who were unable to buy themselves food and building materials which was similar to what the *stokvel* hostesses would do for their communities. However, self-elected leaders would at times exploit their club members by shutting down their means of income such as hawking and illegal beer brewing in order to make them solely dependent on their services.[215] Despite this, the fact that these kinds of structures emphasised urban Black autonomy subverted the legislation implemented as the government tried to erase all forms of Black autonomy within the urban areas.[216]

Coupled with resistance from informal urban communities was growing political resistance. Movements such as the African National Congress (hereafter ANC) and Pan African Congress (hereafter PAC), as well as trade union movements also grew in popularity during the 1950s. During the 1940s, mine workers protested segregation on the basis of wages as they were underpaid compared to the White skilled labourers. This would later also include protests by the ANC, such as the Defiance Campaign of the 1950s where members of the Black community directly opposed pass law legislation. This was followed by the women's march in 1956, demonstrating that women also showed political autonomy,[217] as well as protests throughout the urban Black areas of the 1950s. Opposition was generally met with violence from the National Party as well as the implementation of further legislation such as the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950.[218] The Suppression of Communism Act aligned resistance to apartheid with the "red peril" fears that the National Party used in their campaign to win the

---

[214] A.K. Mager & M. Mulaudzi, 'Popular Responses to Apartheid 1948 – C. 1975', *in* Ross, *et al.* (ed.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa* pp. 319-368.

[215] A.K. Mager & M. Mulaudzi, 'Popular Responses to Apartheid 1948 – C. 1975', *in* Ross, *et al.* (ed.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa* pp. 319-368.

[216] A.K. Mager & M. Mulaudzi, 'Popular Responses to Apartheid 1948 – C. 1975', *in* Ross, *et al.* (ed.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa* pp. 319-368.

[217] Rand Daily Mail, 'Women Will March to Union Buildings to Make Protest', *Rand Daily Mail,* 26 March 1959

[218] T. Simpson, *History of South Africa: From 1902 to the Present* pp. 85-93.

election in 1948.[219] The significance of these movements in relation to music will be discussed later in the chapter, but ultimately, much of the protest music from these decades was shaped by resistance to apartheid.

Before the forced removals, Sophiatown, during the early 1950s, was extremely significant to music as well as musical expression. Due to its location, the living conditions in Sophiatown were very similar to the urban Black areas founded after the forced removals. Sophiatown was closely located to refuse, and sewerage works and therefore hygiene standards were not always up to standard. The residents in Sophiatown were also unable to build new homes as municipal restrictions forbade them from doing so and therefore, the residents also constructed corrugated iron shacks which housed multiple family members. However, unlike the more informal areas, Sophiatown had churches, schools, and shops as well as *shebeens* and jazz clubs. Therefore, some of "the best musicians, scholars, educationalists, singers, artists, doctors, lawyers and clergymen" came from Sophiatown in the 1950s.[220] Sophiatown was therefore synonymous with urban Black identity, and this was at its height during the late 1940s and early 1950s. Many Black women took up residence in Sophiatown and therefore it was also synonymous with Black women's independence as was discussed in the prior chapter.[221]

The social structure of Sophiatown was also more mixed than in previous decades, largely impacted by increased migration. Areas of Sophiatown consisted of a majority of Africans, but also Coloureds, Indians, and a small number of Chinese inhabitants. A few African elites who resided in Sophiatown worked as "scholars, educationists, doctors, lawyers and clergymen", while other members of the community worked as semi-skilled or unskilled labourers. [222] Oftentimes, elites would act as landlords and rent out properties to make extra income and have a sense of economic security. Renters would generally run businesses from these properties such as *shebeens*. Some of the means for generating an income in Sophiatown were prostitution, gambling, casual craftwork, and hawking and even though some of these activities were illegal they were difficult to police. Other illegal activities were also present in Sophiatown such as gangsterism and some of the most famous gangs were influenced by American films.[223]

---

[219] S. Ellis, 'The Genesis of the ANC's Armed Struggle in South Africa 1948-1961', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 37(4), 2011, pp. 657-676.
[220] T. Lodge, 'The Destruction of Sophiatown', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 19(1), 1981, pp. 107-132.
[221] M. Samuelson. 'The urban palimpsest: Re-presenting Sophiatown', *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 44(1), 2008, pp. 63-75.
[222] T. Lodge, 'The Destruction of Sophiatown', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 19(1), 1981, pp. 107-132.
[223] T. Lodge, 'The Destruction of Sophiatown', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 19(1), 1981, pp. 107-132.

Gang activity was particularly prominent in Sophiatown and some of the most prominent gangs appealed to the working-class as their message was to oppose the more privileged African elites who earned a better income than them. Gangs such as the "Gestapo", "Berliners" and the "Americans" were formed as a result of increased unemployment and would partake in small-scale crimes such as the looting of Indian owned stores. By being part of a gang, members of the urban Black community had a sense of identity which was separate from political parties who were not as concerned with class divisions within the urban Black community, but rather segregation at large.[224] The activity of gangs influenced performance culture as they would often disrupt performances in jazz halls or in the *shebeens.* They would harass performers to play the music that they wanted to hear. Miriam Makeba stated in her biography that at times she was afraid to perform when gangs were present in the audience as they would ask her to play the same song repeatedly and if she did not comply, they would threaten her with weapons.[225]

Essentially the different historical contributions mentioned above are what shaped the music genres that emerged during these decades. The 'space' as specified by Erlmann was greatly influenced by the introduction of apartheid, but it would be too simplistic to say that apartheid completely changed the structure of urban Black culture. Spaces such as Sophiatown contributed greatly to urban Black culture and performance culture during these decades, and apartheid's attempt to revert urban Black culture to tribalism could not combat these spaces as efficiently as the National Party had hoped. The following paragraphs will demonstrate how factors such as Sophiatown, increased resistance, and the introduction of apartheid legislation helped to shape music, new music genres and performance cultures within the urban Black community and why the musical hybridity of these decades subverted the apartheid government. Furthermore, it must also be noted that the intellectual exchange between the urban Black community in South Africa and the African American community in the United States, as discussed in the prior chapter, did not end in the 1950s. Therefore, a discussion of *Drum* is also essential to this chapter as the literature in the magazine demonstrated this intellectual exchange between the two communities and *Drum's* coverage of the music at the time was significant.

Before analysing the music of the urban Black community, it must first be noted that *Drum* magazine played a significant role in shaping the outlook of the urban Black community. *Drum*

---

[224] T. Lodge, 'The Destruction of Sophiatown', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 19(1), 1981, pp. 107-132.
[225] M. Makeba & J. Hall, *Makeba: My Story*, p. 50.

magazine came to be the symbol of urban Black identity during the 1950s, but more importantly, it contradicted apartheid in the sense that it drew from global trends in the same way which resistance did.[226] During the 1950s and 1960s, *Drum* magazine spoke about the life of the urban Black community in townships, but its first issue in 1951 portrayed the urban Black community as 'noble savages': this made the magazine unpopular during its first issue as it seemed to be a regurgitation of the views of *Umteteli wa Bantu.* However, as time progressed and writers began to comment on topics such as the mines, *shebeens*, dance halls and fashion styles which had become popularized in the 1940s, the magazine increased in popularity. Writers such as Henry Nxumalo, Can Themba, Todd Matshikiza, Nat Nakasa, Lewis Nkosi, William Bloke Modisane and Arthur Maimane also aided in the magazine's success with their poignant articles which resonated with the urban Black community of the time. Furthermore, *Drum's* photography was also noticeably significant as it detailed the struggles of Black people in "White South Africa". The photographer, Jurgen Schadeberg, arrived in South Africa during the 1950s after leaving Berlin which had been destroyed as a result of the Second World War. He was one of the only White photographers willing to depict Black life in South Africa during apartheid. Joining Schadeberg were a new generation of Black photographers such as Ernest Cole, Bob Gosani and Peter Magubane. Together they managed to capture images of South Africa which resonated more with the urban Black community than other photographers had been able to in rival newspapers.[227]

It is important to note that *Drum* was inspired by genres of writing which had emerged in the United States prior to the 1950s. However, while the contents of the magazine were inspired by American culture, they cannot be said to be purely American as they were still influenced by the peculiarities of the South African context. Therefore, the inspiration of African American writing styles became a vehicle for the expression of an urban identity in a country which was attempting to push them back to tribalism. African Americans and African American culture held a strong attraction and was aspirational and inspirational. It is also important to note that *Drum* magazine was written by African elites who, during the 1950s, did not want to return to past traditions. Their middle-class aspirations were influenced by their

---

[226] C. Guldmann. 'A Symbol of the New African: Drum Magazine, Popular Culture and the Formation of Black Urban Subjectivity in 1950s South Africa'. 2003, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) thesis, University of London pp. 6-43.

[227] T. Mapine, 7 October 2011, < https://historydesignlove.wordpress.com/2011/10/07/the-origins-and-history-of-drum-magazine/>, access: 11 January 2021.

lives growing up in the slum areas and, therefore, the writing in *Drum* magazine often mirrored the ambitions of resistance movements.[228]

The Harlem Renaissance also played an integral role in how culture was interpreted by African elites in the urban Black community. The *New Negro Movement* took place between the 1920s and the 1940s. African Americans during this time migrated to the cities to seek better economic and artistic opportunities. This mirrored the urban Black community in South Africa as they too migrated to the cities in order to find better employment opportunities. The literary and cultural works which emerged from this migration reflected the reality of being Black, or African, in a foreign country. Just like the writers of *Drum* magazine the writers of the Harlem Renaissance shared common backgrounds in the sense that they were both oppressed by racist legislation and the culture which they had developed while settling after migration was alienated.[229] This in turn drew the writers of *Drum* magazine to African American writers such as Langston Hughes, amongst others.[230]

By the 1950s, and after the first issue of *Drum* magazine, the world had become more global due to a series of prior events such as the Second World War. This meant increased cultural exchange. This is exactly why Erlmann emphasises that movement and displacement and the creation of a global consciousness is shaped by social interaction.[231] As a result of global exchanges the writers of *Drum* magazine were able to connect with Langston Hughes who influenced the young Black writers, including those working for *Drum*. Throughout the 1950s Hughes contacted African writers throughout the globe and read their stories about their lives. To Hughes, the writers of *Drum* magazine seemed to be writing an extension of his own lived experience in the United States. Hughes' work also demonstrated a unique understanding of the lived experiences of the urban Black community as his works often promoted a decolonial rhetoric which shared ideas of Pan-Africanism. Furthermore, Hughes created spaces for writers to publish their works in his anthologies overseas when they could not necessarily be published

---

[228] C. Guldmann. 'A Symbol of the New African: Drum Magazine, Popular Culture and the Formation of Black Urban Subjectivity in 1950s South Africa'. 2003, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) thesis, University of London pp. 6-43.

[229] G. D. Camara. 'Faces of Blackness: The Creation of the New Negro and Negritude Movements in Harlem and Paris'. *Journal of Black Studies* 51(8), 2020, pp. 847-863.

[230] S. Graham. 'Cultural Exchange in a Black Atlantic Web: South African Literature, Langston Hughes and Negritude'. *Twentieth Century Literature* 60(4), 2014, pp. 481-512.

[231] V. Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West,* pp. 3-10.

during apartheid South Africa as the state sanctioned works which depicted a "contemporary" South Africa.[232]

The rise of the PAC during the 1950s also demonstrates another form of influence which contributed to literature during this time frame. Movements such as Leopold Senghor's *Negritude* as well as Kwame Nkrumah's African Personality also played a large role in the formation of the intellectual consciousness of the urban Black community, in particular the African elites. The *Negritude* movement stressed that people of African descent should cultivate pride in their ethnic and cultural heritage. While African elites agreed with *Negritude* in some sense, some elites such as those who identified with Langston Hughes' writings felt that ethnology had its place, but it should not be prioritized over the current lived experiences of the urban Black community and the formation of new identities. The motto of the PAC, "Africa for Africans", therefore related to the ideology of *Negritude*, but with regards to the urban Black community, *Negritude's* emphasis on aspects such as tribalism as well as ruralism did not translate to their lived experiences.[233] The literature contained in *Drum* magazine can therefore be said to have symbolised the new emerged culture of the urban Black community where the juxtaposition between their rural lives and their urban ones became more clear to them.[234] Overall, it can therefore be seen that Erlmann's argument for global exchange becomes very clear in the case of *Drum* magazine because as a result of *movement and displacement* and the world becoming more global. The magazine was able to draw from the Atlantic web which included influences from the diaspora, in the United States, as well as Europe and related these influences back to the lived experiences of the urban Black community through literature, music, fashion and cinema.

Rachel Johnson argues that in order to understand the impact that *Drum* had on the urban Black community one cannot disregard its commentary on the role of women during this time frame. Most of the *Drum* writers during the 1950s and 1960s were male and this reflected the way they wrote about women in the magazine. This is demonstrated by the fact that when women were mentioned in the magazine the focus would mainly be on their fashion choices and age. At this stage, women within the urban Black community were more independent than they

---

[232] S. Graham. 'Cultural Exchange in a Black Atlantic Web: South African Literature, Langston Hughes and Negritude'. *Twentieth Century Literature* 60(4), 2014, pp. 481-512.
[233] M. Ndletyana, 'Pan Africanism in South Africa: A Confluence of Local Origin and Diasporic Inspiration', *in* P. Vale *et al. Intellectual Traditions in South Africa,* p. 168.
[234] S. Graham. 'Cultural Exchange in a Black Atlantic Web: South African Literature, Langston Hughes and Negritude'. *Twentieth Century Literature* 60(4), 2014, pp. 481-512.

were in the rural areas and as a result of this *Drum* often resorted to the trope of the "modern miss" in reference to women who challenged patriarchy. The "modern miss" presented a degradation of typical patriarchal structures and therefore a sense of "social decay", yet at the same time the "modern miss" was also a symbol of women's existence in modern society. The trope of the "modern miss" relied heavily on age as well as on younger women's behaviour in modern urban society and idolised older, married women.[235]

Another issue which *Drum* concerned itself with was the number of unmarried mothers in the urban Black community. To older writers of the magazine, unmarried mothers showed a further erosion of morality which they felt was unacceptable, however, with respect to this *Drum* still encouraged these women to date in order to find a husband. Therefore, another common trope associated with the magazine is that of women's 'natural' place being married and settled into domesticity. Even the one female written column in the magazine called "Girl About Town" focused on young women, how they dressed and how all of this would lead to them attracting a husband down the line for when they were older. The magazine also commented on how the number of unmarried mothers could be linked back to an increase in gang activity among young men in the urban areas. Here the writers stated that men in gangs felt that women were sexual objects. This was only heightened by the fact that when women were mentioned in the magazine it was often to do with their clothes and bodies, this representing modern women to appear as vapid and superficial. The contradictions in the magazine were alarming, on the one hand they promoted the existence of the "modern miss" who seemed to challenge apartheid as she dressed in high heels and abandoned the bare-footed women of the rural areas, but on the other hand, the sexually active woman was seen as a contributor to the moral erosion of urban society. The modern woman who became involved in politics was praised, but if she was married this was promoted even more than her contributions to resistance.[236]

Therefore, the portrayal of women in *Drum* can be linked back to the efforts of women's resistance during this time frame. The Women's March of 1950 was greatly influential, as it highlighted women's exclusion from and marginalization within resistance movements. This can be seen in the contradictions of *Drum* which also influenced the intellectual consciousness of the urban Black community, but the contradiction surrounding women during this period also indicated contradictions with regards to women's role in the urban Black community as a

---

[235] R. Johnson, '"The Girl About Town": Discussions of Modernity and Female Youth in Drum Magazine, 1951-1970', *Social Dynamics* 35(1), 2009, pp. 36-50.

[236] R. Johnson, ' "The Girl About Town": Discussions of Modernity and Female Youth in Drum Magazine, 1951-1970', *Social Dynamics* 35(1), 2009, pp. 36-50.

whole.[237] These contradictions are also demonstrated in case studies of female performers within the urban Black community.

Drum magazine's focus on the changing nature of society was no accident. This is especially pertinent to the changes music faced during the 1950s. Music also changed dramatically during the 1950s. Women suddenly entered the spotlight as they became lead singers of jazz bands. Even though women groups had been present since the 1930s, the members of these groups were solely women, or were led by men. Due to rural to urban migration the nature of these groups changed, and mixed groups began to emerge during the 1940s and 1950s. However, the groups of the 1940s were linked to vaudeville performances, while jazz groups who performed *marabi* consisted of men.[238]

By the 1950s women, began to front *marabi* groups, but their inclusion as lead singers was not without its limits. Just like their portrayal in *Drum*, female lead singers of the 1950s were often "employed" for their desirability and sexiness. Female lead singers were also used as an opportunity for merchandizing which linked them back to the idea of the "modern miss" who was focused on modern trends linked to fashion and beauty products. Female lead singers were used to head campaigns promoting these products, particularly for a beauty brand called Jive, which later also featured as a music genre during this decade.[239]

In the performance realm, women's addition to jazz bands seemed to be challenging male authority just as independent women were in the urban areas. Due to this, women were suddenly depicted as objects which needed to be possessed, or trophies which could be won. *Drum*, and in particular the writing of Todd Matshikiza, aided in this depiction which either infantilized or sexualized women. [240] For instance, when writing about the famous front woman Mabel Mafuya, Matshikiza wrote:

> "Don't let this picture fool you. It is the sombre, dolorous, and docile portrait of a lively living bubbling brook of a hep cat, Mabel Mafuya. The jazzingest twenty-four-inch waist I've seen in a recording studio. And what can you get in a wiggly waggley twenty-four-inch waist that heps and jives and dashes behind [a] partition to rehearse the next

---

[237] R. Johnson, ' "The Girl About Town": Discussions of Modernity and Female Youth in Drum Magazine, 1951-1970', *Social Dynamics* 35(1), 2009, pp. 36-50.

[238] C. Ballantine, "Gender and Migrancy: Jazz Culture in the Later 1940s and the 1950s", *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa,* p. 149.

[239] C. Ballantine, "Gender and Migrancy: Jazz Culture in the Later 1940s and the 1950s", *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa,* p. 149.

[240] C. Ballantine, "Gender and Migrancy: Jazz Culture in the Later 1940s and the 1950s", *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa,* p. 149.

verse in the middle of the recording session? Lots. You get her Troubadour AFC 353 that paints the grim grime of a miner's life in jumping tones"[241]

Matshikiza's writing here is tongue-in-cheek, but it is quite obvious that he is sexualizing Mabel Mafuya by commenting on her waist, thus objectifying her.[242]

The covers of *Drum* are also very indicative of female musicians' position in the music industry.[243] For instance, Dolly Rathebe, lead singer of the African Swingsters and the lead actress of the film *Jim Comes to Jo'burg,* of 1949 had a promotional shoot for the magazine where she posed on a Rand mine dump dressed in a bikini. The shoot was deemed to be so scandalous that the police arrested the White photographer, Jurgen Schadeberg, as well as Rathebe under the Immorality Act for indecent behaviour.[244] Interestingly, the shoot also objectified Rathebe as she was dressed in a bikini which did not necessarily promote the film, nor her music in any way.

