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A Modernised Man?

Changing Constructions of Masculinity in *Drum*
Magazine, 1951-1984

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Abstract

This study explores changes in the way that *Drum* magazine constructed manhood from the first edition of 1951 to its sale in 1984. The exploration is undertaken from a feminist post modern perspective that sees gender as a social construct and masculinity as a complex and multifaceted identity that is actively and creatively produced by men in relation to women and through the intersections with other identities such as sexuality, race, class, and ethnicity. I argue that *Drum*'s constructions of the masculinity of black men were infused with both black and white notions of race and sex, informed by both western and African discourses of gender. At times these different discourses were in competition, at other times they were more compatible; together they shaped the representations of manhood found in *Drum*, which in turn helped legitimise and normalise particular ways of being a man in mid to late twentieth century South Africa.

For my Dad

University of Cape Town

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[Dear Dolly] My father has already paid lobola for a girl I am not in love with, and keeps telling neighbours that she is my wife to be. I have a girlfriend of my own choice, and she is the one I want to marry and settle down with. Now should I marry the girl I have chosen, or marry the girl for whom lobola has been paid? I'm a modernised man, and I can't cope with the situation. The situation is leading me to cross swords with my old-timer who lacks understanding of my position.
- S.T., Sibasa.

A difficult problem indeed. It looks as though you will either have to defy your father, or marry a woman you don't love. But if you are a modernised man as you say you are, there is only one thing for you to do - marry the woman you love.¹

¹*Drum*, 22nd December 1975, p. 28.

Introduction

A Magazine of Africa for Africa¹

From the coffee plantations of the Gold Coast to the jazz-stung night-spots of Nigeria, from the slow pomp of Uganda's royal ceremonies to the livid frenzy of Kenya's turmoils; in the dreaming hamlets of Zululand; among Cape Town's fun-filled coon life and Johannesburg's teeming, thrilling thousands - everywhere, every month, *Drum* is read and relished.²

More than fifty years after its birth, "the lusty infant imbued with the spirit of its forefathers, and full of the promise of greatness in maturity", as *The African Drum* was described in an early editorial, seems to have lived up to these expectations.³ The "child", it was anticipated, would be nourished by the "untouched fertility of an entire continent ... wherein we may gather the rich produce of the African mind to nurture this ever hungry young African." In this, too, the magazine's producers seem to have been prescient, as the publication would develop into five separate editions produced by writers, editors and photographers from all over Africa. "On such a diet", the editorial continued, "can anybody doubt that the infant will thrive to glorious manhood and, beyond that, to a position of leadership among us all?"⁴ While today there is debate about the precise nature of this leadership, with some decrying the role of black writers for absorbing "into their consciousness the white stereotype of the black savage", others are "appalled" at such allegations.⁵ But, if there is disagreement about the nature of its influence, all would agree that *Drum* (as it was to become known) was an extremely influential publication. Even today, it remains something of an icon in South African history. As a present day commentator has observed "*Drum* dealt in a sober, wry, mocking, self mocking, angry, outraged and irrepressible way about the multifarious implications of being black in an African country run by Tarzan and Jane."⁶ It is these "multifarious implications" that are the focus of this study, and what follows is an exploration of change and continuity in the ways in which *Drum* represented black manhood between 1951 and 1984.

The post war South Africa into which the idea of "a magazine of Africa for Africa" was born was one in which rapid industrial expansion had been the norm for over fifty

¹*Drum*, March 1951, cover page.

²H. Nxumalo, January 1956, cited by S. Douglas, *Cape Times: Top of the Times*, 15th October 1999, p.

3.

³*Drum*, May 1951, p. 1.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵J. Matshikiza, *Mail & Guardian*, 20th - 27th April 2000, p. 6.

⁶*Ibid.*

years, and increasing numbers of “Africans” were becoming urban consumers.⁷ Between 1939 and 1952, the urban black population of South Africa more than doubled as the relaxation of the pass laws during the Second World War facilitated both the exodus of labour tenants from white farms and the townward drift of those responding to deteriorating conditions in the reserves. Census records indicate that there were more than two million black South Africans living in urban areas in 1951, compared to a little over one and a half million in 1946, and just one million in 1936.⁸ Although a variety of attempts had been made to limit and restrict black access to towns in the first half of the twentieth century, and, although these had shaped and contoured the expanding urban populations, they had limited success in arresting the urban influx. By the late 1940s, as urbanisation proceeded apace, a government commission had concluded that it was time white South Africa accepted the fact of black urbanisation on the basis that “the native population in the urban areas consists not only of native migrant workers, but also of a settled permanent native population.”⁹ Although the newly elected National Party Government had come into power in 1948 on the strength of promises to reinforce and intensify existing segregatory practices, with grandiose aims of resisting black urbanisation, it was this town based population, living in the segregated locations and black townships surrounding and sometimes even inside ‘white’ areas, that was to become the main audience of the new magazine.¹⁰

At the time when *Drum* was first conceived, there were a number of publications aimed at black South Africans, and, although some had black editors and writers, all of them were owned by white men. The Bantu Press, for example, publishers of the multilingual *World*, and the bilingual *Ilanga Lase Natal*, as well as *Imvo Zabantsundu*, was partly owned by the Argus Company and partners in mining and financial capital. Other potential competitors for a new magazine were *Bantu*, which was directly owned by the government, and *Zonk*, both of which were aimed at local audiences.¹¹ However, Bob Crisp, the originator of the idea of the new publication,

⁷N. Nattrass, *The South African Economy: Its Growth and Change* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 164.

⁸S. Terreblanche & N. Nattrass, ‘A periodization of the Political Economy from 1910’, in N. Nattrass & E. Ardington (eds), *The Political Economy of South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 13. In 1936 17.3% (1,141 million) of the black population lived in urban areas. By 1946 the figure had increased to 21.6% or 1,689 million and in 1951, when *Drum* was first published, there were 2,329 million (27.2% of the total) black South Africans in towns and cities (*South African Statistics 1980* (Pretoria, Department of Statistics: Government Printer (nd)), pp. 1.17, 1.13).

⁹*A Digest of the Fagan Report* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations (Henceforth SAIRR), nd), p. 7. Census records indicate that 61% of the urban dwellers in 1951 were men (*South African Statistics 1980*, p.1.17).

¹⁰The National Party rejected the recommendations of the Fagan Commission, which had stated that “the idea of total segregation is completely impracticable” (*A Digest*, p. 7).

¹¹*Bona*, which was started in 1955, was nominally independent but benefited from government funding

had something slightly different in mind. He envisioned an English medium magazine that would sell across the whole of English speaking Africa and be read by both rural and urban Africans rather than simply by black South Africans. But, as with other publications, if the money to establish the new magazine could be found, ownership and control would rest in white hands.

Crisp, progenitor of the monthly “Negro Periodical”¹², the magazine that was christened *The African Drum*, was extremely well known amongst white South Africans, having made his name as a fast bowler in nine test matches and as a tank commander during the Second World War. Twenty years of journalistic experience on the *Rhodesia Herald*, the *Bulawayo Chronicle*, and the *Cape Times*, as well as the London *Daily Express* and *Sunday Express* meant that he had the background to lead such a venture, if only backing could be found.¹³ Robin Stratford QC was the first to be approached for the £5000 that Crisp thought was needed to produce a magazine “for the whole of English speaking Africa.”¹⁴ Stratford, an Oxford graduate and the only son of the Chief Justice of the Union of South Africa, thought the idea promising and approached Jim Bailey.

Bailey’s family had long been involved in the newspaper industry. His father, Sir Abe Bailey, had taken over the three year old *Rand Daily Mail* in 1905 and had established Rand Daily Mails Ltd, a private company in which he was the largest shareholder. Ties were quickly formed with the newly established Sunday Times Syndicate Ltd, and the two companies worked in close association. Rand Daily Mails Ltd expanded in 1915, when it took over the rival *Transvaal Leader*, again in 1939, and yet again after World War II, in 1955 when it joined forces with the Sunday Times Syndicate to form South Africa Associated Newspapers Company (SAAN), “the second largest newspaper group in the country”.¹⁵

Although neither Abe Bailey nor his son Jim had ever participated in the daily running of this publishing empire, Stratford hoped to obtain at least a financial commitment from the latter who had inherited part of his father’s £10 million fortune

and had a board of directors including Dr Verwoerd, Ben Schoeman and Strijdom (B. Bunting, *Who Runs Our Newspapers? The Story Behind the Non-White Press* (New Age Pamphlet, 1959), pp. 2- 4)); *Drum* June 1984, p. 112. According to Sylvester Stein, *Zonk* “was very vulgar, all showbiz, football, no political issues. Although it was produced by blacks it wasn’t a competitor to *Drum*” (Sylvester Stein interviewed in London by the author, 23rd December 1999).

¹²A. Sampson, *Drum: A Venture into the New Africa* (London: Collins, 1956), p. 13.

¹³J. M. Ethridge & B Kopala (eds), *Contemporary Authors*, Vols 1-4 (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1977), p. 214.

¹⁴Radio Interview, Jim Bailey, SAfm, 25th October 1999. See also I. Uys (ed.), *South African Military Who’s Who* (Germiston: Fortress, 1992), p. 52.

¹⁵*South African Who’s Who 1951* (Johannesburg: Ken Donaldson Press, 1951), pp. 628,629.

after his death in 1940.¹⁶ According to Bailey, who was breeding horses and farming sheep in Colesberg at the time of Stratford's approach, "Stratford said he would put in £4,000 on condition that I put in the £1,000 to get the magazine started."¹⁷ In the context of the "thumping great income" enjoyed by Bailey as a result of his inheritance, combined with a boom in the price of wool, the deal was agreed upon and the first steps taken towards starting the new magazine.¹⁸ Thus it was that in March 1951 the first edition of a brand new English medium magazine - the sixpenny *African Drum* - was distributed to South African readers.

Appointing themselves directors of the new company, Bailey, Crisp and Stratford made the last Chairman and registered their office in Wale Street, Cape Town.¹⁹ The new magazine's audience was expected to be the "150,000,000 African inhabitants of the continent" who would purchase the publication because it aimed to "express their thoughts, their impulses, their endeavours and, ultimately, their souls." In an effort to attract advertising, manufacturers were informed that "in the Union and Rhodesia alone the African spends £90,000,000 every year" and that "the African will buy more readily from the advertiser in his own magazine than from elsewhere."²⁰

The birth of this "lusty infant" marked the beginning of a significant period for South African publishing in more ways than one. In under 10 years, for example, the South African edition was to be joined by locally edited volumes in East, West and Central Africa and was claiming to reach wider audiences than any other periodical on the continent.²¹ It was, according to one analyst, "one of the most popular magazines in Anglophone Africa in the 1960s and 1970s".²² Its influence was widely felt - Soyinka, for example, records that the "average Nigerian reader" of the mid 1950s "was weaned on *Drum*".²³ At the same time its writers were admired and the

¹⁶E. Potter, *The Press as Opposition: The Political Role of South African Newspapers* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1975), pp. 41-44; M. Block (ed.), *Current Biography 1940* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1940), p. 40; Sampson, *Drum*, p. 14.

¹⁷Radio Interview, Jim Bailey, SAfm, 25th October 1999.

¹⁸A. Caccia (ed.), *The Beat of Drum: The Rise of Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan in association with *Drum*, 1982), p. 123.

¹⁹*Drum*, March 1951, p. 1.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 2.

²¹ In 1958, *Drum* claimed a readership of 3,500,000 million readers in South, Central, East and West Africa (*Selling Age*, May 1958, p. 8). "For the first time in its history, *Drum* achieved a sale through all its editions of 250,000 - an achievement no other magazine in Africa has even begun to approach" (*Drum*, November 1959, p. 70).

²²K. Mutongi, 'Dear Dolly's Advice: Representations of Youth, Courtship, and Sexualities in Africa, 1960-1980', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 1, 2000, p. 1. I am indebted to Trish van der Spuy for alerting me to this reference.

²³W. Soyinka, *Art, Dialogue and Outrage* (Ibadan: New Horn Press, 1988), p.168. Thanks to Helen Bradford for drawing my attention to this.

magazine “particularly enjoyed by students” across the continent.²⁴ Even Julius Nyerere allegedly supported *Drum* as it “could be of real value to us” through “your pictures - which attract people’s eyes and minds - you make people want to read and in this way you help us spread literacy.”²⁵ It was also not simply South Africans who wrote for or otherwise contributed to the magazine - writers and photographers from all over the continent would learn their trade through the various editions of *Drum*.²⁶

Closer to home, though, *Drum* had detractors as well as admirers. The magazine was *not* on the recommended reading list of the Transvaal Provincial Committee of the African National Congress, Transvaal Indian Congress, South African People’s Organisation and Congress of Democrats in 1956, for instance.²⁷ Another local commentator had nothing but condemnation for what he termed “Hollywood fashion” reporting and “screaming sensationalism”, even describing the reporters as “dogs which listened to whistles which no men ever heard.”²⁸ But sales were increasing steadily after an initial hiccup and were welcomed by another observer for having an immensely valuable impact on the psyches of black South African men and women, by helping them “begin to realise their own intrinsic importance as human beings” helping to “destroy the sense of inferiority and futility which has eaten into the very vitals of our national life, generation after generation.”²⁹ The Nationalist government, too, believed *Drum* to be a powerful shaper of public opinion, hence its constant efforts to assert tighter controls over the contents of the magazine from the late 1950s.³⁰ When these proved ineffective, the state attempted to force Bailey to

²⁴Nazareth argues that Taban lo Lyong admired the work of Mphahlele, and that Mangua was influenced by Motsisi (P. Nazareth, *An African View of Literature* (Evanston: North Western University Press, 1974), pp. 189, 221).

²⁵Nyerere cited in T. Hopkinson, *In the Fiery Continent* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1962), p. 221.

²⁶Amongst those who contributed via the foreign editions of the magazine were Cameron Duodu, Henry Ofiri, Christian Gbagbo, Nelson Ottah, Stanlake Samkange, George Okoth, Joe Mensah and Dapo Daramola. See A.Caccia (ed.), *The Beat*.

²⁷Bulletin of the Transvaal Provincial Consultative Committee of the ANC, TIC, SACPO, COD, March 1, 1956 p. 2 (Karis Carter collection, UCT, Reel 6: 2DC23:85/1).

²⁸D. Mokonyane, *Lessons of Azikwelwa* (London: Nakong Ya Rena, 1994), pp. 6, 38. Although Mokonyane did not mention *Drum*, in his dismissal of Bailey’s other paper, *Golden City Post*, as the “most openly blatant enemy of the PAC”, the grounds for his antipathy (that it was “a paper of the big money-bags, the millionaires and the high powered tycoons”) presumably also applied to *Drum* (*The Africanist* February/March 1960, pp. 3, 4 (Karis Carter collection, UCT, Reel 6: 2:PP1:85/1)).

²⁹A.P. Mda also felt that that magazines such as *Drum* “reflect[ed] a spineless liberalistic philosophy... glorify[ing] the fads and foibles of the most degenerate classes among the western nations” (A.P. Mda, ‘African Youth and the Pictorial’, cited in G. Gerhardt, *Black Power in South Africa: The Evolution of an Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 129. I have been unable to locate the original text of this article.

³⁰A number of analysts have commented on the directness of the state’s response to articles published in *Drum*. “The Prisons Act of 1959 arose directly from an article written in *Drum*” recorded Tomaselli et al in 1987 (K. Tomaselli, R. Tomaselli & J. Muller (eds), *Narrating the Crisis: Hegemony and the South African Press* (Johannesburg: Richard Lyons & Co, 1987), p. 99.

sell the magazine as part of a wider conspiracy to gain control of the independent media - an attempt that ended in the public scandal of “Muldergate” and almost toppled the apartheid regime. Even today, past editions of the magazine remain contentious with government, with the African National Congress claiming recently that “[t]hroughout the Fifties... publications [such as *Drum*] consciously cultivated the notion that African news was necessarily about alcohol abuse, sex, crime, rape and corruption...[m]any contemporary African journalists have not broken with this tradition.”³¹

A variety of contemporary social commentators, cultural critics and academic analysts have identified *Drum* and its writers, as having made an important contribution to the South African literary and cultural scene; one going so far as to describe it as “Africa’s Leading Magazine” while another identified the 1950s as “the *Drum* decade”.³² According to Chetty, “the 1950s renaissance in black culture is often referred to as “The *Drum* Era”.³³ Chapman has observed that “the stories of *Drum* extend beyond their own communicative immediacy to release an extra-textual dimension of significance.”³⁴ More recently, Driver has declared that “*Drum* magazine is crucial in South African literary and cultural history.”³⁵ The significance attached to *Drum* has meant that the magazine has been the subject of a great deal of interest from within and without the academy. Former editors have published books reminiscing about their time at *Drum* and even seen these books go into reprint.³⁶ Former journalists have published memoirs and biographies that acknowledge the significance of their time at *Drum*.³⁷ Various collections of the texts first published

³¹African National Congress Submission on racism in the media to the Human Rights Commission, cited in J. Matshikiza, *Mail & Guardian*, 20th - 27th April 2000, p. 6.

³²D. Woodson, *Drum: An Index to Africa’s Leading Magazine 1951 - 1961* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1989). Helen Bradford has suggested that *Drum* has been studied more than other black publications simply because it was produced entirely in English and thus more accessible to an English speaking white dominated academy.

³³D.J. Chetty, ‘A Drag at Madame Costello’s’, in M. Gevisser & E. Cameron (eds), *Defiant Desire* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1994), p. 115.

³⁴M. Chapman, *More than Telling a Story* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1989), p. 184.

³⁵D. Driver, ‘*Drum* Magazine (1951-9) and the Spatial Configuration of Gender’, in K. Darian-Smith, L. Gunner & S. Nuttall (eds), *Text, Theory, Space: Land, Literature and History in South African and Australia* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 231.

³⁶A. Sampson, *Drum*; A. Sampson, *Drum: An African Adventure and Afterwards* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1983); T. Hopkinson, *In the Fiery Continent*; S. Stein, *Who Killed Mr Drum?* (Bellville: Mayibuye Books, 1999); H. Tyler, *Life in the Time of Sharpeville and Wayward Seeds of the New South Africa* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 1995).

³⁷See for example T. Matshikiza, *Chocolates for my Wife* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1985); B. Modisane, *Blame me on History* (Johannesburg: Ad Donker, 1986); E. Mphahlele, *Down Second Avenue* (London: Faber & Faber, 1989); L. Nkosi, *Home & Exile* (London: Longman, 1965). See also N. Chabani Manganyi’s biography of Mphahlele, *Exiles and Homecomings* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983).

in the magazine have been republished - some by the publishers of *Drum*, and others by independent editors.³⁸ The fiction published by the magazine has been the subject of a couple of foreign Doctoral theses, as well as a South African Masters thesis, while articles exploring a variety of aspects of the publication have appeared in academic journals, and this study adds to this list.³⁹ Even today newspaper stories reflecting on the significance and legacy of the early *Drum* appear from time, reiterating the important historical and cultural legacy that it is considered to have left.⁴⁰ The Nat Nakasa Award for Courageous Black Journalism was established in 1998, and a documentary film of his life screened on prime time South African television in November of the following year.⁴¹ Some of the photographs that first appeared in *Drum* have assumed the status of icons of the age, winning international acclaim and awards and appearing in exhibitions such as that in the Market Theatre Johannesburg in 1987, the Guggenheim in New York in 1996 and the South African National Gallery in 1998.⁴² In the late 1990s, the photographs even became the subject of a protracted legal wrangle over copyright.⁴³

³⁸See, for example, M. Chapman (ed.), *The Drum Decade*; E. Patel (ed.), *The World of Can Themba* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985); E. Patel (ed.), *The World of Nat Nakasa* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1975); M. Mutloatse (ed.), *Casey & Co* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1983); C. Themba, *The Will to Die* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1982); A. Caccia (ed.), *The Beat*; T. Matshikiza, *With the Lid Off: South African Insights from Home and Abroad, 1959-2000* (Milpark: Mail & Guardian Publications, 2000). Some of the short stories have also appeared as parts of other collections.

³⁹D. Rabkin, 'Drum Magazine (1951-61): And the Works of Black South African Writers Associated With It' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: University of Leeds, 1975); M. Trump, 'Literature against Apartheid: South African Short Fiction in English and Afrikaans since 1948' (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: University of London, 1985); M. Nicol, *A Good Looking Corpse* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1991); A British journal of photography dedicated almost an entire edition to the discussion of the work produced by *Drum* (*Creative Camera*, No. 235/236 July/August, 1984). See also D. Hart, 'South African Literature and Johannesburg's Black Urban Townships' (Unpublished MA Thesis: University of the Witwatersrand, 1984); M. Chapman (ed.), *The Drum Decade*; D. Dodson, 'The Four Modes of Drum: Popular Fiction and Social control in South Africa', *African Studies Review*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 1984; K. Sole, 'Class Continuity and Change in Black South African Literature, 1948-60', in B. Bozzoli (ed.), *Labour, Townships and Protest: Studies in the Social History of the Witwatersrand* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1979); D. Woodson, 'Pathos, Mirth, Murder, and Sweet Abandon': The Early Life and Times of Drum', in J. Witherell (ed.), *African Resources and Collections: Three Decades of Development* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1989); D. Woodson, *Drum: An Index*; D. Maughan-Brown, 'The Anthology as Reliquary? Ten Years of Staff Rider and the Drum Decade', in *Current Writing: Text and Reception in Southern Africa*, Vol. 1, 1989; M. Ndebele, 'The Ethics of Intellectual Combat', in *Current Writing: Text and Reception in Southern Africa*, Vol. 1, 1989.

⁴⁰See for example A. Sampson in *The Sunday Independent* 1st April 2001, p.13; J. Matshikiza in the *Mail & Guardian*, 20th - 27th April 2000, p. 6; S. Douglas, *Cape Times: Top of the Times*, 15th October 1999, pp. 3, 15; A. Dodd, *Sunday Times: Lifestyle*, 24th October 1999; P. Morris, *New African*, October 1984, p. 52.

⁴¹Nakasa was a journalist employed at *Drum*. A. Dodd, *Lifestyle*, 24th October 1999, p. 6; A. Maimane, *Mail & Guardian*, 14th - 20th July 2000, p. 31.

⁴²In 1959 *Drum* photographer Ian Berry was the first ever non Fleet Street journalist to win the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* photography award (T. Hopkinson, *In the Fiery Continent*, p. 227); C. Bell

Most of the academic studies of *Drum* have emerged from the English departments of various Universities and have tended to explore the *Drum* of the 1950s. Focusing mainly on the short stories, of which a great many were published in the early *Drum*, these works assess both the stories and the magazine on the basis of primarily literary criteria.⁴⁴ As a category of analysis, gender as a social and textual construct is largely missing. Driver is one of the few who refuses to take questions of gender for granted, and her work also examines more than just the fiction, using adverts, problem pages, short stories and articles to explore the interplay between representations of men and women in the magazine. Her primary focus, though, has been on the editions of the 1950s and on an analysis of *Drum's* construction of African femininity.⁴⁵ Matt Fenwick is another who has problematised gender identity. His work has explored *Drum's* portrayal of a specific group of men, and the ways in which the magazine represented these men simultaneously as township gangsters and as celebrity figures. What is of interest to Fenwick is the manner in which the magazine maintained an uneasy balance between its disapproval of violence and criminal acts on the one hand, and its celebration on the other of those who resisted the white state. But like Driver, he too explores only the 1950s and, furthermore, fails to discuss the ways in which the magazine's representations of women reinforced or undermined the images and ideas about gangsters.⁴⁶

This study emerges from a different tradition and is informed by a different set of assumptions from those underpinning these literary analyses. As an historical inquiry, the focus is on how and in what ways aspects of the magazine changed or did not change. Furthermore, one of the primary assumptions underpinning this study and one emerging from a long tradition of feminist scholarship is that gender is an important social construct. My aim is to explore change and continuity in *Drum's*

(ed.), *In/Sight: African Photographers 1940 to the Present* (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 1996); P. Sanner (ed.) *Eye Africa: African Photography 1840 -1998* (Cape Town: South African National Gallery, 1998).

⁴³ "The long and bitter battle by ex-*Drum* photographer Jurgen Schadeburg to reclaim ownership of his photographs from Jim Bailey" was finally won by Schadeburg (<http://wn.apc.org/...961004/arts1.html>; <http://wn.apc.org/...970815/arts62.html>). Several books containing collections of the work of the *Drum* photographers have been published. See for example J. Schadeburg (ed.), *The Fifties people of South Africa* (Johannesburg: Bailey's African Photo Archives, 1987); J. Schadeburg, *The Finest Photos from the Old Drum* (Johannesburg: Bailey's African Photo Archives, 1987); see also *Creative Camera*, No. 235/236 1984.

⁴⁴ *Drum* ceased to appear as an independent magazine at the beginning of 1965 and only reappeared again in 1968. The writers of the later *Drum* were journalists rather than novelists, poets or storytellers, and have thus attracted less interest from English departments.

⁴⁵ D. Driver, 'Drum Magazine'.

⁴⁶ M. Fenwick, "Tough Guy, eh?": The Gangster Figure in *Drum*', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 4, December 1996.

representations of gender - specifically masculinities - from its birth in 1951 to its sale in 1984, and to locate these changes and continuities within their social and historical contexts. Before embarking on this, though, it is necessary to outline the general theoretical framework and understanding underpinning my approach, as well as to consider the broader academic terrain upon which the study is located.

Connell makes the point that all societies make use of gender regimes - that is, the patterning of relationships between, and within, groups of men and women - and that "[t]he overall patterning of gender regimes, together with the gender patterning of culture and personal life, may be called the *gender order* of a society." He goes on to add that "implicit in these concepts" is the notion "that gender regimes and gender orders are historical products and subject to change in history".⁴⁷ Having discovered at an early age that each of us is embedded in a particular gender regime (itself part of a broader gender order) each of us experiences, interprets and responds to our individual worlds from the point of view of gendered beings, i.e. as boys/girls or men/women operating within the gender regimes and orders that frame, surround, and structure our individual lives. Gender helps to inform an individual's deeds and thoughts; it structures his or her interpretation of reality in particular ways. "Gender", observes Kimmel, "is a central feature of social life" and "one of the central organising principles around which our lives revolve".⁴⁸

Having said that, it is also clear that each individual experiences and makes sense of his or her world from a position located at the intersection of a multitude of competing, shifting, fragmentary, complementary and often contradictory identities alongside gender such as race, class, ethnicity, religion, age and sexuality.⁴⁹ As Patricia Hill Collins has warned, "by emphasising the dichotomy of greatest concern - in this case, male/female - feminists inadvertently forward a critique... that ignores the connectedness of other dichotomies."⁵⁰ On the one hand, I attempt to maintain a balance between the intersections - or interactions as Connell would put it - of these dichotomies, while on the other hand recognising that these dichotomies are themselves social constructs emerging out of a long tradition of academic inquiry. Feminist scholars have produced a substantial body of work critiquing western

⁴⁷R. Connell, *The Men and the Boys* (Cambridge: Polity & Blackwell, 2000), p. 29, emphasis in original.

⁴⁸M. Kimmel & M. Messner (eds), *Men's Lives* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), p. 2.

⁴⁹Simply adding gender as another item in a long list of variables is also problematic. See for example M. Baca Zinn & B. Thornton Dill, 'Theorizing Difference from Multiracial Feminism', *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 1996; B. Thornton Dill, 'Women's Studies, Gender, and 'Intersectionality'', Paper presented at the International Institute for Women's Studies, University of Maryland, College Park, July 2001; P. Hill Collins, 'Moving beyond Gender: Intersectionality and Scientific Knowledge', in M. Marx Fereee, J. Lorber & B. Hess (eds), *Revisoning Gender* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1998).

⁵⁰P. Hill Collins, 'Moving Beyond Gender'.

notions of duality and the essentialism that has gone hand in hand with dual categories of distinction, pointing to the social and historical construction of the binary categories of male/female, nature/culture, rational/irrational, mind/body and so on.⁵¹

Noting that “[a]lthough, in the broader culture, natural knowledge and social knowledge have appeared as mutually exclusive,” Petersen argues that “it has become increasingly clear that *all* knowledge, including biological knowledge, is socially produced and reflects prevailing assumptions about normal embodiment and subjectivity.”⁵² In terms of sexuality, in seeing the direction or object of desire as socially constructed, I take what Vance has described as a “middle ground” position between those who see the direction of desire and object of erotic interest as fixed, and those who see there to be no “essential, undifferentiated, sexual ‘impulse,’ ‘sex drive,’ or ‘lust,’” residing in the body itself.⁵³ As Vance so colourfully observes “[t]he physiology of orgasm and penile erection no more explain a culture’s sexual schema than the auditory range of the human ear explains its music.”⁵⁴ Thus I attempt to problematise “Euro-American folk and scientific beliefs” about sexuality and gender in order to avoid projecting them onto other groups.⁵⁵ In understanding the meanings and significances attached to the kinds of dichotomies problematised by feminist scholars (as well as the dichotomies themselves) to be culturally and historically specific, I imagine gender, sexuality, masculinity and femininity as socially and historically constructed identities that inform and shape each other as they are enacted in daily life, as they are themselves shaped by the dialectical relationships with competing and complementary identities such as race, class, ethnicity and so on.

The understanding of gender outlined above is further informed by the rapidly expanding body of work around men and masculinity.⁵⁶ For the purposes of this

⁵¹ As Germond has noted “South African history is saturated with binary oppositions, for binaries were the grist of the apartheid mill - white versus black, Christian versus communist, patriot versus traitor” (P. Germond & S. de Gruchy, *Aliens in the Household of God: Homosexuality and the Christian Faith in South Africa* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1997), p. 194).

⁵² A. Petersen, *Unmasking the Masculine: ‘Men’ and ‘Identity’ in a Sceptical Age* (London: Sage, 1998), p. 2 (original emphasis); A. Cornwall & N. Lindisfarne, *Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 10; A. Ferber, *White Man Falling* (Rowman & Littlefield: Lanham, 1999), chap. 1.

⁵³ C. Vance, ‘Social Construction Theory and Sexuality’, in M. Berger, B. Wallis & S. Watson (eds), *Constructing Masculinity* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 43.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁵⁶ See for example the following collections: H. Brod (ed.), *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men’s Studies* (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987); R. Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); M. Kimmel (ed.), *Changing Men: New Directions in Research on Men and*

study, masculinity is understood as destabilised, as having forfeited “its previous transparency, its taken for grantedness, its normalcy.”⁵⁷ Following Berger, masculinity is “realised here not as a monolithic entity, but as an interplay of emotional and intellectual factors - an interplay that directly implicates women as well as men, and is mediated by other social factors, including race, sexuality, nationality, and class.”⁵⁸ Like femininity, masculinity is conceived as a complex and multifaceted identity that is actively and creatively produced by men through the intersecting relationships with other identities such as those of sexuality, race, class and ethnicity in each particular historical and cultural context. In the sense that each man has to construct his own masculinity there are then, as Connell has claimed, multiple masculinities where each specific version “can be seen as a crucial point of intersection of different forms of power, stratification, desire and subjective identity formation”.⁵⁹

Having said that, it further needs to be noted that the different versions of masculinity emerging from the changing confluence of these intersections are neither equivalent in terms of power, status and privilege, nor fixed, that is they take on power in relation to women and ‘other’ less valued forms of masculinity. While white, middle class heterosexual western men, for instance, embody and practise versions of masculinity that currently dominate those embodied and performed by, for example, black and/or gay men, it must be remembered that white middle class heterosexual masculinity is not monolithic.⁶⁰ Although not the focus of this study, the masculinities practised by white South African men are clearly strongly influenced by their relationships to masculinities practised by black men.

Debates about the usefulness of the terms ‘masculinity’ and ‘masculinities’ continue in the academy. It has been argued, for instance, that labelling masculinities as black

Masculinity (Newbury Park: Sage, 1987); M. Kimmel & S. Messner (eds), *Mens’ Lives*; A. Petersen, *Unmasking*; J. Pleck & J. Sawyer (eds), *Men and Masculinity* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1974); V. Seidler, *Rediscovering Masculinity: Reason, Language and Sexuality* (London: Routledge, 1989).

⁵⁷A. Solomon - Godeau, ‘Male Trouble’, in M. Berger et al, *Constructing Masculinity*, p. 70.

⁵⁸M. Berger et al, *Constructing Masculinity*, p. 3.

⁵⁹R. Connell, *Masculinities*; M. Mac an Ghaill (ed.), *Understanding Masculinities* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1996) p. 4.

⁶⁰For discussions around white masculinities in South Africa see K. Mooney, “Ducktails, Flick-Knives and Pugnacity’: Subcultural and Hegemonic Masculinities in South Africa, 1948-1960’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1998; S. Swart, “Man, Gun and Horse’ Hard Right Afrikaner Masculine Identity in Post Apartheid South Africa’, in R. Morrell (ed.), *Changing Men*; G. Thompson, ‘Making Waves, Making Men’, in R. Morrell (ed.), *Changing Men*; K. Du Pisani, ‘Puritanism Transformed: Afrikaner Masculinities in the Apartheid and Post Apartheid Period’, in R. Morrell (ed.), *Changing Men*; D. Epstein, ‘Marked Men: Whiteness and Masculinity’, *Agenda*, Vol. 37, 1998; R. Morrell, ‘The New Man’, *Agenda*, Vol. 37, 1998. For work on black masculine identity see K. Ratele, ‘The End of the Black Man’, *Agenda*, Vol. 37, 1998, as well as R. Morrell (ed.), *Changing Men*.

or white or gay verges on fixing precisely that which it seeks to explore.⁶¹ While masculinity is clearly social practice, blackness/whiteness simultaneously is and is not social practice, and it is for this reason that I refer to the “masculinities practised by black men” rather than the more compact term “black masculinities”. Petersen maintains that “although most pro-feminist ‘men’s studies’ scholars avowedly reject the idea of a universal masculine ‘essence’ and argue that there is nothing inevitable about male perspectives and behaviours, it seems ironic that they so frequently reify and essentialise ‘masculinity’ in their own work.”⁶² Feminist scholars have also warned that a focus on men and masculinities risks losing sight of the power inequalities located at the intersection of masculinity/femininity and may even serve to reinforce such imbalances.⁶³ But even critics have admitted that the concept remains extremely useful if one is able to guard against such dangers. By conceptualising masculinities as problematic, relational and contested at all levels of society, it is hoped that these difficulties have been successfully overcome in this study.

Another element of my approach is an understanding of the media, of which magazines are one aspect, as socialising agents, as influential interpreters of reality through the power wielded by editors, owners and writers over meaning and significance, in particular, the meanings and significances attached to gender. Hayward and Mac an Ghaill argue that:

ascendancy [of different masculinities] is achieved through processes of persuasion, having the power to define what is normal and ‘ordinary’ male behaviour. Power is linked to material practice, so that various social and cultural arenas provide the potential for the ascendancy of masculinities.... Hegemony is a social and historical phenomenon, where the constitution of what is defined as ‘normal’ masculinity is a process of production.⁶⁴

Magazines embody these “processes of persuasion”; they are in a sense vehicles of persuasion that reflect, produce and ratify what is defined as ‘normal’ - and what is ‘abnormal’ - for particular audiences in particular historical junctures. The discourse of a magazine inevitably “emphasises and privileges one version of reality over another”,⁶⁵ enabling editors, writers and even owners (themselves gendered products

⁶¹I am grateful to Kopano Ratele for alerting me to this debate

⁶²A. Petersen, *Unmasking*, p. 6. See also J. Hearn, ‘Is Masculinity Dead? A Critique of the Concept of Masculinity/Masculinities’, in Mac an Ghaill (ed.), *Understanding Masculinities*, pp. 213, 214.

⁶³See for example J. Hanmer, ‘Men, Power and the Exploitation of Women’, in J. Hearn & D. Morgan (eds), *Men, Masculinities and Social Theory* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990); J. Hearn in Mac an Ghaill (ed.), *Understanding Masculinities*, p. 213, 214; R. Morrell, ‘Masculinity’, p. 176.

⁶⁴C. Hayward & M. Mac an Ghaill, in Mac an Ghaill (ed.), *Understanding Masculinities*, p. 51.

⁶⁵V. Burstyn, *The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sport* (Toronto: University of

of society) to attribute particular sets of gendered meanings (out of a range of meanings) to the events or processes they deem newsworthy. Assumptions about gender also permeate the ways in which what is considered newsworthy is presented, helping to legitimise certain behaviours and attitudes, while marginalising others. Defining rape as “tough love” and rapists as “tough Casanovas”, as the male producers of *Drum* did in 1957, is just one particularly overt example of how the magazine was able to contribute to constructions of masculinity, femininity and gender that worked against women.⁶⁶

In her study exploring the significances and meanings of media representations of women and femininity, Macdonald argues *against* the idea that the “media merely represent or *re* presents reality to us”. Her position is that:

such an approach requires too many philosophical contortions. We would have to believe, first, that ‘reality’ is directly knowable and accessible, unfiltered by our own perceptions and beliefs, and capable of being presented through the media in virtually unadulterated form....[Instead] social reality is more elusive and more likely to be shaded by the brush of the investigator.⁶⁷

Other studies concur. As far back as 1948 one social commentator observed that “today’s media have replaced yesterday’s cathedrals and parish churches as teachers of the young and the masses”.⁶⁸ More contemporary cultural critics agree, arguing that churches, schools and “more recently the media” are “the key institutions which help to produce meaning”.⁶⁹ With specific regard to magazines, others have observed that they “are pervasive in the extent to which they act as agents of socialisation, and the ... degree to which they deal in and promulgate values and attitudes”.⁷⁰ They exert a “cultural leadership” that helps to shape consensus and ways of interpreting reality,⁷¹ acting as “aesthetic organisers of contradictory experiences”,⁷² and as

Toronto Press, 1999), p. 22.

⁶⁶*Drum*, June 1957, pp. 20, 22.

⁶⁷M. Macdonald, *Representing Women: Myths of Femininity in the Popular Media* (London: Edward Arnold, 1995), p. 3.

⁶⁸H. Lasswell, cited in G. Tuchman, A. Kaplan Daniels & J. Benet (eds), *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 3.

⁶⁹N. Edley & M. Wetherall, ‘Masculinity, Power and Identity’, in M. Mac an Ghail (ed.), *Understanding Masculinities*, p. 107.

⁷⁰M. Ferguson, *Forever Feminine: Women’s Magazines and the Cult of Femininity* (London: Heinemann, 1983), p. 2.

⁷¹E. McCracken, *Decoding Women’s Magazines: From Mademoiselle to Ms* (Hampshire: Macmillan, 1993), p. 3.

⁷²K. Drotner, *English Children and Their Magazines, 1751 - 1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p. 4.

“vehicles of social values”.⁷³ One study has even suggested that, “when confronted with a mismatch between the media version and reality”, the media version is selected as “the most publicly legitimised and widely accepted one. Knowledge derived from experience gives way to ideas lent authority and credibility by the media.”⁷⁴

There remains debate about the extent to which the values of the popular press dominate or control the ways in which we understand the world, and the above-mentioned studies would agree that the media does not have free rein to impose their own versions of reality onto a gullible and unwitting public.⁷⁵ But as Hall notes:

[T]he more one accepts that how people act will depend in part on how the situations in which they act are defined, and the less one can assume either a natural meaning to everything or a universal consensus on what things mean - then, the more important, socially and politically, becomes the process by means of which certain events get recurrently signified in particular ways.⁷⁶

As magazines - and the people who make them - are products of particular social and historical landscapes, they inevitably reflect the gendered contexts in which they themselves are made, and this ultimately shapes the version finally offered to consumers. This study takes a feminist post modern position that our understanding of the material world does not pre-exist language, but is constructed through it. While readers themselves construct meaning through their engagement with the texts, the range of available meanings is limited and framed by language and genre as well as the social and historical context.⁷⁷ As Ferber has noted, “reality itself is written within cultural systems”, and in terms of relations of power and dominance what is at

⁷³E. B. Phillips, ‘Magazine Heroines: Is Ms Just Another Member of the Family Circle’, in G. Tuchman et al, *Hearth & Home*, p. 119.

⁷⁴E. Fraser cited in M. Macdonald, *Representing Women*, p. 5.

⁷⁵Tuchman also warns that we need to take care not to see newspapers simplistically as disseminating the ideas of a ruling class (G. Tuchman, ‘The Newspaper as a Social Movement’s Resource’, in G. Tuchman et al (eds), *Hearth and Home*).

⁷⁶S. Hall, ‘The Rediscovery of ‘ideology’: Return of the Repressed in Media Studies’, in O. Boyd Barret & C. Newbold (eds), *Approaches to Media* (London: Arnold, 1997), p. 356.

⁷⁷C. Geraghty, ‘Representation and Popular Culture’, in J. Curran & M. Gurevitch (eds), *Mass Media and Society* (2nd ed.) (London: Arnold, 1996), p. 266. Both Tosh and Connell also support a position that attributes enormous power to cultural representations of gender (J. Tosh, ‘What should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth - Century Britain’, *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 38, 1994, pp. 181, 192; R. Connell, *The Men and the Boys*, pp. 43, 217, 225; R. Connell, *Gender & Power* (Cambridge: Polity, 1987), pp. 183-188).

stake is which and whose “narrative structure will prevail in the interpretation of events in the social world”.⁷⁸

Mutongi points to the ways in which black male readers further North “rewrote” letters to *Drum*, sharing their understandings through discussions and debates about the positions taken by letter writers. These readers constructed their own version of social reality through an engagement with the magazine and each other in which the magazine did not and could not simply impose its meanings on its audience.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, it was *Drum* that controlled which letters would be available for discussion, providing a written response to each in a format of its own choosing. Mutongi notes that “the reading process helped men confirm and reconfirm their sense of masculinity, and also gave them the opportunity to redefine their identities in accordance with norms they perceived to be more up-to-date.”⁸⁰ I would argue that the magazine was, itself, a highly significant source of these more “up-to-date” norms.

Most observations regarding magazines or the media as “experience organising manuals” originate in studies of foreign magazines, and of publications aimed mainly at white women. But the ideas remain relevant for an analysis of South Africa’s *Drum*, even though only twelve per cent of black readers were literate in English in 1951.⁸¹ Local research, although limited, suggests that South African readers are as vulnerable and as responsive as any other audience to both the overt and covert ideological messages embedded in magazines and newspapers. Hofmeyer, for example, points to the significance of the printed media in the construction of an Afrikaner identity in the early twentieth century. Lubbe has noted the role of a “newspaper’s journalism of indoctrination” in the 1929 election, while Terreblanche has begun an investigation into changes in the meaning of Afrikaans motherhood by

⁷⁸A. Ferber, *White Man Falling*, p. 7.

⁷⁹K. Mutongi, ‘Dear Dolly’s Advice’, p. 3. Mutongi is one of the few to explore the relationships between the media and African audiences, and has focused on the significance and meaning attached to the advice columns of *Drum*’s East, West and Central African editions. His focus is on the 1960s and 1970s, by which stage these were largely independent productions with local editors: By 1960 there were five different editions of *Drum* being produced in four different parts of the world. Furthermore the Ghanaian *Drum* was closed down as a result of political upheaval in the early 1970s and the Nigerian *Drum* sold to new owners after a military coup in 1974. See A. Caccia (ed.), *The Beat*, pp. 148, 160, and A. Sampson, *Drum*, p. 213.

⁸⁰K. Mutongi, ‘Dear Dolly’s Advice’, p. 23.

⁸¹In 1951 729,864 (11.7%) of the black population were able to read and write English (Union Statistics for Fifty Years, 1910-1960 (Pretoria: Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1960), p. A-22). However, literacy in English is perhaps not a good measure of *Drum*’s readership. A market research project conducted in 1974 amongst 291 residents of Soweto indicated that 41% of the men involved in the survey claimed to read publications aimed at black readers *despite* having had no formal education (A. P. van der Reis, ‘The Activities and Interests of Urban Black Men and Women’, Bureau of Market Research, Report No. 40 (Pretoria: Unisa, 1974), p. 56).

examining advertisements placed in local magazines.⁸² Ahmed has considered the manner in which black women's identities have been constructed in contemporary South African magazines, while Wilbraham has written extensively about the ways in which the sexual advice columns of local magazines reproduce hegemonic female subjectivity and heterosexuality.⁸³

With the exception of the work of Ahmed and Mutongi, these studies explore the dialectical relationships between the South African media and white audiences. Mutongi, though, explores the relationships between readers and versions of *Drum* that were not available in South Africa, while Ahmed's study looks at contemporary magazines and contemporary readers. This study, in contrast, is an historical inquiry into the changing and, often, contested versions of reality presented by a magazine aimed at black South African audiences. The perspectives informing it also serve to distinguish it from earlier analyses of *Drum*, which have tended to focus on the short stories. Viewing fiction as just one of many aspects making up the whole, this study, like Driver's, explores changes in advertisements, problem pages, readers' letters, journalistic reports, feature articles as well as cover pages. Where earlier studies focus on *Drum* of the 1950s, I widen the lens to include the period from the 1960s to the early 1980s when the magazine was sold. Where earlier works interrogate the magazine using primarily literary criteria, I ask questions about change and gender. Unlike Driver, I explore change in the representations of gender by foregrounding change in the construction of masculinities over a thirty year period. Unlike Fenwick who explores a very narrow construction of masculinity during a very specific time period, I scrutinise masculinity as a relational construction where mens' relationships with both men *and* women are significant.

Finally this study also responds to Connell's call in 1995 (while in South Africa) for "historical research which look[s] at the specific ways in which masculinities were created and by which a particular masculinity [becomes] hegemonic within

⁸²I. Hofmeyer, 'Building a Nation From Words: Afrikaans Language, Literature and Ethnic Identity, 1902-1924', in S. Marks and S. Trapido (eds), *The Politics of Race, Class and Nationalism in Twentieth Century South Africa* (London: Longman, 1987); H. J. Lubbe, 'The Myth of the 'Black Peril': Die Burger and the 1929 Election', *South African Historical Journal*, No. 37, November, 1997; H. Terreblanche, 'Mothers of the Nation: Afrikaans Women's Magazine Advertisements in the 1940s', *Kleio*, XXVIII, 1996.

⁸³J. Ahmed, 'Constructed Identities: Black Women in Contemporary South African Magazine Advertisements' (Unpublished honours dissertation submitted to the History of Art Department, University of Cape Town, 1995); L. Wilbraham, 'Avoiding the Ultimate Break-Up after Infidelity: The Marketisation of Counselling and Relationship Work for Women in a South African Advice Column', *Psychology in Society*, Vol. 21, 1996; L. Wilbraham, 'Few of Us are Potential Miss South Africas: an Analysis of Psychological Discourses about 'Attractiveness' of Women's Bodies in Advice Columns', *South African Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 26, No. 3, 1996; L. Wilbraham, 'Dear Dr Delve-In: A Feminist Analysis of a Sex Advice Column for Women', *Agenda*, No. 30, 1996.

society”.⁸⁴ Writing after a Masculinities Colloquium in Durban in 1997, Morrell noted that what he labels “Men’s Studies” only appeared in the South African academy in the 1990s - some twenty years after its emergence in Britain and America - where it “has remained somewhat neglected”.⁸⁵ Since then Morrell has edited the two collections exploring southern African masculinities, with the most recent one described by Connell as “[t]he foundation text of masculinity studies in southern Africa...a striking contribution to the literature”.⁸⁶

I hope to contribute to this growing body of research on South African masculinities in a variety of ways. Morrell notes that there tends to be a disjuncture between studies exploring media representations and the material world. In exploring *Drum*’s representations of masculinities, I attempt to make connections between the material world inhabited by its audience and the world represented by *Drum* through, for instance, the letters and queries submitted by readers. Admittedly, this correspondence may have been edited, and one can assume that some sort of criteria must have been applied to filter out those letters that were not published, but, even if *Drum* mediated the voices of its correspondents, the topics selected for discussion must reflect something of the material lives of the writers and, therefore, of the social contexts of the day. Furthermore, much of the material published in *Drum* consisted of investigative and social commentary reporting and, as such (like any archival source) provides “facts” of material life for historians interested in the period. For those inquiring into the material conditions of past lives, the printed media has traditionally been an important source. Advertisements, too, speak to the material world of consumption and commodification.⁸⁷ Thus, while foregrounding changing representations of gender in *Drum* magazine, I locate them within their social, material and historical contexts.

Morrell also notes that southern African studies of gender have tended until very recently to be “effectively synonymous with the study of women”.⁸⁸ But Morrell is

⁸⁴R. Morrell, ‘Masculinity in South African History: Towards a Gendered Approach to the Past’, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 37, 1997, p. 172.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 170-172.

⁸⁶*Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1998; R. Morrell, *Changing Men*, back cover.

⁸⁷See for instance T. Burke, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption & Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996).

⁸⁸R. Morrell, *Changing Men*, preface, p. xi. See also H. Bradford, ‘Women, Gender and Colonialism: Rethinking the History of the British Cape Colony and its Frontier Zones, c. 1806-70’, *Journal of African History*, Vol. 37, 1996; S. Swart, ‘Letter to Agenda readers’, *Agenda*, No. 37, 1998; P. van der Spuy, ‘Making Himself Master’: Galant’s Rebellion Revisited’, *South African Historical Journal*, Vol. 34, 1996; L. White, ‘Separating the Men from the Boys: Constructions of Gender, Sexuality, and Terrorism in Central Kenya, 1939-1959’, *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 1990.

heedful of Bradford's warning, insisting that it is necessary to remember that gender is a relational concept.

In focusing exclusively on masculinity, there is a danger of reifying masculinity and unconsciously taking men out of a gendered frame of analysis....[b]y looking at men alone, one can easily ignore their location within the web of patriarchal power....[s]tudies of masculinity must examine institutions where men and women relate.⁸⁹

Glaser is one of those who has fallen into this trap, arguing that "women [and, it would seem, homosexual men] are peripheral actors" in his study of South African gangs. Although he goes on to claim that "notions of gender identity and gendered power relations are central", his study "explores gang culture [which] almost by definition concentrates on the world of men".⁹⁰ A gendered analysis by definition involves exploring how people constitute relationships with other human beings - in this view the absence of women is *central* to the construction of gang manhood.⁹¹ Yet Glaser does not consider this, he does not problematise what it *means* to be a man - manhood, is construed unproblematically as coterminous with heterosexuality; despite the 'peripheral' nature of women's involvement it is not necessary to explain, or even acknowledge, the hegemony of heterosexual masculinity in gang formation, despite the work of Achmat that points to precisely these kinds of elisions.⁹²

In contrast, I see gender as fundamentally relational, with particular masculinities *always* established in opposition to femininities, *as well as* to other kinds of masculinities. As Anne Mager has said of the masculinities constructed in mid twentieth century Ciskei and Transkei, they "were constructed around a desire to assert control not only over male rivals but also over young females".⁹³ Furthermore,

⁸⁹R. Morrell, 'Masculinity', p. 176; H. Bradford, 'Women, Gender and Colonialism'. Some writers still feel it is possible to discuss masculinity[ies] in isolation from femininity[ies]. Despite observing that "[d]isputes over women were probably the single most important cause of friction" and that "[g]angs regarded women as territory-bound" for instance, Glaser still finds it possible to argue that gang culture had little to do with women (C. Glaser, 'Swines, Hazels and the Dirty Dozen: Masculinity, Territoriality and the Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1960-1976', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1998, p. 725).

⁹⁰C. Glaser, *BoTsotsi: the Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1935-1976* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2000), p. 6.

⁹¹P. Harvey & P. Gow, *Sex & Violence* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 5.

⁹²For a discussion about a gang that did privilege homosexual desire see Z. Achmat, "Apostles of Civilised Vice": 'Immoral Practices' and 'Unnatural Vice' in South African Prisons and Compounds 1890-1920' (*Social Dynamics*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 1993) in which he critiques C. van Onselen's *Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914*, Vol. 2, *New Ninevah* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1982) and C. van Onselen's *The Small Matter of a Horse: The Life of 'Nongoloza' Mathebula 1867-1948* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984).

⁹³A. Mager, 'Youth Organisations and the Construction of Masculine Identities in the Ciskei and Transkei, 1945-1960', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1998, p. 654.

while endeavouring to take care to examine the “interconnectedness” of men and women in *Drum*’s changing representations of men, women, masculinity and femininity, I try to do so by taking the material world into account. Overall then, within the theoretical framework and academic terrain outlined above, this study explores change and continuity in the representations of masculinity portrayed in *Drum* between 1951 and 1984, locating these changes and continuities within their particular social and historical contexts.

Thus, chapter one begins by exploring some of the changes that took place within *Drum* itself, from its initial struggle to establish an audience, through its battles with the state in the 1960s until the magazine became a monthly supplement to *Golden City Post* in 1965. Chapter two continues this narrative, beginning with a discussion of the reasons for the magazine’s conversion to a supplement before moving on to consider its rebirth as an independent publication in 1968. This chapter outlines the magazine’s development in the context of local and international change through the 1970s, to its eventual sale in 1984. As well as this changing context, some of the conflicts and compromises that emerged between, and within, different constituencies of readers, writers, advertisers, editors, employees, government officials and the owner are pointed to, as the backdrop for discussions in later chapters. Chapters one and two thus consist of a broad outline of the historical trajectory of *Drum*, framing the discussions in subsequent chapters by delineating some of the structures and tensions surrounding authorship and audience, voice and authority, race and class that influenced the making and shaping of the magazine, issues that are taken up in more detail in succeeding chapters

An exploration of the ways in which markers of rural masculinity were challenged in the context of the rapid urbanisation of mid twentieth century South Africa, and how one aspect of this challenge played out in the pages of *Drum* is the subject matter of chapter three. As Connell notes, “[m]asculinities are often in tension” and “when conditions for the defence of patriarchy change, the bases for the dominance of a particular masculinity are eroded. New groups may challenge old solutions and construct a new hegemony.”⁹⁴ Urban and newly urbanising men needed to find new ways of signalling their manhood to other men and to women, and this imperative found expression in *Drum*’s beauty contest of 1952. Set up to find the “ideal of African womanhood” the magazine was overwhelmed by entries from men wishing to take advantage of the beauty contest as a marker of their masculinity. Although they were reluctantly admitted to the competition it was never on an equal basis with female contestants, and the following year *Drum* banned men altogether from subsequent contests. Although, at first, repeated calls had to be made to ask men to stop sending in entries, by 1954 *Drum*’s audience seemed to have learnt the lesson.

