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Popular Music and Identity in Southern Rhodesia, 1930-1960

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Popular Music and Identity in Southern Rhodesia, 1930-1960

by

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DEDICATION

For my family.

This would not have been possible without your unwavering love, support, and encouragement. These words flowed from the strength you gave me.

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A research project of this magnitude would not be possible without the advice and support of countless individuals. I was very fortunate to have some tremendous people in my corner. After all, it takes a village…

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ABSTRACT

Popular Music and Identity in Southern Rhodesia, 1930-1960

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This dissertation uses music as a roadmap for social identity formation among African urbanites in Southern Rhodesia between 1930 and 1960. By 1930, Southern Rhodesia was in the midst of a massive urbanization process that drew individuals from throughout modern day Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, South Africa, and Mozambique to the region looking for employment in the new wage-based colonial economy. From this cultural milieu, new identities emerged that were reflective of the economic, political, religious, and educational changes wrought by the colonial order.

I argue that by examining the music people produced and consumed, we can better understand how various groups in urban society viewed themselves and their place within the colonial system. The chapters that follow are designed to chronicle the rise of the African popular music scene and examine how it echoed the trials and tribulations of a rapidly changing society.

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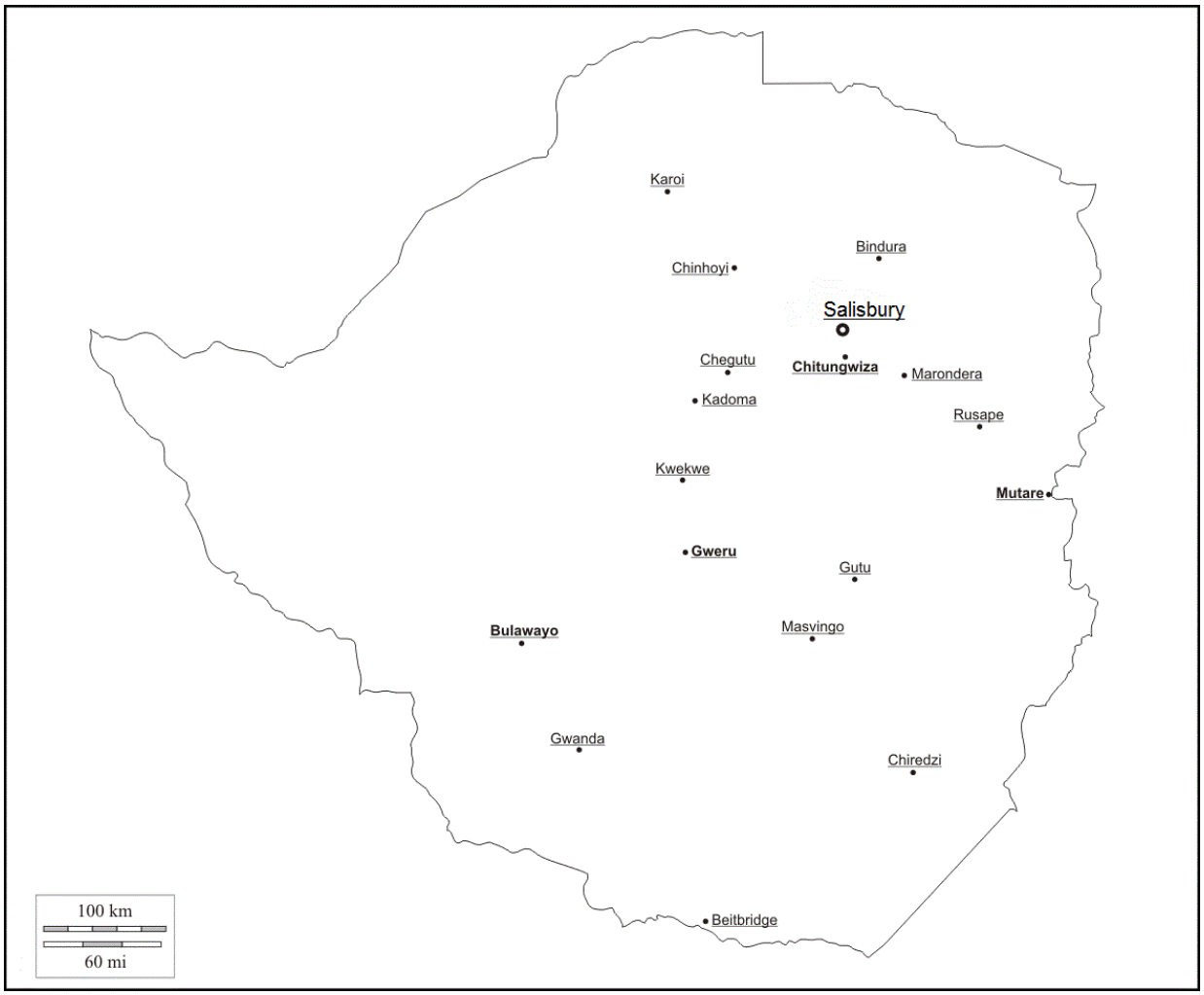

MAP 1: MAP OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA WITH MAJOR CITIES

INTRODUCTION

Music is more than a sound. Music is a voice - an inherently contradictory voice. A consistent variable, music changes aesthetically with new locations, time periods, artists, and genres, yet consistently emerges in comparable social contexts around the world. Music is calculable but incomputable. It has meter, tone, and tempo, but is also emotive. Music is a mechanism to understand how we change - as a culture, as a society, and as individuals. It speaks to us from the past, comments on the present and demands for a future by the very temporality of its nature. Most importantly, music arises where conflict exists, whether it is within oneself or against an outside force. Music walks hand in hand with dissension and protest while providing the soundtrack for social evolution when subjugated individuals and groups choose to express their voice in song. This truism spans the globe and the centuries. Music is an expression of self and of community. It is

a personification of us, of them, and humanity's defiance of the status quo.

Southern Rhodesia between 1930 in 1960 was in the depths of conflict. By the middle of the twentieth century, it was a place defined by racial inequality. It was a frontier where a small number of whites governed an ethnically diverse African population through growing degrees of economic, educational, and political inequality. Between the First and Second World Wars, Southern Rhodesia, much like South Africa, transformed – undergoing rapid industrialization and urbanization. Consequently, Africans from across the region were infused into a new economy and society derived from the expropriation of material wealth and mass agricultural production.

By 1930, increasingly restrictive legislation aimed at racial segregation and a white power monopoly banned Africans from residing within cities. Consequently, they formed new urban environments just outside city limits. These "locations" or "townships"

were melting pots of various ethnicities, professions, and religious practices. They were also musical laboratories where artists fused "traditional" African music with Western forms. What resulted was a musical cornucopia composed of elements of Minstrelsy, Ragtime, Jazz, Blues, Calypso, and Country-Western genres molded to fit African aesthetics and social needs.

Therefore, music is the perfect mechanism for understanding such a time and place. This period, a "Golden Age" of Southern Rhodesian popular music, was a time when once divided individuals came together under new monikers. They created new sounds and identities representative of an ideological change born and bred by colonialism. The results were conscious and unconscious amalgamations of cultural and social ethics, resulting in hauntingly beautiful musical creations reflective of their tragically unjust circumstances. These sonic soliloquies are maps by which we will chart urban African self-definition and unweave the tapestry of their lives.

This is also a story of the cross-cultural connections between African and African-American brethren using music as a means to communicate self-definition across the Atlantic. As we shall see, what began as demeaning racial stereotypes used to entertain white audiences became a means for Africans to weigh their own racial development and begin taking steps to affect their own advancement. However, while the spirit of racial empowerment stretched across the Atlantic to South Africa, and then north of the Limpopo River into Southern Rhodesia, it was not a uniform occurrence. By 1930, Southern Rhodesia had become a class-based society. As a result of missionary endeavors – the proverbial pebble in the pond - groups of Africans began using education as a means of social mobility. Therefore, African urban communities were often stratified economically, ethically, morally, and of course culturally.

Until now, examinations of urban African communities' relationship to music have largely been

conducted along either ethnomusicological or historical lines. While each have their own merits and faults, a utilization of both offers the most comprehensive and well-rounded analysis possible. Properly utilized, a multidisciplinary approach helps us understand both the evolution of African popular music in Southern Rhodesia and also who listened to particular music, why they listened to it, and how music weaves a tapestry of the racial, ethical, gendered, moral, class, and economic conflicts that existed in this microcosm African culture.

How We Understand African Music

Music gives us a new way to talk about cultural authenticity and the intersection of racial, class and gendered hierarchies. This notion of "authenticity," the bane of a cultural historian's existence, is a highly problematic construct when applied to peoples and places once tied to the yoke of colonial rule.

This is because colonialism, regardless of form or pretext, is a virus. It is an infectious organism whose single-minded goals of self-preservation and replication supersede any higher-minded purpose. Much like a virus, colonialism first attaches to a host, penetrating and subduing pre-existing political and social institutions. Once rendering its target defenseless, it synthesizes and replicates its own society and culture before finally destroying its host and spreading to infect others.

According to historian Christopher Small,

> "[T]he imposition of Western values on present day Africa has produced some extremely vigorous hybrid growths… As is almost invariably the case when two cultures collide, the most vigorous growths are to be found among the unregarded music of the people rather than among the more consciously sophisticated music of their social betters."[1]

Consequently, contemporary African culture - musical or otherwise - is a mutation caught between two worlds; one culled from centuries of indigenous cultural

[1] Christopher Small, 39.

synthesis (itself a viral variation), the other imposed by Western imperialism. The result is an amalgamation of cultures - part African, part Western - fueling deeply personal debates over the authenticity of modern "Africaness."

African music, more than any other art form, is a source of intense debate among its creators, audiences, and critics. This is because music is a medium of mass appeal designed for mass consumption. Regardless of status, it is available to anyone who has the ability to play an instrument, turn on a radio, or just listen. It also has a subtext - a way of listening and understanding designed for audiences “in the know.” In the case of urban Southern Rhodesia, musical production drew from peoples and places that were often opposed to one another for racial, religious, economic, political, and historical reasons. However, the creation of a unifying African identity temporarily quelled these tensions and spawned sounds and ideas that reverberated across generations through technology, memory and the

human voice.

When examining urban African music, or any component of indigenous culture for that matter, it is important to avoid generalizations and reductionism. However, the analysis of music – regardless of academic discipline – is plagued by the fact such analyses are often expressed through an alien cultural prism. Much like the imprecision of scientific writing in explaining the mathematical complexities of space-time; Western musicology, anthropology, and history are limited in their ability to articulate and evaluate the artistic creations of foreign cultures. The African musical lexicon is relative and derived from creative and technical idiosyncrasies that are often different from those who study them. Therefore, jargonistas have a field day with issues of "authenticity," "agency," "representation," and "local knowledge."

African music and musicians have long fought for legitimacy due to attempts by Western scholars to mold African musical aesthetics into a form palatable for

Western consumption. In early ethnomusicological studies of Africa, binary categorizations of African and Western musical creations dominated academic and popular discussions. On one side, African "traditional" music is perceived to be rhythmic and born of the drums, chants and "barbaric backwardness" associated with Africa. It was also deemed repetitive and lacking sophistication. Conversely, the harmonic creations of the West exemplified the complexity and beauty of civilized aesthetics. In the opinion of A.M. Jones, author of the seminal *Studies in African Music*,

> "Rhythm is to the African what harmony is to the European, and it is in the complex interweaving of contrasting rhythmic patterns that he finds his greatest aesthetic satisfaction. To accomplish this he has built up a rhythmic of principle that is quite different from that of Western music and yet is present in his simplest songs… Whatever be the devices used to produce them, in African music there is practically always a clash of rhythms; this is a cardinal principle."[2]

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[2] A.M. Jones, "African Rhythm," *Africa* Vol. XXIV no. 1 (January 1954): 26-27.

However, any logical examination of African music shows the opposite to be true. In Southern Rhodesia alone, musicians ranging from the Bantu Actors and Da Black Evening Follies to the Bulawayo Cold Storage Band, George Sibanda and Dorothy Masuka epitomized harmonic styles that appealed to black and white audiences alike. In fact, if anything is fundamental to African music, it is vocal harmonies. Furthermore, African musical instruments are not limited to drums. Shona instruments alone included: trumpets and horns (*hwamanda*), flutes, and pipes (*nyere*), hand rattles (*hosho*), leg rattles (*magagada*), wooden clappers (*makwa*), thumb pianos or malelophones (*mbira*), and of course the drums (*ngoma*).[3] While outdated conceptions of African musicality have slowly faded, they continue to hinge, in both popular music discourses and among the most enlightened of scholars, largely on the idea of "difference."

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[3] Ezra Chitando, *Singing Culture: A Study of Gospel Music in Zimbabwe* (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2002): 23.

Furthermore, simply labeling certain kinds of music as "preferences" of urban populations ignores the question of *why* they prefer a specific music. At the most basic level, people listen to specific music - and advertise their preferences - because it is a statement of who they *are* and who they *want to be.* If we exclude the myriad of variants commonly used to over-complicate musical preference, we find that musical tastes among Africans in Southern Rhodesia between 1930 and 1960 were largely compartmentalized and ordained by class - class tied to one's profession, geographic location, religious affiliation, and educational pedigree.

While class is an imperfect construct for musical analysis because of the supposed "non-isomorphic relationship between song structure and class structure,"[4] and the fact that class is rarely a homogeneous construct, it is still one of the strongest indicators of aesthetic preference because of the

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[4] Veit Erlmann, *African Stars: Studies in Black South African Performance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991: 4

tangible qualifications inherent in class distinction. By this I mean that class not only includes *cultural* capital (i.e. one's taste and conduct in society), but also *material* capital (dress and personal belongings) and *ideological* capital (religion and politics). When we incorporate aesthetical concerns into a class-based social structure, it acts much like a radioactive dye – highlighting how cultural, material, and ideological capital interacted to construct identity.

Aesthetics, then, becomes an indicator – a roadmap, if you will - of class ethics, morals and methods of socialization. The music performed and consumed in urban spaces reflected the inherent conflict between African and European lifeways that ultimately led some Africans to synthesize new musical genres and social constructs around indigenous and Western idioms. In his book, *Music and Identity*, psychologist Even Ruud argues that

"[T]he debate on the global [i.e. imperialism] and local [i.e. the indigenous] effects every presentation of music and belonging, music and identity… it is in

this point of tension between our national and local belongings…that our identification with music find place."[5]

Variations in Disciplinary Examinations of African Music

Scholarly and popular conversations about African music have significantly changed over the past fifty years. Specifically, the lexicon and mentality of cross-cultural musical knowledge has been fundamentally altered - for better *and* for worse. Popular discourses about African music - largely a product of the highly problematic "world music" craze - have expanded public knowledge of African music, but have done little to illuminate its complexity and variety. To quote Kofi Agawu, "the spirit of African music…is not always manifest in the scholarship about it."[6] Therefore, popular *and* academic audiences often still equate

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[5] Evan Rudd, *Music and Identity* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1997): 159.

[6] Kofi Agawu, *Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, Positions* (New York: Routledge, 2003): xii.

African music to one half of the aforementioned outdated musical binary - the *rhythmic*.

Academically, African musical studies have been divided, much like the continent itself, among various disciplines. Musicology, ethnomusicology, history, anthropology, African and African-American studies, gender studies, and a bevy of newly formed disciplines linked to the postmodern Prometheus have all offered their own opinions of how to give life to African music in the Academy. I admire the variety of disciplinary interpretations, and recognize that despite their respective strengths and weaknesses, their ultimate goal is to offer the fullest analysis of African music possible. However, my study does not ally itself with any one discipline, but rather falls between the ethnomusicological and the historical. This is not to suggest that these are oppositional disciplines, but rather that they offer contrasting points of emphasis.

On one side, ethnomusicology stresses the importance of the social and cultural in musical

production and consumption. On the other, history offers context for ethnomusicological observations. It supplies a narrative in which we see causes, effects, and the inter-connected nature of culture, society, politics, religion, and economics. Neither is entirely suited to completely examine the influence of music on African hearts and minds. However, together they provide a richness and complexity of analysis.

Ethnomusicology is a strange creature - ironic, almost. Because of its origin in the Western Academy, it often derives its analysis of indigenous music from Western interpretations of music. According to Bruno Nettle, "ethnomusicology as Western culture knows it is actually a Western phenomenon."[7] This poses a fundamental problem for any Westerner examining foreign social and cultural intricacies. How do we, as "cultural outsiders," guard against errors of

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[7] Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology* (Urbana, Chicago, and London: University of Illinois Press, 1983): 25.

interpretation? How do we combat the binaries that misrepresent the societies and cultures of Africa?

As the quality and sophistication of African music gained credence in Western academic circles and among popular artists like Paul Simon and Sting, there was an attempt to define Western knowledge of African music from that of "cultural insiders." The intent was to offer new analytical paradigms and to expand to musical lexicon to include African musical epistemologies. However, this method of epistemological separation is problematic as ethnomusicological examinations of African music are still indirectly rooted in the Western fold. Going back to observations of Kofi Agawu

> "The truth is that, beyond local inflections deriving from culture found linguistic, historical, and materially inflected expressive preferences, there is ultimately no difference between European knowledge and African knowledge. All talk of an insider's point of view, I need to point if you, a distinct African mode of hearing, or of knowledge organization is a lie, and a wicked one at that… The history of European thinking

since the 18th century is replete with such presumption, itself nourished by racist and racialist sentiments."[8]

Agawu's primary grievance is that ethnomusicology, despite its proclaimed intention to study and understand indigenous societies through their music, did nothing more than reconstitute the binary tropes of "self and other," "have and have not," "white and black," and "primitive and complex." [9]

The remedy to this problem requires a rejection of binaries and overarching theoretical models attempting to connect musical and social issues. Instead, correlations and circumstance, rather than absolute connections, should be the foundation of ethnographic, ethnomusicological, and historical examinations of African culture. When talking about African culture, and consequently African society, African politics, and African economics, is important to avoid obscure and outdated inventions that have previously defined

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[8] Agawu, 180 – 181.

[9] Ibid., 153.

African development, created separation, and caused "otherness." Too often, academics fall into reductionist traps of yesteryear and apply terminology like "traditional," "modern," and "authentic" (the holy trinity of cultural jargon) when talking about Africa.

After all, notions like tradition are merely inventions. They are nostalgic notions created to capitalize on "what was." The beneficiaries of these efforts changed depending on circumstance. At certain points in the colonial enterprise, tradition was used by the Southern Rhodesian state as a means of retarding African "advancement" by disallowing contact with the "modern" through encouragement of traditional lifeways. It was essentially exclusion veiled as an encouragement of tradition. Furthermore, a scholarly emphasis on tradition, often synonymous with cultural purity or the "authentic," was intrinsic to Western examinations of indigenous African culture because it afforded a neat and tidy musical continuity. Hugh Tracy's noble endeavors to catalogue African music in the mid-

twentieth century are rife with this sentiment. To early scholars, Westernized African musicians created "nothing of lasting value."[10] As we will see, nothing could be farther from the truth.

And it is not only Western scholars who have fallen into this trap. Africans themselves use tradition for reasons of self-actualization. In fact, it could be argued that cultural tradition was an African invention. In postcolonial terms, tradition was a means for Africans to reclaim a unifying racial pride eroded by decades of European education. It was a means to invoke a sense of cultural continuity undisrupted by colonialism. According to Karin Barber, "for the nationalist African elites, celebrating the traditional was an affirmation of self-worth, an assertion that African civilizations had long had their

[10] Percival Kirby, "The Effect of Western Civilization on Bantu Music." in *Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa*, ed. Issac Schapera (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967): 140.

own artistic glories to compare with those of the colonizers."[11]

Cultural nationalism is replete with renunciations of European paternalism and attempts to construct cultural agency. James Horton, the first black commissioned officer in the British Army, was one of the first proponents of this idea. In his opinion,

> "Africans must liberate themselves [from] the notion of inferiority; they must seek political independence [and a] self-government that would enable them to govern themselves along a more orderly and progressive manner; and they must all unite."[12]

Culture would be central to this goal. Subsequent movements like Pan-Africanism and Black Consciousness would expand on the idea of cultural pride in the fight for racial equality and intrinsic racial value.

However, paternalism, like so many of our darker angels, is often inevident to its practitioners. In

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[11] Karin Barber, "Notes on the Field," in *Readings in African Popular Culture*, ed. Karin Barber (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997): 1.

[12] Toyin Falola, Nationalism and African Intellectuals (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2001): 34.

attempts to find the foundational elements of African culture, ethnomusicologists and historians invented authenticity. This construct proved fundamental to Western understandings of African culture - specifically music. It also created bias within the Academy towards the "impure," the "unauthentic," or the "popular" musical creations of twentieth century Africa. And once authenticity became marketable to a popular audience, it was forever ingrained in our consciousness.

Theoretical Problems of African Music

A central question in African music studies is how to define the "Africaness" of music. The question alone is problematic due to the sheer size and immense variety of the African continent. Consequently, this aesthetical debate transcends musicology and ethnomusicology to incorporate geographic, economic, and historical perspectives. First, an expansive African diaspora, coupled with globalization, has

incorporated American, European, and Asian musical influences over the decades. The hybridity of African music problematizes any quest for aesthetic and performative authenticity. Therefore, African music has infinite possibilities. These possibilities represent the diverse purposes music serves in African society compounded by linguistic, ethnic, geographical, stylistic, and performative variety. Furthermore, postcolonial circumstances have meant that African cultures, and the respective histories of those cultures, have been shaped and reshaped in accordance to the needs of those who control them.

Aesthetically, African music has long been categorized by terms such as "rhythmic," "communal" and "emotive" when compared to the "harmonic" and "contemplative" music of the West. While this is an easy binary in which to convey differences in stylistic idiom, the characterization of African music as purely rhythmic is a matter of much contention. While John Miller Chernoff, A.M. Jones, Richard Waterman, Francis

Bebey, and Henry Weman commonly describe African music as rhythmic, Kofi Agawu and Linda Williams stress the harmonics of pre-colonial African music, bemoaning that:

"[T]he notion that the distinctive quality of African music lies in its rhythmic structure, and consequently that the terms African music and African rhythm are often interchangeable, has been so persistently thematized in writings about African music that it has by now assumed the status of a commonplace, a topos. And so it is with the related ideas that African rhythms are complex, that Africans are essentially rhythmic people, and that Africans are different from "us"-from Euro- Americans."[13]

Adding to this problematic understanding of African music is the irony that in several African languages, no word exists for "rhythm." If anything, African music is best described as microtonal. Williams demonstrates this point in her description of late nineteenth century Shona music. Overlapping rhythms, coupled with split-second timing, creates

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[13] Kofi Agawu, "The 'Invention' of African Rhythm," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48, no.3 (Autumn 1995): 380.

three and four-part melodic patterns.[14] This is accomplished through a combination of vocals, rattles, drums, and stringed and keyed instruments. These instrumental interactions result in non-hierarchical polyphonic and polyrhythmic textures in pre-colonial indigenous music.[15]

Performatively, the emphasis on emotive and the body was the result of a perceived primitivism in both the African mind and music. Simon Frith argues that Romanticism[16], and its aversion to the Enlightenment's ideas of nature and culture, played a role in

> "[D]efining black culture, specifically African culture, as the body, the 'other' of the bourgeois mind…[T]he primitive or pre-civilized can thus be held up against the sophisticated or over-civilized…[T]he argument is that because "the African" is more primitive, more "natural" than the European, then African music must be more directly in touch with the

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[14] Linda F. Williams, "Straight-Fashioned Melodies: The Transatlantic Interplay of American Music in Zimbabwe," *American Music* 15, no. 3 (Autumn 1997): 289.

[15] Ibid., 288.

[16] Romanticism's understanding of nature and culture was derived from its opposition to the Enlightenment. The result was an oversimplification of race and the creation of overarching stereotypes.

body, with unsymbolized and mediated sensual states and expectations."[17]

Primitivism is central to both scholarly discourses about African music and how Europeans related to Africans in the colonial context. Conversely, primitivism is central to how Africans related to both themselves and whites - especially among the elite African classes. Therefore, primitivism is a loaded gun aimed squarely at the heart of racial complexity. The term alludes to not only the aesthetic and performative qualities of the music, but also racialized conceptions talent and musical ethos. It reduces Africans by making no differentiation between the contemplation and performance of music. Allusions to the raw physicality of rhythm spoke to the claim of authenticity because African musical performance was seen as intuitive, devoid of intellectual content.[18] This devaluation of African music - and culture in

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[17] Simon Frith, *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996): 127.
[18] Ibid., 128.

general - resulted in the creation of hierarchical classifications – partly by Africans themselves, and in part by the Western Academy. What emerged is commonly referred to as "the tripartite grid."

The tripartite grid is essentially a construction of African musical hierarchy through Western binary categorization. On one end the "traditional" music of pre-colonial Africa exists in direct contradiction to the "art/elite" music of the urban petit bourgeoisie. Situated between these is the vast labyrinth of "popular" music. In fact, the tripartite grid is not even a grid. It is a fluid spectrum devoid of African epistemologies.

