

THE
LIFE AND WORK
OF
KHABI MNGOMA

BY
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(NEÉ MOCKE)

THESIS

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BUT 780 BURG

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to Khabi Mngoma

who invested

in the lives of others



God created man in his image
male & female created he them.

The fear of God is the beginning
of wisdom, God was made
(Faith) manifest to man in Christ.
Take therefore no thought of the
morrow for the morrow for
~~the man~~ shall take thought of
these things of itself - Sufficient

[Luk 12:15]
unto the day is the end
thereof.

Service enriches and enlarges
the server as well as the
served.

Christ's pulpit was in the
community. He created his

own opportunities to serve by
serving mankind. This means
his own society - immediate
contacts - through the whole
world.

Love thy neighbour - Parable
of the Good Samaritan

Love with Service is not
possible without humility
and respect.

Worship and Praise God

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Preface

The thesis intends to describe the life and work of Khabi Mngoma, protagonist of black music education in South Africa (latter half of the twentieth century), with reference to historical, socio-political, anthropological, educational and musicological aspects. His musical development from a mere participator in musical activities of his environment to a dominantly influential initiator of cultural and musical activities and education programmes on a national scale, is investigated.

The study is presented in thirteen chapters: the first three chapters explore the musical influences of Khabi Mngoma's childhood (in the township-, school- and rural environment respectively), and the musical influences of his early adulthood. Particular reference is made to his first academic musical studies in Western classical music, and the arousing of his interest in the academic study and performance of African music.

The following nine chapters describe Khabi Mngoma's cultural and music educational activities (1948 - 1990), and explore the growing recognition of him as a cultural and music educational leader in South Africa. This period of Khabi Mngoma's life and work is divided into five periods: his work in Orlando, Soweto and Johannesburg during the years of his association with the Orlando High School (1948 - 1952; the first period); the second period refers to Khabi Mngoma's Social and Cultural Work for the National War Memorial Health Foundation (1953 - 1957); the third, fourth and fifth periods relate to Khabi Mngoma's cultural and educational activities associated with the periods of employment by the Johannesburg City Council (1957 - 1964; third period), Dorkay House (Union Artists) and Reckitt & Colman (1965 - 1975; simultaneous employment; fourth period), and finally the University of Zululand (1975 - 1987; the fifth period). The fifth period continues into the years following his retirement in 1987, with his influence on a national scale continuing to be established through various significant involvements, discussed in this study. The decision to arrange Khabi Mngoma's adult life and career into five periods needs explaining. I am aware that human endeavour can never be neatly compartmentalized, because so many aspects of such endeavour overlap. This format is not intended to imply

a rigid delineation; it is derived from the chronological arrangement of my material, and is intended to guide the reader through this study.

Chapter XIII is presented as an epilogue, referring to Khabi Mngoma's philosophy of music education for South Africa. The latter lays emphasis on (i) the academic study of both Western and African Music [Western and African Musicology], (ii) the cultivation of performance competence in a varied repertoire, drawing from both Western and African musical sources, and (iii) the stimulation of musical composition, in which African musical sources are utilized as an integral component of the creative process. The principles of cross-cultural communication and tolerance, African intellectual, emotional/psychological fulfilment and stability, and the rearing of a black South African musical leadership [African musicologists and composers] are basic to his philosophy of music education for South Africa.

The research was carried out during the period 7 May 1985 to 11 November 1990. Commencing in May 1985 with personal communication from Khabi Mngoma during interviews and informal conversations, and observation of his work at the University of Zululand (altogether five months were spent in Zululand from 1985 to 1986, during three respective visits), information gathered in this way was related to documentary sources (including letters, reports, minutes of meetings, memoranda, constitutions of educational and cultural establishments relating to the research topic; programmes of concerts, lecture series, seminars, workshops, Eisteddfodau, festivals, etc; relevant syllabi, curricula and prospecti; miscellaneous sources; published and unpublished articles, manuscripts and addresses by Khabi Mngoma, various other published and unpublished writings and books listed in the Bibliography). Most of the unpublished materials were culled from Khabi Mngoma's office at the University of Zululand in 1985 and 1986. Subsequent materials of significance were posted to the writer by Khabi Mngoma from time to time, and discussed during telephone conversations with Khabi Mngoma. The data was further related to personal communication from friends and colleagues of Khabi Mngoma, traced by the writer.

* * * * *

The decision to continue with postgraduate studies in the field of African Music was the result of a many-faceted inspirational 'wave' that had its origins in the early years of my childhood, when an exceptional interest in Africa, people, languages, nature, music, dance, drama and books manifested when I was still an infant. In my fourth year of B Mus General studies at the University of Cape Town (1984), I encountered the subject 'Ethnomusicology', which seemed to embrace everything I was, and still am, interested in. Reading publications of David Rycroft, Percival Kirby and especially those of Gerhard Kubik, was the final inspiration that booted me into 'Ethnomusicology'.

Although I knew that I did not have the physical endurance to actually 'go into the field', I knew that this discipline was the answer for my future academic, musical and cultural involvement. On mentioning my interest - and hesitation (about 'going into the field') - to Deirdre Hansen, she immediately named various possibilities of research projects that would fit in with my preferences. On mentioning Khabi Mngoma's name, and stating that he '... fetched the children off the streets of Soweto and taught them how to play the violin', my topic was finalized! I have always admired people who work for the upliftment of the less fortunate in life, and this bit of information about Khabi Mngoma, together with Hansen's statement that '... he is regarded as the father of black South African music education', was enough to indicate to me that researching and documenting his life and work would add an important dimension to my background as a South African musician and musicologist, and that it would be a contribution to knowledge.

The project, that started off as a Master's Degree research programme in 1985, and was subsequently converted to a Ph D thesis in September 1988, proved to be an immensely challenging one. As stated in the foregoing abstract, all the information gathered from personal communication during interviews and informal conversations with Khabi Mngoma and other persons, had to be related to documentary sources, which mainly comprised 'raw materials' - letters, reports, memoranda, minutes of meetings, etc. These sources often contained inconsistencies (within one document), or did not agree with other documents, and/or publications. (Many of the documents were undated.) These details had to be worked out meticulously, and as far as possible be compared with, and related to published material, which, however, is quite scarce as far as this topic is concerned. (As far as references are concerned, it should also be noted that some of the references cited in the Bibliography were ones

that were originally cited by other authors, and that bibliographical details in these instances were not always completely documented in the works consulted. This was a major frustration, and these particular references had to be included in the thesis with their omissions.)

Colleagues, past students and friends of Khabi Mngoma were traced in 1986, and letters were sent to them informing them about the research project. An appeal was made to them to inform me about any interesting aspects of Khabi Mngoma's life and work that would be of benefit to the documentation. The response was exciting, and I am indebted to these people for their valuable contribution (see acknowledgements). A questionnaire probing into the general attitude towards statements that were made by Khabi Mngoma in his writings and in personal communication, was also distributed: among past students of Khabi Mngoma, the music students of the University of Zululand, and students of the Esikhawini College of Education, but the response was very weak indeed.

The documentation process was greatly benefitted by the acquisition of a computer and word processor in 1989, which brought order to all the uncountable pieces of paper lying around in my study (and elsewhere in the home), prevented time-consuming, unnecessary and expensive retyping, and generally speeded up the work.

Considering the fact that my mother tongue is Afrikaans, writing the thesis in English was a rather ambitious undertaking, because I initially had no rapport with the English language; its 'foreign'-sounding vocabulary (so different from the sound of Afrikaans) and its intricate spelling filled me with awe. But I was obliged to use English, because writing this book in Afrikaans would almost defeat the purpose, as the people to whom this material should be of interest, would not necessarily have command of the Afrikaans language. Reading Percival Kirby's autobiography, *Wits End* (1967) - which I bought at a street jumble sale in Sunnyside, Pretoria, for one rand - more or less 'converted' me to tolerance, and even enthusiasm, for the English language!

I found myself completely out of my 'comfort-zone', so to speak, when my health took a course of hopeless deterioration during the course of 1986, 1987, 1988 and 1989, when continuous excruciating headaches and violent 'migraine' attacks corrupted my life with such frequency, persistency and severity, that they almost

destroyed my life - physically, emotionally and spiritually. No amount of determination on my part could carry me through the nebulae of pain, embarrassment and agony, to apply myself to working through the research materials and documentation, and producing satisfactory scripts.

After much anguish, and prayer, I eventually resorted to Homeopathy, Naturopathy and Osteopathy (during December 1989 in Mossel Bay). In February 1990 a remarkable change set in. Dr C Van Niekerk (semi-retired geologist and homeopath living in Mossel Bay) sharpened my 'cutting edge'... and I could continue with much less strain and interference. It was an historical improvement. In October 1990 a homeopath in Pretoria (Dr M Piedallu) finally diagnosed and treated the causes of the disposition, and my increasing and renewed health ever since has become a great consolation and inspiration to me. This unexpected saga needs to be mentioned here, as it was the greatest drawback, the major obstacle that hindered the work.

Having literally 'sowed in tears' with the writing of 'The Life and Work of Khabi Mngoma', it is my prayer that the latter will bring forth a harvest: for music education, and human relations in South Africa.

This would be the reward of one who has sowed ever so unselfishly, Khabi Mngoma.

Inge Mari' Burger

Pretoria

June 1992

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 - to my husband, Rian, who was as enthusiastic about finishing 'The Life and Work of Khaba Mngoma' as I was (and undoubtedly for a variety of reasons...!). He was a wonderful companion, critic, moral supporter, and helpmate. It was a consolation to know that he was at my side in the project, and in my personal battles. His constant encouragement, consistent and insistent prayer, and hope, during the extended months of my illness, low work capacity and distress, formed the cornerstone that ensured the continuation and eventual completion of this research and documentation programme. He also organized the printing and presentation of the plates included in the thesis;
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 - to Him Who is greater than all, who carried me through waters and fire, restored me, and gave me peace,
- JHWH.

A Musician Born

The early years, 1922 - 1936: musical influences of Khabi Mngoma's childhood.

Khabi Vivian Mngoma was born on 18 November 1922 in Troyeville, a suburb of Johannesburg (South Africa), situated '... about 2 km east of the city hall, east of New Doornfontein and north of Jeppestown and Fairview' (Raper 1987, 1989:542).¹ The place of his birth was an old house in Op-die-Bergenstraat, which still stands today.

Khabi Mngoma was the eldest son of David Zwelonke Mngoma (born in 1901 in Natal)² and Agnes Matutu Nyembe (born in 1903, also in Natal). As a young unmarried man David Zwelonke Mngoma resided at Esidumbeni,³ situated close to Mapumulo, which is a settlement '... some 42 km north-west of Stanger and 38 km south-east of Kranskop' (*ibid*:326).⁴ But he worked in the area of present-day Tongaat on the Natal North Coast, which subsequently became the centre of a sugar industry (*ibid*:538).⁵

Shortly after the end of World War I (ca 1918 - 1919) he moved to the coal-mining town of Newcastle in northern Natal, where he obtained work on a coal mine. It was here that he met his future wife, Agnes. She originally came from a small mission station near Dannhauser,⁶ called Annieville Mission. As an adult she moved to Newcastle, where she taught in one of the mine schools.

The couple married, and then moved to Troyeville, Johannesburg, to the address in Op-die-Bergenstraat where Khabi Mngoma was born.

According to Khabu Mngoma (personal communication, August 1985) his forebears were medicine men and musicians to the Zulu people - professions that are reflected in Khabu Mngoma's surname. The literal meaning of mngoma is 'diviner' (Doke and Vilakazi 1948, 1972:557). The stem of mngoma is -ngoma and is thought to come from the Ur-Bantu word for 'drum' (*ibid*). The stem -ngoma is found in words translated as drums, songs, dances and rites, in many parts of Africa, and the name 'Mngoma' actually occurs from right along the southern coast of South Africa among Nguni speakers up to countries such as Malawi and even Kenya (personal communication, Khabu Mngoma, August 1985). The two Zulu nouns for 'diviner' or 'witch-doctor' are isangoma and umngoma (as in Khabu Mngoma's surname), and according to Doke and Vilakazi (1948, 1972:557) are derivations from ingoma. Bryant (undated) suggests that the terms which denote 'diviner' are derived from a root originally meaning 'the drumming one'. Thus one encounters the word ngoma in the Swahili language, meaning 'drum', and ngoma in Kikuyu, meaning 'temporary madness' (Du Toit 1971:51-65). The latter, ie 'temporary madness', refers to the spiritual or psychological state of a person who has been 'selected' by the ancestral shades to become a diviner. (*Vide* Krige 1936, 1950:302-303, who gives a vivid description of this.)

The diviners are the great doctors or healers among the Zulu and are usually known as isangoma (*ibid*:299). The diviner acts as the link or mediator between the dead and the living. As a 'specialist' in the supernatural and spiritual realms, and the 'protector' of society, he is highly regarded by the people. The isangoma is indispensable in the hierarchy of Zulu religious concepts. (*Vide* Maphalala 1985:3-4.)

According to Krige (1936, 1950:299) diviners usually combine with their divination quite an extensive knowledge of herbs and roots (Naturopathy), by means of which they can treat most diseases without having to send their patients to a herbalist. Khabu Mngoma's assertion that the Mngoma clan diviners were 'medicine men', suggests that they belonged to this category of diviners (ie isangoma combining spiritual powers with a thorough knowledge of herbs and other medicinal substances for healing purposes).

Khabu Mngoma's father was a virtuoso concertina player, whose agility with the instrument had earned him the nickname Umsila kaSathani, which means 'the devil's tail'. He probably earned himself this nickname after the

belief of older Zulu Christians that the guitar, concertina and accordion are 'the devil's ribs', and therefore '... should not be touched by a true Christian' (Mthethwa 1979:5). It is interesting to compare Clegg's information (Clegg 1981:6) that Zulu ruralists used to refer to the concertina as izibambo zikaSathana, 'Satan's handles', with Mngoma Senior's nickname Umsila kasathani ('the devil's tail'). There seems to be a connection between the two.

Khabi Mngoma did not know his father very well, and also never learnt to play the concertina himself.⁷

Life in op-die-Bergenstraat

Khabi Mngoma was the eldest of four children. His younger siblings were a brother, Arthur, and two sisters, Thokozile and Buyisiwe. They grew up in a middle-class, western-oriented family, in which both father and mother worked. His early life in the house in Op-die-Bergenstraat provided the young Khabi Mngoma with two important white childhood friends, Bobby and Leonard Duncan.

It was during these formative years that his musical talent and love of poetry revealed itself. Although the week days were given over to schooling, the weekends were times for leisure and enjoyment. On Sundays Khabi Mngoma and the Duncan brothers would make long trips along the Reef, cycling the East Rand, and home again to Troyeville. On Friday evenings and on Saturdays, however, the boys spent their time presenting little 'concerts' of music and poetry in the Duncans' garage. These became a regular feature of the Duncan home, and Mrs Duncan was very supportive of them. Whenever the boys decided to have a concert, she would rally the neighbourhood children round her, and together they would prepare the garage for the event. It was always kept meticulously clean, and during the Christmas season it even acquired a fresh coat of paint.

Many of the songs the boys sang were popular songs learned from gramophone records and heard on the radio.⁸ Some of the poetry recitations were very ambitious. Khabi Mngoma recalls reciting Tennyson's very lengthy 'Charge of the Light Brigade' and rendering it very successfully.⁹ He also recalls those early concert days with much warmth and nostalgia, and not a little humour: 'Those were great times: I thought we were very clever!' (Personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985.)

Life in Troyeville was disrupted by the Urban Areas Act of 1923, which restricted the movements of Blacks in the urban areas.¹⁰ Although the laws were rigid, they were at first inconsistently enforced, and thus largely ineffective. Municipalities and employers became responsible for providing accommodation for black urban workers - in hostels and location dwellings. The Urban Areas Act also stipulated that Africans could be evicted from the so-called 'proclaimed' or 'legal' areas only after migrant workers had been provided with accommodation (Coplan 1985:91 after Proctor in Bozzoli, ed 1979:54-57).

All this, together with a lack of finance and land, as well as resistance from slum rental groups - such as the New Doornfontein Stand Owners Association - hindered resettlement schemes and delayed mass evictions until the mid-1930s (Coplan 1985:91 after Stadler in Bozzoli, ed 1979:26).

The Mngoma family's changes of residence began in 1929 when they first moved to Doornfontein, and shortly after that to Prospect Township, a mining settlement located near the City Deep Mines.¹¹ When gold ran out, Prospect Township became a slum settlement, and clearance programmes were devised to deal with the situation.

The Mngoma family then moved to Eastern Native Township, taking with them some of the meagre materials with which to improve their new home. Because the township's name was greatly disliked by black people, due to the inclusion of a word with racist, colonialist connotations ('native'), they referred to it by another name, 'George Goch', which was the name of a mining prospector who also gave his name to a railway station located some 4 to 5 km from the township itself.¹²

Life in George Goch

Life was difficult for the Mngoma family in George Goch Township. To supplement the family's income, Khabi Mngoma's mother took to laundering for white families, for which she received a miserable pittance at the end of each month. According to a cousin of Khabi Mngoma, Albert Twala, she

... collected dirty clothing from Europeans, took it home, washed and ironed it and returned it to the 'Missus'. She would receive her pay at the end of the month. It never amounted to more than two pounds five shillings [five rand] (personal communication, Albert Twala, November 1986).

Albert Twala also recalled that Khabi Mngoma's mother was very strict and insisted that he should help - either with the washing or the ironing. Sometimes he did both (*ibid*). His sisters were probably too young to do this.

However, in spite of the difficult living conditions - or perhaps because of them... - major musical influences began to pervade Khabi Mngoma's life. He took to playing the penny whistle (the steel- or brass-coloured factory-manufactured type, with six finger-holes - *vide infra*), drums (home-manufactured ones, constructed from petrol containers and animal skins - *vide infra*), the harmonium, and the piano. His musical interests expanded, and he became an enthusiastic member of the Salvation Army School Choir. Determined to learn to read music, he obtained a copy of William Smallwood's Pianoforte Tutor, and set himself to learning staff notation. (*Vide* Chapter II.)

Khabi Mngoma becomes the leader of a 'Scotch' penny whistle band (ca 1932)

Khabi Mngoma's acquaintance with the penny whistle, or 'cylinder flageolet' (the term refers to the flute's cylindrical bore, as opposed to the conical bore of the older penny whistle type; *vide* Kirby 1934, 1968:276)¹³ began when he came into contact with a so-called 'African Scottish band' - called 'Scotchies', and also 'MacGregors' - who wore a Scots style of dress and played an assortment of instruments, including the penny whistle, in imitation of the Scottish military bands which had been brought to South Africa by Scottish immigrants, and who performed regularly in the Union Grounds and parks of Johannesburg.

Coplan (1985:91) gives quite a comprehensive account of the history of these penny whistle bands. He records that, during the 1890s, a certain former Zulu domestic worker, Jan Note, organized an outlaw resistance secret society, the Ninevites, to protect Africans by force '... because it [Johannesburg] is a town without law' (*ibid*:49 cites Van Onselen 1978:56). During the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902, the Ninevite groups fled to Durban.

As a symbol of their identity they wore a distinct 'uniform': colourful wide-bottomed (bell-bottom) trousers. They took to parading through the streets of Durban, playing music that was '... generally a strange combination of complicated Dutch, English and Native (sic) tunes' on mouth organs, an instrument that came to be associated with them (Coplan 1985:49).

A significant off-shoot of the Ninevite gangs were the Amalaita.¹⁴ (The ethnic identity of these men was hardly important in the urban situation.) The name was derived from 'Allrighters', pronounced the Zulu way by Zulu policemen when they referred to the Ninevites (ibid:61).

The Amalaita (ama is the plural prefix for 'they') imitated the Scottish military bands referred to above, marching in Scottish dress and playing penny whistles, harmonicas and a variety of contrived drums. They also gave drill demonstrations, in which the various commands were shouted in the English language (ibid). Coplan writes that these Amalaita groups were also influenced by the drum and bugle bands of African Boy Scout packs, known as Pathfinders (ibid:155).

By 1908, the Amalaita began to change their activities and membership requirements '... in response to the commanding social issue of the day, the "Black Peril"', which emerged as a result of the soaring black crime rate (ibid:61).

Many whites employed African males as domestic servants in their homes, and with the increase in criminal activities, they feared that the daily close contact between these servants and their womenfolk, would present a very real danger of possible sexual assaults. To counteract this 'peril', the African 'houseboys' were replaced by Tswana and Zulu women who had flocked to the urban areas in large numbers, looking for employment. But their presence in white households presented another possible danger: sexual competition between themselves and their white 'madams', and their husbands (ibid:61-62).

These housemaids were then replaced by young Tswana and Pedi boys, who were called 'piccanins', and who struggled to make a living of sorts in spite of very low wages, unemployment and white prejudice (ibid:62).

They joined the Amalaita groups in large numbers, to the extent that they soon dominated them, and restructured them according to Pedi cultural patterns, eg grouping according to age-set, and the use of the Pedi language, Sepedi, instead of English. Females were allowed to enrol as members of these groups (Coplan, *ibid*, cites Van Onselen 1978:59-60). In keeping with the 'nationalization' of the Amalaita, members began composing their own styles of music, using specific titles such as ngoma and amalaita. Inspired by the military music of Scottish regimental bands, the young people also took to playing penny whistles and drums at formal parades, wearing their Scots-style uniforms. Their female counterparts wore short pleated tartan skirts which they called 'Scots rokkies' (from rokkie - Afrikaans for 'little dress') (Coplan 1985:62 cites Rand Daily Mail, 11 September 1908).

In time many of these 'Scottish bands' ('Scotchies') were formed, and became known as 'MacGregor bands', or simply 'MacGregors'. Despite the new name, they continued to function according to the traditions of the earlier Ninevites and the Amalaita. Many of them came to be regarded by most urban Blacks as cover-up organizations for gangs of school drop-outs, juvenile delinquents who drank heavily, and smoked dagga (marijuana). Other such bands did not consist of social delinquents, but of school-going youngsters who came from sober, middle-class families, and who were therefore socially acceptable. However, they also gained a reputation for 'toughness', because they often engaged in fights with the other rival, and unruly township gangs.

Khabi Mngoma joined such a MacGregor or 'Scotchies' band, and his cousin, Albert Twala, has given an interesting account of his participation in 'Scotchies' activities:

We must have been about ten years of age when Khabi and I first met in George Goch. We were brought together by a man known as Gallick. Whether that was his first name, or a nickname, I do not know. Nor did I know his surname, and I never bothered to find out. He was simply 'Gallick' to all the people in the neighbourhood. He, and another gentleman, Duma Plata by name, were music lovers. They collected youngsters in the township, auditioned them for music talent and selected the ones they could use for their objective (personal communication, Albert Twala, November 1986).

Both Gallick and Duma taught the youngsters to play penny whistles, in imitation of Scottish fife players in their regimental bands.

In those years, when we were teenagers, handsome and enthusiastic, we played those penny whistles and felt very proud of ourselves. We were like Hollywood film-stars in the township; we were hero-worshipped, and those youths who could not make the grade into the band for lack of talent or aptitude, were green with envy (*ibid*).

They dressed in skirts with many pleats fashioned after the Scottish kilt. Across their shoulders hung a Scottish-style shawl (plaid) and the lower legs were draped with white garters, leaving the feet bare. The uniforms were provided by Khabi Mngoma's mother, who made the head gear (or bought equivalents), the pleated skirts and sashes, and the 'ankle-guards' (boot-leggings). The relatively well-dressed band members with their leggings and bare feet must have presented a rather odd, and even comic sight. As Khabi Mngoma himself commented, when recalling these times: 'I remember our feet showing bare beneath those ankle guards!' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

The band members made their own drums, and to this purpose they spent a great deal of time in the township looking for animal skins. Beasts (oxen), goats and sheep were regularly slaughtered for ritual purposes, and the skins were never discarded, but softened and used for domestic purposes. However, such skins were not easily available, because the owners were reluctant to part with them. Khabi Mngoma recalled:

We were willing to buy such skins, but people did not want to sell them. I am ashamed to say that we would resort to stealing skins from the homes of people who left them lying outside their doors, as doormats. We were desperate, and had to have them; and since we were unable to buy them - well, a skin would disappear from a front door, or from a fence where it had been hanging - and we would make our drum (*ibid*).

A cylindrical metal oil container was used as a resonator for the drum, with a head of skin drawn over each end, both skins being secured by a lacing of strips of leather (or string) which connected them with each other, in much the same way as rope in the Western European Military Drum.¹⁵

The whole resonator was then covered with skin, and the drum was then 'tuned' by placing it in the sun for a time, and then tightening the lacings. Alternately, the drum was placed near a fire and then tuned and tested for its sound (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

Albert Twala continued his account:

It was at this tender age that Khabi began to assert himself as a musician. He turned out to be the best penny whistle player in the band. After him came Pienie Matante,¹⁶ who grew up to become one of South Africa's best trombone players (personal communication, Albert Twala, November 1986).

Khabi Mngoma also became the best drummer in his 'Scotchies' group, which had a total of twenty-four members. Although it was customary to have an older person as band leader, Khabi Mngoma's expertise on the drums was such that he was nominated voorloper (Afrikaans for 'one who goes before'), or leader, in processions. The members marched in phalanx formation - four boys to a row - and various movement patterns and dance formations were made to the music of the penny whistles and drums, the rows of boys moving forward, sideways, dividing into two groups, and dancing around. These dance formations were formalized, and always well rehearsed. Albert Twala gave a description of a typical procession:

The group stood in a circle or semi-circle so that the crowd of spectators could witness the spectacle. The 'bagpipers' (us penny whistle players) would play a certain tune, called itsebe tsa tlou ('The Elephant's Ears'), which allowed an expert drummer to execute all kinds of stunts and acrobatic movements while drumming. Here, Khabi was the best, and after him a youngster called 'Ntsimbi Ntsie'.

I fail to express the picture adequately. [He means he regrets that he cannot describe the situation more vividly.]

However, Khabi would face one group member, who would hold the bass drum for him. He [Khabi] would then follow the rhythm of the song, beating the drum with two drum sticks, sometimes striking the instrument from underneath his high-kicking legs. Sometimes he would place himself in front of the drum, and beat it behind his back, while facing the crowd. Or else he would run quickly behind the drum bearer and beat the drum from behind his back - all this without missing a beat! His agility and dexterity were amazing! (*ibid*).

One wonders what Khabi Mngoma himself thought about these stunts, and what went through his mind when performing them. He himself described his performances as situations in which he '... did all sorts of things which would be considered clever - beating the drum continuously, and in rhythm, and improvising all sorts of novel actions and movements' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

The songs played by the Scotchies included those they had composed themselves, those taught them by Gallick and Duma, and also arrangements and adaptations of township wedding songs, marching songs, and popular tunes of the day which allowed them 'to swagger round' while playing their instruments. Their original songs were group composed, as were many of the communal songs maintained and perpetuated by youth organizations in earlier, traditional societies.

Vocal communal music is, of course, the most highly developed, and characteristic musical tradition in South Africa, and Khabi and his Scotchies were continuing this tradition (vocal music performed by a group of people of roughly the same age-set, and in which physical movements were equally important, structurally) in an urban environment, using instruments instead of voices.

Khabi Mngoma recalled (*ibid*) that they generally referred to their 'Scotchy music' as either 'Scotchy music' or 'Scotchy-fluitjie'. (*Fluitjie* is the Afrikaans word for 'little flute'.) The embouchure used in playing this music

entailed holding the mouth piece - which was an extension of the flute and not a separate attachment - sideways in the mouth. In this respect the 'Scotch-fluitjie' embouchure was similar to the kwela embouchure. It should be noted, however, that the kwela embouchure employs the mouth as a resonator, and therefore behaves in the same way as the embouchure employed when playing an African mouth bow. This was not the case with 'Scotch-fluitjie'; the reason for holding the penny whistle mouth piece sideways in the mouth when playing 'Scotch-fluitjie', was to attain a warm, husky tone, resembling the sound of Scottish bagpipes - that which the Scotchies were actually imitating.¹⁷ (Holding the penny whistle mouth piece straight in the mouth produces a shrill sound. This did not appeal to the Scotchies, nor did it serve their objective; personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, 7 May 1992.)

On Friday afternoons and Saturday mornings, Khabi Mngoma and his fellow Scotchies would set out on their Scotch parades. They would march from George Goch Township to the central Johannesburg area, playing their musical instruments.

They always paraded and performed in areas with high-rise buildings (flats and apartments, and offices), where people occupying these buildings would have a good view of their activities without having to come out onto the streets, and could throw down coins if they wished to do so.

These parades always attracted pavement spectators, who were asked to contribute money into a hat passed around by one of the Scotchies group. Favourite parade areas were located in Observatory, Hillbrow, Kensington, Malvern, Jeppe, Yeoville, and Zoo Lake.¹⁸

The parades were usually all-day affairs, the group returning to their homes in the late afternoon, or even late at night, tired and footsore, and each member looking forward to his share of the day's takings.

The latter was referred to as 'carrying money', and was used primarily for school needs. 'We felt that we saved our parents from having to give us lunch, or provision money for school' (*ibid*).

According to Albert Twala (personal communication, November 1986) the Scotchies groups felt that they were, on the one hand, being exploited by their sponsors (in this case Gallick and Duma), but on the other hand, membership of such groups certainly had its compensations. Albert Twala wrote that, although they were actually being exploited, they did not experience it intensely as such at the time. What mattered to them was the enjoyment they derived from this group activity (*ibid*).

While we enjoyed doing what we did, our bosses handled the money. Although we felt a certain amount of resentment, it was mitigated by our satisfaction, and indeed joy, in what we did. Besides, our Bosses bought us tasty fish and chips, and Boer bread;¹⁹ what more could a ten-year-old wish for? And when we disbanded in the evenings, we were each given two shillings [twenty cents], with the exception of Khabi, Ntsimbi and Pienie, who would be called aside, and presumably were given a little more money for their usually outstanding performances. Although Khabi never mentioned it, I am sure that he was paid the most. After all, his individual improvisations and extraordinary stunts were largely responsible for our successful parades, because they never failed to attract large numbers of spectators.

Believe it or not, the two shillings we each received were a valuable contribution to our household requirements. One has to remember that a loaf of bread cost fourpence [four cents]. Then too, one could buy a reasonably sized piece of meat for a sixpence [five cents]. With a 'tickey' [threepence - two and a half cents] one could buy sugar, or tea, or some candles. And for two shillings I was able to buy myself a pair of trousers which I could wear to school, priced at one shilling and elevenpence [one and eleven, ie nineteen cents].

So, thoughts about exploitation might have entered our minds fleetingly, but they were quickly dispelled by our sense of achievement, and the money we received (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma's ingenuity and showmanship were indispensable to the group. His sense of humour (which kept his fellow Scotchies in high spirits), as demonstrated in his ability to entertain the audiences with jokes and

comic acrobatic stunts involving physical endurance, resulted in the group refusing to go on parade without him. On the practical side, he had remarkable strategies for defending them against gangs. Whenever the Scotchies had no choice but to set out on a day's parade without Khabi Mngoma, they played only in localities nearby, such as Malvern and Jules Street, where they were less likely to be waylaid by gangs.

According to Albert Twala (*ibid*) Khabi Mngoma was sometimes late for parades due to household chores, and whenever this occurred, the 'bosses' (Gallick and Duma) would go to his home and speak to his mother, who would promise to release him after he had done his share of washing and ironing.

Khabi Mngoma's 'street-music' activities flourished, but he himself could not remain untouched by rough township life and the disreputable behaviour of township gangs. And for this, he told the writer, '... one had to be able to either run, or box...', concluding with the statement that he was indeed a 'running boxer'! (Personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985.)

In the township one had to be able to look after oneself. One had to be fit and tough enough to do so, and fortunately I was always keen on sport and physical fitness.²⁰ The township gangs were perhaps not so sophisticated then, as they are today, but they were very rough. They lived an animal type of existence; one thinks of dog packs roaming an area, and each pack allowed no other pack to encroach on its own turf. If a dog strayed from its pack, and wandered into another area, it was attacked by the other dogs in that area. It was like that with us, too, when our Scotchies came up against another type of township gang. We had the choice of running, or fighting (*ibid*).

The Scotchies parades were well known in the townships, and it often happened that they were waylaid by gangs who demanded the money they had earned on parade.

And of course, we would say 'Fair-go' - a standard reply to a challenge for a fight. It meant that the challenge was accepted - and that we would fight it out. In time these gangs learned

that we could fight when we had to. We already had a reputation for physical fitness (often alluded to in derisive remarks like 'Those Scotchies Laaities! [Laaitie is an Afrikaans slang word for 'small boy'.] Hulle gaan gym toe! ['They go to the gym!'] So don't fool around with them, they can fight!' And: 'If they break loose, you can't find them because they can run...!' [Very fast understood!] Sometimes we were outnumbered, and the opposing gang members would be armed with bicycle chains, and we had no hope of winning the battle. In such a situation, someone in our gang would give a special sign, and we would stop fighting and run...!

We never resorted to weapons of any sort. At the sports [gym] club we were taught not to do so, but to rely on our fists and feet to kick and run, and we did this very well. But when outnumbered - sometimes five against two of us - we had no choice but to run for it (ibid).

It was not long before the Scotchies gained a reputation as fearless fighters, and fast runners, and many members of the other township gangs began attending their sports club, 'to work out'! Soon after this, several of them joined the club as regular members, and eventually even gave instruction in boxing.

As Khabi Mngoma grew up, he found it increasingly difficult to remain a Scotchie member. His weekends were devoted to the group's activities, with the result that he gave little (if any) time to his school work. His parents did not approve of this, nor did they condone his very late returns from the parades. He recalled:

Sometimes I arrived home so late that I would be too embarrassed to wake my parents to let me into the house. I would then wait on the stoep [porch] until sunrise, and, of course, every time my parents found me there, they were furious (ibid).

His parents felt that these activities exposed him to possible terrorization by township gangs, and also led him astray, and on the road to delinquency - living as he did in a deteriorating social environment in which crime

was rampant and food was scarce. It was decided that he should go and live with rural relatives, his maternal grandfather's family, who resided near Annieville Mission in the Dannhauser district in northern Natal.

However, Khabi Mngoma's recollections of his Scotch days are mostly good ones: 'I think it was healthy in every way; just that we did overdo some things... but I gained considerable experience in making music with other people' (*ibid*).

According to Albert Twala (personal communication, November 1986) when he and Khabi Mngoma gave up the penny whistle band, it continued for only a few months more, and then gradually disbanded. Some of the musicians who used to play 'Scotchy music' in their early youth later switched to up-coming new traditions, developing into famous jazz artists at adult age. Two other musicians who acquired international acclaim emerged from this Scottish band. They were Mackay Davashe, who became a tenor saxophone artist, band leader and composer,²¹ and Kippie Moeketsi, who became a virtuoso alto saxophone jazz artist.²²

1933 - 1936 : Life at Annieville in Natal

When Khabi Mngoma went to live with his grandfather in Dannhauser district, he found the area ravaged by years of persistent drought. Living conditions were distressing, but nevertheless comparatively better than those in the townships, where the effects of the 1930s Depression, overcrowding and lack of employment were felt by all. In Annieville the people tried with great difficulty to eke out a living by growing a few vegetables, and thus Khabi Mngoma's move to Annieville was economically not an advantageous one. Yet, life there had its unique aspects.

For the first time he was exposed to country living and rural music which, despite the conditions of economic depression, helped him to establish and build new values, and gave him a sense of social coherence among the less sophisticated, but warmhearted, rural folk. He also established a close relationship with his grandfather, whose character made an indelible impression on his young mind.

He was a quiet man, a very considerate man, but one with whom it was difficult to communicate. He somehow kept his distance. But for all that, the many little things he did for me, without verbal communication, made me realize that he was very much aware of me, and that he deeply cared for me (personal communication, Khabu Mngoma, August 1985).

Khabu Mngoma recalled the time when he first came into contact with the thorn bushes that grew in great profusion in the area, and had to limp back to his grandfather's house, his feet covered with thorns. Without a word his grandfather sat him down, and painstakingly extracted each thorn, and disinfected the wounds. On another occasion Khabu had an accident while playing football with other boys in the area. The football was in fact the bladder of a freshly slaughtered animal, blown up and tied to make a ball. During the game he fell, and fractured his ankle. It was a serious fracture, but his grandfather treated it with an infusion of indigenous herbs, known as ijoye, which was heated and then rubbed into the ankle every morning and afternoon. 'His concern for me showed that he was indeed fond of me. He also made me my first pair of sandals - from the skin cut from a bull's forehead' (*ibid*).

Khabu Mngoma also has vivid recollections of the food he ate at Annieville, which included local dishes:

There was umcaba,²³ a dish made from ground corn. The whole grain is used, either sorghum or mealies, which is boiled until soft, then drained and ground by crushing it under a grind stone until it forms a pulp. Finally it gets mixed with sour milk, amasi²⁴ - delicious! Umbaqanga²⁵ (a type of quick-cooking maize bread cooked without baking powder) was also part of our diet. We sometimes called it ujeqe. It is a dumpling made out of the whole mealie before it hardens. The sheaf covers of the mealie are pulled off and set aside. Then the mealie pips are ground, made into a lump, and wrapped in the sheaf leaves to capture the flavour of the mealie corn during the cooking process. The dumpling is not soaked in water to cook, but steamed. Sometimes a metal base or 'colander' is used at the bottom of the cooking utensil, so that the dumplings can be pulled around in the water while it steams.

Isijabane²⁶ was made from the young parts of the pumpkin plant, ie the softer shoots of leaves, which were picked and cooked like spinach. Another pumpkin recipe was isijingi:²⁷ cooked pumpkin, mixed with mealie meal - the mealie meal was added after the pumpkin was cooked. I always enjoyed the meals there. Even locusts found their way into the pot! (*ibid*).

Locusts were indeed plentiful in 1933, when virtually the whole of Natal was invaded by these insects, which swarmed in from the north-east. Khabi Mngoma and other local boys obtained hessian bags to catch the locusts: they simply held them open and up in the air during a swarm, and the insects could not help but fly into them. Locusts were literally caught by the bag; the legs and wings were removed, and the carcasses were roasted, thus providing a tasty and nourishing dish, rich with proteins. 'At that stage there was little else to eat, as the locusts had ravaged the crops and gardens' (*ibid*).

One could say that the people of Annieville were able to eat their farm produce - albeit in a processed form! Sour milk - amasi - was always available in the ixhiba, a hut near the main dwelling that served as a kitchen (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985). It is a drink that Khabi Mngoma still finds very refreshing.

The homestead dwellings at Annieville were made of mud-bricks, (for the walls), and thatching grass (for the roofs). There was also one dwelling that was made of sheets of corrugated iron, which was used as a dormitory for the boys in the family. It seems that this was a deliberate arrangement, because it enabled Khabi Mngoma's grandfather to make sure that the boys would be up and about early in the morning, in order to commence their cattle-herding duties!

Each morning my grandfather ran a stick against the vertical parts of the iron, and woke us up with a tremendous clatter! We knew that he wanted us to get out of bed. So we would do so, and go out to tend the cattle - and those beasts are not very friendly at that time of the day! This was round about 03h30 to 04h00, when we had to inspan [yoke up] the oxen. I did not like the early morning rising, it was too early! But it was essential that we commence

ploughing before sunrise - and finish the job in time so that we could return home to wash, clean up and prepare for school. And that part I did not like at all! There were three of us boys - two sons of my grandfather by a second marriage, and myself. His sons were a few years older than myself. It must have been very lonely for the old man during the day... (ibid).

The headmaster of the local school was also a son of Khabu Mngoma's grandfather (presumably this was from a first marriage; it would make him Khabu Mngoma's uncle), and he seems to have exploited the relationship, as well as his senior status.

We had to walk through a spruit [small stream] to get to school, and on rainy days the headmaster would wait for us at this spruit. He made us carry him across on our shoulders! He was always neatly dressed with highly polished shoes, as befitted a headmaster, and so he could hardly be expected to arrive at the school with muddy shoes! (ibid).

During the recess at 10h00, the boys would return home, fetch the cows, milk them, fill the amagula calabashes with the milk, and then leave it to sour. After this they would return to school, which recessed in the early afternoon. The boys would then go home and tend the cattle as herd boys. This was quite an enjoyable pastime, because it permitted them to while away the hours playing games in the field near the cattle, and try their hand at making clay figures - human figures, oxen, and ox-wagons, all of which were allowed to dry, and were then used in a type of 'wargame' contrived by the boys.

Making mats for corn-grinding was another favourite and useful pastime. These were woven from a type of grass or long rush, which grows along rivers and marshy areas or swamps. It is called incema (botanical names: juncus maritimus and juncus effusus; vide Doke and Vilakazi 1972:529). Umsingizane - a species of tall grasses growing along roadsides (botanical names: sporobolus indicus and eragrostis curvula; vide ibid:759) was used to weave grass baskets and various types of tray and receptacle for holding corn: isiqabetho (Krige 1936, 1950:395).

The boys played games and sang Zulu hunting songs, known as izimbiba, which literally means 'striped field mice'. The songs were named after the game of hunting edible mice, an activity boys often engaged in while minding the cattle.²⁸

Another activity was playing igekle, a Zulu transverse wooden flute with two finger holes, and always played in pairs.²⁹

Khabi Mngoma reminisced:

One blew for hours.³⁰ Those afternoons spent herding cattle, and amusing ourselves, were the most carefree periods of our lives. They were also in many respects, quite exciting. We would lie down in the tall grass, hidden from sight; we would look up at the sky and play our flutes. And then we would sleep for a time, until the cattle lowed, reminding us it was time to take them home!

I went there (to Annieville) many years later, and looked for igekle among the boys - but all I found was transistor radios (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

Khabi Mngoma's uncle (probably the one who was the headmaster) had grown up in the Orange Free State, and had adopted some 'Free State farmer habits'. Sometimes, when the boys had fallen asleep in the tall grass, he would ride out on horseback looking for them, furious because the cattle had strayed into the mealie (maize) fields. 'He used a sjambok on us (one of those long leather whips) - and we would run around frantically, trying to dodge it... but otherwise, my uncle was a very considerate man...' (*ibid*).

Musical activities in Annieville Primary School took the form of choir competitions that were organized by Teachers' Associations, and during which various styles of traditional and neo-traditional African music were performed, together with choral compositions by eclectic composers such as Reuben Caluza (1895-1969).

Khabi Mngoma too, sang in the school's choir, and it was here at Anniesville that he heard American ragtime music for the first time - and the type of Zulu vocal communal music that came to be known as 'Zulu male traditional singing' (*ingom' ebusuku*).³¹ This music was performed at Anniesville on various social occasions, eg Christmas tree presentation concerts held in a church hall at Christmas time, and during special events such as Easter. Groups of male singers - about four to ten singers per group - who had returned home from work stints in Johannesburg, Durban and Ladysmith, would perform songs that demonstrated current trends in city and township music. Such performances were common in most of the rural areas in South Africa where the migrant workers had their homes to which they returned on their annual leave. The texts of their songs were topical, expressing aspects of social and political life in the cities and townships. Some of these songs were skits or burlesques, which commented humorously upon the social activities of various age groups, and even ridiculed them. When the migrant labourers performed such songs in their communities, they invited local people to perform with them, and this led to the practice of permitting females to join the group, and to sing the upper voice parts. Prior to them becoming a regular feature of such groups, however, the upper voice parts were sung by males singing quasi falsetto, ie in a very high register. The movement patterns that are a feature of this style of music, occasionally provide cross-rhythms (or counter-rhythms) to the rhythm of the vocal patterns, the inherent accents of which never coincide regularly with those of the movement patterns. This has been attributed to the influence of ragtime, but it may be an overstatement, because it is a feature of older, autochthonous forms of music as well.

This style of neo-traditional Zulu music which Khabi Mngoma experienced at Anniesville, was performed solely for enjoyment, and never on a competitive basis, or for financial reasons, but it was indeed part of the historic developmental process which eventually gave rise to a new competitive tradition, ie Zulu male traditional choirs competing in all-night choral competitions in the cities on Saturday nights. (*Vide* Chapter IV.)

The years at Anniesville Mission were of great significance to Khabi Mngoma's 'musical awareness' so to speak, for he gained insight into the history of Zulu male traditional singing through personal experience of male groups coming and going - and always bringing back something new from the cities in the form of male group

choreographed singing. 'This was how I became caught up in this music' (*ibid*). (Zulu male traditional singing has always remained a major interest of Khabi Mngoma.)

The experiences of Zulu male traditional singing at Annieville provided him with the knowledge of the development of a new style of music (a new musical tradition), and it also provided him with some background knowledge of this tradition which he found very useful when, many years later (ca 1949-1956), both he and David Rycroft were involved with the organization of venues for Zulu male traditional singing choir competitions in Johannesburg, which took place under the auspices of the Johannesburg City Council. It was at these events that he also met some of the men from Annieville, who were still very active in this musical tradition in those later years (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma refers to the songs that make up this tradition as 'South African ragtime songs', and over the years he has built up an extensive collection of them. His particular interest in this genre is motivated by the texts of the songs, which he regards as a valuable documentary source of the prevailing social and political conditions in South Africa.

A good example of this is the compositional output of Reuben Caluza. Khabi Mngoma's admiration for this composer's output is well explained in the following passage:

Caluza continued an age-old tradition of leadership and spokesmanship accorded the composer-musician in African society. In such a role the musician chronicles the life of his society's day-to-day occurrences - their fears, their foibles, their triumphs, their trials. The musician in such a role is a spokesman who is respected because he evinces a sensitivity as well as insights into the social dynamics of such a society' (Mngoma 1984).

In their texts Caluza's songs frequently allude to 'history and tradition'; eg many of the texts are descriptions of the social scenes of his time, such as the song Ethekwini ('Durban'),

... (which) was composed for entertainment, and to document what Caluza considered to be social advancement, when Africans could be admitted into Durban hotels and be allowed to be served with refreshments like tea... (*ibid*).

Some texts describe '... the idiosyncrasies of the people of his age' (*ibid*); others express patriotic sentiments, pathos and also, humour (*ibid*).

An example of a song with Zulu patriotic sentiments, is the song Sikhulekel' Usolomon ('We hail Solomon'), in which Caluza prays that King Solomon of the Zulu people (the successor to the throne of his father Dinuzulu, son of Cetshwayo; King Solomon died in 1933) '... should be spared the political problems and upheavals that bedeviled his father's (Dinuzulu's) reign' (*ibid*).³²

A good example of a song evincing humour, is Caluza's song Umaconsana,³³ described by Khabi Mngoma as '... a documentation of the era of the shebeen and a humorous "sermon" on the dangers of the abuse of alcohol' (*ibid*).

During the performance of the song, a bass singer would come forward, dressed up as a fat woman to imitate a fat 'shebeen queen' selling her concoctions (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma's experiences at Annieville left a vivid, dynamic impression on his mind - and he was indeed impressed with the 'Zulu ragtime choirs' (as he put it). This period of his life could be regarded as the phase in which his interest in the relation between African musical performance and the socio-political environment in which it evolves was stimulated.

Notes

1. Further information on Troyeville is also given by Raper (1987, 1989:542) stating that
... it was laid out on the farm Doornfontein in 1891 by Van Boeschoten, Lorentz and Lubbers, and named after its surveyor, G A Troye (1860 - 1930). It has been criticized for its rigid grid-iron lay-out with roads running straight up steep hills, and no parks or recreational facilities.
2. The exact place of his birth is uncertain.
3. Esidumbeni is also referred to as 'Esidumbini' and 'Sidumbeni'. According to *ibid*:152 the name '... apparently means "place of the dumbe", referring to the plant colocasia antiquorum which grows there in profusion. The location of Esidumbeni is at the Esidumbeni mountain (1063 m high), about 17 km north-east of Keats' Drift (*ibid*).
4. Mapumulo was '... named after the Maphumulo Zulu people who came to live here after being driven by Shaka; the name is said to mean "haven of rest" (*ibid*:326).
5. According to Raper (*ibid*:538) Tongaat was established in 1945 and derives its name from the Thongati River. Tongaat is situated 45 km north of Durban, and 6 km inland from the Indian Ocean (*ibid*).
6. Dannhauser is a town situated between Glencoe and Newcastle. 'It was possibly named after Thomas Richard Dannhauser, a former acting landdrost of Weenen' (*ibid*:111).
7. Khabi Mngoma was unable to provide the writer with any more detailed information about his parents.
8. The first country-wide official radio programme in South Africa was broadcast in November 1923. For further reading on the history of radio broadcasting in South Africa, *vide* Schirmer 1981:100-102.
9. Es'kia Mphahlele, who is a close friend of Khabi Mngoma, recalls how he himself used to recite Tennyson's poem. (*Vide* Mphahlele 1959, 1971:129.) However, Mphahlele seems to have been less impressed with himself, than was Khabi Mngoma, with his own recitations!
10. Africans were permitted to enter urban areas only when they were '... willing to minister to the needs of the white man', and had to depart from such areas when they '... ceased so to minister' (Coplan 1985:90 quotes the Stallard Commission Report, 1922).
11. Today the site of Prospect Township includes the Kaserne railway depot where goods trains from the coast deliver goods for distribution in the interior. The Kaserne railway yard is about 5 km south-east of Park Station (Raper 1987, 1989:252).
12. According to Raper (*ibid*:176), George Goch Township is a
... railway station between Jeppe and Denver, north of Benrose, on the Johannesburg-Springs line. It was named after George Goch, a former mayor of Johannesburg and member of the Board of Directors of the Bantjes Gold Mining Company.
13. The use of the term 'penny whistle' in this thesis denotes the cylinder flageolet.
14. The Xhosa composer, Benjamin Tyamzashe, wrote a song Hay' Abant' Abamnyama ('Alas the black Nation') in 1928, in which there is a reference in the text to the Amalaita. It was published by Lovedale in 1929, and had its first public performance at the University of Cape Town in 1983.

15. The two-headed cylindrical drum is described by Kirby (1934, 1965:44-46). Beaten with two sticks, it was - and still is - found among the Zulu, Swazi and Xhosa, and other cultural groups in southern Africa. The fact that these Nguni peoples had no tradition of drums and drumming, and that this double-headed drum (with heads laced together) was first described by Franz Mayr, an early missionary among the Zulu (1908), suggests that this drum is not an original, indigenous Nguni instrument, but was copied from the European military drum. (Vide Mayr 1908:257-268.) Its use among the Xhosa-speaking peoples has been described by Hansen (1981), and Xhosa informants have stated that it is indeed a cultural 'borrowing'.

16. Already in the 1930s Pienie Matante was playing with one of the most popular bands - the 'reading' band, known as 'The Merry Black Birds'. The Merry Blackbirds was a dance band formed in the early 1930s, when middle-class African performers and promoters, such as Griffiths Motsieloa, wanted '... more literate and westernized' musicians. Motsieloa, his wife Emily, J C P Mavimbela, Peter Rezant and others joined to form the Merry Blackbirds. In 1934 Salvation Army trained trumpeters, Steve Monkoe and Enoch Matunjwa, joined the band. The Merry Blackbirds were '... good music readers, they avoided African musical influences and achieved the highest social status of any black band'. (Vide Coplan 1985:127, 131, 134, 139, 146, 150, 164.)

17. This music preceded the era of kwela music (1940s and 1950s) with which the penny whistle became closely associated. For detailed information and documentation of kwela, vide Kubik 1974. Vide also Kubik et al 1987.

18. Coplan (1985:155-156) makes mention of similar parades which regularly took place in locations and townships during the 1930s and 1940s. Passers-by and spectators usually threw coins at the performers. Coplan adds that, if the group wanted to increase their earnings, '... they invaded the white city and suburbs, where takings were considerably better' (*ibid*).

19. Boer bread is a huge loaf of white bread, baked according to the tradition of the Afrikaner (Boere) farm kitchen. It is much bigger than the standard-sized loaf.

20. According to Albert Twala (personal communication, November 1986) Khabi Mngoma had a reputation as a good sportsman. He was thought to be one of the best football players in George Goch Township - and in the Salvation Army Primary School he attended. He joined a football team in Western Native Township, called the Bushbucks. In his matriculation year (1944) he was appointed a boxing coach at Kilnerton Institute, and, later on, during his years of study at Adams College in Natal (Amanzimtoti), he continued as a coach, where he even gave boxing instruction to Chief Minister G M Buthelezi.

21. For reference, vide Coplan 1985:150, 167, 171, 174, 189, 190, 191; Andersson 1981:24,38; Huskisson 1969:29-30; Malan, ed 1983. Vide also Mutloatse, ed 1987:84.

22. Kippie 'Morolong' Moeketsi was born in 1925 and died in 1983. For reference to Kippie Moeketsi, vide Coplan 1985:167, 172, 174, 189, 190-192; Andersson 1981:24, 34, 41; Mutloatse, ed 1987:71-77.

23. Krige (1936, 1950:384) describes umcaba as

... amasi [milk curd] prepared with mealies or Kaffir-corn. The mealies are boiled, taken out of the water and dried, then pounded. They are then mixed with amasi and allowed to stand some little time before being eaten. Wild honey may be added to take off the acid taste (Krige, *ibid*, quotes Ludlow 1882:73).

24. Amasi (sour milk) is prepared as follows: fresh milk is poured into a calabash (igula), which has a tiny hole at the bottom - about the size of the circumference of a pen - through which the whey would eventually be allowed through. Once the milk is sour, the cream goes up and drifts on top of the sour milk and the whey, which lies at the bottom. To empty the calabash of the whey, the hole at the bottom is opened and the whey is allowed to pour out. The igula, with the cream and milk left in it, is then put outside in the sun for a long time so that the sour milk can thicken. The igula is shut up once again and stacked away with the other amagula (plural/'calabashes') in the ixhiba - ie the hut that serves as the kitchen. The amagula with the amasi are stored

emsamo - at the back of the hut where it is the coolest (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985; vide also Krige 1936, 1950:383-384).

25. Umbaqanga is described by Krige as '... a thick, lumpy porridge [or bread] of crushed mealies' (ibid:385).

26. The descriptions of isijabane and isijingi by Krige (ibid:384) differ somewhat from Khabi Mngoma's description. She describes isijabane as '... green herbs (imifino) mixed with dough of crushed mealies to form a soft mash' and isijingi as '... crushed mealies or Kaffir-corn (amabele) mixed with pumpkin or mashed potato'. Krige quotes from Bryant (1905) and maintains that isijingi is also known by the name isiHhiya (ibid).

27. Re isijingi: vide ante.

28. Mbiba is the root of imbiba (singular), izimbiba (plural) - Zulu for a 'striped field mouse', eaten by boys. Bula izimbiba means 'to hunt striped mice' (Doke and Vilakazi 1948, 1958:492). A song with the title We Mbiba is included in Pessa Weinberg's book (1984) on Zulu children's songs, and the song is accompanied by the following remark:

When hunting edible mice the children arrange themselves in two facing rows and wait for the mouse to appear from the grass hole, whereupon they stab it with a homemade assegai, and then roast it over a fire (ibid:53).

Rycroft included a mouse-hunting song in his series for the British Broadcasting Corporation, 'The Music of the Zulus and their Neighbours' (1977). Rycroft gave an accompanying description of Zulu country life activities such as minding the cattle.

Boys play various games while minding cattle... If (they) see a field-mouse, they like to chase it and pretend they are hunting, and they even have special mouse-hunting songs expressly for such an occasion (ibid:6).

Although Rycroft focused here on the activities of Zulu boys, the mouse-hunting song he included is a Xhosa one.

29. Although Kirby (1934, 1965) does not mention the playing of Zulu transverse flutes in pairs (as are amagemfe - composite flutes), Khabi Mngoma always played his igekle with a co-player - and the Venda do this too.

According to Kirby (ibid:120-122) the name igekle is synonymous with the Zulu term igemfe (plural amagemfe), the name of a composite end-blown flute, also played in pairs (vide ibid, plates 42a and b), and used only by the Zulu. Variant terms reported by him are igenxe and igerre, all of which denote the composite flute. The transverse flute that Khabi Mngoma and his friends played was, states Kirby, '... rarely seen among the Zulu', but whenever they used it they called it igemfe. From this information, and the information obtained from Khabi Mngoma it would seem that the terms igemfe and igekle were used interchangeably, and denoted a Zulu flute, both the transverse and end-blown types. See plate 43a in Kirby (ibid) in which there are three specimens of the Zulu transverse flute. Two of them have four finger-holes (14 and 15), whereas the other has three finger-holes (no 13, 14 and 15).

There is a specimen of an igekle in the museum collection of the Anthropological Department of the University of Zululand. This particular specimen has two finger-holes, but the exhibition notes query the fact whether this flute is complete, or needs a third finger-hole. The exhibition notes further describe the igekle as '... a hollow pipe of reed or wood with a soft wooden pith'.

In Rycroft's BBC contribution (1977) he mentioned that '... while minding cattle, boys have always liked to make and play their own bamboo flutes' (ibid:6). He included a recording of a bamboo flute tune, played by a herdboy on a side-blown bamboo flute with five finger-holes. No name was mentioned.

A close scrutiny of Kirby's information (1934, 1965:121) evinces that the igemfe players actually play(ed) in interlocking fashion. Kirby describes this as '... a strange antiphony', but the technique used is interlocking. (Vide Kirby's transcription, ibid:121.) Kirby's description is partly correct in that the two players do not commence their patterns at the same time, but enter in sequence, a procedure comparable with the 'non-simultaneous entry' of lead-singer and chorus phrases which characterizes so much African music in southern Africa. (Vide Rycroft 1967; vide also Blacking 1959:15-23.)

30. Incidentally, one has difficulty in doing this with composite amagemfe - one usually gets very giddy and almost faints. Khabi Mngoma probably means, as far as their igekle playing was concerned, that they indeed played for hours, but no doubt with breaks in between.

31. For reference to Zulu male traditional singing (history, development and styles), vide the following studies: Erlmann 1986, 1988; Erlmann 1989:31-55; Erlmann 1990:199-220; Cockrell 1987. Vide also Coplan's references in 1985:65-67, 79, 105, 116, 125, 133-134, 135, 136, 154-155, 188, 266.

32. Khabi Mngoma adds a note on King Dinuzulu's situation as alluded to in Caluza's song Sikhulekel' Usolomon:

Dinuzulu was dethroned and banished to Middelburg (Transvaal); Caluza mistakenly refers to this as 'Pitol' [Zulu for Pretoria]; by the Natal Government, because he was mistakenly accused of being responsible for the Bhambatha Rebellion of 1906. In this Rebellion Bhambatha, supported by Meseni and S'gananda of Nkandla, took up arms against the Government of Natal rather than submit to the paying of Poll Tax as demanded by the Government of Natal (Mngoma 1984).

33. Umaconsana is the name of an intoxicating drink made from 'sugar, yeast, rice' and other ingredients (ibid).

Chapter II

Keys

Khabi Mngoma completes his primary and secondary schooling in the early 1940s, and matriculates in 1944. His first formal music studies in Western classical music (1937 - 1944).

The period 1937 - 1945

At the end of 1936 Khabi Mngoma returned to the home of his parents in George Goch Township (he was then about fourteen years old), and resumed his primary schooling at the Salvation Army Primary School.

It was there that he came into sustained contact with the organization's musical activities, especially more of its brass band ensemble, and choir groups.¹ Participation in band ensembles was indeed a major attraction for potential Salvation Army members, who could also avail themselves of some musical tuition in brass band instruments which the organization offered (Coplan 1985:83). But Khabi was not interested in playing such instruments, and instead joined the Salvation Army School Choir.

The headmaster of the Salvation Army Primary School was Mark Radebe, who was both respected and admired as a highly competent musician and pianist, but feared for his use of the strap to chastise unruly boys. He is regarded as having been the '... leading middle-class music educator and critic of the 1930s' (Erlmann 1984:12),² and had a profound influence on the young Khabi Mngoma's musical development.

Being a keen pianist, Mark Radebe gave most of his spare time to practising on a piano located in one of the school's vestries. He would lock himself in and play the instrument for as long as time permitted, for some time

quite unaware that the young Khabi Mngoma was sitting outside at the door of the vestry, listening to his playing.

The more Khabi Mngoma listened to Radebe's playing, the more his admiration for this man grew.

Mark Radebe was an enigmatic man - quiet and introverted, and with a calm expression on his face. Because of this, one tended to underrate his sensitivity, which he surely must have had to be such a good artist (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, September 1985).

Khabi Mngoma's admiration of Mark Radebe as a person and artist spurred on his ambition to become an all round, competent and above all, literate musician. He was especially keen to become a proficient sight-reader, and to learn the rudiments of music. 'I became desperate to read music and had a passion to learn to play the piano properly' (*ibid*).

One day Mark Radebe discovered Khabi Mngoma sitting outside the vestry and, on enquiring about his interest, he offered to teach him. In order to learn to read music from staff notation, Mark Radebe advised Khabi Mngoma to obtain the William Smallwood's Piano Tutor. To this end Khabi Mngoma and his cousin, Albert Twala, saved up their pocket money, and when they thought that they had enough money to purchase the tutor, they set out on foot from George Goch to central Johannesburg in search of a music shop.

Albert Twala's vivid account of this occasion (personal communication, November 1986) makes very interesting and sympathetic reading:

It was difficult to come by music shops. Of course, in those days, people generally did not know what we were talking about, let alone what we wanted.

Between us we had four shillings and sixpence [forty-five cents]; we did not know the cost price of a music manual. When we reached Magnet, the music instruments shop, we learned that the price was seven shillings and sixpence [seventy-five cents] - quite beyond our means.

We moved around town dejected, hungry, but determined to raise the thirty cents balance required for purchasing the book. We had no further means. Moving around Doornfontein we spotted a sack on the verandah of a dwelling house. We grabbed it. Then, a few houses away, we found another. We kept on walking in the direction of a depot in Staib Street in Doornfontein where bottles and sacks were bought. En route we picked up a few empty liquor bottles cast off - and finally we made the target.

At the time we did not realize that our actions actually constituted theft, because the bottles and sacks we took from the stoeps belonged to people who no doubt intended to sell them at the collecting depot. That part, however, did not register in our minds. We were not acting with a criminal intent; we desperately needed the music book - and we got it.

The next step was to find a family who owned a piano. That was no problem. A bosom friend of mine, Whitefield 'Slow' Siloto, son of a Methodist Church Evangelist, would not refuse us permission to use his family piano. Indeed, we were granted permission by the Reverend Siloto, a very kind and godly pastor (*ibid*).

It was at this stage that Khabi Mngoma's piano lessons with Mark Radebe commenced in all earnest. Albert Twala recalled that Khabi Mngoma spent long hours '... thumping on the keyboard' with his large fingers that did not seem suited for the purpose. But he persevered, while the Siloto family listened to his endeavours, and apparently enjoyed listening to him, albeit some of them were privately amused at his earnestness.

For some time it seemed as if he made no progress at all; at one stage he believed that he would never be able to play the piano, and to make things worse, he knew that all of the Silotos were good players...

None of them volunteered to give him any instruction or advice, but left him to his own efforts. However, no amount of bantering and good-natured joking could deter him. He went on practising, his ears deaf to everything except the rather incoherent sounds he produced on the instrument. The very resonant sound of the instrument itself, which came through, despite his stumbles and slips, assured him that he was making some progress.

All this dogged determination and perseverance paid off. After three months, Khabi Mngoma was playing - and reading - music so well, that some of the female members of the Siloto family began to show some signs of envy, and even jealousy. After six months he became such a good pianist, that permission to use the Siloto piano was withdrawn - no reasons given, but intensely understood... 'We had to begin to hunt for another piano' (*ibid*).

A number of families in the township possessed a piano, but all of them were sadly in need of tuning, and even repair. As Khabi Mngoma was having music lessons with Mark Radebe, it was imperative that he practised regularly. The only solution was to use the harmonium in his Aunt Tryphine's (Albert Twala's) home to practise on, and this he did, working steadily through the Smallwood Pianoforte Tutor.

The harmonium, which was first brought to South Africa by the 1820 Settlers¹ (English, Scots and Irish; *vide* Coplan 1985:37), gradually gained popularity among mission-educated Africans, who acquired these instruments as well. They often even gave the harmonium priority over western domestic appliances and furniture (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985). It was also preferred above the piano, which was an inconvenient piece of furniture, because it was rather large and had to be tuned regularly, whereas the harmonium, which came in smaller sizes, needed no tuning (*ibid*). In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that the harmonium was the forerunner of the piano in black societies and communities.

The harmonium formed the nucleus of many musical activities in African Christian homes. It was used for accompanying church hymns, and certain styles of Western music that the missionaries and settlers had brought with them, and which were in vogue in Victorian England, eg Italian and English madrigals, and Victorian salon music. In addition, adaptations of African traditional style tunes were also played on the instrument (*ibid*) and

it proved to be the ideal instrument on which to play and accompany marabi, a popular style of neo-traditional music that was prevalent in the townships during the period ca 1920-1940, the 'marabi epoch'.³

It was during this marabi epoch that Khabi Mngoma learned to play the harmonium. Although he was very aware of marabi events, such as the gumbagumba dances on Saturday nights and other township musical marabi traditions that took place in his close surroundings - in Prospect Township initially, and then in George Goch Township - he was not interested in performing them. He was attracted to the forms of Western classical music, church and choral music. For a young African boy in his early teens, Khabi Mngoma was quite individualistic in his preferences, living in the circumstances that he did. He virtually 'pioneered' his own way into classical keyboard playing, which was very difficult for a young African lad to accomplish at the time.

I loved playing the harmonium, and it was a relief to have an instrument to practise on. Most of the township pianos were in a dreadful state. They had not been tuned for years, so playing on them was hardly enjoyable. At least the harmonium was always on pitch (ibid).

For a short while Khabi Mngoma and his cousin Albert Twala attempted some penny whistle/harmonium duos, but Albert soon became bored and lost interest. Khabi Mngoma, on the other hand, was determined to become a competent keyboard player on both the harmonium and the piano, and in this, both his mother and Aunt Tryphine were most supportive.

During the years of receiving piano tuition from Mark Radebe, Khabi Mngoma met another one of the former's pupils, the music enthusiast Milton Oerson who, though living somewhere on the West-Rand, which was quite a distance from the Salvation Army School, also studied piano under Mark Radebe. Milton Oersen became one of Khabi Mngoma's piano mentors, and some years later, also a music colleague. (He is mentioned in Ezekiel Mphahlele's book entitled Down Second Avenue, 1959, 1971, in connection with recitals that he and Khabi Mngoma performed together.)⁴

In June 1938 Khabi Mngoma passed Standard 6.

In 1939 World War II broke out, so Khabi Mngoma did not immediately continue with his schooling, but joined his father as a newspaper vendor for the Central News Agency (CNA) to supplement the family's income.

It was during this period that Khabi Mngoma came to know his father more intimately, and he actually discovered that the latter was extremely fond of music - something of which Khabi Mngoma had been quite unaware when he was younger.

Very early in the mornings, at about 03h00, he and his father would leave for work and travel to Cleveland, from where they operated. While they waited for the delivery van to drop their allotted stack of newspapers, they would sit around an imbawula fire (a brazier fire) - and Mngoma Senior would while away the time playing the concertina. Khabi Mngoma greatly admired his father's playing - as did the early-morning commuters and bystanders who warmed themselves at the fire and listened to the music. It was this group of people who nicknamed Khabi Mngoma's father Umsila kasathani ('the devil's tail') - as mentioned earlier in this study.

Khabi Mngoma had no recollection of where, when and/or how the concertina actually came into his father's possession, but he did recall, however, that he played the instrument 'in an African way' (*ibid*).⁵

Khabi Mngoma's newspaper vending stint did not last very long. In 1940 his parents sent him to St Peter's Secondary School in Rosettenville,⁶ where he continued his education as a day scholar, commuting daily from George Goch to Rosettenville and back. He remained there for a period of three years, and completed his Junior Certificate examinations in 1942.

It was at St Peter's that Khabi Mngoma met three clergymen who had a profound influence on his choice of a career as music educator. They were Trevor Huddleston, Trelauny Ross, and Martin Jarrett-Kerr (*ibid*).

Trevor Huddleston was Headmaster of the school. Being an energetic religious leader, social worker and educator⁷ who was also very fond of music. He regarded the latter as a medium through which mutual understanding and respect between white and black South Africans could be cultivated (Kavanagh 1985:68). He encouraged communal activities, which included orchestral concerts in Sophiatown,⁸ established a jazz band, named 'The Huddleston Jazz Band', and generally took a great interest in the welfare and activities of black performing artists in Johannesburg (vide Andersson 1981:30-31, 120), among whom were the trombonist Jonas Gwangwa⁹ and the trumpeter Hugh Masekela,¹⁰ who both ultimately became prominent and internationally acclaimed black South African musicians.

Trelauny Ross was the official pianist at St Peter's. Every morning the school pupils assembled in the chapel for prayers and important announcements, and after they had dispersed to their classes, it was usual for him to remain behind and spend the next period playing the piano. It was on these occasions that Ross noticed Khabi Mngoma, who would stay behind in the chapel (after assembly) in order to listen to Ross' playing. Seeing the young lad's interest, Ross asked him whether he too played the piano, and on learning that he did and wished to continue his piano studies, he offered to teach him whenever he had the time to spare. He also gave Khabi Mngoma permission to listen to his practising if he thought that he was learning something by doing so.

It was during Khabi Mngoma's piano lessons with Ross that the latter discovered the former's singing abilities, and hence offered to give him informal vocal training as well. He presented him with a collection of music, which included some Lieder by Beethoven, extracts from oratorios, and the Passions by J S Bach. He also introduced the young Khabi Mngoma to works of the great composers of Baroque keyboard music and fostered his musical ambitions with the dedication of a true mentor.

Khabi Mngoma regards Ross as probably the most important musical influence in his life (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

Since Khabi Mngoma had no piano of his own, he was always looking for an available instrument on which he could practise. He discovered that he could use the facilities of the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg,

which offered resources to the black South African public, including book loans, film shows, concerts, theatrical activities and general educational and recreational facilities (Coplan 1985:115).¹¹ Khabi Mngoma was able to have access to a piano there - and this provided a solution to his dilemma. But, because the Bantu Men's Social Centre was situated in Eloff Street Extension, it meant a long and arduous and costly trip regularly to the city centre. Nevertheless, Khabi Mngoma enrolled as a junior member and set his mind on doing what he wanted to do. (Determination is undoubtedly one of Khabi Mngoma's most pronounced character traits. It is consistent - and is the reason why he adhered to most of his aims and objectives.)

Khabi Mngoma received much encouragement for his musical pursuits from Martin Jarrett-Kerr - author, literary critic and a highly competent clarinet player, who was also one of the staff members of St Peter's. He and Khabi Mngoma regularly met at musical soirees held at St Peter's, where together they played classical music (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

The interest, stimulation and enjoyment promoted by these events made a lasting impression on Khabi Mngoma. He realized at the time how essential it was to share musical experiences and expertise with other people. These soirees at St Peter's stimulated his interest in music to such an extent that he began to consider music as a career, and specifically a career in music education (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma establishes his first music group in George Goch Township

It was in George Goch Township that Khabi Mngoma first established his own music group. It comprised himself and two men who became his life-long friends, Albert Mosia and Seth Mzizi. These men ran a physical training programme in the local community hall, which included coaching in athletics, boxing and football techniques. Being very keen on sport himself, Khabi Mngoma became a member of their 'sports club'. But he did not confine himself to sports activities. Public boxing tournaments were held regularly in order to raise funds for the purchase of sports equipment, and Khabi Mngoma felt that these tournaments would also provide ideal opportunities for musical events. Consequently he and his group of friends began to present variety concerts that ran concurrently with the boxing tournaments. Khabi Mngoma recalled:

We sang, and invited the public to hear us, and at the same time we also raised money to buy sport equipment. We would always end these boxing tournaments with group singing and dancing. These were very enjoyable affairs, most entertaining, and financially very enterprising (*ibid*).

These occasions became immensely popular, and this encouraged Khabi Mngoma to form a band comprising trumpets, saxophones, drums and a piano. The writer is uncertain as to how many musicians were involved in this band, but it was a small band, with Khabi Mngoma being the pianist and the leader.

Within a short time this small band had established itself as a very eminent one, and began to provide public entertainment on a regular basis, playing dance music at social gatherings in the township on Friday and Saturday nights at various venues, and also accompanying popular singers and dancers who also performed at these events (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

In those days everybody wanted to be a star. We had these dance band activities over weekends, and the sports club activities as well. That meant late nights. Life was hectic, but most exciting! (*ibid*).

Needless to say, Khabi Mngoma's parents did not approve of all this. As in the case of his earlier Scotchy activities, it took him into dangerous areas of the township and exposed him to criminal elements such as the notorious township gangs, referred to earlier. So Khabi Mngoma's parents decided to send him away to a boarding school, namely Kilnerton Institute,¹² which was situated close to Koedoespoort in Pretoria.

As a boarder in Bottill House, Kilnerton, it was inevitable that Khabi Mngoma became a member of the house choir. As a newcomer he was not eligible to join the main school choir, which enjoyed great prestige both in and outside the school.¹³ When Khabi Mngoma joined the house choir, it was under the baton of Roy Motaung (personal communication, Albert Twala, November 1986).

Always a quiet and modest person, Khabu Mngoma participated in choir practices and performances with great enthusiasm. Yet he could not resist doing something for himself, and therefore he formed a vocal trio together with two friends at Kilnerton, ie Willy Baqwa, a bass singer, and Johnny Byoyang, who sang 'a good tenor' (*ibid*). The trio soon became very popular at Kilnerton, to the extent that the membership also increased. Khabu Mngoma subsequently formed an all-male double quartet (*ibid*).

The quartet was very active during the war years of 1943-1944, and gained popularity among the soldiers stationed at a number of military camps in the Transvaal, many of whom attended Kilnerton concerts to hear the quartet perform. Conversely, the quartet visited several military camps and entertained the soldiers with their singing (personal communication, Khabu Mngoma, August and September 1985).

Khabu Mngoma matriculated from Kilnerton in 1944. It should have been a happy year, but instead, it was marked by tragedy. His mother died late in 1944 and this devastated the family. Khabu Mngoma felt her loss deeply. It was she who had given him so much encouragement, had supported his musical ambitions and had nurtured his undoubted talents during the years of his childhood and youth.

As if this were not enough, more calamities followed; his mother's death was the first of several personal tragedies which led to the disintegration of the Mngoma family. At the end of 1944 his brother, Arthur, was murdered in George Goch by gangland thugs. 'They were playing dice in the street, and Arthur was winning... so they killed him' (*ibid*). Fourteen months later his sister, Thokozile, disappeared, and it was only many months later that they managed to trace her whereabouts. She had married in the meantime, and resided in District Six in Cape Town. Thokozile, however, returned to her father and took over the housekeeping duties.

Shortly after these tragic events, however, Khabu Mngoma's personal situation improved. He met a girl scholar at Kilnerton, Grace Mondlana, with whom he felt an immediate rapport. The initial attraction was mutual - and grew into a life-long companionship: the couple married in 1948.

Notes

1. Already in 1890 the Salvation Army had begun mission and charity work among the black people. Religious meetings were held on Sunday afternoons at certain venues, of which the most common was Fordsburg location. At these meetings brass band music (involving the use of wind instruments and tambourines) was performed, and also choral music. Musical activities also took place in the streets of Johannesburg, and in the townships and mine compounds (Coplan 1985:46-47 cites Gerdener 1985:49). The Salvation Army exerted a powerful influence on black urban residents, who gathered to listen to '... the wonderful singing (which) was a feature of these meetings' (Coplan 1985:47 cites Ralls 1949:171).

2. The unpublished MS. In 1931 Mark Radebe, in collaboration with the South African composer Hamilton Masiza (1894-1955), founded the South African Bantu Board of Music (SABBM). The Board organized regular eisteddfodau in the Transvaal, in order to promote its two official aims: to preserve and develop the individuality of African music and, concurrently with that, to encourage the refinement of European music (Coplan 1985:116). The constitution delineated the following objectives:

- (i) to awaken interest in musical talent;
- (ii) to promote interest in African music;
- (iii) to discover how to use music for the glory of God and the amelioration of social and cultural conditions;
- (iv) to establish a Bantu Academy of Music;
- (v) to research and collect Bantu folk music;
- (vi) to encourage and publish Bantu composers' works; and
- (vii) to hold concerts for funds, publicity, study and appreciation (*ibid*).

Radebe was the Chairman of the Eisteddfod Committee, and was responsible for the selection of the repertoire to be performed at the eisteddfodau (according to personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, September 1985).

Although Radebe had a vital interest in African music and in promoting it, Khabi Mngoma never mentioned that he (Radebe) actually influenced him in this regard. Radebe instructed him in Western classical music only - on how to play the piano, and mastering the rudiments of music. Maybe, unintentionally, there might have been a subtle influence. Khabi Mngoma's future philosophy of what South African musical education should entail, corresponds with Radebe's apparent convictions, but Khabi Mngoma never explicitly said so, or inferred such a possibility.

Noteworthy are Radebe's comments in the Bantu World, 21 October 1933, regarding the late Hugh Tracey's pioneer field recordings of African music, which were launched in 1929 with a field recording expedition to Mozambique and Rhodesia (the present Zimbabwe), which was the first expedition of many to follow. Radebe expressed his approval of this venture - '... to preserve the African musical heritage from total "hybridization"'; he further maintained that '... an "eternal source of ideas and inspiration" for African classical composers was being provided' (quoted by Coplan 1985:136).

Khabi Mngoma's plea for music education in the later years of his life, and his ideas about musical composition in the South African context, follow the same line of thought.

3. It is difficult to define what Marabi really was. In fact, no-one really knows for certain. It blossomed, and then died before anybody began to think of keeping records of it.

Todd Matshikiza described marabi music as the 'hot, highly rhythmic repetitious single-themed dance tunes of the latter 1920s' (Drum, December 1951).

As mentioned earlier, the harmonium was small enough to fit into confined spaces - and the dwellings where marabi-events such as gumbagumbas took place, were indeed cramped and dark. Gumbagumba dances were

held on Saturday nights in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. They were highly popular affairs, in which people danced to the music played on a piano or a harmonium, accompanied by a kazoo player and a 'finger-bone-percussionist' (Khabi Mngoma's term for a player of 'rattling bones', properly called clappers or concussion idiophones).

The main function of gumbagumbas was to provide entertainment (because there were no other places of entertainment for African people), and to make money (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, April 1986). The hostess for the evening cooked food and provided liquor, which she sold to the partakers of the event.

Gumbagumbas were based on the older itimiti, which meant a Christian 'tea meeting', and also a beer drink among the Red Xhosa. Coplan maintains that these itimiti were initially held by mine clerks (omabhalane), who were Xhosa and Mfengu school graduates from Transkei (Coplan 1985:76). But according to Hansen itimiti were not confined to mine clerks; they were a social event for Christian Africans in both urban and rural environments. The Xhosa national composer, Benjamin Tyamzashe, attended many as a youth and young man. Hansen refers to the church tea meetings in the context of the life of this composer. (Vide Hansen 1968:8). The emphasis at such meetings was on songs of a semi-religious nature.

At these tea meetings adults and children alike met, although the young people tended to group themselves from the adults. At the Christian itimiti no alcohol was served, because the Christians had a fairly strict code of behaviour. Hymns and sacred songs were sung, as well as Victorian salon music, favourites from the 'Classics' - Handel choruses, etc.

It seems as if the gumbagumba type of event broke loose from such restraints, and mixed everything. It was a larger social event, too (*ibid*). In Johannesburg, when the 'tea-meeting culture' spread among the urban Africans and migrant labourers from Portuguese East Africa (present Mozambique) and Rhodesia (ie Zimbabwe), they changed the 'tea meeting' to suit their own liking, introducing beer, traditional instruments, guitars, concertinas and urbanized traditional dancing (Coplan 1985:76). All this became associated with the so-called marabi era (ca 1920-1940).

4. Mphahlele (1959, 1971) describes a programme that he and a few colleagues and friends presented one Sunday afternoon in Germiston. Among them were Khabi Mngoma, Khabi Mngoma's wife (Grace) and Milton Oersen. They

... presented scenes from Shakespeare's Julius Caesar; Khabi Mngoma sang a recitative and aria from the Messiah; his wife, Grace, contralto, also sang a recitative and aria from the Messiah and My Task; Milton Oersen, the coloured concert pianist, played a sonata, and two short things by Scarlatti' (*ibid*:181).

During later years Milton Oersen became inspector of music in coloured schools in Port Elizabeth, and an organist in the same city.

5. Clegg has done extensive research into Zulu concertina music (*vide* Clegg 1981), but his research relates to Zulu concertina musical traditions of the Natal midlands. Because no-one knows for certain where Khabi Mngoma's father obtained his concertina, Clegg's research is not necessarily relevant to his situation.

This type of musician, ie self-accompanied concertina soloists (and guitar soloists as well), form the mazkande (or maskande) tradition. The latter term is said to be a derivation from the Afrikaans word musikante (English: 'musicians', ie folk musicians, as opposed to musici, Afrikaans for musicians who have a thorough academic knowledge of music); ie mazkande = 'musikante' pronounced with a strong African accent ('"swart" Afrikaans'; *vide* Van Wyk, 'Gepidginiseerde Afrikaans' in Claassen en Van Rensburg, *reds* 1983:162-170).

According to Clegg (1981:2) the Zulu concertina tradition is part of the gxagxa music tradition, ie the music tradition of the amagxagxa - the people

... who occupy an interstitial position between the amabhinca (fervent traditionalists, ibhinca - singular; 'somebody who wears the skins') and the amakholwa ('Christians' - westernized

Zulu, ikholwa - singular) ... He is somebody who has mixed both [Zulu and Western] music forms and has developed a maskande tradition (ibid).

Clegg claims that the concertina is usually associated with old men (ibid; personal communication, January 1987).

It [the concertina] has actually been incorporated into the traditionalist value system because we see that old men play concertinas, and you will find amakehla, old men sitting back home in their rooms playing songs. One of the reasons for this is that in the farmlands in Weenen, Colenso, Msinga area, as well as further south, the influence of the boere-orkes, the influence of the whole Afrikaans homestead life, the role of the head of the household who would on Friday night, or Saturday night, haul out his concertina and play for his children, play for everybody, was seen by the farm labourers and became associated with being a umnumzana, being somebody of substance, somebody who could have a home above his head, who could sit down at the end of a week's labour, call his children together and play the concertina for them so that they could dance and sing, and it became associated with this kind of value (ibid; vide also Clegg 1981:6-7).

6. St Peter's Secondary School was established by the Anglican Community of the Resurrection (date uncertain to the writer), but it must have been early in the twentieth century. The school originally began as a boys' school only, but eventually (in 1925) it amalgamated with St Agnes Girls' School, which had been established in 1909. (The writer could not find any further details.) Under the leadership of a certain Father Winter, the St Peter's Secondary School gradually pushed up its standards, until it became the only school that offered a full matriculation course for African youths. In 1932 it could boast of its first matriculation candidates (Horrell 1963:51).

7. Coplan (1985:172) refers to Trevor Huddleston as a 'champion of African rights'. For comprehensive reference to Trevor Huddleston vide Duncan Honore 1988. Vide also Kavanagh 1985:66, 68, 69, 72, 77 and 85.

8. For reference to Sophiatown, vide the Appendix on the history of Dorkay House and the Union of Southern African Artists.

9. Jonas Gwangwa eventually went overseas and continued his musical career there. Vide Coplan 1985:172, 191, 199 and Andersson 1981:25, 30, 34.

10. Hugh Masekela also left South Africa to find a musical career for himself overseas. He has personal and professional ties with Khabi Mngoma, and was the founder of the Gaborone International School of Music, launched in Botswana in January 1985. (Vide Chapter XII for reference to the Botswana International School of Music.)

11. The Bantu Men's Social Centre was intended to serve as a focus for cultural activities of educated black urbanites who lived on the Reef (Kavanagh 1985:46). According to Coplan (1985:120) its leaders were serious in their intention to use the performing arts to '... promote... unity and improve social conditions' among black South Africans (ibid). For reference, vide Mutloatse, ed 1987:80, 82; 97-102, and Tribute, March 1988 for a plate entitled 'April Fool's Fancy Dress Ball at the Bantu Men's Social Centre 1955'.

12. Kilnerton Institute was established by the Methodist Church in 1885 and was named after a certain John Kilner, who was the Secretary to the British Wesleyan Missionary Society at the time (Horrell 1963:22). This educational establishment initially offered a two-year training course for prospective mission school teachers (ibid), but in 1932, however, it broadened its scope to offer a Standard 8 school course as well. The institution's first matriculation candidates matriculated in 1941 (ibid:51). Kilnerton Institute eventually '... gained a very high reputation as a teacher training centre and its students, like those of St Peter's, did particularly well in the matriculation examinations' (ibid).

13. Albert Twala recalled that, from time to time 'some well-known music personalities' conducted this choir (personal communication, Albert Twala, November 1986).

From Adams to Orlando

Khabi Mngoma completes his tertiary education at Adams College (Amanzimtoti, Natal, 1945 - 1946) and embarks on his teaching career in 1947.

