AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF MUSIC AMONGST INDIAN SOUTH AFRICANS IN NATAL 1860-1948: TOWARDS A POLITICO-CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF MUSIC (MUSICOLOGY/ETHNOMUSICOLOGY) IN THE DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

BY

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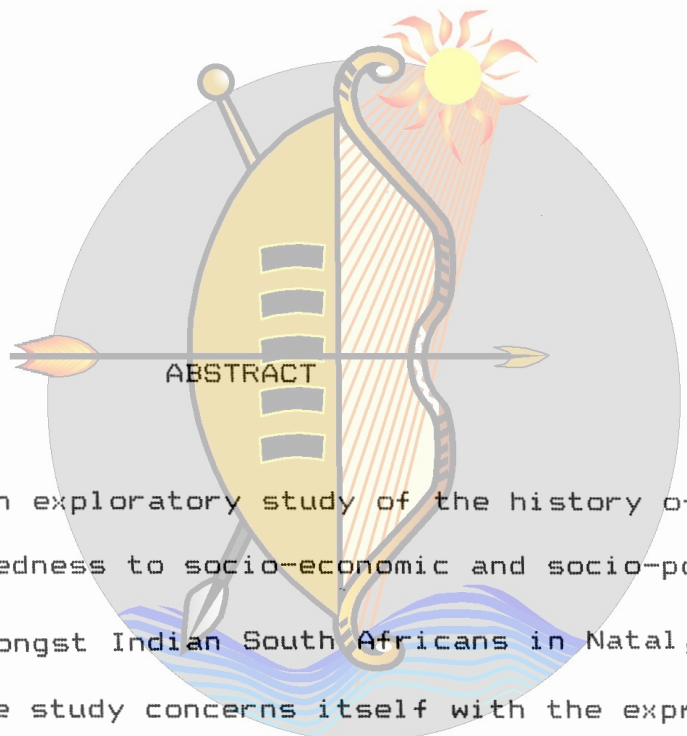
DURBAN

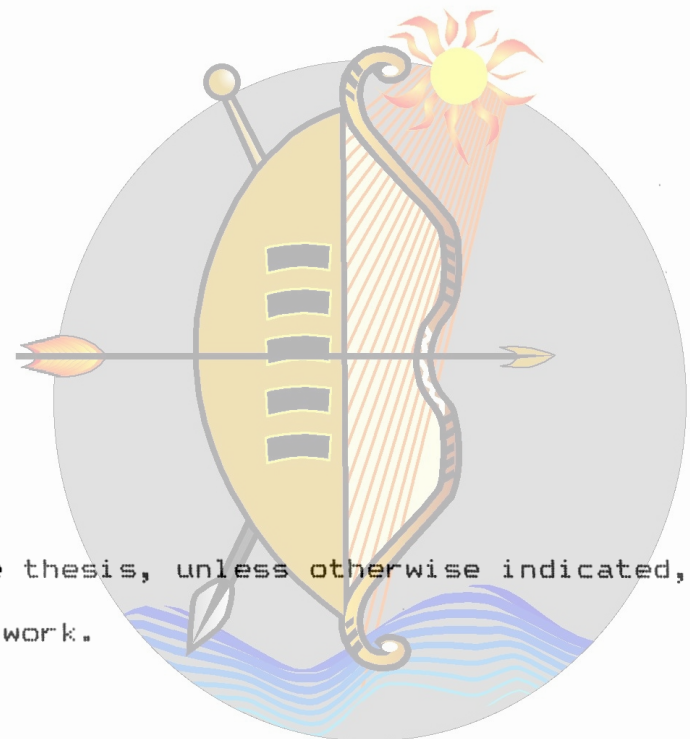
JANUARY 1988



ABSTRACT

This is an exploratory study of the history of music and its relatedness to socio-economic and socio-political status amongst Indian South Africans in Natal, 1860-1948. The study concerns itself with the expression of music and the meanings associated with it. Music forms, music personalities, and music functions are traced. Some explanations of the relationships between class structures, religious expression, political affiliation, and music are suggested. The first chapter establishes the topic, parameters, motivation, purpose, theoretical framework, research method and constraints of the study. The main findings are divided between two chronological sections, 1860-1920 and 1920-1948. The second chapter

describes early political and social structures, the South African phase of Gandhi's satyagraha, Muslim/Hindu festivals, early Christian activity, early organisation of a South Indian Hindu music group, the beginnings of the Lawrence family, and the sparking of interest in classical Indian music. The third chapter indicates the changing nature of occupation and life-style from a rural to an urban one, showing how music styles changed to suit the new, and contrasting needs. Assimilation, reaction against assimilation, and compromise in assimilation is discussed. Christian and Western music as expressed by the Lawrence family is descibed. The Indian Eisteddfod, the state and state-aided school is shown to have opted for Western music. Marginal survivals of authentic folk forms, Hindu and Muslim, are identified. The record industry, including both imported records and locally made records, and the growth of the classical music movement are traced, and the role of the "Indian" orchestra is analysed. Chapter four presents the main conclusions, regarding the cultural, political, and social disposition of Indian South Africans, educational implications, and some areas requiring further research.



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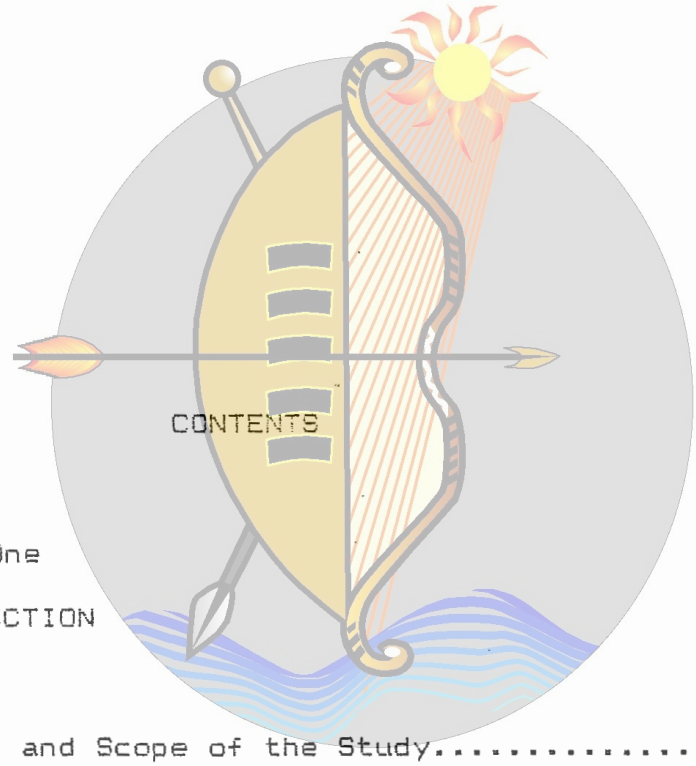

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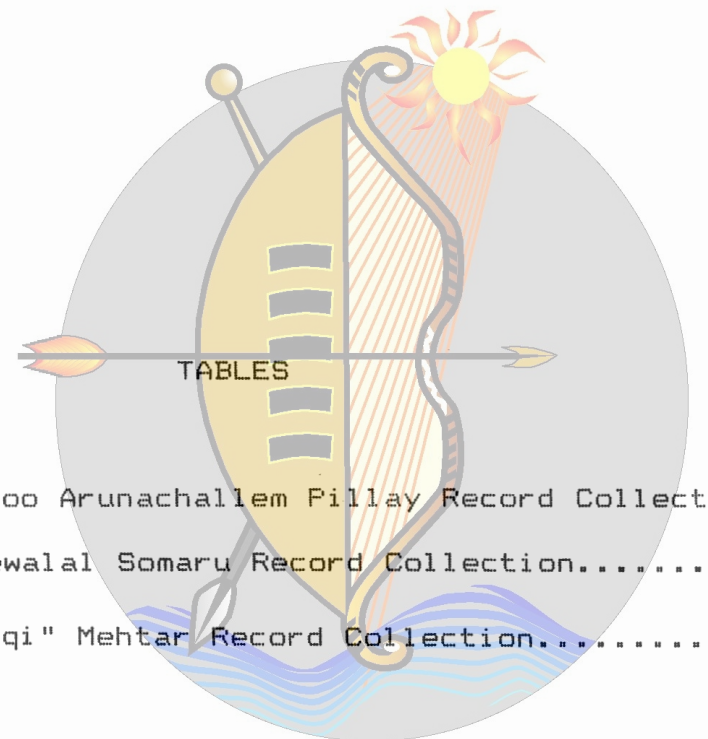

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The financial assistance of the Institute for Research Development of the Human Sciences Research Council towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed in this thesis and conclusions arrived at are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the Institute for Research Development or the Human Sciences Research Council.

I am indebted to:

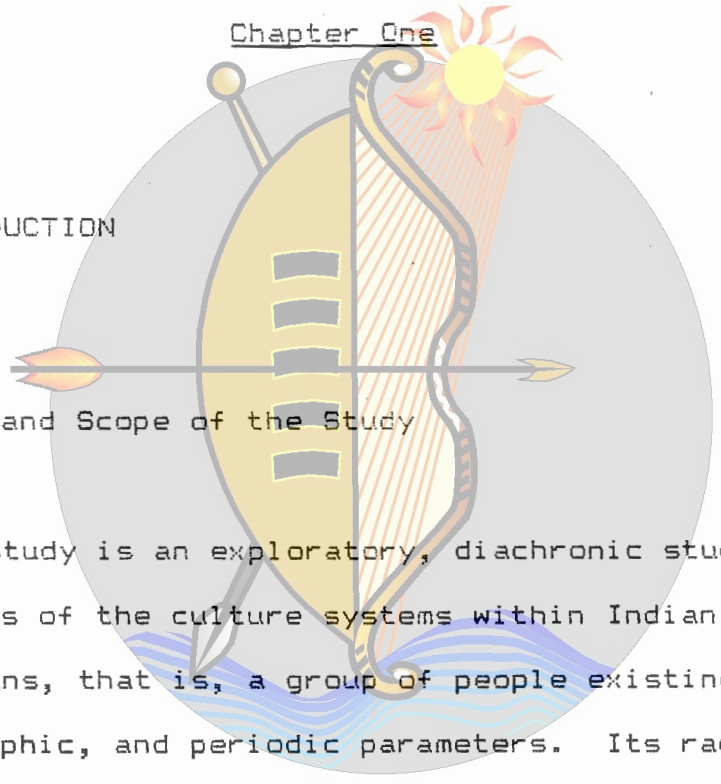
Dr. Veit Erlman who started me off on the road to the study of culture transmission and culture analysis.

Prof. Beverley Parker for her patient supervision of this thesis.

All those who made themselves available for interviews, but most especially to Arunachallem Govindasamy Pillay, who patiently and enthusiastically taught me much about Indian Music, music in South Africa, Indian literature, spirituality, and humanity in general.

Dr. Christine Lucia, Mark Grimshaw, and Richard Salmon for help with proof-reading.

William and Robyn for allowing me the freedom and giving me the support to be more than just a wife and mother.



Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

Topic and Scope of the Study

This study is an exploratory, diachronic study of some aspects of the culture systems within Indian South Africans, that is, a group of people existing in racial, geographic, and periodic parameters. Its racial character is an historical given, informed by endemic political structures and not reflective of any ideological viewpoint of mine. One hypothesis underpinning this research is that the State categorisation of South African Indians is based on race, rather than ethnicity as is claimed, and is an arbitrary one which it has been expedient to employ in order to achieve other, less admirable goals than the preservation of ethnic identity

and minority group protection. The historical and musicological scope of the study is unusually wide due to this hypothesis. A complete overview of the subject is required in order to shed some accurate light on the nature, aspirations, and value systems of Indian South Africans. Due to the preliminary nature of this study, the scope must of necessity be wide and descriptive rather than detailed and analytical.

Need for and Purpose of the Study

My pilot research into the field of Indian music practices in South Africa confirmed my awareness of the obscurity and dearth of data concerning Indian music forms in the folk, classical, and popular styles. Much emphasis is presently being placed on the concept of "multiculturalism" in education at all levels as one of the approaches towards transforming education from a "token" to a broad-spectrum non-racialism, in an effort to make education relevant to the contemporary needs of an undivided South Africa. Data such as that included in this study, which itself looks at multiculture in what has been perceived as a "group", could help in preventing enduring disaster in the practical and academic fields of music education. As one step towards

fulfiling an educational objective, musicians, music forms, performance practices, and theoretical data about Indian musics already practised in South Africa need to be traced and introduced to those concerned in educational planning. Furthermore, attention needs to be paid to the implications of selecting musics for education. Do all Indian South Africans wish to learn about indocentric musics? Do any South Africans wish to learn about these musics? What do these musics express for the people claiming them to be theirs?

The roles and contributions of leading Indian South African personalities in the fields of Indian and Western music are largely unknown in the academic arena. The available literature is generally fragmented and is often of an unscholarly character, having been written by those with vested interests in what is often a highly competitive field displaying conflicting ideological and hegemonic struggle. Scholarly literature specifically addressing this topic is rare. Usually it is to be found in umbrella studies of a sociological or general historical nature which include a few, undetailed references to the performing arts. As a result of the absence of scholarly literary data, it is imperative to turn to the people themselves, and to private memorabilia and media documentation.

In times of great and rapid change, such as that happening in developing and post-colonial countries, performance conventions reflect that change, and often die with the exponents, or become highly modified by succeeding generations. There is a great need to collect data, both documented and oral, before time has distanced us too much from the sources and valuable material is lost forever. Little is yet known about the meanings accorded by Indian South Africans, in the past and in the present, to the many and various forms of expression embraced by groups and individuals. At a time when the regionalisation of groups, both state-controlled and "people"-controlled, is under focus at academic and political levels, identification of those groups and subgroups is essential. An intimate knowledge of the Indian South African experience can be gained by such a study as this one.

The main aim of this study is to identify the research arena and to trace data with regard to key personalities and organisations, and principle music forms and styles, and to locate these in a socio-economic and socio-political matrix. There are inevitably many gaps, many questions still to be asked. If the study serves to awaken the interest of the academic community and to

indicate the way to future research, then it has achieved its purpose.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of the study was drawn from current principles in four disciplines. The first is oral and social history, particulary as proposed by Paul Thompson, Reader in Social History at the University of Essex.[1] The study has a socio-political bias in both its field research and analysis. It is inevitable that field studies in oral history tend towards a social and political analysis, because it becomes quite clear at a very early stage that informants are functioning within a socio-political context of one ideological affiliation or another. The dialectical complexity of history is often revealed only by oral history, which "to a much greater extent than most sources... allows the original multiplicity of standpoints to be recreated".[2]

A considerable effort has been made in the study to portray information in the words of the informant in order to prevent any distortion. Thompson indicates the need for such honesty.

> It is unfortunately not the usual practice in sociological studies quoting interviews to indicate cuts and other alterations. Historians

> can, however, insist on the care normal in their own discipline, showing excisions..., interpolations, and so on.[3]

Taking this demand for meticulous documentation further, I have resisted the temptation to "tidy up" quoted interviews, to the extent that material has been presented exactly the way it was spoken, including South African Indian/English colloquialisms. Whilst aware that this could be interpreted by racists in a derogatory way, it is my opinion that language should be conceived as a living and dynamic form expressing inner attitudes, emotions, and life experience in general. To quote Marshall McLuhan's well-known maxim: "The medium is the message". As a result of my perception of the significance of language constructs in communication, I felt compelled to be true to the original.

The study moves fairly freely between the general and the specific, referring at times to group experience and at others to individual experience. This is done not only to use individual experience to provide evidence and to illustrate theories about larger social implications, but also to demonstrate the uniqueness of the human experience. This attitude too is supported by Thompson who says that "One of the deepest lessons of oral history is the uniqueness, as well as the representativeness, of every life-story".[4]

On the question of the "reliability" of oral history as opposed to documentary history, Thompson points out that statistics, newspaper reports, private letters, published biographies, statutory publications, "all represent... the social perception... of facts; and are all in addition subject to social pressure from the context in which they are obtained".[5] Contrary to some beliefs, all historical evidence requires checking and re-checking before any evaluations may be made. Part of this checking process can be achieved by turning to multiple sources for data, searching for internal inconsistencies, and weighing evidence against a wider context. It is necessary to be able to differentiate between an experience that is genuinely an exception to the rule, and one which is a distortion of reality. But this is true of any historical study, written or otherwise. This study has been approached from the assumption that oral and written data complement each other, producing a wider and more realistic arena for research and analysis than either would alone.

Most historical investigations pay no more than a token attention to the total cultural environment. According to Ruth Katz, those that do address the extramusical, "in their attempt to comprehend the historical and

stylistic development of music seem mostly to juxtapose the cultural phenemenon which they sense to be related rather than to *explain* the relationships among them".[6] An explanatory study would require both the consideration of multiple determinants and causal explanations in order to make a distinction between anecdotal collections and history. "History is not in search of laws; it is largely in search of *meaning*. Historical analysis, therefore, is interpretative by definition, and the meanings of events is perpetually open to revision."[7] Some attempt has been made in this study to deduce the meanings embodied by music events on a broad scale. The study particularly confronts those relationships between socio-economic, socio-political, and class struggle, and the performing arts, with special reference to music. It has been most concerned with those "meanings" with which the musicians themselves have invested their music. To a much lesser extent, an external, "objective" analysis of meaning has been applied.

The culturalist and interpretative approach has become increasingly recognised in the methodology of historical musicology. This can be considered to be accountable largely to the influence of anthropological bias in current ethnomusicology theory, as propounded by Mantle

Hood, John Blacking, Alan Merriam, and Bruno Nettl.[8] Prior to their work, ethnomusicology had as its prime objective the preservation of traditional or indigenous music in tribal and village groups. In 1964 Merriam pointed the way towards the numerous culturalist studies that were to emerge in the 1970s. These studies were based on the principles of monitoring and interpreting change in music, and in the relationship between music and socio-political and socio-economic factors.

> The study of the dynamics of music change is among the most potentially rewarding activities in ethnomusicology. Change in music is barely understood, either as concerns music sound as a thing in itself or the conceptual behavioral activities which underlie that sound. Indeed, the challenge of ethnomusicology today lies not so much in understanding what has been done in the past as in blazing the way in the future toward a better understanding of the study of music in culture.[9]

Similarly, in 1964 Bruno Nettl had the following to say about the role of ethnomusicology:

> Perhaps the most important task which ethnomusicology has set itself is the study and discovery of the role which music plays in each of man's cultures past and present, and the knowledge of what music means to man.[10]

Nettl suggests three approaches to the culturalist study of music. The first could be the study of music to be understood through culture and cultural values; the second, music as an aid to understanding culture and cultural values; and the third, music in its

relationship to other communicatory phenomena in culture, such as dance, language, and poetry.[11]

Following the trends of anthropology, ethnomusicological theory and methodology were swayed by a new concept in the 1970s: the concept of ethnomusicology in the city. Since then the study of urban culture has featured strongly in research, with Daniel Neuman's study of cultural structures and the social organisation of musicians in Delhi, David Coplan's study of the performing arts in urban South Africa, and Nettl's collection of eight studies of urban cultures leading the way.[12]

> What is it that sets urban musical culture off from that of the villages, small towns, and nomadic life? It is wealth, power, education; it is specialization in profession, it is the interaction of different and diverse population groups, rich and poor, majority and minorities, recent migration and long-standing urbanite; it is the ease of a rapid communication, the mass media, literacy; it is crowding and enormous divergencies in living standards and styles. Translated to musical culture, it is in many cases - though by no means in all cities for all repertories - the patronage of wealthy aristocrats and of government agencies. It is the specialization of the professional musician. It is Western musical notation, recording, radio, television. Perhaps, most of all, it is the coming together of different musical styles and genres from many sources.[13]

The dividing lines between ethnomusicology and musicology are being constantly eroded by new attitudes to each. The Birmingham School of popular culture and music

analysis has introduced yet another approach which confronts musical and social issues with an equal emphasis. Music is seen by them in terms of "Production", not:

> in a narrowly "economistic" sense, nor as a fashionable translation for the processes of "purely musical" creation but as referring to *all* the processes involved in the bringing-into-being of a musical work.[14]

This school of thought is influenced by the Marxist argument that:

> man himself is the basis of... all production which he accomplishes, [and] all circumstances... which affect man, the subject of production, have a greater or lesser influence upon all his functions and activities, including his functions and activities as creator.[15]

Contrary to some fears, production theory does not imply predetermination. Richard Middleton says "Cultural relationships and cultural change are... not predetermined; rather, they are the product of negotiation, imposition, resistance, transformation...".[16] Culturalist analysis of art as meaning needs to look at art as both a dependent on and as an antagonist in social change. This study adopts Francis Mulhern's definition of culture as:

> the complex unity of (I) all those practices whose *principal function* is signification, (II) the *institutions* that organise them, and (III) the *agents* that operate them.[17]

Due to the adoption of this definition, the study addresses not only the overt manifestations of cultural expression and its apparent meanings. It also looks closely at institutions such as the state, religions, and the family, and at class, economic and political constraints which inform cultural expression.

Research Method and Research Constraints

Research was conducted on three fronts simultaneously. One consisted of scanning studies in the relevant fields of sociology and anthropology, social and political history, and ethnomusicology. These studies included the topics of kinship, caste, religion, and urbanisation; White and Indian South African politics, economy, social status, class, and occupation; and general trends and practices in the performing arts in India.

The second front of research consisted of a search for documentary evidence related to performance activities and attitudes amongst Indian South Africans. The most useful forms of such documentation were found to be programme notes, posters, newspaper advertisements, and public notification of entertainment or religious

worship. Newspaper articles, including open letters to the press, were informative about conflicting issues, as were commemorative articles sponsored by the many associations which have provided a network of social organisation in the absence of flexible and democratic parliamentary representation, past and present. Private letters were found to give profound insight into values accorded to performance genres and performance practices.

The third, and perhaps most rewarding approach to research, was that involving direct contact with the people most concerned. This was done by way of formal interviews, spontaneous meetings and telephone conversations. Such meetings were initiated in the first instance by a radio interview with Jugatheesan Devar on "Saturday Mirror", and a newspaper interview with Daya Pillay, Natal Post.[16] The newspaper article was the more fruitful in eliciting response, although most people contacting me had heard the radio interview as well as seeing the article. From these two requests contacts snowballed. They not only revealed people who were prepared to make themselves available for interviews, but they also led me to two of the three record collections presented in the study, i.e. the Ayakanoo Arunachallem Pillay Collection and the Kit Mewalal Somaru Collection. They also revealed the two

collections of memorabilia which underpin much of the evidence and results in the study, i.e. the A.G. Pillay private collection and the Lawrence family private collection.

Contact with the people was often the most difficult part of the search given the politically volatile situation in evidence at the time the research was being effected, i.e. 1984-1987. There were periods of up to three months when all face-to-face contact was interrupted due to overt political unrest, when it was thought to be unsafe both for me to enter Indian residential areas, and for the interviewee to be seen with a non-Indian visitor. My visits to areas and functions where White presence was unusual, often unheard of, always caused some degree of nervousness as they were always open to misinterpretation by members of the angry oppressed. However, despite being the only White person, and a woman at that, I was always treated with courtesy even if not always with trust.

A large part of the research constituted attendance at concerts. Although these were obviously not representative of the period under consideration, they helped me gain an insight into the musical environment of Indian South Africans first hand, and they established, from

the outset, the sense of continuity which is essential to any diachronic analysis. The present-to-past approach was taken further by a study of some documentary data representing 1948 to the present day. Although difficult and very time-consuming, I found this to be essential to the holistic approach which I have applied to the entire study.

The "self-selected group" method of research inevitably places considerable constraints on any study as it will rarely be fully representative of a community. It is likely to produce evidence about people of its "central groups", which, in the present-day Indian South African population would be the semi-skilled worker and aspiring middle class.[19] I therefore did not expect to make contact with the local upper class, nor with the very poor. This method also failed to reach the average woman, who generally still does not play a public role in political and social affairs. It was therefore essential for me to initiate other means of contacting people, which I did by directly confronting those people who came forward spontaneously, asking them for names of people outside their own circles. This increased the representativeness of the study-group slightly, but still failed to reach those who were less likely to trust my motives. It was perhaps significant

that it was only at the end of my field research that I was able to make a breakthrough in my consistent efforts to contact members of the Muslim groups. This was possibly because of the woman's role in Muslim society. For many, I was playing a role which was frowned upon by the average Muslim male. A second reason for this tardiness at coming forward could be that Muslims today constitute a large proportion of the extra-parliamentary opposition, who would be less likely to collaborate with anyone not having established their credibility.

Language caused some problems. Although all Indian South Africans are conversant in English, idiomatic colloquialisms sometimes made it necessary for me to check and re-check to ensure that I had the correct meaning, which slowed down conversation considerably. My informants generally displayed great patience with me in this regard, as they did in what were sometimes painful attempts at extracting local terminology from them. Song texts used in South Africa are often written in transliterated forms but few materials from the early days appear in English translation. This really restricted my understanding of the values attached to such songs. At times these songs were in Devanagari or Sanskrit script which completely precluded their usefulness to me. Similarly, documentary data in early

news media and private letters are often, though not exclusively, in vernacular and in Devanagari script.

But perhaps most difficult of all were the restrictions on keeping channels of communication open. It was often impossible to follow leads to their conclusion, because, after having spent months in tracking down an informant, and having made appointments to see him, I would arrive at his residence to find that he had moved, or had been moved somewhere else, and I was never able to re-establish contact. The refusal of employers to allow telephone communication with their employees was the status quo. Thus valuable information was overlooked, making further research into this topic imperative.

Organisation

The findings are presented in two sections based on a chronological division. The choice of dates does not represent empirically determined periods but provides expedient boundaries which do, however, have some logical rationale. There is some exclusivity regarding the characteristics of each period, but many trends which are explored in the second section are germinated in the first.

In general, the organisation within the sections is chronological, but at times it is not due to overlapping, or due to the order in which informants have conveyed their material. Within a chronological scheme, the data and results have been presented topically, including some attempts at analysis and tracing relationships.