The way female musicians were depicted during the 1950s does not seem to be accidental, particularly since rural to urban migration had allowed women more autonomy than they had had in the rural areas. This challenged male hegemony as well as the patriarchal values which the National Party was trying to promote through legislation such as the Immorality Act.[245] However, despite this setback, there was definitely a shift in female-led performances during the 1950s which led to the establishment of the "songbirds" trend.[246]

The songbird trend was shaped by different aspects of urban Black culture. The first aspect has already been discussed whereby women were used in advertising campaigns in order to promote different beauty products in magazines. Also significant to this trend was the role that women portrayed in South African films.[247] For instance, Dolly Rathebe's role in *Jim Comes to Jo'burg,* which is a film about an African boy who moves to Johannesburg to work, is said to be one of the first instances where a "songbird" rose to fame. Rathebe was only nineteen

---

[241] B. Pyper, 'To Hell with Home and Shame! Jazz, Gender, and Sexuality in the Drum Journalism of Todd Matshikiza, 1951-1957", *in* C. Walton, & S. Muller, *Gender and Sexuality in South African Music,* p. 23.
[242] B. Pyper, 'To Hell with Home and Shame! Jazz, Gender, and Sexuality in the Drum Journalism of Todd Matshikiza, 1951-1957", *in* C. Walton, & S. Muller, *Gender and Sexuality in South African Music,* p. 23.
[243] B. Pyper, 'To Hell with Home and Shame! Jazz, Gender, and Sexuality in the Drum Journalism of Todd Matshikiza, 1951-1957", *in* C. Walton, & S. Muller, *Gender and Sexuality in South African Music,* p. 23.
[244] *Looking Back.* (1995). [short film] Directed by J. Schadeberg. South Africa: The Schadeberg Company: 00:04:25 – 00:05:00.
[245] C. Ballantine, "Gender and Migrancy: Jazz Culture in the Later 1940s and the 1950s", *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa,* p. 154.
[246] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 174.
[247] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 174.

years old when she starred in the film and the film was essentially meant to portray "the true reflection of the African native in the modern city".[248] What was significant about the film was that Rathebe's entrance into the urban spotlight essentially set the stage for other songbirds who followed her. Rathebe's portrayal of Black femininity in an urban setting definitely countered apartheid's portrayal of the Black woman as a domestic servant. Lastly, *Jim Comes to Jo'burg* was one of the first films which countered the image of Sophiatown as a place of moral degeneration, portraying it instead as a space in which women could be central figures in the city.[249]

After this performance, Rathebe went on to tour with the African Inkspots, Harlem Swingsters and the Manhattan Stars who were all popular jazz groups. She was known for her sensual stage performances of African jazz compositions as well as singing American jazz favourites in African vernacular. During the 1950s Rathebe would prove to be more popular than her male counterparts who performed with her, but her greatest contribution to music was that she celebrated the hybridisation of American and African culture which had flourished in Sophiatown. Rathebe countered what the National Party deemed as the ideal African woman who embraced "traditionalism" rather than urbanisation. She furthermore also countered the notions of the African elite who felt that African women should have "respectability", and respectability in this instance was framed in terms of marriage and domesticity. Rathebe embraced the nature of the *shebeens* and often performed there, but her inclusion in cinema and her performances in community halls also showed that women performers could now professionalize their careers due to the newly formed urban spaces.[250]

Rathebe was closely followed by Dorothy Masuka who was initially from Bulawayo in Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia). Where Rathebe achieved popularity through cinema and local performances, Masuka became popular by being a recording artist who performed with more than one band.[251] The biggest difference between Masuka and Rathebe was the genres which they performed. Masuka did not perform Sophiatown jazz, but rather *African jive* which combined American blues as well as swing jazz, *marabi*, and a *skokiaan*-influenced style of

---

[248] M. Samuelson, 'The Urban Palimpsest: Re-presenting Sophiatown', *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 44(1), 2008, pp. 63-75.
[249] M. Samuelson, 'The Urban Palimpsest: Re-presenting Sophiatown', *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 44(1), 2008, pp. 63-75.
[250] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 174.
[251] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 174.

tsaba-tsaba, an African traditional form of music influenced by Zulu or Matabele melodies and rhythms.[252]

Masuka's significance does not just lie in the fact that she performed *African jive*, but rather what her music spoke of. During the 1950s Masuka used her music to speak of the social hardships of apartheid and the oppression of apartheid legislation, her music initially was not ill-received since she was still able to record this music and achieve commercial success from her albums. *African jive* (otherwise known as *vocal jive*) thus became symbolic of the lived experiences of the urban Black community during the 1950s.[253] Masuka was known for her politicisation of music which often linked back to protest events which had taken place. For instance, her song, *uDr Malan Unomthetho Onzima* (Dr Malan's Government is Harsh) spoke directly of the implementation of apartheid and the life of Black people under its policies. Initially, the song was deemed a praise song and was therefore broadcast on the South African Broadcasting Corporation's African rediffusion service due to its "religious" connotations but was later banned during the 1960s when its meaning became clear. After this all recordings of the song were banned.[254]

Prior to this ban, Masuka's first release *Hamba Nontsokolo* (Walk with Crisis)*, was one of the biggest hits of the 1950s and was released when she was eighteen years old. The song itself is upbeat regardless of its lyrics which seem to have the opposite meaning. This was a common trend with regards to jazz music during the 1950s, whereby the song sounded cheerful, but its meaning was the opposite, which will be discussed later in the chapter. With the success of *Hamba Nontsokolo,* Masuka launched "Masuka Music" which came to dominate the style of vocal jive. Masuka's popularity also helped launch another popular style which arose during the 1950s known as *kwela,* because she performed with popular *kwela* artists such as Spokes Mashiyane. Lastly, Masuka's influence helped to orient vocal music to focus on its African qualities, such as African call and response forms and the use of the pennywhistle, rather than rooting itself solely in American aspects. Other songbirds that followed in Masuka's footsteps also became well known these included Mabel Mafuya, Susan Gabashane and notably, Miriam Makeba who started her own group called the Skylarks during the later 1950s.[255]

---

[252] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 175.

[253] L. Allen, 'Commerce, Politics, and Musical Hybridity: Vocalizing Urban Black South African Identity During the 1950s', *Ethnomusicology,* 47(2), 2003, pp. 228-249.

[254] A. Schumann, 'The Beat that Beat Apartheid: The Role of Resistance Against Apartheid in South Africa', *Stichproben,* 14(8), 2008, pp. 17-39.

[255] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 175.

David Coplan states that the careers of the songbirds were significant as they highlighted the connections between urban popular music and politics during the 1950s.[256] One example which was pertinent was the commercialization of the song *Hey Strydom, Wathint' abafazi, wathint' imbodoko uzaKufa* (Strydom now that you have touched the women, you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, and you will be crushed). This song was first sung at the Women's March in 1956 led by Federation of South African Women but was later commercialized by Miriam Makeba who sang the song in a jazz style. The song not only highlighted the connection between urban popular music and politics of the 1950s, but also demonstrated a deeper historical awareness as boulders were rolled down hills to crush opponents as a war tactic. This was done by chiefs to the Boers during the Boer Zulu war of the 19th century.[257]

These examples reflect larger events such as the mass resistance which had begun to form under the newly formed African National Congress Youth League (hereafter ANCYL). Lara Allen notes that this is especially true as members of the ANCYL tried to promote the idea that musicians and artists should not root themselves solely in European music, but rather form new cultural forms of music which also drew from indigenous culture. This was a definite shift from prior decades where African elites wanted music to be European as a means to promote their agendas within the White community. To the ANCYL, Africanism offered a cultural entry-point to larger anti-apartheid resistance. According to Allen, the songbirds did this better than their male counterparts because they embraced urban Black society in a much more obvious manner. With regards to music, the songbirds were far more attuned to political occurrences in the personas they embodied on stage as well as in the lyrics they sang. Furthermore, the popularity of songbirds during this era proved to be vital as they often took centre stage in media campaigns, as well as in films. According to Herbert Isaac Ernest Dhlomo who was one of the original contributors of South African literature, the inclusion of the songbirds was significant as they represented the "detribalised, sophisticated, yet culturally socially-progressive and hard-hitting" image that resistance movements wanted to promote. Essentially, the songbirds reflected the image of the "new African", who was not defined by the return to tribalism that apartheid aimed to achieve.[258]

---

[256] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 175.
[257] A. Schumann, 'The Beat that Beat Apartheid: The Role of Resistance against Apartheid in South Africa', *Stichproben,* 14(8), 2008, pp. 17-39.
[258] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 175.

Vocal or African jive, also proved to be beneficial to cultural resistance. This was due to the fact that its lyrics were often in African vernacular which meant that it appealed much more to the urban Black community. The popularity of vocal jive was also aided by its relatability as most of the lyrics in vocal jive songs spoke about the lived experiences of the urban Black community as a whole. These lyrics included themes such as life within the townships, as well as life as a township dweller, which was particularly popular in areas such as Sophiatown which were called the birthplaces of vocal jive.[259]

The lyrics were one of the main reasons vocal jive became popular. They were based on traditional African poetry and "did not venture into explicit commentary, explanation or narration".[260] Rather than be obviously revolutionary, the simplicity of the lyrics made vocal jive even more relatable. It did not need a great flashy display to get its point across, but rather, local audiences related to the lyrics based on their own lived experiences and the simplicity of the music also opened vocal jive music up to numerous interpretations. The musical accompaniment to vocal jive songs could also distort meanings as the music often sounded upbeat so that people could dance to it, but the actual message conveyed by the lyrics contrasted this.[261]

Despite the popularity of vocal jive, it was not the only genre to rise to prominence during the 1950s. Throughout the prior decades of the 1920s up until the later 1940s, *marabi* had been one of the most prominent genres in the townships due to *shebeen* culture and *stokvel* parades, but by the 1950s *marabi* had become hybridised into a new form of music known as *kwela,* which became more popular than its predecessor. As with *marabi, kwela* was also a fusion of American big band swing music and local African traditional music, but the main difference between the two lay in their instrumentation. *Marabi* music was mainly played on instruments such as guitar, brass instruments, and organs, while *kwela* music specifically used the pennywhistle, an instrument indigenous to South Africa.[262]

According to Lara Allen, one of the biggest successes of *kwela* music was that unlike its predecessor, it found an audience among both Black and White people. This meant that *kwela* music was not only played in the *shebeens* and at *stokvel* parties as *marabi* had been, but it gained popularity as a genre which was recorded and sold to the White music market. Despite

---

[259] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 175.
[260] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 176.
[261] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 176.
[262] L. Allen, 'Kwela's White Audiences: The Politics of Pleasure and Identification in the Early Apartheid Period', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid,* pp. 79-98.

this, *kwela* would always be associated with the Rand as *kwela* musicians were first discovered by White audiences when busking in the city centre. By the time the genre came to be recorded, its instrumentation was once again changed, and the pennywhistle, which was deemed to be a poor man's instrument, was replaced by the saxophone and the genre was again modified and became what is now known as *sax jive*.[263]

The *Rand Daily Mail* contains numerous entries regarding *kwela* and its appeal to mixed audiences. For instance, one entry from 1958 recalls how both Black and White audiences felt that: "*kwela* [was] hep", meaning that it was the new craze in dance halls.[264] Another entry from the same year documents that *kwela* was so appealing that it drew from American rock-n-roll, but the imagery from the extract contains both White and Black dancing couples who said: "there was a tremendous amount of self-expression in the rhythm".[265] Other extracts from the *Rand Daily Mail* also state that *kwela's* popularity even reached the United Kingdom with the author of one extract stating that: "teenagers will go mad when they hear music like this".[266] Further extracts from the *Rand Daily Mail* also compare *kwela* to American jazz. For instance, one White reporter compared *kwela* players to Louis Armstrong and Benny Goodman, at a battle of the bands competition in 1959, but the analysis states that: "the crowd's roar of appreciation proves that people want to hear the Africans play their own music and not imitate the East and West Coast schools of America".[267] Another entry directly challenged the popularity in relation to mixed audiences in 1957 by stating: "we never refuse applications on grounds of colour only – but will not allow mixed audiences."[268] This is one of the only extracts which explicitly mentions the words "mixed audiences", thus, acknowledging their existence during the 1950s and demonstrating that the genre appealed to both Black and White audiences.

The structure of *kwela* music was similar to *marabi* in that the main melodies of the music were improvised over cyclical harmonic progressions. Melody was the most gripping aspect of the *kwela* genre as even though it was improvised, it was essentially the melody which set the tone of the song and made *kwela* music sound jovial. The melody got people up and dancing and therefore there was not much harmonic development throughout the music and the harmony

---

[263] L. Allen, 'Kwela's White Audiences: The Politics of Pleasure and Identification in the Early Apartheid Period', in G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid,* p. 80.
[264] Staff Reporter, 'Man this *Kwela* is Hep!', *Rand Daily Mail,* 16 May 1958 p. 11.
[265] Staff Reporter, 'Shuddering, Shrugging, Hunching, Panting … They 'Dance' the *Kwela'*, *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 May 1958.
[266] R.D.M Correspondent, '*Kwela* Beat may Soon Sweep UK', *Rand Daily Mail,* 25 March, 1957 p. 6.
[267] Pienaar, D. 'The Beat was Missing at the "Band Battle"', *Rand Daily Mail,* 29 October 1959, p. 3.
[268] Staff Reporter, 'Hall Hitch may Knock the Rock', *Rand Daily Mail,* 16 August 1958, p. 7.

mainly consisted of the basic jazz chords. Despite this, what makes *kwela* sound more African is its use of traditional African music traits such as call and response melodies which were typical to traditional African songs, as well as struggle songs.[269]

Before its renaming, the name *kwela* was very significant as it was indicative of the urban Black community. The word *kwela* had two meanings, the first is its literal translation, "get on board", highlighting its stylistic influences and the upbeat nature. The second meaning is a bit more onomatopoeic, as the urban Black community used to call getting into police vans "*kwela-kwela*". This is significant as it shows the genre's awareness of the political situation under apartheid as *kwela* musicians could be arrested at any time under apartheid legislation, particularly under the Population and Registration Act, and Group Areas Act.[270]

Some of the most famous local *kwela* artists during the 1950s were Spokes Mashiyane, Kippie Moeketsi, The Skylarks, and the Manhattan Brothers, but of all of these Stike Vilikazi was particularly significant because of his songs "Meadowlands" and another significant artist was Spokes Mashiyane with his song "Ace Blues".[271] "Meadowlands" is often characterized as a struggle song, but the difference between struggle music and politically motivated music needs to be made clear before an analysis can be provided for the song as both were prominent during the 1950s.[272]

When analysing songs like "Meadowlands" it must be noted that during the 1950s there was a stronger political consciousness present in music than had been in prior decades, and much of it had to do with the inclusion of lyrics.[273] Both struggle songs and politically motivated songs incorporated this political consciousness but utilized lyrics in different ways. Struggle songs were performed at mass gatherings and characteristically they utilized the "call and response" form where an orator would chant the first lyric and the crowd would respond with the second part. These songs were commercialized later by famous artists, but their main purpose was to evoke emotions within large crowds. Another difference between struggle songs and politically motivated songs is that, before the recording of struggle songs, their origins are unknown, whereas with politically motivated songs the composer is known. The lyricists of struggle

---

[269]Ethnomusicology Explained, 09 February 2016., < https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D5iNtSNTvDs&list=PLGfoTvCrRi3WtZyY1Ux9CbYDP45U_lXl7&index =7 > , access: 10 February 2022.

[270] C. Lottering, 2022., < https://southafrica.co.za/kwela.html >, access: 09 February 2022.

[271] C. Lottering, 2022., < https://southafrica.co.za/kwela.html >, access: 09 February 2022.

[272] A. le Roux-Kemp, 'Struggle Music: South African Politics in Song', *Law and Humanities* 8(2), 2014, pp. 247-268.

[273] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 179.

songs were not known, and lyrics were taught from generation to generation, whereas politically motivated songs had a known lyricist.[274]

"Meadowlands" is a politically motivated song, as it concerned itself with the forced removals of Sophiatown and relocation of its inhabitants to an area named Meadowlands. The song falls under the category of political motivation because it was not necessarily performed at political gatherings or protests, but rather it was first performed in *shebeens* and *stokvels* and was later recorded. The composer of the song, Strike Vilikazi was also credited for his composition of the song, unlike in struggle songs. The song directly addresses an event which was rooted in the consciousness of the urban Black community, but the biggest irony attached to the song is that it was interpreted to be positive by the National Party who allowed it to be played over radio. The following lyrics were interpreted as being positive about the forced removals by the National Party:

> "You'll hear the Whites say
>
> Let's move to Meadowlands
>
> Meadowlands, Meadowlands
>
> Meadowlands, my love
>
> You'll hear the tsotsis[275] say
>
> We're not moving, we're staying here…"[276] (translated)

In actual fact the lyrics were the exact opposite. They expressed the longing of the urban Black community to stay in Sophiatown. The song was eventually classified as a protest anthem against the Sophiatown removals and was sung by Sophiatown residents when their belongings were gathered into trucks and taken away from their homes.[277]

Spokes Mashiyane also aided in creating the definitive dance form which coupled itself to *kwela* music known as *patha-patha* (touch-touch) which was later made more famous by Miriam Makeba's recording of the song *pata-pata*. The dance was a form of jive dancing for

---

[274] A. le Roux-Kemp, 'Struggle Music: South African Politics in Song', *Law and Humanities* 8(2), 2014, pp. 247-268.
[275] Tsosti refers to a young urban, criminal. Specifically, those who lived in the mixed urban areas of the 1950s and later the townships.
[276] A. le Roux-Kemp, 'Struggle Music: South African Politics in Song', *Law and Humanities* 8(2), 2014, pp. 247-268.
[277] A. Schumann, 'The Beat that Beat Apartheid: The Role of Music in the Resistance against Apartheid in South Africa', *Stichproben* 14(8), 2008, pp. 17-39.

younger people. Partners would touch each other in time to the *kwela* rhythm and would shout the word "*kwela*" to entice other people to join them.[278] Of course, when this was played to mixed audiences, the *patha-patha* dance seemed to be in countenance to the Immorality Act. Therefore, *kwela* was considered subversive by the apartheid state.[279]

This contradiction even displayed itself in film. In the 1950s, Don Swanson's film, *The Secret Garden* was one of the first to use pennywhistle music in it as well as cast Black South African actors such as Dolly Rathebe. The fact that *kwela* music was displayed in an internationally successful film also earned it credit with the African elite, who in the past had criticised *marabi* music. Due to this, *kwela* came to be a symbol of "authentic" expression of urban culture, even after its popularity died down towards the beginning of the 1960s. The National Party felt that when *kwela's* popularity declined that they no longer needed to worry about its attraction to mixed audiences, but by this stage *kwela's* international reputation was too great as it had exposed White audiences to the potential of urban Black music.[280] Not only this, but towards the end of the "*kwela-craze*", the genre had begun to incorporate elements of other White music genres such as rock-n-roll, and even Afrikaans *boeremusiek,* which meant that *kwela's* reach exceeded farther than just the urban Black community.[281]

Another film which celebrated *kwela* was the 1950s film *Zonk!*. Initially *Zonk!* was a live variety show which contained performances of *kwela* songs by urban Black musicians. Similar to *Zonk!* was the *African Jazz and Variety* show which also featured musicians who played *kwela* music, but it was not documented on film, but rather on the radio as the decade progressed. *Zonk!* appealed to many members of the urban Black community throughout the decade and received positive reviews from *Drum* which stated that: "the film alluded to the modern brand of African culture".[282] Once live performances of *kwela* were banned the film was one of the last mediums where the urban Black community could listen to the genre. Therefore, the film kept the spirit of the genre alive at a time when the genre was most repressed.[283]

---

[278] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 179.
[279] L. Allen, 'Kwela's White Audiences: The Politics of Pleasure and Identification in the Early Apartheid Period', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid,* p. 80.
[280] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 193.
[281] L. Allen, 'Kwela's White Audiences: The Politics of Pleasure and Identification in the Early Apartheid Period', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid,* p. 83.
[282] J. Mainguard, 'Bokkies/Moffies: Cinematic Images of Black Sexual Identity in "Zonk!" (1950)', *Journal of African Cultural Studies,* 16(1), 2003, pp. 25-43.
[283] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 248.