Despite all the moves the Mngoma family had gone through - from Troyeville to Doornfontein, then to Prospect Township and finally to George Goch, Khabi Mngoma's friendship with Bobby and Leonard Duncan continued through the years. After matriculating at Kilnerton, Khabi Mngoma continued with tertiary education at Adams College,¹ situated near Adams Mission and Amanzimtoti in Natal. This was made possible through the generosity of Bobby and Leonard Duncan's father, who provided the finances for Khabi Mngoma's first year of study, 1945, after which he received a bursary from the Natal Education Department to complete the second and final year of his Teachers' Diploma Course, 1946 (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

Khabi Mngoma's involvement at Adams College was basic to his career. His musical taste, knowledge and general background were significantly influenced and broadened through the multifarious musical activities in which he participated there. For the first time in his life he was exposed to the serious study of the older traditions of Zulu music, albeit on a very small scale. This was the first step in arousing his interest in 'multicultural' music education programmes, which ultimately led to the formulation of his personal philosophy of music education for southern Africa.

He found himself among people who shared his special interest in music, and who encouraged and stimulated his aspirations to become a competent musician and music teacher.

One such person was Simon Sipho Ngubane (Address, Khabi Mngoma, 31 March 1985), who had studied music under Reuben Caluza (Mngoma 1984) when the latter was Head of Music at Adams College from 1937 until 1944 (*ibid*). Simon Ngubane subsequently became a choirmaster at Adams College, and it was he who gave Khabi Mngoma his first formal singing lessons (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).² He also gave Khabi Mngoma, who was a member of his choir, the opportunity to learn the rudiments of conducting choral music, and in this way Khabi Mngoma gained some experience and tuition in conducting.

Khabi Mngoma came to know Simon Ngubane and his family very well. They shared the same musical interests and preferences, and often spent evenings together listening to recordings of music by Western classical composers, well into the early hours of the morning (personal communication, Nqabile Ngubane, November 1986). They also undertook regular trips to Durban to attend symphony concerts presented by Edward Dunn,³ who was the conductor of the Durban Philharmonic Orchestra at the time.

These trips were arduous and time-consuming, because transport was erratic and irregular; and so the 13 km from Adams College to Amanzimtoti station were covered by foot. At Amanzimtoti they would board a train to Durban - which would arrive in time for Khabi Mngoma to have a conducting lesson with Edward Dunn prior to the symphony concert. Returning to Adams College after the evening's events meant catching the late-night train back to Amanzimtoti, walking another 13 km, and arriving back home at midnight. But Khabi Mngoma and Simon Ngubane treasured those concerts as a great source of inspiration to them both (*ibid*).

Because Khabi Mngoma was so eager to learn all that he possibly could about voice production and singing techniques, he supplemented his music lessons from Simon Ngubane with extra lessons from Mari Gordon Dube, a black American singer who was teaching music at Adams College at the time. He also continued to receive formal tuition in piano from R C Ellis, an Englishman who was also on the Adams College teaching staff (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985). Under their tutelage Khabi Mngoma passed a few early grades of Unisa's theoretical and practical examinations in piano and singing. These early Unisa examinations were the first music qualifications he attained - the humble beginnings of what would culminate

in four licentiates⁴ - obtained through Unisa and the Royal Schools of Music during the course of the next seventeen years (ie during the period 1956 to 1963); these would ultimately culminate in an Honorary Doctorate from the University of the Witwatersrand in 1987.⁵

Up to this time in Khabu Mngoma's life (1945) his formal music studies had been limited to Western classical music, and specifically to some works by Baroque and Classical composers. But, at Adams College he met a German psychologist, a Dr Wilka, who aroused Khabu Mngoma's interest in Zulu music, ie forms and styles of older traditional Zulu music that were still being performed in the villages and rural areas situated in the vicinity of Adams College. It was Wilka who made Khabu Mngoma aware of the value of 'folk' music; that the latter becomes a unifying factor among the people who maintain it, and that it is '... a source of wisdom, considering the content of the song texts' (*ibid*).

More active involvement in older Zulu music began when Wilka sent Khabu Mngoma and two or three fellow students into the rural areas to collect and transcribe Zulu songs.

The undertaking had its good share of problems, as Khabu Mngoma himself recollected:

It was pretty tough then, because we didn't have recording equipment. We would go to the homes of various Zulu people (selected at random) and ask them to teach us their songs so that we could write them down. Then, having learnt to sing them, we would try to write them down... - and a difficult task it was indeed, which kept us occupied for days!

Whenever we could, we would return to the people who taught us the songs, check our transcriptions, and learn more songs. But often this wasn't possible - in which case we would have to rely on youngsters to teach us the songs: they had to sing them over and over again, while we would attempt to transcribe them; and no doubt the songs were never resung in exactly the same way!

At first the children were very enthusiastic, because we paid them: a sixpence [five cents] or a shilling [ten cents], depending on how long we kept them singing. Initially they responded most willingly to our requests, but after a while the routines became tedious, and so it became usual for the youngsters to run away and disappear as soon as they spotted us coming around a hut!

In spite of this, our early 'fieldwork' adventures and transcription attempts proved to be of great value. For the first time I came into close contact with older Zulu traditional music, and began to appreciate it for what it was (*ibid*).

Three important life-long friendships of Khabi Mngoma date back to his student years at Adams College. The friendship with the Ngubane family continued through the years, and regular visits to them became an annual event - indeed, a pilgrimage - which had to be made at all costs, regardless of any circumstances that might have threatened to prevent it. Khabi Mngoma recalled one of those annual visits which he and his wife, Grace, undertook on a scooter, travelling all the way from Soweto (Johannesburg) to Sobantu (Pietermaritzburg, Natal) and back! (Address, Khabi Mngoma, 31 March 1985).

The second influential person in Khabi Mngoma's life whom he met at Adams College, was the South African writer and author, Es'kia Mphahlele, who in later years became a Professor and Head of the Department of Comparative Literature, University of the Witwatersrand. Khabi Mngoma is mentioned in several of his books, for instance in Down Second Avenue (1959, 1971), Afrika My Music (1984), which is dedicated to Khabi Mngoma, and Bury Me at the Marketplace (1984), a collection of letters written By Es'kia Mphahlele to various people during the period 1943 to 1980.

The third life-long friendship dating from the years at Adams College is (as mentioned earlier in this study) Khabi Mngoma's friendship with M G Buthelezi. During their student years both Khabi Mngoma and Buthelezi were prefects at Adams College. They often had considerable difficulty in coping with student problems, and therefore, in order to make their disciplinary tactics more effective, Khabi Mngoma was appointed boxing

instructor to the prefect body, and Buthelezi became his keen and skilled boxing pupil! Both men were also members of the Adams College choir (Address, M G Buthelezi, 14 August 1983).

Khabi Mngoma obtained his Teacher's Diploma in 1946.

Khabi Mngoma starts his teaching career at Ohlange Institute in 1947, but returns to Johannesburg after six months

During Khabi Mngoma's two years of study at Adams College he came to know another member of the teaching staff, a D G S Mthimkulu (Horrell 1963:49) before the latter left to assume duties as the principal of Ohlange Institute,⁶ situated near Inanda in Natal. In 1947 Mthimkulu invited Khabi Mngoma to teach at the Institute, an invitation which he accepted enthusiastically.

Ohlange Institute had a noteworthy and influential musical heritage. The celebrated Zulu composer, Reuben Caluza (1895-1969) had started his teaching career at Ohlange Institute in 1909,⁷ and soon led the Institute's choir to national fame during country-wide concert tours. It was also under his baton that the Ohlange Institute choir popularized Enoch Sontonga's famous choral hymn Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika ('God bless Africa').⁸

However, despite Ohlange Institute's apparent lively musical heritage, Khabi Mngoma could not recall any significant musical experiences or activities that date from his six-month period spent at Ohlange.

After this short association with Ohlange Institute, he decided to return to Johannesburg.

In the meantime Khabi Mngoma's father had become very despondent about the family's future in George Goch Township. The township was small and poor, and did not develop or expand; living, social and economic conditions were depressing. The authorities also had plans to demolish it and to clear the area for the erection of a new railway line (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985). In fact, George Goch, Pimville and the old 'locations' of the western areas were gradually being destroyed, and the people who

continued to migrate from the rural areas to Johannesburg were settled in the growing township of Soweto (Coplan 1985:179).

Khabi Mngoma returned to Johannesburg in 1947, to find that his father and sisters had moved to Orlando in Soweto earlier that year. They never informed him about their decision to move away from George Goch, and therefore Khabi Mngoma was uninformed about their whereabouts, and he doubted whether he would ever find them again.

However, following exhaustive enquiry, he managed to obtain the number of the house in Orlando where his family had taken residence, and after a major search and lonesome journey, he eventually located their new home.

Khabi Mngoma takes up a teaching post at Wilberforce Institute (Evaton) in 1947 for a period of six months; his musical activities with the Reverend Gouw, and preparations for marriage

On his return to Johannesburg, Khabi Mngoma accepted a teaching post at the Wilberforce Training Institute⁹ in Evaton,¹⁰ where he gave tuition in Physiology, Hygiene, English and Zulu.

It was at this institute, in 1947, that Khabi Mngoma became acquainted with a very enthusiastic musician, a Reverend Gouw, whose continuous encouragement and advice was a great inspiration to Khabi Mngoma. The latter was literally 'kept on his toes' by regularly having to sing sacred songs at the weekly Friday morning school assembly. Accompanied by Gouw on piano, these Friday morning performances virtually became an institution at the school during the six months that Khabi Mngoma was teaching there. Gouw's persistent demands on Khabi Mngoma for disciplined and regular musical practice and performance, were vitally important in laying a firm foundation for his future professional musical career as a performer and conductor of choirs (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

It was also during these six months that he [Khabu Mngoma] courted his future wife, Grace Mondlana, whom he had met during his matriculation year at Kilnerton in 1944. He had committed himself to pay the dowry for marriage (ukulobola or umlobolo),¹¹ but found himself in quite a predicament: three months were to pass before he would receive his first salary!

Nevertheless, in spite of the seemingly hopeless (and embarrassing) situation, and with very little money to buy food, Khabu Mngoma was fortunate enough to secure for himself free lodging in an old, dilapidated house which had its own established peach orchard. It was the healthy produce of the latter that provided him with a memorable peach diet during those lean months! (*ibid*).

But this was only part of life's discomforts in 1947. On Friday afternoons Khabu Mngoma would embark on an excursion to Orlando to visit his family for the weekend. The 42 km were travelled on a non-roadworthy, borrowed bicycle, which made the journey from Evaton to Orlando and back very rough, to say the least. On one such occasion, on fetching the bicycle from his friend, Khabu Mngoma noticed a huge bulge in the rear wheel's tyre - obviously the result of an unsuccessful attempt to mend it. The outcome was quite an ordeal, for all the way to Orlando on that Friday, and back to Evaton on the Sunday, the trip was accompanied by a constant, vigorous bump from the rear wheel, so that - for the rest of the weekend (and for some time thereafter...) - Khabu Mngoma found it very difficult to sit down, as any attempt to do so would be rather painful! (*ibid*).

He was very relieved when the Orlando High School approached him in 1947 to join their teaching staff the following year. The invitation was made even more attractive by the fact that two of the Orlando High School staff members were his close friends: Es'kia Mphahlele (whom he knew since his Adams College days) and Isaac Matlare. Khabu Mngoma therefore resigned from his post at Wilberforce Institute and commenced teaching at the Orlando High School in 1948.

The highlight of 1947, however, was the arrival of Khabu Mngoma's long overdue salary as a lump sum - having accumulated over a period of three months. He could then pay his promised dowry for Grace Mondlana,

and so the marriage was solemnized early in 1948. This was the beginning of a happy marriage and a lifelong, devoted companionship.¹²

A nurse by occupation, but a devout singer as well, she began to study singing under her husband's tutelage in 1954. She always participated in his activities, and the two of them, as a husband-and-wife team, took part in many music concerts on the Reef (programme notes, 4 December 1960). Her companionship, interest and wholehearted participation in his musical activities were a constant source of encouragement and happiness to him. The two children born of their marriage, Lindumuzi (born in 1949) and S'bongile (born in 1958) also became active musicians.¹³ Thus the whole Mngoma household was musically oriented.

Notes

1. Adams College has produced some of South Africa's eminent black leaders, including (among many others) the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and President of the Inkatha Freedom Party, M G Buthelezi, who studied at Adams College during the years that Khabi Mngoma did, ie during the mid-1940s. They became life-long friends.

The history of Adams College dates back to 1836, when Newton Adams, a medical missionary and teacher affiliated to the American Board Mission (based in Boston, Massachusetts, United States of America), arrived in Natal to work among the Zulu people (Horrell 1963:16). Adams founded a mission station nearby the present-day town of Amanzimtoti on the south coast of Natal, where he lived and worked until his death in 1951 (*ibid*; Amanzimtoti was named after the Manzimtoti River; 'The name is derived from Zulu and means "sweet water" or "the water is sweet"' - *vide* Raper 1987, 1988:29).

Two years later, in 1853, a certain Reverend Rood was approached by the American Board Mission in connection with the establishment of a training college at Amanzimtoti, where African ministers, teachers and craftsmen could be trained. It was decided that this institution should be located on the mission station of the late Adams. Accordingly, the training college was established in 1853 (according to Horrell 1963:16), and named after Adams - hence 'Adams College' (*ibid*).

Adams College initially had only three departments: one for theology, one for teacher training, and one that focused on industrial subjects. Boarding facilities were also provided.

In 1913 a secondary school course was added to the curriculum, and much later, in 1930, a matriculation course as well.

Adams College was virtually self-supporting in that it had its own farm and produced its own food (*ibid*:17). But, in 1940, the directorship of the college was ceded to a board of South African governors representing various church denominations. The 'new' institution was registered as Adams College Incorporated - but was declared a nonprofit-making company (*ibid*:46). Several extra departments were started, including a fully fledged education department, which offered a course in music (*ibid*:47).

For further reference, vide 'Bantu Composers of South Africa...:(5) Zulu Training School (Adams), Amanzimtoti', in Malan, ed 1979:98.

2. The singing periods with Ross at St Peter's were informal, and did not constitute formal voice training as such.

3. For reference, vide 'Dunn, William Edward', ibid:403-404. For a history of classical music in Durban, vide ibid:411-454; vide also Kirby 1967:269-282 ('The Battle of the Orchestras and its Sequel').

4. The four licentiates obtained by Khabi Mngoma were: the Unisa Teacher's Licentiate (1956) and the Royal Schools Teacher's Licentiate (1958), both with Piano as practical study; the Unisa Performer's Licentiate (1960) and the Royal Schools Performer's Licentiate (1963), both with Singing as practical study. (This information has been collated from various curricula vitae belonging to Khabi Mngoma.)

5. Khabi Mngoma received his Honorary Doctorate in Music (honoris causa) on 15 December 1987, in recognition of his '... outstanding contributions in bringing African Music and serious music to the African communities across the country' (Letter from K Tober, Vice-Chancellor and Principal, University of the Witwatersrand, to Khabi Mngoma, dated 25 May 1987).

6. Ohlange Institute was founded in 1904 by the John Langalibalele Dube (1871-1946), and was modelled on the American Tuskegee Institute for Black Americans in Alabama, USA. Dube had visited the latter institution when he was furthering his education in the United States of America (at Oberlin College in Ohio; Dube was a graduand from Adams College) during the late 19th century, and became inspired by Tuskegee's aims and objectives for its educational policies, ie to develop 'the head, the hand, and the heart' (Horrell 1963:49).

On his return to South Africa, Dube established Ohlange Institute as a primary school for boys, where '... academic training was combined with instruction in agriculture' (ibid) - thus the 'development of the "head" and the "hand"' was literally incorporated into the curriculum.

In 1910 the school was expanded by the incorporation of industrial classes into the school curriculum - classes for carpentry, bricklaying, wagonmaking, farriery, tanning and leather work, and even plumbing. At that stage all the instructors were black Americans, and Zulu South Africans who had received their training in the United States (ibid).

In 1917 the school became co-educational, and the following year, in 1918, a secondary school course was introduced. This was supplemented by commercial and matriculation courses in 1925 and in 1948 respectively (ibid). The matriculation course was instituted under the new principal, Mthimkulu, who succeeded the Dube as Principal of Ohlange Institute after the latter's death in 1946, and who thereafter invited Khabi Mngoma to teach at the Institute. For further reference, vide 'Bantu Composers of South Africa...: (4) Ohlange Institute', in Malan, ed 1979:97-98.

7. Vide ibid.

8. Vide Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, by the late Enoch Sontonga, Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflets, No 17, Lovedale Press, which includes a short history of the origin of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, written by D D T Jabavu (1949). According to Jabavu's information, Enoch Sontonga composed the hymn in 1897. It was sung in public for the first time two years later, in 1899, at the ordination of the Shangaan Methodist minister, Reverend M Bowen. For more details, vide ibid; vide also Tribute, May 1988 ('The Anthem', ibid:82-83). Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika has also been included in the Venda Zionist hymnal, Nyimbo dza Pesaleme (it is the last hymn in the hymnal, no 119). Vide Blacking 1981:42.

9. Wilberforce Institute was an establishment of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which had its origins in America - and, as was the case of the establishment of Ohlange Institute (where Khabi Mngoma had taught previously), the South African institution was inspired by an American 'model'. Wilberforce was actually founded by a few chorister-musicians; its founding was an indirect result of a stranded itinerant choir. In 1893 a certain South African, Jason Balmer, recruited a number of students from Kimberley and Lovedale to form

a black choir for an overseas concert tour. The choir toured Britain, Canada and the United States (Coplan 1985:41-42), but had to disband after running into financial difficulties in the American mid-west. Fortunately the American Methodist Episcopal Church came to the rescue of the impecunious and homeless choir members by offering them educational opportunities at the Wilberforce and Lincoln Universities (*ibid*). While remaining in the United States for studying purposes, one of the disbanded choir's members, Charlotte Manye, founded the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and on completion of their studies, and after returning to South Africa, they established the Wilberforce Institute at Evaton, in the year 1897 (*ibid*:43).

10. Evaton was the former name of Residensia, and was named after Eva, the daughter of James B Tucker, '... who laid out the township in 1904 on the farm Wildebeesfontein' (Raper 1987, 1989:155).

11. Ukulobola is the passing of cattle from the group of the husband-to-be to that of his wife-to-be. Vide Doko and Vilakazi 1972:460; vide also Krige and Comaroff, eds 1981.

12. Grace Mngoma passed away on 15 August 1987.

13. Lindumuzi is a cellist and S'bongile a violinist; she is also a very dynamic singer. S'bongile eventually extended her qualifications with a Business Science degree and presently is Head and Director of the Funda Centre in Soweto, where music, dance and drama classes are offered to people living in Soweto and surroundings. Lindumuzi (who is, in the opinion of the writer, a replica of his father!) founded the Muse Africa Muse Orchestra, which is still very active at this time of writing.



Above

1. Final year students at Adams College, 1946.

Khabi Mngoma is seated in the second row, third from left (with the horizontally striped jersey), next to Mr Guma, headmaster of the Teachers Training College (in the armchair).



Below

2. Khabi Mngoma: Orlando High School, 1949.



3. The Mngoma family: Orlando West 7015, Soweto, 1962.
Clockwise fltr: Sibongile, Khabi, Grace, Lindumuzi.



4. Khabi Mngoma with his grandson, Tshepo in front of their home : Vulindlela, 1985



5. Khabi Mngoma teaching his daughter, Sibongile at the piano : Orlando West 7015, Soweto, 1961.

Cultural Reverberations

The first period of Khabi Mngoma's music educational and cultural activities: he establishes his influence in educational and cultural circles in Orlando, Soweto and Johannesburg.

Khabi Mngoma's teaching and cultural activities during the years of his association with the Orlando High School in Soweto, 1948-1952, and the Syndicate of African Artists, 1948-1956

During the four years of Khabi Mngoma's association with the Orlando High School he displayed the first signs of his exceptional working capacity. He left no stone unturned to fulfil his musical aspirations to perform, study and promote music - especially Western classical music - in the townships.

Included in his schedule were:

- (i) teaching English, Zulu, Mathematics and Physiology,
- (ii) conducting several cultural activities at the school, in the township of Orlando, and in the rest of Soweto, and
- (iii) furthering his own studies in music.

The Vulgus Choir

Khabi Mngoma and Isaac Matlare,¹ a friend who was also on the teaching staff, established a choir involving pupils who were excluded from singing in any of the school's official choirs. They named the choir after the

Latin word for 'the proletariat' or 'the ordinary', vulgus² - hence the derivation Vulgus Choir (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

Apart from the fact that the Vulgus Choir was meant to be a group activity for entertainment purposes, the other motivation for its establishment was Khabi Mngoma's desire to keep in touch with the songs sung by the boys in the township. 'I taught them and they taught me' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).³

The Vulgus Choir was an immediate success, and before long it was obliged to rehearse in the school's carpentry workshop, because the choir had become so popular that its membership had grown to three hundred, and consequently the ordinary classrooms were far too small to accommodate them. (The Vulgus Choir literally was the first massed choir that Khabi Mngoma ever worked with!)

It wasn't long before the other choirs of the Orlando High School began to complain about the continual loss of their members to the Vulgus Choir. They accused the Vulgus Choir of 'robbing them of their members'. The Vulgus Choir, however, continued its musical activities with great enthusiasm. At times this proceeded with so much energy and vigour that

... the sound of singing and dancing reverberated throughout the school building, catching the attention of passers-by, who always stopped and looked through the windows, in order to see what the din was all about! (Personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985.)

The choir's musical repertoire was varied, and included a number of the older, traditional Zulu songs that Khabi Mngoma had collected during his student years at Adams College (vide Chapter III), and many songs originating from the newer traditions, such as songs categorized as umbholoho,⁴ and other songs which Khabi Mngoma termed 'action songs' - a designation used by Khabi Mngoma to describe song styles accompanied by dance steps and movements deriving directly from Zulu musical traditions, and which are not the same as the action songs referred to by Coplan (1985:72).⁵ The dancing that accompanied the Vulgus Choir's singing of 'action

songs' was the kicking-and-stamping dance initially developed by Zulu and Xhosa migrant labourers, called indlamu.⁶

The sequences of dance steps are systematically and carefully rehearsed. As is the case in most, if not all African dance performances, perfect synchronization of the dancers is of absolute importance.

The indlamu dance proved to be a very controversial performance style, even during Khabi Mngoma's leadership of his Vulgus Choir. At that time the role of music '... including song and dance' in African schools was the focus of a debate, the details of which appeared in the Native Teachers' Journal (Vol XXVIII No 1, October 1948:31-32; Vol XXVIII No 2, January 1949:97-101). The debate was in the form of correspondence from subscribers to the Journal, who were asked to express their views on the 'contentious' subject of 'The Preservation of African Music and Dancing' in schools. Many of the subscribers held diverse and extreme views. One of them, Elliot Ntombela, spoke of indlamu as being '... a mighty intruder in the hands of educationists to be entrusted to, preserved and modernized by institutions (*ibid*:97) and organizations such as The Zulu Cultural Society' (Ibandla likaZulu), and subcommittees such as uMameyiguda (located in Durban), and similar committees in other small towns of Natal (*ibid*:97-98).

Despite strong objections by many Africans towards any such 'preservation', Khabi Mngoma was always firmly convinced of the need to include African forms of musical expression in African schools, and to this end he always included them in his educational programmes and concerts, even though he was strongly criticized for doing so. (Vide Epilogue.)

His aims and objectives for a sound music education programme in schools were formulated during these years while he was the conductor of the Vulgus Choir, and to this day he has clung to his sincere belief that school music must be culturally relevant, and that African musical traditions should form the basis of educational programmes in all schools in South Africa. (Vide Epilogue.)

Here in South Africa we are of both the African and the Western worlds. We have our feet in both cultures. We are not a cultural outpost of Europe, but have cultural traditions that are unique to South Africa.⁷

For Khabi Mngoma indlamu dancing has always been a favourite performance style, and successive generations of students who studied under him at the University of Zululand's Department of Music have given regular performances of the dance at various venues and social events. (Vide Chapter XI.)

However, Khabi Mngoma's musical and cultural endeavours did not begin and end with the Vulgus Choir. In fact, he and his two bosom friends, Es'kia Mphahlele and Isaac Matlare, stirred up much excitement, and trouble, in their combined efforts to become socially and culturally involved. They did not fail both to impress and alarm the authorities and their own newly wedded spouses!

In 1948 they founded the Orlando Music Society, of which Khabi Mngoma became Secretary in 1953, and remained in this capacity until 1959 (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985; Huskisson in Malan, ed 1979:108).

Both Khabi Mngoma and Es'kia Mphahlele were eager to further their personal formal studies (extramurally) in music and drama respectively, and, at the same time, to promote the appreciation of these arts, in their classical forms, among the people who lived in the townships of the Witwatersrand.

Es'kia Mphahlele already had started negotiations in 1943 with a Johannesburg-based speech and drama teacher, Norah Taylor,⁸ in connection with speech and drama lessons, and she had agreed to take him in as a student.

Khabi Mngoma commenced with his further music studies in 1948. These included: Conducting, Harmony, General Musicianship, Singing and Piano. He studied

- (i) conducting and Harmony with Joseph Traunek (the conductor of the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra at the time),⁹ from 1948 until 1954;
- (ii) general Musicianship with Professor D J Roode¹⁰ of the University of South Africa, from 1949 until 1955;
- (iii) singing initially with Traunek (1949-1951) and then with Anny Lambrechts,¹¹ from 1952 until 1956, and
- (iv) piano with Jose Rodriguez-Lopez,¹² from 1949 until 1957 (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).¹³

At the same time the Orlando Music Society came into full swing with its musical and dramatic activities. Khabi Mngoma took charge of the music, Es'kia Mphahlele wrote his own plays - referred to as 'drama cameos' - and produced them with the pupils of the Orlando High School; Isaac Matlare was a true supporter of all they undertook.

In the same year (1948) they decided to establish the Syndicate of African Artists, mainly to combat the '... lack of performing activities for the Vulgus Choir and Orlando Music Society' (*ibid*).

The Syndicate of African Artists was a multiracial organization dedicated to the promotion of Western classical music, drama and theatre, among the people of Soweto (Coplan 1985:169). The *Star* (3 May 1952) described the Syndicate's aims as fourfold: '... to foster better artistry, to safeguard black South African artists against exploitation, to make available a bursary for art studies, and to sponsor charity concerts'.

It was under the auspices of the Syndicate of African Artists that the Orlando Music Society launched a performance of Handel's *Messiah* in Johannesburg and Orlando - which was accompanied on piano by Khabi Mngoma's piano teacher from St Peter's Secondary School, Trelauny Ross. (*Vide* Chapter II.) Khabi Mngoma had kept in close contact with Ross, who was now working in Orlando West at Leseding Mission. The two of them regularly organized classical music soirees at the mission, and Ross accompanied many Syndicate performances of classical works on the piano.

The performance of the Messiah by the Orlando Music Society was an historical landmark. It was the Sowetonians' first experience of this great work. Thus it was also the first ever South African performance of the Messiah in its entirety, rendered by black South African musicians - a great achievement - and the first of many that would follow under the baton of Khabi Mngoma.

From time to time the Syndicate of African Artists also invited renowned artists of Western classical music to give concerts in the townships. On two of these occasions they were fortunate to get the internationally acclaimed violinist, Yehudi Menuhin, to give a violin recital. The first recital was given at the Donaldson Orlando Community Centre on 16 March 1950, and the second recital was given in 1955, when Yehudi Menuhin performed at the Orlando YMCA Centre (ibid).

According to Kavanagh (1985:48), the Syndicate's theatrical activities were '... based on European models' (ibid) and they drew their inspiration from Shakespeare, Goldsmith, Oscar Wilde and Charles Dickens (ibid:64). However, although this may be so to a large extent, they also used folk tales from African legend and tradition as a basis for some of their works. Es'kia Mphahlele writes in his book Down Second Avenue (1959, 1971:180; 181-183):

Our audiences loved scenes from Shakespeare, my adaptations of Dickens and folk tales. A folk tale that captivated the people more than any other was one I had selected from a collection of Venda tales - from the northern Transvaal - which is very similar to Keats' Isabella in plot. I improvised a pantomime scene where the maiden plants a tree in an earthen pot and waters it with her tears, while there is African folk music in the background. We always used tree branches for our stage scenery.

Rehearsal schedules were awkward, as they had to be conducted in the township, which was very unsafe at night.

There was the perennial problem of insecurity, and we continually lost members¹⁴ who had to go and live outside Orlando. There was also the problem of transport and we couldn't walk the streets of Orlando at night for fear of assaults and killings. We had to do our rehearsals on Sunday afternoons (*ibid*).

Nevertheless, they persevered and managed to stage their works in various parts of Soweto, as well as Johannesburg itself, and the suburbs of Johannesburg, such as Germiston (*ibid*:181).

In the meantime Khabi Mngoma continued to excel musically. As a singer his smooth tenor voice was acquiring notable skill and beauty. He had already performed as a soloist with the Durban Civic Orchestra in 1947. This was followed by further solo performances in 1948, 1949 and 1952 with the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra under the baton of Joseph Trauneck, who had noticed his student's exceptional talent.

In their spare time Khabi Mngoma and Es'kia Mphahlele would regularly meet with their teacher and friend from Adams College days, Simon Ngubane, who had moved to Roodepoort, Transvaal, in 1948.¹⁵ The three of them would spend an evening of music together - playing classical music *en camera*, listening to recordings of southern African indigenous music (recorded by Hugh Tracey for Gallo Record Company), and holding discussions on music and art (personal communication, Nqabile Ngubane, November 1986). This small and intimate gathering was referred to as 'The Treasured Trio', and the treasured times spent together certainly were unforgettable for the three men; these sessions often continued well into the early morning hours of the following day (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma, Es'kia Mphahlele and Isaac Matlare were very concerned about the socio-political and educational issues of the day. They therefore issued their own newspaper - an eight-page roneod 'social commentary' - called 'The Voice'¹⁶, which contained literary criticisms by Es'kia Mphahlele, political articles by Isaac Matlare, and musical and educational reviews by Khabi Mngoma.

Twelve issues in all were roneod and circulated before Khabi Mngoma and company ran into serious trouble with the educational authorities, and were summarily dismissed from their teaching posts. Khabi Mngoma recalled:

We stirred up a lot of trouble, and I put my foot in it by criticizing the Eiselen Report¹⁷ in one of my reviews.

I was dismissed from the teaching profession in 1952, and Es'kia and Isaac followed suit in 1953 (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

To earn a living, Khabi Mngoma invested in a table model printing press and started his own, private printing business which he called 'The Bantu World Press' (*ibid*). He printed receipt books and promotional coupons for shops, as well as wedding invitation cards and church administrative 'tickets' (cards or receipts issued to church members who had paid their monthly dues). His business flourished in Soweto, and he became particularly popular among the Separatist churches active in the various areas of the township.

He also continued to publish 'The Voice', because he felt that the dismissal of himself and his friends was unjustified; he was merely concerned with publishing the opinions and comments of his people, generally.

His students did not take the dismissals lightly. Mid-year in 1953 the Orlando high School experienced an upheaval when a large crowd of students came out in a protest campaign against the dismissal of Khabi Mngoma and his two colleagues. As a result, three hundred pupils were expelled. (Many of them might have been members of the Vulgus Choir.) Their education virtually at an end, they appealed to Khabi Mngoma to help them in their predicament. He responded by starting a special school of instruction for them at the Orlando YMCA. (The Board gave Khabi Mngoma permission to use the YMCA's facilities for running the school.) The school was named the 'Mayibuye' ('Come Back') High School, and was opened in 1953. The school's curriculum placed strong emphasis on music (*ibid*), which was not surprising, given Khabi Mngoma's principalship of the school and his great love for music, which was always 'his favourite subject'.

In order to finance the school, the pupils gave regular concerts, including performances of Western classical music, and older traditional African (probably Zulu and some Sotho) music, as well as performances of musical items from newer traditions.

However, the Mayibuye High School was viewed by the authorities as an illegal activity, because the law prohibited the running of any unregistered school; Khabi Mngoma and his colleagues were threatened with arrest, and thus the Mayibuye School was forced to close down at the end of 1953.

It was fortunate that a number of schools in Soweto agreed to take in some of the expelled pupils; they were distributed among these institutions and were able to continue their school careers.

During this unsettled period Khabi Mngoma, Es'kia Mphahlele and Isaac Matlare never ceased to work around the clock in an attempt to keep up with meeting deadlines for the next issues of 'The Voice'. But at the end of 1953 this activity also came into conflict with the law; the three men were charged with running an unregistered newspaper, and were summoned to appear in court.

We didn't tell our wives anything about this. Judge Mostert was then a young lawyer, (or was just finishing his articles for a firm) and he was trying to get us out of this mess. He said, our only chance of winning the case was to find a technicality that would free us of the charge. And fortunately he did find one! He noticed according to the dates that appeared on the issues that no two consecutive issues (twelve issues altogether) had appeared at regular intervals. That was because we could never manage to get the paper ready in time! So we won the case on that point! We went home, very proud of ourselves and finally told our wives about the episode - they were dismayed! (*ibid*).

The early 1950s - and particularly 1953 - seem to have been a time of exceptional stress, because of continuous trouble with the government authorities.

The Syndicate of African Artists also began to suffer police harassment, because it was a 'multiracial' venture, and segregation laws became more and more inflexible; in 1956 the Syndicate was forced to disband (Bantu World, 4 February 1956).

This was the tragic end to what Coplan (1985:170) regards as '... perhaps the first formal urban cultural movement' that '... actively (promoted) the cultural identity and socio-political aspirations' of Johannesburg's black population.

With the disbandment of the Syndicate of African Artists in 1956, there was no theatrical organization left in Johannesburg that was directed and run by black South Africans (ibid:204).

Khabi Mngoma's involvement with Zulu male traditional singing choir competitions in Johannesburg as member of the Adult Education Committee, 1949 to ca 1958 (vide addendum at the end of this thesis)

Early in 1948 Khabi Mngoma met David Rycroft,¹⁸ a BA graduate of the University of the Witwatersrand (1947) who majored in Zulu and Phonetics, and History of Music.¹⁹ The two met through a mutual friend, the late Simon Ngubane who was at the time working with Hugh Tracey on an African Music Society research project.

In April 1949 Rycroft started work as Cultural Recreation Officer (a newly created post), in what was then called the Welfare Branch of the NEAD (Non-European Affairs Department)²⁰ of the Johannesburg City Council. In that same year he approached Khabi Mngoma as well as the well-known South African artist Cecil Skotnes, and invited them to join the Johannesburg Local Committee for Non-European Adult Education, and to assist in its music and art education programmes run at the Polly Street Centre in Johannesburg. (Vide Addendum note a.) Khabi Mngoma accepted the invitation to join this committee, and its activities formed a remarkably exciting and adventurous chapter in his life and career. (Vide Addendum note b.)

Adult Education (for black South Africans) had become an educational priority in South Africa during the late 1940s. The urgent need to give attention to this aspect of education was realized when the 1946 census revealed a great percentage of illiteracy among black South African adults (Horrell 1963:68).

In an attempt to 'close' the educational-sociological generation gap between African adults and their children,²¹ a nation-wide literacy campaign was launched in 1949,²² working as far as possible through local authorities, missions and voluntary bodies (*ibid*:69). Night schools for African Adults were run by a variety of institutions, ie technical colleges, provincial education departments, University Departments of Education, Arts and Science, private organizations, and even by individual persons who contributed on their own accord. These programmes or 'schools' were subsidized by municipalities, the government and other institutions (*ibid*:67-70).

The Polly Street Adult Education Centre was such an undertaking, being one of a number of similar centres run under the auspices of the Johannesburg City Council. The Polly Street Adult Education Centre, which received some funding from the Johannesburg City Council and the government, offered literacy classes, and classes in painting, sculpture and music, and provided facilities for art exhibitions, musical concerts, workshops and other events as well, including Zulu male traditional singing choir competitions. Over the years it has produced some of South Africa's leading sculptors and artists (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

Khabi Mngoma and David Rycroft both became involved in the supervision of Zulu male traditional singing choir competitions in Johannesburg through their involvement in the Adult Education Committee of the Johannesburg City Council. These competitions were held regularly on Saturday nights, '... in every available hall or schoolroom in the back streets' (Rycroft 1957:34)²³ - ie in any possible venue that could be found. The hall of the Polly Street Adult Education Centre, in particular, was in great demand for these events, and according to Rycroft (*ibid*), proved to be quite a dangerous place at night, owing to its location next to an open plot where

... illicit liquor brewers plied their trade, while gangsters lurked in the Polly Street shadows to waylay consumers on their unsteady route home. Police raids were frequent here, and the place was referred to by Africans as Kwa Magaba ngejubane - the place where one sipped and fled (*ibid*).

The hall of the Adult Education Centre, where Saturday night Zulu choir competitions were frequently held, offered a '... welcome shelter to drunks who either could stagger no further or were sober enough to remember to avoid gangsters or police' (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma and David Rycroft's involvement with these competitions entailed organizing the venues for the competitions, finding suitable adjudicators, and supervising the actual competitions. Their services had been urgently requested by the participating choirs, as these Saturday night 'happenings' had become the monopoly of men who presented themselves to the participants as 'impresarios'. The latter had namely found these events to be a profitable enterprise, and therefore had taken upon themselves the task of organizing the competitions: hiring venues, finding adjudicators, and collecting the 'joining fees' from the choirs who wished to participate, which really was the crux of the business, because the greater percentage of the money solicited from the choirs found its way into the pockets of the 'impresarios'.

The 'joining fee' could amount to anything from five pounds [ten rand] to ten pounds [twenty rand] per choir. The prize for the winning choir would then be deducted from the gross income of the evening, which included admission fees paid by the members of the audience and money raised by selling food (stew cooked back stage) during the evening.

If, for instance, the prize were fifty pounds [one hundred rand], each choir would have to pay a joining fee of between five pounds [ten rand] and ten pounds [twenty rand]. When many choirs were participating, the prize would be much bigger - and, of course, the 'impresario' would walk off with a substantial amount of money, enough to cover his expenses (such as

hiring the hall) and to replenish his personal finances (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

Rycroft (1957:34) gives an amusing account of the procedures followed in collecting the admission fees from the spectators at these competitions:

Rather than themselves standing at the door to issue tickets, or entrusting another with money, the organizers (impresarios) of the competitions preferred to allow free access to all until the hall was full, and thereafter, at about 23h00, to collect half-crowns from the assembled audience in the manner of a bus conductor. As a token of payment, everyone received the imprint of a rubber stamp on the back of his hand, bearing the legend 'Zulu Male Traditional Choirs' in deep purple. Bombing (the name of one of the styles of singing performed by Zulu male traditional singers) continued without intermission until about 05h00 or 06h00, but, long before the end, half the audience were generally nodding or snoring in their seats, many with one hand carefully supported by the other so as to ensure that their receipt imprint did not get rubbed off.

According to Khabi Mngoma, these 'impresarios' took this on as a full-time business occupation, and, because there were so many of them, each one tried to rule the roost, and attempted to monopolize the venues for himself. Manipulation and unscrupulous dealings were the name of the game.

They were ruthless - like hawks on the hunt. If we failed to make our personal appearance at the competitions, we could be sure there would be some form of cheating or 'pirating' going on amongst the 'impresarios', or some fighting over monies that were at stake. Sometimes one of them would even pretend that he had booked the hall with us, and take the money for himself (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

There often was dishonesty on the part of the choirs as well, who would at times attempt to bribe the adjudicators to appoint them as the winners. Apart from all this, the 'impresarios' would also try to secure Khabi Mngoma and David Rycroft's goodwill and benevolence on their behalf.

They made all sorts of plans to try and win our favour - sometimes even arranged rather adventurous and outrageous schemes to 'soften' us. They would, for instance, accord us expensive presents, like a lovely warm winter coat (or a summer coat in summer), delivered at our homes! How they managed to pry our addresses, we never knew. We realized of course that we were being bribed, and had to be careful about accepting these presents (*ibid*).

Corruption was rife and Khabi Mngoma and David Rycroft found it indeed a challenge to accomplish their task of supervising the competitions and the activities of the impresarios. 'Being in charge of the 'hordes' obliged us to learn to understand the mechanics of the 'backroom' boys! (*ibid*).

In view of these circumstances the leaders of the choirs, distrustful of the 'impresarios', approached Khabi Mngoma and David Rycroft and requested them to take charge of the selection of suitable adjudicators for each competition on a weekly basis. They accordingly consented to do this.

To avoid bribery, and to ensure absolute impartiality, the adjudicators had to be 'white'. But, if such a person or persons could not be found, Indian or coloured persons were approached instead (Mthethwa 1979:17). The reason for this was that the Zulu choirs would never accept the judgement of an African, because '... even an African with an academic degree might have (had) a distant cousin in one of the choirs and could not therefore be considered an impartial witness' (Rycroft 1957:35).

Moreover, the choirs believed that 'non-Africans' could not be enchanted or bewitched by a witch doctor's spell, employed to influence the decision of the adjudicators!

The adjudicators had to be found at the last moment, which was at the awkward time of midnight, or even during the early morning hours (Msomi 1975:59; Rycroft 1957:35). The choir leaders also insisted that they all should set out together to select them (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

At about 23h00 we usually all set out together in two or three big cars - those old, quite stylish and smart American models - filled to the brim with choir leaders. Rycroft and I drove in a separate 'escort car' in which we would accompany the adjudicator(s) to the hall.

Of course, we had to take precautions not to offend the police. So we made a point of it to inform Marshall Square (the headquarters of the police at the time) well in advance about our activity, and to assure them that we were not up to malicious conduct (*ibid*).

However, sometimes an ignorant police patrol car would spot the conspicuous 'fleet' and stop and question them about their activities and intentions. Their appearance certainly justified police suspicions of deviousness and conspiracy, especially with Rycroft in their midst, for he was the only white man among the host of black men, and it really was a question of what he had been up to! (*ibid*).

The midnight excursion was scheduled to coincide with the closing time for European bars and saloons in the city of Johannesburg (Rycroft 1957:35), where the 'fleet' would try and spot a vulnerable, but friendly-looking character, who would not refuse the rather extraordinary invitation. Another hunting ground was provided by the cinemas, especially the Colosseum Bioscope in Johannesburg (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

We usually stopped in front of the cinema and waited until the show came out. Then we would just spot any couple who looked stimulated, excited and friendly, approach them (Rycroft and myself) and start a conversation. 'Did they feel stimulated? Wide awake? Did they think they would be able to endure the night without any sleep?' If the answers were

affirmative, we would explain what our business was all about, and how it operated. We also offered to pay them a fee for their adjudication services, which they could stipulate. Some people did not even want any payment, because they considered the occasion as a good experience and adventure (*ibid*).

On agreement, the adjudicators were whisked away in the escort car to the hall, followed by the rest of the convoy, its occupants being fully satisfied with the 'catch'. The latter's integrity and capability for musical judgement were always accepted without question, and his - or the couple's decision would be accepted as final.²⁴

On arrival at the venue, the adjudicators were propped up at a table from where they listened to, and judged, the competition - and where their excitement usually wore off after the first hour.

You see, once they were in the hall, they were virtually under house arrest until sunrise, and completely isolated. Nobody was allowed to talk to them - for fear of bribery. Neither were they allowed to say a word to anyone. If they wished to communicate something, they had to do so through mimed gestures, eg 'I want to smoke' (demonstrated with the necessary movements to convey the message). They did have the advantage of being served with refreshments, but had no verbal contact with the waiters or anybody else whatsoever. They just sat there, feeling deserted after a while, tired and bored stiff. Some even passed out on the adjudicator's table, sleeping and snoring until dawn (*ibid*).

At first it was easy to find 'clients' who would volunteer for the adjudication task, because the news about this activity spread and people were eager to witness this interesting event. But no-one, after having had the experience which - one should agree - must have been unforgettable in more than one respect, would oblige a second time. Consequently, within about three to five months it became virtually impossible to find anyone willing to act as an adjudicator. Khabi Mngoma and David Rycroft soon became known as a 'team' to be avoided at all costs:

The word got around: 'You see, those two, you better watch out for them!' And as soon as people spotted us, they would either look away into another direction or take a turn around the nearest corner and disappear! (*ibid*).

Thus the only option left, was to 'hunt down' vagrants and invite them to adjudicate the choir competitions.

Johannesburg offered two main sanctuaries for its vagrants: the City Hall steps (probably the safest place for them to spend the night in those days) and the benches in the various city parks, such as in Joubert Park (*ibid*).

The hobos were a completely different type of client, all too happy to have a roof over their head for the night. Besides, they were well fed. Very appetizing stew was always cooked back stage (it was the same stew recipe every week, but very tasty), and being officials, the adjudicators, Rycroft and myself always received a free helping, which we relished (*ibid*).

There was also an abundant supply of cigarettes, so the vagrants enjoyed all these advantages and did not mind the few discomforts they had to endure. As a matter of fact, as Khabi Mngoma commented, it was actually a five-star evening for tramps, and the highlight of their week (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma recalled how he and Rycroft used to approach a vagrant lying asleep on a park bench, and how it required considerable skill, so as not to frighten the poor fellow out of his wits.

It was a difficult task to set about. Rycroft and I would stalk towards the man lying on the bench; sometimes he would hear our approaching footsteps and feel threatened ('... who was moving there ...?'); or we would reach him and find him fast asleep, snoring away. Our problem then was, just how to wake him up without alarming him or giving him a fright. Sometimes we touched his stomach (if he was facing upwards) and on one or two occasions the poor chap jolted up in violent fear and bolted away with his little bundle beside him. It was very awkward. So we came up with the idea of talking to each other (as during a

recreational stroll) while we were walking in a relaxed manner in the direction of the bench where the hobo lay.

But soon the hobos started expecting us, and if we didn't show up for a week or two, they would ask: 'Why didn't you come?!' They were now actually looking forward to the excitement of those stints (ibid).

Before long another problem cropped up. The choir leaders came to recognize the vagrants' faces, because it was always the same men adjudicating, and they became convinced that, if they continually used the same people as adjudicators, the latter would develop preferences for certain choirs, become familiarized with their respective uniforms²⁵ and start picking them out as winners, on sight. On the insistence of the choir leaders that the choirs be 'invisible' to the adjudicators, the latter were confined in the vestry, with the door left slightly ajar so that the singing could still be clearly audible to them. The choirs were then called out by number.

Numbered slips (were) drawn out of a hat to decide (the) order of appearance. Whenever the next choir was called to the stage, something similar to a rugby scrum was to be seen taking place at the back of the hall. This was merely the next choir, whose members were making sure of their notes in close consultation with their conductor.

The fact that they had been summoned to the stage by the bull-necked announcer, who preceded his 'Khwaya numba four, pliss!' with a loud blast across the top of an empty lemonade bottle, did not mean that the previous choir had finished their item. Only physical displacement could get them to vacate the stage. Having struck up their tune successfully at the back of the hall, the new choir would file down the aisle and up onto the stage singing all the while, until the previous choir were finally displaced both physically and musically - though they generally carried their song back into the hall with them as they left, rather than admit defeat' (Rycroft 1957:35).

Amidst all the merriment, the adjudicators, secluded in the vestry, were expected to reach their decision and appoint the winners according to their respective numbers. But this procedure very soon proved to be very unsatisfactory, to say the least.

The adjudicators felt too isolated. It was bad enough sitting all on one's own at the adjudicator's table with not a soul to talk to and all verbal communication being strictly forbidden. But being locked up in the vestry - that was too much to bear! (Personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985.)

Sometimes the adjudicators fell asleep in the little room, but this was usually attributed to the power of umuthi - medicine used by the izinyanga and/or diviners:

Each choir had its own 'muthi-man' (ie medicine man/inyanga or witch doctor) who 'doctored' to the choir. They sometimes came with a can filled with medicated water and sprinkled it out in front of the choir, using an oxtail. There was no secrecy about it! The winning choir's doctor received the credit for being effective: it was not only their good singing that secured their success, but also the fact that they had a good inyanga. It was hilarious in some cases! (*ibid*).

The choir leaders became so used to the vagrants who came to adjudicate the competitions that they demanded a change of people in the adjudication seats.

Rycroft and I were faced with a new dilemma. Where were we going to find new adjudicators? We had exhausted the number of cinema candidates, as well as the city's supply of tramps. We had no choice but to reach out to the suburbs, such as Fordsburg, and find people there.

That, too, we exhausted within a couple of weeks, so we were obliged to get back to the hobos.

But in winter it was very difficult to find anybody to be lounging on the park benches. It really was quite a problem (*ibid*).

Also with regard to the prizes accorded at these competitions Khabi Mngoma and David Rycroft found themselves faced with a number of obstacles.

The prizes ranged from an amount of money (which was divided among the members of the winning choir), to a bicycle (Coplan 1985:67), to a live ox, cow or goat (Msomi 1975:59). The animal was slaughtered for feasting by the winning group and their supporters, to celebrate their success.

Whenever an animal had to be procured as a prize for the winning choir, a health permit had to be obtained from the Department of Health before the animal was allowed to be conveyed to the competition hall.

It was a great nuisance. Abattoirs had to be visited and all the necessary papers obtained. Or we had to find a farmer in the surrounding farming areas who would be willing to sell one of his livestock. Sometimes we even had to visit various farms in order to negotiate about the price, because often the amount of money that was made available to us for the buy would not be enough for buying a beast. It was difficult; so the impresarios finally resorted to smuggling the beast into the urban area.

We knew we were *in* for it! We tried that once and said: 'Never again!' Health restrictions were strict... So we then just refused to be involved in that part of the competition! The impresarios then settled for smaller animals: goats (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

But once they had the beast (or cow/calf or goat), the response of the choirs and the audience was tremendous. The 'impresarios' regularly brought the live animal into the hall prior to the competition and paraded it on stage to attract more choirs to participate.

Hilarious things used to happen, because the animals became panic stricken.

The stages of most of the halls had steps going up from the auditorium onto the stage. Now, it is not the sort of thing a cow would want to do, but the men used a rope to pull the cow up onto the stage, at the same time pushing it from the back - and it would mess all the way!

Everybody would watch the spectacle to see whether it would be carried through. If the men were lucky enough, the animal would eventually stand up on the stage and show itself off to the audience. After the hectic display, the beast was taken away, and a major cleaning operation would follow to clean up the dung (*ibid*).

The stunt sometimes went out of hand: 'Sometimes the beast would break loose, causing pandemonium in the hall, because it would run around in an absolute panic' (*ibid*).

At about sunrise the following morning, after the competition had come to an end, the beast would have to be taken away by the winning choir. A new problem arose, because they first would have to find transport for it. 'They were not always able to do this right away. So the beast would have to stay there at the hall for a day or two, and Rycroft and I would have to find grass to feed it!' (*ibid*).

Because they were responsible for the hall - and especially when the animal had been smuggled into the area... - both Khabi Mngoma and David Rycroft would have to take precautions to keep the animal safely out of sight from any enquiring persons, including custodians of the law!

Khabi Mngoma was involved in this activity until about 1958.

The Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival, and Khabi Mngoma's involvement as Musical Advisor to festival participants from 1949 until the late 1960s

Concurrently with the musical and other cultural activities of the Syndicate of African Artists and the Johannesburg Local Committee for Non-European Adult Education, Khabi Mngoma also became involved in the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival in 1949.

The Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival was initiated in 1946,²⁶ and witnessed such enormous growth after its inception, that it eventually became '... the most important national black cultural event of the year' (Coplan 1985:169).

It was launched under the leadership of the band master Marcus Roe and other officials from the Non-European Affairs Department of the Johannesburg City Council (*ibid*:168-169). The official aims of the festival were:

- (i) to encourage a love of music and promote talent among the African people;
- (ii) to raise the standard of performance and sense of appreciation; and
- (iii) to introduce to Johannesburg audiences the best African and European music (performed by black South Africans) (programme notes, October 1948).²⁷

The organizational responsibilities for the festival, such as the appointment of adjudicators and the prescription of the music, were carried out by a committee, which included '... an impressive list of elite African cultural leaders' (Coplan 1985:169). Khabi Mngoma, being one of them, became a member of the committee in 1949 through his association with David Rycroft, and was eventually elected as its Secretary in 1957, his tenure of office continuing until 1964 (curriculum vitae, Khabi Mngoma, January 1983). However, as mentioned earlier, his involvement with the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival actually continued well into the 1960s. (The exact date of the termination of Khabi Mngoma's involvement in the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival is uncertain.) His responsibilities entailed distributing the prescribed music (ie the sheet music) among the participants, and advising the coaching of choirs and other musical groups, in preparation for the competition (Mngoma 1980, 'The Teaching of Music...':2).

The Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival actually began on a very small scale as a choral eisteddfod, but it soon became a larger music festival because of the gala events that took place in between the competitive sections (*ibid*). The variety of competitive sections expanded extensively to a total of eighty-four in all (Coplan 1985:169; Rycroft 1957:35), and they catered for many kinds of performance, including sections for vocal soloists, crooners,²⁸ and jazz groups (*ibid*), brass bands²⁹ and 'instrumental soloists of all kinds (*ibid*), Zulu male traditional singing, mine dancing, even ballroom dancing and ballet (Coplan 1985:169), dramatic sketches and puppet shows (Rycroft 1957:35). The choral competitions included sections for South African 'folk' choral songs, and 'serious' choral music, ie of Western, classical origin: '... songs prescribed were in Afrikaans, English and a vernacular. With the Western (classical) items Bach, Haydn, Handel and Mendelssohn were the favourite composers' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, April 1986).

To use Khabi Mngoma's description, the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival covered '... a broad spectrum of musical traditions ... from indigenous, traditional Zulu dancing to the "highly sophisticated" choir singing and jazz bands' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

The festival also provided opportunities for black South African composers, because from time to time works were commissioned by the Festival Committee specially for the occasion (Coplan 1985:170), such as the commission received by the Xhosa composer Todd Matshikiza (1921-1968)³⁰ in 1956 (Huskisson 1969:119), who subsequently composed Uxolo, a Xhosa cantata for two hundred voices and a seventy-piece brass band (Coplan 1985:170).

The Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival proved to be an immensely popular event. School choirs, township community choirs and church choirs from Pretoria, Bloemfontein, Kimberley, Pietersburg, Pietermaritzburg and even from so far as Cape Town convened in Johannesburg annually, and the festival programme assumed such large proportions that it was held over a period of three months, ie August, September and October (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985; Mngoma 1980, 'The Teaching of Music...':2).

Khabi Mngoma's active involvement in the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival for a period of almost twenty years was most important for the development of his musical career, in the sense that it broadened his spectrum of socio-musical awareness. He now found himself in the position of being able to keep abreast of the musical trends prevalent in the townships and rural areas, as well as observe certain developments within the vast variety of South African performance styles that were demonstrated at the festival.

The African Teachers' Association of South Africa's National Eisteddfod : Khabi Mngoma's involvement from 1948 until 1982

It is significant that Khabi Mngoma was elected to serve on the adjudication panel of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa's National Eisteddfod,³¹ and that he began to render his services to this institution from as early as 1948, and continued to do so for thirty-two years, until 1982. Khabi Mngoma held the annual eisteddfodau organized by the African Teachers' Association of South Africa in high esteem, because he felt that even though all singing is done a capella - except for occasional solo pieces which are accompanied at the piano, these eisteddfodau '... have kept academic music alive in schools' by obliging contestants to prepare prescribed songs. Khabi Mngoma maintains that, in spite of the fact that these songs were/are written in tonic sol-fa, they nevertheless inculcated literacy in music.

Khabi Mngoma's involvement in the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival as Musical Advisor, and his involvement in the adjudication of the eisteddfodau organized by the African Teachers' Association of South Africa, were the 'first fruits' of numerous similar future involvements, discussed in this study.

At this point it would be useful to recapitulate Khabi Mngoma's activities from the time of his association with the Orlando High School in 1948, until 1953, after his dismissal from the teaching profession in 1952, and 'the need' to find another means of earning a living. It is important to bear in mind that Khabi Mngoma was always occupied with many activities at once, ie from 1948 he involved himself in a veritable network of activities that is difficult to comprehend at first reading.

Recapitulation of the first period's activities

Major employer : Orlando High School (1948-1952).

Self-employed for a short period in 1953.

- 1948 : initiated the Vulgus Choir
- 1948 : initiated the Orlando Music Society
- 1948 : initiated the Treasured Trio
- 1948 : initiated the Voice of Africa
- 1948 : became involved as adjudicator of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa
- 1949 : became involved in the Zulu male traditional singing choir competitions
- 1949 : became involved in the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival
- 1953 : established the Mayibuye High School (self-employment)
- 1953 : established his own printing business, the Bantu World Press (self-employment).

During these years Khabi Mngoma also continued his private music studies, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

Notes

1. Isaac Matlare in later years became an attorney in Lesotho (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).
2. Vide Cassell MCMII:626; vulgus (volgus) : 'the people = the great multitude, the public'(ibid).
3. This pattern of mutual teaching is a tradition that he has adhered to throughout his music teaching career. The writer observed this procedure in one of his folk song transcription classes at the University of Zululand in September 1985. Khabi Mngoma taught the class a Zulu song by rote, which they then had to transcribe, first into tonic sol-fa and then into staff notation. He then requested that a volunteer from the class render another folk song, which Khabi could learn in return - either in Zulu or in Sotho. (All the students in the class were Zulu speaking, with the exception of one student whose mother tongue was Sotho.)
4. Literary references point to traditional wedding songs, and church and mission school music as stylistic origins of umbholoho. References include the following: Hansen 1981; Mthethwa 1979; Coplan 1985; Erlmann 1986.

The most recent reference to this vocal choral style, which was accompanied by dancing, occurs in Erlmann's study (ibid) of the history and context of isicathamiya (Zulu male traditional singing), earlier forms of which were known as Sikhwela Joe, Mbube and Cothoza mfana. His study seems to indicate that these two styles of syncretic music, isicathamiya and umbholoho, became related during the 1930s.

Mthethwa (1979:11) stresses the western, European origins of umbholoho and refers to the four part harmony, based on the Western cadential progressions I - IV - V - I, which is a characteristic of umbholoho; he further maintains that

... people who have (had) little contact with Western music either through school or church, cannot sing umbholoho. In the majority, illiterate people cannot harmonize umbholoho tunes in the typical style (*ibid*).

5. The action songs referred to by Coplan (1985:72) are a category of songs that were taught in mission schools in the 19th century in South Africa, accompanied by '... interpretive movements... used as a solution to the difficulty of getting African students to stand still while singing' (*ibid*).

These body movements have also been described in the context of isicathamiya as '... synchronized body movements and gestures reminiscent of the American Minstrel Show' (for reference to the American Minstrel Show, *vide* Cockrell 1987); or '... gestulations and steps reminiscent of vocal groups, usually (quartets), which were a feature of an American ragtime ensemble of the twenties and thirties in South Africa' (Mngoma 1984).

6. When rural Africans left their homes and moved to the towns and cities in search of labour, they came into contact with (to them) new forms of Western music and dance; the selective assimilation of characteristic elements of these forms, together with elements of the older styles of music, still alive in the rural areas, resulted in the formation of syncretic performance styles of urban African music. The indlamu dance first emerged among the Zulu people residing in the districts of Ndwedwe and Mapumulo, in Natal, and was initially established as a modern urbanized dance form by Zulu migrant workers, and later by the other Nguni peoples of southern Africa (Xhosa, Swazi cultural groups; even the South Sotho dance indlamu) who developed distinctive styles of indlamu performance. Among the Xhosa-speaking peoples the Bhaca, Hlubi, Mpondomise and Nhangwini chiefdom clusters perform their styles of indlamu, each marked by its specific tempo, and method of stamping. The most typical movement in indlamu is stamping, ie the concerted stamping of each foot alternately on the ground, preceded by an upward and outward kick. Variations in this basic dance movement are to be observed in the way in which some cultural groups '... raise the leg forward in a high kick prior to bringing the foot down on the ground, while others raise the knee and then swing the leg backwards with a piston action before stamping' (Tracey 1952:4).

As in the case of the Xhosa chiefdom clusters, regional differences are also reflected in indlamu styles performed in various localities in Natal and KwaZulu, each style having its own distinctive characteristics.

For reference, *vide* Clegg 1981; Clegg 1982; Clegg 1984. Hansen (1981:389-416) discusses aspects of form and style in Bhaca and Xesibe indlamu dancing in some detail. *Vide* also Blacking (undated).

7. Khabi Mngoma has made this statement on numerous occasions. In 1987 the writer noticed that Khabi Mngoma had begun using the term 'Africa South' instead of 'South Africa' or 'southern Africa'. Upon enquiring about this, it became evident that it is a term that has been well considered by Khabi Mngoma. He uses it intentionally as a personal statement, and to draw fellow South Africans' attention to the fact that the country is part of Africa, and not 'a cultural outpost of Europe'. He seeks an 'Africa-consciousness' so to speak. It is his ideal that South African musicians, music teachers and all South Africans generally should become 'Africa conscious'. The unique South African cultural variety and cultural richness should be realized, reclaimed and cultivated in South African music education. These were his intentions behind the formation of the Society of Music Educators for Africa South on 4 July 1987 in Cape Town, at the Second National Music Educators' Conference. Khabi Mngoma was elected President of the Conference for the second time. (*Vide* Chapter XII of this study.) Khabi Mngoma's fingerprint can be clearly recognized in the title of the conference - 'Making Music Education Relevant in Africa South'. For a discussion of Khabi Mngoma's philosophy of music education for southern Africa, *vide* Epilogue.

8. Norah Taylor was the founder of Norah Taylor Studios, a speech and drama school which in those days [1940s] was housed at 33 Rissik Mansions in Johannesburg. Mphahlele's relationship with Norah Taylor during the early years was a particularly formative one in more than one literary sense. She started off as his mentor, became his benefactor in the

difficult years after he and two colleagues [Khabi Mngoma and Isaac Matlare] were banned from teaching at any South African registered school [August 1952] and later became a trusted friend even during Mphahlele's life in exile (1957-1977). Hers is the earliest Mphahlele correspondence available to date and illuminates various facets of the impact of Apartheid on black-white relationships (Manganyi 1984:7-8; this book contains many letters written by Mphahlele to Norah Taylor).

9. Vide 'Trauneck, Joseph', in Malan, ed 1986:380-381.

10. Vide 'Roode, David Johannes', ibid:188-189.

11. Vide 'Lambrechts, Anny Henrica Josepha', in Malan, ed 1984:132-133. According to this article, Anny Lambrechts '... became one of the first South African singers to render all her songs and arias in the languages in which they had originally been written' (ibid:133).

Anny Lambrechts was the wife of Jose Rodriguez-Lopez, with whom Khabi Mngoma studied piano.

12. Vide 'Rodriguez-Lopez, Jose', in Malan, ed 1986:185-187.

13. Combined with information cited in various curricula vitae of Khabi Mngoma.

14. The members belonging to the Syndicate of African Artists were teachers, clerks, nurses, messengers and factory workers (Mphahlele 1959, 1971:180).

15. When Khabi Mngoma left Adams College in 1946, Simon Ngubane was appointed Music Inspector in black schools. In order to prepare himself for his new duties, Ngubane went to Hugh Tracey at Roodepoort in 1948, to assist him in his research for MSAHO (the International Library of African Music) into African music. Subsequently Ngubane left for London in further preparation of his work, and returned to South Africa to live in Pietermaritzburg, the headquarters of the Education Department at the time.

16. The Voice started off as The Voice of Orlando and remained that for the first year of its publication. Subsequently its name changed to The Voice of Africa, owing to the interest and demand it had awakened in Soweto and elsewhere. Vide references to The Voice in Manganyi 1984:9, 32.

17. The Eiselen Report was drawn up by the Eiselen Commission, after an investigation into matters relating to so-called 'Native Education' or 'Bantu Education'. This report preceded the proclamation of laws on racially segregated education in South Africa, as set forth in the Bantu Education Act, Act No 47, of 1953. For reference to South African Education for black South Africans under 'Apartheid', vide Kallaway, ed 1984, 1986, 1988.

18. Vide 'Rycroft, David Kenneth', in Malan, ed 1986:202-204. David Rycroft is a linguist and scholar of African music, presently active in London, United Kingdom, where he was ultimately appointed Senior Lecturer in Bantu Studies, and Head of the Bantu Section of the Department of African Languages and Culture. Rycroft has done extensive research in Zulu and Swazi oral traditions (languages and musics). He has published extensively and his contributions to South African Ethnomusicology are monumental. He is currently editor of the Galpin Society Journal.

19. Rycroft played as both flautist and oboist in the University orchestra. (Vide Kirby 1967:360.)

20. Information from D K Rycroft to D D Hansen, August 1991.

21. In 1949 the Adult Education Officer of the Institute of Race Relations, Maida Whyte, wrote that

... unless adult and parent education keeps abreast of child education, then group and family discipline breaks down... Only confusion results when children in schools learn isolated sets

of values bearing no relation to those of home and group tradition (Horrell 1963:68 quotes Whyte 1949).

22. In the 1940s the South African Institute of Race Relations (Adult Education Section) evolved a course system that enabled non-literate persons to learn to read and write within thirty to fifty hours. (The entire course was divided into sixty-minute classes.) This course was presented on a nation-wide basis through local authorities and organizations (*ibid*:49). Such courses were held at Polly Street Adult Education Centre. For further reference, *vide* Bird in Kallaway, ed 1984, 1986, 1988:192-221.

23. This is a vivid, humorous account of the Zulu male traditional singing choir competitions.

24. Khabi Mngoma commented that the choirs were always big-hearted in that they accepted whatever the decision of the adjudicator was. They never complained, as they had satisfied themselves that they had found an adjudicator who was unprejudiced and uncommitted to any member of any choir (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

The adjudicator had to judge various aspects of the performance, including the dress, presentability (appearance), neatness of dance movements, diction of words, and attack and release of sounds (Mthethwa 1979:17).

25. Rycroft (1957:33-34) gives an impressive description of the uniforms worn by the choirs that participated in these competitions at the time:

... many of these choirs have some distinctive uniform of their own, to be worn upon special occasions. This may be a 'Zoot-suit' jacket with odd coloured pockets, especially tailored to knee length and worn with stove-pipe trousers, or a college blazer with an ornate meaningless badge. Accessories such as lion-skin caps, watch (or bath plug) chains worn at the droop, and two-tone patent leather shoes are fashionable. Brightly patterned socks and incandescent suspenders must naturally be worn with short trousers if they are to be appreciated.

26. Both Coplan (1985:169) and Huskisson in Malan, ed 1979:107-109 give 1947 as the founding year of the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival. Rycroft's reference to the '... tenth annual "Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival" held last year', in his article 'Zulu Male Traditional Singing' (1957) confirms this.

27. Also cited by Coplan 1985:169.

28. A crooner is a '... singer of popular sentimental songs in a low smooth voice' (Sykes, ed 1978:195).

29. Johannesburg had a strong brass band tradition among the various black communities living in the townships. Brass bands were formed in a variety of circumstances and situations, eg those comprising the cleaning staff from the different departments of the Johannesburg City Council (and organized by the City Council's Recreation and Community Services Department) and those formed by Tswana and Pedi urban town dwellers (who 'inherited' their 'brass band tradition' from their Lutheran Church background).

These brass bands were especially active during weekends, when they played in parks and at other venues for recreation, where they also increased their earnings. They also took part in the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival, playing the prescribed works, as well as original compositions (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

30. *Vide* Coplan 1985:108, 153, 168, 170, 173, 174, 175, 177, 179, 190, 200, 207; Kavanagh 1985:59, 85, 93, 109-112, 113, 124, 139, 180, 197; Huskisson 1969:118-120.

31. Re the African Teachers' Association of South Africa, *vide* Peteni 1978, 1979.

CHAPTER V

Social Worker

(The second period): Khabi Mngoma's social and cultural work for the National War Memorial Health Foundation, 1953 - 1957.

In 1953 the National War Memorial Health Foundation required the services of a social worker who would be able to direct and supervise its communal and cultural activities based at the Chiawelo Community Centre in Moroka Township.

Twenty-six applicants were interviewed for the job, all of whom - with the exception of Khabi Mngoma - held official qualifications in social work. Despite the fact that he did not possess such qualifications, it was his long and impressive record of community involvement and cultural activity that ultimately tipped the scales in his favour, and at the end of 1953, he was appointed to the post of Director and Supervisor of the Chiawelo Community Centre (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985; curriculum vitae, Khabi Mngoma, January 1983).

This new position brought about a dynamic upsurge in Khabi Mngoma's activities, as he found the community centre to be an effective mechanism for exerting a positive influence on the people of Soweto, especially those living in the western area. It was also fortunate in that the National War Memorial Health Foundation was committed to the promotion of cultural events (Coplan 1985:170),¹ and so it gave its full support to Khabi Mngoma's pursuits.

The Chiawelo Community Centre housed a creche with a pre-school programme, as well as a variety of youth clubs, in which the emphasis was on dramatic activities² and in which music played a vital role. For example, music in the form of short musical interludes were incorporated into small stage dramas, which were generally

referred to as 'township cameos' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985). Various popular music groups operated from the community centre, as well as a choral group, called the Jabavu Choristers (*ibid*).

In 1954 Khabi Mngoma founded the Moroka Township Music Appreciation Group (Huskinson in Malan, ed 1979:108) which also operated at the Chiawelo Community Centre along with the other groups mentioned above, and through this group Khabi Mngoma endeavoured to establish a strong choral tradition at the centre (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, April 1986). With the co-operation and participation of the choral constituent of the Moroka Township Music Appreciation Group, known as the Chiawelo Community Centre Choir, Khabi Mngoma produced two major classical choral works, the Messiah by G F Handel and The Creation by F J Haydn, and the performances attracted the attention of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (*ibid*). In both performances a piano accompaniment was provided by Khabi Mngoma's personal friend and colleague, the pianist Peggy Haddon (*ibid*). It was through the activities of this choir that Khabi Mngoma initiated what became the 'Messiah'-tradition among black South African Choirs (Rand Daily Mail, 7 August 1964), ie this monumental work by the German composer has ever since become a much revered piece of music among the black South African public, and a standard work of repertoire studied and performed by all African choirs of good repute.

Needless to say, this was not all Khabi Mngoma busied himself with at the centre. In accordance with his almost intuitive inclination to combine the pleasures of music with the enjoyment and benefits of sport, he could not resist organizing physical training clubs ('PT' clubs), boxing clubs and informal singing groups - an enterprise which attracted many children from the township. Khabi Mngoma also utilized the children's energies to assist the community centre's gardeners in their duties by organizing them into so-called 'garden sweeping groups', whose task it was to clean up the grounds on a regular basis. These garden sweeping sessions were very enjoyable affairs, and most welcomed by the garden personnel - as the youngsters literally invaded the grounds and took over the otherwise tedious chore en masse! 'The garden throve under this arrangement!' (Personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985.)

Another of Khabi Mngoma's responsibilities as Director and Supervisor of the Chiawelo Community Centre, was the management of vegetable clubs, through which fresh vegetables were supplied for its members on a weekly basis. His duties included regular house calls during the week for the collection of 'two-and-six' [half-a-crown] from each family, followed by a visit to the Johannesburg market early on Friday mornings, where he would bid on the fresh vegetables. 'This meant my catching the first early morning train into the city at 03h00 in order to be in time for the market, which commenced at 04h30 at the latest' (*ibid*). There he spent many hours competing with the experts in the business of bidding, and becoming well acquainted with the tricks of the trade!

I usually bought four or five varieties of vegetables, then hired a lorry to transport the load back to Moroka, and finally had it made up into bundles for distribution to the various families from whom I had collected the money. Although obtaining vegetables through this scheme was hard work, it was nevertheless very profitable, because for half a crown a family could be provided with vegetables that would otherwise have cost them anything from ten to even fifteen shillings if bought at the supermarket or cafe (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma continues his private musical studies and makes his debut in Durban

As mentioned before, Khabi Mngoma was at the same time continuing with his private musical studies, which entailed practical tuition in Piano and Singing. It was on Tuesday 13 December 1955 that he made his debut in Durban, in the Wesley Hall in West Street, with a recital of Lieder and extracts from oratorios by F P Schubert, J Brahms, J S Bach and G F Handel respectively (*The Natal Mercury*, 12 December 1955), all of which were accompanied on the piano by Jacqueline Martens (*The Natal Daily News*, 14 December 1955). He received enthusiastic acclaim from Durban critics, who hailed him as an admirable artist, such as is evinced in the report captioned 'Tenor's concert "a rare musical experience" ' which was published in *The Natal Daily News* (*ibid*):

Last night's recital in Durban by the African tenor Khabi Mngoma was a rare musical experience. Having heard glowing reports on this artist, I went to the Wesley Hall fully

expecting to hear a voice of unusual beauty, an expectation which turned out to be more than justified.

What I was not prepared for, however, was Mr Mngoma's rich musical culture, his clear realization of the most subtle stylistic differences between composers, his sensitivity and impeccable taste.

His diction is beautifully clear, while his feeling for colour and nuance and amazing breath control were evident throughout the evening.

His voice itself has an effortless, liquid quality which was beautifully appropriate to his groups of Handel arias, their florid passages being spun off with absolute control and complete absence of strain.

On the occasion of this recital, the proceeds of which went towards the Baumanville Nursery School in Durban (The Natal Mercury, 12 December 1955), contributions were made to the programme by other artists as well, including the soprano Petty Masuku, the tenor Lucas Mthembu and the Durban African Teachers' Choir (The Natal Daily News, 14 December 1955), the latter which Khabi Mngoma was to assist in rehearsals prior to his return to Johannesburg (The Natal Mercury, 12 December 1955).

In the same year Khabi Mngoma also performed as vocal soloist with the Durban Civic and the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestras, having appeared in performance with the latter for the first time in 1948 (Huskinson 1969:152-154).

1955: A crucial year for the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival

As stated in a previous chapter, through his involvement in the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival Khabi Mngoma's attention became fixed upon the serious intonation problems experienced by African choirs who participated in the festival's Western classical music sections. This was particularly evident when the choirs

were accompanied by an instrument of fixed pitch (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May, August and September 1985).

Choirs were not able to sing extended choral works in tune, even when accompanied by piano or organ. There was a tendency towards sharpening, which was especially noticeable among the sopranos (Mngoma 1980, 'The Teaching of Music...':2).

According to a report submitted to the Festival Committee in March 1966 (Report, 8 March 1966), a rapid decline of the problem had set in during the year 1955, after which the choirs' predicament grew from bad to worse until finally, in 1958, choristers and conductors had reached a musical stalemate as it were (*ibid*). 'The choirs had virtually reached the ceiling as far as performing works from the Western classical repertoire was concerned' (Mngoma 1980, 'The Teaching of Music...':2; Mngoma 1981:18) and it was manifestly imperative that enlightened guidance was to be made available in some way or another (Report, 8 March 1966).

This was a constant embarrassment. Some of the choirs and musical groups that took part in the festival were starting to receive invitations from abroad, and as Musical Advisor to festival participants, my wish was to present programmes that would reflect the whole spectrum of South African musical activity - from the so-called 'raw indigenous' musical traditions to that which was considered as 'sophisticated Western' or classical music. The latter, however, was not showing its best and would be unacceptable to Western audiences (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May, August and September 1985).

This situation led to Khabi Mngoma being approached by the Johannesburg City Council at the end of 1956 in connection with their Recreation and Community Services Department's Cultural Section, which they wished Khabi Mngoma to join in the capacity of Cultural Activities Officer.

Notes

1. According to Coplan (1985:170) the National War Memorial Health Foundation sponsored concerts and shows, such as one particular concert held in Johannesburg in 1951 by Eric Nomvete's Foundation Follies, which happened to be '... the first professional African company to perform at the City Hall in Johannesburg'(*ibid*), on that occasion.

2. Coplan (*ibid*:149) alludes to schools' training of young performers who specialized either in drama or any of the other performing arts, thereby disseminating '... new forms integrating music, dance, and drama' (*ibid*). Schools also sponsored student theatrical productions. The Jan Hofmeyer School of Social Work offered '... training courses in theatrical direction, which introduced drama to African youth clubs'(*ibid*). These clubs were sponsored by the Johannesburg City Council.

Kavanagh (1985:49) also mentions this extension of dramatic activities from the school environment into other organizations, such as youth clubs.

Strings and Jubilee

(The third period): Khabi Mngoma becomes an employee of the Johannesburg City Council and works in the capacity of Cultural Activities Officer to the Recreation and Community Services Department (Cultural Section, Non-European Affairs), 1957 - 1964.

At the end of 1956, Cecil Skotnes, who at the time was the secretary of the Johannesburg Local Committee for Non-European Adult Education (Ogilvie & Graff 1988:612),¹ approached Khabi Mngoma on behalf of the Johannesburg City Council, in order to offer him the new job of Cultural Activities Officer, which would entail the following responsibilities:

- (1) the stimulation of interest in Western classical instrumental music in the townships of the Johannesburg area, and the establishment of an orchestra;
- (2) the stimulation of interest in the academic study of Western classical music (vocal and instrumental) among the people of the townships;
- (3) the improvement of the general quality of choral singing as regards the performance of Western choral repertoire by African choirs, with specific reference to intonation, which meant providing skilled guidance in the vocal techniques employed in Western tempered singing;
- (4) in accordance with point (3), more specifically, the development of a choral tradition of equal-temperament singing among African choirs in the townships, so that performances of Western classical repertoire could be rendered successfully;
- (5) the establishment of music educational programmes in the townships that would synthesize the study of African and Western musical cultures in one curriculum, with the purpose to reconcile the two (Mngoma 1982, 'Music in South Africa in the '80s...');

(6) to instil a love of good music and to promote the joint appreciation of Western as well as African music among the people of the townships.²

The purpose of the programme was to combat the climate of general ignorance that prevailed among the largely uninitiated public,³ as far as Western classical music was concerned, as well as to instil a classical music culture in the townships, the staple music of which consisted of pop music and African jazz, such as that which featured in African Jazz and Variety Shows organized by white impresarios like Ike Brooks,⁴ Alfred Herbert⁵ and Ian Bernhardt.⁶

At first, the proposal was received by Khabi Mngoma with little enthusiasm. On the occasion of Cecil Skotnes' visit, Khabi Mngoma was in the backyard of the Chiawelo Community Centre, stripping his scooter - which was malfunctioning. Surrounded by interested youngsters who, through their natural curiosity proved to be rather a menace than a help, Khabi Mngoma's patience was being tested to the utmost!

I had quite a time trying to stop the children from carrying the scooter parts around. I was in my overall, covered with grease and in a most uncharming mood when Cecil Skotnes appeared. He said that he wanted to offer me a job, but I was by no means in the frame of mind to discuss anything like that! (Personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985.)

Since Khabi Mngoma was enjoying a good deal of job satisfaction from his work for the National War Memorial Health Foundation, he did not wish to leave it for other employment. It took much effort on the part of Cecil Skotnes to persuade Khabi Mngoma to consider the matter, but after a week's contemplation, and weighing the pros and the cons of the City Council's post, Khabi Mngoma came to the conclusion that the job offered him a major advantage. Whereas the present occupation enabled him to promote cultural activities in the western areas of Soweto only, the new position offered to him would extend his activities across a larger geographical area, which would include all the townships of Soweto and Johannesburg (*ibid*).

Thus Khabi Mngoma resigned as Director and Supervisor of the Chiawelo Community Centre in Moroka, and accepted the office of Cultural Activities Officer to the Johannesburg City Council, and he commenced duties in April 1957.⁷

Khabi Mngoma initiates the Soweto Music Education Programme in 1957

As Head of Music for the Cultural Section of the Recreation and Community Services Department, Khabi Mngoma planned a music education programme for the townships which would encompass the running of music theory and sight reading classes. The latter included sight reading in both the tonic sol-fa and staff notation systems, and these programmes were made available to the public via music appreciation groups at different centres in Soweto, with the headquarters based at the Jubilee Social Centre (programme notes, 6 November 1966).

The first classes started at the Jubilee Social Centre in 1957 (programme notes, 4 December 1960), and were extended to the Chiawelo Community Centre the following year 1958, where Khabi Mngoma had previously been very active and where the Moroka Township Music Appreciation Group was already functioning. Music appreciation groups were subsequently established at Uncle Tom's Hall in Orlando West, and at the Orlando East Community Hall (Report, 8 March 1966). Any one who wished to attend the classes could do so (*ibid*). The pupils, which included children and adults, were prepared for the public music theory examinations of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, as well as for those of the University of South Africa (*ibid*). Practical studies at this initial stage of the Soweto Music Education Programme, included Singing, Recorder, Piano and Violin (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

But, the ultimate aim was to start a symphony orchestra with a proper string contingent - comprising violins, violas and cellos - that would be proficient in the performance of symphonic music and would be in the position of making itself available to African choirs active in the townships, who wished to gain some experience in performing with a symphony orchestra, the express purpose being to foster competence in western tempered pitch performance (*ibid*; personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985). Khabi

Mngoma was therefore obliged to take up string studies, which he did, along with his other musical studies referred to before, and which will be referred to below.

Khabi Mngoma continues his private musical studies and commences violin and cello studies in 1957 and 1958 respectively

After having left Adams College in 1947, where Khabi Mngoma received piano tuition from a R C Ellis, he continued his piano studies under the pianist Jose Rodriguez-Lopez, from 1949 - 1957. After terminating his regular piano lessons with Rodriguez-Lopez in 1957 due to lack of sufficient time in his schedule, Khabi Mngoma had his piano playing periodically evaluated by his friend and colleague, Peggy Haddon,⁸ with whom he had become well acquainted through his work for performances with the Chiawelo Community Centre Choir. This took place every three to four months. Peggy Haddon also subsequently became Khabi Mngoma's accompanist for his violin lessons with Joseph Spira (*vide infra*), and for his practical violin, cello and singing examinations, which he did with the University of South Africa and the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music over the period 1956 -1963 (*vide infra*; personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

The association with Peggy Haddon developed into a life-long friendship. Khabi Mngoma regards her influence upon his musical studies and development as immensely valuable, as well as her 'partnership' almost in his work with the Ionian Music Society and the University of Zululand Music Department in later years, which did so much to promote musical education among black South Africans. As he put it: 'When the history of the Zulu Nation is written, Peggy's name will be there...' (personal communication, Peggy Haddon, February 1987).⁹

In 1957, at the age of thirty-five, Khabi Mngoma ventured into studying the violin, and simultaneously commenced teaching the violin in the Soweto Music Education Programme. The Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival Committee paid his music fees in lieu of his teaching activities in Soweto (Report, 8 March 1966).

The first problem was to find a violin teacher who would be willing to teach him. On mentioning his dilemma to Peggy Haddon, she immediately came to his rescue by drawing out from amongst her things an old

programme of one of the Johannesburg Civic Orchestra's concerts, on which appeared a complete list of the members of the orchestra.

We simply chose a name among the list of violinists which we fancied - 'Ah! "Joseph Spira"!'¹⁰ Nice name!' So we phoned him up. He was rather taken aback by our request, but nevertheless granted me an interview; had we not explained the nobility of our cause, I am sure Joseph Spira would not have accepted me as a pupil: because I looked more like a boxer or a wrestler than a prospective violinist! (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma assumed his violin teaching duties in the Soweto Music Education Programme, shortly after he had had his first formal violin lesson from Joseph Spira. In order to find pupils for his violin class, Khabi Mngoma searched the streets for musical talent, and in this way found an initial six pupils with whom he then commenced his teaching activities (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985; Weekend World, 6 May 1973).

Instruments were procured by Khabi Mngoma and Cecil Skotnes, who made appeals through the press (Report, 8 March 1966).

During the very first week of launching the Soweto Music Education Programme, I had found six pupils - but I had no violins on which to teach them. So Cecil Skotnes and myself advertised our undertaking in the press and appealed to people who had violins 'in their attics', to donate such instruments to the Programme. In this way we were presented with six violins during the first year, and at a later stage with another twenty-two (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

People whose efforts were indispensable in this regard were Dora Sowden of the Rand Daily Mail, Oliver Walker of The Star Johannesburg, the Johannesburg based violin maker at the time, Van de Geest,¹¹ and the

musician Paul Martens.¹² All these persons generously assisted Khabi Mngoma in finding instruments for his pupils (Report, 8 March 1966).

Apart from requiring instruments being donated by the public, some of the pupils were able to buy their own instruments (*ibid*). However, in later years, 1962 and 1963, the buying and repairing of instruments became a considerable problem. Consequently Khabi Mngoma, with the encouragement of Cecil Skotnes (who was the Chairman of the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival Committee at the time), submitted a memorandum to the Manager of the Non-European Affairs Department of the Johannesburg City Council, applying for an instruments maintenance grant (*ibid*). This was acceded to in 1963, and added up to the amount of three hundred rand per annum, which, in addition to instrument repairs, was to subsidize the travelling expenses of the musicians who had offered their teaching services to the programme (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma's violin classes: some initial methods

Whenever Khabi Mngoma came across a technical problem in his violin classes which he was unable to solve, due to his own limited knowledge of the instrument and its teaching methods at the time, he would phone up Joseph Spira straight away from the Jubilee Social Centre, explain the problem to him and enquire about the method he was to use to solve it.