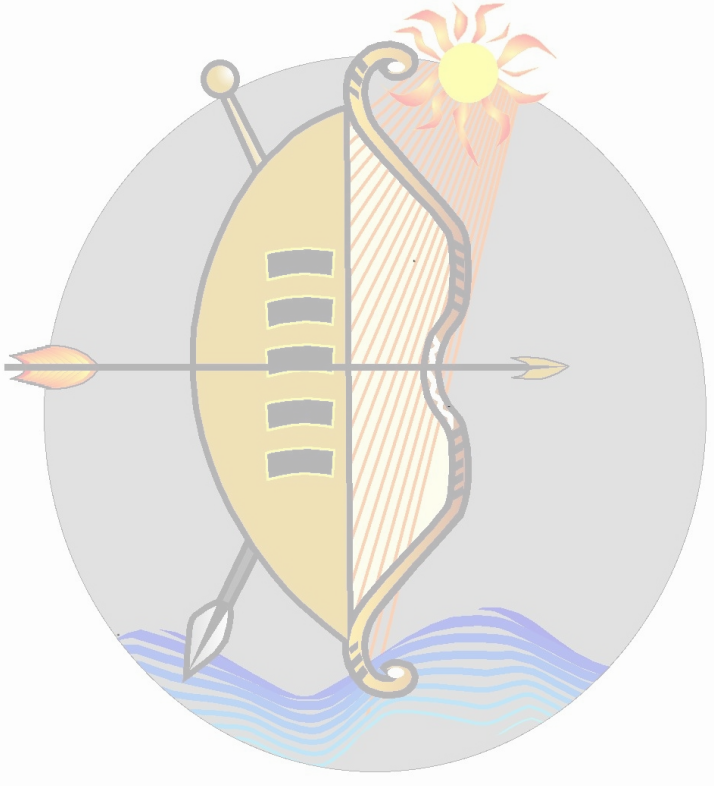
The final chapter attempts to draw together the conclusions and to indicate the most important areas requiring future research.

Following the common South African trend in written Indian vernacular languages, I have left out all diacritical markings. Where these do occur in original South African sources, they are frequently inaccurate and vary so widely that I decided their inclusion would be more confusing than helpful. Transliteration variables are acknowledged in parenthesis only when they occur in the text itself. When using quoted or paraphrased references, I have retained the spelling used by the author concerned, giving the variant spelling in parenthesis.

NOTES

1 Paul Thompson, The Voice of the Past: Oral History, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.
2 Ibid., p.5.
3 Ibid., p.201.
4 Ibid., p.129.
5 Ibid., p.96.
6 Ruth Katz, Divining the Powers of Music, New York: Pendragon Press, 1986, p.8.
7 Ibid.
8 Alan P. Merriam, The Anthropology of Music, Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1964; Bruno Nettl, Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology, New York: The Free Press, 1964; John Blacking, How Musical is Man?, Seattle: University of Washington, 1973; and Mantle Hood, The Ethnomusicologist, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1971.
9 Merriam, Anthropology, p.319.
10 Nettl, Theory and Method, p.224.
11 Ibid.
12 Daniel Neuman, "The Cultual Structure and Social Organisation of Musicians in India: The Perspective from Delhi", Ph.D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, Urbana: University of Illinois, 1974; David Coplan, "The Urbanisation of African Performing Arts in South Africa", Ph. D. thesis, Department of Anthropology, Indiana University, 1970; and Bruno Nettl, ed., Eight Urban Musical Cultures: Tradition and Change, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978.
13 Bruno Nettl, "Introduction", in Nettl, Eight Urban Musical Cultures, p.6.
14 Richard Middleton, "Editor's Introduction", in Richard Middleton and David Horn, eds., Popular Music 3: Producers and Markets, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, p.1.
15 Ibid.
16 Richard Middleton, "Articulating Musical Meaning, Reconstructing Musical History, Locating the 'Popular'", in Richard Middleton and David Horn, eds., Popular Music 5: Continuity and Change, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p.6.
17 Francis Mulhern, cited by Tony Bennett, "Popular Culture and Hegemony in Post-war Britain", in Politics, Ideology and Popular Culture, Milton Keynes: Open Air Press, 1981, p.11.

18 Radio interview "Saturday Mirror" September 1984; and newspaper interview Post Natal 24 October 1984, p.15.
19 Thompson, The Voice of the Past, p.16.



Chapter Two

INDIAN IMMIGRANTS AND SETTLERS IN NATAL: 1860-1920

Early Socio-political Structures: Responsible Government 1893

Indians, as defined in the politico-cultural sense of the word, i.e. those born in India and sustaining a peculiarly Indian way of life with regard to religion, language, social customs and mores, first came to Natal as a result of a drive by the British colonists to secure cheap and reliable labour.[1] The first group was brought under indentured contract for a renewable five-year period, with the implicit intention that as soon as their services had been exploited, they would then

speedily return to the Mother Country.[2] The second group of Indians came chiefly as merchants, and to a smaller extent, as craftsmen, priests, and teachers to satisfy the growing material, educational, and spiritual needs of the indentured labourers. This group became known as "passenger" or "free" Indians, as they paid their own fare with the idea of establishing temporary settler trading posts in the colony.

It became clear that the contractor's ostensible intention regarding the temporary sojourn of these early settlers was a myth, because in spite of tremendous physical and mental hardship, the majority stayed.[3] They managed to buy or lease land, to sell their services or products on the open market, and began, generally, to put down roots and survive or thrive, as the case may be, depending on whether they were peasants, or members of the new Western-educated elite, or merchants.[4]

The decision to settle and the ability to generate an economic viability posed a serious threat to the White British colonists, who were bent primarily on seizing the land for economic and domestic expansion and, incidentally, on establishing a British culture in Natal. Between 1870 and 1890, for example, White schoolboys

of the Misses Archbell's school in Pietermaritzburg were expected to chant in the hot African summer:

> January brings the snow
> Makes our feet and fingers glow.[5]

The cultural dependence of Natal on England was marked, as was reflected in the drama, music comedy, and opera of the 1870s and 1880s. The year 1887 saw the presentation of T.W. Robertson's plays by Madame Permaine's "Diplomacy Company", but, due to the presence of the Garrison, lighter works such as music hall and amateur theatricals were in great demand. The "diorama" of 1870 hinted at the future role of Wolfram's "bioscope" of the 1900s.[6] The valse and the polka were danced at the Governor's Ball, on the Queen's Birthday, and the barn dance at less auspicious occasions of celebration.[7] By 1910, the annexation of the "Northern Districts" and the initiation of the Union, had increased the numbers of Afrikaners in Natal, but this had little effect on White cultural activity as a whole.

> In Durban and Pietermaritzburg the population was overwhelmingly English-speaking, and since nearly all the high-school teachers, nearly all the clergy and all the officers of the Garrison were (to use the phraseology of the time) "home-born", British ideas and traditions were paramount.[8]

In theory, the early Indian settlers **were** British: they were at least British subjects, but, as we well know, they brought a unique culture with them which was rich

and varied. The extent to which this culture was non-British will be examined later.

The first Indians came largely from Madras and Calcutta and their surrounding villages to establish sugar, tea, and wattle industries.[9] The indentured Indians were mostly Hindi, Gujerati, Tamil, and Telegu-speaking Hindus. There was also a substantial but smaller group of Christians and a very few Parsees.[10] The merchants were mostly Gujerati and Urdu-speaking Muslims, many of whom already had family members in trade in Mauritius. A considerable number of early Muslim traders came from the district of Surat in the Bombay Presidency. Surat is situated at the mouth of the Tapti river which had formerly been a busy trading port that became stranded when commercial focus moved to Bombay and Karachi.[11] It could generally be said that all Indian immigration was prompted by a quest for financial gain and improved social status, though many individuals claim that their forefathers had come "out of a sense of adventure". Certainly, the immigrants constituted a band of remarkably courageous, energetic, and vital people.

From this original religio-linguistic and class breakdown, we can see the dominant social structures determining the early cultural lives of Indians in South

Africa. Surprisingly, there were fewer sub-groupings in this early period than later, i.e. in the contemporary period. Caste was not a directly dividing factor because although the greater proportion of Indians coming to South Africa were members of established caste structures, these structures were soon abandoned voluntarily or involuntarily for the following reasons:

1. some settlers sought out the indenture system precisely to escape restrictive caste laws;[12]

2. the travel and eating arrangements on board ship made it almost impossible to abide by caste-regulations and survive the trip; and

3. the proportion of women to men was outlandishly in favour of men (due to their greater availability as menial and manual workers), therefore marriage and prostitution across caste lines was common.[13]

Significant factors in preventing any real group affiliations within the indentured population, at least on a public scale, were the harsh life-style and long hours of toil, the distances at which estates were placed, and the unwillingness of employers to allow workers freedom of circulation.[14] The following statement, a rare exception to the norm, was given by G. Johnson of

Waterloo Estate June 22 1872:

> It is understood when I engage them, [i.e. the employees, all ex-indentured] they are free to come or go as they choose.[15]

Statements such as the following are more frequently to be found in documentation of the day.

> I complain that my cousins and other relatives are not allowed to visit me. I work from 5 a.m. to 8 p.m. daily including Sundays. I am only paid my agreement wages 27s. per month and nothing extra, for working after hours and Sundays.... I am not allowed to go out.[16]

And, similarly,

> I complain that I am not given a pass to go out on Sundays. I am made to work from 4 in the morning till 9 o'clock at night including Sundays.[17]

Other complaints are directed at the lack of temples wherein to worship, the failure to be granted leave of absence on at least three consecutive days to attend the major festivals, the lack of cremation rights for Hindus, the obligation even for Hindus to eat meat in the hospitals and jails, and the shaving off of Mohammedans' (i.e. Muslims') beards.[18]

The extremity of anti-Indian hostility and deliberate efforts to curb their rights can be seen in the statement given by Robert Topham of Pietermaritzburg, who conceded that Indians possessed certain advantages over the "kaffirs" by way of being indulged with "a

certain amount of inbred and trained habit of obedience", in spite of being averse "by custom and intuition" to sanitary regulations in their dwellings. Indeed, he saw great advantages in the extension of their indenture as labourers, but:

> I would not allow respectable Arabs or Indians to be exempt from curfew... I would impose such an annual licence on Indians, before allowing them to indulge in trade, that it would amount to a prohibition... I would not allow Indians to indulge in their processions and performances through the public streets. [My emphasis.] I would place Indians born in the Colony under the precise regulations applicable to their parents....[19]

Although late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century documentation refers comparatively infrequently to the performing arts, one is filled with curiosity on encountering references such as the following, a memo of Merebank Estate, recording the number and kind of workers, weekly allowances, monthly wages, incidents of medical attendance and prescription, and:

> Broken leg - a free man. Not broken in the service of the estate, but when dancing.[20]

That the contract workers came under the lure of promised riches, often made by less-than-honest recruiters, has been well documented.[21] Indentured workers had been told at times that in South Africa the gold sovereign grew on the chili tree.[22] Some remnants of this hopefulness, and an indication of insight into

the compelling need for resilience and an ability to adjust, could perhaps be identified in the following song text and its translation.

kuli nam dharaya kuli nam dharaya
Natalwa me ai ke bhajan karo bhaya
hath me cambu kandh me kudari
pardesiya ghare jai.

They've given you the name "coolie",
they've given you the name "coolie",
You've come to Natal,
give thanks in song, brother,
With a *chambu* in your hand,
and a hoe on your shoulder,
Let the foreigners go home.[23]

The word "coolie", which was originally a caste term for "porter", was given to all non-Muslims by the early planters in Natal, later to become a derisive racist term for Indian South Africans in general. The song is thought to be by an indentured or ex-indentured worker, due to the absence of English and the fact that it is scarcely known amongst even middle-aged people.[24] Of course, the possibility that satire and irony inform the meaning cannot be discounted.

In 1893, the Natal Government, on taking over Responsible Government, abolished the qualified parliamentary vote enjoyed by all Indian males who were over the age of twenty-one and who owned £10 worth of fixed property, and who were British citizens.[25] In the first four years of Responsible Government, the Natal Legislature

endeavoured to stop immigration, imposed the iniquitous £3 poll tax, (in effect a licence to remain in South Africa and a coercive tool for compulsory reindenture), and restricted the issuing of trading licences.[26] Anti-Indian hostility first became vocal in the 1880s and was aimed particularly at:

> Moslems by faith and traders by calling. Not fitting into the already crystallising conception of men of colour being unskilled labourers, and providing in time formidable competition to the white trader, they were the occasion of the first real outburst of anti-Indian feeling....[27]

That this hostility was aimed more noticeably at members of the Muslim population is perhaps indicative of the underlying reasons for the changing attitudes of White colonials to Indians in general. Before 1880, Indians were not perceived to be an economic threat. Prior to that, only "passenger" immigrants had any claim to financial independence, and they constituted only 10% of the total Indian population. Although Natal always had its dissenters opposing the policy of indenturing Indian labour, the response in the early years was positively euphoric in its assessment of the contributory role of industrious but cheap labour.

> Coolie immigration after several years' experience of it is deemed more essential to our prosperity than ever. It is the vitalising principle.... The coolie's presence will... be a benefit to European mechanics and workmen, inasmuch as the enlarged production and increased prosperity he will create must give wider scope for the employment of our skilled

countrymen.[28]

Indeed the planters were delighted with the new labour.[29] But what had happened in the intervening years to change White feelings so radically? On the completion of indenture, Indians became integrated into Natal's economy, even to the extent of gaining a monopoly of the fishing industry, and that same group that had been respected for its industry and tenacity while held in a hegemonic relationship of dependence and servitude, now became perceived as a dangerous threat. Before 1880,

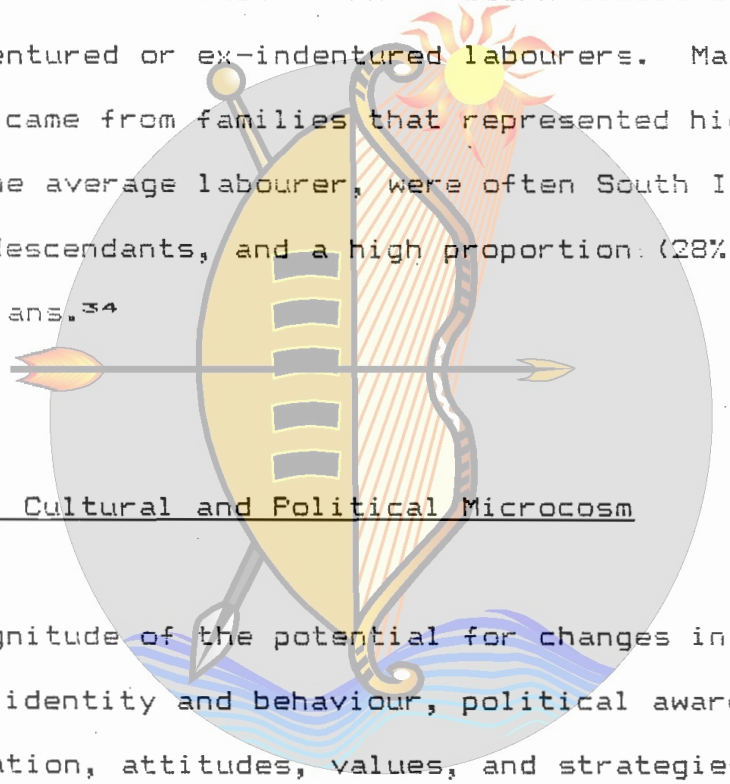
> Their small numbers, their illiteracy and their poverty were their strength: the Europeans fearing nothing from the newcomers were not loth to help them and be helped by them.[30]

Class became an increasingly influential divisive element. The divisions between the indentured and ex-indentured (who became competitors of the merchants in petty trade) and the commercial elite, were well defined. They did not mix socially; in fact, the only real relationship between them was that between the money-lender and the debtor. In 1900-1910 usury was rife.[31] In response to anti-Indian hostility, the commercial elite sought to separate themselves even further from the underclasses, seeking to protect their extensive economic interests by requesting that this distinction be made by Whites in authority.[32] In Maureen Swan's

view:

> the only real linkages between the elite and the under-classes were the essentially exploitative patron-client relationships formed by money-lenders, shopkeepers, and the owner-operators of the Durban produce market.[33]

In about 1905 a new elite began to emerge. This consisted of "colonial-born" Western-educated offspring of indentured or ex-indentured labourers. Many of these people came from families that represented higher castes than the average labourer, were often South Indians and their descendants, and a high proportion (28%) were Christians.[34]



Gandhi: Cultural and Political Microcosm

The magnitude of the potential for changes in psycho-social identity and behaviour, political awareness and affiliation, attitudes, values, and strategies for expressing all of these in late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Indians in India and abroad, can be no more vividly manifested than in the life of that

most public and charismatic figure, Mahatma M.K. Gandhi. Bourgeois eurocentric lawyer, esoteric universalist philosopher, saintly oriental mystic, conciliationist politician, and subsequently, dynamic indocentric nationalist politician, Gandhi was revered, deified, despised, but never ignored. His political life was climaxed by a unique synthesis of religious and political ideologies which became articulated in a policy based on "moral autonomy" and "moral individuation", and was directed towards "the fight for national respect".[35]

In 1888 Gandhi went to London, the aspiring higher-caste gentleman in search of Western education, the only avenue for upward social and economic mobility under the British Raj, which favoured those acculturated British Indians who could be gainfully employed in the administration of the Empire. It is noted by Louis Fischer in his biography that Gandhi sported the fashionable dress of the English gentry: a high silk top hat, stiff and starched "Gladstonian" collar, multi-coloured tie, fine striped silk shirt, morning coat, double-breasted waistcoat, dark striped trousers, patent-leather shoes, spats, leather gloves, and a silver-mounted stick.[36] His attempts to become an Englishman did not end here.

> Further "aping the English gentleman", he invested three pounds in a course of dancing lessons. But says Gandhi "I could not follow the piano or achieve anything like rhythmic motion". Adamant and logical, he thought he would develop an ear for music by mastering the violin. He purchased an instrument and found a teacher. He acquired Bell's Standard Elocutionist and took elocution lessons.[37]

Early in 1893, the first year of Responsible Government, Gandhi was hired by the Porbunder branch of Dada Abdullah's firm to assist in a law suit against an Indian merchant in the Transvaal. Gandhi elected to remain in South Africa having failed to establish a legal practice first in Bombay and then in Rajkot, his family home.[38] His decision to stay was partly influenced by his strong reaction to racist incidents experienced by him on this temporary visit, and by his concern about repressive measures emanating from the newly instated government. Being fluent in Gujerati and English and having a legal training with some experience in Anglo-Indian communication, Gandhi was seen by the merchants to be useful for handling the time-consuming administrative and legal work of the second campaign against the Franchise Amendment Bill 1894, which was particularly threatening to the merchants who hitherto had been eligible for qualified parliamentary franchise.[39] For the next few years, Gandhi, who had himself been socialised in a Gujerati merchant caste, joined the ranks of those attempting to

protect the commercial interests of the commercial elite.[40] Towards this end, he became the spokesman of the Natal Indian Congress, was involved in the establishment of the newspaper, Indian Opinion, and founded a communal settlement in Phoenix, near Durban.[41]

Lampoons and Other Politically-inspired Songs

As spokesman of the Indian merchants, Gandhi became on occasion the target of White aggression. For instance, on returning to South Africa in 1897 after a visit to India, a rumour circulated amongst the White population that the ship on which Gandhi was travelling, and its consort, the Naderi and the Courland, respectively, contained some 500 to 600 non-indentured immigrants.[42]

> Buglers on horseback were sent to rouse the demonstrators. Businesses were closed and large numbers of the white population marched in procession down to the docks, accompanied by numbers of their Zulu employees, singing, shouting and dancing.[43]

The declared intention was to prevent the Indians from landing. The Police Superintendent, Alexander, dispatched the Zulu contingent and assisted Gandhi, who disembarked, landing from an open boat near Gardiner Street with Laughton, the lawyer of the shipping firm. At this point Gandhi was assaulted with fish, stones,

eggs, and brickbats, and was battered into the railings of a house.[44] He took shelter in Parsee Rustomji's house in Grey Street.

> White gangs surrounded Rustomji's home and demanded that Gandhi be delivered to them. "We'll burn him", they yelled. Superintendent Alexander was on the scene and tried, vainly, to calm or disperse the howling mob. To humour them, Alexander led the singing of:
>
> "And we'll hang old Gandhi
> On the sour apple tree".[45]

The use of such politically-inspired songs was not restricted to Whites in the economic and political struggle at the turn of the century. It seems that Gandhi and the merchants he was representing resorted to them with some frequency. For instance, opposition to Act 2 of 1907 (re-registration bill) included some examples. The merchants, as we have seen, were generally Muslims, and as such were doubly offended by the re-registration clause of this Act: not only were they, irrespective of their advantaged social and financial status, being expected to carry identification documents on their persons at all times, to which indignity not even "educated kaffirs" were subjected, but they were also being expected to give full-handed finger prints.[46] This was irreconcilable to them, both because it slighted the perceived status of the merchants, and because it contravened Islamic orthodoxy regarding *biddat*, or the idolatrous representation of

the human form. Gandhi's role in this affair drew heated, even violent criticism from members of his constituency. In an attempt to explain the constraints and the ethical differentiation between compulsory and voluntary registration that led to the disastrous compromise proposal between the imprisoned Gandhi and General Smuts, in which he agreed to induce his constituents to register voluntarily, Gandhi published the following in the Gujerati section of Indian Opinion February 1908:

> The law brought compulsion to bear on us to make us register; that was humiliating.... But if we take out the same kind of register of our own free will, that will save us the dishonour and even show that we are magnanimous.... We told the people that in India finger-prints were taken only of criminals. We published rousing songs about them. Verses, such as
>
> Of fingers ten,
> Those who give impression
> Forsaking their pledge to God,
>
> still echo in our ears. We do not withdraw anything we said then. We would still use these verses against those who agreed even to sign their names under the law, let alone give their finger-prints.[47]

Universalism/Communalism

The two experiments in communalism started by Gandhi in South Africa were inspired by a doctrine of universal brotherhood and universal religion, influenced no doubt

by late nineteenth-century neo-Hinduism prompted by the teachings of religious reformers such as Swami Vivekananda and popularised by movements such as the Sri Ramakrishna Mission and Sathya Sai Baba among others. These movements grew out of a need to reconcile the threat of Muslim/Hindu conflict, and the dual threats of Christian proselytisation and of British acculturation which became increasingly (and coercively) apparent during the nineteenth century. The reform religions allowed the newly-urbanised intellectual elite to function within two worlds with little or no psycho-religious discomfort. Ironically, without actually preaching assimilation, they allowed elements of acculturation to take place by propagating intimate co-existence based on tolerance of individuation in religion, language, and social custom.

The experiment in human co-exsistence as experienced on Tolstoy Farm in the Transvaal has received more documentary attention than the Phoenix settlement, Natal; therefore it is to this centre that I turn for a description of activities. In his autobiography, Gandhi describes Tolstoy Farm as a "thoughtful and religious experiment... even if imperfect".[48] This imperfection was perhaps the result of the innocence with which Gandhi approached the facilitation of a complex group -

one that was multireligious, multilingual, and multi-racial. For instance, despite its multilingual nature, Gandhi taught the classes in Gujerati or English, since he was not able to speak Tamil, Telegu, or Dutch.[47] Although he proposed "to bring them [the chidren] into close mutual contact and to lead them to cultivate a spirit of friendship and service", and to teach the children "to view one another's religious customs with a large-hearted charity", there appears to have been no more than a token representation of non-Hinduism in Gandhi's teachings.[50]

> At prayers we sang bhajans and sometimes had readings from the Ramayanan or books on Islam. The bhajans were in English, Hindi and Gujerati. Sometimes we had one bhajan [hymn] from each of the three languages, and sometimes only one.[51]

Major festivals such as *Ekadeshi* and *Ramzan* were however celebrated by Hindu and "Musalman" separately. There is little mention of Christian activity in the group in spite of a Christian presence.

Something of these elements of "imperfection" crept into the Phoenix experiment, Natal. One area which was particularly problematic was that related to the boarding facilities for boys of the Phoenix Boarding School since they represented all religious and regional backgrounds. Far from achieving the admirable goals of religious and social tolerance, and *ahimsa* (non-

violence), the school principal, Cordes, ruled his reluctant students through the cane, and parents responded with animosity to the intimate contacts between Muslim and Hindu pupils, fearing the undermining effect of inter-religious mixing.

> There was the occasional housewife who, forced into taking in a non-Hindu student spent secret hours washing and rewashing her plates defiled by non-Hindu eating.[52]

It was during the Phoenix phase, which could perhaps be called the "conciliation phase", that Gandhi made closer contact with sympathetic Christians, Indian and non-Indian. Among his closest friends was Joseph Royeppen, organist of St. Aidan's Mission ca. 1899-1902.[53] Popular history has it that Gandhi would frequently request Royeppen to sing the popular hymn "Abide With Me". Yet another of Gandhi's favourites was "Lead Kindly Light", which was sung at the occasion celebrating the Phoenix Settlement's Golden Jubilee which also included the opening of the Kasturba Gandhi Government-aided school, June 1954. The "Indian version" of this hymn was sung by Sarojini Desai, and it was sung in English by Zubeida Barmania to the piano accompaniment of P.J. Chambers.[54] It is not clear whether the "Indian version" means a simple translation into an Indian vernacular, or whether it implies something more in terms of music style. "When I Survey

the Wondrous Cross", popularly sung by *satyagrahis* (passive resisters), was sung by the congregation at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, at the Mahatma Gandhi Centenary Commemoration, 1970.[55] The inclusion of Gandhi's favourite hymns and bhajans on commemorative occasions, as well as publications and the creation of trust-funds such as the Indian Opinion (until 1961) and the Gandhi-Tagore Trust, respectively, serve to keep alive the memory, and to some extent, the principles of Gandhi, both at home and abroad.

Music was used continually by Gandhi to rally his followers to his cause. To ease the burden of long hours of labour in the printing room at Phoenix, waiting for the Indian Opinion to come off the press, the settlers would sing "hymns and bhajans... throughout the night".[56] Similarly, to bolster his belief in the good and moral life as that experienced by the frugal peasant, Gandhi dedicated his followers to that life, "casting them under the spell of his simple thoughts and the timeless rhythm of the hymns and bhajans they chanted".[57] Music and fasting were used to function both as an endorsement of moral principles, and as a tactical expression of disapproval. For example, on one occasion a group of boys, including his son, had given themselves "up to animal passion".[58] Reacting to this,

Gandhi undertook a seven-day fast, at the end of which he broke his fast and "the settlers prayed and sang hymns and bhajans and it was as if the cloud that had descended on Phoenix had lifted".[59]

Music, Respectability, and Self-respect

The music with which Gandhi associated himself and with which he encouraged others to be associated was clearly of a kind that reflected a middle-class religious and social respectability. Community and religious music was particularly desirable, but domestic music, particularly that considered suitable as a dignified occupation for women, was accredited by him.