The complexity of African social dynamics during colonialism and the fluid application of terms like "traditional" and "popular" cause high degrees of stratification in African music. For example, the Western high culture-low culture binary is not always translatable to pre-colonial and colonial African contexts. Barber observes that, "the high, if it

exists at all, is not the prerogative of an ancient ruling class but of a fragmented, precarious, conflictual new elite, defined by its proximity to an outside power, but nonetheless bound up with local populations by innumerable ties to kinship, language, community membership and patronage."[19] Therefore, if anything, this divide is rooted squarely within the post-colonial. David Coplan illustrates this point in his examination of how South African elites attempted to walk the razors edge between the "traditional" and the "modern" by creating a "bantu national music" that avoided imitations of European "elite" music without being artificially traditional. In their case, aesthetics and performance culture were directly tied to the formation of a self-identity and refusal to submit to paternalistic Western conceptions of "African-ness."[20] This "neo-traditional" movement, a subcategory of the tripartite grid, was a means to

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19 Barber, *Readings in African Popular Culture*: 3.

20 David Coplan, *In Township Tonight: South Africa's Black City Music and Theater* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008): 136-137.

judge African music and performance on African terms. As we shall see, these neo-traditional movements sometimes gained popularity that transcended ethnic boundaries, thus becoming a hybridized "traditional-popular" form.

Traditional-popular music represents the good and the bad in the tripartite grid. On one hand, it allows Western "outsiders" to understand complex social dynamics through music without being fluent in social idiosyncrasies. On the other, it broadens the possibilities of the popular, causing our understanding of popular music's origins, intent, and meaning to be obscured by musicological prejudices. Consequently, popular music is an obscure reference to music created in and for widely different circumstances.

The realm of popular music and culture can be seen as "[A] juncture between the social and the musical, the (non-) issues of race and identity, the economics of transmission, globalization, hybridity, syncretism, the internal dynamics of performance, the significance

of song words or poetry, and a host of other concerns."[21] One of the most problematic aspects of defining African popular music is connecting music to specific audiences. Barber notes that "the popular" is a category of music subject to movement up or down the high-low cultural scale based upon its particular constituency. As new African urban identities emerged, discussions of popular music, and popular culture as a whole, grew within academic circles. Two primary problems came out of these discussions. First was a disagreement of what constituted "the popular" and second was a devaluation by ethnomusicologists, historians, and even Africans of the importance of popular music.

Richard Middleton observes that Western understanding of "the popular" has significantly changed over the past two centuries. What originally began as a quantitative evaluation of music (i.e. "well liked" music) in the eighteenth century transformed

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[21] Agawu, *Representing African* Music: 124-125.

into a romanticized version that was often synonymous with “peasant,” “national,” and “traditional” songs. He concludes that by the twentieth century many of these definitions were combined in usage and understanding.[22]

Drawing on a list of definitions for popular music developed by Frans Birrer, Middleton defines four classifications of popular music. These are:

1) *Normative definitions* that classify popular music as an inferior form of music.

2) *Negative definitions* that classify popular music as a form of music separate from art or folk music.

3) *Sociological definitions* that classify popular music produced by a specific group.

4) *Technologico-economic* definitions where popular music is understood in the way it is distributed by the media or market.[23]

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[22] Richard Middleton, *Studying Popular Music* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1990): 3-4.

[23] Frans Birrer, "Definitions and research orientation: do we need a definition of popular music?” in *Popular Music Perspectives 2*, ed. D. Horn (Gothenburge, Exeter, Ottawa, and Reggio Emilia, 1985): 104.

Middleton believes each of these classifications is significantly interest-bound. Furthermore, each fails to account for variations in musical criteria, boundaries, hybridity, and diffusion. To counteract this, he syntheses the four categories into two. The first is a *positivist* approach that focuses on the "most popular" aspects popular music. The second is a *sociological essentialism* that is based upon historical agency and the activeness or passiveness of musicians and audiences in the creation of popular music.[24]

The problem with applying a positivist approach to Africa is that it is a quantitative form of analysis based largely on mass-market consumerism, which did not exist until the second half of the twentieth century. Record sales figures did exist, but only in very specific markets. In Africa, the creation of popular music was founded more on informal street music and social occasions rather than media generated sales. Social essentialism, and its qualitative base for

[24] Middleton, 5.

understanding popular cultural production, is more appropriate for understanding the development of African popular music. Because the essentialist method allows for either a top-down or a bottom-up perspective, equal weight can be given to the standardizing effect of mass consumerism without ignoring cultural and class differentiation for those "who are not the State, the dominant classes, the aristocracy, or the bourgeoisie."[25] However, sociological essentialism is problematic because of the large degree of variation between race and class depending on time and location. Additionally, the ever present "us versus them" mentality in Africa makes it difficult to identify homogeneity across geographical, ethnic and racial lines.

Ultimately, there is no singular definition of what constitutes "the popular" in popular music. Pierre Bourdieu recognized the vagueness of the concept because of its connections with political and cultural

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[25] Barber, *Readings in African Popular Culture*: 3.

upheaval.[26] Furthermore, the unique historical precedents of African history and the legacies of colonialism mandate methodologies and theoretical models that account for the high degree of variation in class hierarchies and racial segregation. The fact that popular music was long devalued by scholars only adds to the confusion.

Bruno Nettle observes that ethnomusicology largely treated popular music "as an exception, neglected by most scholars because – in [his] opinion – its cultural and ethnic identity was always difficult to determine, and was always difficult to determine, and was thought to lack authenticity. It was neglected also because of its supposed aesthetic inferiority and its essentially commercial quality."[27] Agawu equates this dismissal to the fact that ethnographers largely focused on older forms of music that represented a "purer" form of

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[26] Pierre Bourdieu, "Vous avez dit populaire?" *Actes de la recherché wn sciences sociales*, no. 46 (1983): 98-105.

[27] Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-one Issues and Concepts*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005): 187.

indigenous music.[28] However, by the early 1980s popular music was gaining acceptance in ethnomusicological circles as historians and cultural theorists began examining the intersection of popular music and politics and using music to analyze modern society. To quote Christopher Waterman:

> I believe that it is often the case that the musical practices and musicians that we study are more sophisticated than the theories we applied to them, and, further, African popular music and its self be engaged as embodied theory, is illuminating thought and action, rather than mere empirical grist for the metropolitan mills of academia.[29]

Where Does This Study Fit In?

The unavoidable consequence of writing this story in this manner is the inevitable criticism it will receive from disciplinary dogmatics. For ethnomusicologists, it may seem incomplete because my

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[28] Agawu, *Representing African Music*: 117.

[29] Christopher Waterman, "Big Man, Black President, Masked One: Models of the Celebrity Self in Yoruba Popular Music in Nigeria," in *Playing With Identities in Contemporary Music in Africa*, ed. Mai Palmberg and Annemette Kirkegaard (Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2002): 33.

emphasis on story, character, and narrative will reduce ethnographic and musicological analysis to a minimum. For historians - my own intellectual coterie - music poses a conundrum. For music can be quite ethereal when taken by itself. Only through quantifiable lenses of analysis (i.e. economic, political, and social structures) is its value recognized. Therefore, this dissertation must walk a disciplinary middle ground. It must allow for art for art's sake while connecting music to larger historical constructs.

If it is necessary to define this work, then perhaps it is best to say what this work is not. It is not a work of historical musicology. Factual questions of chronology and authorship are of little importance to the larger social history being told here. Nor is this a work of *pure* ethnomusicology. While issues of social context, function, and meaning are significant - even central - to this story, music is merely a map for social construction and not the ultimate expression of its intricacies. Finally, musical theory only serves

this study insofar as to elucidate Western mentalities towards African musical forms, and consequently, towards Africans themselves.

What follows is a story, a chronicle of a cultural journey. It argues that music is a nexus, a corollary function of class, geography, and cultural exposure. This time and place, Southern Rhodesia between 1930 and 1960, was special. The first generation of Western educated Africans were beginning to take their place in newly created social hierarchies that were most obvious in urban centers. It was also a time of white backlash, legislative restrictions, and growing international awareness and condemnation of racialized in equity. If you listen closely you will hear the strings of the social tapestry being plucked and see their reverberations across time. However, before we tell this story - or at least this version of it space-space must understand what others have said about this topic, and why it is important to revise how we understand African music in this context in a larger stage.

Chapter One will examine the foundations of the colonial enterprise. Beginning with the migrations of groups from present day South Africa north of the Limpopo River due to inter-ethnic conflict known as the *Mfecane*, it analyzes the ethnic composition of the region that would become known as Southern Rhodesia. It then chronicles the beginnings of the colonial endeavor through missionary encounters and the relationship between missionary organizations and Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company. Finally, it begins our discussion of the mission school system and the means by which Western influence began imposing themselves on African lifeways.

Chapter Two shifts our attention to the fundamental component of this dissertation – the music. We begin by examining the types of music that existed before the arrival of Europeans and the opinions of Europeans about that music. I then explore the linkages between Africa, its Western diaspora, and the "reverse diaspora." Finally, we shift to the kinds of

music that were being performed in mission stations and in musical competitions that strained the existing hierarchies of African social life.

Chapter Three moves us into the urban spaces that incubated the explosion of African popular music. Beginning with expressions of indigenous culture in early Salisbury, we expand our study to show how the Southern Rhodesian state began implementing increasing levels of control over African culture. Additionally, we look at the rise of several key musical genres – Township Jazz, Masiganda, and Vocal Jive.

Chapter Four then explores how various groups in Southern Rhodesia used culture in an attempt to change the economic, political, and social standing of Africans in Southern Rhodesia. Using religion, education, and land as examples, this chapter illustrates the growing diversity of opinions about African development.

CHAPTER 1: SETTING THE STAGE

The fundamental question at the heart of this study is how do we create a social map from the music that people listened to and the culture they consumed? To get to this endpoint, we must first explore the institutions that both shaped this culture and were at the heart of the Southern Rhodesian colonial enterprise. Much like colonial projects across the globe in the first half of the twentieth century, Southern Rhodesia's economic and social systems were largely based upon the expropriation of material resources through indigenous labor. The machinations of the colonial regime, with their emphasis on the economic deprivation and the erection of social barriers, resulted in vast divides between the political, social, and economic opportunities afforded white settlers compared to those available to indigenous peoples.

Through religious indoctrination and industrial education, the colonial government attempted to redefine the identity of millions of indigenous inhabitants in order to infuse a sense of "civilization" and make them more malleable to Western persuasion and subjugation.[30] However, the policies and practices of the colonial regime had unintended consequences. While the government and missions emphasized industrial education, it was often an uphill battle fraught with inter-denominational and inter-institutional conflict. While in some cases, the students that emerged from mission and government schools aspired to be part of a Westernized "middle class," the end product represented a hybridized – or at best imitated – culture more than it did a carbon copy of Western life. Furthermore, the growing divide between mission and government-based educational visions fomented a rebellious spirit among African youths. This spirit, and the schisms that came form

30 Report, Chief Native Commissioner of Southern Rhodesia, 1914: 5.

it, frayed the fabric of a white society founded upon the power of an increasingly outmoded African gerontocracy.

In order to fully grasp the impact of colonial reconditioning on culture between 1930 and 1960, we must first rewind and examine how religious and state opinions of race and indigenous ethics shaped the mission school experience for thousands of African students. Music and music education were part of this experience and had a lot to do with the ethics that followed many graduates as they took positions in civil society and religious organizations after graduation. Music in the mission schools was also a soundtrack to the segregationist policies that created the reserves and locations surrounding urban centers. As these culturally diverse enclaves emerged, new identities took hold – identities that were as much an organic amalgamation as they were a superficial construction of colonialism.

While our story takes place at the height of

European colonialism in Africa, events that transpired in the half century prior to the arrival of European settlers in 1890 are intrinsically tied to cultural evolution and social definition of indigenous Southern Rhodesians. War, and the subsequent displacement and migration of ethnic groups in central and southern Africa, drastically reshaped the demographic composition of the region. Therefore, by the time missionaries successfully established a beachhead north of the Limpopo River, the region that would become Southern Rhodesia had been irrevocably reorganized by decades of inter-ethnic conflict and cultural assimilation.

South-Central African History, c. 1800 – 1890

Between 1815 and 1840, the *Mfecane* - a militaristic expansion by the Zulu Kingdom under the leadership of Shaka Zulu - left indelible marks on the demographic composition of southern and central Africa. Zulu expansionism created a ripple effect that resulted

in the widespread displacement and amalgamation of ethnic groups throughout the southern third of the continent. Among those driven from the region were the Mfengu, who later assimilated into the Xhosa of South Africa, the Makololo, who migrated through present day Zambia and Malawi, and the Ndebele and Gaza, who eventually settled north of the Limpopo River in present day Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

The migrations of the Northern Ndebele, or Matabele[31], drastically altered the social and political composition of the Zimbabwean plateau. Under the leadership of Mzilikazi, the Matabele split from the Zulu in the early 1820s and migrated west of the Drakensburg Mountains near present day Johannesburg. These years often saw the Matabele in conflict with the Boer *Voortrekkers* who first immigrated to the region in 1836. After two years of constant conflict with the Boers, the Matabele migrated north across the Limpopo

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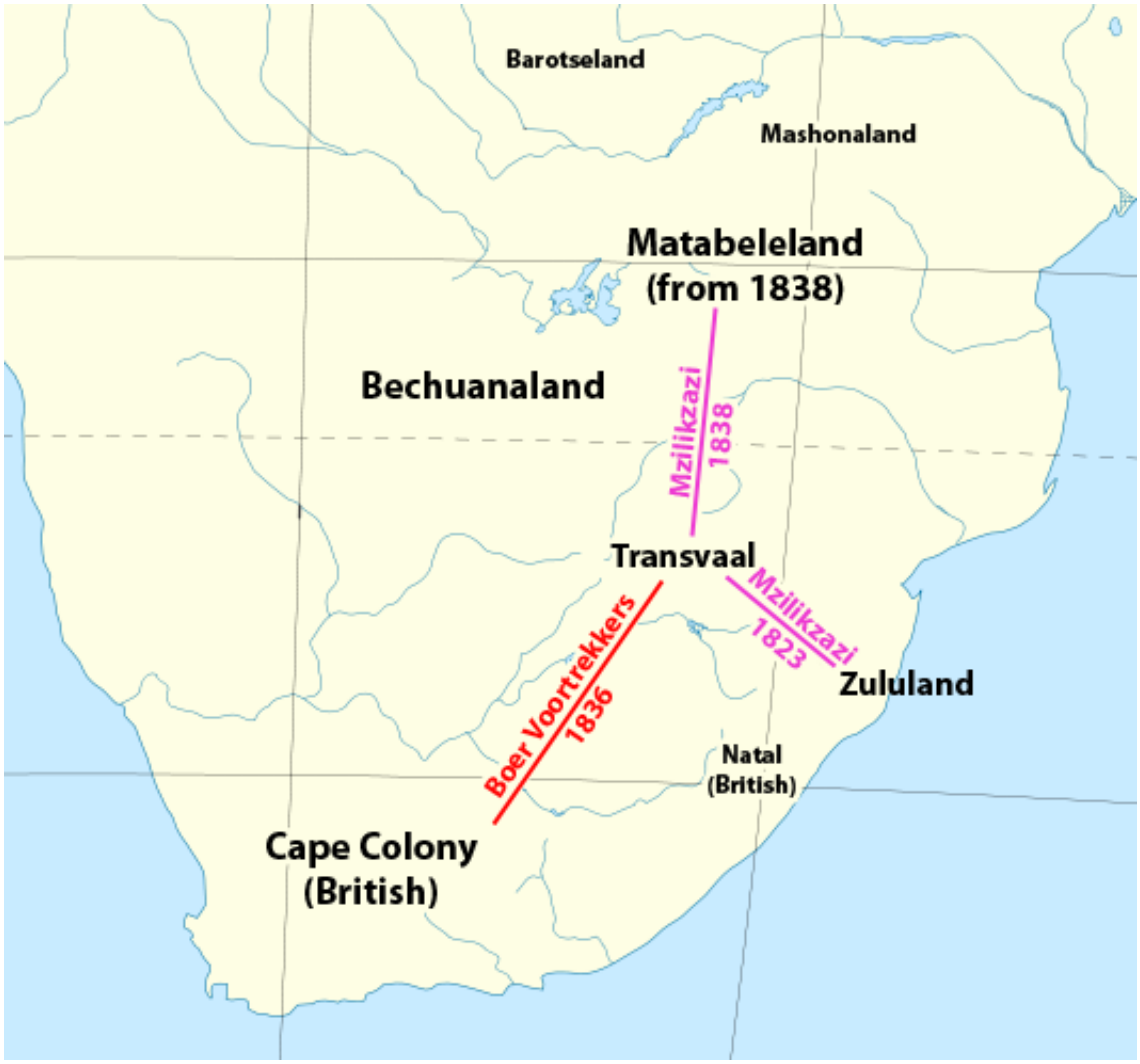
31 Matabele is an Anglicized term for the Northern Ndebele. It a useful term to differentiate between the Northern and Southern Ndebele ethnicities.

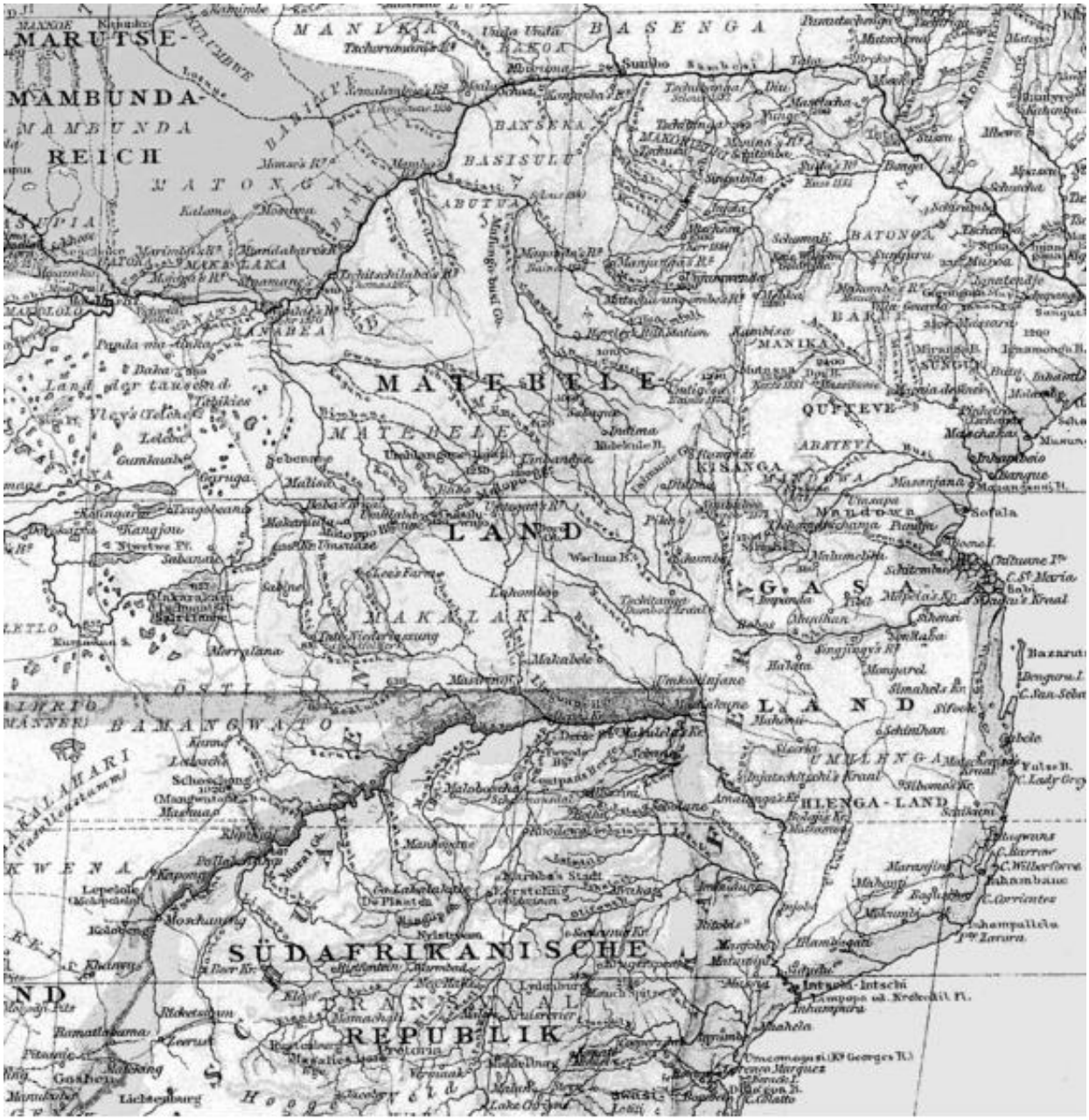
River and invaded the Rozwi Empire – assimilating them into their ever-expanding social milieu.

By the 1840s, the Matabele represented an ethnically diverse and militaristically organized coalition of Northern and Southern Ndebele, Swazi, Sotho-Tswana, and Rozwi ethnicities. The heterogeneity of his growing flock inspired Mzilikazi to call his new kingdom *Mthwakazi*, roughly translated as "great coalition." While the seat of *Mthwakazi* lay at Bulawayo, on the western portion of the Zimbabwean plateau, the Matabele "nation" eventually encompassed the entirety of Western Zimbabwe, an area later called Matabeleland by the British.

IMAGE 1: AN ARTIST'S RENDERING OF MZILIKAZI



MAP 2: MZILIKAZI'S TREK, 1823-1836



MAP 3: MAP OF SOUTHERN AFRICA SHOWING MATABELELAND, 1887

To the north and east of the Matabele lay ethnic groups that became collectively known as the Shona. However, due to the geographical vastness and multitude of ethnic subgroups, self-identification as Shona is problematic. There are five primary linguistic groups that compose Shona ethnicity: Korekore, Zeseru, Manyika, Ndau, and Karanga. Therefore, at best "Shona" is "a collective noun which conflates the linguistic, cultural and political attributes of a people who did not even know themselves by that name until the late nineteenth century." At worst being called Shona was "an insult, a term used by one's enemies; no one thought of themselves as Shona"[32]

Relations between the Shona and Matabele were far from cordial in the mid-to late nineteenth century. Matabele absorption of the Rowzi Empire, advanced by the breakdown of Rowzi power structures from internal

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[32] Gerald Chikozho Mazarire, "Reflections on Pre-Colonial Zimbabwe, c. 850-1880s," in *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008*, eds. Brian Raftopoulos and Alois Mlambo (Oxford: Weaver Press, 2009): 2-3.

discord, strengthened Matabele hegemony in the region. This resulted in a tributary relationship between the Shona and the Matabele. While not directly ruled by the Matabele, the Shona were required to pay "taxes" in the form of cattle, grain, and manufactured tools.

It was into this environment of turbulent political and social reorganization that the first significant European expeditions ventured. Europeans - especially missionaries - were initially met with ambivalence and inconsequence by the Matabele. They neither threatened Matabele political or military might, nor compelled them to undergo social or religious conversion. However, the discovery of gold near Johannesburg in the 1860s brought waves of Europeans seeking fortune, and with them, the seeds to sew discontent. Over time, Christian teachings of individual accountability to God began to negate the divine rule of African chiefs while European trade - specifically in guns, alcohol, medical supplies, and small trinkets – brought the region into

the imperial economy.[33] Despite their best efforts, African chiefs could not withstand the onslaught brought by European's lust for gold and deliverance by the divine.

Colonialism's largest effect on our understanding of pre and post-colonial Zimbabwean identity is the construction of binary identities – specifically, Ndebele and Shona. While these constructions aid Western understanding of basic social and cultural differentiation, they are inadequate when trying to appreciate the intricacies of identity on the Zimbabwean Plateau. In reality, these two groups represent no less than ten different ethnicities with unique linguistic, artistic, social, and political structures.

Upon the arrival of Europeans - first missionaries, followed by traders and agents of the British government - a gradual shift occurred in which pre-existing lifeways were slowly eroded by ideological

[33] Ibid, 43.

and material offerings. Consequently, by the time the first pioneer columns of Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company crossed the Limpopo River, irrevocable damage had been done to the political, religious, and economic structures that bound the various groups living within the region together.

Don't Tell Them Jesus Loves Them

Much has been written about the ideologies, methods and goals of the various missionary organizations that operated throughout Southern and Central Africa, with their efforts both valorized and vilified. However, to accurately portray their actions we must recognize that these were individuals of an altruistic paternalism. In the opinion of W.F. Rea:

"They were in Africa in obedience to the words of Christ, 'Go ye and teach all nations.' Therefore their purpose was not primarily to look after men's bodies; otherwise they would have come as doctors. Nor were they welfare workers. Nor was their purpose to further any particular philosophy, either the imperialism of the late nineteenth century or the democratic nationalism of the twentieth."