This compelled me to take extra lessons, because whenever the explanations on the telephone were not clear to me, I would take my scooter at the end of the day and pay Joseph Spira a visit to clear up the point. Through this method of instant enquiry I very quickly acquired considerable proficiency in solving technical problems on string instruments, which still bears fruit today. I never became a solo violinist, because time at my disposal for practising was too limited to become a performer. But my standard was good enough for ensemble playing, and as far as mastering technical problems was concerned, I found very quick ways of working them out with my students right up to and through University level (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

With all his pupils Khabu Mngoma experienced an immediate satisfactory response to time and rhythm - which was, however, not the case with pitch and melody. For this reason he used the time and rhythm of speech as his point of departure, methodically equating it to the same parameter of music, and finally adding the dimension of pitch and melody. He would start off by employing rhythms of ordinary speech, of ditties from folklore, as well as rhythms derived from the children's repertoire of 'folk' songs which he elicited directly from them. 'The equating of pitch sounds on a blank stave is an easy and natural sequel when it is all equated with, and applied to, a song (or a sequence of words) the children already know' (Mngoma 1980, 'The Teaching of Music...':3). For example, the words woza lapha, suka lapha ('come here, be gone/go away') would be used to introduce quavers and semiquavers to five and six year old children:



After having said the words a few times and hand clapping the rhythmic figure, the pupils found it easy to play the rhythm on each string of the violin in turn, keeping the words in mind (*ibid*:4).

Teaching the difference between acoustical pitch and equal temperament was mastered through constant correlation with a properly tuned piano, and the attentive listening to records of Western classical music was encouraged along with it.

I told the children that the piano was actually 'wrong', but that in order to appreciate Western music, as heard on the radio or records for instance, and in order to be able to perform it themselves, they needed to be 'wrong' with the piano. If they had to produce 'piano intonation' on their instruments (personal communication, Khabu Mngoma, May 1985).

Khabu Mngoma's training of the children in both pitch traditions proved to be highly successful. Their acquisition of pitch sensitivity was remarkable: they were very perceptive of pitch deviations and had the ability

to discern between acoustical and tempered pitch; they could perform in both systems, and were always prompt to report any newly out-of-tune pianos to Khabi Mngoma (*ibid*).

Nevertheless, this exercise did not pass without its understandable hazards. One fatal day, one of Geoffrey Diedericks'¹³ pupils, who had been battling for weeks, devised a clever stratagem of carving marks on the fingerboard of his violin in order to indicate the various pitch locations! Great was his despair when his teacher discovered this and ordered a change of fingerboard! (Address, Khabi Mngoma, 6 December 1966).

Expanding the string teaching section in 1958

To recruit more aspiring instrumentalists for the Soweto Music Education Programme, Khabi Mngoma again searched the streets and visited the various primary and secondary schools in Soweto, advertising the project and appealing to pupils to join it (*Weekend World*, 6 May 1973).

It was during the same year, 1958, that Khabi Mngoma commenced with cello studies, the motivation being to balance the intake of violinists, who needed bass accompaniment for fuller harmony (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985) and in the same way that he proceeded with his violin teaching activities, he went ahead with his cello teaching responsibilities immediately after he had had his first lesson. He resumed his 'hit-a-sag-and-phone' method too, only this time he consulted his cello teacher, a Mrs Dancer.

I had a very busy schedule, rushing to-and-fro on my scooter between my work and the lessons, lugging around my instruments, which were quite a handful: the violin steadied between my legs on the scooter and the cello strung onto my back! And especially on windy days, braving the traffic with these precariously balanced instruments was quite difficult. It must have been an amusing sight for the passing motorists! (*ibid*).

What Khabi Mngoma particularly enjoyed about the violin and cello lessons, was the routine of playing duets with his teachers.

I would for instance arrive at Mrs Dancer for my cello lesson with both my instruments - having had my violin lesson prior to my cello lesson; then have the cello lesson, after which Mrs Dancer would take out a duet for violin and cello for us to play together, with her on the cello and myself on the violin. Joseph Spira did the same thing. Both teachers were such charming people (*ibid*).

Public performance experience for the Soweto Music Education Programme's instrumentalists

In order to ensure platform experience for the pupils who were taught through the Soweto Music Education Programme, Khabi Mngoma arranged regular soirees at the Jubilee Social Centre for his pupils. There, each pupil was given the opportunity to play before his fellows (personal communication, Cedric Alexander, November 1986). Khabi Mngoma also organized his instrumentalists into what was named the 'Soweto Youth Orchestra', which rapidly increased in popularity and received numerous invitations to give performances or small concerts at various venues. Invitations from a Johannesburg based impresario, Eva Harvey,¹⁴ virtually became an institution. It was almost commonplace for her to extend an invitation to Khabi Mngoma to bring along his Soweto Youth Orchestra, to give an outdoor concert at her house, which stood on a huge estate landscaped with lush gardens and beautiful lawns - the perfect setting for a pleasant evening of music. Afterwards the children would be provided with cool drinks and other refreshments. Eva Harvey was also one of the persons who assisted Khabi Mngoma in obtaining instruments, and she also periodically provided the Youth Orchestra with orchestral scores and other sheet music (*ibid*).

The Jubilee String Players

The Jubilee Music Appreciation Group formed the nucleus of music activity at the Jubilee Social Centre (programme notes, 4 December 1960). At the beginning of the year 1959, another group was established at the centre by Khabi Mngoma, ie the Jubilee String Players,¹⁵ also known as the Jubilee Chamber Orchestra (*ibid*), an adult group of players. Two of its foundation members, namely Geoffrey Diedericks¹⁶ and Enock Mlambo, were advanced pupils of Joseph Spira (*ibid*) - Geoffrey Diedericks acting as leader of the Jubilee String Players (programme notes, 6 November 1966). Although the Jubilee Chamber Orchestra's official name was really the 'Jubilee String Players', and comprised mainly strings, recorders, clarinets, one euphonium and a piano formed

part of the instrumentarium as well. The recorder section, however, disbanded, because the instrument itself failed to retain the interest of the pupils.¹⁷

The Jubilee String Players or Jubilee Chamber Orchestra was the first black symphonic ensemble ever to be established in South Africa (Huskisson in Malan, ed 1979:108), receiving reviews in the press with enthusiastic captions such as (1) 'Native Conductor Is Inspiration behind new Orchestra' (The Star Johannesburg, 4 October 1960) and (2) 'Non-Whites in Classics' (The Star Johannesburg, 2 June 1960). The first was the title of a report accompanied by a photograph, and bearing the inscription: 'The Ionian Male Choir accompanied by the Jubilee Chamber Orchestra under the baton of Khabi Mngoma, entertained the audience at Uncle Tom's Hall'; the second caption headed a report on a concert given in the University of the Witwatersrand Great Hall by Khabi Mngoma and four of his colleagues, ie Milton Oersen, who performed the A Major Piano Concerto, K 488, by W A Mozart, Johnson Sijaji,¹⁸ who played the Clarinet Concerto, K 622 by Mozart, Iris Letanka,¹⁹ who rendered a performance of 'Bist du bei mir' by J S Bach and the 'Allelujah' from Exultate Jubilate by Mozart, and finally Stanley Letanka (probably the husband of Iris Letanka), who, together with Khabi Mngoma and Johnson Sijaji, performed 'Shepherd on the Rock' by Schubert.²⁰

The Soweto Music Education Programme: forerunner of things greater

In 1972 the Jubilee String Players became the Soweto Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Shadrock Masote (Huskisson in Malan, ed 1979:108). The Jubilee Music Appreciation Group can also be regarded as a forerunner of the Ionian Music Society, with which the Soweto Music Education Programme became incorporated during the 1960s. (Vide Chapter VII.)

Khabi Mngoma's studies towards, and attainment of, four licentiates in music, 1956 - 1963, with reference to studies commenced in 1949, 1955 and 1956

The third period of Khabi Mngoma's life and work (1957 - 1964) is marked by his studies towards, and attainment of, four licentiates in music. This encompassed the following:

- (1) practical studies commenced during the second period (1953 - 1956) and which continued into the third period, namely General Musicianship (studied under W P Paff²¹ of the University of South Africa during the course of 1955 to 1959), Singing (studied under Professor Roode, also of the University of South Africa, during the period 1956 to 1961), and Piano (with Rodriguez-Lopez from 1949 until 1957);
- (2) practical studies commenced during the third period of Khabu Mngoma's life and work and continued into the fourth period, namely Violin (studied under the tutelage of Joseph Spira during the course of 1957 to 1964 - third period only), and Cello (with R Dancer from 1958 until 1966);
- (3) piano evaluations three to four times a year, by Peggy Haddon;
- (4) the achievement of four licentiates in music, of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music and of the University of South Africa respectively,²² which entailed

- (i) working on the Unisa Teacher's Licentiate (UTLM) with Piano as practical study, from 1956 until 1958, receiving the qualification in 1958;
- (ii) working on the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music's Teacher's Licentiate as well during the same period, 1956 - 1958, obtaining the qualification in 1958;
- (iii) working on the Unisa Performer's Licentiate (UPLM) with Singing as practical study, from 1960 until 1962, obtaining the qualification in 1962;
- (iv) attaining the Associated Board's Performer's Licentiate as well, one year later, in 1963 (personal communication, Khabu Mngoma, 1985 and 1986; curriculum vitae, Khabu Mngoma, January 1983).

One of Khabu Mngoma's colleagues who was involved in the Soweto Music Education Programme as a teacher, Hilda Seete, has described the excitement that prevailed among the teachers and pupils when Khabu Mngoma's achievements were published in the syllabus of the Associated Board:

According to common practice of the Royal Schools of Music, Khabu's name and achievements were published in the new year's syllabus. We were very proud of him and treasured the publication in a very safe place - because he was the only black man whose name

appeared for the whole of southern Africa, and this was indeed a great achievement for a black man at the time (personal communication, Hilda Seete, November 1986).

Khabi Mngoma is introduced to the African Music Society and the International Library of African Music in 1959 through his involvement with the Transvaal Youth Clubs Drama Festivals

In 1959 Joan Pim, who, at the time, was the Chairlady of the Transvaal Youth Club branch that operated at the Chiawelo Community Centre in Moroka Township, Soweto, invited Khabi Mngoma to become a member of the adjudication panel for the Youth Drama Festivals that were to take place at the Chiawelo Community Centre that year, and which formed part of the annual Youth Club programmes organized by the respective Transvaal Youth Clubs (curriculum vitae, Khabi Mngoma, January 1983). The Transvaal Youth Club organization specialized in running drama programmes in the townships of the Witwatersrand, and aimed at promoting youth drama among the black people of South Africa, as far as popularization of youth drama was concerned, together with encouraging creativity, general participation and the improvement of stage techniques in theatrical production (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

Khabi Mngoma remained a member of the adjudication panel for a period of ten years, from 1959 until 1969 (*ibid*). His assignment was the evaluation of the children's musical contributions to township music, the latter of which featured as an integral part of the drama, and which comprised the children's own compositions as well as songs that were traditionally known²³ within the black communities (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

It was through Joan Pim, who herself entertained an interest in African music and hence also was a member of the African Music Society,²⁴ that Khabi Mngoma became aware of the existence of the society (*ibid*), and in 1960 he subscribed as a member as well (curriculum vitae, Khabi Mngoma, January 1983).

His association with the African Music Society was instrumental in opening his eyes to the academic study of African music, and to the extensive variety of the subject:

By studying the African Music Society Journal²⁵ and attending the African Music Society's meetings, I for the first time became conscious of the fact that, in Africa south of the Limpopo River, there is traditionally more singing than instrumental playing in the original African indigenous cultures. I also realized for the first time that African music can be musicologically categorized, and that 'African Music' as a general term embraces a diversification of styles and traditions, which can be studied through musicological analysis. Prior to this revelation, I had always been under the false impression that 'African Music' was 'just all one thing' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

It can be maintained with accuracy that the African Music Society and the International Library of African Music formed the composite agent that introduced Khabi Mngoma to African musicological studies. Up to this stage, until the year 1960, his academic musical background covered Western classical music only, but henceforth his academic attention became devoted to the musicology of African music as well. This step constituted a fundamental development in Khabi Mngoma's career as music educator, which more or less secured his future position and esteem in the circle of South African music educators.

Notes

1. Vide Ogilvie and Graff 1988:612-614 for biographical details on Skotnes. The artist has always had a great interest in music, as is evident from his interest in, and involvement with Khabi Mngoma's musical activities.
2. Information compiled from the following sources: personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, 22 May 1985; Report, 8 March 1966; Address, Khabi Mngoma, 6 December 1966; Mngoma 1982, 'Music in South Africa in the '80s...'; Huskisson in Malan, ed 1979:107-109.
3. According to Khabi Mngoma's untitled address mentioned above (ie of 6 December 1966), the founder and conductor of the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra, Joseph Traunek, had made several attempts in the mid-1940s to introduce Western classical music and the instruments of the orchestra to township audiences of Soweto. He organized orchestral concerts in the Orlando Communal Hall since 1945. At each of these concerts instruments of the orchestra were introduced to the audience prior to the beginning of the concert. During the first year crowds of people used to attend the concerts, but in 1946 the novelty had worn off, and Traunek was obliged to cease his venture.
4. Ike Brooks refer: vide Coplan 1985:150-151; Andersson 1981:27.

5. Alfred Herbert refer: vide ibid; Coplan 1985:170-171, 175, 204, 207; Kavanagh 1985:49-52; Tribute, August 1988.
6. Ian Bernhardt refer: vide Coplan 1985:172, 173, 205, 207, 209; Kavanagh 1985:48, 50, 54, 84-85, 87-88; Andersson 1981:27-30, 32-35, 102; Mutloatse, ed 1987:76.
7. It was with a sense of nostalgia that Khabi Mngoma reminisced about this time in his life, ending his recollection thereof with the comment that 'it was the end of quite a chapter there...' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).
8. For reference, vide 'Haddon, Peggy-Ann (Mrs Neville Richardson)', in Malan, ed 1982:153-154.
9. At this time of writing Peggy Haddon Richardson is lecturer in piano at the University of the Witwatersrand.
10. The violinist Joseph Spira emigrated from Belgium to South Africa during the recruitment of the Johannesburg Civic Orchestra (probably in 1934) and settled in Johannesburg (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).
11. Van de Geest was a renowned violin maker who lived in Johannesburg. Khabi Mngoma's son, Lindumuzi, studied cello with Van de Geest's son, who later on became a lecturer in cello at the University of the Witwatersrand (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985). For reference, vide 'Van de Geest, Jacob G J' and 'Van de Geest, Jacobus Jan', in Malan, ed 1986:399-400.
12. Paul Martens was born in 1921 in Antwerpen, Belgium. For reference, vide 'Martens, Paul', in Malan, ed 1984:206-207.
13. Geoffrey Diedericks was one of Joseph Spira's students, who had joined Khabi Mngoma's activities at the Jubilee Social Centre, and also assisted him in the teaching of violin pupils in the Soweto Music Education Programme.
14. Eva Harvey was born in 1900. She was a prominent patroness of classical music, a composer and violinist. For reference, vide 'Harvey, Eva Noel', in Malan, ed 1982:177-178.
15. Vide 'Radio Bantu - Protagonist of Bantu Music', in The Bantu Education Journal, February 1971:19.
16. Geoffrey Diedericks began his violin studies at the age of nine, with Michael Dore in Johannesburg. When the latter moved to Cape Town in 1954, Geoffrey Diedericks continued his violin studies under the tutelage of Joseph Spira (where he also met Khabi Mngoma), and later under Walter Mony until 1960 (programme notes, 4 December 1960). Two sources refer to Geoffrey Diedericks' association with Khabi Mngoma, ibid and the Report, 8 March 1966. These two sources however differ as to the year when Geoffrey Diedericks actually joined the Jubilee Music Appreciation Group, the former giving the date 1958 and the latter stating 1959. When Khabi Mngoma started with his cello studies, Geoffrey Diedericks assisted him in his teaching activities and took over the responsibility of tutoring the initial six violin pupils who had joined the Soweto Music Education Programme (ibid). Thence onwards he became a permanent tutor, and also assisted the members of the Jubilee String Players in their violin studies. For references to Michael Dore and Walter Mony, vide Malan, ed 1979:397-398 and Malan, ed 1984:257-260 respectively.
17. The recorder pupils for some reason or another - Khabi Mngoma said that he did not know exactly why - became bored with playing recorder. Apart from its limitations as far as the production of acoustical pitch is concerned (for rendering arrangements of African songs indigenous to southern Africa, arranged for instrumental ensemble by Khabi Mngoma), the recorder certainly has orchestral limitations as well, and, in comparison with the family of orchestral stringed instruments, the latter offer far greater possibilities than the former, especially with reference to range, timbre, richness of tone and volume, dynamic range, and variety and quantity of repertoire. Also, on more than one occasion Khabi Mngoma mentioned to the writer that he himself preferred orchestral stringed instruments above others, because of their versatility in producing music conceived in different pitch systems, which is an essential, basic requirement for the study and performance of

a 'multicultural' repertoire, such as the repertoire paradigm advocated by Khabi Mngoma for a South African music education.

18. Johnson Sijaji, clarinettist and saxophonist, initially lived in Cape Town where he was active as a jazz musician in a Capetonian jazz band. Sources fail to mention the name of the specific bands in which he operated. During the 1950s (no exact date rendered) he moved to Johannesburg, where he became a clarinet student of the Johannesburg based clarinet player Jaap Van Opstal. Johnson Sijaji became a member of the Jubilee Music Appreciation Group in 1958, and eventually also joined the teaching staff of the Soweto Music Education Programme as woodwind teacher at the Jubilee Social Centre (programme notes, 4 December 1960).

19. She appeared as duo soloist (meaning one of two singers sharing a solo part simultaneously) in several performances of Handel's *Messiah*, under the baton of Khabi Mngoma during the early fifties. For biographical details, vide entry in Malan, ed 1982:83.

20. For a detailed review of the concert, vide *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 June 1960 ('Admirable Concerto Playing').

21. For reference, vide 'Higher Educational Institutions, Music at', in Malan, ed 1982:218; vide also Kirby 1967:227, 236.

22. Vide 'Music examinations in South Africa : UNISA', in Malan, ed 1982:216-221; vide also Kirby 1967:137-143.

23. Kavanagh (1985:45) mentions that the forms of artistic expression born from the new urban African culture, which was developing during the first half of the twentieth century, have only been partly recorded. He does however refer to '... one remarkable example of popular theatre' which has been recorded, ie the theatre of Esau Mthethwa and his group called the Lucky Stars, from Natal (ibid).

Kavanagh (ibid:45) writes about the Lucky Stars that

... (they) began performing in 1929 with a repertoire of original didactic and satirical comedies in Zulu, based on Zulu traditional life, employing much music and dance. Their plays were improvised and extemporised on stage when the spirit moved or a crisis demanded it. The titles of two of their plays were *Umntakathi* ('Witch') and *Ukuqomisa* ('Courting'). *Umntakathi* was a piece of domestic satire illustrating the differences between *umthakathi* (witchcraft) and (the practices of the) *isangoma* or *inyanga*, in other words between 'witchcraft and legitimate traditional medicine and soothsaying'. *Ukuqomisa* showed how to win a young girl's love with the aid of charms, and illustrated the traditional usage which forbids the marriage of a younger sister until the older sisters are wed.

Kavanagh (ibid) further cites Vilakazi (1942) who recorded that the Lucky Stars '... greatly influenced Johannesburg location productions', adding the comment that it is unfortunately '... not clear whether this refers to productions by the educated or by the urban proletariat'.

Kavanagh (ibid) further mentions that

... much of the early drama of the educated has been recorded. It was literary as opposed to oral, and was often oriented towards publication rather than performance. The educated wrote in the new forms made available to them by their European tradition - verse, novel, play, etc.

Further on (ibid:48) he mentions the serious effect precipitated by Bantu Education on the published drama of the educated intermediate classes:

Many writers and intellectuals shunned the system and consequently were no longer published; they were no longer prepared to write in African languages or, as they were now called, Bantu languages. This meant that they either ceased to write or channelled their energy and inspiration into performed drama. There was no shortage of writers, however, prepared to

write plays on traditional themes in Bantu languages, suitable for use in Bantu Education schools... The importance of... the continued publication of suitable plays in Bantu languages under the government auspices and published by companies owned by the growing Afrikaner capitalist section should not be underestimated. They were read as prescribed texts in schools throughout South Africa, and many of them were later performed publicly to black audiences in the urban areas.

Coplan (1985:149), who refers to Lestrade's discussion (in Schapera, ed 1937:194) of the activities of the Bantu Dramatic Society based at the Bantu Men's Social Centre in the early decades of the twentieth century, writes that, in spite of the efforts of the Bantu Dramatic Society, only 'a tiny Westernised elite' remained interested in written, literary drama in the 1940s. 'Most urban Africans held the traditional preference for verbal expression linked to music, dance, and dramatic action' (Coplan 1985:149 after Lestrade in Schapera, ed 1937:194). Coplan goes further by saying that urban schools '... were ethnically mixed, and so were the performance ensembles they organised' (*ibid*). Concerts given by '... professional variety companies backed by professional dance bands', which had their origins in school performance groups,

... included American songs and stage dancing, along with improvised sketches satirising local personalities and situations. These short dramatic pieces drew on traditions of mimetic characterisation in African storytelling (*ibid*).

Kavanagh (1985:45-46) moreover alludes to dramatic activity in black South African schools which had been going on since the nineteenth century:

The earliest recorded examples are the dramatized animal satires of Job Moteame and Azariele M Sekese in Lesotho in the 1880s. Another early example is the activity at Marianhill Mission School in Natal in the 1920s, where sketches were improvised by teachers and pupils in both English and Zulu.

According to Kavanagh (*ibid*) one of the students involved in these activities at Marianhill, Francis Mkhise, continued with his dramatic activities after leaving Marianhill. He notes that

... it is possible that Mthethwa and the Lucky Stars (referred to earlier) were inspired and influenced by the Marianhill beginnings, especially as it is recorded that their example had inspired other schools in Natal to perform drama (*ibid*:46).

He concludes that '... the foundation for non-literary theatre, based on improvisation and group authorship and incorporating music, was thus laid early in South Africa' (*ibid*).

For further reference on African drama along African traditional lines, *vide ibid*:43-44; Finnigan 1970 cited by Kavanagh 1985:43, 230; Dhlomo 1939:33-48 cited by Kavanagh 1985:44; Mutwa 1973:38-39; Mutwa 1974/5:30-32. With reference to black South African drama before 1950 and prior to the institutionalisation of segregationist laws on entertainment, *vide* Kavanagh 1985:45-50.

24. *Vide* 'The Hugh Tracey Collection (The International Library of African Music), Rhodes University, Grahamstown', in Malan, ed 1986:272-273; *vide* also entries on 'Tracey, Hugh Travers' *ibid*:377-380, and 'Tracey, Andrew Travers Norman', *ibid*:375-377; *vide* also entry on 'Tracey, Hugh (Travers)', in Sadie, ed 1980:107.

25. The African Music Society Journal is the official publication of the International Library of African Music.



Top:

6. The Ionian Male Choir : Uncle Tom's Hall, Orlando West, Soweto, 1958.

Centre:

7. The Ionian Male Choir with the Jubilee String Players : Jubilee Centre, Johannesburg, 1959.



Bottom:

8. Standing (fltr): Jackson Olum (from Kenya), David Rycroft, Dan Mokonyane, Dan Mokonyane's late wife and Pheneas Phetoe (now known as Molefe Phetoe); seated: Khabi Mngoma. London, 1967



9. Joseph Spira, violin teacher (third from left), with his pupils : Johannesburg, 1958.
Khabi Mngoma - sixth from left.



10. Khabi Mngoma teaching the parts of the violin : Leake Hall, Orlando YMCA, Soweto, 1964.





11. The Jubilee String Players and Ionian Choir : 1960.

Strings : Geoffrey Diedericks (leader), John Hlangwane (violin) and Lindumuzi Mngoma (cello).



12. The Ionian mixed choir doing a traditional action song : Lutheran Church, Rustenburg, 1969.

The Ionians - New Horizons

(The third period continued): The establishment of the Ionian Music Society under the auspices of the Johannesburg City Council (Recreation and Community Services Department, Cultural Section, Non-European Affairs).

Towards the establishment of the Ionian Music Society

The Soweto Music Education Programme formed the preamble to the establishment of the Ionian Music Society, which will also be referred to as the 'Ionian Programme' and which would assimilate the Soweto Music Education Programme in the 1960s to form one mighty project. Pupils from the Soweto Music Education Programme would be divided into a Junior and a Senior orchestra, known as the Ionian Junior and Senior orchestras. The former was also referred to as the 'Ionian Youth Orchestra' and the latter as the 'Ionian Orchestra'.

Developments towards the formation of the Ionian Music Society included:

- (1) launching the Soweto Music Education Programme in 1957, which involved a practical tuition programme in orchestral stringed instruments and wind instruments, as well as theoretical education in Theory of Music;
- (2) securing the formation of an orchestra, in this case the Jubilee String Players for adults and advanced pupils, and the Soweto Youth Orchestra for young players;
- (3) progress made in the Soweto Music Education Programme, specifically with reference to orchestral instrumental playing and musical literacy, the latter which included the ability to read music written in staff notation;

(4) the study and performance of Western classical repertoire alongside the study and performance of African repertoire, ie arrangements for instrumental ensemble of traditional African songs indigenous to southern African cultures, as well as arrangements for instrumental ensemble of composed songs by African eclectic composers from southern Africa; this involved the accomplishment of performance competence in both the acoustical and tempered pitch systems, on instruments (strings) and in choral singing as well. (Vide infra: the City Council Choristers.)

The actual formation of the Ionian Music Society was engendered by the establishment of Khabi Mngoma's Ionian Male Choir in ca 1959, followed by the formation of the Ionian Ladies Choir in ca 1960 and the Ionian Mixed Choir in ca 1961. (Vide infra for discussion of the dates.) The amalgamation of these three choirs with the Ionian Junior and Senior orchestras, constituted the final genesis of the Ionian Music Society. The activities of the Ionian Music Society, in a nutshell, embraced the production of concerts and the running of music education programmes as pertaining to theoretical work and practical performance with the voice and other instruments.

The City Council Choristers and the Ionian Male Choir

When Khabi Mngoma commenced his work as Cultural Activities Organizer to the Johannesburg City Council in 1957, he founded a choir called the City Council Choristers (personal communication, Albert Twala, November 1986) which could be regarded as the forerunner of the Ionian Male Choir.

The incident that marked the beginnings of the Ionian Male Choir has been described by Cedric Alexander (personal communication, November 1986) who writes:

One day as we were all busy at the Jubilee Social Centre,¹ Khabi handed out music to us which he had taken the patience to transcribe for Tenor I, Tenor II, Bass I and Bass II. We were enough men there at the time to fill all the voice parts - and this was how the Ionian Male Choir started.

Being the only Coloured male in the choir I couldn't understand a word of the songs Khabi handed to us, because their texts were all written in Bantu languages. But the sounding of the clicks and the smacking of the tongue were all there to the great amusement of my colleagues! (*ibid*).

Resources vary as to the dates of establishment of the three respective Ionian Choirs. As far as the Ionian Male Choir is concerned, the year 1959 has been cited by Khabi Mngoma himself (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985) and appears in the programme notes of the First Ionian Music Society Reunion Concert held on 31 January 1982, and this is substantiated by Edgar Mtshali's information (personal communication, December 1986).

The three sources that erroneously claim 1960 to be the founding year of the Ionian Male Choir are the Rand Daily Mail of 7 August 1964, the programme notes of a concert presented by the Ionian Music Society on 6 November 1966, and the programme notes of a concert presented on 4 December 1960. (For discussion of the Ionian Ladies Choir and Ionian Mixed Choir's dates, *vide infra*.)

The thesis supports the year 1959 as being the founding year of the Ionian Male Choir.

Aims and objectives of the Ionian Male Choir, which eventually became the aims and objectives of the Ionian Music Society as a whole

The aims and objectives of the Ionian Male Choir and eventually of the whole Ionian Music Society were:

- (1) the fostering of good musicianship by running educational programmes, sponsoring recitals, and by presenting one major work from the Baroque, Classical or Romantic era annually (Constitution);²
- (2) the perpetuation, through study and performance, of the choral compositions of the eclectic³ African composers from southern Africa, as well as songs from older musical traditions of southern Africa (*ibid*; personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May, August, September 1985 and April 1986), ideally with

reference to all southern African cultural groups,⁴ but for practical reasons, drawn mainly from the repertoire of songs sung by the Nguni and Sotho-Tswana speaking peoples.

(3) The Ionian Choir was established as a model choir for other African choirs in matters pertaining to the performance of works from the Western musical repertoire, especially as regards intonation, and the blending in with a symphonic ensemble or orchestra, as well as the maintenance of performances of older African music along 'traditional' lines (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985; Mngoma 1980, 'The Teaching of Music...':5). As Khabi Mngoma himself put it:

The aim of the Ionian Choir was to exert an influence on African choral singing in general, not only in terms of performing Western music so that it sounds Western, but also in terms of performing African music in such a way so that it sounds recognizably 'African' (*ibid*).

The feeling was that, without such a highly trained choir in matters of Western intonation, African choral singing would be doomed to mediocrity and remain at a 'folk' level (*ibid*). As Khabi Mngoma put it:

There has always been this idea that, although African choirs are able to sing African songs, 'Blacks cannot sing Western music' conceived in equal temperament. I wanted to disprove that notion, because I knew for a fact that there were and still are White people today who themselves are not steeped in the tradition of singing Western classical music and hence also cannot sing in equal temperament. It is a matter of proper training and has nothing to do whatsoever with skin colour or race (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

Khabi Mngoma aimed at the achievement of sound musical literacy among all the members of the Ionian Music Society. It was therefore essential for all members to attend music theory classes, which were given by Khabi Mngoma in separate time slots to that of choir rehearsals.

The Origin of the name 'Ionian '

The choice of the name 'Ionian' was made with the intention of emphasizing the group's commitment to the mastery of staff notation and Western classical music (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, April 1986).

'The Ionian mode⁵ is the one that gave the tonal relationship pattern to the diatonic major scale, which is in essence, the basis of conventional music' (programme notes, 31 January 1982).

S J Nhlapo, Khabi Mngoma's successor as Chairman and Director of the Ionian Music Society since 1975 (after Khabi Mngoma had left for Zululand to establish the University of Zululand Music Department), commented in an Ionian concert programme, dated 7 September 1975,⁶ that

... Ionia, in ancient geography was an island of Asia Minor which at an early date was colonised by Ionian Greeks from whom it derived its name. Periodic festivals were held in the shrine of Panionium on Mount Mycale near Priene where religious worship was observed and games celebrated. It is therefore no coincidence that even today Ionianism is synonymous with music and song.

The Ionian Male Choir's initial activities

The first works from the Western classical repertoire studied and performed by the Ionian Male choir, were the Alto Rhapsody by Brahms, Hear my Prayer by Mendelssohn (programme notes, 4 December 1960), Samson by Handel and The Last Judgement by Spohr.⁷ The Star Johannesburg (4 October 1960) reported a concert of 'works by Bach and Puccini', having been presented by the Ionian Male Choir with accompaniment provided by '... an orchestra consisting of a number of violins, a viola, cello and many clarinets', which probably refers to the Jubilee Chamber Orchestra. The Western classical repertoire of the Ionian Male Choir also included arrangements for male choir (done by Khabi Mngoma) of such songs as Schubert's 'Huntsman rest, Thy chase is done' (personal communication, Edgar Mtshali, December 1986); it also included American Spirituals and folk songs from a variety of countries, as well as African songs indigenous to southern Africa and African choral compositions by black eclectic composers from southern Africa, which Khabi Mngoma arranged for male voice choir (Tenor I, Tenor II, Bass I and Bass II). However, whenever performances took place, Khabi

Mngoma would always announce to the audience that 'one member of the orchestra' had arranged the song which was to be sung (*ibid*).

The Ionian Male Choir was soon engaged in many public performances and concerts. Public demand was such that it became essential for the Ionian Male Choir to attend a minimum of four two-hour rehearsals per week (*ibid*). Performances were given at various types of functions, such as special commemorations of societies and clubs, functions at institutions such as the Baragwanath Hospital, and even at funerals. The Ionian Male Choir also undertook to present special performances (eg Handel's oratorio Samson) at primary and secondary schools in the townships around Johannesburg (Letter).⁸

Khabi Mngoma gained much satisfaction from working with his male choir.

The Ionian Male Choir became such a lovely instrument to work with. They were also able to stand up to the demands of being called at short notice to sing at various venues. I was also keen to show them off to the public, in order to demonstrate how good even Western music could be sung by black people (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

A report in Our Africa (September 1961:28), described the Ionian Male Choir as 'a splendid choir' with '... a smooth, balanced tone', and, in a letter to Khabi Mngoma in 1962,⁹ Edgar Mtshali stated that he had never '... heard African males sing as your choir does, that is the truth'. Mtshali also noted (personal communication, December 1986) that Khabi Mngoma '... concentrated on tone and blending' (*ibid*), and elsewhere (programme notes, 4 December 1960) it is mentioned that

... because of the comparatively small number of twenty-eight (choristers), when it is the fashion these days (1960s) to have choirs of about two hundred voices, it became essential that each voice (in the Ionian Male Choir) be cultivated and the blending of voices be developed with the greatest care.

With this in mind, the singing of major and minor scales to the accompaniment of a tempered instrument (initially a piano, and later on, a Hammond Organ, which was purchased for this purpose (*vide infra*), as well as the a capella singing of African 'folk' songs, were important procedures followed at rehearsals (Mngoma 1980, 'The Teaching of Music...':5).

The Ionian Ladies Choir

By the end of 1959, almost a year since the Ionian Male Choir had become active, a complaint came in from the wives of Ionian Male Choir members, against their exclusion from the choir.

The ladies were up in arms. One of the campaigners was my wife, who felt that it was pointless for us men to develop alone and enjoy all this music without them having part in it! They felt neglected, and strongly urged us to establish a ladies choir as well. So I did start a ladies choir, in 1960 (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).¹⁰

The two choirs initially operated separately, each with its own repertoire, and for some time, they were kept apart and performed as separate choirs. Both choirs were accompanied by a piano and a few strings at performances (personal communication, Edgar Mtshali, December 1986).

The first work from the Western repertoire studied and performed by the Ionian Ladies Choir, was a Baroque work, the Christmas Oratorio by J S Bach (*ibid*).

The Ionian Mixed Choir

Edgar Mtshali mentioned that '... the male and female choirs merged to form a mighty choir' (*ibid*), and this most probably occurred towards the end of 1961.¹¹

The formation of the Ionian Mixed Choir did produce its set of problems. That is to say, there had to be three separate rehearsals, for male, female and the mixed choir respectively, which immediately doubled the work

load for members, and tripled that of Khabi Mngoma. Secondly Khabi Mngoma found himself faced with some male members resigning from the Ionian Choir, because of their refusal to be part of a male-female set-up. Thirdly some administrative problems arose in cases where some of the single members became emotionally involved with others in the choir, and caused '... internal competition, rivalry and jealousy' (*ibid*).

The first work studied and performed by the Ionian Mixed Choir was the Hymn of Praise by Mendelssohn, which was accompanied by the Jubilee String Players, including one piano and a Hammond Organ (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

The Formation of the Ionian Music Society proper

Early in the 1960s the Ionian Male, Ladies and Mixed Choirs amalgamated with what had become the Ionian Orchestra and Ionian Youth Orchestra - ie the Jubilee String Players and the Soweto Youth Orchestra - and formed the Ionian Music Society. Permanent accompaniment during rehearsals of Western repertoire had become indispensable for reasons of intonation (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985), and for this reason Khabi Mngoma decided to unite the orchestral programme of the Soweto Music Education Programme with the Ionian choral programme. Pupils from the Soweto Youth Orchestra were divided into an Ionian Junior and Senior orchestra (Weekend World, 6 May 1973) naturally employing the Jubilee String Players in the Senior orchestra, which was referred to as the 'Ionian Orchestra'. (As mentioned earlier, the Ionian Junior Orchestra was also known as the 'Ionian Youth Orchestra'.)

Weekend World reporter Basil V Khumalo wrote the following in a news write-up (*ibid*) entitled 'Our Youth Orchestra: going from strength to strength':

I still cannot forget the night I first heard the Ionian Youth Orchestra play. The occasion was a function at the Baragwanath Harriet Shezi Hall, packed with Blacks and Whites. The children played anything from classics to our own traditional folk songs, like 'Mangwane Mpulele', a Sotho folk song. It really was an unforgettable experience.

Works included in the Ionian Youth Orchestra's repertoire comprised the following items:

Works from the Western repertoire:

- ☐ Air on a G-String (by J S Bach)
- ☐ Sheep may safely graze (by J S Bach)
- ☐ Gloria in Excelsis (by A Vivaldi)
- ☐ March from Alceste (by C Gluck)
- ☐ To Chloe (accompanied tenor solo by W A Mozart)
- ☐ Children's Pleasure (accompanied tenor solo by W A Mozart)
- ☐ Eine Kleine Nachtmusik (by W A Mozart)
- ☐ The Blue Danube (by J Strauss II)
- ☐ The Pilgrim's Chorus (by W R Wagner)
- ☐ Peasant Dance (by C Woodhouse; English, nineteenth century)
- ☐ Rosebud (by C Woodhouse)
- ☐ Miniature Concerto (piano concerto by A Rowley)
- ☐ Fourteen Little Pieces (by B Bartok)

Repertoire of Western folk songs and carols (arranged for orchestral ensemble)

- ☐ Ding, Dong merrily on High (traditional English song, arranged by
G R Woodward)
- ☐ Have you seen but a white Lily grow (accompanied tenor solo; old
English air)
- ☐ My Goddess Cylia (accompanied tenor solo; old English air)
- ☐ Andulko, the Goose Girl (Czech folk song)
- ☐ Anna, my Dear (Dutch folk song)
- ☐ Leaving Home (German folk song)
- ☐ Angels from the Realms of Glory (French carol, arranged by J
Montgomery)

- ☐ O come, all ye Faithful (Christmas carol)

African repertoire (arranged for orchestral ensemble by Khabi Mngoma)

- ☐ Morena Tlake ('King of the Birds' [The Vulture], South Sotho; composed by M Moerane)
- ☐ Thula S'thandwa Sam ('Be quiet my Beloved', Zulu or Xhosa song)
- ☐ Wangilaya ('You fixed me up', Zulu song)
- ☐ Mangwane Mpulele ('Maternal Aunt, open the Door for me', Sotho song)
- ☐ Kwa Dedangendlale ('The Valley of a Thousand Hills', Zulu; composed by M Khumalo)
- ☐ Gxum'bhekele ('Jump and face the other Way', Zulu; composed and arranged by Khabi Mngoma)
- ☐ Ionianata Sowetonata (A name derived from the words 'Ionian', 'Soweto' and 'Sonata', probably meaning something to the effect of 'Ionian Sonata from Soweto'; a suite for strings, comprising arrangements of African folk songs for orchestral ensemble by Khabi Mngoma - vide infra)

The Ionian Senior Orchestra has been described as 'a small chamber group' (The Star Johannesburg, 13 August 1964), which frequently varied in its make-up due to the coming and going of players, but at one time (date uncertain) it consisted of a piano, a Hammond organ, two first violins, two second violins, one viola, two cellos, one clarinet, two flutes, two trumpets, and a cornet (personal communication, Edgar Mtshali, December 1986). Led by Geoffrey Diedericks, it accompanied the Ionian choirs in their performances of works by the great masters. (Vide infra for the combination of the Ionian Junior and Senior Orchestras in some major performances, after 1965.)

The administration of the Ionian Music Society was based on the following principles: Khabi Mngoma, as Director of the society, acted as Chairman at all the meetings that concerned the Ionian Music Society. The office of Assistant Director was held by a person of Khabi Mngoma's sole choice, ie the appointment of a candidate for the post of Assistant Director, and for that matter, of Director as well, was not put to the vote, but depended on the discretion of Khabi Mngoma. However, the positions of Secretary, Treasurer and other committee members were voted for annually. All finances belonging to the Ionian Music Society were initially

banked with the then Barclays Bank, but subsequently the society reverted to placing its funds in the Standard Bank (*ibid*).

The organization of the Ionian Music Society as a functioning entity, was steered by a committee of members who were all recognized leaders within the black community - persons who had the general welfare of the people at heart, but were not necessarily employees of the Johannesburg City Council. The reason for this arrangement of 'rooting' the management of the society within the black community, was to secure the future existence of the society.

Cecil Skotnes foresaw the possibility of the Ionian Music Society being shipwrecked if the undertaking were to be under the control of the City Council, and somebody should take over the reins in the council who might not be in favour of the existence of the society. Such a person or persons could put a spoke in the wheels, which would certainly be undesirable. For this reason the Ionian Music Society functioned as a community based project, patronised by a committee of leaders who were involved with welfare activities for the black communities, and who had the physical as well as the spiritual and educational needs of the people at heart all the time.

The role of the City Council was therefore restricted to the provision of facilities, on the same basis as it did for sport (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

The relation of the Ionian Music Society to the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival

The Ionian Music Society refrained from participation in the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival in a competitive capacity.

My feeling was that, in the light of our intention to be a model choir for other choirs, it would really be out of the question for us not to win the competition if we had to take part! In such

a case the whole idea would be defeated. I also felt that I wanted to inspire the Ionian Choir members to make music purely for the love of it, and not necessarily for competitive purposes (*ibid*).

The Ionian Choirs nevertheless participated as non-competitive performers in the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival, presenting items in the form of gala events interspersed within the general programme of the festival.

Furthermore, although the Soweto Music Education Programme and the Ionian Music Society were both kept as '... essentially a departmental project apart from general festival work' (Report, undated, but after 1964) and were administered separately, both were meant to bear direct influence on the standard of Western music performance in the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival, as explained earlier. The Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival Committee was also responsible for the payment of honoraria to the musicians who rendered their teaching services in the music training programmes, and who were not official employees of the Johannesburg City Council. Honoraria were also paid to the official accompanists of soloists who participated in the festival, as well as to the adjudicators of the different sections (*ibid*).

The strategy followed by the Ionian Music Society for exerting an influence on musical appreciation in the townships, against the backdrop of the pop music and jazz monopoly existent in the townships

The three areas of strategy designed by Khabi Mngoma to popularize Western classical music in the townships - where standard musical preferences found their expression in pop music and jazz as a rule - involved the utilization of charity organizations as the primary avenue for gaining publicity and public support; secondly, the practice of what the thesis refers to as the choirs' representatives' principle, and thirdly, but to a lesser degree, broadcasting through the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

The choirs' representatives' principle entailed drawing into the Ionian Choir two or three members from existing African choirs that were already active in the townships, with the aim of exposing these choristers to correct vocal and choral training, especially as far as vocalization in equal temperament was concerned, and to educate

them in the rudiments of music theory. The ultimate goal was for these choristers to return to the respective choirs from where they all came, at regular intervals, and to act as 'liaison members' who would give input there of their newly acquired knowledge (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

This agreement, however, was never adhered to, as liaison members found returning to their respective choirs too frustrating, and Ionian Choir rehearsals too enjoyable to miss out on, with the result that the Ionian Choir earned itself the reputation of depleting other choirs! (*ibid*).

This procedure of drawing members of other choirs into the Ionian Choir also resulted in a membership that represented most of the townships in and around Soweto. An Ionian Music Society monthly attendance record dated April 1967 listed members coming from Mofolo North, Diepkloof, Orlando West, Newclare, Orlando East, Meadowlands, Moroka Township, Tladi Township, Dube Village, Orlando West Extension, Moletsane, Alexandra Township and Dobsonville.

Charity organizations proved to be the ideal agents for advertising Ionian Choir - and eventually Ionian Music Society - concerts. Through the numerous concerts given by the Ionians, charity organizations had ample opportunity to raise funds for their coffers, while the Ionian Music Society could reap the benefit of exercising its influence on the public as far as music was concerned. Old age homes, orphanages, institutes for the blind, churches, and any other thinkable charitable institutions also benefited, including such organizations as The Orlando Mothers' Welfare Association, The Council of African Women (Pretoria), the Creche Committee of Tladi Township, The Arts Group, Nigel, the Methodist Sunday School Committee of the A M E Church in Orlando East, the Bantu Men's Social Centre, and the Central West Jabavu Women's Service Committee (programme notes, 4 December 1960).¹² Neither the Ionian Music Society, nor Khabi Mngoma himself, ever benefitted financially from Ionian concerts or performances, with the exception of special, twice-yearly events, when the Ionian Music Society would promote a fund raising effort to meet a specific need (Report, undated, but after 1964).

Other types of performance occasions of the Ionian Choir included the rendering of musical contributions to the proceedings of ceremonies, such as the funeral of the late husband of Elizabeth Mosia, which took place in Moroka Township in 1970 (Letter),¹³ as well as an annual choral programme presented at the United States Information Service in Shakespeare House, Johannesburg, and an annual Christmas carol concert, which would be interspersed with other Christmas music.¹⁴ Ionian Music Society concerts in the earlier years of the society averaged twenty concerts per year (personal communication, Edgar Mtshali, December 1986), and by the year 1964 the Ionian Choir aimed at giving thirty-six concerts in the townships per annum (Rand Daily Mail, 7 August 1964).

The nature of Ionian Choir programmes for concerts and other performances

In every concert given by the Ionian Music Society, except for performances of large scale works such as oratorios, which would take up an entire evening, the first half of the concert would consist of works from the Western repertoire, whereas the second half of the programme would be Africa-oriented, in accordance with the Ionian Music Society's constitution.

We felt by combining the two worlds of African and Western music respectively in our programmes, we would be able to make a meaningful contribution to the world of music. Through this we also hoped to inspire South African composers to evolve a style of composition that would be recognizably South African (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

Following here below are three examples of typical Ionian Music Society concerts:

Example 1: Details of the concert: The University of South Africa Centenary Celebration Concert organized by the Centenary Sub-Committee, African Section, at the Communal Hall, Atteridgeville, Pretoria, on Wednesday 11 July 1973, 19h30. A concert given by the Ionian Music Society (Conductor: Khabi Mngoma; keyboard work: Isaac Thelele and Henley Magobiane; Master of Ceremonies: L M Mathabatha).

Programme

1. Introductory remarks
 2. Items from Gloria in Excelsis (A Vivaldi)
 - a. Gloria in Excelsis - chorus
 - b. Domine fili unigenite - chorus
 - c. Cum Sanctu Spiritu - chorus - sung in Latin by the Ionian Mixed Choir accompanied by the Ionian Youth Orchestra
 3. Items from the Messiah (G F Handel)
 - a. And the Glory of the Lord - chorus
 - b. Unto us a Child is born - chorus
 - c. Hallelujah - chorus
 - d. But Thanks be to God - chorus - Ionian Mixed Choir and Youth Orchestra
 4. Miscellaneous choral items
 - a. The Lord's my Shepherd (Marosa, arranged by G Jacob) - a capella
 - b. Jesu Joy of Man's Desiring (J S Bach)
 - c. The Pilgrim's Chorus (R Wagner)
 - d. The Blue Danube (J Strauss) - Ionian Mixed Choir and Youth Orchestra
 5. First movement of the Trumpet Concerto by Hummel
 - Trumpet : Molefe Pheto; piano : Henley Magobiane
 6. Presentation of centenary prizes to winners
- INTERVAL
7. Items from the repertoire of the Ionian Youth Orchestra
 - a. March from Alceste - C Gluck
 - b. Rosebud - Woodhouse
 - c. Eine Kleine Nachtmusik - W A Mozart - First movement
 - d. Peasant Dance - Woodhouse
 8. Items from the African choral repertoire - a capella
 - a. Leeba ('The Turtle Dove', South Sotho; composed by J P Mohapeloa)

- b. Kuyo Lontolongo ('At that very Prison', Xhosa; composed by B B Myathaza)
 - c. Sithandwa Sam ('My Beloved', Xhosa; composed by B Tyamzashe)
 - d. Sylvia (The name of a girl/woman; composed by M Moerane)
9. Ionianata Sowetonata (more or less 'Ionian Sonata from Soweto'; Suite for String Orchestra, arranged by Khabi Mngoma), comprising the following items:
- a. Thula S'thandwa Sam ('Be quiet, my Beloved', Xhosa and/or Zulu song)
 - b. Mangwane Mpulele ('Maternal Aunt, open the door for me', Sotho song)
 - c. Wangilaya ('You fixed me up', Zulu song)
 - d. Gxum'bhekele ('Jump and face the other way', Zulu, composed by Khabi Mngoma)
10. a. Della (The name of a girl, Xhosa; composed by M M Moerane)
- b. Ntshangase (The name of a very stingy man, Xhosa; composed by J Foley)
- c. E! Motswala! ('Hey/Yes, Cousin!', Tswana song)
- d. Fivela Ngwanyana ('Sweep, young Lady', Tswana township wedding song)
11. Nkosi Sikelela / Morena Boloka Sechaba ('God bless Africa', Zulu and/or Xhosa, followed by the South Sotho version)
- choir and audience accompanied by the Ionian Youth Orchestra
12. Closing remarks

Example 2 : Details of concert¹⁵: a concert given by the Ionian Music Society (after 1964, because of the inclusion of extracts from Handel's oratorio Judas Maccabaeus, which was studied and performed by the Ionian Music Society in 1964 for the first time)

Programme

- 1. From Elijah (Mendelssohn)
 - Help Lord
 - Blessed are the Men who fear Him
 - He is watching over Israel
 - O come everyone that thirsteth
 - Thanks be to God

2. From the Messiah (Handel)
 - And the Glory of the Lord
 - For unto us a Child is born
 - His Yoke is easy
 - Their Sound is gone out
 - Let us break their Bonds asunder
 - Hallelujah Chorus

INTERVAL

3. Jesu Joy of Man's Desiring (J S Bach)
4. The Heavens are telling (Haydn)
5. From Judas Maccabaeus (Handel)
 - Ah, wretched Israel!
 - Oh, Father whose almighty power!
 - Disdainful of Danger
 - We will never bow down
 - Sing unto God
6. Calm and tranquil lie the Sheep (?) - sung by the Ionian Ladies Choir
7. Woza Ngikutshel' Indaba ('Come, let me tell you a Story', Zulu; composed by A A Kumalo)
Tsoara Khong (meaning obscure; composed by J P Mohapeloa)
E! Motswala! ('Hey/Yes, Cousin!', Tswana song)
 - sung by the Ionian Male Choir
8. Sylvia (The name of a girl/woman, Xhosa; composed by Moerane)
9. Kuyolontolongo ('At that very Prison', Xhosa; composed by Myathaza)
10. Della (The name of a girl/woman, Xhosa; composed by Moerane)
Usizi Lontomnyama ('Black Man's Sorrow', Xhosa song)
11. Sithandwa sam ('My Beloved', Xhosa; composed by B Tyamzashe)
12. Ntshangase (The name of a very stingy man, Xhosa; composed by J Foley)
13. Vote of thanks

14. National Anthem

Example 3 : Details of concert : a concert presented by the Ionian Music Society at the United States Information Service, 'The United States Information Service presents the Ionian Choir', USIS Auditorium, Shakespeare House, Johannesburg (date?)

Programme

Ionian Ladies Choir

1. Breathe softly (W Paxton)
2. The handsome Butcher Boy (M Seiber)
3. Golden Slumbers (arranged by G Jacob)
4. The old Woman (M Seiber)
5. Sweet Day (G F Handel)
6. Fiyela Ngwanyana ('Sweep, young Lady', Tswana township wedding song)
7. Silent Worship (G F Handel)

Ionian Male Choir

8. The Lord is my Shepherd (Koschat)
9. Huntsman rest, Thy chase is done (Schubert)
10. Woza Ngikutshel' Indaba ('Come, let me tell you a Story', Zulu; composed by A A Kummalo)
11. Come Thou Holy Spirit (P Tschesnokoff)
12. Ezekiel saw the Wheel (Spiritual)
13. Wasn't that a wide River (Spiritual)
14. Tsoara Khong (meaning obscure; composed by J P Mohapeloa)
15. E! Motswala! ('Hey/Yes, Cousin!', Tswana song)

Ionian Mixed Choir

16. Sylvia (The name of a girl/woman, Xhosa; composed by Moerane)
17. Ntolongo ('Prison', Xhosa; composed by Myathaza)
18. Lala Ngokuthula ('Sleep in Peace', Zulu; composed by J S M Khumalo)
19. We will never bow down (G F Handel)

20. S'thandwa Sam ('My Beloved', Xhosa; composed by Tyamzashe)

The South African Broadcasting Corporation recorded and broadcasted several works performed by the Ionian choirs and orchestras, for instance their performance of Judas Maccabaeus (G F Handel) in 1964, and Yvonne Huskisson was particularly helpful with her services to the choir, the Broadcasting Corporation and the public, in this regard (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985; Bantu Education Journal, April 1971:6).

Here follows an extensive list of works that were included in the Ionian Music Society's repertoire:

Works from the repertoire of Western music :

- ☐ Hymn of Praise (a symphonic cantata by F Mendelssohn)
- ☐ Alto Rhapsody (J Brahms)
- ☐ The Last Judgement (a cantata by L Spohr)
- ☐ Gloria (A Vivaldi)
- ☐ Requiem (G Verdi)
- ☐ Es ist vollbracht (from Cantata no 159 by J S Bach)
- ☐ Bist du bei mir (J S Bach)
- ☐ The Seasons (an oratorio by J Haydn)
- ☐ The Seven Last Words of our Saviour on the Cross (Haydn)
- ☐ We will never bow down (G F Handel)
- ☐ Ombra mai fu (from the opera Xerxes by G F Handel)¹⁶
- ☐ Hear me, ye Winds and Waves (recitative and aria from Schipio by G F Handel)
- ☐ Sonata for violin and piano in F (G F Handel)
- ☐ Sweet Day (G F Handel)
- ☐ Silent Worship (G F Handel)
- ☐ Judas Maccabaeus (G F Handel)
- ☐ The Messiah (G F Handel)

- ☐ Samson (G F Handel)
- ☐ Israel in Egypt (G F Handel)
- ☐ Piano Sonata for four hands in D major (W A Mozart)
- ☐ Eine Kleine Nachtmusik (W A Mozart)
- ☐ Miniature Concerto (piano concerto by A Rowley)
- ☐ Silent Night, holy Night (carol)
- ☐ Adeste fidelis (carol)
- ☐ Carol (G Finzi)
- ☐ Theme and Variations for clarinet and piano (Cahuzac)
- ☐ I have twelve Oxen (W Pulford)
- ☐ Madame Jeanette (A Murray)
- ☐ Breathe softly (W Paxton)
- ☐ Golden Slumbers (arranged by G Jacob)
- ☐ The Lord is my Shepherd (Koschat)
- ☐ Come Thou Holy Spirit (P Tschesnokoff)
- ☐ Loving Smile of Sister Kind (aria from the opera Faust by Gounod)
- ☐ Caro mio ben (probably by G Giordani)¹⁷
- ☐ The handsome Butcher Boy (M Seiber)
- ☐ The old Woman (M Seiber)
- ☐ Golden Slumber (Arne)[Michael Arne, or Thomas Augustine?]
- ☐ Breath soft (Isaac? Watts)
- ☐ Come Dorothy (Swabian folk song)
- ☐ The Lost Chord (A S Sullivan)
- ☐ Come Thou Holy Spirit (Russian song)

Xhosa eclectic choral compositions:

- ☐ Umqombothi (The name of a sorghum beer/brew in the Nguni languages; composed by Myeza)
- ☐ Hamba Kahle ('Fare thee well'; composed by T T Matshikiza)¹⁸

- ☐ S'thandwa Sam ('My Beloved'; composed by Tyamzashe)
- ☐ Ntshangase (The name of a very stingy man; composed by J S P Foley)¹⁹

Zulu eclectic choral compositions:

- ☐ Lala Ngokuthula ('Sleep in Peace'; composed by J S M Khumalo)
- ☐ Woza Ngikutshel' Indaba ('Come, let me tell you a Tale'; composed by A A Kumalo)
- ☐ KwaDedangendlala ('Valley of a Thousand Hills', composed by J S M Khumalo)²⁰

Sotho eclectic choral compositions:

- ☐ Leeba ('The Turtle Dove'; composed by J P Mohapeloa)²¹
- ☐ Tsoara Khong (meaning obscure; composed by J P Mohapeloa)

Zulu songs ('traditional'):

- ☐ Unyamazane (A name meaning 'belonging to the animal kingdom'; a Zulu men's song)
- ☐ Uphoyinandi (Zulu road-diggers' song)
- ☐ Amankeyana (The name of a Zulu children's game; the game is played with pebbles, which are passed around among the players, who sit in a circle to play 'Amankeyana' - 'passing the pebbles'.)
- ☐ Ngibona Abafana Be Zulu (It literally means 'I see Boys that belong to Heaven', but has a mischievous undertone.)
- ☐ Inj'emnyama ('The Black Dog')²²
- ☐ Mvelase (The clan name for the surname 'Mthembu')²³
- ☐ Igomazi (Literally the title refers to the leather legging of a horse rider, but the actual meaning is mischievous; antiphonal Zulu wedding song.)

Tswana songs ('traditional'):

- ☐ Fiyela Ngwanyana ('Sweep, young Lady'; traditional township wedding song)
- ☐ E! Motswala! ('Hey/Yes, Cousin!'; traditional wedding song)²⁴

Khabi Mngoma continually marvelled at the extensive repertoire which was mastered by the Ionian Music Society, especially in view of the technical problems which the works presented for African singers. 'It is difficult for people who have not had a formal training in Western music performance' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

Certain rehearsal and performance procedures introduced to combat problems of intonation (since ca 1964) as well as other problems arising from the absence of a background in Western music

Khabi Mngoma found that in rehearsing extensive choral works conceived in equal temperament, such as oratorios and cantatas, it was vitally important to have the consistent accompaniment of a tempered instrument to prevent the otherwise almost habitual switch to singing in acoustical pitch, in the case of African choirs (*ibid*). He found the Hammond Organ especially suitable for this purpose, as it stayed well in pitch and needed very little tuning. However, the acquisition of a Hammond Organ for the Ionian Music Society, only came about around 1964, after appeals had been made in the press for financial contributions towards the purchase of such an instrument. A tiny notice appeared in The Star Johannesburg in 1964,²⁵ which was titled 'A Dream?', and read as follows:

Mr K Mngoma, a cultural activities organizer of the Johannesburg Non-European Affairs Department, has a pipe-dream which can only be realized with the help of the generous Johannesburg public.

He wants an electric organ - cost nine hundred rand - for the choirs he trains in his spare time, evenings and week-ends.

Already in 1963 Khabi Mngoma had applied for financial assistance from the Bantu Welfare Trust for the purchase of the instrument (Letter),²⁶ and approximately seven months later, (in May 1964), he actually received a cheque of three hundred rand from the Trust, made out to 'Messrs Boosey and Hawkes' (Letter).²⁷

It is therefore evident from these sources that The Ionian Music Society only acquired its Hammond Organ in or after 1964, and not prior to this date. The Hammond Organ that was used in performances prior to this date, was most probably a borrowed instrument.

From that time on, the Ionian choirs always rehearsed with the Hammond Organ, and performances were either accompanied by the Hammond Organ, or by one piano, or two pianos, by Hammond Organ and piano in combination, or by the Ionian Orchestra in combination with the Hammond Organ and/or piano. The reason for the latter arrangement was the lack of instruments and instrumentalists in the orchestra, and the fact that some passages in the orchestral scores required technical skills that were not yet within the reach of the Ionian Orchestra members. In such instances the Hammond Organ and/or piano would provide the missing parts.

The use of the tonic sol-fa notation system was another indispensable factor in working with the Ionian choirs. Edgar Mtshali (personal communication, December 1986), mentioned the difficulty experienced by members of the Ionian Choir when, in 1969, they were expected to learn Haydn's The Seven Last Words of our Saviour on the Cross from staff notation only. The reason for the strain was the fact that most of the choristers were still more familiar with tonic sol-fa, for vocal practical performance purposes, despite their theoretical training in staff notation received in the Ionian teaching programme. The normal procedure (and it is remarkable in retrospect) was to transcribe complete works into tonic sol-fa for the choirs, before learning these works, such as the choral sections of Judas Maccabaeus by Handel. (The writer has tonic sol-fa transcriptions of choral sections from Judas Maccabaeus, all meticulously notated in the sol-fa system).²⁸

A third characteristic of Ionian Choir/Ionian Music Society performances, was the implementation of 'duo-soloists' in extended choral works.

Although the membership of the Ionian choirs constituted people who were steeped in the tradition of choral singing, they did not have a background in soloistic vocal performance. In other words, whereas they were enthusiastic choral singers, their performance in a solo capacity was not up to standard as far as Western music was concerned. To accommodate this

problem I used vocalists in duo to perform the solo parts in for example the oratorios and cantatas. That would mean that the 'soloists' would form part of the choir for the singing of the choral sections, but that they would step forward in pairs for the performance of the solo sections (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).²⁹

For example, in the performance of the St Matthew Passion (J S Bach), held on 24 April 1969 in the Cathedral of Christ the King in Johannesburg, the role of Peter was sung together by two baritones from the Ionian Choir, Mayo Miza and Philip Guliwe. These two singers also rendered the solo parts that represented the words spoken by Jesus. In the same production the role of the Evangelist was shared in paired performance by the two tenors, Samson Shabalala and Harold Kumalo (programme notes, 24 April 1969).

However, the part of Judas Iscariot was assigned to a very competent Ionian bass, Mhlanga Sikhosana, who was accorded the privilege of singing his part in a proper solo capacity (*ibid*), and apropos of this arrangement a very amusing incident occurred.

It was on the occasion of the performance of the St Matthew Passion in the Saratoga Roman Catholic Cathedral during the same year, 1969 (day and month uncertain) for which performance Khabi Mngoma drew children from the Holy Cross Mission School (Alexandra Township) to sing the opening chorus to the Passion. It was during this festive performance that Mhlanga Sikhosana actually fell asleep on 'stage' as a result of taking too many sedatives prior to the concert, to calm his nerves.

Khabi Mngoma recalled this memorable event:

It was fantastic! Those youngsters were incredible! Sibongile [Khabi Mngoma's daughter] was still a nipper then and she also sang in this children's choir. This was one of the major highlights of the Ionian Music Society, in spite of the fact that one of our soloists, a very good baritone, Mhlanga Sikhosana, a highly strung person, who was prone to taking a sedative

before concerts, fell asleep during the performance as a result of the overcalming effect of a 'slight' overdose....!

So, at one point in the work, the organ struck the chord that was supposed to be his cue, and there he was, sitting on his chair fast asleep! Everybody was watching this... So, again we struck the chord in the hope that he would wake up... In the end I had to walk up to him, shake him to his senses, return to the podium, take up the baton, strike the chord again and continue with the performance! Fortunately the audience just laughed, and we could finish off the work without any further problems (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

The combination of the Ionian Junior and Senior orchestras in the production of large scale works

The members of the Ionian Junior Orchestra were always motivated to improve their playing to such a degree as to qualify for an upgrading into the Ionian Senior Orchestra. But in addition to the challenge and scope of becoming a member of the Ionian Senior Orchestra, members of the Ionian Youth Orchestra could, since ca 1965, look forward to the annual prestige concert of the Ionian Music Society when they would participate in combined performance with the adults and senior orchestra in the production of the large scale work of that particular year. Khabi Mngoma introduced this practice during the second half of the 1960s (*ibid*), and the above mentioned instance of the performance of the St Matthew Passion (by J S Bach), as well as the production of Israel in Egypt (by G F Handel), are just two examples of this kind of performance pursued by the Ionian Music Society. Needless to say, the participation in this celebratory 'event of the year', afforded an unforgettable experience for many a young Ionian orchestral player, and the prospect of taking part in it was a tremendous motivation for the children to practise their instruments with diligence, and to improve their technical skills. Khabi Mngoma found the children to be most susceptible to the musical discipline involved in orchestral performance. Despite their tender age, they formed an orchestral constituent which could be relied on. One thing that he found quite remarkable, was the fact that all the children who participated in the music educational and performance activities of the Soweto Music Education Programme, and subsequently in that of the Ionian Music Society, were highly successful in their tertiary studies and careers which they pursued on completing their schooling.

Opportunities for Ionian pianists

Khabi Mngoma also had ways and means of setting challenges for his students, and of stirring up excitement among the ranks of the many aspirant pianists who had to be nurtured under his wing. That is, pupils who specialized in piano were given the opportunity to perform as instrumental soloists with the Ionian Youth Orchestra. Candidates were strictly auditioned for this by Khabi Mngoma and the Youth Orchestra alike.

At a rehearsal of the Ionian Youth Orchestra each of three or four pianists would have a chance to play a particular concerto with the orchestra. A tape recording would be made of each rendering of the concerto, and this would then be replayed in front of the whole Youth Orchestra, who would then assist me in the 'adjudication' to choose the soloist. This was good fun, because if, for instance, one of the aspiring soloists just happened to be an unpopular chap amongst his peers, the orchestra would deliberately foul up the piece! (*ibid*).

In addition to such opportunities, the best pianists could also qualify as accompanists to the Ionian choirs (*ibid*). One of the most outstanding pianists who passed through this 'scheme', was Brian Hlangwane, who in subsequent years enrolled for the degree B Mus at the University of Zululand, and also completed his course with flying colours.³⁰

The production of Judas Maccabaeus (by G F Handel) in the Johannesburg Celebrations of 1964

Probably the major event in the history of the Ionian Music Society, was the massed choir performance of Handel's oratorio Judas Maccabaeus, which Khabi Mngoma directed in Johannesburg in 1964. The production of Judas Maccabaeus was done under the auspices of the Johannesburg City Council, who commissioned Khabi Mngoma to assemble a mass choir to perform this monumental work as part of the Johannesburg Celebrations that commemorated the sixtieth birthday of the City Council's administration of Johannesburg,³¹ in 1964 (*ibid*). The work was to be performed in the Johannesburg City Hall³² twice during the festival, ie on 27 August 1964 for a black audience, and on 28 August 1964 for a white audience (*ibid*; The Star Johannesburg, 13 August 1964; Huskisson in Malan, ed 1979:108). The Rand Daily Mail (7 August 1964) also reported that the Ionian

Music Society would be presenting another oratorio as well, Handel's Samson, as part of the Johannesburg Celebrations, in the St Mary's Cathedral.

Arrangement of the massed choir for the production of Judas Maccabaeus

In order to create a mass choir, Khabi Mngoma assembled five existing choirs from neighbouring townships, which altogether amounted to between 220 and 250 voices.³³ The choirs that joined together to form the mass choir were the Meadowlands Teachers' Choir, the Alexandra Secondary School Choir, the Sekano-Ntoane Choir (from Soweto), the St Joseph's Church Choir (from Meadowlands) and the Ionian Choir (Rand Daily Mail, 7 August 1964). The easier choruses were sung by the massed choir, and the more difficult ones by the Ionian Choir alone, and, according to Khabi Mngoma's standard practice, solos were sung by two, and in some instances, even three vocalists at a time (*ibid*).³⁴

Rehearsing procedures

Several weeks before the performance of Judas Maccabaeus the Ionian Choir members regularly commuted to various townships where the other four choirs were active, in order to assist them in rehearsals, and generally helping them to master specific problems that are a feature of oratorio performance. Special attention was given to proper intonation and tone production (personal communication, Edgar Mtshali, December 1986).

Rehearsals of the Ionian Choir itself were conducted at the Jubilee Social Centre, and the massed choir rehearsals for the final performances were held in the Johannesburg City Hall, accompanied by the Ionian Senior Orchestra, which, for this production, consisted of '... seven strings, two trumpets, a piano and the (City Hall's) organ' (Rand Daily Mail, 28 August 1964) the latter instrument being played by Khabi Mngoma's old time friend and colleague, Milton Oersen (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

This performance also had a humorous moment. Amidst all the success and excitement of the event, and

... towards the end of the performance at the great pause in the 'Hallelujah - Amen - Amen', Milton Oersen somehow failed to watch me, and, came in with a huge chord right at the pause! It was quite historical.³⁵ The choir came in afterwards with its chord, and startled everybody! Nevertheless, the applause came loud and long, with a standing ovation from the entire audience (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

Edgar Mtshali wrote the following (personal communication, December 1986) in connection with this performance:

It was a major break-through - a black choir, a black orchestra and a black conductor. The hall was full. Many [people] came through curiosity - to see failure... The write-up the following day was encouraging...

A report in the Rand Daily Mail (28 August 1964) included the following comments:

'Africans excel in Handel Oratorio'

It was quite surprising... what was achieved under Mr Mngoma's direction by seven strings, two trumpets, a piano - and Milton Oersen at the organ.

Post (30 August 1964) captioned its report of the concert with 'It's never done - but the crowd wanted more', and published the following comments:

It's usually never done at an oratorio, but the hearty and soulful rendering of 'Hallelujah, Amen, Amen, Hallelujah Amen' from Handel's Judas Maccabaeus by the combined choirs of the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival had the crowd shouting for an encore.

Khabi Mngoma, of the Jubilee Social Centre, was in charge of the baton and the audience, as well as the artists under him, swayed with the brilliance of his technique.

...

The effervescent Milton Oersen held his own at the organ. There were some exciting moments by Geoffrey Diedericks (first violin) during the alto-tenor duet by Grace Mngoma and Harold Kumalo of 'Sing unto God'.

Top Quality

Top musical qualities were blended together by Khabi Mngoma's Ionian Mixed Choir.

In spite of two critical comments, ie that '... perhaps a finger can be pointed at their rather coarse and sharp rendering of "Tune your Harps"', and that '... the duet before this piece was also a bit rough', the report ended on a positive note, with the comment that '... all who helped to make this a memorable evening deserve a pat on the back' (*ibid*).

The performance of Judas Maccabaeus in the Johannesburg Festival of 1964 was indeed a major musical occasion in the annals of the Ionian Music Society, and a notable event in the cultural history of South Africa.

Reckitt & Colman approaches Khabi Mngoma in 1964 to offer him a new occupation. He resigns from the Johannesburg City Council in August 1964, in order to assume duties at the company, and also to assume duties at Dorkay House³⁶

The inception and continuation of the Ionian Music Society under the leadership of Khabi Mngoma, extended across a period of sixteen years, from 1959 to 1975. The society, however, did not continue to function under the auspices of the Johannesburg City Council for the full period.

During the time that Khabi Mngoma was engaged in the direction of Handel's Judas Maccabaeus (*vide ante*) for the Johannesburg Festival in August 1964, he received a call from Gordon Strachan, a Personnel Manager of the British pharmaceutical company, Reckitt & Colman (South Africa - based at Isando), who extended a new job offer to him on behalf of Reckitt & Colman (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985). Gordon Strachan had been assigned by the local Director of the company at the time, a Mr Crawshaw, to find a well-

known non-political figure who was, and would continue to remain, in the public eye of the black South African population - not only in Soweto, but elsewhere on the Witwatersrand as well, and reaching as far as possible into the rural areas (*ibid*). The selected person was to be appointed to the office of Public Relations Officer and Senior Medical Representative to Reckitt & Colman, for services to the black South African public.

Once more it was Khabi Mngoma's sound public career and accomplishments in the fields of education and culture that drew the attention of Reckitt & Colman and brought him under scrutiny for the post. His numerous public appearances, accompanied by newspaper reports such as the one that appeared in The Star Johannesburg (2 May 1962) - 'African to open Art Exhibition' - For the first time in South African history an art exhibition is to be opened by an African'³⁷ - distinguished him as the ideal person for the occupation.

Khabi Mngoma, however, was hesitant to accept the proposal.

It sounded quite alluring, but it wasn't a 'musical job', and I was enjoying my work for the Johannesburg City Council. But when I voiced my doubt as to whether or not I should accept the offer, Reckitt & Colman in turn explained that they did not want me to terminate my work for the City Council as Cultural Activities Officer, as such a move would take me away from the public eye. Their idea was to employ me concomitantly with the engagement I had with the City Council.

Unfortunately Reckitt & Colman's negotiations with the City Council about the matter were unsuccessful. But then, at the same time, Dorkay House approached me as well, to offer me the position of Supervisor Manager at Dorkay House, and they were prepared to settle an arrangement with Reckitt & Colman.

This was very tempting to me then, because a double salary would be far better than a single one! So I just waited to round off my assignment for the Johannesburg Festival - ie the performances of Judas Maccabaeus, and afterwards, at the end of August 1964, handed in my

resignation to the Johannesburg City Council (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

The Ionian Music Society faces a crisis - and moves to Dorkay House in 1965

Khabi Mngoma's resignation from the Johannesburg City Council meant that he had to resign as Director of the Ionian Music Society as well. For the members of the society, this was a disturbing development. In spite of attempts made by Cecil Skotnes to have Khabi Mngoma carry on with the work of the society, even though he would no longer be an employee of the City Council, he did not succeed in convincing fellow members of the Council of the merits of such an arrangement.

Council members who were not in favour of my staying on as Director of the Ionian Music Society, felt that they could do the work just as well, and they insisted that I should leave. So I did. Then, by the middle of 1965, when Cecil Skotnes left the City Council to freelance as an artist, the Ionian Society started falling apart as it were, with the result that the Ionian Choir approached me with the petition to find them a new venue. They no longer wished to operate under the auspices of the City Council, and hence were bound to vacate the Jubilee Social Centre. Accordingly I invited them to come to Dorkay House, where I had assumed duties and was acting as Head of the African Music and Drama Association,³⁸ which was based at Dorkay House (*ibid*).

Hence, in the second half of the year 1965, the whole of the Ionian Music Society physically transferred itself to Dorkay House, where the Ionian Programme would be incorporated with the educational activities of the African Music and Drama Association. The Society's change of premises to Dorkay House also meant that it would proceed to function under the patronage of Union Artists. (*Vide* Chapters VIII and IX.) All Ionian Music Society concerts that were presented up to the year 1964/1965 (midyear 1965), were presented under the auspices of the Johannesburg City Council. Those concerts that followed from 1965 (midyear) onwards, were presented under the wing of Union Artists based at Dorkay House.

Notes

1. This might have been a rehearsal of either the City Council Choristers or the Jubilee String Players.
2. The constitution of the Ionian Music Society as amended in 1984. With the Ionian Music Society Khabi Mngoma produced the first black South African performances of some of the great works from Western repertoire, such as the oratorios Samson, Israel in Egypt, Judas Maccabaeus, and the Messiah by G F Handel, the Requiem by G Verdi (1813 - 1901), the St Matthew Passion by J S Bach, and others - indeed an impressive record of achievement.
3. (1) 'eclectic': from the Greek eklektikos, derived from eklektos, 'picked out', 'select'; (i) 'selecting what appears to be best or true in various and diverse doctrines or methods...'; 'selective'...; (ii) 'composed of elements drawn from various sources...'; (2) 'eclectic': 'one who uses an eclectic method or approach in any field of thought or activity...'; (3) 'eclecticism': 'the theory or practice of an eclectic method':

... the selection of doctrine or elements from various and diverse sources according to their presumed utility or validity usually for the purpose of combining them into a satisfying or acceptable style, system of ideas, or set of practices... (Merriam-Webster 1961, 1986:719-720).

Khabi Mngoma uses the term 'eclectic African composers' to refer to those African composers who use(d) principles of Western harmony in their compositions, the latter which however also evince aspects of the various African musical traditions that embrace(d) the musical background of these composers.

4. The African cultural groups of southern Africa are:

<u>The Nguni group:</u>	Xhosa (Transkei, Ciskei, Eastern Cape) Zulu (Natal and KwaZulu) Swazi (Swaziland and Eastern Transvaal) Ndebele (Zimbabwe) Transvaal Ndebele (two separate dialects, Northern and Southern Ndebele, both influenced by Sotho)
<u>The Sotho-Tswana group:</u>	Southern Sotho (Lesotho and OFS) Pedi or Northern Sotho (Transvaal) Tswana (Botswana, Baphuthatswana and Western Transvaal)
<u>The Tswa-Ronga group:</u>	Tsonga, Tswa-Ronga, Gwamba (Mocambique and North-Eastern Transvaal)
<u>The Venda group:</u>	Venda
<u>The Shona group:</u>	Zimbabwe
<u>The Herero and Ndonga groups:</u>	Namibia
<u>The Yeye group:</u>	Botswana
<u>The Chopi group:</u>	Mocambique

Languages listed under the same group are to some extent mutually intelligible, while those from different groups are far less so. Vide Rycroft in Malan, ed 1982:301-314.

5. Each mode comprised two tetrachords with a specific sequence of tones and semitones. The Ionian mode resembles our Western C major scale. For reference, vide Apel, ed 1944, 1969:165, 167, 168; 501-502; vide also Seay 1965, 1975:32-40; Grout 1960, 1962, 1973:35-74.

6. No further bibliographical details available.

7. These first works studied by the Ionian Male Choir have also been cited by Khabi Mngoma during personal communication, May 1985.

8. An official letter from the Ionian Male Choir to Principals of high schools, titled 'Exclusive Show for High Schools', undated.

9. Letter from Edgar Mtshali to Khabi Mngoma, dated 2 October 1962.

10. As regards the year of the Ionian Ladies Choir's establishment: sources (vide infra) once again provide different information, and in fact vary as much as stating that the choir was founded in 1959, 1960 and 1961, respectively. Khabi Mngoma first of all mentioned that the Ionian Ladies Choir was '... established in 1959, one year after the Ionian Male Choir's inception' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985). This would settle the date on either the end of 1959, or the beginning of 1960, 1960 being in agreement with the information given by Mtshali (personal communication, December 1986). The year 1961 is posited as the founding year of the Ionian Ladies Choir, in the programme notes of a concert presented on 6 November 1966. The thesis supports the beginning of 1960 as the founder date of the Ionian Ladies Choir.

11. Again the information coming from the different sources as to the date of the Ionian Mixed Choir's formation has to be examined with care. During personal communication with Khabi Mngoma in August and September 1985, he stated that '... in 1960 we decided to have a mixed repertoire [ie repertoire which involved both male and female voices], and to do things together'. This does not, however, necessarily imply that the mixed choir was established right away, but it could very well imply that the decision was made towards the end of 1960, with the intention to realize it in 1961.

12. Also in personal communication, Albert Twala, November 1986, as well as according to numerous newspaper reports, such as 'Charity Concerts' in Rand Daily Mail, 27 April 1962 and 'Choir will raise funds' in The World, 3 May 1962; also according to the 'Report to the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival Executive Committee ...', undated, but after 1964.

13. Letter from Elizabeth Mosia to Khabi Mngoma, dated 15 September 1970.

14. Information compiled from various programmes of such concerts, and from personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May, August and September 1985.

15. No date or venue of performance appears on the programme.

16. 'Ombra mai fu' ('in praise of a tree's shade'), the famous bel-canto aria from the opera Xerxes by G F Handel, is popularly known as 'Handel's Largo' (although Handel actually headed it 'Larghetto'). Vide Jacobs 1958, 1977:454. Vide also Bukofzer 1947, 1948:326.

17. The Italian Giordani family - the father Carmine Giordani, two daughters and three sons, were all active in operatic enterprises in Britain, where they had settled (period: eighteenth to nineteenth century). Two of the sons, Tomaso Giordani (1740 - 1806) and Giuseppe Giordani (1753 - 1798), are the most prominent figures of this family. The former was active as opera organizer, teacher and composer, and the latter was primarily active as composer of operas, church music and instrumental music. It is believed that he was the composer of the favourite song 'Caro mio ben'. (Vide 'Giordani Family', in Scholes 1964:226.)

18. Hamba Kahle was composed by T T Matshikiza to bid farewell to Trevor Huddleston when the latter left South Africa 1956.
19. The song Ntshangase is about the miser Ntshangase who is notorious for his stinginess with tobacco, of which he always keeps a goatskin pouch on his person. Vide disc, University of Zululand Choir on tour in Europe, copyright by 'Kaerntner Handelskammer-Sextett'.
20. The eclectic choral composition by J S M Kumalo, KwaDedangendlala, is based on a lyric by B W Vilakazi.
21. Leeba, composed by J P Mohapeloa, is an onomatopoeic song sung in the South Sotho language, imitating the sounds made by a turtle dove.
22. The text alludes to the extermination of rabies infected dogs during the 1980 rabies outbreak in Natal. The chorus is sung with handclapping and traditional dancing. Vide disc, University of Zululand Choir on tour in Europe ...
23. The song Mvelase is about Mvelase's home in Nobamba. The singing is accompanied by periodic handclapping and traditional dancing. Vide ibid.
24. E! Motswala! is sung with the miming of signing and stamping of the marriage register, as was the way of solemnising marriages with the Transvaal Tswana people during the 1920s. Vide ibid.
25. The newspaper cutting was found among Khabi Mngoma's albums, but the actual date of the notice had been cut off.
26. According to a letter from J C M Mbata, Assistant Secretary of the Bantu Welfare Trust 'Ubuntu', to Khabi Mngoma, dated 15 November 1963.
27. Letter from J C M Mbata to Khabi Mngoma, dated 27 May 1964.
28. While visiting Khabi Mngoma at the University of Zululand's Music Department in April 1986, and observing his choir rehearsal procedures in the chapel of Unizulu campus with his music students, the writer heard the most remarkable performance by the class of choral works sung in tonic sol-fa in their entirety, involving the most intricate modulations and chromaticisms. Khabi Mngoma drilled the class to observe the highest accuracy in rendering the proper tonic sol-fa terms. It was probably one of the most extraordinary performances the author has ever encountered!
29. Also evident from numerous concert programmes involving past performances of the Ionian Music Society. (Vide infra.)
30. During his years of study at the University of Zululand, Brian Hlangwane also participated regularly in the Durban Eisteddfodau, where he often qualified as a finalist in the piano sections. 'Coming out of the bundu here, it is really quite a remarkable achievement!' (Personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985.)
31. Johannesburg, the gold-mining and industrial centre of South Africa and the largest city in the country, was founded in 1886 on the farm Randjeslaagte. In 1887 a health committee was instituted, and in 1904 a first elected town council took over the administration. City status was acquired in 1928. Johannesburg was named after two important persons, ie the principal clerk of the office of the Surveyor-General of the Transvaal Republic, Johann Rissik, and the Chief of Mining and member of the Volksraad, Christiaan Johannes Joubert. 'They recommended that the land be declared a gold-field, and that Randjeslaagte or Doornfontein be the site for the town' (Raper 1987, 1989:240).
32. Although Apartheid restrictions actually prohibited performances by black artists in white areas, the 1963 - 1965 legislation did empower the minister to grant permits for such performances, at his discretion (Kavanagh 1985:54).

33. The number of voices which constituted the mass choir was rendered by Khabi Mngoma as being 220 voices (in personal communication, May 1985), whereas The Star Johannesburg (13 August 1964) stated that the number was actually 250.

34. Vide also in The Star Johannesburg, 29 August 1961 ('Festival Oratorio Uplifting'): 'The conductor, Khabi Mngoma, has shown a clever arrangement of having all his soloists in duo.'

35. Khabi Mngoma actually said 'historical', punning on 'hysterical'.

36. Dorkay House, situated in Eloff Street Extension, Johannesburg, was the headquarters of the Union of Southern African Artists and Union Artists. Vide Appendix A, and Chapters VIII and IX for a full discussion of the history of Dorkay House, and Khabi Mngoma's work there.

37. The report refers to an exhibition held by the South African sculptor, Sydney Kumalo, in the Egon Guenther Gallery in Johannesburg in May 1962. This was Sydney Kumalo's first one-man show, and he exhibited sixteen works in bronze and stone, Plaster of Paris and terra-cotta, as well as a number of drawings. The report is accompanied by a photograph of three of the sculptures which were on view in this particular exhibition, ie the three works titled 'The Dancers', 'African Chief', and 'Leopard'.

Khabi Mngoma's association with Sydney Kumalo commenced at the Jubilee Social Centre, where the latter had been a teacher of sculpture ever since 1957. For reference, vide 'Kumalo, Sydney Alex', in Ogilvie and Graff 1988:357-358.

38. The African Music and Drama Association provided training facilities in music and drama. It functioned as the educational wing of the Union of Southern African Artists.



13. The Ionian Youth Orchestra outside the Orlando YMCA (Donaldson Centre) : Soweto, 1962.



14. Khabi Mngoma teaching a class in Leake Hall : Orlando YMCA, Soweto, 1966.
(Notice the boxing advertisement!)

Union for Arts and Artists

The history of the Union of Southern African Artists, Union Artists and the African Music and Drama Association. (Vide Appendix A.)