Despite Gandhi's penchant for equality and for the dispersion of the caste system, we do not see evidence of any lower-caste or tribal music such as some of the sacrificial ceremonial Saivite music. As a Vedantist, we might expect that his favourite bhajans should reflect a middle-class tone, which indeed they do. This quality is further indicated in the letters written by Gandhi to his son Manilal during the arrangements of the marriage between Manilal and Sushila, who:

> had a good figure, but was a little hard of hearing, had passed her Matric Marathi, understood a little English and possessed such

> accomplishments as painting, singing and playing the harmonium.[69]

This is not to overlook the remarkable impact that Gandhi's inimitable brand of religious and political inspiration had on the many nationally-inclined South African Indians, and, even more significantly, on Indian Indians post-1914. He encouraged people to return with pride to traditional practices and beliefs but to adapt them to modern needs. It was this ideological basis which aimed, with varying degrees of success, at facilitating a sense of national and social identity: an awareness of self-worth which went some way towards dispelling the "coolie" image which White South Africans had been so quick and so willing to relegate to them.

Passive Resistance

Gandhi's personal humanistic ideologies of passive resistance and universalism, though not truly representative of all South Africans, despite tenuous claims both in his autobiography and other biographies to the contrary, reached a climax in the Passive Resistance movement 1910-1914. Indeed, Gandhi was severely criticised for the steady deterioration of merchant rights at the Natal Congress meeting 6 October

1913. Other issues fundamental to Gandhi's doctrines drew repeated criticism. For instance, he was accused of seizing leadership and of refusing to adopt alternative policies suggested by other key personalities. Similarly, Gandhi's choice of White lieutenants while overlooking Natal-born Indians was not always looked upon favourably. He was also criticised for his persistent refusal to support Aiyer's anti-tax campaign. Gandhi's standpoint in this matter was due no doubt to Aiyer's assimilationist and christocentric policies. He did not embrace the anti-tax issue as part of his personal campaign until mid-1913, at which time "he had been unequivocally repudiated by most of his former constituents".[61] It was only at this time, when he saw his passive resistance policy failing, that he employed the abolition of the £3 tax to "mobilise the committed army of supporters which he had unsuccessfully sought since 1906", i.e. the workers.[63]

He did however mobilize an energetic and dedicated constituency of White and Indian middle-class followers. To offset the physical and emotional strain of civil disobedience, the satyagrahis would often resort to the singing of bhajans and other forms of popular Indian culture, encouraged by Gandhi. Gandhi would turn to traditional ideology increasingly and with astonishing

success in his programme of *Hind Swaraj*, or Indian Independence. In South Africa the programme of civil disobedience, in which satyagrahis deliberately sought arrest, culminated in the 1913 march on the Transvaal and Orange Free State borders and the workers' strike which spread from northern to southern Natal. The campaign of passive resistance was to continue as long as:

> 1. A racial bar disfigures the Immigration Act;
> 2. the rights existing prior to the passing of the Act are not restored and maintained;
> 3. the £3 tax upon ex-indentured men, women and children is not removed;
> 4. the status of women married in South Africa is not secured;
> 5. generally so long as a spirit of generosity and justice does not pervade the administration of the existing laws referred to herein [Immigration Act, Cape and Natal Licensing Acts, and the Gold and Township Acts of the Transvaal].[62]

On the Transvaal march Gandhi and his satyagrahis resorted to singing to invoke a spirit of solidarity and a sense of righteous morality among the marchers. He describes the early stages of the march as follows:

> I shall never forget the scene when those men, women and children marched out. Each had but one thought - that this was a holy war and that all were setting out on a pilgrimmage [sic]. They set out singing hymns, one of which was the famous "Let not thy mind be affected by joy or sorrow". The strains of music that issued from the throats of those men, women and children still echo in my ears.[64]

Without being specific, Gandhi mentions the singing of bhajans on the march.

> On the first day we were to stop for the night at Palmford about eight miles from Volksrust, and we reached the place at about five p.m. The pilgrims took their ration of bread and sugar, and spread themselves in the open air. Some were talking while others were singing bhajans.[65]

It is popularly known that amongst many, "O Lord Who Art the One God with Many Names" (translated: "*Raghupati, Raghava, Raja Ram*") was one of Gandhi's favourite bhajans. Others include "He who is Pure in Heart and Compassionate to All People, he is a True Lover of God" (translated: "*Vaishnava Jana Tho*"). It is significant that these are examples of *Samarasa Kirtanaygal*, songs which have a universal theme, either mentioning all gods equally or no single god at all.[66] Both of these appear on the Mahatma Gandhi Centenary Commemoration record sung by Surya Kumari and Vasantha Rao, accompanied by Keshav Sathe on the tabla.[67]

Despite the limited funds available to sit out the strike while negotiating with Smuts, who played a waiting game, and despite the absence of leadership and organisational systems, which was at least the case when the strike spread spontaneously - and with devastating effect on Smuts' statesmanlike tactics - to the Natal plantation workers, the march and strike were partially successful in their objectives. Success was limited. Some considered it to be a failure because the strike

did not succeed in reinstating the elite to its former privileged position, and it did not bring about freedom of circulation between the Transvaal and the Free State. This phase of passive resistance did however result in the Indian Relief Act 1914 which abolished the destructive £3 tax, cancelled all debts in that regard, provided for the recognition of Hindu, Muslim, and Parsee marriages, and allowed for the immigration of wives and children of Indians domiciled in the Union.[68] It seems possible that those very strategies that drew on popular culture played some part in the limited success of Gandhi's campaign, for what had begun as strategies for protecting elite interests became a vehicle for the expression of the plantation labourers' by now untenable grievances.[69] This mid-flight transition was empowered partly perhaps because of Gandhi's final recognition of the powerful potential of popular pre-industrial, indocentric, quasi-religious and philosophical tactics. It was during this strike, along with the finale of Gandhi's involvement in passive resistance in South Africa, that the modern South African Indian working class was identified.[70] One must avoid the temptation of overstating the role of music in the Gandhi-Smuts struggle. Doubtless the primary reason for the success of the Transvaal march and the strike was a pecuniary one.

> The cumulative pressures of the £3 tax and a depressed economy had removed the time limit from indentured labour by driving thousands of ex-indentured workers back onto the plantations under second or subsequent contracts. These workers faced, for all they knew, a lifetime of extreme privation. It was this which brought them out in their thousands without leadership, and often with no clear-cut idea of what the strike was about.... This was the wave whose crest he rode into Indian nationalist politics.[71]

Conclusion

Whilst being aware of the danger of reductionism in assessing the effects of these conscious or unconscious music-related strategies, this short discourse indicates, however, that Gandhi did employ a variety of popular music forms, Western and Indian, to publicise his portfolio, to propagate an awareness of self-worth, to attract, inform, and mobilise his constituents, and to express his doctrines. Music served to harness post-indenture Indian Christians to his cause, and to attract White Christian sympathy. While consistently more successful in attracting the new urban middle class than the labourers, Gandhi did inadvertently succeed in reaching the workers who were struggling to secure for themselves a position of financial security and dignity in the face of a depressed economy and an unsympathetic host society. He did this with a growing level of

awareness in a way that became even more effective in pre-independence India, and in a way that is still nostalgically revered by many in South Africa and abroad today.

Early Music and Dance: 1860-1920

Role of the Artist

Music of this period reflected the class-related and religio-linguistic groupings previously mentioned, as well as the beginning of the fading of indocentric linguistic, religious, and regional barriers. This latter tendency continued into the second period addressed in this study (1920-1948) where it reached a peak. The status of musicians was determined by current colonial economic and class relationships rather than by historical or traditional indocentric class and/or caste determinants. It appears that although professionalism was common in India, there were no professional musicians here, and certainly commercialism, as it later developed with the occurrence of radio and broadcasting, and entrepreneurial sponsorship, did not yet exist. In fact, the first documented indication of the "artist"

concept was found in the Agent-General's Annual Report, 1935, reporting those who had utilised the assisted repatriation scheme. The following entry appeared in the list enumerating the occupation and the number of emigrants:

General Labourers	2
Confectioner	1
Jewellers	2
Artist	1[72]

The absence of professionalism in the performing arts is to be expected as the focal activities were agriculture, domestic and public service contained within the restrictive laws of contract labour, and petty trade, which lacked the excess wealth and leisure time to generate the same customary patronage as that enjoyed by court or temple caste musicians in India. No doubt some musicians were more proficient than others. There is evidence of a complete troupe of dancers who came out *en masse*. It is likely that this group functioned as professional itinerant entertainers in India, finding employment at village weddings, anniversaries, or seasonal festivals. K. Poongavanum Archary who came to Mount Edgecombe in 1900 was a member of this troupe, which, coming to Madras, saw a poster advertising wonderful prospects in Natal. The group of twelve embarked, resolved to stay together, presumably in order to be able to function as a performing group.

This apparently failed, and eleven of the group returned in 1907. Archary remained since his abilities as a priest and teacher of Tamil were highly sought.[73] Before 1920 priests and teachers were needed, professional artists were not. It is the opinion of at least some musicians, that many of the early performers left on the assisted repatriation schemes.

> At that time, most of the younger people who knew music, who appreciated "high-class" music, they were gone because their period of contract was over, only a few were left behind.[74]

The reason for this phenomenon, if such is the case, is not documented, but pure speculation might suggest that those who chose not to stay did so because their values and objectives were the most threatened by life in the colony, where they were alienated from those very infrastructures which in India were still able to maintain, if not to generate, some remnants of patronage and appreciation of regionally and historically determined performance and social practices. As will be seen later, rather than being supported financially by Indian society, colonial and post-colonial performers were required to give freely of their services in order to generate funds to develop and maintain community organisations which provided community halls and other social services.

Muslim/Hindu Performing Arts: Moharram Festival

South African Muslims represent both orthodox Islam, Sunni, (*ahl al-sunna wa 'l-jama'a*, the people of the *sunna* and the community), and unorthodox cults such as Shia and Sufi.[73] Orthodox Islam is critical of representations of animate life, animal or human, in the visual arts, as such representation could be interpreted as idolatry, biddat, the worshipping of God in tangible forms. On conversion to Islam, however, a large body of ex-Hindus did not entirely succeed in shedding the fundamentalist, multiple-symbolised animistic manifestations of deity, which resulted in Sufism, the cult of the *Pirs* (saints), and Shi'ism. Sufi mysticism as characterised in the Qadari, Chistia, Surawadia, and Naqshbandia sects could be seen as the synthesis of Muslim belief in the Quran (Koran) and the teachings of Prophet Mohammed, and Hindu Bhaktism, where "the saints of each became blurred in the common mind, so that at times both religions claimed the same saints."[74] This fusion can be seen no more clearly than in the annual Moharram festival. This has greater significance for the Shiah than Sunni, with its procession of *thaziyas* (pagodas, *ta'zia*) - hand-crafted models symbolising the tombs of martyred *imams*,

perpetrated particularly by Shi'ites and Sufis who meet to re-enact the passion of Kerbala, and sing lamentations, *marasiyah* (*marsiya*).[77] These songs describe the battle and death of the prophet's grandsons, and are sung in the mornings during the Moharram festival. They incorporate mixed ragas and the words are chanted in a quasi-recitative.[78]

Moharram is the first month of the Islamic lunar year; thus it coincides with the celebration of the New Year. The Thaziya procession and concomitant Tiger Dance marks the tragic massacre of the Prophet's grandson, Hussain, and his family. This procession is thought to be the first public ceremony to be practised in South Africa as can be seen by the fact that there was a Thaziya group celebrating its centenary in 1965. It was introduced in the very early period of indenture by Muslims from South India and was known colloquially as *Allahsamy's Goonda*.[79]

Thaziya building, like music and dance performance, is embraced by families. The spectacular procession, the drumming, the rhythmic, monotonous, high-pitched chanting of "*Hassan-Hussain Dulha! Hassan-Hussain ki dosti ki Jai!*" produces a state of *wajd* or *haal* (ecstasy) in the *dulhas*, or devotees. On the eighth

night, *alawa*, or fire-walking takes place.[80] It is said by some not to be an authentic part of Moharram, in much the same way as Vedantists disclaim Karvady as part of Hinduism, relegating it rather to some pre-Hindu, tribal hangover.[81] Alawa is accompanied by drumming, chanting, the burning of incense, and the marking of the dulhas' foreheads with ash, reminiscent of Hindu *kalpa* (Sanskrit, translated = ritual), and it leads to the performance of *qawwali*.[82]

> The *qawwal* sits on the ground on the sheet, [at the head of the fire pit] harmonium in front and *tabalchie* (drummer) beside him. He sings about the martyrs of Kerbala and the passion of the words and rhythm of the music drive many into states of haal.... Some close their eyes and go into a quiet, graceful ecstasy, and move in light dervish-like movements. Others become boisterous and throw themselves about dangerously. The qawwal repeats the words and notes which induced the trance until the devotee, satiated, revives.[83]

After the ninth night when incense is burnt and *fateha* is recited, accompanied again by drumming, the thaziyas are drawn, now in a spirit of joy and excitement to the tomb of Badsha Pir where 50% of Durban thaziya followers meet for the last stage of Moharram. Badsha Pir is one of two South African Indian Muslim saints representing the Qadari Silsila; the other is Sufi Sahib of the Chistia order. Badsha Pir is thought to have been among the first indentured labourers to be sent to the Tongaat sugar estate. He is accredited with many *karancat*

(miracles) and was said to have been in a constant state of wajd, which might explain the fact that he was discharged after two or three months of work at Tongaat. It is said by his followers that the discharge was caused by his employers' recognition of his sainthood.[84]

It was, however, Sufi Sahib who popularised the annual procession of thaziyas as part of a conscious attempt to resuscitate Islam among the Muslims, who, "due to their small numbers and inter-marriage, had tended to become integrated with their Hindu compatriots".[85] It seems possible, as suggested by Meer, that thaziya processions and other expressions of the Pir cult are associated with "the large mass of the less privileged classes".[86]

It is not clear whether these early celebrations included dances by the *raathie* or spear players, but an integral part of the Moharram festival was the village dance called the Tiger Dance. The earliest reference I have to this dance is the description of the Moharrem (Moharram) festival in Pietermaritzburg July 1893.[87] This is the same year in which the Natal Government, on taking over Responsible Government, started a campaign to curb the rights of circulation, free trade, and citizenship for Indian South Africans. The mood behind these initial acts of racial prejudice

is reflected in the following description, wherein J. Meldrun, a visiting Britisher describes the Moharrem festival as a commemoration of Hosain for valour in battle and tells us of a muslin-covered "pagoda" drawn by thirty or forty men.

> Around the base were the tom-toms and also a drum made out of a large cask, with the ends covered with hide. This was beaten with an energy worthy of a drummer of a Highland regiment.[88]

He continues by describing the colourful crowd accompanying the "waggon" which consisted of beturbaned "Mohammedans", "masquaraders, dressed up to represent tigers, who rushed through the crowd, pretending to assault the worshippers in imitation of the real tigers which frequently attack the processions in India..." and spectacularly dressed "Hindoos".[89]

> The din was terrific. Above the noise of the drums and tom-toms came the yells of the groups of those engaged in mimic battle with long sticks, while the rest of the faithful vied with each other in producing weird sounds.[90]

Into the midst of this remarkable and harmless ritual came members of the local police, bent on causing trouble.

> With customary British cussedness where the treatment of subject races is concerned, it had been decided that, in defiance of usual custom, the procession should not pass further in that direction. Result: that which had previously been like a playful kitten was turned into a growling tiger. The coolies were hustled away from the pagoda, and, to make matters worse, the

> police were ordered to charge and clear the streets. This was done with some casualties.[91]

The Tiger Dance retained tribal elements later to be rejected by the newly sophisticated Indian *bourgeoisie* as "primitive", marking a growing distinction between Sunni and unorthodox Islamic praxis.[92] This was exemplified by the conflict between Indian leaders and White authority in Durban, 1911. Commenting on the struggle between Gandhi and the Passive Resisters, and the Smuts Government, Transvaal 1911, in the retrospective column, "Fifty Years Ago..." the author, probably the editor of Indian Opinion, refers to the refusal of Dawad Mahomed and other leaders to participate in the Coronation Day festivities unless two matters were settled to their satisfaction. One was the affair regarding the Smuts-Gandhi negotiation over the repeal of Act 36 of 1908 which demanded re-registration of all Indians, and the other, an amendment of the Transvaal's immigration legislation to eliminate all discrimination against Indians.[93] The letter to the Town Clerk, in which this injunction occurs, stated also that such an official celebration could occur only if it were allowed on terms of equality with the "Europeans".

> To the above-mentioned letter there was no reply, save an acknowledgement. But, behind the back of the community, the Town Council authorised the expenditure of £50 by the Market-Master of the Indian Market for providing sports for Indian farmers and stall-holders of that market. Evidently, the officials thought that

> the leaders would remain supine and allow the unwary farmers and terror-stricken stall-holders to submit to degradation. Unsigned notices were issued by the Town Council in Gujarati [Gujerati] and Hindi, in which there is "not even a mention" of the Coronation. They simply informed the Indians that they would have sweets and sports. **The latter include the degrading and disgusting tiger-dance for which a prize was offered.** [My emphasis.] When these notices were seen they caused intense irritation among the community. They realised that an insidious attempt was being made to humiliate them instead of making them realise that they were "as good subjects" of the Crown as any.[94]

Thus in 1911 it became expedient for the authorities to propagate the very Tiger Dance that the authorities in 1893 had attempted to extirpate. Whereas their censorious attitude in 1893 brought criticism from British liberals, in 1911 the reverse brought censure from Indian "leaders".

Of the indentured workers, approximately 7% were Muslim Mehmons, mostly Gujeratis from the states of Surat and Kathiawad, as were many of the later trader passengers. Despite this, and the fact that the Garba Dance was a folk dance performed by Gujerati and Hindustani Hindus and Muslims alike at wedding celebrations, evidence suggests that this dance, with its complementary *geethar* songs with dholak accompaniment, was not part of the cultural environment in colonial Natal.[95] Referring to Gujerati trading families and their reduced state of physical and emotional comfort due to cramped and

primitive accommodation and social isolation in their new country, Meer cites Abubaker Jhavary's daughter-in-law. She missed her father-in-law's vast, highly decorative, timber and stone mansion in Poorbandar, and the long afternoons spent with her sisters and cousins-in-law, but "most of all, she missed the weddings, when clad in festive colours she danced the garba with girls of her age to the beat of the dholak".[96]

Hindu Performing Arts

Music amongst early Hindu settlers was largely functional, such as that found in Hindu *bhakti* (devotional worship), and in gatherings of friends and families, where the music fare was *bhajana* (Carnatic, *bhajanam*), *kirtana* (Carnatic, *kirtanam*), and *tevaram* (Saivite, *te* = the lord, *aram* = garland of the) and *devia prabardam* (Vishnavite), all generic terms for religious songs.[97] This later included music for weddings and festival days, street music, dancing, and *raat* (chariot) processions. In spite of the very early descriptions of and references to Muslim/Hindu festival celebrations above, it was not really until 1909 that Hindu festivals were celebrated publicly. This was caused partly perhaps by the hostility such activities

engendered in the White populace. It might be more important to note that Hindus took longer to cohere into clearly defined groups due to the widely dispersed localities of plantations, the long working hours, the restrictive measures of control, and the arduousness of indentured labour in general. The socio-economic contest which permeated almost all levels of their interaction, including that within their own ranks, was another reason underlying the tardiness of co-association amongst Hindus. In accordance with the new-elite phenomenon which was comprised partly of a Western-educated, largely Christian component, and a Tamil-speaking South Indian Hindu one, the Hindu Young Men's Association (H.Y.M.A.) was established in 1905[98] as a result of a visit by Professor Parmanand, an Arya Samajist missionary from the Anglo-Vedic College in Lahore.[99] The association opened a Tamil school which was reported to have organised a Divali festival exhibition in Durban, in 1909.[100] These three events, significant as they were, succeeded only partially in uniting Hindus, because the association catered specifically for South Indians, as can be seen from the fact that Tamil was the association's official language, and Divali is, strictly speaking, a South Indian festival.[101]

Festivals were however celebrated on a local scale prior to this where large numbers of Hindu contract workers were gathered such as on the large sugar plantations at Umzinto and Mount Edgecombe. For example, the annual Shree Emperumal festival was first celebrated in 1890 in Mount Edgecombe, and has continued to play a significant role to date. The Shree Emperumal Temple, at which later anniversary festivals and their accompanying drama and music presentations occurred, was maintained with money raised by a bhajan group that "went from house to house every month entertaining the people".[102] According to the same source the Nagurar Jhunda festival was held "up till 1920... on a grand scale", drawing large crowds.[103]

Commenting on the socio-religious customs of early ex-indentured Hindus, William Lister, describing himself as a "Natal Colonist", reveals not only the ubiquitous prejudice displayed by the majority of Whites, but also the misinformed position from which even the most liberal Whites interpreted such activities, and the resulting paternalism which dominates cross-cultural interaction to date.

> The white man expects too much from the untutored savage and often fails entirely to understand the Hindoo. The Hindoo is still permitted to observe the feast of Ramadam [sic], but the procession of Juggernaut's car is only allowed in the lower parts of the town.[104]

Ramadan is not celebrated by Hindus, but by Muslims, being one of the five "pillars" of orthodox Islam. It consists of a month-long fast commemorating the month in which "the Koran was sent down as a guidance for the people" (Koran ii, 181).[105] It seems that the author has confused Ramadan with the Rathayatra festival (June/July), celebrated by devotees of Vishnu and his avatars, of whom Juggernath (Juggernaut), or lord of the world, as worshipped in Orissa, is one. This festival is characterised by prayers, *havan* (offerings), dancing, bathing, the reading of religious narratives, and a procession in which the image of Juggernath is pulled in an immense car.[106]

The Moharram festival itself was, and still is, a contentious issue. Arya Samajist Swami Shankeranand, a Punjabi *brahmin* turned *sunnyasin*, and successor of Swami Parmanand, visited Natal in 1908.[107] Filled with missionary zeal, Swami Shankeranand toured the Natal coastal districts, urging Hindus to attend to neglected religious practices, and denouncing the growing tendency of Hindu/Muslim cross-fertilisation evident in the increasingly widespread participation by Hindus in the Moharram festival.[108] These religious reforms, aimed at drawing a clear distinction between Hindu and Muslim,

externalised a growing anti-Muslim tension within the new-elite and had a direct influence on contemporary political affiliations and power mechanisms.

> The diffuse economic and social grievances of the young colonial-born men, the Congress's failure to represent these grievances, the predominance of Muslims in the party, the links with the N.I.P.U. retained with the party - all of these factors lent themselves to an attempt to channel discontent with the social and economic *status quo* into Hindu revivalism which found its counterpoint in an anti-Islamic and therefore anti-Congress stance.[109]

This retarded the process of unification, (the formation of a genuine "community"), hitherto becoming effective under the NIPU. However these developments seemed to sharpen the growing awareness of a real and existing dichotomy - "the patron-client nature of the relation-ship between the merchants and the rest of the community".[110]

Waiter Musicians: Pioneers of Organised Music

Some degree of unification was however possible amongst the non-agricultural indentured Hindu workers. In 1905 a group of "special servants" was recruited from Madras to serve as waiters at hotels such as the Royal, the Victoria Club, and the Norfolk, which existed to serve dignitaries under the British Raj.[111] Of this group,

about twenty were Tamil Hindus belonging to the Saivite sect, educated in Tamil, and followers of Guru Gangathara Navalar in Madras. These waiters were recruited by C.V. Balakrishnan Pillay of Triplicane, Madras Presidency, who spent two years at Government House, Pietermaritzburg. Under his leadership the *bhajan mandir* (translated: *bhajan* = devotional song; *mandir* = sacred place of worship or shrine), called *Shri Sithee Vinayaga Saiva Sithantha Bhajanay Madham*, was established in 1905. Every Friday, sacred songs were sung in worship of Lord Ganessa, with instrumental accompaniment.

> Imbued by faith and devotion, members of the congregation met regularly in the hall of worship [at the home of Sooba Naidoo and R.M. Reddyar in East Street] on Friday evenings, after a bath and further cleansing themselves with the sacred white ashes on their forehead, to offer prayers and sing sacred songs specially composed by their Guru in Mylapore, Madras. A regular supply of books and other religious literature containing beautiful sacred songs came from Madras.... Each year on the occasion of Sathurthi a lorry was decorated with Lord Ganesha [Ganessa] seated in a canopy and whilst sacred songs were sung the procession moved along the main roads of the city.... When the contract of service of the founders expired these men dispersed.[112]

The group attracted amongst its other followers many waiters, ex-indentured market-gardeners, including Ayakanoo Arunachallem Pillay (who was also a builder), and some members of the Paddyachee and Govender castes, who were the keepers of horses and the maintainers of

bridles. In spite of the apparent absence of strict caste adherence, these Paddyachees and Govenders kept horses and carts with which they transported the fresh produce of the Longmarket Street gardeners.[113]

In 1907 Shri Saiva Balakrishnan Pillay, later ordained as Guru Swamigal, was transferred to Durban where he worked at the Royal Hotel. Soon he had gathered a following of waiters, with whom he established the Shri Sithivinayagar Sivathantha Thava Saiva Sangam in rented accommodation in May Street. Furthermore, C.V. Balakrishnan Pillay continued to contribute to the development and propagation of music in Natal after his return to India, by appointing Arulkavi G.O.P. Gangathara Navalar as the South African Sangam's writer, in which position the latter composed and published several books and songs.[114]

One of C.V. Balakrishnan Pillay's worthy successors was F. Chinsamy Pillay, who succeeded to the position of guru in 1911. He continued the religious work initiated by the early leaders, and he was instrumental in re-introducing *Bhajanai* which had lapsed through lack of interest and expertise. This renewed emphasis on music gave rise to "many talented musicians", including A.M. Iyavoomurthi Pillay, also pupil of Edward J.