Rea's assertions are partially true, as the velds of central and southern Africa were considered a physical and spiritual wilderness by missionaries. In their eyes, Africa and its inhabitants were ruled by the untamed savagery of nature, manifest in the cruelty and despotism of their political and social systems. The Jesuit priest Fr. Law bemoans the African “plight” in 1879, asking “[W]ho will regenerate these savages?” In his opinion, and that of his fellow disciples, salvation for the “heathen,” "barbarous" and “uncivilized” of Africa could only be achieved through their benevolent guidance and “The Crucifix which, for eighteen centuries has tamed the pagan barbarity throughout the world.” To quote historian James T. Campbell, "The spread of Christianity thus represented more than the victory of one religious system over another; it marked the triumph of culture over nature, order over chaos...The missionaries' task...was to 'reclaim' the land - to uproot, fence, and plough."[34]

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However, Rea's assessment of missionary work is overly simplistic for three reasons. First, Rea's account is blinded by his proximity to the political climate of 1960s Southern Rhodesia. His portrait came at a time of increasingly repressive White reactions to African political mobilization, a time when the spread of mass national consciousness threatened fifty years of White domination over every facet of African life. Therefore, his depiction is more apologist than factual.

Second, it presupposes an ecumenical evangelization. In reality, the doctrinal divides between missions generated a great deal of competition for African souls. Each organization had its own methods and prejudices, which positively and negatively affected their credibility with African converts. These relationships, and the schisms that often resulted from missionaries' infantilization of Africans, was central to the growth of a self-affirmed

African population in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Finally, any claim of missionary neutrality to either imperialism or African nationalism is simply untrue. Missionary endeavors were part and parcel of colonial expansion. Missions prior to the arrival of colonial forces were plagued by impotency and the apathy of their would-be flock. However, when ecclesiastical endeavors were melded with the colonial machine and its mad grab for material wealth, evangelization took to the veld like a bushfire, decimating African lifeways through social and cultural engineering founded on racialized conceptions talent and ethos.

Conversely, there were those, like the Wesleyan progressive John White, who saw the "civilizing" power of Christianity as a means for the political and social emancipation of Africans. His presence in the Southern Rhodesian Methodist community would be a source of inspiration to many African evangelists who later

became standard-bearers of racial redefinition. The many faces of Methodism, which spread from the United States through South Africa and into Southern Rhodesia, were bastions for education, social mobility and African political consciousness. Many of its flock became the leaders of the African political, religious, labor, and trade organizations that formed the bulwark of liberal and nationalist movements in the mid-twentieth century. It was their culture - ministerial, material and musical - that defined the early years of African political mobilization in Southern Rhodesia.

Missionaries first attempted to penetrate central Africa in the mid-sixteenth century, finding resistance at every turn. Francisco da Silveira, a Portuguese Jesuit sometimes called the "first apostle of Southern Rhodesia," reached the Zambezi River in 1560 only to be strangled to death by Arab traders on the orders of the very chief he had just baptized. Subsequent expeditions – missionary or otherwise – yielded few successes and even fewer converts. While a small

contingent of Dominicans (and later Jesuits) maintained a mission near present-day Mount Darwin for nearly two hundred years, by 1770 all missionary work had ceased along the Zambezi and its tributaries. It was not until the mid-nineteenth century that missionaries established a beachhead north of the Limpopo River.

In December 1859, the London Missionary Society (LMS) began operations at Inyati, in the Western regions of the Zimbabwean plateau. The stated goal of the LMS was "to spread the knowledge of Christianity among the heathen and unenlightened nations."[35] Its unstated goal was to proselytize and lay the first bricks of road leading to the heart of the Zambezi. Mission education attempted to break down African social and religious institutions in order to instill Christian mores. However, this proved exceedingly difficult as education without a basic level of literacy meant the absence of a textual touchstone,

35 LMS Constitution

leaving evangelizing efforts solely on the authority of priests, ministers and laypeople.

The Inyati mission was founded by Robert Moffat, father-in-law of the famed explorer and missionary David Livingstone. Despite Rea's belief that nationalist ideologies did not hold sway in missionary endeavors, comments by Robert Moffat suggest otherwise. Moffat claimed that British power and sympathy towards Africa were directly responsible for saving the continent from "pagan darkness." Such sentiments were not uncommon, but do illustrate the deeply nationalistic and paternalistic views of the LMS. These sentiments also spurred interdenominational rivalries. The Roman Catholic Church and Berlin Missionary Society were also trying to get their pieces of the African cake. But while Livingstone - in his search for the origins of the Nile River - had commented on the openness of central Africa to Christianity, early attempts at social, cultural and

religious conversion once again proved ineffectual. Inyati did not have a single convert for thirty years.

Catholic missions eventually returned to the regions they were forced to desert a century before. By 1880, Jesuits had established a mission at Pandematenka, approximately fifty miles south of Victoria Falls. Characterizing Matabele religion as "nothing but an uncivilized fetishism," the Jesuits sought to "[follow] the example of missionaries of former days, we shall begin with the arts and trades and we shall hope to finish with science and the works of God." However, when missionaries did espouse the importance of literary education, it was firmly rooted in a message of obedience to the divine and its messengers. Complicating this matter was the claim by missionaries that King Lobengula, who had recently ascended to chief of the Matabele, refused to sanction such training. Unlike his father, Lobengula was cautious of Europeans. While he granted permission and protection to hunters, explorers and even missionaries,

he was weary of any institution that threated traditional lifeways.

Central Africa was largely a mystery to Europeans prior to the 1890s. The vast majority of European settlements were confined to the coasts and capes that were an exodus for material and human cargo. Therefore, ventures like those in Inyati and Pandematenka were exceptions to the rule. Furthermore, the Matabele subjugation of groups in territories north and east of Matabeleland made missionary ventures possible only with Lobengula's permission. However, by 1850 there was increased interest across Europe for African soil and subjects. Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal and Great Britain all vied for territory in what became known as the "Scramble for Africa." Consequently, by the mid-1880s, serious interest arose in Anglican dioceses of the Cape Protectorate of South Africa (CPSA) for increased missionary presence in Mashonaland, the northern hinterland of Britain's central African

interests. Soon, Africans north of the Limpopo, groups who still remembered the scourge of advancing Zulu armies, would find themselves subject to invaders whose ideology was often as calamitous as their bullets.

Bibles and Bazookas: Capitalizing On Christianity

While the narrative of colonial expansion in central Africa is complex, the spread of Christianity throughout central Africa is initially tied to the visions and actions of two men. Ideological opposites, their respective goals would eventually become a mutually beneficial enterprise for the thousands of whites and Europeans who flocked from South African colonies in search of gold and in the name of God. Ultimately, their pairing spelled the end of African lifeways devoid of white commentary, judgment and interference.

The Bishop George Wyndham Hamilton Knight-Bruce was appointed the Bishop of Bloemfontein in 1886. Fervent with missionary zeal, Knight-Bruce sought to

establish a "utopian" mission in the depths of Mashonaland. After two years of preparation, he departed from Bloemfontein, travelling northward through the Transvaal, crossing the Limpopo and arriving in Bulawayo, seat of the King Lobengula. With the king's blessing, he continued northward into Mashonaland to gauge the possibility of Christian expansion. However, while Bruce was exploring the country in the name of Christian charity, imperial ambitions soon led to an outright invasion of the region by white settlers at the behest of a man with the irony of being named Cecil.[36]

Cecil John Rhodes is a man who requires little introduction. As prime minister of the Cape Colony, founding member of the DeBeers cartel, and chief architect of the British South Africa Company (BSAC), he did more to cement British colonialism in southern and central Africa and expropriate African material wealth than any individual before or since. While his

[36] Cecil means “blind.”

European legacy has been sufficiently laundered through scholarships, universities and museums (along with a benevolent silver screen portrayal by early Hollywood patriarch Walter Houston), in the hearts and minds of Africans, his memory is best captured by South African jazzman Hugh Masekela. On his 1976 album *Colonial Man*, Masekela lambasts Europe's African legacy, portraying Rhodes as an imperial lackey, appropriately blind to his own malfeasance.

Cecil Rhodes was a slave to queen Victoria
Queen Victoria she sent him to South Africa
"There is gold in them hills in Jo-Burg
And there's diamonds in the town of Kimberly.
You're the only man who here who can score,
Cecil Rhodes, my boy, Cecil Rhodes, my ace."
Cecil Rhodes sailed to the Cape of Good Hope
Where he stopped the war between the Dutch and English
"There are Zulus up in them there mountains;
Got to bring them down to dig the gold…
Bring the cannons and the old bazookas;
Shoot the Zulus and the Xhosas and the Sothoes
Then they'll know who's boss and they'll start digging the gold"

Cecil Rhodes was a hero of old England
So they renamed Zimbabwe to Rhodesia
Charities and scholarships were named after him
While the Zulus had to dig the gold.[37]

The Rhodesian colonies would be Rhodes's African legacy, and the pioneer columns that crossed the Limpopo in 1890 his *coup de main*. While Knight-Bruce was against the idea of the BSAC governing the region, he was also a realist who recognized that the thirst for colonial expansion could not be quenched by the protestations of an underfunded and highly dispersed diocese. Further hindering Knight-Bruce were Rhodes' use of missionary relationships with African leaders to gain permission for colonial expansion. In 1888, he sent Robert Moffat's son, John, as an emissary to King Lobengula, obtaining a treaty granting exclusive mining rights for the regions under his rule. Known as the Rudd Concession, it represented the first of many nails in the coffin of African self-determination.

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[37] Hugh Masekela, *Colonial Man* (New York: Casablanca Records, 1976)

Facing such overwhelming obstacles, Knight-Bruce shifted his tactics, taking steps to act as a "buffer" between BSAC forces and the indigenous population, guarding against "molestation or annoyance." However, the official mission of his diocese had changed and the few ministers and laypeople that accompanied the pioneer columns were now responsible for administering to the needs of the settler community in addition to their African flock. Furthermore, the transportation and supply lines controlled by the BSAC were imperative to maintain a hold over the minds, hearts and souls of the indigenous population.

Loyalties were further tested by the Matabele uprisings in 1893-94 and 1896-97. The Anglo-Ndebele wars bound the BSAC and missions together in a pact of mutual survival. Knight-Bruce was torn during the conflict between his duties as a missionary and servant of God and his obligation as a British subject to tend to his countrymen. This would remain a contentious dichotomy for decades to come. The first Anglo-Ndebele

war would prove the breaking point for Knight-Bruce and the death-knell of his utopian vision north of the Limpopo. After Knight-Bruce's resignation in 1894, subsequent bishops would be far more acquiescent to the goals of colonial expansion and Africans' place within the new imperial order.

The centerpiece of this new order was education. The BSAC, and later the Southern Rhodesian government, begin instituting increasingly restrictive educational policies on Africans. These policies were initially aimed at creating a highly trained workforce. However, as the insular settler community became increasingly paranoid about their minority status, education became means of institutionalizing a racial hierarchy.

The Man in the Long Black Coat

While Rhodes' Pioneer Columns were trekking ever northward across the high velds of Matabeleland, south of the Limpopo, South Africans were confronting the long-standing dynamic of religious paternalism. In the

process, they triggered a crusade for African redefinition and self-determination that would spread into Britain's new colonial territories and inspire fellow Africans to define the colonial system in Afro-centric terms. The roots of their movement originated in two vastly different, yet strangely synonymous, institutions – the popularity of Methodism among Africans and the subsequent rise of Ethiopianism among those disillusioned by the cross-denominational paternalism if the European clergy.

Having grown tired of exclusion by their European brothers in Christ, African ministers and laymen split from the various Protestant denominations inhabiting South African colonies to form indigenous Christian churches collectively referred to as "Ethiopian." Ethiopianism was largely the domain of educated men who wanted to maintain the doctrinal and organizational structures inherited from missionaries. Unlike later Zionist sects, their fundamental differences with mainstream Christianity was racial rather than

doctrinal.

While African ministers had operated throughout Southern Africa since 1856, by the 1880s they were increasingly marginalized in the religious community. Originally, the intention of many missionaries had been to establish "home rule" for Africans. That is, slowly loosening their oversight as Africans became committed to the fruits of Christian civilization. However, events ranging from the American Reconstruction, to the growing popularity of Social Darwinism, and the threat empowered Africans posed to the colonial political economy slowed the rate of confirmed African ministers.[38]

From the mid-1880s through the mid-1890s there was a massive exodus of Africans from European churches ranging from Roman Catholic and Lutheran, to Presbyterian, Wesleyan, and Anglican. Thousands flocked to new "indigenous" churches that advocated racial mobility through a shared black identity. The

[38] Campbell, 112-113.

most influential of these movements began in 1892, when a group under the leadership of Reverend Mangena Maake Mokone split from the Wesleyan Church.

The new congregation called themselves "Ethiopians" in reference to Psalm 68 from the King James Bible. It states that "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God."[39] Their choice of verse is important in two respects. First, the message emphasizes the reformation of adversaries into allies under the supposedly all-encompassing grace of God. Obviously, this idea resonated with an African Christian community who had long-been subordinate to a colonial master, much like the Hebrews had been to the Egyptians. Second, "Ethiopian" had long been synonymous with Africa in the Judeo-Christian lexicon due to the fourth century conversion of Axum to Christianity.[40]

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[39] Ps. 68:31 (KJ).

[40] The Aksumite Kingdom was founded in 100 CE and lasted until 940 CE. They were often referred to as "Ethiopians." The Solomonic Dynasty began in the mid-tenth century and lasted until 1975 when the monarchy was overthrown.

Beginning in the thirteenth century, the Solomonic Dynasty of Ethiopia traced its lineage to King David. In later decades, syncretic religious movements like Rastafarianism proclaimed the Ethiopian Emperor, Haile Selassie, to be a messianic figure.

Ethiopianism's core tenet contended that Africans had the ability to tend their own flocks and fulfill their own spiritual growth. This religious "racial vindication" later morphed into a political doctrine as mission-educated African elites advocated a "nationalist Ethiopianism" in which European political structures were controlled by Africans. To advance their self-definition, the Ethiopian leadership reached out to an American church that they believed to be a kindred spirit. This organization, the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church held deep similarities to their Ethiopian brethren. They were themselves a rebellious offshoot of the Methodist Episcopal Church, founded by free blacks that emphasized social welfare and economic advancement of all people and decried the

enslavement of human beings.

The Ethiopian/AME alliance in South Africa was important because it represented the first time that mission-educated Africans established a movement dedicated to their own social advancement within existing colonial structures. African Methodism swept throughout Southern and Central Africa in the first decade of the twentieth century and had long-term effects on the fabric of African social and political life. In South Africa, the movement had broad appeal in both urban and rural centers. One could even argue that it was a "proto-national" movement. Ministers and lay people alike were important voices in numerous social and political organizations throughout the early 1900s. Almost a dozen of the men who launched the South African Native National Congress (the precursor to the modern African National Congress) in 1912 had ties to the AME.[41]

Why then was Methodism, be it Wesleyan or African

[41] Campbell, 141.

Episcopal, so popular among Africans regardless of ethnic affiliation? That is, why were the Shona, Ndebele, Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, and dozens of other ethnicities in the region drawn to the religious philosophy of an English evangelist dead fifteen years before the late eighteenth century British abolitionist movement? Put simply, Wesleyanism advocated equality. Based on the tenet that all are equal in the sight of God, Wesley argued that:

> "The inhabitants of Africa, where they have equal motives and equal means of improvements, are not inferior to the inhabitants of Europe; to some of them they are greatly superior…The African is in no respect inferior to the European."[42]

However, a problematic contradiction existed in Wesleyanism, or specifically, in John Wesley himself. Despite his ardent support for the universal right for liberty, his temporal allegiance lay with the British Crown. This is because even liberty has a hierarchy and religious liberty was paramount to all other forms. In Wesley's opinion, King George II had defended

[42] Ibid.

individuals' right to practice their chosen faith. This politicization of the faith remained ingrained in the Wesleyan missionaries stationed in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. However, while the neglect of African civil liberty caused the schism that bore Ethiopianism and African Methodism, Wesleyanism remained curiously popular among Africans in Southern Rhodesia.

Despite Wesleyanism's inherent liberalism, its arrival in Southern Rhodesia was no different than any other denomination. Much like their Anglican cousins, Wesleyan Methodists were attached to the pioneer columns in 1890. Also like other denominations, they emphasized industrial and agricultural training for Africans and its synod supported reselling conquered territory back to Africans.[43] By the early 1920s, the synod had instituted a segregationist policy in its mission school system, banned polygamy and alcohol

[43] Simon Madhiba. "Methodism and Public Life I Zimbabwe: An analysis of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Zimbabwe's impact on Politics from 1891-1980." (Ph.D. Diss. University of Pretoria, 2010): 111.

consumption, and mandated school attendance for children between the ages of six and fourteen on the farms under their jurisdiction.

Wesleyanism's position towards African segregation and dispossession is reminiscent of the attitudes of their South African members and a product of the increasingly regulated state. Increasingly restrictive quotas for subsidy qualifications, in conjunction with highly racialized legislation, necessitated that the Wesleyan Church be a dutiful Imperial servant, rather than risk biting the hand that feeds. It now fell to Africans, a full generation into the colonial era, to take possession of their educational advancement and, in the most elemental tenet of Protestantism, define their own relationship with God.

However, the tides were slowly changing. Where missions and missionaries once supported the tenets of colonialism, by the mid-twentieth century, missions were incubators of dissention to the colonial endeavor. This was achieved through a combination of religious

politicization and educational opportunity. However, not all faiths were equal in these regards. The evolution of Southern Rhodesia's social construction is directly tied to three specific groups based upon denomination and ethnic composition.

First among these were the "national" churches such as the Roman Catholic, Wesleyan, and Anglican, who had a broad following across racial and ethnic divides. These churches carried a "dual mandate," which meant that they both proselytized to Africans while supporting the ideals of separate development that strengthened the settler class. Second were "regional" churches that had ties to specific locations and ethnicities. These churches, which included mainstream stalwarts like Lutheran and United Methodist, were often more sympathetic to the plights of their African communities, especially once nationalist struggles began in earnest.[44] Finally, there were the "Independent" or "Pentecostals" who, like the

aforementioned Ethiopian movement, espoused an alternative interpretation of the Good Word. Their messages were in direct response to the inability of Africans to gain equal footing with whites within the clergy and in society as a whole. All three groups greatly impacted the social and cultural transformation of African society throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This was due, in part, to their own evolution from mouthpieces of colonial hegemony to incubators of resistance and reformation through literary education.

Central to the debate over African education was the issue of literacy. In this respect, not all missions were created equal. For example, the LMS offered very little literary education for African converts simply on the basis that "it was not called for."[45] Instead, they focused was on providing industrial training that would help physically construct mission stations and offer a civilizing work

45 Report, Native Education Commissioner of Southern Rhodesia (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1926): 34.

ethic. Conflicting reports suggest that the absence of literary training was the belief among missionaries that it unsuited for African minds. Such paternalism was common among missionaries and settlers alike due to what they saw as a prevalence of tribalism, witchcraft, and sexual immorality. It was also common for mission-educated Africans to be viewed as "self-asserted and impudent."[46] These qualities created underwhelming support for African education.

Other denominations took different approaches to the issue of literary training and utilized paternalism as the basis for educational and moral uplift. For example, the Dutch Reformed Church, possessed of both an adversarial and deeply paternalistic view of their African neighbors, took the position that

> "[W]e must preach the Gospel and educate [the African]. He is not is not equal [to the Boer] and we cannot make him so. We must turn the flood of the natives' desire to learn to good purpose. Education is to improve the Native; to improve his body and soul; I want to make him pure, I want to make him intelligent so that his

46 Ibid., 86.

fears of spirits will have no hold upon him. I want to make him happy and ambitious to lift up his people."[47]

At the other end of the literacy spectrum, American missions - specifically those operating in southeast Mashonaland - took a far more progressive stance on African education, proclaiming that

> "The first aim of educational work would be to raise up a self-supporting Native Christian community. The second to raise the economic status of the whole community, both Christian and non-Christian, through education of the masses. A large part of educational work is to train and educate Natives to take the proper place they must take in the political body. The aim would be training the Natives to fit them to get the franchise and to take part in the administration of the country…We teach them civics and methods of self-government, and have always done so."[48]

However, the liberalism espoused by American missionaries only constituted a small percentage of missions operating in Southern Rhodesia. For the purpose of this study, national churches - specifically Wesleyan Methodist churches – offer the best case study for the role of religion in fostering economic, social,

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47 Ibid., 35.

48 Ibid.

and cultural change among African urbanites. Not only did Wesleyanism have broad appeal and significant political sway among a considerable swath of the African population, but they also offer a fascinating case study in the increased influence of religion in Southern Rhodesian politics and social reformation.[49]

By the 1930s, Wesleyan Methodism had drastically changed from a faith allied to the colonial and imperial governments to one that offered its disciples tools for upward social mobility through education and the enculturation. By creating a class of Western educated Africans, the Wesleyan community was fundamentally altering the power dynamics of Southern Rhodesia. Of course, this alteration of dynamics was fundamentally tied to the belief that "Christianity must be the basis in the future…of the Natives'

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[49] In an attempt to curtail denominationalism in the colony, native reserves often fell under the control of the denominations operating in that region. Consequently, study of national churches help solve the problem of religious territories.

education."[50] However, despite contradictions inherent in uplift through cultural decimation, the Wesleyan faith was pivotal in the genesis of class-consciousness in the African elite.

The influence of any Christian doctrine on African society must first be couched within the varied societies they inhabited as well as in denominational differences. In both the Shona chieftaincies and the Matabele monarchy, missionaries were confronted with powerful group identities that gave personal and psychological value, shaped world views, unified people in common causes, and acted as historical touchstones.[51] Consequently, attempts at subverting indigenous lifeways by stripping chiefs of their authority, implementing a new political system, and land reallocation were met with incidents like the uprisings of 1893-94 and 1896-97. Consequently, it was the view

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50 Report, Native Education Commissioner of Southern Rhodesia (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1926): 7.

51 James L. Gibson, *Overcoming Historical Injustices: Land Reconciliation in South Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 86.

of the Southern Rhodesian government that changes should be introduced gradually and through the pre-existing social systems.[52]

Early religious structure, predicated upon the paradigm of citizen and subject (white and black), was fundamentally tied to the nascent settler community's fear of rebellion and the mandates of the colonial economy. They were also ingrained in religious, political, economic and social indoctrination of African populations. Consequently, religious doctrines and Western ideals took dead aim on African social and cultural practices, notably concerning alcohol consumption, hygiene, alternative religious practices, and sexuality. In their eyes, the only way to save Africans from being "inordinate beer drinkers, grossly immoral and incredibly steeped in superstition,"[53] was through strict government oversight and the saving grace of education. Through industrial and agricultural

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52 Report, Chief Native Commissioner, 1913: 2.

53 Report, Native Education Commission of Southern Rhodesia, 1925: 7.

training, general economic development, and "moral uplift," the colonial government – in concert with missions – hoped to redefine African lifeways.

The music that came from the mission stations mirrored the inner conflict of African identity. On one hand, the lights of civilization shone brightly. The material goods that defined Western lifeways, and the work ethic necessary for achieving them, were touted as the gospel of moral and ethical achievement. However, long-held lifeways were not easily forgotten. Regardless, as time progressed, an increasing number of Africans openly desired education and its inherent benefits.

A House Done Built Without Hands: Learning and Labor in Education

African education in Southern Rhodesia[54] under colonial rule and prior to militant nationalism has largely been divided into three phases.[55]

1) 1899-1927 when the "path of salvation" combined Christianity, paternalism and labor-based education in an attempt to bring Africans into the western social and cultural fold.

2) 1927-1935 when the material incentives of western society encouraged Africans to "progress" towards modernity.

3) 1935-1960 when the growing oppression of white rule drove Africans to accept education as a path towards self-determination.

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[54] For the purpose of clarity, I will henceforth refer to the region in question as Southern Rhodesia. Prior to 1895, the region was called "South Zambezia." In 1895 it was formally christened Southern Rhodesia until the colony's Unilateral Declaration of Independence from Great Britain in 1964 when it became simply "Rhodesia." It carried that name until 1980 when it was renamed Zimbabwe.

[55] Franklin Parker, "Education of Africans in Southern Rhodesia." Comparative Education Review 3, no. 2 (October 1959)" 27-30.

This study is primarily concerned with the reactions by Africans to the influx of new cultures and social institutions in the latter two periods. 1927-1960 not only saw an increased American presence within central African religion and education, but also was a time when new technologies like gramophones and bioscope pictures made the Western world and its material culture tangible and desirable. Africans were now seeing and hearing people who looked like them conforming to white conceptions of dress and culture.

Through these mechanisms, Africans were culturally engaging their brethren across the Atlantic; specifically the African American struggle for racial equality. In later decades, the teachings of George Washington Carver would become tantamount to scripture for African education, used both by whites and Africans to espouse the "potential" of Africans. Throughout the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, Africans were bombarded by new ideas that emphasized "racial-vindication"[56] which

[56] Campbell, 64

manifested itself first in the racial accommodation of the 1950s, followed by the overt nationalism of the 1960s and the violent insurrection of the 1970s. By taking ownership of their culture through the adaptation of western styles of dress, music and community organization, Africans were commenting on the way that they perceived themselves within the colonial system and tailoring it to fit their social, political and economic realities.