Accounts of the formation of the Union of Southern African Artists

The history of the Union of Southern African Artists is rather nebulous, as accounts of its actual formation vary from source to source. The date of the union's establishment is also quite obscure. According to Miriam Makeba, in an interview published in Umhlaba Wethu (Mutloatse, ed 1987:65-68), the Union of Southern African Artists was started in 1955. In an interview conducted by Robert Kavanagh with Ian Bernhardt (reputedly one of the founder members of the Union of Southern African Artists) in 1977, the latter cited the year 1953 as being the founder year of the union. This information is substantiated by Mona Glasser in her book King Kong : A Venture in the Theatre (1960:7), as well as by a programme note published in the programme for the performance of Emperor Jones¹ by Dorkay House artists in the early 1960s. This statement, however, is contradicted by a programme note published in a concert programme of the Eoan Performing Arts Group (inaugurated in 1933 by Helen Southern-Holt in Cape Town; vide Malan, ed 1982:26-29). This programme claims 1952 to be the founder year of the Union of Southern African Artists (as cited by Kavanagh 1985:223). Kavanagh (ibid:50) finally settles the dispute by stating that the union was founded in 1952/1953 at a meeting of Black South African artists and musicians, to protect their rights as performing artists.

Kavanagh's account stresses the point that '... the original intention of the black artists who wished to form a union was specifically to protect themselves from exploitation' (ibid:84).

He mentions that, according to one account, '... the occasion of the union's founding was a particularly sensational instance of such exploitation' (*ibid*). The incident referred to here was the adaptation of Solomon Linda's song *Mbube* by the American group, the Weavers, who, after meeting great success with the song,

... contacted a lawyer in Johannesburg and asked him to trace the whereabouts of its composer... in order that they might pay him royalties. It turned out that he [Solomon Linda] and his group had been paid five pounds [ten rand] '... for both the performance and copyright of the song, which was a little above the standard rate at the time' (*ibid*:84-85).

According to Kavanagh the founder members of the Union of Southern African Artists included the economist Guy Routh (who was the first Chairman of the union), Ian Bernhardt (an advertising consultant involved in amateur dramatics who succeeded Routh as Chairman of the Union of Southern African Artists in the early 1950s; *ibid*:87), and Fred Thabedi (organizer of youth clubs and promoter of African music; *ibid*:84). Huskisson (in Malan, ed 1979:108) adds Stanley Glasser and Leon Gluckman² to the list. (Kavanagh 1985:93 actually states that, in spite of the fact that the accounts of the formation of the union vary in so many details, '... all versions agree that Guy Routh, Ian Bernhardt and Fred Thabedi played important roles in its founding'.) Coplan (1985:205) writes about Ian Bernhardt's involvement, that

... (the) aims were not only to protect black performers' rights and to provide non-commercial, artistically free outlets for their talent, but to facilitate creative exchange between artists and communities of all races, and to develop a broadly South African performance culture.

In the capacity of leading personality in, and Chairman of, the Union of Southern African Artists (the latter as successor to Guy Routh - *vide ante*), Ian Bernhardt initiated a programme to '... locate, train and present' black South African musical performers 'before ...multi-racial audience(s)' (*ibid*:173). The result was a series of talent contests and small musical 'festivals' which eventually led to the famous Township Jazz and Dorkay Jazz concert series, initiated at the Selbourne Hall in 1957 and which continued until 1966 (*ibid*). Harry Bloom

actually wrote about Ian Bernhardt, stating that he '... brought African music and musicians out of obscurity, and through King Kong, into the view of the whole world (Kavanagh 1985:88).

Another version of the formation of the Union of Southern African Artists, maintains that it came about as a result of the establishment of the drama and theatre group, the Baret Players, under the direction of Ian Bernhardt. Coplan (1985:173)) writes that Ian Bernhardt and 'a troupe of young white fellow actors' set out on a tour of the Witwatersrand during the early 1950s, presenting a programme of three one-act plays. Following this, Ian Bernhardt was asked by the Welfare Officer of the Public Transport Corporation, to assist him in forming a drama group among the African employees of the Corporation. The result of this was the formation of the Baret Players, who staged Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors, and a series of one-act plays based on South African themes. (Vide Kavanagh 1985:49.) The Baret Players were active in Johannesburg from 1953 until 1955. According to this account, the Union of Southern African Artists was founded soon after the establishment of the Baret Players, by Ian Bernhardt, Guy Routh, the actor Dan Poho (vide ibid:64), the musician Gwigwi Mwrebi, the actors Bob Leshoi (vide ibid:221; Mutloatse, ed 1987:65-68), Sidney Sepampla (vide Kavanagh 1985:4, 56), Meshack Mosia (vide ibid:115), and others (vide Coplan 1985:204-205).

A third record of the formation of the Union of Southern African Artists has been compiled from interviews with Khabi Mngoma, information in his article 'African Music' (1977), and from one other document, a memorandum (no date specified) of Union Artists (incorporating the African Music and Drama Association), entitled 'On the History, Working and Functions of Union Artists', which the writer believes was written by Khabi Mngoma. (The author's name is not stated and the memorandum is undated.)

According to the memorandum and Khabi Mngoma's article 'African Music' (mentioned above), Trevor Huddleston organized a concert for black South African performers in 1949, for the purpose of raising funds to build a swimming pool in Soweto.³ Khabi Mngoma refers to this particular concert as 'The Bantu World Township Jazz Concert', because the news magazine, Bantu World, actually handled the publicity for the event. The memorandum reports that

... so much talent was evident (at the concert) that he [Trevor Huddleston] and a number of his friends on both sides of the colour line,⁴ felt that an organization to co-ordinate, give impetus and training to all this talent, should be formed.

(Khabi Mngoma's own description regarding the concert was about 'the remarkable indigenous talent' that emerged at it.)

The memorandum goes on to mention the existence and activities of 'a number of small cultural groups', and refers to the Baret Players (who were among the first to present Shakespeare plays to full houses in the townships), the Syndicate Players under the direction of Es'kia Mphahlele (who presented one-act plays to township school audiences from as early as 1945 onwards), the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival (which had been running Eisteddfodau since 1946), the Orlando Music Society and 'various others'. It states that, towards the end of 1952, Trevor Huddleston called together these organizations to form a co-ordinating body. This was the genesis of the Union of Southern African Artists, with the committee comprising black and white members. (Vide Chapter IV.)

The initial function of the Union of Southern African Artists, general aims and objectives, and some initial activities

According to Kavanagh (1985:85) the Union of Southern African Artists '... at first... restricted itself to providing lectures, holding members' evenings and giving free legal advice'. The above mentioned memorandum states that the Union '... aimed to protect non-white artists against exploitation by recording companies'. An example of the Union of Southern African Artists coming to the rescue of an artist who was exploited by the recording industry, was the case of Spokes Mashiyane.

Though his recordings made the equivalent of hundreds of thousands of dollars for Trutone, his flat fees for each one ranged from seven to fifty dollars. He could not earn a living through recording... When he pressed his demand for royalties, he was assaulted by thugs.

Finally, the... Union of Southern African Artists helped, and Mashiyane's income soared because of the royalty provisions in his new contract with Gallo in 1958 (Coplan 1985:166).

The Union of Southern African Artists, however, '... soon expanded its activities' (Kavanagh 1985:85; this author also refers to the Township Jazz and Dorkay Jazz concerts which were organized by the Union of Southern African Artists) by mounting shows and providing some artistic training opportunities for its members, and established itself as

... a nonprofit-making institution devoted to the stimulation and cultivation of the creative talents of its members who (were) mainly drawn from the South-Western Townships, Lenasia, Bosmont, and other townships in Johannesburg and (on) the Reef (Report 1974).

The aims of the Union now embraced

... (the provision of) performance opportunities for the musically talented by procuring recording contracts, performing dates in night clubs and hotels; and by mounting productions in Johannesburg and other centres (*ibid*).

(Huskiisson in Malan, ed 1979:108 states that the aim was to promote black artists and stage shows 'in and around Johannesburg', which '... enabled them to make a professional living'.)

As mentioned earlier, Ian Bernhardt, in the early 1950s, '... initiated a programme to locate, train, and present African musical performers, before multi-racial audiences'(Coplan 1985:173).⁵ It entailed 'a series of talent contests' and 'small festivals', which eventually led to the institutionalization of the famous Township Jazz and Dorkay Jazz concert series, launched in 1957 and continuing until 1966 (*ibid*; Kavanagh 1985:50; Huskiisson in Malan, ed 1979:108). These concerts were produced by the Union as commercial variety shows,⁶ which played to non-segregated audiences in Johannesburg (Memorandum, 'On the History, Working and Functions of Union Artists ...', undated), in Pretoria Townships and elsewhere along the Reef, during the period 1954-

1960 (Mngoma 1977). (The date 1954 referred to here, includes contests held prior to the establishment of the Township Jazz and Dorkay Jazz series proper. It should be noted that audiences became segregated after 1960 because of statutory laws of Apartheid.)

The venue that usually hosted these events, with the exception of a few occasions (vide note 14),⁷ was the Selbourne Hall (close by the Johannesburg City Hall), which consequently became the traditional venue for numerous black concerts and musicals during the 1950s (Kavanagh 1985:71). Township Jazz competitions used to culminate in an annual Township Jazz Festival held in the Orlando Stadium in Soweto.⁸ Coplan (1985:166) comments that these jazz concerts, contests and festivals organized by the union, allowed musicians '... to perform in secure, well-organized circumstances'.

To conclude, the initial aims and objectives of the Union of Southern African Artists, as pertaining to the period spanning from the early 1950s to the early 1960s, are stated below, as summarized in the above mentioned memorandum, and believed to have been written by Khabi Mngoma some time in the 1960s or early 1970s:

- (i) to provide a venue for all non-white people who had the creative urge in music and drama;
- (ii) to attempt to provide an ideal climate for the development of artists, by obtaining the services of trained and competent teachers and in this way impress upon artists the limited value of talent unaccompanied by technical expertise;
- (iii) to make possible a corporate effort which would put artists in a stronger position to negotiate with recording companies and other agencies who were at the time exploiting this unorganized talent;
- (iv) to provide an agency to procure employment for artists at competitive fees;
- (v) to stimulate members into creativity by arranging jam sessions, play-reading and writing, and discussions in the different art media.

The Union of Southern African Artists also witnessed the birth of the African Music and Drama Association, in 1958 or 1960 (vide infra for discussion of this), the 'training wing' of the Union of Southern African Artists, to accommodate the intensification of its teaching activities.

Premises: the relation of the Union of Southern African Artists to Dorkay House

The Union of Southern African Artists was first based at the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg, until about 1955 or 1956, after which it moved its headquarters to Dorkay House, in Eloff Street Extension (Mngoma 1977).

Khabi Mngoma's article, 'African Music' (*ibid*), is the only source that gives complete information on the matter of the union's premises. Other sources (Coplan 1985; Kavanagh 1985; Huskisson in Malan, ed 1979) only mention Dorkay House as being the headquarters of the Union of Southern African Artists ever, and fail to mention that its initial base was actually at the Bantu Men's Social Centre. This omission seems to arise from the general misconception prevalent in most sources that 'Union Artists' - a later establishment of the Union of Southern African Artists, that functioned as a separate but affiliated portfolio to the Union of Southern African Artists (and, incidentally, was administrated by the same committee members) - is an abbreviated form of the rather lengthy name 'Union of Southern African Artists', and used in its stead. This notion, however, is inaccurate, and shall be discussed below in detail. (Information obtained from and confirmed by Khabi Mngoma, April 1990.)

Khabi Mngoma's information on the actual year of the move to Dorkay House is somewhat vague, and is recalled as '1954/55' (Mngoma 1977). According to Coplan (1985:173) the acquisition of Dorkay House came about as a result of a very successful concert organized and sponsored by the union in the mid-1950s, ie a farewell concert given in honour of Trevor Huddleston, who was departing from South Africa for good, to return to Britain:

When Huddleston was recalled in 1954,⁹ a farewell concert attracted more than two hundred performers and netted more than four thousand dollars for its sponsor, the Union of Southern African Artists... (*ibid*:172)

Coplan goes on to say that '... the Huddleston concert provided the means to acquire permanent premises in Dorkay House' (*ibid*:173). Even though Coplan's information seems to be implying that the year of the concert was 1954 (by the statement '... when Huddleston was recalled in 1954...', *ibid*:172), the date of the event was actually January 1956, as recorded by Duncan Honore (1988).¹⁰ From this information it may be deduced that Dorkay House finally became the headquarters of the Union of Southern African Artists either in 1956, or, at the latest, in or by the beginning of 1957, the year during which the Township Jazz and Dorkay Jazz series were launched by the union.

The acquisition of Dorkay House was indeed a great asset, as it provided the union with the needed space to accommodate its expanded activities, such as rehearsals for shows and plays, as well as the teaching and training programmes provided in music and drama.

The Union of Southern African Artists: funding and resources

Kavanagh (1985:85) writes that the Union of Southern African Artists '... attracted considerable support for its activities from English-speaking whites'. He continues:

Some gave financial assistance in the form of donations, loans, guarantees, sponsorship, advertising or free services, others served on its various fund-raising, organizational and administrative committees, or assisted in various ways on the productions the union presented (*ibid*).

Kavanagh mentions four leading personalities - Robert Loder, Clive Menell, Edward Joseph and Ian Bernhardt, whose role and influence he discusses at length in his chapter on the Union of Southern African Artists and its production of the musical, King Kong (*ibid*:84-112). These men enjoyed the support of

... the established structures of English-speaking capital - the mining companies, international trusts and monopolies, financial houses, the civic authorities and liberal bodies such as the Institute of Race Relations (*ibid*:85).

Among these capitalizing establishments sponsoring the Union of Southern African Artists, the Anglo American Corporation '... was the most powerful' (*ibid*). The Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investment Company, Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company (Barnato) Group of Mines, Goldfields of South Africa, the General Mining and Finance Corporation, the Central News Agency, the bottlers of Coca-Cola and President Giant cigarettes were all among the numerous financial supporters (*ibid*:86).

The memorandum referred to earlier ('On the History, Working and Functions of Union Artists', undated) mentions that

... financing in the past has come from donations from benevolent members of the white community, from members' subscriptions, and... occasionally from profits brought in by Union Artists' productions.

Mention is also made of financial support from the Ford Foundation, the Anglo American Foundation (as also mentioned by Kavanagh, *vide ante*), the Polaroid Trust and Merrill Trust. Elsewhere (Report 1974) reference is made, once more, to the Edward Joseph Trust Fund, and one other financial supporter, pointed out by Khabu Mngoma (personal communication, April 1990) was the Fairfield Foundation. The United States Information Service also made available for the union, projection equipment, and films and books from its library (Report 1974). The British and German Consulates, too, made films available to the union (*ibid*). However, although it seems as if the Union of Southern African Artists initially had the support of quite a number of financial benefactors, it is stated elsewhere that the union '... had no steady source of income' (Memorandum, 'On the History, Working and Functions of Union Artists', undated), and that '... financing Dorkay House activities has always been an acute problem and has severely hampered potential growth' (*ibid*).

(Vide the paragraph on the funding of the African Music and Drama Association's activities and resources. These financial difficulties may have arisen in the 1960s, after the apparent initial prosperity of the 1950s had dwindled for the union.)

Activities at Dorkay House, and the first productions presented by the Union of Southern African Artists

Coplan (1985:206) writes:

Among the most important events in the theatrical history of Dorkay House... was the arrival in Johannesburg in 1957 of a young (white) director and playwright from Port Elizabeth, Athol Fugard (*ibid*).

(This was shortly after he had married the actress Sheila Meiring in 1956, '... now a poet and novelist in her own right'; Brink 1990:75).

Athol Fugard founded the Rehearsal Room theatrical group at Dorkay House in 1957. 'This group explored the European and American avant-garde plays, performing works by Beckett, Pinter, Sartre and Steinbeck' (Kavanagh 1985:48). Being a newcomer to Johannesburg, Athol Fugard made it his business to familiarize himself with Sophiatown and its way of life (Coplan 1985:206), which resulted in his first play, No Good Friday,¹¹ produced and staged in 1958 at the Bantu Men's Social Centre (*ibid*), in collaboration with the intellectuals Lewis Nkosi, Nat Nakasa and Bloke Modisane (Kavanagh 1985:48).

Athol Fugard drew on members of the Union of Southern African Artists to assemble his cast for No Good Friday, and, to a certain extent, '... collaborated with the actors to create the script' (*ibid*:93). Fugard's modus operandi made use of traditional African techniques of improvisation, whereby actors were given outlines of scenes on which they could improvise performances and so develop substantial play-scripts (*ibid*).

Fugard's subsequent plays produced under the banner of the Union of Southern African Artists included Nongogo (1959), Boesman and Lena (1960) and The Blood Knot (1962). Although Fugard's plays '... addressed black experiences' rather than 'black audiences', they had a profound impact on the development of black theatre, in that they helped to establish drama as a profession for black South Africans (Coplan 1985:206).¹²

By the year 1958 the Union of Southern African Artists '... had become one of the most profitable promotional bodies in entertainment in the country' (Kavanagh 1985:50). Not only had it '... changed character substantially... It had become a promoting body in its own right, a commercial enterprise' (*ibid*:85). Most significantly, the union was primarily concerned with providing black artists with work, and the theatrical/dramatic products were aimed at the white market (*ibid*:50).

A major highlight in the history of Dorkay House, was the production of the musical play or 'jazz opera', King Kong (Gallo MMTL 1291), in 1959.¹³ It has been described as '... the first major and entirely South African musical show' to be produced (Memorandum, 'On the History, Working and Functions of Union Artists', undated), '... challeng(ing) the best of international musical theatre' (Coplan 1985:174). Staged in Johannesburg for twenty-five weeks (Memorandum, 'On the History, Working and Functions...', undated), King Kong was a major success with audiences of all races. The musical toured the Cape Province and Natal (Mutloatse, ed 1987:75) before it went abroad to London in 1960, and where it showed for almost an entire year.

Contributing directly to the production of the show, was '... the combination of the accelerated activities both within the African Music and Drama Association and the Union of Southern African Artists (Memorandum, 'On the History, Working and Functions...', undated; *vide* also Mutloatse, ed 1987:65).

Coplan (1985:173) comments that the creators of the show '... intended it to be a model of fruitful cooperation between blacks and whites in the international entertainment field' (*ibid*).

He adds that

... with production, direction, script and musical direction by whites, but using black musical actors and musicians and a score by Todd Matshikiza,¹⁴ the show proposed to combine the polish and style of Broadway with the cultural vitality and resources of the townships (*ibid*).

The actors/singers were taken from the vocal groups, the Manhattan Brothers¹⁵ and Woody Woodpeckers, with Nathan Mdledle¹⁶ acting as King Kong and Miriam Makeba¹⁷ as his lady love, Joyce. The music, composed by Todd Matshikiza for big band, was played by the Jazz Dazzlers Orchestra,¹⁸ which was specially formed by Mackay Davashe¹⁹ for the production of the show, and included members of the Shantytown Sextet,²⁰ the previously formed Harlem Swingsters²¹ (which, according to Kippie Moeketsi, broke up in 1950 due to financial problems) and the Huddleston Jazz Band (Coplan 1985:174). The music was mainly jazz, but also included '... a tsotsis knife dance based on Sotho mokorotlo war dancing, and a dance celebrating King Kong's release from prison that echoed the traditional Zulu welcome for a returning hero' (Coplan, *ibid* cites Bloom 1961:52, 65), as well as penny whistle kwela solos played by the ten-year-old Lemmy 'Special' Mabaso.

The formation and activities of the African Music and Drama Association (the educational wing of the Union of Southern African Artists and abbreviated as AMDA)

The memorandum of Union Artists referred to above, states that it had already become evident by the year 1957

... that the discipline of formal training of members [of the union] needed to be intensified both in music and drama. The limitations of the artists had become too obvious. Abundant talent could not completely compensate for lack of sophistication and inability to project effectively - demands made by the professional stage which can only be derived from extended experience and intensive formal training.

It was therefore decided to form the African Music and Drama Association as a subsidiary 'training wing' to the Union of Southern African Artists its specific aims and objectives being the consolidation of educational programmes in music and drama (*ibid*; *vide* Coplan 1985:173).

The memorandum fails to mention the date of the formation of the African Music and Drama Association, but seems to be indicating a date prior to the year 1960 - probably 1958, if one considers the probability that the writer of the memorandum was Khabi Mngoma, who asserts 1958/1959 to be the year of the association's establishment (confirmed by Khabi Mngoma, personal communication, April 1990). This date differs from that cited by Kavanagh (1985:86) who asserts that 1960 was the founding year of the Association. Its establishment was made possible via a bequest left by a former stockbroker, Edward Joseph. A keen supporter of the Union of Southern African Artists, Joseph left a trust fund worth 2500 pounds, known as the Edward Joseph Memorial Trust Fund (*ibid*).

This information corresponds with Huskisson's report in Malan (ed 1979:108) which also claims that the African Music and Drama Association and Union Artists '... amalgamated in 1964'. The source of this information, however, is not stated by Huskisson, and no where else is proof to be found to support such a claim.

It is possible that, even though the Union of Southern African Artists had been running educational programmes in music and drama during the 1950s, the actual official establishment of the African Music and Drama Association could have only come about as late as 1960. The memorandum, however, states that King Kong was produced with students of the African Music and Drama Association! The facts, therefore, are once again rather nebulous, but it seems logical to conclude that the African Music and Drama Association was fully established by the year 1960.

Kavanagh (1985:49) explains the main activity of the African Music and Drama Association as having been

... the running of a drama school... under the direction of a Johannesburg drama teacher, Norah Taylor, who had been Mphahlele's mentor. (*Vide* Chapter IV.) Student plays at the

school, sometimes performed in public, included original texts developed by the students themselves under the direction of their teachers on traditional and 'township' themes. The AMDA school projects, initiated by Bob Leshoai, often included this material in their repertoires. AMDA's activities were less highbrow than those of the Rehearsal Room group [of Athol Fugard] and contained many popular elements. These derived from a combination of the relatively low formal educational qualifications (in the performing arts) of the students, the use of improvisation from everyday experience and the condescending concept of 'African theatre' entertained by the school's director [Norah Taylor] (*ibid*).²²

The tuition and training programmes provided by the African Music and Drama Association in music and drama, eventually included educational programmes in the plastic arts as well,²³ and were open to the whole range of beginners to advanced students (*Pina Culo*, July 1972). The teaching staff comprised black and white teachers, who either rendered their services voluntarily, (Huskiison in Malan, ed 1979:108), or were paid a small monthly honorarium. One of the teachers who taught piano at Dorkay House, was the University trained pianist and jazz composer from Kimberley, Gideon Nxumalo (Coplan 1985:161, 190; *vide* Huskiison 1969:220), who composed the music for Alan Paton's musical *Sponono*, which was produced in 1963 and 1964 with students from the African Music and Drama Association (Coplan 1985:209). According to Coplan (*ibid*), Gideon Nxumalo also organized a series of music groups at Dorkay House, with Kippie Moeketsi (alto saxophone), Dennis Nene (flute), Chooks Tshukudu (bass), Jeff 'Hoojah' Carters (bass), Mackay Davashe (tenor saxophone), Churchill Jolobe (drums), and Gordon Mfandu (also drums).

Another well-known personality involved in the teaching activities of the African Music and Drama Association, was the jazz exponent and member of the Jazz Maniacs, Wilson Silgee²⁴ (*ibid*).

Apart from striving to rear professional and amateur artists in music and drama, and eventually also the plastic arts, the African Music and Drama Association also aspired to reach the general public as far as promoting community interest in supporting the arts was concerned (Memorandum, 'Outlining Principles, Hopes and Intentions of AMDA', undated). In order to fulfil this objective, musical and dramatic presentations staged by

the African Music and Drama Association had to be produced on a level that would appeal to the popular, general public taste. For this reason AMDA theatrical presentations '... contained many popular elements' (Kavanagh 1985:49) that reflected the experience and frame of reference of its audiences. The community outreach activities of Dorkay House constituted the annual Jazz Festivals referred to previously, National Drama Festivals produced in venues in the various townships (Memorandum, 'On the History, Working and Functions of Union Artists', undated) and presented by the AMDA Schools' Theatre Project (*ibid*) under direction of Bob Leshoi, as well as other experimental theatre projects. Kavanagh (1985:49) states that the public performances of the African Music and Drama Association's students '... included original texts developed by the students themselves under the direction of their teachers on traditional and "township" themes'.

As far as music was concerned, the activities of the Union of Southern African Artists was dominated by jazz during the 1950s and early 1960s, but experienced a transitional phase from 1962 to 1965, with the incorporation of Western classical music in its training and performance programmes. With Khabi Mngoma's arrival at Dorkay House in 1965, a substantial Western classical music component became integrated with the existent musical activities of the African Music and Drama Association, to the extent that Western classical music became the more dynamic musical dimension of AMDA musical programmes. However, with the growing emphasis given to music education in the AMDA programmes under Khabi Mngoma's directorship,²⁵ the study and performance of music originating from the indigenous southern African cultures was encouraged along with the other previously mentioned Western music, in accordance with Khabi Mngoma's philosophy of a South African music education as explained hitherto. By presenting this varied instructional programme to the pupils of the African Music and Drama Association, and to the public, under the banner of Union Artists, Khabi Mngoma's influence in the field of music education expanded significantly.

The functioning of the Union of Southern African Artists, Union Artists, and the African Music and Drama Association

There is a considerable degree of confusion over the function of the Union of Southern African Artists and Union Artists. As mentioned earlier, most sources²⁶ erroneously regard the term 'Union Artists' as an abbreviation for the name 'Union of Southern African Artists'. Two of the sources, ie the Memorandum of

Union Artists, entitled 'On the History, Working and Functions of Union Artists' (undated) and Huskisson in Malan (ed 1979:107-109) both contain inconsistencies, which will be pointed out below.

According to the following statement in the Memorandum ('On the History, Working and Functions...', undated), Union Artists was a separate but affiliated portfolio to the Union of Southern African Artists:

To facilitate and co-ordinate the administration of the Union of Southern African Artists and the African Music and Drama Association it became necessary to form and register a nonprofit corporation (sic) and this resulted in the formation of Union Artists which continued the functions of the Union of Southern African Artists, with AMDA still operating as a separate teaching section.

To aid the discussion, this statement will be referred to as Statement [a] from this point on.

A discrepancy arises when, elsewhere in the same document a second statement (Statement [b]) is made, asserting that, in order to intensify the teaching programme of the Union of Southern African Artists, the African Music and Drama Association was formed as a subsidiary to Union Artists. That is, according to Statement [a], the Union of Southern African Artists and the African Music and Drama Association (AMDA) existed prior to the formation of Union Artists, and according to Statement [b], the Union of Southern African Artists and Union Artists existed prior to the establishment of AMDA! (It is, however, also feasible that 'Union of Southern African Artists' was sometimes abbreviated to 'Union Artists' in the same document, thereby causing even further confusion.)

The query arises as to which one of the two bodies - AMDA or Union Artists - was formed first. Statement [a] gives an indication of the administrative function of Union Artists, and indeed would explain the necessity for forming a further managing body to administrate the ever increasing affairs of the intensified teaching programme of AMDA; it would have been natural to do so considering the course of events. If, however, one accepts the term 'Union Artists', as used in Statement [b], ie as an abbreviation for 'Union of Southern African

Artists', then there is no discrepancy, in which case one could accept that AMDA was founded prior to Union Artists. This being so, the following explanation might suggest a possible course of events leading up to the formation of Union Artists:

Option (1), first situation:

The Union of Southern African Artists was formed to administer three functions under one single portfolio or department: (i) the protection of artists' rights, (ii) show business, and (iii) providing teaching and training opportunities and facilities;

Option (1), second situation:

The three functions of the Union of Southern African were reorganized and delegated as follows: (i) the protection of artists' rights and (ii) show business, administered by the Union of Southern African Artists, and with (iii) the provision of teaching and training opportunities and facilities delegated to a second, newly created portfolio or department, ie the African Music and Drama Association (founded for the intensification of the teaching programmes, around 1958-1960);

Option (1), third situation:

Delegation of the administrative affairs of the Union of Southern African Artists and the African Music and Drama Association, to a third, newly created portfolio or department, ie Union Artists (established in 1960?).

A second option for the course of developments within the Union of Southern African Artists, could be as follows:

Option (2), first situation:

The Union of Southern African Artists was formed to administer three functions under one single portfolio or department, the functions being: (i) the protection of artists' rights, (ii) show business and (iii) providing teaching and training opportunities and facilities;

Option (2), second situation:

The establishment of a second portfolio or department, ie the African Music and Drama Association, with the three functions of the Union of Southern African Artists reorganized as follows: (i) protection of artists' rights, administered by the Union of Southern African Artists; (ii) show business and (iii) the provision of teaching and training opportunities and facilities administered by the African Music and Drama Association;

Option (2), third situation:

The administrative affairs of the Union of Southern African Artists and the African Music and Drama Association were delegated to a third and newly formed portfolio or department, ie Union Artists.

Considering the possibility that Union Artists was established before the African Music and Drama Association, the following developments within the Union of Southern African Artists might have been the case:

Option (3), first situation:

The Union of Southern African Artists was formed to administer the three functions (i) the protection of artists' rights, (ii) providing teaching and training opportunities and facilities, and (iii) show business, administered under one portfolio or department;

Option (3), second situation:

The functions of the Union of Southern African Artists were reorganized and delegated as follows: (i) the protection of artists' rights and (ii) the provision of teaching and training opportunities and facilities administered by the Union of Southern African Artists, and (iii) the affairs relating to show business delegated to a second, newly created portfolio or department, ie Union Artists;

Option (3), third situation:

The functions of both the Union of Southern African Artists and Union Artists were reorganized and delegated as follows: (i) the protection of artists' rights, administered by the Union of Southern African Artists; (ii) the provision of teaching and training opportunities and facilities (intensified), and were delegated to a third, newly

created portfolio or department, ie the African Music and Drama Association, and (iii) the affairs of show business, still directed by Union Artists.

The thesis supports options (1) and (2), especially in the light of the increased activities of the union that were particularly noticeable from 1960 onwards, and endorsed by Huskisson (in Malan, ed 1979:107-109).

Although the article is vague on the matter, it seems as though, once again, 'Union Artists' is used as an abbreviation for 'Union of Southern African Artists'. It is, however, stated that '... Dorkay House was the venue occupied by Union Artists since its launching in 1960'; *ibid*). Knowing that the Union of Southern African Artists had already been established in the early 1950s, and because Huskisson's article fails to distinguish between the Union of Southern African Artists and Union Artists, and at the same time asserts that 1960 was the founder year of 'Union Artists', the deductions are made that

- (i) Huskisson's article contains incongruities;
- (ii) that, if it were correct to assume (from the way it is presented in the text) that Huskisson considers the Union of Southern African Artists and Union Artists as one and the same body, then the recognition of the year 1960 for its establishment is incorrect;
- (iii) if, however, the year 1960 is indeed the founder year of Union Artists (a separate department to the Union of Southern African Artists and the African Music and Drama Association), then this bit of information given by Huskisson would support the notion that Union Artists was the later establishment (ie formed after the formation of the African Music and Drama Association).

It should be noted that Huskisson's article is the only source that provides a specific date for the establishment of Union Artists.

To conclude: the thesis regards the Union of Southern African Artists, Union Artists and the African Music and Drama Association as a tripartite, corporate body, which had one collective aim, ie the promotion of the arts

(cinematography excluded)²⁷ among the black population of southern Africa. Their separate but affiliated functions are cited here as published in Pina Culo in July 1972:

The Union of Southern African Artists acts as an artists' equity [a protective agency]. Union Artists looks after the promotion of shows, gives the artists opportunities and finds them work [is directly involved with box office]. AMDA provides training in music and drama.

It should be noted that the union's detail functioning came about through a process of gradual development - albeit within a relatively short period - and that the practice of these functions fluctuated along with the South African socio-political tide. Within a matter of fifteen years, the union experienced both bloom and gloom, hardly surviving the saga of human relations, to the point of becoming virtually extinct in its original form by the year 1967. The only activities that continued without decay were the educational operations of the African Music and Drama Association, that actually flourished. Although the union's original 'showbiz' type of operations had ceased by then, the African Music and Drama Association continued to present music concerts and performances, as well as workshops and art exhibitions to the public throughout southern Africa, under the banner of Union Artists.

On reflecting upon events in the 1950s, it is evident that it was indeed a decade of '... great activity and achievement in black music and theatre' (Coplan 1985:164) in southern Africa, with the Union of Southern African Artists and Dorkay House being the nucleus of the cultural and artistic activities for especially black artists in and around Johannesburg. The culmination of the union's artistic endeavours in the production of King Kong by the end of the decade, was probably the major highlight in the history of Dorkay House. The union's next major production was Emperor Jones, written by Eugene O'Neill, directed by Leon Gluckman and produced with AMDA students (vide Kavanagh 1985:50, 86, 93).

Into the 1960s: an upsurge in theatrical production for the Union of Southern African Artists; coping and not coping with changing socio-political circumstances

In the early 1960s, the renowned composer, arranger, song- and playwright and talent scout for Gallo during the 1950s, Gibson Kente,²⁸ established himself at Dorkay House to work in association with Union Artists. As an exponent of popular commercial musical theatre in black areas throughout southern Africa (Kavanagh 1985:55), and an innovative writer of plays and musicals, he revolutionized urban African popular theatre during the 1960s and established himself as a central figure in the development of black South African township theatre (Coplan 1985:207, 209; vide plate 39 for a photograph of Gibson Kente).

He used virtually every medium and style of performance found in the streets and social occasions of the townships, so that working-class Africans unfamiliar with formal theatre could recognize themselves up on the stage (ibid:210).²⁹

Gibson Kente was associated with Dorkay House during the early 1960s, ie during the years 1959-1966, after which he disassociated himself from the union and continued his activities as an independent artist (vide ibid:209; Kavanagh 1985:113-114).

In 1963, three major productions were produced by artists active at Dorkay House. The productions were: Manana, the Jazz Prophet (by Gibson Kente; vide Coplan 1985:208), Back in Your Own Backyard (a musical devised by Ben Masinga)³⁰ and Sponono (by Alan Paton, Krishna Shah and Gideon Nxumalo).³¹

Unfortunately 1963 was also the year during which the disquieting Apartheid restrictions on entertainment were tightened significantly. Entertainment legislation had restricted the attendance of Blacks at cinemas in white areas without the Minister's permission in 1958 (Kavanagh 1985:51). Although multi-racial audiences were not yet forbidden, pressures were slowly but surely closing in upon multi-racial activity. 'By the 1960s this position had deteriorated markedly' (ibid). A series of government laws were implemented to make the separation of races 'more effective'. The association of white and black South Africans with each other outside working hours and working relationships, was made immensely difficult by the new legislation. Black South African audiences

were prohibited from attending public entertainment in white areas, and black performers were forbidden to perform there.

A series of proclamations and laws against mixed audiences and black performers culminated in the 1963 Publication and Entertainment Act (and in 1965 black audiences were banned from the Selbourne Hall at the Johannesburg City Hall; *ibid*).

In 1964 multi-racial performance companies were finally outlawed by the separate amenities and community development provisions of Group Areas legislation, which required permits for Blacks to perform or attend shows in white areas, and for Whites to do the same in black areas. This resulted in the Union of Southern African Artists having to cease its production of shows altogether. However, the African Music and Drama Association retained its separate teaching programme under black leadership (Coplan 1985:209), and a few attempts were made to continue some public theatrical activity. For instance, Ian Bernhardt assisted 'Corney' (Cornelius) Mabaso³² in the formation of a new black theatrical company founded at Dorkay House, ie the Phoenix Players (*vide* Kavanagh 1985:54), whose artistic direction was managed by Corney Mabaso himself (Coplan 1985:203), and in 1966 Gibson Kente produced his musical melodrama *Sikalo* ('Lament'), the plot of which deals with urban township violence and socio-economic deprivation experienced by urbanizing blacks (*ibid*:208-209). After producing *Sikalo*, Kente broke away from the union (*ibid*:207; *vide* Kavanagh 1985:55, 113-144).

It is evident that, during the first seven years of the 1960s, the Union of Southern African Artists experienced both revival and decline, the latter eventually leading to the final collapse of its show business activities in 1967. Activities at Dorkay House went through a transitional phase in the years 1962 - 1965, which had both positive and negative implications for the future existence of the union and its work. This phase was characterized by four developments:

(i) black artists taking the lead in show production at Dorkay House, as well as in other activities of the union (*vide ibid*:53);

- (ii) increased emphasis being placed on training programmes - a development that was vital for the future survival of a section of the union's work, after 1967 (vide Coplan 1985:207);
- (iii) tightened Apartheid restrictions curtailing the union's activities;
- (iv) Khabi Mngoma's arrival at Dorkay House in 1965, offering new hope for the future of Dorkay House, Union Artists and the African Music and Drama Association.

The Union of Southern African Artists initially persevered in their artistic enterprises in spite of set-backs, such as the incident reported on by the newspaper Post on 12 August 1962:

Nigerian composer Sowande will not be at Varsity

The Reef's showbiz society received a blow last week when it was announced that world famous Nigerian composer, Felix Sowande had been refused a visa into the country where he would have attended the Union Artists University Great Hall choral jazz and vocal concert tonight.

The concert referred to in this report featured under the title 'New African Music', and reflected the new musical trends that were developing within the union. Contained in the same report, some comments as far as the programme of the concert was concerned, were published:

Several pennings (sic) of local talent like Mackay Dvashe, Gideon 'Mgibe' Nxumalo and the Woody Woodpeckers' leader, Vic Ndlazilwane will be heard.

The night's choral renditions will be offered by Khabi Mngoma's Ionian Male Choir (the best in the country) and the newly formed Imilonji ['Canaries'] Chorale.

For jazz fans, Cape Town's Jazz Giants (currently taking the Reef by storm and receiving acclaim from both critics and fans) will be featured. Leader of the group, dynamic Dudu Phukwana (alto [saxophone]) has been said to be the alto which will blow from Kippie

Moeketsi's pedestal soon. Drummer Makhaya Ntshoka, ex-King Kong man, Martin Ngijima (bass) and Nick Moyake (tenor) are amongst Dudu's Giants.

Gideon Nxumalo appeared as the 'cheeky, chirpy soloist' on a Chopi xylophone '... in an exciting foot-tapping work called "Chopi Chopsticks"'. The Star Johannesburg (13 August 1962)³³ reported that '... the audience was delighted'. The Imilonji Choir, directed by O Ferdinand, performed Britten's 'Hymn to the Virgin' and Mozart's 'Ave Verum' (*ibid*), and of the Ionian Choir's performance it was written that

... with the Ionian group a... quartet of accompanying string players suggested new colour possibilities for choral writers who, as this well-balanced mass of voices showed, have an inexhaustible fund of evocative tunes from Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana and Sotho sources to exploit (*ibid*).

The report commented that, the fact that these Western classical music items featured in a concert which carried the title 'New African Music', implied that Western music had '... become part of the African world'. Reporter Dora Sowden of the Rand Daily Mail wrote in her report on the New African Music Concert (in Rand Daily Mail, 13 August 1962), that it '... demonstrated healthy achievement along a three-stream course - exploitation of folk song, development of African Jazz, exploration of a more academic idiom'.

Conclusion

Dorkay House was '... the focus of the era's black theatre and music' in the 1950s and 1960s (*vide* Joyce, ed 1981:130). It

... played a seminal role in the jazz world in the Sixties. It was a place where players could meet each other and rehearse together, at a time when jazz musicians found it difficult to meet because of segregationist laws (Ballantine and Breakey 1989:44).

Great names in the performing arts are associated with Dorkay House, names such as Athol Fugard, Gibson Kente, Dollar Brand and others. Many a top black South African performer's history at one time or another is linked with Dorkay House, including Dolly Rathebe, Miriam Makeba, Thandi Klassens, Letta Mbulu,³⁴ Sophie Mcina, Patience Gqwabe, the Jazz Epistles³⁵ and the Jazz Dazzlers (Mngoma 1977:12). Kippie Moeketsi mentions 'the usual Dorkay crowd' (Mutloatse, ed 1987:75), in this instance referring to Mackay Davashe, Hugh Masekela,³⁶ Jonas Gwangwa (*vide ibid*:76), Todd Matshikiza and Gwigwi Mrwebi. (The period is the 1950s.) Other performing artists brought to the attention of the public through their association with the Union of Southern African Artists and Dorkay House, were Abigail Kubheka,³⁷ the vocal groups Manhattan Brothers (led by Nathan Mdledle) and Lo Six³⁸ (led by Tammy Ramokgopa), the band Shantytown Sextet (led by Mackay Davashe), the guitarist Allen Khwela and penny whistler and alto saxophonist Spokes Mashiyane (Mngoma 1977:12), as well as quite a number of actors, such as Ken Gampu, who played the title role in the film Dingaka (also called 'tribal musical' by Eddie Domingo and Bertha Egnos, originally staged in the early 1960s and then filmed later on; Kavanagh 1985:50) and smaller parts in Zulu, Seven against The Sun and Tremor (Pina Culo, July 1972).

It is with right that Dorkay House earned itself the name, 'Birthplace of African Stars' (*ibid*).

Notes

1. The programme is exhibited in 'Dorkay House in Print', an unpublished presentation volume of Dorkay House programmes, posters, press cuttings, etc, in the possession of Robert Loder; cited by Kavanagh 1985:223.
2. Leon Gluckman was initially involved with White South African theatre. He then went over to England (the author does not know the date) where he gained some experience in English repertory theatre while working as assistant director at the Nottingham Playhouse for a period. On his return to South Africa (date?) he became involved with Black South African theatre. He regarded his work as 'an educating process', and hoped to '... promote mutual respect between the races' (*ibid*:93).
3. This information was reiterated by Khabi Mngoma during a telephone conversation on 20 April 1990. Reference is made to the 'Huddleston Swimming Baths' in Orlando, by Duncan Honore, ed 1988:vi :

During this time [of Huddleston's office at St Peter's School in Rosettenville, as Provincial of the Order of the Community of the Resurrection, which he held since 1949] he... did what he could to make some relaxation and recreation possible to the blacks in the townships - the

Odin Cinema was opened in Sophiatown and the Huddleston Swimming Baths built in Orlando...

4. This included Father Jarrett-Kerr mentioned in Chapter II of this study. It probably also included Guy Routh, Ian Bernhardt and the other men mentioned as founder members of the Union of Southern African Artists by the other sources.

5. Later on, during the 1960s, however, the Union came under pressure of segregation legislation concerning entertainment, which culminated in the Publication and Entertainment Act of 1963. As a result of this, the Union of Southern African Artists became restricted in its efforts to present shows to multi-racial audiences, and would eventually cease show production altogether.

6. Nat Nakasa refers to a talent contest held on 21 February 1958 in the Bantu Men's Social Centre in his short essay titled, 'On Penny Whistlers' (Mutloatse, ed 1987:69-70.) The description reads as follows:

It's February 21, 1958. The penny whistle blowers Frederick Maphisa and Sidwell Majoro of Orlando East, are nervously tucked at one end of the stage in the Bantu Men's Social Centre, Johannesburg. There's been a talent contest, and sixty two other entrants, blues singers, flute players, guitarists and others galore are on the stage hoping like mad to be declared the winners of the one hundred rand prize.

A tall white man with a stack of papers in his hand strides across the stage to the mike. He is to announce the winners. Indeed, he doesn't waste any time. Maphisa and Majoro. 'Wow! Freddie! Wool!' shouts the two thousand strong audience, breaking into stormy applause (*ibid*:69).

7. Vide for instance the talent contest referred to by Nat Nakasa, which was held in the Bantu Men's Social Centre. (Vide ante, note 14.)

8. Although it is not explicitly stated as such in Khabi Mngoma's article (1977), it may be assumed that this was an annual event.

9. Trevor Huddleston actually left South Africa in 1956 (according to Duncan Honore 1988:vi), after the National Party's accession to power in 1948, which led to confrontation and protest with, and from, Trevor Huddleston. Duncan Honore writes (*ibid*) that

... two areas of protest were especially provoking to the government - first his... protest at the removal of blacks (who had freehold rights) from Sophiatown and, second, his decision to close down the school [St Peter's] rather than hand it over to government control and a syllabus designed to train blacks for inferiority.

10. Vide ibid: plate 4, inscribed 'A farewell concert in Trevor Huddleston's honour, Johannesburg, January 1956'.

11. Fridays had - and still have - special significance in black urban culture, because they were black workers' pay days; black workers tended to be paid weekly, and white workers monthly. Furthermore, the title of Fugard's play refers to '... the fear with which Friday night was regarded in Sophiatown in 1958' (Kavanagh 1985:217), because wage earners were the target of criminal gangs.

Kavanagh cites an extract from Oswald Mtshali's poem 'Intake Night - Baragwanath Hospital' (from Mtshali 1971:41), which '... shows that Friday night twenty years later in Soweto was much the same' (Kavanagh 1985:3). The poem reads:

The ward was like a battle-field
victims of war
waged in the dark alley

flocked in cars, taxis, ambulances, vans and trucks

...

'So! it's Friday night!

Everybody's enjoying

in Soweto.' (Oswald Mtshali 1971:41 quoted by Kavanagh, *ibid*:4)

Vide Kavanagh's detailed discussion (1985) of Athol Fugard's *No Good Friday* in *ibid*:61, 62, 63, 64-83.

12. As far as Athol Fugard's future work was concerned, Kavanagh writes (*ibid*:54):

When legislation in the 1960s [ie 1964 separate amenities and community development provisions of Group Areas legislation, which outlawed multi-racial performance companies; *vide* also Coplan 1985:209] made multi-racial collaboration extremely difficult, Fugard nevertheless continued in Port Elizabeth with a group of black amateurs, [the Serpent Players].

13. Based on the tragic career of the South African black heavyweight boxing champion, Ezekiel 'King Kong' Dhlamini (Coplan 1985:173), *King Kong* was set in the black urban culture of Sophiatown (Kavanagh 1985:84). With crime and gangsters playing an important part in the show, the 'Sophiatown backyard scene' fulfilled a '... significant structural role' in the script (*ibid*).

The production team comprised Harry Bloom (the scriptwriter), Leon Gluckman (the director), the Master of Music graduate from Cambridge University and lecturer in Music at the University of Cape Town, Stanley 'Spike' Glasser (the musical director), Mona Glasser (the play's historian), Arnold Dover (the choreographer), Clive Menell, Arthur Goldreich, Ruth (or Pat?) Williams, and Todd Matshikiza (composer of the music and songs). *Vide* *ibid*:92-97 on 'The *King Kong* Production Team'. *Vide* also Mutloatse, ed 1987:71-77 on Stanley Glasser (:74-75), and on rehearsing for *King Kong* (:74-76).

The dates rendered by Huskisson (in Malan, ed 1979:108) for the staging of *King Kong* in Johannesburg and London respectively, are inaccurate. The show was staged in Johannesburg in 1959 and not in 1960. During 1960 the cast went overseas, where the show was run in London for either seven months (according to the Memorandum, 'On the History, Working and Functions of Union Artists', undated), or a year (according to Coplan 1985:175).

14. Kippie Moeketsi (in Mutloatse, ed 1987:74-75) reflected on Todd Matshikiza's almost secretive activity of writing the score for *King Kong*, while he was an active member of the Manhattan Brothers/Shantytown Sextet:

... all the time Todd Matshikiza was writing the score for a musical work while performing with us. We were playing songs from the musical unawares - and I can remember well how we used to play the very overture from the musical - *King Kong* - at the Selbourne Hall. We were three then - Todd, General [Duze] and me, at variety concerts.

For further reference to Todd Matshikiza, *vide* Coplan 1985:108, 153, 168, 170, 173, 174, 175, 177, 179, 190, 207 and Kavanagh 1985:59, 85, 93, 109-112, 113, 124, 139, 180 and 196.

15. *Vide* on disc, *Tula Ndivile*, Gallotone GB2034: Manhattan Brothers with Miriam Makheba as lead singer (cited by Coplan 1985:167). Coplan writes that the concert dress of the Manhattan Brothers constituted 'elegant suits and tuxedos' (*ibid*:168).

16. Nathan Mdledle, who acted the part of King Kong, is referred to by Kippie Moeketsi (in Mutloatse, ed 1987:75) as Dambuza Mdledle by name, who was, at one stage, the band leader of the Manhattan Brothers. (*Vide* *ibid*:72, 73, 75.) *Vide* Coplan 1985:plate 26, 'Nathan Mdledle... in the title role of the musical *King Kong*, rehearses with Stephen Mallow, who plays his manager'.

17. International singing star Miriam Makeba first built her local reputation with umbaqanga music as lead singer of the Manhattan Brothers (*ibid*:167). According to Kippie Moeketsi (in Mutloatse, ed 1987:73-74) she first sang with a group called the Cuban Brothers, before Dambuza Nathan Mdledle (then the leader of the Manhattan Brothers and Shantytown Sextet) 'discovered' her and invited her (actually bribed her, *ibid*) to join the Manhattan Brothers. For a vivid description of how Miriam Makeba became a member of the Manhattan Brothers, *vide* Moeketsi's account, *ibid*. She later formed her own female quartet, the Skylarks, with Letta Mbulu, Abigail Kubheka and Mary Rabotapa (on disc, Laleni Bantwana, Gallo-New Sound GB2999).

Apart from becoming famous with various hits, such as the Click Song (based on a traditional Xhosa song Iggirha lendlela ngu Qongqothwane - 'The black Beetle is the Diviner of the Way/Path' - in which she makes extensive use of the click sounds in the Xhosa language), she acted the female leading role in King Kong, in which she acted the part of King Kong's lady love, Joyce. After conclusion of the production in South Africa, she pursued a performing career overseas in self-exile, and hence did not perform in the London shows of King Kong. (*Vide* Makeba and Leshoi, 'On Dorkay House', in Mutloatse, ed 1987:65 : 'I was asked to do the London production, but I couldn't go because I had contracts here in the United States'... *Vide* also Moeketsi, in *ibid*:75 : 'It was not very long after Miriam had left for America when Masekela followed also - before the show went to London'.) Abigail Kubheka, who was Miriam Makeba's understudy in King Kong, performed in her place.

18. The Jazz Dazzlers Orchestra was formed and led by Mackay Dvashe specially for the production of King Kong in 1959. The band included members of the Shantytown Sextet, Harlem Swingsters and Huddleston Jazz Band. The music played by the 'fiery' Jazz Dazzlers (as described by Coplan 1985:174) was big band, but the music for King Kong included penny whistle kwela solos, which were performed by the ten-year old penny whistle virtuoso, Lemmy Special Mabaso (*ibid*; *vide ibid*: plate 27, for Lemmy Mabaso in action on his penny whistle in the King Kong show.) The Jazz Dazzlers went overseas in 1960 for the running of King Kong in London, after which they returned to South Africa (in 1961), where they continued to function as a professional band. They made several appearances in the Township Jazz and Dorkay Jazz concert series organized by the Union of Southern African Artists (*ibid*:173).

19. For reference to Mackay Dvashe, *vide* Mutloatse, ed 1987:82-83; *vide* also Matshikiza, Todd, 'Makwenkwe Dvashe', *ibid*:84.

20. According to Todd Matshikiza (*ibid*), the Shantytown Sextet was first called, or referred to as, the 'Manhattan Sextet', being affiliated to the Manhattan Brothers. According to a description given by Kippie Moeketsi (*ibid*:72), the Shantytown Sextet was the 'backing band' to the Manhattan Brothers.

21. Kippie Moeketsi (*ibid*:71-72) on the Harlem Swingsters:

I joined the Harlem Swingsters in 1949. We had chaps like Gwigwi Mrwebi, Skip Phahlane, Ntemi Piliso, Randolph Tai Shomang, Norman Martin (if I'm not wrong [sic]) and Todd Matshikiza...

A year after I had joined the Harlem Swingsters, the band broke up. Really, there were no reasons, except for financial difficulties. In those days, big bands didn't make sufficient money.

22. It should be noted that Kavanagh's discussion of the Union of Southern African Artists (1985:84-92) evinces an attitude of acute negativism towards the union and its activities. The influence on the '... development and direction of the union's activities' by '... the English-speaking establishment in the Transvaal' (*ibid*:87) and '... the established structures of English-speaking capital' (*ibid*:85) is outrightly attacked. Accusations are made of idealism ('The ideal intentions and the promises made were the product of romantic optimism, at best, and the union was in no position to fulfil them' - *ibid*:92), false pretence and exploitation to gain '... the monopoly of the commercial and artistic development' of black talent (*ibid*:88).

23. 'Information on the Ionian Music Society', an unpublished sheet of information found by the writer in Khabi Mngoma's office at the University of Zululand in 1985. Date and author unknown.
24. Wilson Silgee's father was a church minister and band conductor during the 1920s and 1930s. His band performed '... hymns and marches for weddings and other Christian social occasions', as well as marabi music at early twentieth century stokfels (Coplan 1985:103, after Wilson Silgee, interviewed by Coplan on 16 September 1976). Wilson Silgee himself became a tenor saxophone player for the Jazz Maniacs, which was formed in 1935 and had become a full-time band by the 1940s (Coplan 1985:132).
25. This renewed emphasis given to educational programmes in the Union of Southern African Artists, and specifically in the African Music and Drama Association under Khabi Mngoma's directorship, was (i) undoubtedly because Khabi Mngoma was concerned about music education, and (ii) because of an awareness that the original multi-racial show business expectations of the Union of Southern African Artists could no longer be realized under the Apartheid regime. Hence, show production had ceased by 1965, and the focus was essentially on education, especially music education and music concerts.
26. The sources at hand include the following: Huskisson in Malan, ed 1979:107-109; Kavanagh 1985:19, 43, 47-52, 84-112, 118, 119. (The Index to this publication contains both entries, ie 'Union Artists' and 'Union of Southern African Artists', but the pagination is the same for both entries, and Kavanagh nowhere distinguishes between the two. He seems to be using 'Union Artists' as a substitute term for 'Union of Southern African Artists'.); Coplan 1985. (The Index to this book also contains both entries - with references to pages 172-173, 205-206, 207, 209 and 223 for 'Union Artists' and pages 166 and 172 for 'Union of Southern African Artists'. Coplan, however, clearly indicates his substitutional use of the one term for the other, on page 172.); Mutloatse, ed 1987. The sources that do differentiate between the Union of Southern African Artists and Union Artists, are: the Memorandum of Union Artists incorporating the African Music and Drama Association, titled, 'On the History, Working and Functions of Union Artists', undated, and the article in Pina Culo, July 1972, which very explicitly states the respective functions of the Union of Southern African Artists, Union Artists and the African Music and Drama Association.
27. The Minutes of the meeting held by the Union Artists Merrill Foundation Grant Committee on 30 May 1973, report on applications that were made to the union by W Serote and J Moleya for financial assistance to conduct projects that involved the making of films. The minutes state that '... the making of films did not fall within in the terms of the Merrill Grant', and that the applications were therefore refused.
28. Gibson Mtutuzeli Kente wrote songs for many famous South African singers and vocal groups, such as the Manhattan Brothers, Miriam Makeba, Letta Mbulu and Thoko Shikuma (Kavanagh 1985:114). Vide text for further detail.
29. Older traditional African music and culture indigenous to southern Africa, as well as Christian church music, American jazz and 'township rhythms' were major influences in Gibson Kente's work (ibid:113). Kavanagh also states that, although Kente was primarily concerned with non-political objectives, and occupied himself with '... non-collaborative, "non-white" commercial activity' (ibid:57), he nevertheless believed that his work might have a political function within the framework of multi-racialism, which he publicly supported on a number of occasions (ibid:145).
30. Vide ibid:50, 53, and Mutloatse, ed 1987:68. The jazz musical Back in Your Own Backyard by Ben Masinga was produced in Zulu, and, according to Coplan (1985:207), for Soweto audiences only, with the result that '... Union Artists declined to help him' (ibid).
31. The musical Sponono, written by Alan Paton and Krishna Shah, and with the music composed by Gideon Nxumalo, was produced with students of the African Music and Drama Association (Kavanagh 1985:49-50,79; Coplan 1985:209). It was staged in Johannesburg in 1963, as well as in 1964 at the New York World Fair, where it met with considerable success (Huskisson in Malan, ed 1979:108; Mutloatse, ed 1987:66-67).

32. In 1972 Mabaso became a founder member of the Institute for Music, Drama, Arts and Literature - MDALI - founded in May 1972 in the Transvaal. Vide Kavanagh 1985:53, 162, 227.

33. The report was written by Oliver Walker, and titled 'Chirpy composer in "Chopsticks" solo. New African Music'.

34. Popular singer Letta Mbulu, exponent of umbaqanga (Coplan 1985:178), was a member of Miriam Makeba's female quartet, the Skylarks (on disc: Laleni Bantwana, Gallo-New Sound GB2999), along with Abigail Kubheka, Mary Rabotapa and Miriam Makeba herself (Coplan 1985:167; vide also Mutloatse, ed 1987:82).

35. On disc Verse I, Continental 14.ABC18341; vide Coplan 1985:172; Mutloatse, ed 1987:76-77.

36. According to Bishop Desmond Tutu ('An Appreciation of the Rt Revd Trevor Huddleston, CR', in Duncan Honore 1988:4) '... Hugh Masekela, the jazz trumpeter, got his first trumpet from Father Huddleston, who had got it as a gift from Louis Satchmo Armstrong'.

For references to Hugh Masekela, vide Drum, May 1988:37, 85; Tribute, August 1988:76; Argus, 14 February 1987 ('How Sensitive Simon switched the world on to the sound of Africa'; this report refers to Hugh Masekela's collaborative work with Paul Simon in producing the record/disc Graceland.); vide also Masekela, Hugh, 'Trumpeting the Black Musicians Cause', in Mutloatse, ed 1987:85-86 and Nkosi, Zakes, 'My Kind of Jazz', ibid:82. Hugh Masekela is a personal friend of Khabi Mngoma, with whom Khabi Mngoma became acquainted during the years that he was associated with Dorkay House. Masekela is presently living in self exile in Britain.

37. Abigail Khubeka was a member of Miriam Makeba's female quartet, the Skylarks, along with Letta Mbulu and Mary Rabotapa (on disc: Laleni Bantwana, Gallo-New Sound GB2999). She was Miriam Makeba's understudy for the leading female part in the musical King Kong, and performed in the London production, due to Miriam Makeba's departure from South Africa to America. Abigail Kubheka returned to South Africa together with Kippie Moeketsi and Mackay Davashe after completion of the London shows (Mutloatse, ed 1987:75, 76).

38. Coplan (1985:149) describes Lo Six as 'Ernest Mohlomi's teacher-student vocal group'. They lived and were active among the miners in Eastern Native Township (ibid:153), where they regularly gave performances on behalf of Eastern Native Township's Eastern Brothers Football Club, of which they were members. Vide ibid:153, 168; Drum, August 1955; disc Tikoloshi, Gallotone GB2041.

Dorkay House and Abroad

(The fourth period): Khabi Mngoma's duties as Managing Director of Dorkay House, and as Principal of the African Music and Drama Association, from 1965 until 1975.

Introduction: A brief account of Khabi Mngoma's association with Dorkay House, Union Artists and the African Music and Drama Association

When Khabi Mngoma assumed the new post as Managing Director of Dorkay House in 1965, he automatically became involved in Union Artists and the African Music and Drama Association (AMDA), which operated at Dorkay House under the patronage of Union Artists. The Ionian Music Society also became associated with the activities at Dorkay House in 1965, when the Ionian choirs followed Khabi Mngoma to Dorkay House, after disagreements with the Johannesburg City Council's administration of the programme which led to Khabi Mngoma's resignation and departure from that council.

Khabi Mngoma's activities during the period 1965 to 1975 briefly involved the following:

- (i) the continuation of the Ionian Programme under the new patronage of Union Artists;
- (ii) the direction of the activities of the African Music and Drama Association at Dorkay House, and elsewhere (vide infra), as Principal and Head of the African Music and Drama Association;
- (iii) the fulfilling of duties as Senior Medical Representative and Public Relations Officer of the British pharmaceutical company, Reckitt & Colman (South Africa), based at Isando. (Vide Chapter X.)

Initially Khabi Mngoma's work at Dorkay House entailed (i) part-time music teaching for Union Artists in the African Music and Drama Association's music education programme, and (ii) directing the Dorkay House Choir, a mixed choir assembled from Dorkay House staff members which operated separately from the Ionian choirs (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).¹ In 1966 Khabi Mngoma became the full-time Principal of the African Music and Drama Association, when his predecessor, a Mr Exley, relinquished the honorary principalship of the association to him (Memorandum, 'Outlining Principles, Hopes and Intentions of AMDA', undated).² Eight years later, on 1 July 1974, Khabi Mngoma became the Principal of Union Artists (Letter).³

The continuation of the Ionian Music Society under the patronage of Union Artists: concert tours, rehearsal schedules and other administrative arrangements

After the Ionian Music Society's move to Dorkay House, the touring programme of the society expanded considerably. Apart from holding performances in and around Johannesburg, the Ionians undertook concert tours to Pietersburg, Pretoria, Bloemfontein, East-London, Port Elizabeth, Pietermaritzburg, Durban and the University of the North, giving performances of Handel's oratorios - the Messiah, Judas Maccabaeus and Samson - performing them in their entirety (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985). Edgar Mtshali, for instance, reported (personal communication, December 1986) that the Ionian Music Society also received an invitation to present a number of concerts in Pietermaritzburg on Good Friday of Easter 1966, and, according to his account, the performances they gave were very successful. He wrote the following comments:

Ashdown School (Edendale, Pietermaritzburg)⁴ was their base. They put up three very good concerts: one for school children from the Edendale area, a second for the adults of the Edendale community, and a third concert for Whites at the Presbyterian Church in Pietermaritzburg.

The Ionian Music Society presented Judas Maccabaeus. The dark and stuffy Kismet Theatre resounded to the magic sounds in solos and choruses:

- 'Sound an Alarm... we hear!'

- 'We never will bow down... we worship God and God alone!'
- 'Wise Man fluttering'
- 'Sing unto God...'

When the choir returned to Johannesburg, it left shock waves which caused 'music fever', making people demand that the Ionian Music Society return to Natal annually. From 1966 to 1974 the Ionian Music Society paid regular visits to Natal and Zululand (*ibid*).

These concert tours of Natal and Zululand also included concerts presented at the University of Zululand on more than one occasion (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985), which inevitably brought Khabi Mngoma to the attention of university authorities, and eventually led to his being approached by the University of Zululand to establish a Music Department at the University, in the 1970s. (*Vide* Chapter XI.)

A former member of the Ionian Choir, Leonora Mabaso, wrote (personal communication, November 1986) that

... the Ionian Mixed Choir visited Zululand and Natal frequently. Both afternoon and evening concerts were packed, afternoon shows having been mainly for school children, who travelled from as far as Transkei, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth, Swaziland, even Botswana and the Vaal Triangle to attend the concerts.

To accommodate the intense concert schedule, the Ionian Music Society's rehearsal schedules naturally became busier than ever before.

The Ionian choirs rehearsed twice a week - usually on Monday and Wednesday evenings - and also occasionally on Sunday mornings, during the period prior to the establishment of the Orlando Youth Music Project, which was instituted at the Donaldson YMCA Centre in Orlando, in 1969, as an extension of AMDA's activities. This programme was run on Sunday mornings (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

As the Ionian Programme became even more extensive, after 1967, so rehearsal schedules also increased proportionally. For instance, with the institution of the Orlando Youth Music Project in 1969, rehearsals on Sundays would start at 06h00 and continue throughout the day,⁵ a schedule which required careful planning. As Khabi Mngoma explained:

I would tell my son and daughter (Lindumuzi and S'bongile), and the other children who lived around our neighbourhood: 'If you are not ready by 6 o'clock, you will have to walk on your own!' By 6 o'clock we would be dressed up in our track suits, have our kitbags ready, with fresh clothes to change into for the rehearsals, after we had our jog. You see, we all jogged - 3 km to the Donaldson YMCA Centre in Orlando where the rehearsals took place, and then 3 km back in the evenings after rehearsals. In the mornings, on arriving at the centre, we would have 'a few stretches and kicks' (Physical Training) in the hall and build up a lovely sweat. After that we would go for a shower; there were very good washing facilities. At 08h00 we had breakfast which was prepared by the Ionian Parents' Committee.

They usually bought a container of about twenty five litres of milk, twelve loaves of bread, margarine and jam. So, the traditional 'rehearsal breakfast' was a margarine-and-jam sandwich (made with two very thick slices of bread) and a glass of milk - either fresh or sour. The funding of this breakfast-scheme came from concerts held specifically for this purpose, as well as from parents' donations.

After washing up the dishes, the rehearsals would commence at 08h30, and would continue until lunch-time, at 12h30. Lunch-break lasted until 14h00, after which the Ionian Choir would have its rehearsal together with the Ionian Orchestra (children and adults), until 17h00. Sundays were my best days for sheer musical enjoyment. It was so rewarding to be involved in that programme (*ibid*).

Edgar Mtshali wrote (personal communication, December 1986) the following remark about Khabi Mngoma's rehearsal schedules for the Ionian Music Society during the 1960s and 1970s:

It is unbelievable to note that, on a Sunday, he would arrange rehearsals thus: (a) 06h00 - 07h30: PT (Physical Training); (b) 09h00 - 12h00: Ionian Male Choir; (c) 12h00 - 15h00: Ionian Mixed Choir; (d) 15h00 - 17h00: Ionian Ladies Choir; (e) 18h00 - 21h00: Ionian Orchestra; (f) 21h30 - 24h00: soloists (*ibid*).

Such heavy schedules required careful arrangement, especially if Khabi Mngoma felt that his musicians were not up to par for a particular performance. Edgar Mtshali refers to one such instance, the performance of which was a rather memorable one:

In 1966 the Ionian Music Society worked on Israel in Egypt (Handel). Khabi was very harsh when the date for the performance was near and the choir was not what he wanted it to be. However, the Ionian Music Society was relieved when one of their rival choirs in the township, which had also been working on the same work, presented its performance two weeks prior to the set date for the Ionian Music Society's concert.

All Ionian Music Society members attended the concert to assess the rival choir's performance. Maybe this had an unnerving affect on the rival choir, because they lost concentration and many of the choruses collapsed half way...

Two weeks later, at the same venue, the Ionian Music Society's performance went off very well - except for two numbers... 'Frogs', sung by a young contralto soloist, was a proper 'frog jumble', and a bass duet, 'The Lord is a Man of War', became the battle of two unequal voices at a musical disorderly war! (*ibid*).

(It appears that, in this particular instance, the solo number was sung by one singer only, and not in Khabi Mngoma's 'paired fashion', as explained in Chapter VII.)

As far as the 1965 - 1966 teaching programme of the Ionian Music Society was concerned, Music Theory classes, covering Grades VI to VIII of the University of South Africa (Unisa) and the Royal Schools of Music syllabi, were still being conducted at the Jubilee Social Centre as before. These classes were held on Monday evenings, from 17h45 until 19h30, and at the Orlando Communal Hall on Tuesdays, from 15h30 until 20h00, as well as on Saturday mornings, from 09h00 until 12h00, in 1964, 1965 and 1966 (Report, 'On the operation of Music Theory classes, orchestra honoraria and bursary schemes...', 1966). Practical lessons were given at the Orlando Communal Hall and at the Jubilee Social Centre during the same period.

Various outstanding students received bursary awards '... to encourage them in their pursuits of music study' (*ibid*). In 1965, fifteen pupils received music lessons under the bursary scheme, including: Isaac Thelele (Piano, Grade VII or VIII),⁶ Cyprian Maponyane (Viola, Beginner), Leonora Mabaso (Viola, Grade III), Harold Kumalo (Singing, Grade VIII), Mayo Miza (Singing, Grade VIII), Mhlanga Skosana (Singing, Grade VI), Geoffrey More (Piano, Beginner), D E Quaker (Piano, Grade VI), Simon Nkomo (Singing, Grade VI), Emily Herman (Piano, Grade VIII), Michael Masote (Piano, Beginner), J Maphope (Viola, Beginner and Singing, Grade VIII), David Mabalane (Violoncello, Grade VI), Phillip Guliwe (Singing, Grade VIII), and Nick Maseko (Singing, Beginner and Piano, also a Beginner) (*ibid*).

The same report (*ibid*) also lists particulars about the instruments that were used by the members of the Ionian Orchestra for their instrumental studies. The report states that Geoffrey Diedericks used a violin donated to the Cultural Section⁷ by Dora Sowden; Moses Nkosi used his own violin; Michael Masote used a violin that belonged to the Cultural Section; Lindumuzi Mngoma (Khabi Mngoma's son) used his own cello; David Mabalane used a cello that belonged to the Cultural Section; Cyril Khumalo, Raymond Mkhonza and Pheneas Phetoe used their own trumpets; Henry Monareng used his own clarinet and a second one borrowed from the Cultural Section; Gracewell Soko used his own flute (*ibid*).

The report (*ibid*) mentions a further list of five students who, even though they did not yet play in the orchestra, were using instruments that were borrowed from the Cultural Section. These persons included Cyprian Maponyane, Joseph Maphope and Leonora Mabaso, who were using borrowed violas, Ephraim Khongwane, who was using a borrowed cello, and Norman Rocke, who used a borrowed clarinet (*ibid*). Therefore, altogether nine instruments were borrowed from the Cultural Section, and seven instruments were the property of their respective players.

Repercussions and consolations...

On the matter of borrowed instruments, a comment appears in the report (*ibid*), which states that '... all members of the orchestra are able to replace instruments belonging to the Cultural Section, (as) each one of them has bought his own instrument'.

Commenting on all this borrowing, Khabi Mngoma felt that it was not only expedient for these people to use the Cultural Section's instruments; it was also '... of mutual benefit to maintain this arrangement' so that the Ionian Music Society could maintain its 'allegiance to the Cultural Section' (*ibid*).

This statement should be seen in the light of Khabi Mngoma's report to the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival Executive Committee, in his capacity as Head of the African Music and Drama Association, following his resignation from the City Council, and his move to Dorkay House followed by the Ionian Music Society. As a result of all this, there was some resentment towards Khabi Mngoma and the Ionian Music Society, with the result that certain issues, such as the borrowing of instruments from the Cultural Section by Ionian Music Society members, and the use of certain venues that were administered by the Johannesburg City Council, became major causes of friction.

This is evident in the above mentioned report, in a section entitled 'Points of Friction', in which a somewhat unhappy Khabi Mngoma voices some grievances about the actions of the newly appointed City Council's Cultural Officer, his successor (unknown).⁸

1. On several occasions during February and March 1966, the rooms in which classes in Music Theory should have been held, were found locked.
2. The Cultural Section Head disapproves of specialized training in Music, and feels that 'a broader and general interest in music' should be cultivated in order to '... involve the man in the street'. This conclusion is a result of discussions held with him. By implication and inference he blames what he considers 'the exclusion of the man in the street in music participation' on specialized music training (*ibid*).

Following these two statements, a further matter is raised, namely that the 'Specialized Music Training Scheme' had been instituted in the first place by the Cultural Section '... to combat the stalemate reached in 1955' by choirs participating in the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival. (*Vide* Chapter IV.) Khabi Mngoma also addresses this issue in the report:

As originally conceived, the 'Specialized Music Training Scheme' fell directly under the Cultural Section and the task of the broader 'cultivation of music in the "man in the street"' was the task reserved for the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival Committee. These were intended to go together (*ibid*).

Under a paragraph entitled 'Instruments of the Orchestra', Khabi Mngoma refers to problems which had developed between the Cultural Section and those students who were borrowing instruments from the City Council:

In the past the four members of the Ionian Orchestra who use Departmental instruments were allowed to use these wherever they were needed. Their responsibility was taken for granted. The latest injunction is that these people should have sought permission to use them in Pietermaritzburg during Easter this year. This is a major departure from established practice... (*ibid*).

Furthermore, the report mentions that the Ionian choirs had been experiencing difficulties in obtaining permission from the Cultural Section to use the usual venues for their concerts:

It was the practice in the past for the Cultural Officer to arrange with the relevant Departmental Officers, for the Ionian Choir to be granted free use of any of the communal halls once or twice a year when the Ionian Group sought funds for a specific project... The Cultural Officer would not do this for us when I approached him in March for the presentation of Verdi's Requiem at Uncle Tom's Hall... (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma further states that the '... many administrative and policy changes' made it difficult for him to operate, and that he therefore was '... reluctantly obliged to discontinue teaching in the training schemes' that were administered by the Johannesburg City Council. In concluding his report, Khabi Mngoma adds that he would continue to serve in the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival Committee.

In another, similar report, which the writer has in her possession (Report, 8 March 1966),⁹ Khabi Mngoma writes as follows:

In view of the take-over by a new Chairman,¹⁰ the writer [Khabi Mngoma] has been reluctant to resume the practical lessons until the new policy is known. In spite of the Bursary Committee having the desire to continue the scheme, we feel that the Executive Committee should give the green light. Also, seeing that the new Chairman is a professional musician, he might want to have modifications in the institution of the Music Training Scheme (*ibid*).

The new Chairman to whom the reports refer, is never mentioned by name. It is also not clear whether the second report (the one dated 8 March 1966) was actually the final one that was submitted to the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival Committee. Judging by its length (it is shorter than the first report referred to above), and its typographical appearance, it appears to be an initial draft of the report which was eventually discarded by Khabi Mngoma and rewritten in unrestrained terms - voicing full particulars and grievances.

However, in spite of this situation, the year 1966 saw the growing recognition of Khabi Mngoma's work by members of the public, and from academic institutions alike. Their respect and moral support outweighed the temporary 'disturbances'.

In 1966, Khabi Mngoma received an invitation from Turfloop University (University of the North) to address the sub-committees of the North-Sotho and Tsonga groups of the Bantu Education Advisory Boards. The lecture, presented on 10 March 1966 at the Turfloop University, and entitled, 'The Need for the Introduction of Instrumental Music Training in Post Primary Schools', was based on Khabi Mngoma's personal experience gained through his music educational work in Soweto. In the report to the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival Committee ('On the operation of Music Theory classes, orchestra honoraria and bursary schemes...', 1966) he subsequently stated that, as a result of this particular lecture, a course '... based on and planned along the lines advocated by the Cultural Section (Non-European Affairs Department, Johannesburg City Council)', was undergoing preparation during the ensuing months, '... for introduction into secondary schools in the near future' (*ibid*).¹¹

According to a curriculum vitae of Khabi Mngoma published in the programme of 'A Festival of Song in Honour of Professor Khabi Mngoma' (20 December 1987),¹² which also lists his publications and speeches, the Journal of the Christian Academy of the Lutheran Church, Discussion, published a paper written by Khabi Mngoma at the time (1966), in the following year, 1967, entitled 'Inadequacies of Music Education in African Schools in the Republic of South Africa'. According to the same source (curriculum vitae, December 1987), Khabi Mngoma delivered a paper to the Advisory Committee on Education of the Department of Bantu Education in 1968, entitled 'The Need for a more meaningful Music Education Programme in our Schools'. Khabi Mngoma was therefore rapidly gaining public recognition. (In August 1969, Khabi Mngoma delivered a paper entitled 'Stumbling blocks on the road towards our own music' at the Workshop for Composers held by the Christian Academy at Roodekrans.¹³)

Three other important events occurred in the year 1966. Khabi Mngoma was namely invited to contribute an article to the Transvaal United African Teachers' Association's Magazine. The article, 'A Case for better Music

Education', which was also based on Khabi Mngoma's personal music teaching experiences in Soweto, contained an assessment of the influence exerted by the Johannesburg City Council's music education programmes in Soweto at the time. With reference to the publication of this article, Khabi Mngoma pointed out to the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival Committee, in the report mentioned above ('On the operation of Music Theory classes, orchestra honoraria and bursary schemes ...', 1966), that the music educational programmes instituted by the Johannesburg City Council in Soweto, brought the importance of the implementation of music education in black schools to the attention of educational authorities. He pointed out that '... in addition to the recreational value of music, music's value as a discipline is now being accepted by the Bantu Education Department's advisors' (*ibid*).

This was regarded as a major breakthrough!

It was in 1966, too, that Khabi Mngoma conducted an intensive course on Choral Adjudication at Dorkay House, which was attended by an average of eighteen students per week (*ibid*).

In the same year he was privileged to meet with Senator Robert Kennedy for discussions relating to cultural affairs, when the latter visited South Africa (in 1966) on invitation of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS).¹⁴ During this meeting, Khabi Mngoma, together with other community leaders from Soweto, including the Soweto Board Member P Q Vundla, the Principal of the Orlando High School at the time, T W Kambule, and the attorney C Ramusi, conferred with the Senator at the American Consulate in Johannesburg about black South African cultural relations with the United States of America, in the context of the cultural boycott of South Africa.¹⁵

Khabi Mngoma's study tour in the United States of America, in 1967, as guest of the United States Information Service

As mentioned before, Khabi Mngoma had already established professional ties with the various foreign embassies located in Johannesburg and Pretoria, in the early years of the existence of the Ionian Music Society. These institutions, who generously made available their resources to Khabi Mngoma for the implementation of

his music educational programmes, and who also provided other cultural input in the form of organizing recitals by overseas visiting artists, (notably for Khabi Mngoma and his students), had become one of the richest sources of inspiration and stimulus for the Ionian Music Society.

Khabi Mngoma, in particular, had made significant contact with the Head of the American Embassy's Cultural Centre during the 1960s, Bob Rockweiler (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985),¹⁶ whose admiration for Khabi Mngoma and his work led him to nominate Khabi Mngoma in 1966 as the recipient of an International Visitor¹⁷/Leader Exchange Grant,¹⁸ to undertake a study tour in the United States of America in 1967. These grants were awarded by the United States Council on Leaders and Specialists under the terms of the American Public Law 87-256 Fulbright Hayes Act (Huskisson 1969:153), which permitted the allocation of government funds, for the purpose of providing '... grants for scholars, professors, and leaders in various fields of study, to study, observe and research in the United States' (Letter).¹⁹

Khabi Mngoma was awarded the grant '... for his important contributions to music among the Bantu peoples of South Africa' (Huskisson 1969:153). The South African Digest (20 January 1967) published the following report:

Khabi Mngoma, one of South Africa's best-known Bantu musicians is shortly undertaking a musical tour of the United States where he hopes to meet many of that country's leading musicians.

...

Mr Mngoma's tour of America is being sponsored by the United States Information Bureau as a reward for his important contribution to music among the Bantu peoples of South Africa (ibid).

The duration of the tour was forty-five days, extending from 2 February 1967 until 20 March 1967. Organized in consultation with Khabi Mngoma and the Council on Leaders and Specialists (Letter),²⁰ the objective of the

tour was '... to study the role of music in the American Education System, and to study the extent of community involvement in the music' (curriculum vitae, Khabi Mngoma, January 1983).

These aspects were to be observed and demonstrated in music education programmes at all levels, ie from nursery school level through to tertiary level (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985), by adopting the following procedures:

- (1) the establishment of personal contact with American musicians, cultural leaders and cultural groups in the field of music (Huskisson 1969:153);
- (2) holding discussions with the persons mentioned in (1), on aspects of music and music education strategies (Letter);²¹
- (3) observing teaching procedures (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985);
- (4) attending concerts and
- (5) participating in concerts and music education programmes (Letter).²²

The study tour involved sojourns in fifteen metropolitan centres, visiting leading American academic and cultural institutions, and observing administrative and educational procedures at these institutions. Commencing in Washington, DC, with visits to the White House, the House of Representatives, the Library of Congress and Howard University (The World, 3 April 1967), Khabi Mngoma travelled to Eaton Ohio, Los Angeles, Atlanta, Philadelphia, New York (Letter),²³ Boston Massachusetts (*ibid*; The World, 3 April 1967), Minneapolis/St Paul (*ibid*), Salt Lake City (Letter),²⁴ Jackson in the Mississippi, Tilton, NH, California, Utah (*ibid*), Chicago and Minnesota (The World, 3 April 1967). The academic institutions he visited included the Universities of Chicago, Minnesota, Minneapolis, Boston and Howard (as mentioned above), as well as the Julliard School of Music and the Curtis Institute (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma recalls several incidents of the tour that were of great significance to him. A most informative meeting with the Director of the Boston Conservatory of Music at the time, Professor Chester Williams, which clarified many of his questions relating to the administrative affairs of, and problems

encountered in, music educational institutions, proved to be invaluable for his future career. His attendance at a regional conference of the National Music Educators in Boston, where he met choral leaders and music teachers from all over the Eastern United States was a tremendously stimulating and memorable experience (The World, 21 March 1967). It was in Boston that he saw a musical typewriter²⁵ for the first time; it was at an exhibition hosted by several music publishers and auxiliary music industries (such as manufacturers of musical instruments; personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

Probably the highlight of the tour was the opportunity to conduct the renowned Mormon Tabernacle Choir in concert in Salt Lake City, as well as participating in a performance of the Chicago Choral Symphony in Chicago (*ibid*).

During a sojourn of three days in Eaton Ohio, Khabi Mngoma directed the United Church of Christ Choir, as well as the Eaton High School Band (Drum Post, 7 May 1967).

On several occasions during the study tour, Khabi Mngoma was asked to assist in music teaching programmes which he initially proposed to attend as a non-participant observer. He also gave solo vocal performances to the students, and conducted several orchestral youth groups (such as the Eaton High School Band already mentioned). He recollects how, on three or four of these occasions, his abilities were subtly put to the test by some adroit orchestral players who deliberately added extra notes to their parts in order to gauge their guest conductor's competence!

But I caught them out each time! And invariably, somebody would start giggling somewhere in the orchestra, obviously knowing what the hoax was all about. After a few 'trials' I was taken seriously (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma expressed his amazement at the high musical standards in American Public Schools, in an interview with The World (21 March 1967), during which he shared some of his impressions:

We knew of the attempts in the United States to put music into the curriculum of the schools, but until I heard high school choral groups in Boston I didn't realize that public school music could be of such a high standard (*ibid*).

He found it remarkable that each school could have not only one, but several choirs, brass bands and orchestras. 'Music was catered for in a way that I've never seen elsewhere' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

In an article entitled 'A Case for a better Music Education: Music as an Academic Discipline'²⁶ (date unknown), Khabi Mngoma expressed his opinion that the American Music Education system exemplified the ideal model for South Africa, and simultaneously voiced his frustrations about the limitations of music educational opportunities in South Africa:

Schools (in America) at every level have their own band and orchestra. But only the exceptionally talented ultimately become professional musicians... there is no doubt, that for the last half century or so America has produced the best educationalists in the world. They have done so, primarily to serve the interests, and requirements of American communities and not the aggrandizement of their own fossilized ideas and notions. Music is regarded there as a necessity for the everyday living of Americans, and America is the leading country in the world, at least in the Western World. Music is not regarded as a 'cinderella subject' [as is the case in South Africa], that is merely tolerated in the pattern of American living (*ibid*:9).²⁷

Khabi Mngoma was intrigued by the wide spread practice of the Japanese Suzuki Violin Method²⁸ in American violin teaching programmes. The Suzuki Method, or 'Talent Education Method', had rapidly acquired mass appeal in America, shortly after it had first been introduced to Americans by a member of the Japanese Consulate General at the time, a Mr Mochizuki. He had managed to obtain a copy of a seven-minute long film, taken at an annual concert in Tokyo, and featuring Suzuki's young pupils playing the Bach Double Violin Concerto. On showing the film to audiences at Oberlin College, it immediately captured the attention of

American music educators, Professors Kendall and Cook of the Muskingum College (Ohio) and Oberlin College Music Departments respectively, who were the first teachers to implement the Suzuki Violin Method in America; it has remained a widely popular method ever since (Suzuki 1969:115). When Suzuki toured the United States in 1964 with a party of nineteen performers, giving concerts and lectures at universities in sixteen metropolitan centres, America was hit by yet another 'Talent Education wave'. The ten children in the group, ranging from five years to thirteen years of age - and who were assembled for the tour on the basis of their ability to be away from their respective homes at the time, and not on the basis of musical ability - left audiences in virtual awe at their exceptionally remarkable capabilities (*ibid*:116).

Various aspects of the Suzuki Violin Method correspond with Khabi Mngoma's beliefs and sentiments, and this led to his partial adoption of the method, albeit an adapted form, to suit his and his pupils' circumstances. For instance, the utilization of group classes and the involvement of the mother parent especially appealed to Khabi Mngoma. 'Her involvement is vital in establishing the right mental and emotional attitude to music in the child' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985). The other points of the Suzuki Method supported by Khabi Mngoma, include the following:

- (1) the notion that '... musical ability is not an inborn talent but an ability that can be developed through experience' (*vide* Appendix B), specifically with reference to the cultivation of performance ability in the Western tempered pitch system, which has always been a point of debate defended by Khabi Mngoma;
- (2) the intention of the method to foster happiness in children and to educate them 'for life';
- (3) the inclusion of all interested pupils, without abandoning struggling pupils who appear to be 'untalented', thereby avoiding any conduct on behalf of the teacher that would cause feelings of rejection and despair in the pupil;
- (4) the emphasis placed on the constant exposure to recordings of good music, with the specific purpose to develop a sensitive ear for beautiful tone and proper intonation, as well as to grow familiar with the styles of Western music. 'What excites me about this is that it gives emphasis to the fact that music is an art for the ear' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

However, as already stated, Khabi Mngoma's utilization of some of the principles followed in the Suzuki Violin Method, diverged considerably from the strict application of the method. Khabi Mngoma always made various adaptations to suit his own circumstances. For instance, youngsters who started their violin studies with him were generally of school-going age. Small-sized violins such as quarter sizes, half- and three-quarter sizes, which are essential for teaching violin to small children, were not readily available, or at Khabi Mngoma's easy disposal, for teaching infants as young as three and four years of age, because of his dependence on instruments having to be donated by the public. In fact, many of these young players are often pictured in photographs with violins that are actually too big for them for easy handling. However, this was but one of the many obstacles that Khabi Mngoma had to face, and overcome.