Politically, *kwela* also took centre stage. Spokes Mashiyane and his band the Big Five played at events such as the Alexandra Bus Boycott, the Treason Trial, and the Defiance Campaign and recorded songs such as *Azikwelwa* (We Shall not Ride), which commemorated the bus boycott. This is also documented in the *Rand Daily Mail* as the author states that the crowds answered an ultimatum stating that passengers would not ride with the call of "*Azikwelwa"* in 1957.[284] This in turn led to harassment from the government who would send police to arrest musicians and accuse them of causing "public disturbances". In order to ensure their authority, the National Party also arrested street performers who performed the pennywhistle in the city centres and did not allow Black musicians to play for White audiences. Performances within the city were prohibited which only further motivated musicians to join the political struggle against apartheid.[285]

Kwela was probably one of the most interpretive genres with regards to how it served the country politically. One view of the genre was that *kwela* music conveyed "the Happy African Myth" that stated that the urban Black community were bitter about how they were treated under apartheid but did not hate White people for this. Another way in which the genre was interpreted politically was by conservative Whites who felt that the joviality of *kwela* music meant that their situation didn't need to change and that the Black community were happy. This of course is untrue, particularly when you analyse songs such as "Meadowlands" which were known for their duality of meaning.[286]

One aspect with regards to the urban Black community which continued from prior decades was the infatuation with African American culture and music which has been discussed above. For musicians, this was of course reflected in the music they played which contained elements of American jazz music, but also in the clothes that performers wore. Male performers would often wear "zoot suits" and spoke in "Harlem slang". Sophiatown was even called "Little Harlem" by its inhabitants which showed the extensive intellectual exchange between America and South Africa. American cultural influences gained prominence through publications such as *Drum,* as discussed earlier.[287]

---

[284] Staff reporter, 'PUTCO Ultimatum to go on, Say Leaders', *Rand Daily Mail,* 21 February 1957, p. 9.

[285] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 195.

[286] Ethnomusicology Explained, 09 February 2016., < https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D5iNtSNTvDs&list=PLGfoTvCrRi3WtZyY1Ux9CbYDP45U_lXl7&index =7 > , access: 10 February 2022.

[287] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 177.

During the 1930s and earlier 1940s choirs performed American spirituals in the *eisteddfod* competitions due to their missionary school training, but during the 1950s, choirs began to perform more American jazz pieces. Black music teachers were at the forefront of this development as they taught their student's how to play American jazz. The appeal could also be due to the fact that jazz could very easily be improvised and did not require arranging skills or musical literacy as other genres did. Nevertheless, by the 1950s, choirs would perform American jazz pieces to show cultural autonomy. Even the elites from the prior decades who felt that choirs should be performing classical music in order to embrace Westernism began to support the decision to play American jazz. If the choirs performed well, they would often attract mixed audiences of both White and Black people to their concerts. The fact that performances did attract mixed audiences was interpreted as a "new shining hope" to the urban Black community because it seemed as though Whites were accepting their new urban identity in a system which was trying to force them to return to tribalism.[288]

Even though the infatuation with American jazz seemed to be at its peak during the 1950s, it was not necessarily the only genre which was popular amongst the urban Black community. Often, patrons at the *shebeens* would demand that musicians play music that they could recognise from the rural areas, or even *marabi*.[289] Gangsters would often threaten songbirds with violence and at times they would be forced to perform songs over and over until the gangsters got tired.[290] This being said, the there was a great deal of continuity in the 1950s, especially with *marabi* performances or even the big band parades preceding the *stokvel* parties. *Tsaba-tsaba,* which was the transitional genre before *marabi*, began to resurface in popularity due more to its dance properties, rather than keeping with its traditional African elements. The genre took on properties of American swing dancing, or the jitterbug. Despite the slight American influence on *tsaba-tsaba* it was not well received by mixed audiences and was often snubbed by the African elite who now felt that the hybridity of *kwela* was the way to move forward. Its reception was much like that of *marabi* which was associated with moral degradation.[291]

By 1950, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (hereafter SABC) had begun to broadcast programmes such as different radio dramas as well as play African jazz on its stations

---

[288] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 180.
[289] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 183.
[290] C. Ballantine, "Gender and Migrancy: Jazz Culture in the Later 1940s and the 1950s", *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa,* p. 154.
[291] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 184.

on separate weekdays. This proved to be influential as the station initially played *kwela,* but later on aided in garnering popularity for even more commercialized forms of African jazz. The result of this was the development of the genre *mbaqanga. Mbaqanga* was initially named after a traditional Zulu steamed maize bread, but to musicians it signified a type of music that belonged solely to Africans. It represented home away from home, the rural in the urban, as well as the marrying of "tradition" to modernity. In this way the new hybrid music can be understood as an expression of an urbanised modern consciousness and identity. The name was no accident, as *mbaqanga* was coined as the musicians' "daily bread" which was their best of both worlds.[292]

However, as the 1950s progressed, the SABC became more segregated in line with apartheid legislation. In terms of radio, rediffusion services structured themselves according to the class divisions within the urban Black community. Charles Hamm argues that the African elites felt that radio should: "provide the native with entertainment in his own home… to contribute to the prevention of crime … and [needed to promote] the education of the Bantu".[293] Therefore, many of the programmes on the radio concerned themselves with these themes, but as the decade progressed and Verwoerd implemented his policy of grand apartheid the radio stations started to play music which contained themes that were to remind "Black South Africans [to] concede to their place in the *Bantustans*" (homelands).[294] *Mbaqanga* was therefore shaped along these lines in order to be more commercially successful.

Mbaqanga was a mixture of all the styles which had emerged in prior decades such as *marabi* and Zulu *ndlamu.* The style was heavily dependent on octave note progressions in the bass line with the harmonies depending on typical chord progressions of I – IV – V with minor improvisations. The instrumentation was very much similar to *marabi* music which would mainly consist of bands playing strings, brass instruments, and a trumpet, but the double bass would be plucked rather than played with a bow. Interestingly, the beat for *mbaqanga* was influenced by marching music, which is reminiscent of the *stokvel,* big band tradition, but also the drums were further inspired by New Orleans jazz drumming, which in turn is influenced by traditional African drumming which was not played on a drum kit. Lastly, the melodies in *mbaqanga* music were adapted from singing, but rather than having lyrics the entire time the

---

[292] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 200.
[293] C.A. Muller, Focus: *Music of South Africa,* p. 35.
[294] C.A. Muller, Focus: *Music of South Africa,* p. 36.

brass and string instruments could add swells and ornaments to any basic melody to add texture to the music, making it different each time.[295]

Despite musicians' favourable impression of *mbaqanga* music, elites within the ANC worried that its commercial success on the SABC would be to its detriment as the government could use broadcasting to promote apartheid propaganda. This criticism was unfortunately true, as the government began to use the SABC as a means to separate different ethnicities towards the 1960s and the hybridity of African jazz genres did not fit into the total segregation that the National Party was trying to achieve. Before this though, the SABC unknowingly promoted hybrid music and therefore contradicted some of the initial apartheid policies. [296] The role of the SABC will be further discussed in the following chapter.

One of the best representations of urban Black culture to come out of Sophiatown during this decade was the musical *King Kong: An African Jazz Opera,* which was written by Todd Matshikiza. The musical follows the life of Ezekiel Dlamini, a boxer, and how he negotiates his life in Johannesburg. The lead role in the musical was played by Miriam Makeba who is forced to become a *shebeen* queen when Ezekiel is jailed. Overall, the musical contained every aspect of life in Sophiatown which Matshikiza had documented in his *Drum* articles, but its biggest significance was that it provided a space for urban Black performers to voice the way they lived under apartheid. The music in *King Kong* was also significant as it contained the genres discussed through this chapter. The musical was also performed overseas which opened many gates for the actors and actresses such as Miriam Makeba who was signed overseas shortly after its performance.[297] Due to its success among both White and Black audiences *King Kong* became a symbol for Sophiatown culture which the National Party wanted to eradicate, it furthermore symbolised life in the urban Black community.[298]

However, *King Kong* also symbolised and showcased urban Black achievement and creative spaces during the 1950s as apartheid legislation became stricter during the 1960s and eventually closed down spaces for cultural expression. The government also attempted to eradicate any genres of music which promoted cultural hybridity throughout the 1960s and any instances where music showed any overlaps with regards to resistance or race were stunted.

---

[295]JAZZ ACADEMY, 01 October 2014. < https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zkVh8FIC2QY&list=PLGfoTvCrRi3WtZyY1Ux9CbYDP45U_lXl7&index =2 > access: 10 February 2022.

[296] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 204.

[297] B. Kutschke & B. Norton, *Music, and Protest in 1968,* p. 64.

[298] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 204.

Therefore, by the 1960s the urban Black community would have to find new means for cultural expression as will be discussed in the next chapter.

Conclusion:

This chapter has demonstrated that despite the refinement of segregation and implementation of apartheid, there were spaces and mechanisms which the Black community utilised to give musical expression to their lived experiences. The global connection to America also provided further means of inspiration to the authors of *Drum* as well as to musicians and their performance culture. This was demonstrated by the emergence of genres such as *kwela* and later *mbaqanga.* These genres not only attracted mixed audiences but also drew from genres which were deemed "White" under apartheid logic. Furthermore, the genres subverted, and frequently disregarded apartheid policies. The significance of these genres was also highlighted in films such as *The Secret Garden,* and *Zonk*!.

The significance of protest and resistance music was also demonstrated in the chapter as these forms of music are a more direct form of resistance which represented identity and nationhood within the urban Black community. The emergence of more politically motivated music as well as the support of musicians for politically conscious musicians has served to demonstrate how apartheid impacted the changed space of the 1950s and early 1960s and the extent to which it played a role in music and music performance.

Chapter 4: "Fight or Flight":

The following chapter focuses on the way in which a more confident apartheid state tried to entrench apartheid through both legislative and repressive measures during the 1960s. After winning the 1948 elections by a slim margin, the National Party government, despite the enactment of numerous pieces of legislation, was less confident in its articulation and implementation of the apartheid project which meant there were more spaces and opportunities for Black people to act with greater agency with regards to cultural identity and expression.

During the 1950s the cultural space, as defined by Erlmann, was not as restricted as it was during the 1960s, as 'mixed', cosmopolitan urban spaces such as Sophiatown offered the urban Black community greater opportunities for cultural expression and collaboration. A decade later, as reflected in the title of the chapter, musicians during the 1960s had two choices if they opted not to accept the status quo: "fight or flight" as Coplan argues.[299] Flight entailed exile while the fight took numerous forms. Musicians fought by either, subverting the expectations of apartheid with regards to music and the place of Black people, or by utilizing "temporary creative spaces" that were available to them with regards to performance venues and cross-cultural and racial collaborations. These spaces will be discussed in further detail by elaborating on the significance of Dorkay House, and the Cold Castle Jazz Festivals of the 1960s.

The "flight" section of this chapter examines the experiences of exiled musicians and how they helped contribute to a global understanding of apartheid through music. Furthermore, the chapter discusses how the expectations of exiled musicians with regards to the music industry correlated with their experiences and lived realities in spaces of exile.

Two events which occurred at the beginning of the 1960s demonstrate an increased global awareness of the injustices of the apartheid state. The first event which influenced the global perspective of South Africa during the 1960s was the Sharpeville Massacre which happened on the 21st of March 1960. The massacre started off as a demonstration outside the police station where members of the PAC protested the use of passes, but what made this significant was that it was one of the first demonstrations which resulted in a massacre. When protestors gathered around the police station and surrendered their passes, police opened fire on them, wounding many protestors who retaliated by throwing stones at the assaulting officers. By the end of the protest approximately sixty-nine Black South Africans were killed with many others

---

[299] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 224- 263.

© University of Pretoria

left injured. Photographers who captured the massacre for *Drum* magazine pointed out that none of the bodies that were recovered from the massacre were located far from the fence and gate surrounding the police station, which indicated that they were not shot while trying to storm the police station. The further implication of this was that protestors were in fact protesting peacefully and that police justification for opening fire on protestors was therefore unjustified.[300]

The second event was the "winds of change" speech delivered by Harold Macmillan on the 3rd of February 1960. In his speech Macmillan highlighted significant events which contributed to the global consciousness of the decade such as decolonization in Africa as well as Asia. He further highlighted the politics of the Cold War which were applicable from the prior decade.[301] Evidence of this can be seen when he stated that:

> "We have seen the awakening of national consciousness in peoples who have for centuries lived in dependence upon some other power… Today the same thing is happening in Africa …"[302]

> "As I have said, the growth of national consciousness in Africa is a political fact, and we must accept it as such. That means, I would judge, that we must come to terms with it. I sincerely believe that if we cannot do so we may imperil the precarious balance between the East and West on which the peace of the world depends…"[303]

Macmillan's speech was significant as it essentially pointed out the "backwardness" of apartheid policy considering the new global context. The points Macmillan made were not new as the post-World War II period had witnessed an increased radicalisation of African nationalism. This could be witnessed in South Africa, particularly with the radical rhetoric of the ANC and PAC which eventually led to their banning in 1960. Macmillan's speech seemed to be a snub to Hendrik Verwoerd's policies, signalling that the West would support African endeavours for independence. However, one can argue that South Africa's move towards

---

[300] T. Simpson, *History of South Africa: History of South Africa from 1902 to 2021* pp. 109-110.
[301] S. Dubow, 'Macmillan, Verwoerd, and the 1960 "Wind of Change" Speech', *The Historical Journal* 54(4), 2011, pp. 1087-1114.
[302] H. Macmillan, "Winds of Change" (speech, Cape Town, South Africa, February 03, 1960), Web Archives. https://web-archives.univ-pau.fr/english/TD2doc1.pdf.
[303] H. Macmillan, "Winds of Change" (speech, Cape Town, South Africa, February 03, 1960), Web Archives. https://web-archives.univ-pau.fr/english/TD2doc1.pdf.

proclaiming itself as a Republic in 1961 was in turn also a snub of Macmillan's speech.[304] The responses to Macmillan's speech from the National Party government were mainly in contradiction to Macmillan. For instance, the *Sunday Times* spoke about Verwoerd's response to the speech as follows:

> "Dr. Verwoerd also spoke to South Africa and the world – but gave the subject almost the exact opposite to what [Macmillan] had given. Where Mr. Macmillan had spoken to the need to accommodate the new position in the world for Africans, Dr. Verwoerd spoke of the right of the White man to his place in the sun…"[305]

This report from the *Sunday Times* shows that despite criticism from Macmillan, Verwoerd was set in his plan to entrench apartheid, but also set to make South Africa independent from England which he succeeded in doing in 1961 when South Africa became a Republic. Ironically, despite the "backwardness" that Macmillan stated about South Africa, it thrived economically during this period, despite criticisms of apartheid, as a result of increased foreign investment in South Africa's economy.[306]

These two events signified the key moments which occurred during the 1960s. The *Sunday Times* stated in 1961 that the 1960s started as follows:

> "Mr. Harold Macmillan visited South Africa and delivered the "Winds of Change" address. There were the shootings at Sharpeville and Langa which followed with a five-month state of emergency. The ANC and PAC were banned [and] thousands of people were detained [and that] these were only some of the events. They made 1960 probably the most eventful year in South Africa's history…"[307]

The outcome of the Sharpeville massacre led to the banning of the ANC and the PAC which resulted in many South Africans choosing exile. It also solidified the idea that Hendrik Verwoerd had for this decade, that: "there would be no such thing as a Black South African".[308] This was a continuation of the previous decade as mixed, cosmopolitan areas such as

---

[304]S. Dubow, 'Macmillan, Verwoerd, and the 1960 "Wind of Change" Speech', *The Historical Journal* 54(4), 2011, pp. 1087-1114.

[305] Sunday Times, 'Dr. Verwoerd', *Sunday Times,* September 11, 1966, p. 16.

[306] S. Dubow, 'Macmillan, Verwoerd, and the 1960 "Wind of Change" Speech', *The Historical Journal* 54(4), 2011, pp. 1087-1114.

[307] Sunday Times, 'S.A. Events in 1960', *Sunday Times,* December 03, 1961, p. 3.

[308] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 224- 263.

Sophiatown, which were pivotal to the development of urban Black culture and music, were curtailed. New locales such as Soweto were divided up in accordance with twenty-two ethnic sub-divisions and the cultural diversity which was present in these areas prior to this was eliminated. With regards to music this was meant to eliminate the mixed performance culture which had characterised the earlier decades. To ensure that music styles were segregated the government also deemed urban Black music performances of genres such *kwela* as subversive to the apartheid regime as in the prior decade this genre had gained a popular reception among both Black and White audiences.[309]

Nothing signified developed urban Black culture more than *King Kong.* The musical was composed by *Drum* writer Todd Matshikiza and was performed to South African audiences in 1959.[310] The musical, however, is relevant to the focus on the 1960s because of the possibilities it created for performers to stay in exile after its overseas performances had ended.

The main plot of the musical centered on Ezekiel Dhlamini (nicknamed *King Kong*), a boxer from the South African townships who was known for his aggressive manner, but who was also idolized for his boxing abilities. Ezekiel falls in love with a woman named Joyce, who was one of the only people that the boxer felt he could genuinely connect to, and the two slowly fall in love. However, Joyce, a *shebeen* queen, finds the company of another man after Ezekiel is imprisoned for the murder of a gangster from the Prowlers gang. After serving his sentence Ezekiel goes back to the township to reunite with Joyce as well as continue with his boxing career, only to lose to an amateur boxer in the ring and to lose Joyce as well. The musical covers Ezekiel's downfall throughout the second act with the main climax being the moment where he becomes so angry that he murders Joyce after seeing her walk into a friend's wedding with the head of the Prowler gang (Lucky), signifying that she had abandoned him to become a "gangsters' girl". After killing Joyce and not willing to serve another term in prison, Ezekiel ultimately drowns himself and the show ends with the rest of the township continuing with their lives.[311]

The major themes of the musical such as gangsterism, the experiences of migrants in the city, and, most importantly, common aspects of *marabi* culture such as communality and alcoholism reflect aspects of urban Black culture. Furthermore, the musical's score essentially consisted

---

[309] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 224- 263.