However, one cannot ignore the early years of African education. While up to this point it has been important to stress the linkages between colonialism and missionary work, it would be overly simplistic to portray the two institutions as happy bedfellows. In fact, between 1899 and 1927 the policies of the BSAC and Southern Rhodesian government often conflicted with the goals of mission schools. This tenuous relationship significantly hindered African educational advancement. Just as Knight-Bruce had feared, the settlers flooding across the Limpopo came into conflict

with the indigenous population. Consequently, missionaries and the colonial government were often at odds over how to tend both flocks and answer the "native question." That is, how to properly enculturate Africans while maintaining a position of racial superiority.

The rise of a politically active African middle class in Southern Rhodesia was largely a linear process tied to religious affiliation and educational pedigree. While the Southern Rhodesian African's experience is not a carbon copy of their kin in South Africa or the United States; an emphasis on education, class consciousness and social mobility was directly tied to the popularity of Methodism among African and African descendants in all three places. To best contextualize their experience, we must first acknowledge the obstacles Africans faced when courting "miss

education."[57]

Prior to the arrival of missionaries, "traditional" African education was a community-based endeavor that focused on the moral, ethical and religious tenets of African social life. Educational topics were based upon the age and gender of children and the primary methods of instruction were often proverbial narratives and practical skill sets. Traditional education utilized the family unit to ready children for induction into adult life and was the means by which children gained recognition and respect from their elders. We shall explore later how music played an important role in this educational method.

The arrival of missionaries and BSAC support changed everything. Therefore, from 1899 to 1927, any discussion of African education is centered on the ethical conflict between indigenous Africans and White colonizers. While it is dangerous to make binary

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[57] Michael O. West, The Rise and Fall of an African Middle Class: Colonial Zimbabwe, 1898-1965 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002: 36.

constructions in our supposed age of contemporary enlightenment, it is useful to have perspective of how Europeans eschewed African mentalities and lifeways in advocating "the path of salvation."

According to Kwame Appiah, traditional African societies were characteristically communitarian and communalistic and derived from family, lineal, village, and social institutions and the governance of these institutions was "anti-universalist." That is, ethical standards only applied to a specific community and did not extend beyond its immediate physical boundaries. Religion and spirituality were naturalistic and the spiritual world existed in the natural. Finally, African thought systems were humanist in nature and applied to the immediate concerns and welfare of the community. To indigenous societies this was seen as a form of pragmatism. To paternalistic Europeans, it was an example of the simplistic and shortsighted nature inherent in Africans.

Appiah concludes that European and African ethics clashed for three reasons. First traditional African society had little emphasis on individual rights. Second, while Europeans viewed them as superficial, property reputation and status were fundamental to Africans' practical reasoning. Finally, there was an absence of moral reflection on the widespread social level.[58] While indigenous systems had evolved over centuries and formed the basis of African traditional lifeways, the zealotry and material resources of missionaries proved overwhelming. The ability of African chiefs to withstand the missionary enterprise became considerably weakened as BSAC intervention bolstered once isolated missions and labor-based educational models took root.

Early missionary educational methods established in the 1880s were the basis for the next fifty years of African education. Simply put, the goal of a mission education was:

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[58] Agawu, 205 and Appiah, 199.

"[t]o teach them, with a devotedness which is proof against all trails, the elements of the arts which are useful in life. We must drag these people away from their savagery, that is to say, from laziness, from improvidence, from a complete lack of industry; we must teach them in a practical manner to enjoy the fruits of Christian civilization and of Christianity."[59]

However, by the beginning of the twentieth century, mission schools were tasked less with taming African savagery through civilization, but rather with engineering a stratified society to meet the needs of the growing settler community. Beginning in 1899, a series of education ordinances passed by the BSAC institutionalized this stratification through access to education. Financial assistance by Rhodes and the BSAC put missions and education firmly within the pocket of colonialism. In fact, education - white and black - became fully integrated into the colonial machine as evidenced by the allocation of approximately 325,000 acres of land to missionary organizations sponsored by the LMS, Anglican Church, Seventh Day Adventists, Salvation Army, Brethren in Christ, American Methodist

5959 Fr. Croonenberg, 18.

Episcopal, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic Churches. Over the next two decades, the government tightened their regulation of racially prejudiced subsidy qualifications for African schools while funneling considerable resources into settler education.[60]

The 1899 Education Ordinance attempted to harness evangelizing efforts for industrial training and labor development among Africans. In addition to attendance requirements, the ordinance mandated that no less than two hours a day were dedicated to industrial training in the hopes of creating a workforce educated in the ethics of dutiful labor to one's superior. However, the paltry resources appropriated for African education and a lack of manpower in the department of education meant that the first thirty years of government oversight is best characterized as "a period of government control through a series of ordinances and grants without the government accepting direct administrative responsibility…a period of significant

60 West, 37.

administrative and supervisory chaos in African education."[61]

Overt nationalism once again reared its head in resolutions adopted by diocese of Mashonaland in 1903. Regarding the "native question," the Anglican synod saw their mission firmly within the realm of statesmanship and the development of responsible citizenship. Furthermore, said citizenship could only be granted to inferior races by "the disciplinary influences of the Christian gospel." Moral training (i.e. the abolition of polygamy) and the discipline of work were foremost on the diocese's agenda to make Africans conform to European social and cultural norms.

Compounding the lack of supervision was denominational competition, teacher shortages, inadequate and unreliable transportation, substandard or lack of equipment, and the reluctance of Africans to

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[61] Nicholas George Gideon Makura. "The Historical Development of African Education in Rhodesia: Administration of African Education from 1923 to 1973." (PhD. Diss. University of Indiana-Bloomington, 1978): 77-78.

even attend. As the government passed subsequent education ordinances in 1903, 1907 and 1914, schools were mandated to alter their attendance quotas, increase time allocated for industrial training, and include language proficiency and hygiene training in order to receive their paltry allowances. These exacerbated problems for mission administrators who were already struggling to maintain previously mandated levels.

Oftentimes, the most significant problem was attendance. Beyond the obvious logistical problems Africans faced in reaching schools, their refusal to attend all together or return to as teachers upon graduation was a social and political commentary on their expectations as students and professionals. In Carol Summers' opinion:

"When students considered a school inadequate, they complained, left, or even held school strikes, explicitly labeled as such. Even as the settler population of the 1920s and 1930s sought to use education to shape a specific and subordinate role for African, Africans voiced concerns, demands and agendas in ways that proved more effective in education than in

any other section of the region's economy or society."[62]

By the second decade of the twentieth century, a close-knit colonial class had emerged. Settler fear of being outnumbered became the foundational element in the "dual policy" in Southern Rhodesian education. Much like laws enacted in the Jim Crow American south after Reconstruction, this dual policy was an overt attempt to dispossess the African population. As members of the "dominant race," settler children were afforded an academic education, while Africans were sentenced to industrial training deemed more appropriate to their skills, intellectual capacity and temperament.

British colonial policy has been criticized as "blunt in [its] intent and exploitative in [its]

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[62] Carol Summers, Colonial Lessons: African's Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918-1940 (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2002): 3-4.

implementation."[63] Furthermore, "whatever reasons [the British] advanced for urging practical training and manual labor as viable forms of education for Africans, the real reason was that the government feared that good academic education would enable Africans to acquire the essential elements of critical thinking, thereby enabling them to question the structure of colonial society."[64]

Marion O'Callaghan takes a far more tempered and objective approach in arguing that educational separation sought to "inculcate the moral principles on which the empire was based, to provide an education equivalent to that available in South Africa and to minimize ethnic tensions among Europeans themselves." However, the education of Africans merely aimed to "give Africans the training needed to European needs

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63 Dickson A. Mungazi. *Colonial Education for Africans: George Stark's Policy in Zimbabwe* (New York: Praeger, 1991): *xv*.
64 Ibid.

for African labor."[65] In later decades, the dual policy would become increasingly institutionalized by the Southern Rhodesian government through an escalation of unequal qualifications and disproportionate economic support given to African and white schools.

As previously mentioned, Southern Rhodesian missionary education – much like the system in South Africa - had the explicit goal of introducing a stratification of African society and the adoption of western behavioral patterns. This was achieved through their control of material resources through the missions and their constant emphasis on individualism.[66] While a great deal of missionary work can be understood within this socio-economic framework, there was a significant gap between missionary ideology and the economic mandates of the colonial state.

Nor were missions a uniform entity. Their

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[65] Marion O'Callaghan. *Southern Rhodesia: The effects of a conquest society on education, culture, and* information (New York: UNESCO, 1977): 15.

[66] Campbell, 106.

emphasis on literary training and social mobility varied as drastically as their doctrines. Some missions, much like the Rhodesian state, preferred to focus on industrial training and reserved literacy for religious-based education while others maintained an opposite opinion. Sometimes, where a mission fell on the industrial-academic spectrum was a matter of practicality and institutional survival rather than paternalistic subversion. The growth of missions and the requisite construction and agricultural production mandated that a labor source be readily available. Oftentimes, this was provided by the students and a source of their discontent.

By the mid-1920s, the Southern Rhodesian government rededicated itself to the cause of African education, while Africans themselves began taking ownership of their educational opportunities in an attempt to gain equal footing with the white community. This "second phase" was essentially a culmination of three events: the publications of the Phelps-Stokes

Commission Report on Eastern, Central and Southern Africa in 1922 and 1924, the Highfield Commission Report on Native Education in 1925, and the establishment of Southern Rhodesia as a self-governing crown colony in 1923. These events resulted in a centralization of oversight on African education in the Department of Native Education in 1928 and a clarification of the colony's goals for African education and social standing.

The Phelps-Stokes fund was an American charity that had extensively researched African American and American Indian education prior to 1920. In 1917, they appointed an Anglo-American commission to do the same for Africa. Unsurprisingly, they found the state of African education woefully inadequate. Their report argued that:

"Education…should be related to the environment of the masses; soil and sanitation should be emphasized as much as the three R's. If the world is to be Christian, the Christianity must broaden its conception of mission possibilities… [t]hey must seek to convert

not only individuals but also the community."[67]

Under the supervision of the first Director of Native Education, Harold Jowett, and his immediate successor, George Stark, the African education system was retooled to bolster the "overall social and economic health of the colony." Despite the socially progressive attitude this suggested, the "social and economic health of the colony" relegated Africans to hewers of wood and fetchers of water. Furthermore, Hewitt, Stark and the Native Education Department found that mission education, with its academic training, contrary to their goals of racial dominance. Therefore, they emphasized increased government subsidization and oversight of mission facilities. Consequently, a number of missions had to suspend operations, relinquishing control - lock and key - to the Southern Rhodesian government.

Up until this point it would seem that the narrative of African education is a regurgitation of a

[67] Phelps Stokes Report on African Education

banal historical cliché. That is, colonialism's unfettered subjugation and infantilization of an indigenous population via the time-honored tradition of ideological indoctrination and strict government oversight. However, as the Southern Rhodesia entered its first full decade as a self-governing colony, the Phelps-Stokes call for educational reform was taken up by individuals possessed of a social self-awareness born of an American religious experience and nurtured in a South African one.

By the early twentieth century, new religions, born of Europe and Africa, would serve as a place of safety to Africans who wished to tackle the social, economic and political inequality pervading African colonial life. From this religion came a new elite born of social, political, and economic ideologies often in line with their European cousins. These individuals were highly influenced by three factors. First, was the aforementioned religious indoctrination implemented by various European denominations

throughout South and central Africa. Second, were the indigenous churches that split from you European denominations. Finally, was the education offered in mission schools. In this educational system, Africans were challenged to leave behind their former selves, embrace Western religious and ethical standards, and "evolve" into "modern" and "civilized" Africans.

CHAPTER 2: THE CHANGING NATURE OF AFRICAN MUSIC

In this environment of racial segregation, religious division, and educational inequality, music provided a soundtrack to the chaos. Music is always been present, ingrained in pre-colonial indigenous societies. It had been utilized, much as it would be in later decades, as a medium of education, social commentary, and dissent. However, the arrival of Europeans drastically altered the form and the production of music.

The music that existed in Southern Rhodesia on the eve of colonialism was ingrained in the varied ethnicities and subsequent social roles it played. When missionaries first arrived in the region, they neither understood nor appreciated the social context of musical performance. Consequently, African music and culture was devalued in favor of more "enlightened" European creations.

Indigenous Music on the Eve of Colonization

Europeans' initial opinion of African music in Southern Rhodesia echoed the civilizing paternalism of missionary endeavors. With their limited understanding of indigenous cultures and traditions; missionaries often infantilized musical and dance performances, equating them to the banality and "primitivism" of Africaness. Father S.J. Croonenberg, a Jesuit missionary, witnessed many musical and dance exhibitions by the Matabele at Pandematenka. His analysis echoes the general devaluation of African culture by Europeans, likening performers and audiences to children at Christmas time:

> One must admit that this is poetry at its most primitive: it does not shine through abundance of ideas or through the elevation of its thoughts and feelings! But it produces a most powerful effect on these savages, who are really great children, delighting to repeat, without ceasing, the same words, rather in the same manner as the children in the streets of Brussels repeat the refrain "Nicholas! Nicholas!"[68]

Oftentimes, when westerners speak of "primitivism" in music they are "generally discussing the music which is interested in other matters than those with which [their] music is concerned."[69] However, in addition to missionaries' opposition to the "primitivism" of uncivilized Africans, there was another reason they decried Matabele cultural production. Since the mid-eighteenth century, the Matabele, displaced by the Mfecane, had run roughshod over groups dwelling north of the Limpopo River. Their militarism was central to group identity, and expressions of strength coursed through the heart of their music and dance. Two years prior to Father Croonenberg's observations, another Jesuit missionary – a Father Depelchin - noted the power and intensity that characterized the intersection of military and musical culture in Gubulawayo. He wrote:

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[69] Christopher Small, 75.

Four weeks ago, we witnessed a sort of military tattoo by the Zulu warriors, as good as anything I have ever seen either in Europe or in British India. In the late afternoon, regiments of *Madjokas* or young unmarried soldiers marched in front of the king brandishing their terrible spears and singing in chorus the national hymn: "*Nantzi indaba! Indaba iemkonto*" – Here the tidings! The tidings of the spear! – This warlike refrain, repeated in unison by thousands of men in wild accents and perfect uniformity, was, I can assure you, both striking and terrible! We were unable to listen to it without feeling an involuntary shudder. [70]

Therefore, beyond the ideological implications of conversion, it seems that European "paternalism" was simply a front for the fear and insecurity that early missionaries felt in the presence of the Matabele. It extended beyond Simon Frith's argument that eighteenth century Romanticism played the defining role in the belief in the primitivism of Africans and into the oft-unspoken reality of missionary-imperial relations. Therefore, missionary denouncement of Matabele culture not only elevated European cultural prestige, but also

served as a warning to their superiors of the dangers of forceful colonization.

It was not only the militaristic Matebele who posed difficulties for European colonization. In the north and east of the country, the Shona expressed sentiments of dissent and derision through their own musical creations. Shona connection to music can be directly attributed to the tonal quality of their language. In the words of Blandina Makina, "[s]ong is…a living form of verbal art whose roots are sunk deep into the lives of the Shona people and speaks to the Zimbabwean identity… music and life [are] like two mirrors facing each other."[71] Until the twentieth century, musical production among the Shona was primarily centered on group performance that bound communities through formal and informal ceremonies. For example, game song - the melding of music, games, and instruction - was an important part of precolonial

[71] Blandina Makina, "Rhythm, Rhyme and Songfulness: The Role of Shona Children's Gamesongs in Education," *Muzika: Journal of Music Research in Africa* 6, no 1: 51.

Shona education. It was an informal affair that focused on the moral, ethical, religious, and practical foundations of Shona society and its expectations of behavior.

Music also held, and continues to hold, an integral place in Shona religious ceremonies. Weddings and grave ceremonies[72] are generally accompanied by musical performances, while the *Bira* ceremony holds the highest place in the pantheon of Shona musical performance. These ceremonies are conducted in order to contact ancestral spirits for consultation. Oftentimes, spirits are sought out due to sickness or familial distress, although sometimes *Bira* ceremonies are merely conducted to honor specific family members. Musicians are handpicked for the occasion and play the music most liked by the ancestral spirit being summoned. The idea is to draw the spirit of one's ancestor into a medium that will then convey its message. Dance accompanies the music played on *mbira*, *ngoma*, and *hosho*, food and

[72] Much like a funeral, these ceremonies are held one year after death.

special beer are served, and the ceremony continues through the night and until dawn. Music only pauses during the period in which the medium has been possessed.

As ethnomusicologist Thomas Turino explains, the participatory nature of these and other ceremonies illustrate the complexity of roles music and musicians hold in Shona society. Music was often used to express unhappiness with familial or community affairs, in times of war, and as hymns to the Supreme Being, *Mwari*. Dancers, singers, drummers, and especially *mbira* players are all responsible for maintaining the quality and continuity of a performance with no individual dominating the shared experience. Precolonial Shona music "tended to be communal possessions… songs were performed as part of Shona cumulative tradition, with ample space for improvisation and innovation."[73]

While Shona music is as instrumentally and

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[73] Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2006): 25.

compositionally diverse as the multitudes of ethno-linguistic groups composing "Shona-ness," the vocal elements of Shona music are usually performed in three parts. These are the *mushauri* (one who leads), *muvambi* (one who begins), and *vatsinhiri* (those who agree with or accompany). There is also an occasional bass vocal called the *mahon'era*.[74] This multi-part approach also applies to the multi-part stylings of *mbira* players. In all cases, exception *is* the rule and adaptation and invention are encouraged - a quality which proved necessary after the arrival of Europeans and the onslaught of colonial rule.

Western Music Enters the Fray

Understanding the hybridization of African music in Southern Rhodesia requires an appreciation of what came before. By that, I mean that Southern Rhodesia's late incorporation into the British Empire meant that it was subject to methods of cultural synthesis

[74] Chitando, 22.

utilized for decades in the colonies of South Africa. Therefore, going southwards, and into Zulu, Sotho, and Xhosa-dominated realms is necessary to understand how Southern Rhodesian musical evolution was tied to a combination of European hymnody and musical and cultural appropriations (both religious and secular) from the United States. By the time Rhodes' pioneer columns pushed north of the Limpopo in 1890 - bringing social and cultural change along with an unquenchable thirst for material wealth – there was a precedent among missionaries and government officials for African "cultural hybridization" in the region. Indeed, as the BSAC (and later the Southern Rhodesian government) established what amounted to systems of secular and ecclesiastical epistemicide, the Shona and Matabele, much like their Zulu, Xhosa, and Sotho cousins, adapted and resisted, melded and maintained. The only question was what the final product would look like.

By the late nineteenth century, white and black Americans immigrating to South Africa in order to get a

piece of the Magnificent African Cake found that Africans were increasingly well informed of the Post-Civil War realties facing their black American brethren. Music was an indirect channel to the black American experience - a page ripped from the imagined community of the African diaspora. It was fundamental in the dissemination of knowledge and the creation of ethical viewpoints – especially among the independent African clergy and their flocks - and significantly shaped the paradigms of South Africa black identity well into the twentieth century. In the opinion of ethnomusicologist Veit Erlmann:

> [T]he country's black performance practices during the earlier decades of [the twentieth] century seem to reveal little-known layers and niches of consciousness that help to shed light on the nonmaterial, subjective forces and symbolic processes that have shaped South African society…[75]

This was a seminal moment. The growing exodus of Africans from European denominations and into

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75 Veit Erlmann. *African Stars: Studies in Black South African Performance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991: *xviii*.

independent African churches throughout the 1890s was a direct challenge to European authority over African spiritual life. These churches, bolstered by the arrival of the AME Church, used Afro-American music to challenge the cultural imperialism inherent in hymnody and performance standards. The dialogue between the United States and South Africans was "a force, from which the oppressed black peoples of the diaspora could draw intellectual and psychological sustenance."[76]

However, the black American experience conveyed through music and performance – particularly *secular* music and performance - was largely a sham, a caricature derived from white conceptions of blackness. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, Africans were inundated with these inaccurate representations of black America – diluted and racialized stereotypes constructed by whites for the entertainment of whites. These minstrel shows were

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[76] John W. Cell, *The Highest Stage of White Supremacy: The Origins of Segregation in South Africa and the American South* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982): 22.

extremely popular among black and white audiences alike, and were instrumental in the creation of new and long-lasting paradigms in the black South African consciousness.

Orpheus McAdoo and the Irony of Minstrality

By the 1880s, minstrel shows were the most popular form of White entertainment in South Africa. From the English-dominated Cape Colony to the Boer-controlled Orange Free State and Transvaal, minstrels offered Whites an assuredness of their racial superiority through savage mockery of black American culture. These shows typically featured songs, dances, riddles, puns, "one-liners," acrobatic acts, and speeches delivered in the caricatured dialects of African Americans. Initially performed in blackface, minstrality soon found an audience among the Colored communities of South Africa. In fact, the annual "Coon Carnival" still exists to this day - a vestige of a dark past that reveled in racialized buffoonery. In one of the

great ironies of musical history, these imitations of an American idiom eventually appealed to black Africans who "transformed it creatively into a genuine black South African urban tradition that had ramifications for the modern styles of the 1920s and 1930s."[77]

Minstrality's popularity among black South Africans originated from the performances of Orpheus McAdoo and his Virginia Jubilee Singers between 1890 and 1898. McAdoo and his players - like many of the most fascinating historical characters - were a contradiction. On one hand, they were *proponents* of imperialism due to the unique status of "honorary whites" bestowed upon them by the South African government. They also believed that colonialism's civilizing mission to be a long-term benefit to indigenous peoples. However, the Virginia Jubilee Singers – and McAdoo in particular - eventually changed their outlook after they themselves became victims of the increasingly stringent racial edicts of the South

[77] Erlmann, 32.

African and Boer governments.

After the first Anglo-Boer War, the status of "honorary white" was abolished in South Africa, leaving McAdoo and his troupe – long in favor with the highest echelon of the South African state – in the same classification as black South Africans. His eyes opened to the cruel fickleness of racism, McAdoo protested African pass laws and incorporated lectures on African American history into his shows. These lectures struck a chord with young Africans and those of the African middle class who desired to break free from the shackles of racial inequity.

Young African clerks and clergymen regarded McAdoo and his troupe with high esteem and placed them on a pedestal as bastions of black American liberation and sources of inspiration. Thus began a long history of Africans looking towards their American kin's struggle for racial equality as an ideal to aspire to. And McAdoo was more than a figurehead in this endeavor, growing increasingly bold in his affirmations of

African power. After visits to several African institutions of higher learning, he proclaimed that the "Kaffir race is the most powerful in this part [Natal] and the most intelligent."[78] He subsequently established a scholarship for Africans at his Alma matter - the Hampton Institute in Virginia, drawing the ire of South African whites incredulous of the prospect of educated Africans.[79]

McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee singers had a lasting impact on the musical and political cultures of southern Africa. Through their connections with the growing African elite, McAdoo and his singers succeeded in, according to James Campbell, "open[ing] up a lasting cultural channel between black America and black South Africa and, through an extraordinary set of contingencies, precipitated the union of Ethiopian and AME churches."[80] This cultural channel, heightened by

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78 *Southern Workman*, November 1890: 120 and *Southern Workman*, January 1894:15.
79 Erlmann, 45.
80 Campbell, *Songs of Zion*, 128.

the belief of black American sophistication and expedited by the de-tribalizing effects of Ethiopianism, extended beyond the musical and into the material. According to Campbell, many of South Africa's elite African contingent were prone to keep organs – a decidedly un-African musical instrument – in their homes as signifiers of socioeconomic standing and sophistication.

However, they were but one part of a larger shift in attitudes among the black South Africans about their social and political aspirations. Also central to the endeavor were the aforementioned independent African churches that split from European denominations over their patriarchal attitudes and restrictive practices. Even before McAdoo and his troupe's arrived on African shores, the African clergy believed that music was central to the conversion of African religiosity and society as a whole. Consequently, two avenues of musical innovation were explored. First, African composers were encouraged to write hymns in a Western

vein, melding African vernaculars with harmonic hymnody. Conversely, pre-existing indigenous music was appropriated for Christian religious services.[81] At stake was Western religious musical orthodoxy, on one side, and African agency in cultural production on the other. There was also a "middle ground" – the African American model of cultural hybridity – specifically the melding of indigenous musical and cultural idioms with their Western counterparts for religious instruction and praise. In many instances, this was the preferred choice among whites and educated Africans because, despite of their obvious difference, they both desired forms of African worship that adhered to the conservative morals of the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Musical Values in African Christianity

The reason for separation in African worship was due to the rise of sectarianism in South Africa. Henry Weman, in his analysis of southern and central African

81 Chikoweo, African Music, Power, and Being, 71.

music, claims that these sects emerged from "an unwillingness to be subjected to…stricter disciplines, a desire to perpetuate old, hereditary customs, and a need for a closer adaptation to the needs of the tribe."[82] However, unlike congregations who broke with European denominations yet still adhered to foundational Christian tenets (i.e. the Trinity, marriage law, etc.), sects like Isaiah Shembe's Church of the Nazarene often dispensed with Christian traditions in favor of African practices like polygamy (perhaps the most abhorrent of indigenous cultures to missionary sensibilities) and ritualistic circumcision schools. Furthermore, the hymns of sects reflected their denouncement of orthodox doctrines and the rise of personality cults around leaders like Shembe. These cults of personality oftentimes removed Christ from the equation and elevated leaders to prophetic positions. So goes Hymn No. 154 from the Nazarite Hymnal:

I believe in the Father

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[82] Henry Weman, *African Music and the Church in Africa* (Uppsala: Ab Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1960): 102.