⁹⁴R. Connell, *The Men and the Boys*, p. 13; R. Connell, *Masculinities*, p. 77.

For urban men and women “beauty” was a quality ascribed to femininity rather than masculinity.

Changing representations in *Drum* of the family, and men’s personal relationships with family members, are the focus of chapter four. The early 1950s had seen news reports, advertisements, biographies, and social commentaries published in *Drum* that had overwhelmingly located men inside families and inside homes. Parents, wives, children and grandparents were represented as significant figures in a man’s life, and men’s participation in domestic affairs, such as washing dishes, established as normal. Men worthy of mention on the pages of the early *Drum* were sons, husbands, fathers and even grandfathers whose wives, parents and grandparents had played an important part in making them what they were. In the early 50s *Drum* effectively represented as successful a masculinity that was built on the public recognition of men’s roles as fathers and husbands, as well as the support of *women* - of wives, mothers and grandmothers. But, over the course of the decade, this began to change until, by the 1960s, men were represented as isolated and autonomous, self made rather than family made, owing little if anything to kith and kin. Parents, grandparents and children warranted no mention whatsoever, and wives generally appeared only when the domestic interfered with a man’s execution of his affairs in the public world. Thus by the mid 1960s, when *Drum* ceased to be distributed as a monthly magazine, if men were portrayed washing dishes it was to show how low they had sunk. The chapter ends by considering a variety of possible causes for this change.

The next two chapters consider change and continuity in representations of sexuality and its relationship to racially defined and competing masculinities. Against the backdrop of *Drum*’s tension-filled relationship with the apartheid state, chapter five explores the tensions between racially defined masculinities. I suggest that in the South African context of apartheid, struggles between different groups of men combined with nationalist struggles in a discourse that served to marginalise homosexual masculinity. *Drum*’s assumption of universal heterosexuality provided the frame for its construction of a particular *masculinist* nationalist struggle in which a hegemonic white heterosexual masculinity attempted to deny manhood to black men. While chapter five argues that homosexual masculinity was constructed in opposition to heterosexual manhood, chapter six goes on to explore the establishment of *Drum*’s heterosexual masculinity in relation to heterosexual femininity and patriarchy.

In chapter six I show how the urbanised men who produced *Drum* incorporated western definitions of manhood into their discourse, advising males who had reached the legal age of majority under South African Roman Dutch law that, as full adults from the age of 21, they no longer needed to obey their parents. In endorsing this view of young men’s rights, *Drum* supported and legitimised some of the newer values emerging out of the social, economic and political changes begun more than a century

earlier, in which the patriarchal power of older men and chiefs had begun to be undermined. But if *Drum* presented a view that endorsed changes in patriarchy that disadvantaged older men, it also reproduced the idea that all men ‘naturally’ had authority over women. As discussed in the previous chapter, the masculinities practised by black men - in hopeful alliance with the masculinities practised by white men - were represented to be predicated upon heterosexuality. But, as this chapter will show, this was a specific kind of heterosexuality, one that assumed men’s entitlement to both sex and women. *Drum* portrayed the unequal power relations between men and women as both natural and unquestionable, pre-empting and pre-framing any protest by women in terms that suggested it was women rather than men who were inadequate and needed to change. The study ends with a conclusion that draws together the discussions of each chapter.

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Chapter One

Making and Shaping the African Drum: 1951 - 1965

Before exploring the changes and continuities in *Drum*'s representations of gender, it is first necessary to consider the development of the magazine itself, alongside an exploration of the changing social, economic and political context. *Drum* was, and remains, an historical product shaped by its changing context, as well as its audience, advertisers, owner and employees. The conflicts and compromises that emerged between and within these different constituencies need to be discussed and understood in order to make sense of the evolution of the magazine, and its changing representations of gender. Thus, what follows in this chapter is a broad outline of the context in which the magazine was born and subsequently grew to maturity, up until 1965 when it was transformed into a supplement to *Golden City Post*. At the same time this chapter provides an outline that sets the frame for the discussions in subsequent chapters by delineating some of the structures and tensions surrounding authorship and audience, voice and authority, race and class, sex and gender, that influenced the making and shaping of the magazine in this early period. Several of the themes and issues raised are pursued in more detail in succeeding chapters.

The post War South Africa into which the magazine was born was briefly described in the Introduction, and this milieu - of rapid industrial expansion and urbanisation - that had a strong influence on the magazine's development. To begin with, a problem threatening the magazine's survival - the resolution of which was to have a significant impact on the publication's future readership and voice - emerged within just a couple of months of the first edition of March 1951. A promising circulation of around 24,000 in March dropped monthly until, by June, it seemed that the publication's days were numbered. By the middle of 1951, it was evident that instead of thriving "vigorously to glorious manhood", the "lusty infant" was seriously ill. Instead of sales increasing, they were falling, and by July had dropped to 16,000. Furthermore, the start up finance had been swallowed up and Bailey, who had begun subsidising the magazine, claimed to be losing £2000 a month.¹

¹Sampson notes that circulation was 20,000 on his arrival (A. Sampson, *Drum: A Venture into the New Africa* (London: Collins, 1956) p. 20). Bailey records that "sales sank from 24,000 to 14,000" over the course of the first three issues (Radio interview, Jim Bailey, SAfm, 25th October, 1999). Stein suggests, somewhat facetiously, that "in a melancholy moment it might be thought that the total circulation was made up of himself [Bailey] and me [Stein]!" (S. Stein, *Who Killed Mr Drum?* (Bellville: Mayibuye Books, 1999) p. 36); A. Caccia (ed.), *The Beat of Drum: The Rise of Africa*

In hindsight, it appears that the trio of white men who owned and edited the magazine had misread the market. Their attempt to capture the interest of what seems to have been conceptualised as an undifferentiated and homogeneous English speaking African audience stretching from Cape Town to Cairo had seen a careful selection of stories and articles deemed to be of interest to “Africans”. But almost without exception these had been written by white men. After serialising Alan Paton’s *Cry the Beloved Country*, the “African taste” for music was considerably catered for by Hugh Tracey (styled as the “leading world authority” on African music) or, on occasion, by Eric Allen-Ballard.² African concerns with elders and ancestors were taken care of in the series “Know Yourself” which outlined and explained the tribal histories of Africans, and which was written by Kenneth Bradley, Professor Goodwin of the University of Cape Town, and Dr. Isaac Schapera of London. Different kinds of African housing were identified and discussed in detail by the knowledgeable James Walton, while Dr. Ernst Jokl dealt with African athletics. African women were not forgotten and recognising that pregnancy, childbirth and babies were central in African women’s lives, editor Bob Crisp arranged for Sister M. Morton to produce a series about childbirth that ran in May and June.³ Although African customers were increasingly scarce, recognition had, ironically, come from other quarters. Commending everyone for their efforts and declaring how impressed he was with the new magazine, the head of Johannesburg City Libraries, Mr R Kennedy, wrote to *The African Drum* to say he intended ordering copies for all the non-European libraries.⁴

Although the dominant influence of white writers and white management clearly played a part in the disappointing sales figures, there were other elements at play too. Part of the problem lay in the distribution network. Shops in white areas were often reluctant to stock “black” magazines lest this nurture a black clientele as “blacks weren’t really welcome in retail shops”.⁵ But, after the disappointment of the first couple of editions, a temporary employee was quickly placed in charge of distribution and circulation, while Bailey telegraphed London asking his friend Anthony Sampson to come and join the team to focus on circulation. Sampson, who had met Bailey at Oxford, had no previous training or experience in journalism, magazines or newspapers.⁶

(Johannesburg: Ravan Press in association with *Drum*, 1982), p. 124.

²*Drum*, March 1951, p. 12.

³*Drum*, May 1951, p. 34, June 1951, p. 34.

⁴*Drum*, April 1951, p. 46.

⁵S. Stein interviewed in London by the author, 23rd December 1999.

⁶A. Sampson, *Drum*, p. 13; A. Caccia (ed.), *The Beat*, p. 124; T. Hopkinson, *In the Fiery Continent* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1962), p. 11.

Despite Crisp's best efforts to accommodate African interests and Bailey's emphasis on distribution, sales remained stagnant. Suspecting that declining sales had as much if not more to do with the authorship and identity of the magazine than the distribution network, Bailey insisted on the hiring of Henry Nxumalo, one of the extremely limited number of black South African writers, who was even more exceptional in that he had journalistic experience. Crisp had "only employed white journalists" which, in Bailey's view "was nonsense in a black paper."⁷ But even Nxumalo's presence was failing to address the problem. Clearly something more needed to be done, and Bailey took control of the magazine from Stratford who subsequently left for England.⁸ He moved the magazine from its home in Cape Town to Johannesburg, "the pulsating centre of African life", and supported the inclusion of a questionnaire in June's edition that asked readers to rank the kinds of stories they enjoyed in the magazine.⁹

In Johannesburg, with Stratford on his way out, Nxumalo, Crisp and Bailey waited for Sampson to arrive from England. Bailey had warned Sampson that even though "the magazine is not going too badly...it looks as if it will be a tough struggle for some time. Your job may be organising distribution, doubling for the editor or selling advertising space: depending on how we stand when you arrive....Hoping to see you here very shortly".¹⁰ After Sampson's arrival in August, the next recruit to be crowded into the two small offices was the recent German emigrant, Jurgen Schadeberg, who joined *Drum* as a photographer in September. It was this team that made a concerted effort to address the critical matter of sales and circulation.

Endeavouring to establish the reasons for the "infant's" infirmity, Nxumalo escorted his colleagues and employer to "African homes and clubs", where the magazine's white producers were able to meet and chat with potential black purchasers.¹¹ It soon became clear that "*Drum* was at cross-purposes with its target audience", and Bailey, Crisp and Sampson began to discover that "while we were preaching tribal culture and folk-tales, they were clamouring to be let in to the Western world".¹² Their, seemingly, all male and long time urban resident informants explained: "Tribal

⁷Radio interview, Jim Bailey, SAfm, 25th October 1999.

⁸A. Sampson, *Drum*, p. 13. By November Stratford was no longer identified as the Chairman of the Board of Directors on the masthead, although he remained listed as a director until January 1952 (*Drum*, November 1951, p. 3, January 1952, p. 3).

⁹By September 1951 the publication had registered its new office in 3 Somerset House, 110 Fox Street, Johannesburg (S. Stein cited in *Creative Camera*, No. 235/236 July/August, 1984 p. 1444); A. Sampson, *Drum*, p. 15; *Drum*, June 1951, p. 1, September 1951, p. 3.

¹⁰Letter from Jim Bailey to Anthony Sampson, 1st June 1951.

¹¹It appears that all Sampson's informants were men and all were urban men at that (A. Sampson, *Drum*, pp. 20, 21, 24, 27).

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 21.

music! Tribal history! Chiefs! We don't care about chiefs! Give us jazz and film stars, man! We want Duke Ellington, Satchmo and hot dames!... You can cut out this junk about kraals and folk-tales and Basutos in blankets - forget it!"¹³ Another equally male source observed that "*Drum's* what white men want Africans to be, not what they are... What we want ... is a paper which belongs to us - a real black paper. We want it to be our *Drum*, not a white man's *Drum*." The view of Job Rathebe, a notable Johannesburg businessman and potential purchaser of *Drum*, was that the magazine was being misguided by what he described as the "white hand". Poor sales, argued Rathebe, were the consequence of black recognition that what was marketed as "their" magazine was actually a vehicle for white views, values and voices.¹⁴ The irony of an approach in which *Drum* was able, in all seriousness, to state that "No one is better qualified to interpret Kilimanjaro to Africans than Dr. Reusch" - a white missionary who lived on its slopes - had not been lost on Job Rathebe and other potential customers.¹⁵

Meanwhile some of the magazine's remaining customers had been responding to June's questionnaire.¹⁶ Although there had been no category for "hot dames" and "film stars", it seemed that the reader survey and *Drum's* investigation lead by Nxumalo had yielded similar results. Crisp, though, had envisaged a publication that believed in "the inevitable progress of the African" where white men had a responsibility "to encourage that progress and help increase its tempo", and was increasingly uneasy with a shift of focus away from what he viewed as educational and uplifting material. Responding to the reader survey by asking whether it meant that "the African of today is too much concerned with the twentieth century and, possibly, juke boxes to be interested in his tribal antecedents and environment" Crisp revealed his unfamiliarity with and judgemental disregard for those who had taken the trouble to respond to *Drum's* questionnaire.¹⁷

But, by this time, it was becoming increasingly clear to Bailey that the magazine's failure to thrive was essentially rooted in an editorial vision unwilling to accommodate the interests of its readers. For the magazine to survive it had to

¹³Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁴Sylvester Stein, who was to join the magazine after Sampson's departure, also noted that these first few issues of *The African Drum* "seemed designed for whites not blacks. And it was *for* whites because it was *by* whites" (S. Stein, *Who Killed*, p. 36).

¹⁵*Drum*, September 1951, p. 18.

¹⁶The results of the survey were published in the September *Drum*, where it was revealed that articles examining "Tribal Music", "Soil Conservation", "Farming", "Folklore" and "Religion" - all of which had been written by white male "experts" - were the least popular. Instead readers indicated that they preferred the fiction, biographies of contemporary black leaders and entertainers and accounts of change in modern Africa (*Drum*, September 1951, p. 1).

¹⁷*Drum*, March 1951, p. 3, September 1951, p. 1.

increase its circulation and this could only be done by acknowledging its fledgling audience. Thus, in the light of the reader survey and the ideas expressed by their urban male informants, Sampson, Bailey and Nxumalo aligned themselves against Crisp, agreeing that to boost sales the paper needed to respond positively to the issues raised by black readers. Most importantly what Rathebe had identified as the “white hand” had either to be concealed or removed, while, on top of this, the magazine needed more “cheesecake”, more crime, an urban rather than a rural focus, and, crucially, more black writers.¹⁸

As early as August, Sampson had begun to consider developing an African perspective:

We’ve got to more than double our present circulation if we want to continue on the present scale....I’ve convinced myself that we must make an all out assault on the popular market if we’re to succeed, with first class journalism and an element of sensationalism. And with this end, I’m planning at the moment some articles on Crime on the Rand which I think should be fairly spectacular, seen from the Africans’ viewpoint.¹⁹

The first article to focus on black life in contemporary urban South Africa was in September 1951 when the lunch hour in downtown Johannesburg was spotlit. Photographs of urban workers - conceived as men - consuming “Kaffir beer” and being served “enormous plates of food” by female “helpers” (as opposed to “workers”) in the Municipal canteen were published. Even unemployed men - not women - warranted a picture as they queued on the pavement for work.²⁰ The following month, the focus on crime on the Rand represented both Sampson and *Drum*’s first piece of investigative journalism, as well as the first story to deal with the difficulties of urban life. It was also the first story to respond directly to the demands of the readership: “black readers kept asking about crime....It simply wasn’t reported in the white press at all.” But if the topic was of interest to black readers, the voice remained that of a white man, although admittedly one who had relied heavily on black guidance: “[f]or my crime story he [Nxumalo] took me to criminal dens and had lots of input.”²¹

The tensions over the publication’s content and its responsiveness to readers continued to challenge the producers of the magazine. “One has to balance all the time between different types of reader and make sure that every article sells its way”

¹⁸*Drum*, September 1951, pp. 24-36.

¹⁹Letter from Anthony Sampson to his mother, 17th August 1951.

²⁰*Drum*, September 1951, p. 6.

²¹Anthony Sampson interviewed in London by the author, 18th July 2000.

argued Sampson. “At the moment I’m sure (and Jim [Bailey] agrees) that there’s a great deal of dead wood still which doesn’t sell to anybody”.²² Crisp on the other hand, was less sure, holding out for the original “romantic tribal *Drum*”, and staunchly resisting the changes advocated by his colleagues. Sampson tried to keep the peace “moving between Bob [Crisp] and Jim [Bailey] and trying to look after Jim’s interests without alienating Bob completely,” but the following months saw the disagreement between owner and editor escalate until the former pulled rank and fired the latter.²³ Although his name remained on the masthead until January 1952, Crisp was no longer part of the magazine after November 1951 when he was “more or less paid off” and Sampson appointed editor in his place.²⁴ With both Crisp and Stratford gone, Bailey assumed full financial responsibility for the magazine and accelerated the processes of change that had already begun.

One of the first changes, and one that happened even before Crisp’s departure, was to the name, and *The African Drum* became simply *Drum* in October 1951. In November, another development aimed to increase the visibility of black employees by listing the names of black employees under the heading of “African staff” on the mast-head.²⁵ Removing Nxumalo’s name from this category by giving him his own title as News Editor in December served to emphasise further the role of black writers in the construction of the magazine. In the new year, Nxumalo’s significance was highlighted yet again when townships dwellers were rewarded with £5 if they could correctly identify him as Mr *Drum*.²⁶ At the same time, a concerted effort was made to recruit more black employees, with sixteen year old Bob Gosani being one of the first to be employed under the new regime.²⁷ Todd Matshikiza, a close friend of Nxumalo, was identified as the music editor, even though his employment was on a part time basis until February 1952.²⁸ Impressing Sampson with his “passion for

²²Letter from Anthony Sampson to his mother, 2nd September 1951.

²³Letter from Anthony Sampson to his mother, 28th September 1951.

²⁴A. Sampson, *Drum*, p. 22. Schadeberg records that “Jim sacked Bob” (J. Schadeberg, *Finest Photos From the Old Drum* (Johannesburg: Bailey’s African Photo Archives, 1987), p. 7); *Drum*, January 1952, p. 3; Letter from Anthony Sampson to his mother, 1st December 1951.

²⁵This list identified Henry Nxumalo as Sports Editor, Walter Dimbar in charge of Distribution, G.L. Mangoaela in charge of Translation, Peter Clarke in charge of Illustration and G.F. Mtini responsible for Farming (*Drum*, November 1951, p. 3).

²⁶*Drum*, January 1952, p. 37. Lest anyone be unsure of Mr *Drum*’s identity, August 1952 saw the publication of a photo-story outlining Mr *Drum*’s (Nxumalo) activities over a weekend (*Drum*, August 1952, p. 15).

²⁷Initially recruited as a messenger, Gosani soon moved up to assist Schadeberg in the darkroom and saw his photographs published as early as December the following year (*Drum*, December 1953, pp. 10, 17).

²⁸D.E. Herdeck, *African Authors: A Companion to Black African Writing 1300-1973*, Vol. 1 (Washington: Black Orpheus Press, 1973) p. 229; A. Sampson, *Drum*, p. 170. Nicol states that Nxumalo introduced Matshikiza to *Drum* in February 1952 (M. Nicol, *A Good Looking Corpse* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1991), p. 82).

journalism”, twenty year old Arthur Maimane was offered a post as a cub reporter.²⁹ At about the same time, Gelana Twala, wife of prominent businessman Dan Twala, was identified as the women’s editor.³⁰ This was followed by the introduction of a “heartbreaks” column deliberately based on the pattern of European magazines and written, or so it appeared, by Dolly Drum, and so named in order to seduce readers into thinking it the work of Dolly Rathebe, a famous black singer and film star.³¹

By the end of 1951, it seemed that the “Africanisation” strategy had achieved some significant results.³² Circulation had climbed by 5,000 in October alone, and, as this positive trend continued into the new year, it was reflected in rising advertising revenue as manufacturers recognised the increasingly sizeable market the magazine was reaching.³³ The apparent removal of the “white hand” was further emphasised by the appointment of the (all male) African Advisory Board that had been promised in the first edition.³⁴ *Drum*’s first birthday in March 1952 saw circulation figures of “about 42,000 and still rising fast. It shouldn’t stop ... till we reach 60,000 or so, but the penetration takes time.”³⁵ After publishing details exposing the ill treatment of farm labourers in the district of Bethal, it seemed that readers were finally convinced they were dealing with a black publication. “[S]ales have done exceedingly well”, noted Sampson in a letter home, “we are sold out already although we printed 3000 extra.”³⁶ An editorial commented that:

²⁹Father Huddleston, Superintendent of St Peter’s, drew Sampson’s attention to Arthur Maimane (A. Sampson, *Drum*, p. 31); A. Maimane, *Mail & Guardian*, 14th - 20th July 2000, p. 31; J. Jahn, U. Child & A. Nordmann, *Who’s Who in African Literary Biographies, Works, Commentaries* (Tubingen: Horst Erdmann Verlag, 1972) p. 201.

³⁰It seems that Gelana Twala’s appointment was primarily cosmetic. There is no evidence that she did any writing for the magazine. What evidence exists indicates that the heartbreaks column - mainstay of the women’s pages - was written by what Sampson describes as a “worried syndicate of men” (A. Sampson, *Drum*, p. 122). Twala’s departure later on went unremarked and unnoticed (*Drum*, December 1951, p. 3; M. Nicol, *Corpse*, p. 40).

³¹Sylvester Stein interviewed in London by the author, 23rd December 1999.

³²The rapidly expanding numbers of black writers had also meant more office space needed to be found and new premises were located at 176 Main Street, Johannesburg (*Drum*, December 1951, p. 3).

³³This is attributed by Sampson to his article focusing on crime in downtown Johannesburg in October (Letters from Anthony Sampson to his mother, 23rd October 1951, 14th January 1952). Bailey attributed the turn around to the replacement of Crisp by Sampson. “He [Sampson] knew nothing whatever about Africa and was prepared to learn, whereas Bob Crisp who started it knew everything and therefore couldn’t learn anything and therefore was totally hopeless. So Anthony moved around with the public and learnt from them. This was the basis of getting the magazine going” (Radio interview, Jim Bailey, SAfm, 25th October 1999).

³⁴The mast head only included the names of Mtimkulu and Rathebe (*Drum*, January 1952, p. 3), but Sampson indicates that Twala, Xuma and Anderson were also part of this Board (A. Sampson, *Drum*, pp. 24- 25).

³⁵Letter from Anthony Sampson to his mother, 2nd March 1952.

³⁶Letter from Anthony Sampson to his mother, 10th March 1952. At this time *Drum* was boasting that its circulation had doubled in the last six months (*Drum*, March 1952, p. 3). Chapman notes that the

The *Drum* is now accepted as being the magazine that really stands for Africans.... *Drum* is produced for the Modern African Citizen in the Modern World.... We hear people say that no-one can consider himself an African of any importance unless he reads the African *Drum*, because the *Drum* is the only magazine that gives a complete picture of African life.³⁷

To convince readers further that *Drum* was indeed a black publication, a photograph of the staff was published on the magazine's second birthday in March 1953, in which the white editor and owner were conspicuous only by their absence.³⁸ But the most important component of a secure future remained in Bailey and Sampson's ability to identify and successfully recruit more black writers, and they must have been pleased when they persuaded thirty year old Can Themba of Pretoria to leave his teaching post to join the magazine.³⁹ Themba was soon followed by Gopal Naransamy, Peter Magubane, Casey Motsisi and finally by Ezekiel Mphahlele who was the last to join *Drum* while it remained under the editorship of Sampson.⁴⁰

The team of men put together by Sampson and Bailey had, by the beginning of 1954, achieved a great deal, and, while this was connected to the increasing visibility of black writers, it was also closely linked to the increased attention paid to the magazine's audience. "We had an urban audience" observed Sampson. "The rural audience had no money, couldn't read English and distribution was impossible. There was no future in it."⁴¹ But having accepted that there was no viable rural audience and considering it to be "a question of circulation at all costs", *Drum* had to reflect on the *kind* of urban audience it was dealing with.⁴² "[T]he hardest [editorial problem] I think is finding out what one's readers like - which in a European magazine would be relatively easy. I think that one proletariat is very much like another, but our readers

circulation was 20,000 in June 1951, 35,000 in early 1952, 65,000 by late 1952, and 70,000 by early 1954 (M. Chapman, 'More than telling a Story', pp. 187, 194).

³⁷*Drum*, March 1952, p. 3.

³⁸In this photograph Nxumalo was identified as the Associate Editor, Matshikiza as the Music Editor and Advertising Representative, Maimane as the boxing editor, and Gosani as the collector of "the photographs we dare not print." Also appearing were Mavis Kwankwa, Jurgen Schadeberg and "Special Reporter" Gonny Govender (*Drum*, March 1953, p. 27).

³⁹Themba had first drawn the magazine's attention as a writer of promise in April, when he was declared the winner of the previous year's short story competition. He also held a Bachelor of Arts degree from Fort Hare University.

⁴⁰M. Nicol, *Corpse*, p. 220; T. Hopkinson, *Fiery Continent*, p. 82, 83; C. Bell, *In/sight: African Photographers 1940 to the Present* (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 1996), pp. 269, 272; E. Mphahlele, *Down Second Avenue* (London: Faber & Faber, 1973), pp. 169, 187; *Drum*, 22nd July 1973, pp. 52 ff.

⁴¹Anthony Sampson interviewed in London by the author, 18th July 2000.

⁴²Letter from Anthony Sampson to his mother, 7th December 1952.

are obviously different in many ways.”⁴³ But there were clues. “[T]he typical reader” claimed Sampson, not only “was an urban Sowetan” but was an urban male Sowetan: although the magazine “got around a lot” it was “men who were the main buyers because they had the spare cash.”⁴⁴ Certainly, more and more black customers were parting with their sixpences. “As we gained black admirers, we lost white” records Sampson. “Subscriptions were cancelled, missionaries complained and schools stopped their orders. But circulation went up.”⁴⁵ Proof lay in the sales figures which had climbed to 55,000 by the end of 1952, to 82,000 by the middle of 1953 and to 100,000 by March 1954.⁴⁶

In Sampson’s view, it was the Bethal article at the beginning of 1952 that had represented the turning point: “we have gained about six thousand copies in one month, a certain amount of prestige and tremendous goodwill among Africans who are innately suspicious of any European owned paper and who now seem to feel that it’s *their* paper - an important asset in the long run.”⁴⁷ By June 1952 it seemed that this prestige and goodwill had been consolidated further:

We now have the biggest circulation of any non-European newspaper or periodical on the continent. But the more encouraging thought is that it seems that we have at last broken down the suspicion and antagonism that blacks have for any white controlled paper. Most of the big noises among the blacks now seem to trust us, and I find myself able to mix very freely among non-white people, which is very entertaining and rewarding, and fairly unusual.⁴⁸

But gaining both the interest and trust of these large numbers of readers or “lookers” had not been as straightforward a task as simply hiring more black writers and refocusing on an urban audience might suggest. *Drum*’s authenticity had constantly to be reiterated:

⁴³Letter from Anthony Sampson to his father, 2nd March 1952.

⁴⁴Anthony Sampson, interviewed in London by the author, 18th July 2000. Sampson’s impression that *Drum* was developing an urban audience is borne out by research conducted by advertisers a little later on. According to the local advertising journal, 40 % of the sales between May 1956 and August 1956 occurred in the Witwatersrand/Pretoria region. Western Province was the next highest with almost 8% (*South African Sales Promotion and Packaging*, November 1956, p. 38).

⁴⁵A. Sampson, *Drum*, p. 32.

⁴⁶By the middle of 1953 71,000 copies of the magazine were selling each month in South Africa with another 11,000 in West Africa. Sales inside South Africa remained just above 70,000 for the rest of the year and into the next, with another 30,000 selling outside the country - mostly in West Africa - by March 1954 (Letters from Anthony Sampson to his mother, 7th December 1952; April (nd) 1952; 28th March 1953); A. Sampson, *Drum*, p. 198.

⁴⁷Letter from Anthony Sampson to his mother, April (nd) 1952.

⁴⁸Letter from Anthony Sampson to his father, 23rd June 1952.

With the tremendous success of *Drum* it's worthwhile remembering that we're the only important paper produced entirely by non-whites; and that of course accounts for our success....For that reason everyone recognises that *Drum* is the authentic voice of non-Europeans in Africa.⁴⁹

Furthermore increasing the number and visibility of the black men who made the magazine may simply have served to conceal the "white hand." After all, the final say rested with Sampson and, ultimately, Bailey, and, besides, many of the new black recruits had received mission school and tertiary education that must have set them somewhat apart from their neighbours in the townships. According to Sampson, seven of the staff of twenty had come from St Peters alone.⁵⁰ Nxumalo had attended a mission school and had been posted to England during World War II. Matshikiza had been a student at Lovedale Mission before completing his teaching qualification and had taught both at Lovedale and St Peters. Mphahlele was one of those to have attended St Peters and was soon to begin his studies for a Masters degree. Maimane, another St Peters alumni, was the son of an Anglican minister and had planned to go on to university, while Can Themba had a B.A. from Fort Hare. With their mission school educations, tertiary qualifications and facility in written English, these men were hardly typical of the potential readers. Sampson notes that the "black writers on *Drum*, most of them educated in mission schools in a language enriched by the Bible and Shakespeare, were more Westernised in many ways than most Afrikaners."⁵¹ It is alleged, for example, that at least one of these new writers seldom, if ever, spoke anything other than English,⁵² and it is perhaps because of the distance between its readers and its writers that *Drum* was still confronting issues of authenticity in 1955. An editorial, acknowledging the existence of rumours that *Drum* was written by whites using African names, took pains to deny the allegation:

It must be *by* non-whites *for* non-whites, because *we* know what we want. And *we don't* want any phoney darkies, thank you! So lets hear no more of this

⁴⁹*Drum*, November 1953, p. 5.

⁵⁰According to Sampson "[s]even of our African staff of 20 came from St. Peter's School in Johannesburg of which Huddleston was superintendent" (A. Sampson, *Drum*, p. 164).

⁵¹A. Sampson, *Drum: an African Adventure and Afterwards* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1983), p. 224.

⁵²Obed Musi records that he had never heard Can Themba speak "a single line of an African language", that Bloke Modisane, "like Can, spoke and thought in English" and that Nat Nakasa (who was employed later on) was "another who spoke only English" (Musi cited in M. Nicol's *Corpse*, pp. 179, 288, 341). Stein has confirmed that Themba "didn't have a black home language", but was sceptical of Musi's claims for Modisane (Sylvester Stein interviewed in London by the author, 23rd December 1999). According to Themba, Africans did not "want to be fossilized into tribal inventions that are no more real to them than they would have been to their forefathers" (C. Themba in E. Patel (ed.), *The World of Can Themba* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985), p. xviii).

bunk, that Africans can't produce a magazine - even *Drum*, the finest magazine in Africa. That's why *Drum* is the finest - and we mean to keep it that way!⁵³

In celebration of its fourth birthday in March 1955, and to silence any remaining sceptics, the magazine published another "exclusive picture showing you the men who produce *Drum*." Gathered together in one office were Nxumalo, Mphahlele, Themba, Maimane, Gosani and Matshikiza. With them were Benson Dyanti, who was identified as being in charge of circulation, Mtetwa the accountant, Jerry Ntsipe, Dan Chochco and G.R. Naidoo, an Indian writer and another to have attended a mission school.⁵⁴ Of Schadeberg, Sampson and Bailey, there was no trace.⁵⁵

This fourth birthday edition of *Drum* was the last to be edited by Sampson, and by the beginning of March, when this photograph was published, he was already on his way back to Britain, having chosen to return home.⁵⁶ With his going a new editor had to be found, but this was more easily said than done, for Bailey believed that existing staff members, despite possessing both the skills and the experience, could not be offered the position and that a new editor had to be white. White management was apparently required to back up the black journalists in a context where advertisers were reluctant to deal with "natives", white visitors to the *Drum* offices were, allegedly, astounded by the vision of "baboons" hammering away at typewriters, and white printers were reluctant to humiliate themselves by accepting instructions from black writers and sub editors.⁵⁷ Adding to the difficulty facing Bailey was that *Drum* itself was paid little attention by the wider publishing world, and there were few white journalists willing to consider employment on the magazine. "Nobody of any standing would have taken the job.... That was the way people thought then, even liberal people.... You didn't go and work with natives! Our Advertising Manager, people

⁵³ *Drum*, January 1955, p. 5 (original emphasis).

⁵⁴ C. Bell, *In/Sight*, p. 271.

⁵⁵ *Drum*, March 1955, p. 40. It is not clear when Chochco joined the magazine, although another report indicates he started his career by joining *Drum* and *Golden City Post* in 1952 (*Selling Age*, May 1960, p. 27).

⁵⁶ Of his decision to return to England, Sampson notes that "there is so much that is passing me by... I don't want to grow old outside England" (A. Sampson, diary entry 25th October 1954).

⁵⁷ Anthony Sampson interviewed in London by the author, 18th July 2000. Maimane records that "I had to be careful how I did things with the white printers", and that being black meant there were certain stories he could not obtain (Maimane cited in P. Stein & R. Jacobsen (eds), *Sophiatown Speaks* (Johannesburg: Junction Avenue Press, 1986), pp. 49, 50); A. Sampson, *Drum*, pp. 59, 61; S. Stein, *Who Killed*, pp. 34, 44. Later on Stein comments that "[b]y the time I had been there a couple of years I would have been quite happy to hand over the editorship to Can Themba.... But, he could not have done it because he would not have been allowed to communicate with the printers. The printers would not take orders from a black man" (S. Stein in *Creative Camera*, p. 1448); Nadine Gordimer also noted how "hard it was to get white printers to accept that this black man [Nakasa] was the editor and not a white editor's office boy" (E. Patel (ed.), *The World of Nat Nakasa* (Randburg: Ravan Press 1995), p. xxii).

who worked for *Drum*, actually felt ashamed of *Drum*. They wouldn't be seen walking down the road with a copy of *Drum* under their arm!"⁵⁸ Finally, thirty five year old Sylvester Stein was offered the job "because Bailey couldn't get anyone else". Despite being advised "by all my contacts and friends that I was crazy to go into the Kaffer world", in early 1955 Stein agreed to edit *Drum*, and moved to the magazine from the post of political editor at the *Rand Daily Mail* - a shift made easier as it simply entailed working downstairs rather than upstairs in the same building.⁵⁹

By the time of Stein's appointment, *Drum* was well established with a solidly increasing circulation. His initial task was to consolidate these gains and the time was ripe. As revenue from sales climbed, so, too, did advertising revenue as more and more white manufacturers and advertisers began to recognise that *Drum* was able to reach an important and sizeable audience. As Sampson recalled, at first there had been "a hell of a struggle....It took some time....advertisers were just beginning to realise the existence of a fast growing black consumer market. They were pretty slow to realise this. It was considered an odd thing to do, advertising to blacks. But this was changing."⁶⁰ In August 1955, just a few months after Stein's appointment, a business journal aimed at manufacturers, noted for the first time the importance of the "Native" market, and recognised the value of advertising in the African media. This article, with its recommendation that such advertising be in English, was the first of many to emphasise the significance of *Drum*'s audience to those aiming to increase the sales of their products amongst black South Africans.⁶¹ Within just a few years advertisers were paying a premium to advertise in *Drum* "far more than they [were] paying [*Drum*'s] competitors".⁶²

Meanwhile, Stein's arrival as editor coincided with the launch of Bailey's weekly newspaper *Golden City Post*, produced in *Drum*'s offices by *Drum* employees under the editorship of Cecile Eprile.⁶³ The excitement over the new paper saw Stein's writers keener to produce material for the glamorous weekly than for the mundane monthly, leaving Stein to learn the ropes of his new job from sub-editor Maimane. When the initial fuss over the new paper finally died down it was immediately clear

⁵⁸*Creative Camera*, 1984, p. 1445.

⁵⁹Sylvester Stein interviewed in London by the author, 23rd December 1999; *Creative Camera*, 1984, p. 1445.

⁶⁰Anthony Sampson interviewed in London by the author, 18th July 2000.

⁶¹*South African Sales Promotion and Packaging*, August 1955, pp. 32, 34. See also July 1956 for a comparison between advertising in the black versus the white media. In November yet another article revealed that 40 % of *Drum*'s sales were in the PWV region, with another 8 % in the Western Province. Manufacturers looking to advertise to an urban market were left in no doubt that *Drum* was the appropriate vehicle (*South African Sales Promotion and Packaging*, July 1956, p. 20); *South African Sales Promotion and Packaging*, November 1956, p. 38.

⁶²T. Hopkinson, *Fiery Continent*, p. 64.

⁶³Sylvester Stein, interviewed in London by the author, 23rd December 1999.

that one of his first tasks would be to find more writers. Some of the *Drum* staffers had moved to *Golden City Post* permanently, others were on temporary loan, while *Drum* had continued to expand in terms both of circulation and the number of pages.

Thus 1955, Stein's first year as editor, saw Nxumalo transferred to *Golden City Post* as news editor, Can Themba promoted to associate editor of *Drum* and Obed Musi hired.⁶⁴ In the same year, Bloke Modisane, then in his mid twenties, also with a mission school education and a fair amount of journalism behind him, joined the magazine via *Golden City Post*.⁶⁵ Modisane was followed by Lewis Nkosi, a twenty year old reporter from Durban's *Ilanga lase Natal*. By this time though, the effects of apartheid legislation were beginning to be felt more strongly, and Stein records that "we had tremendous difficulty in getting permission for him to live in Johannesburg and work." Nkosi "was not allowed to move [from Durban] and not allowed to have the job unless, as we were able to prove, nobody else could do the job."⁶⁶ A few months later, in the beginning of 1957, the staff was expanded yet again when another young writer, Nat Nakasa was recruited along with⁶⁷ Lionel Morrison, Stan Motjuwadi and Butch Molotse, while, not long afterwards, Humphrey Tyler joined as a sub-editor.⁶⁸ Despite losing the full time services of Robert Gosani who turned to freelance work after losing a lung in a car accident, the end of 1957 saw the photographic section expand overall as Peter Magubane and Gopal Naransamy were joined by Alfred Kumalo and Joe Lowe.⁶⁹

⁶⁴Hired as tea boy and messenger, Musi was later to edit *Drum* (B. Modisane, *Blame me on History* (Johannesburg: Ad. Donker, 1986), p. 190).

⁶⁵Modisane's fiction had already been published by *Drum*, back in 1952, and again when he had won £6 as runner up in *Drum*'s short story competition of 1953 (B. Modisane, *Blame*, p. 26); M. Nicol, *Corpse*, pp. 280, 288.

⁶⁶Stein managed to prove *Drum*'s need for Nkosi by advertising for an experienced black journalist proficient in typing and shorthand. Stein noted that "there were no such people in the whole country, he was the only one" (S. Stein cited in *Creative Camera*, 1984 p. 1447); D. Herdeck, *African Authors*, p. 289.

⁶⁷Nakasa, like Nkosi, was barely twenty years old and also came from Durban where he had acquired a little journalistic experience writing for a Durban newspaper. Nakasa is on record as saying "I am supposed to be Pondo, but I don't even know the language of that tribe. I was brought up in Zulu-speaking home, my mother being a Zulu. Yet I can no longer think in Zulu because that language cannot cope with the demands of our day.... I have never owned an assegai or any of those magnificent Zulu shields. Neither do I propose to be in tribal wear when I go to the US this year for my scholarship. I am just not a tribesman, whether I like it or not. I am, inescapably, a part of the city slums, the factory machines and our beloved shebeens" (N. Nakasa in E. Patel (ed.), *Nakasa*, p. 159).

⁶⁸T. Hopkinson, *Under the Tropic* (London: Hutchinson, 1984), p. 33. According to Motjuwadi, "I started writing in 1954 when I became co-editor of our school magazine with friend Casey Motsisi.... However, I only started off as a reporter at the end of 1957" (*Drum*, July 1969, p. 4). Kumalo was taken on by *Golden City Post* as a full-time photographer in 1960 (*Drum*, July 1960, p. 40).

⁶⁹J. Schadeberg in *Creative Camera*, 1984, p. 1447; C. Bell (ed.), *In/sight*, p. 267.

1957 was a year of change for *Drum*, and in some ways it is this year that signals the beginning of the end of the early *Drum*. Henry Nxumalo, Mr Drum himself, was found stabbed to death in the early hours of New Year's Day, while later on in the year Stein resigned after a difference of opinion with Bailey, and Tyler, the sub-editor, was asked "to produce *Drum* for a while".⁷⁰ Although he was never appointed editor, Tyler produced and edited *Drum* for nine months before returning to the *Rand Daily Mail* at the beginning of 1958.⁷¹ His departure coincided with the removal of the *Drum* office yet again, this time to Samkay House at 15 Troy Street, Johannesburg, where Tom Hopkinson, an Englishman with a vast amount of publishing experience was to take over.⁷² Hopkinson had spent ten years as editor of Britain's *Picture Post* from 1940 to 1950, and a couple of years as features editor of *News Chronicle*,⁷³ before arriving at *Drum* where he was to remain for three and a half turbulent years. During his time as editor, Hopkinson briefly employed Englishwoman, Jenny Joseph, on a freelance basis, put ex-cover girl Priscilla Zibi's face to the heartbreaks column, fired Can Themba and Butch Molotse, recruited Jubby Mayet, Matthew Nkoana and Benson Dyanti, replaced Schadeberg with Ian Berry and persuaded Tyler once more to leave the *Rand Daily Mail* to become *Drum's* assistant editor.⁷⁴

The end of Hopkinson's first year as editor saw *Drum* marketing itself to potential advertisers as possessing an urban readership of 865,000.⁷⁵ It generally had more pages of advertising in each issue than either *Rooi Rose* or *Zonk*, yet, although South African sales increased to a circulation of around 100,000 under Hopkinson's guidance, the magazine was still failing to be profitable.⁷⁶ When, without consulting

⁷⁰Stein had planned a cover photograph of a triumphant Althea Gibson embracing her white opponent after winning the final at Wimbledon in 1957. Pulling rank and overruling Stein, Bailey insisted that another cover photograph be found, at which point Stein resigned (A. Caccia (ed.), *The Beat*, p. 131; T. Hopkinson, *Fiery Continent*, p. 16). Before his appointment at *Drum*, Tyler had worked as a reporter on the *Rand Daily Mail*, as a sub-editor for the *Natal Mercury*, and was familiar with *Drum* as a supplier of freelance material via G.R. Naidoo of the Durban office (H. Tyler, *Life*, pp. 23, 50; S. Stein, *Who Killed*, p. 132).

⁷¹T. Hopkinson, *Fiery Continent*, p. 47.

⁷²The first volume to carry the new address was that of March 1958.

⁷³T. Hopkinson, *Fiery Continent*, pp. 9, 16.

⁷⁴T. Hopkinson, *Under the Tropic*, pp. 66, 72; S. Stein, *Who Killed*, p. 170. Jenny Joseph worked briefly on *Drum* between 1959 and 1960 (Sylvester Stein interviewed in London by the author, 23rd December 1999). Although Hopkinson records employing Dyanti, Dyanti seems to have been associated with the magazine from much earlier on. He is present in a photograph published in March 1955 and is identified as being in charge of circulation (*Drum*, March 1955, p. 2). Jubby Mayet wrote under her own name as well as the pseudonym Sharon Davies.

⁷⁵*Selling Age*, November 1958, p. 17, December 1958, p. 12. *Drum* was also going from strength to strength in other parts of the world. "Last month, for the first time in its history, *Drum* achieved a sale through all its editions of 250,000 copies - an achievement no other magazine in Africa has even begun to approach" (*Drum*, November 1959, p. 70).

⁷⁶*Selling Age*, March 1959, p. 48, July 1959, p. 41. In June *Drum* collaborated with *Selling Age*,

his editor, Bailey decided to impose a price increase from 6d to one shilling, Hopkinson resigned, finally leaving the magazine halfway through 1961 to be replaced by the editor of *Golden City Post*, Cecil Eprile.⁷⁷ Appointed as Editor in Chief by Bailey, Eprile edited both *Drum* and *Golden City Post*, combining the offices of the two magazines, and, to a large extent, sharing the staff.⁷⁸

In the list of employees outlined above there are just three women. By the early 1960s everyone who had ever edited *Drum* had been male and almost everyone who had ever been published in the magazine had also been male. Although texts attributed to women had appeared from time to time, Nicol has commented that although “if one counts the names ones finds more than twenty female contributors” many of these “were written by men using female pseudonyms”.⁷⁹ Noting that the stories published “under the names Rita Sefora, Joan Mokwena, and Doris Sello were not written by women”, Driver points to Arthur Maimane as the author of these works.⁸⁰ Eilerson suggests that the magazine was not interested in employing writer Bessie Head, while Juby Mayet - whose application to train as a journalist was initially turned down by the magazine - had allegedly ultimately obtained her post by posing for the cover, and, in marked contrast to the greeting offered male recruits, had 3 pages of photographs devoted to her inside the magazine.⁸¹ Although Priscilla Zibi’s face appeared above the Heartbreaks column, there is little evidence to suggest that the domestic worker turned model was writing the responses previously composed by Sampson’s “worried syndicate of men.” Introduced in June 1959, another model - Marion Morel - seemed to author the column “Girl about Town” that focused on food and fashion but that was

publishing an article in the latter illustrating just how affluent the African market was (*Selling Age*, June 1958, pp. 15 ff). D. Rabkin, ‘Drum Magazine (1951-61): And the Works of Black South African Writers Associated With It’ (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds, 1975), p. 80.

⁷⁷Ibid. Hopkinson’s protest had some effect as the price ultimately only increased to 9d (T.

Hopkinson, *Fiery Continent*, p. 369).

⁷⁸D. Rabkin, ‘Drum Magazine’, p. 80; T. Hopkinson, *Fiery Continent*, p. 369. Eprile had worked in Edinburgh and Fleet Street before moving to South Africa where he joined the *Sunday Express* as a sub-editor in 1936 (*Rand Daily Mail*, 3rd October 1966, p. 11). It was around this time that Stanley Motjuwadi made the move from freelance contributor to full-time employee.

⁷⁹M. Nicol, *Corpse*, p. 148.

⁸⁰D. Driver, ‘Drum Magazine (1951-1959) and the Spatial Configuration of Gender’, in K. Darian-Smith, L. Gunner & S. Nuttall (eds), *Text, Theory, Space: Land, Literature and History in South Africa and Australia* (London: Routledge, 1996), footnote 12, p. 241.

⁸¹Mayet appeared on the cover of *Drum* in April 1958. In describing her employment as a journalist she noted that “I order coffee for the chaps, distract some of the boys from doing their work properly, phone my current boyfriend” (*Drum*, April 1958, pp. 64 ff). According to Eilersen, Bessie Head, who was eventually employed as a trainee journalist on *Golden City Post* was discouraged from applying to work at *Drum*. Eilersen records that *Drum* “had quite a reputation for a hard, direct style. It would not be interested in a beginner, and a young woman at that” (G. Eilersen, *Bessie Head: Thunder Behind Her Ears* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1995) p. 37). I am grateful to Helen Bradford for alerting me to this reference.

dominated by photographs of women taken by men rather than text attributed to her. Overall the secondary sources dealing with *Drum* have made little or no mention of women's contribution to *Drum*, supporting the position that women's encounters with the magazine were primarily passive, as individuals to be written about and looked at or as having problems in need of solution. Many certainly wrote to the problem page asking for advice. But there was less correspondence from women on the letters pages where the instruction "Speak up Man" was more clearly addressed to men.

Men's voices and values clearly dominated *Drum*. While the socio-economic and political obstacles placed in the way of aspiring black male writers were huge, for black women, living in a patriarchal as well as a racist society, they loomed larger still, and the absence of female writers both reflected and reproduced the situation in the wider society. As writer Miriam Tlali has put it, "your way of thinking as a black woman is confined. As soon as you wake up, you think of the broom."⁸² While for men the "magazine offered a vehicle that was part training ground and part enabling community" Driver has argued that "[i]t offered quite the reverse for women."⁸³ Overall where women featured it was on men's terms: the few pages set aside under the heading of "Women's *Drum*" tended to centre around housework, domesticity, children and women's appearance, and how to please men, while the rest of the magazine, dealing with politics, sport, current affairs, entertainment and so on, although not labelled as such, was presumably "men's *Drum*".

It was men who wrote the majority of the articles and features appearing in the magazine, men who took the photographs that were published, men who edited it and men who compiled the advertisements upon which much of its revenue was based. Other men printed and distributed the publication, the urban black market was conceived of as predominantly male, and through their better access to wages relative to women, it was likely (as Sampson had thought), that men were the bulk of its purchasers. In spite of its claims to be the "authentic voice of non-Europeans in Africa", *Drum*'s voice was, without a doubt, neither female, nor necessarily authentically black, and its claims to the latter were challenged from a variety of quarters.⁸⁴ Brian Bunting, Communist editor of the *Guardian*, was outraged by *Drum*'s criticism of the ANC. Pointing to the magazine's failure to support the liberation movement in 1959, Bunting dismissed *Drum* as ultimately the "mouthpiece" of mining capital:

⁸²M. Tlali cited in J.Seroke, 'Black Writers in South Africa', in A. Oliphant & I. Vladislavic (eds), *Ten Years of Staffrider, 1978-1988* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1988), p. 309.

⁸³D. Driver, 'Drum Magazine', p. 231.

⁸⁴*Drum*, November 1953, p. 5.

Drum [has no] right to be classed as a Non-European newspaper....It is the man who pays the piper who calls the tune ... that man is Mr Bailey.... he has no mandate to speak in the name of the Non-European people. In the last resort he, too, speaks for big business.⁸⁵

There were black commentators too, who were also highly critical of the publication for what they perceived to be its failure to support (and at times its active undermining) of the liberation struggle. A. P. Mda was worried that *Drum* might undermine calls for action through its elevation of “spineless” western liberalism that “lack[ed] dynamic power and ... creative drive.” Mokonyane objected so strongly to the coverage of the Alexandra bus boycott on the grounds that it “imperilled the cause of the Africans” that he warned the journalists that if they published material that had not been approved by the leaders of the boycott “they would have to take the consequences”.⁸⁶ Criticism came from closer to home as well: Ezekiel Mphahlele, for instance, had become increasingly critical of *Drum*’s tabloid content.⁸⁷

In contrast, the government was becoming increasingly concerned that *Drum* was, if not a mouthpiece for the liberation movement, then at the very least a threat to apartheid law and order:

Drum... has the largest circulation of all magazines....carries an anti-white message to the masses and its outstanding features are stirring up a feeling of discontent and reporting on the sensational. The European employer of the Bantu is the scapegoat for all the pleasant things that the Bantu lack.⁸⁸

Paradoxically, both views were partly true. Firstly, *Drum* did not willingly toe the line of the apartheid state and, at considerable risk, challenged the government over racial discrimination time and time again. As Bailey was to note, *Drum* might well be described as “anti-white” in a society where it was “considered anti-white for a black voice even to be heard”.⁸⁹ It could well be argued that the clashes between the state and *Drum* symbolised the conflict between racially defined masculinities where

⁸⁵B. Bunting, *Who Owns Our Newspapers? The Story Behind the Non White Press* (np: New Age Pamphlet, 1959), pp. 4, 5. On the other hand, Bunting also notes that *Drum* was the only magazine to have correctly interpreted “the mood of the African people,” and that this was connected to the practice of placing black journalists into editorial positions (Ibid). Ezekiel Mphahlele also expressed concern about what he called the “wet sentimental sexy” material published by *Drum* (E. Mphahlele, *Down Second Avenue* (London: Faber & Faber, 1959), p. 188).

⁸⁶A.P. Mda, ‘African Youth and the Pictorial’, cited in G. Gerhardt, *Black Power in South Africa: the Evolution of an Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p.129; D. Mokonyane, *Lessons of Azikwelwa* (London: Nakong Ya Rena, 1994), p. 38.

⁸⁷E. Mphahlele, *Down Second Avenue*, pp. 188, 200.

⁸⁸Tomlinson Report, cited in *Drum*, July 1958, p. 30.

⁸⁹Ibid.

apartheid was itself a project that aimed to deny manhood to black men.⁹⁰ Certainly, there is evidence to suggest that by the 1950s, colonialism had long been understood as an assault on men's masculinity. As one "Pondo gentleman" reported in the 1930s "[t]imes long ago were good. Everything is bad now. We pay taxes. Long ago men were not white men's women."⁹¹ In 1959, Robert Sobukwe, leader of the newly formed Pan Africanist Congress, certainly understood apartheid in this way, declaring that Europeans "conceive[d] of the African people as a child nation, composed of Boys and Girls".⁹² In their objections to Crisp's *Drum*, several black informants had made the same connection. "*Drum's* what white men want Africans to be, not what they are.... We want it to be our *Drum*, not a white man's *Drum*", argued one. "Africans have been kept and reared and taught like babies", declared another. "[A]ll we ask is to be treated like men."⁹³

The authentic adult black male voice *Drum* claimed to articulate was shaped in some important ways by conflict and tension between the magazine and the ruling National Party. The government's efforts to frame and confine editorial choices over stories and pictures had begun even before magazine's birth. Newsprint, for example, was in short supply in post-war South Africa, and, in 1950, arrangements had to be made with the government to obtain a quota - which presumably could be withdrawn at any time. When the Minister of Native Affairs objected to the "printing of photographs of blacks shaking hands with whites... and also to items of news about 'anti discrimination' in America" Sampson noted that *Drum* had "to take it fairly meekly because the government control[led] our paper supply".⁹⁴ Although censorship only began in earnest in the early 1960s, and the magazine's existence only seriously

⁹⁰Epprecht makes the point that in Zimbabwe "terms such as 'emasculating' and 'impotent' infused the rhetoric of the early mass nationalist struggle" (M. Epprecht, 'The 'Unsayings' of Indigenous Homosexualities in Zimbabwe: Mapping a Blindspot in an African Masculinity', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, December 1998, p. 642).