Govindaswami.[115] After having been introduced to Saivite religious and literary studies by Swamigal Sarahanna Perumal Pillay, Sangam guru 1909-1911, Iyavoomurthi Pillay "read Tamil and Advanced Literature and did research in Tamil Culture" under the supervision of A.G. Ramachandra Poolavar, "Poet of Madras".[116] Pillay is perhaps better remembered as an accomplished violinist, having studied under C.V. Chinsamy Pillay. Under the umbrella organisation of the Sangam, Iyavoomurthi Pillay established the School of South Indian Music, the Satya Nyana Sangeetha Sabha, the Mathar Sangam Band, and the Iyavoomurthi's South Indian Musical Band, and he served on the Vedic Society Eisteddfod Committee in the 1950s.[117]

Two of the more outstanding associates of C.V. Balakrishnan Pillay were C. Murugasam Pillay and R. Harry Soobramaniam Pillay. Both musicians of some influence to the Sangam, Harry Soobramaniam Pillay left South Africa in 1913, after having served as Tamil teacher, to study music and Tamil literature at the Jaya Vinayaga Sivaprakasa Mudam under Gangathara Navalar. He returned to Natal as "Kinara Vidwan", but in 1917 he moved to the Cape. Although he specialised in composing songs and writing plays, many of his works remain unpublished. He

did, however, adjudicate the Carnatic section of the Natal Indian Eisteddfod in 1938 and 1939.[118]

Despite what has been described as "lean periods", particularly those years between 1916 and 1920, and 1926 and 1935, in which membership declined, the Sangam had continued to make a marked impact on the performing arts in Natal, as may be seen by the programme of works by Indian South African composers and Gangathara Navalar, presented by the Sangam 28 December 1958.[119] These included "*Moolatharana*", a song by F. Chinsamy Pillay; "*Aum Ganasa*", and "*Vantha Surarai*", both songs by Sarahanna Perumal Pillay ; and "*Sivagami*", "*Vanthaathari*", "*Sivamuruga*", "*Siva Subramoniane*", "*Siva Siva Murugase*", "*Sarahane Bhavane*", and "*Kathirvela*", all vocal works by Gangathara Navalar.

It was perhaps not entirely coincidence that the didactic task of exploring and propagating music fell to the waitering social group, considering their long hours of leisure time between shifts, their relative wealth,[120] their status as respected semi-skilled members of the ex-indentured fraternity, and their unthreatening, indeed subservient relationship with White traders, farmers, and government officials. "The

free Indians make splendid waiters in hotels, tea rooms, and railway refreshment rooms. They command high wages...."[121]

Individual and group members of the waiter profession and their families appear throughout the history of the performing arts pertaining to Indian South Africans. This history demands further research. All those who were active after 1920 were in some sense indebted to that first, dedicated group under the remarkable leadership of C.V. Balakrishnan Pillay.

Music and Christian Indians

Between 1860 and 1920 Christian missionaries of the traditional churches, i.e. Methodist, Anglican, and Catholic, were ministering to those Indians who were already Christians when they left India. They were also deeply involved in attemtping to convert the "pagans", without a great deal of success. It is difficult to tell what music was being performed in the churches or at Christian meetings in the first two decades of Indian settlement, but I suspect it was mostly like the following, which must have been a little confusing to the local White Christian population. Father Sabon thus

describes the Christmas celebrations of Indian Catholics in St. Joseph's Chapel, West Street, Durban, 1861:

> Knowing that there was to be Midnight Mass those dear children, without telling me, went and borrowed the biggest drum in town, and about midnight, to the astonishment of the Protestants, they wended their way to the chapel to the beating of the drum. They also brought an elaborately decorated shrine or crib with angels hanging on threads, to decorate the church. After Mass they were joined by another band, together with two men playing violins, and all spent the night in the church, singing hymns....[122]

The similarity to indigenous Indian religious worship cannot be overlooked: this could well be the description of aspects of a Hindu or Muslim festival were it not for the presence of the crib and the Infant Jesus.

It was not long, however, before a small but active group of Christians started to practise what became an increasingly Western way of worship, including the singing of British church music accompanied by the organ. The two dominant centres were the St. Aidan's Mission Anglican church, and the "old" St. Anthony's Catholic church, both in Durban.

The St. Aidan's Indian Mission was founded by Lancelot Parker Booth (1850-1925), who had joined the Natal Immigration Department as District Surgeon at Umzinto in 1876. He established his mission schools in 1886 to

serve the children of indentured and ex-indentured labourers, whether they were Christians or not.[123] The St. Aidan's Training College instituted what is thought to be the oldest known South African Indian school song. The composer of the words and music is not known. The song text reflects an ambiguity of loyalty: to the school, to "Hind", to Africa, to the "Homeland", all reconcilable, at least in the song, by the unifying loyalty to the British Empire which "blinds [binds?] us all in loyalty". Despite the nostalgia for India, the poetic style, symbolism, and ethos is patently Victorian.

The College Song

Chorus:
Sons of Hind! rally round, join hands!
Join hands in strong endeavour!
In distant clime, 'mid Afric's sands,
Our College claims us ever.

Star of India! Morning light
Shining after stormy night!
India's Sons where'er they be
Ne'er forget their loyalty.

Parted by the ocean-wave,
India, still for thee we crave.
Parted, yet united, we
Own the bonds of loyalty.

Homeland, though to thee we turn,
Here to find a home we learn
For one Emp'ror 'cross the sea
Blinds us all in loyalty.

Alma Mater, Light of Mind,
Star of Progress, here we find,
Faith, Truth, Love and Honesty,
Are the Strands of Loyalty.[124]

It was not until 1899, however, that the church employed an organist/choirmaster: Joseph Royeppen served in this capacity until 1902. The Royeppen family, led by Joseph, along with the Joseph and Christopher families, formed one of the main nucleuses of Western music, their influence reaching far and over a very long period of time. William Joseph was Joseph Royeppen's successor from 1902-1953, and it was under his direction that the first Anglican Indian choir was trained in 1910.[125] This choir was characteristically all-male, Indian women not being welcome in public appearances.

St. Anthony's Catholic church was host and sustainer of the other nucleus of Western music, namely the Gabriel/Lawrence dynasty. Josephine Lawrence née Gabriel was born on 28 January 1882 and was the daughter of Amonee, who had come to South Africa at the age of seven with her mother, who was a contract worker. The Gabriel family were Catholic Christians in India, as was the family of Vincent Lawrence, who married Josephine in 1901, after coming to Durban from Madras on holiday. Lawrence was a trained teacher who was to play a powerful role in the politics of the post-1905 new-elite, and later, of Passive Resistance. Josephine is considered to be the first Indian South African to study Western music seriously, which she did under the

guidance of Madame Du Burgh. She attended the multi-racial Girls' Model School in Albert Street which initially accepted Indian children of Westernised families. There were twelve Indian girls at the school, including the daughters of the Paul and Godfrey families. In 1896 Josephine set the precedent which her children were to follow, by entering and passing the Trinity College Grade One piano examination. She gave elementary lessons in the piano to all her children, who, like her, became organists at St. Anthony's churches, "old" and "new" respectively. Thus began a family tradition which was to produce no less than seven professional practising musicians in the Western tradition. These included Josephine's children: May, Sylvia, Francesca, Christine, George, Rosalind; and grandchild, the ethnomusicologist Rosemary Joseph.

In answer to the question "Why Western music?", sisters Sylvia and Francesca, after some hesitation, unanimously said:

> There was my mother with Western music in the 1890s... I think we must give credit to **her** mother.... Although some history books say they all came as labourers, they didn't... they came with the spirit of adventure; seamstresses, teachers, chefs. The White people generally looked down upon Indian women who wore sarris as being illiterate uneducated people. Today, of course, we know differently. They were looked upon as "coolies". All my grandmother's children were educated in the Western way.... All had English names.[126]

Both sisters agreed, albeit somewhat reluctantly, that the need to escape the "coolie" image was "more or less an influence" on the family's choice of social and cultural life-style, as a result of which, the succeeding members all became involved in the early Eisteddfod and state education programme which fostered Westernisation.[127]

Edward J. Govindaswami: Father of South Indian Music

It is ironical, and indicative of the confused and shifting identities of the time perhaps, that the "Father of South Indian Classical Music" in South Africa turned out to be a Christian member of the Anglican St. Aidan's Mission in Durban. Edward J. Govindaswami (1890-1950), son of a Marathi Brahmin priest, was born in Tanjore, from where he came with his widowed mother, an indentured labourer, to settle at the Point. As a young boy he was taken under the wing of Cardinal A. Edward Newman, a British educationist, and member of the mission.[128] Noticing that the child liked music, Newman took him to a concert given by a group of Russian musicians, after which the boy expressed a wish to play the violin. He was then sent by his guardian to

Proudman and Benson, teachers of piano, violin, and Western music theory. Like members of the Gabriel/Lawrence family, Govindaswami is considered to be one of the first Indian South Africans to study "English" classical music by staff notation, in which he became proficient.

Concurrently, he developed his ear and playing techniques in Indian music in the style of the day, but was not entirely satisfied with the results.

> During his middle age, although he had the ear for Indian music, he said "No there's something in South Indian music, the classical part of it, not the one that we hear, we don't hear that here".[129]

In search of that elusive sound he wrote to various Christian bodies in India and England through which he acquired some Tamil literary works and Indian music tutors. An interesting early example of Govindaswami's collection is C.R. Day's The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India and the Deccan received by him 13 September 1913.[130] It is thought that only three copies of this edition came into South Africa. Aware of the integral relationship between music and literature, a relationship which is even more pronounced in Carnatic art than in other Indian performing arts, thanks to the unusually rich tradition of composed music works, poetry, and music theatre, Govindaswami sought to

develop his knowledge and skills in Tamil language and poetry. This may be seen by his early acquisition (1915) of Rev. G.U. Pope's A Handbook of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language Parts 1-1V, and Rev. A.H. Arden's A Companion Reader to Arden's Progressive Tamil Grammar, both of which were considered essential for English missionaries to India.[131] While Govindaswami did manage to secure a copy of Rev. H.A. Popley's Tamil Commentary and his book The Music of India, it was not however until 1930 that he was able to make more than a superficial contact with Indian classical music theory, as a result of a need to furnish his more advanced and dedicated pupils with satisfying information and materials.[132] This phase will be addressed later.

On being asked whether he thought being a Christian influenced Govindaswami's playing of Indian music at all, my informant said that it was an incentive, as the Christian Indians, particularly those in India, sang Tamil lyrics in the churches.[133]

Govindaswami completed his education at the Depot Road Indian School, and Sydenham College. He became an English teacher in 1912 at Depot Road, and later taught at Stanger, St. Ives, St. Aidan's, Springfield, Ladysmith, and Umgeni schools.[134] His was a

predominantly British background, but during his mature years he looked increasingly towards the East for personal fulfilment, to the extent that in his later years he forsook organised Christianity entirely. Thus it was possible for it to be said of him, though still a Christian: "His matter, manner and style as a violinist was unique and they breathed the fragrance of Bhakti".[135]

Conclusion

Due to the historical distance from relevant oral sources, the lack of documented sources in general, and the rural and/or transitory lifestyle of South African Indian immigrants, much less is known about the performing arts in the sixty-year period under study than in others in the history of Indian South Africans. It was a time when people were forced to look to the present in order to survive, when, it seems, there was relatively little time or excess wealth for art.

The major political figure between 1860-1920 is undoubtedly Gandhi who set the precedent for Western-isation of the arts as the dominant vehicle of expression for Western-educated Christian elite ex-indentured labourers and their families. He also

confirmed the aspiring middle class bhajan activity which had developed in India as a result of nineteenth-century Hindu and neo-Hindu revivalism. Gandhi initiated a vocal expression of political struggle in music, a music form which was later to emerge in the political songs of the 1946-1952 Passive Resistance movement.

Sufi Sahib and Badsha Pir established Sufic mystic cults whose means of expression were qawwali, Tiger Dance, and the Moharrem festival. The Tiger Dance was to come into disfavour due to its "primitive" derivation but the qawwali, despite its peasant roots, lent itself to modifications which made it suitable for the urban Muslim. C.V. Balakrishnan Pillay established a centre for indocentric Saivite Hindu music activity based on continued and direct communication with South Indian religious leaders and musicians. Josephine Gabriel took the first steps toward establishing the Gabriel/Lawrence dynasty which was to result in a firm and accomplished British church and Western Romantic music tradition. St. Anthony's and St. Aidan's churches provided the motivation, tuition, venues, and infrastructres, so lacking in other areas, bringing together musicians in church choirs and as organists. Edward J. Govindaswami, although socialised and educated in a Western church

tradition, turned with growing interest to the Brahmin roots of his long-deceased father, seeking out those classical and theoretically-based South Indian music forms which had hitherto been unrepresented in South Africa.

These, it appears, were difficult times. Indian settlers in South Africa struggled to establish identities for themselves socially, politically, economically, and cuturally. They did so with courage and determination, but with only partial success. What cohesion there was in this period was largely that of Muslim merchants, with isolated pockets of other associations emerging in response to visiting religious emissaries from Britain and India. A sense of alienation and despair must surely have prevailed amongst the settlers, who were faced with broken family and friendship ties, as well as a growing hostility from White South Africans to whom the Indians were useful as cheap labour and despised as commercial rivals. Added to this, the misinterpretations of sympathetic White liberals led to a paternalism which has not yet been shed from interpersonal relationships.

NOTES

1 It seems that "Indian" has become an ambiguous generic term, being used by South Africans in much the same way (though slightly more subtly) as "coolie" was in earlier times, i.e. as a politically expedient term for what was considered a faceless, amorphous, homogeneous mass, easily cast as an "ethnic minority group" by way of serving apartheid policies and goals. Socio-cultural studies of post-colonial society, in particular, such as J.H. Hofmeyer and G.C. Oosthuizen, Religion in a South African Indian Community, Durban: University of Durban-Westville, 1982, have revealed this generic usage as an erroneous viewpoint.

2 This became explicit in a Senate debate of September 27, 1948, when a Nationalist Senator said "the whole idea was that at the expiry of the period of their contracts, and it was provided that they should be so, they should be repatriated to India." Commenting on this, C.W.M. Gell says, "It may be that the Senator expressed the conditions on which many would have liked to import coolies". C.W.M. Gell, "Liberal Perspective: South African Indians -(1): How They Came to Natal", Indian Opinion, May 1953.

3 Fifty percent of indentured labourers in Natal and a greater percentage of merchants stayed. Maureen Swan, Gandhi: The South African Experience, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985, p.1.

4 Ibid., p.26, p.12, and p.22.

5 E. Brookes and C. Webb, A History of Natal, Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1965, p.164.

6 A.F. Hattersley, Portrait of a Colony, Cambridge, 1940, chp. 5 foll. Cited by Brookes and Webb, A History, p.166.

7 A.F. Hattersley, Later Annals of Natal, London: n.p. [1938], p.20. Cited by Brookes and Webb, A History, p.254.

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10 Brookes and Webb, A History, p.85.

11 Report, p.2.

12 H. Kuper, "Change in Caste of the South African Indians", Race Relations Journal Vol. XXII, no.4, 1955, pp.22-23.

13 Of the first immigrants to arrive in 1860, approximately 66% have been said to have been men. Later the proportion was changed to 50%

women to men. Brookes and Webb, A History, pp.85-86.

14 Swan, Gandhi, p.26.

15 Y.S. Meer, Documents of Indentured Labour Natal 1851-1917, 1st ed., Durban: Institute of Black Research, 1980, p.138.

16 Rangasamy No.83547, re-indentured to A. Wright, Bellair, statement given in the office of the Protector of Immigrants (Document 63 Statements and Complaints 1913-1916). No date, but follows others dated September 1913. Meer, Documents, p.686.

17 Setal No.148176, indentured to F.C. Woodham Lingetton, (Document 63 Statements and Complaints 1913-1916). Meer, Documents, p.687.

18 Rangasammy, licensed hotelkeeper in Verulam, statement dated June 23rd, 1872 and Aboobakker Amod. Examination by Saunders. Meer, Documents, p.139 and p.389.

19 Evidence taken by Committee, consisting of Brigade-Surgeon Lewer and Mr. Richardson. Meer, Documents, pp.443-444.

20 Meer, Documents, p.134.

21 Arunachallem Govindasamy Pillay, music and Tamil scholar, historian and Carnatic violinist. Interviews Shallcross, Durban, 1/11/84, 10/11/84, 1/12/84. These interviews took place in Tommy Govender's "Aunty's" house because A.G. Pillay was waiting for a flat of his own at the time and his current accommodation was considered to be inadequate for the interview.

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24 Ibid.

25 H. Nicholls, South Africa in My Time, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1961, p.297. Author was the Administrator of Natal.

26 Brookes and Webb, A History, p.184.

27 Ibid., p.91.

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51 Ibid., p.247.
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55 Mahatma Gandhi Centenary Commemoration, EMI HMV JALP 2113.
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57 Ibid., p.72.
58 Ibid., p.88.
59 Ibid.
60 F. Meer, Portrait of Indian South Africans, Durban: Avon House, 1969, p.52.
61 Swan, Gandhi, p.245.
62 Ibid.
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64 Gandhi, Golden Number of Indian Opinion, 1914. Also in Bhana & Pachai, A Documentary History, p.140.
65 Gandhi, Satyagraha, p.302.
66 Arunachallem Govindasamy Pillay, interviews Shallcross, Durban, 15/2/87, 22/2/87, 29/2/87, 15/3/87, 22/3/87. Apart from these recorded interviews numerous conversational incidents took place between the author and this interviewee between 1984 and 1987. The author attended many concerts accompanied by A.G. Pillay, and telephone conversations took place every Thursday at 7.30 a.m. initiated by A.G. Pillay to circumvent communication problems caused by moving domestic and business abodes, and an absence of home telephone.
67 Mahatma Gandhi, EMI HMV JALP2113. A.G. Pillay private collection. Although sung in the vernacular, these bhajans are listed on the record sleeve in English. A.G. Pillay says that Surya Kumari was brought to South Africa in the 1950s to sing and act with Devi Bugwan in the nationalistic Rabandrinath Tagore play King of the Dark Chamber. Devi Bugwan later became Professor and Head of the Department of Speech and Drama, University of Durban-Westville.
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69 Gandhi employed this new awareness in the Anglo-Indian struggle: "He said, 'I have come to the conclusion that we should stop going to law courts. Taking such cases to the courts does little good. Where the peasants are so crushed and fear-stricken, law courts are useless. The real relief for them is to be free from fear'." Fischer, The Life, pp.190-191.
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105 Encyclopaedia Brittanica Vol. XVIII, p.1142.
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107 Swan, Gandhi, p.198.
108 See for example African Chronicle, 9 January 1909. Cited by Swan, Gandhi, p.198.
109 The Natal Indian Congress was founded in 1894 in reaction to hostile demands made by responsible government. The Natal Indian Patriotic Union was formed in 1908 and addressed the grievances of the underclasses and the new-elite, Swan, Gandhi, p.52, p.191, p.192, p.193, and p.199.
110 Ibid., p.203.
111 See Swan, Gandhi, p.26.
112 S.R. Naidoo, "Bhajanay Mandir in Pietermaritzburg", Shri Sithivinayaga Sivasaathana Thava Saiva Sangam Golden Jubilee Souvenir Brochure, p.12. A.G. Pillay private collection.
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114 Naidoo, Shri Sithivinayaga Brochure, p.5.

115 Ibid., p.7. For further reference to A.M Iyavoomurthi Pillay, see below p.200.
116 Ibid.
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Chapter Three

INDIAN SOUTH AFRICANS IN NATAL: 1920-1948

Socio-political and Socio-economic Transmigrations

Urbanisation

By 1936, 28.1% of Indians were still occupied in rural farming or related occupations, i.e. as workers on sugar estates, or self-employed as sugar, citrus, tobacco, and banana growers, or as seine netters. The remaining 71.9% were occupied in commerce and finance, manufacturing, domestic and hotel service, public service and professions, transport and communications, mining, and other occupations. The reasons for this urban explosion are many and complex, but it seems that

the strongest influence had been the growing competition of African unskilled labour. Indian youth had drifted to the cities in search of higher standards of living, not satisfied with the low returns of the independent sugar and other farms.[1] Market gardening is essentially an urban occupation, and, as a result of lower capital expenditure required, it had become a ready choice for Indian agriculturists.

Burrows cites an unnamed estimate for income distribution for Blacks in 1936 in which it is suggested that the typical "Asiatic" family was earning between £8 and £12 per month. The net income of independent sugar planters in 1936 was considered to be not more than £1 a week, whilst the family was housed in a shanty without adequate water supply, lighting, or sanitation. In contrast to this bleak outlook, financial reward in what Burrows calls "secondary industry" increased in the period 1937-1940 from an average annual wage of £52 to £93. The employment of Indians in industry doubled between 1915 and 1937, and the total number of "Asiatics" and Coloureds in industry doubled between 1935 and 1945, the main increases being found in the jam and fruit industry, electrical engineering, rubber manufacturing, saw milling, boot manufacture, textiles

and clothing, sweet manufacture, tanneries, and furniture. Only in the sugar mills was there a sharp decrease.

In 1936, 7 581 Indians were engaged in commerce and finance, and in 1940 they were responsible for employing 15% of the "Asiatic" working population. Estimated average earnings of the employers, most of whom were "Mohammedans", were over £700 a year, a substantial increase over the rest of the Indian population. Despite this evidence of improved living standards, Burrows says that 70% of Durban Indians were living in poverty by Western standards in the 1940s. They were largely excluded from skilled employment, they were not always admitted to the membership and the protection of trade unions, they were prevented by wage determination from undercutting "European" labour, and they had no access to the minimum educational background and qualifications necessary for apprenticeship training.[2] By 1945, Indian per capita earning was only 25% of that of the "Europeans".[3]

Changing Attitudes

An interesting example of ways in which changes resulting from urban and peri-urban migration took place, may be seen in the *natchanias*, songs popularised by the market gardeners living in the Riverside area in Durban. These are comic songs which form a part of long dramatic performances depicting scenes from the scriptures and religious epics. They are interwoven with the scriptures and scenes of life in Natal, and they include highly suggestive or wry commentaries on daily life.[4]

tu te burhiya se banle jawan
e rani kaheke
othwa tu lal kariho
barwa ke curly dallo
e rani kaheke?

tu cal ja pagadandi
apane se dhob handi
mu me dalo powder
pal ire ulta sari
tu chor diye kulawa ke cal

ye he latest hamar singhar
mera pahiral phutal tore akh
e raja kaheke?
phatal ho Ram sasurariya se jiara

adhi rat ke saiya awela
kamari thuk thukawela
jaun pahirin nin se uthe
sab akhiya camkawela
phatal ho Ram, sasurariya se jiara

ganga pi ke saiya awe
jhaghara macchawela
jab ham kucchu bole
ta hamke akhiya camkawela
phatal ho Ram sasurariya se jiara

Translated:

> From an old lady, you've become young
> Why, O wife?
> You've painted your lips red
> and made your hair curly
> Why, O wife?
>
> You go out walking down the roads
> I shall do the dishes myself
> You dab powder on your face
> and wear your sari back-to-front
> You've abandoned family traditions
>
> This is my latest style
> My dressing shatters your eyes
> Why, O husband?
> My heart has become disenchanted
>
> My husband comes home at dead of night
> knocking at the door
> The clothes I wear in my sleep
> cause his eyes to glitter
> My heart has become disenchanted
>
> My husband comes home high with *dagga*
> and raises havoc
> Should I say something
> then he makes eyes at me
> My heart has become disenchanted.[5]

The song, says Mesthrie, addresses the uneasy mixing of East and West through analogues. The proliferation of English words, the reference to changing traditions viz. wearing a sari in such a way as to display its decorated panel, rather than the more modest way, suggest a fairly recent work. However, the text includes obsolete verb forms in the last two stanzas, thus it could be an older song reworked more recently.[6] Further to this, Mesthrie refers to two popular Tamil-based songs with a large English content known as "*Dingari dingal lo vinachi*" and

"How are you my dear Rani?" both of which belong to that same *genre* of comic songs portraying modifications in maintaining relationships, elements of Westernisation, and new attitudes to sexuality.[7] These songs, he says, "symptomise something of the changing consciousness of the time".[8] Ties with the homeland were weakening, resulting in an emergent "Indian community" which we hear about euphemistically, and perhaps nostalgically from conservative leaders today, but which really seemed to exist forty years ago.

Assimilation

It was during this time, also, that people dropped their Indian village name from their surnames, thereby separating themselves emotionally from their previous lives and focusing more on their South African affiliations.[9] By 1936 a census showed that more than 80% of Indians were Union born, and that more than half of them spoke one or both of the official languages.[10]

Before the heady democratic achievements of the late forties and early fifties, Indian politics was characterised by a conciliatory leadership in the form of the South African Indian Congress which was founded

in 1923. The S.A.I.C. was drawn mainly from the trader and professional classes in much the same way as the Gandhi-contingent had been before them, except that they now included a large proportion of Western-educated elite. They continued negotiations regarding growing segregationist tendencies in legislation in line with the Smuts-Gandhi Settlement of 1914. The umbrella organisation of Congress included the Cape British Indian Council, the Transvaal British Indian Association and the Natal Indian Congress. For the purpose of this paper, the most significant names amongst the leaders are A. Christopher, Joseph Royeppen, J.W. Godfrey, and Vincent Lawrence, all of whom were involved in promoting Western music during the period in question.

As can be seen by the names of the affiliated organisations, Congress emphasised the rights to "Britishness" of South African Indians in the hopes that they could harness British imperialism to address the causes of anti-Indianism. This led to two Round-table conferences called by Congress between representatives of the Anglo-Indian Imperial and South African Union governments, and representatives of the S.A.I.C.

The 1927 Cape Town Agreement (Malan-Sastri) grew out of the first Round-table conference. Although Congress

leaders expressed some reservations about the wording and motives of the agreement, the deputy-president welcomed the "friendly and tolerant spirit" of the South African Government, and saw the Agreement as "a great gain" and representative of "the most important changes in the history of the community".[11] The "Upliftment Clause" certainly did constitute a great achievement for those negotiating. Assimilationist Rev. C.F. Andrews, though no longer resident in South Africa, "wrote six volumes of 200 pages each on different branches of the Indian question and supplied it to the Round Table Conference".[12]

Perhaps the most significant of all policy decisions regarding South African Indians lay in this agreement because it affected all aspects of life explicitly, whereas earlier state manifestos were largely directed at trade and traders, thus having a more oblique and gradual influence on art and attitudes to art. The main thrust of the agreement was that those Indians who could conform to Western standards of "civilization" could be eligible to become citizens of the Union. Those who could not conform would be repatriated.[13] The underlying assumption for such an enlightened policy, radical, even, by white standards of the day, (anti-Indian hostility reached a climax between 1920 and 1927)

could only have been that the number of Indians reaching those standards would be minimal.