He did not use the Suzuki Violin Method course books, but utilized his own material, handwritten onto wax sheets and roneoed for distribution among his pupils. This material, based on his African song transcriptions dating from his years at Adams College (*vide* Chapter III of this study), as well as transcriptions for violin of songs that were familiar to the pupils, was collated by Khabi Mngoma into a small manual, which he called 'Violin Manual for Beginners' (undated).²⁹ The songs in the manual include (i) Nkosi Sikelel' Iafrika ('God bless Africa', Xhosa; composed by Enoch Sontonga), with (ii) its traditional follow-up Morena Boloka Sechaba ('God bless the Nation', South-Sotho), as well as (iii) Tyamzashe's Thula S'thandwa Sam ('Be quiet my Beloved', Xhosa) arranged for violin; (iv) the traditional Zulu songs Phoyinandi (Road diggers' song), (v) Imith'igoba Kahle ('Trees bend nicely'), (vi) Amankenyana (the name of a children's game), (vii) Sibon' Abafana Bezulu ('We see Boys that belong to the Sky'),³⁰ and (viii) the nursery rhyme Baa Baa Black Sheep (which is very similar in melody to 'Twinkle, twinkle little Star' used in the Suzuki Method). The arrangements of these songs appear in the violin manual, complete, with bowing marks and hand position indications.

Another unique feature of Khabi Mngoma's 'Violin Manual for Beginners', is that it contains a table which shows and explains the time notation of the tonic sol-fa notation system:

Time indication in tonic sol-fa:

2 pulse measure or duple time:

1 : 1

3 pulse measure or triple time:

1 : : 1

4 pulse measure or quadruple time:

1 : 1 : 1 [long vertical line, colon, short vertical line, colon, long vertical line]

6 pulse measure or compound duple time:

1 : : 1 : : 1 [long vertical line, colon, colon, short vertical line, colon, colon, long vertical line] ('Violin Manual for Beginners').

This is followed by a table showing the note values in staff notation, and the number of beats allocated to each note type, including the explanation that '... a dot increases a note by half of its own value; two dots increase a note by three quarters of its own value' ('Violin Manual for Beginners').

Following these tables is a step diagram, demonstrating the diatonic scale with its tonic sol-fa counterpart. The diagram uses higher and smaller steps to illustrate the whole tone and semi-tone distances between notes respectively.

The constant reference to tonic sol-fa in the 'Violin Manual for Beginners', is indicative of Khabu Mngoma's standard practice of using the vocally-oriented examples of music, ie that which was most familiar and natural to his pupils - as his point of departure.

The African Music and Drama Association housed an extensive collection of records at Dorkay House, which was supplemented by private donations, and all the pupils active in the Ionian Music Programme had free access

to these records, thus listening to music was fostered and encouraged (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

As far as the parent-pupil relationship was concerned (stressed in the Suzuki Method), Khabi Mngoma constantly encouraged the parent committee to attend rehearsals as often as possible and even participate in the teaching (*ibid*).

A most important aspect of the 1967 American tour - which was also followed up eight years later (in 1975) - were Khabi Mngoma's appeals to the relevant American bodies to make amendments to certain aspects of the Cultural Boycott against South Africa.

The sensational socio-political changes of the 1960s in South Africa, which involved the apartheid regime, and which placed restrictions on entertainment as far as mixed audiences and black performers were concerned, culminating in the Publication and Entertainment Act of 1963, gave rise to a playwrights' boycott of South Africa in Europe and America (Kavanagh 1985:51). In about 1963, forty-eight playwrights, mostly from Great Britain - signed a public declaration in which they refused to give permission for the performance of their works in any South African theatre, where audiences were racially segregated. Many American playwrights followed suit and joined in the boycott, which has subsequently grown into a total cultural, science, and sports boycott (*The New York Times*, 29 June 1975).³¹ As a result of the situation, Union Artists found itself in 'a kind of cultural quarantine', as Khabi Mngoma aptly put it (*ibid*).

The optimal ideal of the union to '... facilitate creative exchange between artists and communities of all races in South Africa', had already suffered a severe blow from the segregationist restrictions, and, with the added effects of the international boycott, the union's isolation grew from bad to worse.

Therefore, during his sojourn in America in 1967, Khabi Mngoma made it his business to '... convince theatre personalities of the unfairness of the boycott' (*ibid*) and to secure a change in the boycott which would work to the advantage of his educational purposes.

My point was... that white theatre in South Africa should be taxed to sustain black theatre. Some were persuaded; Harold Prince... for one, decided to permit his shows to be performed in South Africa [before segregated audiences] on the condition that the royalties come to our school [AMDA]. By ending his boycott in this way, Prince felt he could make white South Africa pay for its folly (*ibid*).

The New York Times (*ibid*) reported (in 1975) that, subsequently to Khabi Mngoma's success in this regard in 1967,

... South African productions of Prince's 'Cabaret' and 'Fiddler on the Roof' netted the African Music and Drama Association about 50 000 dollars in royalties. Since then, Mngoma says, he has received a certain percentage of the royalties of most theatrical productions, domestic and foreign, playing in Johannesburg.

There is no doubt that the American tour of 1967 was a most life- and career-enriching experience, one which left several deep impressions on Khabi Mngoma's mind, and intensely stimulated his thoughts on music education.

From this tour I gained many new ideas for my music teaching programmes. I also obtained a substantial amount of sheet music from the Western repertoire, which I subsequently performed with the Ionian Choir (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

One observation that aroused his curiosity, was the virtual obsession of American musicians with Europe, as the place to further one's musical studies (a sort of 'musical Mecca...').

Having been to Europe for musical studies seemed to be a great matter of prestige for American musicians. This intrigued me, because I thought some of the performers were already of top quality in every respect. Their technique was just out of this world!

Notwithstanding, everybody was hankering to go to Europe, especially to West-Germany (*ibid*).

This motivated Khabi Mngoma to start saving up for an overseas trip to West-Germany himself, to see what it was that was so tantalizing to the Americans!³²

After concluding his sojourn in the United States, Khabi Mngoma departed directly from New York for Great Britain, to attend to business matters for Reckitt & Colman at the company's Head Offices in Hull, as well as their offices situated in London. It was there that he had the opportunity to visit his old-time friend, David Rycroft (*vide* Chapter IV) as well as some other friends who had emigrated to London. Precious memories are associated with his stay in England, such as informal music-making sessions at David Rycroft's home together with friends, and the attendance of many music concerts in London's grand music halls (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985). On Khabi Mngoma's return to South Africa, the *Drum Post* (7 May 1967) published the following report:

Nostalgic Jam

An English cottage in a quiet Sussex village echoed to the sounds of an unusual jam session recently when three musicians from South Africa had a happy reunion.

They were... Pheneas Phetoe, former member of the Ionian Orchestra now studying music in London, David Rycroft, former treasurer of the Jo'burg Bantu Music Festival (sic) now lecturing in London, and Khabi Mngoma, conductor of the Ionians, who was visiting England on business.

Later, at Mr Rycroft's home, they got out an odd variety of instruments and played everything - from classics to Xhosa children's songs.

Back in South Africa it was with renewed zest that Khabi Mngoma resumed his activities in Johannesburg. A new era was ushered in for the Ionians, whose musical abilities now progressed by leaps and bounds. 'We received so many invitations that it resulted in a concert schedule of some thirty-two or more concerts a year' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985). Invitations came from all over the country, and even from Botswana.³³ Khabi Mngoma felt that this was more than an amateur group could cope with, so he ultimately called a halt to the number of engagements to be filled, in order to secure enough time for rehearsal (*ibid*). In a report published in the Rand Daily Mail (23 January 1968), captioned 'Choir's plea for time to rehearse', Khabi Mngoma suggested that

... charities should band together before requesting performances... If charities clubbed together for one big performance they would benefit substantially... [This would give the choir] enough time to practice new works and give a top performance.

The high standards which Khabi Mngoma set for his musicians were attained, and publicly acknowledged. Khabi Mngoma himself commented that

... the Ionians became a solid group. Those people that participated in the formal music education programmes at Dorkay House became steeped in music, including classical music, and were dedicated artists. The quality of the singing therefore improved continuously (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

A report in The World (16 November 1967) commented that '... here is a choir which can take its place with credit in any hall and any audience in this country and abroad'. To this was added the observation that the Ionian Choir would be '... a powerful boost for any classical music in our community and will raise the standards of our local choirs' (*ibid*).

An added benefit of public acclaim through the media, was Khabi Mngoma's opportunity to advertise his cause, and press his appeal to the public for donated instruments. In a report on a concert presented by the Ionian

Music Society in Port Elizabeth on the 8th of October 1971,³⁴ published in the Eastern Province Herald (9 October 1971), there appeared also a brief resume of Khabi Mngoma's career. This was accompanied by an appeal for musical instruments, especially brass and woodwind instruments:

A highly qualified musician, Mr Mngoma, who holds teaching and performing licentiates in piano, voice and violin, is Director of Music and Administration in the Dorkay House African Music and Drama Department.

In Orlando African Township, he runs music and drama projects for 260 youngsters. Brass and woodwind instruments proved both difficult and expensive to come by. These and any other unwanted string instruments would be very welcome, he said (*ibid*).

The expansion of educational opportunities at Dorkay House, from 1967 onwards

As mentioned before, and as reported in the 1974 'Annual Report of the African Music and Drama Association' (written by Khabi Mngoma), Union Artists eventually, discontinued its function of show promotion in the 1960s, and concentrated on providing training opportunities for adults as well as for children. These activities were initially based at Dorkay House, but soon expanded to other venues as well, including the Orlando High School, the Orlando YMCA, the Bosmont Community Centre and Chris Botha High School (situated also in Bosmont), and to the Indian community in Lenasia (*ibid*).

During the late 1960s and the first half of the 1970s, when Khabi Mngoma was a very active Director of the African Music and Drama Association, the student enrolment for music alone grew so rapidly that it eventually numbered seven hundred pupils altogether (personal communication, Hilda Seete, November 1986), and, later on, offered tuition in a variety of instruments, and in Western music notation. According to Hilda Seete (*ibid*), the staff of thirty-nine music teachers who taught in the AMDA music education programmes, included 'American Whites and South African Blacks' (*ibid*).

Music students of the African Music and Drama Association were encouraged to enter the public music examinations of the University of South Africa (Unisa), as well as those of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music. This was a vitally important motivating factor for students and teachers alike, who, through doing the public music examinations, were able to

... gauge their... standards against the rest of South Africa in the case of Unisa examinations and international standards in the case of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools [of Music public examinations] (Report 1974).

It was on the occasion of the 1967 Unisa violin examinations that Khabi Mngoma met Professor Jack De Wet, an eminent South African violin teacher (vide entry in Malan, ed 1979:358-359), who subsequently became a close colleague of Khabi Mngoma. In speaking about this particular incident, Khabi Mngoma remarked that his entry of sixty-two children for the Unisa public violin examinations - all of them aspiring young violinists from the Ionian/AMDA music education programme - had probably presented Professor De Wet with one of his most difficult adjudicating assignments!

The young musicians were transported by bus into the city of Johannesburg to the venue (a Dutch Reformed Church situated in some suburb of the city) where the examinations were to take place.

It was a wintry cold August morning, and on their arrival, all sixty-two children poured out of the bus into the street, providing an awe-inspiring sight for a rather astonished Professor De Wet, who apparently '... just stood there, amazed!' (Personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985.)

The occasion was made even more memorable by the minister of the parish, who had set up a mobile soup kitchen nearby, ready to serve hot soup to the children and staff. He was an exceptionally warm and kind-hearted man, whose hospitality would always remain in the memories of all those who took part in the occasion.

He tended to his chores with charm and precision. In contrast to him, some of the other personnel complained about the noise! And then, to make matters worse, the minister gave us free access to the entire premises.³⁵ This was an unforgettable experience for the children (*ibid*).

By the year 1974, the AMDA music student enrolment for public music examinations included entries for the written Unisa examinations in Theory of Music, and Unisa practical examinations in Piano, Violin, Cello and Singing, and the written Associated Board examinations in Theory of Music, and Associated Board practical examinations in Piano, Guitar, Trumpet and Flute (Report 1974). The results were encouraging. Unisa practical examinations in 1974 boasted sixteen passes, eight merit awards and one distinction, the latter of which was accomplished by a cello student, Mptsumi Makhene, who obtained the exceptionally good mark of 135/150. Of all the entries, one was for a cello examination (Unisa Grade III), twelve were for violin (Unisa Grades II to VIII), two for singing (Unisa Grade IV), seven for piano (Unisa Grades I and II) and three for Theory of Music (grades not specified).³⁶

Khabi Mngoma preferred the Unisa examination syllabi to those of the Associated Board and Trinity College, because the general standard per grade is considered to be higher in the case of Unisa examinations. However, Khabi Mngoma felt that none of these public examinations satisfied the music educational needs of black South African music students, because (even) '... Unisa requirements do not include indigenous requirements in the curricula, except in the plastic arts' (Memorandum, 'Outlining Principles, Hopes and Intentions of AMDA', undated). He had become increasingly aware of the general ignorance among the AMDA students as far as African Music was concerned, and he recognized the serious need for the implementation of an official AMDA syllabus, that would include the detailed study of African musical forms indigenous to Africa, and especially to southern Africa. In a Memorandum of the African Music and Drama Association (*ibid*) Khabi Mngoma reported:

We have indigenous forms which should be incorporated into our curriculum, because the established international institutions ignore indigenous materials all over the world. For this reason we [AMDA] shall have our own curriculum and syllabi.

Khabi Mngoma was convinced, through his personal experiences, that the analysis and performance of indigenous, black South African music, studied side by side with European Classical Music, stimulated and fostered a better understanding and appreciation of Western Music among the students (Mngoma 1982, 'Music in South Africa in the '80s').

The Annual Report on the activities of the African Music and Drama Association for 1974, therefore, announced the institutionalization in the [then] near future, of new and official AMDA curricula and syllabi for Music, as well as for Speech and Drama and the Plastic Arts, which were being drawn up at the time of the writing of the report. It also stated that the preparation of AMDA students for these examinations would be commencing promptly for examinations in 1976. In the Memorandum referred to above the aspects covered in these AMDA syllabi were outlined as follows:

African Music and Drama Association: Speech and Drama Syllabus: (i) Elocution and development of the use of language as a means of communication; (ii) Creative Speech Writing; (iii) Movement and Mime; (iv) Theatre: Western and African Indigenous Theatre: Production procedures and elements.

African Music and Drama Association: Plastic Arts Syllabus: (i) Art as a means of communication; (ii) The essentials and media of drawing, painting, sculpture, and other forms; (iii) Features and characteristics of African indigenous art forms (ie indigenous as relating to southern Africa).

African Music and Drama Association: Music Syllabus: Musicology and Practical Studies: (i) Theory of Music (Western notation, Harmony and Counterpoint, Musical Form, The Science

of Sound); (ii) Music History and Appreciation; (iii) Practical Performance and Musicianship in Piano, Singing, Strings, Woodwinds, Brass, Percussion; (iv) Music as a means of communication; (v) Indigenous (as relating to southern Africa) Music and its features; (vi) Composition; (vii) Group Performance.

Educational excursions

On several occasions Khabi Mngoma arranged educational excursions for the music pupils of the African Music and Drama Association. They visited the headquarters of the International Library of African Music at the time, Msaho,³⁷ which was situated in Roodepoort. There they were introduced to Hugh Tracey, who entertained them on the various African musical instruments in his collection. His dexterity and skill in manipulating these instruments held the children spellbound!

Khabi Mngoma scheduled these trips in such a way as to have them coincide with the annual national meetings of the African Music Society, which used to be held at Roodepoort each year in those days,³⁸ and were attended by numerous artists from all over the country. The educational trip would commence on the day prior to the meeting of the African Music Society, with presentations of African Music Workshops for the children, presented by the various visiting artists, who taught them African traditional songs and dances from their respective repertoires. Needless to say, these workshops created huge excitement among the ranks of Khabi Mngoma's students!

Adding to the adventure of the event, was the experience of spending the night in the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre³⁹ situated in the valley below Msaho, before returning home the following day.

These trips were possibly among the most memorable events in the children's lives.

The annual visit to Msaho was the most popular event of the year, and I found myself constantly being urged on by the children to arrange another of these trips. But the organization behind such a venture was by no means easy, especially the travel arrangements,

because the children had to be transported by bus, and the numbers of AMDA music pupils were constantly increasing. At one stage we had as many as 420 pupils in the Orlando Youth Music Project alone, who all wanted so eagerly to go to Msaho. And it was really impossible not to take each and everybody along, because the disappointment of those children who would have to stay behind, was, really, too much to bear... (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

One other exceptional study trip that Khabi Mngoma undertook with his pupils, was the attendance of a music summer school in Gabarone in 1970, for which they travelled all the way to Botswana in a bus (personal communication, Hilda Seete, November 1986).

The Orlando YMCA Youth Music Project, launched in 1969

Dorkay House was in Eloff Street Extension, and people who participated in the AMDA music education programmes had to commute between Soweto and Johannesburg for their musical activities. Travelling these long distances became a serious stress factor, especially for the very young pupils, whose ages ranged from five years and older. For this reason, and also because of the fact that the available space at Dorkay House had become severely limited due to the growing numbers of students, Khabi Mngoma sought permission from the Orlando YMCA to start music classes at their venue, which was popularly known as the Donaldson Centre, named after the donor of the building. The permission was granted, and this programme, known as the Orlando YMCA Youth Music Project, was launched in October 1969, accommodating an initial thirty-two pupils (Report, 'Youth Music', undated). Tuition was given in Theory of Music, Choral Singing, Pianoforte, Violin, Cello, Double Bass and Trumpet (*ibid*). As far as the intake of piano students were concerned, the report to the sub-committee of the Orlando YMCA, entitled 'Youth Music' (*ibid*) recorded that

... only those who [had] keyboard instruments at home were accepted at first, but from the interest shown by many who did not have these instruments at their homes and have made remarkable progress, this rule had to be changed.

The report further mentioned that '... to attract qualified staff and to be able to pay honoraria to the tutors, the African Music and Drama Association was asked to provide tutors and help with the administration'.

From this statement it seems as though the Orlando YMCA Youth Music Project was initially instituted as a separate programme, quite distinct from the AMDA music education programme. However, before long, the activities of the Orlando YMCA Youth Music Project, and those of the Ionian Music Society and the African Music and Drama Association became so intensely integrated, that it makes little sense to view them as having been originally separate programmes.

Soon the Donaldson Centre became overcrowded, to the extent that the overflow of pupils had to be accommodated at an additional venue, the Orlando High School. The remarkable growth rate of pupils should be noted here: by the end of 1970, the number of pupils who participated in the Orlando YMCA Youth Music Project had risen from thirty-two to 211 students - which is a pupil increase of almost 600% within the period of one year. The number eventually rose to over four hundred students in the Orlando Programme alone (*ibid*).

Music classes were held on Saturdays, Sundays, '... and other week days if possible' (personal communication, Hilda Seete, November 1986), and included the running of the feeding scheme referred to before, which provided breakfast and lunch for the pupils and the members of staff. Hilda Seete wrote that

... this rough timetable will give you an idea of how and when we started our classes:
Saturdays and Sundays were: 05h00 to 07h00: Gymnasium (Physical Training) ...; 07h00 to 08h00: shower; 08h00 to 09h00: breakfast; 09h00 to 13h00: classes; 13h00 to 14h00: lunch; 14h00 to 17h00: classes (*ibid*).

Two orchestras of approximately forty-five players each were eventually formed - a Senior Orchestra, which gave regular public performances (Report, 'Youth Music', undated) and a Beginners' Orchestra, (also referred to as 'the nursery'), from which the Senior Orchestra received its members as they became proficient in playing their instruments (*ibid*). These orchestras rehearsed on Sundays, as mentioned already.

As far as procuring orchestral instruments for the Orlando YMCA Youth Music project was concerned, those children who took part in the Sunday orchestral programme acquired violins and cellos of their own through an Instrument Buying Scheme. The Instrument Buying Scheme, for the Orlando YMCA Youth Music Project specifically, was established in 1969 by Khabi Mngoma, who had received a substantial amount of money from a personal friend, for the express purpose of launching such a fund. Khabi Mngoma also managed to persuade an eminent instrument dealer in Johannesburg to import low cost Japanese violins, which could be bought by the pupils for the very affordable price of thirty-five rand each. The privilege of being the proud owner of such an instrument, together with the ambition to play in one of the orchestras, gave great impetus to the ambitions of each young aspirant musician (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma again noticed a remarkable pitch sensitivity among the pupils of the Orlando Programme:

They could play in both the acoustical and tempered pitch systems, depending on whether they were playing African or Western Music. I was quite amazed at this; for instance, whenever they had to accompany a folk tune, they would adapt to the voices quite easily (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

On the 6th of May 1973, the newspaper Weekend World published an article on the Orlando YMCA Youth Music Project, captioned 'Our youth orchestra - going from strength to strength'. It read as follows:

The importance of educating youth has long been one of the factors motivating Mr Khabi Mngoma, Director of the Ionian Music Society.

He went to the USA to study music in 1967 and returned to South Africa to specialize in teaching children. This led to the birth of the 'Ionian Youth Orchestra'.

The information rendered here in the second paragraph is, in fact, inaccurate; Khabi Mngoma had always been engaged in teaching children, and the Ionian Youth Orchestra had long been established before Khabi Mngoma undertook his study tour in the USA in 1967. The report, however, continues:

Since then [ie since his return from America] the hard working music giant has not looked back. He searched streets for talented youth⁴⁰ and invaded all primary and secondary schools.

The group grew from strength to strength and it was later necessary to divide it into two sections, each consisting of thirty-eight talented, eager and devoted members (*ibid*).

Under a further caption, 'Experienced', the report goes on to mention that the first section comprised children 'of over four years of age', called the Junior Youth Orchestra, and that the second group, the Senior Youth Orchestra, was '... an experienced group, having travelled as far as Durban, performing at various big functions and always playing to packed houses' (*ibid*).

The writer of the report, Basil V Khumalo, added a personal touch to his writing, by stating that

... indeed, I must admit that the first time I heard this young orchestra, heads bowed sideways and gracefully twanging their violins, I was filled with pride in our youth...

...

May the orchestra grow from strength to strength! (*ibid*).

Apart from all the musical accomplishments associated with Khabi Mngoma's youth music education programmes at Dorkay House and elsewhere in Soweto, something else came to Khabi Mngoma's attention:

Children who participated in this project [the Orlando Youth Music Project] seemed to have greater purpose and direction in life than the average Soweto child... Even regular school

performance records [were] said to have improved. A spirit of good fellowship and a concern for other people's welfare (became) noticeable in many of the children (Report, 'Youth Music', undated).

This 'concern for other people's welfare' was probably one of the many influences that 'rubbed off' onto the children from no-one else but Khabi Mngoma himself, who, amongst other things, was always considerate about the safety of his pupils' transport after concerts.

He transported both the Ionian Choir and orchestra members to their respective homes until as late an hour as 02h00. He gave these services free of charge, and drove them around in his own car (personal communication, Hilda Seete, November 1986).

More activities of the 1970s

An article titled 'Birth-place of African Stars', published in the brochure Pina Culo (July 1972), refers to a group of professional dance artists who were active at Dorkay House in 1972, and whose repertoire included '... both traditional and modern dances'. Another general activity that came to be an 'AMDA tradition', was the series of concerts presented by visiting artists, sponsored by the American Embassy, and during which the Ionian Music Society often participated in performance together with these visiting artists, such as a Dr Patterson, a black American musician who was brought out to South Africa by the American Embassy for the main purpose of performing with the Ionian Choir (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985). Furthermore, whenever an overseas examiner of the Trinity College or the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music happened to be in the vicinity of Johannesburg, Khabi Mngoma would approach him or her and request a recital, to be presented to the music students of the African Music and Drama Association at Dorkay House or in Soweto.

This was how I came to know Ruth Lagasen, who was the pianist to the King of Norway at the time, and an expert in the music of Grieg. Each time she visited South Africa she made a point of giving us a concert in Soweto. She used to perform works by Grieg to the

accompaniment of the orchestral parts recorded on tape and played back on a huge tape recorder which she always carried around with her. It created a very realistic symphonic atmosphere, which, together with her beautiful playing, enchanted the children (*ibid*).

These recitals were usually held in Bosmont, where the bigger hall (the Bosmont Community Centre) could accommodate a larger audience, but, on one occasion, Ruth Lagasen gave a recital at the Orlando YMCA (the Donaldson Centre). All these recitals were presented under the patronage of Union Artists (*ibid*).

In addition to these events, the annual 'get togethers' of the African Music and Drama Association, which gave pupils the opportunity to get acquainted with each other, were regularly held at three venues each year from c 1969 onwards, ie one at Dorkay House, one at Bosmont, and a third in Orlando (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985). An annual Christmas concert presented by the Ionian Music Society also became a standard feature of the Ionian Music Society's concert calendar, and was held for about five years in succession, probably since 1969 (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).⁴¹

The African Music and Drama Association: fulfilling an immense cultural and educational need; more appeals, but insufficient means

From the data elicited from the numerous reports, minutes of meetings, class and teaching schedules and AMDA workshop programmes - all dating from the 1970s - it is clear that the African Music and Drama Association, incorporating the Ionian Music Society as well as all the various 'satellite' teaching programmes that were run at venues other than Dorkay House, played a major role in meeting some of the many cultural and educational needs of the people of Soweto and other neighbouring townships. It should be noted that, by the end of 1974, AMDA was relating to over two thousand students, ie including Music students, as well as Art and Speech and Drama students. This is remarkable, especially when one considers that AMDA activities were extra-mural to school- and job-related activities of the children and adult students respectively, and that the association was subsidized by the private sector only. In addition to this, the continuous need for expansion of classroom space to accommodate the growing numbers was a continual problem, as was the limited number

of teachers, who were rendering their services either free of charge, or for a small honorarium. By the end of 1975, AMDA was really packed to capacity with limited means at its disposal.

The 1970 weekly music activities timetable for Dorkay House alone, included the following:

- Mondays:** Drama (in the Auditorium) - from 15h30 to 17h30 (Teacher: C Thetele);
 Drums (in the Auditorium) - from 17h30 to 19h30 (Teacher: N J Maritz);
 Music Theory Grades II to V (Room II) - from 17h30 to 19h30 (Teacher:
 C Khumalo); Music Theory Grades VI to VIII (Room III) - from 17h30 to
 19h30 (Teacher: P Pheto).
- Tuesdays:** Drama (in the Auditorium) - from 17h30 to 19h30 (Teacher: C Thetele);
 Painting (Room I) - same time (Teacher: V Edwards); Music Theory Grades
 V to VI (Room II) - same time (Teacher: C Khumalo); Music Theory Grade
 I (Room III) - same time (Teacher: Z Ndlovu).
- Wednesdays:** Drama (Room I) - 15h30 to 17h00 (Teacher: C Thetele); Painting (Room
 II) - 16h00 to 17h30 (V Edwards); General Musicianship - All Grades (in
 the Auditorium) - 17h30 to 19h30 (Teacher: P Pheto); Brass Instruments
 (Room I) - 17h30 to 19h30 (Teacher: C Khumalo); Piano (Room II) - 17h30
 to 19h30 (Teacher: H Magobiane); Music Theory Grades IV to VI (in the
 Auditorium) - 18h00 to 19h00 (Teacher: P Pheto); Piano (Room III) - 17h30
 to 19h30 (Teacher: H Magobiane).
- Thursdays:** Ionian Rehearsal (in the Auditorium) - 18h00 to 20h00 (under direction of
 Khabi Mngoma); Brass Instruments (in the Office) - same time (Teacher: P
 Pheto); Reed Instruments (Room I) - same time (Teacher: C N Khumalo);
 Piano (Rooms II and III) - same time (Teacher: H Magobiane).
- Fridays:** DORKAY HOUSE CLOSED
- Saturdays:** Guitar (Room I) - 13h00 to 1500 (Teacher: G Mahlathi & G Mathiba);
 Piano/Theory (Room II) - 09h00 to 1500 (Teacher: L Molobye);
 Piano/Theory (Room III) - 07h00 to 15h00 (Teacher: B Jellin); Drama (in

the Auditorium) - 09h30 to 11h30 (Teacher: P Johnson); Music Theory (in the Auditorium) - 11h30 to 12h30 (Teacher: W Moalusi); Piano/Theory (in the Auditorium) - 10h30 to 12h30 (Teacher: H Magobiane).

Sundays: DORKAY HOUSE CLOSED ('African Music and Drama Association. Time Table of weekly Activities - Dorkay House', 1970)

In 1972, Percussion Studies were introduced to the music education programme at Dorkay House (Pina Culo, July 1972), as well as classes in puppetry⁴² (ibid), which actually formed part of the AMDA Plastic Arts Programme, the latter being run at a number of venues, ie at Dorkay House and at venues⁴³ in Soweto, Bosmont and Lenasia (Minutes, May 1973). Art classes for adults were held at Dorkay House, based upon following the University of South Africa (Unisa) syllabus for Fine Arts. Several of the AMDA art students were also registered with the Unisa Department of Fine Arts, studying with grants that were issued by Union Artists for them (ibid).

In 1973, Dorkay House also accommodated the activities of an Arts Workshop Group for practising artists (ibid). A number of artists regularly attended this workshop, including Winston Saoli, Leonard Matsotso and an artist whom the Minutes refer to as 'Fikile'. This was probably the artist Fikile Magadledla, who was born in 1952 in Newclare, Johannesburg, and became a full-time artist in 1973 (vide Ogilvie & Graff 1988:404). These artists established a workshop group which functioned on a regular basis. It came to be a valuable, much sought-after stimulus for the development of their artistic creativity and special technique. Art materials were supplied for them from funds that were obtained from the Merrill Grant (ibid).

In 1973 arrangements were made for the installation of a kiln, for the firing of terracotta sculpture and pottery. This kiln was eventually erected at the house of Sidney Kumalo⁴⁴ in Soweto, and was made available to practising and semi-professional artists living and working in Soweto, as well as to some of the children who took part in the children's art classes of the AMDA Soweto Art Programme (ibid).

However, in spite of promising developments in the AMDA Plastic Arts Programme, such as those mentioned above, it was reported that 'a serious breakdown' had occurred in this programme in the same year (1973) (*ibid*). This 'breakdown' had become apparent after an art exhibition had been held at Dorkay House at the end of the month April in 1973. It was reported that the art classes for the month of May which were to be held at Dorkay House, had never taken place, and that the Soweto Art Programme was only supervised twice that month by the persons responsible, although the children's art classes that were run by a Miss Molope in Soweto had continued to operate satisfactorily. The Minutes (*ibid*) also reported the discussion of a further administrative problem encountered in the AMDA Arts Programme, involving matters pertaining to visiting artists: 'it was clear that the roster for visiting artists... sent out to five established artists demanded far more time than they could reasonably be expected to give to our programme' (*ibid*).

Further information was divulged concerning plans to hold an art exhibition of children's art works and sculpture works by Ben Arnold (a teacher in the AMDA Plastic Arts Programme)⁴⁵ in May 1973 at the Gaberone Art Museum in Botswana, which, however, had first been postponed and eventually was cancelled - to the disappointment and discouragement of many concerned (*ibid*).

The unsatisfactory progress of the AMDA Plastic Arts Programme in 1973 - especially as far as the adult art courses were concerned - was ascribed to '... the total inadequacy of space available at Dorkay House' (*ibid*).

This was a serious problem, and one that remained unsolved:

Mr Skotnes had investigated the possibility of using space at the Jubilee Centre but has been told that all operations there had been closed down. He had raised a question of a venue in Soweto and mentioned the Chiawelo Centre. Mr Mngoma however, said that he knew it would not be possible to hold art classes there (*ibid*).

Other problems concerned staff-power and finance; both were quite inadequate to meet the growing demand for more educational opportunities in the arts.

Staff power

In 1974, the members of the board of trustees for the African Music and Drama Association, established the Chairman of the Board, H M Hirsch, as well as Board members D Bennett, S Moss and T Potter, M Johnson, M Kaplan, F N Kentridge and E Leach, and L Nicolaysen (Report 1974). The members of the Management Committee for 1974 were the Chairman, H M Hirsch, F N Kentridge, L Nicolaysen, T Potter, P Rezant, R Michael and D Bennett, as well as M Johnson and E Leach (*ibid*).

The staff of the African Music and Drama Association comprised a full-time contingent that was based at Dorkay House, and a part-time teaching staff, that worked in the Children's Programmes at the Bosmont Community Centre in Bosmont Township and at Dorkay House. It also assisted in the Dorkay House Adult Programme, Orlando High School and Orlando YMCA Children's Programmes, and the programme for teenagers at the Nirvana High School in Lenasia (*ibid*).

The full-time staff for 1974 included: Khabi Mngoma, who was the Principal of AMDA; three Departmental Heads, ie V Edwards (who was the new Head of the Plastic Arts Section, as successor to a Mr Legae), P Phetoe (Head of the Music Section) and C B Thetele (Head of the Speech and Drama Section); and finally, three administrative officers and two domestic workers, ie V Khumalo and E Mashile for Office Administration, C Maepa for General Administration, and N Mkhwanazi and J Mogoera, the domestic workers.

Apart from working in an administrative capacity, the full-time staff members also fulfilled teaching duties at the various venues where the AMDA Programmes were run. The following information should illustrate to what extent the services of these persons were in demand:

(1) V Edwards was Plastic Arts Tutor in a part-time capacity in the Children's Art Programme run at the Bosmont Centre, as well as in the AMDA Children's Art Programmes run at the Orlando High School and Orlando YMCA, where she was assisted by B Molope. V Edwards eventually had to throw her weight behind the Teenagers' Art Programme, that was launched at the Nirvana High School in Lenasia in the first half of the 1970s, after such a programme had been requested by the community.

(2) C B Thetele, Head of the Speech and Drama Section, also taught Speech and Drama on a part-time basis in the Children's Speech and Drama Programmes run at the Bosmont Community Centre, the Orlando High School and the Orlando YMCA, and eventually at the Nirvana High School in Lenasia as well. Other part-time Speech and Drama teachers who assisted her in her task were, W Abdul, Z Domingo and a student tutor by the name of P Johnson, who were all stationed at the Bosmont Community Centre. Only one Speech and Drama student tutor was available for the Dorkay House Children's Speech and Drama Programme, ie C Miles, and one Speech and Drama tutor managed to assist C B Thetele at the Orlando High School and Orlando YMCA, J De Jongh.

(3) P Phetoe, Head of the Music Section, taught Trumpet, Piano and Double Bass for children at the Orlando High School and the Orlando YMCA.

(4) Khabi Mngoma, the Principal of the whole operation, taught Singing, Piano, Theory and Music Appreciation in the Dorkay House Adult Music Education Programme, and at the Orlando High School and Orlando YMCA Children's Music Education Programmes he fulfilled the teaching responsibilities for Violin, Viola, Cello and Theory of Music.

The rest of the teaching staff consisted of the following part-time teachers:

(a) Teachers tutoring in the Bosmont Community Centre Children's Music Education Programme:

J Aspelng: Theory of Music, Recorder and Piano;

G A Diedericks: Theory of Music and Violin;

H Diedericks: Theory of Music, Recorder, Percussion and Piano;

L Julius: Recorder, Piano and Percussion;

R Michael: Recorder, Piano, Theory of Music; (Michael also acted as co-ordinator of the Bosmont Programme.)

G Van Heerden: Theory of Music and Guitar;

M Michael acted as clerk for the Bosmont Programme.

(b) Teachers tutoring in the Dorkay House Children's Music Education Programme:

B Jellin: Theory of Music, Percussion, Recorder and Piano; she also acted as co-ordinator of the Programme;

L Moloby: Theory of Music and Piano.

(c) Teachers working in the Dorkay House Adult Music Education Programme:

C Goodgall: Guitar;

G Mahlathi: Guitar (a student tutor);⁴⁶

G Mathiba: Guitar (a student tutor);

C N Khumalo: Brass, Woodwind and Theory of Music;

H M Magobiane: Piano and Theory of Music;

W Moalusi: Theory of Music;

Z Ndlovu: Theory of Music and Flute;

J Maritz: Drums.

(d) Teachers tutoring in the Orlando High School and Orlando YMCA Children's Music Education Programmes:

L Mabaso: Theory of Music and Class Singing;

W Moalusi: Theory of Music, Violin and Cello;

D Morake: Not specified;⁴⁷

Z Ndlovu: Flute;

E Templin: Piano.

The co-ordinators for checking the attendance register and payment of fees were E Sofuthe and J Sebitlo respectively (Report 1974).

To give an idea of the comprehensive AMDA Programme for 1974, the following lists have been compiled from the annual report of the African Music and Drama Association for 1974 (*ibid*):

Dorkay House: Headquarters of the African Music and Drama Association and Union Artists' full-time staff

Principal: Khabi Mngoma

Section Head (Music): P Phetoe

Section Head (Plastic Arts): V Edwards

Section Head (Speech and Drama): C B Thetele

Administration: V Khumalo

E Mashile

C Maepa

Domestic Workers: J Mogoera

N Mkhwanazi

Structure and programme of the Plastic Arts Section of the African Music and Drama Association for 1974

Headquarters for Administration: Dorkay House

NB: Dorkay House did not accommodate any art classes during 1974, due to lack of sufficient space. Art classes were held at the (i) Bosmont Community Centre, (ii) Orlando High School, (iii) Orlando YMCA, and the (iv) Nirvana High School in Lenasia [Indian Community]; therefore, AMDA art classes for 1974 were run at four venues by two teachers, V Edwards (Head) and B Molope. These art classes were attended by (a) 150 students for painting and drawing in the Orlando Children's Plastic Arts Programme, (b) sixty students for painting and drawing in the Bosmont Children's Plastic Arts Programme, and (c) thirty-two students for painting and drawing in the Lenasia Teenagers' Plastic Arts Programme.

This means that a total of 242 Plastic Arts students were taught by two teachers during 1974, one teacher being employed on a full-time basis, and one teacher on a part-time basis. (Teacher-to-student ratio = 1 : 121)

Structure and programme of the Speech and Drama Section of the African Music and Drama Association for 1974

Headquarters for Administration: Dorkay House

Speech and Drama classes were held at (i) Dorkay House (for children) by one teacher, a student tutor C Miles; (ii) the Bosmont Community Centre (for children) by four teachers, C B Thetele (Head), W Abdul, Z Domingo and P Johnson (a student tutor); (iii) the Orlando High School (for children) by two teachers, C B Thetele and J De Jongh (also a student tutor); (iv) the Orlando YMCA (for children) by the same two teachers, C B Thetele and J De Jongh; (v) the Nirvana High School in Lenasia (for teenagers) by one teacher, C B Thetele. Therefore, AMDA Speech and Drama classes for 1974 were held at five venues by six teachers. The classes were attended by (a) x number of pupils at Dorkay House (here the report omitted to mention the number of students who attended the Speech and Drama classes at Dorkay House), (b) 425 students for English Speech and one hundred students for Drama in the Orlando Children's Speech and Drama Programme, (c) one hundred students for English Speech and Drama in the Bosmont Children's Speech and Drama Programme, and (d) thirty-two students for English Speech and Drama at the Nirvana High School. This means that a total of $657 + x$ Speech and Drama students were taught by six teachers during 1974, one teacher being employed on a full-time basis by Union Artists and five on a part-time basis. (Teacher-to-student ratio = 1 : 109+)

Structure and programme of the Music Section of the African Music and Drama Association for 1974

Headquarters for Administration: Dorkay House

Music classes were held at (i) Dorkay House (for children and adults) by eleven teachers, B Jellin and L Molobye ran the children's classes and Khabi Mngoma, C Goodgall, C N Khumalo, H Magobiane, G Mahlathi (a student tutor), J Maritz, G Mathiba (a student tutor), W Moalusi and Z Ndlovu for adult classes; (ii) at the Bosmont Community Centre (for children) by six teachers, J Aspelung, G A Diedericks, H Diedericks, J Julius, R Michael (tutor) and G Van Heerden; (iii) and (iv) at the Orlando High School and Orlando YMCA (for children) by seven teachers, Khabi Mngoma, L Mabaso, W Moalusi, D Morake, Z Ndlovu, P Phetoe (Head) and E Templin; (v) at the Nirvana High School (for teenagers) by one teacher, Khabi Mngoma.

Thus, AMDA Music classes for 1974 were held at five venues by twenty-one teachers. These classes were attended by

(a)

165 Theory of Music students,

165 Class Singing students,

18 Piano students,

36 Recorder students,

5 Violin students, and

18 Guitar students in the Bosmont Children's Music Education Programme only, the grand total of students for this programme being 165 students. (Theory of Music classes were compulsory for all music students, therefore the 165 theory students indicated above, include the 165 class singing and other seventy-seven.)

(b)

34 Piano students,

6 Recorder students,

34 Percussion students, and

34 Theory of Music students in the Dorkay House Children's Music Education Programme, giving a grand total of thirty-four students;

(c)

15 Piano students,

6 Trumpet students,

8 Singing students,

28 Guitar students,

6 Flute students,

4 Saxophone students,

11 Drum students, and

117 Theory of Music students in the Dorkay House Adult Music Education Programme, the grand total of students being 117 students;

(d)

18 Piano students,

98 Violin students,

2 Viola students,

6 Cello students,

2 Trumpet students,

2 Double Bass students,

100 Percussion students,

50 Choir students,

425 Class Singing students, and

425 Theory of Music students in the Orlando Children's Music Education Programme (accommodated in the Orlando High School and Orlando YMCA together), totalling 425 students;

(e)

32 Recorder students, and

32 Theory of Music Students at Lenasia, the total being thirty-two students.

Therefore the total number of AMDA music students for 1974 amounted to 773 students in Johannesburg and Soweto alone, with a further ninety-eight children being taught in KwaThema, Springs, in a Music Education Programme that was launched there at the request of the community. All this information provides evidence that the African Music and Drama Association was relating to 871 Music students alone in 1974, and, with the inclusion of the Plastic Arts and Speech and Drama programmes, it subsequently provided tuition for over 1970 students... (871 Music students + [657 + x] Speech and Drama students + 242 Plastic Arts students), which is close on two thousand students.

The Annual Report for 1974 of the African Music and Drama Association (ibid) stated that

... 1974 proved to be a year of growth and great activity. The facilities at Dorkay House turned out to be inadequate because of the greater number of students that use(d) them. In spite of this some significant gains in terms of purposeful creative activity were noticeable.

Under the heading 'Additional Stimulation from Visiting Artists', the Report (ibid) stated that

... through the kindness of the United States Information Service and the Johannesburg Music Society⁴⁸ it has been possible to have our students listen to some of the best musicians ever to visit South Africa.

In addition to hearing these visiting artists from abroad, AMDA students were also on occasions able to hear '... some of South Africa's leading artists' (ibid).

For example, highlights of the 1974 Visiting Artists Programme for AMDA included:

- (i) a recital and workshop presented by the American artists Luis Leguia (Cello) and Curtis Stotler (Piano), at the Orlando YMCA on 23 February 1974 - by courtesy of the United States Information Service (ibid);
- (ii) a recital given by the Norwegian pianist Ruth Lagesen, at the Bosmont Community Centre on 24 April 1974 (ibid);
- (iii) a recital by the American pianist Theodore Lettin, at Dorkay House on 27 August 1974 - by courtesy of the Johannesburg Musical Society (ibid);
- (iv) a workshop and recital presented by the American artists Eugene Moye (Cello) and Jonathan Feldman (piano), at the Orlando YMCA on 16 November 1974 - by courtesy of the United States Information Service (ibid).

The 1974 calendar of the African Music and Drama Association included two other major events, ie a Winter Arts School, presented at Dorkay House for children from the Soweto and Bosmont Programmes, and the AMDA First Festival of Arts, which was held mainly at Dorkay House.

The Winter Arts School was held from 2 to 19 July 1974, and was attended by thirty-one students (Report 1974).⁴⁹ The programme, which comprised three intensive courses, was presented as follows:

(a) 2 to 5 July: Plastic Arts : A discussion of the Philosophy and Principles of Teaching Art as well as discussion of practicable processes, procedures and materials that can be used in such teaching. (The course was presented under direction of V Edwards.)

(b) 9 to 12 July: Music : The presentation of an intensive course intending to prepare pupils of the Orlando and Bosmont AMDA Projects for the 1974 Practical Music Examinations in Violin, Singing, Violoncello and Piano, of the University of South Africa. (The course was presented under direction of Khabi Mngoma and R Michael.)

(c) 16 to 19 July: Speech and Drama : The presentation of an intensive course for those students who had been entered for the Speech and Drama Examinations of the University of South Africa. (This course was presented under the direction of C B Thetele; *ibid.*)

The First Festival of Arts of the African Music and Drama Association was held at the Bosmont Community Centre and in Orlando, from 19 November to 7 December 1974 (Report 1974). It was reported that

... this attracted a lot of attention from friends of AMDA and the parents of the students. In all three media of Music, Drama and Art plentiful talent was evident. Full scope was given to each of our Programmes (except that of Lenasia) for tutors and students to be able to show what they had been working at during the year (*ibid.*).

The festival programme included an exhibition of art work by students from the different AMDA programmes, on view in the auditorium of Dorkay House throughout the festival (*ibid*). (The auditorium in Dorkay House was named after Khabi Mngoma, the 'Khabi Mngoma Auditorium'.)

H M Hirsch, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, officially opened the exhibition in the Khabi Mngoma Auditorium on 19 November 1974. This was followed by a music programme presented by two Trumpet players, a pianist, one guitarist and a number of brass and woodwind players, as well as a drama and mime programme, entitled 'Scenes from the Lion and the Jewel' (*ibid*). Another music programme was held on the following day, Wednesday 20 November 1974, and included brass, guitar, woodwind, piano and percussion performances. On Thursday, 21 November 1974, the drama students of the African Music and Drama Association presented the following items at Dorkay House: (i) a one act play, written and produced by an AMDA student, Patricia Johnson, and called 'The Search'; (ii) a speech chorus, 'The Broken Man', recited by students from Bosmont, Eldorado Park and Coronationville High Schools; (iii) mime by members of the Adult Workshop Programme (*ibid*).

The Saturday programme, held on 23 November 1974 in the Orlando High School Quadrangle, included an exhibition of Orlando students' art works, a music programme presented by the Ionian Orchestra, a flute ensemble, group singing, piano items and string- and vocal solos. A drama programme was held at Dorkay House on the following Monday (25 November), which featured a speech chorus directed by J De Jongh, who presented an item called 'The Married Bachelor' rendered by the Dorkay Adult Workshop. Other items on the programme included some improvisations done by students from Lenasia, and a play and poetry reading session, based upon works that were written by AMDA students in the creative writing classes⁵⁰ held during that year (1974).

On Tuesday 26 November 1974, an illustrated talk on African Art was held at Dorkay House, and the rest of the week's programme comprised music and drama programmes that featured percussion band-, piano-, guitar- and recorder items, and dramatic improvisation, speech choruses and plays respectively, all presented by students and teachers of AMDA (*ibid*).

The establishment of the Children's Music Education Programme at the KwaThema Community Centre in August 1974

During the course of the year 1974, a committee of eleven, known as the KwaThema Cultural Society (Chairman: L Gama), was established in KwaThema, Springs. In that same year the Society approached AMDA, appealing to it to start a children's music education programme at the KwaThema Community Centre. This programme was subsequently inaugurated in August 1974, and was managed by a member of the AMDA staff (*ibid*).

Following these developments, similar appeals, coming from residents in Wattville (Benoni), Sharpeville (Vereeniging) and Dobsonville (Roodepoort) were made to AMDA for assistance in the establishment of more such programmes. Although AMDA was keen to expand its activities, it could not meet these appeals, because of its small teaching staff, and lack of finance; the teachers who worked in the various AMDA programmes were already overloaded, and funds would not allow an intake of more teachers, even though there was a desperate need for such a step.

A closer look at the financial side of the African Music and Drama Association by 1973 and 1974

It has been stated before that '... financing Dorkay House activities has always been an acute problem and has severely hampered potential growth' (Memorandum, 'On the History, Working and Functions of Union Artists', undated). In AMDA's annual report for 1974, Khabi Mngoma expressed his appreciation of the Ford Foundation, the Merrill Trust, the Anglo American Foundation and the Polaroid Trust 'for their substantial financial support given... through the years' (Report 1974). The United States Information Service is also mentioned in connection with the loan of its film projection equipment, films and books from its library to AMDA. The report further states:

We thank the British and German Consulates for lending us their films; the Orlando High School, Nirvana High School, Chris Botha High School and the Bosmont Community Centre for according us classroom accommodation.

According to the Minutes of the Union Artists Merrill Trust Foundation Grant Subcommittee Meeting held on 30 May 1973, the expenditure from the Merrill Trust during the first three months of 1973, was devoted to (i) paying the salary of the Head of the AMDA Plastic Arts Programme at the time, a Mr Legae; (ii) the payment of honoraria to two of the art teachers (B Arnold and B Molope); (iii) the purchase of additional art supplies, blackboards and trestles; (iv) meeting the costs of mounting an exhibition held at Dorkay House in April 1973, and (v) making available four grants of fifty rands each '... to students registered with the University of South Africa and recommended by the Unisa Department of Fine Arts' (*ibid*).⁵¹

Further grants were made available to individual artists by the Merrill Trust in 1973. These grants were to assist them in mounting exhibitions and in paying tuition fees. The grants were given

... on the merits of the specific requirements put forward in the artists' applications and on the recommendation of Mr Legae and the other practising artists on the Committee (which included Cecil Skotnes) (*ibid*).

The Minutes (*ibid*) reported that Charles Merrill (the sponsor of the Merrill Trust Foundation) had indicated early in 1973 that '... the Trust's grants for international purposes might be curtailed in 1974, owing to the state of the US (United States) economy/stock markets from which their grants were derived'.

It was further stated that

... unless Union Artists can show conclusively that they have made good use of the present grant, the renewal of the grant for a further year [and the continuity of the AMDA Plastic Arts Programme] may be in doubt (*ibid*).

Several aspects of the Plastic Arts Programme would come to an end in the event of such a lack of funds, including the sculpture and pottery classes. The Minutes (*ibid*) stated that

... although the kiln [on Sydney Kumalo's premises in Soweto] would remain a movable asset belonging to Union Artists, the question arose as to who would pay for its continued use after the Merrill Grant expired.

It is evident that the future of AMDA's educational activities was constantly put into jeopardy due to insufficient financial resources.

Nevertheless, in a number of instances, AMDA was in the position to send some of its students abroad to continue their studies in Music and Drama at overseas institutions (Memorandum, 'On the History, Working and Functions of Union Artists', undated).

Khabi Mngoma's second visit to the United States of America in 1975

As Principal of Union Artists, Khabi Mngoma departed for the United States of America in June 1975, to make another appeal to American playwrights, producers and agents, to lift their cultural boycott of South Africa, and to seek financial aid for the African Music and Drama Association (The New York Times, 29 June 1975). About forty playwrights, producers and agents went to listen to Khabi Mngoma speak at a meeting held on 3 June 1975 at the Broadway Theatre. The meeting had been arranged by Harold Prince (the creator of the musicals 'Cabaret' and 'Fiddler on the Roof'). As in 1967, Khabi Mngoma's persuasion was based on the principle that white theatre in South Africa should be taxed to sustain black theatre. The reactions were both promising and disheartening. According to The New York Times (*ibid*), one of the delegates of the meeting, Edward Albee,

... was sympathetic to Mngoma's cause but concluded that (the Americans) 'must hold the line on the boycott. We must hold out, like the British playwrights, until we get integrated audiences in South Africa'.

It was reported that, in contrast to Albee's beliefs, Arthur Miller, one of the original signatories of the manifesto issued twelve years before (who, however, was not present at the meeting) had begun questioning the necessity of continuing the boycott.

Miller explains his change of heart: 'Over the past two years, I've been getting requests from whom appear to be well-intentioned white people who say they can play to mixed audiences. A few months ago, a white South African director, Barney Simon, who is trying to create a black theatre... contacted me and assured me it was possible to stage "The Crucible" before an integrated audience in South Africa. So I gave this white director permission to do the play... (ibid)

It was further reported that Arthur Miller had said that he had relaxed his own sanctions against South Africa, because he had started to wonder if, through the boycott of South Africa, they were not perhaps '... helping to enforce apartheid' (ibid).

Khabi Mngoma told The New York Times: 'We feel isolated inside South Africa and we also feel isolated from the outside world' (ibid.). Further on in the same report, the following statements were made:

Mngoma feels the sanctions against his country have inadvertently turned black men against each other: 'The reluctance of black American artists in particular, to go to South Africa penalizes black South Africans too much. The students in our school, for example, would gain tremendously simply by being exposed in seminars and other classes to the expertise of black American artists. Our students would also gain from the attitudes of such artists who live in a free society - however much the word "free" can be qualified. The exposure would give so much hope to our own artists, who often believe they've reached the end of their world in South Africa. By staying away, blacks here do us a great disservice.' Quoting a friend Mngoma added: 'Would you refuse to visit a brother in an American prison simply because you hate the prison system?'... 'There are many reasons for blacks not wanting to go to South

Africa,' Mngoma admits, 'and I understand those reactions. But the longer blacks stay away the longer meaningful change is likely to take' (*ibid*).

It was also stated in the report that 'Mngoma's views (were) not very popular among American Blacks...' (*ibid*).

He however emphasized his conviction that

... if real change is ever to sweep across South Africa, it must be brought about by artists hammering at the closed society: 'Since the artist is able to affect ordinary men, including politicians, he may eventually also affect legislation' (*ibid*).

Projections into the future... Khabi Mngoma's dream to start a School of Music and Drama

It was during the 1970s that Khabi Mngoma started dreaming about establishing a School of Music and Drama in Soweto. According to personal communication from Cedric Alexander (November 1986), he and Khabi Mngoma regularly raised the topic during conversations they had while relaxing in Khabi Mngoma's home in Orlando West. Cedric Alexander said that this idea was 'uppermost in his [Khabi Mngoma's] mind', and that building plans had already been drawn up for this purpose, when Khabi Mngoma received the call from the University of Zululand to move to Zululand and to start a Music Department at that University, in 1975. This lectureship was subsequently taken up by Khabi Mngoma and Samson Tshabalala, who up till that time had been the Assistant Director and -Choir Master of the Ionian Music Society, took over the reins from Khabi Mngoma in 1975 (*The World*, 14 June 1976). The dream to start a School of Music and Drama, however, did not end there, although the latter was never realized in Soweto itself. This was to occur almost fifteen years later - in 1989, when this dream came true. This was when Khabi Mngoma, after his retirement from the University of Zululand in 1987, launched the Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts in KwaDlangezwa district, Vulindlela Township, situated at Khabi Mngoma's Zululand home³² in the hills just outside the University of Zululand, and which, at this time of writing, is growing from strength to strength. (*Vide* Chapter XII of this study.)

Reflections on the Dorkay House Era...

Khabi Mngoma's work in association with Union Artists and AMDA, and his brainchild, the Ionian Music Society, brought Dorkay House activities to a climax, especially as far as Black Music Education was concerned. Various students who passed through the AMDA training programmes later established themselves as successful artists, such as Geoffrey Diedericks and Cedric Alexander who worked closely to Khabi Mngoma, as well as other well known personalities such as Hugh Masekela and Caiphus Semenya (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985). It was the latter who said: 'To us music is a communal affair, a cultural experience that brings different generations together in harmony, and this is where the younger generation learns from the older.'⁵³

In 1980, Khabi Mngoma received a letter from a past student of AMDA,⁵⁴ in which he reminisced about the years spent at Dorkay House. The student wrote that, in his opinion, '... AMDA served a necessary purpose... since not every artist is able to go to University.' Some of the music students who received their first music education through AMDA, subsequently registered as Music students at the University of Zululand, and studied for, and obtained, B Mus degrees in Khabi Mngoma's Department.

The naming of one of the rehearsal rooms in Dorkay House as the 'Khabi Mngoma Auditorium', commemorates his monumental contribution to education in the arts for black students in Johannesburg and Soweto, and, to the history of Dorkay House.⁵⁵

Notes

1. The Dorkay House Choir presumably became integrated with the Ionian Music Society's choral programme.
2. Also according to a curriculum vitae of Khabi Mngoma, dated January 1983. According to Huskisson in Malan, ed 1979:109, Khabi Mngoma became the part-time Director of Dorkay House in 1967. No source of reference is stated. The writer also does not have any sources that provide any information.
3. Letter from H M Hirsch and F N Kentridge of the National Bank, to Khabi Mngoma, dated 21 March 1974.
4. The township of Edendale is situated on the south-western outskirts of Pietermaritzburg. For further details, vide Raper 1987, 1989:135.

5. It is important to realize that, at this stage of Khabi Mngoma's life and work, the Ionian Programme had developed into an integral part of the cultural and educational activities that were associated with Dorkay House, Union Artists and the African Music and Drama Association.
6. Two copies of the same report differ in their information on this point; one copy probably contains a typing error.
7. That is the Cultural Section of the Johannesburg City Council's Recreation and Community Services Department for Non-European Affairs.
8. The name and particulars of Khabi Mngoma's successor in the City Council are not mentioned anywhere, and this dissertation will abstain from rendering any such information.
9. This report is, however, shorter than the one referred to previously, and bears a different title, namely 'Report to the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival Committee on the Operation of the Bursary Scheme for 1965, with necessary background', dated 8 March 1966.
10. Cecil Skotnes had left the City Council to pursue a career as a free-lance artist.
11. It is, however, not clear whether this course was actually ever instituted.
12. The venue where the Festival of Song took place, was the Orlando YMCA. The concert was held in honour of the degree Doctor of Music (honoris causa), bestowed upon him by the University of the Witwatersrand in December 1987.
13. The paper was subsequently published in the Report on Workshop for Composers, held by the Christian Academy at Roodekrans, 12 - 16th August 1968, no date specified on the report, but probably published towards the end of 1968, pages 47-50. It was either in 1967 or 1969 that Khabi Mngoma also became a founder member of the Bureau for Zulu Language and Culture. (The year 1967 is given in a curriculum vitae of Khabi Mngoma, dated 5 January 1983, and the year 1969 in a curriculum vitae of Khabi Mngoma published in the programme of 'A Festival of Song in Honour of Khabi Mngoma', a concert presented at the Orlando YMCA, 20 December 1987.) The Bureau for Zulu Language and Culture has a three-fold mandate, (i) to cultivate interest in Zulu culture and to show its relation to other South African cultures, and to other cultures of the world as far as its humanistic quality is concerned; (ii) to stimulate interest in the Zulu language with reference to literature and rhetoric/oratory, by giving support to writers, linguists and researchers through annual sponsorships for research projects pertaining to Zulu language and culture; (iii) the Bureau for Zulu Language and Culture publishes the findings of such research projects, and distributes the published material to libraries, and to people who are regarded as pace-setters in Zulu society (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, October 1990). Khabi Mngoma is still an active member of this establishment.
14. Vide Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa, 1988, 1989:410.
15. This was published in a newspaper, the cutting of which the writer found amongst Khabi Mngoma's papers and books. Unfortunately the cutting did not include the name of the newspaper and the precise date of publication, therefore these particulars remain unknown. Vide the sections on Khabi Mngoma's study tour in the United States of America in 1967, and his plight against the cultural boycott of South Africa in America in 1975, in this chapter.
16. Bob Rockweiler was associated with the Johannesburg based United States Information Service from October 1964 until March 1967 (personal communication, Bob Rockweiler, 29 December 1986).
17. Referred to as such by Bob Rockweiler, ibid.
18. Referred to as such by Huskisson 1969:153. Another source, a letter from the American Embassy in Cape Town to Khabi Mngoma, dated 13 October 1966, refers to the grant as a 'Foreign Leader Grant'.

19. ibid

20. ibid.

21. Letter to Members of the Ionian Music Society, on the Introduction of Staff Notation, written by Khabi Mngoma, dated 12 April 1967; also in personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985.

22. Letter from the American Embassy, 13 October 1966.

23. Letter to Members of the Ionian Music Society..., 12 April 1967.

24. ibid, and personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985.

25. Reference is made to the musical typewriter in Scholes 1952, 1964:438 ('Percussion Family 2x'). It states briefly that the typewriter is '... used in a few orchestral compositions' (ibid). No examples are given. However, a rather amusing example of a piece utilizing the typewriter, is the theme music of Radio South Africa's 'Lopis Pet's Gassette', which can be heard on Saturday mornings around 10h20!

26. A photocopy of this article by Khabi Mngoma (undated) was found by the writer in his office at the University of Zululand Music Department, but the source of the publication could not be ascertained. Presumably this article is similar to the one (or even the very one) contributed to the magazine of the Transvaal United African Teachers' Association, ie the article 'A Case for better Music Education', referred to in a previous paragraph.

27. With regards to music being regarded as a 'cinderella subject': Kirby, in his autobiography Wits End (1967:85), describes the South African situation in white primary schools quite vividly, as experienced and observed by himself in Natal already in the second decade of this century (twentieth) in his capacity as Musical Organizer to the Natal Education Department.

... few [teachers] had any serious training in music, and in the hour which was devoted to musical instruction in schools, and which was frequently relegated to the last period on Friday afternoons, they could hardly be expected to do very much, however enthusiastic they might be. My suggestion that a ten-minute period every morning would do more good than the customary 'crowded hour' at the end of the school week did not meet with much favour, since not only was singing regarded as a mere 'extra', for which no marks were ever given, but the morning periods, apart from the very first which was taken up by the daily scripture lesson, were invariably allotted to Arithmetic, English, and the other examinable subjects, and Music, like Art, had to be fitted into any odd corner of the time-table.

To date the author cannot help but be reminded of the present situation of class singing periods at the Point High School in Mossel Bay. Whole standards, for example all the standard six pupils, are crowded into one massive group for the purpose of 'class music'. As this subject has become quite horrifying to music teachers (according to the writer's personal observations), owing to the almost total lack of discipline in such classes (which are regarded by pupils as leisure periods, and therefore often end up in near-chaos), the organization of these composite 'mega-singing classes' has been decided upon by the leadership of the Point High School as being the solution to the problem; that is, not to omit mention of the vital presence of revered male teachers at these classes, whose duty it is to detect any suggestion of unruly conduct, with its logical consequences!

28. The inventor of the world wide acclaimed Suzuki Violin Method, Professor Shinichi Suzuki, was born in Nagoye, Japan, in 1898. He was the son of Mr Masakichi Suzuki, the founder of the largest violin factory in the world (Suzuki 1969:67). Vide Appendix B.

29. The 'Violin Manual for Beginners' might even date from later years, ie from the 1970s and even the 1980s, but the material contained in the manual, already dates from the earlier years, the late 1950s and 1960s. Therefore the writer finds it appropriate to mention the 'Violin Manual for Beginners' in the context of the Ionian Music Education Programme.

30. These songs were collected by Khabi Mngoma during his student years at Adams College in Natal, in the mid-1940s.
31. Vide also Coplan 1985:206. A lot has been written and said about the cultural boycott of South Africa. Vide for instance Shifrin 1989, and The Argus, 14 February 1987, 'How Sensitive Simon switched the world on to the sound of Africa' (referring to Paul Simon being blacklisted by the Anti-Apartheid Movement for collaborating with South African black artists (Ladysmith Black Mambazo) in producing the record Graceland). These are only a very few examples of numerous writings on the subject.
32. The opportunity to visit West-Germany, however, was delayed until 1982, when Khabi Mngoma toured Austria and West-Germany with the University of Zululand Choir for a concert tour of approximately two weeks.
33. The Ionian Youth Orchestra was invited to perform in Gaborone, Botswana, on 13 December 1970 (according to a letter from Khabi Mngoma to the parents of Ionian Youth Orchestra members, undated).
34. The concert was presented in the St Columba's Church Hall in Newton Park, Port Elizabeth.
35. This was quite an exceptional gesture, as Apartheid restrictions were very strict, and were usually sternly adhered to by the Dutch Reformed Church in those days.
36. 'University of South Africa Practical Music & Theory Examinations for 1974', results issued by authority of Khabi Mngoma, Principal: African Music & Drama Association.
37. Msaho was the first record factory started by Gallo Record Company at Roodepoort in the 1940s. Prior to the year 1950, Hugh Tracey had worked in close association with Gallo and assisted the company in establishing Msaho, from where he also carried out his research in African music (Andersson 1981:19). In the year 1954, Hugh Tracey founded the International Library of African Music, which was originally based at Msaho in Roodepoort, where Khabi Mngoma and his pupils paid Tracey occasional educational visits, in the 1960s.
38. In subsequent years, the meetings of the African Music Society were, and still are, held at a different major centre each year.
39. The Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre is an ecumenical organization based at Roodepoort, and is affiliated (as a member organization) to the South African Council of Churches (Education for Affirmation: Conference Papers, 1988:1).
40. This has always been a standard procedure followed by Khabi Mngoma, when recruiting new pupils.
41. These Christmas concerts were probably initiated in about 1969 or 1970, which would mean that they were introduced to the Ionian Music Society calendar in the last five years of Khabi Mngoma's association with Dorkay House, the African Music and Drama Association and Union Artists.
42. On the subject of puppets: they are becoming increasingly popular with male 'solo' instrumentalists, who make their own puppets, and manipulate them while performing on an instrument. Deirdre Hansen reports (Hansen, Field Report 1989) a Zulu idlokwe player who simultaneously manipulated a Zulu dancing couple (puppets), while singing in accompaniment to his trough zither. Chickenman Mkhize is a well known puppeteer in Pietermaritzburg. Under the patronage of the Pietermaritzburg Art Gallery, he manipulates 'childsize' puppets of indlamu dancers (accompanied by music on cassette). Mkhize is also an artist, and makes various road signs and other objects, which have become increasingly popular with the public. (Mkhize has a fairly wide public.) Jaco Kruger reports a similar use of puppets and music in Venda. Cape Town also has a street musician and a puppeteer - Jeffrey King Kong Solomons - a well known busker in the Peninsula.
43. The names of the venues have not been specified in any of the sources.

44. Vide Ogilvie and Graff 1988:357-358.

45. The South African artist Ben Arnold was born in 1942 in Albertsville, Johannesburg. As a sculptor of figures his works include art works in terracotta, plaster and bronze, as well as the sculpturing of friezes. He studied art under Cecil Skotnes and Sydney Kumalo at the Polly Street Art Centre, which was subsequently renamed as the Jubilee Art Centre. He started teaching art at the Jubilee Art Centre in the 1960s, and also became involved in the teaching activities of the Zenzele Arts Project for Children in Soweto in 1965. He also became an art teacher for the Federated Union of Black Artists (FUBA). He participated in several group exhibitions in South Africa, and held many solo exhibitions, for instance in the Egon Guenther Gallery in Johannesburg in 1964 (his first solo exhibition). Vide ibid:25.

46. By 'student tutor' is meant a teacher who was still a student him- or herself.

47. The source at hand, ie Report 1974, omits mentioning the subjects taught by D Morake.

48. Referred to by Kirby in his autobiography (1967:283-296) as the 'Johannesburg Musical Society'. The Johannesburg Musical Society was very active on the Witwatersrand already early in this century, some of the activities of which can be read about in Kirby's memoirs (ibid), specifically with reference to Kirby's participation in the society from the 1920s until the 1940s. Kirby recorded the history of the Johannesburg Musical Society in 1962. (Vide 'Percival R Kirby - Chronological Record', ibid:371.)

49. Also according to 'Union Artists incorporating AMDA, Winter Arts School at Dorkay House during July 1974', undated.

50. Creative writing had always been emphasized by the AMDA Speech and Drama Department. In 1975, for instance, the Argus Group sponsored a creative writing competition for the association (according to information given in the Schedule of Khabi Mngoma's sojourn in America, 1975).

51. The recipients of these grants were B Malebana, A Ramadi, A J Tshabalala, and A Maphumulo. All four students were registered for the Unisa Fine Arts Course (Minutes, May 1973).

52. Having moved to Zululand for the purpose of starting a Department of Music at the University of Zululand, Khabi Mngoma and his family initially lived in one of the so-called 'university houses' on the campus of the university. However, he soon drew up plans to build his own house in Vulindlela Township, which is about five minutes' drive by car from the university, in the beautiful countryside surrounding the university. This house was built by Khabi Mngoma himself - literally with his own two hands, and with the occasional help of the children from the neighbourhood, who assisted him in the making of the cement bricks of which the house was built. The writer personally saw the brick-making device, which could cast about eight bricks at a time. The house was planned and built in such a way as to provide enough accommodation for the holding of musical events in the large lounge area, which is entered into directly from the front door of the house.

53. Katse Caiphus Semenya, on Buwa the theatrical experience, interview with Mothobi Mutloatse, Harare 1987. These words uttered by Caiphus Semenya appear in Part Two ('Music is a Healing Force') of Umhlaba Wethu - A Historical Indictment (Mutloatse, ed 1987:61).

54. The letter was read out aloud to the writer by Khabi Mngoma during an interview held on 9 May 1985. The writer, however, does not have a copy of this particular letter in her possession and therefore has no further details as to who actually wrote the letter, and the exact date of the writing.

55. The activities at Dorkay House suffered a severe blow from the 1976 Soweto uprisings. Today the main activity at Dorkay House is the tuition of students in the field of music, ie Practical Music, Theory of Music and History of Music (personal communication, Beller Jellin, November/December 1986), under the directorship of Victor Koapeng, who is a past-pupil of Khabi Mngoma.

Health against Disease

(The fourth period continued): Khabi Mngoma's cultural and socio-medical work on the Witwatersrand as Senior Medical Representative and Public Relations Officer of Reckitt & Colman (Africa) Ltd, 1964 - 1975.

By the early 1960s, a pressing need for the implementation and dissemination of health education and general sanitary awareness in the townships of the Witwatersrand was distressingly evident. Employment for health inspectors had always been scarce during the first half of the twentieth century, and therefore educational institutions at tertiary level in South Africa were obliged to abandon courses on the subject of health education and social hygiene (Horrell 1963:59).¹

It was against the background of the rapidly deteriorating health conditions in the townships that Reckitt & Colman seized the opportunity to market and promote its products among the African communities of the Witwatersrand, (including Mamelodi and Atteridgeville near Pretoria), placing specific emphasis on the use of Dettol as disinfectant. To this end Reckitt & Colman launched a vital and effective campaign, called 'The Battle for Health against Disease Campaign', and one in which Khabi Mngoma became deeply involved. (With reference to 'The Battle for Health against Disease Campaign in Schools', vide Bok - The Reckitt & Colman Magazine, No 9, January 1966:1.)

In collaboration with Gordon Strachen (referred to in a previous chapter), Khabi Mngoma's new employment entailed the promotion, advertising and marketing of Reckitt & Colman pharmaceutical products among African medical doctors and nurses, the presentation of talks and film shows to adult education groups on health and hygiene, and in particular, talks on these subjects at primary and secondary schools. Health posters and wall charts, promoting the use of Dettol, and placed at strategic points in these educational institutions, were an

important part of the programme (*ibid*; also according to personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

For the first two months at Reckitt & Colman, Khabi Mngoma occupied himself with the study of the various drugs marketed by the company, as well as the techniques of medical representation. However, since his work demanded a certain amount of travelling about, he also found himself immersed in the business of learning to drive a car!

One of the requirements for the job was a driver's licence; I told them that I did have one - but did not realize at the time that they were indeed referring to a car licence, and mine was actually a scooter licence... So, when they presented me with a company car, we found that we had been talking at cross purposes!

It would of course be out of the question for Reckitt & Colman's Medical Representative to be going about his business on a scooter, so the end of the matter was my spending the entire months of September and October 1964 in a company car in the grounds of Reckitt & Colman, frantically learning to drive. I've never been so sick and tired of being in a car!

Reckitt & Colman was quite happy to put me through my paces for the rest of 1964. I failed the driver's test thrice, but at last obtained the licence after the fourth attempt - towards the end of October that year. Only then, of course, was I allowed to take a company car home, where I was met with great jubilation by the family! Sibongile insisted, that night, on sleeping in the car (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

Having had a considerable amount of contact with medical doctors in the past up to that stage - ie from friendship circles as well as from his musical activities, which in many cases were patronized by medical doctors - Khabi Mngoma easily adapted to the new job routine. He also found that his background as a hygiene teacher benefitted his approach, and being married to a professional nurse certainly was of an added advantage!

(Grace Mngoma, Khabi Mngoma's late wife, was employed as a nurse by the Health Department of the Johannesburg City Council at the time; ibid).

Already during his first year of working for Reckitt & Colman, 1965, Khabi Mngoma distributed 1750 Dettol wall charts in primary and secondary schools, advertising 'The Battle for Health against Disease Campaign'.

The rationale of this campaign was: that it is indeed a good thing to sweep out a classroom and the school premises, but that it is better to sweep and to scrub, but even better still to sweep, scrub, and polish. (Reckitt & Colman marketed Nugget boot polish, Cobra and Sunbeam floor polishes, antiseptics for toilets and so on; ibid)

Interclassroom and interschool cleanliness competitions were held regularly, which involved weekly and monthly inspections during which marks were allocated for tidiness and cleanliness. A challenge trophy was awarded to the winning school on a monthly basis.

In 1965 the competitions were run in ten schools (Bok, January 1966:1), but subsequently the activity expanded so much that it eventually involved the inspection of up to twenty schools per week (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

To implement the programme in high schools, Khabi Mngoma conducted a series of lectures covering the topic 'The Road to Health' (Bok, January 1966:1), which included a discussion of the history and development of antiseptics, with reference to their various inventors, and gradually leading the topic up to the main theme of the lectures, ie the actual manufacture of Dettol as an effective antiseptic (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985). Other products marketed by Reckitt & Colman were also reviewed, with emphasis placed on the vital importance of health awareness and hygiene. This was followed by an essay competition in the same year, 1965, when Khabi Mngoma invited pupils to write and submit essays on the subject of his lectures. Over two thousand essays were marked and corrected in detail by Khabi Mngoma

personally, and '... over one hundred book prizes and certificates of merit were awarded for the best efforts and the school with the highest... standards [of hygiene] was awarded a silver cup' (Bok, January 1966:1).

Apart from these prizes, thirty bursaries were presented to pupils of outstanding merit, who might otherwise have been forced to leave school because of financial difficulties, to continue through high school (*ibid*). The prize-giving ceremony, held on Thursday 2 December 1965, attended by various prominent African educationists, including the Inspector of Schools for the Western Townships at the time, '... was a big occasion in the lives of 1400 pupils from ten high schools in the Johannesburg African Townships, who crowded the Orlando YMCA' (*ibid*).

Every child present at the event received gifts in the form of Reckitt & Colman pharmaceutical products, as well as refreshments.

The campaign proved to be highly successful from its very inception. Within one year Dettol became a household word to over 85 000 school children, and about 1500 teachers in the Johannesburg area alone (*ibid*). The programme continued to expand, and because of the vast proportions assumed by the public relations and medical representation work, as well as the extensive geographical area which had to be covered, the employment of two additional medical representatives to assist Khabi Mngoma became necessary (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985). Subsequently any number of schools between twenty and forty would be selected to compete with each other, being subjected to regular weekly inspections for neatness and cleanliness.

Twice a year, at the beginning of each semester, about twenty to thirty schools would be selected to present drama shows to the public, where plays, written by the pupils themselves on themes relating to 'The Battle for Health against Disease', were to be enacted, each play illustrating the siege of health by disease (*ibid*). The adjudication of these drama shows was managed by the Health Department of the Johannesburg City Council.² These events were held at Mofolo Park in Soweto, and drew a huge response from the public, who turned out

in their thousands to see the shows (*ibid*). All the competitive opportunities yielded by 'The Battle of Health against Disease Campaign' were keenly responded to by the schools and pupils.

Khabi Mngoma gradually became aware of the fact that he was coming to be regarded almost as a father figure among the children of the townships - who would stop and wave at him whenever they caught sight of him in the streets of Soweto (*ibid*). In professional circles, his work for Reckitt & Colman became widely acknowledged for its unique contribution to African education. In 1969 he was hailed by the African Teachers' Association for his endless labours towards securing bursaries for deserving students. In a letter (dated 9 January 1969) to the local Director of Reckitt & Colman (Africa), F A Crawshaw, the General Secretary of the Transvaal United African Teachers' Association at the time, I E Zwane, extended his gratitude to the company for its meaningful work in the townships:

At its annual conference, held at Lenyenye Township, Tzaneen, in the Letaba District, the TUATA resolved that a letter of thanks and appreciation be written to the Board of Directors of Reckitt & Colman, thanking them for the wonderful aid they had granted to African pupils, by providing book bursaries to deserving students; and also expressing the appreciation of the teachers to the company for the good liaison work executed by your Sales Representative, Khabi Mngoma, who is highly regarded and respected by teachers.

...

My association wished to express its most sincere appreciation to you, Sir, and your Board of Directors for this magnanimous gesture to the progress of African education. Through this book bursary scheme, some boy or girl will be afforded an opportunity they would otherwise be denied, that of pursuing further study.

In the same letter an appeal is made to Reckitt & Colman for the extension of the book bursary scheme, '... to include all secondary and high schools in the province', stating that through such a scheme, '... the battle against illiteracy would, in another decade, be eliminated in this province'. (The writer does not know whether this request was granted.)

In spite of the heavy demands imposed on Khabi Mngoma's time and energy by his combined responsibilities for Reckitt & Colman and Dorkay House (Union Artists, the Ionian Music Society and the African Music and Drama Association), his musical activities administered from Dorkay House were in no ways deterred, but actually thrived.

In the process of advertising Reckitt & Colman's products, I cashed in, and my musical activities were able to prosper (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

He virtually worked around the clock, attending to his duties, having a thirteen hour working day and a working week of seven days. 'I worked for Reckitt & Colman from 08h00 until 15h30, and then left for Dorkay House to teach music and to tend to other AMDA responsibilities' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

At Reckitt & Colman's annual Christmas parties, held for employees and their families in the Thembisa Community Hall either late in November or early in December, Khabi Mngoma would bring along his Youth Orchestra from Dorkay House and give a performance of Christmas music. He would also engage a 'magician' to do some stunts - to the great amusement and excitement of the children! Some added excitement were the athletic races for adults held at these events, and which were witnessed by the children with great interest and enthusiasm - to see whose parents could run the fastest! 'We also used to get the mothers and fathers to sing community songs. It was all very enjoyable' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

When Khabi Mngoma and his family left the Witwatersrand for Zululand in 1975, the loss of a great man to the area was felt by all who had grown to know, love and admire him.

Notes

1. According to Horrell (1963:60)

... a part-time course for African sanitary inspectors was available at the Witwatersrand Technical College, and the Kimberley and Port Elizabeth Technical Colleges ran courses for health visitors.

Horrell also states that

... a B Sc (Hygiene) course was offered for some years at Fort Hare to train health inspectors, but this was discontinued in 1953 because of the difficulty in finding employment for graduates (*ibid*:59).

2. Vide reference made to drama as a cultural and educational factor and social institution, by Dhlomo in Bantu World, 21 October 1933, cited by Coplan 1985:125.

Zululand

(The fifth period): Khabi Mngoma establishes the Music Department of the University of Zululand in 1975. His duties and activities at the University until his retirement in December 1987.

A brief account of the history of the Music Department of the University of Zululand

The University of Zululand, or the 'University College of Zululand', as it was initially called, was founded in 1959¹ and started functioning in 1960 (personal communication, Professor Thembela, April 1986).

According to Professor A P Du Plessis, Head of the University of Zululand Department of Sociology, no thought was given during the initial stages of the institution's existence, to establishing a Music Department, and this continued to be the case right through the 1960s. The reason for this was that Music was not regarded as a subject that was 'basic to one's education' (personal communication, Professor A P Du Plessis, April 1986).

Although many academics resent the situation, occupation orientation is the key to the official accent on courses presented at the University of Zululand, the motivation being the socio-economic circumstances of the university students, which prompt them to join the work force as soon as they possibly can. 'Very few students enjoy the luxury of postgraduate studies' (*ibid*). Professor Du Plessis also explained that, in the light of the fact that the University of Zululand resorted under the Department of Bantu Education at the time,² and that finances were limited in accordance with a state department budget, the introduction of a course in music would not have been approved by the authorities concerned. This factor (limited financial resources) was the main reason why the University of Zululand had to concentrate on 'basic subjects', with special attention to the training of school

teachers. Therefore, emphasis was placed on the Physical Sciences, Mathematics, History and Languages, and subjects which would 'train' students for a profession. (Professor Du Plessis pointed out that it could be debated that the purpose of a university is to educate and not to train). Music was regarded as a communal activity, and not as basically essential to education in a 'developing' country such as the Republic of South Africa.

However, since the inception of the University of Zululand, a live musical interest was evident among the students, who showed a particular inclination for choral singing (personal communication, Professor Thembela, April 1986). To meet this interest, the Zulu composer, Reuben Caluza, who lived in the vicinity of KwaDlangezwa where the University of Zululand is situated, was appointed by the university in 1962 to give lectures on choral music, on a part-time basis (Mngoma 1984:4), in the Department of Education³ as an elementary course '... to increase the scope of the Teachers' Training Courses', ie as part of either the Teacher's Diploma course or the BA (Teaching) degree (Report, 22 March 1978). 'Students had to show musical interest rather than the necessary musical capacity' (sic; *ibid*). In this way Caluza became the first person to teach music at the University of Zululand. He, however, left the University before 1965 (personal communication, Professor Thembela, April 1986).

Caluza was succeeded by Professor Thembela, who joined the University of Zululand in 1965 (*ibid*), and taught School Music as an optional subject for the Secondary Teacher's Diploma course. He also subsequently became the conductor of the University of Zululand Students' Choir and thus, in the words of Professor Du Plessis (*ibid*), more or less '... represented music at the university'.

Part of the University of Zululand's choral programme was to invite other choirs to give concerts at the university, such as the University of the Free State Choir and the Stellenbosch University Choir. These concerts were extremely popular among the students, as well as among school children of the district, who came from far and wide to attend them. 'This gave the feeling that music would fulfil a wonderful role at the university, but it nevertheless continued to be regarded as an informally organized activity' (meaning a recreational activity and not an educational one; *ibid*).

During the course of Professor Thembela's music teaching and choir activities, he came to the conclusion that it was essential that Music become recognized by the University as an examination subject. He subsequently wrote a memorandum to this effect, recommending to the Senate of the University of Zululand, that either a Department of Music, or a section for Music Studies affiliated to some other department, should be established to cater for students who wished to become qualified music teachers. Professor Thembela's memorandum was motivated by the problems he experienced in trying to teach music to adults who had never before encountered the formal subject, called 'Music'. (Formal music studies do not exist in the school curricula of African schools.)

Some foundation had to be laid, which would provide the necessary musical background at school level for those pupils who would want to study Music at a University. It was a long time before those in authority considered this matter (*ibid*).

It was during these years (the latter half of the 1960s) that Khabi Mngoma embarked on a number of extensive country-wide concert tours with the Ionian Music Society. These included a concert given at the University of Zululand, in 1966. Thereafter the Ionians received invitations to present concerts at the university, ie in 1969, 1970 and 1971. It was on these occasions that Khabi Mngoma came to the attention of the Rector of the University of Zululand at the time, Professor J A Mare, who admired the participation of both adults and children in the musical performances. He thought that this was the ideal type of activity that could be utilized by the University of Zululand as an outreach to the community (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

At this point, a committee of two, comprising Professor Haasbroek and Professor Senekal, was delegated by the Senate to investigate the feasibility of introducing formal Music Studies at the University of Zululand (personal communication, Professor Thembela, April 1986). After visiting several other South African universities during their investigation, Professors Haasbroek and Senekal submitted a report in favour of such a development (*ibid*). Subsequently Yvonne Huskisson was called in to evaluate the situation and to advise the

Senate as to the material needs that would be involved in starting a Department of Music. Instruments were bought accordingly (personal communication, Professor A P Du Plessis, April 1986).

It was decided that a Department of Music be established which would be attached to the Department of History, for the exclusive reason that Professor Haasbroek, who was the Head of the History Department (as mentioned before), became the temporary Head of the Music Department through lottery! This method of choosing a temporary Head for the Music Department was implemented since nobody felt inclined to take on the extra administrative work that would be involved in launching the new department (*ibid*).