⁹¹I. Berger cited in T. Barnes, *We Women Worked so Hard: Gender, Urbanization and Social Reproduction in Colonial Harare, Zimbabwe, 1930-1956* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1999), p.176.

⁹²R. Sobukwe, 'Opening Address to the Africanist Inaugural Convention', April 1959, p. 7 (Karis Carter collection, UCT 2:DP1:30/1). Although in some ways the apartheid state bolstered the authority of chiefs and patriarchal controls (for example through the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 which "assigned a new status and wealth to chiefs"), this was conditional on the good behaviour of such chiefs (A. Mager, 'Youth Organisation in the Ciskei and Transkei', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1998, pp. 656-657). In his work on Zimbabwe, Epprecht observes that "the discursive unmaning of African men by whites was progressively abetted by the destruction of the material base of traditional African masculinity" (M. Epprecht, 'The 'Unsayings'', p. 641).

⁹³A. Sampson, *Drum*, p. 21; Letter from Anthony Sampson to his mother, 17th August 1951. Much later on, in his account of life as a gay man in the defence force, Krouse made a similar point, arguing that "in the eyes of the authorities, our supposed 'womanliness' can be used to reinforce what it means to be a real man" (M. Krouse, 'The Arista Sisters, September 1984: A Personal Account of Army Drag', in M. Gevisser & E. Cameron (eds), *Defiant Desire* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1994), p. 209).

⁹⁴Letter from Anthony Sampson to his mother, 15th December 1951.

threatened after that, problems peculiar to South Africa (and connected to the apartheid regime) had hampered production, increased costs and limited what could be said from early on.

At the beginning of 1952, with plans afoot to publish an account of the ill treatment of farmworkers in the Bethal area, for instance, Sampson and Bailey deemed it necessary to have “a long discussion on the legal side with a barrister” where it was agreed that they were “safe from charges of libel. But we’re always liable to be had up for ‘incitement’ of Natives”.⁹⁵ In the end though, after the risks had been weighed up and the article finally published, problems emerged from another source altogether when the “underwriters for [*Drum*’s] libel insurance want[ed] to put the premium up”.⁹⁶ And when Dr Verwoerd, the Minister of Native Affairs was asked in parliament whether the allegations about the mistreatment of farmworkers in Bethal were true, he apparently responded by declaring them to be “an unjust attack which misrepresented the situation” and warned that he’d only given *Drum* “a paper quota on condition they were non-controversial”.⁹⁷ “After the Bethal article for a while we believed that we might be closed down”⁹⁸ recalled Sampson, and by the end of August 1952 it had become clear that the magazine’s focus on racial injustices was leading towards an increasingly strained relationship with the state: “[t]he political atmosphere is getting hotter and it’s getting difficult for us to say anything at all.”⁹⁹

Not only did the magazine have to take increasing care over just whose voices and whose ideas it dared publish, extra costs and their impact on the bottom line also had constantly to be taken into account. After publication of *Crime on the Rand* - the first urban story - in the middle of 1951, for instance, Sampson had been compelled to arrange “protection for [Nxumalo] who contributed many of the facts... and is afraid of retaliation, with some reason, by the gangsters”.¹⁰⁰ In the days before the recruitment of a black photographer, getting a black writer and a white photographer to the same place meant paying for two separate taxis.¹⁰¹ Black staff members, particularly vulnerable to the vagaries of the law, frequently required *Drum* to pay fines in order to obtain their release from police custody after they had been caught drinking or without a pass.¹⁰²

⁹⁵Letter from Anthony Sampson to his mother, 29th January 1952.

⁹⁶Letter from Anthony Sampson to his father, 2nd March 1952.

⁹⁷Letter from Anthony Sampson to his mother, 10th March 1952.

⁹⁸Anthony Sampson interviewed in London by the author, 18th July 2000.

⁹⁹Letter from Anthony Sampson to his mother, 23rd August 1952.

¹⁰⁰Letter from Anthony Sampson to his mother, 28th September 1952.

¹⁰¹A. Sampson, *Drum*, p. 85.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, p. 112.

Even white employees ran risks - Schadeberg, for instance, was arrested after taking pictures of Dolly Rathebe for the magazine. Sampson, too, was arrested, and on several occasions forced to hide from the police whilst illegally socialising with his black colleagues in township shebeens.¹⁰³ The magazine's layout had to be changed at short notice and extra cost at least twice in these early years. When the winner of one of the Miss Africa competitions was sent to jail under the immorality laws, the pages allocated to the story of her victory had to be replaced. Another winner "less beautiful but more respectable" was awarded the £50 prize and new pages worked up.¹⁰⁴ In 1952, "we had to scrap the main article of the September issue after some copies had already been printed", recorded Sampson at the time of the Defiance Campaign, "because the author [Mandela] and other members of Congress [had] just been arrested."¹⁰⁵ An alleged libel of Eddie Legkanyane, the "bogus black bishop", in 1954 resulted in an interdict against selling the publication, and although, ultimately the case was won, time, effort and money had to be diverted from the main job of producing a magazine with an "authentic" voice.¹⁰⁶

With the state, the accounts department (and even the occasional black reader) breathing closely down their necks the producers of the early *Drum* had to take enormous care over the stories that were selected for publication. But even so *Drum* continued to report on racial matters, developing quite a reputation amongst white South Africans. "Declaring myself to be the editor of a black magazine was a conversation stopper" recalled Sampson "especially as *Drum* was getting more mixed up with politics, like the Defiance Campaign. And Mandela had come to the office - that was enough to associate us with revolution."¹⁰⁷ Exposures like those of the mistreatment of black farmworkers by white farmers at Bethal in 1952, conditions in jail in 1954, and the flogging to death of a farmworker in 1955, all served to increase sales. In each case questions were asked in parliament and *Drum*'s profile raised. In other words, *Drum* continued to take risks and to test the limits of the state's patience in raising questions around racial affairs that the latter would have preferred to keep quiet. But given the need to articulate what it imagined to be an authentic black voice for *Drum* to have done otherwise would have risked the very audience the magazine believed itself - with good evidence - to be attracting.

State efforts to censor the press developed dramatically after Sampson's departure in 1955. During Stein's tenure, both G.R. Naidoo of the Durban office and Can Themba risked life and limb obtaining stories. 1956, for example, had seen Stein, Themba,

¹⁰³Letter from Anthony Sampson to his mother, 7th March 1954; Anthony Sampson, diary entry June 1954; letter from Anthony Sampson to his mother, 3rd July 1954; A. Sampson, *Drum*, pp. 86, 152.

¹⁰⁴A. Sampson, *Drum*, p. 222.

¹⁰⁵Letter from Anthony Sampson to his mother, 23rd August 1952.

¹⁰⁶Anthony Sampson, diary entry, 3rd July 1954.

¹⁰⁷Anthony Sampson interviewed in London by the author, 18th July 2000.

Magubane and Schadeberg arrested.¹⁰⁸ But given the imperative in terms of sales to write about what was important in the lives of urban readers, and despite its willingness to challenge the state, the early *Drum* was silent about a number of aspects of urban life. Although this was to change later on, there was secrecy, for instance, in the early *Drum* about inter-racial sex. White men's liaisons with black women - an open secret in the townships - went unremarked.¹⁰⁹ When the uncrowned Miss Africa was charged, convicted and imprisoned for her sexual liaison with a white man, for instance, the magazine remained tight lipped, and readers never knew that the replacement was not the original winner.¹¹⁰ More significantly, the experiences of the half million or so miners living in the compounds in and around Johannesburg merited little or no mention in the pages of *Drum*. While Bunting viewed this as the deliberate consequence of Bailey's heritage as the son of a mining magnate, Sampson argued Bailey held no brief from the mining companies.¹¹¹ Instead the dearth of stories about miners, mines and compounds was the result of *Drum's* lack of contact with them:

Mining wasn't something that came up with the journalists. The mining compounds were cut off from the rest of black Johannesburg. Nxumalo had some cousins there, but no stories. We could have done exposes, as we did of the jails. I remember discussing the possibility of photographs and deciding it would be impossible....Also the miners were illiterate in English. And mining was part of the rural world, they weren't our target readers anyway.¹¹²

The magazine, it would seem, simply had no stories to tell. It is, perhaps, just a coincidence that homosexual relationships - what were widely known as "mine marriages" between older and younger men - had a long history in the compounds in and around Johannesburg.¹¹³ Resistant to censorship imposed by decree, *Drum* was less aware of the silences and absences characterising its own discourse.

¹⁰⁸C. Merrett, *A Culture of Censorship*, pp. 29, 38. In 1958 *Golden City Post* reporters were assaulted while the police looked on and did nothing (C. Merrett, *Culture* p. 31).

¹⁰⁹This was to change later on, as is discussed in Chapter Four.

¹¹⁰A. Sampson, *Drum*, p. 122. This was to change later on.

¹¹¹Bunting argued that "Mr Bailey himself, the heir to the Bailey millions, is also a director inter alia of the Union and Rhodesian Mining and Land Company and the S.A. Minerals Corporation.... We may be sure that nothing will be published in either *Drum* or *Post* which conflicts with those interests" (B. Bunting, *Who Runs our Newspapers? The Story Behind the Non-White Press* (np: New Age Pamphlet, 1959), p. 5). According to Sampson, Bailey "was a rebel who had no friends in the mining world, so he had no reason to feel ostracized if a story had run" (Anthony Sampson interviewed in London by the author, 18th July 2000).

¹¹²Anthony Sampson interviewed in London by the author, 18th July 2000.

¹¹³See for instance Z. Achmat, "Apostles of Civilised Vice": 'Immoral Practices' and 'Unnatural Vice' in South African Prisons and Compounds, 1890-1920', *Social Dynamics*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 1993; K. Breckenridge, 'The Allure of Violence: Men, Race and Masculinity on the South African Goldmines,

Sampson, meanwhile, had made explicit his calls for more 'cheesecake' and had presided over the magazine as it introduced cover girls, bathing belles and beauty contests for women. The editors who were to follow him continued with this formula, displaying women in a manner that pandered to the heterosexual gaze. Imagining readers to be largely men, the magazine laid out images of women, consumption of which established readers specifically as heterosexual men. When a few dissenting voices articulating alternative sexualities made themselves heard in the mid 1950s, they were, as will be discussed in chapter four, dismissed, ignored or represented as deviant. While *Drum* showed little interest or even awareness of the social marginalisation of those readers unable or unwilling to identify with heterosexual varieties of masculinity, it remained committed to fighting for racial equality despite the increasing difficulties.¹¹⁴

The apartheid state began tightening its grip over press freedom as the 1950s wore on. After 1957, for example, black journalists with the right to live in Johannesburg, could not legally be anywhere else, even to cover a news story, for more than 72 hours at a time without an official permit.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, financial irregularities discovered in 1959 in the Johannesburg office of *Drum* meant that money was tight, and contributed to the shelving of plans to expand into East Africa, as well as leading to Hopkinson's clash (and ultimately his resignation) with Bailey over the magazines' increase in price.¹¹⁶ Compounding these problems, the racial tensions of the late 1950s and early 1960s had induced the government to clamp down far more strictly on the press. During the early 1950s, before the Defiance Campaign "you could report what you wanted, it wasn't easy to prosecute you for incitement."¹¹⁷ But even so, Sampson and Bailey had been aware that the risk of being closed down was real. As early as 1952, Sampson was noting that:

an event which affects us closely is the banning two days ago of the only Communist paper here, the *Guardian*. I met the editor a month ago in Cape Town and he said he thought they were safe; but a single simple order from the Minister of Justice has now shut them down. The important thing is not that they are Communist controlled - which is not obvious from reading it - but that

1900-1950', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1998; T. Dunbar Moodie, *Going for Gold: Men, Mines & Migration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); T. Dunbar Moodie with V Ndatshe & B Sibuyi, 'Migrancy and Male Sexuality on the South African Gold Mines', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1988.

¹¹⁴A. Caccia (ed.), *The Beat*, p. 4; T. Hopkinson, *Fiery Continent*, pp. 67, 96, 102, 163, 166, 167.

¹¹⁵W.A. Hachten & C.A. Giffard, *The Press Under Attack* (Johannesburg: Macmillan 1984), p. 125.

¹¹⁶T. Hopkinson, *Under the Tropic*, pp. 103, 104. A. Caccia (ed.), *The Beat*, p. 132.

¹¹⁷A. Sampson cited in P. Stein & R. Jacobson (eds), *Sophiatown Speaks* (Johannesburg: Junction Avenue Press, 1986), p. 44.

they had the biggest sales of any Non-European paper, and that they were the only paper, ourselves not excepted, who dared to be completely outspoken on the side of the blacks. The banning of the *Guardian* makes us feel that much less safe and that much more important.¹¹⁸

Overall, however, in the early days “political censorship wasn’t really serious. We had problems with paper supplies....and Jim worried about restrictions over our quota of newsprint....We stopped *Drum* being written about abroad - it was too provocative to the government....So we were watching our backs.”¹¹⁹ In contrast, by the end of the decade, Bailey felt it necessary to warn Hopkinson that, in order to keep both of them out of jail, the latter had to ensure that “everything you print ... be read by lawyers first.”¹²⁰ And under the Emergency Regulations of 1960 “the Minister of the Interior was empowered to order any newspaper or periodical to cease publication if he considered that it had systematically published matter of a subversive nature.”¹²¹ Hopkinson was even warned by a member of Parliament that the government “mean[t] to close you down.”¹²² Thus it was that the very events leading up to the State of Emergency could not be reported in the South African press, despite the fact that both *Drum* and *Rand Daily Mail* reporters and photographers were present at Sharpeville.¹²³

The space in which *Drum* attempted to articulate “the voice of the voiceless” had been growing narrower almost by the day as the 1950s wore on, yet worse was still to come and a number of social commentators have observed that after Sharpeville things deteriorated rapidly for the press. The 1950s had seen “an avalanche of security legislation, which, among other effects, created a massive structure of censorship and self censorship.”¹²⁴ The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 signalled the first indications of direct state censorship, with *The Guardian* being the first to be banned under its provisions.¹²⁵ This was followed by the Public Safety and Criminal Law Amendment Acts of 1953 which, basically, made it illegal to criticise both existing or future laws.¹²⁶ Close on its heels was the Criminal Procedure Act of 1955 which empowered the state to detain journalists who refused to identify their sources in a

¹¹⁸Letter from Anthony Sampson to his mother, 25th May 1952.

¹¹⁹Anthony Sampson interviewed in London by the author, 18th July 2000.

¹²⁰T. Hopkinson, *Fiery Continent*, p. 289.

¹²¹M. Horrell (ed.), *Race Relations as Regulated by Law in South Africa, 1948-1979* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1982), p. 220.

¹²²T. Hopkinson, *Under The Tropic*, p. 135.

¹²³C. Merrett, *Culture*, p. 42. According to Merrett, the only South African publication to report on the events at Sharpeville was *Contact* (C. Merrett, *Culture*, p. 42).

¹²⁴C. Merrett, *Culture*, p. 21.

¹²⁵E. Potter, *The Press as Opposition: The Political Role of South African Newspapers* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1975), p. 114.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 117; M. Horrell (ed.), *Laws Affecting*, p. 431.

court of law. The following year the Riotous Assemblies Act made it illegal to publish the utterances of people banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, as well as outlawing the publication of material deemed (by the state) to lead to hostility between races.¹²⁷ The Prisons Act of 1959, partly in response to a story about prisons published by *Drum* that year, “rendered it an offence ... to sketch or photograph a prison... a prisoner, or the burial of an executed prisoner” as well as making it risky to publish information about prisons and their inhabitants.¹²⁸ And, in 1961, an addition to the Criminal Law Procedure Act of 1955 allowed for a twelve day period of detention “in the interests of public safety or the maintenance of public order”.¹²⁹

Meanwhile, in 1957, the Commission of Inquiry in Regard of Undesirable Publications, otherwise known as the Tomlinson Report, had produced “extensive and intimidating” recommendations which ultimately led to the Publications and Entertainments Act of 1963. In 1962, the Press Commission submitted its first report, eleven years after it had begun to gather information, and a second report, two years later. It recommended the establishment of a statutory Press Council with which journalists would be required to register annually.¹³⁰ Although none of its recommendations became law, and, although newspapers were excluded from the Publications and Entertainments Act of 1963 after drawing up their own Press Code, the Commissions had hung over the Press for more than a decade “constituting an ever-present threat,” further consolidating the climate of self-censorship.¹³¹ As Tom Hopkinson noted “It was dull work editing a magazine in which virtually nothing could be said.”¹³²

Adding to the problems confronting Hopkinson’s *Drum* in the early 1960s, were the decisions taken by several of its most experienced journalists to leave the country rather than continue to have their voices stifled either by the increasingly intolerant apartheid regime or disgruntled elements from within the black townships. One of the first to go was Ezekiel Mphahlele who left both *Drum* and South Africa for a teaching post in Nigeria in 1957.¹³³ He was followed by Arthur Maimane who left for London in 1958, allegedly fearing for his life after writing about gangs.¹³⁴ Fearing both the state and the gangs, Bloke Modisane finally managed to leave South Africa in

¹²⁷E. Potter, *The Press*, p. 119; M. Horrell, *Laws Affecting*, p. 465.

¹²⁸M. Horrell, *Laws Affecting*, p. 411; E. Potter, *The Press*, p. 123.

¹²⁹In 1963 allowance was made for 90 day detentions, and in 1965 for 180 day detentions (M. Horrell, *Laws Affecting*, pp. 468, 469, 471).

¹³⁰E. Potter, *The Press*, p. 110.

¹³¹*Ibid.*, pp. 107, 108. The SAAN group, as well as the Bailey group of *Drum* and *Golden City Post*, voted against the Press Code of Conduct (E. Potter, *The Press*, p. 110).

¹³²T. Hopkinson, *Fiery Continent*, p. 293.

¹³³E. Mphahlele, *Down Second Avenue*, pp. 188, 200.

¹³⁴P. Stein & R. Jacobson (eds), *Sophiatown Speaks*, p. 53.

1958.¹³⁵ Todd Matshikiza left for London to put on his musical *King Kong* in 1960 and, in one of his last acts as editor, Tom Hopkinson fired Can Themba for drunkenness, and so he too left the magazine. In any event, by 1962, Themba had been banned and could not be quoted or published in South Africa.¹³⁶ In May 1960, Matthew Nkoana was sentenced to eighteen months in jail, and, after an early release fled the country rather than risk imprisonment again, and Ian Berry left to join *Magnum*.¹³⁷ Thus the magazine inherited by Eprile halfway through 1961 was, with the departure into exile of many of its founding voices, in some ways but a shadow of its former self.¹³⁸ And to smother *Drum's* attempts to speak for the (heterosexual black male) masses even further, by 1966 Modisane, Nkosi, Matshikiza and Mphahlele had joined Themba on the banned list meaning that not only were they forbidden to prepare a publication, it was also not permitted for others to quote from their work.¹³⁹

At *Drum*, legal battles consumed employees' time and Bailey's money. A report on the Pondoland revolt in February 1962 saw Bailey, Eprile and Musi charged under the Emergency Regulations. It cost Bailey R4,000 to defend the case, and although the three were found not guilty the following year, the case remained open as the state indicated that it intended appealing the judgement.¹⁴⁰ The following year saw Mike Norton, *Drum's* Cape Town representative, jailed for an article that had appeared earlier in the year.¹⁴¹ In May 1963, George Oliver was appointed as editor of *Drum* in the place of Eprile, but he, too, was gone by October after having been found guilty of contempt of court, while just a few months later Nat Nakasa left both *Drum* and South Africa on a one way passport to take up a scholarship at Harvard.¹⁴²

¹³⁵“Denied the opportunity to develop whatever talents I thought I might have”, running the risk of an arrest under the Immorality Act and anticipating either a bullet or a knife, Modisane turned down the offer of a passport in exchange for information about the details surrounding *Drum's* investigation into racist churches in the mid 1950s, and left the country illegally at the beginning of 1959 (B. Modisane, *Blame*, pp. 206, 208, 267-272, 293).

¹³⁶M. Nicol, *Corpse*, p. 182.

¹³⁷T. Hopkinson, *Tropic*, pp. 140, 141; J. Schadeberg in *Creative Camera*, 1984, p. 1449.

¹³⁸Although Motsisi, Magubane, Nakasa and Mike Phahlane remained with the paper, nearly all those who had helped create the magazine were gone by the time of Eprile's appointment.

¹³⁹C. Merrett, *A Culture*, p. 53. “‘Named’ politicians or writers could not even be mentioned in print; any subversive literature had to be reported to the police; and there were recurring suspicions about police informers on the staff. Successive white editors grappled as they could to produce a magazine which represented the black readers' interests, including sport, jazz, pin-ups, crime and events in the rest of Africa. But *Drum* was always walking a tight-rope between its readers and the police; and the absence of politics left a huge gap” (A. Sampson, *Drum*, p. 208).

¹⁴⁰J. Bailey in A. Caccia (ed.), *The Beat*, p. 148; *Rand Daily Mail*, 27th April 1963, p. 3, 11th May 1963, p. 12, 25th May 1963, p. 3.

¹⁴¹*Drum*, September 1963, p. 14.

¹⁴²Eprile continued to edit *Golden City Post*. Oliver, a journalist with 13 years' experience was national president of the South African Society of Journalists. He had barely begun his new job when

By the mid 1960s, *Drum* had paid a heavy price for tangling with the state. Many of its finest voices had been silenced and exiled, while money, time and energy was constantly having to be directed towards defending the magazine in the courts. For those journalists who had not yet been banned, exiled or imprisoned, arrest and detention was an ever present threat that limited and twisted what it was possible to say. Despite the fine aim of articulating the voice of the voiceless (albeit a heterosexual black male voice), it simply was no longer possible to speak or write freely. As Bailey had noted, it was a confrontational political statement to even articulate a black voice. The magazine was increasingly being backed into a corner and it was in this context, as well that of the arrest and detention for 97 days of GR Naidoo, *Drum*'s Durban editor that Bailey announced in March 1965 that "'*Drum*', the African monthly magazine, is to cease publication as an independent journal next month. It will become a supplement to '*Post*,' the Sunday Newspaper."¹⁴³ But if the "obituary notices" proclaiming the magazine's apparent demise were premature, it remained three long years before *Drum* was to re-emerge as an independent magazine again, an emergence that is explored in the following chapter.¹⁴⁴

the first crisis unfolded with a statement on the cover of June's edition warning that "[t]his copy of *Drum* may not be sold or distributed in the Transkei." Inside it was explained that the magazine had been forced to cut out pages 21, 22, 23 and 24 "on the advice of our lawyers" (*Drum*, June 1963, cover and p. 1). Oliver's departure was linked to the publication of details of a paedophile case despite a court order prohibiting this. His argument that publication was in the public interest was dismissed by the court and when the case against *Drum* was heard in March 1964 the "owners, printers and former editor....were acquitted on the main charge of defeating the ends of justice and an alternative charge of contravening the Criminal Procedure Act." Instead they were found guilty of contempt of court. Bailey was fined R100 while Oliver, who, said the court, bore the main responsibility, was given the option of 90 days or a R200 fine (*Drum*, September 1963, p. 14, April 1964, p. 36). Nakasa died in New York in 1965 (S. Stein, *Who Killed*, p. 200).

¹⁴³ *Rand Daily Mail*, 18th March 1965, p. 11; *Golden City Post*, 11th April 1965, p. 10.

¹⁴⁴ *Golden City Post*, 18th April 1965, p. 5.

Chapter Two

Africa's Greatest Magazine: 1965-1984

The beginning of 1968 saw *Golden City Post* declare that *Drum* was to reappear in its original form. "Welcome back, *Drum!* That's *Post's* cry this week - and it will be the cry of countless thousands throughout the country next week when *Drum*, Africa's greatest magazine goes back on sale in its old monthly form." declared *Post* at the end of March 1968.¹ *Post* - and potential *Drum* - readers were advised that:

To bring about this revival of the famous magazine, *Drum* has bought a new Italian photogravure press. With it *Drum* will be able to print page after page of full-colour pictures on its 64 pages....Along with the finest printing money can buy, *Drum* has also engaged new writers to carry on the great tradition begun more than 15 years ago....The new *Drum* will be bigger, better, more sophisticated than ever before. An extra feature will be special sections for Reef, Natal and Cape readers, giving them exclusive stories of particular interest to them. The new *Drum*.... has a proud, exciting tradition. The new *Drum* will live up to this tradition. It will lift the lid off crime, expose racketeers, keep you up to date with all the latest sports news, bring you stories of mystery....And, of course, there'll be all those gorgeous *Drum* girls that make the magazine a delight to every red-blooded man."²

This Chapter briefly considers some of the reasons put forward to account for *Drum's* conversion to a supplement in 1965, explores developments in foreign editions of the magazine, before moving on to outline its renewed development after 1968. While there was much of the new *Drum* that was continuous with the old, change was also evident. In part this was linked to the increasingly oppressive political climate inside South Africa, expressed *inter alia* by intensifying attacks on the freedom of the press. The expansion of the nationalist struggle, both within and without South Africa's borders, alongside the emergence of black consciousness, increased worker militancy and the student uprising of 1976 all helped to establish the context in which *Drum* was produced. Events outside South Africa also contributed to the development of the magazine, and it is these varying contexts and the ways in which they influenced the development of *Drum* that are the focus of this chapter.

¹*Drum*, March 1968, p. 5.

²*Golden City Post*, March 24th 1968, pp. 3, 5.

It has been difficult to establish the reasons behind the conversion of *Drum* to a supplement to *Golden City Post* in 1965, although *Post* did publish a tribute to *Drum* which hinted at the difficulties facing Bailey: "It [*Drum*] has its critics as well as its supporters, its enemies as well as its friends. There are those who would like to see *Drum* killed off and are in a hurry to write their little obituary notices of *Drum*. Let them know right now that *Drum* will never die. *Drum* is very much alive and intends to stay that way."³ While this acknowledges some hostility towards the magazine, it fails to identify any specific sources, and there is little to support Nicol's assertion that *Drum* was banned by the apartheid state between 1965 and 1968. Although Merrett also states that *Drum* was banned "for reasons which are obscure", he gives Nichol as his source. Jacobsen, on the other hand, makes no mention of any banning order pertaining to *Drum* in 1965, suggesting that the magazine's conversion to a supplement was not the consequence of a government banning order.⁴ In *Golden City Post*, Bailey presented the diminished *Drum* as a step forward rather than the consequence of government decree - "the new *Drum* would be more topical and more colourful than it could be as a monthly."⁵ Stein, on the other hand, considers the decision to have been the result, primarily, of financial pressures rather than direct state intervention or the desire for a more colourful product.⁶

If the South African version of *Drum* was cocooned however, foreign editions seemed to be thriving. Almost from its inception copies of the South African magazine had been distributed (admittedly in limited quantities) first to Rhodesia, in the middle of 1951, and then to both East and West Africa by the beginning of 1952.⁷ What had become known as the Central African edition was the South African edition, produced in the South African offices, with a couple of pages of removed and replaced with material supplied by representatives based in offices in Salisbury.⁸ In West Africa meanwhile, after part-time distribution agents were appointed in the Gold Coast and Nigeria "[l]etters from far and wide came into the Johannesburg office asking for copies of *Drum*" and by the early to mid 1950s offices had been established in Accra and Lagos and the publications editorialised.⁹¹⁰ By the early 1960s, both West African editions were booming, East Africa seemed full of potential, and the

³*Golden City Post*, 18th April 1965, p. 5.

⁴M. Nicol, *A Good Looking Corpse* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1991) p. 394. C. Merrett, *A Culture of Censorship: Secrecy and Intellectual Repression in South Africa* (Cape Town: David Phillip, 1994), p. 65; Jacobsen's *Index of Objectionable Literature* (Pretoria: Jacobsen's Publishers, 1990).

⁵*Rand Daily Mail*, 18th March 1965, p.11.

⁶Sylvester Stein interviewed in London by the author, 23rd December, 1999. See also Bailey in A. Caccia (ed.) *The Beat of Drum* (Johannesburg: Ravan in association with *Drum*, 1982) p. 147, for Bailey's account of one financial catastrophe taking place in the early 1960s.

⁷A. Caccia *The Beat*, p. 127, 129.

⁸A. Caccia *The Beat*, p. 135.

⁹A. Caccia *The Beat*, p. 128, 129.

¹⁰A. Caccia *The Beat*, p. 32.

central African editions too were selling well. But with the clear vision of hindsight it is apparent that the coming of independence brought new and more complicated problems for Bailey's publishing empire.

Around 1960 our then South African printing base had become unacceptable to independent Africa so we moved our printing for East and West Africa first to the Illustrated London News Press in London and then to the Liverpool Post and Echo. This division of a tiny office fragmented into 30 or so pieces stretching across 5000 miles carried with it the seeds of future trouble. It also limited us to 3 month deadlines and a dependence on British trade unions, who proceeded to damage us severely, catching us up in a series of dock and shipping strikes".¹¹

Despite the distancing of *Drum* from South Africa by the shift to British printers, the Ghanaian *Drum* was banned briefly by Nkrumah's government in 1960. Initially Bailey believed this to be a response to the magazine's coverage of Sharpeville, but investigations revealed instead that it was the publicity given to Nkrumah's political opponent that was the problem, and this was in large part the consequence of the three month delay between planning and distributing the magazine. But although *Drum* was soon back in circulation in Ghana, problems remained and as Bailey put it "One blow after another began to destroy my organisation."¹² In Nkrumah's Ghana difficulties began to emerge in obtaining the foreign exchange need to pay the magazine's printers in Britain, and Bailey considered this a sign that it was now necessary to invest in modern offset-litho presses at strategic points around Africa.¹³ In partnership with local publishers these presses were eventually erected in Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia, Kenya and Uganda. The new presses meant that identical text and pictures could be printed in the different venues on the continent rather than in England, but the press planned for Nigeria fell through and Bailey's investment lost, while the press for Ghana remained an idea only.¹⁴ And as the 1960s rolled on, the Ghanaian edition of *Drum* struggled through years of political and economic turmoil, surviving both the removal of Nkrumah in 1966 and the military regime that followed him, until, in 1972, another military coup lead by Colonel Acheampong saw the demise of the magazine after the confiscation of its books. Bailey "sacked the staff, liquidated the company and wait[ed] for honest times."¹⁵

In Nigeria *Drum* survived the coup of 1966 that overthrew Dr Azikiwe, but by the following year, as civil war approached Lagos, advertising was just twenty five

¹¹J. Bailey in Caccia (ed.), *The Beat*, p. 145, 146.

¹²A. Caccia, *The Beat*, p. 159.

¹³A. Caccia, *The Beat*, p. 159.

¹⁴A. Caccia, *The Beat*, p. 146.

¹⁵A. Caccia, *The Beat*, p. 160; A. Sampson, *Drum: An African Adventure and Afterwards* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1983) p. 213.

percent of its former level, income from sales was a mere third and the magazine faced financial ruin.¹⁶ Bailey persuaded the staff to accept a fifty per cent cut in salary until the end of the crisis with the promise that once the political turmoil had ended the original salaries would be reinstated.¹⁷ Although Bailey's magazine was to survive the three years it took for the war to end, it faced a new hazard in the early 1970s, when "a new decree forbade foreign ownership of Nigerian media," and the magazine was finally sold into Nigerian ownership in March 1974.¹⁸

Overall then, the entire decade of the 1960s appear to have been a period of intense financial difficulties for Bailey.¹⁹ Clearly Bailey could not have foreseen all these eventualities in 1965, although some already loomed large on the horizon in the early 1960s. What it does confirm though, is that Bailey was stretched financially by the early to middle 1960s, supporting (to some extent at least) Stein's observation that it was financial difficulties that lead Bailey to suspend the magazine. Whatever the reasons though, the edition of April 1965 of the South African version of *Drum* was the last to be published as a separate volume, and in May the first supplement to *Golden City Post* appeared.²⁰ While *Golden City Post's* circulation soared, *Drum*, once more under the auspices of Eprile, was, if not actually dead, but a ghost of its former self.²¹ The cover girls vanished, the number of pages shrank from between sixty and eighty to less than twenty, with the bulk of these taken up by photographs and advertisements rather than text.²² With its conversion to a supplement, *Drum's* distinct voice, a voice that allegedly represented the views of the voiceless and downtrodden black male masses, largely disappeared until 1968.

While the reasons for converting *Drum* into a supplement of *Post* are unclear, an explanation of the magazine's re-introduction as an independent monthly has been even more difficult to establish. Bailey makes no reference to the three year hiatus in the magazine's history other than to report on the purchase in 1967 of a new gravure

¹⁶A. Caccia, *The Beat*, p. 159.

¹⁷A. Caccia, *The Beat*, p. 159.

¹⁸A. Sampson, *Afterwards*, p. 213.

¹⁹J. Bailey in A. Caccia, *The Beat*, p. 159.

²⁰*Golden City Post*, 24th March 1968, p. 3.

²¹According to *Golden City Post*, it had been selling 100,000 copies a week in 1964. By July 1966, sales had climbed to more than 150,000 and by May 1967 more than 200,000 copies a week were sold (*Golden City Post*, 31st July 1966, p. 5, 4th June 1967, p. 5).

²²Unfortunately, the South African Library has no copies of *Drum* as a supplement to *Golden City Post* after June 1965. Of the editions housed at the South African Library, the edition of 2nd May 1965 had a boxer on the cover, the edition of 9th May two male clowns, the edition of 16th May several fully clad women, the edition of 23rd May a 67 year old man, the edition of 30th May three half clad women, the edition of 6th June a church minister, the edition of 13th June a male musician, the edition of 20th June a female child, and the edition of 27th June (the last to be housed at the South African Library) horses and jockeys.

magazine press, expenditure on which “remained tied to my neck like the proverbial albatross.”²³ Despite this, and despite the difficulties associated with editions of *Drum* published further North, plans were evidently set in motion towards the end of 1967 that lead to the announcement in Post cited at the beginning of this chapter. Thus the new and ‘improved’ version of the South African *Drum* was back on sale in April 1968, its sixty odd pages edited by newcomer D.J. Garner, assisted by G.R. Naidoo, and produced alongside *Golden City Post* at 62 Eloff Street in Johannesburg.²⁴ When the new magazine reached the streets an editorial informed readers that:

while other editions of *Drum* flourished in West and East Africa it became necessary for the mother edition to take things easily for a time - like the long distance runner who “rests” for a lap or two while he gathers his strength, or the boxer who eases up for a round in the middle of a long bout. This issue of *Drum* marks the runner’s surge back into the lead, the boxer’s leap from his corner at the next bell.... Some stories which might have been possible up to six or seven years ago are impossible today; we all know why. But this does not mean that *Drum*’s mirror must lose its veracious property.²⁵

In focusing on crime, sport, and “gorgeous *Drum* girls”, and conceptualising its readership (as well as the magazine itself) as “red blooded” men, the new magazine was evidently conceiving its readership to be very closely aligned to that of the early *Drum*. There were other similarities as well. The newly appointed editor, D.J. Garner, was white for example, and, just like earlier white editors, took pains to reiterate *Drum*’s authenticity, declaring “[w]e are still the only authentic Non - White news/picture magazine in Southern Africa.”²⁶ The production of almost four times the number of pages meant more writers needed to be employed - or borrowed from *Golden City Post*. Stanley Motjuwadi returned with his own column, as did Juby Mayet, along with contributions from Mike Norton.²⁷ But these were not enough,

²³J. Bailey in A. Caccia, *The Beat*, p. 159.

²⁴By this stage Eprile was no longer editing *Golden City Post*. He had left at the beginning of 1967 to “take up an appointment as managing director of Forum World Features in London” although he was to retain his directorship of *Drum* and *Golden City Post* as well as being Bailey’s personal representative in London. *Rand Daily Mail* Monday October 3rd 1966 p. 11. Sylvester Stein states that “years later a great secret about Cecil was exposed in the press....Quite unsuspected by us he had been working on the side as a paid spy for the Central Intelligence Agency in the United States.” S. Stein *Who Killed Mr Drum?* (Bellville: Mayibuye Books, 1999), p. 50.

²⁵*Drum*, April 1968, p. 4. It is interesting to note that for one brief moment *Drum* was identified as female - the “mother edition” - before the metaphors of masculinity reasserted themselves.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Motjuwadi produced a column on the ‘black point of view’ in the *Rand Daily Mail* in the mid 1960s. See for example the *Rand Daily Mail*, 14th September 1966, p. 11; 1st October 1966, p. 11; 8th October 1966, p. 11; 22nd October 1966, p. 11; 29th October 1966, p. 11. Mayet had her own column with *Golden City Post* by this time. Mike Norton, who had also contributed to the early *Drum*, had

and Joe Nazeer did some investigative reporting, Jackie Heyns was identified as the Cape Editor in September, with his own “opinion” column by December, while “Reef Chatter,” a column by Lahlapansi first appeared in November.²⁸ Within the year, Joe Thloloe, Sydney Matlaku and Alf Khumalo were regular contributors, shortly after which Bob Gosani was back at the magazine, as second in command of photographs under Khumalo. Allocated the fashion pages again, Marion Morel was the only woman to join Mayet. The new *Drum*, just like the old, was dominated by black male writers.²⁹

Meanwhile, the threats that had faced the South African press at the time of *Drum*'s conversion into a supplement to *Golden City Post* remained, while the conflict between competing black and white masculinities embodied in apartheid had escalated. New legislation drawn up by the white men who controlled the state outlawed multiracial parties, even going so far as to render it illegal for an individual to “assist a political party that had members drawn from a population group other than his own, or to assist a candidate of another population group standing for election to a statutory governing body.”³⁰ At the same time, the late 1960s saw the emergence of new ideas about black resistance and black nationalism, epitomised in the notion of “black” rather than African consciousness. “African university students” notes Freund, “attempted to build a new unity of the oppressed in adopting the word ‘Black’ for themselves and thus forging links with Indian and Coloured comrades.”³¹ It was towards the end of 1968, for example, that the South African Students’ Organisation, a black consciousness organisation with Steve Biko as its president, was formed.³² By 1968, the Terrorism Act of the previous year had paved the way for indefinite periods of detention, while the General Law Amendment Act of the following year served to tighten up controls over any information deemed to be detrimental to the interests of the white state.³³

The new *Drum* entered a world in which numerous individuals, organisations and newspapers remained banned, and where reporters and editors were justifiably wary of attracting state attention. Laurence Gandar for instance, editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, and Benjamin Pogrand, a senior reporter, were in trouble for publishing a series

been jailed for 16 days in 1963 for refusing to name his sources (C. Merrett, *A Culture*, p. 64).

²⁸*Golden City Post*, 9th April 1967, p. 1.

²⁹*Drum*, January 1969, p. 4, June 1969, p. 4.

³⁰M. Horrell (ed) *Laws Affecting Race Relations in South Africa, 1948-1976* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1978) p. 27.

³¹B. Freund, *The Making of Contemporary Africa: The Development of African Society since 1800* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984) p. 282.

³²T. Lodge & B. Nasson with S Mufson, K Shubane & N Sithole, *All, Here, and Now: Black Politics in South Africa in the 1980s* (London: Hurst & Company, 1992) p. 6.

³³C. Merrett, *A Culture*, p. 47.

on conditions in prisons. The four year case ended in 1969 with Gandar and SAAN being fined and Pogrud given a three month suspended sentence, while the R280,000 cost of their defence discouraged other editors and journalists from taking similar risks.³⁴ Likewise, Peter Magubane, although no longer with *Drum* in 1968, had been arrested and charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. After his acquittal, he had been immediately rearrested and charged under the Terrorism Act. After his second acquittal, he was served with a five year banning order.³⁵ To complicate matters further, the government was threatening to withdraw the exemption to the Publications and Entertainment Act that had been granted to the press in 1963.³⁶ To add to these difficulties, and hinting at the problems facing white editors of a black magazine, Bailey was struggling to maintain editorial continuity. Garner had been quietly replaced by Peter Wellman, who was in turn replaced (with much fanfare) by GR Naidoo "*Drum's* first non-White Editor."³⁷ Just a few months later Naidoo was replaced by another white male, Keith Orchison, who in turn handed over to yet another white man, RJN Kenyon, in October 1970.

In the midst of the increasing pressure from the state, combined with the editorial upheaval, alongside an escalating resistance movement, Bailey insisted that *Drum* keep a low profile. The "magazine's first duty was to survive, and not risk a total confrontation with the government."³⁸ On the eve of its twentieth birthday in 1971, the magazine seemed to have achieved more than mere survival, bragging that "[t]oday about 400,000 copies are sold throughout the continent, from Ghana to Nigeria, across to Kenya and down to the Cape of Good Hope."³⁹ This success was marked in a twentieth anniversary edition with the publication of birthday greetings from a selection of South African notables as well as a message from Jim Bailey in which he lamented the absence of any "financial reward" for producing *Drum*, and promised readers that "the vagaries of censorship permitting, we shall not fail you."⁴⁰

However, while *Drum* had so far managed to avoid too much discord with the government, an unexpected confrontation was brewing from another direction altogether. Almost immediately after buying the photo-gravure press that had stretched Bailey's finances to the limit, competition with *Golden City Post* sprang up

³⁴Ibid., p. 69

³⁵*Survey of Race Relations, 1975*, pp. 45, 46.

³⁶C. Merrett, *A Culture*, p. 69.

³⁷*Drum*, May 1969, p. 4.

³⁸A. Sampson, *Afterwards*, p. 220.

³⁹*Drum*, February 1971, p. 51.

⁴⁰Amongst those to offer their congratulations were Sir Richard Luyt, Mrs Jean Sinclair, Mr. FSM Mncube, Dr. Edgar Brookes, Mrs Helen Suzman, Mr Alan Paton and Mr. I Kathrada (*Drum*, March 1971, pp. 32, 33).

from the Argus Company which started a Sunday paper in Johannesburg and purchased another paper in Cape Town in an attempt to garner new readers. By this stage the white market was just about saturated, and the only path to expansion was via black readers who were increasing dramatically every year.⁴¹ According to Bailey, however, “the Argus Company set out to destroy me”⁴² Essentially the Argus Company wished to buy *Golden City Post* “South Africa’s fastest growing and third most widely read newspaper” and seized the opportunity offered by Bailey’s financial overcommitments.⁴³ According to Bailey the Argus Company began undercutting *Golden City Post* in terms of price and advertising rates, were manipulating distribution through their control of CNA, and using the financial clout of their links with Anglo American to obtain preferential bank loans.⁴⁴ Finally, towards the end of 1971, *Golden City Post* was sold to the Argus Group, and on the 3rd of November under a headline proclaiming ‘The Last Post’ it was reported that:

In a shock announcement, *Post*’s Chairman, Mr. Jim Bailey, told his staff the paper would close immediately....Stunned staffers abandoned stories and pages set up for tomorrow’s edition. They were told some staff would be taken over by *Drum* magazine, others by the Argus company - but some would be fired.⁴⁵

Although the *Rand Daily Mail* noted that the Argus company had paid more than R500,000 for the paper, Bailey recorded that he was eventually compelled to sell “at something like ten percent of the paper’s value.”⁴⁶ Lamenting the demise of its younger sibling, and reiterating its authenticity, *Drum* declared that it “was on its own now - as we were twenty years ago when the magazine was a lone voice speaking for our people.”⁴⁷

Perhaps in response to this, 1972 saw *Drum* issued twice a month. “Now we can give you a double dose of your favourite magazine” proclaimed the first of these bimonthly editions in January.⁴⁸ Yet another white man, Philip Selwyn Smith, was appointed as editor towards the end of 1972, while the following year, after the arrest of several journalists, the Prime Minister announced plans for new legislation that would

⁴¹E. Potter *The Press as Opposition: The Political Role of South African Newspapers* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1975), p. 99; W. Hachten & C Giffard, *Total Onslaught: The Press Under Attack* (Johannesburg: Macmillan, 1984), pp. 131, 150.

⁴²J. Bailey in A. Caccia, *The Beat*, p. 159.

⁴³*Rand Daily Mail*, Thursday November 4th 1971, p. 3.

⁴⁴“The Chairman of Argus ... used the overwhelming wealth and power of his white newspaper group over a period of years to undercut the former *Post* in cover price and advertising rates so that his group could take it over.” *Drum*, January 1978, p. 2

⁴⁵*Rand Daily Mail*, Wednesday November 3rd 1971, p. 9.

⁴⁶J. Bailey in A. Caccia *The Beat*, p. 159.

⁴⁷*Drum*, December 1971, p. 2.

⁴⁸*Drum*, 1st January 1972, p. 2.

“prevent newspapers from appearing on the streets if they contained racial incitement.”⁴⁹ At a National Party Congress in 1973, Vorster again warned the press to put its house in order by January 1974 or face statutory controls.⁵⁰ Giving further substance to state threats, 1974 saw the editor of *Natal Daily News* arrested for simply reporting that, despite a ban, a political gathering was still going to take place, while first Dr Verwoerd and then Mr Vorster reiterated their threats to introduce new legislation aimed at curbing the press.⁵¹

The increasingly intense efforts to silence the press were clearly closely linked to the racialised struggles taking place in South Africa, representing an attempt by the state to control and direct the flow of information concerning opposition to the apartheid regime. But, as Freund puts it, the post war economic boom had merely “paved the way for a new wave of struggle in the 1970s”, struggle that increasingly combined economic and political grievances.⁵² Thus the early to middle 1970s saw the government begin a major crackdown on an impressively wide range of organisations and individuals, a crackdown that gathered momentum as the decade progressed. The Anglican Dean of Johannesburg for example, was charged under the Terrorism Act in 1971, and several religious ministers holding foreign passports were expelled from the country in the same year. The same year also saw employees of both the Christian Institute of Southern Africa and the Institute of Race Relations prosecuted.⁵³ Universities and university students too came under scrutiny. Student leaders, both black and white, who supported the struggle for national liberation, fell foul of the state. As well as student newspapers and other student publications, eight leaders of the National Union of South African Students (a white organisation), along with eight leaders the South African Students Organization (a black organisation) were banned.⁵⁴ Steve Biko, president of SASO, was not only prohibited from speaking publicly, but was also restricted to King Williamstown in the Eastern Cape.⁵⁵ The following year saw several SASO officials along with members of the Black Peoples Convention arrested and charged under the Terrorism Act, Biko amongst them. The trial that subsequently dragged on for over two years, along with other arrests, detentions, banning orders, and trials, followed in 1977 by the death of Biko whilst in

⁴⁹ *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1973* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1974), pp. 59,69; *A Survey of Race Relations, 1974* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1975), pp. 66, 82.

⁵⁰ R. Pollak, *Up Against*, p. 41.

⁵¹ *A Survey of Race Relations 1974* pp. 66, 82.

⁵² B. Freund, *The Making of Contemporary Africa: The Development of African Society Since 1800* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984,) p. 281.

⁵³ *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1973* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1972), pp. 86, 50.

⁵⁴ *A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1973* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1974), pp. 342-346.

⁵⁵ T Lodge et al., *All, Here, and Now*, p. 7.

detention, seemed, according to Nasson, to have effectively crushed the black consciousness movement.⁵⁶

By the early to mid 1970s, as increasing numbers of individuals and organisations were silenced through banning orders, detentions, exile and so on, journalists and editors were forced to tread a fine line between reporting the news and finding themselves on the list of those silenced. Schoolchildren too, were drawn into the struggle, when the Department of Education issued a circular insisting that certain classes be conducted in Afrikaans early on in 1976. Over a period of months tensions grew until, on June 14th, Councillor Leonard Mosala of the Urban Bantu Council warned that the enforcing of Afrikaans in schools could result in another Sharpeville.⁵⁷ His words were prophetic, and just 4 days later pupils from Naledi and Thomas Mofolo High Schools marched peacefully through Soweto towards Orlando stadium. By the time the marchers reached Orlando West High School, where they were confronted by the police, they were 10,000 strong. Within minutes the “police opened fire, apparently first firing warning shots, and then into the crowd of advancing children, killing... thirteen year old Hector Petersen.”⁵⁸ Fierce rioting subsequently broke out all over Soweto, spreading to other townships across the country until by the end of June almost 200 were dead, over 1000 had been injured, another 900 had been arrested and extensive damage had been done to buildings and property.⁵⁹ At the end of November 1976 over 400 people were believed to be in detention. Fully 56 of these were understood to be schoolchildren, 72 were university students, kept company by, amongst others, 16 journalists.⁶⁰ By 1980 almost 50 per cent of the 768 individuals in detention were schoolchildren.⁶¹

Workers too, were increasingly militant during the 1970s. 1969 saw a major protest from the dock workers of Durban, and although this was crushed by the simple method of importing new and impoverished workers from the homelands, and expelling the striking workforce from their jobs and from Durban, other workers soon began similar protests. Late 1971 saw “virtually the entire labour force of South-west Africa [come] out”, according to Freund. “Returning to Ovamboland, and demanding the end to the entire degrading migrant contract system... the state was forced to intervene and offer some compromise to the workers.”⁶² Another wave of strikes broke out in Durban in 1973, leading to higher wages, and more significantly, “the

⁵⁶*A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1976* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1977), pp. 130-146; T. Lodge et al., *All, Here, and Now*, p. 7

⁵⁷*A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1976* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1977), p. 57.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, p.131.

⁶¹*A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1980* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1981), p.265.

⁶²B. Freund, *The Making*, p. 281.

liberalisation of some of the laws restricting black trade unions.”⁶³ And, as Freund further notes “[f]rom the strikes emerged a new, unaffiliated labour movement which threatened to take openly political forms.”⁶⁴ Pressure from workers saw African trade unions “allowed to register for the first time in South African history in 1979”. The continued growth of the labour movement saw membership in the region of a quarter of a million by 1982. As this movement began to consolidate its organisation, so its challenge to the system grew.⁶⁵ For journalists and editors the 1970s were a period of immense frustration, as it became more and more difficult to report on events around the country. As rising numbers of individuals and organisations were silenced through banning orders, detentions, exile and so on, journalists and editors were forced to tread an increasingly fine line between reporting the news and, as is discussed later on, finding themselves on the list of those silenced.

Meanwhile tensions were building outside South Africa’s borders. In 1974 the United Nations General Assembly suspended the credentials of the South African delegation - the first time that a UN member had been denied participation. Adding insult to injury from the point of view of the South Africa state, both the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress were invited to participate as observers.⁶⁶ Political change in Portugal helped speed up change in Africa: 1975 saw Mozambique and Angola finally win independence. Rhodesia’s days too, were numbered, and with the declaration of Zimbabwe as an independent state in 1980, the apartheid regime lost its “last really dependable ally in Africa.”⁶⁷

This then, was the local and international context in which *Drum* was situated. Although much, if not all, of its investigative reporting had been severely toned down in comparison to the reporting of the 1950s, an independent survey calculated its black readership be 839,000.⁶⁸ Despite the difficulties the magazine was evidently understood to be a mouthpiece for black views, albeit “muffled”.⁶⁹ But after the uprising of 1976, the possibilities of expressing black views, or, indeed, any views other than those of the Nationalist party, were increasingly limited. Prior to Selwyn - Smith’s handing over of the editorship to the second black editor, Obed Musi, in the middle of the year, two editions of *Drum* were banned, and, by March the following year, financial constraints had compelled Bailey to produce just one issue per month.⁷⁰

⁶³T. Lodge et al., *All, Here, and Now*, p. 7

⁶⁴B. Freund, *The Making*, p. 282.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 285, 286.

⁶⁶T. Lodge et al., *All, Here, and Now*, p. 389.

⁶⁷B. Freund, *The Making*, p. 284.

⁶⁸*All Media and Products Survey*, Vol. 10, 1976, p. 3.

⁶⁹A. Sampson, *Afterword*, p. 221.

⁷⁰According to the editor, “[t]his has been done because of the great rise in printing costs. We could

For a while this is the last of the twice - a - month *Drum*'s. From this issue, the monthly *Drum* will be on sale from the first of every month....This has been done because of the great rise in printing costs. We could have put up the price, but we know what extra cents mean in Black lives.⁷¹

Later on in the year another edition was banned, and Juby Mayet was briefly arrested after a police raid on her home.⁷² Joe Thloloe, also of *Drum*, was just one of several journalists detained whilst covering the uprisings in the middle of the year, shortly after which Stanley Motjuwadi replaced Musi as editor on the masthead.⁷³ At the same time a local correspondent for the foreign press was placed under house arrest, while another South African journalist was ordered out of the country.⁷⁴ Other journalists were allegedly assaulted by the police, while two more were fined for entering Alexandra on the trail of a story.⁷⁵

The following year opened with the banning of the March edition of *Drum*, while the outcry after Steve Biko's death in detention simply provoked the state to clamp down even more tightly.⁷⁶ One month after leaving *Drum* to join the *World*, Thloloe was detained yet again - this time for eighteen months. Towards the end of the year (along with nineteen black consciousness organisations), both the *World* and *Weekend World* were banned, their editor Percy Qoboza detained, and Motjuwadi of *Drum* thrown into a Transkeian jail.⁷⁷ After his release, Motjuwadi attempted to avoid

have put up the price, but we know what extra cents mean in Black lives" (*Drum*, 22nd March 1976, p. 2). The editions of 8th February and 8th March 1976 were both banned, although this was later lifted. The edition of 22nd March 1976 was the last of *Drum*'s bimonthly issues.

⁷¹*Drum*, March 22nd 1976, p. 2.