Thus South African Indians were faced with an ultimatum: Go Western or Go Home! The ranks in leadership became divided over this question, but predominantly the decision was to Go Western, at least in matters like dress, housing, education, and entertainment. Amongst other things, this agreement was problematic in that there was no means of measuring whether an Indian could conform to Western standards or not.[14] It merely served to convey the viewpoint that Western education and cultural practice was considered to be superior; there was no noticeable speeding up of repatriation emanating from the agreement. With regard to human relationships, the agreement was a disaster as it exacerbated anti-Indian hostility due to the increased costs that had to be borne, without prior arrangement, by the local Natal Administration in the provision of health, education, and other social amenities.[15]

The tendency towards "anglicisation" had already been evident in the policy of the Western-educated new-elite which emerged after 1905. It was claimed that by "anglicisation" one need not necessarily presume "denationalisation".[16] Albert Christopher, while

acknowledging the very real dangers to the colonial-born of "the attractions of the West" which "appeared to be gaining in strength", felt that the threat was not irreconcilable.[17] The solution to this problem, he suggested, could be found in encouraging direct contact with India.

> And this leads one to consider the means by which the colonial-born Indian, irrespective of sex - for the education of the girls, the mothers of the nation, is as important as that for the boys - may live and study in India, and the means that suggest themselves are scholarships tenable in India, enabling the student to return from thence the better qualified to earn, and learned in the lore of India to serve his community in a distant land and be patriotic to the country of his fathers.[18]

Congress was strongly criticised for its autocratic decision making and undemocratic membership. First signs of dissension appeared in a "manifesto" which was sent to the Prime Minister and which was publicised in the Natal Mercury in March 1927. This was signed by P.S. Aiyer, L.R. Gopaul and forty-five other Durban Indians. The manifesto stated that:

> [I]t would be injurious to public interests to accept the opinion of a body, composed as it is of such a microscopic number for practical purposes in life, as the true voice of the Indian community in South Africa.... Mr. Godfrey confessed... that this Congress represents only certain trade interests... the settlement has not touched on the root cause of the virus of anti-Asiaticism in this country and neither has it touched the burdensome and oppressive legislation that grinds down its

> victims... the root causes are clashing of economic and racial interests and trade jealousy.[19]

Moonsamy Naidoo and his "brother Indian farmers" came out in support of Aiyer.

> In order to get more trade licences for the members of the Congress, labouring-class Indians' rights were bartered and, again, the municipal franchise rights of Indians were exchanged to obtain appeal rights for trading interest. In a word, time after time, this Congress, which consists of a few wealthy Mohammedans and *banias* [my italics], has sold our rights in the name of the community for their sole benefit.[20]

The South African Federation was launched in 1928, and in his presidential speech Abdul Karim, speaking presumably from the traditionalist Muslim perspective, criticised the assisted repatriation clause of the Cape Town Agreement, and the acceptance of the "Western-standard" formula by the Indians.

> In return for this the Indians are to be educated and uplifted when the European public opinion changes for the better... there is very little advantage to be gained by this settlement for the Indians, because the Indians have not only lost the most valuable and cherished ideals of their civilisation and racial characteristics and traditions, but also they rightly believe that under this settlement they stand a dubious chance for progressive development and they have to run greater risk of their race degeneracy, perhaps in the direction of a lower stratum of society.[21]

The policy of acculturation was lent weight by the support given to it by current and subsequent leadership

in India. In the report given by Sir Shafa'at Ahmad Khan, High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa, Pietermaritzburg 1943, this approval of Westernisation was clearly stated.

> What is the pattern of South Africa's life? Its pattern of life is European, and the spiritual vigour is derived from the common fount of Christianity.... I have toured through most parts of Natal and many parts of the Transvaal, and I was agreeably surprised to find that Indian men are conforming to western [sic] standards in ever increasing numbers.... The only solution to the Indian problem lies in the assimilation of the Indian to western standards of life and western thought.... [The Indian Community] is determined to advance along western lines and to adopt western ways of life and thought. While it has kept up the spiritual traditions of its race, it wishes to live in a European country in the European way.... At the present time, more than 90% of Indians in Natal are born and bred in this country and regard South Africa as their motherland.[22]

Lawrence Family

The family which serves best to illustrate the signif-icance and application of these important assimil-ationist policies is the Lawrence family. After having been given elementary tuition in Western music by their mother, Josephine Lawrence (née Gabriel), the children proceeded to study with white teachers, "of whom not many were available in those days because most teachers

would not be prepared to teach pupils who were other than White for fear of it being detrimental to attracting other pupils".[23]

May Lawrence

The eldest daughter, May, studied the piano with Mr. Evans, who was a piano teacher and piano tuner, then with Madame Letowska, and ultimately with Miss Fayle, under whose supervision May qualified with a Licentiate Diploma of the Trinity College of London. In 1919 May became the organist at St. Anthony's Church in which role she functioned for sixty-five years. May started off all her brothers and sisters on the piano taking some of the younger ones through to advanced grades. She became the organist at St. Paul's Church in Reservoir Hills, playing for weddings and funerals as well as for regular services, thereby setting the pattern for all her brothers and sisters who became in their turn church organists and choirmasters or choirmistresses. None of their choir members could read notation so all the music was taught by rote. Similarly, May was employed by the Natal Education Department after she and her sister Sylvia first introduced general music teaching in the state-aided

primary schools in 1930. At first there was no music organiser and May and Sylvia drew up their own curriculum. May started teaching class music at St. Anthony's School. Thereafter she taught at Umgeni, Mayville, and Burnside schools. Talking on behalf of the family, she says:

> Wherever we went we taught music... as a subject approved by the Education Department, under the music inspectors Cyril Wright, Philip Britten, then later Edward Albertyn.[24]

Sylvia Lawrence

Sylvia is an accomplished pianist and violinist. She started the piano with her sister May, then continued with Edgar Heap and Miss Fayle. She qualified in the piano with the Licentiate of the Trinity College of London. Sylvia learnt the violin under A. Gray, and later, Stirling Robins, who was the first violinist of the Durban Symphony Orchestra. Sylvia qualified in the violin as an Associate of the Trinity College of London. Amongst other pieces she remembers playing Beethoven's "Romance in F", Kriesler's "Hegre Kati", and Drdla's "Souvenirs" on the violin. Apart from grade exams she was involved in accompanying her sisters and brothers when they sang or played the violin at concerts and particularly in the eisteddfod, where she gained great

applause both for her accompanying skills and for her solo performances in both piano and violin.

As a result of her involvement with the early eisteddfod, which was essentially a Western music platform, but which included some vernacular entries, Sylvia was appointed to an S.A.B.C. Advisory Committee under Hugh Tracey "in the forties or fifties". Despite having had "very little to do with Indian music" she served on this committee for three years because "our family was bound up with the whole musical world". The committee auditioned "Indian" groups by way of awarding points, classified as A, B, or C, according to merit. Payment for performance was made according to this same scale. One of the goals of this committee was to secure more air time for the Indian Programme.

> At that time there was only a half hour per week for an Indian programme. Hugh Tracey said that much as he would like to give us more time his hands were tied by Pretoria.[25]

But more than any of her other achievements, Sylvia discovered early on that above all else she was an accompanist.

> I pride myself on my accompanying. I can accompany anybody. I have accompanied people like Rose Alper, Peter John Carter, Thelma Whitcutt, and African choirs. Fortunately I can sight-read so I don't have to practise with them.[26]

After having completed the special teacher-training classes run by the N.E.D. she acquired the T3B teaching certificate, then the highest teaching qualification available for Indians. Sylvia, along with her sister May, was then dedicated to initiating Western class music activities in the state schools and state-aided schools in which they taught from 1930 onwards.

> They had voice exercises, tonic solfa, songs, class songs, percussion bands, Afrikaans songs. And then a choir was chosen from all the different classes.[27]

Sylvia retired as Principal of H.S. Done Girls' School, from whence she was posted to Springfield Teacher Training College where she was responsible for training first, second, and third-year students in School Music, Theory, Percussion Band, Recorder, and Blackboard Work for the four years following 1964.

Francesca Lawrence

Francesca studied the piano with her elder sister May and became a member of the St. Anthony's Church choir in 1917 at the age of eleven. She was trained there by choirmasters Kasival, Patrick Chambers, and Father L'Henoret. Francesca became the first Indian soprano soloist, her favourite songs being Gounod's "Ave Maria",

and Cesar Franck's "Panis Angelicus". She became choir mistress and trained the choir in four-part choral works such as the polyphonic motets, "Cum Jubilo", "Missa de Angelis", and "Missa Solemnis". In 1939 the choir performed an eight-part Mozart mass and frequently sang Gregorian plainchant which they took from the "Monks of Solemnes records", after seeking guidance in the techniques from Dr. McMurtin, an authority in plainchant at Marianhill in the thirties. Much of their repertoire was sung in Latin.[28]

After Francesca and her sister Rosalind had been refused admission to the Higher Grade Indian Boys' School in Carlisle Street by the headmaster Rutter, and at the St. Augustine's Coloured School in Cathedral Road, they continued their secondary education under the private tutelage of P. Morel. Their father, Vincent Lawrence, was an executive member of the Indo-European Joint Council at the time. When Hugh Bryan addressed the Council on higher education for Indian boys, Vincent Lawrence told him "it was all very well talking about higher education for Indian boys but what about the girls?"[29]

Bryan said if Lawrence could get twenty girls he would establish a high school for girls. Vincent Lawrence

lobbied mainly Christian families with post-Standard IV daughters and managed to get thirty girls, mainly pupils who had completed Standard IV at St. Anthony's Catholic School and the Methodist School in Cross Street. In 1930 the Mitchell Crescent Government Indian Girls' School, later to be renamed the Durban Indian Girls' High School, was formed. Of her school recollections Francesca says:

> Music and English Folk Dancing were essential items on the time-table.... Rosalind spent a great part of her High School days at the Piano accompanying the singing and dancing. Preparations for the Annual School Concert and Prize-giving also took up much of our time. These functions were held at the St. Paul's Hall, behind the General Post Office.... We had no uniform, no organised sports, no monogram, no tennis-court, no library, no Domestic Science room but we learned and sang and danced our life away....[30]

Apart from her family, Francesca considers Kunwarani Lady Maharaj Singh, wife of the Agent-General of the Government of India in South Africa, to be one of the greatest influences on her adult life. Lady Singh worked indefatigably for the upliftment of Indian women in South Africa.

> Her influence prompted a well-known singing teacher, Madame Cecil Dana to offer to train the voice of the most promising pupil free of charge. She auditioned six girls and I was the fortunate one to have been chosen and trained as an Operatic singer. How well I remember singing "Night of Stars and Night of Love" from Offenbach's "Tales of Hoffman" with shaking knees and fluttering heart at that audition.[31]

Francesca became the first Indian girl to matriculate in 1935. Later she passed the T3B and T5 examinations. She completed the latter diploma by commuting between Girls' High and Sastri College as there was no Teacher Training College at the time.[32] From 1934 Madame Dana, who was a theosophist, trained her as a coloratura soprano, "which I was not, strictly speaking".[33] Francesca learnt songs like "Lo Hear the Gentle Lark", and "The Bell Song" from Lakmé, all the time building up an operatic repertoire. In 1937 and 1938 Francesca won the Thelma Whitcutt Trophy for the most outstanding soprano, and numerous Gold Medal certificates at the Indian Eisteddfod. All the members of the family participated enthusiastically in this eisteddfod. In 1939 she sang "Fair Spring is Returning" and "Softly Awakes my Heart" at the Indian Women's Association concert and in 1941 she participated in the "Concert Party to Raise Funds in Richmond (Natal) for War Relief".[34]

Between 1941 and 1944 she studied with Madame Zenia Belmas, a Russian woman, who taught only senior students. Francesca paid for this tuition. Madame Belmas wanted to take her overseas to study, "but the war broke out and my fiancé was there waiting".[35] In 1943 she broadcast from Lourenço Marques, where the family was

staying on holiday. She sang "Ciribibin", "Indian Love Call", and "Garden of Happiness". Her success in this regard was hailed as "the Community's success".[36] While teaching in primary schools Francesca specialised in light-classical operettas such as Hiawatha, Princess Ju Ju, Alibaba and the Forty Thieves, and Snow White and the Seven Dwarves.[37]

A glance at Francesca's Autograph Album indicates that it is as the only trained Indian Western singer "with a beautiful voice", that Francesca is most lovingly remembered. It appears that she was much in demand at social gatherings such as wedding functions, church services, funerals, and general home entertainment.

Christina, George, Rosalind, Ralph and Therese Lawrence

Like the sisters before them, the last four children learnt the piano with May. Christina (Mrs. J.M.C. Naidoo) then learnt the cello with Johannes Beck, principal cellist of the Durban Symphony Orchestra in 1927. Later she studied under Lyell Tayler, conductor of the orchestra. "Our father got the best members of

the orchestra to teach us."[38] Christina implemented these learnings as cellist of the Lawrence Trio, to be discussed later.

George learnt the violin with his sister Sylvia. He became an accomplished pianist, violinist, and saxophonist. Accompanied by Sylvia, he played " The Lost Chord" on the violin in the instrumental section of the eisteddfod in 1935[?]. The adjudicator, Stirling Robins, said that he had never heard that piece of music played so well. It was however as the lead violinist and saxophonist of "The Red Hot Jazz Pirates Band" (established 1935) that George really made his mark. Joseph Gabriel, brother-in-law to the Lawrences, was the band's pianist.

> It was the first Indian jazz band.... There was no other Indian jazz band at that time. The main instrument in the band was the violin. They were Durban-based and toured South Africa. In that band there was also one of the finest trumpeters in the country: Dickie Jeevananthum.[39]

There are unfortunately no recordings of this band. "We never went in for that".[40] George also taught music at St. Therese's Indian School, Mayville High School, and Pinetown High School. He was the choir master of the St. Therese's Catholic Church. He had originally been a

choir member in Francesca's church choir where he learnt most of what he knew about the Christian choral tradition.[41]

Rosalind also became the organist at St. Anthony's Church and taught for the N.E.D. Ralph is now a doctor in England. He has received an O.B.E. and has been made Freeman of the City of London in honour of his service to science, the Red Cross, St. John's, and Rotary.

> He did music at home. He played a home-made bamboo pipe, sitting on the roof, playing all the school songs, mostly English folk songs like "Danny Boy". And he played a harmonica solo at the eisteddfod. I [Sylvia] was the accompanist, and the adjudicator, Valerie Fisher said there was complete co-ordination between soloist and accompanist.[42]

Therese, the youngest, played the piano and guitar at an elementary level. "Every one of us did music".[43]

The Lawrence Trio

The Trio, formed in the late twenties, consisted of May, pianist, Sylvia, violinist, and Christina, cellist. They were the first Indian Western instrumental trio and they performed at functions in the Durban City Hall organised by the Natal Indian Congress. They played at receptions honouring the arrival of the new Agent-

Generals from the Government of India, at banquets in honour of White Natal dignitaries such as D.G. Shepstone, Administrator of Natal, and at camp-fires entertaining the troops during the war. The group also provided incidental music to the silent films at the Royal Picture Palace in Victoria Street in the late twenties and thirties. They played at "practically every public function concerning the Indian community until their cellist sister got married".[44] "Marche Militaire", "Quartette" from Tschaikovski's Andante Cantabile, "In a Monastery Garden", "Air on a G String", Moussorgsky's "Gopak", "In a Persian Market", and "In a Chinese Temple Garden" were amongst their repertoire.[45]

Eisteddfod: Instrument of Westernisation

Urban preoccupation with Western music and drama as a means for middle-class and ultimately assimilationist aspiration in this second period can be seen clearly in the programme of the First Annual Indian Eisteddfod Prize-winners' Concert held in the Durban City Hall, March 1937.[46] The Eisteddfod was described as:

> Indian Eisteddfod. The first Indian Eisteddfod to be held in South Africa.... It attracted an entry of 750, provision being made for both English and Vernacular sections. The Eisteddfod was opened by the President and Chairman of the

> Natal Society for the Advancement of Music and amongst those present were the Mayor and Mayoress of Durban.[47]

That the eisteddfod itself was originally conceived as a Welsh nationalist middle-class organisation, instituted to promote local prestige for what was largely a mining community, must not be overlooked. Later it aimed at national and international unity. So too, the fact that the President and Chairman of the Indian Eisteddfod council was C.R. Warriner, who was responsible for producing numerous Western plays at Sastri School and was one of the champions of middle-class and assimilationist struggle, needs to be considered. An implied Western christocentric bourgeois directive (reminiscent of the characteristics and criteria of the emergent new-elite of 1905) can be seen in the Executive Council membership: H.S. Miller, F. Lumsden, Mrs. Bernard Notcutt, M.A., George Singh, B.A., Dr. Naidoo, Miss S. Lawrence (well-known leader in the Catholic community), Rev. C.J. Lander, Rev. A. Choonoo and E.J. Govindaşami [sic] ["Mr. Edward" Govindaswami].[48] It is significant perhaps that these members were either White assimilationists or Western-educated Christian elite.

An Indian element can be seen only in those programme items called "Elocution (Vernacular)'*Tayamamat Padal*'", "Solo (Vernacular)'*Bhairavi*'", "Elocution

(Vernacular) (Telegu) '*Vamana* Verses'", "Solo (Vernacular) '*Khamas*'", and "Violin Solo (Vernacular) '*Mohana*'", amongst others, which constituted 30% of the programme and which one could fairly safely assume had undergone some considerable neutralising modifications in order to become acceptable and accessible to both listeners and performers. Other items reflect bourgeois standards of "respectable" or "civilised" music and drama, such as "Tosselli's Serenata" Violin Solo, "Sweet and Low" Quartette, "March Militaire" Percussion Band, "Orpheus and his Lute" Soprano Solo, "Mark Anthony's Oration" Monologue, and "La Paloma" String Quartette.[49]

In 1940 the Natal Indian Association (Newcastle Branch) assisted by The Indian Society for Advancement of Music and Art (Indian Eisteddfod - Durban) became involved in the war effort in much the same way as Gandhi had in the Anglo-Boer War. As evidence of his sincerity in aiming at compromise solutions to the "Indian problem", Gandhi recruited an ambulance corps "on the grounds that participation in the war effort would add substance to the merchants' claim to be desirable citizens".[50] At a 2.30 p.m. matinee and at 8 p.m. in the Newcastle Town Hall on Saturday 22 June "a grand Variety Entertainment (in English and Vernacular)" was presented "under the

distinguished patronage of his Honour the Administrator of Natal H. Gordon Watson Esq. and Mrs. Watson and Councillor W.M. Beardall Esq. and Mrs.Beardall (Mayor and Mayoress of Newcastle)... in aid of War Funds". The performers consisted of "Prize Winners of the Indian Eisteddfod (Durban) and Friends" and the programme included the following amongst many other items:

Vernacular Band...	"Bilhari"	South Indian Musical Association Conducted by E.J. Govindaswami
Soprano Solo...	"Flower Song" (Romance from "Faust")	Francesca Lawrence
Trumpet Solo...	"Ave Maria" (Gounod)	J.W. Jeevananthum
Pianoforte Solo...	"Liebestraume"	May A. Lawrence L.T.C.L.[51]

The concert was concluded by the singing of "Land of Hope and Glory" by the entire company with F.R. Singh as soloist, "Die Stem van Suid Afrika", and "God Save the King".[52]

It seems fairly clear that the eisteddfod movement propagated by The Indian Society for Advancement of Music and Art was a direct manifestation of S.A.I.C. conciliation politics and of the drive after 1927 to persuade White authority of the "civilised" status, or potential at least, of South African Indians. In the same way as Indian Western musicians were on display for receptions and banquets entertaining representatives of

the Anglo-Indian Government and provincial administration, the Eisteddfod was a highly publicised and thus visible demonstration of current achievements in upward social and economic mobility.

A New Nationalism

Leadership in the S.A.I.C., which from the 1920s had been based on an unstable association representing trader economic interests and colonial born education interests, was split wide open over the Colonisation Enquiry of 1933. Albert Christopher, an acculturated Christian Indian, whilst prepared to support the assimilation clauses of the Cape Town Agreement, was violently opposed to the repatriation and recolonisation policy. When the S.A.I.C. agreed to participate in the Colonisation Enquiry Committee, as leader of the colonial-born, Christopher broke away and formed the Colonial Born and Settlers' Indian Association (C.B.S.I.A.). The aim of this association, consisting mostly of fourth and fifth generation South Africans, was to work for the improvement of the lot of **all** Indians in South Africa.

> We are the nationals of South Africa, and we have to live and work as befits citizens of this country. We have to work not only for economic equality in this country but for equality within the community. Our ideal is to work for a

> common brotherhood in South Africa, the members of which will help one another in all undertakings regardless of religious, language and other considerations. Then only can we see a happy, contented, Indian community in South Africa, which by its character and its life will contribute not only to the prosperity of South Africa but to its culture....[53]

This set the scene for the new developments of 1946-1960 which were characterised by a growing defiance amongst younger leaders. Dissatisfied with the conciliationist policies of the past which had produced few, if any, real results, and concerned about colonial borns' allegations of betrayal and self-centred commercial interests, the S.A.I.C., with a strong lead from the Natal Indian Congress, took pains not only to address the repressive measures affecting all Indian South Africans, but decided to form a unified front of Black organisations in defiance of White racist laws. Those who saw this as a radical policy which could have irrevocably threatened their hard-gained economic achievements formed parties of "moderates", called the Natal Indian Organisation and the Transvaal Indian Organisation, which affiliated themselves to the national body, called the South African Indian Organisation.[54] The events leading to the formation of a "radical Indian element" culminated in the Natal Passive Resistance campaign of 1946-1947, the Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo Pact of 1947, and ultimately the Defiance Campaign of 1952 (in which the A.N.C. and the

Page Missing

> through these Indian viewpoints were projected, Indian public opinion gauged, and a measure of Indian unity preserved.[55]

Indian politics reflected the growing "communal" basis of Indian society. At the turn of the century and two decades thereafter, the struggle for leadership had been between members of the comparatively privileged small Indian middle class. At the end of the forties:

> Stimulated by economic changes, the spread of education, radicalisation provoked by World War II and the Indian nationalist struggle and independence, a new leadership which unlike the previous one was drawn from all sections and interests won massive support for a programme that included the pledge to 'make common cause with other sections of the Non-European people in common economic and political issues'.[56]

Elderly musicians and scholars have told me that in the 1920s, Hindu, Muslim, and Christian mixed socially, and that the tendency towards using English as the *lingua franca* was becoming evident, though some elderly women could converse only in their vernacular and "*Fanikalo*".[57] These sources say that it was not unusual for a young Hindu boy to be educated at St. Anthony's Roman Catholic mission school in Pietermaritzburg, to attend a Catholic mass on Sunday, the Muslim mosque on a Friday, and to carry Karvady the following month. Such universal attitudes were of course inherent in Hindu philosophy; "Hindu" means "to embrace all". But more influential than this, perhaps, was the mere fact of being an urban

settler community in an overtly hostile country which forced Indian settlers into each other's homes and places of worship in search of that unity which would give strength in face of increasing antagonism from the White population. For, in spite of relative prosperity in some quarters, the permanent feeling of insecurity experienced by Indians in the post-indenture period persisted, as attempted solutions to the "Indian problem", as it was called by White Natalians, had resulted in such barbarous acts as the Asiatic Land Tenure (Amendment) Bill 1930, the Pegging Act (Transvaal) 1939, and the Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Registration Act 1943, and, ultimately, the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act 1946 (often referred to as the "Ghetto" Act). These were all efforts by government (urged on by provincial pressure) to end Indian prosperity and "penetration" into hitherto predominantly White domains, both geographic and cultural, despite the conditional agreement contained in the "Upliftment Clause" of the 1927 Round Table conference.

For many Whites, hostility to the Indian people became articulated in the rejection of Indian music and related cultural activity. During the sitting of the Broome Commission in Durban in 1940, called to investigate

incidents of purchases by Indian families of residences in the traditionally "European" areas on the Berea, evidence was brought by A. Grantham, resident of Botanic Gardens Road, and presented to Justice Broome by Laughlin, stating:

> We want segregation of Europeans, Indians and Coloured, or zoned residential areas, as well as trading areas. **The Indian religion, their music and their ways are not our ways.** [My emphasis].[58]

Laughlin, in his own conclusion says:

> I am now very hopeful that something will be done to remove our difficulties and to relieve the burgess of this area. If it is not done, other Europeans are going to lose their identity.[59]

A New "Old" Nationalism

By the mid-1940s the fear of "loss of identity", always an issue for White South Africans, became uppermost in the minds of many South African Indians. Despite their efforts to upgrade and Westernise their standards of living, and their preparedness to placate White politicians, many Indians became disillusioned about their unchanged political and social dispensation in White perception. This disillusionment, and a growing sense of nationalistic fervour in pre-independence India which emphasised the worthiness of indocentric cultural

practices, led many South African Indians to turn or return with a renewed sense of purpose to Indian and/or "Indian" music and related activities.

Since 1970 there has been a growing number of South African Indians who have been looking to Indian "Culture" for an identity to counter the sense of alienation caused partly by the state policy of separatism, and partly by the fragmentation of the Indian population by the Group Areas Act, an increased polarisation of class and economic status, and changing spiritual, political, and other values. This has been apparent in the increasingly frequent references to terms such as "our Mother Country" by some group leaders. This term has been mentioned at almost every Indian music concert or festival I have attended since 1982. An example of such usage can be found in the statement of the Vice-President of the South Indian Music Association at a concert, Tongaat, 25/1/87, who referred to "our beloved Mother Land", meaning India.