And in the Holy Spirit
And in the communion of saints
Of the Nazarites

Notice that there is no mention of "The Son" in the Zulu *summa fidei*. Their music echoes their distaste for Western orthodoxy via the promotion of Afro-centric religiosity. In fact, there seems to be a transposition of messianic images from the Holy Land into South Africa. Hymn 154 continues:

For out of thee (Judah)
Prophets shall come forth
Who will save
The city of Ohlange

Chorus: So it is also today
On the hilltops of Ohlange

Weman concludes that the goal of such hymns is to establish Shembe as prophet of God. He suspected an insidious plot through which "what once happened to Jesus, among the Jews and for their salvation, is now being re-enacted through Shembe, among the Zulus and

for their salvation."[83]

However, certain mainstream offshoots – specifically from Methodism – had far more tempered approaches to their revisionist doctrines, ones which integrated syncretic hymnody for socio-political mobility and allied themselves with organizations of like mind and purpose. When the African Methodist Episcopal and Ethiopian churches joined forces in the 1890s, the AME championed the use of African American spirituals to replace European hymns because they believed them to be the "appropriate expressive idiom for a church based on a specifically black reading of the gospel."[84] Ultimately, AME leaders wanted to mold African American idioms into African church hymnody – thus freeing it from European control.[85]

But while the South African AME Church and its choirs were irrevocably influenced by the African American experience and their perception of African

83 Ibid., 104.
84 Campbell, 85.
85 Ibid., 49.

American culture as an example of racial advancement, attempts at alternative African hymnody had already been underway for decades. As early as the 1870s, Xhosa missionary John Knox Bokwe was melding African melodies, call and response patterns, and vernacular languages with organs, four-part harmonies, and the diaTonic scale. Just as Ethiopianism represented doctrinal redefinition, African hymnody represented cultural redefinition that simultaneously utilized, and outright rejected, European standards. In concert, they were a powerful force that defied white authority. Undoubtedly, the longest lasting vestige of this religious and musical syncretism was the hymn Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika (God Bless Africa).

Originally composed in 1897 by Methodist school teacher Enoch Sontonga, "God Bless Africa" perfectly encapsulates the musical - and consequently cultural - hybridity of late-nineteenth and early twentieth century southern Africa. Set to the hymn "Aberystwyth" by Welsh composer Joseph Perry and sung in Xhosa

(followed by Zulu, Shona, and a bevy of other languages), Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika was first performed in 1899 and popularized in the early 1900s through the tours of the Ohlange Institute Choir. God Bless Africa is a quintessential example of musical appropriation's transformative power. What began as a simple praise song set to a Welsh melody grew into a cornerstone of African self-determination. When Ohlange Institute founder and first president of the South African Native National Congress (SAANC), John Dube, asked that the song be performed at the closing prayer of the first SAANC meeting in 1912, it immediately ceased to be a mere expression of reverence.

It also ceased to belong to Sontonga in any way that a song can belong to an individual. By 1927, Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika was not only the official anthem of the newly minted African National Congress (ANC), but had been expanded by poet Samuel E. Mqhayi to include seven additional verses. This would be a common occurrence as the song became a living document,

molded and adapted to fit the changing needs of the nationalist movement. By 1960, with the Sharpeville Massacre, the declaration of a state of emergency, the banning of the ANC, house arrests, and assassinations of South African officials, "[w]hat began as a religious song had become political — performed at meetings, rallies and gatherings of defiance."[86] Enoch Sontaga died in 1905, never to see his simple hymn's adoption as the national anthems of South Africa, Tanzania, Namibia, Zambia, and Zimbabwe,[87] nor its lasting impact on cultural, social, and political history of a continent. But full lasting is the song, though he, the singer, passes.

Lord bless Africa
May her glory be lifted high
Hear our petitions
Lord bless us, your children

Lord we ask you to protect our nation

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[86] Siemon Allen, "The South African National Anthem: A History on Record," *flatint*, http://www.press.uchicago.edu/books/turabian/turabian_citationguide.html.

[87] Namibia, Zambia, and Zimbabwe have since adopted new national anthems.

Intervene and end all conflicts
Protect us, protect our nation
Protect South Africa, South Africa

Out of the blue of our heavens
Out of the depths of our seas
Over our everlasting mountains
Where the echoing crags resound

Sounds the call to come together,
And united we shall stand,
Let us live and strive for freedom
In South Africa our land.

As Africans continually reformed their identity over the next fifty years, these hymns, especially Sontoga's, became synonymous with political mobilization drawn from the conceptual paradigm of slavery and freedom popularized by Afro-American music. However, the incorporation of Western music was a double-edged sword. On one side, Western culture became tantamount to Gospel. Missionaries and elites – both white *and* black - touted the loving acceptance of Christendom while exclusively valuing Western culture. Missionary Ralph Dodge, expelled from Southern Rhodesia in the mid-1960s because of his anti-government rhetoric, lamented that "too often this meant that the

good news of western culture was proclaimed instead of the Good News of Jesus Christ."[88] However, despite Dodge's claim that many Africans eventually "outwesterned" Westerners and gave little credence to pre-colonial culture, the presence of hybridized music like *Makwaya* suggests that, at least initially, Africans in Southern Rhodesia actively tried to meld old and new, bridging the gaps of geography and culture in an attempt to guard indigenous lifeways while appeasing the demands of European prejudice.

The Storm Without the Music: Colonialism and Musical Ethics in Southern Rhodesia

Unlike previous assertions of benevolent attitudes towards African culture,[89] there is little doubt that the Southern Rhodesian government, in concert with missionaries and settlers, actively discouraged indigenous social practices through restrictive

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[88] Ralph E. Dodge, *The Unpopular Missionary* (Westwood, New Jersey: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1964): 46-47.
[89] Turino, *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans*, 113.

legislation and socio-cultural engineering. Any claims to the contrary illustrate a misconstruction of the colonial government's words, and a blindness to their deeds. In reality, their efforts represented an all-out assault on indigenous lifeways by demonizing centuries of religious, economic, and cultural practices. Consequently, Shona and Ndebele music struggled to survive. What emerged, however, were new musical genres that responded to the repressive mandates of colonialism.

Central to the evolution of African music in Southern Rhodesia was a growing dissatisfaction over the increased industrialization, immigration, and institutionalization wrought by imperial desires. Drastic shifts from rural to urban life, the migration of African men to work in mines, factories, and on farms, the institution of wage labor, the subsequent displacement of families, and resulting generational conflict were all major issues of African discontent. But as the Southern Rhodesian government began

demanding increased control over African "development," the growing rift between mission, state, and traditional authorities caught many Africans in the cross-fire. Consequently, music and performance became both a cause and a catharsis for African vexations.

As protest songs were a fundamental component of the Shona musical repertoire, colonial subjugation provided a wealth of material. Work songs became early protest mediums as laborers complained of harsh conditions, unfair pay, oppressive foremen, and bollixed but determined missionaries.[90] There was also an influx of peoples from present day Malawi, Zambia and Mozambique to work as laborers alongside the Shona and Matabele. These individuals added their own musical and performative influences to an already rich musical malaise. The following is an example of a Mozambique work song lamenting one's subjugation at the hands of a foreman.[91]

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[90] Khari, 89.

[91] Ibid.

Solo: *O taremba, O taremba*

O, we are tired, O, we are tired

Chorus: *Mbore [ya]ma[i]ko kapitau, taremba*

Your mother's penis, Mr. Foreman, we are tired

While imperial economics provided the impetus for colonial expansion and ethnic amalgamation, the influence of Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Dutch Reformist missionaries on African music cannot be understated. As mission schools grew into centers for religious, educational, and economic affairs, they became hubs of cultural hybridization. African children who grew up at mission stations, on African purchase lands, and in the White house holds where their parents worked, gradually acculturated to the moral, ethical, and cultural practices of their environments. These included, but were not limited to: wage labor, the value of money, cuisine, dress, hygiene, and of course, music. They were also exposed to European concepts of nationhood,

and eventually, democracy.[92]

African Hymnody: A Case Study in Cultural Imperialism

The Shona and Matabele were first exposed to European music through hymns sung in mission services. To Africans – and specifically the Shona – hymns were not necessarily an alien concept. While the *musicality* of European hymnody was different from Shona vocal performances due to its emphasis on harmony over polyphony, rhythm, and tonality, Shona hymns were similar in *purpose* to European hymnody with one difference – they could simultaneously be for praise *and* protest. The following is an example of such a song.

Solo: *Mwari iwe ihe-e hiya hehahe*
You O God ihe-e hiya hehahe
Chorus: *Mwari wakatonga zvakaipisa*
God judged wrongly
Solo: *Ho ihe ihe-ho ihe-e*

[92] Thomas Turino, *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008): 136-137.

Ho ihe ihe-ho ihe-e

Chorus: *Ho ihe ihe wohe iho woye*

Ho ihe ihe wohe iho woye

Solo: *Nhasi ndorusara nani pavamwe*

Today with whom do I throw away [this plight] in the presence of others

Ho ihe ihe wohe ihe ihe wohe

Ho ihe ihe wohe ihe ihe wohe

Chorus: *Ho pasi rakatonga zvakaipisa*

Ho the Earth judged very badly

Solo: *Mwari iwe ihe-e hiya hehahe*

You, O God, ihe-e hiya hehahe

Chorus: *Ho vakafa vakasiya hwahwa nenyama*

The dead left beer and meat

Ho ye-e hiya hehahe

Amai vangu ndoendepiko vamwe

Mother where do I go to, please

Ho ihe ihe wonde

Chikara chakatonga zvisina vamwe.

God [the creator] judged in a way that has not been experienced before.[93]

Unfortunately, however much Africans understood the purpose of hymns, they had yet to master the

[93] Khari, 83.

requisite linguistic and compositional skills necessary for musical production in the Western tradition. Consequently, early African choirs merely imitated, rather than engaged, Western hymns. While the adoption of the Zulu and Shona[94] Bibles lessened gaps in doctrinal understanding, hymns translated into African languages – oftentimes superficially transfigured European standards - were insufficient to bridge conceptual divides, engender cultural understanding, and induce total conversion.

Oftentimes, the crux of the problem lies in missionaries' unwillingness to accept African music as a viable form of worship. The performance standards of various denominations, along with African linguistic and musical literacy, are two key points that illustrate the paternalistic attitudes of early missionaries towards African music. Much like their brethren in the Caribbean and the American South, Africans were forced to leave their pre-Christian

[94] In 1883 and 1911, respectively.

cultural practices behind when they entered into mission schools. Colonial institutions – much like slave plantations – actively discouraged indigenous religious, social, and musical practices while actively encouraging acculturation to Western lifeways, ethics, and mores.

However, these standards were far from ecumenical. Linda Williams, in her interview with a Zimbabwean Catholic priest, Father Emmanuel Ribeiro, notes that Protestant denominations often had far more rigorous – dare we say puritanical - standards for performance. Father Ribeiro claimed that:

> The Christian churches were unspeakably intolerant, insensitive to, and ignorant of our religious musical practices. They mounted an orchestrated effort to destroy these values by forbidding any singing and dancing. Unlike Catholic services, in Christian churches it became a sin for converted Christians to merely move while singing hymns.[95]

While some bans on hand clapping, dance, and general emotive were due to fundamentalist austerity

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[95] Williams, "Straight Fashioned Melodies": 287.

doctrines[96]; a reoccurring theme in Protestant discourses was that Africans' *spiritual* impurity was manifest in their *bodily* impurity. Missionaries claimed to have watched in horror as "the native minstrels with bodies besmeared with a filthy mixture of fat and red earth, [moved] about singing songs that could be relished by none but people of utterly depraved minds."[97] Therefore, music modified, composed, and performed by Africans needed to adapt to the prejudiced revulsion of missionaries while somehow maintaining its musical and cultural heritage.

Hindering African musical agency was the fact that by the mid-nineteenth century, very few Africans had mastered Western musical literacy. This fact was often used as further proof of African cultural inadequacy. The fact that *only* Western music used written scores as its primary means of composition and transmission often

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96 John B. Radasi, *The Life and Labors of a Native African Missionary* (Gisborne, New Zealand: The Gisborne Herald Co., Ltd., 1966): 30.

97 Thomas Westgate, "A New Era," International Church Missionary Gleaner 40 (Feb. 1913): 56. (CITED IN Linda Williams).

escaped enlightened missionaries and visionary bureaucrats who claimed it as evidence of their cultural superiority. But contrary to their belief, Christopher Small argues that

> [T]he [staff] notation system tends to set limits to what the composer can imagine or a performer play. As one might expect, it reflects the priorities of its musical culture; in our culture is well adapted to the elaboration of harmony on the diatonic tempered scale (the more the music departs from the diatonic scale the more complex is to notation read, though not necessarily to play), to the simple and regular patterns in links which are divided in multiples of two, and to the deployment of large ensembles of instruments and voices. The notorious rhythmic difficulties… Are due to complexities not in the music (much African music features rhythmic patterns that make it sound almost childishly simple, but since nobody is called upon to write them down to meet them the music is labeled 'primitive') but in the notation.[98]

Limitations in Western musical training were overcome by the use of Tonic Sol-fa. Invented by Sarah Ann Glover, popularized by John Curwen, and brought to Africa by missionary Christopher Burkett in 1855, Tonic

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98 Christopher Small, *Education, Music, Society* (Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, 1996): 31.

Sol-fa bridged the gap between the staff notation of Western sheet music and the aural transmission methods popular amongst Africans. For decades, it was *the* mnemonic device used by African composers to remember and reconstruct their creations. However, Tonic Sol-fa is an imperfect system. Because it uses letters and punctuation marks rather than notes and staffs, it is difficult to approach musical instruction holistically (via simultaneous graphic representations of rhythm, melody, harmony, etc.). Meter and accent are often incorrect, and when lyrics are incorporated it is difficult for the eye to differentiate between words and notation. Because of these limitations, lyrics could only be introduced after a hymn's melody was ingrained through memorization. Therefore, aural transmission remained fundamental to the success of African choirs through the mid-twentieth century.[99]

Adding to the problematic use of Tonic Sol-fa was

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[99] David Coplan, *In Township Tonight: Three Centuries of South African Black City Music and Theatre* (Longman, Inc., 1985): 140.

the aforementioned transliteration of European hymns into African languages, a practice that often resulted in gross errors in song meanings. By forcing Africans to adhere to tonal structures common in European languages, songs often lost all meaning and indigenous sensibility. Consequently, Africans were unable to feel fully comfortable in their performances. A.M. Jones laments that:

> We have to force the African to distort his own language so cruelly that that it is no wonder that on occasions he simply cannot do it….If then, we use European tunes, either we make the African [sing a] language that is not his, or we force him to adopt a musical convention which is new to him – namely that the rise and fall of melody have nothing to do with speech tones…in English we use the rise and fall of speech tones not often as integral parts of the actual structure of a word, but as a ingredients in emphasis or comparison.[100]

But regardless of its shortcomings, Tonic Sol-fa was the best method of musical education available to early missionaries and African composers. By 1876,

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[100] A.M. Jones, "Hymns for the African," *Newsletter: African Music Society* 1, no. 3 (1950): 9-10.

British presses were publishing Tonic Sol-fa hymnals for Xhosa and Zulu missionaries and converts in South Africa.[101] And by the turn of the century, Tonic Sol-fa had even gained popularity among South African independent churches as a way to create African hymns outside the ridged musicological ideologies imposed by missionaries and Western staff notation.

[101] Radasi, 5.

MANUAL SIGNS OF TONE IN KEY.

NOTE.—*The diagrams show the hand as seen from the left of the teacher, not as seen from the front. Teachers should particularly notice this.*

soh

The GRAND or *bright* tone.

te

The PIERCING or *sensitive* tone.

me

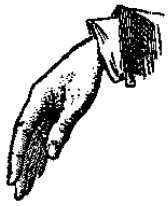
The STEADY or *calm* tone.

doh

The STRONG or *firm* tone.

ray

The ROUSING or *hopeful* tone.



lah

The SAD or *weeping* tone.

fah

The DESOLATE or *awe-inspiring* tone.

For **fe**, let the teacher point his first finger horizontally to the left. For **ta**, ditto to the right. To the class these positions will be reversed, and will correspond with the Modulator. For **se**, let the teacher point his fore-finger straight towards the class.

IMAGE 2: HAND SIGNALS FOR TONIC SOLFA

Ingelosi I Ya Gwaba.

Ngezwa izwi lezingelosi eziningi * * * za ti, ngezwi elikulu, "Li fanele iUndhlu elihlatshiweyo ukwamkela amandhla, nomcebo, nokuhlakanipa, nobuqawe, nodumo, nobukosi, nokubongwa." ISAM. 5: 11, 12.

2

ANGEL VOICES (Key F) 14. 14. 15. SIR ARTHUR SULLIVAN.

m : – : m | m : f : m	r : – : de | r : – : s_1	d : – : d | r : – : r	m : – : – | m : – : –
d : – : d | d : – : d	t_1 : – : le_1 | t_1 : – : s_1	s_1 : – : s_1 | t_1 : – : t_1	d : – : – | d : – : –
s : – : s | s : l : s	f : – : m | s : – : s	m : – : m | s : – : s	s : – : – | s : – : –
d : – : d | d : – : d	s_1 : – : s_1 | s_1 : – : s_1	s_1 : – : s_1 | s_1 : – : s_1	d : – : – | d : – : –
I - nge-lo - si i	ya gwa - ba pa - mbi kway' i - Nko - si.		

m : – : m | m : f : m	r : – : r | s : – : r	t_1 : – : t_1 | t_1 : d : l_1	s_1 : – : – | s_1 : – : –
d : – : d | d : – : d	r : – : r | r : – : t_1	s_2 : – : s_2 | fe_1 : – : fe_1	s_1 : – : – | s_1 : – : –
s : – : s | s : l : s	fe : – : fe | s : – : s	r : – : r | r : – : d	t_1 : – : – | t_1 : – : –
d : – : d | d : – : d	d : – : d | t_1 : – : s_1	r : – : r | r_1 : – : r_1	s_1 : – : – | s_1 : – : –
I - zi - ngu - bu zi	ya ka - la,—zo - nke, a zi	ye - ki.	

s : – : l | s : – : f	s : – : l | s : – : f	l : – : – | t : – : –
ta_1 : – : d | ta_1 : – : l_1	ta_1 : – : d | ta_1 : – : l_1	d : – : – | r : – : –
m : – : m | f : – : f	m : – : m | f : – : f	l : – : – | s : – : –
d : – : d | f_1 : – : f_1	d : – : d | f_1 : – : f_1	f : – : – | f : – : –
I - zi - nku - lu - ngwa - ne zi	ya yi	du -	

d' : – : – | s : – : –	m : – : – | m : – : r	d : – : – | – : – : –
d : – : – | d : – : –	t_1 : – : – | t : – : –	d : – : – | – : – : –
s : – : – | m : – : –	f : – : – | f : – : –	m : – : – | – : – : –
m : – : – | d : – : –	s_1 : – : – | s_1 : – : –	d : – : – | – : – : –
mi - sa	i - Nko - si.		

1 Ingelosi i ya gwaba pambi kway' iNkosi.
Izingubu zi ya kala, — zonke, a zi yeki.
Izinkulungwane zi ya yi dumisa iNkosi.

2 Wena, o nge nakubonwa ngaw' amehlo etu,
Konje, u ya naka ukugwaba kwetu zoni?
Konje, u seduze nati? u ya si zwa: E yebo.

3 Namhla, Nkulunkulu, si ya let' okwetu kuwe;
Si ya kala, u kwamkele noma ku nganele —
Inhliziyo, naz' izandhla, nezwi letu, E konke.

2

IMAGE 3: AN EXAMPLE OF A TRANSLITERATED HYMN IN TONIC SOL-FA.

However, the paternalistic ear was omniscient in its analysis of African musical capability and often dehumanizing in its critique. Despite forcing Africans to adhere to musical standards that were based largely on alien idioms, missionaries continued to belittle African aesthetics in a spirit of stupor, with eyes blinded and ears deafened, as evidenced in a 1916 report from the St. Augustine Mission in Mashonaland:

> No, the Mashonas are not a musical race, and perhaps to a trained ear their singing is the storm without the music, but as one watches their dark eager faces a certain old legend comes to mind. A legend which tells of three old monks whose voices were so unmusical that, as they chanted their Magnificat[102], the birds were driven fluttering from the trees. One night a boy of beautiful voice joins in their praises and the monk's voices are stilled as they listen to the chanting, but soon an angel appears to know why no voice of praise has reached the Throne that night. The boy's voice was beautiful but full of self and so reached no higher than the tree tops – the quavery, unmusical voices of the monks being winged with love reached heavenwards. So too, perhaps, the voices of our boys and girls make music at the Throne of God.[103]

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[102] Also as the "Song of Mary." It is one of the eight oldest Christian hymns. Taken from the Gospel of Luke, it tells the story of Mary meeting the pregnant Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist.

[103] Rev. Fr. C.R. Baker or Rev. Fr. D. Drury. St. Augustine's Mission. Southern Rhodesia Quarterly Paper.

If we are to take the author at his word – which is rarely a sound course of action when dealing with liturgical dogmatists - then the unmusicality of the African voice is merely the consequence of their lack of Christian devotion. In this story, the boy (a.k.a. the African) produces the joyful noise, which saves nature from the horror of the monks' voices. However, that alone is not enough, because God resides above both nature and worldly aesthetics. Despite the horror of the monks' "joyful noise," it is still the only sound worthy of God's ears. Only through *His* acceptance can one truly actualize their spiritual and musical value.

This appraisal of musical culture was a fundamental divider in African identity. By the 1930s, cultural production and consumption became central to how different African classes saw themselves in the colonial social hierarchy. The divides between the

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Southern Rhodesia Mission Association. No XCVII, August 1916.

educated and uneducated was symbolized by musical preference – a battleground, of sorts, for this ideological conflict. For the African elite, an acceptance of Christian values and lifeways was the best path towards self-actualization and social equality. Pre-Christian indigenous music, in the opinion of "cultured and progressive" Africans, "[did] not attract educated Natives because they judge it inferior and disparage it…Native music expresses crudely the feeling and the instincts of all men, whatever their age and station, and sometimes makes them act very foolishly."[104] However, for many – especially migrant workers not tethered to mission education and traditional rulers whose authority was undermined by the colonial order – a connection to their respective homelands and pre-colonial lifeways trumped the supposed fruits of Western enculturation.

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[104] M. I'Abbe Idohou, "Indigenous and Sacred Music," *Newsletter: African Music Society* 1, no. 2 (1949): 11.

Night Singing and Rising Cultural Protest

Despite the best efforts of missionaries and teachers to break Africans of their "delinquent" culture, it was far too ingrained to exorcise completely. The continued use of Tonic Sol-fa, coupled with transliteration, created an extremely discordant culture already strained from the growing divide between a Western-educated youth and increasingly marginalized traditional rulers. Further undermining pre-colonial culture were African educators and missionaries who composed songs sung in four-part harmony. These *Kwaya* (plural, *Makwaya*) became immensely popular in Southern Rhodesian mission schools throughout the 1930s and 1940s. They spawned choir competitions and tours, simultaneously spreading the Gospel and syncretic African music. Stanlake Samkange, son of the revered Reverend Thomas Samkange, details one such choral competition in his memoir *The Mourned One*. Coming under the guise of a member of his school's choir, Stanlake recalls that upon nearing the venue

[The choir] began to sing one of those songs which not only praised our school, Mariga, but also eulogized and lionized our teacher, the Evangelist Magedi….The concert was held in a large glass enclosure near the school.…the M.C., shouting like a sergeant on parade, kept some sort of order. He invited people to come forward and ask for any choir to sing at the cost of a tickey, i.e. three pennies….Somebody went forward, placed a tickey on the table and asked that Mariga should sing….And Mariga choir began singing and dancing, advancing and retreating; making such slow progress towards the table as would have shamed a chameleon. 'Hear ye! Hear ye!' said the M.C., interrupting the singing. "Mr. Mgugu, son of Chipata, says. "What rubbish! We all know Mariga can't sing. Let them sit down and listen to Chikaka – with this Bull of a Sixpence." Calp your hands!' And Mariga sat down while Chikaka began preparing to advance and retreat towards the table. But even before they had warmed up, they were made to sit down. This went on for some time until somebody had run out of money.[105]

What Samkange details above is the combination of school pride, microeconomics, and an increasingly familiarized mission community. However, despite the obvious economic benefits, these choral competitions continued the communal participation central to pre-colonial indigenous events. Stanlake recalled

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[105] Stanlake Samkange, *The Mourned One* (London: Heinemann, 1975): 102.