[310] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

[311] The Fugard Theatre, 24 July 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_-JOYA2Cn-4, access: 01 July 2022 & D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 214.

of the hybrid musical forms which became popular throughout the 1950s such as *kwela* and *marabi*.[312] Lastly, the setting of the musical was important as Sophiatown was one of the most important spaces of expression of hybrid culture which incorporated the different elements of African American as well as South African culture.[313] The international tour opened further exile possibilities for those cast members who chose exile over returning to South Africa.[314]

King Kong was a product of the creation of the Union of Southern African Artists (hereafter USAA) which was a trade union formed under Guy Routh and Ian Bernhardt. The union was fairly mixed and was formed with the goal of paying local artists royalties which they were previously not awarded. Prior to this, South African musicians could not support themselves without taking on a second job and therefore the formation of the Union was greatly welcomed.[315] The Union recruited *King Kong's* producer and director, Leon Gluckman, as well as its script writer, Pat Williams, choreographer, Arnold Dover, and musical director Stanley Glasser. The score was composed by Todd Matshikiza who relied greatly on his writing experience from *Drum* magazine, and the costumes were by Arthur Goldreich. The partnerships in the musical were meant to symbolise "a fruitful cooperation between Blacks and Whites in the international entertainment field and a direct challenge to apartheid".[316]

The USAA's involvement with *King Kong* was also significant as the union provided funding to Dorkay House, which would serve as the headquarters of the union, but also as one of the only institutions which aimed at facilitating urban Black music.[317] Dorkay House organized concerts for jazz musicians and housed the African Music and Drama Association where older musicians would train younger protégés. The USAA and Dorkay House were criticized by some artists for exploitation as well as favoritism which meant that only certain artists would get bookings and get paid by the union. Despite this, it was still preferable to be part of the USAA than to struggle as in prior decades.[318] *Drum* journalists such as Can Themba stated that

---

[312] T.D, Fleming. "'King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

[313] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.

[314] T.D, Fleming. "'King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

[315] T.D, Fleming. "'King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

[316] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 212 & Staff Reporter, "'King Kong" first African Musical', *Rand Daily Mail,* June 27, 1958, p. 2.

[317] B. Breakey & S. Gordon, *Beyond the Blues: Township Jazz in the '60s and '70s,* p. 11.

[318] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 214.

the USAA could "bring light to the cream of non-European talent", therefore, showing that it was preferable to be part of the union than not.[319]

The casting of *King Kong* depended heavily on the connections that the USAA had. Many of the actors were part of the union and came from popular bands of the 1950s such as the Manhattan Brothers and the Woody Woodpeckers with the lead roles being played by Nathan 'Dambuza' Mdledle and Miriam Makeba, both of whom sang for the Manhattan Brothers. The supporting cast consisted of members from the Manhattan Brothers and the Skylarks and the orchestra for the musical was led by the Jazz Dazzlers Orchestra, who were all members of other bands such as the Shantytown Sextet, Harlem Swingsters, and Huddleston Jazz Band.[320] All these names were reputable as they were well known for performing in Johannesburg throughout the 1950s.[321]

King Kong was meant to be South Africa's *Porgy and Bess*, George Gershwin's hugely popular jazz musical of the 1960s. *King Kong* included quintessential South African elements such as *kwela* solos.[322] For instance, Makwhenkwe "Mackay" Davashe, a popular musician by the time of *King Kong's* conception, was praised for his pennywhistle solos in the musical. *Drum* magazine stated that: "His renditions of African themes are the best we have had …" and: "[that] every orchestra was keen to feature [Davashe]".[323] Aside from including South African music elements into the score the musical also featured African dance styles which were like the *famo* dances which took place in the *shebeens*. David Coplan describes these elements as follows: "There was jazz, a tsotsi's knife dance based on Sotho mokorolo war dancing, and a dance celebrating *King Kong's* release from prison, which echoed the traditional Zulu welcome for a returning hero…".[324]

The show was first staged in the University Great Hall at the University of the Witwatersrand despite protests from students as well as hesitation from the University. The only reason the musical succeeded in being staged was due to its backing by commercial heavyweights such as Anglo-American and DeBeers, however, the press coverage of the musical also aided in

---

[319] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[320] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 215.
[321] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[322] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 215.
[323] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[324] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 215.

persuading the university to stage the show on the condition that seats for viewing be segregated.

While the show was only first staged in 1959, the musical score and album had already been receiving favorable newspaper coverage. By 1958 newspaper coverage of the musical was significant with newspapers such as *The Star* stating that: "the musical [would be] one of the biggest projects of its kind".[325] The extensive newspaper coverage of the musical would begin in the latter half of 1958 where newspapers covered the plot of the musical and emphasized the fact that the musical was covering "township music".[326]

The press furthered their coverage of the musical by playing hits from the musical on the radio and in non-White clubs in Johannesburg. One trope which was consistent in their coverage was the idea that the musical was a project that blurred the boundaries between Black and White , an anomaly which was very prominent during the 1950s, and also supported the USAA's goal of cooperation between the races.[327] For instance, the *Rand Daily Mail* reported in 1958 that: "[the musical was screened to] an all-White audience, [but that] the cast was all Black ".[328] The binary between Black and White was not the only rhetoric which was consistent in the coverage of *King Kong* though, some coverage also focused on the fact that the show was essentially performed by "amateurs" and that due to this the relationship between Gluckman and the rest of the cast was at times quite turbulent.[329] This undermined the cast as more attention seemed to be given to their White director and it also undermined the fact that members of the cast came from popular bands of the 1950s such as the Manhattan Brothers who were well-known in the townships and to the urban Black community.[330] Another example of this in the *Rand Daily Mail* is an article concerning the writer Harry Bloom, who stated that: "[King Kong was an] experience" and he got the idea to help write the show from: "watching the undiscovered musical geniuses of the African townships". This undermined Todd Matshikiza who had written the lyrics for the songs in the musical and had covered much of urban Black culture in his articles for *Drum* and therefore, had provided much of the inspiration for *King Kong*.[331]

---

[325] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[326] Staff Reporter, '"King Kong" first African Musical', *Rand Daily Mail,* June 27, 1958, p. 2.
[327] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 215.
[328] Rand Daily Mail, 'Putting "King Kong" on Record', *Rand Daily Mail,* January 14, 1959, p. 5.
[329] Rand Daily Mail, 'Exciting says Gluckman', *Rand Daily Mail,* January 15, 1959, p. 6.
[330] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[331] V. Matthews, 'Exit the Lawyer … Enter WRITER BLOOM', *Rand Daily Mail,* January 30, 1959, p. 4.

With these perceptions of the show in place, the reception of the show in South Africa was surprisingly popular. For instance, *Drum* described *King Kong* as a "smash hit" after its first showing and a month after, Bloke Modisane described the show as: "a wonderful fulfillment of a great expectation."[332] Esme Matshikiza, Todd Matshikiza's wife, when recalling opening night, explained that the excitement in the air was palpable long after the show was over as the cars leaving the show could not stop hooting and people were marveling at the show's success while leaving the Wits Great Hall.[333] The show appealed to both White and Black South African audiences. Likewise, both Black and White newspaper publications praised the show and its performers. For instance, *The Star* described the show as: "[one of the] greatest [thrills] in 20 years of theatre going in South Africa"[334] while the *Rand Daily Mail* stated: "'King Kong' became the biggest South African stage success".[335]

Lewis Nkosi, who, like many of the musicians from *King Kong* spent the 1960s in exile, wrote that with the influence of *King Kong*: "Johannesburg seemed at the time to be on the verge of creating a new and exciting Bohemia".[336] This sentiment is echoed by John Matshikiza, the son of Todd Matshikiza, who stated: "[the musical] became a 'must see' for all levels of society. Black gangsters, White mining magnates, the exalted and the lowly all packed in and gaped at this astonishing spectacle".[337] John Matshikiza further noted that the "amateur" appearance of the production was later overlooked by the media as well as audiences because the play was so broad in its appeal. This was heightened by the fact that the LP of the musical also sold well within South Africa.[338]

Even though *King Kong* received overwhelmingly positive reviews for its show run in South Africa, including being positively compared to international shows, its reception overseas was less positive as will be discussed later in the chapter. Urban Black musicians were suddenly being praised for their talent which had been unrecognized in the White community except by a few liberal Whites who were taking notice in the early 1950s. The comparison with

[332] T.D, Fleming. "'King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[333] The Fugard Theatre, 24 July 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_-JOYA2Cn-4>, access: 29 July 2022.
[334] T.D, Fleming. "'King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[335] Rand Daily Mail, 'These Were the Exciting People of '59', *Rand Daily Mail,* December 31, 1959, p. 3.
[336] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 215.
[337] T.D, Fleming. "'King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[338] Rand Daily Mail, 'Putting "King Kong" on Record', *Rand Daily Mail,* January 14, 1959, p. 5.

international shows, however, was detrimental and would result in the show's lackluster reception overseas.[339]

The positive reception of *King Kong* in South Africa was a means for an end as it was one of the last celebrated works of the urban Black community before the show left for Britain in 1960. After the success of the show in Johannesburg, it went on tour within South Africa in main cities such as Durban, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, and Pretoria.[340] However, the tour in Pretoria faced criticism as more conservative Afrikaners were opposed to the cooperation between Black and White producers which went into creating the musical. Further criticism of the show in Pretoria was that it was too reflective of Black culture and to show this in the capital of Afrikanerdom would be contrary to apartheid policy.[341] Despite these issues, the Pretoria City Council eventually conceded that the show would be performed "in a tent on the Pretoria showgrounds", which obviously lacked the grandeur of the Wits Great Hall.[342]

By October 1959 the musical's tour ended due to theatre restrictions not allowing shows to run for more than a few weeks at a time. Despite the overwhelmingly positive reception the musical also received from the Afrikaner and Zulu communities, Afrikaners criticized the collaborations between White and Black and the Zulu community criticized the show for disrespecting their customs regarding death. This is because in Zulu custom when someone has passed away, they do not speak of that person again to show respect, so the show's constant mention of Ezekiel Dhlamini was disrespectful of their customs regarding death. *Dagbreek* (meaning, daybreak, was a Pretoria based news publication) celebrated the success of the musical by stating that: "[South Africa should have sent King Kong] to the Paris Drama Festival or Edinburg Festival … [as the show was] a rare opportunity to present the outside world an accurate view of South African Bantu Culture".[343] *Dagbreek,* at this stage was also known as the mouthpiece of Hendrik Verwoerd, so such high praise coming from government for a musical which was considered to be defiant to the apartheid regime was slightly ironic.

---

[339] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

[340] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

[341] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

[342] Rand Daily Mail, '"King Kong" – in a Marquee', *Rand Daily Mail,* February 14, 1959, p. 3.

[343] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

Overall, by the start of the 1960s, *King Kong* was one of the last musical projects which was highly popular and subverted apartheid policies. The events within South Africa which opened the 1960s also disillusioned the creators of the show who stated that the aftermath of the Sharpeville massacre made them feel "small and powerless" and that the "new Bohemia" that Lewis Nkosi had proposed was lost.[344]

Gwen Ansell describes the loss of Nkosi's proposed "new Bohemia" as a process that the state undertook which silenced musicians. The process took place in four forms: firstly: "the closing down of the last spaces for expression," such as the closing down of Sophiatown. Secondly: "the attempt to replace urban and politically aware discourses with synthetic, conservative, tribal substitutes", in other words, the formation of "independent" homelands. Thirdly: "the creation of distractions – as a result of all the pressures on progressive cultural life", and finally: "the driving of increasing numbers of artists into exile", which will be discussed in more depth with the experiences of the *King Kong* performers who chose to stay in exile as well as musicians who were exiled.[345]

To the apartheid government, urban Black culture, and urban Black music needed to be defined more along the lines of tribalism and a return to ruralism. Unfortunately, this conception of urban Black culture was belittling as it essentially portrayed Black culture as "unchanging" and essentially exoticized it. This definition was heavily promoted in media consumption platforms which were run by the South African Broadcasting Corporation. During the 1960s the government tactically ran the SABC and segregated it into thirteen different radio stations each classified by ethnicity. These stations were known collectively as Radio Bantu which had two main goals. The first, "to assert the dominance of Afrikaner culture" and, secondly, "to emphasize traditional African culture".[346] The second goal served a dual purpose as it obviously served to portray the definition mentioned above, but it also aligned itself to the ethnic segregation along which the homelands were established.[347]

The SABC's control extended to the output of record companies. This was extremely tactical as what was played on the radio is what was deemed to be popular and appropriate with regards to music.[348] The dominance of radio also impacted what was deemed to be popular with regards

[344] T.D, Fleming. "'King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[345] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[346] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[347] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[348] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.

to performance, for instance, in the latter half of the 1960s popular artists who were represented by the USAA as well as artists who performed for A*lf Herbert's African Jazz and Variety* show were told they could no longer tour. This was accompanied by the closure of Black cinemas which had played a part in exposing the urban Black community to African American jazz. Lastly, African establishments in the cities which featured live music were all closed, and performers had to perform in clubs in the townships which were unsafe due to the increased activity of gangs.[349] Therefore, the closing down of spaces of expression seemed to be an effective means of controlling urban Black culture and performance.

By 1960 there was a division between recording artists and those who performed live. Radio Bantu played a massive part in this as those who recorded under the SABC were limited to what was deemed popular by the state. Yvonne Huskisson, the overseer of the SABC, stated that music that was played on the radio needed to rectify the "damage" that urban Black culture had done to rural African culture and if recording artists wanted to earn money for their music they would have to record "traditional" African music which contained themes of "the basic Bantu social organization" such as "family organization, kinship and a hierarchy of authority".[350] Essentially, Huskisson expected the urban Black community to abandon their interest in African American culture as well as internationalist and cosmopolitan culture, and return to "tribalism" which ignored the reality of the already existing urban Black community. The artists who recorded music for Radio Bantu were therefore forced to conform to a more "tribal" image and or to be fired.[351]

One example of an artist being let go from Radio Bantu was Gideon Nxumalo, who after the events of the Sharpeville massacre began playing politically aware songs on the station. Prior to Sharpeville, politically aware songs were played quite often on air as they were not overtly political but contained double meanings. The government eventually figured this out and would not allow this on Radio Bantu, so they fired Gideon Nxumalo.[352] Following the firing of Nxumalo, the presenters on Radio Bantu were subjected to control mechanisms as stipulated by the Broadcasting Amendment Act of 1960.[353] From here on the station was accused of promoting apartheid propaganda that misinformed the urban Black community, but the

---

[349] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 226.
[350] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[351] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 226.
[352] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 227.
[353] S. P. Lekgoathi, "'You are Listening to Radio Lebowa of the South African Broadcasting Station": Vernacular Radio, Bantustan Identity and Listenership", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35(3), 2009, pp. 575-594.

National Party justified the content on the station by stating that it provided information to the Black community, which was in the best interests of the country.[354]

With regards to the musical content on the station Huskisson replaced urban Black jazz with what Coplan describes as: "bête noire" jazz. "Bête noire" jazz was essentially American English jazz which South African musicians really disliked due to its linguistic limitations and musical simplicity.[355] Other content which the station played mainly centered around topics such as sports, housewifely duties, and raising children. All these topics were deemed to be appropriate by the apartheid government and supported their overall idea that the urban Black community should "return to their tribal roots".[356]

The control mechanisms on Radio Bantu seemed to be highly effective but, as will be shown later with regards to music, there were always exceptions. In the case of Radio Bantu some presenters played serials which were said to: "[subvert]the apartheid agenda and [deliver] riveting drama that from its first moments produced culturally rich and intriguing reflections of Black life".[357] Zulu serials in particular were played on the station, and even though they commented on the aspects of family and housewifely duties in the rural areas they also drew on the popular imagination of the urban Black community as they commented on the spaces for expression which were destroyed by the apartheid government. The Zulu serials were often focused on women and the female lead characters had the same autonomy that women who lived in urban areas had from the previous decades, which essentially subverted the apartheid government's ideas on morality. As Gunner says: "The dramas were a means of accessing the self in a turbulent and changing world" by the urban Black community.[358]

Another contradictory aspect to Radio Bantu was the way in which it promoted western choral music. This impact extended into Bantu education as well. During the 1960s, music education was taken out of Black schools and the missionary schools that had offered training to the jazz artists who were popular was eradicated. However, one aspect of music that the National Party deemed to be appropriate in schools was the choir. This could be a continuation of the choral

---

[354] Rand Daily Mail, 'Radio Bantu Defended: Hertzog Replies to U.P. Propaganda Charge', *Rand Daily Mail,* 3 March, 1964.

[355] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 227.

[356] C. Hamm, '"The Constant Companion of Man": Separate Development, Radio Bantu, and Music', *Popular Music* 10(2), 1991, pp. 147- 173.

[357] L. Gunner, 2019., <https://theconversation.com/how-zulu-radio-dramas-subverted-apartheids-grand-design-126786>, access 01 August 2022.

[358] L. Gunner, 2019., <https://theconversation.com/how-zulu-radio-dramas-subverted-apartheids-grand-design-126786>, access 01 August 2022.

tradition from the previous decade, but, interestingly, teachers who taught in the homelands were told to teach formal choral music instead of indigenous music. Coplan states that the government did this so that teachers could not expose the students to the nostalgia of their elders who could teach them anti-apartheid sentiments.[359]

This sentiment continued with regards to Radio Bantu. Grant Olwage explains that the growing popularity of choral music was both a result of choral music's popularity in the 1930s, and also because choral music recordings were easy to make and access in the 1960s. Furthermore, because choral works were being taught at schools which meant they could just as easily record school performances of songs and play them on air. The South African Broadcasting Station therefore had an abundance of choral works which were also appropriate to play on air as deemed by the apartheid government.[360]

Choral works were also popular with musicians in the urban Black community as they offered more recording opportunity than urban Black jazz or even indigenous music. Reputable Black choirs would at times go on tours of the country and from here would make a name for themselves. Of course, because of their association with Radio Bantu, the choirs were expected to perform in terms of apartheid legislation and their performances were thought to have been in support of apartheid, but the fact that choirs were still able to perform western choral music was in contradiction to the "separate development" motto of the National Party. Yvonne Huskisson justified this contradiction by stating: "[by the 1960s] choral music had been ethnicised" to be in line with separate development. In fact, Huskisson's work the "Story of Bantu Music" barely elaborated on indigenous music and focused more on choral music which she felt justified the airing of choral music on Radio Bantu.[361]

Radio Bantu and the recording industry were linked as the station was able to control the output of record companies by popularizing certain genres and musicians.[362] This meant that a lot of the recordings from the 1960s were of course choral music, but single recordings of jazz songs had to appeal to the largest possible audience and a more simplified form of township jazz emerged as a result. The "bête noire" jazz that Coplan described took on the form of *mbaqanga* music, but this was not the popular *mbaqanga* music from the last decade, this was *mbaqanga*

---

[359] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 227.
[360] G. Olwage, 'Apartheid's Musical Signs – Reflections on Black Choralism, Modernity, and Race- Ethnicity in the Segregation Era', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid,* p. 47.
[361] G. Olwage, 'Apartheid's Musical Signs – Reflections on Black Choralism, Modernity, and Race- Ethnicity in the Segregation Era', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid,* p. 47.
[362] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.

that was essentially cloned from the American model of jazz and under control of White industry producers. The improvisational aspects of live jazz performances were lost under *mbaqanga* to make the music easier to record. Critics did not appreciate this new form of jazz and writer for *Bantu World*, Walter Nhlapho criticized it as: "something you pat your foot to, anything with bounce or rhythm, original or copied, but it must sell", "quality [did not] matter".[363]

Criticism of *mbaqanga* not only came from African elites, but from musicians as well, who were no longer allowed the freedom they once had when performing. Professional jazz players felt that *mbaqanga's* simple four-part melodies based on American songs undermined them and their abilities. Their refusal to play *mbaqanga* meant that they could not record professionally and due to this music scouts often ignored their performances. On the opposite side, musicians who did play *mbaqanga*, were recruited from the rural areas, and hired regularly to produce mass amounts of music to be played on the radio.[364]