⁷²The edition of August 1976 was banned (K. Jacobsen, *Jacobsen's Index*, pp. 118, 119). In May 1978, Mayet was detained for five months and banned in December of the same year (R. Pollak, *Up Against The Press: the Role and Plight of the Press in South Africa* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1981), p. 41); *Drum*, July 1981, p. 71.

⁷³Sydney Matlhaku, Godwin Mohlomi, Z.B. Molefe, Moffat Zungu and Willie Bokala of the *World*, Peter Magubane, Willie Nkosi, Nat Serache and Jan Tugwana of the *Rand Daily Mail*, T. Mthintso of the *Daily Dispatch* and Don Mattera of the *Star* all spent time in detention in 1976 (*A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1976* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1977), pp. 104, 109, 117; *Drum*, September 1976). T. Lodge et al., *All, Here, and Now*, p. 7.

⁷⁴*Survey of Race Relations 1976*, p. 104, 109. At a National party Congress in 1973, Vorster had told the press to put its house in order by January 1974 or face statutory controls. R. Pollak *Up Against The Press*, p. 41.

⁷⁵Enoch Duma of the *Sunday Times* (who also wrote for *Drum*), Duma Ndlovu and Dan Tleketele of the *World* and Peter Magubane of the *Rand Daily Mail* alleged that they had been assaulted by the police. *Survey of Race Relations 1976* p. 151.

⁷⁶K. Jacobsen, *Jacobsen's Index*, pp. 118, 119.

⁷⁷*A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1977* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1978), p. 168. *Drum* seized this opportunity to observe in an editorial that in terms of the banning of the *World* and *Weekend*

conflict with the regime by minimising editorial comment and through “letting photographs tell the story”.⁷⁸ Even so, there were still occasional forays into criticism of government policy with articles that edged on infringing one or other of the laws governing what could or could not be said. Despite legislation for example, that made it illegal to criticise future and existing laws, *Drum* identified several laws it thought should be changed, and invited readers to participate in an opinion poll over the necessity for change.⁷⁹ So by the mid 1970s, as a voice for black views, however restricted, *Drum* appeared to have maintained its credibility. As such however, it “remained an object of suspicion” to the Nationalist government.

In October 1975, two years before the offer to buy *Drum*, Louis Luyt, an Afrikaans businessman, had offered more than double the trading price for all the issued shares of SAAN. Even after Luyt increased his offer to three times the market value of the shares, the bid was rejected by the Bailey estate, and the following year, Luyt started the *Citizen*.⁸⁰ Suspicions were raised that the government was Luyt’s main backer, but no proof could be found. Just two years later, in April 1977, as SAAN reporters based on the *Rand Daily Mail*, *Sunday Times* and *Sunday Express* continued their attempts to establish the identities of Luyt’s backers, Bailey was contacted by Christopher Dolley on behalf of the Bermudan company, Danel, which wished to purchase *Drum* for R615,000.⁸¹ But as the approach coincided with the government’s closure of the *World* and *Weekend World*, discussions were postponed. When the issue was raised again, in June 1978, Bailey was informed that if he did not agree to sell *Drum*, a rival magazine “backed by limitless cash” would be established.⁸² But before an agreement could be negotiated, revelations concerning the government’s financing of the *Citizen* exploded in the press. In its pages, *Drum* speculated as to whether there was a connection between Luyt, Rhoodie and *Pace*, as *Drum*’s competitor was to be called, but this remained unknown until the end of the year.⁸³ By January, though, it was evident that the ties between Danel and the South African government were very close indeed, and that the attempts to purchase *Drum* had been part of the government’s plot to take over the independent press. The breaking of the story about the funding behind the *Citizen* saw the attempts to purchase *Drum* collapse, and as the first edition of *Pace* appeared on the shelves *Drum* was informing its readers that “if Mr. Abramson [of Danel] had succeeded in buying *Drum* with

World, the Argus group had “got what they deserved” (*Drum*, January 1978, p. 2; K. Swift in *Creative Camera*, 1984, p. 1468).

⁷⁸K. Swift in *Creative Camera*, 1984 p. 1468.

⁷⁹*Drum*, July 1978.

⁸⁰W. Hachten et al, *Total Onslaught*, pp. 239, 240.

⁸¹*Drum*, May 1980, p. 52; A. Caccia, *The Beat*, p. 162; W. Hachten et al, *Total Onslaught*, pp. 229 - 261.

⁸²*Drum*, May 1980, p. 52; A. Caccia, *The Beat*, p. 162.

⁸³*Drum*, December 1978, p. 29.

Information Department money there would have been no need for him to start *Pace*.”⁸⁴

Having survived this crisis, *Drum* moved into the 1980s under the editorship of Motjuwadi with plans to celebrate its thirtieth birthday in 1981 with a photo - exhibition at the Market Theatre in Johannesburg. Bishop Desmond Tutu was invited to open the exhibition, where he declared that:

Those associated with *Drum* had been steeped to the core in the realities of black life and that is why *Drum* had so much authenticity. The guys and dolls who wrote in *Drum* knew what it meant to be black, to be the victim of police harassment for pass laws, living in the ghettos of Sophiatown, Fietas or Dark City - ghettos teeming with life of the kind that set red corpuscles tingling.⁸⁵

The following year, July's edition was banned, this time over an interview with Peter Tosh, but the ban was subsequently lifted, and, for the next two years, the magazine largely managed to avoid falling foul of the endless publishing restrictions.⁸⁶ But the end of an era was approaching, and in March 1984 *Drum* celebrated what was to be its last birthday under the ownership of Jim Bailey. In an announcement in the *Rand Daily Mail* at the beginning of April it was revealed that *Drum*, along with Bailey's other publications of *City Press* and *True Love*, had been sold to Nasionale Pers at the end of March. The staff of *Drum*, informed of the sale the day before the announcement, were told that the changeover was with immediate effect. Nasionale Pers, it appeared, had signed a charter guaranteeing that “journalists will continue to enjoy the same degree of freedom of expression as they have in the past.”⁸⁷ In an editorial the following day, the *Rand Daily Mail* expressed doubts as to whether “a company which is as Nationalist in outlook, purpose and control as anything could be is going to tolerate - indeed, encourage and profit - from publications whose image and practice are solidly anti-apartheid”.⁸⁸ The staff of *Drum* were also wary of the potential ramifications of the sale. Readers, too, might be “unsettled” or even “frightened” that *Drum* had been taken over by Nasionale Pers “which [was] well known to be pro- Nationalist and once had Prime Minister PW Botha as one of its directors.” Motjuwadi warned that, although Nationale Pers had signed a charter promising “not to change our policy nor to interfere editorially”, this charter was not legally binding, and it was possible “that the motive for taking over the magazine

⁸⁴*Drum*, January 1979, p. 25.

⁸⁵Desmond Tutu cited in *Drum*, April 1981, p. 30.

⁸⁶*Drum*, November 1982, p. 2. *Jacobsens's Index* makes no mention of this banning, indicating instead that November's edition was banned (*Jacobsens's Index*, p. 118, 119).

⁸⁷*Rand Daily Mail*, 5th April 1984, p. 3. By this stage the Nigerian *Drum* had been sold and the Ghanaian *Drum* closed down. Bailey retained ownership of the East African edition.

⁸⁸*Rand Daily Mail*, 6th April 1984, p. 6.

[was] to use it as a showpiece of the ‘unfettered South African Press’”. In the event of this happening, and *Drum* being used as a ventriloquist’s black male dummy for a white Nationalist voice, Motjuwadi pledged that, “I, as editor, and my staff promise that for your sake we will walk out.”⁸⁹

At the time of its sale, *Drum* had articulated what it conceived as the authentic voice of black manhood for over thirty years, and its steadily increasing circulation suggested that this voice had struck a chord with a growing constituency of readers. The collaboration between the white men who owned and edited the magazine, and the black men who, until the very end, were employed to write or take pictures for the publication seemed unproblematic. These men appear to have found it relatively straightforward to overcome racial, cultural and class differences between and amongst themselves and their audience to work together in opposition to a white state bent on denying manhood - a voice of any kind - to black men. The overall continuity of this thirty year period in terms of the broad approach in which a diverse and changing group of men endeavoured to articulate an adult black voice, and the broad context in which another group attempted to limit and silence that voice is striking. Within this context, the attempts to construct an “authentic” black voice tended to articulate a male rather than a female voice, to minimise or subsume differences between certain groups of black men, and even between black and white men, and to marginalise other groups of men on the basis of their sexuality.

As the following chapter shows, it was collisions between urban and rural, western and African, between different structures of patriarchy and between the magazine and its audience that helped establish particular images of urban manhood as the ideal. Chapter four moves on to consider *Drum*’s changing portrayal of some of the personal relationships of urban men, showing how, over time, urban manhood for black men was constructed as increasingly distanced from women and children. Chapter five explores how the magazine assumed manhood to be synonymous with heterosexuality and how men who claimed an alternative sexuality were denigrated, dismissed and denied. But there was another polarity at work too, between masculinity and femininity. The heterosexual version of masculinity represented by the producers of *Drum* (and assumed of its black male readership) was further shaped by the absence of women’s voices alongside the ever present images of their bodies. It is this that is explored at length in chapter six. While there were a few isolated female writers producing material for the magazine, this was work that was commissioned, shaped and ultimately presented by men to other men who were imagined to be essentially similar to themselves. For the most part, women’s participation in the magazine was as objects for the male heterosexual gaze, their voices hushed and silent. But even so their absent presence remained central to *Drum*’s construction of urban masculinity.

⁸⁹*Drum*, June 1984, p. 2.

Chapter Three

Are you going to be Miss (or Mr.) Africa?¹

Just a couple of months before its first birthday in January 1952, *Drum* announced its 'Great All-African Beauty Contest.' Alongside advertisements for baby food and underneath sewing patterns - on what *Drum* called the "home pages" - appeared a couple of paragraphs outlining the aims of the competition:

To find the ideal of African Womanhood, DRUM is celebrating the New Year with a trans-continental competition for Africa's most beautiful girl, open to all readers of THE AFRICAN DRUM. In order to enable entrants from every part of Africa to compete, the competition will be open for SIX MONTHS, and in each number of THE AFRICAN DRUM we will publish pictures of some of the semi-finalists. At the end of the period readers themselves will select their own choice from among the photographs published in the six months, and the winner will be the entrant who receives the most votes from readers. Prizes will be announced in our next issue. ALL YOU NEED DO to enter for this important competition, the biggest ever held in Africa, is to fill in the form below and enclose a good clear photograph of yourself. Mark the envelope "MISS AFRICA."²

Not even one year old when this exciting new contest was first revealed to its reading public, *Drum* had already undergone some of the major changes discussed in the previous chapter. By this time the overhaul of management and editorship had been completed. Robin Stratford and Bob Crisp had gone, Jim Bailey had assumed full financial responsibility for the magazine and Anthony Sampson was ensconced as editor. The drive to recruit black writers was well underway, the shift in focus from rural to urban life was largely established, and sales were rising.

The announcement of the beauty contest in January 1952 made it quite clear that the competition was for women. Entitled "Miss Africa", aimed at finding the "ideal of African Womanhood" and the "most beautiful girl", it should have been apparent that

¹*Drum*, March 1952, p. 17.

²*Drum*, January 1952, p. 24. Gelana Twala was the editor of the Home Pages at this time. Although the magazine was based in Johannesburg, and retained its South African focus "[c]opies were distributed all over English-speaking Africa, and [by 1953] we were established as the leading African paper on the continent" (A. Sampson, *Drum: A Venture into the New Africa* (London: Collins, 1956), p. 52).

men were not expected to participate in the event. But, if those responsible for setting up the competition were aware that the western import of the beauty contest was about particular constructions of femininity and thus open to women only, many of the male readers knew no such thing, and unwittingly set about subverting the whole notion of western beauty contests by sending in their entries, accompanied by photographs of themselves. Thus it was that, in March, just two months after the first announcement, *Drum* reluctantly bowed to the pressure, declaring that “we have had so many requests to extend our competition to men that we will have a handsome ‘Mr. Africa’, too”. And, indicating the extent of their commitment to a competition celebrating beautiful men, they added Mr. (in brackets) to the entry form.³ In April, the competition was enlarged once again to accommodate a “Baby Africa”. “Every day... we have been receiving photographs not only from beautiful African women all over the world, but from handsome men and pretty babies too. So it does look, girls, as if we must let the men and babies join in as well.”⁴

Driver has argued that “the magazine’s shift from rural ‘past’ to urban ‘present’ was negotiated largely by means of belittling and damaging representations of women.”⁵ The arrival of “cover girls” and ‘hot dames’ alongside the competition to find the “ideal of African Womanhood”,⁶ backed up by an editorial and increasingly strong advertising presence that identified stoves as women’s business and wages as men’s, would support this analysis. Yet, at the same time, these changes incorporated a view of masculinity that also limited the options for men, as the following discussion of the events around the beauty contest of 1952 reveal. The competition organised by *Drum* reflected some of the tensions between what were three diverse and competing masculinities in urban South Africa of the early 1950s. *Drum*’s narrative of the beauty contest thus needs to be understood against the backdrop of a century of racial segregation, and the election, just four years earlier, of the apartheid regime. Although the new Nationalist government had barely begun its project of grand apartheid, decades of economic, political and social discrimination had made the manhood practised by white men hegemonic (although not monolithic). As represented in *Drum*, urban manhood for black men was more closely aligned to this dominant western masculinity than it was to the masculinity performed by rural black men.⁷ The

³*Drum*, March 1952, p. 17.

⁴*Drum*, April 1952, p. 11. Despite the inclusion of a category for Baby Africa, no Mrs Africa seems to have been considered.

⁵D. Driver, ‘*Drum* Magazine (1951-9) and the Spatial Configuration of Gender’, in K. Darian-Smith, L. Gunner & S. Nuttall (eds), *Text, Theory, Space: Land, Literature and History in South Africa and Australia* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 232.

⁶*Drum*, January 1952, p. 24.

⁷Some of the implications of the three way competition between rural and urban masculine identities of black men, and (the increasingly dominant) masculinity of white men, as apartheid developed, are discussed in chapter four.

magazine's structure and approach - deliberately based by Sampson on "the pattern of European magazines" - served to contain many of the possibilities for urban black men to those inherent in a western and urban 'present' rather than a rural 'past'. Despite their intentions, and the belief that they were in the process of constructing an authentically African magazine, Sampson, Bailey, Nxumalo and others were representing a very specific element of urban African society. As the following discussion of the beauty contest shows, when an alternative vision of the 'authentic' African male emerged out of a rural rather than an urban tradition, it was swiftly rejected.

It was in April 1952 that readers were first treated to photographs of the entrants when pictures of the initial batch of semi-finalists for each of the three categories were published. As the illustration on the next page reveals, Christopher Sithulie of Newcastle, reportedly the first man to enter the competition, appeared beneath Delphinium Rekitwe of Johannesburg and above three month old Mariette Morau of Ermelo. All entrants were identified by name and home town or city and both adult and infant entrants were decked out in western garb, a trend that continued for the duration of the competition.⁸ Women wore dresses or floral tops; men wore jackets, shirts and ties, apart from one man who appeared to be kitted out in an American cowboy suit and hat.⁹ Men, it seemed, had claimed their place alongside women as objects of beauty, where 'beauty' was conceived as bearing a very different gendered meaning to that normally associated with western beauty contests. In the minds of entrants, if not the organisers of the competition, 'beautiful' was a term applicable equally to men and women. Both could be admired and commended for their facial features and their ability to conform to western dress standards. In the eyes of the contest's entrants, being seen to be masculine did not require action and deeds, and representations of men alongside women as beautiful objects apparently did not clash with ordinary people's notions of gender.

Expansion of the beauty contest to include men seemed like a victory for those hoping to be considered beautiful, for those men who saw no contradiction between beauty and masculinity. But, already, there were clear signs that the original proponents of the beauty contest were uncomfortable with men's hijacking of a 'woman's' competition. With hindsight it is apparent that the *Drum* team had no intention of acquiescing to popular demand. For instance, if position on the page is significant, in the April edition, the picture of the contender for the title of Miss Africa appeared at the top, the

⁸Nearly all the published entries came from residents of urban areas and all wore western clothing. It is unclear whether *Drum* filtered out those who did not conform to western dress, or whether such entries were not received. It is probable that most entries originated in towns simply because the cameras needed to take the photographs would be more readily available. Also the magazine would almost certainly be more easily obtained in urban areas.

⁹*Drum*, December 1952, p. 35.

Drum, April 1952 p. 10

£100

Prizes

1st Prize

Free

Air

Trip

★



MISS: Delphinium Rabitua, of St. Thomas's School, Johannesburg, smiled demurely.

MEN AND BABIES WANT TO JOIN IN!

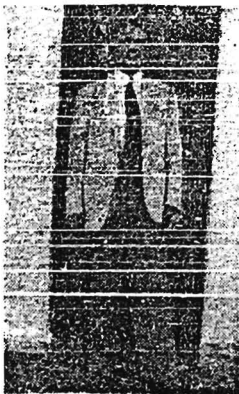
Every day since we announced the Miss Africa Beauty Competition last month, we have been receiving photographs not only from beautiful African women all over the world, but from handsome men and pretty babies too. So it does look, girls, as if we must let the men and babies join in as well. And so we have decided to divide the prizes between Miss Africa, Mr. Africa and Baby Africa.

MR. AND MISS AFRICA TO GO ON AIR TRIP

Don't forget that there is £100 in prizes to be won and a free air trip to the main centres of Southern Africa.

Miss Africa are going to be a very good-looking pair, but we still want to see lots more portraits.

Judging from the photographs already sent in, it looks as if Mr. Africa and



MR.: Christopher Sithulle, of Newcastle, was the first man to enter our competition.



BABY: Mariette Rochelle Morau, of Ermelo, is only three months old.

AFRICA 1952

To: THE EDITOR, AFRICAN DRUM, 176 MAIN STREET, JOHANNESBURG.

1952" Beauty Contest. I agree to abide by the rules of I wish to enter for THE AFRICAN DRUM "Africa the contest, and enclose a photograph of myself.

Signature

NAME (Block Letters)

ADDRESS

AGE

Fill in this form now!

SEND YOUR PICTURE IN TODAY!

picture of the Mr. Africa entrant in the middle, with the picture of the candidate for Baby Africa placed at the bottom of the page. Of more obvious import, as the figure opposite shows, was the fact that Miss Africa's picture was four times the size of both Mr. and Baby Africa's photographs.¹⁰

This page lay out was repeated every month - with the exception of September when Baby Africa migrated to the top of the page. December, when the competition closed, saw Baby Africa vanish altogether, while six pictures of Miss Africa contenders floated above six entrants for the men's competition.¹¹ These were the finalists "selected by *Drum's* [unnamed] special team of experts" which presumably consisted of the black and white men employed by the magazine.¹²

Meanwhile, a photo-article published in June 1952 further revealed the conviction of *Drum's* staff that beauty was a virtue for women rather than for men. In harmony with Sampson's call for "more cheesecake", the senior black male journalist - in fact Nxumalo who was the associate editor - set off eagerly around the streets of Johannesburg accompanied by a white male photographer to hunt down the 'beauties' concealed in the urban jungle. But, unsurprisingly, publication of "Mr. Drum's search for Beauty" revealed that only women met the (unmentioned) criteria.¹³ Selected by black and white middle class urban men, and published in a magazine aspiring to represent the 'modern' African, beauty, it appeared, could only be an attribute of women. Femininity, so it would seem, could be signalled by beauty but masculinity could not. This western conceptualisation of beauty as an attribute of women only was reinforced by a tiny picture of the winners of a different kind of beauty contest held in Cape Town in July 1952. This was a beauty contest designed especially for men and as such it was treated very differently to *Drum's* competition. The picture of the winners of this "Mr. Body Beautiful" who "made a fine study of physical development" appeared on the *sports* pages, suggesting perhaps that male beauty was for men's (rather than women's) eyes. Alongside much larger pictures of men leaping hurdles, throwing javelins and kicking soccer balls,¹⁴ this photograph focused on the gleaming

¹⁰*Drum*, April 1952, p. 11. The quality of this and other images is poor as a result of copying from microfilm. The originals were not available for photocopying.

¹¹*Drum*, April 1952, p. 11; May 1952, p. 28; June 1952, p. 20; July 1952, p. 6; August 1952, p. 4; September 1951, p. 4; October 1952, p. 4; November 1952, p. 4; December 1952, pp. 34, 35.

¹²*Drum*, December 1952, p. 35. The solitary black male journalist employed when the magazine was set up had been joined by others at this stage. Dorothy Woodson notes that 'within two or three years [of the first publication] a plethora of... black writers and photographers joined *Drum*' (D Woodson, "Pathos, Mirth, Murder, and Sweet Abandon": The Early Life and Times of *Drum*', in J. Witherell (ed.), *Africana Resources and Collections: Three Decades of Development* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1989), p. 231). A photograph of *Drum* staffers appears in March 1953 edition (p. 27) suggesting that there were seven employees - five black men, one white man and one black woman, Mavis Kwankwa.

¹³*Drum*, June 1952, p. 36.

¹⁴*Drum*, July 1952, p. 25.

and sculpted physiques created through deliberate and sustained physical effort. Men, it seemed, could legitimately take pride in bodies that worked well, that had the muscles and sinews indicating great physical strength or virility, in bodies that demonstrated the achievements of agency and action.

Portraits of men, however, continued to pour into the offices of *Drum* up to the finale of the beauty competition in February 1953. In their choices over how to present the winners, the producers of the magazine made their position very clear. Pride of place - in fact the only place - went to Miss Africa. No mention whatsoever was made of either Mr. Africa or Baby Africa. Johannesburg's Norah Mosiakoko, "voted by *Drum* readers to be the most beautiful girl of them all", was, as shown in the figure opposite, crowned "Queen of Africa" in a double page spread. The twenty year old domestic servant from Johannesburg had won an air trip to Durban to be featured in a later edition of the magazine.¹⁵ At the same time, readers were notified of the start of the following year's competition. *Drum* had teamed up with Butone, manufacturers of skin lighteners, and the competition had been renamed the Butone Beauty Contest. That was not the only change:¹⁶

So tremendous was the response to *Drum's* 'Africa '52' Beauty contest that for the new year, *DRUM*, together with the makers of the famous Butone beauty cream, are launching a biggest ever competition to find the pin up girl of the year....The competition is open to women only from all parts of Africa.¹⁷

Of Mosiakoko's co-winner, Mr. Africa of 1952, not a word was written other than to make it clear that anyone aspiring to become Mr. Africa of 1953 had best put aside his dreams. But at least some male readers refused to be put off by this discouragement, and had to be reminded later on in the year that their entries were inappropriate "So ladies - and not you gentlemen - send in your photos now!"¹⁸

However, Mr. Africa of 1952, unlike Baby Africa, had not been abolished entirely, just held over until the following month. But, even here, Miss Africa remained dominant. The middle pages of the March edition were entirely devoted to Miss Africa confiding in readers about her weekend in Durban to which she had been accompanied by a number of *Drum* staffers. Pictures of her waving goodbye at Johannesburg airport, addressing a gathering at a Social Centre, speaking to the crowds at a football match, and giving thanks to the readers of *Drum* at the Avalon cinema "for choosing

¹⁵*Drum*, February 1953, p. 7. Mosiakoko was already familiar to readers as one of *Drum's* cover girls (*Drum*, August 1952, cover page). Readers had also been told about a car accident involving "one of our favourite models" in which she had lost her front teeth (*Drum*, September 1952, p. 44).

¹⁶*Drum*, February 1953, p. 6,7.

¹⁷*Drum*, February 1953, p. 22.

¹⁸*Drum*, October 1953, p. 21.

Queen

NORAH MOSIAKOKO
20-year-old
Johannesburg
domestic servant
wins a free
air trip to Durban
as 1st Prize in
**DRUM'S Africa '52
Beauty Contest**



SHE'S DAZZLING in white for tennis.



SHE'S ALLURING in a black headdress, worn smartly over one eye.

of Africa!



SHE'S ENCHANTING in a flimsy outfit, made from two gay chiffons.

TWENTY years ago, in the little farming town of Potchefstroom, a future Queen of Africa was born—a Queen of Beauty. When Mr. and Mrs. Mosiakoko looked smilingly at their sixth child, Norah "Bunny" Malepuru, they little knew then that she was one day to wear the crown of Africa's first Beauty Queen. Beauties from all over Africa competed in the Africa '52 Beauty Contest, but Norah was voted by DRUM readers to be the most beautiful girl of them all.

AND Norah is no famous blues singer, no leading film star—at least, not yet!—she's just a rather shy domestic servant in the Johannesburg suburb of Houghton. She's an easy-going, soft-spoken girl, with a love of fine clothes and an outdoor life. Whether on the tennis court or baking a cake, Norah always looks smart and well dressed—her lovely, willowy figure showing on one of the latest fashions.

BUT clothes aren't Norah's only love. Whenever she has a spare moment she's on the tennis court playing or watching her favourite game.

Nowadays, unfortunately, it is mostly watching, for she hurt her shoulder a little while back, but she still follows keenly all the Reef matches. And when there isn't any tennis she can usually be found at the bioscope—especially when musicals are showing.

THOSE lucky DRUM readers who meet Norah will find a captivating change in her smile. She lost a tooth in a motor accident! But it hasn't spoilt her beauty—it just gives her a rather saucy look!

SHE flies to Durban for a DRUM-sponsored week-end in January. In next month's DRUM there will be a special account of Norah's wonderful Durban week-end and the many other thrills that go with being a DRUM-sponsored Miss Africa!

Drum 1953 (feb) p 6, 7

her as Miss Africa” framed the article’s text. It was revealed that the *Drum* men had joined her in shopping excursions, partnered her at dances and taken her on a picnic “with all the romeos offering to teach her to swim” at the nearest beach. As the figure opposite reveals, this was followed by more dancing and social appearances under the auspices of the male journalists, with the photographs and text covering the centre pages of the magazine.

Mr. Africa, on the other hand, received no such royal treatment. Consigned to the end of the magazine, just half a page was reserved in which to declare Frances Gordon, “the handsomest man in Africa”, the winner for 1952. Elegantly attired in a jacket, shirt and tie, as shown in the figure opposite, Mr. Africa conveniently hailed from Nigeria and, better still, was soon to leave the continent to pursue his studies in law in England.¹⁹ There was no need, no inclination and no desire on the part of the male journalists, to devote two pages to Mr. Africa’s accomplishments with his £24 prize, and after his brief appearance in *Drum*’s March edition, no more was said about him. Overall then, the black and white men working hand in hand to write, edit and publish *Drum* were able, through their construction of texts, selection of pictures, and choices over context, to channel and guide the development of gendered conceptualisations of beauty in their readers. In other words ‘inappropriate’ African notions of beauty were restructured and reformulated to fit into a modern, gendered, western influenced ideal.

The interesting questions, of course, are why so many men entered the beauty contest of 1952, and why they were marginalised after having had the competition opened to them. To attempt to answer this it is necessary to revisit changes outlined in the previous chapter - the shift in *Drum*’s approach in 1951 - and to consider the struggles over the beauty contest against the backdrop of the rapid urbanisation in the 1940s and 1950s which, in a sense, had been the driving force behind the early failure of the magazine. It was these urban readers - both long time urban residents and the newer arrivals - who had influenced the content and focus of the magazine over the course of 1951. The implicit compromise reached between them and the magazine suggested that while the magazine accepted and could accommodate the focus on urban life, readers would have to accept that *Drum* was better positioned to know how urban life should best be lived by African women and men. After all, Sampson and Bailey had the Black Advisory Board as well as several black journalists to lend credence to the magazine.

If some of the black men serving as advisors or writers to *Drum* had not been born and raised in the city, by 1952, all held positions of high status in their urban communities, and were possessed of a wealth of experience of urban life. The nature of the magazine’s focus on urban and public life suggests that some sort of consensus had

¹⁹*Drum*, March 1953, p. 43.

ON Friday, January 23rd, Nora Masiakoko, DRUM's Miss Africa and winner of the Beauty Competition, was seen off at Palmietfontein, Johannesburg by Drum's photographer and assistant editor. The plane took off at 7:20 a.m. and reached Durban at 9:15 a.m.

I WAS welcomed at the airport by a group of friends who had gathered to see me off. After a short stay at the Durban National Airport on the Friday morning I was the wife of the weekend.

It was a fast and gay time for me, shopping in the afternoon, personal appearance at the crowded Avalon Cinema, a late supper at the international club and a full lounge.

Saturday began with an early session with socialite Muriel Patis, watching the motor-races on Snell Parade with Mabel and singer



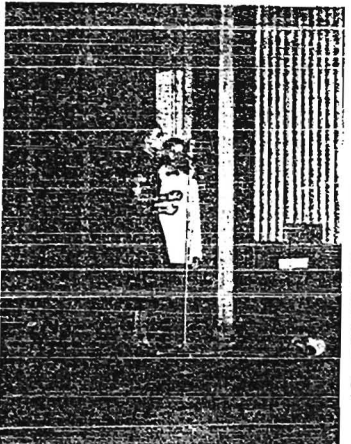
AT THE SOCIAL CENTRE, Miss Africa speaks to the dancers after being presented with a bouquet by Mr. Mseleku, centre, founder of the African Adult Institute. The Rhythm Quavers are in the background.

flies to DURBAN!

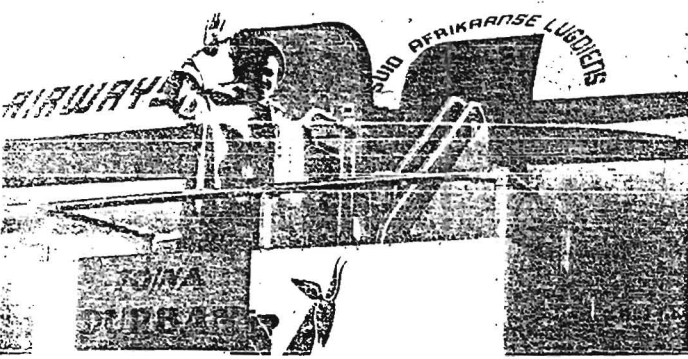
Patty Masuku at whose house she stayed; home to change, and to the Social Centre at night for an introduction after which she danced everything: waltz, rumba, foxtrot, samba, squares and jive! It was a happy and tired Queen who went to bed after two.

She wasn't to rest long for Mike Nzihi and Jeff Ngeobu had offered to take us to a picnic in their car. A happy, joking gang went down the South Coast after breakfast in town: Nora, yours truly, Muriel, Patty, Kitty "the Cat," Jeff and Mike. It was a gay morning with all the Ramona's offering to "push over to swim". Then to Verulam on the North Coast for her last appearance at the football ground. From Verulam it was back to town, supper, a late swim at the nearest beach, an impromptu dance at the Social Centre then a drive along the beach. Then a fond farewell to the sea and the "going" by moonlight.

"I'm coming back in December!" was her farewell. Three days after her return she'd received a whole bundle of letters!

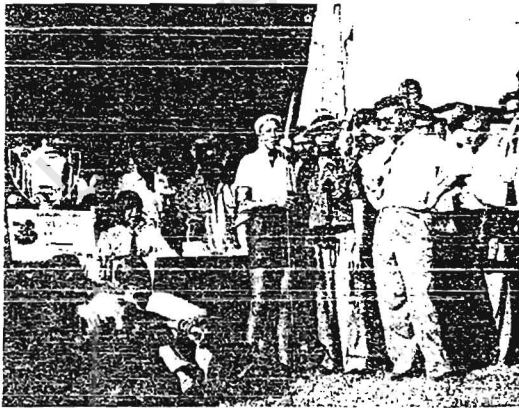


AT THE AVALON CINEMA in Durban, Nora thanks the readers of DRUM for choosing her as Miss Africa and hopes "to always stay beautiful for you."



"GOOD-BYE JOH'BURG, HERE I COME DURBANI!" says Nora as she leaves by air from Palmietfontein for her "Free Week-end in Durban" prize as DRUM's Beauty Queen.

MISS AFRICA



AT VERULAM, Miss Africa addresses the football fans in her last personal appearance. On her right are E. M. Moollah and Bobby Naidoo, officials of the Durban Indian Football Association.

FREE! FREE!
SOUTH AFRICA'S MOST COMPLETE
NEW 1953
CATALOGUE
OF
MENSWEAR

20 FULLY ILLUSTRATED PAGES... 50 SAMPLES FROM WHICH TO CHOOSE

DAILY DISPATCHES TO ALL PARTS OF THE UNION AND THE RHODESIAS.

WRITE TODAY TO—
WOODFORD'S
Dept. AD., 521 West Street Durban, S. Africa

Drum, Mar 1953, pp. 22, 23



MR. AFRICA!

Francis Gordon
of Lagos, Nigeria

★ wins ★
★ 1st. PRIZE! ★

DRUM proudly presents the Handsomest Man in Africa, 30-year-old FRANCIS GORDON, of Lagos, Nigeria. Voted by our readers to be the winner of the £24 first prize in the Africa '52 Beauty Contest, Francis has proved himself to be the most eligible man in Africa — because he's not married yet!

BORN in Freetown, Sierra Leone, he is the great-great-great-grandson of the first African bishop. Francis's career promises to be just as successful as that of his famous ancestor. He has already been a school teacher on the Gold Coast and a Customs officer in Sierra Leone. But you won't find him there now. This young man has got itching feet. He's been selling insurance for the last five years or so, and is now off to England, where he is going to study law while continuing with insurance work.

AND Francis isn't the only one of the family! There are two younger brothers — and a sister, too, who is now busy studying in England.

Drum, Mar 1953 p. 43

had been reached between editor, owner, advisors and journalists as to the “proper” roles or behaviours of men and women in a town environment. It also seemed that it had not been too difficult for black journalists with an “almost uniformly English, mission school education” to adapt and adopt a view of gender that was strongly influenced by the west.²⁰ So whether or not they emerged out of different gender regimes, the black and white men who shaped and produced *Drum* were apparently able to submerge any differences with regards to the appropriate roles for urban men and women. In other words, if there was conflict over gender imaging between the men employed on the magazine, it was not apparent in the articles and features published. *Drum's* position with regard to beauty contests, then, was fundamentally based in a dominant western culture with specific ideas about the appropriate roles for both men and women. This position was exemplified by the tension over, firstly, the beauty contest and the manner in which men's participation was limited and restricted and, secondly, their banning altogether from the beauty contests of succeeding years. If, as Driver has noted, women were increasingly represented as passive objects, then, at the same time, men were increasingly represented solely as agents.

So why did so many men enter the beauty contest of 1952 in the first place? At a time when *Drum* itself had defined the “cost of survival” for a married man with a dependent wife and two children to be £13/9/4 a month, and this in a context where, according to the magazine, the average unskilled urban male labourer earned between £10 and £15 monthly, the £100 prize money offered to the winning contestant was an enormous sum.²¹ This would certainly have been sufficient inducement for some readers to send their pictures to the magazine. But the prize money was only mentioned *after* large numbers of men had sent in photographs (forcing the expansion of the competition to include them). The first announcement of the competition in January 1952 simply said that prizes for Miss Africa would be revealed in the next edition. There was no hint as to the nature of these prizes, and readers had no reason to assume that contest winners would receive cash.²² But, in fact, the first mention of the “£100 to give away”, in March 1952, indicated that the money was to go to Miss Africa. It was only in April that aspiring Mr. Africas discovered that the winner would be given a free air trip, and that the £100 was to be shared out between Miss, Mr. and Baby Africa.

²⁰A. Sampson, *Drum* p. 18; R. Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood* (New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 13; M. Chapman, ‘More than Telling a Story’, in M. Chapman (ed.), *The ‘Drum’ Decade: Stories From the 1950s* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1989), p. 191; Niehaus notes that in the early 1950s “all teachers had been educated in Lutheran, Swiss and Nazarene mission schools” (I. Niehaus, ‘Towards a Dubious Liberation: Masculinity, Sexuality and Power in South African Lowveld Schools, 1953-1999’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 3, 2000, p. 391).

²¹*Drum*, January 1952, p. 11.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 24.

If money was not the primary reason for men's entry into the beauty competition, it remained an important component in the construction of an urban gendered identity. Despite the fact that urban black women worked, and were important money earners, the magazine established money as primarily men's business. Women's role as earners and providers tended to be dismissed, and most of the possibilities, and nearly all of the problems of gendered town life dealt with by the magazine, revolved around men's access or lack of access to money.²³ A crucial element surrounding access to money was that it permitted the sporting of the western clothes and accessories that measured a man's progress and signalled his gendered identity, in *Drum's* urban eyes at least.²⁴

Drum frequently commented on the outward appearance of the many men pictured in its pages, going into detail about the preferred wardrobe of a twenty year old soccer star "Choosy in his taste for clothes, Peter prefers the American type of 'wear'. A T-shirt, a shiny brown palm beach suit, shining sharp-pointed brown shoes and a grey Stetson."²⁵ Privileging appearance before deeds - in a manner more often associated with the ways women are typically presented in the western media - an interview with writer Dyke Sentso began with a description of his appearance. Musician Alpheus Nkosi, for instance, was described as "fluffy haired," while readers were informed that James Moroka was "of average height, [with] finely chiselled features, aesthetic face, fair complexion, immaculate attire". Those in western suits were described as "smartly" dressed, or "impeccably attired", and offered as manly and attractive role models for urban audiences.²⁶

But these were generally men who earned money legitimately. In South Africa of the early 1950s, as the newly elected National Party began tightening up and strengthening earlier legislation, many had been and were denied legitimate access to towns and the opportunities they offered. Those black South Africans - mainly men - lucky enough to have the legal right to live in town *and* find work earned only minimal wages. Many who had fled the grinding poverty of the countryside without a 'pass' legitimising their presence in town were unable to find work of any sort. For

²³See for example *Drum*, November 1951, p. 31, in which women's roles are made abundantly clear. "The African is a worker. He sweats a lot and uses a handkerchief often. Make your father or husband a handkerchief for work and save a few shillings." See also *Drum*, January 1952, p. 11, in which the magazine complains about low wages for men: "With a monthly income of £10 to £15, plus the fact that wage-earners in this group often have the largest families of from five to six children, thus making it impossible for the wife to work and augment the family income in any way, African labourers and their families have tremendous difficulties making ends meet."

²⁴C. Shire notes that in rural Zimbabwe young men strove to obtain trousers from town in order to be attractive to young women (C. Shire, 'Men don't go to the Moon', in A. Cornwall & N. Lindisfarne (eds), *Dislocating Masculinities: Comparative Ethnographies* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 153).

²⁵*Drum*, July 1954, p. 58.

²⁶*Drum*, April 1954, p. 28, December 1954, p. 24, April 1952, p. 7, September 1951, p. 31.

some of these, an expensive western suit may have been perceived as a passport to a job. For the majority, however, suits were simply status symbols - a shortcut to a western-defined social and economic success that was a crucial part of signalling an urban masculine identity.²⁷ An alternative route to this 'success', however, was via crime, and the exploration of urban crime, part of the magazine's new urban emphasis after the middle of 1951, acknowledged that clothes made the man.

Traditional methods of altering a man's appearance were censured by the men who produced *Drum*. An article about a musician observed that "he comes from Pondoland where men mutilate their faces for beauty" effectively writing off this method of changing one's appearance as "mutilation" and explaining it through reference to the musician's rural (and implicitly 'backward') origins.²⁸ The gangs that used "expensive Yankee wear" or western-style blue trousers and khaki shirts as symbols of their masculine solidarity appeared regularly in both the fiction as well as the journalism of *Drum*, as elements to be admired for their ability to outwit the white male police and to make the most of city life. Gangs such as the "Russians", who used the more traditional attire of blankets to symbolise their unity, seldom featured in the magazine.²⁹ New methods of constructing the urban man's masculine identity, specifically the adoption of different kinds of western-style clothing, were, on the other hand, regularly commended for neatness.³⁰ Advertisements reinforced the texts produced by journalists, emphasising that people respected well dressed men, that "in every type of job a smart appearance is very important" and that a man needed to be "well dressed to hold his job." Readers were left in no doubt that it was western clothing that was being referred to in such advertisements, and that this kind of clothing was an increasingly essential marker of urban manhood.³¹

By the time *Drum* was first published however, urban men were already 'dressed for the west', and the magazine's role seems to have been one of acknowledging, reinforcing and ratifying an already existing phenomenon rather than inventing new traditions. Many urban men and women had close ties with rural areas as most town dwellers had relatives in the countryside, and it seems that urban men's concern with

²⁷A.P. van der Reis, 'Motivational Factors in Bantu Buying Behaviour', Bureau of Market Research, Report No.15 (Pretoria: Unisa, 1966), p. 23.

²⁸*Drum*, October 1952, p. 32.

²⁹Fenwick suggests that although articles on gangsters warned young people that crime should be avoided, they also recorded the "excitement and adventure" of a gangster's life (M. Fenwick, "Tough Guy, eh?": The Gangster-figure in *Drum*', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 4, 1996, pp. 620 - 623). An exception was the cover of the May 1952 edition which pictured a 'Russian' man in his blanket.

³⁰*Drum*, September, 1951 p. 31, October 1952, p. 32.

³¹*Drum*, August 1953, p. 43, September 1953, p. 31, October 1953, p. 19.

their appearance was often based in these rural and traditional roots.³² Bozzoli, too, has emphasised the interconnections between rural and urban, arguing that “to understand urban people, one has to know as much of their social and cultural origins as of the synchronic forces operating in the city”.³³

There are a number of studies which have noted the extreme care taken by rural men over their dress and appearance. In their efforts to make themselves presentable to the opposite sex (and, presumably, to express and signal their masculinity) rural men wrought changes to their skins, faces and hair styles. In the 1930's, Schapera observed that rural youths frequently used what he described as ‘medicines’ but what we would understand as cosmetics and perfumes to attract women and construct a masculine identity.³⁴ In contrast, apart from “smearing their faces and legs with vaseline” rural girls made little effort “to enhance their perceptible physical attractions”.³⁵ Similarly Shaw’s work, first published in 1937, observed that “the hair was dressed by both men and women in a variety of styles, some very elaborate”, that special clothes were worn by different groups of men, and that “cosmetics were used by ... young men”.³⁶ Studies of town residents in the 1950s, in the context of rapid urbanisation, suggest that men carried this concern for their appearance into urban areas where it translated into a desire for western clothing. Longmore describes how clothes-conscious urban men were, to the extent that “a man will tell you that he would rather buy clothes, often of superior quality, than save his money, or even spend it to feed himself adequately.” Even labourers had their clothes dry cleaned regularly, to the extent that Longmore concluded that African men were generally “much more clothes-conscious than the average European.”³⁷ Emma Mashinini remembered the arguments over

³²Mager notes that post war Transkeian and Ciskeian youth were adopting practices that “had taken root in Johannesburg some thirty years earlier” (A. Mager, ‘Youth Organisation in the Ciskei and Transkei’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1998, p. 661). Research conducted in Soweto in 1966, more than a decade after the time period being dealt with here, indicated that only 15 per cent of the respondents had been born in Johannesburg. On the other hand the average length of residence was twenty two years (E. Hellmann, *Soweto: Johannesburg's African City* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1971), p. 10).

³³B. Bozzoli with M. Nkotshe, *Women of Phokeng* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1991), p. 237.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 43.

³⁵I. Schapera, *Married Life in an African Tribe* (London: Pelican, 1970), p. 39.

³⁶M. Shaw, ‘Material Culture’ in W. D. Hammond-Tooke (ed.), *The Bantu-speaking Peoples of Southern Africa* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 2nd ed. 1974), pp. 101, 102, 104. See also J.H. Soga, *The Ama Xosa: Life and Customs* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1931), in which he notes the importance of clothing and cosmetics for men, pp. 411 - 414. Also J.B. Shephard’s examination of a rural community with migrant labour ties to Johannesburg delineates the importance of leg rings, blankets, necklaces and “finery” for “eligible bachelors” (J.B. Shephard, *Land of the Tikoloshe* (London: Longman, 1955), p. 63).

³⁷L. Longmore, *The Dispossessed: A Study of the Sex-Life of Bantu Women in and around Johannesburg* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1959), p. 33. In Cape Town, research conducted in the late 1950s records that social hierarchies were established around appearances. Townsmen in western dress

how money was spent when she lived with her husband in Kliptown, outside Johannesburg in the 1950s:

[T]he thing that made me most furious was that while we were going without small things for the home he would still manage to be such a natty dresser. That was something none of us could fathom about our men in those days, especially the uneducated ones, who would spend all their money on clothes imported from the USA.³⁸

The centrality of urban men's concern over their clothing is further noted by Glaser's examination of Johannesburg gangsters in the 1940s and 1950s, in which he argues that 'style', i.e. outward appearance, was inextricably intertwined with constructions of urban masculinity.³⁹ Men strove for new ways of signalling manhood in an urban context where the rural signs no longer functioned, and where rural markers of manhood had collided with markers emerging from a different gender order altogether. One of *Drum*'s informants who had turned to the church after a life of crime explained that he had become bored as a schoolboy at St. Peters, "I didn't return for my second year. I wanted to work and earn money so that I could dress like a man and hear the rustle of money in my pockets."⁴⁰ In the construction and establishment of new signals of urban masculinity, black men carried and translated rural indicators of manliness into the new urban context. Traditional dress was replaced by western suits while rural methods of enhancing one's looks - through 'mutilation,' 'medicines' and 'perfumes' - were supplanted by western lotions and cosmetics. But, in both the urban and rural contexts, physical appearance remained a key indicator of masculinity, and it is this that provides a possible explanation for the portraits of men that were swamping the offices of *Drum*.

If being *seen* to be a beautiful male was crucially important for men constructing an urban masculinity, then entering a beauty contest makes more sense. If outward appearance or image was recognised as a vital marker of masculinity by ordinary men and women alike, then men entering and winning beauty contests were, logically, shining examples of this masculinity. And as winners were to be decided by readers themselves, who were asked to write to *Drum* at the end of the competition indicating their favourite from the photographs published each month of "some of the

sneered at those in traditional attire wearing traditional cosmetics (M. Wilson & A. Mafeje, *Langa: A Study of Social Groups in an African Township* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 22, 140).

³⁸E. Mashinini, *Strikes Have Followed Me All My Life* (London: The Women's Press, 1989), p. 11.

³⁹C. Glaser, 'The Mark of Zorro: Sexuality and Gender Relations in the Tsotsi Subculture on the Witwatersrand', *African Studies*, Vol. 51, No. 1, 1992, p. 54.

⁴⁰*Drum*, November 1954, p. 47.

semi-finalists”,⁴¹ men who entered could rest assured that their manly charms would be appreciated by other men and women holding similar notions of masculinity. Even prior to the beauty contest, individuals who believed that they had achieved the appropriate urban style, and who wished to demonstrate this to the world, had been accommodated by *Drum*. From its inception, the magazine had published pictures of male and female readers on both the “Letters” and “Social and Personal” pages. The vast bulk of these pictures were of men rather than women. Again, almost without exception, these men were clothed in western dress epitomising a masculinity that was constructed around the opportunities to be found in towns. Hats, suits and ties were the order of the day for the young men whose attractive features graced the pages of *Drum*. Most of these pictures of men were simple head and shoulder shots, focusing on passive faces rather than bodies, but a few portrayed men lounging on grassy banks decked out in all their western finery.⁴²

In contrast, although a substantial number of pictures of women were head and shoulder shots, the majority of images of women tended to display the entire body, illustrating a womanhood clothed in the dresses, skirts and blouses recommended by missionaries and available in urban shops. But this recognition and acceptance that men’s faces and bodies could be looked at and admired began to change as the magazine developed. Pictures of male readers became fewer, and instead of descriptions emphasising their faces and their clothes - “round faced bright-eyed gentleman”⁴³ - descriptions increasingly emphasised what they did to earn a living. For women, on the other hand, the reverse was true. As more pictures of women found their way into the magazine, biographical details, as Driver notes, slowly disappeared.⁴⁴

Advertisers, on the other hand, persisted with a more nuanced conceptualisation for much longer, and advertisements for products that would improve men’s appearance continued to appear with unfailing regularity on the pages of *Drum* long after the demise of the men’s beauty contest. Although Driver notes that “gender constructions were both imposed *on* and negotiated *in* the magazine”, she also argues that “[i]n the advertisements, the beauty pages, the ‘agony’ columns and letters, the feature articles, and the short stories, *Drum* established gender in its Western configuration.”⁴⁵ But advertisements were less homogeneous than Driver suggests. For example, although the producers and writers of *Drum* remained silent about the person of Mr. Africa, Frances Gordon’s beautiful face reappeared several times in advertisements for skin

⁴¹*Drum*, January 1952, p. 24.

⁴²*Drum*, May 1951, pp. 36, 37; June 1951, p. 47.

⁴³*Drum*, June 1951, p. 36.

⁴⁴D. Driver ‘*Drum Magazine*’, p. 234.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 232, 234.

care products, and men were regularly used to promote products such as skin creams.⁴⁶

Local boxing hero, Jake Tuli, along with Mr. Africa, encouraged other men to use the vaseline that served “to keep skin soft and smooth”,⁴⁷ and it was usually men who endorsed Vaseline for use on the skin: “any man who wants to look smart and feel well” needed to use Vaseline which kept “the skin smooth and healthy.”⁴⁸ A soccer player, outfitted in shorts and sports shirt, and showing a fine pair of legs, encouraged other (presumably male) consumers to use vaseline on their own legs “to keep them smooth.”⁴⁹ Washing powder manufacturers used men boasting of their smart and clean appearance to promote their products,⁵⁰ while it was men, not women, who were advised to wear hats to help keep them looking young.⁵¹ Underarm deodorants on the other hand were recommended because without them even “handsome strong men may not be popular.”

If formal beauty contests were closed to men, beauty products were not, and Butone, like other manufacturers, made a concerted effort to market its creams to both men and women. “Complexion perfection” for men and women could be secured through the application of these creams twice a day. And the perfect complexion was simply a lighter skin: Butone creams were skin lighteners, creating skins for both “Sophie and John” that were “light and smooth with a lovely Golden Glow”, “the envy of all your friends”.⁵² Lighter skins, it was argued, meant that both men and women would be more popular, and this would lead to romance.⁵³ And alongside whiter skin, men were encouraged to buy hair products as straighter hair was smarter and more appealing than natural curls,⁵⁴ leaving men “smarter [and] better groomed” with hair that “looks more abundant, waves easier”.⁵⁵ But, if Butone, like other manufacturers, continued counselling men to change their complexions and appearance through the application of these products, it simultaneously prevented them from displaying the results by barring them from the beauty contests it co-sponsored with *Drum*.⁵⁶

⁴⁶*Drum*, November 1952, p. 13, September 1953, p.51, April 1954, p. 39.

⁴⁷*Drum*, November 1953, p. 16, December 1953, p. 4, February 1954, p. 26, March 1954, p. 48, April 1954, p. 20.

⁴⁸*Drum*, April 1953, p. 31.

⁴⁹*Drum*, March 1952, p. 40, September 1952, p. 9.

⁵⁰*Drum*, May 1953, p. 38, September 1953, p. 31, March 1954, p. 4.

⁵¹*Drum*, August 1953, p. 43, October 1953, p. 19.

⁵²*Drum*, April 1953, p. 17.

⁵³*Drum*, October 1953, p. 28, March 1953, p. 37.

⁵⁴*Drum*, May 1951, p. 34.

⁵⁵*Drum*, June 1954, p. 58.

⁵⁶*Drum*, February 1954, p. 17, March 1954, p. 20, April 1954, p. 6.

Admittedly, these advertisements appeared alongside others that solidly reinforced gender stereotypes that were more closely aligned to the west. But although generally more skin care and beauty products were directed towards female consumers than were aimed at male consumers, it was the latter who remained the primary target of clothing advertisements. The manufacturers of men's clothing also took advantage of male concerns with personal appearance to advertise that men's clothes could be bought on credit on production of a letter from one's boss.⁵⁷ Even shoe polish manufacturers drew on the importance of men's outward appearance to suggest that men who *used* shoe polish, that is, men who took care to maintain the standards set by western society, got both the girls and the jobs.⁵⁸ The vast bulk of the interminable advertisements for organisations geared towards distance learning, such as Union College, the Transafrika Correspondence College and Bennett College, were aimed at those "who want to succeed."⁵⁹ Almost without exception it was assumed that success meant success in wage employment, and that this therefore referred exclusively to men.

Many, if not all, of these advertisements exemplified the choices supposedly facing African men in terms of their appearance - men without appropriate education were represented as shoeless and shirtless, armed with buckets and accompanied by cows. Those who took advantage of the opportunities to 'modernise' themselves were pictured sporting smart western suits, shirts and ties, ready it seemed, to become the breadwinners of the modern western society located in the towns.⁶⁰ So, if these advertisers were tapping into a widespread male concern over their appearance, they were also directing that concern into specific channels that partially reinforced the magazine's position. In interpreting the conventions and meanings of the complex elements making up the urban world, *Drum* helped shape an understanding of masculinity in which urban black manhood was best paraded in western, rather than traditional garb. For the urban male, manliness was inextricably linked to a particular physical appearance which had to be paid for in cash - or credit for a tiny minority. 'Modern' men had to hide their bodies beneath suits and shirts.⁶¹ And this essentially was the crux of the matter. Men, in *Drum's* eyes, were meant to look good *because* they were agents and actors of a particular kind. A pleasing masculine appearance was supposedly a by-product of agency in the urban present and western future. Women on the other hand, were attractive precisely because (in *Drum's* eyes) they weren't agents. That Mr. Africa of 1952 was training to become a lawyer was no coincidence,

⁵⁷*Drum*, December 1952, inside cover, January 1953, p. 10.

⁵⁸*Drum*, October 1952, p. 20, January 1953, p. 16.