> I like the fact that once a choir was called upon to sing, anyone could join as it slowly danced to and from the table. Anyone could also help it with its main song, which was usually rendered with the teacher conducting the choir. I was surprised when one choir struck up the tune 'Mary Mary' from Waddilove. Instantly it was a hit, and any choir called upon to sing after that advanced and retreated singing 'Mary Mary' and so was busy the whole night.[106]

But regardless of its connection to indigenous culture, Stanlake's remembrances are indicative of a major shift within African social hierarchies brought on by responses to colonialism. By the 1920s, African sub-cultures like the above choral competitions became prominent forces in the redefinition of African identity. In mission stations and tribal trust lands, educated and semi-educated African youths adapted traditional performance to contest the power of missionaries and traditional rulers while attempting to create an identity culled from decades of rapid social change. Their youthful exuberance, in the context of generational conflict over Western enculturation, represents an overlooked binary in the battle for

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[106] Ibid., 103.

African allegiances and offers an excellent example of how music was becoming a method of battling colonial realities.

In response to the colonial order, which divided African families and communities in an effort to undermine traditional power structures and maximize African labor, Africans started adapting performance styles to comment on, and rebel against, the scourges of colonialism in the early twentieth century. The aforementioned work songs and Africanized hymns were but a few examples. Adapted performances were also in the form of "night dances," a combination of dance, music, and sometimes "illicit" behaviors that often confounded authorities as to their true purpose. According to Ivo Mhike's excellent study of the phenomenon, the term "night dances" had two correlative meanings. It was first an obvious reference the hours during which the dances took place. However, it also possessed ominous overtones for colonial authorities, the traditional gerontocracy, and African elites who

believed them to be hotbeds of immorality and dissention.

Unfortunately, a broad range of dances, music, and general congregations were often lumped together under the "night dance" misnomer. "In this respect," concludes Mhike, "using "night dances" as the catch phrase…was not only problematic for the administrators, but also threatened to infringe on those dances which were deemed "legitimate"."[107] While at times, night dances were indeed all-night benders and youthful dancing of a much more amorous nature, they were also celebratory community events that, in hindsight, illustrated the impending disintegration of traditional rule.

For example, the *Chibububu* dance was a product of the new colonial economy and its imposition of migrant labor and taxation. When men returned to their villages from the mines, the *Chibububu* exalted their

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[107] Ivo Mhike, "Untidy Tools of Colonialism: Education, Christianity, and Social Control in Southern Rhodesia - The Case of Night Dances, 1920s to the 1930s": 4.

return and the money they brought to help pay taxes. However, while village chiefs oversaw the *Chibubudu*, the recognition of younger men and the importance of hard currency placed serious strains on their authority. In this way, night dancing - and performance in general - represented yet another battleground for African identity and power. But this battle was not rooted in the context of the rural and the urban, the educated and the uneducated, the state and the missionary, or the modern and the traditional. It crossed these well-trodden binaries because it was derived from generational disillusionment.

As increasing numbers of young Shona and Matabele were exposed to the "corrupting" influence of Western education, the African gerontocracy sought to curtail the advancement of Western ideals in the hope of maintaining their feeble grasp on power. The youth, on the other hand, were caught between a colonial state who had neither the will nor the resources to legislate against night dances, disillusioned traditional rulers

trying to maintain their feeble grasp on power, and a growing African middle class - fed by Western Christian ideals - who feared the immorality such events might encourage.

Consequently, there emerged a "marriage of convenience" between the African gerontocracy, the Southern Rhodesian state, and African elites. This should be of no surprise since, according to Richard Parry, "[t]he power of colonial ideology as a means of legitimizing the function of the social order, ebbed and flowed in accordance with circumstances, time and place."[108] In layman's terms – everyone made it up as they went along. For anyone who had managed to find a niche in the colonial order, the rising popularity of night dancing was a direct threat to their authority. While traditional rulers wanted to slow the hemorrhaging of their power and African elites wanted

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[108] Richard Parry, "Culture, Organization, and Class: The African Experience in Salisbury, 1892-1935 in *Sites of Struggle: Essays in Zimbabwe's Urban History* eds. Brian Raftopoulos and Tsuneo Yoshikuni (Harare: Weaver Press, 1999): 54.

increased moral and educational standards in the wake of rising drunkenness, sexual impurity, and religious sectarianism; the state saw mass gatherings of youths as both a physical security risk and a cesspool of anti-colonial sentiment. Quelling the rise in night dances was a way for the state to simultaneously cement their authority over African lifeways, marginalize missionary influence in African education, and further their vision of African development being for "the overall social and economic health of the colony."[109]

Consequently, night dancing became a microcosm of what might be termed the "colonial dance" – an interplay between the various Southern Rhodesian power structures vying for increased agency over African lives. Unfortunately for the colonial state – who were trying to lead without stepping on their date's toes - the situation would prove untenable. By choosing not to legislate against night dancing, but instead redoubling efforts to enforce the unenforacble Kaffir

[109] Southern Rhodesia, Report of the Director of Native Education (Salisbury, Government Printer, 1929): 14-15.

Beer Act and elevating traditional rulers through the Native Councils Act and the Native Law and Courts Act, the Southern Rhodesian government was actually feeding the beast of traditionalism they had long tried to starve. Furthermore, appealing to the authority of African institutions like the Conference of Christian Natives (CCN) only amplified the voice of the African middle class, increasing the self-worth of a previously marginalized organization.

The CCN – of whom Stanlake Samkange's father, Thomas, was a founding member – had several reasons to fear the spread of night dancing. First and foremost the CCN was the African mouthpiece of Protestant missions like the LMS, the American Board, and the Church of Christ.[110] Therefore, they were devoted to being "soldiers of One Master under the Banner of Christ, fighting with the works of darkness."[111] In

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110 Terence Ranger, *Are We Not Also Men: The Samkange Family and African Politics in Zimbabwe, 1920-1964* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1995): 5.
111 Ibid.

addition to accounts of drunkenness and sexual promiscuity, missionaries were rightfully concerned by the fact that Zionist and Vapostori churches had been slowly spreading north of the Limpopo since the early 1920s. For example, preachers like Shoniwa Masedza - who rechristened himself Johane Masowe (John of the Wilderness) and believed himself to be a second iteration of John the Baptist – began speaking out against taxation and the white clergy while prophesizing the departure of Europeans.[112] Fearing an Ethiopian movement similar to that which had swept South Africa, the CNN openly decried the evil of night dancing with all the evangelical zeal they could muster.

In hindsight, discord between the CNN and African youths was indicative of an inevitable fissure – namely the eventual split between the accomidationist old guard and young nationalists in the late 1950s and early 1960s. As we will see later on, the mentality of

[112] Superintendent CID to Staff Officer BSAP, Salisbury, 27 October 1932, NAZ S138/22.

the African middle class – and the CNN in particular – was tied to their foundation tenets of Christian morality and social mobility through education. While noble, their efforts – notably proclamations that "so called Dances or Tea-meetings held at night by irresponsible persons… [should] be eliminated..."[113] – were alienating and divisive.

Ultimately, night dancing created social organizations that differed from pre-colonial and middle class standards. Ironically, music like *Makwaya*, which had begun as an attempt to acculturate Africans to Christianity, was appropriated by youths and dissenters to assert their own identity. Consequently, it was decried for its immorality, reaffirming the schizophrenic relationship between African attempts to create "acceptable" music, the myopic morality of missionary ethics, and the desires of African youths to break free from the chains of

[113] NAZ S235/392 Native Dances: 1930 Inquiry into alleged immorality at "Night Dances". Circular from Chief Native Commissioner to Native Commissioners and Assistant Chief Native Commissioners.

tradition and colonialism. As increasing numbers of Africans immigrated to cities throughout the mid-twentieth century, institutions like "tea meetings" often became increasingly associated with moral bankruptcy, vice, and dissent. Indeed, as the twentieth century progressed, urban centers became hotbeds for the unholy trinity of sexual depravation, gambling, and alcoholism. However, these new environments also gave birth to beautiful sounds and songs impossible to conceive of in pastoral tranquility or holy reverence.

CHAPTER 3: AFRICAN POPULAR MUSIC IN ENTERS THE CITY

Some scholars, journalists, and general enthusiasts argue that the hybridity of African music in the twentieth century severely *detracted* from "authentic" representations of African culture. Like many who seem to forget that nostalgia is simply painting over the ugly parts and reselling the past for more than it is worth, journalists like Fred Zindi, and before him enthusiasts like Hugh Tracy, overemphasized the "traditional" while demonizing American and European music's corrupting influence. In their opinion, the adoption of Western idioms and instrumentation eroded African musical identity and cultural sensibilities. This portrayal is central to the once popular, but misguided, belief that African cultures across the continent declined in the wake of colonization and only reasserted themselves after independence. In the words of Ghanaian scholar Emmanuel Martey:

From the writings of both Africans and blacks in the Diaspora, African Christians have learned how colonialism drained African societies of their very essence, trampled African culture underfoot, undermined African institutions, confiscated its lands, smashed its religions, destroyed its magnificent artistic creations and wiped out extraordinary possibilities.[114]

"Decline and reemergence" not only reaffirmed Eurocentric interpretations of African expression and performance, but also gave authority to the African elite who, in their quest for social and political equality under colonial rule, often rejected "indigenous" culture in order better align themselves with the powers that be. Consequently, the "reemergence" of African culture in the second half of the twentieth century was largely a creation of African leaders – oftentimes members of the same elite – designed to bolster support among the masses by claiming a return to Africaness and a rejection of Western conceptions of propriety.

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[114] Emmanuel Martey, *African Theology: Inculturation and Liberation* (Maryknoll, NY: Obrbis Books, 1993): 8.

While indigenous culture was severely hampered by shame and subjugation, the supposed divisions between modernity and tradition were not as simplistic as once believed, nor were the power relations between colonizers and colonized one-sided. According to Mhoze Chikowero, "the cultural tensions and dynamics brewed in this arena of ideological instability are missed in much of the scholarship that has not looked beyond the very real cultural binaries that have continued to characterize Zimbabwean cultural sensibilities."[115] Specifically, Chikewero is lamenting how cultural imperialism "[essentializes] discourses of national and cultural authenticity and reduces complex interactions to a dichotomy of actor and acted upon, leaving too little place for the agency of the later."[116]

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115 Mhoze Chikewero, "Struggles Over Culture: Zimbabwe Music and Power, 1930-2007." (PhD diss., Dalhousie University, 2007): 13.

116 Ryan Dunch, "Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity," *History and Theory* 41, no. 3 (October 2002): 302.

Previous historical and cultural studies emphasized how "Western civilization has marched into Africa like a conqueror in triumph."[117] Furthermore, Western thoughts and habits were "in [the] process of conquering not only African society but the African himself."[118] Not to spoil these delusions of grandeur, but the power of Western culture over Africans was something of a paper tiger. Petty and harsh? Yes. Judgmental and moderately effectual? Unequivocally. But if hindsight has taught us anything, it is continual proof that it is impossible to purge the *essence* of a culture from memory. Yes, colonialism severely retarded Africans ability to freely practice indigenous lifeways, and discord between traditional leaders, youths, and the middle class divided African agency. But the cultural heritage of the Shona and Ndebele was not entirely subjugated and it was far from eradicated. It was merely recast in order to appease the demands of its environment.

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117 Weman, 127.

118 Ibid.

As evidenced by night dancing, the reality of mid-twentieth century Southern Rhodesia was that the kind of music one listened to – one's preference - was often indicative of their station in life. By the 1950s, Southern Rhodesia was being flooded by sheet music, musical instruments, records, and films that indoctrinated Africans in the popular cultural practices and social norms of the West. However, it was not a homogeneous enculturation nor a complete reversal of centuries of complex cultural and social practices. There existed pockets of resistance and degrees of indigenous expression against the idealized norm espoused by missionaries and government officials.

A major difficulty in the study of African popular culture and its application to identity formation amongst African urbanites is charting the evolution of popular music and performance in urban contexts. We have established how hymnody and choral traditions laid the foundation of cultural hybridization in the mission station environment as well as how night dancing turned

normative traditions on their heads. But when transposed to urban centers – with their vast ethnic and linguistic diversity – it becomes a far more difficult task. As new urban identities – that is, hierarchically ordained definitions of being and worth - emerged during the 1930s, the importance of popular music became inextricably tied to class, and later, democratic and nationalist values. According to Michael West

> The emergence of an African identity specific to Southern Rhodesia, which is to say Zimbabwean African national consciousness, as evidenced by the rise of anticolonial nationalism in the late 1950s, had been a long time in the making. The "nationalizing" of the African elite took an important turn in the mid-1930s, culminating in the establishment of the Bantu Congress…An important aspect of the new exercise in African self-organization and self-consciousness nationally was the increasing salience of the anthem "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" (God Bless Africa). This song, like a number of other cultural and ideological practices adopted by Africans in Southern Rhodesia, was imported from South Africa…In time, the anthem was diffused throughout the southern African subcontinent by migrant workers, students, travelers, and newspapers…"Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika was translated

eventually into the Shona language as "Ishe Komborera Afrika".[119]

However, even before the nationalist era, Africans in Southern Rhodesian cities like Salisbury were already engaging in acts of self-organization and self-consciousness. Through burial societies, secretive organizations, dance clubs, and new institutions like community halls, they were forging their own identities – musical and otherwise – and pushing back against an increasingly repressive and malevolent colonial state. Continued attempts by the state and local governments to subjugate Africans through cultural and social engineering led to African subversion of colonial authority via the same mechanisms. This push and pull of cultural expression would have long lasting effects on the social map of Southern Rhodesia ultimately leading the fracturing of

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119 Michel O. West. *The Rise of an African Middle Class: Zimbabwe, 1898-1965* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002): 33-34.

Africans along class lines and mounting objection to colonial doctrines.

Expressions of Indigenous Culture in Early Salisbury

A city is a living organism. It is defined as much by the personality of its inhabitants as it is by the circumstances of its birth. Salisbury was no different. Founded in September of 1890 at the endpoint of the Pioneer Column's long march northward, Salisbury grew from a small fort into the social, cultural, and economic epicenter of British lands north of the Limpopo. Consequently, it was not a homogenous entity. In addition to racial schisms, the influx of groups from British and Portuguese controlled territories to the north, east, and south resulted in an ethnic milieu attempting to impose their own economic and social agency. To quote Richard Perry, "Africans were neither bewildered aliens in a white world nor the functionaries of a capitalist structure,

reacting puppet-like to the pressure of the urban economy."[120]

Increased migrant labor in the mining, tobacco, and textile industries during the first two decades of the twentieth century resulted in a confluence of cultures that led to complex class-based social hierarchies precipitated by the demands of the colonial economy and the weaknesses of government oversight. Consequently, early Salisbury resembled a scene from the Wild West rather than the racially-segregated order of later decades. This social and economic frontier allowed African immigrants – especially from the Cape – to maximize their artisanal skills for their material aspirations. Fueled by a disenchantment fostered by growing white suppression in South Africa, these "Cape Boys"

> saw themselves from the first as an integral part of the fabric of colonialism, identified with various strands of middle and working-class white ideology, fought for the whites in the Chimurenga, and, when their position came under threat [by European artisans

120 Parry, 55.

in the 1930s], struggled to hold their place within the system...[121]

However, by the 1920s, the Southern Rhodesian government grew increasingly concerned of the influence that African immigrants from the Cape and other colonial territories would have on the settler population and the colonial economy. Consequently, they implemented legislation that segregated Salisbury along racial and lines and limited African and Colored populations to locations at the periphery of the city. In an effort to wield power through geographic segregation, whites claimed control of city centers while defining boundaries of social interaction amongst the "backward" children of colonialism.

Located on the southern outskirts of Salisbury, the largest and most resplendent of the African locations was Mbare. The Mbare melting pot consisted of individuals from Southern and Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Mozambique, and South Africa – hundreds of

[121] Ibid., 55-56.

ethnic groups brought together to feed the growing beast of imperial industry. Lawrence Vambe remembers what awaited Africans upon their arrival.

> The structures stood very close to one another, as the residents used wood for fuel, they were covered, particularly in the early morning and evening, in a blanket of thin smoke, which had turned them pitch-black. There were no proper sanitary facilities: buckets and the surrounding bush served as latrines. These primitive conditions produced a strong, pervading stench, which was almost unbearable to us…But the gay, talkative citizens of this tin-town showed an astonishing lack of concern about the appalling squalor around them.[122]

Within these underdeveloped environments, the colonial state desired to impress the importance of "traditional" culture in African life. This policy was an attempt to prevent Africans from manipulating of Christian ideology for social mobility and ideological independence. By rejecting the long held doctrines of Christian civilization, the state hoped that traditional forms of cultural expression would aid

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[122] Lawrence Vambe, *From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe* (London: Heinemann, 1976): 144.

their economic endeavors by fragmenting migrant workers along ethno-linguistic lines.

By reinventing tribes and tribalism, whites not only deluded themselves into believing that they understood the African mentality, but also rationalized their disruption and reorganization of African society.[123] Therefore, "traditional" African cultural displays were intended to cement – via music and performance – "subjective, exploitable identities onto colonized African bodies…by confining them to specific, racialized physical and psychological spaces."[124] However, attempts at fragmenting African society did not always work in the favor of colonial authorities. To Africans, indigenous culture was a source of power. When transplanted to an urban context, these cultural practices – like the *Zvinyawo* and *Butwo* dances - often manifested themselves in subversive tendencies by advancing rural practices and cultural autonomy.

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[123] Parry, 62-63.

[124] Mhoze Chikawero, *African Music, Power and Being: Colonial Zimbabwe* (Unknown Publisher): 5.

Originating within the Chewa ethnicity in modern day Malawi, the *Zvinyawo* dance became a harbinger of disillusionment among a vast swath of urban Africans. Lasting for two nights and held at every full moon, *Zvinyawo* performers dressed in mealie leaves[125], head-dresses, and masks. The uninitiated who stumbled upon these gatherings were immediately detained and threatened with physical violence unless they paid a ten shilling fine that doubled as an initiation fee - unlocking the ritual's secrets. The *Zvinyawo*, much like night dancing in rural areas and mission stations, soon morphed into an overtly subversive cultural practice. Operating outside the law and order of the colonial state, the *Zvinyawa* were "in many ways the guardians of an autonomous ideological flame which continued to recognize not only the oppressive nature, but also the fundamental illegitimacy, of the colonial order…"[126] These dances were eventually banned by the state in the mid-1920s under the claim that they

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[125] The husks of mealie, or corn.

[126] Parry, 64.

threated the "colonial peace." Regardless, they continued to operate in the shadows, lurking over the shoulders of the *Zvinyawa's* enemies.

Similar to the *Zvinyawa*, the *Butwa* was brought to Salisbury from the southern Congo by Katanga migrants and adopted to the meet the alienating effects of urban life. Untethered from ethnic affiliation, the *Butwa* was designed to infuse a sense of ritualistic identity among those migrant workers who were its members. Therefore, the *Butwa* (and similarly the *Zvinyawo*) constituted a new class constructed to meet the physical and social voids left – or perhaps created - by the absence of colonial recreation and welfare institutions – a vacancy that was soon to be remedied by increasing emphasis of *rukesheni*, the confinement and regulation of Africans through social engineering and entertainment.

These closed societies largely refuted the goals of the *rukesheni* and the belief that urban African society was comprised along ethnic lines because their

membership included individuals from a wide array of ethnicities. Salisbury, much like closed societies, was a mixture of cultures and sub-cultures constructed from the anathema of those attempting to scratch out a meager existence in an increasingly regulated alien environment. And despite their role as social welfare agencies, the *Zvinyawa* and the *Butwa* were possessed of much darker natures as well. Quite often their demand for homogeneity and autonomy – much like contemporary gang culture – ignored cultural means for political and social subversion and instead delved into violence.[127] Their closely guarded autonomy and violent tendencies resulted in alienation from "mainstream" political and social organizations. Consequently, the power of self-determination they so desperately desired was instead held by organizations like burial societies who possessed of a more temperate and altruistic ideology.

[127] Parry, 64-65.

Increased State Control Over African Cultural Production and Consumption

In contrast to the *Zvinyawo* and *Butwa,* whose acts of social welfare grew from a desire to protect its members from the dangers of the colonial economy and offer a sense of place, burial societies emerged as a means for Africans to engage in social organization under the watchful gaze of the colonial state. These joint community endeavors, which transported the recently departed back to ancestral homelands, further illustrate the limited importance of ethnicity as a social identifier. In fact, the four government-recognized burial societies operating in Salisbury between 1918 and 1925 were regionally oriented rather than ethnically affiliated.[128] Furthermore, their organizational structure – a mixture of monarchical, militaristic, and medical designations – was on one hand an homage to European hierarchies and a representation of their existence in a colonial system,

[128] Ibid., 69.

while also an adoption of pre-colonial distinctions common in competitive dance and performance.[129]

In addition to being welfare agencies, burial societies were also the incubators of some of the first professionalized popular music in Salisbury and one of the first instances where African cultural agency melded with colonial structures outside of the missions. Prior to the 1930s, the majority of popular music in urban areas was either Christian, or centered on regional dance performances. From informal performances in market squares, dance clubs like the *Zora* and the *Kanyenda* grew into centers of African social life as well as heated competitions between rival factions. Even though many workers who migrated to urban environments did not intend to stay, and enjoyed the company of kith and kin from their homelands, dance clubs – as offshoots from burial and closed societies - were a unifying and galvanizing force in urban social life. However, they were not

[129] Terence Ranger, East African Dance Societies.

without their own demons, as oftentimes dance competitions could result in violent conflict between rivals.

In Mbare, these clubs performed popular Shona dance genres like *jurusarema*, *shangara*, *muchongoyo*, *mbukumba*, *dhinhe*, and *dandanda*, Ndebele iterations like *isitshikitsha*, *iqhuzu*, and *imbube*, as well as varieties of Mozambican *ngororombe*, Malawian *nyau*, and countless iterations of dances from the Congo to the Cape. They were not only sociocultural touchstones of ritualistic importance, but also one of the few cultural activities approved by the Southern Rhodesian state. In addition to dance music, *Makwaya* brought from rural areas and mission stations was very popular. Joyce Jenje Makwenda's overview of the Township music scene describes these events.

> *Makwaya* would begin with a narrator telling a story, and the accompanying group would back in chorus. After supper people gathered around the fire, where an elderly person would tell fiction stories, mostly aimed at ridiculing someone (sometimes in praise). The song "Baba va Ngirande" (The father of Ngirande) is a typical example of combined storytelling and "Makwaya"

music. It began with the story teller introducing himself, the narrating a story followed by music which pokes fun at a greedy man who eats alone, taking no heed of his wife or children.[130]

Ndini Dhawura manzi	I am Dhauramanzi
Wameso makuru	The man with big eyes
Ndino kuzivisai	I want to tell you a story
Norungano rwomunhu	About a person
Waikara gore rezhara	who was a glutton
Aive nemukadzi asi	This was during the drought
Wakanga asingade	He did not want to see
Kuti mukadzi adye	His wife wating sadza
Sadza kana makadzi	If his wife cooked sadza
Akabika sadza avonzi	He would say don't give
Usapa vana ipa in	It to the children give it
Baba vaNgirande	To me the father of Ngirande

These songs also expressed the growing discontent of township dwellers, many of whom worked in the mining

130 Joyce Jenje Makwenda, Zimbabwe Township Music, 5.

sector, of European colonialism and greed. The song "Dinah" explores this sentiment.[131]

Dinah Dinah Dinah	Dinah Dinah Dinah
Kudhala adelungu	Long before the white people came to this land
Bengaka nyatheli elizweni lethu	
Labe nsundu sasingena	
Lwazi ngelitshe lemali	local people did not have in-depth knowledge of gold trading
Sebefikile bahamba	
Kuluwonke umhlaba	
Bahlolisisa befumana inotho	When the white man arrived he explored throughout the country looking for wealth,
Baze bafika epaqeni olwa	
Luse dhuze lamanzi	
Lapho okwakuhala	Until he reached the peak of the mountain close to a village where a certain girl lived
Intombazana igama	
Layo lingi Dinah	

While these events were initially held in the open market square or around the fire in personal residences, by the mid-1930s, the construction of Mai

131 Ibid., 17.

Musodzi and Stodart Halls replaced market squares and personal dwellings as the literal and figurative centers of African social life. Initially constructed by local governments, community halls were spaces where colonial authorities could paint over their crushing paternalism with the veneer of benevolent entertainment. Derived from similar centers founded a decade earlier in South Africa, Mai Musodzi and Stodart Halls were intended to offer a counterpoint to the harsh labor conditions imposed by the colonial economy while maintaining a consistent ideological framework – specifically, the illusion of stable urban environments for Africans.