Rupert Bopape was one of the most well-known talent scouts of the 1960s. Bopape was able to grasp the relationship between neo-traditional migrants' music and African jazz and used this to promote *mbaqanga* artists to recording companies during the 1960s.[365] Bopape was unique as he recruited artists who were familiar with the vocal jive that was popular in the previous decade and hybridised this style to become *simanje-manje* (now-now). Ironically, even though *simanje-manje* was not *mbaqanga* music, it proved to be commercially successful in recording studios. The only issue with its success is much of *simanje-manje* music has been mislabeled as *mbaqanga* and the two were not the same.[366]

It is important to note that replacing the old guard jazz musicians from the 1950s with musicians from the rural areas resulted in a tonal shift in music during the 1960s. Artists from the rural areas were happy to embrace a more rural image and *mbaqanga* performances often had their performers "[deck] themselves in beads, fur, and feathers" to "sing the joys of tribal life or the virtues of acceptance".[367] This symbolised the end of the *marabi*-jazz fusion of the 1950s which represented the hybridity within the urban Black community, and was replaced with a more

---

[363] D. Coplan, 'The African Musician and the Development of the Johannesburg Entertainment Industry, 1900-1960', Journal *of Southern African Studies* 5(2), 1979, pp. 135-164.
[364] D. Coplan, 'The African Musician and the Development of the Johannesburg Entertainment Industry, 1900-1960', Journal *of Southern African Studies* 5(2), 1979, pp. 135-164.
[365] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 227.
[366] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 228.
[367] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.

derivative form of jazz which related more to labour migrants who had to move between the homelands and the cities.[368]

As time progressed the *mbaqanga* music started to show more incorporation of traditional music elements rather than its heavy dependance on four-part, American melodies. Groups such as the Dark City Sisters combined elements of rural songs and urban rhythms from *marabi* and *tsaba-tsaba*. The urban elements were more simplified but sped up and accompanied by back up groups of three reeds, electric bass, guitar, and a drum set. This contrasted with the sound of the past which was very focused on brass instruments and pennywhistle.[369]

Rupert Bopape went to work for Gallo records in 1961, where he helped to make artists such as Simon "Mahlathini" Nkabinde famous. Bopape discovered Mahlathini when he was a choreographer and composer for a group of eighteen traditional wedding singers. His ability to compose unique rhythms and phrases caught Bopape's eye, as did his use of male lead vocals. Mahlathini is credited for making the "groaning bass voice" popular which had its roots in the male voice-part singing of the southern Bantu peoples. This type of singing was also known as the "goat voice" and when Bopape and Mahlathini began working with one another all the *simanje-manje* groups would have a male lead singer who sang solos in the groaning style.[370]

Bopape helped the popularity of this style to grow by placing Mahlathini with one of his more popular girl groups, the Mahotella Queens. The Mahotella queens were particularly popular in the recording industry and known as: "[the girls] whose feet were firmly planted in the blues tradition".[371] The performances of both Mahlathini and the Mahotella Queens featured dance routines based on choreography from the rural areas and urban jive. Coplan describes these performances as: "music for people who were urbanizing, but not westernizing, as well as for migrants and even listeners influenced by urban culture".[372] Thus, the *mbaqanga* of the 1960s sold well to both urban and rural Black South Africans as it essentially reflected the new changing social demographic of the urban Black community in South Africa. This was because of the establishment of the homelands and the relocation of the urban Black community to townships such as Soweto. The days of the "Sophiatown Renaissance" were past and

---

[368] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 228.
[369] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 228.
[370] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 228.
[371] S. Malhlaku, 'The Girls in the Blues Mould', *Rand Daily Mail,* 27 August 1966, p. 26.
[372] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 228.

mbaqanga essentially represented a reformed consciousness that was formed under apartheid's tightened control.[373]

Gwen Ansell describes the influence of Radio Bantu and the recording industry as: "broadcasting became the arbiter, taking what might have been fragments of diverse and changing styles and "fixing" them in stone as the complete definition of a tradition."[374] This essentially accounts for the reformed consciousness that recording artists had to adopt and promote under apartheid. However, Ansell furthers her point by saying that: "it took most of the decade for these definitions to harden, opening small temporary corners of creative space".[375] The "temporary corners of creative space" that Ansell refers to would be the ability of producers such as Bopape to take elements from jazz that was popular from the previous decade and combine it with the rural elements that artists were expected to portray in order to be commercially successful.

Even though recorded music seemed to be heavily censored, this was not the precise case for performance culture. Political resistance during the 1960s had become more militant than it had been in prior decades. After Sharpeville both the ANC and the PAC established their military wings and in 1964 eight ANC activists were sentenced to life in the Rivonia trial for treason.[376] All these events motivated musicians to show solidarity with political activists. For example, Spokes Mashiyane and General Duze, a guitarist who featured in the film *Africa Jim* (1949), held a benefit along with other musicians to show support for those accused in the Rivonia Trial.[377]

Surprisingly, it was not only jazz artists who felt the need to offer solidarity. Due it its growing popularity, some choral musicians also felt the need to offer support to political activists. Some choral compositions from the 1960s contained implicit and explicit messages of defiance to the apartheid state. *Mayibuye,* the ANC cultural ensemble formed in the 1960s used to perform songs such as *Mayibuye iAfrika* (Let Africa Return) as well as *Abantu Bakithi* (Our people) which were sung at protests during the later 1960s and early 1970s.[378] This confirms Ansell's point that during the 1960s there were "temporary corners of creative space", as choral musicians such as Sibongile Khumalo, who stated that: "[organized choral singing] was a way

---

[373] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 229.
[374] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* p. 111.
[375] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* p. 111.
[376] C. Vermaak, 'Tip-off led to the Raid on Rivonia', *Rand Daily Mail,* 19 June 1964, p. 7.
[377] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[378] S. Gilbert, 'Singing Against Apartheid: ANC Cultural Groups and the International Anti-Apartheid Struggle', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 33(2), 2007, pp. 421-441

for keeping the natives in check. But the natives … made it their own…".[379] For instance, the performance of Handel's *Messiah,* a choral opera was taught to African students although it was a religious opera composed by a Western composer. This should have conformed with the government's idea of choral music being an appropriate form of music as a way of "keeping the [Black community] in check", as Khumalo argues. Instead, the overall theme of the opera, the persecution of Christ by the politically dominant Romans, proved to be an inspiration to resistance movements and activists who saw their own repression and exploitation reflected at them.[380]

Other works which were popular in the 1960s were songs such as *"Nkosi Sikelele i'Afrika"*, which became the unofficial anthem for the ANC. *"Nkosi Sikelele i'Afrika"* was a nationalist hymn that was written by Enoch Sontonga in 1897, but it was problematic for the SABC during the 1960s due to its political connotations. Yvonne Huskisson tried to downplay its significance by stating that: "an abortive attempt was made by the African National Congress, using *Nkosi Sikelele i'Afrika*, to close their meetings, to insinuate that the ordinary Bantu singing this anthem were doing so in support of [the] organization and its aims and policies."[381] This shows the duality in the way in which different songs were interpreted and how the apartheid government tried to censor the way in which music was interpreted.[382] Censorship even extended into the media as the government refused to acknowledge the successes of musicians in exile if they spoke out against the apartheid government.[383]

It can be argued that Dorkay House also functioned as a temporary creative space as it was one of the only places during the 1960s where musicians could meet outside of the official recording industry.[384] For the earlier half of the 1960s Dorkay House helped train new musicians whether it was instrumental training, vocal training or anything related to the arts or drama. Khabi Mngoma, a celebrated music teacher of the time, offered students classes in music theory, which would have been essential to reading choral sheet music, and was funded by the African Music and Drama Society. Other teachers at Dorkay were older jazz musicians

---

[379] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[380] C. Cockburn, 'Discomposing Apartheid's Story: Who owns Handel?', *in* G. Olwage (ed), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against apartheid* pp. 61- 62.
[381] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[382] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[383] Rand Daily Mail, 'Government's Blow at Musical Achievement', *Rand Daily Mail,* 29 May 1968.
[384] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.

from the Jazz Maniacs such as Wilson Silgee and Gideon Nxumalo. These teachers had formed part of *King Kong's* backing ensemble when they played for the Huddleston Band.[385]

Unfortunately, despite training reputable artists and being the headquarters of the USAA, Dorkay House struggled with funding during 1967 and Khabi Mngoma resigned after feeling resentful towards the organization's administration. However, Mngoma rejoined Dorkay and instead of allowing its artists to perform for the sake of money, decided that amateur musicians would be trained at Dorkay and once they had become professional musicians, they would have to manage their own affairs. Mngoma separated Dorkay's professional musicians from the African Music and Drama Society to maintain its funds and to keep it open as a cultural centre for learning.[386]

Coplan states that Dorkay's greatest contribution during the 1960s was: "informal musical exchange, more than formal training or rehearsal".[387] This seems to be what Mngoma wanted to avoid as time progressed, but by doing this he essentially ignored the contribution that Dorkay provided in aiding the formation of improvisational jazz ensembles. Dorkay would also bring together older and newer musicians who would learn from one another. For example, Kippie Moeketsi and Barry Rachabane, a new musician, would join each other to play shows. Dorkay seemed to be one of the last places of expression in the 1960s as the removal of Black show businesses from the city centres to areas such as Soweto had greatly impacted the way in which urban Black culture could be expressed.[388]

Basil Breaky, a photographer of jazz culture during apartheid explained Dorkay House's impact best: "[it was] a place where artists used to meet – not only musicians but also all those in the creative arts… [it was] a haven, an oasis in Johannesburg at that time, because you could be free there in a sense…".[389] The informal music exchanges that are mentioned above led to "jam sessions" that would happen every two weeks and Pat Matshikiza explains this as: "You could play with anyone you wanted to. Musicians with opera singers… You exchanged ideas, bands exchanged players. It was quite exciting, and I learned a lot."[390] This was the magic of Dorkay House, its informality allowed for musical exchange that the recording industry did not. Furthermore, Dorkay was not just limited to Black artists but continued the trend of the

---

[385] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 233.
[386] J. Fox, 'A New Deal for Dorkay House', *Rand Daily Mail,* 4 July 1967, p. 10.
[387] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 233.
[388] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 233-234.
[389] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[390] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.

1950s where White and Black artists would combine genres and learn from one another despite segregationist policies. The same can be said about the teachers at Dorkay House as they were both Black and White.[391]

One group that played at Dorkay was Chris McGregor and The Blue Notes. One of the only mixed jazz bands of the 1960s, the Blue Notes played with artists such as Kippie Moeketsi, who was famous for playing with the Manhattan Brothers. Coming from Cape Town, McGregor found Johannesburg to be more restrictive with regards to jazz music and performance culture. Cape Town seemed to embrace urban Black culture and jazz more and had essentially replaced Johannesburg as the centre for jazz music because forced removals took place later in Cape Town than they had in Johannesburg, and only by 1966 did jazz culture in the Cape start to feel the effects of forced removals. The shift was also motivated by the fact that the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg was closed which had also been a mixed audience centre for entertainment. Therefore, in a sense, Dorkay House replaced the Bantu Men's Social Centre, and it was a place where mixed bands could feel free to collaborate.[392]

Transvaal jazz festivals also acted as "temporary creative spaces" where musicians such as Chris McGregor and the Blues Notes frequently performed. The Transvaal jazz festivals played on the beer brewing culture synonymous with *marabi* music, as the concerts were sponsored by Castle Lager, and they encouraged copious beer consumption.[393] The concerts featured the jazz artists who were popular based on performance culture such as the Jazz Zionist Band, Modern Jazz Quartet, and the Dennis Mphala Sextet, all of whom were from different provinces but were well known from performing regularly. There were also performances by individual singers, and they performed in categories where they could win prizes.[394]

The jazz festivals were criticized for being a "means for pacification against Black resistance" and "a means to win the hearts and minds of [the urban Black community]".[395] These jazz festivals created their own set of contradictions. On the one hand, through festival organization, choice of venues, the granting of permits, the state was able to exercise a modicum of control. However, on the other hand, the festivals also became spaces of subversion. Another

---

[391] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[392] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[393] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[394] S. Matlhaku, 'Host of Talent at Vaal Festival Today', *Rand Daily Mail,* 8 October 1966, p. 3.
[395] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.

mechanism of control and pacification as Ansell argues, was the legal sale of the "White man's beer".[396]

Despite the obvious and implicit control mechanisms, the festivals produced some of the greatest jazz music of the decade. The first festival, in 1962, featured one of the last performances by Chris McGregor and his Blue Notes before they left for exile in Europe. After the first festival McGregor directed the prizewinner's band and produced the album *Jazz, The African Sound.* The album combined elements of American bebop and blues which would later feature in the work that they composed in Europe. This album features McGregor, Kippie Moeketsi and Abdullah Ibrahim who were all popular jazz musicians from the 1950s.[397]

Phillip Tabane won first prize at the first three festivals from 1961 till 1963 and the Malombo Jazz Men featuring Tabane won at the next festival in 1964. The irony of winning the festival was that they gave artists exposure, and the audiences enjoyed them immensely, but the artists were never recorded. On top of this the festivals were a space for expression that was highly sought after by musicians, but the artists were rarely paid a decent income. Coupled with this was the fact that many musicians who played the festivals were not signed with unions and therefore they were easily exploited by the festival organizers. Musicians who did make recordings of the festivals were paid a lower rate by the Gallo recording company than White artists.[398]

Tabane is one of the most significant artists during the 1960s because of his successes at the jazz festivals. In an interview with Chatradari Devroop, Tabane stated that artists such as Dollar Brand were the reason he acquired his knowledge of jazz and encouraged him to perform, despite never having received any formal music training. Tabane also stated that, while playing the festivals he did not even take note of the restrictions that apartheid had tried to place on music or on the urban Black community.[399] The interview is significant as it demonstrated that despite apartheid restrictions, it cannot be said that music was silenced during the 1960s. This is evident in the fact, that even though the government tried to restrict artists, musical expression, performance, and performance spaces, through urban and rural residential apartheid, they still found loopholes which allowed them to express themselves in new ways. With regards to the recording industry, this subversion was also reflected in outliers such as

---

[396] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[397] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[398] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[399] C. Devroop, & Chris Walton, *Unsung: South African Jazz Musicians under Apartheid,* pp. 39-43.

mbaqanga music as it was never fully "tribal" like the government wanted it to be. Furthermore, performance culture never embraced the government's insistence that it reflect the "ideology of the homelands" and spaces like Dorkay House still allowed for cultural exchange within the urban Black community.[400] This is reflected in Tabane's words: "exile was never an option, because he was happy [in South Africa]. [There was no reason to leave]."[401]

Performances outside of the recording industry meant that the expression of urban Black culture within South Africa was never fully limited. Towards the end of the 1960s Soweto began to emerge as the center of new talent and new musical styles which would become a hybridised version of the urban Black culture of Sophiatown of the 1950s. Performers once again began to depend on the hospitality of the community and performed in *shebeens*, backyard parties, servant's quarters, and hostels. This music did not depend on pennywhistle solos as was popular in the past, but the *stokvel* tradition re-emerged. The music had adapted to apartheid legislation, but the cultural practises, from prior decades as mentioned above, which the government tried to control had not.[402]

Towards the end of the 1960s the consumption of American popular culture changed greatly to what was consumed in the 1950s in Sophiatown. In areas such as Soweto younger musicians would dress in smart-casual Ivy-League outfits which consisted of button-down shirts, ankle length pants and loafers. Another popular fashion trend that emerged was the *pantsula* look which consisted of peaked caps and wide trousers. Women wore pleated skirts and berets and the dance styles of the *shebeens* shifted towards jive music. Others appropriated the "hippie-style" that had become popular in American counterculture where the people wore bell-bottom jeans and bright shirts with grown out Afros. Soul music became popular in Soweto as the youths could not relate to corporate *mbaqanga* music. Soul artists such as Otis Redding and Wilson Pickett were hugely popular at this time.[403]

Other genres which also resonated with youth culture were bebop and American blues. This was linked to the origins of the Black Consciousness Movement. Students also continued the choir traditions of the political movements and youth choirs sang more African nationalist songs. A need for bigger performance venues emerged towards the later 1960s with the closing

---

[400] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[401] C. Devroop, & Chris Walton, *Unsung: South African Jazz Musicians under Apartheid,* p. 40.
[402] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 233-234.
[403] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.

of Cape Town jazz clubs, and the illegal *shebeens* were too small for the performances of nationalist songs which attracted huge audiences. These factors would lead to an increase in cultural resistance during the 1970s such as the formation of the ANC cultural ensembles who performed African nationalist songs for overseas audiences.[404]

While some artists struggled under the oppression of apartheid, other artists felt that they would have better opportunities overseas. This was not necessarily the case for all musicians as some were deliberately exiled such as Dorothy Masuka who was exiled from South Africa for her overtly political album which spoke about the assassination of Congolese president Patrice Lumumba in 1961.[405] Todd Matshikiza had also left South Africa for London in 1960 with the tour of *King Kong* and Miriam Makeba left South Africa for Venice in 1959 to film for the movie *Come Back, Africa* and from there moved to New York.[406] Abdullah Ibrahim and his wife Sathima Bea Benjamin also left to perform in Europe and returned to South Africa in 1968, but left again as they couldn't cope with the way the country was being run. Ibrahim said that: "when [they] saw how things [had become], with people being killed [in detention] and how people felt, and you couldn't hold a concert – [they knew that] they couldn't stay".[407] Chris McGregor left South Africa in 1964 as he felt that "it became very difficult to be a jazz musician" and that the freedom associated with playing jazz music was lost. McGregor states that this loss of freedom was because it "[became] difficult to be free in society where there are laws and regulations that [governed] people's lives to the extent that apartheid laws did," and as a result "many talented musicians left".[408]

Other artists such as Ndikho Xaba, who left the country to act in the play *Sponono*, written by Alan Paton, were enraged by the limitations imposed by the SABC on recordings.[409] Xaba felt that the recording industry had turned music into a "degenerative artistry".[410] It was not just musicians who left in order to escape apartheid, but also the friends of musicians and sympathizers who documented their work like the photographer Jurgen Schadeberg. Schadeberg felt that after the musicians from *King Kong* and the writers of *Drum* had left, that the only option for artists was to "drink themselves to death."[411] Schadeberg was also speaking

---

[404] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[405] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[406] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[407] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[408] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[409] K. Sosibo, 'Unruly Native Until the End', *Mail & Guardian,* 21 June 2019.
[410] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[411] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.

from experience as Kippie Moeketsi, who had been a mentor and friend to musicians such as Hugh Masekela and Abdullah Ibrahim, turned to alcohol to cope with life under apartheid and, for a short while, his life overseas.[412] To add insult to injury, the government confiscated Kippie's saxophone in the mid-1960s as well as his work pass due to an argument over customs documents on a tour of Africa. Moeketsi did not play another instrument for six years after this incident as he could not get work to justify the cost of a new saxophone and he felt dissuaded to even try to do so by apartheid policy.[413]

King Kong represented, and offered, one of the best opportunities for musicians to leave South Africa. The musical went on tour to the United Kingdom which was to be followed by a tour of the US, however, because of its poor reception in London, it failed to make the US tour. The artists who opted to stay in London after it's tour of the West End formed what was called a 'Verwoerdstan' in the city. "Verwoerdstan" was a play on words that referred to the "Bantustan" areas, or independent homelands, that were created under Hendrik Verwoerd. The "Verwoerdstans", therefore, referred to the metaphorical homelands created by exiles.[414] Two places which were the biggest contributors to the "Verwoerdstans" were the United Kingdom and the United States, but the experiences of the musicians in these spaces differed greatly.[415] The best example of the difference between the two spaces were the artists who left to tour in London were there for *King Kong,* while the artists who left to the United states did so for their own solo careers.