⁵⁹*Drum*, September 1953, p. 43.

⁶⁰*Drum*, January 1953, p. 26.

⁶¹D. Morgan, 'You Too Can Have a Body Like Mine: Reflections on the Male Body and Masculinities', in S. Scott & D. Morgan (eds), *Body Matters: Essays on the Sociology of the Body* (London: Falmer Press, 1993), p. 71.

but rather another example of the manner in which *Drum* subverted the intentions of male entrants (who wanted to be appreciated for their looks) to its own ends, recognising Frances Gordon for what he was *doing* as much as for his appearance. A more thoroughly westernised 'Mr. Africa' would have been hard to find.

Between 1951 and 1953, then, representations of men and masculinity in *Drum* magazine changed in a number of ways, although the dramatic shift from a rural to an urban focus concealed the continuity between the two phases. Where the early emphasis had attempted to 'modernise' rural African men by encouraging them to adopt western farming practices, and by dismissing traditional practices as quaint or unhealthy or irrelevant, the subsequent urban focus initiated readers into *Drum's* understandings of the gendered foreign culture they, apparently, needed to adopt in order to become part of the contemporary world rather than part of the past. If readers were able partially to contest the magazine's content, they were less able to negotiate successfully the gendering of the new content. Although male readers could successfully infiltrate the beauty contest of 1952, this represented only a temporary and partial victory. Male competitors for the title of Mr. Africa were never full and equal contestants with female contenders for the Miss Africa title, and the former were discriminated against in a variety of ways. As the magazine's publishers, editors and staff regrouped after the male invasion, pictures of beautiful men were subordinated to those of beautiful women. Despite male readers' recognition that they too were beautiful, that their bodies and faces were just as worthy of admiring inspection as women's, *Drum* magazine knew better, and was able, after a struggle, to impose its own second hand cultural authority upon both the urban and rural men who thought otherwise.

In essence, the magazine's acceptance of the demand for an urban vision failed to notice that urban men's calls for the recognition of masculine beauty represented a rural claim upon the publication that validated its original aspirations. In the context of a dominant and racist western based gender order, *Drum's* equating of western signals of masculinity as coterminous with modernity and manhood, established men employing alternative markers of masculinity - such as physical beauty - as both 'unmanly' and 'backward', and as a contradiction and a threat to dominant western constructs surrounding masculinity. In effect, and as will be discussed in more depth in chapter four, the urban men, both black and white, who produced *Drum* mediated the encounter between these three competing notions of masculinity to privilege an urban manhood that was closely aligned to western configurations of manliness. In this process, the magazine effectively denied itself the opportunity to represent images of urban manhood that could be described as 'authentically' African, and apparently had no further trouble with recalcitrant men sending in pictures of themselves for beauty contests - at least there was no hint of this in the advertisements for the contests held in following years, although there were repeated calls from readers for

“cover men”.⁶² And, although manufacturers paying to advertise their products in the pages of the magazine were able to continue to acknowledge and use men’s concern with the close ties between their appearance and their masculinity - a masculinity that was best expressed through wage earning - to market their products, the articles, features and columns produced by the magazine itself did not. By the middle of 1953, a key element of the urban masculinity represented by *Drum* was that it was built on what black men draped over their bodies, and how those bodies were used rather than the bodies and faces themselves. Urban black men were expected to demonstrate their manhood by *using* rather than displaying their bodies. But this was just one aspect of the development of a hegemonic urban masculinity. As the next chapter will show urban masculinity and urban men were represented in much more complex and changing ways.

⁶² Every so often there were letters from male readers complaining that men’s beauty was not being celebrated and that this was unfair. See for example the letters pages in *Drum*, February 1956, p. 11, December 1957, p. 11, July 1958, p. 13, February 1959, p. 11, 8th October 1973, p. 63, 8th December 1973, p. 63, 22nd February 1974, p. 47, 22nd June 1974, p. 63, 22nd June 1975, p. 27, August 1976, p. 71.

Chapter Four

The Families of Men

By the beginning of 1953, when the winners of the Miss and Mr Africa beauty contest were announced, *Drum* seemed to have consolidated its position in the market and the magazine's future appeared secure. It was understood that these gains had been made by paying much closer attention to potential consumers, as well as by increasing both the numbers and visibility of black writers, and that building on these foundations was the best way forward. The difficulty, of course, was that black writers, given the South African context, were in relatively short supply, and writers with journalistic experience scarcer still. But as the 1950s rolled on new writers were found and the audience carefully nurtured so that within a decade it seemed as if *Drum's* future had always been secure. But this future turned out to be very male. As indicated in chapters one and two, all the editors and most of the writers were men and even the audience was imagined to be largely urban men. In other words, the stories, articles and features published in *Drum* from its birth to the mid 1960s were largely for men about men and by men, reflecting men's views about what it meant to be a man, and this chapter focuses on this. I will show how in the early *Drum* advertisements, feature articles and journalistic reporting represented men as homosocial beings inextricably tied to significant others - to their mothers, fathers and grandparents as well as their wives and children, representing men as sons, husbands and fathers. As represented by *Drum*, in the early 1950s manhood was constructed through relationships with a wide range of others. By the 1960s it was relationships with colleagues and bosses that were privileged, alongside a narrowing of masculine obligation to that of merely financial provider. By the middle of the 1960s men were established as largely isolated, autonomous and independent from other family members.

It was the predominance of stories detailing men's lives, experiences and achievements - as opposed to women's - that helped give the magazine its special flavour and prevented it from becoming a woman's magazine.¹ In an attempt to capture the women's market, Bailey had started the magazine *Afrika* just before Stein's arrival, but it seemed that his writers were unable to win the interest of black women and the magazine died within a year.² Men, on the other hand, were *Drum's* target audience and between 1951 and the mid 1960s stories by and about men dominated its pages. The magazine's emphasis on local affairs and local men meant that readers often either knew personally, or knew of, the men who featured in the magazine. The entertainers, sports stars, businessmen and even journalists who had been able to take advantage of urban opportunities generally remained part of the communities in which they were raised, as a result of the segregatory polices of

¹ Obviously there were stories about women and women's lives as well, but for the most part these too were written by men, and are discussed in chapter six.

² "[T]here were no politics in this magazine" according to Sylvester Stein "and it faded out" (Sylvester Stein, interviewed in London by the author, 23rd December 1999, *Creative Camera* 1984, p. 1445.

successive governments. It was not easy to move out after moving up, and the journalists of *Drum*, themselves resident in the urban black townships, were able to use their acquaintance with local celebrities to produce numerous articles outlining the lives and achievements of these successful men.³

Thus it was that during the 1950s and 1960s, local soccer stars, tennis players, artists, musicians, entrepreneurs - even gangsters - saw their histories and accomplishments recorded in the pages of *Drum*. Almost every edition featured local men. Their stories were complemented by others about more widely known dignitaries, men such as A. W. Champion and John Tengo Jabavu, who loomed large on the national rather than parochial stage. Biographies, testimonials and investigations and even obituaries of South African figures were interspersed with stories and news about the politicians, writers and entertainers who had made their mark internationally. Profiles of African political leaders such as Nkrumah and Danquah of Ghana, President Tubman of Liberia and General Awolowo of Nigeria counterbalanced accounts of the lives of American entertainers like Satchmo, Duke Ellington and Langston Hughes. Every once in a while, space was found to register the lives of famous women, but the reports on Ethel Waters, Marion Anderson and Cape Town councillor, Cissy Gool, were the exception rather than the rule: the vast bulk of the local, national and international figures to be written about in the pages of *Drum* wore trousers, or in the case of sports stars, shorts.

Almost all these early articles dealing with outstanding men made much of their family circumstances. Several internationally famous individuals reached the top despite being orphaned early on in life,⁴ or being unloved by their mothers,⁵ and *Drum* marvelled over men who were able to overcome this seemingly overwhelming adversity. "How could [Louis Armstrong] survive to be great when his parents separated when he was yet an infant?"⁶ How did General Awolowo, "Nigeria's self made 'strong man' of politics.... [rise] from a fatherless, almost helpless village boy to a leader of 6 million Western Nigerians?"⁷ Closer to home, how was it possible for H. W. Chitopo "fatherless at two, motherless at four"⁸ to become Southern Rhodesia's first African barrister? Making it to the top *without* the support of their families proved how truly extraordinary these men were, while also suggesting that those who had not climbed quite so high had only themselves to blame. More understandable, in *Drum's* eyes perhaps, were the careers of gang leader, Lighty Salot whose father had taken two wives, and gangster Gopal "Tommy" Nair of Durban who had "gone wrong" after losing his mother as a child.⁹

³One of the reporters and later editor of the magazine, Obed Musi, is recorded as observing that "*Drum* was the mirror of township life. Many of the writers were palsy-walsy with the gangsters, the guys who mattered - we were on first name terms with many of them. Many of us were of the people" (M. Nicol, *A Good Looking Corpse* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1991), p. 34).

⁴*Drum*, April 1951, p. 10.

⁵*Drum*, September 1951, p. 9.

⁶*Drum*, January 1953, p. 21.

⁷*Drum*, February 1954, p. 37.

⁸*Drum*, March 1955, p. 59.

⁹*Drum*, January 1955, p. 49, January 1956, p. 29.

In marked contrast to accounts in magazines aimed at white audiences such as *Outspan* and *Femina*, is the way in which the early *Drum* treated men as husbands, fathers and sons, as males whose lives were shaped in important ways by kith and kin, hearth and home.¹⁰ Articles about soccer stars, musicians and community leaders acknowledged both that mothers and wives played significant roles in men's public lives, and that men, as husbands, fathers and sons, also had domestic roles to fulfil.¹¹ *Drum* seemed to see nothing extraordinary in the photograph of well known local musician Wilson "King Force" Silgee of the Jazz Maniacs cooking bacon and eggs for his wife.¹² There appeared to be nothing remarkable about the fact that the unknown Marshall Zibi, whose claim to fame was his newly acquired status as husband of cover girl, Priscilla Mtimkulu, washed dishes after meals and helped hang out washing.¹³ Furthermore, a man's public achievements might, in no small measure, be related to the part played by a wife, and when this was perceived to be the case it was freely acknowledged. Dr James Moroka's high economic status was, according to *Drum*, in large part the consequence of his wife's business acumen. In an article that focused on him, she loomed large, "a woman of exceptional business ability, and very soon, under her management, the dividends of wise investments, and the profits of progressive farming were added to the emoluments of the consulting room."¹⁴

Advertisements, too, suggested that husbands, and men, generally, were intimately acquainted with mundane household matters such as buying and using washing powder and other household cleaning products. "I tell my wife she must always use Rinso for the washing" declared a black man in a sparkling white shirt. "He is a wise man that makes his wife use Rinso" the advertisement's text went on to say, "Rinso keeps clothes clean and smart".¹⁵ Similarly Brasso was recommended by men polishing brass plates, musical instruments and the buttons on their uniform on the basis that it was what their wives used at home.¹⁶ Apparently deeply interested, one man asked another "How do you wash the clothes so white?"¹⁷ Advertisements for Aspro frequently addressed themselves to "You, your wife, your children," implying that it was husbands and fathers who maintained the medicine cabinet,¹⁸ while

¹⁰*Outspan* had first been published at the end of the nineteenth century for an English speaking white South African family audience. By the 1950s there were weekly editions, and in 1957 it became known as *Personality*. *Femina* was also aimed at a white English speaking audience, but a primarily female audience. In the early 1950s it was available on a monthly basis. By the mid 1950s, when it changed its name to *Femina & Woman's Life*, it was published fortnightly. Later on, in 1965, *Fair Lady* was another magazine that became available to white English speaking women.

¹¹See, for example, *Drum*, August 1953, p 35, May 1954, p 54.

¹²*Drum*, February 1955, p. 38.

¹³*Drum*, April 1956, pp. 40, 41.

¹⁴*Drum*, April 1952, p. 7.

¹⁵*Drum*, Mar 1954, p. 4, April 1954, p. 54, July 1954, p. 55, March 1955, p. 59, May 1955, p 69.

Kitchen utensils such as pots and pans were recommended by one black man to others on the basis that they were "just fine for a nice African man's home" (*Drum*, November 1953, p. 31).

¹⁶*Drum*, November 1954, p. 36, May 1955, p. 30, July 1955, p. 11, September 1955, p. 26, November 1955, p. 66, January 1956, p. 63, March 1956, p. 72, May 1956, p. 54, July 1956, p. 26.

¹⁷*Drum*, December 1954, p. 18, March 1955, p. 66, July 1955, p. 13, September 1955, p. 17, March 1956, p. 70, July 1956, p. 68.

¹⁸*Drum*, November 1953, p. 30.

Brooklax consistently used family portraits (of nuclear families) to draw attention to its products.¹⁹

In contrast, advertisements for cleaning products in both *Outspan* and *Femina* employed women and children only. An exception was, perhaps, the advertisements for Grenade Insecticide which used men occasionally. One of these portrayed two men discussing ways in which to keep their guard dogs healthy, another showed a husband who fell ill and almost lost his job because of flies contaminating his home. His wife solved the problem with Grenade. More marked, however, was an earlier one which showed a little girl falling ill in the night. Her frantic mother called the Doctor to the home and the child was saved. But this mother might have been a single parent or widow for all the traces of a husband and father.²⁰

While many black fathers evidently had little, if anything, to do with their children - as the plaintive letters from single mothers made abundantly clear - others were more committed, and in its early years *Drum* both acknowledged and supported fathers who took public pride in their children. When a female correspondent wrote to complain that her husband would not send his child by his first marriage to live with relatives, and that he paid too much attention to this child, *Drum's* response was to commend him for "his love for the child", reprimand her for being "unfair", and to command her to be "more tolerant."²¹ Israel Alexander, hailed by *Drum* as "South Africa's richest African" was photographed with his daughter, Joy, at work, and with his family at home.²²

An article in *Drum* entitled "Old Man Cricket" about Oom Piet Gwele, a retired black cricketer, privileged the retired sportsman's family, beginning with the words:

We found the Gwele family cuddled around a glowing fire on a chilly evening: parents, children and grandchildren. Mama Nancy Gwele had a bad 'flu, and eldest daughter Edna Mnguni had left her boxing promoter husband in Germiston to nurse her - and contracted the 'flu too.²³

The *first* mention of the subject, Oom Piet himself, only occurred in the *second* paragraph. Readers were informed of the successes and ambitions of each of Oom Piet's offspring, while photographs of his extended family framed the text. In stark contrast were the articles constructed by *Femina* and *Outspan* which chose to downplay white men's experience of domesticity, having little if anything to say about the home lives of their subjects. Even on those rare occasions when white

¹⁹These families were small - two parents and just one child (*Drum*, March 1954, p. 7, May 1954, p. 38, June 1954, p. 55, July 1954, p. 4, September 1954, p. 29, October 1954, p. 20, November 1954, p. 56).

²⁰*Femina*, August 1951, p. 44, September 1951, p. 50, May 1951, p. 52.

²¹*Drum*, October 1953, p. 25. Another man, distraught at the prospect of losing his wife and child because he had failed to pay the full lobolo, asked *Drum* for advice on how to keep them (*Drum*, February 1952, p. 23).

²²*Drum*, December 1954, p. 21.

²³*Drum*, November 1954, pp. 21.

readers were promised something more than a simple account of someone's public life they were disappointed. An article in *Outspan* about Dudley Nourse, Captain of the national cricket team for instance, had noted that "[i]t seems queer, somehow that these great national figures should live quite ordinary, suburban lives and go to work everyday just as lesser mortals do." But despite promising that "we [will] tell you about the man very few people really know" the text held almost nothing other than a summary of Nourse's cricketing career, mentioning Nourse's father simply because he too had been a cricketer and that young Dudley had equalled "his father's record as the country's most prolific runner".²⁴

Meanwhile, in *Drum*, when boxer Jake Tuli lost the Empire flyweight title the headline announced "Jake loses crown, kids comfort him", and two of the three pictures selected for the article featured his children.²⁵ A photograph of King Edward Masinga, notable as the first black radio broadcaster to be employed by the South African Broadcasting Corporation, showed him with his two daughters and niece. The article itself pointed to the large debt he owed his mother who, at the age of sixty, had taken in washing to pay for her son's education as a teacher.²⁶ Musicians such as Antonio Saude, who had played with the Merry Blackbirds since 1936, appeared surrounded by both their instruments and their children. Similarly, Mr. 'Skokian', was snapped with his family and identified as an "ordinary father."²⁷ Pemba, the artist, was pictured lying down on the floor with one of his children perched on his chest, while his wife and second child looked on.²⁸ In a report on soccer player Kitchener Bowes "South Africa's best-ever left-half", it was revealed that "his hope is that his son should take up soccer as soon as he is old enough. 'And the daughter - well her mother can hope for her.'"²⁹ Even political and traditional leaders - as the coverage of Seretse Khama, his wife and children made clear - were portrayed against the backdrop of their families,³⁰ while at another end of the social scale it was "husbands" and "fathers" rather than "men" who were the victims of homicide attacks.³¹

Advertisers, too, assumed that fathers, as well as mothers, were concerned for and involved with the well being of their sons, if not their daughters, and this was demonstrated very clearly in advertisements in the early to mid 1950s.³² The thinking behind these advertisements may have been connected to the idea of the male breadwinner as guardian of the family purse, but they were also tapping into black fathers' pride in their sons to sell products. Advertisements featuring black men and

²⁴*Outspan*, 18th May 1951, pp. 5 ff. On pages 12 and 13 there are two pictures of Nourse with firstly his wife and secondly his son.

²⁵*Drum*, December 1954, p. 41. Another boxer was pictured reading to his grandmother in *Drum*, June 1955, p. 72.

²⁶*Drum*, April 1955, p. 33.

²⁷*Drum*, April 1955, p. 41, June 1955, p. 33.

²⁸*Drum*, May 1955, p. 47.

²⁹*Drum*, December 1953, p. 17.

³⁰*Drum*, July 1955, p. 20.

³¹*Drum*, June 1955, p. 65.

³²The early editions of *Drum* contained few advertisements. It was only from 1952 that a substantial advertising presence began to manifest itself in the magazine.

babies but not mothers (which were almost unthinkable later on, and which did not appear in magazines aimed at a white audience) appeared to take black men's concern for the sons almost for granted. Clearly, some advertisers believed the way to a man's pocket was through his male offspring as the figure opposite illustrates. "Your baby is a fine healthy son" declared a female nurse to a solitary man in an advertisement for Dettol. "How happy a father feels when he hears those words" commented the text of the commercial.³³ Another advertisement for the same product erased both the female nurse *and* the mother who had given birth, portraying one man congratulating another on "a healthy childbirth - and such a fine baby."

Observing that "this father is happy now, because he was wise before the baby was born" the picture of the world drawn by advertisements such as these constructed an explicit emotional link between black fathers and sons. A black father's happiness was linked to the health of his son, and the health of a son was implicitly connected to the involvement of his father in the domestic preparations for his arrival in the world. In contrast, the very few advertisements drawing attention to white fathers published in magazines aimed at white audiences identified financial obligations as the province of men. Old Mutual, which did not advertise in *Drum*, drew on the discourse of 'the family' to convince white men to take out insurance. But the images used tended to portray children and weeping women, or solitary children whose future had been smashed, to draw attention to absent men. For the most part magazines aimed at white audiences seldom portrayed men in advertisements for household products.³⁴

A black father's part was not limited simply to preparing for a new arrival in the reality represented by advertisements. Manufacturers clearly believed that black fathers continued to be involved in child rearing after the birth, and hoped to draw on this involvement to boost sales. Ovaltine, for example, was marketed to men on the basis that, amongst other things, it gave tired fathers the strength to play with their children.³⁵ As early as April 1952, another advertisement (see the figure overleaf) for baby food had appeared in which father rather than mother seemed to be holding the child. One parent asks the other "what makes our baby so healthy and strong?" "We feed him on Incumbe" was the response.³⁶

Similarly, and, in contrast to the kind of advertisements placed in both *Outspan* and *Femina* which used only white women and white babies, the manufacturers of Nutrine baby food abandoned infant Sybille Makhanya, whose plump black features had illustrated the effectiveness of the product in *Drum*, to employ two black fathers

³³ Admittedly it is the nurse who actually carries the baby (*Drum*, September 1952, p. 12, October 1952, p. 30, April 1953, p. 17, May 1953, p. 21, November 1953, p. 7).

³⁴ *Outspan*, 18th January 1951, p. 46, 9th March 1951, p. 56, 16th March 1951, p. 78, 13th April 1951, p. 74, 22nd June 1951, p. 64. Another product to feature white men as fathers in its advertisements was Ashton and Parsons Infants Powders, which very occasionally portrayed men alongside women looking at babies. See, for example, *Outspan*, 18th January 1957, p. 34, 8th February 1957, p. 50, *Femina & Woman's Life*, 26th June 1958, p. 32.

³⁵ *Drum*, September 1955, p. 47. See also *Femina & Woman's Life*, 17th April 1958, p. 64, 29th May 1958, p. 79.

³⁶ *Drum*, April 1952, p. 33.



*Your baby
is a fine, healthy son . . .*

How happy a father feels when he hears those words! This father was wise. Before the baby was born, he made certain of having a bottle of 'DETTOL' in the house. Doctors and nurses will tell you how important it is to guard against infection. 'DETTOL' is used everywhere, in hospitals and homes, to prevent infection which is a danger to mother and baby.



NOTE: Always look for this bottle when you buy 'DETTOL'

*Do as the Doctor tells you —
and use* **DETTOL**

Small size 1/1, Medium 1/11, Large 3/4. REGD.

Reckitt & Colman (Africa) Ltd., P.O. Box 1097, Cape Town.
Drum, Sept 1952, p. 12.

7(12)52-4R



*"A healthy childbirth—
and such a fine baby..."*

This father is happy now, because he was wise before the baby was born. He kept a bottle of 'DETTOL' in the house, and when the time came the nurse used it to prevent infection. 'DETTOL' is used in homes and hospitals everywhere to guard against the danger of infection at childbirth.



NOTE: Always look for this bottle when you buy 'DETTOL'

*Do as the Doctor tells you —
and use* **DETTOL**

Small size 1/1, Medium 1/11, Large 3/4. REGD.

89 Reckitt & Colman (Africa) Ltd., P.O. Box 1097, Cape Town.

“What makes our baby so healthy and strong?”



“We feed him on Incumbe—
The Complete Baby Food”

Babies fed on Incumbe are healthy and very strong. Often ordinary food is not nourishing enough and babies become thin and cry a lot, but Incumbe is a complete food and gives babies all the nourishment they need to make them fat and well. You do not have to add anything to Incumbe except water. Incumbe contains everything, including milk powder and sugar.

If you want your baby to be well and strong feed him on Incumbe. Doctors and Nurses recommend Incumbe—the complete food that is specially made for African babies.

FREE—The makers of INCUMBE will send you a FREE BOOK, with pictures, which will tell you how to use INCUMBE. Write to Dept. 111, Hind Bros. & Co. Ltd., Umbilo, Natal. In your letter say whether you would like your book in Zulu, Xosa, Shona or Sesuto language.

INCUMBE IS A COMPLETE FOOD

and contains MILK POWDER and SUGAR

IT IS VERY EASY TO MAKE



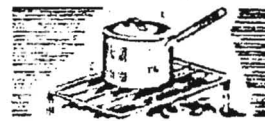
INCUMBE HAS MILK



INCUMBE HAS SUGAR



ADD WATER ONLY



BOIL FOR FIVE MINUTES and baby's food is ready



1853-3

INCUMBE

COMPLETE FOOD FOR BABIES

32 *Drum*, April 1952, p. 32.

worrying about their sons.³⁷ In these advertisements, one of which is shown in the figure over the page, a white male shift supervisor complained that “You were my best worker Stephen [Jali], now you’re the worst. What’s wrong?” Jali explained that his work had deteriorated because his young son was ill. “It’s my little son - he gains no weight and is always crying. I’m worried about him.” The supervisor’s response, as a knowledgeable and concerned white father, was to recommend Nutrine. “Why don’t you feed him on Nutrine? Nutrine made my son strong and healthy.” Jali is then shown delivering a box of Nutrine to Maria, his wife, with the words that he has found “the right food for baby.” The next frame shows Stephen smiling while Mrs Jali informs us that “Nutriline must be very nourishing. In 3 months it has made baby big and strong.” The final part of the advertisement presents the reader with a smiling Stephen Jali. “Now Stephen does not worry about his big son. Once more he is the best worker in his shift.”³⁸

Admittedly these advertisements were alternated with others for the same product in which black women - as mothers and aunts of *female* infants - were the ones whose work had deteriorated.³⁹ The employers who recommended Nutrine to such women were doctors or nurses - men or women who were health professionals, and in all these examples it seemed to be men who possessed information, and men who located and paid for the product they subsequently took home to wives whose job it was to feed babies. But even so, and in contrast to the kinds of advertisements placed in white magazines, black men were constructed as *fathers* intimately involved with and concerned about the nutrition and the health of their sons, if not their daughters.⁴⁰

Many men, though, were neither fathers nor husbands. Most, however, had experience of being a son or a grandson, or even an uncle or a cousin and these roles were also foregrounded in the pages of the early *Drum*. In the absence of children of his own, for example, boxer Jake Ntseke was photographed playing with some young cousins.⁴¹ Another young man, apparently, owed his sporting achievements to his

³⁷Advertisements for Nutrine published in both *Outspan* and *Femina* only used women and babies as models. See, for example, *Outspan*, 2nd February 1951, p. 26, 16th February 1951, p. 20, 16th March 1951, p. 40, 13th April 1951, p. 18, 21st January 1955, p. 58, 25th February 1955, p. 9. See also *Femina*, January 1951, p. 34, February 1951, p. 34, August 1951, p. 36, December 1951, p. 40, 26th March 1954, inside cover, 9th April 1954, inside back cover.

³⁸*Drum*, September 1952, p. 44. A similar set of events is portrayed as taking place in the life of another black father, Stanley Msomi. When his white male employer asked why Stanley, who used to be the best mechanic, now “stands around doing nothing”, Stanley reveals that his little boy was “thin, weak and always crying.” The employer, as yet another concerned father, recommended Nutrine. As Stanley’s son grew big and strong on the new diet, so his father was able to reclaim his reputation as the best worker (*Drum*, November 1952, p. 44).

³⁹See, for example, *Drum*, February 1953, p. 44, April 1953, p. 40.

⁴⁰The advertisements for a variety of different baby food products that abounded in the pages of *Outspan*, *Femina* and *Femina & Woman’s Life* all seemed to use women and/or babies to sell the products. See, for example, advertisements for Lactogen in *Femina*, 26th March 1954, p. 26, in *Femina & Woman’s Life*, 17th April 1958, p. 18, 1st May 1958, p. 10. See also *Outspan*, 4th March 1955, p. 24, 1st April 1955, p. 36. See also advertisements for Purity in *Femina & Woman’s Life*, 17th April 1958, p. 33, and for Klim in *Outspan*, 9th February 1951, p. 76, *Femina*, 26th March 1954, p. 56.

⁴¹*Drum*, January 1955, p. 24.



Stephen Jali was
worried about his
son — Now his
worries are over!

STEPHEN IS A MINER:

"YOU WERE MY BEST WORKER
STEPHEN, NOW YOU'RE THE
WORST WHAT'S WRONG?"

"IT'S MY LITTLE SON — HE
GAINS NO WEIGHT AND IS
ALWAYS CRYING. I'M
WORRIED ABOUT HIM."



"WHY DON'T YOU FEED HIM
ON NUTRINE? NUTRINE
MADE MY SON STRONG
AND HEALTHY."

"LOOK MARIA, I HAVE
FOUND THE RIGHT FOOD
FOR BABY — NUTRINE!"



"NUTRINE MUST BE VERY
NOURISHING. IN 3 MONTHS
IT HAS MADE BABY BIG
AND STRONG."

NOW STEPHEN DOES NOT
WORRY ABOUT HIS BIG SON
ONCE MORE HE IS THE BEST
WORKER IN HIS SHIFT

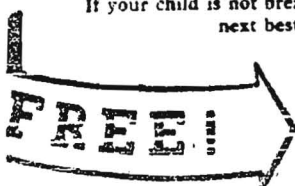


BABIES NEED NOURISHING FOOD who are worried about their babies
Very often ordinary food, even should feed them on Nutrine. Nutrine
mother's milk, does not give babies is a very nourishing food and soon
enough nourishment and they become makes babies fat and healthy. That's
thin and weak and cry a lot. Parents why Doctors and Nurses recommend it

NUTRINE

BABY FOOD

If your child is not breast fed give him Nutrine, the food
next best to Mother's Milk.



Write at once for FREE Simplified Diet Chart
showing you how to mix "Nutrine" and the best
time to give it. Available in English, Xosa, Zulu
or Sesuto. State language preferred. Write to
Hind Bros. & Co. Ltd., Dept. 1314, Umhlo, Natal.

1850-2

Drum, Sept 1952, p.44.

mother who, *Drum* pointed out, had taken him to a boxing manager when she feared he might be going wrong. *Drum* selected a photograph of the young man with his baby sister to accompany the article.⁴² Unlike the advertisements published in *Outspan* and *Femina*, those published in *Drum* frequently made mention of men's parents and grandparents and the role played in their lives by these relatives. Mothers, in particular, were established as playing a vital role in a son's progress. After Jim lost his boxing match, his mother fed him and his father Jungle Oats, commending both when they asked for more. Later on, when Jim won the Championship, his victory was attributed to his caring mother's wise decision to feed him Jungle Oats.⁴³ In another advertisement a young man was portrayed lamenting to a male friend that Mary, the woman he desired, was not interested in him. Her lack of interest, the friend confided, was linked to his appearance - specifically his dingy yellow shirt. Turning to his mother for advice, he was comforted when she declared that Reckitts Blue would solve the problem. The final frame of the advert shows the young man in a sparkling white shirt with Mary who now "goes out with me regularly."⁴⁴ In contrast, the advertisements appearing in magazines aimed at a white audience more often than not portrayed solitary white women.

Articles in *Drum* about local male celebrities also made note of their domestic arrangements and identified the household chores for which they were responsible, clearly centering men in their families and communities.⁴⁵ Of Steve, an eighteen year old soccer player, *Drum* casually observed that he lived "with his parents and his elder brother, Lucas, at Moroka Section JX, Johannesburg. His brother and he are the only children at home, and as he is the youngest, he does most of the domestic work. With mother's help Steve does the cooking, cleans the home and washes and irons the family's clothes."⁴⁶ Articles about older men observed that as young boys they had been expected to fulfil their share of the domestic chores, thus *Drum* divulged the information that the ex mayor of Benoni location, Isaac Makau, had, as a child, received a "thorough spanking for forgetting to wash the pots and pans for his mother at home."⁴⁷ The young Ezekiel Mphahlele had, according to *Drum*, been responsible for several chores including fetching and carrying washing for his mother.⁴⁸ Photographs of local heroes engaged in a variety of domestic chores and contexts reinforced the idea of men as sons intimately involved with siblings, parents and grandparents. Golfing champion Simon 'Cox' Hlapo was snapped washing dishes in

⁴²*Drum*, May 1956, p.43.

⁴³*Drum*, June 1952, p 14. The advertisements running in *Outspan* appeared similar, but the male concerned was described as a 'youngster' and appeared to be much younger than the one portrayed in *Drum* (*Outspan*, 11th May 1951, p. 14).

⁴⁴*Drum*, January 1956, p. 56.

⁴⁵*Drum*, November 1954, pp. 21 - 24 , November 1955, p. 39. Most of the advertisements for Reckitts Blue that were placed in *Outspan* and *Femina* used a drawing of a middle aged and aproned 'Mrs Rawlins' to market the product to white households. See for example *Femina*, May 1951, p. 52 , June 1951, p. 54, *Outspan*, 12th January 1951, p. 58, February 1951, p. 66.

⁴⁶*Drum*, November 1955, p. 39.

⁴⁷*Drum*, November 1955, p. 61

⁴⁸*Drum*, January 1956, p. 6. In his autobiography Mphahlele records that he did most of the domestic work, preparing breakfasts, cleaning the house, washing dishes and shopping (E. Mphahlele, *Down Second Avenue* (London: Faber & Faber, 1965) pp. 38, 53).

his parent's house, another photograph captured a defeated boxer engaged in the task of reading to his grandmother, while yet another depicted Peter Clarke hugging his mother on receiving the news that his entry had won *Drum's* short story competition.⁴⁹

These sorts of articles and adverts focused on individual men, consistently privileging their relationships with other family members. In marked contrast to the kinds of stories printed in *Outspan*, *Femina* and *Femina & Woman's Life* (both of which had managed to go through the events of 1960, for example, with out so much as a mention of racial conflict), even the investigative journalism of *Drum* centred men in their families and communities.⁵⁰ *Drum's* exposure of harsh conditions on farms and the dangers of the 'tot' system, made it clear that such practices dated back many years, and had been condemned not only by the Dutch Reformed church but also by successive governments as well.⁵¹ But the main problem of the 'tot' system, as outlined by *Drum* was not its cause (decades, if not centuries of racist laws), but its results: the destruction of family life. Of the seven men whose views were sought, four were recorded as expressing concern over its effects on family life. One "had all too often seen homelife spoilt", another argued that "people who have tots don't care a hang for the family". A third believed that it led "to the breakdown of families", while a fourth complained that the drink played havoc with domestic life. The only woman whose views were published expressed concern about health rather than family affairs.⁵² Similarly, an article attacking the colour bar did so on the basis that it broke up families, while coverage of the long queues for buses condemned the resulting delays on the grounds that parents did not see their children, or more significantly, that fathers did not see their sons.⁵³ As late as 1959, in a report on changes to the criminal law, *Drum* framed its discussion in terms of the effect of the Amendment on fathers and families. The example given to illustrate the impact of the law was that of a "desperate father-to-be" who rushed from home at midnight to call a midwife and was duly arrested under the pass laws. To the man's distress, his wife

⁴⁹*Drum*, February 1955, pp. 56,57, June 1955, p. 72, April 1955, p. 47.

⁵⁰*Outspan*, and its successor *Personality*, along with *Femina* and its successor, *Femina & Woman's Life*, are remarkable for the way in which they managed to avoid almost any mention of the socio economic and political climate in South Africa during the 1950s and 1960s. Focussed on Europe and America rather than South Africa, acknowledgement of the Sharpeville massacre in March 1960 for instance was rare. In an extremely indirect allusion to the political upheaval of 1960, an article about a Springbok rugby tour of Great Britain was prefaced by the note that the article was written "before there was any talk about possible postponement of the forthcoming tour," while later on - and while the regular editor was on leave - it was further noted that the "tour has finally been confirmed against a background of highly contentious extraneous issues involving the Maoris and the state of emergency in this country" (*Personality*, 21st April 1960, p. 25, 19th May 1960, p. 48). *Femina & Woman's Life* made no mention whatsoever of the events of March 1960, and it was left to a reader to mark the moment by writing about an "amusing" incident in which - "[b]ecause of the unrest, our nerves were on edge" - she had nearly shot a servant (*Femina & Woman's Life*, 7th July 1960, p. 11).

⁵¹An article about the treatment of workers in Bethal laid the blame for the appalling conditions at the door of the Industrial Revolution rather than racist practices and policies (*Drum*, March 1952, pp. 4 ff).

⁵²*Drum*, June 1952, p. 8.

⁵³*Drum*, November 1955, p. 49, July 1952, p. 32.

was forced to give birth alone at home. *Drum*'s opposition to the changes in the law was thus couched in the language of the family, and the nuclear family at that.⁵⁴

The early 1950s saw the male writers, editors and publishers of *Drum*, as well as its advertisers, position the men they portrayed firmly inside nuclear and non nuclear families and households where members relied on each other through a fluid rather than a rigid gendered division of labour. In the early *Drum* men were portrayed as people with strong social and emotional ties to the home, intimately involved in domestic matters, household chores and child raising. Even though many wives, children, parents and grandparents lived apart from their husbands, fathers and sons, most of the successful men whose stories appeared on the pages of the early *Drum* seemed to live with and depend on such relatives. In contrast to the coverage of white men in South African magazines aimed at white audiences, a black man's social and domestic context was acknowledged as important in a variety of ways. Where white men were constructed primarily and narrowly as breadwinners, black men inhabited a variety of parallel and complementary roles such as sons, grandsons, fathers and husbands. Black men's engagement with household chores, child raising and their reliance on parents and wives seemed, from the manner in which *Drum* recorded it, to be an unremarkable part of daily living.

But these kinds of images and representations of men slowly vanished from the magazine as the 1950s wore on. Increasingly, articles and features about important men contained fewer details of their domestic lives. Photographs of men busy with household chores and playing with their children grew scarce. Although men were often still acknowledged to be husbands, they were seldom acknowledged as sons, brothers or fathers. And even where men's marital status was proclaimed, the chances of pictures or texts revealing them sharing their lives with wives diminished. Instead, by the late 1950s, men were more often portrayed as agents whose deeds and actions in the public domain were unconnected to a private world. Familial ties, obligations and connections seemed increasingly unworthy of mention, and men were increasingly isolated from images and stories about women and children appearing in the magazine. On the odd occasions when texts and adverts did portray men with other family members, it was increasingly as passive consumers of services provided by others. On the diminishing number of instances that men were portrayed in the home, they were, more often than not, portrayed with their backs to it, on their way *out* - as transients rooted more firmly in the wider public world than they were in the private space of the home. Thus by the early 1960s, men were seldom portrayed either in a domestic context or with women and children. Men's families, it seemed, had become largely unmentionable and were for the most part invisible.

Two of the earliest texts to dismiss family matters as unimportant were those recording the lives of Jeremiah Mofokeng and a Durban gangster in 1956, but later on this kind of reporting became much more common.⁵⁵ In 1959, for example, a feature article on gang leader and ex-boxer King Kong, made no reference to his family

⁵⁴*Drum*, April 1959, p. 23 ff.

⁵⁵*Drum*, April 1956, pp. 37 ff, 56 ff.

circumstances. The same edition saw a profile of a nineteen year old black South African athlete who had beaten the world champion, and again no mention was made of his domestic arrangements - in marked contrast to the sorts of coverage of young sportsmen earlier in the decade.⁵⁶ Similarly, not a word was written about the family of Hastings Banda, future president of Malawi, in an account of Banda's achievements.⁵⁷ The following year, when *Drum* ran a three part biography of black South African cricketer, Basil D'Oliviera, the text more closely resembled that to be found in magazines aimed at white audiences. About his mother and siblings, the magazine remained entirely silent, while his father was mentioned *only* in his capacity as his son's first cricketing coach. Although the Cape Town street in which the family lived was named, the people comprising that family were neither identified nor mentioned.⁵⁸

A couple of months later, boxing champion Kangaroo Mado appeared to have made it to the top unaided by any family members,⁵⁹ while the domestic background of another boxer, Enoch 'Schoolboy' Nhlapo was passed over for details and pictures of his actions and deeds in the ring.⁶⁰ In its attempts to identify "the man of Africa 1959", no mention was made of the wives, children or parents of the men short listed for the title, and when the photograph of a woman accompanied those of the male contenders, she was neither named nor discussed in the text.⁶¹ Anonymous children and unnamed wives might be the justification for the demand for higher wages which "would bring immense benefits to a majority of below breadline workers" and let "the black man...stand on his own two feet", but this was a construction that, like those in magazines aimed at a white audience, emphasised a masculinity built around financial commitment *only*.⁶²

Advertisements demonstrated a similar trend. While the range of baby foods promoted in *Drum* increased, for instance, the number of adverts portraying involved fathers diminished, and, as early as the mid 1950s, black fathers vanished from the baby food advertisements. Instead, emulating advertisements placed in magazines like *Outspan* and *Femina*, it was almost always women (or occasionally white male experts) who exhorted mothers, rather than fathers, to buy the products.⁶³ In May 1956, signs of change were evident in the advertisements for Klim, a powdered milk product. Although the manufacturers still employed black fathers and children to draw attention to their product, this father was fully occupied with a magazine, and appeared to be ignoring the three children surrounding him.⁶⁴ Just three months later, the inert and distant father was transformed into an expert wearing a white coat and

⁵⁶*Drum*, February 1959, pp. 22, 56.

⁵⁷*Drum*, March 1959, p. 22 ff.

⁵⁸*Drum*, June 1960, p. 28 ff, July 1960, p. 52, August 1960, p. 53 ff.

⁵⁹*Drum*, October 1960, p. 50.

⁶⁰*Drum*, March 1963, p. 18.

⁶¹*Drum*, January 1960, p. 34 ff.

⁶²*Drum*, July 1960, p. 33.

⁶³January 1953 saw the last father appear in advertisements for Nutrine baby food.

⁶⁴*Drum*, May 1956, p. 14.

armed with a stethoscope, knowledgeably informing the reader that the product would “keep you and your family healthy and strong.”⁶⁵

The mid 1950s also saw concerned black fathers disappear from the advertisements for Dettol. Replaced by solitary men dabbing the liquid on themselves, or being treated for injuries by anonymous women, nurses or white male doctors, the ties and obligations of kinship amongst and between black men, women and children seemed to have evaporated. If women still regularly nursed men in these advertisements, the care they took was never reciprocated by men, and although the manufacturers of Dettol still marketed the product to children and babies, they did so through black mothers, rather than fathers. From the mid 1950s, the children and babies remaining in the advertisements for Dettol placed in *Drum* were, just like those in *Outspan* and *Femina & Woman's Life*, accompanied by mothers who knew “what to do” rather than fathers who presumably did not.⁶⁶ Family members became less important in advertisements in other ways, too, as the decade progressed. For instance, men who were ill, or who could not find girlfriends, or who had problems of one sort or another were increasingly likely to have their difficulties solved through the help or advice of a male friend or colleague rather than their mothers. By the middle of the 1950s, mothers had largely disappeared from the lives of adult sons, at least in the advertisements. Although women in advertisements also increasingly sought advice from female friends, in contrast to their brothers, substantial numbers continued to ask their mothers for help.

By the late 1950s, as articles about men in *Drum* became increasingly silent about their relationships with kith and kin, more and more manufacturers began to use advertisements resembling those they were using in magazines aimed at the white market, portraying men as solitary and autonomous individuals, isolated from rather than involved in personal relationships with women, children, parents and even other men. Crowds of women and children could watch men win competitions in which individual physical prowess was important, but there was little hint that the winner owed anything to other people.⁶⁷ Nestlé and Gold Cross, producers of canned milk goods, ran a series of advertisements in which solitary men such as goalkeepers, cyclists and labourers either endorsed the product or took it on the advice of a male doctor. Even though, for example, goalkeepers were clearly team members, advertisers chose to focus on the individual rather than his team, foregrounding the person whose success was allegedly linked to his consumption of the product advertised. While these advertisements were often alternated with others focusing on women, the women in such advertisements were seldom portrayed as solitary and

⁶⁵*Drum*, August 1956, p.18.

⁶⁶For an example of woman treating herself with Dettol see *Drum*, January 1959, p. 37. The last Dettol advertisement to feature fathers was published in *Drum*, November 1953, p. 7. Typical of the advertisements for Dettol found in white magazines were the following: *Femina*, November 1951, p. 18, *Outspan*, 5th January 1951, p. 59, 7th January 1955, p. 61, 21st January 1955, p. 54, 4th March 1955, p. 55.

⁶⁷See for example, the advertisement for Parton's Pills in *Drum*, January 1959, p. 13. Magazines aimed at white audiences also presented advertisements featuring solitary men. The Dairy Industry Control Board placed advertisements in *Outspan* featuring (amongst others) an unaccompanied pilot and a lone fisherman (*Outspan*, 25th February 1955, p. 50, 18th March 1955, p. 66.



2 SIZES
EXTRA-LARGE & TABLE SIZE

We all go for

GOLD CROSS MILK

because it's
extra rich
extra sweet
extra creamy

The happiest, healthiest families are those who always use Gold Cross Milk. They know they get a *rich creaminess* and a *smooth, creamy* Gold Cross Milk. Gold Cross is made from the richest, creamiest dairy-fresh milk and the purest, sweetest sugar. The milk helps to build healthy bodies — keeps you strong. The sugar gives you energy — makes your work easier. You — and your whole family — should use Gold Cross Milk for every meal. No other milk will do... only Gold Cross Milk. Get a tin today!

Make sure you get

GOLD CROSS

extra creamy
sweetened condensed milk



MRS. LIKA OF
NEW BRIGHTON,
PORT ELIZABETH
SAYS...



"I keep
BACON'S
handy for all
my family's
aches & pains"

- Bacon's Headache Powders & Tablets reach deep into pain, quickly and gently soothing away those unpleasant aches.
- Bacon's Headache Powders have been used for over 50 years by people with headaches and pains.
- Bacon's Headache Powders & Tablets bring quick relief from Headaches, Neuralgia, Migraine, Tension, Cuts, Colic, Chills and all sorts of pains.
- Only Bacon's Headache Powders & Tablets. Only size 1000 or 2000 at 2/9.



Ask your chemist
or store for

BACON'S
POWDERS
AND
TABLETS

Drum, Aug 1960, p.17

usually appeared accompanied by children or babies. These mother and child groups were generally pictured in need of and in receipt of advice, often from their mothers, but also frequently from male and occasionally female 'experts' clad in the white coats of authority.⁶⁸

Symbolic of the changes taking place in the advertisements placed in *Drum* was one for Gold Cross Milk published in 1960. Although this particular advertisement reunited the family in one sense, it also, as is evident in the figure opposite, clearly segregated men from women and children.

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, then, a much clearer and more consistent division had emerged between public and private in *Drum's* construction of gendered urban life. While there were obviously exceptions, as a general rule, the articles and advertisements in the magazine constructed men as solitary and autonomous individuals who inhabited the public world outside the home, with vulnerable women and dependent children occupying the private world of the home. Men were breadwinners, women, housewives and nurturers. Yet *Drum* had constructed men as breadwinners and women as financially dependent housewives from its earliest days. What had changed was the meaning *Drum* ascribed to the term 'breadwinning'. "The cost of surviving", published in 1951, was a report in which *Drum* made clear that, in its view, the wives of labouring men "who formed the majority of workers" made no financial contribution to the family economy. In this article, the burden of breadwinning was conceived as men's alone, but - and in contrast to later on - as a burden undertaken from *within* a highly significant social context.⁶⁹ Thus in its reporting and coverage of actual or potential breadwinners, *Drum* consistently portrayed such men as intimately involved with and emerging from a domestic environment. But as the changes from the middle of the 1950s indicated, the meaning of the term 'breadwinning' as used by *Drum* increasingly narrowed until, by the mid 1960s, men's involvement in domesticity was constructed strictly as receivers of services provided only by women.

The establishment of domesticity as women's business (and women themselves almost as interchangeable) accompanied the distancing of men from household affairs. In 1958 *Drum* a "Masterpiece in Bronze" focused on the "Housewife" in which Mrs Constance Nkauta "just a common or garden housewife" was apparently able to "represent all the other hundreds of thousands of the Darlings of the Kitchen."⁷⁰ Observing that the mother of three was "tied to the home and just can't get the hell out of it for a quickie or a smoke when times and tempers roughen" the magazine went on to note that "[m]en...say, "Thank God I'm not a housewife!" Further noting that despite constant police raids, the "continous smashing down of houses" and her imminent forced removal from Sophiatown to Meadowlands:

⁶⁸For Nestle's advertisements featuring men only see *Drum*, February 1960, p. 19, March 1960, p. 72, September 1960, p. 37, January 1961, p. 65, March 1961, p. 86, April 1961, p. 75, July 1961, p. 76, December 1961, p. 79. For Nestle's advertisements featuring mothers and children see *Drum*, August 1960, p. 57.

⁶⁹*Drum*, January 1952, p. 11.

⁷⁰"MasterPiece in Bronze" was a regular biographical feature article in *Drum*.

Constance still feels fairly happy. And why not? Hubby has a steady job, and they're not starving....Ask Constance, and she'll tell you that life has not been unkind to her. She has the family happiness that every housewife aches for, even though there may be many a wish - voiced and unvoiced - yet to be satisfied. Hers is not to speculate, but to make the most of what is. And a very excellent *most* she - and her sister housewives - are making too.⁷¹

If men preferred to go straight to the shebeen with their colleagues rather return home after work, this was clearly constructed as a wife's fault. As the "minutes dragged into hours" while she waited for her husband, Mary "asked herself "[why] does he do it...WHY...WHY...WHY?"⁷² *Drum* explained that:

Actually the answer was simple - all she had to do was to look at her house and in a mirror and she would have seen the answer staring right at her. HER HOUSE was not dusted properly, the beds were untidy and the whole atmosphere was dull and dirty. MARY HERSELF was sloppily dressed and, worse, had on a greasy, creased coat. AND THE SUPPER? It was a hastily prepared, untasty heap piled onto a plate. Did Mary REALLY expect her husband to return home to THIS house, THIS woman and THIS supper after a hard day at work?⁷²

By the late 1950s, advertisers and manufacturers had also begun to reconceptualise domestic work as women's responsibility. Sunbeam floor polish had begun its advertising history in *Drum* mainly through the recommendations of men and the implicit suggestion that they themselves used the product. In the early and mid 1950s, a trio consisting of a male lawyer, a male shopkeeper and a female "housewife" had recommended the commodity. But, by 1959, it was either solitary women or women accompanied by a baby parked on a gleaming floor who were recommending the product. For a brief moment in 1960 men returned, when four smiling faces, one of which belonged to a man, urged readers to invest in the product. But the following year saw men vanish for good as the product was increasingly tied to women whose task it was to clean floors.⁷³ Although the late 1950s and early 1960s saw the manufactures of Zebo stove polish use a procession of solitary professional men to market their product, the men's comments were carefully framed to distance themselves from the domestic and to show that they themselves did not use the product. "I teach English and geography" explained a male teacher complete with gown and mortar board to an empty classroom. "But I can't teach my wife anything about stoves. She knows that Zebo polishes brightest and best."⁷⁴ By the beginning of 1961, however, such men had vanished. The absent presence of invisible wives and unseen homes in the earlier Zebo advertisements gave way to a new advertising

⁷¹*Drum*, September 1958, pp. 55 ff.

⁷²This text was edited by Juby Mayet, one of *Drum*'s female employees (*Drum*, May 1963, p. 63).

⁷³See, for example, *Drum*, April 1954, p. 35, January 1959, p. 74, May 1959, p. 74, January 1960, p. 54, March 1960, p. 63, July 1960, p. 81, January 1961, p. 91, March 1961, p. 91.

⁷⁴*Drum*, January 1959, p. 56.

campaign that replaced the men with cheerful housewives smiling over gleaming stoves.⁷⁵

The mid 1950s saw men slowly moving from centre stage in the advertisements for washing powders. Cleaning was increasingly constructed as women's, rather than men's, business and advertisements even went so far as to suggest that women who were unaware of this risked their future happiness. Men who needed to get on in the world would have nothing to do with women whose freshly washed clothes appeared shabby. How, it was implied, could they ever properly look after a man? A single woman "cried with loneliness" lamenting that "I know I'm pretty - but boys never ask me out." After taking her sister's advice with regard to washing products, she was presented alongside a man who wore a gleaming white shirt and "asked to parties every night."⁷⁶ Gradually, though, advertisements for washing powders moved towards disposing of males altogether, men's existence and place in the world sufficiently indicated by women who washed sheets, shirts and blankets.⁷⁷ The manufacturers of Surf, for instance, abolished men in the late 1950s, confident that figures of black women holding up men's shirts addressed the correct audience. The man who had told other men to tell their wives to use Rinso also vanished in the mid 1950s, to be replaced by women and children marvelling over white sheets and shirts. Later on, in the early 1960s, advertisements for products such as Persil, Omo and Fab washing powders, Javel bleach, and Jik, like their counterparts in magazines aimed at white South Africans, were almost always addressed exclusively to women. And although husbands made a brief reappearance again in Rinso advertisements of the very early 1960s, these were men with their backs to their wives and children, caught modelling white shirts on their way *out* of the home.⁷⁸

But if removing men from more and more advertisements for household goods suggested their distancing from such products and the homes in which they were used, a similar effect could also be achieved by keeping men in advertisements. There were ways in which, for example, both cooking and cleaning could be more clearly constructed as women's business by retaining men. Thus at the end of the 1950s came a few advertisements that further developed and entrenched the notion that men were entitled to expect particular standards of domestic hygiene and cleanliness from their wives. "Matsiliso's husband was always angry" proclaimed the banner headline of an advertisement for cocoa in 1959 and shown in the figure overleaf. Her husband's first words as he returned from work were, "What! No food for me again! The house is dirty. What is wrong with you?" In despair, she turned to her mother who helpfully advised her to drink cocoa.⁷⁹

⁷⁵For a variety of Zebo advertisements featuring professional men see *Drum*, January 1959, p. 56, March 1959, p. 84, May 1959, p. 87, February 1960, p. 71, March 1960, p. 71, June 1960, p. 79, August 1960, p. 61, September 1960, p. 71, January 1961, p. 10. For those featuring women and stoves see *Drum*, March 1961, p. 80, May 1961, p. 92, June 1961, p. 68.