Throughout the next decade, burial society groups performed increasingly in beer halls and community centers as part of the Native Social Welfare Department's attempts to depoliticize and regulate African entertainment. By the mid-1930s, the colonial state had implemented a methodology for stricter control of African leisure. Across the colony, city

governments began constructing community halls that simultaneously served as public meeting places for migrant workers, paid for primarily from the Kaffir Beer Fund, which profited from the sale of traditional African beer in the locations. According to C.M. Badenhorst and C.M. Rogerson, community halls – in conjunction with sporting fields and beer halls – were constructed to offer "healthy" alternatives for African leisure. However, where activities like sport were believed to be "the death knell for tribalism and the beginning of civilization"[132] in South Africa, north of the Limpopo, leisure activities were an attempt to diffuse the growing politicization of African cultural events and maintain – if not devolve – migrant labor into a state of chaotic tribalism. However, despite the best efforts of colonial and local governments, the erection of formalized meeting places was soon coopted by both white liberals seeking to help and improve upon

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[132] C.M. Badenhorst and C.M. Rogerson, "'Teach the Native to Play': Social Control and Organized Black Sport on the Witswatersrand, 1920-1939," *GeoJournal* 12, no. 2 (March 1986): 201.

African life and African political organizations demanding increased social standing.

Township Jazz in All Its Iterations

The sounds echoing from beer halls and community centers was changing as rapidly as the locations themselves and organizations like the Jerusrema Club represented but one aspect of the urban music scene. By this point, *Makwaya* was increasingly the music of choice. By the end of the 1940s, *Makwayas* were combining American Jazz with music from surrounding regions to create a new musical genre coined "Township Jazz."

Much like the American Jazz movement represented musical fusion, social liberation among American urbanites, and a mainstream musical identity for African Americans, so too did Township Jazz coincide with revisions in African musical, sexual, and social ethics. For the first time, a unique and commercialized youth culture existed in African townships, one that shared a seemingly universal

distaste for social restriction. This culture would be the wellspring of the revision of urban African identity because, as Simon Frith argues, "ideological meaning [is] decided in the process of consumption."[133] Their dissention set the stage for

> [A] new kind of beat…in African music, more appealing than tribal or ballroom music. Guitars became fashionable and talented musicians were exploring the whole field of black music. The result of their movement was that a type of pop music emerged that had a distinctive local urban character.[134]

Soon, this new beat dominated the African musical landscape of Southern Rhodesia, and helped unify African identity by threatening the segregationist foundations of Rhodesian society. In G.P. Khari's opinion:

> The political mobility which ensued gave rise to a rededication and redefinition of the African people's identity. They asked themselves, 'What are we?' which led to, 'What do we want to be?' These questions were summed up in: What we want to be depends on our efforts

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133 Simon Frith, *Sound Effects: Youth, Leisure, and the Politics of Rock 'n' Roll* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981): 57.

134 Vambe, 187.

to bring about what we have to become'. From this position was built the whole repertory of modern nationalism and individualism.[135]

Music was central to social mobility. In addition to opportunities afforded musicians to cross geographically ordained segregation and perform in white homes and businesses, music was a means by which Africans could re-appropriate and rearticulate Western culture to fit their own needs. Furthermore, music broke down barriers so carefully constructed by decades (and in some cases centuries) of evangelical and social engineering. By the early 1930s, urban Salisbury was home to several of Southern Rhodesia's early African musical visionaries. One of these was Ezekiah Chihota, who incorporated indigenous music into European hymnody, much like John Knox Bokwe and Enoch Sontonga had done in South Africa. Composing songs for the Salisbury African Male Voice Choir, Chihota became a fixture of the Salisbury social scene until his

[135] Khari, 93.

departure for Dar-es-Salaam in the late 1930s.[136] However impressive his efforts were, they paled in comparison to those of Kenneth Mattaka who, as leader of the Bantu Actors and the Mattaka Family, was arguably the godfather of African popular music in Southern Rhodesia.

Mattaka was a member of the first generation of Africans who utilized Western culture to create an environment within which young African musicians could cultivate their talents and aspire to social levels once unthinkable under colonialism. As a musician, he personified the foundational tenets of Western civilization – notably education, economics, and Christianity - and in the process helped form the cultural paradigm of *chimanjemanje* that fused Western practices with African life. These practices were not only representative of his own personal beliefs, but also of an increasingly vocal African middle class emerging from mission and government schools throughout

136 Vambe, 212.

the colony.[137] Any study of commercialized and hybridized music must, without equivocation, start with Kenneth Mattaka.

Born in Nyasaland in 1915, Mattaka migrated to Southern Rhodesia in the 1920s and took his schooling first at St. Paul's Musami School and later at the Domboshava Government School. While at school, his membership in school choirs meant that Mattaka often participated in many of the same inter-school musical competitions referenced by Stanlake Samkange in his novel *The Mourned Ones*. Consequently, it is little surprise that Mattaka left school with large degrees of class consciousness and racial pride. After graduating from Domboshava, moving to Salisbury, and taking a job at the Salisbury newspaper *The Herald*, Mattaka formed a group comprised of fellow mission graduates and BSAP band members in 1936. They came by the moniker of the "Expensive Bantus" due to the one shilling fee for performances. The group would change its name several

137 Mhoze Chikowero, *African Music, Power and Being: Colonial Zimbabwe* (Unknown Publisher): 157-158.

more times, eventually gaining popularity as the "Bantu Actors," before finally taking the moniker "The Mattaka Family."[138]

Their act harkened back to minstrality and the works of Orpheus McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee Singers. It included music, dance, sketches, magic acts, the swallowing of razor blades, and a bevy of other crowd-pleasing favorites. Much like the translation of hymns into African vernaculars, Mattaka and the Actors performed contemporary numbers in the vein of the Mills Brothers, but sung in Shona. One early hit was the song "Kumadokero" adopted from the song "Rumors are Flying."

Kumadokero kunemwoyo wangu	Where my heart belongs
Ndichifamba nemudikani wangu	Walking with my beloved
Shiri szesango dzichibhururuka	The birds of the forest ululating
Dzichiti kwatiri rufaro rudo	Wishing us happiness and love

138 Makwenda, 87-88 and 69.

By the early 1940s, the Township Jazz scene was beginning to boom and a host of new acts were emerging, many cultivated – directly and indirectly - by Mattaka and his wife Lina. In 1943, Actor members Moses Mpahlo, Samuel Gotora, and Elisha Kassim left the group to start something new. Calling themselves Da Black Evening Follies, they soon rose to prominence as one of the most cutting edge acts in Southern Rhodesia. By blending Jazz with Indian rhythms, African and Vaudevillian dance, and minstrel traditions, the Follies took Township Jazz to new levels of cultural hybridization. As the years progressed, their repertoire and membership grew and peaked at close to twenty five men and women by the early 1950s.

Masiganda: Singer-Songwriters in Africa

While Da Black Evening Follies and their Bulawayo counterparts, The Merry Makers, represented the jiving swing popular in townships throughout the colony, it was but one aspect of an increasingly diversifying

musical landscape. As musicians began using foreign musical genres to express indigenous voices, musical hybridity created a distinct form of music called *masiganda*. Contrary to the group dynamic, in *masiganda* the individuality of the performer was paramount as *masiganda* music were one-man bands playing cheap, locally made guitars. The term *masiganda* comes from the Afrikaans word *musikaan* meaning "musician" and is itself a reflection of the cross-cultural nature of twentieth century African music. Similar to their counterparts in the American Folk and Country Western scenes, *Omasingandas* were travelling minstrels in the griot tradition. They were social commentators – vagabonds and storytellers who existed on the fringes of society. The story of the *Omasiganda* is the story of stylistic transcendence and a means by which we can dispense with long held beliefs of what constitutes "modern" African music. It offers a counterpoint to the beliefs of mission educated musicians like Kenneth Mattaka and Moses Mpahlo. While these individuals

espoused visions of musical modernity and Western acculturation, *Omasigandas* tended to lament the loss of what was and, while not calling for a return to pre-colonial life, served as oracles of remembrance.

The spread of *masiganda* music can largely be attributed to the efforts of Hugh Tracy. The "Alan Lomax of Africa," Tracy was an intrepid sonic explorer, establishing the International Library of African Music in 1954 and capturing some of the first commercially distributed indigenous African music. However, despite Tracy's love and respect (or perhaps insistence) for indigenous musical culture, *masiganda* artists were largely at the mercy of unfair recording contracts that left many to die poor. Several, though, did rise above the system to become locally and internationally recognized artists. Among these troubadours were Josaya Hadebe, Sabelo Mathe, and the great George Sibanda.

The story of George Sibanda is almost entirely lost to us. The lack of colonial records for Africans

in the early twentieth century means that many a soul has been swept under the rug of colonial impersonality. We do know the following - he was discovered by Hugh Tracy in Bulawayo in 1948, was dead by 1959, and in eleven years became a Pan-African radio star drawing audiences from Cape Town to Nairobi. The maddening aspect of any research into Sibanda is that no picture of him exists, only a voice. He is a sonic ghost whose only proof of existence is his musical legacy.

Sibanda recorded several royalty-free tracks for South Africa-based Gallo Records in the early 1950s. His style has been described as a combination of American Country Western and ragtime mixed in with a dose of "Ndebele jive" characterized by vamping *ukuvamba* and picking *ukupika* guitar styles. His lyrics hold the stories and realities of everyday African life with humorous overtones and an infectious groove that held continental appeal, especially in East Africa, where his popularity soared despite the fact that his Ndebele and Zulu lyrics were lost upon Swahili ears.

However, key questions remain. What drove Sibanda's songs? What was his personal life like? With little or no documentation available, the best way to understand the lives of musicians like Sibanda is to understand his musical and social appeal in mid-twentieth century Southern Rhodesia. Several scholars – including Aaron Fox[139] and Jonathan Zilberg[140] – have stressed the importance of Country Western music to Africans. However, this begs a perplexing question - how did popular Country Western artists like Hank Williams - and later Dolly Parton, Jim Reeves and Don Williams - relate to Africans from vastly different historical and cultural backgrounds? The answer lies in the music itself as Country Western songs are largely narratives about virtues and lamentations - about love, home, faith and the loss of traditional ideals.

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139 Aaron A. Fox, "The Jukebox of History: Narratives of Loss and Desire in Country Western Music," *Popular Music* 11, no. 1 (1992): 53-72.

140 Jonathan Zilberg, "Yes, It's True: Zimbabweans Love Dolly Parton," *The Journal of Popular Culture* 29, no. 1 (Summer 1995): 111-125.

Africans living in mid-twentieth century Southern Rhodesia could easily associate with these themes. As colonialism spread and racially based legislation stripped them of physical, economic and cultural security, they faced some of the same trials as urbanizing Americans - the loss of traditional lifeways (i.e. rural village society and traditional religions) and the imposition of an urban existence and Christian values. This created a longing for the past voiced through song. Therefore, the nostalgic reverie that dominated much of Country Western music is immediately applicable to the African experience. This loss of identity and conflict with modern life is evidenced in Sibanda's song "Eranda ngabop' itrain."

To the Rand [referring to Johannesburg] I went with the train,

Then I left the train,

I went with the aeroplane, then I left it,

I went with a ship, then I left the ship,

The engine below, the engine of water,

Mafufunyana! [an evil spirit that causes bad dreams and drives people mad]

I am not going back to the Rand because I saw it
[the *Mafufunyana*]

Tying the train at the Rand[141]

In addition to the *Mafufunyana*, which is a commentary on the colonial order and its erosion of traditional life, Sibanda also laments his disconnect from home and the wariness he feels as he travels to an alien place on alien machines. This sentiment, along with the trappings of Western culture (i.e. money) is further examined in his song "Kwantu."

I had gone down to the station
and saw that the train had gone
I had gone down to the bus, to the station,
then I saw that the train had gone
My heart is not here,
it is far to the east in Bulawayo
When you get home, tell them that
I am still 'eating' my money
When you get to my home tell them that I,
I am living the life!

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[141] All translations can be found in SWP Record's *The Legendary George Sibanda*

Tell them I am George and I am very well
My spirit is not here, it is where the sun rises
My spirit is not here, it is far away in Bulawayo

Along with being the most musically reminiscent of country western, “Kwantu” touches on many of the themes common in *masiganda* and country western genres. While not what David Alan Coe would call “the perfect country western song” due to its lack of trucks, trains, mama, prison or getting drunk, Sibanda’s lyrics contain a longing for a nostalgic home, much like Fiddlin' John Carson's “The Little Old Log Cabin In The Lane,” and the moral decay brought on by a modern urban life.

Sibanda’s impact on Western popular music is most striking in his song “Guabi Guabi,” which has been covered by the likes of Ramblin' Jack Elliott, Jim Kweskin, Arlo Guthrie and Taj Mah and catapulted him into international recognition along with songbirds Dorothy Masuka and Miraiam Makebea, South African jazzman Hugh Masakela, and his fellow countryman August Musarurwa, as global ambassadors of African music.

While not a politically or culturally aware song, its universal themes of love and courtship are global themes in popular music.

I am going to buy her buns, sweets and a banana
Listen boy, I have a girl at the compound, I am going to buy her buns, sweets and a banana
I don't know where yours is, or where you'll get her from, but my girl is here
She's sitting next to me and I'm singing with her, she's listening
I'll buy you buns, sweets and a banana
I don't know about you, boy, with no girl
Come closer girl and listen carefully
I am going to buy her buns, sweets and a banana

Despite the wide spread popularity of songs like Guabi Guabi, *masignanda* is often relegated to a footnote in the history of Southern Rhodesian music. This can be attributed to several factors including the relatively short life of its disciples and the massive appeal of Jazz. Ultimately, *masiganda* music represented the shared experiences among a generation

whose struggles against colonialism are best characterized through songs about a time long past. The loss of traditional ways of life, coupled with the hardships of urban society, created a nostalgic longing and lamentation for what is, what was, and what could never be. As for Sibanda, his death by alcohol poisoning has been characterized, much like Hank Williams in "I'll Never Get Out Of This World Alive," as a self-fulfilling prophecy captured by the song "Chuzi Mama."

I went-down town on Saturday night to meet my girl on the market square

She was dressed on a khaki skirt for the ragtime melody

Excuse me mama, excuse me mama, the only sin I have is that of money

I have no worries, no sins, only that sin of money

Ragtime melody, plenty of money, nothing spent

When I die my money will go for the ragtime melody

Undoubtedly, the 1950s was the height of Zimbabwean popular music. Bands like The City Quads, Pat Travers, The Epworth Theatrical Strutters, Victoria Chingate and Dorothy Masuka bridged ethnic, class, gender and racial divides through their music. Additionally, the substance of township music took on an increasingly political and socially conscious tone as evidenced by the songs *Kudzidza Kwakanaka* (Education is Rewarding) by The Epworth Theatrical Strutters and *Lizofrika Nini Ilanga* (When Will the Day [of Freedom] Come?) by The City Quads.

Kudzidza Kwakanaka (Education is Rewarding)

Kudzidza Kudzidza	Education is rewarding
Kunoita rudzi rubudirire	It makes a nation prosper
Dzidzai mose vatema	Be educated black people
Nyika yazo pinduka	So that we may be enlightened
Nesu ngatipindukewo	The world is changing and we should also change

Lizofrika Nini Ilanga (When Will the Day [of Freedom] Come?)

Lizofika nini ilanga lenkululeko	When will the day of freedom come
Lizofika nini ilanga lenjabulo	When will the day of happiness come

Abantu bayahlupheka	*abensundu*	Black people are suffering
Kudhala Kudhala Kudhala		It's been long, It's been long

While *Kudzidza Kwakanaka* emphasizes the image of modernity that appealed to many middle class Africans educated in the mission and technical school systems, *Lizofrika Nini Ilanga* contains much more populist overtones. Advocating literacy and education through music was common throughout Zimbabwe in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s because "teachers were at the forefront of this musical elaboration of "education." Not only did they conduct choirs at schools, but many of them also formed or worked with popular bands in their communities."[142] Groups were commonly formed and cultivated in the mission environment and acts like the Epworth Theatrical Strutters drew their names directly

142 Moses Chikowero, "Performing and Contesting Modernity: Zimbabwean Urban Musicians and Cultural Self-Constructions, 1930s-1970s," in *Music, Performance and African Identities* (New York: Routledge, 2012): 224.

from their schools. Because education represented a tangible means to escape the confines of colonialism and racial subjugation, the message of modernity became a gospel of hope rather than of cultural imperialism.

As the 1950s progressed, the influence of modernity and cultural renaissance became a clarion call for artists. Mhoze Chikowero argues that ultimately, artists desired to reach the same politico-cultural status of African American performers like Paul Robeson, Florence Mills and Layton Johnson. Consequently, ideals of education and race consciousness were "conceptualized musically and staged publically"[143] in the hope of inspiring as many people as possible.

Adding to this "civilizing" desire formed in mission schools was the arrival of American artists in Zimbabwe throughout the 1950s. In the context of Cold War international politics, the United States' Cultural Presentation Program served the purpose of answering

143 Ibid., 226-227.

Soviet attempts to court developing and newly independent nations into their sphere of influence. In November 1955, Senator Adam Clayton Powell announced that in addition to theatre productions and sporting events, Jazz would be included on the upcoming tours. At the introductory press conference, Powell famously stated that the Cold War was now a "cool war."[144] Three months later, the State Department officially named Dizzy Gillespie's band as the first Jazz act to represent the American National Theatre and Academy abroad. Over the next thirteen years bands artists and bands including: Wilbur De Paris, the Glen Miller Orchestra, Dave Brubeck, Duke Ellington, Buddy Guy, Herbie Mann, Benny Goodman and Louis Armstrong would spread the gospel of Jazz through countries as diverse as Sudan, Nigeria, Liberia, Congo, Uganda and the Rhodesias. While the United States' cultural agenda held no altruistic motives and downplayed America's own

144 Ingrid Monson, *Freedom Sounds: Civil Rights Call Out to Jazz and Africa* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007): 113.

history of racial subjugation, Jazz attempted to "[offer] a more democratic version of American society." Furthermore, the musicians themselves "did not view their participation in the program as an act of cultural imperialism, but as an alternative to it."[145]

Undoubtedly, the single greatest infusion of American Jazz into the Zimbabwean scene came in 1957, when Louis Armstrong toured throughout the country. Armstrong became so enamored with Township Jazz that he recorded August Musarurwa's "Skokiaan." While not the first artist to cover Musarurwa's song, Armstrong's version gave new exposure and proving the commercial viability of the music scene in Zimbabwe and Africa as a whole. Commercial viability was of vital importance to African musicians in Southern Rhodesia not only because of the material and social advantages it provided, but also because, in the words of Chikowero, "Industrial goods were tangible symbols of the

145 Ibid., 118.

modernity that singers like [Kenneth] Mattaka had long desired. In the service of commercial capital, "new African" music connected Africa's supposed "ignorance" and poverty, proffering Christianity and commerce as liberation. The problem was epistemological, pitting Africa against Europe." Chikowero uses the example of Mattaka's song "Maroro" to demonstrate Mattaka's desire to separate himself and "civilized" Africans from traditional superstitions.[146]

Ndakaenda kuMaroro	I went to Maroro
Kunotora muti	To get a charm
Unopa urombe	A lucky charm
Zango remuchiuno	Which causes bad luck
Rimwe zango remuruoko.	A charm in the waist
Ririko zita raTenzi	Another charm on the arm

146 Ibid., 229.

Rakanaka kwazvo	There is the Lord's name
Rinonyaradza maKristu	Which is a good name
Rinodzinga kutya	Which comforts Christians
	Which banishes all fear

At the same time that Mattaka and was fomenting rebellion against traditionalism in the name of Christianity and Western civilization, women in Southern Rhodesia were using musical expression to change traditional gender roles. Within the traditional structures of Shona and Ndebele society, female performance was limited to funerals, religious ceremonies and in community choirs. Any who played instruments or sang in Western styles were often thought of as degrading or cheapening themselves as a public spectacle. However, in the post-war years, women began making a name for themselves. Victoria Chingate, Evelyn Juba and Lina Mattaka were some of the first to step into the public spotlight and display

their talents. The fact that their husbands often performed alongside them deflected some criticism and helped shift public perception from condemnation to praise. One of the first female acts in Southern Rhodesia was the Gay Gaeties, formed by Victoria Chingate in 1954. Originally a group of nurses who grew tired of their exclusion from festivals and concerts, they grew into a widely sought act that crossed gender and racial lines. When the Gaeties eventually disbanded, several of its members, including Chingate and Tabeth Kapuya went on to international careers.[147]

The Commodification of African Music

To properly examine the commercial success of African township music, one must examine the record industry of South Africa rather than that of Southern Rhodesia. Since the 1930s, Southern Rhodesian artists had largely been at the mercy of unfair recording

147 Makwenda, 23-24.

contracts that left many to die poor. Even August Musarurwa, who by the mid-1950s had charted a critical and commercial hit with "Skokiaan," reaped little financial benefit. On the other hand, artists signed with South African recording companies often reflect on their experiences with fondness. To say that the South African recording industry was not exploitative would be a falsehood, however, the domestic and international success of many artists signed to Troubadour Records in the 1950s, suggests an artistic and commercial environment that transcended the racial injustices of apartheid.

The story of Troubadour Records and Southern Rhodesian popular music is best told through the experiences of Dorothy Masuka. Born in Southern Rhodesia in 1935, Masuka grew up in Port Elizabeth before rising to international prominence as the first black southern African woman to have a career as a recording artist. As a teenager, Masuka ran away twice to pursue her musical interests, first from home to

join the African Ink Spots in Durban, and a second time from boarding school to join the Golden Rhythm Crooners in Bulawayo. Eventually her parents relented and allowed her to begin a musical career that spanned six decades and as many continents. In addition to her appearance in the South African musical "King Kong" alongside fellow heavyweights Miriam Makeba and Hugh Masekela, her song "Hamba Notsokolo" was one of the biggest hits of the 1950s throughout southern Africa.

Throughout the 1950s, Masuka split her time between South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and has since become a cultural icon in both countries. In the late 1950s her song "Dr. Malan," a criticism of South Africa's Home Affairs Minister D.F. Malan and personal support of the 1957 Defiance Campaign, drew the ire of South Africa's Special Branch who banned the record for the line "Dr. Malan has difficult laws…"[148] When she performed the song in 1961 in honor of Patrice Lumumba, she was promptly expelled from South Africa, a ban that

148 Gwen Ansell, *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music and Politics in South Africa* (New York: Continuum, 2004): 133.

lasted 31 years. In 1964 she was banned from Southern Rhodesia for expressing similar anti-government sentiments. For the next three decades she resided in Europe, the United States, Malawi, and Zambia as she saw her record sales and prominence decline. Regardless, Makeba remained active in anti-apartheid struggles during her years in exile and was welcomed as a national hero after Southern Rhodesia's independence in 1980 and the fall of apartheid in 1990.

The presence of political activism in Masuka's music has two contributing factors. First, the lyrical nature of her genre, Vocal Jive, made the presence of political motifs possible. Second, the atmosphere of Troubadour Records during the 1950s allowed for artistic freedom due to the company's widespread commercial success. Vocal Jive generally consists of only a few lines, which are often repeated following a four chord harmony. There is no narrative to jive songs, but rather themes accompanying each line. There is simplicity to the lyrics and it is the job of a

singer to imply deeper meaning. Therefore it is the audience's task to decipher lyrics.[149]

For example, Masuka's song "Mhlaba" proclaims

In this world we are having problems, black people are sorrowful
black people are having problems, black people are sorrowful

It should be noted that subversive lyrics in Vocal Jive was not a common phenomenon. In fact, after Masuka's exile, many Vocal Jive artists avoided current events or political leanings in their song. However, throughout the mid-1950s, Vocal Jive held a unique place in South African popular culture because its popularity allowed for a dissemination of cryptic political commentary that was commercially viable.

This lends itself to my second point. The commercial viability of Vocal Jive was the primary reason political commentary was allowed to continue. For example, Mabel Mufaya released several hits in

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149 Lara Allen, "Commerce, Politics and Musical Hybridity: Vocalizing Black South African Identity During the 1950s," *Ethnomusicology* 47, no. 2 (Spring-Summer 2003): 235.

1956-57 which focused on the ongoing bus boycotts and Nancy Jacobs, who sang for rival Trutone Records, had her first hit with the song "Meadowlands," a commentary on the forced removal of people to Soweto Township.[150] Both artists sold thousands of records to a public that was starved for songs that they could identify with. Because of sales and the inherent ambiguity of many of these songs, Troubadour was willing to deflect government investigations.

Unfortunately for Troubadour and many musicians in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, the 1950s were the high water mark for African cultural expression. As the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1953-1963) crumbled under international pressure for majority rule and nationalist sentiment grew among the African population, increasingly repressive legislation limited the ability of African artists to support themselves. The rise of the Rhodesian Front Party under Ian Smith and the subsequent Unilateral Declaration of

150 Ibid., 234.

Independence (UDI) from Great Britain in 1965 saw increased government control of radio, television, nightclubs and beer halls. What was once a racially segregated society transformed into a quasi-police state patrolled by armored cars and government troops. The spaces in which Jazz could be performed were severely limited and pre-existing curfews and mobility restrictions intensified. Under the Vagrancy Act (1966), the police were allowed to detain any African found outside the townships after 7 P.M. Racial segregation got so severe that musicians were sometimes required to play behind curtains so that their appearance would not offend the delicate sensibilities of whites. Eventually, many of the most prominent Southern Rhodesian Jazz musicians left the country for the United States, Europe, and surrounding countries. With many of its greatest musicians either detained, in exile, or immigrated the golden era of Southern Rhodesiaan popular music was over. For the next fifteen years it would be up to a new generation of

musicians to redefine the meanings of Southern Rhodesian music. What emerged was a new musical hybridity and genre in *Chimurenga* that was born of the *mbira* and electric guitar and named after the struggle that taken place nearly seventy years earlier.