The *King Kong* tour of London was not easy, to get passports the cast needed to go through extreme vetting processes to determine that the show would not misrepresent South Africa in any way. This was further exacerbated by the fact that the shows tour was to take place around the same time as the Sharpeville Massacre, which had already placed South Africa under international scrutiny. Passport applicants had to be vetted for suspected communist activity and the show had to go through a test of "respectability" to test for possible propaganda. This entailed extensive scrutiny of the content and themes for possible hidden messages and anti-

---

[412] S. Nicholson, 06 July 2022., < https://www.jazzwise.com/features/article/kippie-moeketsi-and-the-birth-of-south-african-jazz>, access 05 August 2022.

[413] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.

[414] C. Devroop, 'Music and Exile: Music, Exile and the Making of Culture and Identity', Focus 61(1), 2011, pp. 3-12

[415] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

apartheid sentiments. These tests of course ignored the musical merits, as well as the positive reviews that it had received after its 1959 performance in South Africa.[416]

However, the musical did make it to London but with a different cast from the original show. The new cast arrived at the airport singing *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* (Lord Bless Africa) and were excited to have the show tour the West End which they felt would provide them with new opportunities, particularly since London had an established jazz scene. The new cast had Peggy Phango who replaced Miriam Makeba as the female lead, but the Manhattan Brothers remained as cast members.[417] As Joe Mogotsi, one the Manhattan Brothers, stated: "[London was where the bread was], the freedom was [there]" the musical provided an opportune escape from the constraints of apartheid on freedom of expression and performance.[418] Other artists shared Mogotsi's sentiments and felt that their lives would be better overseas and that London represented a "demi-paradise" of sorts. This perception was supported by the fact that Miriam Makeba had managed to create a successful career for herself in the United States. [419]

Unfortunately, the show was not well received in London and many aspects had to be changed with regards to the program as well as the music.[420] The new programs for the musical featured a glossary of terms which described some of the township slang that was used. This was done to help British audiences who at times struggled to comprehend the dialogue in the musical as they were not used to the accents of the performers. One reviewer for *Times Magazine* stated: "the [township] flavor [in the dialogue of the musical] is strong enough to make crucial passages difficult to understand."[421] Matshikiza's music was also changed by the new music director, Stanley Glasser. The changes to the music "removed the African township character" which did not resonate with the urban Black community in South Africa who were apathetic to the album recorded in London.[422]

British audiences did not resonate with the musical on the same level as South African audiences, and this was a result of multiple factors. For instance, the jokes which were funny

[416] L. Dalamba, '"Om 'n Gifsak te Versteek": "King Kong", The Apartheid State, and the Politics of Movement, 1959-1961', *SAMUS* 33(1), 2013, pp. 61-81.

[417] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 216.

[418] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

[419] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

[420] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 216.

[421] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

[422] B. Trew, 'All ready for Royalty', *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 February 1961, p. 6.

to South African audiences didn't land with British audiences. Another issue was the size of the theatre as audiences complained that "the theatre [was] far too big and barn-like."[423] Audiences also felt that the performers lacked the professionalism and compared the musical to other shows on the West End such as *Oliver!* and *West Side Story*. This, of course, was not a fair comparison as the *King Kong* performers were not necessarily used to performing in such a large venue and therefore their voices did not carry as well as the performers in other shows who had trained for larger venues. The jazz element of the show also proved to be its downfall as London audiences had already been exposed to American jazz music, and to them the jazz of the South African urban Black community felt derivative. Some reviews of the show stated that it would "seriously disappoint those who expected a new *Porgy and Bess*" or that "were it from Pittsburg, and not Johannesburg it would go the way of a flop".[424] Overall, the reviews essentially stated that *King Kong* lacked the "American professionalism" that made musicals such as *Porgy and Bess* so popular. Reviews even went so far as to say that the musical needed "the genius of George Gershwin".[425]

The biggest reason for *King Kong's* lack of success in the West End was that London audiences felt that it was not "African" enough. Audiences also criticized the musical for not being political enough, which was a result of British reaction to the Sharpeville Massacre and the emerging of the anti-apartheid movement in the United Kingdom. This was heightened by South Africa's exit from the commonwealth.[426] This criticism was particularly difficult for the cast who were only given passports on the basis that they did not display, or voice any anti-apartheid sentiment and thus, jeopardize the opportunity.[427] British audiences' perceptions of Africa were rooted in the idea of Africa as tribal, backward, exotic, and other. *King Kong's* representation of an urban Black culture musical performance and expression did not conform to this idea of Africa as tribal, exotic, and other. Hence, the British audience's disappointment with the musical.[428]

---

[423] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[424] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[425] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[426] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[427] L. Dalamba, '" Om 'n Gifsak te Versteek": "King Kong", The Apartheid State, and the Politics of Movement, 1959-1961', *SAMUS* 33(1), 2013, pp. 61-81.
[428] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

Due to these criticisms the musical only ran for six months in the West End, but this did not mean that its reception was entirely negative. In fact, on its opening night the musical received praise from its audience which included Princess Margaret, whose attendance was covered extensively by the press, including the South African press.[429] Other guests included the South African High Commissioner, the Australian Ambassador to England, officials for the government of Ghana, which had gained its independence in 1957, and anti-apartheid activist and Anglican priest Canon John Collins. This prominent guestlist indicated that there were great expectations attached to the musical, particularly since it received such positive reviews from its show run in South Africa.[430] This was not enough to save the musical from the negative reviews it received though and the musicians who escaped South Africa with the musical had to assimilate into British society. The assimilation was not easy, the musicians from *King Kong* were offered the choice to stay, or to return home to a country where their musical talents would be restricted.

Petty apartheid laws such as the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act, impacted popular jazz groups such as the Jazz Epistles. In accordance with this legislation musical groups could not have more than five members, and as a result, the Jazz Epistles broke up and left for England.[431] When they reached England, they were instead met by a more formal music business that was not easy to access because they didn't have the formal training from music schools that British jazz musicians had. The sense of community that South African musicians thrived under in South Africa was non-existent in Britain. They did have their fellow artists to work with, but they also found themselves to be small fish in a big pond where only collaborating with their fellow South Africans was not as feasible as it would have been in South Africa. The lack of formal training was also significant as South African musicians had to learn to read sheet music which greatly impacted the improvisational skills that they had learnt from their predecessors.[432]

Musicians could not necessarily aid their fellows as they struggled to develop their own careers. Groups like the Manhattan Brothers seemed to be the most prepared as they had toured Britain earlier in the 1940s, but even this was not enough, and for the ex-*King Kong* cast they could

---

[429] B. Trew, 'All ready for Royalty', *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 February 1961, p. 6.
[430] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[431] *South African Blues.* (1990). [Film] Directed by A. Metcalf. London: BBC.
[432] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

not rely on the connections made with the writers and directors of the musical as even they were struggling. Exiled South African musicians in Britain, therefore, had to perform in working class pubs, church halls and some even performed in strip clubs, which was a great step down from the theatre they performed in for *King Kong*.

South African musicians were also denied entry into British music unions due to their citizenship status and therefore they struggled to enter recording contracts and were denied other employment opportunities that were union specific. This also meant that South African artists were a lot easier to exploit as they were not formally employed. Groups that were formed in exile such as the Velvettes (which was comprised of the female leads of *King Kong*) achieved minimal success as well even though they did perform sporadically on London's R&B scene, but the genre was not popular enough to make the group popular.[433]

For women performers, getting into the London music scene was very much based on their appearance. The Velvettes for instance, provided backing vocals to popular artists such as the Cyril Davis All Stars. Leon Gluckman commented on this by saying: "They were young glamour girls in 1961 but they are not so young anymore."[434] The Velvettes were accustomed to the songbird tradition in South Africa, which of course also commodified women, but they used what they learnt in South Africa to enter the British music scene.[435]

Some musicians who struggled tried to enter the field of acting to make a living. This was a space in which South Africans could attain relative success in Britain, but there were of course limitations to this as well as the actors were limited to Black roles which were not as easy to come by in the White dominated field. This was incredibly frustrating to South African performers as they could never fully assimilate into British society, which seemed ironic, particularly considering the "Winds of Change" speech that Macmillan gave which spoke so highly of decolonization and integration.[436]

Overall, these struggles proved to be extremely disheartening to Black South Africans living in exile and many of them became alcoholics and gave up performing to take up ordinary

---

[433] T.D, Fleming. "'King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

[434] T.D, Fleming. "'King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

[435] T.D, Fleming. "'King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

[436] T.D, Fleming. "'King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

jobs.[437] This was exacerbated by the fact that artists were separated from their families who they had to leave behind in South Africa. They also missed significant family events such as marriages and funerals which further alienated them. Artists in exile felt extreme loneliness and missed the culture that they had once had in South Africa. Even with the creation of "Verwoerdstans" artists felt lonely and the communal aspect of living in the urban Black community was lacking compared to their homelife. This also made artists feel as though they were losing their sense of identity and their culture as they had to assimilate into British life. Musically, they would play familiar favorites in their own homes to remember a better time and to remember the jazz music that they once played, but they could not perform these songs as there was no demand for them.[438]

However, some musicians such as Chris McGregor who only left much later for London found more success than the original musicians who had to assimilate into everyday British life. Chris McGregor, Louis Moholo, Mongezi Feza, Johnny Dyani, Dudu Pukwana Ernest Mothle and Makhaya Ntshoko, entered England's jazz scene when Afro-jazz and funk started to become more prominent. McGregor and the Blue Notes not only toured Britain, but they made a name for themselves in Western Europe where they linked their music to the anti-apartheid movement by playing at anti-apartheid rallies and demonstrations.[439]

The lack of success in Britain made America seem like an oasis as the musicians who had moved there seemed more successful, but the exiled musicians in America also faced their own challenges.[440] Artists such as Miriam Makeba, Jonas Gwangwa and Hugh Masekela were the first to move to the United States in pursuit of better career opportunities. They were followed by Abdullah Ibrahim, Letta Mbulu, Caiphus Semenya, and Malindi Blythe Mbitjana. Once these artists started to perform in America, they found that there was not necessarily a space for them on the New York jazz scene. This was primarily because jazz was already established in America, and South African artists who combined American influences of jazz into their music seemed to be derivative of American artists such as Miles Davis and Herbie Hancock. At this stage American artists had specified their sound to "small-ensemble, abstract modern

---

[437] T.D, Fleming. "'King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[438] *South African Blues.* (1990). [Film] Directed by A. Metcalf. London: BBC.
[439] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 230.
[440] T.D, Fleming. "'King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

jazz" which also affected South African musicians as they were used to playing in larger bands.[441]

American musicians also began to incorporate a more electronic sound into their compositions. This electronic sound was a combination of Afro-funk, soul, and rock music which was slightly different from the combination of rock-n-roll and jazz that South African musicians had grown accustomed to.[442] Despite these challenges, the American music scene was still more welcoming than the British one was, and the chances of South African musicians gaining success in the States was more likely. What aided this was the fact that the Black population in America was much larger than it was in Britain, and their interest in South African urban Black culture was much greater.[443]

Another significant factor that allowed South African musicians to be successful in the United States was the fact that they could be more politically active than they were in Britain. The British may have wanted South African musicians to be more overtly political, but there was not a space in Britain where artists could be political. This was very different in the United States as key events such as the Civil Rights movement and the Black Power movement offered opportunities for protest. According to Miriam Makeba, the difference between America and South Africa at this point was that "the American government [condemned] racism in its constitution, while the South African constitution condoned it"[444] and Hugh Masekela described living in America as "apartheid wearing a different hat."[445] The commonality in experience is important as it meant that South African musicians were around other Black musicians who could understand them through the shared experience of segregation.[446]

Despite the shared experience of segregation, the musicians who escaped to America were forced to face the reality that the US did not live up to their expectations. For instance, Hugh Masekela, upon arriving in New York thought that it would be a country filled with wealth, where everyone could achieve the American dream, but instead when he got to New York:

---

[441] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 228.
[442] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 228.
[443] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[444] M. Makeba & J. Hall, *Makeba: My Story*, p. 101.
[445] H. Masekela & D. M. Cheers, *Still Grazing: The Musical Journey of Hugh Masekela,* p. 291.
[446] M. Makeba & J. Hall, *Makeba: My Story*, pp. 100-110.

"everything was drab, dingy and dark."[447] Masekela even went as far as to question whether he had made the right decision to move to New York after the initial impression it made on him.[448]

Jonas Gwangwa felt similar to Masekela and called America a slum as soon as he stepped out of the airport in New York.[449] This sense of alienation expressed by Masekela and Gwangwa, was exacerbated by constant reminders that they were exiles and not Americans. Jonas Gwangwa described this to a *Star* reporter in the following way: "In exile you are constantly reminded that you had overstayed your welcome. You were always trying to blend among the natives. You'd think you'd got the language down but then someone would ask you something you don't know."[450]

The feeling of being "othered" was only heightened by the kind of music that Americans wanted South Africans to play. Miriam Makeba, under the guidance of Harry Belafonte, found her place in the neo-folk music trend which was popular in the United States.[451] Makeba is important to discuss in relation to this genre as she was said to be the most "authentically African", but this categorization of Makeba is ignorant to the fact that her music was a hybridization of many cultures.[452]

As was mentioned above, Makeba's collaboration with Harry Belafonte is the reason why she was so successful whilst living in America. Belafonte advised Makeba to embrace the American fascination with the "other" which in the case of Makeba's music would be the exoticism of Africa.[453] Her collaboration with Belafonte won her a Grammy in 1966 and "launched Makeba into the popular [imagination]" of American society.[454] What made this album so significant was its inclusion of languages such as Zulu, Sotho, and Swahili and the songs in these languages spoke about the hardships of Black South Africans living under the apartheid regime. From here Makeba grew in popularity and became synonymous with Americans' understanding of the African continent. This, however, was problematic as

---

[447] H. Masekela & D. M. Cheers, *Still Grazing: The Musical Journey of Hugh Masekela,* p. 281.
[448] H. Masekela & D. M. Cheers, *Still Grazing: The Musical Journey of Hugh Masekela,* p. 281.
[449] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[450] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[451] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 230.
[452] A. Sizemore-Barber, 'The Voice of (Which?) Africa: Miriam Makeba in America', *Safundi* 13(3), 2012, pp. 251-276.
[453] A. Sizemore-Barber, 'The Voice of (Which?) Africa: Miriam Makeba in America', *Safundi* 13(3), 2012, pp. 251-276.
[454] A. Sizemore-Barber, 'The Voice of (Which?) Africa: Miriam Makeba in America', *Safundi* 13(3), 2012, pp. 251-276.

Makeba's music at times was a hybridization of not only South African music genres, but genres of music from all over Africa.[455]

April Sizemore-Barber criticized the ascribing of the label of "authentically African" to Makeba on the basis of her political activity during the 1960s. Makeba gave a speech to the United Nations in 1963 regarding the hardships of apartheid in South Africa. This made her synonymous with the anti-apartheid movement, but she was also an activist for the Civil Rights movement in the United States.[456] When she worked with Belafonte she performed at rallies for Martin Luther King Junior, and after her divorce from Hugh Masekela, she married Black Panther activist Stokely Carmichael, which directly involved her in civil rights activities in the eyes of Americans.[457] Her involvement in both American and South African politics therefore, according to Sizemore-Barber brings into question whether the idea of Makeba being "authentically African" is a valid portrayal.

However, this image was of course placed onto Makeba by American audiences who at this stage enjoyed the fact that Makeba sang music which incorporated traditional African elements as well as her style of dress, which was also more traditional than it had been pre-1963.[458] Initially, Makeba performed the same music that she had performed in South Africa during her songbird days in the 1950s, but this proved to be unprofitable and unpopular with American audiences who already had their own jazz tradition. Belafonte, who had become successful by performing music which incorporated his own Jamaican heritage, advised Makeba that, in order to be successful, she would have to ignore the songs which were popular in urban Black South Africa and would have to start playing music which was deemed to be quintessentially African. His advice was of course based on his own experience in America, and it worked for both musicians. [459] From here onwards, Makeba's performances started to embrace more African elements.[460] Therefore, Sizemore-Barber's criticism of the label of "authentically African" in relation to Makeba is not necessarily fair as it was a means by which Makeba could

---

[455] A. Sizemore-Barber, 'The Voice of (Which?) Africa: Miriam Makeba in America', *Safundi* 13(3), 2012, pp. 251-276.

[456] A. Sizemore-Barber, 'The Voice of (Which?) Africa: Miriam Makeba in America', *Safundi* 13(3), 2012, pp. 251-276.

[457] M. Makeba & J. Hall, *Makeba: My Story*, pp. 100-166.

[458] K. Mchunu & B. Memela, 'Fashioning Resistance: The Unsung Fashions of Miriam 'Mama Africa' Makeba', *Alternation* 26(1), 2019, pp. 71-97.

[459] A. Sizemore-Barber, 'The Voice of (Which?) Africa: Miriam Makeba in America', *Safundi* 13(3), 2012, pp. 251-276.

[460] K. Mchunu & B. Memela, 'Fashioning Resistance: The Unsung Fashions of Miriam 'Mama Africa' Makeba', *Alternation* 26(1), 2019, pp. 71-97.

further her career overseas, and it was not necessarily Makeba's choice to be labelled in this manner, but rather a result of American fixation with the "other".