Street Music and Dance

In contrast to the Westernising influence of Indian politics, institutionalised education, and urbanisation in general, elements of an authentic indocentric culture seem to have survived the alienation incurred during much of the early period of indenture. Indian peasant culture became explicit in the street music and dance practised by agricultural workers employed beyond the boundaries of the cities. To what extent local performance practice concurs with traditional regional peasant culture in India requires further research. It seems likely, however, that North Indian and South Indian performance practices merged in much the same way that Hindu religious practices of the North and the South had merged, becoming viewed during this time as part of a common heritage.[60] One of the more popular street dances or *thirukooth* (Tamil translated *-thiru*= street, *-kooth* = dance) was the "Six-foot Dance", part of the Marriammen or "Porridge" festival which takes place in early August.[61] Though Tamil in origin, Mariamma, *avatar* (incarnation) of Parvati, the consort of Shiva, is revered by South African Tamil, Telegu, and Hindi alike.[62] Mariamma is the "Goddess of the pox", and as such is associated with death. She is propitiated with the blood of animal sacrifice and is

essentially a village or peasant deity. As blood ritual gave way to "purer forms of worship" with the growth of an urban middle class, so this art form, like all the early village examples, became forgotten or despised by the majority of South African Indians in the transition from a rural life-style (sugar estate, sugar mill, and railway barrack life) to an urban (white collar) one.[63]

> Almost every month from the time the Indians settled in Mount Edgecombe, till about 1930, an Indian dance known as "Theru Koothu" [thirukooth] was held in conjunction with a religious festival at the temple.[64]

In spite of this, pockets of dancers specialising in the form have persisted to this day in some of the outlying coastal centres such as Mount Edgecombe and Illovo, and an attempt is being made by the urban intellectual elite to revive these forms, not so much as an integral part of religious ritual, but in a stylised and concertised form.[65]

Principal instruments in street music were drums of all shapes and sizes, but particularly the single-headed stick drums, *nagara* and *dholak* (an untuned cylindrical drum), *talam*, *kartal*, and the goat-bag drone instrument called *s'ruti-upanga* or *moshuq* (North India) or *bhazana-s'ruti* (South India), or as it is locally known, "*thuthi*".[66] This instrument is also called the *roshin chawkees* and is described as "a type of bagpipes".[67]

The chief melody instrument in the earlier performances was the *sarangi*.[68] Finding themselves in a strange country largely alienated from traditional sources of music and instrument-making, and not having been able to bring instruments with them under the straitened circumstances of their journeying, some resourceful musicians set about making their own instruments from local materials. For example, in about 1920 Cheddy Singh made a simple sarangi with six sympathetic strings which he played with a home-made horse-hair bow. In contrast to the standard sarangi bow, this was curved.[69] The sarangi became supplanted by the violin and the flute. The music in street art was vocal with string and percussion accompaniment, and was in a narrative folk style telling the stories of works such as the Mahabarrata.[70]

Costumes were highly elaborate and imaginative, and included cascading necklaces, bangles, armlets, long earrings, jewelled head-bands, (*sier bandnie*), wide skirts and pantaloons for the "women" (played by men), ornate head dresses, extended shoulders, and painted faces.[71]

Other forms of peasant culture include "puppet shows in improvised *pandals*" [my italics] and the South Indian Maypole dance.[72]

> A Maypole Dance was brought up and a house to house display were [sic] given in the year 1930, in aid of the Aryan Benevolent Society's Building Fund.... The Maypole display were at the Pentrich area [Pietermaritzburg].... [Because] the Tamil Protective Association School had no lights the Officials of the Sabha undertook to install the electricity, and a Maypole display were held at the School Hall, and raised a megre [sic] sum of £11:9:0, the cost of the installation of light were over £20.... During the year 1931-1932 a further Maypole was brought by the then Tutor: Mr. K. Hendry, and raised funds for the Aryan Benevolent Society and the Tamil Protective Association.[73]

Drama

Drama, which reached its peak in about 1935, was perhaps the most significant (i.e. the most frequently and widely performed with the largest audience attendance) art form practised between 1920 and 1938, although some forms of drama were already in evidence as early as 1900. These early dramas belonged to the *desi*, or folk, style of drama, and included the South Indian *Therukooth* (*Therikuthu*), and the North Indian *Sarangi Thaal*.[74] Generally women were forbidden to participate in the early performances, their roles being impersonated by men.[75]

Performances took place outdoors, or in sheds, then in large marquees, and, in the 1930s, in the newly-erected community halls built from funds collected at earlier music and drama evenings. The later plays were transcriptions of recordings of the great Hindu epics and passages of scripture, as well as of Christian themes.[76] N.C. Naidoo, a dedicated promoter of the Tamil language and culture and pioneer member of the Tamil Vedic Society, was one of the "fathers" of drama, touring the main centres of the Transvaal and Natal with the play Nella Thunga.[77] Other popular plays were Harichandra and Saranga Daran.[78] Contrary to the practice of Thirukooth, which were performed around conventions transmitted through oral channels, including some impromptu insertions, the above plays were performed from a written script.

Again, it must be observed that some Catholics took part in the dramas with Hindu themes, and vice versa. Teacher Anthony, yet another waiter at the Victoria Club, and a Christian, filled the role of playwright, transcriber, and at times, translator, working from records brought to him by aspiring actors. Examples of such records might be Radha Kalyanam, Pati-Bhakti, or Iswar Bhakti.[79] South African dramas included narrative

poems, story-telling, and impromptu sketches as well as formally-constructed plays. And, as has happened in village India, the play-acting was interwoven with folk dance, particularly the *nautch* dance, of which P.R. Singh is a well-remembered specialist, and with vocal and instrumental music in the folk, and subsequently, popular or film style. Songs were traditional, in a narrative style, with some singers trying to incorporate classical ragas, but with little audience approval.The music was frequently of a Hindustani character as the latter is more rhythmically regular, more tuneful, and more lively than Carnatic music, with the result that South Indian texts in Tamil or Telegu were set to Hindustani tunes where the tala most frequently used were *tretal*, (cycle of 3), and the ubiquitous *tintal* (cycle of 4+4+4+4). Where classical songs were included, like those by Tyagaraja, they were either drawn from his repertoire of simple tevaram, or were highly modified, had little or no improvisation, the minimum of embellishment, and were often in abbreviated form where the most difficult parts were left out completely.[80] It was not unusual for these musico-dramatic occasions to last from 6 p.m. till 6 a.m. in the morning with the audience refusing to let the artists stop! Instruments commonly used were harmonium, violin, *tabla*, *mridangam*, *dholak*, and *maddalam*, with

sometimes the odd banjo or mandolin which became increasingly popular during the forties.[81]

The following traces the somewhat poignant history of one of the more active drama associations which functioned in Pietermaritzburg between 1925 and 1948.

> During the year 1925, at a well known Nursery in a Valley two men namely the late Mr. Perumal Reddy and Mr. Jack N. Poonsamy, while working among sweet perfume of beautiful Flowers and Shrubs their desire were to take part in a Dramatical Act before their end of life. They approached a few friends, eventually their ambition became fruit in the formation of Saraspathee Humsathuveni Royal Dramatic Company.... The Drama "Harrichundra" in the course of practice, some unforseen dispute arose between the President and the officials the President late Mr. R. Coopasamy Pillay resigned, and on his resignation he remarked that if the proposed play Harrichandra [sic] is staged, he will shave his half moustache, this remark the officials took very seriously.... The Drama "Harrichandra" was staged in the H.Y.M.A. Hall, two evenings in October 1927, very successfully.[82]

It is not stated in the source whether the performance satisfied the critical standards of the ex-president R. Coopasamy Pillay, and whether he suffered the self-inflicted humiliation of an unsymmetrical facial hairstyle. The performance did however launch the association, later known as Saraspathee Humsathuveni Sungeetha Sabha, on a path enthusiastically concerning itself, if indirectly, with the propagation of varied performing arts. These included the presentation of the

play Chittaravelli in 1938. In 1939 the play Selvum Janikee was written and produced by Mr. K. Hendry and "was staged in the City [Pietermaritzburg], Mayville, Howick in aid of Charities, and also... in aid of the Tamil Protective Association".[83] Thamanthee was produced by A.N.M. Pillay in 1948 and was presented to raise funds for the sabha's Tamil School, and for the installation of electricity to the Tamil Protective Association's extension to their school building. Performances took place in Pietermaritzburg, Greytown, and Briardene. The society also imported a maypole, giving dance displays to raise funds for electrical installations. It is claimed that the sabha was the first to "introduce Gommie [kummi] around Wedding Pundal" (pandal) (no date given), and:

> The Sabha has rendered music at Jacobs, Mayville, Mooi River, New Hanover, Wartburg, Harden Heights, Greytown, Pinetown, Hilton Road, Mieden, and various places and assisted many poor members of our Community at weddings, Ceremonies and functions. In the course of existence of the Sabha many young men and girls have gained the knowledge of Caranatic [sic] Music, vernacular songs and Dramatical Art. The children... have participated in many shows with high distinction.[84]

Two significant factors are illustrated in the above. The first is the changing role of the sabha in fulfilling the needs of its community and the second is the economic expectations of the artist by society. In this context, probably indicative of most Hindu groups

of the time, the service provided by the sabha was transformed from a semi-rural to an emerging urban middle-class requirement. This is well illustrated in the change of the name of the association from a "Dramatic Company" started by two agricultural workers to a "Sabha" with a broader vision of cultural and social aims. In South India the *sangita sabhas* (translated = music societies) became from 1895 the main vehicles for middle-class patronage of the arts in substitution for the lapsed court and caste structures. The sabhas became supplanted by "music academies" whose objectives were to patronise classical music. The first academy was the Madras Music Academy which was funded by the 1927-1928 Indian National Congress in Madras whose declared intent was national independence.[85] There is however one major difference between the sabhas in India and those in South Africa: whereas the early sabhas in India existed primarily in order for "the new clerical and professional middle class" to sponsor the performing arts, in South Africa the expertise of artists was harnessed to raise funds for largely extra-musical social service.[86] A.G. Pillay, whose grandfather and other family members were closely involved in drama, and who himself gained his early music experience through

the performance of dramatic roles, has the following to say about the funding nature of early drama and music associations:

> They paid our fare and meals.... After the drama, if it made some money it went to charity and a part of that out of love they said "We give this to you, share this among you". And that's all.[87]

An example of what appears to be a genuine "community" in which the drama served as a platform for the communication of shared goals, and ideals, and which became a vehicle for the reinforcement of social unification, was that at Roseneath near Umkomanzi Drift, Umkomaas. Rungayya Chinayya Naidoo was the son of a "passenger" settler from a "distinguished military" family. He came out with his father who became a minor clerk and who died young, leaving the family in a difficult financial state. Through determination, an unusually high intelligence, and some sponsorship from better established neighbours, including a German baker immigrant called Baumann, Chinayya established himself as a man of some standing. When he arrived at Roseneath in the early twentieth century after having completed some legal training, there were the remains of an "abandoned settlement of Scotsmen and failed miners", and a trading store which had been the property of Harvey Greenacre, then sold to Narainaswami.[88] As the result of White settler opposition to the purchase of

the store by an Indian, Narainaswami could not transfer the licence. Chinayya took on the case, won it, and secured the property for himself; the store, twenty-five acres, and a derelict hotel, for the sum of £250.

In partnership with Blamey, an old school friend, Chinayya bought up large tracts of land once the store had been made viable, and rented the land to ex-indentured sugar-plantation workers who had been left destitute. The community which resulted became known as Fountain Head and consisted almost exclusively of settlers from the South of India. It appears that the smallholders thrived on the proceeds earned by their vegetables, fruit trees and tobacco.

> Umkomaas now had a growing Indian population and culture was preserved at the great courtyard which now forms the backyard at Roseneath Store. The great dramas from the Immortal Epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and the plays of Ilangan and Kalidasa were performed there. Classical poetry including the Kural and Vedic Hymns was also recited. Roseneath was an arts theatre which seems to have no equal now.[89]

The driving force behind community affairs, "from drama to dairying, weaving to baking, orchard maintenance to horsewomanship", was Lakshmamma Nayak, grandmother of Dhanaluxmi Chetty, who married Chinayya. Despite local opposition from male Indian farmers, it was she who

planned schooling for girls, adult education centres, and cultural tours to India, all of which eventually were accomplished.[90]

Muslim Qawwali and Musha'ara

From the earliest period Muslim settlers, who were largely of "passenger" origin, were slower to accept foreign influences due to their on-going ties with India and their relative financial security.[91] Most south African Muslims maintained ties with family remaining in India. They sent their sons and daughters "home" to study and to marry; they brought their daughters-in-law from India, (at least until the 1950s); they tried to go on at least one religious pilgrimmage to Mecca, (make *hajj*), and, in short, saw themselves very much as foreigners in a foreign land. Furthermore, Muslims are considered to be one of the more closed or tradition-alist societies. They either emphasise a rigid adherence to ritual, the laws of the Quran, and the principle of *ijma'*[92], i.e. the recognition and acceptance of the past as authoritative (Sunni), or they display a greater dependence on the word of the Imam, the infallible leader (Shi'a), and the mystical cult of

the pirs (Sufi), precluding to an appreciable extent any predilection for eclectism or change.

Indologists are frequently confused by the apparent dichotomy between Islamic philosophy and the incidence and practice of music and the related arts. Muslim orthodoxy has consistently forbidden music, particularly instrumental music, although some lenience in otherwise orthodox circles has been shown towards the use of drums for festive occasions. Despite this, instrumental music, vocal music, and dance have been conscientiously cultivated in Muslim society; indeed some of India's greatest exponents of classical music have been Muslims, particularly those at the Mogul courts of the caliphs and princes from the 17th to the 19th century. Similarly, drama is unacceptable since it is considered to be one of the representational arts connotative of biddat. The telling of moral stories is allowed, but fiction is frowned upon. Even poetry is rejected by some because of the Quranic saying, "Poets are leaders of the errant ones: they stray about in every valley... except those who believe...."[93] Despite this, poetry "marathons", *mushaira* [*musha'ara*], or *kavi samelan*, at which poets recite or sing their latest works in competition with others, are very popular. One

of the best-liked forms of poetry is the lyrical *ghazal*, followed perhaps by the eulogistic *qasida*.[94]

Those Muslims who appreciate the performing arts have sought to justify them and to have them legalised under Islamic law (*Sharia*), in the name of *sima'*,[95] for the purpose of inducing wajd, for eulogising Allah and the Prophet, or for expressing deep concern about perceived socio-political transgressions and religious heresy. In South Africa this has resulted in a rich tradition of Gujerati, Urdu, and some Arabic and Persian poetry, often set to music.

S.H. Haq Nadvi says that qawwali (translated: to repeat) are the folk roots of all other Muslim poetry and of all vocal music. They are the sung poems of Muslim mystics, particularly the Sufis. Ghazal are epics of the human soul; allegorical love songs with ambiguous themes addressed either to the Lord or to an earthly beloved. They are written in thematically unrelated couplets and can induce great emotional response in the listeners, who show their intense appreciation by showering the musicians with money, sometimes in large denominations. Members of the audience sometimes go right up onto the stage when particularly moved by a poetic or musical phrase. Eulogistic songs fall into three categories:

ham'd is a song in praise of Allah; *nat* eulogises the Prophet referring to any attribute, act of missionary zeal, or stage in the life of the Prophet; and *salami* is sung in salutation of the Prophet, expressing the inflamed soul of the poet engrossed in praise. *Nazm* are popular patriotic and political poems powerfully commenting on injustice or expressing nationalistic feeling, and are not usually sung.[96] *Mawlood name*, though not really considered by practitioners to be music, contains music elements such as melodic conventions relying on oral tradition for transmission. It is the popular recitation of the life of the Prophet on the Prophet's birthday, *Mawlood-an-Nabie*.[97] It is not known when the latter was first celebrated in South Africa.

As already mentioned, qawwali is the form of Islamic music earliest represented in South Africa. Badsha Pir and his successor, Sufi Sahib, had established shrines and missionary centres, and had generated commemorative functions throughout Natal by 1945, at which time a split in the Badsha Pir movement developed out of a dispute over control of funds at Badsha Pir's shrine in Durban.

> [I]n 1945 a special Badsha Pir Mazhaar (tomb) committee became established and this committee has since contested the legitimacy of the Sufi Sahib group. This has led to the anomaly of two ceremonies being held annually to commemorate

> the saint's anniversary, *aurs*, within weeks of each other, during the month of his death in the third Islamic month of *Rabi-al-awwal*, which coincides with the Prophet's birth month. The Badsha Pir Committee spends over a thousand rands each year to mark the event. The tomb is newly painted and illuminated, and the street adjacent to it is decorated with baskets of cascading flowers and garlands of coloured lights. A *qawwali* (concert of devotional songs) and a communal dinner attended by over ten thousand people takes place in a massive marquee, which is erected on open ground opposite the tomb.[98]

The procession, or *sandal*, through the streets is proceeded by *raathie*, or spear players.

> Slim men and little boys pull up their shirts and knot them almost neck high, bare their stomachs and then plunge the *raathie* (long lengths of steel with sharply pronged ends) into their bared stomachs. The assault develops into a graceful dance. Heads are thrown back, arms flung forward, for a moment the *raathies* remain tense and poised in mid-air, as if drawing strength, then torsos curve in, knees spring together, and the points dig into the flesh. The movement continues up and over and in, in matador-like rhythm to the beats of cymbals and large tambourines tautly stretched with skins and bells. All the while others in the procession intone in rich voices, verses from the Quran. Within a short time, the exposed parts of the body are covered with red pinpoint scars.... Outside the tomb, the *qawwalis* sing from a high pavilion temporarily erected for the occasion.[99]

The qawwal and his party sing the works of Sufi poets from about nine in the evening until dawn to a capacity crowd.[100]

It is Nadvi's opinion that the only truly great poet in Natal is "Farooqi" Mehtar.[101] In an article tracing the history of the musha'ara movement in South Africa which refers almost exclusively to Natal poets and meetings, Mehtar says that "although only about 15% of the Indian South Africans speak the Urdu language, it has become recognised as a language of artistic and classical expression...".[102]

It appears that Urdu is indeed the language used most frequently by Muslim musicians and poets particularly when the poems are for circulation as an expression of high culture. It was at the musha'ara that Urdu poetry was presented as an example of high culture to be encouraged by those seeking to retain or regain their indocentric character, yet seeking to be recognised as members of an elite class. The use of Urdu in this regard is not peculiar to South Africa. Between 1930 and 1950 Urdu was used on the Indo-Pak sub-continent as a lingua franca to unite Muslims in their nationalist struggle against both the British imperialists and against Hindu antagonists. It was also used as the legal and poetic language of high culture.[103]

South African Indians took their lead from Pakistan in the propagation of Urdu as a functional means of

establishing and reinforcing an elite Muslim community. The catalysts in introducing the musha'ara were an indocentric, Muslim Agent-General to South Africa, and a religious subject teacher of the Madressa Anjuman Islam, living in Durban.

> Munshi Ali Mia "Chishti"... originally came from the Ratnagiri district near Bombay. He with [a] few others organised the first Musha'ara in South Africa in the year 1935 and invited the late Sir Sayed Raza Ali, the then... Agent-General for the Government of India in South Africa to preside at the function.[104]

The Madressa Hall in Pine Street was the scene of this Musha'ara. An enormous crowd was in attendance, coming "to see the Agent-General and to satisfy their curiosity as to what took place at a Musha'ara function, which was then almost unknown to their generation in this country."[105] "Yusuf" Essack was garlanded by Sayed Raza Ali as the most promising poet. Other poets were Moulana Muhammad "Bashir" Siddiqi, Moulana Ahmed "Mukhtar" Siddiqi, Ahmed Ismail "Bechain", Munshi Ali Mia "Chishty", Ebrahim Ahmed Jeewa "Tajir", and Abdul Gaffar "Shoukat". Other poetry meetings followed over the years under the auspices of the Muslim Institute. The Musha'ara Committee consisted of Moulana Muhammad "Bashir" Siddiqi, Moosa Ismail Meer, and "Farooqi Mehtar", secretary.[106]

Not much mention is made of the music component of these poetry-gatherings although it is considered to be an essential part of such proceedings. Without being able to elaborate, people have told me that many of the poets sang their own poems unaccompanied. What melodic or rhythmic models were used is not known, but it seems likely that imported records were the main source, supplemented by those members of Muslim society who either remembered music styles and form, or had access to them by contact with the Indo-Pak sub-continent. It is perhaps significant that "Farooqi" Mehtar mentions music in a contemporary context, suggesting that a music medium of expression came much later than the mere poetry.[107] When music was included in the early days it was probably in a qawwali rather than a classical style.

The use of Urdu as the main language of poetic expression was a remarkable occurrence. The majority of the *shaers* (poets) were writing in Urdu as a second language, not having reached "even the secondary school standard of education in that language".[108] Mehtar says that although their poetry often lacked formal accuracy it portrayed a "loving fervour and a self-taught proficiency which they have acquired over the years".[109]

Assimilable Indianisation: Hindu/Buddhism

One of the more explicit examples of the many forms of fusion that were taking place between the 1920s and the 1940s was that to be found in the Buddhist movement, started by Rajaram Dass, the son of the great South Indian Buddhist revivalist, Pandit Iyodhi Dass. Rajaram had come out under the indenture system as a "Special Servant" and was employed in the waitering trade. He acted in Tamil dramas and, though not an informed Buddhist himself, he was able to arouse the curiosity of some practising Hindus who thought that they had come from families which were originally Buddhist. When he returned to India in 1916 he sent copies of his father's literary works to N. Munisamy who founded the Overport Buddhist Society in 1917. In 1920 this society changed its name to the Natal Buddhist Society and was affiliated to the Sakya Buddhist Society, The Malvern Progressive Buddhist Society, and The Pietermaritzburg Buddhist Society.

Van Loon suggests that this movement was a direct result of socio-political and socio-economic constraints suffered by South African Indians.

> The economic hardships, social disruptions and political handicaps experienced by the South African Indian Community from 1920 onwards generated an identity crisis of major proportions amongst its members. As "non-

> Europeans" in an increasingly "White" orientated national ideology, they were made to feel unwanted appendages of an exclusive, privileged, European political system. For many, the very nature of their Indianness became a matter of introspection and reflection.[110]

The Buddhist movement was clearly an attempt to reconcile the assimilation and Indianisation options discussed above. The movement seems to have appealed to early followers wishing to identify with an ancient South Indian heritage which emphasised that Buddhist philosophy pre-dated Hinduism, and that "many Hindu religious practices were, in fact, distortions and usurpations of ancient Buddhist events".[111] The South Indian Bodhi-tree, Saint Marriamem, Saint Manimekhalai, and the Mahayana deity-image Tara had "joined the ever widening South Indian Hindu pantheon of gods and goddesses, as had, indeed, the Buddha himself."[112] Early followers were thus drawn almost exclusively from South Indian Hindus, many of whom were from low-caste families attracted by the absence of caste-consciousness in Buddha-dharma.

Cutting across caste lines as it did, Buddha-dharma nevertheless also appealed to higher caste Indians who saw the philosophy as "an elegant, simple, concise and complete body of teachings, easily comprehensible, practical and intelligent."[113] As such, Buddhism

appealed to the aspiring Indian intelligentsia, many of whom, as we have seen and as will be revealed further, were Tamils and Telegus.

But more significantly perhaps:

> Buddhism, they felt, fitted more comfortably into the European intellectual environment in which Indians found themselves immersed in South Africa. There was an increasing tendency amongst many of them to feel embarrassed about the more superstitious, primitive aspects of their popular religious practices. Buddhism, with its lack of ecstatic ritual and absence of polytheistic complexity, offered a noble, yet eminently Indian parallel to the religious practices and philosophical outlook of the Europeans.[114]

This attitude was not unique to South Africa. The Buddhist revival movement in India had close ties with the Self-Respect Movement which no doubt grew in response to British indoctrination.

Celebratory functions reflected the South Indian Hindu quality of this brand of Buddhism, with music-making gatherings commemorating the Hindu-Buddhist saints, the Enlightenment and, occasionally, the Death of the Buddha.[115] A large proportion of the followers, (which never reached large numbers in South Africa), seem to have been proficient musicians and "dramatists", meaning actors and singers in the dramas. As we have seen, the drama tradition in South Africa reflected a South Indian

character, and at times, it is difficult to differentiate between Tamil Hindu and Tamil Buddhist drama and dramatists, some names appearing mutually in the documentation of both. For instance names such as the following come up in retrospective discussions of South Indian Hindu musicians of the past and appear in the Buddhist Society Diamond Jubilee Brochure:

> A. Suthee... was a dramatist (of Sarangatharan fame), vocalist and member of the Society's Bhajan Group... M.R. Pillay... [and] his twin brother... were well known as artists and stage actors... A. Nathamaniar Charles... was a Tamil scholar of repute... and composed a song to the Buddhist Saint Saraswathi... C.V. Chinnasami was an elder of the Society and came to Natal from Madras city. He was a Tamil scholar of high repute, Professor of Tamil Music [meaning theoretically informed] and headed the Bhajan group... V.R. Krishnaswamier was a renowned musician who, despite losing his sight, continued to play his violin at functions.... Two daughters of Mr A.C. Perriaswamier, Mrs P. Chinnah and Mrs D. Swami graced many occasions with their singing of Buddhist devotional songs.... The entertainment committee organised the music and songs, and consisted of Mr C.V. Chinnasami assisted by his sons C.R. George, Saravanau and Shunnugan.... N. Kannipen took a keen and active interest in Tamil drama and... he founded the Gaganing Drama Troupe which staged many successful plays.... The entertainment committee in later years comprised of Mr A. Suthee, N. Kannipen, M. Perumal and V. Kisten. Music and song were rendered by Papiah Bros Orchestra, Bell Moonsamy and party, Ruthan Sathee, S. Natha, Tony Moon and party.[116]

Based on evidence suggesting that almost all of these musicians were better known as South Indian musicians performing music and drama propitiating South Indian Hindu saints, it seems probable that the performing arts

component of the Buddhist Society's functions were almost exclusively Hindu in character. The injection of Buddhist philosophy seems to lie in the ethico-religious, casteless, vegetarian, and non-violent ideal of Buddha-dharma.

Pentecostal Penetration: Christian Concert Parties, "Singspiration", and "Musical and Drama Sermons" at Bethesdaland

The concepts and strategies of the Pentecostal Bethesda missionary movement were established by John Alexander Rowlands in England. It was he who determined the powerful role of music, and the idea of "practical Christianity", in "converting people to Christ".[117] During the First World War he formed the Rowlands Concert Party and travelled to the Salisbury Plains to sing and preach to soldiers stationed there.[118]

> The last fifty concerts under his organisation were mainly for Australian soldiers, and the good clean concerts brought happiness and cheer to them in their various isolated places. Each night he paid for five or six artists out of his own pocket who, with their songs, violin music recitations and so on, provided a most uplifting element in the lives of the soldiers. A bright Christian message and a prayer also found its way into every gathering whether on a week night or on a Sunday.[119]

John Alexander Rowlands, an Englishman and a Quaker, came to Pietermaritzburg as the director of McDonald's Mill. Finding no Quaker organisation, Rowlands then started preaching in South Africa to the Indian population at the first Temple, called Obededom, in Pietermaritzburg in 1925.[120] But it was not until 1931, under the control of his son, Pastor John Francis Rowlands, that the movement really got off the ground, with a twenty-two-day campaign that was held at the H.Y.M.A. Hall, Church Street, 23 August -13 September.