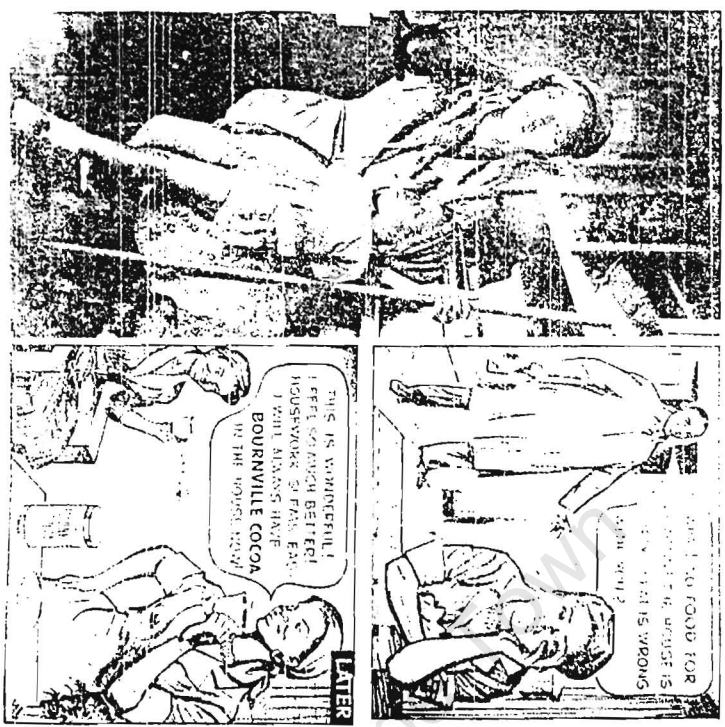
⁷⁶*Drum*, February 1960, p. 53, June 1960, p. 15.

⁷⁷See advertisements for Reckitts Blue in *Drum*, January 1959, p. 63, March 1959, p. 83, May 1959, p. 70. Early in 1960 men vanished entirely from these adverts. See, for example, *Drum*, June 1960, p. 81, August 1960, p. 71, March 1961, p. 64, April 1961, p. 76, June 1961, p. 18, July 1961, p. 83.

⁷⁸*Drum*, July 1961, p. 7, December 1961, p. 26.

⁷⁹*Drum*, June 1959, pp. 6, 7. The kind of advertising constructed around wives failures/husbands

Matchless's Richard was always angry until...



Drawn June 1959, pp 6, 7.

entitlements also appeared in magazines aimed at white audiences. See, for example, advertisements for coffee running in the winter of 1958 in *Femina & Women's Life*, 15th May 1958, p. 9, 29th May 1958, p. 9, 12th June 1958, p. 6, 26th June 1958, p. 5.

An advertisement along these lines appeared for Sunlight Soap in 1960. This time a woman was faced with losing the love of her husband who arrived home grumbling about her clothes-washing performance. "Look at my shirt. It is all in holes. What have you done to it?" he complained, pointing to the offending garment. "Tom is so angry with me these days", she confided to a female friend. "He says I'm ruining his clothes." After taking her friend's advice, her marriage was transformed and she reported that, "Tom says I'm a wonderful wife now...But I know it's Sunlight that's wonderful!"⁸⁰ But for the most part by the early 1960s, advertisements and features represented men almost as if they had arrived on earth ready made as autonomous and solitary adults whose existence was maintained through the willing service of anonymous and unseen others. Home life and domesticity tended to appear only when it failed in some way, when it could be blamed for producing adverse effects on men's lives in the public world.

The early *Drum*, in contrast to the images pervading magazines aimed at white audiences, had produced and published representations of men which had acknowledged and celebrated their social as well as their economic participation in families. By the mid 1960s, this had changed and men were more often conceptualised as somehow outside the family, as beings whose only tie was the much more narrowly conceived economic one of breadwinning. There were, of course, one or two products and occasional articles that bucked the trend and retained men as husbands and fathers from time to time, although these grew fewer over the 1950s and 1960s. Even in the early 1960s, husbands and fathers were still being served peanut butter by their wives in the Black Cat advertisements. But with men and children waiting patiently for mom to serve them at the table, they hardly contradicted the trend.⁸¹ The early 1960s saw the occasional "proud father" reappear from time to time in the commercials for Klim, but they were strongly and increasingly outnumbered by "worried mothers" and "clever housewives" as the decade progressed.⁸² While the magazine continued to publish far more stories, articles and features about men than it did about women, it seldom acknowledged them to be husbands, fathers or sons, downplaying or disregarding the roles of family members in their success.⁸³ On those rare occasions when images of men appeared in a domestic setting with their wives, it was to illustrate just how low they had sunk. An article entitled "Downfall of the Playboy Prince" in 1964, for instance, was illustrated

⁸⁰*Drum*, January 1960, p. 19.

⁸¹See for example, *Drum*, June 1961, p. 88, July 1961, p. 58, December 1961, p. 58.

⁸²For advertisements featuring proud fathers see *Drum*, January 1959, p. 18, February 1959, p. 18, June 1959, p. 72, January 1960, p. 71, August 1960, p. 72, March 1961, p. 81, July 1961, p. 34. For advertisements featuring "worried mothers" and "clever housewives" see *Drum*, February 1959, p. 18, March 1959, p. 52, April 1959, p. 86, May 1959, p. 44, February 1960, p. 4, June 1960, p. 6, July 1960, p. 5, September 1960, p. 58, June 1961, p. 97, February 1962, p. 56, April 1962, p. 65, May 1962, p. 62, June 1962, p. 66.

⁸³See, for example, the report on a soccer player in which his mother, father and sister were mentioned, but only to make the point that "the nine kids had to look after themselves until mother came home." There is no indication that he had any role to play in looking after these children (*Drum*, April 1963, p. 24). The same edition contained a photo essay demonstrating men's inability to baby-sit, in which the male baby-sitter ended up feeding the baby beer (*Drum*, April 1963, p. 54).

with a photograph of the prince in question helping his wife wash dishes in their home in Johannesburg.⁸⁴

It is difficult to explain why these changes occurred, and this study can only speculate about what is probably a multifaceted and complex set of causes. First of all, it needs to be noted that the shift away from portraying families as central to black men's lives was qualitatively different to the kinds of changes taking place in the material world. By the 1960s, representations of black men's domestic lives seemed more closely to resemble the portrayals of white men's lives in magazine's aimed at white South African audiences, audiences where the archetypal nuclear household with breadwinning fathers and home based housewives was much more common.

On the one hand, the 1930s and 1940s had seen rapid industrialisation and urbanisation combined with the growth of an urban working class that spent increasing amounts of its wages on consumer goods. After the war the rural economies were approaching a state of collapse that no amount of 'betterment' under the guidance of the apartheid state could resolve, which further encouraged wives to join husbands in towns.⁸⁵ It was in this context that some urban couples "were remarkably Western in form," and that "increasingly large proportions" of urban Africans on the East Rand, for instance, "were living 'in family circumstances.'"⁸⁶ Economic change gathered pace after the war but, instead of supporting the development of nuclear family units in urban areas, the changed political regime after 1948 saw the possibilities of living together in towns as husband and wife (let alone as breadwinner and housewife) undermined by influx control, pass laws, forced removals and the Group Areas Act.⁸⁷

According to one source, the 1950s and early 1960s had seen the "number of men living with their wives and children in urban areas... drastically reduced" while the "only family life for by far the greater proportion of African men and women in the country is the short period they are at "home" in the reserves."⁸⁸ Surveys in the mid 1960s indicated that around 30% of children did not live with their mothers (and presumably fathers) in towns.⁸⁹ In contrast, while *Drum's* representations of men as

⁸⁴*Drum*, June 1964, p. 13. Later on, a photograph showing retired boxer Elijah Mokone helping his wife with domestic chores was accompanied by text revealing that he had taken to the bottle, was broke and unemployed (*Drum*, July 1968, pp. 34, 35).

⁸⁵A. Mager, 'Youth Organisation and the Construction of Masculine Identities in the Ciskei and Transkei, 1945-1960', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1998, p. 656; P. Bonner, 'Desirable or Undesirable Basotho Women? Liquor, Prostitution and the Migration of Basotho Women to the Rand, 1920-1945', in C. Walker (ed.), *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1990).

⁸⁶B. Bozzoli with M. Nkotswe, *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy, and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900-1983* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1991), p. 238; P. Bonner, 'Family, Crime & Political Consciousness on the East Rand, 1939-1955', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 1988, p. 394.

⁸⁷B. Bozzoli, *Women*, p. 238.

⁸⁸Dr O. Wollheim, *The New Townsmen: The Legal position of the African in the White Areas Today* (Cape Town: Civil Rights League, nd), pp. 6, 8.

⁸⁹A survey of 500 housewives in 1962 revealed that 36% had children who were not living with them. A repeat survey conducted in 1965 indicated that the percentage had dropped to 29%. The survey also

solitary and autonomous increasingly removed them from the social context of their families, the assumption that a wife remained in close physical proximity to a husband underpinned *both* sets of images. In opposition to the continuities and changes occurring in material reality, by the late 1950s, wives were increasingly constructed as a largely invisible - but highly essential in terms of the domestic sphere - presence in the lives of urban men. Furthermore, despite recording that “the transformation from a society based on kinship to one based on association is complete” with the “very fact that kinsman are so scattered prov[ing] that kinship is no longer dominant,” such studies also emphasised that although “kinship ties have weakened, they are more evident than among the majority of whites in the cities of the Republic.”⁹⁰ And Bonner notes that the ties of kinship were maintained in town through the clustering of urban residents with others from their home region.⁹¹ The shifts in *Drum*’s representations of men thus seemed to follow the pattern set by representations of men in white magazines, rather than the trends in material life. In other words, while *Drum*’s representations of black men’s family life suggested that both women and children were silently present, the material reality of apartheid tended to limit the possibilities for black men to live with wives and children.

If the changes in representing men were not simple reflections of socio-economic change, how else can these shifts be accounted for? There are some possible answers, or parts of answers. Firstly, there were two entirely different sources for the material that ended up in *Drum*. For the most part, advertisements were drawn up and placed by white men, while the articles, stories and photographs were written or taken by black men. That both sets of material changed suggests either a link between them, and/or wider change that affected both in similar ways.

Chopra has argued persuasively that twentieth century western discourse has by and large written fathers out of families and fathering. By the late 1950s and early 1960s, *Drum* seemed to demonstrate what she has described as a “muting” of “the figure of the nurturing father within the gendered discourse of childcare.”⁹² Critiquing contemporary feminist scholarship that has sustained a discourse around motherhood and mothering as a single role and practice, her examination of ethnographic studies conducted in the decades since World War One, alongside an exploration of contemporary film suggests that “fathers have been written out of the picture” and that “the ‘absent father’ as the hegemonic ideal eclipses any alternative versions of fathering and care provided by them.” For Chopra “the presence of the father is posited as an absence, in contrast with the hands-on vital involvement of the

indicated that most of these families consisted of father, mother and children, but given that the survey targeted “housewives” this is hardly surprising (Market Research Africa, *An African Day* (Johannesburg: Market Research Africa, 1968), pp. 27, 28).

⁹⁰M. Wilson & A. Mafeje, *Langa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp.174, 175; E. Hellmann, *Soweto: Johannesburg’s African City* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, nd), p. 21.

⁹¹P. Bonner, ‘African Urbanisation on the Rand Between the 1930s and 1960s: its Social Character and Political Consequences’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1995, p. 126.

⁹²R. Chopra, ‘Retrieving the Father: Gender Studies, ‘Father Love’ and the Discourse of Mothering’, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, Vol. 24, No. 3/4, 2001, p. 445. I am grateful to Trish van der Spuy for alerting me to this reference.

mother.”⁹³ It is possible then, that the early *Drum*'s recognition and celebration of fatherhood and the family man, was connected to the unfamiliarity of black writers with the 'proper' discourse.

Bailey, for example, is on record for noting how Sampson's strength was his recognition of his ignorance, and how this led him to allow South African writers to write what they wanted. Sampson - an outsider who “knew nothing whatever of Africa” when he arrived in the country had “moved around with the public and learnt from them”.⁹⁴ “[I]gnorance” recalls Sampson, “had its advantages. I had to let the black journalists tell their own stories with a vigour and freshness that broke all the rules, but that expressed the true spirit of the townships.”⁹⁵ His departure at the beginning of 1955, and his replacement as editor, by another South African journalist with a great deal of experience writing for publications aimed at white audiences coincided with the first signs of change.⁹⁶ So, change of editorship might have played a role in subtly changing the discourse around men and families, especially if Stein and, later on, Tyler, adopted a more hands on approach. Later still, of course, Hopkinson also emigrated from Britain to edit the magazine, but unlike Sampson he had vast amounts of experience in publishing and representing men in the European manner, and there is little evidence to suggest that he took anything remotely approaching a back seat in his role as editor.

At the same time, it is possible that black journalists themselves subtly adapted their writing to embrace the 'modern' (ie western) narrative of white writing that, even within the nuclear family, treated men as isolated, autonomous and independent of women as well as children. Hall has claimed that the very idea of modernity and its celebration of civilisation, progress and rationality, is predicated on difference.⁹⁷ As Hodgson has put it “the modern not only presupposes but requires the existence of the traditional to acquire its meaning.”⁹⁸ At the same time, feminist scholars have argued that the discourse around colonialism is characterised by “a common pattern of regarding the colonised country and the colonised people as ‘feminine’” in opposition to the colonisers who are set up as masculine.⁹⁹ Although it would be simplistic and reductionist to argue that these two dichotomies of traditional/modern and feminine/masculine can be superimposed on each other so that feminine/traditional

⁹³Ibid., p. 447.

⁹⁴Jim Bailey interviewed on SAfm, 25th October 1999, Jim Bailey in A. Caccia (ed.), *The Beat of Drum: The Rise of Africa* (Johannesburg: Ravan in association with *Drum*, 1982), p. 124.

⁹⁵A. Sampson, *The Sunday Independent*, 1st April 2001, p. 13.

⁹⁶Jim Bailey interviewed on SAfm, 25th October 1999; J Bailey in A. Caccia (ed.), *The Beat*, p. 124.

⁹⁷S. Hall, *Modernity and its Futures* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992).

⁹⁸D. Hodgson, “Once Intrepid warriors’: Modernity and the Production of Maasai Masculinities’, *Ethnology*, Vol. 38, No. 2, Spring 1999, p. 144.

⁹⁹G. Moane, *Gender and Colonialism* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), p. 33. See also M. Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The ‘Manly Englishman’ and the ‘Effeminate Bengali’ in the Late Nineteenth Century* (New Delhi: Kali for Women Press, 1997). For a discussion of the complexities of the discourses around race and sex, see S. Markowitz, ‘Pelvic Politics: Sexual Dimorphism and Racial Difference’, *Signs*, Vol. 26, No. 2, 2001. See also J. Tosh, ‘What Should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-century Britain’, *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 38, 1994, p. 197.

are set up in opposition to modern/masculine, it is possible that representations of black men *with* women and children (in opposition to white men without them) were understood by some to imply the absence of modernity. Given that early twentieth century biomedical discourse in South Africa had already established “Hottentot women” as representing “the least advanced human life form” it may have been deemed an advance for men to be distanced from women.¹⁰⁰ Ferber has made this point in relation to white supremacist discourse in the United States, noting that “[t]he more pronounced degree of differentiation between white men and women is offered as one factor separating whites from other races and signalling their superiority.”¹⁰¹ That this notion was held by influential elements of the South African establishment is clear from an enquiry into the South African press which noted that

[i]n every civilised community and among all cultured nations it is a characteristic feature that women are held in esteem and treated with respect. Women are pre-eminently the guardians of morals and the upholders of moral values. They are the embodiment not only of motherhood but also what is good and noble in the community.¹⁰²

In the context of editorial change, as the journalists of *Drum* grew more familiar with their trade, as they themselves perhaps aspired to the trappings and trimmings of the ‘modernity’ described by Driver as a ‘western future’ where texts about white men remained silent about their social context, it may be that the ways in which black writers positioned black men in their writing also changed.

But these ideas can only offer a partial and limited explanation of the changes that took place in *Drum*’s representations of men: The advertisements that appeared in *Drum* were also changing at more or less the same time and in more or less the same way that the texts were changing, and journalists and editors had little to do with the construction of advertising texts. On the other hand, the South African advertising industry was itself in a state of flux. The 1950s saw it professionalise its organisation and approach by setting up the Society of Advertisers in 1951, establishing the first industry wide journal in 1953, as well as supporting research which explored the changing relationships between black consumers and advertising in the post-war period.¹⁰³ The late 1950s saw a government commission (in which *Drum* had made a written submission and Bailey had given verbal evidence) express its “shock” at the kinds of images of women appearing in advertisements in magazines aimed at non-Europeans, images which, for example, actually revealed the existence of women’s sanitary wear, and advertisers were also having to take stock of this

¹⁰⁰C. Burns, “Bantu Gynaecology’: the Science of Women in South Africa, 1920-1956’, Seminar Paper presented at the Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, May 1996, p. 8.

¹⁰¹A. Ferber, *White Man Falling* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1999), p. 77.

¹⁰²*Report of the Commission of Enquiry in Regard to Undesirable Publications* ((UG 42/1957) (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1957)), p. 52.

¹⁰³The first edition of *South African Packaging and Sales Promotion* appeared in January 1953. The publication changed its name to *Selling Age* in the mid 1950s. The end of the 1950s also saw advertising agencies transformed into Principals in Law - that is business units in their own right (R. Sinclair, *The South African Advertising Book* (Johannesburg: Thompson, 1997), p. 236.

report.¹⁰⁴ At the same time, the late 1950s also saw advertisers take the dramatic step of recruiting black men into white owned firms as advisors on how to approach the black market. Nimrod Mkele, with an M.A. in psychology, had been appointed head of the African market division of J. Walter Thompson and, by 1959, was making conference presentations discussing the nature of the black market from his unique involvement in both worlds.¹⁰⁵ Dan Chochco, who had joined *Drum* straight after leaving school, moved to the advertising department of Bantu Press in 1958 before his appointment in 1960 first as an advisor and then as the manager for the African Research Division of a local agency.¹⁰⁶ In 1959, Mkele argued that:

The most important values that influence African buying behaviour - and this includes advertising reactions - derive from European standards, which the African has come to accept as the yardstick with which to measure his own integration into the society whose ideals he has come to accept as his own.¹⁰⁷

Given the absence of family men from advertisements in white magazines, alongside input of this nature from Mkele it is possible that advertisers simply reworked their focus in the mid to late 1950s to treat black and white men in more similar ways. If Mkele was right in his argument that “Africans” accepted European values and standards as their own then it made sense for advertisers to recognise this in the contexts they drew for their products. On the other hand, another black advertising executive, J. E. Maroun, believed that rather than wait for blacks to “come to accept” European standards, it had been and still was the role of advertising and marketing to “change culture”. “The only African markets that do exist”, he claimed in 1960, “are those that have been created, those that have been made through the efforts, conscious or otherwise, of manufacturers and marketers.”¹⁰⁸ The late 1950s also saw greater emphasis placed on marketing to black women rather than men, because with the growth of an urban working and middle class “[a]fter all it is they who determine what shall or shall not be bought.”¹⁰⁹ But whether black consumers “naturally” aspired towards these kinds of European values, or whether they learnt to aspire to them, it seems likely that advertisements aimed at black customers would be considered more likely to achieved the desired result if they reflected the values

¹⁰⁴Report of the Commission of Enquiry in regard to Undesirable Publications (Pretoria: Government Printer UG 42/1957), pp. 65, 277, 279.

¹⁰⁵I have been unable to locate the address given by Mkele to an advertising convention held in 1959, although a precis of the presentation can be found in *Selling Age*, November 1959, p. 22 ff. The 1960s saw conferences and conventions held regularly, as well as a great deal more research and discussion on the black market. See, for example, the proceedings of the First National Conference on Advertising held in Johannesburg in 1961 (Society of Advertisers, First National Conference (Johannesburg: Society of Advertisers, 1961). By 1969 the potential of the black market had been explicitly recognised with its own two day seminar held in Durban (*The Urban Bantu Market: Understanding its Complexities and Developing its Potential* (Johannesburg: National Development and Management Foundation, 1969).

¹⁰⁶*Selling Age*, March 1960, p. 27, May 1960, p. 25. David Sibeko had joined *Drum* in the early 1950s as a telephone operator before moving into selling advertising (*Drum*, August 1979, p. 47).

¹⁰⁷N. Mkele, ‘Advertising to the African’, *Selling Age*, November 1959, p. 23.

¹⁰⁸J.E. Maroun cited in T. Burke, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption & Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), p. 127.

¹⁰⁹N. Mkele, ‘Advertising’, p. 25.

portrayed in advertisements aimed at white consumers. Isolation seemed to be both the order of the day and the route to a future to the extent that one analyst was later to claim of American magazines that “[o]verall, the advertising in both traditional women’s and men’s magazines conjures a world of objects detached from people and of people disengaged from others.”¹¹⁰ As a “reluctant and largely ineffective initiator of social change” advertising contributes “to the preservation of the existing order”, prospering “through the perpetuation of traditional stereotypes of class, race and sex.”¹¹¹ So while it is possible, then, that the disappearance of family men from the advertisements reproduced in *Drum* reflected the influence of the black men asked to advise on how best to attract black customers, it may also have reflected broader changes in advertising representations of gender emanating from the industrialised world. Or, more likely still, it was an uneven combination of all these possible explanations that explains the shift away from representations of the family to the solitary man.

It is safe to say that most men experience their lives surrounded by a web of relationships with women: mothers and wives, daughters and sisters, grandmothers and aunts, friends and lovers, neighbours and colleagues. Other men too are part of this network, and the evidence suggests that, despite the rigours of apartheid, urban South African men of the 1950s and 1960s were no exception. It is therefore interesting to observe how the texts published in *Drum* between 1951 and the mid 1960s displayed a trend, albeit uneven and erratic, that increasingly constructed men as distant from their families and their homes. In the first half of the 1950s, men were represented as intimately and inextricably rooted in their personal relationships with family members, and the magazine was comfortable publishing images and texts that publically demonstrated men’s proximity to the private space of the home. In other words, the early *Drum* presented men as emerging from homes and families that were the product of collaboration, admittedly uneven, between various family members, representing urban manhood as intimately connected to significant others, and men as social beings whose families played an important role in helping to shape their lives. From the middle of the 1950s, as a consequence of a variety of elements ranging from the appointment of new editors, to the increased influence of twentieth century western discourse on both texts and advertisements, this began to change. By the middle of the 1960s, urban black men were (like urban white men) constructed as autonomous and isolated individuals, having little or no emotional or physical legacies from - or attachments to - parents, grandparents siblings, children or even wives. Instead of parents, children and wives, significant others for men were narrowly constructed as (male) bosses, colleagues and opponents. If - unlike other family members - wives were still occasionally acknowledged in the middle of the 1960s, this seemed largely related to their duties in terms of meeting a man’s physical needs for freshly laundered shirts, warm food and clean floors. By then, if the private world of the home did appear in a man’s life, it was generally represented as an intruder, as

¹¹⁰M. Masse & K. Rosenblum, ‘Male and Female Created They Them: The Depiction of Gender in the Advertising of Traditional Women’s and Men’s Magazines’, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1988, p. 132.

¹¹¹T.H. Qualter, ‘The Social Role of Advertising’ in T. O’Sullivan & Y. Jewkes (eds), *The Media Studies Reader* (London: Arnold, 1997), p. 155.

something that impacted adversely on his public world, an intrusion that required the disciplining of a wife whose task it was to restore order and invisibility to the domestic. If men who stood out in the early 1950s were portrayed as having been made, in large part by their relations with and through the efforts of others, the more 'civilised' men of the 1960s were conceived of as largely self made.

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Masculinity, Homosexuality and Race

Drum's version of an urban black masculinity, as discussed in chapters one and two, was constructed in the context of continuing and escalating attempts by the white state to deny urban black men a voice. This was a context, I argued, where apartheid was itself a project aimed at denying manhood to black men. As Kimmel has said "[m]asculinity is a *homosocial* enactment", it is a performance between men, and "[m]anhood is demonstrated for other men's approval."¹ In this chapter I suggest that in the South African context, struggles between different groups of men combined with nationalist struggles in a discourse that, until very recently, served to marginalise homosexual masculinity.² *Drum*'s eclipsing of homosexual relations through a focus on heterosexual pairings served to represent an element of a particular *masculinist* nationalist struggle in which a hegemonic white masculinity attempted to deny manhood to black men. As Ferber has said in the context of white supremacist discourse in the United States, "what it means to be a man is intimately tied up with race... race and gender identity are absolutely inseparable... the construction of one depends upon the other."³ In a context where manhood was intimately linked to heterosex, and where homosexuality was understood as a "violation of masculinity", a recognition by *Drum* that some black men preferred men might have undermined the implicit argument that black men's heterosexuality *demonstrated* manhood, a demonstration that pointed wordlessly but articulately to the futility and misguidedness of the apartheid project.⁴ As will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, the magazine emphasised over and over again that it was via sexual liaisons with *women* that males - both black and white - became men.

The conflict between these two racially defined versions of masculinity took place on a terrain in which particular and specific assumptions about male sexuality existed. Although I have already outlined and acknowledged the historical and cultural specificity of my own assumptions in the introduction, it is necessary to clarify my position with regard to the relationship between gender and sexuality. It is also necessary to acknowledge those of the society in which *Drum* was produced, firstly in order to understand the magazine's representations of homosexuality, and secondly to avoid falling into the trap of making value judgements about the past.

¹M. Kimmel cited in A. Ferber, *White Man Falling: Race, Gender, and White Supremacy* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), p. 137.

²These different groups of men were not simply white and black. The mid twentieth century South African political landscape was inhabited by a wide variety of racially defined groups.

³A. Ferber, *White Man Falling*, p. 119.

⁴Pronger cited in D. Forrest, 'We're Here, We're Queer, and We're Not Going Shopping: Changing Gay Male Identities in Contemporary Britain', in A. Cornwall & N. Lindisfarne (eds), *Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 105.

The assumption underpinning the discussion in this, and the following, chapter is that the relationship between gender and sexuality is neither straightforward nor one dimensional. Stein has pointed to the complexities surrounding accounts of human sexuality, and the fierce debates that are raging in the academy: it is not the place of this study to attempt to resolve these issues.⁵ Suffice it to say that for the purposes of this discussion I have assumed that sexual desire is inborn, but that the expression and direction of that desire is culturally and historically specific. As Stein has so eloquently observed, sexual norms and practices, the definitions even of what is sexual and what is not, differ according to time and place. He points, for example, to contemporary Latin American men who have intercourse with other men and yet who have no difficulty in identifying themselves as heterosexual, providing that they themselves are not penetrated.⁶ Closer to home, Kendal argues that Basotho women “define sexual activity in such a way that makes lesbianism linguistically inconceivable - not that [lesbian sex] doesn't take place, but it isn't considered 'sexual'”.⁷ Not only do sexual norms and practices differ from place to place and from time to time however, they also change over time.

There seems to be agreement in the academy for instance, that the stigmatization of homosexuals as aberrant and deviant⁸ in the West took place only in the late nineteenth century:

when medical theory identified a congenitally defective ‘third sex’, when a strident Social Purity movement seized on homosexuality as a metaphor for national decline, and when homosexuals themselves developed an emancipatory ‘Uranian’ identity.⁹

By the 1950s and 1960s, western understandings of male sexuality had changed little since the biomedical discourses of the mid nineteenth century had pathologised certain kinds of sexual practices and sexual preferences, and it was this discourse that underpinned *Drum*'s representations of male sexuality. This conceptualisation of homosexuality as aberrant and deviant, as Stein and others have noted, has only been seriously challenged in the final decades of the twentieth century, and it is a battle that continues to be fought today. Back in the 1950s, within white South Africa at least, the conceptualisation of homosexuality as dangerously deviant remained hegemonic.¹⁰

⁵E. Stein, *The Mismeasure of Desire: The Science, Theory, and Ethics of Sexual Orientation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 35. See also S. Murray & W. Roscoe (eds), *Boy-Wives and Female Husbands* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), pp. 6 - 9.

⁷Kendal, “When a Woman Loves a Woman” in Lesotho: Love, Sex and the Western Construction of Homophobia’, in S. Murray & W. Roscoe (eds), *Boy-Wives*, p. 230.

⁸Homosexuality has always been ‘deviant’ as in ‘deviating from the norm’, but ‘deviance’ took on a new and threatening meaning at this time.

⁹J. Tosh, ‘What Should Historians do with Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth-century Britain’, *History Workshop Journal*, Vol. 38, 1994 p. 193; D. Forrest, ‘We’re Here, We’re Queer’, p. 100; S. Murray & W. Roscoe (eds), *Boy-Wives*, p. 11.

¹⁰E. Alwood suggests that the beginnings of the contemporary challenge to the dominant understanding were just beginning to emerge in the United States in the 1950s. At the same time

Not only was homosexuality constructed as morally aberrant in mid twentieth century white South Africa, it was also established as criminal. Drawing on the traditions of both Roman and Dutch law that discriminated against homosexuals, the South African legal system has, according to Judge Edwin Cameron “never treated lesbians and gays kindly.” Furthermore, “only male/female sex acts which were directed to procreation were permitted. All other sexual acts - whether between men or between a man and a woman - were cruelly punished.”¹¹ In a society where even acts between consenting heterosexual couples were criminalised, individuals involved in same sex relationships were unlikely to draw attention to themselves.

There is however, a great deal of evidence to suggest that at least some elements within Southern African black society took a much more casual approach to sexual affairs. Homosexual relationships - what were widely known as “mine marriages” between older and younger men - had a long history in the compounds in and around Johannesburg.¹² Although such practices were allegedly considered to be “repugnant to the urban African elite” two decades earlier, and declared “unspeakable” by A.W.G. Champion, other evidence suggests that such moral judgements were connected to missionaries and the spread of Christianity.¹³ As Junod put it at the turn of the century “[t]he immense majority of the Natives themselves do not consider this sin as of any importance at all. They speak of it with laughter.”¹⁴ Achmat is another to have pointed to the extent of men’s desire for men in the prisons and compounds around Johannesburg in the early decades of the twentieth century, while Murray and Roscoe have collected a series of texts indicating that the apparent absence of homosexual desire in Africa was more the product of western ethnocentric discourse than it was an accurate description of African sexual practices.¹⁵ On the other hand

however “[a]s the medical model of homosexuality was being abandoned in the West, it was widely adopted in the developing world” (E. Alwood, *Straight News: Gays, Lesbians, and the News Media* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996) p. 3); S. Murray, ‘Sexual Politics in Contemporary Southern Africa’, in S. Murray & W. Roscoe (eds), *Boy-Wives*, p. 244.

¹¹E. Cameron, “Unapprehended Felons’: Gays and Lesbians and the Law in South Africa’, in M. Gevisser & E. Cameron (eds), *Defiant Desire* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1994), p. 91. See also S. Murray, ‘Sexual Politics in Contemporary Southern Africa’, in S. Murray & W. Roscoe (eds), *Boy-Wives*, p. 244.

¹²See, for example, Z. Achmat, “Apostles of Civilised Vice’: ‘Immoral Practices’ and ‘Unnatural Vice’ in South African Prisons and Compounds, 1890-1920’, *Social Dynamics*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 1993; K. Breckenridge, ‘The Allure of Violence: Men, Race and Masculinity on the South African Goldmines, 1900-1950’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1998; T. Dunbar Moodie with V. Ndatshe, *Going for Gold: Men, Mines & Migration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); T. Dunbar Moodie with V. Ndatshe & B. Sibuyi, ‘Migrancy and Male Sexuality on the South African Gold Mines’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 2, 1988.

¹³Champion was the leader of the first black trade union, the ICU, in the early twentieth century (H. Bradford, ‘Mass Movements and the Petty Bourgeoisie: the Social Origins of the ICU Leadership, 1924-1929’, *Journal of African History*, Vol. 25, 1984.

¹⁴Junod, cited in T. Dunbar Moodie, *Going for Gold*, p.125; See also T. Dunbar Moodie et al, ‘Migrancy and Male Sexuality’ passim.

¹⁵See for example, Z. Achmat, ‘Apostles’; S. Murray & W. Roscoe, *Boy-Wives*; P. Harries, ‘Symbols and Sexuality: Culture and Identity in the Early Witwatersrand Mines’, *Gender & History*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 1990.

Sensitized by missionaries and Western education, defensive in the face of stereotypes of black hypersexuality, and resentful of sexual exploitation in colonial institutions, the first generation of postcolonial Africans was extremely reluctant to discuss the subject of homosexuality.¹⁶

At the same time, perhaps black South Africans, like black Zimbabweans, “placed a strong taboo upon the open discussion of [all] sexual matters”, constructing what Epprecht describes as a “culture of discretion”, a claim given substance by his observation that there are “no explicit terms for homosexuality or discrete homosexual acts in Shona”, echoing a similar claim made by Kendal about lesbianism in Lesotho.¹⁷ Given the prevalence of ex-teachers with mission school educations on *Drum*’s staff and the strong influence of a western culture that defined homosexuality as aberrant, alongside a “culture of discretion” it is hardly surprising that the very writers who were able to write eagerly and authentically about some of the experiences of life in urban townships - and who strongly objected when their ability to do so was threatened - seemed less able and less willing to write about other kinds of experiences.

Overall then, drawing on western biomedical discourse, itself emerging from a Judeo-Christian framework that had long labelled homosexuality as deviant, in the context of a South African legal system that defined homosexual acts as criminal, what Alwood has recently described as “the heterosexual assumption” became the perspective underpinning *Drum*’s approach¹⁸. Combined with pressure from the state, financial imperatives, the need for authenticity given an audience conceived to be largely urban, largely male, predominantly black and almost entirely straight, this understanding served to construct a complex dialectic that shaped both the magazine and its audience in particular ways, a dialectic that also served to establish heterosexuality as hegemonic almost by default.¹⁹ In essence, the magazine’s model was underlain and underpinned by the assumption that heterosexuality was ordained by God, given substance by biology, and that maleness, masculinity and heterosexuality were interchangeable terms.

These assumptions meant that, in speaking (as it claimed) for all black men, *Drum* barely recognised the existence of male voices expressing a preference for men. Although the magazine’s self declared aim was “to be the voice of those who have no voice” and its task “to put forward the views and feelings of those who have no constitutional method to express their views, and often no outlet for their feelings but a cry”, it was only heterosexual voices that were expressed by *Drum*.²⁰ Although homosexual black men were amongst those who had “no constitutional method to

¹⁶S. Murray & W. Roscoe (eds), *Boy-Wives*, p. xvi.

¹⁷M. Epprecht, ‘The ‘Unsayings’ of Indigenous Homosexualities in Zimbabwe: Mapping a Blindspot in an African Masculinity’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1998, p. 636. See also C. Shire, ‘Men don’t go to the Moon: Language, Space and Masculinities in Zimbabwe’, in A. Cornwall & N. Lindisfarne (eds), *Dislocating Masculinity*, Kendal, ‘When a Woman Loves a Woman,’ p. 230.

¹⁸E. Alwood, *Straight News*, p. 8.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰*Drum*, July 1958, p. 30.

express” themselves, their voices and views remained hidden. Instead, this “assumption of heterosexuality” - which will be discussed in depth in the following chapter - saw *Drum* spotlight varieties of heterosexual affairs. This focus dominated the magazine from its birth to its sale in the mid 1980s, helping to establish particular kinds of heterosexuality as natural, normal and legitimate.

Although this heterosexual assumption consistently and continuously underpinned *Drum*’s portrayal of sexuality, change did take place. While men’s desire for men or women’s desire for women was almost entirely invisible and unmentionable in the early *Drum*, there were hints of alternative - and unacceptable - desires in later volumes of the magazine. Between 1951 and Sampson’s departure in 1955, there were just four extremely brief, and largely indirect, allusions to homosexuality and none at all to lesbianism. One of the more direct mentions came in an article full of racial stereotyping by an anonymous but “distinguished South African Doctor and University Lecturer”, asking whether Africans were “more virile than Europeans?” Concerning itself with the important matter of the strength of black women’s sexual instincts, as well as the increase in prostitution, *Drum*’s unnamed expert argued that these sorts of “adverse” changes in sexual behaviour were linked to urbanisation. Almost as an afterthought, the writer added that “[h]omosexuality is another evil which is spreading among Africans in cities.”²¹ One might imagine, given the magazine’s self-conscious urban focus, that this allegation would have been a hot topic for investigative reporting, but this was not the case, and the magazine remained mute on the matter.

In another allusion in the same volume, Manalil Gandhi, earlier jailed for 50 days as a result of his participation in the Defiance Campaign, complained about conditions in prisons. The beatings, unhygienic conditions, poor food and lice all received a mention, as did the search for tobacco where prisoners were forced to jump up and down naked, before turning to bend down and expose their anuses. While this begs the question of the sexual orientation of the guards who witnessed and supervised such activities, Gandhi merely noted that:

A good deal of tobacco is still being smuggled in, and the most unspeakable evils are being done to procure a little bit of tobacco. Those who are addicted to it go to the extent of selling their body, mind and soul for it.²²

Other evidence suggests that Gandhi’s observations were not unusual, and supports the idea that homosexual relations were widespread in South African jails in the middle of the twentieth century. Mopeli Paulus had been sentenced to twelve months hard labour in Pretoria in 1951 for his alleged participation in the Witzieshoek Rebellion of 1950. In his autobiography, extracts of which *Drum* published between late 1954 and early 1955, Mopeli Paulus noted that “[t]here is everything in the world in jail - things that seem unimaginable - even rape.”²³ Later on came another

²¹ *Drum*, February 1954, p. 25.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²³ *Drum*, February 1955, p. 61. H. Jones suggests that this ‘autobiography’ was co-authored by Miriam

somewhat different reference to homosexual relations in jail, and how convicts took this for granted. "You must play to the desires of the place you are in" noted Paulus in a matter of fact manner.²⁴ Others who spent time in South African jails in the 1950s made more critical mention of the 'marriages' between men. Godfrey Moloï, for instance, was sentenced to three months imprisonment in 1956. In his memoirs, some thirty years later, he took care to distance himself from these activities noting that "[s]ome of the younger boys would do the most immoral acts just for a cigarette" whilst in jail. While hardened criminals had "brides", "[b]oys of my age, some of whom I knew very well, had to fall victims to the sodomites to survive."²⁵

Such views would have found favour with *Drum's* own special expert, the "distinguished South African Doctor and University Lecturer" who would have identified with Moloï's moralising tone. If, as this anonymous doctor and lecturer had argued, such practices were linked to urbanisation, male migration and the low numbers of women in towns, then it made sense to find the "evil" of homosexuality similarly widespread in South African jails.²⁶

The following month, however, when Mr Drum himself, Henry Nxumalo, contrived to be arrested to establish the validity of Gandhi's story of conditions in jail, the focus remained on the requirement that prisoners leap up and down stark naked, with photographs of these activities being obtained at great risk. But of Gandhi's allegation that the purpose of all this was to eliminate the smuggling of tobacco for which prisoners would be willing to sell their "body, mind and soul" not a word was said. Homosexual relations in jail, or anywhere else for that matter, were neither investigated nor commented upon: a stony silence surrounded this aspect of urban existence. What troubled the writers at *Drum* was the requirement that uncircumcised boys were stripped alongside circumcised men, thus offending both. It was enough, it seemed, to make the point that prison regulations themselves demanded "that searching ... be conducted with due regard to decency and self respect."²⁷

It was several years later that another reader drew *Drum's* attention to the scandalous homosexual relationships in the mining compounds surrounding Johannesburg. Stephen Tau of Benoni expressed his deep concern that:

Some men in the compounds "marry" other men and treat them as their wives. The unfortunate fellow who falls into such a bad habit never returns home. He goes on treating his man as a queen until he is without shoes. Some of them leave their homes while still very young. They grow up in these compounds

Gordon Basner (H. Jones, 'A co-authored 'curio' from the 'dark' continent': A.S. Mopeli Paulus and Peter Lanham's Blanket Boy's Moon', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 4, December 1995, p. 602.

²⁴*Drum*, February 1955, p. 62. See also *Drum*, December 1954, p. 65 ff.

²⁵G. Moloï, *My Life*, Vol. 1 (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987), pp. 136, 156, 151.

²⁶Epprecht alerts us to the dangers of this formulation (and its prevalence in much academic literature as well), in that it "closes the intellectual door to consideration of sensual, sexual preference of some men for other males" (M. Epprecht, 'The Unsaying', p. 649).

²⁷*Drum*, March 1954, pp. 9 ff.

until they are old men who can no longer work. Then they are fired. Having no money and a home to go to, they move into the locations and get to work for Shebeen queens who pay them with skokiaan. I hope this kind of thing will come to a quick end.²⁸

Drum, though, was uninterested in pursuing this line of enquiry, choosing not to respond to Tau's observations. But despite the lack of response another reader raised the matter again in 1963. "I couldn't believe that men could 'marry' other men on the mines until I saw this myself, happening right in front of my eyes. What can be done about this disgrace to African people? Is there no way to stop it?"²⁹ No reporter was sent to investigate, and *Drum's* response was merely to confirm that these practices did indeed exist: "It DOES happen. It IS a disgrace. The only way to put an end to it is for miners to be allowed to live normal family lives."³⁰

For *Drum*, it seemed, there was no question that these "disgraceful" practices were the result of apartheid policies that limited the right of women to be in town: homosexuality was not an option that any black man would choose if there was a woman available. And *any* woman it seemed would do. *Drum's* position was made very clear at the end of 1964, when a young man asked the magazine's advice.

I am 32, have a good job and own a car. But I have no girlfriend because I simply hate women. My mother is very concerned about this and has often pleaded with me to have a girlfriend. She has even promised to maintain any girl I may choose. My mother's fear, which she has expressed to close members of the family, is that I am not normal. I am quite normal. My problem is that I just can't face the idea of going to bed with a woman. The very sight of women disgusts me. What should I do to allay the fears of my mother?³¹

"If you are not kidding, then you must be queer" responded *Drum* bluntly. "It is difficult to believe that you are normal." Giving little thought to the happiness of a woman in such a relationship, *Drum* went on to remonstrate that "Even men who have been known to harbour intense hatred for women have been known to have a woman in their life." Finally the hapless reader was instructed to "give the matter more serious thought - at least for the sake of your poor mother. Or do you hate her too?"

But as the years moved on, as white editors and black staff came and went, and as restrictions over what could be printed were tightened up, a small space emerged in which *Drum* seemed to acknowledge an alternative to heterosex. Oddly enough (or perhaps not), it was in the context of an increasingly hostile political environment, and with a change of editor, that *Drum* first began to recognise in print that a few readers were unwilling to align themselves to the magazine's version of a masculinity

²⁸*Drum*, June 1961, pp. 87, 89.

²⁹*Drum*, February 1963, p. 7.

³⁰*Ibid.*

³¹*Drum*, December 1964, p. 64.

defined through monogamous and/or polygynous heterosexuality. Perhaps, though, this recognition was intimately connected to the escalating attempts by the state to deny black manhood: if black men's claim to manhood was, like white men's, predicated on heterosexuality, then where were the borders of each? Where did variety of masculinity end? Conceiving masculinity to be relational to other masculinities, then homosexual masculinity - or something like it - was a *necessary* oppositional category. If race were somehow to be written out of *Drum's* construction of masculinity, something else would have to take its place.

Thus the discourse that was to emerge around sexuality in *Drum* was intrinsically shaped by the discourse of race. Retief has noted that “[t]here is a long history that remains as yet unwritten of the repression and regulation of sexuality by the apartheid state.... The details of this hidden war on sexual dissidence are dispersed and confused”, but “far from being a political irrelevancy, sex has been an important area of concern for successive generations of National Party governments.”³² Sexual policing, argues Retief, went hand in hand with racist legislation aimed at “keeping the white nation sexually and morally pure so that it had the strength to resist the black communist onslaught.”³³ According to Epprecht, the “racially charged context of [Zimbabwe's] nationalist struggle” worked to reduce the possibilities for admitting and tolerating sexual ambiguities.³⁴ Of American white supremacists, Ferber has argued persuasively that “[i]t is an understatement to claim that white supremacy is obsessed with interracial sexuality.... Far more than a lurid preoccupation, the obsession with interracial sexuality is part of the process of boundary maintenance essential to the construction of race and gender identity.”³⁵ It seems that similar constructions existed in South Africa, tying race and gender identities together in a complex web of mutually constructed meanings.

From the perspective of the men who made *Drum*, perhaps the attempt to speak with an adult black male voice in a racist society where black men were conceived of as “boys”, was best achieved by closely aligning black men's sexuality with that of white men. At the same time, perhaps *Drum's* silences with regard to alternatives to heterosex constituted a recognition that acknowledging black homosexual relationships would have reflected badly on black people in general, as further evidence of their rampant and uncivilised sexuality.³⁶ If being a man in the “modern” world meant penetrative intercourse with women only, then any claim to adulthood for black men would presumably involve foregrounding black men's heterosexuality. And besides, there was a great deal of mileage to be had from exposing the hypocrisy

³²G. Retief, ‘Keeping Sodom Out of the Lager’, in M. Gevisser et al, *Defiant Desire*, p. 100.

³³Ibid.

³⁴M. Epprecht, ‘The Unsayings’, p. 642.

³⁵A. Ferber, *White Man Falling*, p. 6.

³⁶I am grateful to Lora Lempert for this observation. Crenshaw, for example, notes that in the contemporary black American community there is often a reluctance to speak of domestic violence as it may portray the community in a bad light, reinforcing distorted perceptions of the black community (K.W. Crenshaw, ‘Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Colour’, in M.A. Fineman & R. Mykitiuk (eds), *The Public Nature of Private Violence* (New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 102).

surrounding inter-racial heterosexual affairs between resourceful white men and resourceless black women.

Images of non heterosexual men first appeared in *Drum* after the departure of Sampson in early 1955, and with the arrival of his replacement, Sylvester Stein, came a slightly different approach to issues of gender identity, sexual orientation and matters of the heart. The first signs of this were evident in September, with the publication of both photographs and a report of a performance of the "All Male Non European Revuette and Minstrel Show."³⁷ Taking place in Cape Town, almost 900 miles from Johannesburg, the stars of the show were "coloured" as opposed to black South Africans. Entitled "The Moffees Can Can" this supposed 'review' made almost no mention of the show itself, preferring to focus nearly entirely on the "Moffees" who were the "star attractions" and who, it was carefully explained, were female impersonators.³⁸

The journalists' unease with such gender bending is clear, reinforcing Butler's observation that drag performances, such as those of the "moffies", destabilise the "distinctions between the natural and the artificial, depth and surface, inner and outer through which discourse about genders almost always operate", thus bearing the potential to undermine normative heterosexuality.³⁹ Taking care to make sure the word "girls" went into inverted commas almost every time it was used, the writer described how "(Joey) Costello led her energetic and versatile girls - er - boys Yvonne, Linda, Carmen and Piper, through some...entertaining can-can dances."⁴⁰ Although not a word was said about the sexual preferences of these "female impersonators", and readers were left to draw their own conclusions, it was clear (from the use of the term "moffies") that these were men who desired men.

A few months later the coloured "moffies" were back in the news when an unidentified *Drum* photographer attended a "moffie drag" or party. The photographer - evidently an experienced drag goer - was surprised to find white "moffies" in attendance. *Drum* was pleased to publish his close up shot of a white and "coloured" couple, catching the white Dolores as she "applie[d] with ticklish finger some makeup to the face of Ada."⁴¹ For 'average' black readers the message was clear - "moffies" were either "coloured" or white, way out of the ordinary, an exotic spectacle far removed from 'normal' lives.⁴² Far from undermining normative masculine

³⁷In the United States, "[t]he African American press ... was among the first to acknowledge the existence of homosexuals in its communities, with articles written about annual drag balls during the 1930s" (E. Alwood, *Straight News*, p. 19).

³⁸"Moffie" or "Moffee" (*Drum* used both spellings) supposedly comes from the term "hermaphrodite", but was used in this instance to label cross dressing men. The word was also used by *Drum* (and remains used today in wider society) to label men displaying any behaviour deemed to be feminine (S. De Waal 'Etymological note on 'moffie'', in M. Gevisser et al, *Defiant Desire*, p. x).

³⁹J. Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, Chapman & Hall, 1990), p. viii.

⁴⁰*Drum*, September 1955, p. 51.

⁴¹*Drum*, October 1956, p. 53.

⁴²In his analysis of media representations of gay life in the Cape, Dianaraj Chetty seems to conflate the representation of "Moffie" life with reality itself. For example he notes that "[t]he Moffie Queens....

heterosexuality, as Butler suggests, in this particular case such images served to reinforce it: by burlesquing women's conduct the "moffies" left their audience in no doubt that they were actually male. At the same time shifting, rather than eliminating, the racial discourse, black (and white) manhood was set up in opposition to an effeminate coloured manhood.

After this brief appearance in 1955 and 1956 these kinds of images disappeared from the magazine until 1959. Perhaps an explanation of these renewed absences lies in the passage of the Immorality Act of 1957, an attempt to consolidate restrictive and oppressive legislation around an individual's choice of sexual partner. But while the Act had several provisions criminalising homosexual relations, it was the criminalisation of certain heterosexual acts between white and black that captured the public's, the state's and *Drum's* imagination.⁴³ If black men had several centuries of lessons teaching them to control their "natural" heterosexual desire for white women, white men had little reason to curb their instincts, and liaisons between white men and black women were relatively common. For an apartheid state bent on separate development, such intercourse, along with homosexual relations, was anathema.

But in the light of the state's attempts to police a *variety* of sexual desires and sexual liaisons, *Drum's* focus was narrowly and firmly on interracial heterosexual relations, publicising stories where "normal" heterosexual desire had lead either to happiness (outside South Africa) or to tragedy (inside South Africa). Concerned to expose the hypocrisy and injustice of the Immorality Laws as they affected heterosexual relations, the sub text pointed to the futility of attempts to legislate against "nature".⁴⁴ Readers were informed of the murder of several mixed race couples in Bulawayo in August, and of a brothel in the Tafelberg Hotel, Cape Town where black men paid £5 for intercourse with "nattily dressed white women".⁴⁵ Even though news of the Treason Trial and Ghanaian Independence occupied prime place in the magazine in almost every edition of 1957 and 1958, journalists and editors were keen to endorse heterosexuality yet again by outlining the difficulties faced by black men who wished to spend the night with their girlfriends in the servants quarters of the homes of their white employers. And after admiring a herbalist with fourteen wives, there still remained space to inform readers of several more heterosexual mixed race relationships.⁴⁶

represent a particular kind of self expression and identity. For their audiences they are part of a line-up of freakish spectacles. They are almost inhuman, representing a kind of humanity and desire that is grotesque, unspeakable - and titillating" (D. Chetty, 'A Drag at Madame Costello's: Cape Moffie Life and the Popular Press in the 1950s and 1960s', in M. Gevisser et al, *Defiant Desire*, p. 115).

⁴³The annual Race Relations Surveys which list the number of individuals charged and convicted annually under the Immorality Act focus on intercourse between men and women. That black and white homosexual men could not legally express their sexual preferences was evidently deemed to be an issue unworthy of mention.

⁴⁴*Drum*, December 1957, p. 63, March 1962, p. 20 ff.

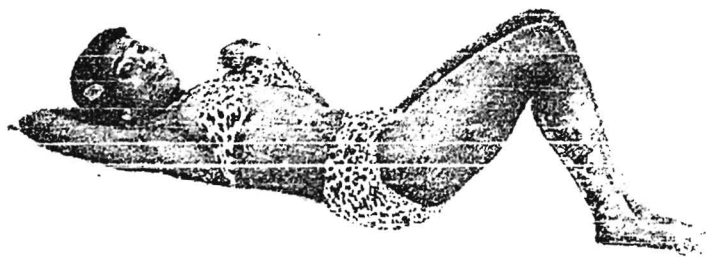
⁴⁵*Drum*, August 1957, p. 51 ff., September 1957, p. 48.

⁴⁶*Drum*, August 1957, p. 51, September 1957, p. 48, March 1958, pp. 15, 32, May 1958, p. 15, October 1958, p. 64.



JUST A MODERN GIRL IN MODERN DRESS. BUT WHAT CRITICAL LOOKS SHE GOT FROM SOME PEOPLE . . .

OUR GIRL OF THE YEAR



Drum, Jan 1960, p. 36.

DORREEN MAPOMBO is 23. She's the girl who caused a sensation at Sea Point, Cape Town, when she was walking in her Zulu beads. She was arrested, and a magistrate fined her £5 for being "indecently dressed."

Dorreen is always getting into trouble because of her good looks. Whatever she wears, a policeman is bound to tell her: "Go home and put on MORE clothes." This would probably happen even in the middle of winter if she was bundled up in a heavy coat with just her ears sticking out.

One day we photographed her on a busy street in Cape Town. Many eyes lit up with honest delight, but there were many unkind, too. White girls, biased if they had the time, turned to look and stare at her. "She's got it!" they said. "She's got it!" they said. "She's got it!" they said. "She's got it!" they said.

The “moffies” returned briefly in 1959 when *Drum* covered another of the “moffie drags”. But in this coverage *Drum* again clearly established the “moffies” - coloured men in far away Cape Town - as exotic and alien. Quoting host, Madame Costello, complaining about the previous party, when skollies had gatecrashed and people “were smoking dagga in my place”, the report is structured in such a way as to emphasise the unreliability and instability of the “moffies”. The article starts with Madame Costello’s reluctance ever to hold another party “I swore then I would never give another drag” and ends with Costello making the same remarks about the present party “I’ll never have another drag in my place...Never! I swear it!” Further developing its image of “moffies” as exotic, spectacular and decidedly “abnormal”, as improperly gendered males, *Drum* declared that “[e]veryone of the 40 or so people ...was a man - or at any rate male.” While the younger “moffies” “would have attracted a lot of male glances in any company” the older ones “looked a little grotesque” and by the end of the evening “looked tired and lonely and very pathetic.”⁴⁷ If only they had chosen “normal” lives, the subtext seemed to say, these males would be neither tired, lonely nor pathetic. And should anyone wish to doubt the power of “normal” or “natural” heterosexual attraction - and of course the futility of legislation criminalising such relations between white and black - a photograph published in 1960, and reproduced on the previous page, spoke volumes.