One feature which Makeba maintained was her natural hair, but her sudden change in style was interpreted to be political because of her involvement in politics.[461] However, it is important to note that at the same time that Makeba shifted to incorporate more African elements into her wardrobe, the Black Power movement in America also began to embrace their African roots. The movement also began to wear their hair more naturally and they too began to wear clothing which reflected their ethnicity. This also possibly contributed to the idea that Makeba's image was "authentically African" despite it being consistent to her brand throughout her career.[462]

Makeba's career therefore thrived because she commodified identity. On the one hand she represented the "other" that White American audiences were fascinated with, and on the other hand she represented the "authentically African" image that African Americans had begun to adopt. This is very clear as one of as her more popular songs is *Pata Pata*, which Makeba herself says means nothing, and to African American audiences she reflected their African heritage, therefore making her "authentically African" or "Mama Africa" which was the title given to her. One can argue that American audiences were somewhat naïve in the sense that they ignored the hybrid music culture which Makeba had come from in South Africa, and which informed her musical style even if she began to include more traditional elements in her music. Despite this, Makeba was one of the most successful artists who was mentored by Belafonte.[463]

Belafonte's influence did not end with Makeba, he also mentored Jonas Gwangwa and Hugh Masekela when they arrived in the United States. Under Belafonte's guidance South African musicians could easily acquire jobs in the music industry.[464] For instance Hugh Masekela, after meeting Belafonte in 1961, almost immediately landed a job at Belafonte's Foundation, transcribing material to be copyrighted.[465] However, this network remained exclusive to exiled

---

[461] K. Mchunu & B. Memela, 'Fashioning Resistance: The Unsung Fashions of Miriam 'Mama Africa' Makeba', *Alternation* 26(1), 2019, pp. 71-97.
[462] A. Sizemore-Barber, 'The Voice of (Which?) Africa: Miriam Makeba in America', *Safundi* 13(3), 2012, pp. 251-276.
[463] A. Sizemore-Barber, 'The Voice of (Which?) Africa: Miriam Makeba in America', *Safundi* 13(3), 2012, pp. 251-276.
[464] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.
[465] H. Masekela & D. M. Cheers, *Still Grazing: The Musical Journey of Hugh Masekela,* p. 291.

musicians in America as British exiles have stated that they reached out to Masekela and Makeba and received no response.[466]

To combat homesickness, the exiles in America would often collaborate with one another on a professional level, but also often met with each other to keep the traditions alive that they had back home.[467] This was not enough to stop exiles from feeling isolated though, and Masekela recalls feeling so homesick that he went to the park and spoke township slang to himself to reminisce and remember his friends in South Africa.[468] Just like the British exiles, the exiles in America also missed out on important family events in South Africa which would remind them of the distance from home. For instance, Miriam Makeba was not allowed to attend her mother's funeral in South Africa after leaving to pursue her film career.[469]

Even though the American exiles seemed to have more career opportunities than the British exiles, they too faced the same condescension that the British exiles experienced. Belafonte's pressing of American exiles to play more "African" music also placed the musicians in a box where some jazz musicians felt that South African jazz artists did not possess the skill set to compete with them. Jonas Gwangwa felt this to be true as he has said that his jazz playing compared to the American jazz artists sounded like "jazz, [but] with an accent".[470] Miles Davis said that Masekela's trumpeting skills were "very fine", "but he didn't play American music too well" and that "[once] Masekela started doing his own thing, he sounded better."[471] In order to solidify her newly acquired success, Makeba started to copyright songs which were composed by fellow *King Kong* cast members. As an example, one of her most famous songs, *Qongqothwane* (Knock Knock Beetle), mesmerized American audiences due to the number of Xhosa clicks in the song, but was not her own composition and yet it made her very famous. By copyrighting these songs Makeba also cut off any royalty payments to the original composers which caused a lot of resentment among some of the *King Kong* cast members.[472]

---

[466]T.D, Fleming. "'King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

[467] T.D, Fleming. "'King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

[468] H. Masekela & D. M. Cheers, *Still Grazing: The Musical Journey of Hugh Masekela,* p. 339.

[469] M. Makeba & J. Hall, *Makeba: My Story*, pp. 100-166.

[470]T.D, Fleming. "'King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

[471] T.D, Fleming. "'King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

[472] T.D, Fleming. "'King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

As time progressed the sound of songs composed in exile in America by urban Black South Africans became more "Africanized" than it had been in the beginning of Makeba's career. Hugh Masekela's hit song, "Grazing in the Grass," drew from Zambian music traditions and Masekela employed a Zambian composer to help him compose the hit. Other musicians who came to America such as Caiphus Semenya and Letta Mbulu also employed African musicians from other parts of the continent such as Ghana and Nigeria to aid them in composing hits for American audiences. [473] The greatest irony in this is that these new compositions fit more into the mold of what the apartheid government wanted from the musicians who had remained in South Africa.

Conclusion:

The 1960s witnessed distinct shifts and changes in music, musical expression, and performance culture in comparison with the 1950s. A more confident apartheid state, intent on entrenching racial segregation and the continued oppression of Black people, contributed significantly to these shifts and changes. This larger context created several paradoxes and dilemmas for many musicians, especially Black musicians. The first dilemma arising from the apartheid government's attempts at ethnic – and racial – segregation, most concretely evident in the discourses around ethnic homelands and the establishment of separate ethnic radio stations under the umbrella of Radio Bantu, was the decision to resist and subvert, conform, or flee into exile. What is most clear in this period is a shrinkage of creative spaces resulting from urban apartheid and the intensified implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950. The shrinkage of creative spaces also impacted creative collaboration across racial lines. However, spaces such as Dorkay House and the Cold Castle Jazz Festivals became, what Gwen Ansell has identified as, 'temporary spaces of expression'.

An important aspect of the apartheid project in the 1960s was the intensified drive to push Black people out of 'White' urban South Africa and into separate ethnic homelands. A significant element of this was the attempt to 'retribalize' Black people and media such as Radio Bantu became an important cog in this retribalization process. Whereas the Black writers and intellectuals of the 1950s, best expressed in the pages of *Drum* magazine, actively sought to forge an urban Black modernity and cultural identity, the 1960s witnessed concerted efforts by the apartheid government to roll back this nascent Black urban identity and culture. Radio Bantu's remit was to broadcast and record 'ethnic' music rather than the hybridised, fusion of

---

[473] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

the earlier decade in which African American jazz and soul had featured prominently. Choral music was another genre favoured by the apartheid government, as it was thought to be less subversive than American jazz. Musicians however, found means to subvert these attempts to ethnicise and tribalize musical expression. Examples of musicians who resisted the ethnicization of *mbaqanga* were Simon "Mahlathini" Nkabinde, the Dark City Sisters, and the Mahotella Queens.

A glaring paradox was the way musicians in exile embraced labels such as 'ethnic', 'tribal' or 'authentically African' music in contrast to musicians in South Africa who tried to subvert this ethnicization of their music. This was shaped in no small measure by the expectations of American and British perceptions of what constituted 'authentically African' sounds. Many of the musicians who chose exile in the 1960s had been cast members of the 1959 musical *King Kong*. After a relatively lukewarm reception in the UK, *King Kong* did not tour in the US, however, several artists such as Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, Jonas Gwangwa, and others chose exile in the United States. Makeba and Masekela as well as Gwangwa were able to achieve a modicum of success in the US, unlike those artists who remained exiled in the UK. They achieved this success by adapting their music and performance styles to cater to American perceptions of what constituted 'authentic' African sounds. Makeba, in particular, under the guidance of Harry Belafonte, adapted both her music and performance style by adopting more 'African' sounds and apparel whilst appropriating much of the music composed by colleagues who had scored the original music for *King Kong*.

Thus, while South African Black musicians in the country were chafing at the restrictions imposed on them by the attempt to retribalize and were seeking a more cosmopolitan and internationalist music and performance style, Black musicians in exile, especially in the US, were Africanizing their music and performance styles to achieve some measure of success. The 1960s is thus characterized by a paradoxical double movement shaped by very different contexts in South Africa and the US.

116

Chapter 5: Conclusion:

This research has used Veit Erlmann's concept of *movement and displacement* as a conceptual framing device in understanding and analysing the development of music and performance styles in South Africa in the period of the 1920s to the 1960s. This *movement and displacement* is discernible at three distinct levels, namely, the local, national, and global level. The local level focuses on the contact and connection between different groups within urban South Africa. The national level considers the rural to urban migrations and the third level considers the Atlantic connections and linkages between South Africa and writers and musicians in the West, particularly in the United States.

Erlmann's concept of *movement and displacement* considers the role of music in the construction of a "global imagination". The "global imagination" as conceptualised by Erlmann is constituted by the dialectic between individual and group (local and transnational) consciousness of symbolic representations of knowledge, style, and expression. It is, therefore, representative of how people change under different contexts and how this reflects their personal experiences. Erlmann argues that music is a more reliable source for examining and understanding the "global imagination" as music is reflective of a "collective consciousness" with regards to groups of people. Music is dynamic and musical genres and performance styles are constantly shifting and hybridizing with increasing contact and connections at local, national, and global levels.

This research engages critically with Erlmann's argument by looking at the impact of urbanisation, as a form of *movement and displacement*, on Black South African music during the decades 1920 to 1960. It has argued that *movement and displacement* from the rural to the urban has fostered internal and international linkages and connections that have significantly impacted the development of first, an urban consciousness and identity and, second, infused local music with dynamism that has enabled the emergence of new genres, musical expressions, and performance styles. A third consequence of the first rural to urban *movement and displacement* has been the shaping of cultural change more broadly. Furthermore, the research has argued that the first instance of movement and displacement from the rural to urban has in turn shaped two distinct trends of linkages and connections; the internal instance has been the mixing of different groups of Black South Africans, and the second external instance has been the Atlantic linkages and connections. This is not to say that there were no significant Indian Ocean, and African continental linkages and connections, but the scope of a Master's has informed the decision to focus more specifically on Atlantic linkages.

117

The study period of the 1920s to the 1960s is characterised by two distinct phases of *movement and displacement*. The first phase comprises of the decades 1920 to the late 1940s. During these decades the Union of South Africa (formed in 1910) was subject to increased industrial development resulting from the discovery of gold in 1886 and later the First World War in 1914. The increase in industrial development was accompanied by a further rise in rural to urban migration where Black South African men moved into the cities to work on the mines.[474] This increased during the decades 1920 to the late 1940s as more Black South Africans moved into the cities. In urban centres, Black rural migrants were forced into segregated communities frequently located on the peripheries of 'White' South Africa. Therefore, Black South Africans who moved into the cities during the 1920s were able to assimilate into already existent Black communities. This increased rural to urban migration also impacted traditional performing arts. Traditional performance culture became more hybridised, with an increase in urban performing arts and performance culture.[475]

The second period of *movement and displacement* spans the decades 1948 till the late 1960s. A distinct urban Black culture was discernible during these decades, but the urban Black population was now subject to new legislation introduced under the newly established apartheid state from the late 1940s. As a result of this, music during this period adopted a new form of political consciousness which was rooted in a more militant resistance to apartheid, while music in the prior decades appeared to be less confrontational and more reflective of the personal experiences of musicians under colonisation.[476] This reflects music's dialectical relationship with context, thus underscoring Erlmann's conceptual framework of *movement and displacement*. Movement in time, heralded a political change from segregation to formalised apartheid, while movement and displacement in space introduced new legislation that impacted expression, performance, and thus shaped meaning.

The domestic influences shaping South African Black urban culture and music were further complicated by transnational cultural and political flows. For instance, Christopher Ballantine points out that Black urban music during these decades was influenced by events such as the Second World War as well as the Civil Rights Movement in the United States.[477] This was further impacted by the movement and displacement of Black South African musicians who went into exile during the 1960s. These global connections, which in the later decades reflect

---

[474] C. van Onselen, *New Babylon New Nineveh: Everyday Life on the Witwatersrand 1886 – 1914,* pp. xvii – xix.
[475] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 8.
[476] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 8.
[477] C. Ballantine, *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa,* p. 7.

118

more diasporic connections, again signify the notion of *movement and displacement* as argued by Erlmann.[478]

Firstly, at the local level the research has demonstrated that during the 1920s to early 1940s *movement and displacement* was characterised by increased rural to urban migration into industrial areas and how this resulted in the formation of cultural practices within the urban Black community. Once the community had established itself in the urban areas divisions and distinctions between the African elite and Black working class emerged. This was most prominent in the cultural expressions of both groups.

Marabi music and *marabi* culture is a distinctly urban phenomenon resulting from the urbanisation of Black people. Edward Koch defines *marabi* as: "a cluster of activities that formed the foundation of [the urban Black communities'] defence against the exacting conditions [of the slums]".[479] The "cluster of activities" that Koch refers to focuses on communal living within the slum areas, and more specifically, activities focused primarily on dancing and socialising in illegal shebeens. Essentially, *marabi*, therefore, constituted a creative endeavour in response to lack of significant leisure facilities for urbanised Black people. *Marabi* could also arguably be considered a form of resistance to the oppression, an oppression that sought to stultify and negate Black urbanisation by framing Black people as labour sojourners in urban South Africa.

Furthermore, the establishment of *marabi* culture also encouraged the formation of the *shebeens* and a new form of employment for women who became *shebeen* queens. This too was 'contravention' of apartheid restrictions which sought to keep Black women out of urban centres in order to prevent the formation of urban Black communities and families; in apartheid logic, if women flocked to the urban centres, men would no longer have strong incentives to return to the native reserves. With regards to music, the role of *shebeen* queens proved to be essential as they organised parties where musicians would perform *marabi* music.

Another tradition from this time which also combined rural and urban traditions was *stokvel*. The networks established from this tradition aided musicians in particular as hostesses from *stokvel* parties would employ both *marabi* and big band performers as entertainment. Similar to the role of *shebeens, stokvel* parties aided musicians in becoming more popular and provided

---

[478] V. Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West,* pp. 3-10.
[479] E, Koch. 'Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg'. 1983, Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand p. 108.

them with an opportunity to earn an income. Both the *shebeens* and *stokvel* parties represented the established urban sensibility of the Black working class.[480]

The established urban sensibility was also reflected in the *eisteddfods* of these decades formed by the African elite. However, this tradition was also reflective of the class distinctions as the choral music performed in the *eisteddfods* at first embraced the ideology of the African elites with regards to self-autonomy and self-reliance, but later the class divisions became less clear as the *eisteddfods* began to incorporate *marabi* performances and thus the class divisions from the 1920s started to dissolve as a product of contact, movement, and connection.[481]

Continued contact and connection also inspired the music of the late 1940s and 1950s despite the introduction of refined and harsher segregation under the apartheid regime. As is demonstrated in the third chapter of this dissertation, culturally mixed urban Black areas such as Sophiatown functioned as incubators for the growth of the *kwela* genre during the 1950s, and this extended to include both Black and White audiences, which subverted the aims of the apartheid system. Other genres such as *mbaqanga* emerged during these decades as a result of the application of apartheid legislation within the SABC. Both genres found a means to subvert the tribalistic expectations placed onto them, thus demonstrating that the refined segregation of the apartheid system still produced contradictions.[482]

Furthermore, the introduction of apartheid also resulted in increased political awareness in music as has been argued with regards to the development of struggle music, such as the song, "*uDr Malan Unomthetho Onzima*", and politically motivated music such as Strike Vilikazi's song "Meadowlands". These songs directly addressed events which challenged the apartheid government such as the Women's March of 1956 and the Alexandra bus boycott of 1957 and in turn were directly rooted in the consciousness of the urban Black community. Therefore, as a result, these songs arguably also reflected the established urban sensibilities of the urban Black community and the reaction of the community and how this sensibility continued to progress under harsher segregationist policies.[483] What is also evident is that music was able to

---

[480] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* p. 123.
[481] C. Ballantine, 'Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz between the 1920s and the Early 1940s', *in* C. Ballantine (ed.), *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa* pp. 16-48.
[482] L. Allen, 'Kwela's White Audiences: The Politics of Pleasure and Identification in the Early Apartheid Period', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid,* pp. 79-98.
[483] A, le Roux-Kemp, 'Struggle Music: South African Politics in Song', *Law and Humanities* 8(2), 2014, pp. 247-268.

find 'creative spaces' to subvert apartheid on multiple levels, through musical expression, performances, and audiences.[484]

The increased pressures of apartheid contributed to the distinct shifts and changes in music, musical expression, and performance culture during the 1960s. The most significant local factor during the 1960s was the shrinkage of creative spaces and the nurturing of choral music and other music which seemingly favored the ideology of the Bantustans and an attempted retribalisation. One of the important reasons for this was the increasing Atlantic cultural contact and connection; it was important for the apartheid government that Black people should not develop an urban modernity that could seek out inspiration and parallels, especially with African Americans who were engaged in similar struggles with the Civil Rights Movement in the USA. As a result, musicians had to find new means to subvert the tribal expectations which were placed on them by the apartheid state, and one of these 'creative spaces' of subversion was the *Cold Castle Jazz Festivals* as well as the *mbaqanga* music which was played on the radio. The musicians who performed at the *Cold Castle Jazz Festivals* continued to play genres such as *marabi* and *kwela,* which were discouraged by apartheid and as a result they found a means to continue the musical performance cultures that they had established in the earlier decades. The significance of this is that musical traditions which characterized urban Black culture were still celebrated despite being prohibited. The same can be said for *mbaqanga* as its promotion on the radio was a continued means of resistance in the same way *kwela* was during the 1950s.[485]

Erlmann also makes the argument for an increased global consciousness which resulted from the world becoming more interconnected during the World Wars. This research has argued that the global consciousness in the urban Black community of South Africa emerged as a result of intellectual exchange between the urban Black communities of South Africa and the United States.[486]

From the 1920s until the late 1950s this took the form of incorporating elements of musical genres such as jazz and rock-n-roll in *marabi* and *kwela* music.[487] Further illustrations of intellectual and cultural exchange with the United States have been pointed out by discussing the role of Sol Plaatje and the African elites, and how they took inspiration from, Booker T.

---

[484] D. Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre,* pp. 224- 263.
[485] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[486] V. Erlmann, *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West,* pp. 3-10.
[487] L. Allen, 'Kwela's White Audiences: The Politics of Pleasure and Identification in the Early Apartheid Period', *in* G. Olwage (ed.), *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid,* pp. 79-98.

121

Washington and the *New Negro* movement in the United States in order to establish the *New African* movement in South Africa during the 1920s to late 1940s. This exchange embraced the ideology of self-help and autonomy under segregation and with regards to music it celebrated the achievements of South African musicians as means for upliftment. [488]

This was similar to the ideas contained in the *New Negro* movement and was reflected in the pages of *Drum* and the musical performances of genres such as *kwela* and jazz. Clothing also showed the cultural exchange between America and South Africa during the 1950s and 1960s as musicians wore similar clothing styles to the jazz musicians in America and copied outfits from films. Musical performance was also shaped by American musicals and the repertoire of some jazz musicians was taken directly from films. *Drum* was significant as the writings in the magazine not only represented the cultural exchanges with America, but they also showed how music genres were received by the urban Black community. Therefore, *Drum,* and to a certain extent the writings in *Umteleti wa Bantu,* were representative of media dissemination of the 1920s to the 1960s.[489]

The last chapter focuses on the impact of global connections and how they influenced urban Black performance in the discussion of South African exiles. Exiles had to adapt their music in order to appeal to foreign audiences whose perception of South Africa was not that it contained cosmopolitan Africans, but rather that Africa was exotic or "other". This was particularly prominent in the *King Kong* tour of the United Kingdom in the 1960s as the reception by overseas audiences was lacklustre, and as a result the musicians who chose to stay in Britain were forced to assimilate into British society and their music culture. These musicians were compared to the jazz musicians in the United States and were therefore undermined as their music did not necessarily reflect the established cosmopolitan identity that they had formed while performing in South Africa.[490]

The musicians who chose to live their lives in exile in the United States gained relative success in their performing careers, especially in comparison with those exiles in the United Kingdom. However, the musicians in the United States such as Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela and Jonas Gwangwa, amongst others, had to adapt the style which they had learnt in South Africa

[488] T. Raditlhalo, 'Modernity, Culture, and Nation', *in* R. Ross, *et al.* (ed.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa* pp. 573-599.
[489] G. Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa,* pp. 109-142.
[490] T.D, Fleming. '" King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

in order to reflect the "exoticism" of Africa that overseas audiences expected from them. Therefore, the music of exiled musicians was paradoxical as it reflected the tribalism which was expected of musicians who stayed in South Africa under the apartheid regime. This was particularly evident in the work of Miriam Makeba who had to adapt her style in order to promote the "authentically African" label that she was given by American audiences.[491]

In conclusion, Erlmann's concept of *movement and displacement* has been a useful conceptual frame for understanding several interrelated cultural phenomena in the period from the 1920s to the 1960s. Central to this *movement and displacement* has been the increasing urbanisation of Black people, and out of this urbanisation has emerged different elements of *movement and displacement* which has been an important factor in shaping a Black urban sensibility, identity, and culture. One of these elements has been the contact and linkages between various South African communities and groups where the urban centres have functioned as spaces of cultural fluorescence through cross-pollination. This cross-pollination was at both the local and global level; the mixing of different traditions of musical expression and cultural practices resulted from the mixing of different South African groups as well as a result of Atlantic connections and linkages.