CHAPTER 4: NEW ETHICS THROUGH MUSIC

Class ethics are fundamental to the discussion of African identity formation in urban Southern Rhodesia. Music echoed popular sentiment over issues of land policy, religion, and education while the colonial state, Africans, and unaligned entities of white liberalism all used music as a means for spreading their respective programs for African development. Some ideas were couched in the continued subjugation of Africans under the colonial order, while others were a means for the expression of African political, economic, social, and cultural independence. In between these polarities were the ideas espoused by white liberals and African accomidationists who sought equal partnership under a decidedly Western way of life.

Up to this point, Southern Rhodesia's African middle class were an abstraction. Caught in social disharmony, they were Africans who strove to better

their social and economic standing through colonial institutions. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, they slowly defined the characteristics of middle class Africans – a small, Christian-oriented community possessing a temperate attitude towards political radicalism, an emphasis on education, and a desire for the social and material advantages their intermediary position afforded. Battling white fear and racial stereotypes, the African middle class formed religious organizations, social temperance associations, and political congresses in hopes of incrementally turning the tide of racial inequality. In the years after the Second World War, new cultural mediums flooded into Southern Rhodesia. Popular culture helped Africans create new social dynamics - environments where art was a means of self-definition.

The ethics that emerged among urban Africans between 1930 and 1960 were tied to the changing realties of the colonial experience. As the decades progressed, Africans became caught in a tug of war

between those who would see them continue to physically shoulder the burden of the colony's growth at any cost, those who would see colonial institutions destroyed, and paternalist liberals who desired African moral and material uplift. Government policies during this era represented this spectrum. Ultimately, they desired docile workers content with their role in the colonial enterprise. They hoped to secure this through the use of an educational policy that created a separate, industrial-based, education system for Africans. However, it had become clear that the influx of new representations of black identity in music, film, and dress needed to be recontextualized before they inspired subversive sentiments. To combat this, the Southern Rhodesian state instituted cultural programs they hoped would buffer the rising tide of racial consciousness.

The Southern Rhodesian government had good reason to worry. While no singular event exists as a springboard for African political and social

mobilization in Southern Rhodesia (except, perhaps the formation of the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress in 1957), the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 was a powerful point of physical and ideological division and a culmination of decades of increasingly restrictive legislation concerning African settlement.

The Act, a form of balkanization, divided Southern Rhodesian territory along lines of race and utility. Over fifty percent of the available land, including all urban centers, was allotted solely for white use. Africans could neither live in cities, nor own land in the most agriculturally prosperous regions. However, while the government's intention was to create a subordinate indigenous population, balkanization had the unintended consequence of realigned and unifying African identities under the common cause of racial uplift.

Another factor changing African identities was the increasing popularity of Wesleyan Methodism and the social crusades of several of its adherents. While

this realignment was largely a product of circumstance and necessity, the reverberations echoed for decades. Therefore, what we have is a three-pronged definition for what constituted African ideological change – faith, land, and education.

Faith, Land, and Creating New Spaces for Africans

The issue of land has been central to the history of Southern Rhodesia and Zimbabwe since the first Pioneer Columns reached Salisbury in 1890. The apportionment, use, and overall meaning of land holds significant political currency in the region to this day. The importance of land in the Wesleyan-Methodist context is directly tied to the boundaries between religious and secular authority and the importance of material wealth (i.e. land ownership) in the creation of the African middle class.

Early Wesleyan connections to the imperial project, and the ideological weight they carried, can be measured by pounds, shilling, and hectares. As

early as 1891, the BSAC provided the Wesleyan church in Salisbury - as it did for the Roman Catholic, Anglican, and other national churches - with land and an annual stipend of one hundred pounds towards the creation of a mission and the spreading of the good word.[151] The BSAC hoped that by providing a spiritual foundation, it could establish a "civilized" and legitimate society for settler and African alike. However, as missions grew, their purpose extended beyond the task of converting African souls and tending their settler flock. Eventually, churches assumed secular leadership roles.

By the early 1920s, the growth of missions throughout the region, coupled with increased settler power, had instilled a sense of justification among the Wesleyan church that the annexation of land by the BSAC and its allocation to whites was in the best interest of all concerned. This reasoning was couched in the

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151 Methodist Missionary Society, *One Hundredth Report of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, An Account of the Work Done and the Contributions Received for the Year 1913* (London: Methodist Missionary Society, 1914): 148.

belief that indigenous populations could only reach their true potential through agricultural and industrial training and strict control of daily life. By 1925, the BSAC had granted over 325,000 acres of land to missions with 44,000 to the Wesleyan Methodist Church alone – second only to the Roman Catholic Church.[152] Furthermore, the Wesleyan church, in the ultimate example of Christian charity, asked the BSAC government to allow for the resale of lands back to Africans.[153]

Wesleyans, much like other organizations operating in Southern Rhodesia, used their ownership of land to institute a system of control among African converts. Furthermore, "the politics of land in [Southern Rhodesia] was never an issue of scarcity or commodity, but one of who had authority over it, who had the right

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152 Report, Native Education Commissioner of Southern Rhodesia (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1926): 79.

153 Simon Madhiba, "Methodism and Public Life in Zimbabwe: An Analysis of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Zimbabwe's Impact on Politics from 1891-1980," *PhD Dissertation* (University of Pretoria, 2010): 112.

to use it and how it was distributed among citizens."[154] Consequently, the Wesleyans established rules that governed both their recently acquired lands and the lives of those who lived on them. Much like the Southern Rhodesian government, Wesleyan Methodist farms sought to destroy the consumption of alcohol and he practice of polygamy in regions under their jurisdiction.[155] The rules instituted on these farms and mission stations would have a significant impact on the lives of African converts and instill in them a moral understanding that would deeply affect later generations' conceptions of an ethical and moral life. However, the partitioning of rural areas was but one step in the erosion of indigenous lifeways. By the early 1930s, the newly minted Southern Rhodesian government sought to maximize their control over African lives by denying access to urban centers.

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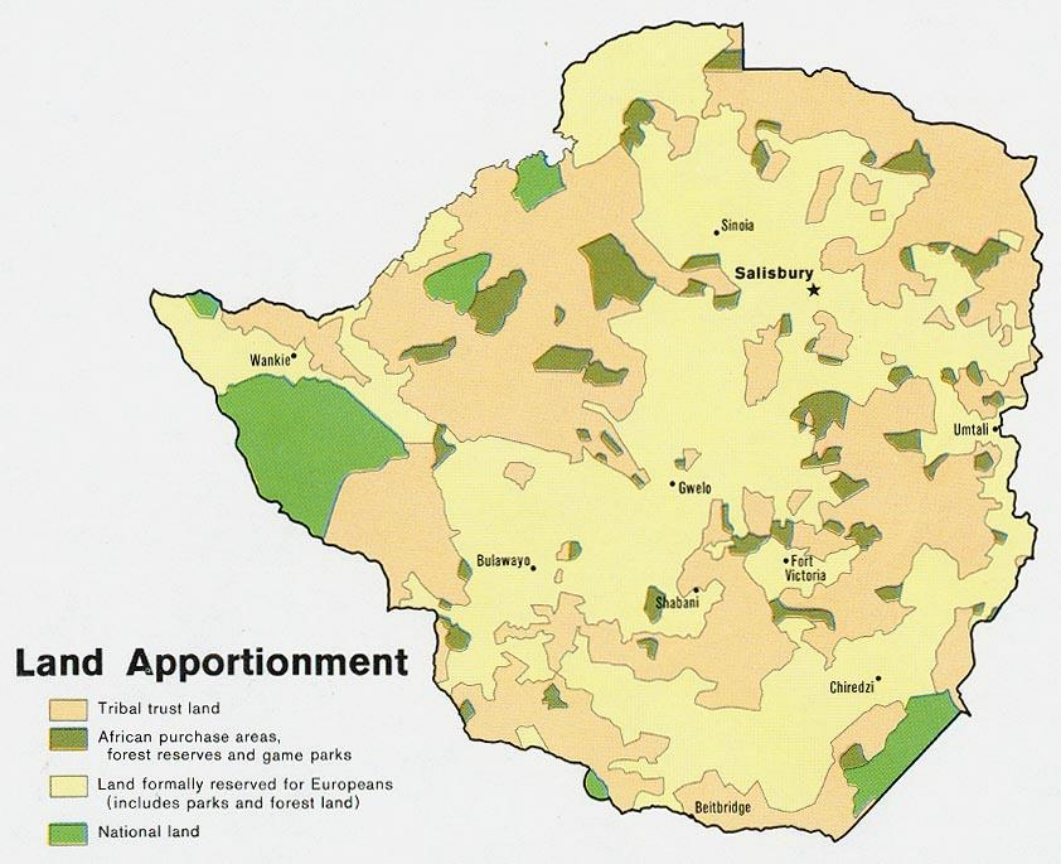
154 Ibid., 110.

155 Wesleyan Methodist Archives, Methodist House, "Rules on mission farms," 11 January 1922.



MAP 4: LAND APPORTIONMENT, 1930

With the passage of the Land Apportionment Act in 1930, Africans were banned from residing in urban centers. Consequently, clusters of townships or "locations" developed outside the city limits of Salisbury and Bulawayo. As urbanization increased over the next three decades, these townships became cultural melting pots that combined local, regional, and diasporic cultures to create an overarching African

identity. By the end of the 1950s, this identity was co-opted by an "elite" middle class campaigning for social and political inclusion. Central to their campaign were popular art forms. Dance, theater and music represented fundamental components of group identity and individual aspirations. Cultural consumption was indicative of how urban Africans understood their place in the spectrum of colonial society. Therefore, the street corners and canteens of neighborhoods like Harare and Highfield were the front lines of artistic, social and political re-imagination. They were places where the constraints of colonialism, and the Western cultures it bore, were reshaped to fit a uniquely African modus operandi.

Black, Brown and Beige: A Portrait of the African Middle Class

Faith was central to many in the African middle class. It was both a means of exploring fundamental questions of existence and a touchstone for Western

conversion. The decision by many Africans to remain affiliated Western religions – notably Wesleyan Methodism – may seem puzzling given the availability of indigenous churches and Wesleyanism's track record of politicizing faith and ignoring civic liberties.

To be sure, some did leave, but those who stayed did so because they believed that the church was inherently African and offered the best opportunity for social advancement. According to Reverend Thompson Samkange,

> "If the Methodist Church is just in its Native Policy why does the fear exist that senior ministers would leave it and join other Missions? I feel that those who know that they are not fair to African brethren would leave the church one day."[156]

Furthermore, the Methodism that Samkange and other African ministers preached was predicated on the African experience, the product of African expression melded with Methodist doctrines. Despite critics who

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156 Quoted in Terence Ranger. *Are We Not Also Men? The Samkange Family & African Politics in Zimbabwe, 1920-1964* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1995): 11.

claimed that Samkange was descending into nativism, it has been argued that

> "[P]opular African Methodism had been from the beginning and remained more 'enthusiastic' and more capable of seizing upon local cosmologies than the rather staid self-image of missionary Methodism might suggest…To Thompson…it ran no danger of 'nativism.' It was a searing, Christian zeal, challenging rather than accommodating to heathenism."[157]

The messages of those like Samkange were deeply influenced by the teachings of Revered John White. As president of the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference in 1926, White's politics represented an egalitarian application of John Wesley's belief in liberty. White eschewed colonihjal racism and held that all peoples, regardless of race, were equal so as long as they abided by divine edicts. Furthermore, he illustrated how Methodism could be both "political and prophetic,"[158] by holding humanity to a standard of self-improvement and unification rather than stasis and subjugation.

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[157] Ibid.: 11-12

[158] Ibid., 13.

Motivated by his egalitarian zeal, the "prophets" of John White began establishing themselves as prominent members in the African community. Through institutions like the Southern Rhodesian Native Missionary Conference, Africans attempted to unify themselves by bridging denominational divides, softening rampant paternalism, and discouraging pejorative language towards and by Africans. They emphasized education, ran schools and ministries and bought land. They dressed, spoke, worshiped, and formed families in a manner they deemed befitting a "civilized African."

By the mid-1930s, the African population in Southern Rhodesia was growing at an unprecedented rate and African education, however limited, was producing an increasingly educated population that caused the government to become reactionary. These individuals were increasingly vocal about their social standing and distaste of the unfair and exploitative nature of colonial policy. According to Makura, there existed

"Awareness on the part of Africans that life could hold much better prospects for them were it not for the arbitrary barriers and restrictions inevitably led to political organization, political action, and unrest."[159] This sheds light onto the origins of songs like "*Kudzidza Kwakanaka" and "Lizofrika Nini Ilanga."* Education was necessary to battle an increasingly restrictive state.

Education and African Culture

By the late 1920s the Southern Rhodesian society faced hard realities. Among these were the paternalistic and exploitative policies of the government towards Africans. Consequently, educational models mirrored the sentiments of the white population and government. According to Michael O. West:

"The specter of racial equality, and all that in conjured up in the settler mind, was precisely what state intervention in African education sought to avoid. [W]hen the first distinct, separate and unequal

[159] Makura, 80.

educational tracks for whites and blacks. Official policy offered the settlers' children an academic education commensurate with their predetermined status as members of the ruling race, whereas young Africans, condemned by the colonial political economy to a life of drudgery, would receive industrial training to make them more tractable laborers and docile subjects."[160]

African educational reform in Southern Rhodesia was slow to develop, but the publication of the Phelps-Stokes Commission report on Eastern, Central and Southern Africa in 1922 and 1924 and the Highfield Commission Report on Native Education in 1925 had drastic effects on African education in Southern Rhodesia. Specifically, it resulted in a centralization of oversight on African education in the Department of Native Education in 1928 and a clarification of goals in African education.

The Phelps-Stokes Fund was a charitable organization based in the United States, which had conducted extensive research into African American

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160 Michael O. Smith. *The Rise of an African Middle Class: Colonial Zimbabwe, 1898-1965* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002): 40.

education prior to 1920. In 1917, they appointed a commission under the guidance of Thomas Jesse Jones to examine the state of African education. The commission was a combination of American and British missionaries who found the state of African education woefully inadequate. Their report argued that

"Education…should be related to the environment of the masses; soil and sanitation should be emphasized as much as the three Rs. If the world is to be Christian, the Christianity must broaden its conception of mission possibilities…[T]hey must seek to convert not only individuals but also the community."[161]

In his report on African education in Southern Rhodesia, E.B. Sargant characterized the three primary tools of the state's new educational platform:

The three chief instruments at our disposal to develop the character of individuals, and to shape Native society as a whole for the higher economic conditions which are pressing upon them from all sides, are the Christian religion, the schools established in close connection with that religion, and the law. Unless we

161 Richard Gray, *The Two Nations: Aspects of Development of Race Relations in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960): 131.

can contrive to make these instruments act in concert, each will fail to produce its full effect.[162]

Under the supervision of the first Director of Native Education, Harold Jowitt, and his immediate successor, George Stark, the African education system became more focused in its objectives. Where the educational platform of Southern Rhodesia had once been couched in the gradual emancipation of Africans from the blight of heathen tribalism through government subsidized mission education, the tone had become far more adversarial by the 1930s.[163]

Jowitt's observations regarding African education procedure argued that while the purpose of the Department of Native Education was never education for the sole benefit of the white population, the overall social and economic health of the colony was still

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[162] Report, Native Education Commission of Southern Rhodesia (Salisbury, Government Printer, 1925): 6.

[163] Report, Chief Native Commissioner of Southern Rhodesia (Salisbury, Government Printer, 1914): 2.

paramount.[164] Furthermore, the primary aim of this period in African educational history was "to raise whole communities by placing emphasis on the essentials of education, namely the improvement of healthy, family life, use of the environment for both human and material, recreation and religion."[165]

The reality of this central objective, however abstract it may have been in Jowitt's mind, essentially relegated Africans to "hewers of wood and fetchers of water."[166] Furthermore, while Jewitt and the Native Education Department had no direct qualms with mission education, they demanded increased cooperation, government subsidies and oversight in missionary endeavors.[167] Mission-based education was unsatisfactory for the new African education policy.

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164 Report, Director of Native Education of Southern Rhodesia (Salisbury, Government Printer, 1929): 14-15.
165 Gray, 134.
166 Mungazi, 9.
167 Southern Rhodesia, *Report of the Director of Native Education* (Salisbury, Government Printer, 1928): 7.

The Native Education Department's policy between 1928 and 1935 can best be described as "adaptation." Adaptation meant the adjustment of Africans to Western environments. This included industrial and agricultural training to meet the demands of an urbanizing Southern Rhodesia as well as acculturation of dress, hygiene, religious affiliation and education. Most significantly, the ideology of adaptation shifted the objective of the Southern Rhodesian government from African education to "native development." This conceptual shift was in line with broader British colonial educational policy as put forth by the Hilton-Young Commission in 1929 and included a psychological component that altered the traditional social structures to meld with Western political and social norms.[168]

Throughout the 1930s African education sought to continue the Dual Policy and emphasized industrial and agricultural training for Africans and a more literary

168 Hilton-Young Commission Report, 1929: 79.

education for whites. In fact, a comparison of educational regulations show that white children actually received a musical education, while African children were forced to learn music through a form of osmosis.[169] There was also a political aspect of this policy hinted on in early studies of African education. According to Attkinson:

> "Jowitt's ideas…promised the advantages of continuity…They implied a gradual elevation of living standards among African people by means of a small educational advance on a broad front…Another advantage – at least in the eyes of European settlers – was the fact that Jowitt's suggestions seemed likely to delay the growth of an educated African class, capable of making a bid for economic and political power."[170]

Aside from education, the Southern Rhodesian government attempted to curtail, through the Information Services Branch of the Native Affairs Department, any form of culture that they thought might be detrimental to the stability of the colony. Their

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169 Education Department of Southern Rhodesia, "Regulations and Courses of Primary Instruction in Schools for European Children," (Salisbury: Argus Company, Ltd., 1924): 70-72.
170 Attkinson, 112.

mission was in direct response to the rising African middle class, whom they describe as "the semi-literate native masses."[171] The Information Services Branch had three primary objectives. First, they were the benevolent mouthpiece of the state portray government policy as being in the best interest of the general public. Second, they hoped to encourage "profitable fields of entertainment." That is, they hoped to encourage Africans to create businesses (i.e. bars and sports clubs) that could generate revenue and be taxed. Finally, the Branch was meant to be a barricade between the realities of African life and what the international community saw. Through a manipulation of perception and facts, the branch hoped to create a generally positive opinion of Southern Rhodesian race relations.[172]

The Information Service Branch used culture – through the radio, mobile cinemas, and musical

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171 Report of the Chief Information Officer, Division of Native Affairs, Southern Rhodesia, for the Year 1957: 109.
172 Ibid.

performances by popular artists – to create propaganda of inclusion and uplift. It was also a way of controlling African leisure in the hopes of preventing disorderly and subversive sentiments from spreading. In many ways, the African middle class upheld the same ideals as the state. However, their motivation was not in curtailing African freedoms, but instead upholding a higher moral standard.

Reactions by the African Middle Class

Beginning in the 1920s, Africans began to use their limited educational opportunities to advance within the social and political hierarchy of Southern Rhodesia. These few elites used their religious identities helped transform their social standing.[173] Among these elites was an ideal of "bourgeois domesticity" and the attempt to mold African family units to the Western ideal of domesticity.

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173 Terence Ranger, *Are We Not Also Men? The Samkange Family & African Politics in Zimbabwe, 1920-1964* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1995): 1.

Missionaries set up schools for girls such as the Hope Foundation Girls Boarding School in order to develop young girls into respectable models of Christian wives. However, contrary to the supposed belief that these institutions were for the betterment of society, Michael West argues that these "pre-colonial African customs and colonial European bourgeois traditions united to uphold the subordination of women."[174]

Within the schools, both teachers and students actively sought to avoid traditional cultural practices, and instead began new communal activities such as *Kwayira* dances to promote "appropriate" methods of courtship.[175] Both examples illustrate a degree of agency on the part of Africans, many among them women, to alter the social and cultural order in an attempt to become more closely aligned with Western ideals.

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174 West, 68.

175 Carol Summers, *Colonial Lessons: Africans' Education in Southern Rhodesia, 1918-1940* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2002): 7-8.

This is one area that we have yet to touch upon. There was an interesting gendered dynamic to the previously male dominated, class-based construction of elite African society. And while it has been argued that the adoption of Christianity reduced the prestige that women once possessed in pre-colonial society due to the paternalism of the Western ethos.

Ultimately, middle class reactions to government policy were born of a desire to redefine themselves in the context of a Westernized society. Through musical performance and consumption, as well as educational and religious adherence, they attempted to redefine what was considered appropriate behavior within African society. However, as the 1950s ended and the increasingly radicalized 1960s began, the African middle class was hard pressed to find the middle ground that they so long had worked for.

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I have examined a cultural journey of Africans under colonial rule. I argue that music is a nexus - a corollary function of class, geography, and cultural exposure – through which we can understand identity formation in urban spaces. Southern Rhodesia between 1930 and 1960 was a time and place defined by the first generation of Western educated Africans beginning to take leadership roles within secular and ecclesiastical social spheres. It was also a time of mass migrations of individuals from throughout the region to Salisbury and Bulawayo and the resulting white backlash through legislative restrictions, economic deprivation, and social engineering under ever growing international awareness and condemnation of racialized inequity.

Music was as much a cause as it was an effect of the destabilization and redefinition of African life in Southern Rhodesia. Beginning in mission schools, the

introduction of Western music - juxtaposed with the condemnation of African music, musicality, performance, and culture in general – eroded pride in traditional African lifeways. Ironically, Western culture grew into a form of revolution *within* African communities as mission educated youths rebelled against the gerontocracy of chiefs who longed for the self-determination that existed before the onset of settler rule. The youth instead aligned themselves with the material and moral alternatives offered by urban life. Apart from the generational divides, there was another subset of the growing voice calling for the redefinition and reclassification of African social life. Music, leisure, dress, and faith all became interwoven and coopted by a growing elite advocating their own definitions of propriety and providence.

Beginning with mission stations, and later in government institutions, education was the fundamental tenet of African progress. Within these schools, young Africans became enculturated in the West and taught to

accept the morals and ethics that defined civilized society. By the time that these young men and women completed their schooling, they had taken on new identities derived from both the present and the past. As they advanced within civil and religious society, Africans of middle class persuasions sought to capture the cultural essence of Western life. Much of the time, Africans self-regulated through political parties, social clubs, and religious bodies. These organizations upheld the liberal ideals of modernity while decrying the banality and hedonism of traditional lifeways.

By 1930, the rapid industrialization and urbanization of Southern Rhodesia created a deeply segregated environment born of white paranoia and privilege and overly exclusionary and repressive legislation. These factors forced Africans from city centers and onto the literal and figurative fringes of society. Within the confines of these townships, African music and culture as a whole took on a new

beat. On one hand, performance groups like the *Zvinyawo* and *Butwo* tried to reinvent tradition in order to gain power and self-determination over urban communities. Ironically, the colonial government oftentimes encouraged these "traditional" performances and lifeways in order to curtail the growth of educated, middle class, Africans demanding franchise.

From social clubs, new beats emerged that collectively became known as "Township Jazz." Much like its American counterpart, the Township Jazz scene was one of musical fusion and social liberation. Not only was it a musical revolution, but also a moral and ethical one. However, the Township Jazz scene was not just a swinging good time. It was also the beginning of the cultural paradigm of *chimanjemanje* that fused Western practices with African life.

And Township Jazz was not the only kid on the block. The Ndebele-dominated *masiganda* brought African singer-songwriters continent-wide appeal. Furthermore, individuals like Dorothy Masuka and August Musarurwa

gained international recognition for their soulful melodic blends that simultaneously challenged the musical and political status quo. These individuals, among others, were the first wave of artists that inspired a generation whose music would be the soundtrack for armed struggle and political emancipation.

Fundamental to the popularity of African popular music were the middle class elites who valued Western ideals, eschewed traditional culture, and were the harbingers of change in mid-twentieth century Southern Rhodesia. Through a mixture of music, dance, social organization, and political mobilization, the elite's economic power and moral authority ushered in a "golden era" of African musical production and performance. Furthermore, despite elite beliefs in the social tenets of Christian life, the music scene helped launch not only a racial, but also a gendered revolution.

In summation, we cannot overemphasize the importance of popular music in the transformation of

Southern Rhodesia. Music, after all, is the best vehicle for subversive sentiment due to its ability to be defiant while maintaining a degree of lyrical ambiguity. The world over, popular music has ridden the winds of popular protest and offered us a song we can all sing as one.

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