> A special campaign orchestra had played throughout the campaign services. As a result one letter writer who used the nom-de-plume "A Layman" wrote that this church was referred to as 'the Jazz Band Church'....[121]

It is not clear when the term "singspiration" was coined for John Alexander's and John Francis' particular brand of missionary tactics. Undoubtedly, though, music played a central role in attracting non-Christians from an early stage.[122] Indeed, it was over the principles of music/antimusic, and mission/anti-mission, amongst other things, that the Pentecostal churches were divided.

> There are at least six mutually hostile and exclusive [Pentecostal] groups: (1) The pro-music, pro-organised missions [sic] group...; (2) the pro-music, anti-organised-missions group; (3) the anti-music, anti-organised-missions groups [sic]; (4) the anti-music, anti-organised-missions, anti-church school group; (5) the anti-music, anti-organised-missions,

> anti-alien-immersion group; and finally (6) the anti-music, anti-organised-missions, anti-Sunday school group.[123]

Bethesda belongs to the first group. John Francis, who was himself a musician, led the choruses with his banjo-ukulele. He also sang solos which he accompanied with his banjo-ukulele.[124] For instance, from 1932, he played and sang at the

> old wood and iron Drama Hall at Magazine Barracks... and for several years [he led] open-air meetings at the corner of Grey Street and Pine Street. Thousands upon thousands sang Christian Choruses to the accompaniment of this musical instrument.[125]

Early meetings were held at cinema houses. These meetings and the popular street parades emphasised a "visible ministry". For example, "The Rose of Sharon", which included slides, music, and recitation, was a popular sermon. The fiftieth service in 1933 included a parade of "Mary", "Joseph", and a "real donkey". During the one-hundred-day campaign in 1933, "J.F. sang a different solo every night with Marcus Royeppen at the Piano and Jimmy Royeppen at the organ".[126] Indeed, music seems to have been included in every phase of church business, including the singing of "Goodbye, goodbye little Bethesda Hall... nice but you're far too small", during the move from Bethesda Hall Grey Street

to Carlisle Street.[127] From 1931-1940 J.F. preached more than three thousand sermons in Durban "including Musical and Drama Sermons".[128]

G.C. Oosthuizen has indicated that the Pentecostal movement has developed in townships populated by the less wealthy, poorly housed families.[129] In the same way in which Muslims were able to adhere more closely to traditional religious and social practices due to stronger financial disposition, so too have those Indians who found themselves in straitened circumstances often been vulnerable to the breaking up of traditional social practices.[129] Financial distress, loss of identity, and the attitude of colonial and post-colonial Whites, has been largely responsible for the mass adoption of charismatic religions. Oosthuizen suggests that:

> In the Pentecostal churches Christians who were mainly from the lower castes received a certain respectability. In a situation where Indians were treated as third class citizens, the warmth they experienced in some churches and especially in the Pentecostal churches,... attracted them.... For many Pentecostalism has become a psychological compensation for a feeling of social inferiority. It integrates the individual into a directed community which overcomes the hazards of the breaking up of old values.[130]

Despite stressing the equality of the sexes, thus appealing to Western-educated women, and using

English as the medium, thus appealing to the younger population, Bethesda has drawn consciously on the symbolism of Hindu India. This became more obvious after 1950, but clear parallels are there from its inception. Oosthuizen says:

> It [Pentecostalism] is both in but also separate from the Indian culture and nearer to the new culture. It is different from Indian society but in certain respects very much part of it and gives expression to the needs of the people in a religious setting. Here is a continuity/discontinuity relationship.[131]

Learning the literature through participatory ritual is an important part of Hinduism as it is of Pentacostalism. House congregations substitute for the domestic *pooja*. Visual aids, such as the "International Bethesdascope", replaced the pictures and statues in the shrine.[132] Oosthuizen suggests that Hindu ritual purity, which is achieved by washing and annointing, is replaced by adult baptism.[133] The laying on of hands is intrinsic to both Tantric Hinduism and Pentecostalism. The vow, or *murril* (trance), and Fire-walking, which is characteristic of some Hindu sects, similarly find some parallels in Pentecostalism. J.F. Rowlands refers directly to "Hell Fire-walking" which "is only found in Jesus Christ".[134] The expiation of guilt is the aim of much public ritual in Hinduism as it is in Pentecostalism. The all-night ceremony which is a frequent occurrence in Hindu practice, is sometimes adopted by

Pentecostal groups, which have "night watches".[135] Oosthuizen also compares Tantric worship and the doctrine of the vengeful Pentecostal God.

> Fierce deities are selected in Tantric worship which both destroy weaknesses within the innermost person and recreate the divine in that self. Hell fire preaching in some Pentecostal groups with the emphasis on God's wrath and His destruction of the sinful, is not strange to the prospective Hindu Christians.[136]

Preachers frequently refer to the "raising of your flags", connotative of the Hindustani Jhunda flag-raising ceremony.[137] According to Oosthuizen, the main difference between Pentecostalism and other Christian Churches is its adaptability to other cultural environments. This adaptability to Hindu/Indian culture is most noticeable in the visual context in which the Christian message is transmitted.

> They make use of what can be seen rather than what can be heard only and this is the approach of village Hinduism. Pentecostalism is successful because it does not come as a foreign, White controlled form of Christianity but gives scope to the Indian expression of this faith.[138]

The Church of Bethesda, perhaps even more than other Pentecostal Churches, has emphasised the value of retaining discrete elements of Indian cultural practices.

> Pastor Rowlands always emphasised the retention of identity, that is, Christianity should not westernize the Indian with the result that he loses his age-old identity and inheritance, in spite of his contention that the Indians'

> deepest needs could only be taken care of by Jesus Christ. He once said: "Flirting of any description is abhorred, but flirting between the nations is loathed. Let's call a spade a spade! To retain the essence of Indian National identity, an Indian boy must marry an Indian girl! This is the foundation stone of the edifice!"[139]

Despite the fact that in 1937 the Bethesda Temple Church Council disapproved of music practices in the Temple, stating that it is "'only in favour of instrumental items being rendered on special occasions'", the singing of choruses and hymns permeate the Bethesda service.[140] These songs were taken from the Alexander Hymn Books from 1932-1940, and thereafter from the Redemption Hymn Books.[141] Discreet hand-clapping at times is permissible. In 1942, the Chairman of Bethesda remarked: "It is sad to note that some Indian Christians change their mode of dress and adopt a Western style". In the same publication he said: "The fragrance of Indian music and singing should not be lost in Christianity. There is something most inspiring in lyric singing to the accompaniment of Indian orchestration."[142]

Although J.F. wished to include Indian music in Temple practice, it seems that the borrowed styles were in fact of the acculturated genres rather than those of the long-standing traditions of the Indo-Pak continent. Bethesdaland's choral singers played a dominant role in

proseletysation programmes. They functioned under the official control of the Bethesda Temple Church Council from 1941.[143] Vernacular choral works, with "appropriate accompaniment" were introduced in 1942. Twelve suitable Tamil singers were selected by Brother K. James and Brother R. Abel. [144] In 1943, the "oriental choirs and orchestra" were run by the Honorary Secretary Brother V.R. Enoch; the Orchestral Leader, Brother M.K. Gopaul; the Tamil Choir leader, Brother James Kistnaswami; and the Telugu Choir leader, Brother R. Abel.[145]

These choirs and orchestras broadcast regularly from the Durban S.A.B.C studios, along with the Bethesdaland plays which characterised Bethesda's unique channels of communication.[146] On 20 December 1943 a programme of carols in vernacular languages was broadcast. "O Come All Ye Faithful" was sung in Telugu and "While Shepherds Watched Their Flocks by Night" was sung in Tamil. The choir was led by Brother Marcus L. Royeppen.[147] Ruthnam Pillay of the S.A.B.C. staff helped to structure and present the programmes, and the Bethesda Kashi Orchestra, under the leadership of Brother Peter Jack, was regularly featured.[148]

When called upon to justify the inclusion of the vernacular in Bible readings, in addresses, and in vocal music, J.F. would relate the story, told by Sadhu Sundar Singh,

> of a Brahmin who fainted at a railway station and was given a cup of water by the Anglo-Indian station master. The Brahmin refused it and took his own brass bowl from which he drank the water. Sadhu Sundar Singh used to emphasize that 'we are offering Christianity in a western [sic] cup and India rejects it. But when we offer the water of life in an Eastern bowl, then our people will recognise it and take it gladly.'[149]

Oosthuizen describes Pentecostalism as a "people's movement".[150] He considers it to have "a democratic liturgical and cultural disposition", and to use "the people's approach in their methods...".[151] He compares this with Currin's description of Roman Catholicism as "essentially authoritarian and paternalistic" which "'by implication presented a Christ as a White western Pater familias'".[152] Yet despite this image, Bethesda experienced some dilemma when it faced the issue of mixed marriages at an early stage of the church's development. Oosthuizen calls their subsequent resolution in this regard "strange" since the concept of international and inter-racial brotherhood was given great emphasis in its overall policy.[153] Between 1935 and 1941 this topic was addressed on numerous occasions. In 1935 the Church Council strongly disapproved "on

Scriptural grounds of inter-marriage between nations" and felt "sure that it is not God's perfect Will for His children; we pledge to uphold a standard of national purity before God and the people, and will endeavour to discourage any contravention to this principle".[154]

The issue was again raised in 1939.

> In pursuance of our strict policy to strive, by all means in our power, to keep Bethesda Temple free from mixed marriages, we therefore show our strong disapproval of any undue friendliness and familiarity between members of different nationalities which might lead to courtship and a subsequent desire for marriage: Any person or persons whose manner of behaviour in this connection is deemed detrimental to the cause of Jesus Christ at Bethesda Temple, shall not be permitted to hold any official position in the organisation.[155]

In order to rationalise the paradoxical dichotomy between Bethesda's image of a caste-free, democratic brotherhood, and these overt statements of racial prejudice, Bethesda argued in 1941, based on Acts 17:26, that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men". This was interpreted, however, as "oneness in Christ", since

> it was God who made the different nations.... He made some of one nation and some another nation... but He loves them all alike! Each individual should strive to maintain national purity of race!... we believe that it is perfect will of God that an Indian boy shall marry an Indian girl....[156]

As Oosthuizen indicates, Bethesda's racial policies are in line with attitudes both in South Africa and in the United States.[157] Expedient borrowings inter-culturally are permissible for the purpose of proselytisation, but intimate inter-cultural sharing is disallowed!

Imported Records and Films: Influence on Local Musicians

From the early 1920s, the first 78 r.p.m. records of Indian music, pressed in India and England under the labels of His Masters Voice, Columbia, The Twin (1930s), Young India, New Theatres, Regal, Star Hindustani Record, National, Shahenshahi, and Awaz came into South Africa.[158] Distributors of these records included The Record Trade Co. in Victoria Street, Reed's Radio, and Simkins, all in Pietermaritzburg, and Manicum Pillay's Music Saloon, Cross Street, Durban. "Sangeetha" Manicum Pillay came from India in the late 1920s and was well-known as an accomplished singer of Tyagaraja compositions.[159]

The advent of the record industry in India is marked by the arrival of Fred Gaisberg in Calcutta in 1902, where the first recordings included those made by vocalists

and instrumentalists such as Goura Jan, Janki Bai, and Abdul Ghafur.[160] Gaisberg was a representative of The Gramophone Company, which was founded in London in 1898 and which had made 4 410 recordings in India by 1910.[161] Before 1924 the records were issued on the Gramophone and Zonophone labels which were replaced thereafter by His Master's Voice and by which time the company had made recordings in Assamese, Bengali, Chattisgarhi, Garkwali, Gujarati (Gujerati), Hindi, Kanarese, Konkani, Kumauni, Malayalam, Marathi, Multani (Lahnda), Pashto, Punjabi, Oriya, Sindhi, Sinhalese, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu.[162] In 1931 The Gramophone Company and the Columbia Graphophone Company, which had been operative in India since 1906, merged to form EMI (Electric and Musical Industries Ltd.) which has subsequently held the monopoly in India, with the Government of India having recently gained a controlling interest in the company.[163] A number of small independent companies sprang up in the wake of the financial success of the larger ones.[164] A large proportion of the market from the early years was to be found amongst emigrants, particularly throughout the British Empire.[165]

In the early 1920s, the first records imported were mechanical recordings with poor sound, but later technology, the "Electrical Recording", gave a reliable

and fairly distinct reproduction which resulted in recordings that were used to bolster indocentric cultural practices in a displaced society. That these records had a marked effect on local musicians can be seen from the following. On Saturday and Sunday mornings, particularly after Temple, in Pietermaritzburg, "dozens of friends" went to A.A. Pillay's house to play cards and to listen to records, displaying an intense emotional reaction to the record's contents.

> My father, and some of the others, when they come to the pathetic part of the record, I would watch the tears rolling down their eyes. It was so touching.... This record I'm talking about was from India. So they would get these records and they imitate from this and they have their dramas. They were leaning on them.[166]

From 1920 to 1940 these records consisted largely of popular devotional music and dramatisations of religious epics such as Ramayana, an epic poem telling the story of Rama, who was the sixth avatar of Vishnu, and who was dedicated to ridding the world of evil-doers.

> It is the story of intrigue in which Rama is ousted from the throne and his faithful wife Sita abducted and taken off to Sri Lanka. The monkey-god, Hanuman, the symbol of loyal service and ingenuity, assists in the rescue of Sita by establishing a monkey-bridge from the mainland of India to Sri Lanka.... In popular Hinduism the Rama story is not only heard from earliest childhood, but becomes the basis for everyday life.... Sita, too, becomes the model of the faithful wife....[167]

The Mahabarata, which contains the Bhagavad Gita, or "Song of the Lord", is another important poem, excerpts of which appear, often with music interspersed, on the early India-made recordings. This is the story of a civil war, in which two sets of cousins claiming to be the rightful rulers, are defeated, after bitter and lengthy conflict by the five Pandora brothers.

> The eldest, Yudhishthira, finds war distasteful and wishes to opt out of the conflict. He looks in the direction of ascetic meditation. Attention finally rests on the third brother, Arjuna, who shares his brother's distaste for war, but shows great ability as a general.[168]

In the Bhagavad Gita, Arjuna is faced with the dilemma of battle against kith and kin, which he shares in a dialogue with his charioteer, who, unbeknown to him, is Krishna, eighth avatar of Vishnu. Persuaded by Krishna, Arjuna issues the order for battle

> against the Kuru family, in the understanding that death does not destroy the soul and that a man must fulfil his duty in accordance with his class.... The Gita stresses that salvation is available to all: class distinctions are not a barrier but a way of securing salvation.[169]

These epics formed the basis of plays such as Chitara-velli, Saranga Daran, Harichandra, and Kovilan, which included selections of the large epics in abridged form. Many of these popular dramas were recorded by the big recording companies, as were the dramatisations of the saints-sayings such as Pati-Bhakti, Iswar-Bhakti,

and Shravan Kumar. Examples of these may be found amongst imported records which are still extant, suggesting that most of these plays and saints-sayings were available on records for emulation, if not verbatim imitation, by early South African playwrights.

Additional to the devotional works were some classical vocal and instrumental music, which some South African Indians were hearing for the very first time. Despite the availability of these recordings it appears that:

> In the 1930s the classical music was not really in the scene at all. Even in Durban, it was the drama. The classical music really started during the war, 1939. From 1937 when the first film came it introduced classical music. They tried to play it.[178]

Two valuable collections (see Table No.1 and Table No.2) of very old 78 r.p.m. records, most of which were imported from India from as early as 1920, were made available to me in response to a request for such through the media. It seems that these collections are comparatively rare as few such records are still extant, most having been disposed of due to lack of space, understanding, or interest. Each collection reflects a different character and interest, the first being dominantly classical music and drama with some folk music and film music, the second being almost exclusively drama, folk music, and film music.

The Ayanakoo Arunachallem Pillay Record Collection (see Table No.1), which is perhaps uncharacteristic of records imported and purchased by most South African Indians, illustrates a variety of music styles with a strong emphasis on canonical Carnatic classical (katcheri) music and Tamil drama from the literary repertoire. The drama collection given here does not indicate the size of the original drama holdings as many drama records had been lent to a family member, tragically to be mislaid during the confusion following that person's death.

An important part of the collection is that of South African artists recording in India. K. Arumugam's *Santamu Leka* and *Namasthe Mat Prana Nadha* are examples of the syncretic style of South African Indian music of the 1930s. The music is played on a Hawaiian guitar with strong eurocentric connotations despite being recognisably "Indian". Natesa Naidoo is thought to be the first South African Tamil musician to have his work recorded by The Twin Company. He was the pupil of M.S. Moni, the director of H.M.V. and Twin record company of Bangalore.[171]

K.A. Gandhi plays *Ragamalika* on a Hutchins label with some serious intonation problems and lack of musical

sensibilty. This is a good example of the difficulties the early musicians experienced when first attempting music from the classical repertoire.

It is thought that a few more recordings of South African Indians in India, made in the period 1930-1950, are extant and requiring collection and preservation. Recordings of Arumugam Moudaliar, who was proficient in about twelve instruments including the banjo, Hawaiian guitar, dilruba, clarinet, and violin, would be a valuable source of data about early music, as he made his recordings in the 1930s. Tragically he died in 1936 at the age of 26, in Madras.[172] Yusuf Effendi "achieved fame" in India as a classical singer" and Shafee Quawal became an "All-India Radio Star".[173]

An incomplete set of records made and recorded in South Africa by the Gandhi Sentamil School of Durban features well-known musicians K. Perumal Govender, P. Gopaul Govender "King of Drums", M. Manickum Padayachee, and S.P. Reddy.

It is however in the main collection of imported recordings that the value lies. Not only does this include an astonishing number of records but the quality and careful discernment displayed in selection is

paramount. There are many examples of the works of the *pereval* or "great musicians" such as T. Choudiah (Mysore), Sangeetha Vidwan S.V. Subbiah Bhagavatar, M.S. Subbulakshmi, Sm. N.C. Vasanthakokilam, Ramchandra Rao, Sangeetha Subrumania Pillay, D.K. Pattamal, R. Brahadambal (Madras), Sangeetha Lakshminarayana Iyer, Thayappa and his son; comic song specialists P.S. Velu Pillay and Buffoon Shunmugam; and orchestras such as the Mysore Palace Indian Orchestra, the H.M.V. (Madras) Studio Orchestra, Mysore Concert Party Orchestra; and Dr. A.J. Pandian. A wide variety of instruments are featured such as the nagaswaram and thaval (tavil) played by Thiruvazhimilali Subramaniam Bros. and Needamangalam Meenakshisundaram Pillai, as well as moorsing (jaw harp), jaltarang, sarangi, veena, kartal, tanpura, violin, flute, sitar, harmonium, piano, brass wind instruments, guitar, banjo, mandolin, and others.

Many music styles and forms are represented here. The largest proportion of items falls into the Carnatic classical or katcheri category including works of Tyagaraja in Tamil and Telegu. Examples of works in this group are the katcheri sets by Chembai Vaidyanatha Bhagavatar (Broadcast G 2437-G 2442 dated 1937 in the accompanying booklet) in which the varek style of singing is brilliantly demonstrated, and in which there

is some remarkably virtuosic violin playing of *Ghana ragam* (translated = "heavy" ragas) in the *Lakshana* or canonical style. Many of these ghana ragam are seldom if ever heard in local contemporary performance. Such a record collection could serve very well as a model for serious Carnatic music students.

Very few examples of authentic folk styles are included. One such example is the exceptionally well-crafted performance of *"Pattu Pulavaikari"* and *"Kanmaniya Unusi"* (Hutchins SN 33) by N.S. Ratnambal & Party. With strong hints of Hindustani qawwali despite being a Tamil comic song, the instrumental accompaniment seems to be harmonium, gong, and dholak. Some interesting antiphonal singing between the male and female vocalists, and some unusual tonal qualities in the vocalisation of the male make this a particularly interesting record. The kummi folk dance music is sung by the Shining Stars Society (H.M.V. N.8350 *"Adi Porulana-Kummi"*) accompanied by flute and hand-clapping. Kummi dances demonstrate one of the more easily identifiable music elements to be found in many folk music forms throughout India, i.e. the change in tala and in *kalas* or speed. Much folk song has a strong metric sense resulting from its group-dance character. The change occurs in this recording from a slow quasi

6/8 to a slow quasi 2/4, then to a fast 6/8 and back to a slow 6/8. These are of necessity approximate terms since it is difficult to determine whether the elements of rhythm were conceived as Western or as Indian constructs.

Turn-of-the-century British interpretation of "oriental" exoticism is apparent here in the 1932[?] recording of *"Chenchulakshmi"* (H.M.V. N.8999), an orchestral temple dance using music devices reminiscent of Ketelby's "In a Chinese Temple Garden" and Woodforde Findea's "Four Indian Love Lyrics". These pieces and others like them were often played by Western symphony orchestras at functions commemorating official Indian occasions in India and abroad. The music of *"Chenchulakshmi"* was composed by C.R. Subburman and performed by the H.M.V. Studio Orchestra. This music was written for one of the earliest films by Tamil Nadu Talkies. The flipside reflects the Latin-American influence in "Indian" orchestral music which became increasingly evident towards the 1950s.

Most early film music turned either to folk roots or to the classical repertoire, both of which had a strong drama and dance component, especially in South India, and which thus lent themselves to use for the film industry.

A good example of the folk roots of some film music can be seen in *"Sathi Sukaniya"* (Columbia GE.6032), a Tamil film hit by the Sri Menakshi Film Co., sung by Kali N. Ratnam and C.T. Rajakantham. The voices are accompanied by a large orchestra of Western instruments with a strong sense of diatonicism in the melodic progression. The form is strophic with a prelude and interludes between verses. On the other hand the voice qualities, particularly of the female, are characteristic of Indian folk tone colour, the melody line is antiphonal, linear, and unharmonised in the Western sense, with doubling at the lower octave by a wind or brass instrument, and the talam changes from a quasi compound duple to a quasi triple pulse. All these are devices appearing in folk music.

The rise of classical music in South Africa in the 1940s was a phenomenon unprecedented in music history as it owed its entire existence to the film and record industry, except for those few scholars taught by Mr. Edward, who had access to some written theory. The film in particular was deemed to be the primary catalyst due to its visual dimension; the record, with its accompanying booklets of lyrics, was the secondary source. Film models of classical music are represented strongly in this collection. For example, *Gnana Chandra*

Prabai (Ragamalika) Parts 1 and 2 from the Vel Pictures film *"Kambar"* (Columbia GE.836) by Sangeetha Vidwan S.V. Subbiah Bagavathar provided such a model. The accompanying ensemble was perhaps bigger than was usual with the additional jaltarang and moorsing not always included by purists, but the performance is still in style and demonstrates some outstanding *manodharma* or improvisation.

The orchestral music and vocal film "hits" in the collection indicate the widely varying degree of Westernisation/Indianisation found in recorded music. Some examples, such as *"Mee Valla Guna Dhoshamemi?" Kafi* and *"Karuninchuta" Sindhumandari* (H.M.V. N.8941) by the Mysore Palace Orchestra are indocentric examples of orchestrating Indian music. Predominant instruments are flute and clarinet, reminiscent of the Muslim naubat (wind) orchestras of the Mogul court. Instrumentation involves doubling of the essential notes of the raga which ensures an indocentric tonality and texture and some provision is made for individual instruments to embellish the melodic line heterophonically and with gamakas. In some examples the orchestral interludes are very Western and the vocal passages, indocentric. Track one of *Savithiri* (Rayal Talkies Distributors H.M.V. N.18134) by M.S. Subbulakshmi illustrates this. The

Western extreme can be found in the second track of *Pavalakodi* (Columbia GE.6623) by M.L. Vasanthakumari and party. Tertial harmony with parallel thirds and a Western tone quality is most noticeable here. Carnatic/Hindustani fusions are represented where hints of ghazal and qawwali are identifiable, as in *"Komalame* (Hindustani Tune)-*Dasavatharam"* (Columbia GE.290) , a Tamil vocal piece with harmonium and "Dhabala" (tabla) by T.K.S. Sundarappa, M.R. Santhanalakshmi, and M.K. Sitalakshmi. In this example a strong sense of metre pervades the tretal tala, and the Hindustani version of the raga is set to Tamil lyrics and accompanied by tabla (strictly a North Indian drum) as was often the case in popular music in South Africa in the 1930s and 1940s.

Big band and dance band music on one-chord and parallel three-chord harmonies are sparsely represented in the collection as they seem to have belonged to a later period than most of these records. The song from *Thiruvalluvar* (CA 1416), Famous Talkie Release, by M. Lakshmanan and M. Lakshmi hints at this phenomenon which swept South African Indian music off its feet in the late 1940s and 1950s.

One Tamil Christian devotional record (Twin F.T.6242) is included in which Tamil Christian texts seem to have

been set to well-known South Indian tunes. The result is a highly modified Western version of an Indian bhajan, with a prelude and interludes in a strophic form with some polyphony coming perhaps as a modified or exaggerated form of heterophony which is characteristic of all canonical Indian classical and some folk music. More examples of Hindu devotional music can be found. They are often called "Basic" Tamil devotionals and in themselves display a high degree of Western influence at times. An orchestrated version of such a devotional song is *"Aandiyanathenna Aarumuga"* (H.M.V. N.95128). With wind and string instruments playing in unison with the voice which is in a "crooning" style, with little or no attention to gamakas from voice and instruments, and with long sustained "unfilled" notes with a marked vibrato on the violin, the Western character of this music is quite clear. These devotional songs seem to be the precursors of the bhajan tradition so strong in South Africa today.

Perhaps the most fascinating record in the collection is that of Dr. A.J. Pandian. *"Varum Deva"* is a fairly even balance of eastern and Western influence whilst *"Unnaikori"* is almost pure British drawing on Victorian music-hall instrumentation, melodic phrases, and harmonic patterns with some fairly naïve attempts at

modulation. Despite its naïvity the music has a unique sensibility and vitality which makes it a delightful piece of creativity.

The overt political functions of music in twentieth-century India are manifest here in the "Gandhi-pieces" of Mysore T. Chowdiah (*"Gandhi Gandhi"*, Canada raga; Columbia GE.6705) and the Tamil national song by S. K. Ponnambalam, *"Solla Thatha Gandhi Thatha"* (Twin F.T.6830). Even more explicit examples may be found in the Indian National Congress Special Election Record in which Congress Jubilee songs serve to inspire patriotic nationalist fervour. It is significant that the South African Indian record market saw fit to purchase such a record.