The University of Zululand envisaged creating a Music Department with a unique accent. That is, not only would Western Music be offered in its courses, but also African Music, which would promote the study of 'indigenous' music in the southern African region (*ibid*). 'The Senate felt that this would be indicative of what the eventual trend of musical studies at southern African Universities would, or should, be' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

It was recommended that Ethnomusicology be included in the syllabus, and that special dedication be given to the study and documentation of Zulu musical traditions. It was also stipulated that the future Head of the Music Department should be a speaker of the Zulu language (Memorandum, 14 June 1983; Minutes, 4 November 1980). 'African music must be developed as a high priority... The Council viewed the development of African Music (Studies) seriously' (*ibid*).⁴

Professor Thembela foresaw the danger of appointing a highly qualified musician who might not be sympathetic to, or have an understanding of, the poor academic musical background of the students who would enrol for Music at the University (personal communication, Professor Thembela, April 1986). It was fortunate that Professor Mare held a similar view. Both of them felt that Khabi Mngoma would be the ideal person to fill the post, as he had the necessary academic qualifications as well as the desired insight into the background of the students (*ibid*).⁵

Khabi Mngoma was therefore approached by Professor Thembela in 1974, to consider moving to Zululand to establish the Music Department at the University.

Khabi Mngoma was very reluctant to leave the Ionian Music Society and his work at Dorkay House, and it took much persuasion on behalf of Professor Thembela to talk him into accepting the new post, a decision that Khabi Mngoma subsequently regretted. Nevertheless, in 1975 Khabi Mngoma became Senior Lecturer in the Department of Music at the University of Zululand until 1979, when he was appointed Associate Professor (*curriculum vitae*, Khabi Mngoma, January 1983). By then the Music Department had already acquired full status as an autonomous department, independent of the History Department.

Because Khabi Mngoma's initial post was not a full professorship, academic advisors were appointed, namely Yvonne Huskisson, Professor Malan from the University of Port Elizabeth and Professor Christopher Ballantine from the University of Natal. The latter remained in this capacity until 31 December 1979.⁶

General considerations; Khabi Mngoma introduces a Theory of Music bridging programme to aid students in attaining the required university entrance qualifications

One of Khabi Mngoma's assignments was to structure courses in Music '... that would mirror the South African musical scene'(Mngoma 1982, 'Music in South Africa in the '80s...'), ie, the courses had to be related to the culture of the students (Mngoma 1981:14).⁷ Khabi Mngoma said that he had to keep in mind the fact that his students would '... come mainly from African communities with a diversity of musical styles' (Mngoma 1982, 'Music in South Africa in the '80s...'). He continued: 'We thus had to structure a programme that would have a bearing on South African (aesthetics of music) as well as accommodate Western style(s) and aesthetics' (*ibid*).

In his lecture, titled 'Music Teaching at the University of Zululand', which he delivered at the First Symposium on Ethnomusicology in 1980 (Mngoma 1981:14-22), Khabi Mngoma explained that the University of Zululand attempted

... to make available to (the) student the treasures of African folk music to which, coming from a mainly Western-type cultural background of the mission station and township ghetto, he is altogether new (*ibid*:16-17).

In the same lecture Khabi Mngoma also stated that the type of student who studies at the University of Zululand, comes from '... a hybrid culture comprising African and Occidental worlds', and that he is predominantly christianized (*ibid*:14). In other words, the majority of Unizulu students have lived in mission stations or missionary areas where the influence of Christianity and education have promoted a Western musical enculturation (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

As mentioned earlier, it was Professor Thembela's view (and directive) that the Unizulu music student be adequately trained to teach Music in schools on a sound, knowledgeable basis, so that school pupils who would wish to study for music degrees at university level, would be qualified to do so. Professor Thembela said (personal communication, April 1986) that he mourned the fact that '... this idea got lost altogether', due to the fact that the Unizulu Music Department had to be structured according to the requirements and standards expected of University Music Departments in general, and so do not cater for the need of African music students, who are disadvantaged as far as pre-university musical education is concerned. What Professor Thembela had in mind for the Unizulu music students, was a procedure which was comparable with that which was adopted at the University of Fort Hare: the opportunity for educationally deprived students to end in a senior high school course, but as soon as there were enough matriculant Africans, proper university courses would be introduced (Horrell 1963:29).

This type of 'partial compensation' so to speak, was initially not part of the University of Zululand's preparations for the establishment of the Music Department, in spite of Professor Thembela's appeals for a university programme in music that would provide adequate training for school pupils, in order to prepare them for university level music studies. However, it should be noted and appreciated that Khabi Mngoma, on his own initiative, introduced such a programme, which he conducted extramurally at his home on Thursday nights, so that students who did not have the required entrance qualification of a Grade V University of South Africa

Music Theory certificate (Mngoma 1981:15),⁸ for acceptance into a Music degree course at the University of Zululand, would have the opportunity to qualify themselves to this end. Most of the students had to make use of these extra classes.⁹ Khabi Mngoma also intended this group of students

... to become the core of a group set apart for the purposes of group musical performances, ie a group that would perform a wide range of repertoire, and therefore were to comprise knowledgeable musicians (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

It should also be noted that the nucleus of the University of Zululand Music Department in its initial stages comprised previous pupils of Khabi Mngoma from Johannesburg and Soweto (Report, 22 March 1978).

Developments in the University of Zululand Music Department, and particulars concerning curriculum planning and course structures

Prior to 1977, Music was offered as a subject forming part of the Teacher Training Courses in the Department of Education. In 1977, however, it was decided to introduce fully-fledged courses in music to cater for those students who wanted to specialize in music. Accordingly, a Teacher Diploma course in Music and a BA Music Degree were implemented in 1987 (*ibid*).

The aims and objectives of future University of Zululand Music graduates were: (i) to fill music posts in Secondary Schools and Teacher Training Colleges, (ii) to fill posts as Inspectors of Music for such institutions, (iii) to conduct ethnomusicological research at the University of Zululand, and (iv) to become musical leaders in society (*ibid*). Khabi Mngoma also stated (in personal communication from Khabi Mngoma on numerous occasions) that the University of Zululand Music Department aimed at '... evolving a South African spirit in its music programme'. In a Report written in 1979 (30 April 1979) Khabi Mngoma wrote the following:

Our B Mus graduate shall, hopefully, be first a musicologist, musician and music educator...

As musicologist he will be able to identify those features in our music which are peculiar to it, eg which features derive from its languages. As a musician... he will compose and perform

his music... (As far as composition is concerned) our B Mus can only provide the graduates with the facility to be in advance of most of their musical predecessors and use this Western technical know-how with their Africanism to create a neo-Africanism in musical composition... It will be the more lasting contribution of our work.

In order to put emphasis on African music, the BA Music degree course was structured in such a way that the orientation during the first semester was towards Western music, and during the second semester, towards African music. The postgraduate courses were also planned with these factors in mind (Memorandum, 14 June 1983; also in Mngoma 1981). Khabi Mngoma explained that the reason behind organizing the courses in this way, was because Western music has a notational system whereas African music has not (there is no one standard notation system that can be applied to all African music), and because a major aim at the University of Zululand Music Department is to instil music literacy into the students, who, musically speaking, come from a predominantly non-literate background (Mngoma 1981:17). In matters pertaining to Theory of Music, musical examples for studying purposes were therefore to be taken from both Western and African musical sources,¹⁰ so as to develop musical literacy in African music as well.

By the year 1986, several undergraduate programmes were being offered at the University of Zululand Music Department, which included the following:

- (1) A three year programme leading to a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree in Music, the first two years comprising Practical Studies, History of Music,¹¹ Theory of Music and a language chosen from any of the following: English, Zulu, Afrikaans or German, and the third year consisting of Practical Studies and Theory of Music, with History of Music as an optional course.
- (2) A four year programme leading to a B Paed (Bachelor of Pedagogics) degree, with specialization in Music, the first two years comprising Practical Studies, Theory of Music or History of Music, Pedagogics, and another approved subject, the third year being dedicated to the study of Method of Music (ie Music Education) and professional courses related to education and teaching, and the fourth year consisting of Practical Studies, Pedagogics and another approved subject. In this programme a Senior Secondary Teacher's Diploma could be

awarded after three years, which enabled a student to gain some practical teaching experience in the field before returning to the university to complete the fourth year of the degree course.

(3) A three year programme leading to a composite Bachelor of Arts degree, consisting of one or more music courses and other approved subjects, chosen according to the university requirements for acceptable subject combinations.

(4) In a fourth programme, Music could form part of (i) a composite B Paed programme, or (ii) a Secondary Teacher's Diploma, or (iii) a University Education Diploma ('Opportunities in Music', 1985:4-5).

Initially the African Music studies were restricted to the study of African indigenous musical traditions which prevailed within the borders of southern Africa (ca from latitude 14 degrees south) (Mngoma 1981:20), but, with the introduction of a postgraduate music course in 1987, this eventually changed to include studies of African musical traditions belonging to geographical areas outside southern Africa as well. As explained by Khabi Mngoma at the First Ethnomusicology Symposium in 1980:

We felt we should start with our own [music] and explore this. We hope to have in our postgraduate studies more of ethnic musical types outside South Africa (sic). We haven't gone beyond South Africa as yet. The first year level is more Zulu/Nguni music, the 2nd year level Nguni/Sotho music, then 3rd year level what is known as 'others', Venda, Chopi, Bushman (sic) and so on (*ibid*).

The B Mus degree as set forth for 1987 ('Publication for Restructuring B Mus Degree...', 1986) implemented the studies of African action songs, speech tones and rhythms pertaining to African music; percussion ensembles, the studies of social contexts of African musical traditions, African influences in Caribbean and Latin American music; African didactic songs and ceremonial music, African influence in blues, ragtime and jazz; vocal polyphony in African music; early African religious music, and the study of various African composers and their respective styles and compositions. The course programme also included a comparative study of traditional music from different parts of Africa, as well as studies of modern trends in 'serious', 'popular' and 'commercial' styles in both Western and African music. Finally students had to participate in African ensemble

playing. In the fourth year of this degree course, students were to submit a dissertation based on original research into African music (*ibid*).

In 1987 an Honours degree in Music was instituted,

... an Honours programme with a distinctly African component, reflecting and incorporating the indigenous culture of Zululand, which (would) prepare students adequately to make a full contribution to the cultural life of the community (*ibid*).

Honours degree students could choose to make (i) a detailed study of a selected period in Western Classical music, or (ii) a detailed study of an approved topic in African music, for submission as a monograph at the end of their year of study.

Aspects concerning various music subjects studied at the University of Zululand

Transcription/Dictation and Musical Composition

Apart from offering the standard subjects in music, all the music courses conducted at the University of Zululand have, since their inception, placed great emphasis on the transcription and documentation of African music (with special emphasis given to rhythmic dictation) and on musical composition as well, using as models features gleaned from existing documentary sources of African music, as well as in the students' own documentation exercises conducted at the university (Mngoma 1981:15).

In the course descriptions for 1987 ('Publication for Restructuring B Mus Degree...', 1986) it was stated that the subject Transcription required 'techniques of recording and transcribing indigenous African music'. During the years that Khabi Mngoma was the Head of the Music Department,¹² four hours per week were dedicated to dictation in each course level (Mngoma 1981:19). Western music notation was used in these exercises. At the end of each transcription (or 'dictation') exercise, the student had to present one tonic sol-fa transcription and one staff notation transcription on the conventional stave, as well as the conceptualized version on a circular stave, illustrating the relation between the call and response phrases of a particular song.¹³

Certain modifications to standard Western notational symbols were introduced to adapt the latter for the transcription of Nguni vocal music. That is, a sharp '... that is sharper than a sharp (of Western music conceived in the equal tempered pitch system), but not quite double sharp', was indicated by drawing a sharp sign with three vertical lines instead of the standard two. Flats that were 'flatter than flat', were drawn with a loop at the top of the flat sign (Mngoma 1981:20). Other indications of pitch inflections included: prefixing a plus (+) sign where a note was to be raised by more than a semitone (eg + $\sharp$), prefixing a minus (-) sign where a note was to be raised by less than a semitone (eg - $\sharp$), prefixing a plus sign where a note was to be flattened by more than a semitone (ie a + followed by a flat sign), and prefixing a minus sign where a note was to be flattened by less than a semitone (ie a - followed by a flat sign) ('Guide to Transcribing and Documentation of Indigenous Music', study notes, 3 September 1980). Each transcription had to be accompanied by annotations indicating which features of the transcription were Western features (which might have crept in as a result of contact with Western musical traditions), and which were 'indigenous', African musical features (*ibid*). Elsewhere ('The Transcription of Music - a suggested procedure', study notes, undated) Khabi Mngoma indicated to his students that it was important for them to decide which features and elements of a particular item, subjected to transcription, were essential and 'authentic' to the item, as performers of African music tend to bring in subtle variations from one performance to the next.

A standard procedure followed by Khabi Mngoma in his African song classes at the University of Zululand was first to teach a new song to his students by rote ('... as this is the traditional way of learning a new song'), and then requesting the class to transcribe it. (This was observed by the writer during a folk song class conducted by Khabi Mngoma at the University of Zululand on 12 September 1985.)

During the process of transcribing numerous Zulu songs at the University of Zululand, Khabi Mngoma and his students identified what they termed a 'vocabulary of motifs' (Mngoma 1981:19). They found that the words in Zulu songs occur with, or are vocalized according to a standard 'vocabulary of some twelve to twenty motifs', or distinguishable recurring rhythmic figures, which, if known, make transcription fairly easy (*ibid*).

As mentioned before, Khabu Mngoma encouraged his students to compose music 'in a South African idiom' - pieces with distinguishable African as well as Western features, as these are - in the words of Khabu Mngoma - the two worlds that constitute the cultural reality of African life in southern Africa. Khabu Mngoma believes that '... the eventual sound of South African music will be a musical eclecticism dominated by our indigenous music' (Report, 30 April 1979). He also said that the B Mus degree offered at the University of Zululand was structured with this fact in mind - '... even at the risk of becoming parochial' (*ibid*). For instance, in a 'folk' song class observed by the writer (on 12 September 1985), Khabu Mngoma mentioned the possibility of adapting the structure and style of Zulu umakhweyana bow music to a composition for piano.

Thus, in their studies of the indigenous music of southern Africa, the students had to establish for themselves characteristics of this music in terms of scalar patterns, tonal inflections, rhythmic figures and so on, with a view to writing their own compositions to given words, utilizing these characteristic musical phenomena (Mngoma 1981:17).¹⁴ This included the study of choral compositions composed by the so-called 'African eclectic composers' (a term used by Khabu Mngoma) of southern Africa, which constitute the major part of the repertoire sung by African choirs in the subcontinent.¹⁵

At the University of Zululand we are exploring and probing the hundreds of choral works of African composers - because this is the medium they write for. Most of the material is unpublished (Mngoma 1982, 'The Correlation of Folk and Art Music...':68).

Regarding these works, Khabu Mngoma pointed out (*ibid*; Mngoma 1968; personal communication, August and September 1985) that, even though their composers did not possess extensive Western techniques of composition, or 'musical literacy', these works are nevertheless of great value to the student:

A good many of these composers are 'boo-ed' because they compose in the vernacular and use tonic sol-fa notation, but my own attitude is that it is music nevertheless. When you sing it, you recognize it as music, and it does something to the listeners that other music does not

succeed in doing.¹⁶ So, I feel it is worth having and worth propagating and it is worth performing (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

Elsewhere (Report, 30 April 1979) Khabi Mngoma stressed the fact that, in order to develop the students' technique of composition using indigenous materials, and to build on the works of their predecessors, a sound knowledge of the latter is necessary. Khabi Mngoma's view was supported by Professor Christopher Ballantine in a letter (Letter)¹⁷ to the Academic Registrar of the University of Zululand, E W Redelinghuys:

I cannot agree with Huskisson's view that few of the works of African composers '... warrant B Mus analysis at length'. On the contrary: even where these works are 'failures' (and not all of them are), they need detailed study so that the student composers can learn from the mistakes of their predecessors... I agree with Mngoma's view that composition should play an important part in the proposed B Mus degree at the University of Zululand. There is a great need for skilled composers of African art-music and the University of Zululand could and should be a pace-setter in this regard.

Expectations in Composition as set forth for 1987 ('Publication for Restructuring B Mus Degree...' 1986) included '... a paper requiring original composition in both Western and African styles' (for B Mus fourth year) and '...a folio of original compositions to be presented, at least some of which should incorporate authentic African techniques' (*ibid*).

Practical Studies

Practical Music Studies offered at the University of Zululand included vocal studies - sacred and secular Western classical compositions and African eclectic choral works, as well as African songs and dances accompanied by handclapping and drumming; the playing of Western, classical instruments - piano, violin, viola, violoncello and double bass; guitar, trumpet, trombone, French horn, bassoon, saxophone and clarinet. The Annual Report for the financial year ending 31 March 1983 (Report, 11 March 1983) also mentioned one accordion, one disco set (used by members of the Students' Artists Union) and various electronic instruments

in use at the Music Department, the latter of which included a Hammond Organ, one Lowry Organ, three electric guitars and two electronic keyboard instruments.

Practical study requirements also included the gaining of some experience in performing on African instruments indigenous to the southern African region and neighbouring countries, eg musical bows,¹⁸ drums, xylophones and mbiras/lamellophones.

There were six mbiras in the Music Department's collection of instruments, four of which were the adaptation of the 'original'¹⁹ by the late Hugh Tracey, which has seventeen thumb-plucked steel tongues (lamellae), tuned to a G major scale, and the other two being prototypes of the Venda Mbila dza madeza, which has twenty-two lamellae (Report, 30 April 1979). Khabi Mngoma found that, whereas the Tracey mbira was popular among the students, the Mbila dza madeza was not (*ibid*).

Timbila (Chopi xylophone) Studies were initially prescribed as a major practical study as from 1975, apparently as advised by Yvonne Huskisson, but this did not prove to be a successful venture. In spite of the fact that Khabi Mngoma had arranged with Andrew Tracey to spend four to six months each year at the University of Zululand to assist in the building of timbila xylophones and to give instruction in playing these instruments, Khabi Mngoma found that, since as early as 1976, no students showed any further interest in it, and it was therefore concluded that Timbila as a major practical study was not warranted. Khabi Mngoma's explanation for this was that

... it is not part of traditional music-making around Zululand and KwaZulu. Parents and sponsors were unwilling to support a student who had no assurance that he would be able to make a living by playing or teaching it [timbila] (*ibid*).

Owing to the absence of interest in timbila playing and a lack of funds to acquire these instruments, the practical subject Timbila was taken off the curriculum. Professor Ballantine wrote that '... it is not practical to initiate students into the art of timbila making' (Letter).²⁰

However, an instrument 'of "toy" proportions' was used in the Method of Music course, and four timbila were utilized in a 'Saturday Children's Music Creativity Programme' (*ibid*). The mbila lamellophone however, continued to be taught in the African music section of the curriculum (*ibid*),²¹ and the Dave Dargie²² marimbas (manufactured at the Lumko Institute in Transkei) were introduced into the curriculum for use in ensemble playing.²³

The technology of musical instruments

Music students also had to study the technology of Western as well as African musical instruments. Expectations in this subject as set forth for 1987 ('Publication for Restructuring B Mus degree...', 1986) comprised a thorough knowledge of the structure, maintenance, and repair of one or more instruments of the Western and/or African type.

African dancing

African dancing also formed part of the curriculum. African dances studied and performed by Unizulu music students, and by the University of Zululand Choir as well (which was directed by Khabi Mngoma from 1975 until the end of 1984),²⁴ constituted dances derived mainly from ukugiya solo dancing,²⁵ called indlamu,²⁶ which, in the words of Msomi (May 1975:63), '... generate a high level of excitement among the Zulu people' (*ibid*), and therefore, in contrast to timbila playing, proved to be very popular among the students and audiences. Indlamu dancing usually featured in concerts and other performances held by, or at, the University of Zululand, either by Unizulu students or guest artists, such as the Felixton Ndlamu Dancers who gave a performance of indlamu during the Third Annual Music Festival, held at the University of Zululand from 9 to 16 September 1978.

Seminars on African music were held on a regular basis. In 1981 alone, thirteen seminars on African Music were held during the second semester (Report, March 1982). Special courses in various subjects were also a standard part of the Music Department's programme, such as the course in Theory of Music which was held in 1981 for the Music Inspectorates of the Department of Education and Training, and the Department of Education and Culture respectively, which also gave attention to aspects of choral training (Programme Outline,

11 to 13 March 1981). Other examples include a number of Conductors' Workshops held on 9, 10 and 11 March 1982, on 16, 17 and 18 February 1983, as well as on 10 March 1983 (Report, 11 March 1983). A Festival of African Arts, arranged by an organization of the University of Zululand called Art Communication (which necessarily involved the Faculty of Arts, including the Music Department), was held at the Umlazi Campus in September and October 1984, and consisted of a two-week programme of workshops in theatre, the visual arts, music and literature (Address, Khabi Mngoma, 30 September 1984). Music concerts, including jazz concerts, were held on a regular basis, and often as a specific fund-raising venture, such as the 'Drought Relief Concert', presented in the Bhekuzulu Hall of the University of Zululand, on 21 April 1983 (Report Addendum, 16 March 1984).²⁷ The funds raised by the concert were paid to the Sunday Tribune Drought Relief Fund (*ibid*). Whenever the opportunity lent itself, guest artists were accommodated as well, such as Peggy Haddon, who visited the University of Zululand on two occasions, once as a guest artist and once as an external examiner, arriving a day earlier to give a piano recital (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

Assignments

Assignments handed out in the University of Zululand Music Department covered aspects of Western and African Musicology, and Composition. For example, in 1982 assignments for first-, second- and third year students included: (i) the submission of a paper discussing the problems associated with transcribing African music, with proposals of methods to overcome them; (ii) writing an illustrated essay on the manufacture, mode of playing, scale system and use of either the mbira lamellophone or marimba fixed-key xylophone and/or any African bow instrument; (iii) an essay discussing the 'indigenisation' of a church hymn; (iv) a composition exercise - with or without a text - of a piece for either solo voice with instrumental accompaniment, or choir, or violin with instrumental accompaniment, or a piano solo. It was stipulated that the piece 'must have recognizable African music characteristics' (Bulletin/Report, 24 August 1982); (v) doing an analysis of discernable characteristics of African folk music (sic) in the choral works of Mohapeloa, J S M Khumalo, Myathaza, Raseleso and C B Qweshu, with references to, and illustrations from, choral literature.

Students were to use their lecture notes and the Journal of African Music Society Series published by the International Library of African Music (Grahamstown) as their sources of reference (*ibid*).

Problems: Khabi Mngoma experiences difficulties due to the limited existing documented resource material in African music; his efforts to rectify the situation

Khabi Mngoma stated that the problem of 'a lack of resource material' proved to be a serious impediment to potential progress in the African Music Studies carried out at the University of Zululand, as '... only a small part of the musicology of African music is available in print'(Mngoma 1980, 'Study of the Musicology of African Music...').²⁸

Regarding the existing documentation of African music, Khabi Mngoma discovered that

... the black student felt that this (material) has archival merit more than a relevance and practical applicability to his experience and aesthetic growth (Mngoma 1982, 'Music in South Africa in the '80s...').

Khabi Mngoma himself holds the opinion that the greater percentage of past research into southern African indigenous music cultures, '... did not seem to relate to contemporary African ways of living and musical practices' (Mngoma 1980, 'Study of the Musicology of African Music...'). He feels that

... any African music that show(ed) foreign influences (was) discarded arbitrarily as non-African and not worthy of investigation, even though the African himself has accepted it as his own by adapting its foreign elements to his own idiom by the process of 'indigenisation' (ibid).

In his paper entitled 'African Music' (April 1977) Khabi Mngoma emphasises that the indigenisation of Western musical styles '... has to be acknowledged and analyzed' in musicological circles. He also feels that a major problem with existing documentary resource materials on African music is that it has mainly been the work of white musicologists, a fact that causes black students to resist these resources. It has been his experience that, although the findings of white scholars '... have been authentic', the mere fact that the initiative had come from non-Africans causes the black composer to ignore this research (Mngoma 1978). The operations of the African

Music Society and International Library of African Music has been accused of racism and ethnicity and therefore black composers tend to ignore its documentary work too (*ibid*). Khabi Mngoma maintains that

... the field has been (the) open ground of white musicological enthusiasts for the acquisition of post-graduate qualifications, without affecting the mainstream of black 'musically educated' thinking and composition techniques (Mngoma 1977).

He feels very strongly about the fact that '... the analysts must be black themselves to be able to exert the sort of influence that is likely to contribute to the survival of indigenous music' (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma therefore believes that '... a well-documented collection of music performed by Blacks at the present' is an absolute necessity (Mngoma 1980, 'Study of the Musicology of African Music...') and that the research and documentation of this music should be done by African musicologists themselves, who can speak with authority about their own music (Mngoma 1977). 'Analysts and theorists of black music are urgently needed if indigenous music is to survive' (*ibid*).

In order to rectify the situation at the University of Zululand, Khabi Mngoma engaged himself and his students in research projects into Zulu music, since 1978. In a research outline entitled 'Autochthonous Music Retrieval Series: Objectives, Procedure and Duration',²⁹ Khabi Mngoma stipulated the objectives of the research venture, the completion of which he envisaged to have had accomplished within a period of ten years.³⁰ According to the outline, the research projects would undertake to (i) retrieve aspects of older and newer Zulu music that are disappearing, (ii) document examples of older traditional music in a series of annual monographs, and (iii) have the results of all this work become an integral part of study material in the Department of Music. The documentary procedures followed would include the transcription and annotation of music from tape recordings made in field work, and from recordings made by the SABC Transcription Library (*ibid*).

In his unpublished manuscript entitled 'Study of the Musicology of African Music in South Africa' (1980) Khabi Mngoma mentioned the various musical traditions and categories of indigenous music that he felt needed urgent

documentation. These included: older traditions of wedding songs, ceremonial music, children's play songs and social songs, newer musical traditions of 'entertainment' music (referring to music performed by musicians before an audience, such as township jazz, rural pop, township theatre musicals and Zulu male traditional choir songs); liturgical music (which, according to his view, includes the hymns of the separatist churches, as well as diviners' invocation songs), and finally, the written traditions of composed eclectic choral music, composed by African composers from southern Africa (*ibid*).

For pragmatic reasons Khabi Mngoma started his research in the vicinity of the University of Zululand, where the adjoining black communities were/are heterogenous. 'Urban, peri-urban and strongly rural communities are easily accessible from the university' (*ibid*). Permission was granted by the Department of Education and Training for Khabi Mngoma to have free access to schools in KwaZulu, where he planned to research the music performed by scholars as individuals, as groups and as part of organized school activities. From the schools the communities were to be penetrated to reach organizations such as churches and other social groups, to establish contact with community activities that involved music-making (*ibid*).

The 'Folk Music Series I' was the first of these research projects to be launched and completed, in September 1978. It comprised the recording, transcription and annotation of thirty Zulu songs in nine categories, which included:

1. Two children's action songs, Amankeyana (the name of a Zulu children's game, more or less meaning 'passing pebbles'; the players sit in a circle), and Imithi Igoba Kahle ('Trees bend nicely');
2. Two drinking songs, Namhla Sengimuhle ('Today I am handsome/beautiful/pretty/acceptable') and Siphuma kwaMvelase ('We come from Mvelase's Place');
3. One harvesting song, Ake Siwahele ('Let us sift the Corn'; a corn thrashing song);
4. One hunting song, Shoba Lembuzi Emnyama ('shoba' refers to the decorative legging tied around the legs of dancers, which is usually an oxtail; 'lembuzi emnyama' refers to a black goat's hairy tail; therefore 'shoba lembuzi emnyama' refers to a decorative legging made of a black goat's tail;³¹ nowadays used as a dancing song);

5. Two cradle songs, Isilolo Senhliziyo ('My Heart's Feeling'; a mood song, sung by a person who is heavy-hearted), and Thula Sithandwa Sami ('Be quiet, my Beloved');
6. The national anthem Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika ('God bless Africa'), the original version composed by Enoch Sontonga, as well as the popular version sung all over southern Africa today, which is usually followed by Morena Boloka Sechaba and the coda Makube Njalo ('So be it'/'Amen');
7. Eight 'skits' or 'social songs', also referred to as 'political commentaries', namely Elakivabani ('Who does it belong to?'), Inja Emnyama ('The black Dog'), Izwe Liyaphenduka ('The World is changing'), Lenduna ('This Headman is a Liar'), Sibona Abafana Be Zulu ('We see Boys that belong to the Sky'), Ungaboyihleka Impukane ('Don't laugh at a Fly'), Wena okwaNodwengu ('You who belong to Nodwengu'; refers to the area of Nodwengu where King Cetshwayo lived; alludes to King Cetshwayo), and Uzawuzizwa ('You will hear or listen to yourself');
8. Six war and fighting songs, namely Badebele ('Allow them'), Kwakhala Inganono ('A Canon sounded'; refers to some battle that was fought in or near Vryheid), Mlandu Wezinkomo ('The Cattle Dispute'), Undaba Angazidla ('The King can confiscate them'), WeNduna (refers to a headman who is instigating war against a powerful adversary; his plans are being questioned;), and Heshe Nsizwa (a provocation to a stick fight);
9. Finally six wedding songs, including Uqhude Mama (a song which attempts to urge a newly wedded bride to get up early enough to go and draw water for the household. The song says that the cock has crowed once or twice, and she has not risen in time to attend to her chores;), Sidedele Sihambe ('Allow us to go'), Wethembi ('Hey, Thembi!'), Mangwane Nthekele Seranthabula (this is actually a South Sotho song, saying 'Aunt, buy me a well-decorated Blanket;'), Mangwane Mpulele (Sotho song included in the series; 'Maternal Aunt, open the Door for me'), and E! Motswala! ('Hey, Cousin').

The aims of the 'Folk Song Series Project I' (1978) were set out in accordance with the general aims and objectives of the proposed research into Zulu music, ie:

- (1) to provide source material for Unizulu music students in their study and analysis of Zulu music, as well as other styles of African musical traditions in southern Africa;
- (2) to provide a collection of songs for use in schools; and

(3) to provide composers with examples of older traditions of music '... from which to glean salient features... which give the music a "local" sound', for application in their compositions 'as a contribution to the mainstream of musical continuity' (*ibid*).³²

The transcriptions of the songs provide the texts, as well as paraphrases, descriptions of the social settings in which they occur, and explanations pertaining to the scale structures evinced by in the songs. Khabi Mngoma, however, stated that it was at times problematic to define the social setting of a particular song, due to the fact that the children who sang the songs had learnt them in contexts different from the original, such as in youth clubs, and therefore did not always know the traditional social context of the song. Khabi Mngoma also commented that the incongruity of gestures and body movements often betrayed this ignorance as to the social and historical backgrounds of the songs. 'Many of the gestures were "musical enough", but out of character' (*ibid*). This meant doing follow-up inquiries from parents, who in some cases, were also ignorant about the matter - an ignorance which has been related to '... having forgotten the finer points of traditional Zulu etiquette' (Khabi Mngoma, *ibid*, citing Rycroft 1975:63).

Khabi Mngoma refers to the problems experienced in attempting to standardize the songs through transcription, as one song often had as many versions or variants as there were performers.

Each group or individual performer felt his version was the authentic one. To be able to notate the item often meant having to fall back on one's personal experience in traditional music, one's understanding of what is acceptable in terms of good taste and style. Only in this way was the necessary standardization possible (Mngoma 1978).

The Folk Song Series I contains an important statement made by Khabi Mngoma which should be noted. He points out that the standardization of the songs through transcription processes should not curb inventiveness and creativity in performance. He further states very emphatically:

I refute forthrightly G Haazen's assertion that '... it is essential to African music that nothing is established or fixed and certainly not written beforehand' (Mngoma, *ibid*, quotes Haazen 1964:1). It is this type of assertion that has kept African music from developing an art music of its own and remaining a folk art. Writing down African music provides not only a basis for performance, but also the basis in the development of its musicology. Annotating African music will also contribute to musical literacy and education among Africans, and this is vital to the development of African art music (Mngoma 1978).

He also states that he regards the notion that it is '... impossible to write down African music' as a misguided judgement:

For a long time the vain cry has been that Western notation is inadequate for notating African music. This might be true, but even in Western music the limitations of notation are recognized (*ibid*).

It is unfortunate that the Folk Song Series I could never be supplemented with more such series' - mainly due to a lack of time - but Khabi Mngoma did, however, involve himself in various other documentation activities, albeit to a limited extent. One of these projects was the collection and documentation of the various national anthems of the southern African region - South Africa and her neighbouring states - collated in a manuscript which includes an analysis of the song texts, with their translations into English and a commentary on the correlation between the music and the lyrics (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985). The manuscript contains (i) the national anthem of Botswana, Fatshe leno la Rona ('This is our Country'), with words and music by Kgalemang Tumedisco Motsete (1900 - 1974); (ii) the national anthem of Bophuthatswana, Le Fatshe leno Leborra Rona rele abetswe ke Modimo ('This Country of our Forefathers, it was bestowed upon us by God'), by Izak Loots; (iii) the national anthem of Lesotho, Lesotho, Fatse la Bontat'a Rona ('Lesotho, Country of our Fathers'), with words by the French missionary Francois Coillard (1834 - 1904) and music by Ferdinand-Samuel Laur (1791 - 1854); (iv) the national anthem of Swaziland, Nkulunkulu, Mnikati Wetibusiso Temaswati ('O God, Bestower of the Blessings of the Swazi'), with words by Andrease Enoke Fanyana

Simelane (1934 -) and music by David Kenneth Rycroft; (v) the national anthem Nkosi Sikelel 'iAfrika ('Lord, bless Africa') with words and music by Enoch Sontonga, as sung in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, as well as in Natal and Zululand, with its supplement (since 1953) Morena Boloka Sechaba sa heso Ofelise Lintwa Lematswe ('God bless, abolish Quarreling and Suffering') and the coda Makube Njalo ('So be it'); (vi) the national anthem of Venda, Pfano na Vhuthini ('Harmony and Unity'), with words by Z Mutsila and music by G C Olivier; (vii) the national anthem of Zambia, Mungu Ibariki Afrika ('God bless Africa'), which is the Zambian version of Nkosi Sikelel 'iAfrika; (viii) the national anthem of the Union of South Africa, 'Mighty Lord of Nations', by Kopelonitz and F E Walrond, and (ix) the national anthem of the Republic of South Africa, 'Die Stem'/'Ringing out from our blue Heavens', by C J Langenhoven and M L De Villiers.

Khabi Mngoma was hesitant about including the national anthem of Mocambique, since it relates to the Frelimo Government and is likely to be controversial. 'A large section of the population doesn't want to sing it, because it is really a political party song' (*ibid*). The Oxford University Press of South Africa (based in Cape Town) considered the possibility of publishing this collection of national anthems (called 'Anthology of Indigenous Anthems' - discussed in a letter to Khabi Mngoma from N C Gracie, General Manager of the Oxford University Press, South Africa, dated 30 June 1983), and Longmans in Cape Town also expressed their interest (according to personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985), but this has never materialized up to date.³³

Other indigenous music materials collected by Khabi Mngoma include some Zulu Wedding Songs, which he acquired with the assistance of the Inspector of Schools in KwaZulu at the time, C Ntuli; a substantial number of recordings of Zulu Ceremonial songs (amahubo empi), some personal recordings and transcriptions of Zulu umakhweyana bow songs, and material relating to the history of Zulu male traditional singing.

One of his most interesting 'indigenous music encounters' in Zululand, so to speak, was his meeting with an udloko³⁴ player in the Natal Midlands, who '... wore Western clothes, but lived in a hut forming part of an eclectic homestead. This homestead consisted of Western type houses interspersed with huts' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985). The man played his own compositions on this extraordinary instrument, which had been constructed from two petrol cans, nailed to a meter-long wooden stave

on either ends, thereby forming two resonators. A wire or 'chord' (the 'string' of the udloko) was tied to both ends, secured by two pegs - one peg on each end - leaving the 'string' free from the stave. One side could be tightened or loosened to tune the 'string', which was stopped in the centre by the player's one middle finger, whilst the other hand employed a bow made of horse- or oxtail hair tied onto an arched stick. The player fiddled with the bow whilst stopping and unstopping the 'string' with his other hand. The man played the udloko as an accompaniment to his singing. It had a range of about one octave, and its natural pitch level corresponded more or less to that of a violoncello.

Although Khabi Mngoma interviewed and recorded the man on tape, he never got so far as to write it down or document it properly on paper (*ibid*). This seems to be the problem with most of his personal research material and activities, which constantly had to be set aside to make place and time for his teaching responsibilities. 'My collection of folk music is sketchy and unorganized. A good deal of the songs that I have taught to choirs, I had to learn by rote myself and transmit it to them in the same way' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, April 1986).

It is important to see Khabi Mngoma's research endeavour in perspective and to realize that he never intended to do musicological research as an end in itself, but as a means to an end, ie music education. He does not consider himself a musicologist, but regards himself as a musician and a music educator, who delved into the musicological aspects of Western and African music to gain deeper insights, to enhance his career as a performer and director of choirs, and to enrich his approach to the teaching of music in a South African context (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma's work with the University of Zululand Choir, and his initiation of a Youth Arts Education Programme in Zululand

Khabi Mngoma succeeded Professor Thembela as Director and Conductor of the University of Zululand Choir in 1977 (programme notes, 21 April 1980). Whereas prior to this date the choir had been regarded as a so-called 'student activity', it now became a fully-fledged part of the Department of Music, in 1977, under the leadership of Khabi Mngoma (*ibid*).

The University of Zululand Choir gave performances at numerous functions and venues throughout Natal and Zululand, which included several University of Natal graduation ceremonies. As with the Ionian Choirs, Khabi Mngoma always aimed at presenting a varied repertoire of Western and African music in the concerts and performances he presented with the University of Zululand Choir. In a letter to the Rector of the University of Zululand, Professor Nkabinde,³⁵ H M Dandala of the Esikhawini Methodist Church Society wrote that 'the indigenous emphasis' of a concert given by the University of Zululand Choir at a Leaders' meeting of the Esikhawini Methodist Church on 12 September 1982 '... was an inspiration to the audience, and a real challenge for a proper appreciation of one's cultural heritage' (Letter).³⁶

Items in the University of Zululand's repertoire included Zulu indigenous dances executed with drums, clappers and foot stamping, older traditional songs pertaining to the Nguni and Sotho-Tswana cultures, as well as African eclectic choral compositions and Western choral music, especially works by Handel, Haydn and Mozart.

One of the highlights in the career of the University of Zululand Choir, was its collaboration with the Ionian Society in a production of Handel's Oratorio Judas Maccabaeus, in a massed choir performance (with 250 voices) presented at the University of Zululand Graduation Night on Saturday 24 May 1980, with a second performance given the following afternoon, on Sunday 25 May 1980.

The University of Zululand Choir produced its first LP Record in 1978, which was sponsored by Empangeni Standard Bank. A second record was made in 1981, published by the South African Broadcasting Corporation, featuring choruses from The Messiah by G F Handel ('And the Glory of the Lord', 'For unto us a Child is born'), two excerpts from Handel's Judas Maccabaeus ('Disdainful of Danger', 'Sing unto God'), 'Brother James' Air' ('The Lord's My Shepherd') arranged by Gordon James, and the 'Kyrie Eleison' from the Litany Mass by W A Mozart in the Western repertoire section, and six songs in the African section, ie the traditional Zulu lullaby Thula S'thandwa Sam ('Be quiet, my Loved One') arranged for choir by Khabi Mngoma, the choral Xhosa love song S'thandwa Sam ('My Beloved') composed by B J P Tyamzashe, the South-Sotho choral arrangement of the traditional song U Ea Kae ('Going to thresh Corn at Taung') by J P Mohapeloa, the Xhosa

traditional song Wadidiyel' Unonkala ('Nonkala dancing'), and two Zulu traditional songs, Umshini Onyawo-Mbili ('Person who talks non-stop like Machine') and Heshe Nsizwa (a provocation to a stick fight).

In 1980 the University of Zululand Choir received an invitation to stage a concert in Lilongwe, Malawi, but unfortunately this event did not take place, owing to circumstances (programme notes, 21 April 1980). However, two years later, in 1982, the choir had the opportunity to tour Austria and West-Germany in concert, as a result of an invitation to this effect extended by the Kaerntner Chamber of Commerce Sextet,³⁷ who had visited the University of Zululand the previous year, on 26 August 1981, during their concert tour of South Africa (Report, '... on the tour of Austria...', 8 October 1982).³⁸

On the occasion of the Kaerntner Chamber of Commerce Sextet's performance at the University of Zululand, the University Choir joined them in the performance of one or two items and also returned a few songs in 'an extension of hospitality' so to speak - as has always been the custom of Khabi Mngoma. In response to this gesture the Kaerntner Sextet extended their invitation, granting full sponsorship for a concert tour of thirteen towns and cities in West-Germany and Austria, namely Munich, Frankfurt, Vienna, Moedling, Kaiser Bad, Eisenstadt, Klagenfurt, Bodental, St Vect, Millstadt, Himmelburg, Kleinkirchenheim and Hochosterwitz (*ibid*).

The University of Zululand Choir that subsequently undertook the tour, comprised thirty-four members, which included Khabi Mngoma's wife singing in the alto section.

During the two weeks prior to the choir's departure to Europe, ie from 2 to 15 July 1982, a programme of twenty-two items '... illustrating the diversity of musical styles in African music' (*ibid*) was studied and prepared during intense rehearsals lasting five hours per day. The programme included seven choral songs by black South African composers of Sotho, Xhosa and Zulu cultural origin, ten older African traditional songs, comprising Wedding songs, Drinking songs and a variety of Action songs from the Sotho-Tswana and Nguni cultures, and four ngoma/indlamu dance-songs. The authentic version of Nkosi Sikelel 'iAfrika, ie as composed by Enoch Sontonga and followed by the traditional Morena Boloka Sechaba, concluded all the performances during the tour.

To reach and arrest the attention of German-speaking audiences, Khabi Mngoma requested C F H Schmittinger, Head of the University of Zululand Department of German, to write a text in German, which the choir subsequently set to music in a group composition exercise. Two musical versions resulted from this, evincing a style that corresponds to that of Schubert's Lieder! Thus at each concert, the programme was opened with the first German verse, presented as a greeting song, and at the close of each performance the audiences were saluted with the second and final German verse as a farewell song. These items were winners with all the German speaking audiences who attended the concerts.

In a report titled 'University Choir charms Austrians', that was published in the Unizulu 1982 yearbook, Ronald Wilkinson (the editor) wrote the following paragraph on the University of Zululand Choir's Austrian/German tour:

The choir made a tremendous impact on the Austrians. It was the rule and not the exception that they were called back... on stage time after time; that they were signing autographs long after each performance; that fans travelled from concert to concert to listen to them and that South Africans staying in Austria were overcome with emotion at their concerts... a record of their singing was made on special request (*ibid*:15).

In Germany the University of Zululand Choir also made a live television appearance at the ZDF Studios, and a recording for the Bayerischer Rundfunk (Bavarian Broadcasting Corporation), on 4 and 5 August 1982 (Report, '... on the tour of Austria...', 8 October 1982).

Khabi Mngoma intended to take the University of Zululand Choir on another concert tour, this time exclusively in West-Germany, in 1985, which would have been organized by Udo Weck of the South African Tourism Board (stationed in Frankfurt), but once again, due to unforeseen circumstances, these plans also fell through (Letter)³⁹ - as was the case with the intended Malawian tour in 1980.

It was also in the beginning of 1985 that the University of Zululand Choir came under the new directorship of Professor Leon New, who had been newly appointed as Professor and Head of the University of Zululand Music Department.

The Youth Arts Education Programme: the University of Zululand Youth Orchestra or 'Unizulu Youthful String Players' and the Ulundi Art Centre

When Khabi Mngoma assumed duties at the University of Zululand in 1975, he immediately started working on establishing a Youth Music Community Programme, which involved giving violin and cello lessons, as well as Theory of Music lessons, to children resident in the adjoining areas to the University of Zululand, ie in the district of KwaDlangezwa. The University of Zululand Youth Music Education Community Programme involved tutoring group violin and cello classes, as well as giving individual lessons. In 1980 the Unizulu Youthful String Players was formed, a youth orchestra consisting of those children who were taught in the initial University of Zululand Youth Music Education Community Programme.

In 1980 Khabi Mngoma insisted on having the above mentioned programme extended, to form a Youth Arts Education Programme in Zululand, which would involve giving classes in the plastic arts as well, and which would constitute a further expansion of the University of Zululand's Arts activities into the community.⁴⁰ This he subsequently introduced in the form of two Arts Education Programmes, namely the University of Zululand Youth Orchestra, also referred to as the 'Unizulu Youthful String Players', mentioned above, and the Ulundi Art Centre (curriculum vitae, Khabi Mngoma, January 1983), the latter of which he launched in collaboration with the KwaZulu Arts Inspector of Schools, S E B Ngcobo.

The aims and objectives of the Ulundi Art Centre were set out as follows:

1. to stimulate activity in the plastic (painting, drawing, modelling and sculpture) and performing arts and music;
2. to provide basic training in the above for people who show potential so that they can follow these talents as academic disciplines;

3. to provide opportunities for creative activity in young people during their leisure time

(Address, F T Mdlalose, 9 August 1980).

Unfortunately the Ulundi Art Centre ceased to function in 1982, due to a staff shortage and other staff problems. These problems, coupled with the fact that Khabi Mngoma constantly had to travel the long distances between Ulundi and KwaDlangezwa to tend to his music teaching and administrative responsibilities at the Ulundi Art Centre, made its continuation very difficult and unpractical, and therefore it had to be discontinued.

However, Khabi Mngoma's Music Education Programme with the Unizulu Youthful String Players, was successful. The Unizulu Youthful String Players met on Sunday mornings, Tuesday- and Friday mornings at 06h00 for group violin and cello lessons (Mngoma 1981:18). Khabi Mngoma, according to his methods previously used in his Music Education Programmes in Johannesburg and Soweto, partly followed the Suzuki Method, which he adapted to suit his purposes. (*Vide* Chapter IX). He also taught his pupils to distinguish between acoustical pitch and the tempered pitch system, which they mastered within two years. Their repertoire was chosen according to Khabi Mngoma's standard prescriptions, ie works composed by South African eclectic choral composers arranged for string orchestra (by Khabi Mngoma himself), African songs indigenous to southern Africa arranged for string orchestra (also by Khabi Mngoma), and Western musical repertoire.

A concert programme presented by the Unizulu Youthful String Players, would be organized more or less along the following lines:⁴¹

UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND'S YOUTH ORCHESTRA

CONCERT PROGRAMME

1. DEMONSTRATION

- a. Scale playing.
- b. Open strings.

2. FROM THE SUZUKI WORK BOOK:

- a. Twinkle, Twinkle little Star.⁴²
- b. Lightly row.
- c. Song of the Wind.
- d. Go tell Aunt Rody.
- e. O come, little Children.
- f. May Song.
- g. Long, long ago.
- h. Allegro.

3. FROM AFRICAN SONGS:

- a. Thula S'thandwa Sam ('Be quiet my Loved One'; Zulu)
- b. Phoyinandi (Road-diggers' song; Zulu)
- c. Imithigoba Kahle ('Trees bend nicely'; Zulu)
- d. Amankeyana (Name of a Zulu children's game)
- e. Sibon' Abafana Be Zulu ('We see Boys that belong to the Sky'; Zulu)

4. FROM THE WESTERN VIOLIN REPERTOIRE:

a. Meditation	- H Nicholls
b. Lied	- P Zilcher
c. In March Time	- E Markham Lee
d. Tempo di Marcia	- H Nicholls
e. Procession	- E Markham Lee
f. Cradle Song	- A Moffat
g. Valse Amarereuse	- A Carse
h. A northern Song	- P Radmall

5. Nkosi Sikelela/Morena Boloka ('God bless Africa')

The Unizulu Youthful String Players became 'a significant cultural feature of Zululand' by being invited to perform at various public functions (Mngoma 1980, 'The Teaching of Music...':5). The Youth Orchestra for instance took part in a children's concert organized by the Zululand Observer in Empangeni in November 1981 (Letter)⁴³ which was a fund raising venture for child welfare. Other examples of performances included a church performance at the Royal Wedding in the Esikhawini Anglican Church on 15 May 1981, a performance at the 1981 July Graduation Ceremony of the University of Zululand (on 4 July 1981), and a performance at a Methodist Thanksgiving service on 21 September 1981 (Report, March 1982). On 15 March 1984 the Unizulu String Players provided music for entertainment at the ALUSAF Safety Award Ceremony at the Teachers' Training College in Esikhawini (Letter),⁴⁴ and much excitement was engendered among the youngsters later on in the month when they featured in the Lower Mfolozi Community Chest's carnival procession of floats in Empangeni, on Saturday 31 March 1984, playing their violins and cellos, proceeding with a float that they had built themselves under Khabi Mngoma's guidance! (Report Addendum, 16 March 1984). On some occasions the Youth Orchestra, or a few of its members, would accompany the University of Zululand Choir during a performance, such as in a concert that was given by the choir in the Empangeni Town Hall on 7 March 1984, when one of the choral items was accompanied by six Youthful String Players (Report, 5 March 1984).

The Unizulu Youthful String Players made one television appearance on TV2 in 1982, which featured Khabi Mngoma giving them instruction on their instruments (Letter).⁴⁵

In 1982 Khabi Mngoma made attempts to have the designation 'Department of Music' changed to 'School of Music' '... so as to accommodate the current and future enrichment music programmes that have hitherto been considered extra-mural when they are, in fact, formal' (Letter).⁴⁶

However, much to Khabi Mngoma's frustration, his appeals were turned down after a rather heated exchange between himself and the university authorities concerned, about the proposed name-change.

Further problems occurred in 1984, when student unrest on the campus of the University of Zululand threatened the safety of the children who partook in the Youth Arts Education Programme. The continuation of the Unizulu

Youthful String Players was also jeopardized. Consequently Khabi Mngoma ceased to conduct his youth music activities on campus and shifted them to his home in Vulindlela Township, situated in close proximity to the University of Zululand, where the continuation of the youth music programme, in essence, formed the beginnings of what later came to be the Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts. This was established by Khabi Mngoma after his retirement, on a piece of land that was allocated to him for this purpose by the Zulu chief of the area. (*Vide* Chapter XII.)

In many respects Khabi Mngoma regretted his move to Zululand. To put it in his own words, he said:

When I had to leave the Ionian Music Society to come to the University of Zululand, it was one of those really sad things; I think I made a bad move there, because it confined my activities to this setting... The general attitude is that I '... ethnically belong here' and therefore really should not participate in activities elsewhere. Being at the University of Zululand tends to dwarf one's activities (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

In spite of this, Khabi Mngoma could find some consolation in the fact that, from time to time, he was invited by various institutions to serve on adjudication panels for Eisteddfodau and other musical competitions, such as the Roodepoort International Eisteddfod (1981 and 1987), the Ford Choirs National Choral Eisteddfod (1978 up to date), and the African Bank Song Writing Competition (1984), and to serve on various cultural and educational committees based in Zululand and elsewhere. (These are discussed in Chapter XII.)

It also needs to be said that the establishment of the University of Zululand Music Department fulfilled a long standing need for the provision of university level music education opportunities for black South African music students, who otherwise might not have had the opportunity to acquire professional music qualifications in an academic environment that accommodated the musical heritage and musical experiences of the average black music student. Khabi Mngoma's role in establishing this Music Department was vital and indispensable in ensuring its success, and in securing worthwhile careers for its graduands.

Khabi Mngoma retired in December 1987.

* * * * *

Encounter with death

It was in December 1977 that Khabi Mngoma had an almost fatal car accident during one of his habitual, all-night drives, commuting between Soweto and Ongoye.⁴⁷

He had transported his daughter, Sibongile, and two other Unizulu music students to the Witwatersrand on Friday 1 December 1977. After dropping them off at their respective destinations he immediately set off, at about 19h00, on his return journey to Ongoye, where he had appointments to teach students the next day.

The accident happened at about 03h00 on Saturday morning, 2 December 1977. He was travelling on the N2 via Piet Retief and Pongola (the R34 route was still a dirt road then). About 10 km outside Empangeni a broken-down truck, laden with logs, was standing in the middle of the road. Visibility was particularly bad because the area was wooded, it was drizzling and no warning devices had been set up to alert approaching traffic of the trucks deadly presence. By the time Khabi Mngoma saw the huge object in his way, it was too late. He slammed on the brakes, swerving to the right in an attempt to avoid a collision, but the car skidded and crashed into the truck with its left side.

Khabi Mngoma was severely injured but did not lose his consciousness. He tried to haul himself out of the wreck, but found that he could not move; his left forearm was broken, as well as four ribs and his left leg, including the hip.

On impact the driver of the truck jumped out of his vehicle and started running about and shouting frantically. He was evidently suffering from severe shock and was very afraid. 'Why didn't you put out a warning triangle?', Khabi Mngoma asked the man, and urged him to warn approaching traffic, which he feared might

in turn crash into him, of the danger, but the man was completely beside himself and was unable to communicate sensibly.

Khabi Mngoma lay trapped in the wreck until after sunrise, when a couple from Swaziland discovered the accident and rushed to a nearby farmhouse for help. The police arrived at the scene at about 07h00, and Khabi Mngoma was subsequently taken to the Ngwelezane Hospital outside Empangeni.

Incredible as it might seem, Khabi Mngoma was not examined upon admission to the hospital. On arrival at the hospital Khabi Mngoma found himself in a garrulous mood (or state), probably from shock, repeatedly recounting the details of the accident to the numerous visitors who had come to see him. His talkativeness and clarity of mind had apparently given the impression that he was well, and nobody had realized the seriousness of his condition.

It was only towards the evening that Khabi Mngoma started to feel the pain. Later that night, after breaking into a feverish sweat, X-rays were finally taken which revealed the many broken bones in his body and the congestion caused by bleeding in his lungs and stomach. On Sunday morning, 3 December 1977, he lost consciousness, remaining thus for almost one month.

At Christmas time the Unizulu Youthful String Players came to play their violins and cellos outside Khabi Mngoma's ward in an attempt to revive him but, when they received no reaction from their beloved teacher, they left, overcome with grief and weeping.

On New Year's day 1978 Khabi Mngoma regained consciousness and was once again capable of recognizing faces. By the end of January 1978 he had managed to sit up, and in February he was sent home. Due to his protracted incapacity and serious injuries he now had to learn to walk all over again: first with the aid of a steel walking frame and later with crutches, supporting himself against the walls of his home and assisted by his wife. In March 1978 students started coming to his house for lessons and in April 1978 Khabi Mngoma resumed his lecturing duties at the university - with crutches.

Deirdre Hansen related (personal communication, 17 February 1992) how she first came to know of Khabi Mngoma's accident when, during the Second Ethnomusicology Symposium in 1981, he stayed with her mother and herself in her house opposite Rhodes Drostdy Gate:

I recall one morning, at 05h00, when I was going through to the kitchen to make tea, I saw my mother looking through the window which faced onto the backyard. There was Khabi - obviously in some pain - doing what he later told me were his exercises to 'loosen up'. It seems that the accident left him with a legacy of severe stiffness and inability, and every morning he had to loosen up. Obviously he has improved, but how he survived, we do not know.

When one sees Khabi Mngoma, or hears his approaching footsteps, one is struck by the heavy limp in his gait. To this day he has considerable difficulty in getting into the driver's seat of a car or, for that matter, in doing anything that demands maximum flexibility of the left leg.

Notes

1. J Ross ('Bantu Education in Historical Perspective', in Duminy, ed 1967:3-23) refers to the three systems in accordance with which provision was made for university education for black South Africans, during the period before 1959 (*ibid*:10-11). 'First, there was the system of so-called 'open' universities, viz Cape Town and Witwatersrand at which students of all races... were registered...' (*ibid*:10).

All the students who studied at these universities attended the same classes, did the same courses and pursued the same degrees. African students, however, were excluded from using hostel- and sports facilities, and also had no part in certain social activities.

Secondly, there was the system implemented at the Natal University, viz, where African and Indian students, as well as students of 'mixed' descent, '... were accommodated in separate lectures and lecture rooms', but were lectured by the same staff that taught the white students. The African, Indian and students from mixed descent were, however, '... not admitted to... hostels, neither were they fully taken up into the corporate life of the students' (*ibid*).

The third system was that which was implemented at the University of Fort Hare, where African students from all the various South African extractions (or 'ethnic groups') could be registered, and where white students were excluded from registration. Fort Hare was referred to as a 'university college', and was affiliated to Rhodes University in Grahamstown (*ibid*:10-11). Syllabi that were approved by the latter university were followed at Fort Hare, '... and the examinations and degrees taken were those of Rhodes' (*ibid*:11). Ross adds that '...

Rhodes University was, however, not an "open" university', as were the Universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand. Ross further states:

It was thus with the object of bringing university education into line with the policy of separate development with its... scheme for the socio-economic development of the Bantu areas (sic) as envisaged by the Eiselen Report, and subsequently more extensively by the Tomlinson Commission (*vide* 'Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa', UG 61/1955, cited by Ross, *ibid*), that the necessary legislation was passed by Parliament in 1959. In accordance with the Extension of University Education Act, Act No 45/1959, and the University College of Fort Hare Transfer Act, Act No 64/1959, Fort Hare was placed under the aegis of the Department of Bantu Education and intended to serve, more specifically, the Xhosa... group (sic). The University College of the North was established in the Northern Transvaal to serve the Sotho... groups (sic) and the University College of Zululand at Ngoye, to serve the Zulu... group (sic) (*ibid*).

The motivation for establishing 'separate university colleges for the different ethnic groups' was rendered as being

... to provide more adequate and more effective university training for the Bantu (sic)... and to remove the limitations and anomalies arising from a system of so-called 'open universities' (Ross quotes the Fort Hare Calendar for 1965, *ibid*:3).

2. The University of Zululand became financially independent in 1986 (personal communication, Professor A P Du Plessis, April 1986).

3. Four different approaches basic to the introduction of a course in Music at an African university in a 'developing' country were discussed in a memorandum circulated at the University of Transkei (Unitra) (Memorandum, May 1982). The memorandum stated that '... there are four different approaches one can take to introduce a realistic programme for music education at university level'.

These were set out as follows:

- (1) To create a Department of Music in a Faculty of Fine Arts and teach music with an equal balance between theory and practice.
- (2) To create a Department of Music in a Faculty of Arts and teach music with more emphasis on theory and less on practice.
- (3) To create an independent Department of Music which grows into a school of performing arts, and teach music with more emphasis on practice and less on theory.
- (4) To create a Department of Music in a Faculty of Education, starting a programme geared to the total educational system from primary level to university level by training music teachers, and teaching music with an equal balance between theory, practice and methodology of education.

The memorandum further stated that, owing to (i) lack of background, (ii) problems with the size and employment of the required teaching staff, (iii) the nature of this discipline, (iv) the necessary administrative machinery, (v) limitations of space, (vi) the lack of formal knowledge of traditional music (especially among students), (vii) the present educational system of the country and (viii) 'other reasons', option No 4 stated above was the most viable. It also concluded that '... in the long term it can give way to any of the other three options'.

4. A statement to this effect was also included in a letter written by E W Redelinghuys (Registrar Academic, University of Zululand) to Professor Christopher Ballantine (Professor of Music, University of Natal), dated 11 February 1981, namely that '... the Council has decided that African Music be developed as a high priority'.

5. Yvonne Huskisson wrote in her Report (22 March 1978) concerning Khabi Mngoma, that his past teaching experience in Soweto, which included the study (albeit in a relatively small way) and performance of African 'folk' music of southern Africa with his pupils, put him in '... a unique position of being able, competently, to launch a workshop of Zulu music with his students'.

6. According to personal communication from Professor Du Plessis, April 1986, personal communication from Khabi Mngoma during interviews held in August and September 1985, letters written by E W Redelinghuys to Professor Ballantine, dated 10 May 1979 and 11 February 1981 respectively, and a letter written by W E Redelinghuys to Dr Meyer of the South African Broadcasting Corporation, dated 11 June 1979.

7. During Khabi Mngoma's first year of lectureship at the University of Zululand Music Department, he conveyed his ideas concerning the relation between the university courses and the cultural orientation of the students, in a lecture delivered at the Symposium on Culture, University of Zululand. The title of this lecture was: 'The African University Student and his cultural Orientation' (curriculum vitae, Khabi Mngoma, December 1987).

8. Khabi Mngoma also stated that

... as an added impetus we enter our students for public examinations run by the University of South Africa and the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music partly to push their performance standards and partly also to expose them to a wider musical experience than our own parochial requirements (Mngoma 1981:15).

In 'Opportunities in Music 1986', a prospectus published by the University of Zululand (1985:3) it is stated that entrance qualifications for studies in Music constitute a Grade V certificate in Theory of Music from either Trinity College, or the Associated Board, or the University of South Africa.

9. In his lecture on Music Teaching at the University of Zululand (Mngoma 1981) Khabi Mngoma stated that 'the problem or part of the problem' of Unizulu music students is that '... music is not offered as a subject' in most of the schools.

10. 'Publication for Restructuring B Mus Degree and Introduction of B Mus Hons Degree: as set forth for 1987', a publication of the University of Zululand.

11. In History of Music, African and Western musical styles are studied, as well as the composers who contributed to their emergence and continuity (Mngoma 1981:15).

12. Professor Leon New succeeded Khabi Mngoma as Head of the Music Department in 1985, when Khabi Mngoma became Associate Professor of Music.

13. 'The Transcription of Music - a suggested procedure', study notes written by Khabi Mngoma and circulated in the University of Zululand Music Department, date unknown; also Mngoma, Khabi V., 'The Circular or Cyclic "Call" and "Response" style of Nguni Folk Song', unpublished MS, date unknown. The circular model used by David Rycroft, and by Deirdre Hansen, demonstrates very clearly the cyclic form of Nguni music, and the alignment of vocal phrases in relation to a clapped, or drummed accompaniment (as in certain styles of Nguni music), and also the alignment of vocal phrases in relation to an instrumental accompaniment, in self-accompanied solo songs, in which a singer accompanies herself/himself on an instrument. Otherwise one cannot actually fill in the complex structures of polyrhythmic harmony which occurs in much Xhosa music, where there is a complex interweaving of rhythmic melodic phrases. There is not enough room, so one can only indicate the entry points of individual vocal phrases, within a circular model. Hansen's work makes extensive use of the circular model established by Rycroft for musicological studies. For reference to the cyclic or circular

representation of Nguni music, vide Rycroft 1970:298-318; vide examples on pages 302 and 303. Vide also Rycroft 1967:88-103, in which the form and structure of Nguni music is discussed in detail.

14. N'ketia, in his article titled 'The Place of Traditional Music and Dance in Contemporary African Society' (1976:5-15) refers to the stimulation of 'interaction between traditional and non-traditional music' and '... increasing the indigenous quality of the latter' (ibid:14). He makes the comment that

... the surviving strength of traditional music... does not lie in the absence of change but in the control of change. It lies in the fact that successive generations are willing to use the creative models and the idioms passed on to them by their predecessors, and to look for sources of innovation from within their society and those of their neighbours with whom they interact, always bearing in mind the traditional audiences to whom they relate and the traditional contexts in which they perform their music. Subjecting themselves in this manner to social control, they are able to preserve the traditional African qualities in their new creations without much conscious effort and so meet the expectations of their audiences for the renewal of experience (ibid:10).

He continues:

In contrast, many contemporary musicians, free from the social control of traditional society, tend to look for their creative models and idioms more from without than from within, drawing on the resources of their traditional musical culture more for embellishment and colour than for the foundations of their creations. They are strengthened in this by the expectations of their contemporary audiences who, like themselves, have been nurtured on non-traditional music (ibid:10-11).

It is interesting to compare this statement with the motivation behind Khabi Mngoma's activities and endeavour with his students regarding musical composition and its relation to audiences and society in general. Khabi Mngoma has ever been conscious of the necessity to relate musical performance and composition to the reality or experience of the prospective audiences, so that the musicians are guaranteed of a listenership and remain 'relevant' in their respective communities. At the same time he endeavours to raise the standards of music as far as performance and new compositions are concerned, to broaden the musical and cultural horizons of South African musicians, and to ensure '... a valuable contribution to the music of the world as a whole' from the ranks of South African composers.

15. Deirdre Hansen has recently examined an M Mus dissertation titled 'An annotated Anthology of Zulu and Xhosa Choral Music' (in two volumes), submitted by Joan Walters to the University of the Witwatersrand in 1990. It contains thirty-two songs by fifteen African composers.

16. Khabi Mngoma also pointed out (in Mngoma 1982, 'The Correlation of Folk and Art Music...' :68) the significance of the fact that these choral works are performed, listened to and enjoyed by thousands of audiences and spectators.

17. Letter from Professor Christopher Ballantine to E W Redelinghuys, dated 26 June 1979.

18. Mainly of the Zulu umakhweyana type. The writer has in her possession a specimen of the umakhweyana musical bow type, which was constructed by Khabi Mngoma and students of the University of Zululand Music Department.

19. There are numerous specimens of lamellophones.

20. ibid.

21. The writer, however, did not witness any lamellophone playing during the course of her visits to the University of Zululand.

22. Dave Dargie from the Lumko Music Institute (Lady Frere, Transkei) paid annual visits to the University of Zululand Music Department during the years 1979 to 1983, to conduct seminars on Xhosa music. In 1982, for instance, he gave lectures on Xhosa Bow Music and the use of the marimba in the Roman Catholic Church services in Transkei (Report, 11 March 1983 and 'Addendum to the Annual Report of the Department of Music...', 16 March 1984).

23. Unizulu music students for instance gave a performance on the Dargie marimbas at the reception of the Third Ethnomusicology Symposium held at the University of Natal, 17 to 21 September 1982 (according to a letter from Khabi Mngoma to David Rycroft, dated 29 September 1982), the latter which was attended by all Unizulu music students from 17 to 19 September (*ibid*, and according to the Report, 11 March 1983).

24. In 1985 Professor Leon New succeeded Khabi Mngoma as Director of the University of Zululand Choir.

25. Ukugiya has been described as '... dancing as if fighting an invisible enemy' (programme notes of a concert presented by the University of Zululand Choir and organized by the Council for Black Education and Research, date not specified). According to Doke and Vilakazi 1972:250, to giya is to '... perform war antics; leap about as a warrior brandishing spear; dance a war-dance'.

26. Indlamu has been described by Coplan (1985:65) as a Zulu country dance often performed in industrial backyards. Rycroft (1971:213-243), refers to '... those high-spirited indlamu or ingoma dance-songs of a comparatively light nature, performed by young people for general merrymaking' (*ibid*:216). Rycroft continues:

These light dance-songs are the most frequently heard items in Nguni music, particularly in towns, mining compounds, and the like, where they may also often be adapted for use as work songs (*ibid*).

Accordingly, Coplan (1985:65) has described indlamu as a Zulu country dance often performed in industrial backyards (Coplan, *ibid* cites Rycroft, 1971:216). Vide also Clegg 1982:8-14. Vide also Tracey (1952:6) who wrote that

... indlamu is performed solely for pleasure and has no secondary significance behind the primary delight in the concerted movements of the dance. It is not a 'war dance' as it is so popularly called by white people (*ibid*).

Msomi (1975:64) describes indlamu as follows:

The main feature of this type of dancing is the stamping of feet on the ground. The variation of this dance is the raising of the leg forward in a high kick before bringing the foot down. The climax of the dance is usually marked by falling either backwards or forwards flat on the ground.

27. The Drought Relief Concert featured Darius Brubeck as the leader and pianist, Barney Rachabane on the alto saxophone and flute, Marc Duby on bass guitar and Nelson Magwaza on percussion.

28. According to Andersson (1981:21), Andrew Tracey reckoned that 'the African Music side' of the courses offered at the University of Zululand was weak because '... there is not enough available material to work from'.

29. The research plan has no date, but it presumably dates from either the end of 1977, or the beginning of 1978.

30. This endeavour, however, did not succeed.

31. Vide shoba (plural ililishoba, amashoba) in Doke, Malcolm and Sikakana 1958, 1971, 1977, 1982:277, which explains the meaning of 'shoba' as 'bushy tail; ornament of bushy tails', and umshoba as 'bushy tail; tail tuft'.

32. O D Dhlomo, KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture at the time, wrote (in a testimonial for Khabi Mngoma, dated 16 August 1978, granting Khabi Mngoma free access to KwaZulu schools for his research purposes, and encouraging schools to support the project): 'The Department of Education and Culture is of the opinion that this proposed study will be of immense benefit to the Zulu nation in its attempts to preserve its cultural heritage.'

33. For reference to the national anthems of Botswana, Lesotho, Mocambique, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe, vide Reed and Bristow, eds 1985:67, 272, 314, 397, 411, 489 and 491 respectively.

34. Vide Rycroft 1977:216-260, especially pages 243-246, in which Rycroft describes some string instruments played by means of a short friction-bow. Rycroft notes that Kirby's observations of such types (in Kirby 1934, 1953, 1965, 1968) were not played much by the Zulu, Swazi and Xhosa. Rycroft found one among the Mpondo (as did Deirdre Hansen). Then Rycroft encountered a Swazi player of the cognate instrument, sikhelekehle (vide plate 3, showing Swazi and instrument). Rosemary Joseph encountered a Zulu man playing the udloko - the same single-string instrument with a resonator tin attached at the upper end. Vide Joseph 1983:53-89, especially page 81, note 87, in which Joseph writes that '... there is... at the present time, an active tradition of young men's love songs performed to the accompaniment of the udloko'. She notes its similarity to the ubhek' indlela described by Kirby 1934, 1968:215,217. Deirdre Hansen encountered a Zulu playing this instrument on the concourse outside Durban Workshop complex in December 1989.

35. Professor Nkabinde succeeded Professor Mare as Rector of the University of Zululand.

36. Letter from H M Dandala of the Esikhawini Methodist Church Society to Professor Nkabinde, Rector of the University of Zululand, dated 14 September 1982.

37. The Kaerntner Chamber of Commerce Sextet comprised the following members: Heinz Warasdin (Tenor I), Arnulf Schatzmayr (Tenor II), Wolf Burian (Tenor II), Kurt Wanderer (Bass I), Heinz Kleinsin (Bass II) and Manfred Witkowszki (Bass II). Their Director was Helmut Unterkofter.

38. Also according to a letter from Khabi Mngoma to Professor H J van Eetveldt (Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Zululand), dated 15 June 1982.

39. Letter from Udo Weck, Manager of SATOUR, West-Germany, to Khabi Mngoma, dated 7 February 1985.

40. 'Music Notes' in the Unizulu 1984 Yearbook : 34. The article states that

... the extramural music training programme for children from the surrounding areas has been growing apace. This programme was introduced by Professor Khabi Mngoma in 1980 [as a community service].

It was during 1980 that Khabi Mngoma became a member of the Unizulu Rector's Committee for the Promotion of Art. The function of this committee was twofold, namely to investigate a strategy for the collection of artifacts and other works of art in the community, and to work for the promotion of artists (Letter from Professor A C Nkabinde, Rector and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Zululand, to Khabi Mngoma, dated 5 June 1980.) There seems to be a connection between the function of this committee and Khabi Mngoma's work in the Youth Arts Education Programme.

41. The programme contains no details as to when and where it was presented, but judging from its contents, it probably dates from either 1981 or 1982.

42. The programme under scrutiny has an omission under item (a.), but presumably the item played, was 'Twinkle, Twinkle little Star' with its variations, as published in the Suzuki Work Book One.

43. Letter from R Anthony of the Zululand Observer (Pty) Ltd, to Khabi Mngoma, dated 11 November 1981.

44. Letter from Khabi Mngoma to a Dr van der Walt, affiliated to Alusaf (Pty) Ltd, dated 16 March 1984.

45. According to information in a letter from Cedric Alexander, affiliated to the Foundation for Art and Cultural Education, to Khabi Mngoma, dated 26 October 1982.
46. Letter from Khabi Mngoma to Professor van Eetveldt, Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Zululand, dated 19 May 1982.
47. Khabi Mngoma described the details of the accident during personal communication, 2 June 1992.



15. Khabi Mngoma with a makhweyana at the University of Zululand : KwaDlangezwa, 1985.



16. Khabi Mngoma with the writer at uMgungundlovu, (Dingaanstat), 1985.

Southern African Song

Khabi Mngoma's countrywide involvement in activities and organizations outside the University of Zululand during the years of his affiliation to the university, as well as subsequent to his retirement in December 1987.

When Khabi Mngoma arrived in Zululand in 1975 to initiate the University of Zululand Music Department, he also became engaged in cultural and educational activities, -committees and -organizations outside the university, that did not fall under the jurisdiction and administration of the University of Zululand.

In 1975 Khabi Mngoma was elected a member of the Music Subject Committee of the Department of Education and Training, on which he served for ten years, ie until 1985 (curriculum vitae, Khabi Mngoma, December 1987). The mandate of the Music Subject Committee was to plan syllabi for schools at all levels (Primary, Junior and Senior High School, etc) as well as for Teachers' Training Colleges (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, October 1990). Following his election, one year later, in 1976, the Department of Education and Training appointed him Moderator of the Standard VIII Theory of Music examinations, administrated by the Department of Education and Training (curriculum vitae, Khabi Mngoma, January 1983 and December 1987).¹ He rendered his professional services in this capacity until the end of 1984 (*ibid*).

In 1976 Khabi Mngoma became involved in the Ekucathuleni Pre-School Project in KwaDlangezwa (*ibid*), run by a B Kapueja (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, October 1990). The Ekucathuleni Pre-School Project, which is still operating at this time of writing, and to which Khabi Mngoma is still committed, constitutes a creche with a significant educational component, geared to preparing infants for school. Khabi Mngoma's connection with the project was really on compassionate grounds: a lack of adequate toilet facilities, experienced at Ekucathuleni, came to his attention soon after his arrival in Zululand. He resorted to mobilizing

some members of the lecturing staff of the University of Zululand to dig trenches for the installation of toilets. As a result of this action, B Kapueja felt that Khabi Mngoma should be elected to the executive committee of the Ekucathuleni Project. This was done, and he subsequently assisted in the drawing up of a constitution for the project, which enabled the project to qualify for, and obtain, financial assistance from various benefactors and sponsors (*ibid*).

In 1981 Khabi Mngoma became a founder member of the Council for Black Education and Research, a body which was initially established by Es'kia Mphahlele. The Council for Black Education and Research is based at the Funda Centre in Soweto (*ibid*),² and undertakes to provide school pupils (the main target group being matrics), school teachers, university students as well as established academics, with additional informative material to broaden their knowledge of subject matter prescribed for school and university syllabi (*ibid*). In other words, the Council for Black Education and Research seeks to support school and university study programmes at all levels. These academic support programmes are realized by running courses, seminars and lecture series, presented by professionals in the various disciplines (*ibid*). One example of such a public lecture series, was the 'Know Your Continent - Africa' lecture series, hosted by Professor Mphahlele at the Institute of African Studies of the University of the Witwatersrand in 1982 (April to October). The 'Know Your Continent - Africa' Series comprised twenty-eight lectures on various topics pertaining to African Literature, African History, and the Geography and Social Organization of Africa (Report, 'Know Your Africa', 8 October 1982), delivered by specialists in these respective fields (*ibid*). Khabi Mngoma gave two lectures in the series, one on 21 August 1982, entitled 'The Arts in Africa: Music', and another on 28 August 1982, entitled 'Music: synthesis between Western and indigenous music'. The latter featured a live choral demonstration by the University of Zululand Choir (*ibid*).³

Khabi Mngoma is still a member of the Executive Committee of the Council for Black Education and Research at this writing. According to information obtained from Khabi Mngoma (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, October 1990), plans are presently in the pipe-line to establish a branch of the Council in Zululand, at the Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts, which was founded by Khabi Mngoma in 1988 in

Vulindlela, KwaDlangezwa District (vide infra). This proposed branch of the Council for Black Education and Research would form an integral part of the Khongisa Centre (ibid).

In June 1983 Khabi Mngoma participated in the formal launching of Volume II of the South African Music Encyclopedia (General Editor: Jacques P Malan, a publication of the Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria), which took place at the South African Broadcasting Corporation studios in Koedoespoort, Pretoria. His contribution to the proceedings (which also included a Chopi Xylophone group performance, led by a Venancio Mbande from Bophuthatswana) was a twenty-minute talk on African music (Inter-office Memorandum, 25 July 1983).

Khabi Mngoma's involvement in various Eisteddfodau and choral competitions - on a national scale - as Musical Advisor, Adjudicator, Chief Adjudicator and/or member of an adjudicating panel, has been intensive, and continues to this day.

As mentioned in previous chapters, during the period in which Khabi Mngoma was involved as Musical Advisor to participants in the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival (1949 - 1964), he also became active as a choir adjudicator for the Regional and National Eisteddfodau of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa, (since 1948), and continued to adjudicate until 1981. In October of that year, 1981, he served on the adjudication panel for the Roodepoort International Eisteddfod, founded in 1981,⁴ and subsequently served in the same capacity for the Roodepoort International Eisteddfodau, held in October 1987 and 1989.

In September 1982 Khabi Mngoma adjudicated at the Eisteddfod organized by the Music and Cultural Affairs Committee of the Transkei Teachers' Association (Letter),⁵ and in 1983 rendered his services at the same event as Chief Cultural Adjudicator of the Transkei Teachers' Association (curriculum vitae, Khabi Mngoma, December 1987).

Another significant cultural event in which Khabi Mngoma adjudicated choral singing, was the National Dias Festival of 1988, which was held to commemorate Dias' circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope and his

historical landing at Mossel bay on 3 February 1488 (Letter).⁶ The Festival took place at Santos Beach, Mossel Bay,⁷ from 29 January to 6 February 1988 and was a colourful historical celebration '... of the contact established between Eastern, Western and African cultures as a result of the opening of the Cape Sea Route by Dias' (*ibid*).⁸

It featured the re-enactment of the historical event by professional and amateur actors, as well as the presentation of music, song and dance items, representing the great variety of cultural groups living in South Africa today. The Festival Committee invited Khabi Mngoma to be a member of the adjudicating panel responsible for the adjudication of a number of inter-school choir competitions that formed part of the 1987 pre-Dias Festival events. These competitions included a Festival Song Competition for high school pupils and a competition for high school choirs (*ibid*).

In June 1990 (from 21 June to 23 June) Khabi Mngoma also adjudicated at an Inter-College Choral Competition in Pietermaritzburg, an event which formed part of a national Inter-College Arts Festival (Letter).⁹ The songs prescribed for the competition included (i) 'Come where my Love lies dreaming' by S Foster, and (ii) the choral composition by J S Khumalo, Ma Ngificwa Ukufa ('When Death overtakes me'; lyrics by B W Vilakazi); (iii) the performance of an African traditional song from any of the African musical traditions (Zulu, Xhosa, Pedi, etc) which was expected from each participating choir (*ibid*). This prescribed repertoire notably followed the same lines adhered to by Khabi Mngoma over the years: (1) a Western section, and (2) an African music section, with selections from (i) the written traditions of African choral song, composed by eclectic African composers in tonic sol-fa, and (ii) older oral traditions of African music representative of any of the cultural groups in southern Africa.

The most intensive and dynamic eisteddfod involvement of Khabi Mngoma's career, has been his work as chief adjudicator and musical advisor to the 'Ford Choirs in Contest' national, African choral eisteddfod (also referred to as 'Ford Choirs', until 1986/7), which he co-founded with Ford Motor Company in 1978, and in which he is still involved. (The contest has in the meantime changed its designation to 'The Samcor/Old Mutual Eisteddfod', subsequent to Ford Motor Company's pull-out from South Africa as part of the international

sanctions and disinvestment campaign against South Africa, after which Old Mutual took over the main sponsorship of the contest. Vide infra.)

Khabi Mngoma's country-wide involvement as chief adjudicator and musical advisor to the Ford Choirs in Contest National African Choral Eisteddfod, 1978 to the present

History of Ford Choirs

The idea of starting a sponsored national choral music competition was the brainchild of the Ford Motor Company, which felt the need to reinvest a percentage of its profits into the community life of the Republic of South Africa (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May, August and September 1985).¹⁰ D B Pitt, Managing Director of Ford South Africa at the time, wrote, in a foreword to Khabi Mngoma's publication Choral Technique - A Guide for the Chorister, Conductor and Adjudicator (which had been specially prepared and published in 1980 for the benefit of participants in the contest) that the Management of Ford Motor Company had '... long recognized the need to contribute towards preserving the cultural heritage of South Africa' (*ibid*:2). It was decided to launch such a competition on a national basis, and that it should take the form of an eisteddfod.

Ford Choirs in Contest was - and still is - open for participation by adult, African, community-based choirs, comprising between forty and sixty voices, coming from any part of southern Africa south of the Limpopo River - including the neighbouring states or so-called 'homelands' - '... irrespective of religious or institutional affiliation' (*ibid*). By 'community-based choir' is meant any choir - such as a church- or teachers' choir - that usually performs at community functions and for charity, ie for charity fund raising ventures and community celebrations, including wedding celebrations and funeral ceremonies (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).¹¹ Thus Ford Choirs in Contest is a continuation of an established tradition of community-based choir competitions active in Black schools and higher educational institutions, and churches in southern Africa (*ibid*; also personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

During the first year of the contest, thirty choirs enrolled from all over southern Africa. Within the first five years, the number of entries grew to 236 choirs ('Programme for Ford Choirs 1982...': programme notes), and

has continued to grow ever since. Thus Ford Choirs in Contest, or the 'Samcor/Old Mutual Choir Competition' - the designation by which it is more or less presently known¹² - has become one of the premier events on the black South African cultural calendar.

Khabi Mngoma's association with Ford Choirs

Khabi Mngoma was approached by the Ford Motor Company to assist on the 'musical side' of the contest. Although Khabi Mngoma agreed to do so, as a musical advisor and adjudicator, he referred Ford Motor Company to Future Marketing for the handling of the organizational and administrative responsibilities (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985). The different tasks were therefore delegated as follows:

Future Marketing administered the division of southern Africa into twelve regions for the purpose of running regional contests, in order to select the finalists for the national competition, nowadays held in Johannesburg in the Standard Bank Arena.¹³ The twelve regions or 'zones' were divided in such a way so as to centre around Port Elizabeth and East-London in the Eastern Cape, Umtata in Transkei, Newcastle and Durban in Natal, Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State, and Pietersburg/Giyani, Pretoria/East-Rand, Witbank/Nelspruit, Mafikeng, Vaal/West-Rand and Soweto in the Transvaal ('Ford Choirs Rules and Regulations 1985...'). The Western-Cape was not involved in the zoning for the regional competitions, mainly because of its distance from the other centres.

A charity- or child welfare organization was appointed in each of the twelve regions, to act as host for the contest of that region, and to collaborate with Future Marketing¹⁴ in organizing the event (*ibid*). Proceeds from the competition went to various charities. On Khabi Mngoma's recommendation a bursary scheme was also introduced, to sponsor outstanding singers in the furthering of their singing studies in a formal capacity.

Future Marketing handled all other organizational matters pertaining to the publication and distribution of the application forms and the prescribed music, and convened the national competition after the finalists had been chosen in the regional competitions (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

Khabi Mngoma was responsible for the selection of the adjudicating panel, the choices made in the prescribed music (prior to it being approved by the panel of adjudicators); the conducting of 'launch meetings' or workshops in each of the twelve regions for prospective participants (to give instruction in vocal and choral technique, and advice concerning the performance of the prescribed works); the convening of briefing sessions with the panel of adjudicators (to discuss matters pertaining to the adjudication procedures); and acting as chief adjudicator, adjudicating the regional competitions as well as the final national contest, in each case as a member of an adjudicating panel (*ibid*).

Ford Motor Company provided the finances needed to run the contest, on condition that publicity be given to the company (*ibid*).

A panel of seven adjudicators was selected (which has more or less remained constant through the years), comprising seven persons, chosen each year from the following list: Professor Cornelius T D Marivate (from the Unisa Department of African Languages), Michael Masote (past-Ionian member, violin teacher, Director of the Soweto Symphony Orchestra at the time [1982], and experienced choral adjudicator), S Joseph Khosa (song composer and arranger, Brass Band specialist and experienced choral adjudicator), Professor Jack De Wet (Head of Music at the University of Port Elizabeth, experienced violin teacher, orchestral conductor, examiner and adjudicator), Professor Douglas Reid (Professor of Musicology at Unisa),¹⁵ Professor J S M Khumalo (from the Department of African Languages, University of the Witwatersrand), Louis Khumalo (from Mamelodi, Pretoria), and Khabi Mngoma himself (*ibid*).¹⁶

The repertoire of prescribed and optional music for performance at the contests, comprised - and still comprises to the present¹⁷ - (i) one composed African choral item in one of the southern African Bantu languages, sung a capella, the choice of language differing from year to year so as to give each choir a fair chance of performing a work in its mother tongue in competitive circumstances, and to expose all choirs to the performance of works that are conceived in a 'foreign', indigenous tongue; (ii) one work from Western choral music, sung to the accompaniment of a piano. Khabi Mngoma - apparently to the annoyance of the participating choirs (*Pace*, March 1988)¹⁸ - insisted on prescribing this particular category of performance, because

... of the problem of intonation, which can only be mastered if the people get used to singing with a piano. Mastering this is very important, especially as many of our choirs have, for quite a number of years, been receiving the opportunity of travelling abroad to sing at overseas venues.¹⁹ In such cases it becomes a problem to include Western, classical items in the programmes, because they fall flat when proper tempered intonation hasn't been mastered (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

The competition usually has male-, female- and mixed choir categories, including sections for standard-sized and large choirs, with a different song prescribed for each category where necessary. That is to say, the former two categories (male- and female choirs) are dispensed with whenever the prescribed songs are regarded as being '... long enough to give choirs ample scope to sing to their satisfaction' (Adjudicators' Review).²⁰ Choirs are also given the opportunity to warm up with a song of their own choice. Khabi Mngoma explained the function of the 'warm up' as manifold. First of all it gives the conductors and the choristers the opportunity to become acquainted with the audience and the hall (*ibid*).