But by the time this photograph had been published, the editorship had changed hands yet again, with the arrival of Englishman, Tom Hopkinson. Hopkinson had inherited a magazine in which it was becoming increasingly difficult to “put forward the views and feelings of those who have no constitutional method to express their views” - no matter that these views and feelings as mediated by *Drum* were narrowly conceived to represent those of the silent and very straight majority.⁴⁸ The “moffies” of Cape Town however, remained newsworthy, and the following year, when for the first time female drum majorettes were to be incorporated into the Coon Carnival, *Drum* contrasted Yvonne de Carlo, a “moffie” who had lead the carnival every year since 1950, with the leader of the majorettes, Elizabeth Miller. The first words introducing de Carlo to readers described her fluttering eyelashes, and effectively established her as different, affected and “feminine” before another word was written. In contrast “Miss Western Province 1961”, the wholesome Elizabeth Miller and her team, were to provide Yvonne with “tougher competition than ever before... for 34 lusty, busty high stepping girls will be out in their satin suits and peaked caps.” The last word over who would prove be the most popular was allocated to Miss Miller: “A girl is a girl... I don’t know what a Moffie is - and I hate to think.”⁴⁹

By the following year the “moffies” of Cape Town had elected a new Queen, with *Drum* providing nearly two pages of coverage of the event. Present at the nightclub where the affair took place “were about 60 moffies, a cluster of real men and one or two pukka women. Oh, yes - there was the odd young boy as well.” The spectacle

⁴⁷*Drum*, January 1959, pp. 60, 61.

⁴⁸*Drum*, July 1958, p. 30.

⁴⁹*Drum*, January 1962, p. 42.

and its dangers were hinted at by playing with the ambiguity of the term “twist” further on:

When the moffies weren't busy electing a new queen they were twisting - in fact it was the most twisted party I've seen. Men in dresses twisted with men in dresses, men in dresses danced with men in pants, and men in dresses twisted with little boys. And men in dresses DIDN'T twist with women in dresses.⁵⁰

It was just a few months after this that *Drum* became a supplement to the weekly *Golden City Post*. But even with its substantially reduced pages and texts, *Drum* continued to print stories and pictures of the “moffies”, advertising these stories in the supplement to increase sales of the newspaper.⁵¹ Three years later, however, *Drum* was relaunched as an independent monthly magazine, and with the relaunch came a more robust coverage of sexual matters that retained the focus on inter-racial liaisons and “moffies”, and added sex education to the heady mix.

This first edition after the three year hiatus observed that “the loudest squeals came from Cape Town's 500 or so moffies” when “the Government was proposing legislation against homosexuality which could mean offenders being jailed for up to three years”. Noting that while some viewed moffies as “figures of a fun, a shrill if somewhat distasteful joke”, and that others “refuse[d] to regard them as harmless and see moffies as a menace to public good and hand-flapping exhibitionists of moral decay” the magazine effectively positioned itself and its readers into one or other of these camps. Asking “What makes our moffies tick?” and “[a]re men moffies from choice or simply because they can't help it?” *Drum* pointed to the “Heartache behind the frills and fun” and emphasised the tragedy of the “truths” it was about to reveal - the “real face of the moffie world.”

Behind the gay and devil-may-care image... lies the heaving anxiety of their hearts to live a full and proper life....By and large... an intelligent group in whom nature, in a flight of fancy, has placed the minds of women into the bodies of men....Socially they are misfits. Normal men find them amusing from a distance but repulsive at close quarters. Normal women, on the other hand, are initially shocked by their feminine behaviour but are sympathetic after personal discussion and close scrutiny of the moffie's predicament.⁵²

And to reinforce readers' perceptions of “moffies” as a desperate bunch was a photograph of a demure Kewpie, eyes downcast, quoted as saying “I'd cut off my right arm to live like a normal woman.” Although *Drum* never directly answered its own question about whether men were “moffies” from choice, it implied that they were not. But this was to be contradicted a few months later in November's episode of the series in sex education that began in June and that ran until the beginning of the

⁵⁰*Drum*, January 1964, p. 42.

⁵¹*Golden City Post*, 5th September 1965, 25th September 1966, 18th June 1967.

⁵²*Drum*, August 1968, p. 21.

following year.⁵³ In terms of providing readers with a manual for urban living, this, and subsequent series, reiterated *Drum*'s basic approach to sexual matters, making very clear what was and what was not acceptable. In November's episode for example the sexual "problems" were identified and explained. In "Sex: the shadows over happiness, problems in childhood and later" homosexuality was the main issue and the term explained thus:

Some people, unfortunately, never outgrow their attachment to others of the same sex. Instead they develop a completely sexual interest in members of their own sex and find it difficult if not impossible to have a sexual relationship with a person of the opposite sex. Such a person is called a homosexual.⁵⁴

The "problem" of homosexuality explained *Drum*, was generally connected to an individual's upbringing. It was single mothers tending to be over protective, who were largely to blame when sons "turned" into homosexuals. And turn they did in *Drum*'s eyes. Although it was only much later on that *Drum* was to spell out its view that "moffies and lesbians, in most cases, were not born that way" (at the same time making explicit its conflation of moffies with all homosexual identities) the idea that homosexual behaviour was forced upon easily moulded youngsters or upon men through the absence of women had long underpinned *Drum*'s representations of "moffies". Implicit in the view of *Drum*'s anonymous doctor, back in 1954 for example, in his argument that the "evil" of homosexuality was connected to the shortage of women, was the idea that it was an active choice: if only there were sufficient women in mines, prisons and towns the "problem" would not exist.

The dangers of homosexual desire, this time conflated with paedophile desire, were displayed for readers yet again in December 1969 when it was revealed that "[t]he sex maniac who slew small boys" had emerged from a "broken" home and had been sexually assaulted by a man when he was 13. Implying that every homosexual male was a potential molestor and murderer of small boys, Noor Achmat was, in *Drum*'s view, "born to hang." "By the time he was 18, Achmat was behind bars, inevitably for sodomy." Despite the love of a good woman, on his release from prison his "perversion had taken an even more sinister twist. Now he was not satisfied with merely slaking his lust for children of his own sex, he had the urge to kill them as well."⁵⁵

According to *Drum* "the life of a homosexual is generally not a happy one" and although "homosexual people can be helped to lead normal lives as ordinary men and women through psychiatric treatment... surgery is quite useless and cannot help a

⁵³*Drum*, April 1968, p. 21. The last in the series was published in January 1969.

⁵⁴This part of the series also endeavoured to emphasise that masturbation "practised however frequently, [was] harmless" and "a natural phenomenon among young people who have no other outlet for their sexual drives." But given the title of the article and the implication that older people should not be so indulgent, readers probably accepted masturbation as a problem for all (*Drum*, November 1968, pp. 9, 10).

⁵⁵*Drum*, December 1969, p. 12.

homosexual to become a normal person".⁵⁶ Having already imbibed *Drum*'s position with regard to homosexual matters, but unable to remain silent, one 16 year old boy apologised in case he annoyed the magazine:

I hope my letter will not annoy you. I am a boy of 16 but I just don't want to be one. Could you give me the name of a specialist whom I could see about a sex change operation? It's too terrible - I am so miserable that I have tried twice already to commit suicide....Please help me.⁵⁷

Dismissing the possibility of a sex change operation, *Drum* advised the youth to "visit Baragwanath Hospital, where the doctors will examine you and determine what sort of treatment you need. In some cases similar to yours, a few sessions with a psychiatrist worked wonders."⁵⁸

Apart from one or two rare exceptions such as the letter quoted above, silences around homosexuality extended to the magazine's problem and correspondence pages too. Certainly early on there was no one, apparently, either in need of advice about (or willing to acknowledge) homosexual desire. The vast bulk of the letters that found their way into print (these will be discussed in more detail in chapter five) consisted of women complaining about single motherhood and unfaithful, unreliable and violent men, or men outraged that women dared refuse their sexual overtures, were unfaithful to them or were intolerant of their other girlfriends.⁵⁹ If some readers simply wanted reassurance that large age or educational differences between themselves and their intended partners were no obstacle to marriage, others took the opportunity to air their worries about marriages and liaisons between different ethnic groups.⁶⁰ But for the most part these letters expressed an understanding of sexual relationships that was premised upon an unconditional acceptance of heterosexual relations between men and multiple female partners as the norm.⁶¹

In contrast, versions of *Drum* that were produced further North apparently contained far more letters about homosexual relationships. "About an eighth of the letters printed...addressed this topic, often inquiring whether or not homosexual relationships were socially or culturally accepted."⁶² Mutongi argues that, in the mid 1960s, there

⁵⁶*Drum*, November 1968, p. 9.

⁵⁷*Drum*, August 1968, p. 48.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*

⁵⁹Although he deals with a later period, Mutongi notes that "at least half" the letters printed by the East, Central and West African *Drum*' also dealt with the issue of premarital sex (K. Mutongi, 'Dear Dolly's Advice: Representations of Youth, Courtship, and Sexualities in Africa, 1960-1980', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 1, 2000, p. 9.

⁶⁰*Drum*, March 1953, p. 44, July 1953, p. 27, August 1953, p. 23, September 1953, p. 28, July 1954, p. 43, December 1953, p. 39. Where religious differences were involved, for example between Muslim and Hindu lovers, *Drum* was more guarded, advising one such aspirant husband to "forget her" (*Drum*, December 1953, p. 39, March 1954, p. 39).

⁶¹E. Hellmann notes that by the mid 1960s polygyny was being replaced "by a system of concubinage and extra-marital liaisons" (E. Hellmann, *Soweto: Johannesburg's African City* (Johannesburg: SAIRR, nd), p. 10).

⁶²K. Mutongi, 'Dear Dolly', p. 16.

was a degree of tolerance of what he defines as “situational” or “temporary” homosexuality in East, West and Central African copies of the magazine, but the moment there was any indication that these relationships might be stable or long term, the response was much more negative, immediately talking of disease and psychiatrists, criminality and social outcasts.⁶³ It could be argued that this increased tolerance was connected to the ending of nationalist struggles, and the establishment of majority rule in these regions and a context in which the future was full of hope. In the absence of a *racialised* struggle for masculinity it may be that a small space briefly opened up in which to articulate other possibilities for manhood.⁶⁴

Back in South African versions of *Drum*, though, such letters and such possibilities were scarce. But while “moffie” remained a derogatory umbrella term to describe all variants of male to male desire, intersexed individuals were conceived of quite differently. If homosexual men, even those who had not selected a drag identity, were presented as dangerous and perverted predators, those who were intersexed were constructed as the hapless victims of their own biology. In a society where one’s gender identity (and thus sexual desire) was directly tied to the possession (and appearance) of specific bodily parts, such individuals had a serious problem, and *Drum* fully understood their despair and their helplessness. The first of these “sexual mix ups” to be reported on was way back in 1959 when John Samson, a farm worker from Carnarvon made *Drum* headlines after Doctors declared him to be a woman.⁶⁵ While Samson himself seemed unperturbed about the matter, *Drum* made more of a fuss, establishing the story as newsworthy. Later on readers were alerted to the “deep sorrow” underlying the “facade of happiness” of similar individuals who were making the best of a bad job. Understandably suicidal, such individuals could be helped to reclaim some semblance of ‘normality’ through surgical interventions. One article told the story of a young man who, after developing breasts in his early twenties, had been found to possess ovaries. His several attempts at suicide were represented by *Drum* as the natural response of a man whose “soul was ripped to shreds with a decision he had to make. He had to become a woman to live. The alternative was death.”⁶⁶

Similarly the “sad tale” of the “sad world” of Taylors Mavundla was brought to the attention of readers - the first and only black intersexed male to be featured in the pages of *Drum* in thirty years of publishing. An Alexandra man who had spent his adult life “masquerading as a woman,” Taylors had been “married by tribal custom” after “Reginald paid R160 lobola to my parents in Natal.” Recording that Taylors had “never had sex with a woman”, nor “the slightest urge to bed with one in [his] entire

⁶³Ibid., pp. 16, 17.

⁶⁴These copies of *Drum* are not (to my knowledge) available in South Africa. It would be an interesting project to explore the relationships between this “opening up” of a discourse around homosexual liaisons, the disintegration of hope with the economic and political crises of the 1970s and 1980s, constructions of masculinities since the 1970s and the virulently homophobic discourse emanating from several African states.

⁶⁵*Drum*, October 1959, p. 28.

⁶⁶*Drum*, August 1969, pp. 6 ff., December 1972, p. 32, August 1974, pp. 12 ff., *Drum*, November 1968, pp. 6 ff.

life” readers were left in no doubt that this was a sorry story indeed.⁶⁷ Early the following year, coloured Capetonian Gertie Williams was presented to readers as “the girl who wants to be a boy”. Described as a “he-baby” and a “twilight darling” hers was “the sensitive suffering of a person who feels misplaced in her sex.”⁶⁸

By the beginning of the 1970s, and having drawn on a long tradition constructing the homosexual as a patriarchal scapegoat, *Drum* had established a powerful discourse of homosexuality (read moffies) as both deviant and “other”.⁶⁹ If intersexed individuals were construed as the hapless victims of their own biology, and if it was unimaginable that a woman might find sexual fulfilment with another woman instead of a man, men who preferred men had been constructed in a much more hostile manner. Men who gave in to such deviant desires were constructed as unfulfilled and potentially dangerous individuals who led lonely lives in women’s clothing on the margins of society. Having established these dramatic images, *Drum* spent the next five years almost entirely silent about homosexual affairs.

The silence between 1970 and October 1976 can probably be attributed in large part to the demolition and forced removals taking place in Cape Town’s District Six which had been the source of most of *Drum*’s stories about “moffies”. It was in December of 1970 that *Drum* had recorded that Eugene Fritz, better known as Kewpie “socialite, ballet dancer, cabaret and strip tease artist” was “brimful of plans and enthusiasm for her new hairdressing salon in Kensington.”⁷⁰ Nearly all of the magazine’s stories about homosexual men had been about cross dressers like Kewpie, men who had lived in District Six, as it was in this cosmopolitan area that “moffies” had lived in relative openness. “Gay dances, drag shows, and Mardi Gras incorporating cross-dressing were part of the Cape flavour in the 1950s and 1960s.”⁷¹ At least one social commentator has argued that District Six had to be demolished precisely because it permitted such goings on. “The mixing of the races was discouraged” says Oswald Mtshali “because it was believed to be a cause of miscegenation. Places like District Six were regarded as breeding grounds for homosexuality. The “moffies” were pilloried and treated with contempt. In the black areas these “outcasts” were rare.”⁷² Whatever the accuracy of Mtshali’s views, the Declaration in 1966 of District Six as a white area under the Group Areas Act signalled the beginning of the end of an era for the “moffies”. As the forced removals gradually dispersed Kewpie and others to a variety of locations around the Cape Flats, as well as changes in the clubs,

⁶⁷*Drum*, November 1968, p. 31.

⁶⁸*Drum*, April 1956, pp. 24, 25. According to Gevisser “[I]esbians, despite being entirely ignored by both the law and the media, experienced far greater pressure to remain closeted and had far fewer public gathering places” (M. Gevisser, ‘A Different Fight for Freedom’ in M. Gevisser & E. Cameron (eds), *Defiant Desire*, p. 19.

⁶⁹J. Tosh, ‘What should Historians do with Masculinity?’, pp. 191, 193, E. Stein, *The Mismeasure*, pp. 3 - 19.

⁷⁰*Drum*, December 1970, p. 51.

⁷¹G. Isaacs and B. McKendrick, *Male Homosexuality in South Africa: Identity Formation, Culture and Crisis* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 93.

⁷²O. Mtshali cited in P. Stein & R. Jacobsen, *Sophiatown Speaks* (Johannesburg: Junction Avenue Press, 1986), p. 16.

hotels and architecture of the foreshore meant that the easy proximity that had facilitated this particular lifestyle came to a gradual end.⁷³

It was only towards the end of 1976 that the Cape Town “moffies” reappeared briefly in *Drum*. But, in the “[g]ay world of the moffee hairdresser”, an article that focused on Kewpie’s Kensington salon, life was revealed to be anything but gay. Identified as a “breed apart”, joined only by that “common bond of loyalty and that special affinity found among comrades in affliction” the moffies were separate “from the true male and true female in the Cape community.” None of “nature’s sex indecisions” as the reporter put it:

are truly happy and most seek escape. Self deception is common with drugs and liquor playing no small part. Ninety per cent would welcome a sex change operation and only today’s prohibitive cost prevents wholesale surgery tomorrow.⁷⁴

A distinction was made between “moffies” and gay men for the first time a few months later in a story about the “moffies” of Johannesburg, but with the collapse of the Cape Town scene, reports about individuals claiming unorthodox sexualities all but vanished from the pages of *Drum*.⁷⁵ Instead, the late - and even the middle 1970s for that matter - saw the magazine focus on the never ending supply of heterosexual contraventions of the Immorality Act.⁷⁶ As with earlier cases deemed newsworthy by *Drum*, and reflecting official statistics across the country, most of these involved white men and black women. If white women were entering into liaisons with black men, there was no record of this in the pages of *Drum*, suggesting that the magazine had little interest in publicising competition between black and white men over white women.⁷⁷ If *Drum* emphasised the disastrous effects of this particular Act, identifying those who had been forced into exile, those imprisoned and listing the suicides, it can probably be forgiven for those occasions when it revelled in exposing the hypocrisy of men like Neville Warrington who “allegedly impregnated three teenage Swazi girls” before standing for election as the HNP candidate - a standard bearer of apartheid - for Randfontein.⁷⁸

⁷³G. Isaacs and B. McKendrick, *Male Homosexuality*, p. 93.

⁷⁴*Drum*, October 1976, pp. 46, 47.

⁷⁵One exception was the publication of a preview of the forthcoming “Moffie Manuscripts” in which “Cape Town’s Moffies trace their ancestry - right back to the days of van Riebeeck” (*Drum*, July 1977, p. 46).

⁷⁶See, for example, *Drum*, 8th September 1974, p. 17, 8th January 1975, p. 6, 22nd February 1975, p. 7, June 1976, p. 12, February 1977, p. 26, March 1977, p. 42, September 1977, p. 48, June 1978, p. 64, July 1978, pp. 18, 43, October 1978, p. 10, November 1978, p. 21, July 1979, p. 36, October 1979, p. 34, January 1980, p. 20, April 1980, p. 67.

⁷⁷See G. Cornwell for a discussion of the ‘Black Perils’, ie the perceived threat of the rape of white women by black men earlier in the century. Cornwell suggests that the “rape threat was essentially a rationalisation of white men’s fear of sexual competition from black men” (G. Cornwell, ‘George Webb Hardy’s The Black Peril and the Social Meaning of ‘Black Peril’ in Early Twentieth-Century South Africa’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 3, 1996, p. 441).

⁷⁸*Drum*, January 1980, p. 20. An earlier story, of the eventual marriage of a “daughter of a judge of the Transvaal Supreme Court [who] fell in love with a man being tried under the Terrorism Act”, mentioned the judge in almost every paragraph (*Drum*, October 1979, p. 34).

The intersections between apartheid, racism and competing masculinities and sexualities, as they were played out in the pages of *Drum*, worked to the disadvantage of those unable to claim allegiance to the dominant heterosexuality. On the one hand, there was *Drum*'s tension filled relationship with the apartheid state, which increasingly endeavoured to restrict what was written and published as part of a much broader attempt to construct and maintain a subordinate black masculinity. Censorship, and the changing efforts by the state to control public discourses, can be read as an increasingly intense aspect of the extreme competition between racially defined (and unequally resourced) rival masculinities. As hooks says "[s]ince competition between males is sanctioned within male-dominated society, from the standpoint of white patriarchy, black masculinity must be kept 'in check.' Black males must be made subordinate in as many cultural arenas as possible."⁷⁹ And given the importance of heterosexuality to twentieth century notions of manhood and masculinity, what better cultural arena than that of sexuality to challenge and resist claims and counterclaims to manhood?

Thus, if apartheid was an ideology and a set of practices that attempted to deny manhood to black men, *Drum*'s resistance to that ideology was premised on demonstrating black men's claim to a manhood, that, like white manhood, was defined through sexual intercourse with women. But this claim, while perhaps understandable and inevitable given the wider socio-historical context of hegemonic heterosexuality and apartheid, also compromised the magazine's claim to speak for all those who had no voice. *Drum*'s representations of 'normal' heterosexual masculinity in opposition to 'deviant', homosexual masculinity was signalled and symbolised through portrayals of coloured men in drag in distant Cape Town. All 'real' (ie heterosexual men), the sub-text read, were created equal and should receive similar treatment in law and society. But while *Drum* fought for the right for black men to be seen as men, offering proof by focusing on their heterosexual affairs, illustrating again and again how "men will be men", it failed to notice even its own subordination of homosexual masculinities in its representation of them as deviant, dangerous and dirty.

Same sex desire in the black community thus remained almost entirely invisible in the pages of *Drum* between 1951 and 1984 when the magazine's ownership changed. In a report with the eye-catching headline "[t]he women who married each other" it was made immediately clear of the black women concerned that "their relationship is not sexual."⁸⁰ And when *Drum* next allowed lesbians onto its pages, fully 10 years later in 1980, it was to point to their whiteness. "Whatever will these *mlungus* do next?" asked the headline. In similar fashion, the stories of black men's sexual affairs with men in the mines and prisons around Johannesburg remained unwritten. Given the absence of women, black men on the mines and in the prisons could be excused - but not condoned - for their affairs with each other, and besides, such "situational"

⁷⁹b. hooks, 'Doing it for Daddy' in M. Berger, B. Wallis & S. Watson (eds), *Constructing Masculinity* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 99.

⁸⁰ *Drum*, November 1970, p. 10.

homosex would disappear if conditions changed: these individuals could all be imagined to be heterosexual at heart. In contrast to the invisibility of black lesbians and gay men, intersexed people of all races were both acknowledged and permitted to speak, with long and detailed reports about their experiences predominantly in their own words.⁸¹ The “twists” in the sexual identities of such individuals had developed through no fault of their own, and once surgically corrected such individuals could be encouraged to take their place as “normal” or “real” men or women in society.

But while intersexed individuals had biology to justify their sexual confusion, gay men and women did not, and, while the former were permitted a voice, the latter were not. Reports about men who laid claim to homosexuality tended to be in the third person, their words mediated by the journalists and sub editors who shaped the final product. Thus the coloured drag queens of Cape Town saw words put into their mouths, words that helped construct them (and condemn them) as outcasts on the very margins of South African society. When *Drum* did write about these kinds of unorthodox sexualities, it did so by representing men who desired men as males who were *not* men, as an exotic spectacle, as “moffies” and as such defined as “sex deviates”, “nature’s jokes” and a “breed apart” - the result of nature’s “flight of fancy.”⁸² Thus, despite its belief in its own efforts to “speak for those who have no voice” and its willingness to provoke the apartheid state, where alternatives to heterosexuality were concerned, the pages of *Drum* were infused with the same kind of homophobic and racialised discourse as that emanating from the white heterosexist racists it elected to challenge. In talking of heterosexuality, though, this study so far has verged on treating it in a manner that risks implying heterosex to be conceived of as an ahistorical and unproblematic monolith emerging out of biology. The next chapter addresses this by exploring the particular construction(s) of heterosexuality established by *Drum* through an interrogation of the magazine’s representations of women and femininity and the intersections of these with a racially defined heterosexual masculinity.

⁸¹See, for example, the stories of Rooks Naidoo (*Drum*, August 1969 pp. 6 ff); Ishara Randall (*Drum*, 8th August 1977, pp. 12 ff); Ronelle Ryland (*Drum*, 8th November 1975, pp. 16 ff). I have only found two stories about intersexed/cross dressing individuals in magazines aimed at white audiences. Both attempt and achieve a larger measure of objectivity in their reporting (*Outspan*, 8th February 1957, pp. 10 ff; *Femina & Woman’s Life*, 15th May 1958, pp. 28 ff).

⁸²*Drum*, January 1959, p. 60, April 1968, p. 21, October 1976, p. 46, February 1977, p. 38. *Drum* also focused almost exclusively on the mainly “coloured” Cape Town scene, ignoring those of Durban or Johannesburg. Whether this was to construct a spatial distance from the magazine and the bulk of its readers, or simply because the Cape Town reporter had better access to such stories than reporters in Johannesburg and Durban, is not known. M. Gevisser notes that although there was an African gay network in the Durban townships, “it was very closed” (M. Gevisser, ‘A Different Fight for Freedom’, in M. Gevisser & E. Cameron (eds), *Defiant Desire*, p. 55).

Heterosexual Masculinity, Femininity and Patriarchy

The establishment of homosexuality as deviant and dangerous in the pages of *Drum* was a process where the interactions between western morality, twentieth century legal and medical discourses and traditional discourses of silence around sexual affairs served to marginalise certain urban and, to a lesser extent rural men, unambiguously helping to construct a hegemonic urban masculinity that was heterosexual. But if heterosexuality was hegemonic, it was not monolithic, and within its confines there were conflicts and tensions around intersections with other identities. In *Drum*'s concerted efforts to "discourage any moral looseness", certain aspects of the relationships between both rural and urban men and between men and women were ignored, disparaged and dismissed, while others were endorsed and applauded.¹ At heart, the magazine represented a collaboration between heterosexual urban men, where the multiple and gendered cultures in which the magazine and the men who made and read it were embedded, were able to find common ground through the privileging of particular heterosexual identities. Grafting a long tradition of a western heterosexism, that, for the most part, worked against women, onto rural practices that privileged men, inequalities in the gendered relationships between urbanising black men and women were established as both normal and normative in the pages of the magazine. Through images of women and other men, the magazine presented a vision of heterosexual urban manhood that was based on youth rather than age or seniority, urban rather than rural values, and predicated on the continuing and often violent subordination of women.

Rural masculinities had been in a state of flux since the early days of colonialism. The construction of colonial and customary law had shifted an earlier balance, and, in privileging black men, had entrenched the subordinate status of black women.² Racist industrialisation, urbanisation and migrant labour had further undermined the checks and balances of rural society, and the prospects of rural boys establishing themselves as full men. "By the 1920s, it took many years of 'boyhood' for a biological man to earn the wherewithal to become a social man (that is, pay *lobola*, acquire a submissive and fertile wife, get land and support a growing family)" while "the chances of

¹*Drum*, April 1955, p. 9.

²K. Mann & R. Roberts, *Law in Colonial Africa* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1991), chapter 1; C. Walker, *Women and Resistance in South Africa* (London: Onyx Press, 1982), p. 7; P. Bonner also writes about the ways black and white men worked together to control women (P. Bonner, 'Desirable or Undesirable Basotho Women? Liquor, Prostitution and the Migration of Basotho Women to the Rand, 1920-1945', in C. Walker (ed.), *Women and Resistance*, pp. 241 - 250.

acquiring... any of these... declined over time.”³ In Mager’s view, a response to similar difficulties facing mid twentieth century rural youths had led some young men to express their manhood through the subordination of women. “[T]o be masculine was to assert male control over females in violent ways, to extract feminine obedience literally through the wielding of sticks.”⁴ In the context of economic hardship, alongside migrancy, urbanisation, the spread of the money economy and the decay in traditional patterns of authority, increasingly marginalised rural patriarchs joined forces with white men in an effort to reassert male controls over women.⁵ Early and mid twentieth century rural life was, it seems, characterised by the legal subordination and, at times, physical demonstration of women’s subordination to men.

If rural masculinity could be expressed through asserting control (violently if need be) over women, there is no reason to suppose urban masculinity would necessarily be expressed differently. Numerous writers have pointed to the ways in which urban women were increasingly able to evade patriarchal controls: the very existence of towns offered women the possibility of redefining their relations with men.⁶ Barnes, for instance, has suggested that it is not an accident that an event cited as the formal turning point towards nationalist struggle in Southern Rhodesia also saw black men attack and rape independent black women in the women’s hostel.⁷ An instance perhaps where, as Warner has put it, “women’s bodies become like letter boxes” in the discourse between men.⁸ If urban women were claiming a degree of autonomy unparalleled in rural areas then perhaps control could only be reasserted through force, and there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that violence was the order of the day in towns.⁹ After all towns were dominated by white men emerging from a western

³Although Epprecht writes of Colonial Zimbabwe, his observations have relevance for the South African experience, as the deepening poverty in rural South Africa has been extensively recorded (M. Epprecht, ‘The ‘Unsayings’ of Indigenous Homosexualities in Zimbabwe: Mapping a Blindspot in an African Masculinity’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, p. 641). See also T. Dunbar Moodie with V. Ndatshe & B. Sibuyi, *Going for Gold: Men, Mines & Migration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); B. Carton, ‘Locusts Fall from the Sky: Manhood and Migrancy in KwaZulu’, in R. Morrell (ed.), *Changing Men in Southern Africa* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2001).

⁴A. Mager, ‘Youth Organisations and the Construction of Masculine Identities in the Ciskei and Transkei, 1945-1960’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1998, p. 663.

⁵P. Mayer & I. Mayer, *Townsmen or Tribesmen* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 232 - 251; P. Bonner, ‘Undesirable’; B. Bozzoli with M. Nkotsoe, *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900-1983* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press), 1991.

⁶P. Mayer & I. Mayer, *Townsmen or Tribesmen*, pp. 232 - 251; P. Bonner, ‘Undesirable’; B. Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng*.

⁷T. Barnes, *We Women Worked So Hard: Gender, Urbanisation and Social Reproduction in Colonial Harare, Zimbabwe, 1930-1956* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1999), p. 145; B. Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng*, p. 107; P. Bonner, ‘Undesirable’.

⁸Warner in M. McWilliams, ‘Violence Against Women in Societies Under Stress’, in R. Emmerson Dobash & R. P. Dobash (eds), *Rethinking Violence Against Women* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1998), pp. 111 - 140.

⁹A number of studies have suggested that some women in cities were able to carve out greater independence for themselves. See, for example, D. Gaitskell, ‘Wailing for Purity’: Prayer Unions,

culture in which a great deal of violence against women had been (and still is) accepted as more or less normal, where “racism, sexism, heterosexism...have been institutionalised in our societies [as] socially regulated acts of violence” that are in many ways invisible.¹⁰

But not all heterosexual black men were equally positioned to claim the newly emerging urban masculinity for themselves. Those heterosexual men, for example, whose occupations could not easily be accommodated into the urban western future, frequently found themselves unmistakably at the butt end of *Drum*'s implicit and explicit social critique. For instance, rural (and even urban) men with high social status such as *sangomas* were described as witchdoctors (an offensive term) and ridiculed in the pages of the magazine. Asking, as *Drum* did, whether “tribal customs and culture [should] be kept”, effectively undermined those religious and cultural leaders (more often than not those in rural areas) who, firstly, upheld such customs and, secondly, owed their social and political status to such customs.¹¹ Promoting sales by encouraging a critique and a defence of “tribal customs” meant that subversive ideas were spread. Simply asking the question “Should Witchdoctors be Banned?” alerted readers to the notion that these custodians of African cosmology and the upholders of ‘tradition’ perhaps belonged in the rural past rather than the urban present and future.

Although at this stage *Drum* seemingly sat on the fence, apparently permitting readers to express their views uninfluenced by the magazine, it published letters that were extremely offensive, and that would almost certainly have ended up in court for slander and libel had they been uttered against specific individuals by journalists

African Mothers and Adolescent Daughters, 1924-1940’, in S. Marks & R. Rathbone (eds), *Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa* (London: Longman, 1982); P. Bonner ‘Undesirable’; P. Bonner, ‘Family, Crime and Political Consciousness on the East Rand, 1939-1955’, in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 1988; C. Burns, “Bantu Gynaecology”: The Science of Women in South Africa, 1920-1956’, Seminar Paper presented at the Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town, May 1996; L. White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

¹⁰M. Kaufman, ‘The Construction of Masculinity and the Triad of Men’s Violence’, in M. Kimmel (ed.), *Changing Men: New Directions in Research on men and Masculinity* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1987), p. 31. Admittedly Kaufman is discussing late twentieth century western society rather than mid twentieth century white South Africa, however his point remains valid. It is striking that what are otherwise in-depth studies of black South African life in the middle of the century make no mention of violence against women. See, for example, P. Mayer & I. Mayer, *Townsmen or Tribesmen*; B. Pauw, *The Second Generation: A Study of the Family Among Urbanised Bantu in East London* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1973). More recent work suggests that violence against women was common in rural areas and that it was linked to patriarchy and paternalism. See G. Kynoch, ‘A Man Among Men’: Gender, Identity and Power in South Africa’s Marashea Gangs’, *Gender & History*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 2001, p. 253; K. Breckenridge, ‘The Allure of Violence: Men, Race and Masculinity on the South African Goldmines’, *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1998, p. 672; A. Mager, ‘Youth Organisations’.

¹¹*Drum*, March 1954, p. 33.

themselves.¹² “It is a racket that often gives patients poisonous roots, and by the time they are taken to hospital it is too late” argued John Tatane, himself a medical doctor. He was backed up by another male reader who declared that “[w]itchdoctors practise a mysterious and suspicious cult. They have been responsible for gruesome ritual murders!”¹³ Two years later, a challenge to all witchdoctors served to further distance the men of the magazine from these un-western practices. Pointing to the gullibility of people who believed claims that witchdoctors could “wither away and burn to ash a man’s arm”, *Drum* declared that “we don’t believe it can be done. We don’t believe it at all and we throw out a challenge to all witchdoctors to wither away Mr *Drum*’s right arm.” And, putting its money alongside its mouth, the magazine promised that “[t]he first person to do it wins £1,000.”¹⁴

It was not simply gay men and traditional leaders who were set up as ‘other’ in the pages of *Drum*. In terms of its elevation of youth and strength, deeds and actions, and its emphasis on the individual’s adaptation to his new urban context, *Drum* further undermined the social position of older men and the patterns of respect for seniority upon which African social structures had long been built.¹⁵ Rural societies had inculcated respect for parents as a “supreme value” and deferred to older people generally, as holders of valuable sources of knowledge, advice and guidance. By the mid twentieth century this was changing, and the urban “juvenile delinquency problem” widely recognised.¹⁶ *Drum* was clearly not responsible for the decay of the traditional rural, patriarchal and gerontocratic order that had been crumbling as a result of conquest, migrancy, urbanisation, the monetisation of lobola and so on since the middle of the previous century, and several writers have pointed to the ensuing generational conflicts between men that had come to characterise urban life.¹⁷ The magazine can be held accountable though, for the ways in which it largely ignored and sometimes demeaned those who had reached old age without making their mark in a

¹²Some of *Drum*’s readers had already taken exception to material published about them (A. Sampson, *Drum*, pp. 105, 112).

¹³*Drum*, September 1954, p. 15.

¹⁴*Drum*, August 1956, p. 45. Mr *Drum*’s mysterious murder less than six months later, in the early hours of the 1st January 1957 must have seemed like retribution to many of the *sangomas* who had been so rudely challenged. But a connection between the challenge and Mr *Drum*’s death was not made, or at least not commented upon, in the magazine. For more disparaging remarks about witchdoctors and witchcraft see *Drum*, March 1977, pp. 14, 15, November 1979, p. 44.

¹⁵ The first edition in contrast explained that it could have picked any number of important people to introduce the magazine, but had decided to select “an ordinary African”, Mr Masangu who was “a sturdy old African Peasant” from Basutoland (*Drum*, March 1951, p. 2).

¹⁶P. Mayer & I. Mayer, *Townsmen or Tribesmen*, p. 94; C. Glaser, *Bo Tsotsi: The Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1935-1976* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2000), p. 20.

¹⁷B. Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng*, p. 237; G. Kynoch, ‘A Man among Men’, p. 260. B. Carton notes that the masculinity of contemporary Zulu youths was considered by rural chiefs to be “devoid of ‘respect’ for patriarchal authority”, B. Carton, ‘Locusts Fall from the Sky’ p. 135; K. Breckenridge, ‘The Allure of Violence’; C. Glaser, *Bo-Tsotsi*; T. Barnes, *We Women Worked So Hard*; T. Dunbar Moodie, *Going for Gold*; A. Mager, ‘Youth Organisations’.

western fashion, and for the manner in which it tended to assign the moral high ground in generational conflicts to youth rather than age.

The emergence of “Germiston’s Bantu Refuge: the house of the forgotten people”, for example, where “hundreds of aged Africans wait to die”, was blamed primarily on the old themselves rather than on the social, economic and political changes taking place in a racist capitalist society. “Imbeciles, epileptics, and perverts bask in the sun, eat, sleep and wait... wait for the blessing of death. They have been forgotten by their relatives and friends.”¹⁸ Although the magazine did acknowledge that some of the men (not women) had ‘respectable’ working pasts, it did not problematise the social changes that gave rise to the need for such a refuge. In many ways the magazine legitimised such changes: when one young woman complained that her future husband would not permit her aged parents to live with them, *Drum* endorsed his position rather than hers.¹⁹

One of the ways in which *Drum* privileged the young, and undermined the authority of parents and elders, was through its advice column. Driver has noted that the magazine

blandly reproduced European and American constructions of gender as part of an overall ideology of romantic love. This was not romantic love in the courtly tradition, but a modern form of romantic love within an ideology of domesticity, aiming for the establishment of a consumer oriented nuclear family, headed by the husband and father and hospitable to female authority in only its most carefully controlled domestic forms.²⁰

One aspect of this notion of ‘romantic love’, but one that Driver does not discuss in detail, is the way in which western notions of romantic love have been built around *individual* choice. In the west (in the recent past at least), companionate marriage has been constructed as a formal arrangement undertaken between two individuals for love. And this was the version disseminated by *Drum*. Despite long traditions of marriage as an institution arranged by, and connecting, families rather than individuals it was marriage between individuals that *Drum* endorsed on the grounds that love was “the most important thing when two people think of getting married.”²¹ Illustrating the concept by placing a couple on the cover, “love” *Drum* declared ahistorically, “is a story of youth all over the world; East, West, North and South.”²² Obliterating the

¹⁸*Drum*, January 1956, p. 31 ff.

¹⁹*Drum*, February 1953, p. 45.

²⁰D. Driver, ‘*Drum Magazine (1951-1959) and the Spatial Configurations of Gender*’, in K. Darian Smith, L. Gunner & S. Nuttal (eds), *Text, Theory, Space: Land, Literature and History in South Africa and Australia* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 233.

²¹P. Mayer & I. Mayer, *Townsmen or Tribesmen*, pp. 97, 98; *Drum*, March 1953, p. 45. See also *Drum*, October 1953, p. 25. *Drum* advised that “Wealth has never been the best basis for marriage, except where it is acquired by the couple after marriage” (*Drum*, July 1954, p. 43).

²²‘The Joy of Love’ was a photo-article that lauded individual choice as natural, right and inevitable (*Drum*, November 1955, pp. 40 ff).

historical legacy of cultural, religious, ethnic or any other social factors, along with familial and parental participation in the conjoining of couples, *Drum* made its position apparent. If parents had other ideas then they needed to rethink them because if “you’re over 21 [you] no longer need your parents’ consent to marry. But, for courtesy’s sake ... have another talk with them”.²³ “Nothing can stop you from getting married if you are both over 21”.²⁴ “If [your mother’s] reasons are not good enough and you are sure that this girl will make you happy, by all means marry her.”²⁵ As time went on, the advice became more forthright still. “You should not allow your mother to thwart your future happiness” one young man was warned, whilst another was told that “If you are in love with her nothing should stop you from marrying her.”²⁶ A man who wanted to marry the mother of his child against his parents wishes was bluntly instructed to “tell your parents not to interfere. At 25 you are old enough to decide who you are going to marry and they can’t force you into any other arrangement.... [a]s you are both in love there is every reason for you to go ahead with your plans.”²⁷ Yet another young man was advised that “[i]t is up to you to choose your wife. Don’t allow your parents to make up your mind for you.”²⁸ In its response to yet another letter, *Drum* informed a young woman that

Your guy’s parents are being very old-fashioned and behind-the-times to want to get him married to someone he doesn’t love. Stick to your guy - you love each other and have every right to marry. He should make it clear to his parents that he will not allow them to bully him into marrying the girl they have chosen, but that he is going to marry you.²⁹

Instead of attributing “supreme value” to the words and advice of their fathers and mothers, *Drum* actively encouraged young men and women to defy both their traditions as well as their “unreasonable” parents when it came to matters of the heart.³⁰ With blatant disregard for traditional practices and the role of parents and family members in arranging marriages, *Drum* confirmed romantic love as the rightful inheritance of the young. After all “[t]imes change and customs change with them so

²³ *Drum*, May 1953, p. 27.

²⁴ *Drum*, August 1954, p. 37.

²⁵ *Drum*, October 1952, p. 43.

²⁶ *Drum*, September 1970, p. 6. A correspondent who complained about the difficulties of marriage between Tamils, Muslims, Hindus, Gujeratis and Telegus advocated that they elope. *Drum* agreed: “Quite right, who has a right to put up barriers between lovers?” (*Drum*, September 1970, p. 4). Three years later the magazine had even begun advising couples whose marriage had been arranged to split up if they were not happy: “If you can’t put the other man out of your mind then you should leave your husband for him.... A forced marriage is seldom a happy one, so you had better end it while you are still young enough to find happiness with your lover” (*Drum*, 8th October 1973, p. 37).

²⁷ *Drum*, 8th November, 1973, p. 30.

²⁸ *Drum*, 22nd November, 1973 p. 31.

²⁹ *Drum*, July 1976, p. 55.

³⁰ See, for example, *Drum*, 22nd May 1974, pp. 47, 48, 50, 22nd July 1974 p. 42, 22nd November 1975, p. 53, 22nd December 1975 pp. 28, 29, July 1976, p. 55, August 1976, p. 71, June 1978, p. 79, June 1979, p. 69.

don't worry too much about what others in the family expect you to do.”³¹ In a context where patriarchal and gerontocratic structures of authority were already seriously undermined by migrancy and the spread of the money economy, this served to destabilise further the influence and authority of old men over young, elevating the latter and legitimising the position of those who claimed ‘modern’ values. *Drum* was effectively affirming a dominant urban masculinity that was characterised by youthfulness rather than seniority.

Similarly in the past, affluent and usually older men, those with high social status and the cattle to prove it, had been able to demonstrate their position in the world by taking a second or even a third wife. But by the mid 1960s, “[p]olygyny [was] of negligible incidence in Soweto”. Instead it was being replaced “by a system of concubinage and extra marital liaisons.”³² Polygyny was something that *Drum* appeared to disapprove of strongly, although this disapproval was frequently couched in ambiguity, thus resonating with the double standards of the west. One was *supposed* to disapprove of men with multiple wives, and, in its advice columns, *Drum* made its disapproval quite clear. “No decent man would fall in love with two friends” stated Dolly in the heartbreaks column. “And you cannot share friendship and at the same time share a man.”³³ When another man asked how to get his mistress and the mother of his only child to live with his barren wife of 14 years because he loved both women he was chastised for being “silly” and told he “should be ashamed of [himself].... you cannot have two wives.”³⁴ A man who had three children with one woman, and who had paid half lobola for her was written off as a “dirty trickster”, as “being very silly indeed” when, in line with traditional practices and the demands of his family, he took on his dead brother’s wife and asked the mother of his children to become his second wife. “Forget him - fast” instructed *Drum*.³⁵

But while the magazine spoke out bluntly against the practice of polygamy in its problem pages, there tended to be much more ambiguity in its approach towards polygamous marriages and polygamous men in articles and stories.³⁶ Men who took multiple wives were the subject of numerous texts over the years, texts which tended to express more divided ideas about polygamy than the straightforward disapproval running concurrently in the advice columns. For instance in 1955, in another of its

³¹*Drum*, 22nd March 1975, p. 22.

³²In the mid 1960s a survey of Soweto revealed that less than 2 per cent (3 of 151) of marriages were polygynous, and that “in no case was more than one wife present” (E. Hellman, *Soweto: Johannesburg's African City* (SAIRR: Johannesburg, nd), p. 10).

³³*Drum*, March 1954, p. 39. See also *Drum*, July 1954, p. 43.

³⁴*Drum*, August 1954, p. 37.

³⁵*Drum*, December 1964, p. 65.

³⁶At least two correspondents argued that in their view polygamy was “natural.” “Man is a polygamous animal and any attempt to change him is against nature” claimed one, while another cited the existence of illegitimate children as proof of his view that polygamy was “ordained by nature” (*Drum*, September 1955, p. 33, December 1955, p. 69). See also *Drum*, July 1976, p. 10, August 1977, p. 65, June 1979, p. 62, October 1979, p. 37, March 1980, p. 28.

parliaments, *Drum* asked whether polygamy (like witchdoctors) should be banned, opening up space for the views of both supporters and detractors. Later on, while recounting disastrous tales of multiple marriages, bitter and resentful wives and ex-wives, the last word was given to a trio who had apparently found true happiness. Giving the lie to what had been written earlier, Ismail Khan claimed that “I could not hope for a happier home with two wives I love.” His wives agreed, with the first one, Haffiza, arguing that “We get along like sisters and both of us will do everything we can to make our husband happy.” Amina, wife number two, the magazine reported to be very happy with “a nice home, a husband who is fair in his affection, and his children whom I treat as my own. Haffiza is the finest woman in the world. We have a close attachment to one another and see nothing wrong in our relationship.”³⁷

Despite articles such as these that seemed to articulate a wistful yearning for the possibilities offered by polygamy, there continued to be nothing ambiguous about the instructions to take only one wife that appeared in the advice columns. Writing to argue *against* the magazine’s proposition that “you can’t love two girls equally at the same time” one reader explained that “to get all the qualities he desires a man has to collect about three girls. This is why it is still possible to love these three girls equally and at the same time.”³⁸ Responding in capital letters, the textual equivalent of shouting, the magazine refused to accept this justification, and continued to advise its respondents against taking second wives, instructing them to get divorced before remarrying.³⁹ A woman who hoped to become a fifth wife was warned that she would find little to tempt her as number five, while another was advised to “[t]hink carefully before marrying him. Being a second wife can often lead to unhappiness.”⁴⁰

Male readers must have sensed the ambiguity associated with multiple wives, recognising that many women (and *Drum*) did not necessarily approve.⁴¹ But given that a very effective way of proving one’s manhood to other men in an urbanising and westernising society was to be seen to have sexual intercourse with women on a regular basis, it could be argued that in the towns - where other symbols signalling masculine achievement or identity were denied by poverty and racism - polygyny was primarily about proving one’s masculinity to other men.⁴² Despite *Drum*’s warnings that only one wife was permitted, *some* men clearly took more, and at least some of these seemed, according to *Drum*, to be successful relationships.

Of more concern to most readers though, was the behaviour (rather than the quantity) of their sexual partner(s). In letters to Dolly, the problems articulated by both male and

³⁷*Drum*, June 1968, p. 42.

³⁸*Drum*, March 1971, p. 4.

³⁹*Drum*, June 1976, p. 55.

⁴⁰*Drum*, 8th October 1973, p. 37, November 1980, p. 116.

⁴¹In 1974 for instance there was a major outcry from wives when *Drum* revealed that the all-male Joint Advisory Boards of Atteridgeville and Mamelodi had asked that men “may be permitted to register more than one wife” per house in the townships (*Drum*, 8th October 1974, pp. 6 ff).

⁴²T. Wilton, discussion at the African Gender Institute, University of Cape Town, April 2001.

female correspondents were, unsurprisingly, quite closely linked, revolving for the most part around the activities and conduct of the opposite sex. Although it was mostly men who claimed to have several partners, there were a few women who talked of more than one boyfriend.⁴³ Female correspondents generally complained about unfaithful men and men who had multiple partners, and *Drum* consistently instructed them to dump men who had other lovers. "If you are quite sure that he has another lover, then he's not worth your love. Forget him!"⁴⁴ On the other hand, *Drum* had little time or sympathy for men who asked for help in resolving the tensions associated with having several lovers. "Don't be ridiculous, young man"⁴⁵ "It's ridiculous for a young man like you to talk about three girls at a time."⁴⁶ "I'm 21 and have been making love to four different girls.... How can I make them realise I'm serious?" "Do you think you are being serious?" asked *Drum* in apparent disbelief.⁴⁷

Drum consistently espoused monogamous heterosexual marriages, and single partner relationships in its problem pages, adjuring men, and sometimes women, to cleave to one partner at a time. But even so the asymmetrical sexual norms of the west seemed to have meshed relatively easily with traditional rural constructions of gender in which men were permitted multiple sexual partners through, for example, polygamous marriages, while women were not. Although husbands, for instance, were advised *not* to have affairs, wives were instructed, at least early on, to forgive and forget when their husbands strayed. While single men who claimed to have more than one partner were ridiculed in the advice columns, and single women were often advised to dump men who saw other women, women (but seldom men) were also often advised to give these men a chance, to wait and see if their behaviour improved. "You will either have to accept his needs or accept his other girlfriends.... You could take the attitude that life is a gamble and you might as well give him a chance."⁴⁸

There were other ways, too, in which the unequal expectations of men and women with regard to sexual affairs were manifested in the pages of *Drum*, both by readers and by the producers of the magazine. For the problems facing *Drum*'s male correspondents were not simply about resolving the conflicts between their multiple female partners. For single men, and sometimes even married men, a major difficulty

⁴³For women acknowledging more than one boyfriend, or men complaining that women saw other men see *Drum*, August 1953, p. 23, November 1953, p. 32, February 1954, p. 39, May 1954, p. 45, August 1954, p. 37.

⁴⁴See, for example, *Drum*, September 1953, p. 28, October 1953, p. 25, February 1954, p. 39, March 1954, p. 39, June 1954, p. 43, July 1954, p. 43.

⁴⁵*Drum*, January 1954, p. 39.

⁴⁶*Drum*, June 1953, p. 29, January 1954, p. 39, March 1954, p. 39, May 1954, p. 45, June 1954, p. 43, July 1954, p. 43, August 1954, p. 37.

⁴⁷*Drum*, August 1954, p. 37.

⁴⁸*Drum*, 8th October 1973, p. 35. See also *Drum*, July 1953, pp. 27, 43, October 1953, p. 25, January 1954, p. 39, May 1954, p. 45, June 1954, p. 43, November 1958, p. 11, December 1964, p. 64. It was only really in the middle of the 1970s that *Drum* had begun advising some wives to divorce men who were having *obvious* affairs. See, for example, *Drum*, 22nd May 1974, p. 47.

seemed to be how to persuade reluctant girlfriends to have sexual intercourse with them. If your girlfriend won't have sex, said *Drum*, then "[y]ou must find out why she is reluctant. If she is afraid of falling pregnant, you can send her to a Family Planning Clinic for advice on contraception. If she is scared, you will have to woo her patiently." But finally, if she continues to deny your advances, then "you will have to find another girlfriend", one who, presumably, would be more willing to provide sexual services.⁴⁹

Despite the construction outlined above, it was women's responsibility to ensure they remained pure until marriage. "Getting into trouble", as *Drum* put it, was represented as a disaster for women, despite evidence suggesting that for black societies such a pregnancy did not carry the same weight of public opprobrium it did in the western world. "It will only cause sorrow to you and your family if you get into trouble" warned the magazine in 1952.⁵⁰ It really was "awful" lamented one male reader "to see so many fatherless children today because their mothers could not control themselves."⁵¹ Women - good women, that is - were imagined to be capable of living without sexual relationships. If they did choose to engage in a sexual relationship (and the letters in the problem pages suggest that there was not a great deal of choice involved) they needed to take full responsibility for that choice and to accept that, in some way, they had removed themselves from the pedestal.⁵² In 1955, for example, *Drum* published a short story about a woman who had lost her virginity to a man she had known since she was a child. Plans had been put in place to marry and finally she 'gave in' to his demands. Later, though, she feared herself to be pregnant, and it was at this point she realised her fiancé did not trust her and so broke off the engagement. As readers, we are privy to her thoughts several years later on the day of her wedding to another man - her true love - and how the day is overshadowed by the mourning for her lost virginity and the "appalling knowledge" that she will have to keep its loss secret for the rest of her life.⁵³

⁴⁹*Drum*, 8th December 1972, p. 32.

⁵⁰*Drum*, August 1952, p. 43, May 1953, p. 27, September 1953, p. 28, October 1953, p. 25, May 1954, p. 45, August 1954, p. 37. Mager notes that 65% of the recorded births in East London in 1946 were illegitimate and that this "generated an atmosphere of 'moral panic' among parents and government authorities" (A. Mager, 'Youth Organisations', p. 663). Other studies suggest that "culture, and specifically, tradition, couched in terms of 'custom', provide a recognised way of dealing with the domestic crisis precipitated by the pregnancy. Because people know what 'should' be done, the crisis is not only made manageable, but its potentially disruptive aspects are lessened" and "In the location ... the unmarried mother is not ostracised and scorned and continues her social activities in the normal way" (E. Preston-Whyte & M. Zondi, 'African Teenage Pregnancy: Whose Problem?', in S. Burman & E. Preston-Whyte (eds), *Questionable Issue: Illegitimacy in South Africa* (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1992) p. 230; S. Burman & P. Van der Spuy, 'The Illegitimate and the Illegal in a South African City: The Effects of Apartheid on Births out of Wedlock', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 29, No. 3, 1996, p. 626).

⁵¹*Drum*, 22nd September 1973, p. 62.

⁵²Mager suggests that the middle of the century saw officialdom hold women to blame for premarital pregnancies (A. Mager, 'Youth Organisations', p. 662).