Spaces such as Sophiatown, publications such as *Drum*, and individuals such as Sol Plaatje were critical to this cross-pollination in the early to middle decades of the twentieth century. From the mid-1950s and into the 1960s cross-pollination occurred despite the best efforts of the apartheid government. Here also, spaces such as the jazz festivals, and individuals such as Hugh Masekela and others were critical in forging local and global linkages. Central to all of this has been *movement and displacement*.

---

[491] T.D, Fleming. '"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical'. 2009, Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

Primary Sources:

FOX, J. 1967. 'A New Deal for Dorkay House', *Rand Daily Mail,* 4 July.

MACMILLAN, H. "Winds of Change" Speech, Cape Town, South Africa, February 03, 1960, Web Archives. https://web-archives.univ-pau.fr/english/TD2doc1.pdf.

MATLHLAKU, S. 1966. 'The Girls in the Blues Mould', *Rand Daily Mail,* 27 August.

MATLHAKU, S. 1966. 'Host of Talent at Vaal festival today', *Rand Daily Mail,* 8 October.

MATTHEWS, V. 1959. 'Exit the Lawyer … Enter the WRITER BLOOM', *Rand Daily Mail,* 30 January.

METCALF, A. (Director). (1990). *South African Blues.* [Documentary]. Silvia Davies, London: BBC.

PIENAAR, D. 1959. 'The Beat was Missing at the "Band Battle"', *Rand Daily Mail,* 29 October.

RAND DAILY MAIL. 1959. 'Putting "King Kong" on Record', *Rand Daily Mail,* 14 January.

RAND DAILY MAIL. 1959. 'Exciting says Gluckman', *Rand Daily Mail,* 15 January.

RAND DAILY MAIL. 1959. 'These Were the Exciting People of '59', *Rand Daily Mail,* 31 December.

RAND DAILY MAIL. 1964. 'Radio Bantu Defended: Hertzog replies to U.P. propaganda charge', *Rand Daily Mail,* 3 March.

RAND DAILY MAIL. 1968. 'Government's Blow at Musical Achievement', *Rand Daily Mail,* 29 May.

RAND DAILY MAIL. 1948. 'House of Assembly Rejects Malan's Notion by 87 votes to 44', 27 January.

RAND DAILY MAIL. 1957. 'Readers' Points of View: Origin of the Term Apartheid', 6 May.

RAND DAILY MAIL. 1959. 'Women Will March to Union Buildings to Make Protest', *Rand Daily Mail,* 26 March.

RAND DAILY MAIL. 1960. 'State of Emergency gives wide power to Minister', *Rand Daily Mail,* 30 March.

R.D.M CORRESPONDENT. 1957. '*Kwela* Beat may Soon Sweep UK', *Rand Daily Mail,* 25 March.

SABC NEWS. 26 May 2014. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yEhG4T_w8OE&t=119s>. Access: 27 September 2021.

SCHADEBERG, J. (Director). (1995) *Looking back* [Short Film]. Schadeberg Productions.

SOBISO, K. 2019. 'Unruly Native Until the End', *Mail & Guardian,* 21 June.

STAFF REPORTER. 1957. 'PUTCO Ultimatum to Go On, Say leaders', *Rand Daily Mail,* 21 February.

STAFF REPORTER. 1958. 'Man this *Kwela* is Hep!', *Rand Daily Mail,* 16 May

STAFF REPORTER. 1958. 'Shuddering, Shrugging, Hunching, Panting … They 'Dance' the *Kwela', Rand Daily Mail*, 23 May.

STAFF REPORTER. 1958. '"King Kong" First African Musical', *Rand Daily Mail,* 27 June.

STAFF REPORTER. 1958. 'Hall Hitch may Knock the Rock', *Rand Daily Mail,* 16 August.

SUNDAY TIMES. 1966. 'Dr. Verwoerd', 11 September.

SUNDAY TIMES. 1961. 'S.A. Events in 1960', *The Sunday Times,* 03 December.

THE FUGUARD THEATRE. 24 July 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_-JOYA2Cn-4 >. Access: 01 July 2022.

TREW, B. 1961. 'All Ready for Royalty', *Rand Daily Mail,* 20 February.

UMTETELI WA BANTU. 1922. 'Statutory Morality', 18 March.

UMTETELI WA BANTU. 1922. 'Prohibition', 20 May.

UMETELTI WA BANTU. 1922. 'Low Whites', 30 September.

VERMAAK, C. 1964. 'Tip-off Led to the Raid on Rivonia', *Rand Daily Mail,* 19 June.

Secondary Sources:

ALLEN, L. 2003. 'Commerce, Politics, and Musical Hybridity: Vocalizing Urban Black South African Identity during the 1950s', *Ethnomusicology,* 47(2), pp. 228-249.

ALLEN, L. 'Kwela's White Audiences: The Politics of Pleasure and Identification in the Early Apartheid Period', *in* OLWAGE, G. (ed.) 2008, *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid.* Wits University Press, Johannesburg, South Africa.

ALLEN, L. 1996. '" Drumbeats, Pennywhistles and All that Jazz": The Relationship between Urban South African Musical Styles and Musical Meaning'. *African Music* 7(3) pp. 52-59.

ANSELL, G. 2004. *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music & Politics in South Africa.* Continuum Publishing Group Inc. New York, United States.

BALLANTINE, C. 'Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz Between the 1920s and the Early 1940s' *in* BALLANTINE, C. 2012, *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa.* University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Scottsville, South Africa.

BALLANTINE, C. 'Gender and Migrancy: Jazz Culture in the Early 1940s and the 1950s', *in* BALLANTINE, C. 2012. *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa.* University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Scottsville, South Africa.

BALLANTINE, C. 'Music and Emancipation: The Social Role of Black Jazz and Vaudeville between the 1920s and the Early 1940s' *in* BALLANTINE, C. 2012, *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa.* University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Scottsville, South Africa.

BALLANTINE, C. 'Music and Repression: 'Race', Class, and Gender in Black Jazz Culture up to the Early 1940s' *in* BALLANTINE, C. 2012, *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa.* University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Scottsville, South Africa.

BALLANTINE, C. 1989. 'A Brief History of South African Popular Music'. *Popular Music* 8(3), pp.305-310.

BALLANTINE, C. 2012. *Marabi Nights: Jazz, 'Race' and Society in Early Apartheid South Africa.* University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Scottsville, South Africa.

BALLANTINE, C. 2000. 'Migrancy, and South African Popular Music in the Late 1940s and the 1950s'. *Ethnomusicology* 44(3) pp.376-407.

BANK, L. 2011. *Home Spaces, Street Styles: Contesting Power and Identity in a South African City.* Pluto Press, London, United Kingdom.

BREAKEY, B. & GORDON, S. 1997. *Beyond the Blues: Township Jazz in the '60s and '70s.* David Philip Publishers, Claremont, South Africa.

BYERLY, I.B. 1998. 'Mirror, Mediator, and Prophet: The Music *Indaba* of Late-Apartheid South Africa'. *Ethnomusicology* 42(1) pp.1-44.

CAMARA, G.D. 2020. 'Faces of Blackness: The Creation of the New Negro and Negritude Movements in Harlem and Paris'. *Journal of Black Studies.* 51(8), pp. 847-863.

CHRISMAN, P. 'Black Atlantic Nationalism: Sol Plaatje and W.E.B du Bois', *in* CHRISMAN, P. (ed.), 1998. *Post-Colonial Contraventions: Cultural Readings of Race, Imperialism, and Transnationalism,* Manchester University Press, Manchester, United Kingdom.

CLARKE, N. & WORGER, W.H. 2013. *South Africa: The Rise and Fall of Apartheid.* Routledge, New York, United States.

COCKBURN, C. 'Discomposing Apartheid's Story: Who owns Handel?', *in* OLWAGE, G. (ed), 2008, *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against apartheid,* Wits University Press, Johannesburg, South Africa.

COPLAN, D. 1979. 'The African Musician and the Development of the Johannesburg Entertainment Industry, 1900-1960', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 5(2), pp. 135-164.

COPLAN, D. 2008. *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre.* Jacanda Media, South Africa.

COPLAN, D. 'Black Performance Culture Between the World Wars: the 'Situation''. *In* COPLAN, D. 2007. *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre.* Jacanda Media, South Africa.

COPLAN, D. 'Sophiatown: Culture and Community, 1940-1960'. *In* COPLAN, D.(ed.) 2007. *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre.* Jacanda Media, South Africa.

COPLAN, D.B. 2001. 'Sounds of the "Third Way": Identity and the African Renaissance in Contemporary South African Popular Traditional Music'. *Black Music Research Journal* 21(1) pp.107-124.

DALAMBA, L. 2013 '" Om 'n Gifsak te Versteek": "King Kong", The Apartheid State, and the Politics of Movement, 1959-1961', *SAMUS* 33(1), pp. 61-81.

DALAMBA, L. 2016. 'A Sideman on the Frontlines: Gwigwi Mrwebi and South African Jazz History'. *The World of Music* 5(2) pp. 67-89.

DAVENPORT, R. & SAUNDERS, C. 2000. *South Africa: A Modern History.* Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, United Kingdom.

DEVROOP, C. 2011. 'Music and Exile: Music, Exile and the making of culture and Identity', *Focus* 61(1), pp. 3-12.

DEVROOP, C. & WALTON, C. 2007. *Unsung: South African Jazz Musicians under Apartheid.* Sun Press, Stellenbosch, South Africa.

DUBOW, S. 2011. 'Macmillan, Verwoerd, and the 1960 "Wind of Change" Speech'. *The Historical Journal* 54(4), pp. 1087-1114.

DUNBAR MOODIE, T. 2017. 'Separate Development as a Failed Project of Social Engineering: The Flawed Logic of Hendrik Verwoerd'. *South African Historical Journal.* 69(2), pp. 153-161.

ERLANK, N. 2019. '*Umteteli wa Bantu* and the Constitution of Social Publics in the 1920s and 1930s', *Social Dynamics,* 45(1), pp. 75-102.

ERLMANN, V. 1999. *Music, Modernity, and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West.* Oxford University Press, New York, United States.

ETHNOMUSICOLOGY EXPLAINED. 09 February 2016. < https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D5iNtSNTvDs&list=PLGfoTvCrRi3WtZyY1Ux9CbYD P45U_lXl7&index=7>. Access: 10 February 2022.

FLEMING, T.D. 2009. *"King Kong: Bigger than Cape Town": A History of a South African Musical.* Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), The University of Texas pp. 1-374.

FRIEDMAN, M. 1994. *A History of Africans in Pretoria with Special Reference to Marabastad, 1902-1923.* Master of Arts (MA), University of South Africa pp.148-182.

GILBERT, S. 2007. 'Singing against Apartheid: ANC Cultural Groups and the International Anti-Apartheid Struggle'. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 33(2) pp.421-441.

GILIOMEE, H. & MBENGA, B. 2007. *New History of South Africa.* NB Publishers, Tafelberg, Cape Town, South Africa.

GRAHAM, S. 2014. 'Cultural Exchange in a Black Atlantic Web: South African Literature, Langston Hughes, and Negritude'. *Twentieth-Century Literature.* 60(4), pp. 481-512.

GULDMANN, C. 2003. *'A Symbol of the New African: Drum Magazine, Popular Culture and the Formation of Black Urban Subjectivity in 1950s South Africa'.* Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD). University of London pp.6-283.

GUNNER, L. 2019. < https://theconversation.com/how-zulu-radio-dramas-subverted-apartheids-grand-design-126786>. Access: 01 August 2022.

HAMM, C. 1991. '" The Constant Companion of Man": Separate Development, Radio Bantu, and Music', *Popular Music* 10(2) pp. 147- 173.

JAZZ ACADEMY. 01 October 2014. < https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zkVh8FIC2QY&list=PLGfoTvCrRi3WtZyY1Ux9CbYDP45U_lXl7&index=2 >. Access: 10 February 2022.

JOHNSON, R. 2009. '"The Girl About Town": Discussions of Modernity and Female Youth in *Drum* Magazine, 1951-1970'. *Social Dynamics.* 35(1), pp.36-50.

KAGAN, N. 1978. *African Settlements in the Johannesburg Area, 1903-1923.* Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand pp. 1-186.

KOCH, E. 1983. *Doornfontein and its African Working Class, 1914 to 1935: A Study of Popular Culture in Johannesburg.* Master of Arts (MA), University of the Witwatersrand pp. 42-242.

KUTSCHKE, B. & NORTON, B. 2013. *Music and Protest in 1968.* University of California Press, New York, United States.

LE ROUX-KEMP, A. 2014. 'Struggle Music: South African Politics in Song'. *Law and Humanities.* 8(2), pp.247-268.

LEKGOATHI, S.P. 2009. '"You are Listening to Radio Lebowa of the South African Broadcasting Station": Vernacular Radio, Bantustan Identity and Listenership", *Journal of Southern African Studies* 35(3), pp. 575-594.

LODGE, T. 1981. 'The Destruction of Sophiatown'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies.* 19(1), pp. 107-132.

LOTTERING, C. 2022. <https://southafrica.co.za/kwela.html>. Access: 09 February 2022.

LUCIA, C. 'Back To the Future? Idioms of 'Displaced Time' in South African Composition' *in* OLWAGE, C. (ed.) 2008, *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid.* Wits University Press, Johannesburg, South Africa.

MAGER, A.K. & MULAUDZI, M. 'Popular Responses to Apartheid: 1948 – c. 1975', *in* ROSS, R., MAGER, A.K., & NASSON, B. (eds) 2011, *The Cambridge History of South Africa.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, United Kingdom.

MAKEBA, M. & HALL, J. 1988. *Makeba: My Story.* New American Library, New York.

MAINGUARD, J. 2003. 'Bokkies/Moffies: Cinematic Images of Black Sexual Identity in "Zonk!" (1950)', *Journal of African Cultural Studies,* 16(1), pp. 25-43.

MAPINE, T. 2011. < https://historydesignlove.wordpress.com/2011/10/07/the-origins-and-history-of-drum-magazine/>. Access: 11 January 2011.

 MANNING MARABLE, W. 1974 'Booker T. Washington and African Nationalism', *Phylon,* 35(4), pp. 398-406.

MARKS, S. 'Class, Culture, and Consciousness in South Africa, 1880-1899', *in* R. Ross, *et al.* (ed.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

MASEKELA, H. & CHEERS, D.M. 2004. *Still Grazing: The Musical Journey of Hugh Masekela.* Crown Publishers, New York.

MASTERCLASS, 08 November 2020. < What Is Call and Response in Music? - 2021 - MasterClass>. Access: 02 July 2021.

MAYLAM, P. 1995. 'Explaining the Apartheid City: 20 Years of South African Urban Historiography'. *Journal of Southern African Studies.* 21(1), pp. 19-38.

MCHUNU, K. & MEMELA, B. 2019. 'Fashioning Resistance: The Unsung Fashions of Miriam 'Mama Africa' Makeba', *Alternation* 26(1), pp. 71-97.

MULLER, C.A. 2008. *Focus: Music of South Africa.* Taylor & Francis Group, New York, United States.

MURRAY, B.K. 'The Period 1924 to 1939', *in* CAMERON, T. & SPIES, S.B. (ed.) 1991. *A New Illustrated History of South Africa.* Southern Book Publishers, Johannesburg, South Africa.

NDLETYANA, M. 'Pan Africanism in South Africa: A Confluence of Local Origin and Diasporic Inspiration', *in* VALE, P., HAMILTON, L., & PRINSLOO, E.H. (ed) 2014, *Intellectual Traditions in South Africa.* University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

NICHOLSON, S. 06 July 2022., <https://www.jazzwise.com/features/article/kippie-moeketsi-and-the-birth-of-south-african-jazz>, Access 05 August 2022.

NIXON, R. 1994. *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond.* Routledge, London, United Kingdom.

OKIGBO, A.C. 2010. 'Musical Inculturation, Theological Transformation, and the Construction of Black Nationalism in Early South African Choral Music Tradition'. *Africa Today* 57(2) pp. 42-65.

OLWAGE, G. 'Apartheid's Musical Signs: Reflections on Black Choralism, Modernity and Race-Ethnicity in the Segregation Era' *in* OLWAGE, G. (ed.) 2008, *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid.* Wits University Press, Johannesburg, South Africa.

OLWAGE, G. 2008. *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid.* Wits University Press, South Africa.

PELLEGRINO, A.M. 2013. 'Employing Music in the History Classroom: Four Models', *The Social Studies* 104(1), pp. 217-226.

POSEL, D. 'The Apartheid Project, 1948- 1970', *in* ROSS, R., MAGER, A.K., & NASSON, B. (eds) 2011, *The Cambridge History of South Africa.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

RADITLHALO, T 'Modernity, Culture, and Nation', *in* R. ROSS., MAGER, A.K., & NASSON, B. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of South Africa.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

SAMUELSON, M. 2008. 'The Urban Palimpsest: Re-presenting Sophiatown'. *Journal of Postcolonial Writing.* 44(1), pp. 63-75.

SCHUMANN, A. 2008. 'The Beat that Beat Apartheid: The Role of Resistance against Apartheid in South Africa', *Stichproben,* 14(8), pp. 17-39.

SIMPSON, T. 2021, *History of South Africa: History of South Africa from 1902 to the Present.* Penguin Random House, South Africa.

STEWART, J., WHITE, M., HASSE, J., RAEBURN, B., MARSALIS, E., & BROWN, J., 2019. < https://twentiesjazzmusic.weebly.com/so-why-did-jazz-become-so-popular.html>. Access 30 July 2021.

SUTTNER, R. 2017. 'African Nationalism', *in* VALE, P., HAMILTON, L., & PRINSLOO, E.H. (eds), *Intellectual Traditions in South Africa: Ideas, Individuals and Institutions*. University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

THE JOURNALIST, 15 March 2015. <https://www.thejournalist.org.za/pioneers/mark-radebe/>. Access: 30 August 2021.

UNDERSTANDING MUSIC, 2021. < Primary Chords - Music Theory Academy>. Access 02 July 2021.

UNIVERSITY OF JOHANNESBURG, n.d. <https://www.uj.ac.za/library/information-resources/special-collections/online-exhibitions/the-teba-collection/umteteli-wa-bantu/>. Access: 18 January 2018.

VAN ONSELEN, C. 2001. *New Babylon New Nineveh: Everyday Life on the Witwatersrand 1886-1914.* Jonathan Ball Publishers, Johannesburg and Cape Town, South Africa.

VOSS, A.E. 1994 'Sol Plaatje, the Eighteenth Century and South African Cultural Memory', *English in Africa,* 21(1), pp. 59-75.

WILLAN, B. & MOKAE, S. 2020. *Sol T. Plaatje: A life in letters.* HiPSA, Cape Town, South Africa.

WOLPE, H. 1972. 'Capitalism and Cheap Labour-Power in South Africa: From Segregation to Apartheid'. *Economy and Society.* 1(4), pp. 425-456.