The choristers have the opportunity to gauge the projection of their voices in the hall and the audience response to it. Questions of shape and size of the hall, positioning of the choir on stage, come into play.

When a choir is placed at a level above the audience... choristers tend to be inhibited and strained at first; they tend to 'over-sing' as they try to produce an adequate sound to 'fill' the hall. This usually results in a forced tone and a rigid performance.

'Warming-up' in the 'own choice' section of the competition has a number of advantages. It helps in 'warming-up' and clearing the voices of phlegm which causes huskiness of voice. The choristers get the opportunity to adjust to one another's singing in terms of tone quality and balance of parts (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma explained that, even though these items are not evaluated in terms of allocating marks, they do give the adjudicating panel '... a good idea of a choir's potential and standard' and do have an influence on the final assessment of the particular choir (ibid).

Basic attributes of attack, release, phrasing, blending of parts - factors that add up to a choir's response to its conductor, are revealed during the performance of 'own choice' songs. If mistakes occur frequently in a performance of an 'own choice' song, similar mistakes can be expected in the prescribed songs (ibid).

Khabi Mngoma also added that the choice of a song in this section should reflect a conductor's level of musical maturity. 'The song must have musical merit. A poor choice of song and an uninspired presentation should thus be avoided at all costs' (ibid).

In addition, an optional piece is prescribed for performance at the final competition only ('Ford Choirs Rules and Regulations 1985...'). Conclusively, each choir that is appointed a winner - be it of a regional contest or of the overall national competition - is obliged to ascend the stage and perform two traditional African items. These items are usually in the language and style of the particular region in southern Africa from whence the winning choir originates (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, April 1986).

Khabi Mngoma usually prescribed works with which he has become familiar over the years. 'I could draw on my own repertoire and on my own experience' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985). Choral works that have been prescribed in the past include Unyaka Wengane ('The Year of the Child'; Zulu) by P J Simelane²¹ (prescribed for 1980) Motse wa Durban ('City of Durban'; Tswana) by J Motuba²² (prescribed for 1980), Mintirho ya Vulavula ('Deeds speak louder than Words'; Tsonga) by S J Khosa (prescribed for 1982), Matimba ya Vuymbeleri ('Labour has its Rewards'; Tsonga) by S J Khosa (prescribed for 1982), Ma Ngificwa Ukufa ('When Death overtakes me'; Zulu) with lyrics by B W Vilakazi and music by J S M Khumalo (prescribed for 1985), and Amasiko Nezithethe ('Customs and Traditions of the African People'; Xhosa; Tribute, May 1988) composed by M Ngxokolo (prescribed for 1987) - from the African choral repertoire.

Examples of Western classical works that have been prescribed for Ford Choirs, include 'In this Hour of softened Splendour' by C Pinsuti (prescribed for standard-sized choirs in 1982), 'Thapelo' by J Haydn (also prescribed for standard-sized choirs in 1982), 'The Lost Chord' by A Sullivan (prescribed for large choirs in 1982), 'Sing the Lord ye Voices all' by J Haydn (prescribed for a 'Champion of Champions' Section in 1982), 'The Lord is Great' by J Haydn (prescribed for 1985) the 'Gloria' from Mozart's 'Coronation Mass' in C (prescribed for 1987), and so on.

Khabi Mngoma mentioned that he had to consider the 'popular acceptability' of the works he chose to prescribe for the contests:

The compositions must offer a musical challenge, some excitement, and it must be enjoyable at the same time, for both the performers and the audiences alike. If one is preoccupied with musical advancement only, one would have to choose more difficult works, especially in the Western repertoire section (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

The prescribed music for the contest is issued in printed form as well as in recorded form on cassette. The African items are printed in tonic sol-fa notation, and the Western works in staff notation (*ibid*). The copies of the songs are distributed together with the entry forms, to which they are attached (Rules and Entry Form 1980).²³

In order to accommodate choirs who want to participate in the competition, but do not have access to a piano and/or pianist for rehearsal of the prescribed Western work (which is the situation for most African choirs), a tape recorded accompaniment of the particular work is made available.

During the first few years of running Ford Choirs, once the entry forms and music had been issued, launch meetings were held at a centre in each of the twelve regions. These launch meetings, to which Khabi Mngoma commuted by air, took the form of lectures on choral technique and other specific technicalities involved in performing the prescribed works. These were then followed by workshops (that could last from two to three

hours), in which participants could put into practice all they had learnt from the lecture, and under Khabi Mngoma's supervision. The main objective of having these launch meetings was to improve the standards of the choirs who intended to take part in the contests (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985), and in this way any problems that were being experienced by the choirs could be discussed and handled professionally.

The holding of launch meetings in twelve centres, together with the annual adjudication of regional competitions in them, necessitated a considerable amount of travelling that was both time-consuming, expensive and physically exhausting. For these reasons, in 1982 launch meetings were reduced to four per annum, and held in the centre of Johannesburg, Barberton, Durban and East-London respectively (*ibid*).²⁴

Soon after the inception of Ford Choirs in Contest, choir conductors and choristers throughout southern Africa complained about having only '... inadequate and irrelevant material for guidance in their preparation for the competition', and that existing published material on choral singing that they had come across, did not '... relate to their peculiar circumstances' (Mngoma 1980, Choral Technique:3). The conductors felt that they did not know how to go about training their choirs, and this was experienced as a serious disadvantage. In an attempt to solve this crisis, Ford Motor Company commissioned Khabi Mngoma to write a guide for the 'chorister, conductor and musical educator' (or teacher of vocal music), which would contain adequate guidelines for those concerned about imparting musical instruction from a knowledgeable position. Khabi Mngoma committed himself to writing a manuscript, entitled Choral Technique - A Guide for the Chorister, Conductor and Adjudicator, comprising about two hundred pages (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985) of easily accessible, comprehensive information on the subject. However, because Ford Motor Company predominantly pursued commercial motives and was therefore not prepared to go into extra expenditure, the manuscript was condensed into forty pages - much to the displeasure of Khabi Mngoma, who was very dissatisfied with the publication, and with the fact that he received no remuneration for this work, which was, and continues to be, distributed free of charge, and reprinted annually (about five thousand copies per year, *ibid*), for the use of thousands of choristers and conductors all over the country (*ibid*).

It was strange - the organizers were not interested in the academic side of the subject matter at all; they only wanted the 'bare facts'. They discarded the bibliography which I had listed in the original manuscript, not realizing that they were depreciating the publication by this omission. Everything was squeezed into those forty pages... The sketches at the end of the published booklet are also presented in the same squashed-in fashion. The sketches on page 35 of the booklet contained important markings and inscriptions in the original manuscript, to clearly illustrate and explain each of the beat patterns (as executed when conducting). The explanations were completely discarded in the Ford publication, and everything crammed onto one page. Page 28 was supposed to be illustrated with extensive notes explaining the sketch details. These were discarded as well. Ford was more concerned about costs, and the condensed version was published without first sending it to me for evaluation and criticism. When it came to payment, they refused (ibid).

Khabi Mngoma, however, finds consolation in the fact that those who use the publication find it both effective and beneficial (ibid).

The booklet (Mngoma 1980, Choral Technique) contains twelve chapters and an appendix of illustrations, covering the following aspects:

Chapter 1 : The Nature of the Human Voice. .

Chapter 2 : Breath - the Motive Power of the Voice - the Breathing Apparatus.

Chapter 3 : Resonation or Amplification of the Voice.

Chapter 4 : Registers of the Voice.

Chapter 5 : Stance.

Chapter 6 : Classification of Voices.

Chapter 7 : Arrangement of a Choir - Grouping of Voices.

Chapter 8 : The Rehearsal Schedule and Choir Training.

Chapter 9 : The Conductor.

Chapter 10 : Programme Building and Repertoire.

Chapter 11 : The Choral Contest or Eisteddfod.

Chapter 12 : Epilogue.

APPENDIX OF ILLUSTRATIONS:

1. The Larynx, Trachea, Lungs and Sinuses - The Resonators.
2. Registers, Range and 'Break' in the voice.
3. Voice and Breathing Exercises.
4. Choir Arrangements.
5. Beat Patterns and Conducting.
6. Adjudication Schedule - Choral or Solo Performance.
7. Choral Adjudication - Mark Sheet.

The adjudication process followed in Ford Choirs in Contest, is structured on a basis of allocating marks in seven evaluation categories, ie Accuracy, Diction, Tone, Phrasing and Rhythm, Intonation, Interpretation and General Effect, and General Remarks (Adjudication Schedule).²⁵ Each of the technical aspects counts ten marks out of one hundred, and the general effect counts fifty marks out of one hundred (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

One sometimes finds that some choirs do quite well as far as the technical aspects of the performance are concerned, but when it comes to the general musical effect, they fall flat, because the performance is mechanical and lacks the human element. This, of course, is a controversial issue (*ibid*).

The nature of the contest

Ford Choirs in Contest has always been an exciting and colourful event. Participating choirs '... try to capture the mood of the main song they present by dressing up appropriately' (*Tribute*, May 1988). A report on the 1987 Samcor/Old Mutual Eisteddfod, published in *Tribute* (*ibid*), describes the dress of choirs who participated in the final competition in Johannesburg that year:

On this occasion... all but three competing choirs appeared wearing varied and distinctly traditional garb. Many had evoked admiration from the appreciative audience, which applauded accordingly...

It was not until (the) Imilonji (Choir) invaded the stage that the texture changed. Unlike the rest of the choirs, Imilonji were dressed to portray each of the different African traditions.

Khabi Mngoma finds it very exciting to see people take so much pains for music. 'Not only is it an aural experience, but it is a visual and social experience as well to see the choirs in their different types of attire' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

At the Ford Choirs in Contest competitions the audiences form as much a part of the event as the participating choirs. 'The audiences egg on the performers, very much like a Rugby match' (*ibid*). Khabi Mngoma described how, at the Fifth Anniversary of Ford Choirs in Contest which was held at the University of Zululand in December 1982, many choirs arrived with literally 'hordes' of their own supporters - all dressed up in the same 'uniform' worn by the particular choir they were supporting!

Their coming was like a marching band and drum majorettes! Some choirs from Johannesburg employed different kinds of whistles: whenever their choir would ascend the stage, they would break out in a whistling din like at a football- or rugby match! (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma congenially remarked that, although the supporter teams do their supporting very sportsman-like, they nevertheless make those choirs who might not have any supporters in the audience, feel very isolated and '... as if they haven't really quite arrived yet' (*ibid*).

To quote the words of *Tribute* (May 1988): 'The flair and flamboyance of the participating choirs make the competition a significant cultural pageant'.

'Samcor/Old Mutual Eisteddfod'

In 1987 the erstwhile Ford Choirs in Contest national choral Eisteddfod, changed its designation to 'Samcor/Old Mutual Eisteddfod' (*ibid*) - also referred to as 'Ford/Old Mutual Choirs' - when Old Mutual and Carlton Paper²⁶ adopted the sponsorship of the contest, with Old Mutual being the new organizer of the contest. In March 1988 South African Airways announced its intention to co-sponsor the contest as well (*Tribute*, May 1988). The name of the contest has therefore changed several times, whenever new sponsorships have been obtained. I.e., 'Ford Choirs in Contest' has become 'Ford/Old Mutual Eisteddfod', 'Samcor/Old Mutual Eisteddfod', and even acquired as lengthy a name as the 'Samcor/Caltex/Old Mutual National Choir Festival' (Letter),²⁷ all within a matter of three years.

Significance

Khabi Mngoma's monumental involvement in the Ford Choirs National Eisteddfod ultimately established a national cultural event, something envisaged by him way back in the 1960s and 1970s when he was so active in the Ionian Music Society: an event for black South Africans which aimed at encouraging and cultivating performance competence in both Western classical music and in African music. With regard to the history of the very successful Imilonji Ka-Ntu Choir (directed by George Mxadana) in the context of Ford Choirs, it is stated in *Tribute* (May 1988) that

... while Imilonji might be the choir easiest to single out, it follows in the tradition of other great choirs, such as Professor Khabi Mngoma's Ionian Music Society, the Johannesburg Teachers' Choir and later the Baragwanath Choir and Jabulani Mazibuko's Soweto Teachers' Choir.

One can only admire Khabi Mngoma's zeal and determination in broadening musical education for black South Africans, and for raising the standards of excellence in musical performance via community activities, in spite of financial cutbacks and commercial constraints.²⁸

Khabi Mngoma adjudicates the African Bank Song-writing Competition in 1984, together with Professor C T D Marivate and T Ledwaba; his findings and recommendations

The African Bank Song-writing Competition was held in 1984 to commemorate the Tenth Anniversary of the Bank's existence. The main intent of the competition was to advertise the African Bank to the public and to stimulate cultural and intellectual activity among the ranks of African composers living and working in southern Africa (Report, 15 October 1984). Khabi Mngoma wrote in his report on the African Bank Song-writing Competition (*ibid*), that, as far as promoting the popularity of the African Bank through choral music was concerned,

... the compositions that have resulted from this contest will... be sung for many years to come by school-, church- and [other] community choirs throughout the length and breadth of southern Africa. The message of the songs will remain paramount and fresh as when they were sung for the first time. This will supersede all other methods of publicity the Bank will develop later (*ibid*).

The lyrics of the songs entered for the competition, had to be in one of the African vernaculars indigenous to southern Africa, and had to satisfactorily depict the importance and function of the African Bank to the economy of South Africa, with particular reference to Africans. It was very important that the lyrics should highlight the significance of the African Bank's Tenth Anniversary, since its inception in 1974. These were the main criteria for evaluation as far as the descriptive qualities of the song texts were concerned. However, in addition to these, literary- and poetic merit, which '... showed the creativity of the author(s)' were also taken into account (*ibid*).

The music had to be submitted in tonic sol-fa notation, and was expected to evince a satisfactory integration of the text

... with regard to melodic inflexions and speech rhythms of the language used. The use of sound effects that enhanced the text was considered to be an attribute that reflected the composer's creativity.

...

If the text and music were well synchronized, the composition was considered coherent and integrated and therefore successful (*ibid*).

In their assessment of the entries, the adjudicators (Khabi Mngoma, C T D Marivate and T Ledwaba) examined the following aspects:

- 1) the aptitude for writing and appreciating language;
- 2) the aptitude for writing music...;
- 3) the sensitivity to speech tones so that the music written does not go against the speech tone;
- 4) sensitivity to speech rhythms, so that speech rhythms are enhanced by the music written;
- 5) the sensitivity to and capacity for aural perception to capture the sonorities of the number of voices or sounds singing together to portray different moods and situations (*ibid*).

The Report (*ibid*) adds the comment that these aspects of choral composition '... must be consciously cultivated by a programme of training which can only be effected by enlightened tutors and teachers'.

The entries were rated according to a scheme that allocated an 'A' for compositions that were considered 'Excellent', a 'B' for works that were 'Very Good', a 'C' for a rating as 'Good', 'D' for 'Fair', 'E' for 'Average', 'F' for 'Poor', and 'G' for entries that were 'Unacceptable' (*ibid*).

Ten composers responded to the competition by each submitting one composition. In Khabi Mngoma's view this was a good response, because he maintains that composers are usually shy of entering a composition contest 'for fear of losing' (*ibid*). Of these ten entries, two were rated as 'Fair', three as 'Unacceptable', one as 'Poor',

one as 'Average', two as 'Good', and one as 'Very Good'. According to the report at hand (*ibid*), the following problems were evident:

- 1) A lack of literary appreciation and perception of literary nuance. This resulted in a lack of literary merit in most of the lyrics submitted for the songs.
- 2) A lack of basic mastery of notation in order to be able to write creatively. A good deal of invention was limited by the writers' inability to manipulate notation melodically and rhythmically.
- 3) A limited knowledge of the effect and use of chords in music, resulting in awkward and unsuitable chord progression.
- 4) A lack of understanding of musical style in historic context, and therefore blatant borrowings of musical material from other works and styles which would be tantamount to plagiarism.
- 5) A lack of understanding that musical form in vocal music is determined by the text and that therefore the different components of a composition must be consistent with the different moods or scenes depicted by the text. The same rhythmic pattern was sometimes employed by a composer even when the mood of the text would have been enhanced by a change (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma added the remark that, although the composers who were awarded prizes '... showed less of these faults in their works', he foresaw that '... these problems will persist if a meaningful training programme is not undertaken' (*ibid*; *vide* Epilogue). In the light of this, he added:

... it will therefore be a worthwhile investment for the sponsors of this song-writers' contest to think along the lines of establishing a programme for cultivating composer-musicians in order to meet a long felt need that has evaded even the planners of our education system. This could be started by sponsoring periodic... training seminars and workshops for composer-musicians (*ibid*).

Earlier on in the report Khabi Mngoma stated that '... such a programme would provide a musical infrastructure for those who have got the talent; and ensure that future song-writing contests will attract knowledgeable entrants' (*ibid*).

Various other involvements

From time to time Khabi Mngoma has been approached by people who want advice on the establishment of organizations concerned with the promotion and cultivation of music and other cultural and educational projects (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985). His recommendations for the formulation of constitutions and syllabi for the various undertakings concerned have been especially sought after.

During the 1970s (the exact year is not certain; Khabi Mngoma was unable to give any more details) Khabi Mngoma was approached by Baldwin Mudau from Vendaland (who is now deceased), who requested Khabi Mngoma to assist him in the formation of a cultural association for Vendaland, which, among, other things, would undertake to encourage the performance of Venda music side by side with Western music, according to the precedent that Khabi Mngoma had set in his own work (*ibid*). The resultant association, which was called 'The National Association for Cultural Advancement of Vendaland' (also referred to as 'NACA of Vendaland'), aimed at

- (1) '... inculcat(ing) a spirit of national pride, loyalty, unity and... dedication for service';
- (2) building the quality of life of the Venda public through the stimulation of the pursuit of knowledge;
- (3) promoting interest in research and education;
- (4) being a mouthpiece for the Venda public in matters concerning cultural advancement (*sic*);
- (5) sponsoring eisteddfodau on a national level in Vendaland, as well as organizing music festivals, art exhibitions, sports competitions, and other similar events (Constitution).²⁹

Khabi Mngoma made recommendations for the preparation of the association's constitution, but subsequently voiced a remark (during a conversation with the writer) that he '... gets more and more the impression that it

is futile to try and fight the cultural battles of other people until one has mastered your own situation...' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

On another occasion Khabi Mngoma was consulted by his cousin Albert Twala (referred to in earlier chapters), on matters pertaining to the establishment of a cultural organization in Swaziland, but Khabi Mngoma apparently was unable to give any further details.³⁰

Another instance of a 'cultural connection', so to speak, elsewhere in southern Africa (away from KwaZulu, Zululand and Natal), was Khabi Mngoma's appointment by the Gazankulu Cabinet as a member of The Tsonga Language Centenary Sub-Committee in 1983 (Resolution No 48/83 of 1 August 1983 referred).³¹ This connection was, however, slight and short-lived; Khabi Mngoma recalls having attended meetings of the committee in 1984, '... discussing folk music festivals' (sic), but this came to a halt at the end of 1984 (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, November 1990).

With reference to his work regarding the planning of a music curriculum for other academic institutions, Khabi Mngoma remarked that it seemed to him as though '... more and more people are becoming interested in offering both African and Western music in their music courses' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

Two instances of this kind of involvement have been his contributions made to the formulation of course outlines for the University of Transkei Primary and Secondary Music Teachers' Certificate in 1982, and his preparation of a music syllabus for the Botswana International School of Music, which was founded by Hugh Masekela in Gaborone in 1984 (*vide infra*).³²

In March 1982 the Academic Planning Committee of the University of Transkei '... resolved that a Committee be formed to consider the feasibility of introducing a Diploma in Music' at the University of Transkei (Letter).³³ Khabi Mngoma was elected a member of this committee, together with Professor G Hutchings and S Yousofi (a specialist in Persian/Iranian music) both of the University of Transkei (*ibid*). Khabi Mngoma

subsequently assisted in finalizing the above mentioned syllabus - ie the syllabus for the Primary and Secondary Music Teacher's Certificate of the University of Transkei (Letters)³⁴ - which embraced the study and performance of both Western³⁵ and Xhosa music.³⁶ It placed emphasis on Theory of Music, Listening and Appreciation of Music, as well as a knowledgeable, methodical instruction in music to Xhosa-speaking pupils (Teaching Method). For example, the syllabus³⁷ stated that '... indigenous (sic) (Xhosa) music must be given proper time and attention', it prescribed the composing of 'at least two folk songs (sic) (Xhosa songs), one in tonic sol-fa and one in staff notation', and specified that candidates had to '... teach a class of at least fourteen children two suitable songs for their grade, one in English or Afrikaans, and one in Xhosa' (*ibid*).³⁸

Khabi Mngoma subsequently also served as external examiner and moderator for the courses Introduction to Musicology and Ethnomusicology, Theory II, Practical Skills II, and Musicianship (Letter).³⁹

Hugh Masekela founded the Botswana International School of Music in response to a long felt need for the establishment of music educational facilities in Botswana (Letter).⁴⁰ His venture enjoyed the support of famous personalities, including Trevor Huddleston, Yehudi Menuhin, Harry Belafonte, Miriam Makeba and other celebrities (*ibid*). Whereas the role of the school was intended to provide music educational facilities and opportunities for those who wished to apply themselves to formal musical instruction, the role of the society was intended to promote musical artistry and performance in the region of Botswana, and to stimulate the appreciation of music among the public (Address, Khabi Mngoma, 24 January 1985). Membership was open to citizens of Botswana, and also to the international public.

The curriculum of the Botswana International School of Music has been largely the brainchild of Khabi Mngoma, who was consulted in this regard by Hugh Masekela (Letter).⁴¹ The courses were planned according to the following conceptual outline ('Original concept paper...', March 1984):

Traditional music: a study in the making and playing of traditional instruments, and a study of the indigenous music of southern Africa including dance. Preservation of traditional music and instruments is a major concern.

Classical music: a study of music theory, staff notation, music literature and form, and the conducting of choral and instrumental ensembles.

Contemporary African and Afro-American music: a study of present-day African music and its influence on Caribbean music and American Jazz.

Individual lessons: private lessons on instruments available including strings, woodwind, brass and percussion will be given (*ibid*).⁴²

Subject matter included the study of (i) umbaqanga or 'African jazz', tracing its emergence from traditional musical sources to its performance in the dance halls, stokvels, and social parties of the townships; (this course also incorporated the study of the Sotho, Tswana and Zulu languages); (ii) jazz, with its African and Afro-American history; (iii) music from Central Africa, comprising the music of Angola, Cameroon, Congo, Kenya, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zaire, ~~Zambia~~ and Zimbabwe, from the early decades of the twentieth century to the present, tracing performance traditions from their rural and historical origins to the present dance halls of Maputo, Harare, Kinshasa, and other major African cities; this course embraced the study of techniques used in the structures and performance of music originating from these areas, as well as studying their lyrics; the source materials utilized, comprised mainly recordings by artists of these countries; language studies were once again intended to form part of the course, namely studies of the Shona, Lingala, Kiswahili, French and Portuguese languages.

The intention was to add courses in West-African music, Afro-Latin American music, calypso and reggae, pop, rhythm and blues, and gospel at a later stage, all of which would include language studies of the English language.

The category 'traditional music' embraced (i) the study and performance of musical traditions of Botswana, including ceremonial songs and dances pertaining to harvesting seasons, circumcision, weddings, hunting scenes, war, etc; (ii) the identification and use of various traditional instruments, such as drums, matlhowa ankle

rattles,⁴³ lamellophones, the katara (guitar), marimba idiophone, lenaka horn, ditlhaka flutes,⁴⁴ and the segankure/ segaba/ sebinjolo/ sebankure⁴⁵ single stringed instrument (bowed lutes); (iii) designing, carving, and building on the quality of instruments and costumes; (iv) music and instruments from other African countries (ibid).

The study of Western classical music entailed (i) basic Theory of Music (reading, writing, and understanding staff notation), (ii) musical composition (using staff notation), (iii) individual musical performance, (iv) group performance, and (v) conducting (baton technique, rehearsal technique, planning and organizing choirs and instrumental groups) (ibid).

According to the course description of the Botswana International School of Music First Annual Workshop of the Performing Arts, held at the Maru A Pula School in Gaborone in August 1985, dance and drama courses covered the aspects of musical production, African dance, modern and jazz dance, and classical and modern dramatic arts, 'method acting', role playing, improvisational drama, speech- and movement awareness.⁴⁶

Khabi Mngoma also delivered the opening address at the inauguration of the Botswana International Society of Music in January 1985, and later in that year he assisted in the presentation of music workshops for the First Annual Workshop of the Performing Arts (vide ante).

Growing recognition

The years 1985, 1987 and 1990 mark a phase of rapidly growing recognition of Khabi Mngoma's views regarding a transcultural music education for southern Africa, embodied in a national, multi-racial music educational forum. Although he had already joined the South African Society of Music Teachers⁴⁷ in 1982 (curriculum vitae, Khabi Mngoma, December 1987), it was only in the aforementioned period that he featured prominently in South African music educational circles.

The First National Music Educators' Conference, bearing the title 'Music Education in Contemporary South Africa', was launched in 1985 by the Music Department of the University of Natal (16 to 18 September). Being

directed primarily towards music educators from training colleges, technikons and universities all over southern Africa (ie tertiary level education), the purpose of the conference was '... to develop an awareness and an understanding of contemporary South African music (sic) with the view to broadening the basis of music education in South Africa' (Letter).⁴⁸

Elisabeth Oehrle of the Natal University Music Department invited Khabi Mngoma to deliver an address at the conference, requesting him to speak on 'the current music education situation in... black South African schools'. She added a comment in her letter to Khabi Mngoma (*ibid*), stating that '... there is no one who knows better than you do what the situation is... ' (*ibid*). Khabi Mngoma accepted the invitation and accordingly delivered the address at the conference. The title of his speech was 'Music Education and its Pertinence to South African Society' (curriculum vitae, Khabi Mngoma, December 1987). He was subsequently elected Chairman of the conference.

The Second National Music Educators' Conference, titled 'Making Music Education Relevant in Africa South', was held two years later in Cape Town, from 1 to 4 July 1987, at the South African College of Music, the Music Faculty of the University of Cape Town. This conference was significant in that it witnessed the formation of 'a society of music educators for Africa South',⁴⁹ piloted by Khabi Mngoma. 'The Southern African Music Educators' Society', as it was subsequently called, was established with the intention to create 'a multicultural (sic) music education forum' (Minutes, 4 July 1987). Khabi Mngoma was elected President of the society. Stressing the importance of open, democratic interaction, he appealed to members to exercise empathy for one another's views and interests, and '... to work in an atmosphere of meaningful, mutual sharing'. 'We don't want to neutralize each other but (want) to belong to a multicultural (sic) society in which we all can share' (*ibid*).

The Third Biannual Music Educators' Conference was hosted by the University of Pretoria in April 1990. This particular conference was historical in that it was the first of its kind in which all the prominent South African musical societies converged at the same time and same venue. These included the South African Musicological Society, the SA Choral Society, the Orff Society, the 'Kerkorrelistevereniging' ('Society of Church Organists'),

the SA Music Therapy Society, the Harp Society, and the Southern African Music Educators' Society. On this occasion, Khabi Mngoma was elected Honorary Life President of the Southern African Music Educators' Society, after he had indicated that he wished to step down as President of the Society. The main reason for the latter was his intensive teaching and administrative duties at the Khongisa Centre for Performing Arts, which he founded in Vulindlela in 1988. 'This was the only way they could keep me involved!' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, November 1990). It is the opinion of the writer that the appointment of Khabi Mngoma as Honorary Life President of the society, signalled the acceptance and recognition of his views, on the part of the forum. In spite of the fact that he found it difficult to sustain his active involvement, his input seems to have had effect. His participation in, and leadership of, the forum, certainly was a necessary strategy to propagate his philosophy of music education for southern Africa.

In 1989, an article written by Khabi Mngoma, which was published in Africa Insight in 1987, titled 'The Teaching of Music in South Africa', came to the attention of R B Walton, the editor of the South African Journal of Musicology. Following this, in December 1989, Khabi Mngoma received a letter from Walton, requesting permission to consider publishing the article in the South African Journal of Musicology (Letter)⁵⁰ in 1990, stating that members of the editorial staff felt '... that this article deserve(d) a wider readership' (*ibid*).

In spite of his heavy teaching and administrative duties, Khabi Mngoma is also currently a member of the advisory committee to the Human Sciences Research Council research project, entitled 'Effective Music Education in South African Schools', which is currently investigating music education from Grade I through to tertiary level. In addition to this, he is a member of two of the six work committees involved in the investigations, namely (i) the work committee investigating the state of music education in South African schools, and (ii) the work committee investigating the Philosophy of Music Education in South Africa (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, November 1990).

In 1990 the Department of National Education appointed Khabi Mngoma a member of an Evaluation Committee, responsible for advising the Department on matters relating to financial assistance given to performing arts groups and artists, who wish to undertake concert tours abroad, or to participate in international competitions

abroad (Letter).⁵¹ Khabi Mngoma was appointed member of the committee for a period ending 31 December 1992. Other members of the committee include Dirkie de Villiers (Musicologist),⁵² Cedric Adamson (Director of the Educational Theatre, Cape Town), Professor Edith Katzenellenbogen (Assistant Professor, Department of Physical Education, University of Stellenbosch), and Jannie Du Toit (Performing Artist of Afrikaans light music; *ibid.*).

In 1987, Khabi Mngoma also began his duties as Educational Advisor for the Madimba Institute - the Music Department of Funda Centre in Soweto, which is under the directorship of Khabi Mngoma's daughter, Sibongile Khumalo. The Madimba Institute provides educational opportunities in Western as well as in African music, but the emphasis is on the latter. It also conducts research into, and documentation of, rural performance styles prevalent in the Transvaal region. However, the scope of research occasionally extends beyond the Transvaal borders, whenever the opportunity or necessity for an investigation arises (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, October 1990).⁵³ The influence of Khabi Mngoma's philosophy of music education for southern Africa is pertinent here.

Probably the greatest honour bestowed on Khabi Mngoma, was his nomination as the recipient of an Honorary Doctorate Degree (D Mus, Honoris Causa) in 1987, by the University of the Witwatersrand, in recognition of his contribution to music education in the Republic of South Africa. The Doctorate was conferred upon him at the University's Graduation Ceremony on 15 December 1987, in the University Great Hall. Following below are three significant extracts from the programme notes, published in the Graduation Ceremony Programme (15 December 1987):

We have in Professor Khabi Mngoma a mind and soul that encompass the poetry of the African people. His activities in promoting music as a cultural act, as an act of poetry and as an academic discipline sum up the man and his quest for beauty...

...

Since 1945 Mngoma has made the most significant effort in bringing African music and serious Western music to the African communities across the country. No one that we know

has brought to musical performance, teaching, organization, appreciation and interpretation in his community service the wealth of experience and discipline from both the Western and African traditions that Mngoma has.

...

The University of the Witwatersrand wishes to signify its deep appreciation of Khabi Mngoma's service to the culture of the nation and to music, his warm personality and resilience, and his undaunted courage, by conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Music honoris causa.

Five days later, on 20 December 1987, 'A Festival of Song in Honour of Professor Khabi Mngoma' was presented at the Orlando YMCA in Soweto, featuring a programme of instrumental and vocal music performed by the Imilonji ka-Ntu Choir (Conductor: George Mxadana), the Kwa-Thema Youth Choir (Conductor: Ludumo Magangane), the Central Division Songsters (Conductor: Mzilikazi Khumalo), the Soweto Teachers' Choir (Conductor: Jabulani Mazibuko), the Ionian Music Society (Conductor: Alfred Letsoalo), the Abavumi Quartet (a group formed by four past-Ionian members), and various soloists, including Khabi Mngoma's daughter, Sibongile Mngoma Khumalo. On this occasion Khabi Mngoma conducted a combined performance (ie combined choirs and the Ionian Orchestra) of 'All Men, all Things', from Felix Mendelssohn's Hymn of Praise (programme notes, 20 December 1987). The programme notes, published in an attractive programme (*ibid*), were devoted entirely to Khabi Mngoma - complete with photographs and tributes addressed to him in the form of poetic writings from the Council for Black Education and Research, Es'kia Mphahlele, Reuel Khoza and Motsumi Makhene (a past-student of Khabi Mngoma), as well as a curriculum vitae - containing passages written in homage to him. The tribute from the Council for Black Education and Research is in the form of a salute to Khabi Mngoma, which sums up the spirit of the programme, and indeed the whole event:

WE honour you for the degree of Doctor of Music...

conferred upon you by the University of the Witwatersrand.

We ask you to accept our jubilant and proud tribute to yourself as a humanist, a dedicated music teacher and scholar for over forty years, and as a tireless servant of the people wherever you have lived.

WE salute you, son of Africa, who has taught us the alphabet of Western music, and the meaning, the poetry of African music; for having fought through the years for our music to be recognized as an imperative dimension of education in particular, and our spiritual well-being in general.

Many a choir, many a choirmaster, many a singer,
and many an instrumentalist have passed through your
caring hands, have touched the true artist in you, and
come away from your warm, luminous presence the richer
for the contact with such a great teacher as yourself.
Through all these men and women, young boys and girls,
you have in turn enriched us, increased us...
giving us a greater sense of our being and cultural purpose.

Thank you, son of the soil! (*ibid*).

It was sad that Khabi Mngoma's wife, Grace, could not share in this, as she had passed away on 15 August that year (1987).

Another award that was conferred upon Khabi Mngoma after his retirement from the University of Zululand (in December 1987), was the Silver Degree of the Award of the Order of the Red Triangle, decreed by the South African National Council of the YMCA in 1989. He was nominated for the decoration '... in recognition of his continuing meritorious service⁵⁴ to the movement' (Citation),⁵⁵ and he received it on Sunday 19 November 1989, at the Orlando YMCA (Letter).⁵⁶

The Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts (a nonprofit-making community organization)

Khabi Mngoma's founding of the Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts in Zululand in 1988, is the fulfilment of a life-dream, which he had been nurturing since his days of working in Soweto. The Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts, which bears his name 'Khongisa' - the clan name for Mngoma (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, October 1990) - was founded in August 1988 (Prospectus, January 1989) in Vulindlela Township, KwaDlangezwa, Ongoye District (in the vicinity of the University of Zululand). Khabi Mngoma's home at 36 Vulindlela Township is the headquarters of the project. The motivation behind its founding has been described by Khabi Mngoma as follows (Articles of Constitution):⁵⁷

Performing Arts of Music, Dance and Theatre are the sine qua non⁵⁸ of African life and living. We believe these should be the sine qua non of all people of South Africa.

A structured programme for the provision of these facets of life for benefit and improvement of the quality of our society is urgent. Education systems of South Africa consider performing arts as peripheral and therefore dispensable, in spite of the abundant evidence to the contrary in all our communities.

By establishing the Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts, cultural enrichment of society is envisaged, coupled with the attendant stability of a society whose cultural aspirations are fulfilled.

In the First Annual Report of the Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts (reporting on the period January 1989 - December 1989, dated January 1990) Khabi Mngoma wrote:

Indigenous communities in South Africa have an abundance of a spontaneous musical culture which manifests itself in institutionalized communal music-making. Individuals see themselves as potential orators and simulation of life's drama is enacted by young and old.

For these reasons Music and Theatre should not be confined to the talented only. These are essential ingredients of the process of humanization of a people. This was the reason for founding the KYC [abbreviation for 'Khongisa Youth Centre']. To stimulate interest in these two arts [Music and Theatre] among the young and work at persuading their elders to support them by involving them in their performances. We envisage improving the quality of life of the region and in that way contribute to the stabilizing of society.

The aims and objectives of the Khongisa Centre include:

- (a) the establishment of facilities to promote the performing arts of music, dance and theatre among the youth;
- (b) the provision of equipment, instruments, literature and teachers to instruct the youth in these arts;
- (c) the provision of curricula, syllabi, examining/evaluation processes and accreditation for the performance of indigenous music, dance and theatre;
- (d) the preparation of candidates for the annual public examinations in the performing arts of music, dance and theatre, held by (i) The University of South Africa, (ii) Trinity College, (iii) The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, and (iv) The Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts;
- (e) the stimulation of the cultural life of the community by regularly promoting music, dance and theatre in the form of shows, or public performances, seminars and workshops (*vide infra*), festivals and excursions to venues where performances take place;
- (f) the hosting of service organizations that share similar cultural concerns as the Youth Centre;
- (g) the provision of facilities for readings on music, dance and theatre, recording and listening to recorded materials, as well as recording, storing and viewing/listening to audio/visual material;
- (h) the undertaking of '... all such things as shall be necessary for the promotion of performing arts' (Articles of Constitution, 1989).

The curricula have been set out as follows in the initial course descriptions for the Khongisa Centre (Curricula, 28 July 1988):

1 MUSIC

1.1 Singing

- Voice culture. Solo and group singing of indigenous and Western musical styles.

1.2 Instruments

- Keyboard: Marimba; Piano; Electronic organ; Harmonium; Kalimba.
- Strings: Violin; Cello; Double Bass; udloko;⁹⁹ Makhweyana.
- Percussion: African and Western.

1.3 Ensemble work: Adult Choir; Youth Choir; String Orchestra; Marimba Orchestra; Percussion Band; Group Drumming.

2 DRAMA

- 2.1 - Voice Projection, Phonation and Oratory.
- 2.2 - Comparative use of South African Languages in solo and choral speech.
- 2.3 - Movement: Miming and Simulation.
- 2.4 - Acting: Scene Improvisation and Script Interpretation.
- 2.5 - Production: Indigenous and Western Theatre.

3 DANCE

- 3.1 - Movement: Response to Pulse; Co-ordination and Balance; Use of Space.
- 3.2 - Indigenous and Western Choreography - the essence.
- 3.3 - Correlation of Music and Movement including Indigenous Action Songs.
(ibid).

In the same document, a description is given of the type of workshops and seminars that are intended to be presented by the Khongisa Centre. These include (i) 'Choir Training and Conducting', (ii) 'Indigenous musical styles and dances', (iii) 'The Pedagogics of Music in a multicultural society', (iv) 'Communication through the arts - and Aesthetics', (v) 'Theatre in a multicultural society', and (vi) 'The making of indigenous music instruments'.

The Khongisa Youth Centre hosts the activities of

- (1) The Ongoye Chorale - an adult mixed choir ('which provides opportunities for adults to improve their singing, sight singing, aural perception and public performance skills' - Prospectus, January 1989);⁶⁰
- (2) The Khongisa Youth String Orchestra;
- (3) The Khongisa Marimba Band;⁶¹
- (4) The KwaDlangezwa Youth Choir;
- (5) The KwaDlangezwa Creative Dancing Group;
- (6) The Young Men's Christian Association's local branch;
- (7) The Women's Home Builders' Fun Club; and
- (8) The music committee meetings of the Natal African Teachers' Union. (Outline of curricula, 28 July 1988).

The Khongisa Centre caters for the youth (ages six to seventeen), as well as for adults. The annual membership registration fee is ten rand per student. 'Paid-up membership shall entitle each student to a Membership Card⁶² and tuition and performance opportunities as provided for in the curriculum' (Prospectus, January 1989).

Tuition fees for individual music lessons (provided in Singing, Piano, Violin and Cello) are two rand and fifty cents per lesson for youthful students, and five rand per lesson for adults (*ibid*). These are certainly the most affordable prices for individual music lessons one could offer anywhere in the world!

During the first year since the establishment of the Children's Programme, ie 1989,⁶³ the Khongisa Pilot Youth Music Education and Performance Programme was conducted at the Dlangezwa High School on Saturdays and Sundays. Smaller groups were tutored at Khabi Mngoma's home, 36 Vulindlela Township. In the meantime, the building which was to become the headquarters of the project, was in the process of being erected at Khabi Mngoma's premises (Report, January 1990). But before the building had acquired its roof, funds ran out, and building operations therefore ground to a halt. However, Khabi Mngoma was fortunate to have the American Cultural Centre in Durban coming to his rescue by negotiating a subsidy of six thousand dollars from the American Government, to help with the completion of the centre (*ibid*).

Within one year, however, the building became too small for the growing numbers of Khongisa Youth Centre subscribers.

The enthusiastic support the Khongisa Youth Centre got from the community was beyond all expectations. This response rendered the present building altogether inadequate. The building was designed to accommodate fifty people and we have already enrolled 132. Indications are that this number will increase in 1990. It has become necessary for the Board of Management to prepare for this rise in numbers by thinking of extending accommodation (*ibid*).

Khabi Mngoma has subsequently submitted an application to the KwaZulu Government Department of Interior, for permission to occupy a portion of land (Lot A186) in Vulindlela Township, for the erection of a new premises by 1992 to accommodate the ever-growing numbers participating in the Khongisa programme.

With regard to the problems he is currently experiencing with the project, Khabi Mngoma has frequently expressed his frustration at his hitherto unsuccessful attempts to get the Khongisa Centre registered as an official educational institution (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, October and November 1990). For instance, he spent the entire day of Thursday 8 November 1990 at the KwaZulu Government Administration in Ulundi, trying to get the matter straightened out. The delay in this matter makes it very difficult for him to obtain funding. He is also presently running the centre virtually singlehandedly, ie he does most of the teaching himself, since the present state of funds does not allow the appointment of a full-time administrative- and teaching staff. It should be noted that Khabi Mngoma envisages having a full-time, paid staff to run the project on a full-time basis; this would entail the appointment of at least two other music teachers besides Khabi Mngoma himself, for the music programme alone. He desperately needs funding from the private/business- and government sectors to ensure the maintenance of the project and the successful fulfilment of his objective to accommodate drama and dance as well.

Occasionally Khabi Mngoma loses heart because of the limited means, but he reaps encouragement from the wholehearted support and loyalty of the parents and the Board of Management, and those benefactors and

sponsors who already support the programme. M G Buthelezi, South African Breweries, and Richards Bay Minerals have been among the main supporters, together with individuals who have donated equipment such as instruments and furniture. The Oudemeester Foundation for the Performing Arts donated twenty-four music stands and ten ten-rand student annual membership bursaries; the University of Zululand donated thirty-eight violins, one viola, two cellos and one double bass; Stanley Sibeko donated a P3500 Wordstar PC System (computer); M V Gumede donated a piano, gramophone records and R260,00 towards making a video recording of the Khongisa Centre's activities (for purposes of advertisement and obtaining funds); two pianos were donated by L M Nene and N N Ndebele respectively; an office desk and arm chair were donated by a S T Mthimkhulu; two hundred rand was donated by Caleb Gumede, towards the catering costs for the 1989 Christmas Music Festival performers who participated in the Khongisa Christmas Festival on 16 December 1989 (Report, January 1990); (these included the Muse Africa Muse Orchestra, the Esikhawini Canatata Chorale, the Ongoye Chorale, the KwaThema Youth & Adult Choirs, the Port Durnford Happy Singers [a Sicathamiya group], the Khongisa Youth Choir & Orchestra, and the Khongisa Infant Group [co-ordinated by a Thobile Mthiyane and Khabi Mngoma]; programme notes, 16 and 17 December 1989).

Khabi Mngoma also enjoys the support of the KwaZulu Cabinet, although financial assistance from this quarter does not seem likely. In a letter to Khabi Mngoma, M G Buthelezi expressed his enthusiasm about the project, but also voiced his concern about constraints on the government budget:

It is very exciting to hear that you have initiated such a very much needed community organization for Performing Arts. This is something we desperately need in our community...

I will inform Cabinet about it. I know that we suffer enormous constraints in our budget and while I am not optimistic for this reason I believe that it is absolutely essential to table this project. It would be such a shame if we as a people fail to make this great project take off.

(Letter)⁶⁴

The Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts meets a vital cultural demand in the Ongoye District. But finance is an important part of the hard reality of running any educational project, and the future existence and success of the Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts, depend heavily on this factor.

It raises one's concern that educational institutions should suffer so much economic pressure, especially when one considers that education today builds the future of tomorrow. To regard education in the arts as peripheral and as a dispensable luxury is, in the mind of the writer, a manifestation of a reductionist, mechanistic view of life, which is incompatible with twentieth century quantum thought in the physical and human sciences.⁶⁵

Notes

1. The subject Theory of Music was introduced into the secondary schools in KwaZulu by the Department of Education and Training as an examination subject, in order to create the opportunity for interested pupils to acquire some academic background in music. *Vide* Epilogue for discussion of academic music study opportunities in African schools.
2. The Funda Centre is an educational institution that specializes in providing educational opportunities in dance, drama and music. It houses these educational facilities, as well as a library and a conference room. Research into the various fields accommodated by the Funda Centre is one of its mandates.
3. Also according to the 'Programme of the "Know Your Continent - Africa" Lecture Series', organized by the Council for Black Education and Research, 1982.
4. The Roodepoort International Eisteddfod is held bi-annually at Florida Lake, Roodepoort, Transvaal. It is 'the biggest musical festival of its kind in the Southern Hemisphere' ('Roodepoort International Eisteddfod 1987 Souvenir Program', Roodepoort : published by the Roodepoort International Eisteddfod South Africa/RIESA 1987:7), where people from nations all over the world converge to perform music and dance in an atmosphere of 'peaceful co-existence' and 'competitive goodwill' (*ibid*). Categories include the following: Youth Brass Band Ensemble, Pipe Band, Military Band (for players over 18), Military Band (for players under 18), Cadet Band (for players under 18), Orchestra (strings only or strings and other instruments), Solo Orchestral Instrument (adult players), Solo Non-orchestral Instrument (adult players), Solo Orchestral Instrument (youthful players), Solo Non-orchestral Instrument (youthful players), Recital (non-orchestral instrument), Recital (orchestral instrument), Chamber Ensemble (players under 16), Chamber Ensemble (players 16 and over), Soprano/Mezzo Soprano Solo (only in 1981; then voice types were separated for subsequent competitions), Soprano Solo, Mezzo Soprano Solo (only introduced in 1983), Contralto Solo, Tenor Solo, Baritone/Bass Solo (only in 1981; then voice types were separated for subsequent competitions), Baritone Solo (only introduced in 1983), Bass Solo (only introduced in 1983), Adult Mixed Choir, Adult Female Choir, Adult Male Choir, Youth Choir, Children's Choir (under 16), Children's Choir (10 years and under - only introduced in 1985), Folk Song Solo (under 16), Folk Song Solo (16 and over), Folk Song Group, Folk Dance Solo, Folk Dance Duo (no age restriction; only introduced in 1985), Folk Dance Group (over 16), Folk Dance Group (under 16 -only introduced in 1985), Folk Instrument Solo (only introduced in 1985), Folk Instrumental Group, Folk Orchestra (no age restriction; only introduced in 1985), School Band (only introduced in 1983), Orchestra/Band (open; no age restriction; only introduced in 1985), Vocal Solo (16 - 25), Vocal Duet (over 16), Vocal Quartet, and Vocal Recital. A category for Composition is also included (*ibid*).

5. Letter from R H M Lugongolo, Organizing Secretary to the Transkei Teachers' Association, to Khabi Mngoma, dated 23 August 1982.
6. Letter from Marie Hammann, for the Festival Director, National Festival Committee Dias 1988, to Khabi Mngoma, dated 4 March 1987.
7. Mossel Bay, an inlet on the southern coast of Africa (Southern Cape, 409 km east from Cape Town), was named Aguada de Sao Bras ('Place of fresh water') by the Portuguese seafarer Vasco Da Gama in 1497, Golfo dos Vacqueiros by Joao da Nova in 1501, and finally Mosselbaai by the Dutch navigator Paulus van Caerden in July 1601, because of the profuse amount of mussels (Dutch: mossels) in the bay, which, to the disappointment of the crew, were the only edibles they could find in the area to replenish their food supplies on board ship! (Raper 1987, 1989:361-362). Because of the discovery of oil in the seas of Mossel Bay, people still go there in search of fortune; many, however, meet with disappointment and even misfortune, as did Paulus van Caerden and his crew! For interesting reading on Mossel Bay, vide Green 1982:61-80 ('Aloes and Oysters').
8. The Maritime Museum at Mossel Bay, which houses the Caravel (a replica of the ship with which Dias sailed around the Cape and landed at Mossel Bay, built specially for the Dias Festival, in Portugal, and sailed to Mossel Bay to enact the historical voyage accomplished by Dias), also houses an exhibition of photographs taken of scenes that took place at the Festival, from 29 January to 6 February 1988. The main festival was followed by festivals held at the other landing sites of Dias' voyage, namely Port Elizabeth, Kwaaihoek, and Luderitz Bay (ibid).
9. Letter from R Ngcobo, Director, Inter-College Arts Festival (Pietermaritzburg), to Khabi Mngoma, dated 9 November 1989.
10. Also in the 'Programme for the 1982 Ford Choirs Competition', Johannesburg : Co-ordinated Marketing, and in 'Ford Choirs Rules and Regulations 1985: Preamble', Johannesburg : Co-ordinated Marketing.
11. The Ionian Choir was an example of a community-based choir.
12. Due to obtaining many other sponsors since 1987, the contest has been subjected to quite a number of name changes within a short period of time. Vide infra.
13. During the first five years the national competition took place in a different city (or area) each year. However, Johannesburg has ever since become the 'traditional' venue for the national contest, as it is the only city that can accommodate the large number of people that usually attend the contest.
14. Future Marketing collapsed by the end of 1981, and therefore its role in Ford Choirs in Contest was adopted in 1982 by Co-ordinated Marketing, headed by Ruel Khoza (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, October 1990).
15. For reference, vide 'Reid, Douglas John', in Malan, ed 1986:172-174.
16. Also according to the 'Programme for Ford Choirs 1982...', and personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, November 1990. Vide Pace, March 1988, which includes a colour photograph of the panel of adjudicators at the 1987 national contest.
17. From here onwards the documentation of Ford Choirs proceeds in the present tense, where appropriate.
18. Pace, March 1988 reported that

... (Khabi Mngoma) took a bold step to broaden the spectrum of black choral music when he introduced piano accompaniment to the annoyance of the choirs. Though choirs quibbled initially as there were slips between choirs and piano, with time the choirs sorted that out and

came to grips with the piano. The singing in pitch with the piano has improved tremendously, as Professor Marivate, one of the judges, noted.

19. For instance, in 1980 the national winner of Ford Choirs in Contest 1978, the Soweto Teachers' Choir, took part in the Wales International Eisteddfod, where they were placed third in their section. In 1981 the national winner of Ford Choirs in Contest 1980, the Zwelitsha Adult Choir, did a concert tour of Israel ('Programme for the 1982 Ford Choirs Competition...': programme notes).

20. 'Ford Choirs in Contest: Adjudicators' Review of the 1980 Finals held in the City Hall, Durban - 14th and 15th December 1980', written by Khabi Mngoma, January 1981. This was for instance the case with the 1981 Ford Choirs contest, when the prescribed works included 'Italian Salad' (a 'musical jest' in the form of the finale to an opera, the English translation of the comic German part-song 'Italienischer Salat' by Richard Genée, arranged for Baritone Solo with chorus by Rowley and modified and transcribed into tonic sol-fa by Khabi Mngoma, *ibid*) and Umaconsana ('intoxicating drink'; a humorous song which pokes fun at the abuses of alcohol and those who sell it. The song alludes to the shebeen queen in a humorous, frolicking way; composed by Reuben Caluza, *ibid*).

21. Unyaka Wengane by P J Simelane is an account of a parent's regard for a child, composed in response to 'The Year of the Child', 1979. The song conveys an evaluation of a child by a parent, and expresses the parent's concern for the child's welfare and his eventual integration into adult life in the future ('Adjudicators' Review of the 1980 Finals...').

22. Motse wa Durban by J Motuba portrays a description of Durban in the Tswana language, using onomatopoeic words to describe some of the features of the city. The song also alludes to the 1948 Durban riots (*ibid*).

23. 'Ford Choirs in Contest 1980: Background Statement by Khabi Mngoma, Rules, and Entry Form', Braamfontein : Future Marketing.

24. The launch meetings were held for the last time in 1986, and therefore stopped when Co-ordinated Marketing stepped down as the main organizer of the eisteddfod (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, November 1990).

25. Copy of an adjudication schedule for Ford Choirs. Vide also Choral Technique, 1980:36-40.

26. Carlton Paper donated money to sponsor a prize for 'excellence in conducting' (Pace, March 1988).

27. Letter from P Morake, National Choir Festival Project Manager, to Khabi Mngoma, dated 8 December 1989.

28. In 1987 Khabi Mngoma received an Honorary Citation from the organizers of the contest, in recognition of his services rendered to the eisteddfod (curriculum vitae, Khabi Mngoma, December 1987).

29. 'Constitution of The National Association for Cultural Advancement of Vendaland', undated.

30. The writer got the impression that Khabi Mngoma's remark concerning the futility of '... fighting the cultural battles of others before mastering one's own', is a deep seated conviction, realized through experience, that has lead him to refrain from getting involved in undertakings that do not concern him. His favourite activity is teaching music, and he applies his time and energy accordingly.

31. According to a letter from M G Magagani (Secretary for Education, Gazankulu Government) to Khabi Mngoma, dated 5 August 1983, and a letter from Khabi Mngoma to M G Magagani, dated 24 August 1983.

32. The Botswana International School of Music, with its affiliated society, the Botswana International Society of Music, is registered as a nonprofit-making institution with the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of Botswana (Letter from Hugh Masekela to Friends of the Botswana International Society of Music, with enclosed

copies of the original concept paper, the proposed curriculum in three divisions, and a proposed constitution for the Botswana International Society of Music, dated March 1984).

33. Letter from the Academic Registrar of the University of Transkei to Khabi Mngoma, dated 18 May 1982.

34. Letter from Professor G M Mpati, Faculty of Education, University of Transkei, to Khabi Mngoma, no date specified, and letter from Khabi Mngoma to Professor Mpati, dated 2 October 1982.

35. Especially choral music, as the study of musical instruments is generally difficult to implement, owing to the costs involved in buying instruments and employing a teaching staff.

36. Cf the University of Zululand music courses, which embraced the study of a variety of African musical traditions.

37. 'Primary Teacher's and Secondary Teacher's Certificate Syllabus for Music and Singing', January 1982.

38. For further particulars, consult *ibid*.

39. Letter from a Mrs Mashiyi, Examinations Officer, University of Transkei, to Khabi Mngoma, dated 11 June 1984.

40. Letter from Hugh Masekela to Friends of the Botswana International Society of Music..., March 1984.

41. Letter from Hugh Masekela to Khabi Mngoma, dated 31 December 1984. Hugh Masekela has subsequently withdrawn from the Botswana International School of Music, which is directed by David Slater (according to personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, October 1990).

42. Note the encouragement of 'preserving the African musical heritage through the stimulation of (i) performance of the existent African musical 'genres', (ii) the appreciation of African musical traditions through informative communication in an educational environment, as well as (iii) encouraging the preservation of this heritage through the stimulation of ongoing creativity, to ensure cultural continuity in the performance of music within the African context. In addition, Western music is accommodated, thereby broadening the background of the educand and lending him access to the musical traditions of Western classical music; the development of musical literacy is given its rightful place, and the cultivation of musical leadership (through fostering knowledgeability and skill) is also attended to, which sets the trained African musician on a course where he can relate to his subject with academic authority, whenever the situation should demand it.

43. *Vide* Kirby 1934, 1953, 1965, 1968:4-5, and plates 2B and 1B. The *mathlo* ankle rattles, as referred to by Kirby, are made of moth cocoons, from the moth *gonometa postica* (*ibid*).

44. *Vide ibid*:118, 142, 146-154, 167-168 (reed flute ensemble).

45. *Vide ibid*:215-219, 242-243. .

46. The Botswana International School of Music has in the meantime amalgamated with the Maru A Pula School (according to personal communication from Khabi Mngoma, October 1990).

47. For information on the South African Society of Music Teachers, *vide* entry in Malan, ed 1986:276-283.

48. Letter from Elisabeth Oehrle, Music Department, University of Natal, to Khabi Mngoma, dated 9 March 1985.

49. The designation used in the programme of the Second National Music Educators Conference, held at the South African College of Music, University of Cape Town, 1-4 July 1987. Note the emphasis on 'Africa', which is characteristic of Khabi Mngoma's terms of speaking whenever he relates to music educational matters of the African subcontinent, especially when he wants to lay stress on the fact that '... we are part of Africa,

and not a cultural outpost of Europe'. He employs this emphasis as a means to counteract eurocentricism in educational circles - something which Khabi Mngoma continually criticizes, stating that it is detrimental to educational progress in Africa, and in southern Africa. Vide Epilogue.

50. Letter from R B Walton, Editor, South African Journal of Musicology, to Khabi Mngoma, dated 19 December 1989.

51. Letter from the Director-General for National Education to Khabi Mngoma, dated 12 March 1990.

52. Vide 'De Villiers, Dirk Izak Cattogio (Dirkie)', in Malan, ed 1979:335-336.

53. Two of the persons involved at the Madimba documentation centre, are past pupils of Khabi Mngoma, from the Ionian Era, namely Victor Koapeng and Motsumi Makhene.

54. Khabi Mngoma joined the Empangeni Rotary Club in 1986, but terminated his membership in 1988. He found it too time consuming and expensive. 'Every Tuesday there were these business lunches, which really were just social get togethers and hardly any community service at all (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, October 1990). In comparison with this short membership, and his reasons for terminating it within two years, Khabi Mngoma's more than thirty years of service in the YMCA speaks for itself. Even though he moved to Zululand in 1975, he continued his commitment to the YMCA.

55. 'Award of the Order of the Red Triangle, Silver Degree, Professor Khabi Mngoma, Citation' (sic), South African National Council of the YMCA, 9 July 1989.

56. Letter from S M Dube, General Secretary, Orlando YMCA, to Khabi Mngoma, dated 1 November 1989.

57. 'Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts: Articles of Constitution', drawn up by Khabi Mngoma, undated, but probably dating from 1989.

58. 'indispensable condition or qualification' (Sykes, ed 1978:850).

59. Vide the paragraph on the udloko in Chapter XI.

60. The Ongoye Chorale, directed by Khabi Mngoma, made its debut in two Christmas Music Concerts held on 27 November 1988 and 18 December 1988 (Prospectus, January 1989). The concert held on 18 December was sponsored by Richards Bay Minerals, and featured the Ongoye Chorale (directed by Khabi Mngoma), the Esikhawini Cantata Chorale (directed by Sipho Mzimande) and soloists (Dolly Mthembu, Sibongile Mngoma-Khumalo [daughter of Khabi Mngoma], Nomusa Khumalo, Sipho Mzimande and Zabalaza Mthembu), accompanied by The Muse Africa Muse Orchestra (Leader: Sandile Khemese; Founder/Co-ordinator: Lindumuzi Mngoma [son of Khabi Mngoma]) ('The Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts presents The Christmas Music Concert by The Ongoye Chorale and The Esikhawini Canatata Chorale', Hlanganani Community Centre Hall, Esikhawini Township, Sunday 18 December 1988).

61. Khabi Mngoma's grandson, Tshepo, leads the marimba band, which comprises Lumko-manufactured marimbas. This band received an invitation to perform at the twentieth World Conference of the International Society for Music Education [ISME], which takes place in Seoul, Korea, from 26 July to 1 August 1992. The theme of the conference is 'Sharing Musics of the World'. The Khongisa Youth Centre Marimba Band will be one of forty music groups that will perform at the conference. The band will subsequently tour the Far East, giving concerts in Tai Pei, Hong Kong and other cities of the East.

At the same conference Khabi Mngoma will present a paper and a workshop on group composition, using the KYC marimba band for demonstration. This workshop will be one of thirty-two workshop sessions, each having a duration of ninety minutes, with two presenters taking part in each session.

Through his participation in the conference Khabi Mngoma will automatically become a member of ISME (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1992).

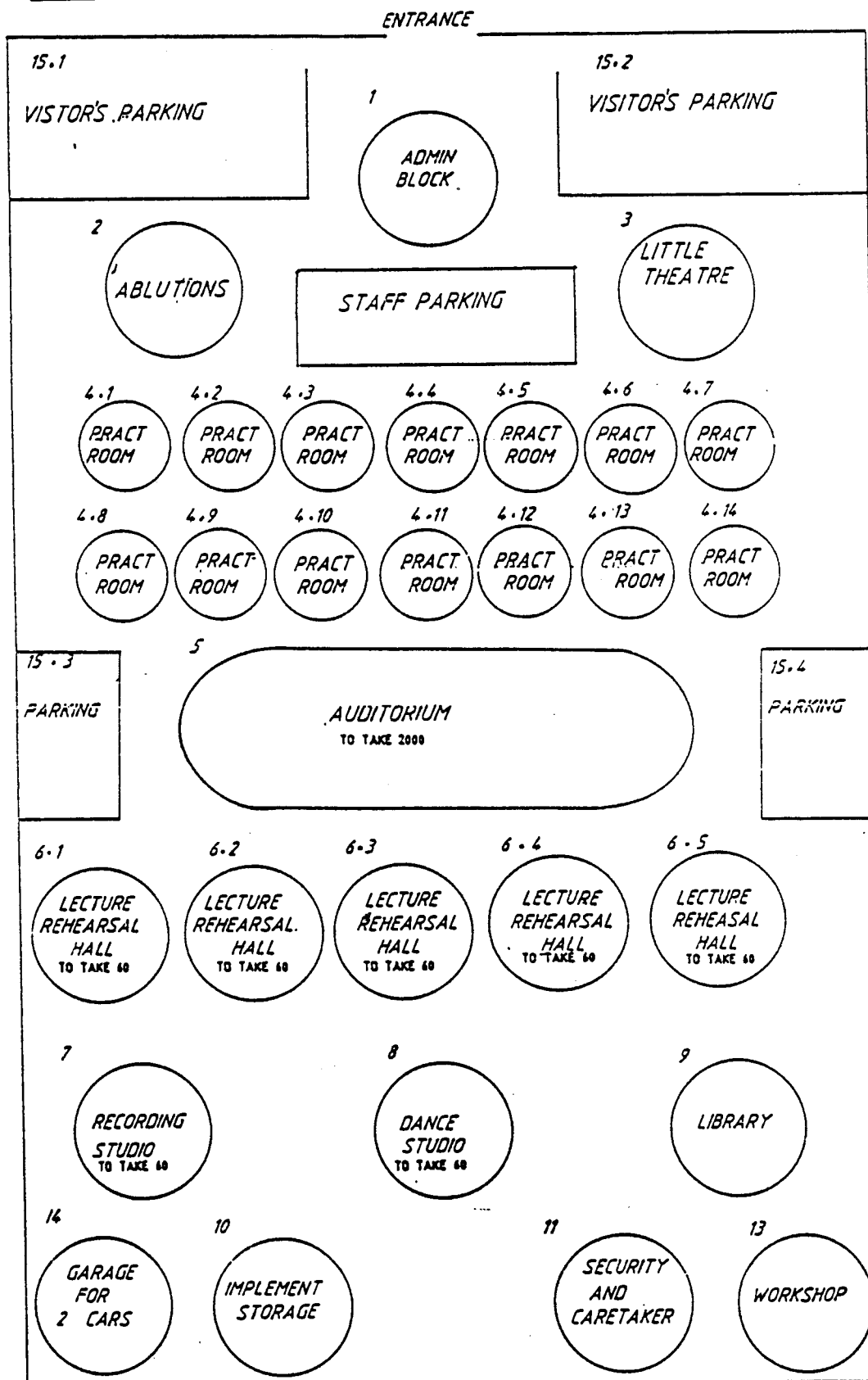
62. The Annual Membership Card of the Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts is a neat, discreet card that can easily be slipped into a purse, or a shirt- or trouser pocket. It bears the inscription; 'This is to certify that ... [name of member] is a Bona Fide Member of The Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts'. The receipt number of the fee payment is entered in a space provided on the card, as well as the date of expiry. An attendance roster is provided as well. The full name, address and telephone number of the organization is printed on the back of the card, ensuring that lost cards could be returned to the Centre (should the finder of such a card be considerate enough to do so). Each member also has a Member's Enrolment and Record Card, held at the centre, which bears personal details of the holder, as well as particulars concerning class performance and borrowed instruments.

63. The official Khongisa Children's programme only started in 1989. Prior to this the main activity was the adult choral programme with the Ongoye Chorale - hence the founding date August 1988. However, Khabi Mngoma has always had children's music classes at his home, 36 Vulindlela Township, KwaDlangezwa.

64. Letter from Chief Minister M G Buthelezi to Khabi Mngoma, dated 12 October 1988.

65. Vide Capra 1982, especially pages 37-89 ('The Two Paradigms - The Newtonian World-Machine; The New Physics'), pages 93-193 ('The Influence of Cartesian-Newtonian Thought - The Mechanistic View of Life; The Biomedical Model; Newtonian Psychology'), and pages 285-332 ('The New Vision of Reality - The Systems View of Life...').

GRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION OF THE KHONGISA YOUTH
CENTRE FOR PERFORMING ARTS SHOWING 14 UNITS



Epilogue

Cry Music, Africa!

Khabi Mngoma's philosophy of music education for southern Africa - principles, appeals,
and obstacles.

*the essence of a nation is in its culture,
and music is a component of that
essence... (Address, Khabi Mngoma, 24
January 1985)*

Khabi Mngoma's philosophy of music education for southern Africa is founded on two principles: (i) rearing 'culturally relevant musicians' and^{*} (ii) rearing musically literate and knowledgeable musicians, who can set the pace in African musicology and African musical composition.

In an unpublished manuscript written by Khabi Mngoma, entitled 'Music in South Africa in the '80s - Towards a Strategy' (16 August 1982), he points out that '... there are two mainstreams to be reconciled when we work out a strategy [for music education in southern Africa] - the Black stream and the White stream' (meaning the sum total of musical styles relating to African musical traditions of southern Africa on the one hand, and the sum total of musical styles relating to Western music on the other hand). In personal communication with the writer (August 1985) Khabi Mngoma asserted that '... we are from both the Western and African cultures, and it would be quite pretentious of us to concentrate on the one only'.

In the words of Francis Bebey,¹ Khabi Mngoma reiterates this statement:

I stem from an African and Western culture - like all present-day Africans [who have had,
or have, considerable contact with Western culture] - whether they are conscious of it or not.

The authenticity of present-day Africa does not just derive from the Africa of the past, of primeval forests and primitive instruments - although obviously this should not be ignored - the African of today [ie some Africans]² can play not only his traditional instruments but also the piano, he can play both traditional and contemporary music (Mngoma 1981:14).

Khabi Mngoma continues in the words of Bebey: 'We have gained (as Africans) the chance of being able to move at the intersecting point of two cultures... [Western and African].³

It is important to understand that Khabi Mngoma's musical background as a performer, music teacher and leading music educator in southern Africa, is the product of (i) an earnest desire on his part (since a tender age) to '... learn the rudiments of music' - to become musically literate in Western music, and to acquire the ability to play the piano and harmonium; (ii) a determined pursuit (on his part) after such knowledge and expertise; (iii) exploiting the opportunities that came his way to fulfil these aspirations; (iv) the eventual realization (as a young adult in his twenties) of the value of cultivating African music artistically (in terms of performance and creativity [ie improvisation and composition]), and academically (musicologically); (v) the vision to proceed in compliance with his convictions regarding musical performance and music education in southern Africa, and (vi) persistent endeavour to establish a meaningful influence on South African music education that would meet the requirements of black South African music students, and would enrich the musical background of other South African musicians.

Khabi Mngoma's involvement in Western classical music, and his incorporation of Western classical musical instruments (especially symphonic stringed instruments) in his music educational programmes and concerts, were/are motivated by legitimate interest and well considered contemplation, and not by elitist notions - ie that '... these are superior modern replacements of the own [African] culture'.⁴ His is a case of healthy enculturation.⁵ He said:

I would like this aspect given emphasis, because I would not like to be portrayed as a Eurocentric or Afrocentric musician. I belong to both the 'Euro-' and 'Afro-' worlds (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, April 1986).

Khabi Mngoma crystallized his general personal musical experiences and observations, and his experiences and observations in the field of black South African music education specifically, into a 'philosophy of music and music education for southern Africa'. Through the years he endeavoured to express this philosophy - and to '... mirror the South African cultural reality' - first of all through his music education programmes, concerts and other performances; secondly through public appeals made in addresses, lectures and talks, and via publications in various journals; (the first of the latter, entitled 'Education and Social reconstruction', dates from as early as 1946, when Khabi Mngoma was still a student at Adams College in Natal); and thirdly through his numerous involvements as a member of cultural and educational committees, adjudicator of choirs, and musical advisor to musicians and academic institutions (in matters concerning choice of repertoire, musical performance, and the formulation of curricula and syllabi, respectively, as discussed in this study).

Since the early years of his teaching career, ie already in his activities with the Vulgus choir at the Orlando High School (1948 - 1952), Khabi Mngoma incorporated both Western and African music in his music education and performance/concert programmes. This was in an attempt to '... reconcile African and Western musical cultures', and to '... expand the musical vocabulary' of the pupils (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August 1985). He found that the pupils became more interested in African music once they had been introduced to good examples of Western music, ie Western classical music.⁶

They would detect 'features of music that are universal',⁷ and once they realized that African music is not just 'an oddity' - or that it is not a come-down to be involved in African music - their appreciation and understanding of African musical traditions were broadened (*ibid*).⁸

Elsewhere (Mngoma 1968) Khabi Mngoma maintains that insight into the history and evolution of Western music gives black musicians perspective on 'their own music'. (*Vide infra*.)

Khabi Mngoma also maintains that

... there is a dimension on which one misses out if you don't know your own cultural roots. You also continue to be a slavish imitator, instead of asserting yourself [your identity] and recognizing yourself in others [that which distinguishes you as a human being with the ability to creatively and aesthetically express yourself through various means, including music and song] (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).⁹

In addition to this, Khabi Mngoma found that the analysis and performance of black South African musical traditions, studied side by side with European classical music, stimulated and fostered a better understanding and appreciation of Western music (Mngoma 1982, 'The Correlation of Folk and Art Music...'). In other words, the correlation of Western and African music in education, augments the pupils' musical awareness, their musical and cultural insight, and appreciation of music beyond 'cultural borders'.

It should therefore be clear to the reader that Khabi Mngoma never intended to divorce his pupils from African music - their 'roots' - but attempted to instil in them a realization of the uniqueness of African music on the one hand, and Western classical music on the other, and that black South African musicians should draw on both cultures to artistically express the true South African cultural reality through musical performance and composition (Mngoma 1981:18).

We have evolved an African culture which must meet the challenges of our time,¹⁰ and be able to contribute and enrich the mainstream of human culture. We are not a cultural outpost of Europe, or America, or Asia. The impoverishing internationalization of art has brought with it a neutralizing effect upon us, with a tendency among our intellectuals... to feel embarrassed to acknowledge our cultural roots... (Address, Khabi Mngoma, 30 September 1984).

Moreover, Khabi Mngoma asserts that, for a black South African music student to concentrate on Western music only, '... makes it very difficult for him to operate after he has finished his studies' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985). This is because, in the African community or social sphere, he does not have a large enough audience that would support and sustain an artist who practises Western classical music only. Such a musician becomes, as Khabi Mngoma puts it, 'culturally redundant' in African society, and ends up frustrated, disoriented and weary, and without any means to make a living as a professional musician (*ibid*, and personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August 1985).¹¹

The African musician must perform music that will '... reach his audience' in a significant, communicative manner, to ensure that he has a listenership (sic). [The African musician must have a dynamic rapport with his audience.] Including African music in his repertoire that will '... mirror the lives of the listeners' is vitally important to succeed in this (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

Many of Khabi Mngoma's students have reported back to him that it is indeed the 'African music dimension' of their music education that '... gives them the edge' when it comes to being considered for various types of employment and performance opportunities (*ibid*). Having performance competence in both Western and African music is the decisive factor - that which distinguishes them as unique, and 'culturally relevant' in southern Africa.

... the Utopian notion of ars gratia artis - 'art for art's sake' - is self defeating; in such cases the artist is fulfilled by the process of creation and completion of a work of art without giving thought to an audience (Address, Khabi Mngoma, 30 September 1984).

Khabi Mngoma fears that any African musician who would practise his art on such a basis (and by being 'deliberately obscure') would be regarded by his African audience as pedantic, and consequently would gradually '... go into... obscurity, isolation, and eventually find himself estranged from society' (*ibid*).

In the light of this, with regard to the presentation of Western musical repertoire to African audiences, Khabi Mngoma also asserts that the choice of repertoire for such concerts, should consider the audiences. It has been Khabi Mngoma's experience that the most popular Western classical composers with black South African musicians and audiences alike, are the composers from the Baroque- and Classical eras, especially J S Bach, Handel, Haydn and Mozart. 'The harmonies of their compositions are agreeable, and their respective styles are enjoyable. There is always something fresh about them...' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985).

Khabi Mngoma believes that these composers composed music with the intention to please the listeners, and that this consideration on their part ensured - and continues to ensure - the popularity and 'social relevance' of the music, even today (centuries later).

Even the youngest children who participated in Khabi Mngoma's music education programmes derived great satisfaction and delight from performing and listening to the music of these composers. Mozart, in particular, proved to be immensely popular: 'Whenever we had examiners or visiting artists giving a recital for us, the children would request an item by Mozart. It woke them up every time!' (Personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August 1985.)

(Khabi Mngoma means, in the event of the young listeners becoming weary from listening to the recital, the rendering of a Mozart composition would restore their wakefulness and attention.)

As far as the applicability of academic Western music studies in the African context is concerned, Khabi Mngoma constantly lays emphasis on the fact that Western music is the foundation of musicology - ie a musicology that has centuries of recorded, thought, development and source materials to its name. It is absolutely essential for the African music student to absorb this academic culture and wealth of musicological knowledge, to lay a foundation for disciplined, mature musicological thought in the student, and ultimately to rear erudite African musicologists who can progress as leaders in the advancement of African Musicology and musical composition.

These considerations refute any statements to the effect that '... Africans do not like Western music', or that they '... should not perform Western music' because they '... do not have the ability to master tempered intonation'; that Western music is of 'little use' to them, and that therefore, the involvement of Africans in Western classical music is 'inappropriate'. (Vide for instance Tracey 1935, cited by Erlmann 1984; Kirby 1937.)

For many years Khabi Mngoma's encouragement of his students and other musical groups (such as choirs) to include African music in their repertoire, was viewed with suspicion and resentment by certain sectors of African society, ie the African intellectual pace-setters, who criticized him severely for it. They accused him of supporting the segregation policy of the Afrikaner Nationalist Government, and being a collaborator with those who advocated Apartheid (Mngoma 1977; Mngoma 1981:14-22; personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, May 1985, August and September 1985). Khabi Mngoma's actions were therefore being misconstrued.¹² 'We had very long arguments, but I stood firm; fortunately those people who came to our concerts enjoyed the programmes we presented' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

It was only with the rising of the Black Consciousness Movement in the 1970s, which '... fostered the positive reassessment of traditional culture among urban Africans' (Coplan 1985:216), and '... used pride in African cultural values and heritage as a philosophical basis for African political activity and unity' (*ibid*:264-265),¹³ that the critical attitude towards Khabi Mngoma's propagate changed to the positive.

Other criticism refuted

It has been suggested that '... Africans should not sing Western music, because they sing [it] out of tune'¹⁴ (Mngoma 1980, 'The Teaching of Music...':2) but Khabi Mngoma asserts quite rightly - and has proved through the years - that the attainment of performance competence in the equal tempered pitch tradition of Western classical music is acquired through proper, formal vocal training in singing according to the tempered scale, for which instrumental music education is absolutely vital (*ibid*). He draws attention to the fact that the tempered scale is a contrivance of J S Bach, and therefore has to be learned (Mngoma, 'A Case for better Music Education...', undated).

In the light of this, Khabi Mngoma has always advocated the incorporation of instrumental music in music educational programmes: 'The more instrumentalists we have, the sooner we shall overcome the weakness of incorrect intonation of equal temperament' (Mngoma, 'The Teaching of Music...':4).

Khabi Mngoma recalled discussing the issue of equal tempered intonation in Western choral singing with Douglas Hopkins several years ago, when the latter was on a world tour conducting music examinations for the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music.

He told me about his experience in Dublin, when he directed the performance of J S Bach's St Matthew Passion in the early 1950s. In spite of the Welsh having a worldwide reputation for their sound choral singing, especially a capella singing of their own folk songs, he had a very difficult task getting them to sing in tune with the accompanying professional orchestra... They were singing 'off-pitch' with regard to the tempered scale (Mngoma, 'A Case for better Music Education...', undated).

Khabi Mngoma relates the problems experienced by African choirs to master equal temperament, to the absence of instrumental music education in African schools:

Like the other skills and disciplines, we have to (learn equal temperament) at school (already at primary and secondary school level). As long as this is not done... we will continue to have the problem that occurs year in and year out at our choral eisteddfodau: faulty intonation, especially of the half tones (ibid).

Khabi Mngoma maintains that mastering tempered intonation in Western musical performance, '... can only happen in a formal music education programme', where the utilization of one or more correctly tuned instruments (and in the case of pianos, regularly tuned ones) in the classroom is a standard procedure (Mngoma 1980, 'The Teaching of Music...':3).

The practical study of instrumental music has indeed been scantily provided for in schools¹⁵ in the past, and this remains to be the situation today. In the Malan (ed 1979:109-110), under the entry 'Music in Bantu Schools', reference is made to the introduction of 'pianoforte playing' in teacher training colleges: '... selected students at the training schools of Eshowe [in Natal] and Hebron in Pretoria North, have been introduced to pianoforte playing since 1967' (*ibid*:110).

Followed by the statement that progress in piano studies at these institutions is slow, and attributing the latter to the fact that '... only one or two students have the possibility of practising during holidays' (*ibid*), the article claims that '... the value of (this) tuition lies more in the interest that it possibly awakens, than the practical application of pianoforte playing in class teaching' (*ibid*).

It is the opinion of the writer that music tuition programmes such as these - ie that are not supported by a well-designed music educational infrastructure in schools (incorporating both vocal and instrumental music tuition) - would rather cause frustration than '... awaken interest'. In Khabi Mngoma's paper read at the Symposium on Ethnomusicology in 1980, 'Music Teaching at the University of Zululand' (Mngoma 1981), he points out that

... more than 50% of the students get to the University [of Zululand] without having had any training whatsoever in practical music in any of the instruments listed - the violin or piano or singing (*ibid*:15).

Elsewhere (Mngoma 1980, 'The Teaching of Music...':3) he emphatically states:

As long as Western musical instruments tuned to equal temperament are not used in the (school) classroom..., so long will the (academic musical) development (of black South Africans) remain at a low level, and standards of (Western musical) performance remain unsatisfactory in matters of pitch and finesse of blending of parts, and general sensitivity to nuance.

In the same article (:4) Khabu Mngoma refers to the particular usefulness of symphonic stringed instruments, which also explains his preference for these instruments in the context of a South African music education. The latter can be summarized as follows:

(1) Symphonic stringed instruments (eg the violin and cello) can produce both natural, acoustical pitch and equal tempered intonation, which is a prerequisite for the performance of both African and Western musical repertoire on any instrument.

(2) The child's ear develops a sensitivity to pitch, owing to the fact that he has to locate the correct position for each pitch on the fingerboard for himself; ie, the pitch is not located in a fixed position, as is for instance the case on a keyboard instrument (eg piano).

(3) In learning to play a symphonic stringed instrument the pupil can be taught to distinguish/differentiate between acoustical and tempered intonation, which is basic to the type of music education that Khabu Mngoma advocates.¹⁶

(4) The family of symphonic stringed instruments form the core of 'a Western type orchestra' - ie the symphonic orchestra - and therefore, the more competent string players can be reared, the sooner the prospect of having orchestras to accompany the numerous African choirs active in southern Africa, will be realized. 'We are a gregarious people, and our music making involves many people at once' (*ibid*).¹⁷

(5) Furthermore, Khabu Mngoma regards a well produced tone on a violin as approximating the tone of the human voice, more than any other standard Western musical instrument. He maintains: 'I found it possible and effective to develop a sensitivity for 'a beautiful and full' tone in children, through teaching them a stringed instrument of the violin family' (*ibid*).

In addition to stressing the importance of instrumental music education in primary and secondary schools, Khabu Mngoma also appeals for the implementation of academic music educational programmes in schools that would be geared to meet the music educational needs of African students, according to the terms set out above, and which would prepare the pupils to cope with the 'conventional' South African University requirements and standards for music studies at tertiary level. (This is one of Khabu Mngoma's standard appeals, voiced constantly in music educational circles whenever the opportunity arises.) In his unpublished manuscript, entitled 'Future

Images of Art, Music and Literature in South Africa - Focus on Music' (16 September 1982), Khabi Mngoma refers to the problems experienced by African students who wish to pursue music studies at university level. Apart from becoming discouraged because university admission qualifications are far higher than is catered for at school level in black South African schools,¹⁸ African students studying at a university where the focus of music courses is on Western music (only), become frustrated because of the many odds that count against them in their pursuit of a music education and academic qualifications in this discipline.

Khabi Mngoma regards the tendency of music departments in tertiary institutions (institutions of higher learning) to concentrate on Western music in their courses, and ignore African music, or relegate it to a 'luxury corner' of the syllabus, as a severe problem, and expresses his personal frustration and resentment in the following paragraph of the abovementioned manuscript:

White South Africans shall have to discard their Euro-centric notions with regard to our musical culture as a nation. This is especially relevant to music departments of most South African universities.

In another unpublished manuscript, entitled 'Music in South Africa in the '80s - Towards a Strategy' (16 August 1982) he writes the following:

With the contemporary battle-cry... of '... change or perish' it seems to be utter folly for most of our university music departments to (continue) as though there were no African people in South Africa. The place of the Euro-centric, euphoric inertia, that has made most university departments miss-out in initiating and contributing towards change in our society (and contributing to academic knowledge of African music) shall have to be replaced by the structuring of meaningful programmes in Music to take account of black (sic) musical needs. This strategy would contribute towards change in South Africa.¹⁹

Imaginatively planned, and flexible music courses (ie courses constructed and designed in such a way as to allow for the maximum of diversity in subject choice) are to be implemented at universities - major pace-setting centres in society. Arts programmes should also extend into the community: to children and adults who have the desire to participate in such programmes, and to the general public, via: schools, extra-mural, private or other arts education programmes, concerts and music festivals, and via radio and television.

The ultimate ideal is to expose the music student to as wide a variety of African musical traditions as possible, to enrich his musical repertoire, to broaden his musical and cultural²⁰ understanding (cultural and musicological insight), and to stimulate his creativity in musical composition.

The character of indigenous music must make its mark on the South African mainstream of musical development someday. But if we want to make a meaningful contribution to the mainstream of world and human culture, the features of our music must be methodically researched (Mngoma 1977).

As explained by Darkwa (1980:3):

There is a clear need for a proper archival programme whereby material is collected on a systematic and comprehensive basis... Institutes [of African Studies] should have well organized development programmes for music and other performing arts which make provision for research and the systematic recording of the arts in the form of documents, tapes, photographs and films [or video recordings]. The purpose of these is not only to assist in the preservation of the arts in 'documentary' form, but more especially to ensure their availability for the renewal of experience and for their use as source materials for arts education and creative activities, for the objective must be to preserve the arts as living traditions. Unless this is kept in mind what is collected will provide interesting archival materials for scholars but make little or no impact on the community.

In the light of these basic music educational principles, it is of great benefit to the South African musician and music educator to expand his/her knowledge of the musical traditions practised (past and present) in southern Africa, by relating to people and musicians from as wide a South African cultural and artistic spectrum as possible, and by becoming familiarized with the source materials of African music: ie the documentation of these musical traditions in (i) writings on musical traditions of Africa, (ii) research reports, (iii) films and video recordings, (iv) tape and cassette recordings, and (v) any other sources.