⁵³Christiana Sere, 'Who's to know?', *Drum*, June 1955, p. 50 ff. Driver notes that many of the short

There were many instances where *Drum* articulated its, or its readers' views that what was appropriate for men was not appropriate for women. The institution of *thwala* marriages where young women could be kidnapped by a suitor and kept until both families agreed to the match was much more common in rural than in urban areas. An urban version of *thwala*-style abduction which did not end in marriage seems to have been called 'skepping' in towns. But this still entailed the abduction of women by men, and as such seemed to be entirely acceptable and unremarkable to the men of *Drum* and, apparently, urban men in general. When a man was 'skepped' however, as happened in the mid 1950s, it was an entirely different story, one worthy of note and cause for some alarm:

[T]he practice of sweeping a girl away for the night is called 'skep'. But it seems the girls in Sophiatown are going out of hand. The other day a girl in that township lured a prominent citizen into her room and for 24 hours kept him under lock and key, all to her self....to be 'skepped' by a girl for 24 hours is quite staggering. Are we safe anymore? ⁵⁴

The double standards associated with western gender regimes manifested themselves in other ways too. Men, it was imagined, *required* heterosexual intercourse to remain healthy in mind and body. "I have always had sex with a lot of girls," wrote M.W. from Brakpan, "[b]ut now I want to change my life and go without sex until I marry, in about eight years time. My friends say I will get sick or go mad. Is this true?" No, said *Drum*:

You won't get sick or go mad but you probably will be tense or irritable because you will have no outlet for your sexual needs. Why have you decided to do this? It sounds as if you are going from one unwise extreme to another. Can't you find

stories appearing under women's signatures in the 1950s "under the names Rita Sefora, Joan Mokwena and Doris Sello, were in fact not written by women." Although it does not prove that Christiana Sere wrote this story it would appear that she was a real person, as a photograph of her appeared in *Drum* the following month (D. Driver, 'Drum Magazine', p. 236); *Drum*, July 1955, p. 6.

⁵⁴*Drum*, September 1955, p. 15. Much later on, women's increased access to paid employment was blamed for the breakdown of Indian families. According to Mr. J.B. Patel, "[O]ur women can be said to be passing through a phase of emancipation and as such are no longer confined to the household. The opportunity to mix and work with men is leading to a breakdown in moral standards, for we know of the many extra-marital relationships that are resulting from industrial employment." Patel's secretary, Ismail Limbada, elaborated on the problem, painting a picture of men as helpless in the face of rampant women. "The younger girls are going for older men.... As for the married women, they go for their bosses.... Very seldom does a married woman go for a younger man. She will go for a man older even than her husband" (*Drum*, 22nd February 1976, p. 22). Certainly there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that urban life did offer possibilities for women to redefine gender relationships. See D. Gaitskell, 'Wailing'; P. Bonner, 'Undesirable'.

yourself a decent girlfriend?... I wouldn't advise eight years without sex unless there are very important psychological reasons for it."⁵⁵

In contrast, women who declared their unwillingness to have heterosexual intercourse or to marry, were unlikely to become tense or irritable, or to be described as going to extremes. Instead, they were merely advised that they would "probably be happier with a man", presumably, because a man would be able to supply them with children, although *Drum* did not make this connection explicit.⁵⁶ And not only were women unlikely to risk their psychological health by abstaining from sexual intercourse, *Drum* was even able to find reasons why they *should* abstain from such intercourse: "Not having sex now will not harm you in any way when you are married. It will even make your husband love and respect you the more and he will be proud of you."⁵⁷ Which of course explained why it was "usual for most girls to pretend that they are virgins when they come across men for the first time."⁵⁸ Even *Lady Drum*, "the women's pages with men in mind" bought into the double standards operating on the sexual playing fields. Explaining that both men *and* women with religious upbringings were sometimes reluctant to consent to sex before marriage, the magazine gave itself away when it went on to argue that "just because your partner refuses to sleep with you, it certainly doesn't mean she doesn't love you."⁵⁹

The ambiguities surrounding sexual affairs and gendered relationships were strongly reflected in *Drum's* attempts to educate its readers with regard to sex and biology, and drew heavily on a "transatlantic and colonial academic community" that had joined the biases of western medicine to local racist prejudices.⁶⁰ Over the years, the magazine had received, published and responded to a variety of letters displaying ignorance of both human biology and human sexuality. Providing examples where one reader had asked for confirmation that intercourse during the month of September led to male babies, where another had asked whether pregnancy could result from a hand on the breast, and another wanted to know how long a pregnancy lasted, *Drum* argued that the need to provide education was urgent.⁶¹ Astonished by the "lack of knowledge about love and sex", and receiving letters where "one can sense the agony, the heartbreak, the uncertainty and the tears that went into the writing", *Drum* determined to address the issues in its pages.⁶² But, inevitably, each of the series that followed the

⁵⁵*Drum*, 8th April 1974, p. 30. See also *Drum*, 22nd July 1974, p. 42.

⁵⁶*Drum*, 8th September 1973, p. 35, 22nd September 1973, p. 62.

⁵⁷*Drum*, September 1977, p. 87. See also *Drum*, July 1974, p. 41. The obverse of the notion that a woman could say no before marriage was that she could not say no after marriage.

⁵⁸*Drum*, April 1979, p. 89.

⁵⁹*Drum*, May 1980, p. 93.

⁶⁰C. Burns, 'Bantu Gynaecology', p. 7.

⁶¹*Drum*, June 1968, p. 17.

⁶²*Ibid.* Despite *Drum's* efforts to educate, readers continued to write in with queries. "My wife was pregnant for one month when she went to a doctor who gave her an injection and pills for an abortion against my will", wrote one concerned correspondent. "I have three questions: Can I have sex with her? Can she fall pregnant again? Shall I die or be sick?" (*Drum*, 8th December 1972, p. 32). Another young

first one in the late 1960s was built upon unwritten and unarticulated assumptions that relied heavily on western constructions of gender and affirmed the authority of western science. Such series tended, in different ways, to reinforce and confirm existing inequalities, privileging male sexuality as energetic, active and driven in contrast to women's sexuality which was constructed as passive, quiescent and reproductive.

"The Simplicity of Sex" was the title of the first series published by *Drum*. July 1968 saw the publication of Part One of this, supposedly, eight part series put together by Juby Mayet.⁶³ In one sense, the series broke new ground, talking freely of clitorises and penises in a manner that was unprecedented in other South African magazines. But, in another sense, the articles served to reinforce existing assumptions around sex and gender through, for example, the use of the unequal terms "man" and "wife". Right from the beginning it was also made clear that the female sexual system was "planned in such an ingenious way that it can unite perfectly with that of a man." In listing the various parts of a woman's body, the vagina - the source of men's sexual pleasure - was first, and the clitoris last. In contrast, the list of parts of the male sexual system, which was not noted for the ingenious way it had been made to unite with a woman's body, started with the penis and ended with the urethra.⁶⁴ The text explained in detail the biological processes of puberty, menstruation and menopause for women, and the not quite equivalent processes of puberty and erections for men.

Part Two of the series, in August, explained that:

Before sexual intercourse, the two people concerned indulge in "love play" - speaking their love for each other as they kiss, embrace and caress. During this "love play" the woman becomes mentally and physically ready for the act. The man has an erection - this, as we described last month, means that his penis has become firm and hard. The penis enters the vagina easily when the woman is ready.⁶⁵

While the biological processes concerning men's preparation for intercourse had been described in detail the previous month, those for women had not and were not.

man had a "problem which worr[ied] me day and night. When I am sleeping I sometimes have sperms coming out" (*Drum*, 22nd October 1973, p. 35). "I am 17 and in love with a guy of 20", wrote a young woman. "He wants me to have sex every day. I become unconscious after sex for three hours. He says this means I am too young. Is it natural to faint after sex or is it because I am too young?" (*Drum*, 22nd October 1973, p. 35). Several individuals reported that "my friends tell me that if I don't [have sexual intercourse] I will become ill. Is this true?" (*Drum*, September 1978, p. 79). "Some student friends have told me that if I don't have sexual intercourse with my boyfriend I will be sick. Do you think they are telling the truth?" (*Drum*, June 1979, p. 68).

⁶³Part Two appeared in August 1968 and Part Six in November, so somewhere along the line one Part disappeared.

⁶⁴*Drum*, July 1968, pp. 14 ff.

⁶⁵*Drum*, August 1968, p. 7.

Women simply “became ready.” The text moved on to describe how “sperm cells gather round the ovum and attack it until it weakens sufficiently at one spot to allow a single sperm cell to penetrate it”, before outlining the growth of a baby from conception to birth. “Bringing a new person into the world is a woman’s privilege - and most wonderful achievement. Nothing can compare with the fulfilment it gives.”⁶⁶ For readers the message was clear: male fulfilment came from heterosexual intercourse, female fulfilment came from giving birth.

The next episode of the series dealt with birth control, providing “a survey of the various methods of family planning” as well as the “problem of abortion.” Flying in the face of a great deal of evidence from its own problem pages suggesting that women had very little autonomy when it came to sex, *Drum* declared it to be “quite clear that ... no woman needs to fall pregnant unless she wants a baby.” Despite a relatively sympathetic discussion of abortion that acknowledged the debates about its morality, the article ended by emphasising that it was illegal. And besides “what woman would want to go through the mental and physical agony of having an abortion when she can easily take steps not to become pregnant?”⁶⁷ Moving on to account for the “abnormality” of homosexuality, and the problems of impotence and frigidity in October, the series explained that men were largely responsible for the latter. Experienced grooms, *Drum* explained, were the ones to introduce virgin brides to the sexual responses of their own bodies, and the rewards for making this introduction accrued largely to him rather than her:

Since a woman generally looks forward to her first sex experience with joyful expectation tinged with a certain degree of apprehension it is up to the husband to try to fulfil her joy and remove her fear. Many rewards lie in store for the husband who can successfully guide his bride through her first intimate contact with a man in a patient, gentle and loving fashion.⁶⁸

The following month, the mutually unequal obligations between man and wife in regard to sex were made clearer still. “It is with the man that the greater responsibility lies for establishing an harmonious relationship with his wife where sex is concerned” and to this end “the husband should do his best to try to learn all he can about how best to satisfy his wife sexually.... He will learn exactly what do to arouse her to the

⁶⁶Ibid. See E. Martin for a discussion of the language used around conception (E. Martin, ‘The Egg and the Sperm: How Science has Constructed a Romance Based on Stereotypical Male-Female Roles’, *Signs*, Vol. 16, No. 3, 1991). According to Fausto-Sterling, “[a]lthough based on evidence, scientific writing can be seen as a particular kind of cultural interpretation - the enculturated scientist interprets nature. In the process, he or she also uses that interpretation to reinforce old or build new sets of social beliefs. Thus scientific work contributes to the construction of masculinity, and masculine constructs are among the building blocks for particular kinds of scientific knowledge”(A. Fausto Sterling, ‘How to Build a Man’, in M. Berger, B. Wallis & S. Watson (eds), *Constructing Masculinity* (New York: Routledge 1995), p. 133).

⁶⁷*Drum*, September 1968, pp. 8, 11.

⁶⁸*Drum*, October 1968, pp. 9, 11.

right pitch for a successful act of intercourse.” She meanwhile should “learn how to respond to his kisses and caresses and what to do to please him most.” But despite being “usually the less active partner in the sexual relationship,” with men “traditionally the pursuer and the woman pursued”, a woman still had an important role to play in terms of making “herself sexually attractive to her husband” through keeping clean. “[N]othing can kill a romance or desire as quickly as unpleasant body odours, dirty underwear or other indications of a lack of bodily hygiene. In this respect women especially must take great care never to neglect their personal daintiness and freshness.”⁶⁹ Constructed as agents by the magazine, men were meant to act in pursuit of their own pleasure, in contrast to women whose main task was to keep themselves clean, whose sexuality was established as passive, and whose role was merely to facilitate men’s sexual fulfilment.

These constructions underpinned *Drum*’s approach to sex, gender and matters of the heart, and informed much, if not all, of its discourse. The popularity of this series can only be guessed at, but the publication of another series starting later on in November of the same year - which, amongst other things, informed readers that a woman became “stimulated by the physical sight of her husband”, while men became aroused by the sight of women - and yet another series in 1974 suggests that the material had a positive impact on sales.⁷⁰ This last series “specially written for *Drum* by a qualified woman doctor”, continued to draw on an authoritative scientific and western medical discourse that bolstered the conceptualisation of women as passive, their bodies constructed as objects for men’s consumption and pleasure rather than for their own. It was women after all, rather than men, who had to “learn to be naked in his company”, and who were expected to place themselves on display for a husband’s gaze. No matter how reluctant she was at first “[i]n time, she will find that undressing while he watches her can be stimulating for them both, and also that being undressed by him is stimulating.”⁷¹ The following month’s article - marketed as “advice to men on how to satisfy their partners” focused almost exclusively on men on the grounds that as “the dominant partner in sexual intercourse, any difficulties he has affect not only his own pleasure but his wife’s.” In three quarters of a page of text ostensibly about the sexual satisfaction of women just one sentence is devoted to the production of a woman’s sexual fulfilment. And even here there was ambiguity, it almost seeming that men could have their wives’ orgasms for them: For if a wife had not experienced orgasm after a man had ejaculated “[h]er husband could achieve this for her by stimulating her clitoris.”⁷² Women and women’s bodies only became the primary focus in this series when the topics under discussion were those of fertility and infertility.⁷³

⁶⁹*Drum*, November 1968, p. 37.

⁷⁰*Drum*, July 1970, p. 19. This series began in November 1969. See also the editions following that of 22nd November 1974, for another series.

⁷¹*Drum*, 22nd December 1974, p. 39.

⁷²*Drum*, 8th January 1975, p. 45.

⁷³*Drum*, 22nd February 1975, p. 37.

If heterosex was imagined as pleasure for men and duty for women through these kinds of discourses, it was also constructed as something men were *entitled* to. It is clear from the letters pages of *Drum* that when women had the temerity to deny their partners sexual favours, many men felt the solution to be a simple recourse to brute force. Several men, for example, wrote to the magazine requesting affirmation for the robust measures they felt they had no choice but to employ.⁷⁴ “I love my bird but I have to force her to have sex with me and this is the same as rape. I am short-tempered about it and wonder if I should give her up for someone who will not be so difficult to have sex with” complained one correspondent in the early 1970s.⁷⁵ “Her parents have given me permission to marry her. Do you think I should force her to have sex with me, or would that be wrong?” asked another at the beginning of 1976.⁷⁶ “Shall I force her to bed or leave her?” asked another two years later.⁷⁷

Many men, on the other hand, did not feel the need to turn to *Drum* for advice about how best to obtain sexual partners, as the endless letters from battered and abused women made clear. “He shouts at me when I refuse him” reported one woman.⁷⁸ Another complained that “[e]very time we meet, he wants sex.... When I refuse, he becomes angry”.⁷⁹ “I don’t love him any more and when I tell him this, he beats me” recorded yet another reader.⁸⁰ “I can’t get rid of my boyfriend because he refuses to leave me. I’ve told him I that I don’t love him, but this makes no difference.... He forces me to make love to him.”⁸¹ “When my boyfriend demands sex and I refuse, he smacks me around and forces me. I don’t enjoy this forced sex, and I’m so afraid when he comes round that I tremble from head to foot.”⁸² “The problem is that every so often he beats me up.”⁸³

Drum clearly did not approve of this violence, warning men time and time again that beatings were not the answer, arguing that force would never produce a satisfactory bed partner, and that slow and gentle seduction was a better approach. But the advice it gave to the recipients of these beatings constructed *women’s* behaviour rather than men’s as the problem, accepting men’s entitlement to sex, as well as refusing to see the violence as an indication of a much more widespread social ill.⁸⁴ “Is your girl

⁷⁴Bozzoli has recorded women’s stories of violence in the urban townships around Johannesburg (B. Bozzoli, *Women of Phokeng*, chap 7).

⁷⁵*Drum*, 8th September 1973, p. 28, 8th October 1973, p. 35.

⁷⁶*Drum*, February 1976, p. 21.

⁷⁷*Drum*, March 1978, p. 71.

⁷⁸*Drum*, September 1976, p. 7.

⁷⁹*Drum*, June 1976, p. 55.

⁸⁰*Drum*, July 1976, p. 55.

⁸¹*Drum*, February 1977, p. 63.

⁸²*Drum*, March 1977, p. 79.

⁸³*Drum*, May 1977, p. 35, February 1977, p. 63.

⁸⁴See L. Kelly & J. Radford, ‘Nothing Really Happened’, in M. Hester, L. Kelly & J. Radford (eds), *Women, Violence and Male Power: Feminist Activism, Research and Practice* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1997), for a discussion of the ways in which women’s experiences of violence are invalidated.

upset when you force her?" asked *Drum*, in all seriousness, of a correspondent who admitted to forcing his girlfriend to have sex. "If she is, you are harming your relationship", the magazine warned, going on to instruct the young man to "be patient with her problems."⁸⁵ "Our boys hang round shops, cafes in the evenings" cautioned another correspondent, and "loiter round the streets and wait for innocent girls to come by whom they'll rape in turns. They seem to be proud to be tsotsis and are even happier when their names appear in the papers while they are appearing before the courts.... Please guys stop it." "Surely you're being too harsh" stated *Drum*, ignoring the issue of rape altogether. "There are many wild youngsters but the majority are honest guys."⁸⁶ "What you must try to understand is that men are by nature more easily aroused sexually" was the recommendation made to one woman whose boyfriend became angry when she denied him intercourse, while another was urged not to take her lover's verbal abuse too seriously.⁸⁷ A woman who complained that her boyfriend forced her to make love to him was helpfully advised to "ask your minister to speak to him. It can be done gently, without causing trouble."⁸⁸ Yet another victim of violence was advised to "try speaking to a social worker or a minister of religion. It would be a good thing if you could take your boyfriend along with you so they could try and put some sense into his head."⁸⁹

It is this kind of discourse, in which women's experiences of violence are consistently and repeatedly invalidated and denied, that has been the subject of much feminist theorising. As Kelly and Radford have observed, violence against women, sexual harassment and child sexual abuse undoubtedly existed in the past, they simply (or not so simply) lacked social definitions. "Names" they note, "provide social definitions, make visible what is invisible, define as unacceptable what was accepted; make sayable what was unspeakable."⁹⁰ As Crenshaw notes it is only recently that "battering and rape, once seen as private (family matters) and aberrational (errant sexual aggression), are now largely recognised as part of a broad-scale system of domination that affects women as a class."⁹¹ In effect, *Drum* recognised that women were not being treated 'properly' but constructed this violence very differently to the way it constructed violence against men. Ignoring its own reporting and its own correspondence pages, the magazine articulated a position that established only the violence inflicted on black men by white as a social problem in need of challenging. As the magazine itself explained, "[w]hen *Drum* criticised the treatment of men in prison, the savagery shown towards [male] labourers on certain Bethal farms.... It was

⁸⁵ *Drum*, 8th September 1973, p. 28 (my emphasis).

⁸⁶ *Drum*, August 1976, p. 77.

⁸⁷ *Drum*, June 1976, p. 55.

⁸⁸ *Drum*, February 1977, p. 63.

⁸⁹ *Drum*, March 1977, p. 79.

⁹⁰ L. Kelly & J. Radford, 'Nothing Really Happened', p. 20.

⁹¹ K. Crenshaw, 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color', in M. Albertson Fineman & R. Mykitiuk (eds), *The Public Nature of Private Violence: The Discovery of Domestic Abuse* (New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 94.

inspired by a longing and a determination to see... a stop put to that needless violence."⁹²

Underpinning the articles that aimed to educate readers about sexual relationships and sexual roles, implicit in *Drum's* discourses in the problem pages around the double standards surrounding women's virginity and men's need for sexual experience, and mirrored in the construction of violence against women as an individual private matter rather than a social and societal one, lay the notion that women were possessions, objects in some ways *owned* by men.⁹³ "Who owns my girlfriend?" was the question asked directly by one young man, and one that indirectly underlay much of the discourse around male/female relationships.⁹⁴

In the early days, while men still appeared in advertisements for domestic goods, the assumption that women did what their husbands told them was clearly apparent. And that this notion was a dialectical process between writers and readers of the magazine is apparent too, as letters often suggested that women belonged to men. When *Drum* asked whether women should have equal rights in May 1954, the answer was a resounding "No!" with the winning letter drawing on the Christian bible to reinforce his point that "man is the glory of God; whilst woman is the glory of man. For man was not created for woman's sake, but woman for man's."⁹⁵ The following year, *Drum* took pains to emphasise that permission had been obtained from the husband of the first pin up of an Indian woman.⁹⁶ When concerns over schoolgirl pregnancies and the role of teachers in these pregnancies began to emerge at the beginning of 1957, *Drum* was at hand to record the advice offered by one school principal to a male teacher:

Son... many of the girls in this school are quite big, and I know what temptations a young teacher like you may meet. But if it ever happens to you, come to me and let's talk it over. I can arrange that the girl be sent to a different school and your love affair can go on without embarrassment. Later, when you are ready, you can then marry her.⁹⁷

⁹²*Drum*, April 1964, p. 13.

⁹³See A. Ferber, *White Man Falling*, pp. 118, 119.

⁹⁴*Drum*, October 1970, p. 57.

⁹⁵*Drum*, May 1954, p. 31, *Drum*, July 1954, p. 16.

⁹⁶*Drum*, October 1955, p. 43.

⁹⁷*Drum*, February 1957, p. 28. In his investigation of the intersections of masculinity, sexuality and power in schools between 1953 and 1999, Niehaus tends to generalise across the entire period of his study, but notes that "whilst teachers strictly prohibited and harshly punished at forms of sexuality between students, male teachers freely engaged in sexual liaisons with schoolgirls" (I. Niehaus, 'Towards a Dubious Liberation: Masculinity, Sexuality and Power in South African Lowveld Schools, 1953-1999', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 3, 2000, p. 387).

Gazing across the playground the principal then reportedly “waved his arm over the leaping girls and said ‘wives, son, wives.’”⁹⁸ Conflict over the issue of passes for women in 1958 was, as reported in the magazine, constructed in terms of who “owned” a wife. “If my wife no more belongs to me, let the Government pay me back my lobola and have her” declared one angry husband.⁹⁹

And it was men’s access to or possession of women that was probably the single most important signifier of an urban, youthful and modern masculinity. Where men were, by the late 1950s, imagined as autonomous beings, in charge (in ways circumscribed by racism and capitalism) of their own destinies, women were constructed as the objects and appendages fundamental to men’s images of themselves.¹⁰⁰

Representations of women as interchangeable objects - as consumer commodities even - to be measured, fought over, raped, beaten, controlled, looked at, even owned - and presumably discarded - were crucial in the making of an urban masculinity. Emanating from readers and writers alike, representations of women as things, as merely erotic collections of body parts, both pictorially and textually, saturated the publication from early on, reflecting and strengthening wider notions of manhood built around an assumed entitlement to all that was woman. As the cover of the edition of May 1956 (reproduced in the figure on the following page) illustrates, women’s physical attributes were of primary importance.¹⁰¹ Much later on, in a revealing passage, one correspondent argued that:

Divorce should be banned by law.... Some people seem to think that a woman is like a piece of cloth which you can buy at the shop. When they are tired of it or find they don’t like it then they take it back to the shop and ask to change it. But just as a shop-keeper won’t take back cloth that he’s already sold, so women cannot be handed back or re-sold.¹⁰²

Few however, were quite so blunt as Happy Mtshweni of Middelburg. After a picture of Portia Masemola was published in January 1975, he wrote to the magazine demanding her address on the grounds that “[a]s she has been published in *Drum*, it means that she is offered to any man.”¹⁰³

⁹⁸Ibid.

⁹⁹*Drum*, May 1958, p. 27.

¹⁰⁰This might be what Pleck meant when he said that one of the things men attribute to women is that they have “masculinity validating power” (J. Pleck, ‘Men’s Power With Women, Other Men, and Society: A Men’s Movement Analysis’, in M. Kimmel et al, *Men’s Lives*, p. 21).

¹⁰¹See also *Drum*, November 1954, p. 53, July 1957, p. 74, October 1957, p. 41, November 1957, p.

62.

¹⁰²*Drum*, April 1964, p. 13.

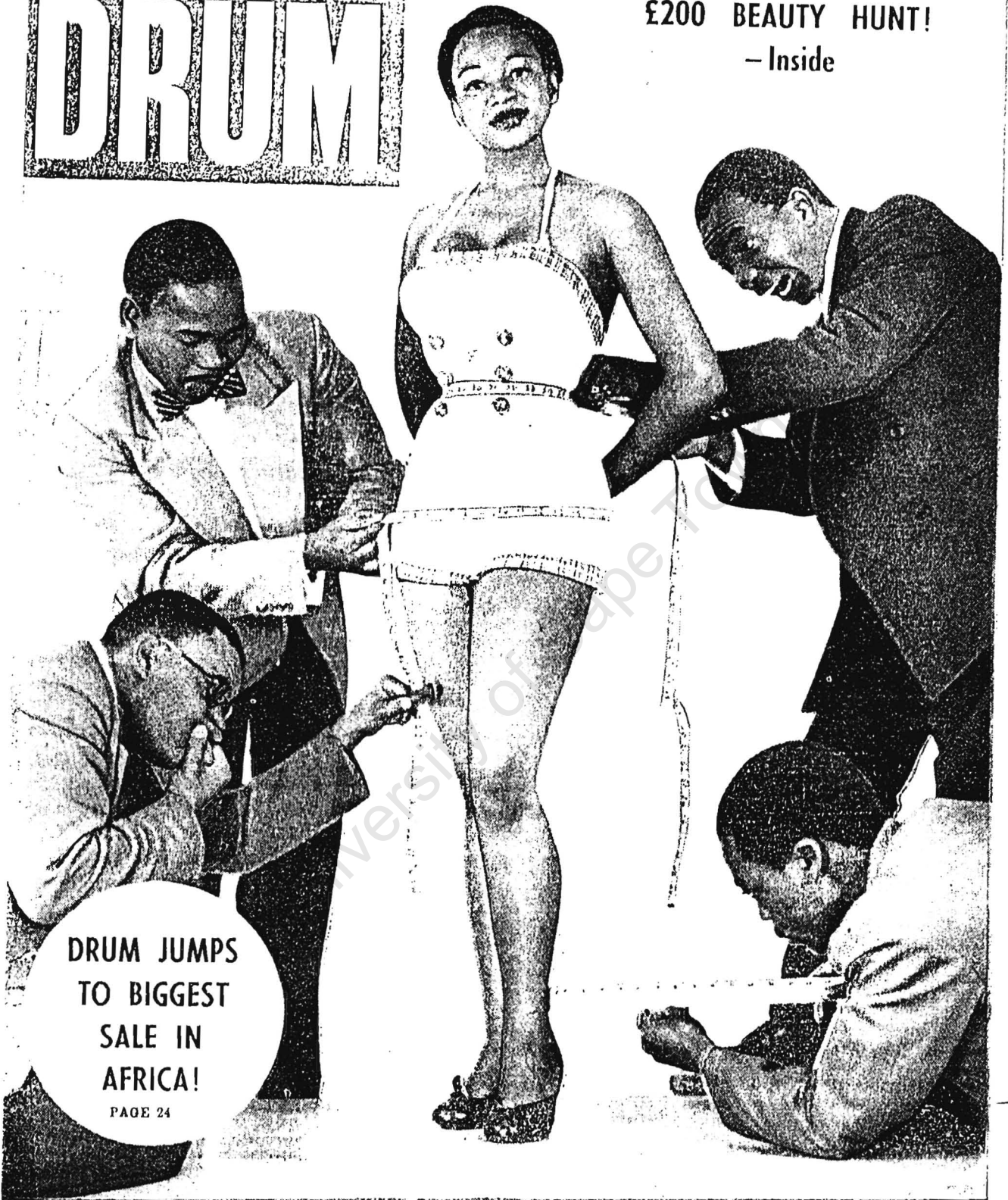
¹⁰³*Drum*, 8th April 1975, p. 48. For other references from male readers over access to women see *Drum*, 8th April 1974, p. 30, 22nd May 1974, p. 47, 22nd August 1975, p. 27. See also *Drum*, December 1976, p. 26 ff.

Cover May 1956

1 MAY 1956

£200 BEAUTY HUNT!
- Inside

DRUM



DRUM JUMPS
TO BIGGEST
SALE IN
AFRICA!

PAGE 24

Africa's Leading Magazine

Published by the Drum Publishing Co. Ltd. as a Newspaper.

MAY 1956

6d.

Imagining and representing women primarily as erotic objects owned by men, confirmed male power - by establishing the male as subject and the female as object - and reinforced an urban masculinity built around the privileging of male heterosexual desire. This was a heterosexual masculinity that could best be validated through laying public claim to women and women's bodies, a claim that involved the public denial of women's bodies to other men through recognition of "male ownership" of women, and by images of women constructed for the male gaze. Combinations of these ways of representing women were present almost from the first day of *Drum's* publication. In writing about a Zulu wedding in the second edition, for example, *Drum* made clear that the "girl" "belonged" to the victor of a two man fight.¹⁰⁴ In its coverage of black students at Wits University less than a year later, *Drum* published photographs of three female students in which it was their physical, rather than mental attributes, that the magazine chose to draw to the attention of readers. Only one of the women in these photographs was at her desk. The second was portrayed in the bath while the third lay on a lawn "in belly free thin summer wear".¹⁰⁵ Similarly at America's Howard University, which had produced "a number of distinguished men of letters", female students were "pretty girls who grace[d] its grounds and classroom", women who studied mirrors rather than books and who combed their hair rather than the archives as the caption to one photograph revealed. "The girls have high standards where looks are concerned, and take pride in looking after pretty faces and figures. This attractive student spends plenty of time with a hairbrush to make her lovely hair so shiny."¹⁰⁶

As Driver has noted "[t]he very first features on 'cover girl' women gave background sociological and biographical detail. These very quickly disappeared".¹⁰⁷ Increasingly the texts in which women featured seemed merely to be an excuse to present them as beautiful objects for the male gaze.¹⁰⁸ One that perhaps demonstrates the transition was published at the beginning of 1952, and is shown in the figure over the page. While some biographical details are still provided, the image is primarily that of pin up.

Where male musicians for example were subjects of several Masterpieces in Bronze, female musicians tended to appear on the beauty pages or as pin ups where their names took second place to labels such as "the Dusky Dynamite", the "wee

¹⁰⁴*Drum*, April 1951, p. 50.

¹⁰⁵*Drum*, January 1952, p. 8.

¹⁰⁶*Drum*, May 1952, p. 9. See also p.10 where a photograph showing a woman wearing a white coat with a microscope is captioned "eager students concentrate on microscopic research - or do they?"

¹⁰⁷D. Driver, 'Drum Magazine', p. 234.

¹⁰⁸ Articles which on the face of things appeared to have little to do with women at all, seemed on occasion to have been merely an excuse to publish more images of beautiful females. A piece nominally about horse racing in Accra was actually about beautiful women "prancing" around the stands. Photographs focused on women, not horses where a "bevy of Accra beauties study the form book: and allow themselves to be studied" (*Drum*, June 1954, pp. 14, 15). See also the "Jazz train to Durban" (*Drum*, July 1955, pp. 38 ff).



SWOTTING AT THE HEAD OF THE BUS QUEUE
NELLIE MASEMOLA, second year probationer nurse at the Johannesburg Non-European Hospital. Miss Masemola can swot inside the bus, in a restaurant, in fact, anywhere. The thick bundle of books under her right arm includes light fiction, mostly crime magazines, to which she resorts when text book stuff becomes heavy. The other lady in the queue gives Miss Masemola her book because she thinks the latter is trying to look important.

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Bombshell” or the “jazz baby”.¹⁰⁹ And in marked contrast to those about men, articles about female entertainers privileged their appearance rather than their voices, assessing their performance using criteria that seemed more applicable to race horses than to women:

Dolly walks on stage like this...sweet - sweet - sweet. That’s the big difference. Yes, you’d be surprised how important walking is..... [b]y walking properly, gracefully, without leaving her oomph behind, Dolly’s got right up to the top now....I’ve watched the way Dolly uses her legs on the stage. Carefully. Correctly. Showing just enough and not too much. And when she’s relaxing, she knows the correct angle for attractive legs.¹¹⁰

The following year it was singer Dorothy Masuka’s turn. “She was wearing a bebop hair cut. She wore a dress with a wide flare, and wide stripes. The wide stripes were running down her whole body, neck to hem. Round her curves. Under the belt round her cute waist. Into the men’s eyes. Yes, man!”¹¹¹ In 1956, the Manhattan Brothers were credited with training Miriam Makeba so that “today she is a voice personality steaming off with appeal, and one of her best features is her face.” “When she twirls her suggestive curves, and droops her eyes on the stage, no male in the hall can keep his blood pulse quiet.”¹¹²

Hinting at notions of marriage that had little to do with “true love”, cover girls received countless proposals of matrimony simply on the basis of their photographs. Within a fortnight of her appearance on the cover at the beginning of 1955, Priscilla “the face” Mtinkulu had received 30 such proposals.¹¹³ The appearance of scantily clad girls on the cover - something *Drum* repeatedly had to defend¹¹⁴ - and the pervasiveness of bathing belles and pin ups in the inner pages of the magazine,

¹⁰⁹The Dusky Dynamite was Eartha Kitt (*Drum*, January 1953, pp. 28, 29). The “Bombshell” was Barbara Brown (*Drum*, April 1953, p. 35). The “Jazz Baby” was a female drummer who also featured on the cover (*Drum*, April 1954, p. 12). See also *Drum*, July 1952, p. 44, November 1952, p. 32, December 1952, pp. 6,7, September 1953, p. 19 for other examples of female entertainers appearing on the women’s pages. 1956 saw the publication of a Masterpiece in Bronze focusing on a female musician, Mrs Emily Motsieloa. But this apparently exceptional article ended by pointing out that all her achievements were due to her husband. “If she hadn’t met Mr Griffiths Motsieloa in 1924, and not married him in 1929 perhaps only some of us would have known of Mrs Emily Motsieloa” (*Drum*, May 1956, p. 23). Fights between male musicians were treated with respect - men had serious matters to deal with. A fight between two female singers was treated with contempt, and used to illustrate their irrational emotionalism. See *Drum*, August 1956, p. 15.

¹¹⁰*Drum*, October 1954, pp. 15,16. See also the contrasts in the way Apheus Nkosi and Thandi Klaasen were treated by the magazine in the same edition. The latter is written of as if she were an instrument to be played (*Drum*, December 1954, pp. 24 ff). See as well *Drum*, March 1955, pp. 20, 21.

¹¹¹*Drum*, January 1955, pp. 34, 39.

¹¹²*Drum*, January 1956, p. 37 ff., *Drum*, February 1956, p. 15.

¹¹³*Drum*, March 1955, p. 26, 27, *Drum*, April 1955, p. 15.

¹¹⁴Hinting at another notion of the urban masculinity discussed in chapter three, men wrote in on and off for years asking for pictures of men on the cover. See footnote 62, chapter three.

combined with the discourse around these and other representations made it clear that these images of women's bodies were published for the gratification of heterosexual men.

When male journalists bragged that, whilst walking the streets of Johannesburg, they were constantly "on the lookout for more curvaceous pin ups", they talked as if real women were little more than one dimensional images, a technique used in reverse by a new advertising campaign for Sparletta when readers were instructed to "collect this series of beautiful Sparletta girls."¹¹⁵ In contrast to men, women's physical proportions were set up as a measure of their worth such that by the mid fifties women's presence in the magazine seemed to be based almost entirely on their appearance. At the same time, much of the commentary around such a presence - in the fiction, advice columns advertisements and articles - spoke of women as things or creatures rather than human beings.

"What man in his quiet loneliness has not dreamed of the hushless beauty of a maiden with pulsating breasts and clear liquid eyes as bewitching as those of a siren?...I perceived a creature of rare beauty and eleganceshe was a thing of delight", expounded American Alvin Cooper in an early short story.¹¹⁶ "I've never seen goods like you in these parts", declared the male hero of another short story to a woman. "I'm sure you're imported goods."¹¹⁷ In 1954, 21 year old Diana was a "thing of beauty from Kumasi", while the newly chosen Miss Africa was "the sweet packet with a crown on".¹¹⁸ 1956 saw a male reader send in a photograph, which *Drum* published, of a woman he saw whilst walking down the street. "I am sure" he said "that you will publish her picture so that all the readers may have a look at her."¹¹⁹ It seemed that objectifying women in this way thus reflected back on the men concerned, allowing them to lay claim to the modern version of masculinity offered by *Drum*. A reader who complained that *Drum* ignored the rural areas sent in a photograph of one of his neighbours advising *Drum* to "[r]emember [that] we are not all in the bush, living a brutish life. For instance this dazzling smile of Miss Ida Sebate of Boetsap in the Cape could alone prove what I mean." *Drum*'s response was to ask "[b]ut why the

¹¹⁵*Drum*, April 1955, p. 22, June 1955, p. 2. See also Mr. Drum's 'tours of world beauty' for example, *Drum*, June 1952, p. 36, September 1952, p. 3, January 1953, p. 4, September 1953, p. 19, October 1954, p. 53 ff., August 1955, p. 57.

¹¹⁶*Drum*, October 1953, p. 20.

¹¹⁷*Drum*, February 1954, p. 40. See also Can Themba's 'Forbidden Love', *Drum*, November 1955, pp. 50 ff..

¹¹⁸*Drum*, December 1954, p. 51, *Drum*, March 1954, p. 19. See also June 1956, p. 15, when Dan Chochco was instructed to open an office for *Drum* in Port Elizabeth. "PE is remarkable" he reported. "The women outnumber the men by about five to one. That's interesting. The beauties outnumber the eligibles by about ten to one. That's fascinating."

¹¹⁹*Drum*, June 1956, p. 9.

devil don't more of these country wenches come into the open? We like to know a country's natural resources."¹²⁰

As suggested earlier, access to and control of these "natural resources", "those delicious things with the shapely curves" was seemingly a major preoccupation of urban men concerned with establishing their masculine credentials.¹²¹ Barnes has suggested that the presence of women in Southern Rhodesian towns "must have pitted rural and urban men, or rural and urban-based strategies of men, against each other to some extent, as fathers and husbands battled to maintain control over women living with boyfriends and strangers".¹²² Certainly, journalists writing about the apparently endless gang wars in and around Johannesburg never failed to make the point that they were initiated or escalated by disputes between men over access to women. Both writers and their sources were outraged when women were "thrashed without any reference to their husbands" during the gang battles of 1952.¹²³ Later on, readers were informed that it was the "Americans" gang whose "monopoly on the 'sharp' girls led to occasional fights with the Berliners and Gestapo when the latter thought the Americans were 'stealing' girls from their territory."¹²⁴

Although Glaser argues that "gang culture... concentrates on the world of men", the evidence in *Drum* suggests otherwise, that women were fundamental to the projection of an urban gangster masculinity.¹²⁵ Victory in gang wars, *Drum* indicated, was signalled precisely by the protagonists' ability to choose to deny other men access to "their" women: "Winning" a gang war, said the magazine, meant being "free to get whatever girls struck their fancy - whether the girls were willing or not - and to splurge their crooked money at whichever 'nice time' party they chose to attend."¹²⁶ Just six months later, *Drum* revealed that Slim Tshayi, leader of the Torch gang, had wanted access to a woman who "belonged" to a man called Diamond. A fight was arranged between the two men which Slim lost. Diamond was later beaten up, his father was beaten up, Diamond's friend, Woolf, was shot and killed and Slim himself shot in the stomach.¹²⁷ Zorro, yet another gang leader, reportedly entered into a life of

¹²⁰*Drum*, August 1956, p. 11.

¹²¹*Drum*, January 1959, p. 13.

¹²²T. Barnes, *We Women Worked So Hard*, p. 68.

¹²³*Drum*, May 1952, p. 38. See also March 1953, p. 11. A. Maimane's recent book is about a black man's violent access to a white women (A. Maimane, *Hate No More* (Cape Town: Kwela Books, 2000)).

¹²⁴*Drum*, September 1954, pp. 19 ff.

¹²⁵C. Glaser, *Bo Tsotsi*, p. 6. Glaser seems to assume that heterosexuality and masculinity are coterminous.

¹²⁶*Drum*, September 1954, pp. 19 ff. See also *Drum*, October 1954, p. 27. A great deal of fiction also focused on fights between men over women, or alternatively on the treachery of unfaithful or disobedient women. See for example *Drum*, March 1954, pp. 29 ff, May 1954, pp. 30 ff., June 1954, pp. 32 ff, August 1954, p. 50, October 1954, p. 44, January 1955, p. 49, July 1955, pp. 51 ff, October 1955, pp. 46 ff.

¹²⁷*Drum*, April 1955, pp. 29 ff. See also *Drum*, June 1955, pp. 29 ff; September 1955, p.52, December 1955, p. 29 ff.

crime when he heard that “he could have all the women he ever wanted, and money to burn.” Having already killed one man in a dispute over access to a woman, Zorro warned other men off through the simple method of branding his women with a Z, as illustrated in the figure below.¹²⁸



¹²⁸*Drum*, August 1955, p. 27, September 1955, pp. 59, 61, October 1955, pp. 67 ff.

Perhaps more telling still was the manner in which *Drum* chose to report an epidemic of assaults and rapes in the winter of 1957. "Love By Martial Law!" blazoned the headline. In this article, would be rapists were reconstructed and rehabilitated as merely "tough Casanovas," rape itself was represented as simply "making love by force" and the price a woman paid for being seen as beautiful, and objections to the practice couched in terms of other men's illegitimate access to "our" women.

In Johannesburg these days... calf love has become rough love. For the bright boys have thrown overboard all the art and all the finesse in love-making, and have resorted to force. Love by force, or love by "martial law" as the boys so colourfully put it, has become the latest pastime in Johannesburg. And our daughters, sisters and wives are not safe. Women are met by these gangster lovers in the streets, at bioscopes and dance halls, and their arms are twisted, they are threatened at point of gun or knife, even other members of their families are menaced with violence, until the women give in to the advances of their persecutors.¹²⁹

More telling still, the writer then went on to say:

Many women still don't want to be charmed; they want to be clubbed.... That is the love life of most of us in Johannesburg in 1957. If I take my best girl out to a show... I must tote along my gun or sheathe my dagger. The one is to scare off tough Casanovas and the other is to tame unwilling damsels.¹³⁰

Later on, another article about gangsters - this time the Msomi's - had perhaps the last word in symbolising the asymmetry of urban gender relations: "No girl could ever say no to a Msomi. If the boyfriend or husband did not like it then he would come to the office where he had to agree to pay a certain fee for the copyright on his wife or girl."¹³¹

Thus the new and not so new formulations around masculinity and femininity emerging from the intersections of multiple identities and gender orders in the urban townships emerged in a manner that both reflected and helped shape asymmetrical social attitudes towards men and women. Although in its letters pages, *Drum* consistently objected to the violence meted out to women, it also implied that this was often their own fault. In the features and investigative reports, it was a slightly different matter, with objections couched in the language of the family, and the relationship of individual women to individual men. It was the wives, girlfriends and daughters of husbands, boyfriends and fathers who were threatened: an attack on a woman was reconfigured as a threat to a man's masculinity in the pages of the

¹²⁹*Drum*, June 1957, p. 20.

¹³⁰*Drum*, June 1957, p. 22.

¹³¹*Drum*, May 1968, p. 27.

magazine. One has only to consider the different ways in which the physical abuse of *men* by men was reported. *Drum* had made its reputation, risking conflict with the state and proving its authenticity, through expressing outrage over the ill treatment, physical abuse and disrespect experienced by black men on farms, in prisons and churches, and demonstrated by gangsters, policemen, and government officials. The abuse of women by men was somehow different, with what outrage there was, expressed on behalf of the men to whom women belonged. The urban masculinity that was in the process of being constructed (and constantly needing to be demonstrated), drew on changing rural and urban practices. It also drew on western discourses that privileged men and male authority, that constructed colonised men as effeminate, and that had long centralised homophobia in the construction of modern masculinity. If, as Barnes and others have suggested, colonialism constructed colonised men as effeminate, what better way to prove one's manhood to both black and white men, than through the violent sexual assault of independent urban women - women, in other words, who were behaving like men? In essence, *Drum* helped affirm a masculinity based on a heterosexuality in which young, urban men were able to assume an often violent entitlement to both sexual gratification and women. If, as Ferber claims, "sexuality becomes the performance of one's gender", then the particular heterosexual variant characterising mid to late twentieth century black South Africa (as represented on the pages of *Drum*) portrayed a heterosexual masculinity performable by young black men through the subordination of women.¹³² The violence, in effect, represented a discourse of masculinity taking place between men, a discourse inscribed on the bodies of women. In the context of racially defined and competing heterosexual masculinities, a young urban man with more than one willing - or even unwilling - female sexual partner, and, critically, who could deny sexual access to other men, was, quite simply, more of a man.

¹³²A. Ferber, *White Man Falling*, p. 21.

Conclusion

The fundamental assumption underpinning this study has been that gender is a relational social construct, and that *Drum* offers a richly complex historical record of change and continuity in this construct in mid twentieth century South Africa. Itself a product of changing times, *Drum* provides an interpretation of the collisions between multiple gender regimes, an interpretation that is itself part of those collisions. In probing *Drum*'s record of these interactions, from the magazine's birth in 1951 to its sale in 1984, it became increasingly clear that its images of gender were implicated by race, and *vice versa*. The political context of segregation and apartheid, the social background of white racism, and the economic framework of a racialised class structure outlined in chapters one and two clearly infused the magazine's discourse of gender in fundamental and complex ways. Furthermore, the magazine's account of some of the discords and harmonies between different ways of being a man or a woman in the decades after World War II was one produced primarily by men, men whose understandings of their own lives and the lives of their audience were inevitably shaped by the social, political and economic contexts and conflicts in which they found themselves. It was urban *men*, both black and white, who produced the magazine, and who imagined their audience to be mainly other urban black *males*. These perspectives were woven into the gendered narratives produced by *Drum*, sometimes consciously and conspicuously - when the magazine challenged the apartheid state, for example - and, at other times, unconsciously and almost imperceptibly - when the publication increasingly located men outside the network of family and kin, for instance. In a dialectical process, the interpretations and understandings produced by the makers of *Drum* helped both reflect and shape the society in which they were made, with *Drum* itself embodying an element of the public discourse between racialised versions of masculinity.

It was for these reasons that the study privileged the magazine's constructions of masculinity, exploring aspects of change and continuity in the gendering of portrayals of males in relation to women and other men. Thus chapter three focuses on how one element of an urban (read 'modern') masculinity was produced (in opposition to femininity) through the medium of the beauty contest of 1952. At the same time this chapter considers the dialectical relationship between the magazine and its audience, exploring aspects of the complex relationships between groups of men, between urban and rural, black and white. The strong influences of colonial versions of masculinity in Zimbabwe for example, have been pointed to by Shire, and although he, perhaps, understates the influences of rural gender regimes, as well as men's interactions with women in terms of the construction of masculinity, his observations are useful in helping to explaining the tensions over the masculinity epitomised by men's entry into a woman's beauty contest in South Africa:

The masculinities of urban “Shona” men were constructed from their wage earning power and through the assimilation of colonial definitions of masculinity. Men were no longer ‘men’ because they belonged to a totemic group or were heads of lineages.... Their sexuality and gendered expectations were structured by colonial discourses on ‘African’ men.¹

But, and as the struggles over both *Drum*’s audience and the beauty contest suggested, “although the material transformations brought about by white occupation and colonisation were fundamental to the construction of [a colonial] discourse in Southern Rhodesia,” as Jeater argues, “they provided only the context, within which specific contestations took place.”² The outcomes of these contests were never determined by the contexts. Similarly, back in mid twentieth century South Africa, western constructions of gender had long tended to distance men from women, and by the 1950s, the common consensus was that western men and women had different but complementary roles. This notion was one that had infused the colonial era through an assumption that the clarity with which masculinity and femininity were separated or distinguished was one of the signals of western superiority. By narrowing the distance between masculine and feminine through their entry into a woman’s beauty contest, black male readers had posed a challenge (albeit brief) to this western discourse of gender and racial hierarchy.

The discussion of the beauty contest considers an interaction between women and between urban and rural, black and white men over a short period of time, between 1952 and 1953. Chapter four extends the time frame to explore change and continuity in *Drum*’s portrayal of the relationships between black men and their kin from the early 1950s to the mid 1960s. In the early years, and in contrast to portrayals of white men in magazines aimed at white South African audiences, *Drum* located black men firmly within a network of mutual interdependencies with women, children, parents and other relatives. Manhood was constructed through overt and close connections with children - specifically sons, as well as with wives and parents. It was also established through men’s proximity to the home, through their involvement in household chores, and their interactions with their offspring, in a society where traditionally, wives, children and homes were significant indicators of full adulthood for men. While the material evidence suggests that many urban black men continued to value these aspects of their lives in terms of constructing their masculinity, the pages of *Drum* increasingly downplayed such connections. By the mid 1960s, urban

¹C. Shire, ‘Men don’t go to the Moon’, in A. Cornwall & N. Lindisfarne (eds), *Dislocating Masculinities: Comparative Ethnographies* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 152.

²D. Jeater, *Marriage, Perversion, and Power: The Construction of Moral Discourse in Southern Rhodesia, 1894-1930* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 265.

black men, like white men, tended to be presented as separate and detached from their spouses, their offspring and their elders. Manhood, in *Drum*, was increasingly established by emphasising men's proximity to other non-kin men - through work, sport, and politics, while simultaneously distancing them from kith and kin, hearth and home.

Drum's alignment of men with men is the subject matter of chapter five, through an exploration of the ways in which one group of men was marginalised. The relational nature of gender constructs, combined with the material context of apartheid, had seen white men endeavour to construct a white masculinity in opposition to black masculinity and white femininity. Operating from within this framework, and drawing on a "culture of discretion",³ *Drum's* implicit position was that black men, *like white men* were men *because* they were not women. The proof of this was heterosexual, and men who were either unable or unwilling to demonstrate their manhood - that is engage in heterosexual relations with women - were established as unmanly, deviant and dangerous, a threat to the entire social fabric of society. Although men who loved men were clearly not female, neither could they aspire to the version of masculinity endorsed by *Drum*. Instead the magazine wrote of such men in terms usually reserved for women, simultaneously distancing 'real' (that is heterosexual) men from both homosexual men *and* women.

The final chapter begins by discussing how *Drum* further developed a masculinity epitomised by youthfulness and heterosexuality. In presenting texts that supported the undermining of traditional values of seniority and obedience to ones' parents, *Drum* drew on material and gendered changes in both rural and urban lives as well as a western discourse infused with notions of gender. This construction of youthful heterosexual manhood had serious implications for women - the other half of the heterosexual dichotomy, for in constructing manhood, the magazine also constructed womanhood, establishing women primarily as housewives, mothers, nurturers, although these images and constructs have not been the focus of this study. While it began to publish features on working women from the mid 1960s, these - and later ones - continued to emphasise the separateness of women, and their roles as mothers and nurturers. As late as 1978, Trade Unionist Lucy Mvubelo was presented as 'a charming granny' and 'mother of 20,000 children'.⁴ But not only were women established as housewives, mothers (and occasionally workers), they were also, crucially, established as sexual (but unequal) partners to men, and it is worth reiterating Ferber's point here that "sexuality becomes the performance of one's

³M. Epprecht, 'The 'Unsayings' of Indigenous Homosexualities in Zimbabwe: Mapping a Blindspot in an African Masculinity', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 1998, p. 636.

⁴*Drum*, November 1978, p. 16. Earlier on, in 1976, the magazine had introduced a 'woman of the month' column and in 3 inches of text had saluted the 'wife of popular singing star Babsy Mlangeni' for being a housewife (*Drum*, May 1977, p. 65).

gender.”⁵ In its interpretation and recording of the performances of masculinity, especially after the mid 1950s, *Drum* affirmed a masculinity performed through a heterosexuality that assumed men’s entitlement to both sexual gratification and women. Evidence suggests that in the face of deepening poverty and in the absence of traditional alternatives, rural men were establishing their claim to social masculinity through an often violent domination of women. Taking these values to town, they encountered colonial, western and urban constructions of gender that also privileged men and subordinated women, that established men as masculine precisely because they had sexual intercourse with women rather than men. It was the confluence of these ideas, as expressed in *Drum*, and the dialectic between representation and interpretation of daily lived experiences by both audience and producers that helped reinforce, legitimise and normalise a hegemonic discourse of gender in which expressing and claiming an urban manhood by definition privileged a heterosexual and hierarchical masculinity.

Overall then, as white editors came and went, as black writers were hired and fired, and as state policies grew more and more draconian over the thirty years of its existence, it became increasingly clear to this reader that the masculinities represented and upheld by *Drum* were inextricably interwoven with black *and* white notions of sex and race. Representations of masculinity and femininity were partially, but not entirely, informed by Euro-American and colonial biomedical discourses of race, sex and gender, *and* partially shaped by local rural and urban signifiers of masculinity. Certain of the material markers of the different discourses of masculinity seemed to have been in competition - such as rural men’s claim to beauty against a dominant western discourse that ascribed beauty to women only, and white men’s attempts to construct a dominant masculinity that denied manhood to black men. While the magazine finally ratified western discourse around beauty, it strongly and continuously resisted western discourses of race. In contrast, other markers of masculinity seemed to have been far more compatible, and, it was apparently without difficulty that the magazine was able to construct a manhood built around heterosexuality that blended notions of gender emanating from rural, urban and western gender regimes. In the process of accepting/ constructing a hegemonic heterosexuality for black and white men through its fight to articulate “the” adult voice of black men, the magazine privileged a masculinity that was characterised by the marginalisation of homosexual men, distinguished by the privileging of youthfulness and male heterosexual prowess, and, fundamentally, a masculinity built on the (often violent) subordination of women.

⁵A. Ferber, *White Man Falling: Race, Gender and White Supremacy* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), p. 21.

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