The matter of such a 'multicultural' music education programme (to use Khabi Mngoma's terminology) also raises the question of African language studies, especially in view of the fact that vocal music form such an integral contingent of southern African musical traditions south of the Limpopo River. Khabi Mngoma for instance recalled how difficult it was for him to teach African songs and African choral pieces to the Dorkay House Choir in the mid-1960s. Many of the choristers in this choir could not speak any of the African vernaculars, and therefore found it extremely difficult to learn songs that were conceived in these languages, even despite the most sincere efforts on their part:

It was most frustrating, because teaching these songs to the choir meant first explaining the texts to the choristers, then teaching them how to pronounce the words, and then only could one touch on the actual music. The texts and the music never became properly integrated (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985).

The implementation of suitable language study programmes, and their correlation with 'multicultural' music education programmes as professed by Khabi Mngoma is a further challenge for southern Africa.

The cry is for music education in an 'open' society, where 'the development of expressive artistic and creative abilities', 'acceptance of different points of view and cultures', and the 'notion that human beings are free to change and recreate their social life' are encouraged. Such music education should foster musical literacy, performance competence and musical creativity. (Vide Darkwa 1980.)

Khabi Mngoma wrote the following in his manuscript entitled 'A Case for better Music Education: Music as an Academic Discipline' (undated):

It is always amazing to me how music is underrated by those responsible for planning our education. More than any other subject in the curriculum, it plays such a prominent part in our lives.

Music is a catalyst in African society, that enhances the quality of life, psychological stability and human fulfilment.

The fulfilment we derive from involvement in music as individuals and as communities seem to have a tremendously stabilizing effect. Participation in music seems to put us on an even keel - seems to enable us to cope with our circumstances better than would be the case if we had no music at all in our lives (Address, Khabi Mngoma, 4 September 1982).

The shortage of qualified music teachers has been one of the major stumbling blocks in the way of introducing sound music education programmes in schools. In addition to this, the financial implications of instituting the music education programmes so desperately needed at the various levels, are colossal, and far-reaching indeed. Insufficient finance has been the major vexation of Khabi Mngoma's music educational work in the past, and at present (ie with the Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts. Vide Chapter XII.)

Somehow, the solution to these problems will have to be worked out and effected in southern Africa. In working out a strategy to implement the music education programmes that will meet the demands of people living in the region, and the challenges of our times, it would be hoped that the precedent set by Khabi Mngoma would be accepted as foundational. To ignore it would be human folly, and a disgrace to human dignity. Holding forth sad economic scenarios as apologies not to establish educational programmes in the creative and performing arts is unacceptable, because billions upon billions of rands and dollars are channelled daily into frightfully futile human and inhumane activities all over the world.

Spurning the seemingly insurmountable economic restraints facing South Africa and southern Africa, attitudes and endeavours of musicians and educators living and working in the region - as well as educational bodies and structures - should acknowledge, reflect and cultivate the rich cultural palette of the subcontinent, and build into her people accordingly.

The work of Khabi Mngoma, which sets a precedent in this regard, should not be ignored, but be regarded as an ideal - and a foundation on which to build future music and culture education in southern Africa.

Notes

1. Quoted by Khabi Mngoma from Armin Kerker's interview with Francis Bebey, 1979:22, 23.
2. Those who have had the opportunity to learn Western music, and/or who have had access to Western instruments to such a degree that performance ability on these instruments could be acquired.
3. For reference, vide Schapera, ed 1938:26.
4. Coplan (1985:243) comments that

... middle class Africans readily accepted the viewpoint of their missionary tutors, who regarded [musical] performance as a form of cultural and moral preparation for full participation in a Western society.

Any assertion to this effect is certainly not applicable to Khabi Mngoma's situation.

5. The concept 'enculturation' is explained by Merriam-Webster (1961, 1986:747) as '... the process by which an individual learns the traditional content of a culture and assimilates its practices and values'. This is compared with the concept 'socialization' (ibid), which is explained by Merriam-Webster as '... the process by which a human being beginning at infancy acquires the habits, beliefs, and accumulated knowledge of his society through his education and training for adult status...' (ibid:2162).

In comparison to these two concepts (which involves 'assimilation'), 'acculturation' is distinguished from 'assimilation', and explained as

(a) a process of intercultural borrowing marked by the continuous transmission of traits and elements between diverse peoples and resulting in new and blended patterns; (b) modification of a primitive culture resulting from prolonged contact with a more advanced culture... (ibid:13).

(a) is compared with the concept 'transculturation' (ibid), which is defined by Webster's as '... a process of cultural transformation marked by the influx of new culture elements and the loss or alteration of existing ones...' (ibid:2426).

6. Khabi Mngoma at one point stated that, because the normal day to day exposure to Western music via popular music stations on the radio and television is not to the best of examples, it is expedient that children should be exposed to Western classical music, so that they can learn to appreciate good music, and can become accustomed to Western tempered intonation.
7. Khabi Mngoma never explained exactly what he means by 'universal features' of music, but he probably refers to the parameters of music and the nature of music as a manifestation of human expression and creativity.
8. Khabi Mngoma also mentions this in his manuscript, entitled 'Future Images of Art, Music and Literature in South Africa. Focus on Music', dated 16 September 1982, where he refers to the '... stimulating effect of correlating African and Western music' in South African music education.
9. Vide also Rhodes 1973:34-37 for reference.
10. Probably the challenge of modern times (the latter which is more and more being characterized by the ability to exert power through the manipulation of money and economic strength) is for a nation to be, or become, 'a global player' (one that contributes to global advancement in economics, science, etc) - as explained by Sunter (1987). To be 'a global player' has become a major prerequisite for survival in the world today. Vide ibid for important reference.
11. This problem is also referred to by Khabi Mngoma in his manuscript on 'Future Images of Art, Music and Literature...' (1982) referred to above.
12. Coplan (1985:235) refers to this disposition, and explains that, because of the policy of 'separate development' which '... officially discouraged African "westernization"', '... politically and culturally self-conscious Africans have been suspicious of movements to revive traditional culture...' (*ibid*).

Kavanagh (1985:205-206) makes an interesting and true observation, which, in the opinion of the writer, is applicable to Khabi Mngoma's situation (ie of being 'viewed with suspicion') in earlier years:

In South Africa [and probably all over the world, as it is an inclination of human nature...] there is a... tendency to characterize ideological positions as either one thing or the other, an ideological rigidity which derives from the complete absence in the society of dialectical patterns of thought. Four central areas of debate can be adduced as characterized by this tendency - language, culture, race relations and questions of class.

According to the dominant modes of thought among Blacks in South Africa... Whites are either antagonistic to white domination and the Afrikaner Nationalist government, or part and parcel of it. This inability, or unwillingness to recognize more complex relationships has led to a number of serious confusions...

In terms of language, because the government advocates and enforces the use of 'Bantu' languages, the tendency is either to support the government and advocate the use of these languages or to oppose the government and use English. The possibility of a third position, ie that one may oppose the government and use these languages in their democratic, organic form, is rarely entertained.

The same problem has inhibited fresh thought on the question of culture. The government advocates and enforces the practice of certain atrophied forms of 'Bantu' culture. Therefore valuing traditional African culture was construed as support for the government... (and would therefore be rejected). In the 1970s the Black Consciousness Movement began the important task of introducing and popularizing a third possibility, ie that one can oppose the government and endorse the value of traditional culture...

It was indeed with the rising of the latter movement that Khabi Mngoma's musical views were accepted among those who initially criticised him.

13. The Black Consciousness Movement asserted African 'indigenous' identity and emphasized that '... Black people should "know themselves"' (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, August and September 1985). The concept of African humanism, ubuntu bumuntu ('a human is human through other humans'), was also accentuated and elevated as a valuable contribution to human existence (*ibid*). Kavanagh (1985:155) writes the following:

According to the Black Consciousness Movement, the best way to reconstitute the crushed and dominated personality of the black person was for one to do things for oneself. This was not intended in the 'white' individualistic way... but in the context of 'African communalism'. It meant, in other words, to achieve self-sufficiency within a community - a communal effort - without expecting assistance, guidance or leadership from outside the community. Hence the slogan: 'Black man, you are on your own'.

Khabi Mngoma (April 1977) commented that

... because (the black South African) did not know enough of South African indigenous artistic norms, he imported traits, especially in dress, from Nigeria and Ghana - these were as exotic as any European or Asian cultural importation would be.

14. Such an assertion seems to be based on a notion that the ability to sing according to tempered intonation is biologically determined; this is unfounded.

15. Especially in black South African schools. From various reports of the KwaZulu Department of Education and Culture, it is evident that the focus of music in KwaZulu schools is on vocal music, and to a certain extent, incorporates some theory of music. The reports under scrutiny include the Annual Reports of the Department of Education and Culture (KwaZulu Government) for the years 1976, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, and 1983.

16. Khabi Mngoma explained his point as follows:

When Palestrina's music is sung or performed to tempered pitch, it sounds stilted and artificial. So does the music of the eclectic African composers [and African traditional music]. When the latter is rendered according to the tempered pitch system, it lacks warmth and fullness of sound. On the other hand, when music conceived... in tempered pitch is sung according to acoustical pitch, it sounds unsteady (personal communication, Khabi Mngoma, April 1986).

17. This statement by Khabi Mngoma reminds one of Nketia's comment (1976:10), which reads as follows:

... when considering problems of preservation and presentation [of African music] one must bear in mind that it is not only pieces that may be preserved or presented but also the art of group music-making which keeps traditional music alive (writer's underlining).

18. The emphasis in school music is rather on music as a recreational activity, and not as an academic discipline. As regards any theoretical background provided by school music programmes, the emphasis is on tonic sol-fa. Western classical music is not catered for in black South African schools, which is a serious setback, because university music courses focus on Western music. Private, extra-mural arrangements have to be made by pupils who wish to receive formal music tuition and envisage enrolling for a university degree or diploma course after they had completed their schooling. To acquire the necessary university entrance qualifications, aspirant university music candidates have to go into costly endeavours to do so. Khabi Mngoma refers to this situation in his paper on Music Teaching at the University of Zululand (1981:15) and in his unpublished manuscript, entitled 'Music in South African in the '80s - Towards a Strategy' (16 August 1982). In a letter from I E Zwane of the Transvaal United African Teachers' Association to Khabi Mngoma (dated 9 January 1969), Zwane refers to Unisa applicants for music examinations (who are usually obliged to prepare for these examinations without the guidance of a teacher or tutor) as 'strugglers by candlelight...'. It raises concern that a subject that is so dear to a people, is not properly provided for in the school curriculum.

19. The partial origin or history of this problem of 'Euro-centric universities in Africa', is explained in some detail in Malinowski 1945:7, where it is stated that

... education in Africa is planned, financed, and directed by Europeans who as a rule are working for definite practical ends. At the same time the average practical European engaged in organizing or carrying out African teaching is neither an ethnographer nor yet a sociologist. He is as a rule unaware of the wider cultural, social and political implications of the educational process.

Note that this publication dates from 1945.

20. In an unpublished manuscript by Khabu Mngoma, entitled 'The State of Music as a Performance Art in Africa today' (18 August 1982), Khabu Mngoma states that the study of African music enhances understanding of the people who create and perform it; '... it will enable us to understand their aspirations, their dreams, their frustrations, their fears, their ethos'.

Adult Education

Notes on the Johannesburg Local Committee for Adult Education

a) Skotnes did not join the committee until he was appointed to the Non-European Affairs Department post, relinquished by Rycroft in August 1952.

b) This committee was not a City Council committee, but an autonomous voluntary body representing relevant organizations, who elected its executive committee annually (its white counterparts being the Johannesburg Local Council for Adult Education). It also drew grants from the government, and from the Johannesburg City Council - which also lent personnel and premises, notably a hall and classroom which served (from 1950) as the Polly Street Adult Education Centre. Next door, but quite independent from it, was the (non-municipal) Inchcape Hall (also known as the Ritz Palais de Dance) which was a venue for non-white dances and social events. The latter was gutted by fire in 1951. The Polly Street Centre finally closed down in the mid-1950s, due to the Group Areas Act. Thereafter, the committee's adult education classes were held partly at the NEAD's Jubilee Social Centre, adjoining the Bantu Men's Social Centre, in Eloff Street Extension, and partly in various townships.

'Skokiaan'

Preamble to the formation of the Union of Southern African Artists¹ with reference to existing township musical traditions of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, including 1) discussion of the initial influence of Afro-American jazz on black urban musical culture in Johannesburg, 2) the development of African Variety shows, 3) the 'indigenization' of jazz, 4) the problematic recording studio situation at the time (1950s), and, 5) other social and socio-political pressures that caused serious problems for black South African musicians

Introduction

During the late 1930s, the 1940s and 1950s, black American performance culture and black American models of cultural modernization found their way into black South African society (Coplan 1985:166, 172). This wave of 'American magnetism' so to speak, was propounded first of all through commercial avenues, and secondly, through the medium of education in black South African schools. The commercial agents that relayed these influences, comprised records, films and magazines exported to southern Africa from abroad. The promotion of black American models of cultural modernization in black South African schools came by way of the nature of the musical guidance that was imparted by black South African teachers to their pupils. Pupils were encouraged to collect jazz records imported from America, and were given formal - albeit limited - training in the performance of Afro-American jazz vocal ensemble singing and close harmony singing (in which all the chord notes stay within the range of an octave or twelfth for an entire song; Apel, ed 1970:180). School concerts featured items in these categories, as well as ballroom-and Latin American dancing, tap dancing and theatrical comedy presentations. This situation accelerated the adoption of black American jazz culture by black

South Africans, the development of African Jazz and Variety Shows and the perpetuation of a progressive 'indigenization' process of jazz in southern Africa (Coplan 1985:148-149. By 'indigenization' is meant the establishment of black South African jazz performances showing varying degrees of African music influence of southern African musical traditions in the adoption of Afro-American jazz.)

The spreading of jazz among black South Africans through American and British commercial enterprises

During the late 1930s and the 1940s, shebeen society² flourished among the varied population of the pace-setting urban African settlement in Johannesburg at the time, Sophiatown.³ Some of the established drinking houses became the regular meeting places for members of the African elite, ie businessmen, sportsmen, entertainers and 'underworlds' (sic ; people associated with gangs), who converged '... to talk, listen, and dance to recordings of the latest American jazz' (*ibid*:145).

Other social occasions, including '... backyard parties organized around a wedding, celebration, or spontaneous get-together', featured live entertainment by neighbourhood musicians, who often imitated popular foreign and local performers (*ibid*). 'Community life integrated traditional African reciprocity with the cash economy' at stokfels ('a working class rotating credit association with entertainment, social and economic functions') and other 'middle-class voluntary associations', the latter establishments which put members under the obligation to attend weddings, funerals and birth receptions, where refreshments were purchased by the attendants, and financial contributions collected from them. (*Vide ibid*:102-105, 108, 130, 156-157, 270.) Established bands and vocal groups were frequently hired to provide entertainment at such parties and fund raising events. Apart from serving as entertainers, these musicians simultaneously fulfilled the role of symbolizing, reflecting and adding definition to new urban cultural ideals through their professional competence, behaviour, appearance and musical taste. They '... preferred American "international" performance styles and strained to pull the urban African public along with them' (*ibid*:145).

Coplan comments that the success gained by these musicians in promoting the appreciation of American orchestral jazz among the people of the townships, '... gave African listeners a sense of connection with the

world black community' (*ibid*:145-146). To appreciate jazz became a mark of urban sophistication and social status, even among *tsotsis* (originally the name of a notorious Alexandra township gang and gangsters; *ibid*:172).⁴ During the same period musical recordings had become '... a widespread source of entertainment and status for urban African families' (*ibid*:146). So, when imported records became difficult to obtain in the early 1940s, due to World War II and an American musicians' strike, local jazz performers were faced with the opportunity to fill the gap with their own versions of American hits to satisfy public demands (*ibid*).

Black South African jazz enthusiasts were kept informed about American, British and European musical trends and personalities, by American and British magazines, Wilfred Sentso's⁵ South African publication *African Sunrise*, and films, such as *Stormy Weather*, *Cabin in the Sky* and *Black Velvet*. These films, starring black international performers such as Lena Horne, Bill Robinson and Ethol Waters, '... electrified the cultural atmosphere of black Johannesburg and permanently influenced local speech, dress and stage shows' (*ibid*).

African jazz bands were quick to adjust their style according to that which was seen and heard in the cinemas. One major innovation embraced by African performers in Johannesburg, was the modern American vogue of employing a female lead singer to front a band of male jazz instrumentalists. Zuluboy Cele's Jazz Maniacs (*vide ibid*:132, 138-139, 160ff and Mutloatse, ed 1987:80-81), who engaged the singer Emily Koenane for this purpose, was the first African jazz band in southern Africa to imitate this trend. The Pitch Black Follies (a black South African minstrel group) and Merry Blackbirds (an 'elite swing band'; Coplan 1985:127) soon followed suit, employing the eminent female vocalists Snowy Radebe and Marjorie Pretorius in the same capacity. The consequence of introducing this novelty was, that by the end of the 1940s, the popularity of Sophiatown's celebrated female singer, Dolly Rathebe, (a popular Sophiatown singer) and Bulawayo's leading lady singing star, Dorothy Masuku, outshone those of most male vocal quartets that specialized in African versions of American jazz favourites (*ibid*:146; Roerich 1989:95; Kavanagh 1985:50).

Reasons for the initial inclination to replicate American jazz rather than to develop an own, distinctive, South African jazz

Even though the reputation of African jazz band performers depended as much on their ability to create original solos, as on their competence to replicate American arrangements, '... only a few African jazz musicians of the 1940s brought anything identifiably South African to their playing of American swing' (Coplan 1985:148). 'The international recognition given black American performers made the temptation to copy them, rather than develop problematic African models, almost irresistible' (*ibid*).

Moreover, '... the identification of traditional music with the rural present and tribal past', which was aggravated by the impinging separate development policies of the Afrikaner Nationalist government at the time, was a further factor that contributed to the urban Africans' adoption of, and preference for, American models rather than creating their own Africanized jazz. This was another of many attempts in the urban African's endeavours to make the necessary cultural adjustments '... to adapt positively' to the new, urban environment, which was so far removed from the rural African heritage (*ibid*).

The promotion of black American models of cultural modernization in black South African schools, and the development of African Jazz and Variety Shows in and around Johannesburg: 1930s and 1940s

As mentioned earlier, black South African teachers encouraged their pupils to collect records of American jazz, and implemented limited formal training '... to help student ensembles master the latest American jazz vocals' (*ibid*). Close harmony groups performed regularly in schools, and the most popular local African singers, dancers and theatrical comedians were imitated by student performers at school concerts. 'Promoters and professional entertainers searched for talent at these concerts, and many young prizewinners went directly to the professional stage' (*ibid*). However, these professional performers '... retained close links with their communities, and performed in support of local associations including sports clubs' (*ibid*:148-149).

Coplan (*ibid*:149) cites an article in the Bantu World (23 September 1939), which criticized the emphasis given to black American performance culture at black South African school concerts at the time, but Coplan adds the comment that

... despite such criticism from those who thought school concerts should emphasize 'classical' music, parents were delighted with their children's ability to sing and tap dance in the manner of popular American performers (Coplan 1985:149).

Schools continued their training of young performers and '... disseminate(d) new forms integrating music, dance, and drama'. Student theatrical productions were sponsored by many schools, thereby giving impetus to the development of concert-and-dance variety entertainment in Johannesburg.

From their ranks came a number of professional variety companies backed by professional dance bands. Concerts included American songs and stage dancing, along with improvised sketches satirising local personalities and situations. These short dramatic pieces drew on traditions of mimetic characterization in African storytelling (*ibid*).

Counted among the most successful and widely recognized variety stage companies, were the Pitch Black Follies (referred to above), the Synco Fans (an African variety company, founded and managed by Wilfred Sentso), Manhattan Brothers (a vocal jazz group from Pimville, Johannesburg, active during the 1930s; *vide ibid*:135, 168, 173-175) and Gay Gaieties (*vide ibid*:149-150).

In the mid-1930s the founder and manager of the Synco Fans, Wilfred Sentso, established a school for performing arts in Johannesburg, in an attempt '... to keep all phases of performance production in African hands' (*ibid*:150). By the year 1938 Sentso's school for performing arts had produced the Synco Fans variety troupe, backed by the Synco Beats band. The school became vitally influential in the world of African variety entertainment, and produced some of Johannesburg's most talented black performers during the subsequent twenty-three years, such as Mackay Dvashe, who was one of them (*ibid*).

1947 - The end of a dynamic era in the history of African live performance entertainment

The year 1947 marked the end of an artistically vibrant era in the history of black South African live entertainment. It was also the beginning of a new period, and indeed a less happy one. 'Both internal and external forces began to transform the professional lives of performers from the city's African community' (*ibid*).

Influx control and other regulations entrenched by the upcoming Apartheid regime had already been operative and tightened by the South African Government in 1945 by an amendment to the Urban Areas Act, and black performing artists would suffer along with the other unemployed urban Africans, due to the rigid application of pass laws. A professional performance career without white management would no longer be considered 'gainful employment' (*ibid*:162). During the forthcoming 1950s, African performers would have to rely increasingly upon white producers and management to achieve advancement in their careers, both in live performance, and in the domains of recording and broadcasting (*ibid*:166). Whereas before, ie until about the mid-1940s, '... professional performers retained close links with their communities' (*vide ante*), these close links started to be broken as a result of the following factors: 1) the growing national and international consciousness of black South African performers with respect to performance opportunities and greater exposure (nationally and internationally); 2) the increasing management of the entertainment industry by whites; 3) criminal elements in the form of *tsotsi* gangs that continuously terrorized African jazz shows and frequently turned the latter into combat zones; 4) the added socio-political stress factor of the advancing implementation of segregationist 'Apartheid laws.

Therefore, the previously independent African concert industry became subjected to a rather reluctant transformation into a dependent enterprise, which eventually - some five to seven years later - would find it necessary to appeal for the establishment of a union, that would be in the position to advocate and advance the interests of black South African performing artists.

The onset of the isolation process that infringed the careers of black South African entertainers since the 1940s

World War II enkindled the international consciousness that had taken root among urban African performers in the 1940s, when military officials set out to hire the best African jazz bands to play for the black contingents of the Allied forces (*ibid*:150). Not only were their shows enthusiastically received by the black soldiers, but they also attracted the acclaim and zealous support of many whites who saw the shows too. Bands that undertook extensive concert tours at the time, included a company '... mostly drawn from the Jazz Maniacs' and led by Wilson Silgee, as well as the Pitch Black Follies and the Merry Blackbirds. (The latter group performed in a Liberty Cavalcade for black American sailors in Cape Town in 1944.) In 1943 the Jabulani Concert Party was founded by a company of African variety performers, who, while entertaining allied troops in North Africa, met musicians from America who included members of the famous Glenn Miller Orchestra (*ibid*). Another important variety company also came into operation during this period. The company, called 'Zonk', was assembled from the South African Native Military Corps by a white officer, Lieutenant Ike Brooks, and '... pioneered black entertainment for mass white audiences' (*ibid*). After the war, the company left the army and set out on a series of concert tours in South Africa. The result was that the Zonk Show⁶ gained enormous success and popularity amongst both black and white audiences throughout the country (*ibid*:150-151). It was also favourably reviewed by the white press, in that it '... demonstrated the potential of professional African performers to command a wider, possibly even international audience' (*ibid*:151).

Wilfred Sentso and Griffiths Motsieloa (educationist, actor and arts promoter) were still managing their African variety stage companies,⁷ but white producers, like Ike Brooks, became favoured instead by black performing artists, for the simple reason that white South Africans were in a better position to '... command greater organizational and financial resources', due to the unfolding Apartheid socio-political conditions current at that time in South African history. White producers could '... stand between performers and the mass of segregationist legal restrictions that inhibited inter-racial contact and independent African enterprise' (*ibid*).

Despite the fact that entertainment opportunities for black South Africans were dwindling by the 1950s, '... a few concert troupes, including the Synco Fans and Gay Gaieties, kept stage variety traditions alive' (*ibid*:170).

In 1951, even, Eric Nomvete's Foundation Follies visited Johannesburg from East London (Eastern Cape), and, sponsored by the National War Memorial Health Foundation, gave a concert in the Johannesburg City Hall, thereby becoming the first professional African company to perform at this venue (*ibid*). In 1952 the white promoter Alfred Herbert produced his first African Jazz and Variety show, staged at the Windmill Theatre in Johannesburg, with which he presented '... some of the city's best performers before white audiences' (*ibid*).

The promise of regular pay and exposure to a wider audience attracted the professionals, particularly since Herbert allowed them to organize their own programme, based on the established African stage company format (*ibid*).

However, the highly successful initial African Jazz and Variety Show organized by Alfred Herbert, was followed with succeeding shows in which he '... began to take a more sophisticated directorial approach, tailoring... shows to the tastes of his liberal white and largely Jewish audience' (*ibid*:170-171). But, in spite of this rather undesirable development of affairs (ie for the artists), Herbert's performers remained with him because of a lack of performance opportunities outside the white management sphere, and also because of Herbert's efforts '... to keep their personal as well as professional lives on an even keel' (*ibid*:171).

Gradually the African Jazz and Variety stage tradition of the African locations gave way to shows of African jazz only, and eventually to township musical theatre as well, the foundations of which were really laid by the African Variety stage shows that were so prevalent in the 1930s and 1940s. (Township musical theatre reached its climax with the production of King Kong in 1958 and 1959, but this performance tradition, too, became largely extinct by 1963, owing to a decline that had set in after the success of King Kong, mainly because of show business problems inflicted by Apartheid legislation.)

It was in 1953 that public attention focused on township jazz (Mngoma 1977:12).

The development of township jazz

In the 1940s until the 1950s, while African variety shows and jazz dance bands based on American models were enjoying popularity among working-class and middle-class patrons, the less 'Westernized' sections of the African township populations, the so-called 'marabi audience', '... still demanded music that was recognizably their own and expressed the ethnic variety of location society and culture' (Coplan 1985:152).

Hence, black South African jazz artists had developed a new style of music by the 1940s, called tsaba-tsaba (vide ibid:153), which '... combined African melody and rhythm with the rhythms of American swing, jitterbug (a dance that originated in Harlem, United States of America, locally known as "jive"; vide Merriam-Webster 1961, 1986:1217) and even Latin American rumba and conga' (Coplan 1985:152: vide Apel, ed 1970:744 and 199 respectively for 'rumba' and 'conga'). Tsaba-tsaba, with its standardized dance steps (in contrast to marabi which allowed for improvisation), became the social dance of working-class urban Africans, the 'marabi audience', while conversely, the large American-modelled dance orchestras (the music and dance preference of the more 'Westernized' sections of black South African society) dominated the large dance halls (Coplan 1985:152).

At the same time vocal groups were replacing vernacular translations of American songs with their own compositions based on tsaba-tsaba (ibid:153).

Their purpose was not to please the working-class audience, but also to develop music of African origin (that) would find its place side by side with imported dance music (Coplan 1985:153 cites Matshikiza, Drum, July 1957).

Work songs of urban Xhosa migrants were recorded and traditional songs arranged for close-harmony jazz by a number of singers, including Ace Buya (leader of the vocal jazz group called the Modernaires) and Victor Ndlazilwana (a member of the Woody Woodpeckers, some of whom eventually participated in the King Kong show in 1958; Coplan 1985:173-174). Coplan also mentions that '... a number of bands and stage troupes were

hired to perform on the mines' and comments that, at such occasions, '... fruitful stylistic exchange took place between urban musicians and a more rural-oriented audience' (*ibid*:153).

Attitudes towards tsaba-tsaba, and the international recognition of popular black South African musical styles

Attitudes of the public towards tsaba-tsaba were both positive and negative. Musically literate professional jazz men and middle-class musicians and jazz fans generally steered clear of tsaba-tsaba. Tsaba-tsaba was associated with '... proletarians and the rough social atmosphere of the occasions where it was most often played' and the literate professional musicians, who were specializing in American swing, '... generally considered themselves superior to the tsaba-tsaba audience' (*ibid*).

However, the musical journalist Walter M B Nhlapo wrote that tsaba-tsaba '... had the spirit of Africa in it' and that it was '... an indispensable part of (African) musical and dance culture in southern Africa' (Coplan, *ibid*:154, quotes Nhlapo, Bantu World, 12 July 1941). He advocated 'creative syncretism' and the '... development of an authentic (sic) and internationally recognized urban music and dance' (Coplan 1985:154).

The first tsaba-tsaba tune to become an international success, was the recording Skokiaan,⁸ composed by August Musurugwa in 1947. In 1954 it topped the American Hit Parade as 'Happy Africa', after which it was published as sheet music in seventeen countries (*ibid*).

During the early 1940s Solomon Linda's Original Evening Birds (considered the most innovative exponents of Zulu male traditional singing, called ingom'ebusuku) recorded their famous Mbube ('Lion', on Singer-Gallo GE829; Coplan 1985:133). This song was rearranged ten years later by Peter Seeger for his group, the Weavers, titled Wimoweh, which was an immense international success (*ibid*:155). Original South African compositions by black popular artists were escalating towards international recognition.

The growing popularity of African ('indigenized') jazz recordings among black and white South Africans: the development of tsaba-tsaba into kwela

In the early 1940s, juvenile musicians, who performed regularly at stokfel parties, became responsible for the development of a new, '... highly vocal style of jazz improvisation' (ibid:157). Imitating the popular local and American swing jazz orchestras on milk-tin rattles, one-string basses, home-made guitars and penny whistles, as well as blending '... indigenous and imported musical elements into a unified form based on African principles', they '... extended tsaba-tsaba and other African jazz styles in new directions' and created what became known as kwela (ibid; vide Kubik 1974 for a detailed discussion of kwela).

Kwela, with the penny whistle as leading instrument, was really '... the first distinctively South African style to achieve international recognition' (Coplan 1985:157. What is concerned with here is international recognition of a style that is recognizably South African. Previous international recognition was enjoyed by single compositions, such as those referred to above.) The fact that the entertainment media in South Africa gave wide acknowledgement to this new style, '... greatly increased the respectability of penny whistle music among urban Africans' (ibid; Rycroft 1958:56). Penny whistle kwela became regarded by urban Africans '... as an authentic expression of their urban culture' and by the 1950s '... penny whistle music and dance parties were a major recreational activity of young urban Africans' (Coplan 1985:157-158).

In a relatively short time, penny whistle band music attracted the attention of recording companies. As the major distribution media (via records and radio broadcasts), they promoted the popularity of kwela music and musicians among both black and white South Africans. In comparison the big swing bands and jazz vocalists received little attention from the recording companies (ibid).

This, of course, was in addition to the popularity that live African Variety entertainment enjoyed among the white South African public.

Penny whistle kwela virtuosos like the brothers Elias and Aaron Lerole, Isaac Lemmy 'Special' Mabaso (also called 'Lemmy, the Penny Whistle Kid') and Spokes Mashiyane ('King of Kwela ') contributed enormously to

the local record industry (*ibid*:174; Andersson 1981:37, 40, 131; Becker 1974:214; Joyce, ed 1981:130). 'Local record sales rose when the kwela penny whistlers brought their urban African transformations of popular American styles to the studios' (Coplan 1985:166).

From kwela to kwela-jazz

Professional jazz musicians became exposed to intensive sessions of penny whistle music, when, in the 1950s, recording studios started to employ these professional jazz men to back penny whistlers on saxophone and piano, for recordings of penny whistle kwela numbers. Although these professional jazz players generally preferred to play American jazz, many of them '... admired the inventive virtuosity of the penny whistle soloists' (*ibid*:160). Kwela became recognized by them '... as the basis of a local style that could compete commercially with imported music', with the result that they took to playing kwela music on the saxophone, and subsequently created an innovative fusion music, kwela-jazz. In the hands of non-literate township players, this music developed into a unique township music which had an enormous impact on the local record industry, and resulted in the production of many best-selling records (*ibid*:166).

This was a vitally important development in South African music as far as international recognition was concerned, because, in countries abroad, interest in penny whistle music was negligible, probably because the instrument was considered to be a 'toy instrument', although associated with certain folk music traditions (eg Irish and Scottish). This attitude reinforced the urban Africans' perception of this instrument as a child's instrument (*ibid*:160).

The new style, kwela-jazz, '... was already crystallizing by 1950'. It became known by the generic name majuba, and ultimately this was replaced by the term mbaqanga - a term originally denoting a quick-rising maize bread and now applied to 'new' African township music which had the potential to make 'quick money' (Bergmann 1985:114). This music gained in popularity to the extent that it was eventually perceived as a staple commodity of urban African life, like the tasty bread after which it was named.

The state of musical literacy among African jazz musicians in the 1940s and 1950s

Coplan (1985:165, 166) refers to musical literacy in the context of African jazz performers of the 1940s and 1950s, in two contexts: in the first place he maintains that 'widespread musical literacy' among African jazz players, '... helped bands to bridge the social gap between their different audiences.' This is followed, one page later, by the statement that '... most professional musicians admired American jazz, but only a few acquired the reading skills necessary to perform imported orchestrations'. These two statements seem to contradict each other. However, Kippie Moeketsi, on one occasion, made the statement that '... during those olden days you wouldn't play in a band if you could not read music' (Mutloatse, ed 1987:72). Musicians who did acquire the ability to read music, were mostly self taught. Kippie Moeketsi gave an account (*ibid*:71) of how he taught himself to read music, which gives some indication of the type of frustrations musicians had to face in their attempts to pursue musical literacy:

In my family we were music inclined. My brother, Jacob, is a pianist - he was taught by a white woman. Father played the organ and mother would sing hymns. The whole family was like that. It is only my sister who was not into music. I took up music at twenty and taught myself to read it. My late brother, Andrew, used to sing bo-Itshi Mama, old harmony songs.

Every time I saw him I would ask, 'Kana, tell me, man. How do I study the clarinet keyboard, Where must I place my fingers,'

He would shout at me, 'Hai, no. Put your fingers there!' Then I would ask again, 'What is a crotchet,' He would say, 'Aga man, you're worrying me. It's a beat.' And from there I had to see to it myself. I had to find out on my own what a crotchet was. He left me there!

I also read music books. I would say it is the Ortolandi [possibly a saxophone tutor] that taught me music. I learnt to play the clarinet with a saxophone book. 'Strue, that's how I taught myself music.

It would be fair to say that, those musicians who did manage to acquire a certain degree of musical literacy, faced many obstacles in doing so, and in fact relatively few of them could stay the course and become technically musically competent. It would appear that, somehow, the means to obtain musical literacy were more readily available in the 1930s and 1940s, than in the 1950s, which, on the one hand, may have had something to do with the separate development policies and enforced segregationist laws of the upcoming Nationalist government at the time (which ensured that music literacy was in the hands of white musicians and music teachers), and on the other hand, the decreasing demands made upon African musicians by their communities to play imported American swing orchestrations. In addition to this, there was the growing necessity to develop a uniquely South African style of jazz that would be able to compete at a national and international level with mass distributed and imported recordings of American jazz. In this case the musicians had to rely on their own creativity, which was manifested in live performance situations and not 'on paper'. The general state of musical literacy actually suffered a decline, which became painfully evident at the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival in the 1950s, and led to the Johannesburg City Council's establishment of music education programmes in the townships, for which Khabi Mngoma became responsible. The promotion of musical literacy among black South Africans would also become a major objective of the African Music and Drama Association in the 1960s, the latter organization which ultimately fulfilled the educational functions of the Union of Southern African Artists.

Increasing pressures on professional musicians in the mid-1940s and 1950s

In 1941 the South African Broadcasting Corporation (Durban) started its first African broadcasting service with a big report of World War II news delivered in Zulu by a Zulu announcer (Coplan 1985:160). This service was later extended to the Witwatersrand and the Eastern Cape, and in due course, the time slots for broadcasting on African services also expanded, and came to include musical radio dramas drawing on folk tales, and comprising extracts of older traditional music. Musical programmes (per se) were, however, dominated by the 'new' African musical forms and styles which were popular with non-literate urbanizing Africans (*ibid*:161). It was this kind of music - generally termed mbaqanga - that gained national exposure in the early 1950s, via weekly radio programmes on 'Bantu Jazz' compiled by radio announcer Gideon Nxumalo.

A new studio production system, also implemented early in the 1950s (by talent scout and music producer for Troubador Records, Cuthbert Matumba) gave great impetus to the development of urban African music in southern Africa. Matumba, whose procedures resembled those followed by the American producer Clarence Williams (who oversaw the mass production of blues and jazz recordings in the 1920s in the United States of America), contributed to the mass production of African jazz recordings by employing 'a stable of musicians' who were shifted around in different recording combinations to produce numerous pieces, fashioned according to a standard musical formula (*ibid*:167). Although this system had a lasting effect on the new focus of urban African music, and encouraged musical innovations and fusions of all kinds - which appealed to '... all classes of Africans', it (the system) was not financially beneficial to the musicians themselves, who were literally left in the lurch, and generally denied royalties accruing from record sales, for some or other alleged reason (*ibid*:166).

Like African labourers, musicians could neither join white unions nor form their own collective bargaining agencies and were thus at a serious disadvantage in dealing with the white entertainment industry (*ibid*).

In the mean time, deteriorating social conditions and criminal interference posed serious problems for live performance situations in the townships. Criminal activity was amplifying in the African urban areas at an alarming rate. The notorious *tsotsis*, who first made their appearance during the 1940s and '... initially relied more upon their wits than violence to plunder the white economy', had established themselves as urban gangs with distinctive names and territorial rights. Although they apparently admired professional jazz musicians, their reputation for urban violence and their overt (and often ruthless) control of entertainment venues eventually caused irreparable damage to the live township jazz-based traditions (*ibid*:163). Kippie Moeketsi's recollections of *tsotsi* gang attacks on musicians in the 1940s and 1950s are particularly revealing. Kippie Moeketsi, speaking on his memoirs (in Mutlootse, ed 1987:77), recalls *tsotsi* gang attacks on musicians in the 1940s and 1950s:

In those days the *tsotsis* were rough. Musicians used to get a hiding from them now and then. They would say to us that we were thinking that we were clever, and better than them.

Sometimes we would play from 20h00 to 04h00 non-stop. It was like that. Sometimes the tsotsis would force us to play right through up to 09h00. By force! We played all the songs they wanted. I remember one incident in which I managed to escape with my dear life. It was in '48 when we were still playing at the Bantu Men's Social Centre. Tsotsis came, man. There were about seventeen, carrying tomahawks, and chopping everybody in the hall for no reason. After they had finished with the audience, they came onto the stage while we stood there glued frightened.

They then began chopping up our instruments and just then we ran for our lives with the thugs in hot pursuit. One of them chased me down Von Wielligh Street. It was about three o' clock in the morning. He shouted at me, 'Kom hier, jong, Kippie!' His name was Seven. Fortunately for me, a police van appeared and the thug disappeared. The tsotsis were attacking us for the fun of it. They were from Alexandra Township... Musicians used to have a tough time during those days. †

Zakes Nkosi (*ibid*:81-82) describes how he, on one occasion of such a gang attack, hid himself inside a grand piano on stage!

I could hear the gangsters beating up everybody, with the audience scuttling for cover. Nobody had seen me sneak into the piano-box - at that time I was slim and not as heavy as today.

Gang-on-gang violence frequently erupted at such venues, with the result that people avoided them, and musicians lost out financially. It is not surprising that black music shows declined, while the musicians themselves chose to play for white audiences in the 'white' city areas (Coplan 1985:163).

But, because of segregation laws that had become more and more restricting, the white performance venues were becoming inaccessible to black performing artists.

Although black musicians continued to find work at white night clubs until the late 1950s (in spite of impending segregation laws), their position was that of growing insecurity. White musicians, for instance, who feared competition from their African counterparts, managed to make it increasingly difficult for the latter to gain entrance to white clubs (*ibid*:162).

The decline of large dance orchestras in America in the 1950s helped to produce a similar trend (sic) in South Africa. More directly responsible for the death of South Africa's big bands, however, were the destruction of the Western areas and regulations forbidding Africans to appear at venues where liquor was served. As Sophiatown and its dance halls were destroyed, musicians were shut out of the inner-city clubs and halls, and jazz was gradually deprived of its multi-racial audience (*ibid*:164).

Continuing live performance situations

In 1955 the Sophiatown Modern Jazz Club was established in Sophiatown, to support local jazz. It sponsored a series of jazz jam sessions which took place on Sundays at the Odin Cinema in Sophiatown - hence the name given to these events, 'Jazz at the Odin', which featured individual musicians and not formal bands. With the exception of the first show, Jazz at the Odin involved both black and white musicians (*ibid*:172). However, the Sophiatown Modern Jazz Club ceased to exist with the destruction of Sophiatown.

The 1950s also saw the formation of the Huddleston Jazz Band, established in remembrance of Trevor Huddleston, whose encouragement of numerous African musicians was always commended and appreciated (*ibid*).

By 1961 however, the stringent implementation of Apartheid legislation (viz the Group Areas Act with its Separate Amenities proviso), had ensured the exclusion of black performers from their usual performance venues, a state of affairs that was not without support from white musicians.

The only events left that provided performance opportunities for African jazzmen, were big concerts and outdoor jazz festivals held in Soweto, which were mostly sponsored by South African Breweries. The first Cold Castle Jazz Festival was held in 1961. The third festival, Cold Castle Jazz Festival 1963, suffered violence both inside and outside the stadium; the 1964 festival experienced a confrontation between township gangs outside the stadium's gates; six men died... Although this put an end to the Cold Castle series, it did not put an end to jazz festivals, which have since continued as annual events in this country, despite their potential for '... social, organizational (sic), and programme conflicts' (*ibid*:192).

Notes

1. This designation appears in several source publications: *vide* Coplan 1985:166, 172; Kavanagh 1985:19; Mngoma 1977; Mutloatse, ed 1987:65. However, one source alludes to the Union as the 'Union of South African Artists', ie Leshoi in *ibid*:68. This thesis will refer to the establishment by the more frequent designation, ie 'Union of Southern African Artists'.

2. 'Shebeen' is a chiefly Irish term for an 'unlicensed or illegally operated drinking establishment'. (*Vide* Merriam-Webster 1961, 1986:2090.) The African shebeen is described by Coplan (1985:269) as '... an illegal private house of entertainment selling beer and liquor to black people' in the townships. *Vide* 'shebeens' in *ibid*:92-94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 108, 109, 137, 145, 152, 163, 179, 184.

3. The former suburb of Johannesburg, Sophiatown, was situated 8 km north-west of the Johannesburg City Hall. It was laid out in 1903 on the farm Waterval, by the speculator Herman Tobiansky, who had bought the 237 acres of land in 1897 to establish a white suburb, and named it after his wife, Sophia. (*Vide* Raper 1987, 1989:508; *Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa - The Real Story* 1988, 1989:427.) It was, however, '... the city fathers who inadvertently decided Sophiatown's future':

First they built a sewerage disposal works nearby, which put whites off buying plots in the area; and then, after the First World War, they built a municipal location called Western Native Township next door.

Giving up his dream of a white suburb, Tobiansky decided to sell off his plots to Africans - and Sophiatown was born (*ibid*).

This article, titled 'Cool down and take your things', continues:

What made Sophiatown so different was that it happened naturally - there was no municipal ordinance, no superintendent, no wire fences and no permission needed for Africans to live there. You just bought a home according to the best of free market principles and moved in. It was almost as if apartheid had never existed - so much so, that many white 'bohemians' arrived to settle in the suburb, rubbing shoulders with a creative community that included leading journalists, musicians, writers and, of course, politicians.

Vide Coplan 1985:144-145.

Sophiatown was completely demolished by the year 1960, and with its residents finally resettled in Soweto, a new white suburb, called 'Triomf' (Afrikaans for 'triumph'), was laid out in its place in 1963 (Raper 1987, 1989:508). Trevor Huddleston's comment on the destruction of Sophiatown, was that '... South Africa lost "not only a place but an ideal"' (*Reader's Digest Illustrated History of South Africa*... 1988, 1989:419). For further reference, *vide* Proctor in Bozzoli, ed 1979:54-57; Roerich 1989:78-101.

4. The term became widespread in South Africa and denoted not only criminal elements, but destructive township categories. (*Vide* Wilson and Mafey 1963:23.)

5. Wilfred Sentso was the founder and Manager of the African Variety company, the Synco Fans. *Vide* paragraph on Wilfred Sentso's school for performing arts established in Johannesburg in the mid-1930s.

6. [The Zonk Show] drew on stage entertainment traditions that had been developing... from the days of the community 'bidding' concerts of the 1920s. The show included such American items as 'September in the Rain', vernacular translations of 'Copper-Coloured Girl', and original African jazz compositions by pianist Sam Maile - all backed by a fully literate jazz orchestra... School-boy (Richard) Majola was spectacular in *isicathulo* (miners' gum boot dancing). He also teamed with saxophonist Skip Phahlane to create 'Dockyard Dancing', a knockdown fight portrayed entirely through acrobatic tap dancing. Though all the performers were permanent urbanites, the influence of Mthetwa's Lucky Stars on African variety was clear in the musical-dramatic scenes of traditional village life and Zulu soldiers preparing for battle (Coplan 1985:151).

7. *Vide* Mutloatse, ed 1987:78-79; Coplan 1985:151. Motsieloa became 'Gallo's first African talent scout' (*ibid*:137).

8. The *tsaba-tsaba* song *Skokiaan* was recorded on Gallo GB11 52.T. (*Vide* Coplan 1985:154.) 'Skokiaan' is a very strong, lethal drink, home-brewed by Africans. Deirdre Hansen described to the writer how some of the cousins of her uncle's farm workers (who lived on her uncle's farm in Swaziland), went to Johannesburg for a year to work on the gold mines, and on their return home, demonstrated the brewing of *Skokiaan* to their shocked and horrified country cousins. They used meths, carbide, petrol, some potato peels that were rotting - and of course fermented pineapple peels. They also mixed some home-brewed concoction with this. Hansen was watching it all, until her uncle came roaring into the hut, and ordered them to get rid of it. She recalls it having a bad smell, which is certainly not surprising!

In the urban areas, especially in Johannesburg, there were 'Skokiaan Queens', who sold their brew at shebeens. The Xhosa composer, Benjamin Tyamzashe, told Hansen that he and fellow Africans used to call the drink 'kill-me-quick'! Tyamzashe also told her that the name '*Skokiaan*' actually comes from the Afrikaans word 'skok' (English: 'shock') - because one gets such a shock drinking it, that one actually dies!

Skokiaan was, and still is, an illicit liquor.

'Twinkle, twinkle little Star'

A brief description of the history and principles of the Suzuki Violin Method

The Suzuki Method, which is also known as the 'Talent Education Method' - an appellation used by Professor Suzuki himself - was first introduced in Japan in 1945 (Suzuki 1969:37), at the Matsumoto Music School in Tokyo (*ibid*:38). The method was/is based on the premise that '... musical ability is not an inborn talent but an ability that can be developed' (Suzuki Violin School, Vol 1, revised edition, Boosey & Hawkes 1970:4), 'through experience and repetition' (Suzuki 1969:27). Professor Suzuki firmly believed that '... any child who is properly trained can develop musical ability just as all children develop the ability to speak their mother tongue' (Boosey & Hawkes 1970:4).

The Talent Education Method was regarded by Professor Suzuki as 'life education' (Suzuki 1969:98), and was devised 'for the happiness of children' (Boosey & Hawkes 1970:4), aiming at guiding them '... to becoming noble human beings' through the art of violin playing (Suzuki 1969:27). Therefore, no child dropping behind or struggling to make progress would be turned away (*ibid*:11).

Various characteristics distinguish the Suzuki Violin Method from other methods. The child may start with his or her violin lessons at the tender age of three. The initial lessons are given to the mother, who learns to play the nursery tune 'Twinkle, twinkle, little Star', while her child observes her doing so. This is normally accomplished within three months, after which the child is eager to imitate the mother. A small sized violin is then given to the child, who starts off by learning to play the same tune in five variations. The young pupil is exposed to classical recordings on a daily basis, and to constant repetition, and within a year he or she can venture into playing simple Bach gavottes and minuets (*ibid*:117; *vide* Boosey & Hawkes 1970 for examples).

Great emphasis is placed on the development of a sound musical memory (Suzuki 1969:41), which has led to the manifestation of memory aptitudes in children that continue to astonish the world. Professor Suzuki believed that

... just as the alphabet is not taught when children first learn their mother language, so music reading should not be included in violin study until children have sufficiently developed their musical sensitivity, playing skill, and memory (Boosey & Hawkes 1970).

The method is structured in such a way as to have these abilities developed to some extent, by the completion of Volume III of the course books, starting with guidance for music reading in Volume IV (*ibid*). The emphasis, however, remains on memory training: 'Even after acquiring the ability to read music... the children should, as a rule, play from memory during lessons' (*ibid*).

The principles of the guidance entail:

- (i) daily listening to reference recordings at home, to develop musical sensitivity;
- (ii) tonalization, or '... the production of a beautiful tone', stressed by the teacher in the lesson, and by the mother at home;
- (iii) constant attention to '... accurate intonation, correct posture and the proper bow hold';
- (iv) motivating the child to enjoy proper practising procedures at home;
- (v) the implementation of group lessons as well as private lessons, the former at least once twice a month, or even once a week;
- (vi) the presence of the mother parent at private lessons (*ibid*:4-5).

In a period of thirty years, Professor Suzuki trained 150 000 children to play the violin, accomplishing virtuosity and memory capability in the pupils unparalleled anywhere else in the world (Suzuki 1969:117).

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- Mphahlele, Es'kia
(1959, 1971)
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(1987)
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- Nketia, J H Kwabena
(1976)
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Carol
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<u>Ekstra Rapport</u>	24 October 1982.
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<u>The Natal Mercury</u>	12 December 1955.
<u>The New York Times</u>	29 June 1975.
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<u>Pace</u>	March 1988.
<u>Post</u>	12 August 1962, 30 August 1964.
<u>Rand Daily Mail</u>	8 September 1908, 9 September 1908, 11 September 1908, 25 July 1956, 2 June 1960, 27 April 1962, 13 August 1962, 7 August 1964, 28 August 1964, 29 July 1966, 23 January 1968, 16 January 1980, 2 July 1980.
<u>South African Digest</u>	20 January 1967.
<u>The Star Johannesburg</u>	3 May 1952, 2 June 1960, 4 October 1960, 29 August 1961, 2 May 1962, 13 August 1962, 13 August 1964.
<u>Sunday Times Extra</u>	21 June 1980.
<u>Time</u>	13 October 1975.
<u>Tribute</u>	March 1988, May 1988, August 1988.
<u>The Voice</u>	Issues I - XII, 1949 - 1953.

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3 May 1962, 21 March 1967, 3 April 1967, 11 July 1967, 16 November 1967, 8 November 1971, 4 July 1972, 4 June 1976, 14 June 1976.

Letters to Khabi Mngoma (by courtesy of Khabi Mngoma)

13 July 1962	Letter from Charl Cillie (Unisa).
19 August 1962	Letter from the Continental School of Music, Durban.
2 October 1962	Letter from Edgar Mtshali.
6 November 1963	Letter from M B Grant (Secretary of the Youth Festival Committee, Non-European Affairs Department, Johannesburg City Council).
15 November 1963	Letter from J C M Mbata (Assistant Secretary of the Bantu Welfare Trust <u>Ubuntu</u> , Johannesburg).
27 May 1964	Letter from J C M Mbata (Assistant Secretary of the Bantu Welfare Trust <u>Ubuntu</u> , Johannesburg).
13 October 1966	Letter from the American Embassy, Cape Town.
26 October 1966	Letter from Amon Bilmark (Violin Maker, Repairer and Dealer, Durban Art Centre).
8 March 1967	Letter from the Programme Officer of the Council on Leaders and Specialists (Experiment in International Living, Washington).
15 March 1967	Letter from Aretha B McKinley (Programme Officer for the Reception Center of the American State Department, New York).
28 January 1968	Letter from the Baragwanath Hospital for the Matron-in-Chief of the Transvaal Provincial Hospitals.
26 February 1968	Letter from the Chief Matron of the Baragwanath Hospital.
9 January 1969	Letter from I E Zwane (Transvaal United African Teachers' Association).
21 March 1970	Letter from Benjamin Tyamzashe.
8 June 1970	Letter from A J Shembela.
14 June 1970	Letter from M G Buthelezi.
1 August 1970	Letter from Seth and Rex Mzizi.
15 September 1970	Letter from Elizabeth Mosia.

31 January 1973	Letter from W A Herman (Programme Officer for The Ford Foundation, New York).
21 March 1974	Letter from H M Hirsch and F N Kentridge (National Bank, Johannesburg).
14 November 1974	Letter from G Bacon (Transkei Council of Churches Music Sub-Committee).
21 April 1975	Letter from J F Marquard (Manager, <u>The World</u>).
12 August 1975	Letter from M G Buthelezi.
16 March 1976	Letter from W W Majole (Music Organizer, Natal African Teachers' Union).
7 June 1976	Letter from Cornelius Marivate.
10 August 1976	Letter from Margaret Burnett (retired Chief Matron, Baragwanath Hospital).
14 September 1976	Letter from Professor J F A Swartz (Dean, Faculty of Education, University of Stellenbosch).
26 October 1976	Letter from F W Kraukamp (Director, South African Brick Association Ltd.)
12 April 1977	Letter from Professor J F A Swartz (Dean, Faculty of Education, University of Stellenbosch).
21 April 1977	Letter from the Organizing Committee of the University of Stellenbosch Autumn School.
15 June 1977	Letter from Gugu Mtombeni (Dlangezwa High School).
20 June 1977	Letter from Professor P R Van Dyk (Chairman, Council of Supervision, University of Zululand).
27 January 1978	Letter from Andrew Tracey.
3 July 1978	Letter from G J Janse Van Rensburg.
10 August 1978	Letter from G J Janse Van Rensburg.
22 September 1978	Letter from G J Janse Van Rensburg.
4 November 1978	Letter from David Coplan.
3 March 1979	Letter from Andries Wasserman (Director and Conductor of the Orange Free State Youth Choir).
5 May 1979	Letter from Andries Wasserman (Director and Conductor of the Orange Free State Youth Choir).
15 May 1979	Letter from Mrs Skinner (wife of the Registrar, University of Natal).

23 May 1979	Letter from Desmond Clarence (Principal and Vice-Chancellor, University of Natal).
9 October 1979	Letter from Professor Jack De Wet (Head, Music Department, University of Port Elizabeth).
5 June 1980	Letter from Professor A C Nkabinde (Rector and Vice-Chancellor, University of Zululand).
14 May 1981	Letter from H H Dlamlenze (Secretary General, African Teachers' Association of South Africa).
10 June 1981	Letter from David Rycroft.
11 November 1981	Letter from R Anthony (<u>Zululand Observer</u>).
27 April 1982	Letter from Heather Brandon (Port Natal Administration Board).
28 April 1982	Letter from Dave Dargie (Lumko Music Department, Lady Frere).
30 April 1982	Letter from Mrs Horner (Queensburgh Girls' High School, Malvern).
10 May 1982	Letter from Josephine Valerie Sithole (Our Lady of Lourdes Parish, KwaMashu).
17 May 1982	Letter from Professor H J van Eetveldt (Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Zululand).
18 May 1982	Letter from the Academic Registrar of the University of Transkei.
24 May 1982	Letter from Mrs Mongie (Secretary, Maskew Miller Public Relations, Cape Town).
25 May 1982	Letter from Professor H J van Eetveldt (Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Zululand).
21 June 1982	Letter from Dave Dargie (Lumko Music Department, Lady Frere).
18 July 1982	Letter from Dave Dargie (Lumko Music Department, Lady Frere).
23 August 1982	Letter from R H M Lugongolo (Organizing Secretary, Transkei Teachers' Association).
26 October 1982	Letter from Cedric Alexander (Foundation for Art and Cultural Education).
18 November 1982	Letter from S N B Kweyama (Sales Development Officer, Citrus Exchange).
15 December 1982	Letter from David Rycroft.
20 December 1982	Letter from Reuel Khoza.
1 February 1983	Letter from K E Ellis.
22 April 1983	Letter from a Mr van den Bergh.

30 June 1983	Letter from N C Gracie (General Manager, Oxford University Press, South Africa).
1 July 1983	Letter from Andrew Tracey.
5 August 1983	Letter from M G Magagani (Secretary of Education, Gazankulu Government).
12 August 1983	Letter from Professor A C Nkabinde (Rector and Vice-Chancellor, University of Zululand).
16 August 1983	Letter from Councillor S C Hotz (Mayoress of Durban).
21 September 1983	Letter from Andrew Tracey.
16 November 1983	Letter from G W Coetzee (National Secretary, South African National Council of the YMCA).
23 December 1983	Letter from Reuel Khoza (Co-ordinated Marketing).
20 January 1984	Letter from Professor G K H Totemeyer (Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Transkei).
3 February 1984	Letter from S D Majokweni (Academic Registrar, University of Transkei).
7 March 1984	Letter from Hugh Masekela, Botswana International School of Music.
16 March 1984	Letter from Deirdre Hansen (Music Faculty, University of Cape Town).
21 March 1984	Letter from Es'kia Mphahlele.
27 April 1984	Letter from Helen Q Kivnick.
11 June 1984	Letter from Mrs Mashiya (Examinations Officer, University of Transkei).
12 June 1984	Letter from Joan Ward (Secretary, Institute for the Study of Man in Africa).
7 September 1984	Letter from Elizabeth Oehrle (Music Department, University of Natal).
21 September 1984	Letter from Elliot S Pews.
6 November 1984	Letter from Adalbert Mulaudzi (Venda).
15 November 1984	Letter from G W Coetzee (National Secretary, South African National Council of the YMCA).
27 November 1984	Letter from E W Redelinghuys (Academic Registrar, University of Zululand).
27 December 1984	Letter from Helen Q Kivnick.
31 December 1984	Letter from Hugh Masekela.

13 January 1985	Letter from Christine Purves (Secretary, Botswana International Society of Music).
7 February 1985	Letter from Udo Weck (Manager, SATOUR, West-Germany).
12 February 1985	Letter from Saretha van der Walt (Music Producer, South African Broadcasting Corporation, Cape Town).
25 February 1985	Letter from Christine Purves (Secretary, Botswana International Society of Music).
26 February 1985	Letter from Es'kia Mphahlele.
7 March 1985	Letter from Mrs Dlamini (Senior Student Advisor, University of Zululand).
9 March 1985	Letter from Elisabeth Oehrle (Music Department, University of Natal).
1 April 1985	Letter from J M Maphanga (Management Accountant, African Bank Ltd).
August 1985	Letter from Jack and Christine Purves.
4 March 1985	Letter from Marie Hammann (for the Festival Director, National Festival Committee Dias 1988).
25 May 1987	Letter from K Tober (Vice-Chancellor and Principal, University of the Witwatersrand).
12 October 1988	Letter from M G Buthelezi.
1 November 1989	Letter from S M Dube (General Secretary, Orlando YMCA).
9 November 1989	Letter from R Ngcobo (Director, Inter-College Arts Festival, Pietermaritzburg).
8 December 1989	Letter from P Morake (National Choir Festival, Ford Project Manager).
19 December 1989	Letter from R B Walton (Editor, <u>South African Journal of Musicology</u>).
12 March 1990	Letter from the Director-General for National Education.
undated	Letter from Professor G M Mpati (Faculty of Education, University of Transkei).
undated	Letter from G J M Hutchings (Department of English, University of Transkei).

Letters written by Khabi Mngoma (by courtesy of Khabi Mngoma)

12 April 1967	Letter to members of the Ionian Music Society.

26 October 1976	Letter to Professor J F A Swartz.
19 September 1978	Letter to R Van Rensburg.
22 August 1978	Letter to G J Janse Van Rensburg.
19 May 1982	Letter to Professor H J van Eetveldt (Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Zululand).
25 May 1982	Letter to Professor H J van Eetveldt (Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Zululand).
27 May 1982	Letter to Professor Christopher Ballantine (Music Department, University of Natal).
28 May 1982	Letter to H H Dlamlenze (Secretary General, African Teachers' Association of South Africa).
15 June 1982	Letter to Professor H J van Eetveldt (Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Zululand).
15 June 1982	Letter to the Academic Registrar, University of Transkei.
2 September 1982	Letter to R H M Lugongolo (Organizing Secretary, Transkei Teachers' Association).
29 September 1982	Letter to David Rycroft.
2 October 1982	Letter to Professor G M Mpati (Faculty of Education, University of Transkei).
2 December 1982	Letter to S N B Kweyama.
24 August 1983	Letter to M G Magagani (Secretary for Education, Gazankulu Government).
16 March 1984	Letter to Dr van der Walt (Alusaf PtyLtd).
undated	Letter to Principals of High Schools, on behalf of the Ionian Male Choir.
undated	Letter to the parents of Ionian Youth Orchestra members.
undated	Letter to the Examinations Officer, University of Transkei.

Other letters (by courtesy of Khabi Mngoma)

21 October 1966	Letter from the Director, Reckitt & Colman (Africa) to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Johannesburg.
24 October 1966	Letter from W J P Carr (Manager, Johannesburg Non-European Affairs Department) to the Bantu Affairs Commissioner in Johannesburg.

- 30 August 1967 Letter from W J P Carr (Manager, Johannesburg Non-European Affairs Department) to H M Hirsch (Chairman, Board of Trustees, Dorkay House).
- 9 January 1969 Letter from I E Zwane (General Secretary, Transvaal United African Teachers' Association) to F A Crawshaw (Local Director, Reckitt & Colman, Africa).
- 10 May 1979 Letter from E W Redelinghuys (Academic Registrar, University of Zululand) to Professor Christopher Ballantine (Music Department, University of Natal).
- 11 June 1979 Letter from E W Redelinghuys (Academic Registrar, University of Zululand) to Dr Meyer (South African Broadcasting Corporation).
- 26 June 1979 Letter from Professor Christopher Ballantine (Music Department, University of Natal) to E W Redelinghuys (Academic Registrar, University of Zululand).
- 2 May 1980 Letter from Professor Christopher Ballantine (Music Department, University of Natal) to Professor A C Nkabinde (Rector, University of Zululand).
- 18 June 1980 Letter from Johanna De Wet to Grace Mngoma.
- 11 February 1981 Letter from E W Redelinghuys (Academic Registrar, University of Zululand) to Professor Christopher Ballantine (Music Department, University of Natal).
- 14 September 1982 Letter from H M Dandala (Esikhawini Methodist Church) to Professor Nkabinde (Rector, University of Zululand).
- March 1984 Letter from Hugh Masekela to Friends of the Botswana International Society of Music.

Programmes of Concerts, Festivals, Workshops, Lecture Series, Seminars, Conferences, and Eisteddfodau

- October 1948 Programme of the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival.
- 4 December 1960 'The Ionian Male Choir presents Hear my Prayer (a motet by F Mendelssohn) and the Alto Rhapsody (J Brahms)', Uncle Tom's Hall, Orlando West, Soweto.
- 6 November 1966 'The Association of Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors of Bantu Schools, Southern Transvaal Region, proudly present the Ionian Choir and Orchestra performing Israel in Egypt (G F Handel)', KwaThema Civic Centre, Springs.
- 6 December 1966 'Classical Instrumental Music', programme of a concert presented by the Ionian Music Society in the United States Information Service Auditorium, Shakespeare House, Johannesburg.

1967 (no further details specified)	Programme of a concert presented by the Ionian Music Society (no further details specified).
1967 (no further details specified)	'The Ionian Music Society presents the <u>Messiah</u> (G F Handel)' (no further details specified).
12 August 1967	'The Hebron Training Institute proudly presents the Ionian Music Society and the Hebron Institute Choir', Hebron Institute Assembly Hall.
24 April 1969	'The Passion of our Lord according to Saint Matthew (J S Bach) presented by the Ionian Music Society', Cathedral of Christ the King, Johannesburg.
24 August 1969	'The Passion of our Lord according to Saint Matthew (J S Bach) presented by the Ionian Music Society', Cathedral of Christ the King, Johannesburg.
26 February 1972	'The United States Information Service and the African Teachers Association of South Africa presents the Consolidated High School Choir and the Ionian Mixed Choir (Guest Conductor: Relford Patterson)', Donaldson Centre, Orlando East, Soweto.
11 July 1973	Programme of the University of South Africa Centenary Celebration Concert (with the Ionian Music Society) organized by The Centenary Sub-Committee, African Section, Atteridgeville Communal Hall, Pretoria.
9 December 1973	'The United States Information Service presents the Ionian Choir and Youth Orchestra', United States Information Service Auditorium, Shakespeare House, Johannesburg.
7 April 1974	'Africhem proudly presents the Ionian Music Society with Ruth Lagasen', KwaThema Civic Hall, Springs.
July 1974	'Union Artists incorporating AMDA, Winter Arts School at Dorkay House.
4 August 1974	Programme of a concert presented by the Ionian Music Society for the St Cyprian's Anglican Church, Sharpeville.
19 November to 7 December 1974	'African Music and Drama Association invites you to the First Annual Festival of the Arts by AMDA Students : 19 November to 7 December 1974' (no further details specified).
1975 (no further details specified)	'The African Methodist Episcopal Church (Fifteenth Episcopal District) 1975 Leadership Congress Fund Raising Committee proudly presents the Ionian Music Society' (no further details specified).
9 to 16 September 1978	Programme of the University of Zululand Third Annual Music Festival.
14 September 1978	Programme of a joint recital presented by S'bongile Mngoma (contralto and violin), Griffiths Khanyile (tenor) and Elliot Pewa (piano), Chapel, University of Zululand.

21 October 1978	'The <u>Messiah</u> (G F Handel) sung by the University of Zululand Choir and accompanied by the Ionian Orchestra', Chapel, University of Zululand.
9 May 1979	Programme of the First Semester Choral Concert presented by the University of Zululand Choir and the Department of Music, Chapel, University of Zululand.
27 September 1979	Programme of the Second Semester Concert presented by the University of Zululand Choir, Music Department, University of Zululand.
11 August 1979	Programme of a Celebrity Concert presented by the University of Zululand Music Department with Peggy Haddon (piano) and Peta-Ann Richardson (cello), Chapel, University of Zululand.
24 and 25 May 1980	'The University of Zululand presents <u>Judas Maccabaeus</u> (G F Handel) sung by massed choir (250 voices) and accompanied by the Ionian Orchestra', Great Graduation Tent, University of Zululand.
21 April 1980	Programme of the University of Natal's Lunch Hour Concert, Union Hall, University of Natal.
19 August 1980	Programme of the Durban-Westville University Lunch Hour Concert (no further details specified).
28 August 1980	Programme of a concert presented by the University of Zululand Choir (no further details specified).
11 to 13 March 1981	Programme Outline of the Theory of Music In-Service Music Course organized by the University of Zululand Music Department in collaboration with the Music Inspectorate of the Department of Education and Training, and the Music Inspectorate of the Department of Education and Culture.
21 and 22 July 1982	Programme of the 21st National Eisteddfod of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa held in the Centenary Hall, Port Elizabeth.
31 January 1982	'First Ionian Music Society Reunion Concert', Diepkloof Communal Hall, Soweto.
1982	'Programme for the 1982 Ford Choirs Competition', Johannesburg : Co-ordinated Marketing.
1982	Programme for the 'Know Your Continent - Africa' Lecture Series organized by the Council for Black Education and Research.
7 March 1984	'The University of Zululand proudly presents the Unizulu Choir', Empangeni Town Hall.
1 to 4 July 1987	Programme for the Second National Music Educators' Conference: 'Making Music Education Relevant in Africa South', Faculty of Music, University of Cape Town.

1987	'Roodepoort International Eisteddfod 1987 Souvenir Programme', published by the Roodepoort International Eisteddfod South Africa/RIESA.
15 December 1987	Programme for the University of the Witwatersrand Graduation Ceremony.
20 December 1987	'A Festival of Song in Honour of Khabi Mngoma', Orlando YMCA, Soweto.
18 December 1988	'The Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts presents <u>The Christmas Music Concert</u> by the Ngoye Chorale (Conductor: Khabi Mngoma) and the Esikhawini Cantata Chorale (Conductor: Siphon Mzimande)'; Hlanganani Community Centre Hall, Esikhawini Township.
16 and 17 December 1989	'Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts presents <u>The 1989 Christmas Music Festival Concerts</u> ', Dlangenzwa High School Hall and Esikhawini College of Education Hall.
undated	Programme of a concert presented by the Ionian Choir, Holy Cross Church, Johannesburg.
date incomplete	Programme of a concert presented by the Ionian Music Society (no further details specified).
date incomplete	Programme of a Matinee presented by the Ionian Music Society, Beatrice Street YMCA, Durban.
undated	Programme of a performance of <u>Samson</u> (G F Handel) by the Ionian Music Society (no further details specified).
undated	Programme of a performance of the <u>Messiah</u> (G F Handel) by the Ionian Music Society (no further details specified).
undated	'The United States Information Service presents the Ionian Choir', United States Information Service Auditorium, Shakespeare House, Johannesburg.
undated	Programme of a concert presented by the Ionian Music Society (no further details specified).
undated	'The Council for Black Education and Research presents the University of Zululand Choir' (no further details specified).
undated	Programme of a concert presented by the University of Zululand Youth Orchestra (no further details specified).
undated	Programme of a concert presented by the University of Zululand Choir organized by the Council for Black Education and Research (no further details specified).
undated	Programme of African songs from southern Africa (no further details specified).

Reports

1922	<u>Stallard Commission Report, Transvaal Local Government.</u>
1955	'Summary of the Report of the Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas within the Union of South Africa', U G 61/1955.
5 June 1965	'The 1965 First Semester Music Report of the Transvaal United African Teachers' Association', written by E A Tlakula.
8 March 1966	'Report to the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival Committee on the operation of the bursary scheme for 1965, with necessary background', written by Khabi Mngoma.
1966	'The Report for 1965 - 1966 of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa', written by E A Tlakula.
1971	'Report on the Xhosa Music Course held at St Cuthbert's Mission, Tsolo', written by Heinrich and Franz Aertker.
July 1974	'Report on Union Artists incorporating AMDA, Winter Arts School at Dorkay House'.
1974	'Annual Report for 1974 of the African Music and Drama Association (Union Artists), 3rd floor Dorkay House, 5B Eloff Street, Johannesburg', written by Khabi Mngoma.
1976	'Annual Report 1976', Department of Education and Culture, KwaZulu Government.
16 February 1978	'Establishment of a University Choir', a report to the Rector of the University of Zululand (writer unknown).
22 March 1978	'Report and Recommendations on starting a Music Department at the University of Zululand', written by Yvonne Huskisson.
30 April 1979	'Yvonne Huskisson's Comments on our Syllabuses', written by Khabi Mngoma.
1979	'Annual Report 1979', Department of Education and Culture, KwaZulu Government.
1980	'Annual Report 1980', Department of Education and Culture, KwaZulu Government.
1980	'Report of the Music Sub-Committee to the Rector's Committee with regard to the coming of age festivities of the University of Zululand', written by Khabi Mngoma.
January 1981	'Ford Choirs in Contest: Adjudicators' Review of the 1980 Finals held in the City Hall, Durban - 14 and 15 December 1980', written by Khabi Mngoma.

1981	'Annual Report 1981', Department of Education and Culture, KwaZulu Government.
undated (but probably March 1982)	'Annual Report for the Financial Year ending on 31 March 1982, of the Department of Music, University of Zululand', written by Khabi Mngoma.
24 August 1982	<u>The University of Zululand Second Semester Bulletin.</u>
8 October 1982	'Report on the "Know Your Africa" Lecture Series', written by Khabi Mngoma.
8 October 1982	'Report on the tour of Austria, Munich and Frankfurt by the University of Zululand Choir - 16 July to 6 August 1982', written by Khabi Mngoma.
8 October 1982	'Third Annual Symposium on Ethnomusicology (1982)', written by Khabi Mngoma.
1982	'Annual Report 1982', Department of Education and Culture', KwaZulu Government.
11 March 1983	'Annual Report for the financial year ending 31 March 1983, of the Music Department of the University of Zululand', written by Khabi Mngoma.
1983	'Annual Report 1983', Department of Education and Culture, KwaZulu Government.
5 March 1984	'Report on the concert by Unizulu Choir given in the Empangeni Town Hall on Wednesday 7 March 1984', written by Khabi Mngoma (prior to the concert).
16 March 1984	'Report on the Unizulu Youth Orchestra playing at the Esikhawini College of Education, at the Alusaf Prize giving Function', written by Khabi Mngoma.
16 March 1984	'Addendum to the Annual Report of the Department of Music, Univeristy of Zululand, for the financial year ending 31 March 1984', written by Khabi Mngoma.
15 October 1984	'Report on the African Bank Song-writing Competition', written by Khabi Mngoma.
1989	Field Report, by D D Hansen.
January 1990	'Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts: First Annual Report, January 1989 to December 1989', written by Khabi Mngoma.
undated, but after 1964	'Report to the Johannesburg Bantu Music Festival Executive Committee on the operation of Music Theory classes, orchestra honoraria and bursary schemes of the African Music and Drama Association in 1965 and 1966', probably written by Khabi Mngoma.
undated	'Youth Music', a report submitted to the Orlando YMCA by Khabi Mngoma.

Personal Communication: Interviews, Informal Conversations, and Telephone Conversations

7 May 1985	Personal communication from Khabi Mngoma during interviews and informal conversations.
8 May 1985	
9 May 1985	
15 May 1985	
20 May 1985	
21 May 1985	
22 May 1985	
23 May 1985	
August 1985 (6 August 1985, 7 August 1985, and other dates in August 1985 unrecorded)	Personal communication from Khabi Mngoma during interviews and informal conversations.
September 1985	Personal communication from Khabi Mngoma during interviews and informal conversations.
16 April 1986	Personal communication from Professor Thembela (Vice-Chancellor, University of Zululand) during an interview.
17 April 1986	Personal communication from Professor AP Du Plessis (Head, Department of Sociology, University of Zululand) during an interview.
10 January 1987	Personal communication from Johnny Clegg during an interview.
20 April 1990	Personal communication from Khabi Mngoma during a telephone conversation.
27 October 1990	Personal communication from Khabi Mngoma during a telephone conversation.
6 November 1990	Personal communication from Khabi Mngoma during a telephone conversation.
9 November 1990	Personal communication from Khabi Mngoma during a telephone conversation.
9 November 1990	Personal communication from S Hauptfleisch (Human Sciences Research Council Music Department) during a telephone conversation.
11 November 1990	Personal communication from Khabi Mngoma at the Funda Centre, Soweto.
7 May 1992	Personal communication from Khabi Mngoma during a telephone conversation.
1 June 1992	Personal communication from Khabi Mngoma during a telephone conversation.

2 June 1992

Personal communication from Khabi Mngoma during a telephone conversation

Personal Communication: Letters

20 April 1986

'Some answers to Miss Inge Mocke's questions', personal communication from Khabi Mngoma.

3 November 1986

Personal communication from N S Ngubane.

3 November 1986

Personal communication from G W Coetzee.

3 November 1986

Personal communication from Hilda Seete.

12 November 1986

Personal communication from Albert Twala.

19 November 1986

Personal communication from Albert Twala.

27 November 1986

Personal communication from Leonora Mabaso.

November 1986

Personal communication from Cedric Alexander.

29 December 1986

Personal communication from Bob Rockweiler.

1986

Personal communication from Beller Jellin.

2 December 1986

Personal communication from Edgar Haile Selassie Sibusiso Mtshali.

12 February 1987

Personal communication from Peggy Haddon Richardson.

17 February 1992

Personal communication from Deirdre Hansen.

Curricula, Prospecti, Syllabi

19 November 1966

'The Transvaal United African Teachers' Association Music Syllabus for 1967'.

29 December 1972

'The Transvaal United African Teachers' Association Music Syllabus for 1973'.

January 1982

'Primary Teacher's and Secondary Teacher's Certificate Syllabus for Music and Singing', University of Transkei.

March 1984

Copy of the proposed curriculum in three divisions of the Botswana International School of Music.

March 1984

Copy of the original concept paper for the curriculum of the Botswana International School of Music.

1985

'Opportunities in Music', a prospectus published by the University of Zululand.

- 1986 'Publication for Restructuring B Mus Degree and Introduction of B Mus Hons Degree: as set forth for 1987', University of Zululand.
- 28 July 1988 'Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts', outline of curricula in Music, Drama and Dance.
- January 1989 'Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts: Prospectus'.

Addresses

- 6 December 1966 Untitled address delivered by Khabi Mngoma.
- 9 August 1980 Address delivered by F T Mdlalose on the occasion of the official opening of the Ulundi Art Centre.
- 4 September 1982 Address delivered by Khabi Mngoma on the occasion of the First Music Festival of Colleges of Education, Soweto.
- 4 February 1983 Address delivered by Khabi Mngoma on the occasion of the Annual Banquet to honour the Sportsman of the year, organized by South African Co-operative Citrus Exchange Ltd, Carlton Hotel, Johannesburg.
- 14 August 1983 'When the People sing, the Nation has Hope', an address delivered by M G Buthelezi, Durban.
- 30 September 1984 Address delivered by Khabi Mngoma on the occasion of the opening of the African Arts Festival at Umlazi.
- 24 January 1985 Address delivered by Khabi Mngoma on the occasion of the Inauguration of the Botswana International School of Music, Gaborone.
- 31 March 1985 Address delivered by Khabi Mngoma in honour of Nqabile Ngubane, Pieteraritzburg.

Memoranda

- 30 August 1979 'Launching of National Choir Competition', an inter-office memorandum from Professor A C Nkabinde to Khabi Mngoma, University of Zululand.
- 15 September 1981 'On the Five Year Plan', a memorandum from S Yousofi (Faculty of Education, Music Education Department, University of Transkei) to the Head of the Social and Language Education Department (University of Transkei).
- May 1982 'Memorandum on the Motivation for the Introduction of a Diploma in Music Education', from S Yousofi (Faculty of Education, University of Transkei) to the Dean, Faculty of Education (University of Transkei).

- 14 June 1983 A memorandum concerning the Department of Music, written by E W Redelinghuys (Academic Registrar, University of Zululand).
- 25 July 1983 Inter-office memorandum from Khabi Mngoma to Professor A C Nkabinde (Rector and Vice-Chancellor, University of Zululand), and to Professor H J van Eetveldt (Dean, Faculty of Arts, University of Zululand), E W Redelinghuys (Academic Registrar, University of Zululand) and F K S Van Rensburg (Bureau for Public Relations and Development).
- undated Memorandum 'On the History, Working and Functions of Union Artists', author unknown.
- undated Memorandum of the African Music and Drama Association, entitled 'Outlining Principles, Hopes and Intentions of AMDA', author unknown.

Minutes of Meetings

- 6 April 1971 Minutes of the Second meeting of the Xhosa Music Committee of the Transkei Council of Churches, Indwe.
- 30 May 1973 Minutes of the Union Artists Merrill Foundation Grant Sub-Committee Meeting.
- July 1980 Minutes of a meeting held by the Executive Committee of Senate, University of Zululand, in the Conference Room 407, Administration Building, University of Zululand.
- 4 November 1980 Minutes of a meeting 'On the Future Structuring of the Unizulu Music Department' held by the Executive Committee of Senate, University of Zululand, in the Conference Room 407, Administration Building, University of Zululand.
- 28 November 1980 Minutes of a meeting 'On the Future Structuring of the Unizulu Music Department' held in the Council Chamber, 4th floor, Administration Building, University of Zululand.
- 24 November 1982 Minutes of a meeting held by Co-ordinated Marketing.
- 4 July 1987 Minutes of the Inaugural Meeting of the South African Music Educators' Society, held at the South African College of Music, University of Cape Town.

Constitutions

- Constitution of the Ionian Music Society as amended in 1965.
- Constitution of the Ionian Music Society as amended in 1984.
- Copy of a proposed constitution for the Botswana International Society of Music, dated March 1984.

Constitution of The National Association for Cultural Advancement of Vendlan, undated.

Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts: Articles of Constitution, undated; but probably dating from 1989.

Theses and Dissertations

Msomi, J E B (1975)	'Ethnomusicology and the different types of Zulu Music', unpublished dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the Master of Science Degree, University of Syracuse, New York.
Mthethwa, Bongani N (1979)	'Zulu Folk Songs: History, Nature and Classroom Potential', a paper submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree B Mus, University of Natal, Durban.
Hansen, D D (1981)	'The Music of the Xhosa-Speaking People', unpublished PhD thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand.
Walters, Joan (1990)	'An annotated Anthology of Zulu and Xhosa Choral Music' (in two volumes), unpublished M Mus dissertation submitted to the University of the Witwatersrand.

Brochures

Pina Culo, a brochure published by Algijews Promotions, Gwebu, Alf M, ed and Chairman (Orlando), Johannesburg : Golden Era Printers & Stationers (Pty)Ltd, July 1972.

Unizulu - November 1985, official publication of the University of Zululand, issued by the Bureau of Development and Public Relations of the University of Zululand.

Opportunities in Music (1986) at the University of Zululand, a brochure written by Professor L J New, issued by the Bureau of Development and Public Relations of the University of Zululand.

This is the University of Zululand, a brochure issued by the Registrar of the University of Zululand, undated.

Sheet Music

Amaculo Ase-Lovedale ('Lovedale Music'), a collection of sacred and secular songs, compiled by John Knox Bokwe, Lovedale : Lovedale Press 1884.

Nkosi Sikelel 'iAfrika, by Enoch Sontonga, Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflets, No 17, Lovedale : Lovedale Press (undated).

Suzuki Violin School, Vol I, revised edition, Boosey & Hawkes 1970.

Questionnaire

Questionnaire returned by Sibusiso Sithole, music student, University of Zululand, December 1986.

Miscellaneous

20 September 1964	Stock list of the Johannesburg City Council Non-European Affairs Department (Cultural Section).
1965	Fort Hare University Calendar.
25 October 1966	A testimonial for Khabi Mngoma, written by E Tshabalala (General Secretary, Orlando YMCA, Orlando East, Soweto).
April 1967	Ionian Music Society monthly attendance record.
1970	'African Music and Drama Association. Time table of weekly Activities - Dorkay House.'
1974	'University of South Africa Practical Music and Theory Examinations for 1974', results issued by authority of Khabi Mngoma, Principal: African Music and Drama Association.
1975	Schedule for Khabi Mngoma's sojourn in the United States of America.
16 August 1978	A testimonial for Khabi Mngoma, written by O D Dhlomo (KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture).
1980	'Ford Choirs in Contest 1980: Background Statement by Khabi Mngoma, Rules and Entry Form', Braamfontein : Future Marketing.
3 September 1980	'Guide to Transcription and Documentation of Indigenous Music', study notes written by Khabi Mngoma - circulated in the Music Department, University of Zululand.
7 May 1982	'Proposal for a new Designation of School of Music for the Department of Music as part of a Faculty of Performing and Visual Arts', written by Khabi Mngoma.
25 May 1982	'Invitation for Applicants for the post of Lecturer or Junior Lecturer in Music', Faculty of Education, University of Transkei.
July 1982	'Marking Sheet', used for the adjudication of the 21st National Eisteddfod of the African Teachers' Association of South Africa held on 21 and 22 July 1982, Centenary Hall, Port Elizabeth.
5 January 1983	A curriculum vitae of Khabi Mngoma.
1984	<u>Unizulu 1984</u> , year book of the University of Zululand, Wilkinson, Ronald, ed, issued by the Bureau of Development and Public Relations of the University of Zululand.
1985	'Ford Choirs Rules and Regulations 1985: Preamble', Johannesburg : Co-ordinated Marketing.
9 July 1989	'Award of the Order of the Red Triangle, Silver Degree, Professor Khabi Mngoma, Citation', South African National Council of the YMCA.

August 1991	Information from David Rycroft to Deirdre Hansen.
undated	'Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts: Member's Enrolment and Record Card'.
undated	'The Khongisa Youth Centre for Performing Arts: Annual Membership Card'.
undated	'Information of the Ionian Music Society', an unpublished sheet of information found by the writer in Khabi Mngoma's office at the University of Zululand in 1985. Author unknown.
undated	'Music Instrument Borrower's Voucher for the Jubilee Social Centre'.
undated	'Dorkay House in Print', an unpublished presentation volume of Dorkay House programmes, posters, press cuttings, etc, in the possession of Robert Loder.
undated	Research outline entitled 'Autochthonous Music Retrieval Series: Objectives, Procedure and Duration', written by Khabi Mngoma.
undated	'The Transcription of Music - a suggested procedure', study notes written by Khabi Mngoma and circulated in the Music Department, University of Zululand.
undated	Adjudication Schedule used for the adjudication of Ford Choirs Eisteddfodau.
undated	Transcriptions and arrangements for string orchestra, of traditional African songs from southern African, and of African eclectic choral compositions from southern Africa: manuscripts prepared by Khabi Mngoma, unpublished, uncollated.

Discography

King Kong, Gallo MMTL 1291 (disc) and MMTC 1291 (cassette).

Laleni Bantwana, Gallo-New Sound GB2999.

Mbube, Singer-Gallo GE829.

Skokiaan, Gallo GB11 52.T

Tikoloshi, Gallotone GB2041.

Tula Ndivile, Gallotone GB2034.

University of Zululand Choir, LT 1843, published by the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

University of Zululand Choir on tour in Europe, copyright by Kaertner Handelskammer-Sextett.

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