The record industry owed a lot of its success to technological innovation. Phonographs, in elaborate cabinets, were sold by the record companies. Although affected by the 1930s depression, the record industry survived by concentrating on the recording of popular and film music. Ethnic and classical music played only a minor role in those companies that could afford to placate a small, elite market. South African Indians

were amongst those who were most dependent upon the industry. For many, it was their only link with their past.

Table No.1: Ayanakoo Arunachallem Pillay Record Collection

Part 1: Incidental

Label: Blank; recorded one side only

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer
[?]	[?]	[?]	[?]

Part 2: S.A. Artists' Recordings in India

Label: The Twin

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer
FT.6085	**Santamu Leka*	Instrumental Hawaiian Guitar	K. Arumugam
	**Namasthe Mat Prana Nadha*	"	"
FT.6897	**Andavan Thiruvadi*	Tamil Devotional	Natesa Naidoo
	**Andavan Thiruselvam*	"	"

Label: Hutchins

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer
S.N.800	**Ragamalika* Pt. 1	Instrumental Violin	K.A. Ghandi
	**Ragamalika* Pt. 2	"	"

Part 3 : S.A. Artists' Recordings in S.A.

Label: Gandhi Senthamil School Durban

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer
n/a	**Stri Thirugnana Sambandha Swami's Sarithiram* Pt.1		Master V.S. Oomapathie Govender, R. Karthigasan (narrator), K. Perumal Govender (violin), and

			P. Gopaul Govender (thubla)
n/a	*Stri Thirugnana Sambandh Swami's Sarithiram* Pt. 3		M. Manickam Padayachee, Sm. Runganayaki Pather, and R. Karthigasan (narrator)
n/a	*Swami Thirugnana Sambandha Swami's Sarithiram* Pt.7		K. Perumal Govender, R. Karthigasan (narrator), S.P. Reddy (violin), and P. Gopaul Govender (thubla)
n/a	*Stri Thirugnana Sambandha Swami's Sarithiram* Pt. 9		M. Manickam Padayachee, R. Kartigasan (narrator), K. Perumal Govender (violin), and P. Gopaul Govender (thubla)

Part 4: Indian Artists' Recordings in India - Imported Records

Label: His Master's Voice

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer
P.69	*Thevaram Sundaramoorthy Swami*	Indian Tamil Tune Violin	Narayanasami Iyer (Pudookah)
	Senchuruti	"	"
P.193	*Kambhoji-Adi* Pt. 1	Telegu Female Song	Godaveri Salem
	Kambhoji-Adi Pt. 2	"	"
P.196	*Thanyasi-Chapu*	Tamil Female Song	"
	Kambhoji-Chapu	"	"
P.1469	*Sowrashtra Mangalam*	Instrumental Nagaswaram	Sembannarkovil Ramasamy Pillay
	Sankarabharanam-Rupakam	"	"
P.2204	*Sri Radane*	Tamil Song	K.T. Nadarajah, Son, of Kavai,

			Hindustani Tharmalingam Pillai
	*Amba Madurai	"	"
P.3363	*Thevaram	"	T.K. Ramasami Pather
	*Theruppugal	"	"
P.6103	*Dhanyasi	"	Miss Bhavani
	*Mohanam	"	"
P.6569	*Ravichandrika	Instrumental Violin	T. Choudiah (Mysore)
	*Hindust-Kafi [record damaged]	"	"
N.2469 [?]	*[Indian script]	Tamil Song	S.V. Subbiah Bhagavatar, Arya Gana Sabha
	" [poor sound]	"	"
N.2708	*Hindustani Thodi-Sringarapattu [record damaged]	"	"
	*Sreeragam-Sringarapattu [record damaged]	"	"
N.2721	*Sri Rachuvarasugunalaya Pt.1	Telugu Song	S.V. Subbiah Bhagavatar
	*Sri Rachuvarasugunalaya Pt.2	"	"
N.2785	*Nirupamana Sami Pt.1	"	"
	*Nirupamana Sami Pt.2	"	"
N.3205	*[Indian script]	Tamil Song	"
	* "	"	"
N.3212	*Sakkeniraja Pt. 3	Telugu Song	Miss Adilakshmu
	*Ragunayaka	"	"
N.3217	*[Indian script]	Tamil Song	V.N. Subramanya Bhagavatar
	*"	"	"
N.3228	*[Indian script]	"	S.B. Seshadri Aiyengar (Madras)
	*"	"	"
N.3726	*Karthikeya Gangeya Pt.1 (Thodi)	Vocal	Sangeetham T.N. Manikkam (Tirugokarnam)
	*Karthikeya Gangeya Pt.2	"	"
N.3751	*Alla Huthalla (Desigam)	Tamil Song	Miss Subbalakshmi (Madura)
	*Sanguchakrayutham (Hind. Byag)	"	"

N.8027	*Iruppu Changili Thorattu (Senjuruti)* [record damaged]	Tamil Song	T.M. Kader Batcha (Woriyur)
	Sandhela Shaya (Malay Tune)	"	"
N.8122	*Ninninka Syrimpa (Kapi)*	Telugu Song	Vadlamani Viswanatham (Cocanada)
	Etakegeno (Saranga)	"	"
N.8242	*Madhe Yenna Modi*	Tamil Song	K.S. Ganesa Iyer (Karaikudi)
	Orunal Maruviya	"	"
N.8330	*Sarasijaksha-Kalyani*	Katcheri Set Pt.1	Vidwan C.S. Selvaratnam Pillay
	Sree Kantha! Neevada	Katcheri Set Pt.2	"
N.8331	*Thodi Raga Alapana Bhavapriya*	Katcheri Set Pt.3	"
	Gana Lola! Karuna-Todi	Katcheri Set Pt.4	"
N.8332	*Gitam Endan Mana- Shanmukhapriya*	Katcheri Set Pt.5	"
	Petra Thai Thanaiya Ragamalika	Katcheri Set Pt.6	"
N.8333	*Yake Bandi Jeeva? Sindhu Bhairavi*	Katcheri Set Pt.7	"
	Marulu Konnadira! Kamas(1) *Mangalam*(2)	Katcheri Set Pt.8	"
N.8350	*Nithya Karmamum-Kummi*	Tamil Chorus Folk Dance (*Kummi*)	Shining Stars Society
	Adi Porulana-Kummi	"	"
N.8352	*Gopiyar Konjum* [record damaged]	Tamil Vocal with Organ & Sarangi	Miss T.N. Manikkam (Tirugokarnam)
	Bala Gopala	"	"
N.8355	*Mata! Mahamaya!*	"	"
	Ezhil Mevum Kanirasame!	"	"
N.8376	*Nityanandathai- Karaharapriya* Pt.1	Tamil Vocal with violin and tanpura	Sm. Vaidehi Vijayaraghavan
	Nityanandathai- Karaharapriya Pt.2	"	"
N.8459	*Varum Deva*	Eastern/Western (music-hall!)	Dr A.J. Pandian
	Unnaikori	"	"
N.8554	*Ma Ramana Gopala*	Telugu Dance with banjo and harmonium	Miss Rajaratnam (Bezwada)
	Sringara Sudhakara	"	"

N.8933	*Gath-Gowd-Sarang	Orchestral	Bangalore Studio Orchestra
	*Orchestral Overture [record damaged]	"	"
N.8941	*Mee Valla Guna Doshamemi? Kafi	"	Mysore Palace Indian Orchestra
	*Karuninchuta-Sindhumandari	"	"
N.8953	*Gath-Hindustani Tune	Instrumental [and vocal]	Mani & his Orchestra
	*Gath-Hindustani Tune [record damaged]	"	"
N.8957	*Ravichandrika*Raga	Orchestral (Carnatic)	Moni & his Orchestra
	*Todi Raga	"	"
N.8999	*from "Chenchulakshmi" (Tamil Nadu Talkies)	Orchestral Rumba Medley	H.M.V. (Madras) Studio Orchestra, R.N. Chinniah & C.R. Subburaman (Music)
	*from "Chenchulakshmi"	Orchestral Temple Dance	"
N.18133	*from "Savithiri" (Rayal Talkies Distributors)	Tamil Song Hit "	M.S. Subbulakshmi "
	*from "Savithiri"	"	"
N.18134	*from "Savithiri"	"	"
	*from "Savithiri"	"	"
N.18229	*[Indian script]	Tamil Vocal	Sm. N.C. Vasanthakokilam
	*"	"	"
N.95128	*Aandiyanathenna Aarumuga	Tamil Basic Devotional	T.M. Soundararajan, N.S. Chidambaram (lyric)
	*Innamum.Thiruvullame	"	T.M. Soundararajan, Thamizh Azhagan (lyric)
N.95310	*Karuvinuruvagi (Thiruppugazh)	Tamil Basic Devotional	A.R. Ramani Ammal, T.A. Kalyanam (music)
	*Senapathe Namostuthe	"	" Uthakadu Venkata Subbiah (lyric)
Jod.71 (N.18817)	*Kaddhanuvariki-Thodi Pt.1 (Thyagaraja)	Sri Thyagaraja Centenary Special Release Telugu	Sm. N.C. Vasanthakokilam
	*Kaddhanuvariki-Thodi Pt.2	"	"

Label: Columbia

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer
GE.1	*Sanyasam-Sanmargam (Saveri) Pt.1	Tamil with Violin and Mirdhangam	Sangeetha Vidwan S.V. Subbiah Bagavathar
	*Sanyasam-Sanmargam (Saveri) Pt.2	"	"
GE.9	*Sringara-Lahari (Neelamberi) Pt.1	Telugu with Violin and Mirdhangam	"
	*Sringara-Lahari (Neelamberi) Pt.2	"	"
GE.66	*Anbe Aramudha (comic)	Tamil Comic Song with Mirdhangam	Buffoon Shanmugan
	*Manmatha Pujayile (Kilikanni) [record damaged]	" " " and Harmonium	"
GE.92	*Aubi-Arun-Malintha (Byag) Pt.1	Tamil with Violin, Thabula, and Harmonium	Malabar Star Master Gul Mohammed
	*Aub-Arun-Malintha (Byag) Pt.2	"	"
GE.120	*Ambika-Namasthe (Yemuna Kalyani)	"	"
	*Andha-Mihuntha-Mugunthan-Maruhone (Kapi)	"	"
GE.134	*Swararaga Sutha (Sankarabharanam) Pt.1	Telugu Instrumental Nagaswaram with Thaval	Thiruvazhimilali Subramaniam Bros. with Needamangalam Meenakshisundaram Pillai
	*Swararag Sutha (Sankarabharanam) Pt.2	"	"
GE.143	*Nithisala Sukama (Kalyani)	Telugu Male Vocal with Violin and Mirdhangam	Veeriah Chowdry (Guntur)
	*Mandayanalugoodi (Sahana)	"	"

GE.290	*Komalame (Hindustan Tune)-Dasavatharam*	Tamil Vocal with Harmonium and Dhabala	T.K.S. Sundarappa, and Misses M.R. Santhanalakshmi, and M.K. Sitalakshmi
	*Kannana Kanmanthal (Hindustan Tune)- Dasavatharam [poor sound]	"	" " " and K.N. Karunakaran
GE.378	*Enimel Avarkum (Bhairavi) Pt.1	Tamil Vocal with Violin and Mirdhangam	Ramchandra Rao (Bangalore)
	*Enimel Avarkum (Bhairavi) Pt.2	"	"
GE.593	*Meru Samana (Mayamalava Gowla)	Male Telugu Instrumental Violin	T. Chowdiah (Mysore)
	*Kalaharana Melara (Sudda Saveri)	"	"
GE.767	*Manasa Sri Ramachandra (Esa Manohari) [record damaged]	Telugu Violin Instrumental	T. Chowdiah (Mysore)
	*Tholinenu Jeyu (Kokila Dhwani) [record damaged]	"	"
GE.804	*Evar Pol	Tamil	Srimathi S.D. Subbalakshmi (M.U.A. Corp.)
	*Sothanai Thahathiah	"	"
GE.836	*Gnana Chandra Prabai (Ragamalika) Pt.1 from Vel Pictures Film "Kamber"	Tamil Vocal	S.V. Subbiah Bagavathar
	*Gnana Chandra Prabai (Ragamalika) Pt.2	"	"
GE.839	*Gagana Prema Gamana (Mizra Mand)	Female Canarese Vocal	Srimathi Rajam Pushpavanam
	*Namurala Kim (Devagandhari)	Female Telugu Vocal	"
GE.878	*Thadukavendam Penne	Male Tamil Vocal	S.V. Subbiah Bhagavathar
	*Velayillathu	"	"
GE.6032	*from "Sathi Sukanya" Sri Menakshi Film Co.	Tamil Film Hits	Kali N. Ratnam and C.T. Rajakantham
	*"	"	Kali N. Ratnam
GE.6124	*Hara Hara	Tamil	Sangeetha Subrumania Pillay
	*Unnai Charan	"	"

GE.6161	*Intha Paramugham (Peerva Kalyani)	Tamil	D.K. Pattammal
	*Ninaippatheppothu (Nadanama Kriya)	"	"
GE.6174	*Kalitheerumo	"	Kumari Shyamala
	*Kanamal	"	"
GE.6175	*Jananee Janaka	Violin and Mridangam	Mysore T. Chowdiah and Palghat Mani (Mridangam)
	*Rama Nannu	"	"
GE.6200	*Sivanda Padathal Pt.1	Tamil	Korthamangalam Seenu
	*Sivanda Padathal Pt.2	"	"
GE.6467	*from "Miss Malini" Pt. 1	Tamil Film Hits	[?]
	*" Pt.2	"	"
GE.6623	*from "Pavalakodi"	Tamil Film Songs	M.L. Vasanthakumari
	*"	"	" and Party
GE.6705	*Provabarama (Bahudari)	Instrumental Violin	Mysore T. Chowdiah
	*Gandhi Gandhi (Canada)	"	"
DSE.60 (GE. 27062)	*from "Syamala" [record damaged]	Tamil Film Songs with Veena	M.K. Thiagaraja Bagavathar and V. Raghavan (Veena)
	*" [record damaged]	"	"
GCE.28 (GE. 6068)	*from "Kannagi" Jupiter Pictures and Salem Shanmuga Films [record damaged]	Tamil Film Hits	[?]
	*"	"	"
LBE 7	*Ghandi-Yo-Parama-Ezhai-Sanyasi (Sindhu-Bhairavi)	Tamil Vocal with Violin and Tabala	Miss K.B. Sundarambal (Kodumudi)
	*Alolamenru-Kuvinal (Kamas)	"	"
LBE 93	*Vettatha Chakkaram (Hamsadwani)	Tamil Male Vocal	Tirupugazh Mani
	*Konthavizh Charan Charan (Hamsadwani)	"	"
LBE 99	*Vamsi Vibhushitakarath (Ananda Bhairavi)	"	"
	*Oru Manai Karathil Vaithu (Vasantha)	"	"
VE 4	*Thanam (Ragamalika) Pt.1	Tamil Instrumental Veena and Mirdhangam	Miss M. Kamambal (Madura)
	*Thanam (Ragamalika) Pt.2	"	"

CA 1306	*from *Seva Sadan* Pt.1 by Madras United Artistes Co.	Tamil Film Hits	M.S. Subbulakshmi
	*from *Seva Sadan* Pt.2	"	"

Label: Odeon

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer
CA 712	*Uddukkavo (Ragamalika)	Tamil	R. Brahadambal (Madras)
	*Chittam Irangavilayo (Sriranjini)	"	"
CA 1119	*from "Vipra Narayana" Pt.1 Tamil Talkie by Madras Sound Studios. Ltd., and Sri Gopalakrishna Films Ltd.	Tamil Song Hits	[?]
	*from "Vipra Narayana" Pt.2	"	"
CA 1157	*from "Nanda Kumar" Pt.1 Tamil Talkie by Pragati Pictures Ltd.	Tamil Song Hits	T.R. Mahalingam and Radha
	*from "Nanda Kumar" Pt.2	"	Radha
CA 1161	*Swathantharajothi	Tamil	N.P. Abdul Khader Madura
	*Kallarakkan	"	"
CA 1263	*Chithamidhuvo [poor sound recording]	"	S. Sundarakamakshi Karaikal
	*Dhinamum Ninai [poor sound recording]	"	"
CA 1414	*from "Thiruvalluvar" Famous Talkie Release	Tamil Film Hits	Thirunelveli Papa and Serukalathur Sama
	*from "Thiruvalluvar"	"	Thirunelveli Papa
Ca 1416	*from "Thiruvalluvar" Famous Talkie Release	Tamil Film Hits	M. Lakshmanan and Lakshmi
	*from "Thiruvalluvar"	"	M. Lakshmi

Label: The Twin

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer
F.T.3196	*Puzzle Record	Telugu Song	[?]
	*"	"	"
F.T.6226	*Intha Sowkhyamani-Kafi	Telugu Vocal Classical	T.A. Nagaswamy Bhagavatar
	*Ennaga Manasuku-Neelambari	"	"
F.T.6242	*Sarva Lokathipa	Tamil Vocal Christian Lyric	Gnanasekran R. Joseph
	*Potruvomo-Pilu	"	"

F.T.6450	*Pt.1 Katcheri Set *Era Napai-Todi Varnam*	Katcheri [?]	Sriman Lakshminarayana Iyer (Tanjore)
	*Pt.2 *Emani-Mukhari*	"	"
F.T.6451	*Pt.3 Katcheri Set *Paralokabhaya-Mandari*	"	"
	*Pt.4 *Paramukha Melara? -Surati*	"	"
F.T.6452	*Pt.5 Katcheri Set *Ninuvina Gati-Kalyani* Pt.1	"	"
	*Pt.6 *Ninuvina Gati-Kalyani* Pt.2	"	"
F.T.6453	*Pt.7 Katcheri Set *Narasimha Devara*	"	"
	*Pt.8 *Ramanama Bhajisi*	"	"
F.T.6454	*Pt.9 Katcheri Set *Raghavanai Kanada-Kambhoji*	"	"
	*Pt.10 Katcheri Set *Pathi Mathi Nithi-Tiruppugazh*	"	"
F.T.6455	*Pt.11 Katcheri Set *Kommaro Vani-Javali-Kamach*	"	"
	*Pt.12 *Kavadi Chindu & Mangalam*	"	"
F.T.6480	*Sree Venugopala-Kuranji* Pt.1	Sanskrit Vocal	Sriman T.A. Nagaswami Bhagavatar
	Sree Venugopala-Kuranji Pt.2	"	"
F.T.6487	*Mahadava! Maha Deva!	Tamil Vocal	Sm. P.S. Chinnadorai
	*Koor Vadivel	"	"
F.T.6525	*Ennilum Avalenna-Behag	Tamil Vocal Classical	Sm. Janaki Ammal
	*Enta Rani Tana-Kamas	"	"
F.T.6526	*Kaladiyil Vandu-Dhanyasi	"	Sangeetham Lakshminarayana Iyer
	Kadaikan Partha-Yadukula Kambhoji	"	"
F.T.6790	*Poonaikan Rendu	Tamil Comic	P.S. Velu Pillay
	*Mathe Unakke Varmam	"	"
F.T.6830	*Sollu Thatha Gandhi Thatha*	Tamil National	S.K. Ponnambalam
	*Parum Porul Thunai	Tamil Devotional	"
F.T.6933	*Madhavane Arul Maniye	Tamil Christian Lyric	Luruduswamy
	*Pesum Daivam	"	"

F.T.6939	*Marivere Dikkevarayya* Pt.1	Telugu Classical	Shanmukhapriya Vidwan Semmangudi Srinivasa Iyer
	Marivere Dikkevarayya Pt.2	"	"

Label: Broadcast

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer
B 2071	*Dharidharpuleka-Saveri*	Telugu [?]	Thayappa & Son
	Vaddanina[?]-Hind Kafi [record damaged]	"	Thayappa
B 2418	*Pt.1 Drama Set *Radha Kalyanam*	Drama [?]	[?]
	*Pt.2 Drama Set *Radha Kalyanam*	"	"
B 2419	*Pt.3 Drama Set *Radha Kalyanam*	"	"
	*Pt.4 Drama Set *Radha Kalyanam*	"	"
B 2420	*Pt.5 Drama Set *Radha Kalyanam*	"	"
	*Pt.6 Drama Set *Radha Kalyanam*	"	"
B 2421	*Pt.7 Drama Set *Radha Kalyanam*	"	"
	*Pt.8 Drama Set *Radha Kalyanam*	"	"
BN 2080	*Thainattikke Uzhaika-Bilahari*	Tamil [?]	Miss Ratnambal
	Entha Vithamai Sahipen-Kalyani	"	"
GR 2118	*Ahimsa* Set Pt.3 [record damaged]	Tamil [?]	Buffoon Shanmugam
	Ahimsa Set Pt.4	"	"
GR 2408	*Sangita Gnanamu-Dhanyasi* Pt.1	Violin Solo	Rajamanickam Pillai
	Sangita Gnanam-Dhanyasi	"	"
GR 2417	*Pt.10 [?] Set *Tirichirai Giriyan-Senjuruti*	[?]	Kalyanarama Iyer
	*Pt.11 [?] Set *Enru Thaniyum-Ragamalika*	"	"
GR 2443	*O Jagadamba Anandi Bhairavi* Pt.1	[?]	M.S. Subbulakshmi
	O Jagadamba Anandi Bhairavi	"	"
R 4040	*Nonduvandhen Indru* Pt.1	[?]	Srimathi K. Kochammal
	Nonduvandhen Indru Pt.2	"	"

G 2437	*Katcheri Set Pt.1 *Chalamela-Sankarabharanam*	Katcheri	Chembai Vaidyanatha Bhagavatar
	*Katcheri Set Pt2 *Bhajanaseyave-Kedaram*	"	"
G 2438	*Katcheri Set Pt.3 *Nijamarmamulanu-Umabharanam*	"	"
	*Katcheri Set Pt.4 *Yelavataramu-Mukhari*	"	"
G 2439	*Katcheri Set Pt.5 *Ragam-Thodi*	"	"
	*Katcheri Set Pt.6 *Thanam*	"	"
G 2440	*Katcheri Set Pt.1 [7] *Oraru Mukhane-Pallavi-Thodi*	"	"
	*Katcheri Set Pt.2 [8] *Oraru Mukhane-Pallavi*	"	"
G 2441	*Katcheri Set Pt.9 *Venaimulai*	"	"
	*Katcheri Set Pt.10 *Venimoolee*	"	"
G 2442	*Katcheri Set Pt.11 *Kommarovaniki-Javali-Kamas*	"	"
	*Katcheri Set Pt.12 *Tirupugal & Mangalam*	"	"

Label: Hutchins

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer
SN 33	*Pattu Pulavaikari	Tamil Comic Song	Miss N.S. Ratnambal & Party
	*Kanmaniya Unusi	"	"
SN 104	*Thillai Veliyile Nandanar	Tamil Song	Sangeetha Vidwan Maharajapuram Visvanatha Iyer
	*Thiruvadi Saranam Khamboji	"	"
SN 445	*Vathapiganapathim Hamsadvani Pt.1	Orchestra	Mysore Concert Party
	*Vathapiganapathim Hamsadvani Pt.2	"	"
SN 454	*Rama Ragukula	Telugu	Srimathi Nagamani Vizianagram
	*Prowdageetha Sastra	"	"
SN 507	*Orumadamathu (P Varali) Pt.1 "Pattinathar"	Tamil	M.M. Dandapani Desigar
	*Orumadamathu (P Varali) Pt.2 "Pattinathar"	"	"
SN 525	*Baktha Bikshamiyyave Pt.1 Sankarabaranam	Telugu	Hamsaveni Sisters
	*Baktha Bikshamiyyave Pt.2 Sankarabaranam	"	"

Label: Young India[174]

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer
MP 643	*Thillai Eesanai	Tamil	[?]
	*Ananda Nadarajan	"	"

Label: Indian National Congress Special Election Record

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer
CJ 1	*Congress Golden Jubilee Song Pt.1	National Song with Introduction	Srimati K.B. Sunderambal, S. Satyamurti (introduction)
	*Congress Golden Jubilee Song Pt.2	"	"
CJ 2	*Congress Election Speech Pt.1	National Speech	S. Satyamurthy
	*Congress Election Song Pt.2	National Song	Musiri Subramania Iyer

Part 5: 12" Records - Indian Artists' Recordings in India

Label: Columbia

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer
BEX 1	*[illegible]	Tamil with Violin and Tabala	Miss K.B. Sundarambal (Kodumudi)
	*"	"	"
BEX 2	*Ragam Alapana (Kambhoji)	Telugu Instrumental Flute with Violin and Mirdhangam	Star and Venugana Sigamani Palladam Sanjeeva Rao
	*Evarimata (Kambhoji)	"	"

Label: Odeon

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer
ES 2	*Ne Padamule Gathi Bhairavi	Telugu Vocal	Sangeetha Vidwan T. Ramanuja Iyengar (Ariyakudi)
	*Rarama Intidake Asaveri	"	"

Label: His Master's Voice

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer
HT 56	*Iniyethu Emmakkunarul (Ragamalika)	Tamil Song	Miss M. Lokanayaki (Madras)
	*Enpallikondeerayya (Moanam)	"	"
HT 100	*Raga Alapana (Kambhoji)	Instrumental Violin	B.S. Puttappa (Bangalore)
	*Pallavi (Parimala Rangapathe) [record damaged]	"	"
HT 125	*Radha Samaetha-Misra Yaman	Sanskrit with Violin and Mirdhangam	G.N. Balasubramaniam
	*Himagirithanayae Suddh Danyama	"	"

Label: Broadcast

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer
B 2024	*Margazhi Madam	Tamil Vocal Duet	S.V. Subbiah Bagavathar and G. Subbier
	*Nanda Nee Sivabakthan	"	"
RT 4002	*[illegible] [poor sound]	[illegible]	Chembai Vaidyanatha Bagavathar
	*" [poor sound - abridged]	"	"
GT 4057 (Speed 82!)	*Kanakasabai Thirunadanam-Surati	Tamil	"
	*Ithuthano Thillai Sthalam-Behag	"	"

Table No.2: Kit Mewalal Somaru Record Collection

Part 1: Indian Artists' Recordings in India 78 r.p.m.

Label: Young India

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer/ Composer
DA 5706	*[Indian script]	[?]	Miss Sitara
	*"	"	"
DA 5891	*"	"	Niranjandev Nirmal
	*"	"	"

DA 6081	*[Indian script]	[?]	Krishnarao and Sitara
	*"	"	Sitara Begum
DA 6209	*Kaniz Bai	Hindi Song	Allahabad
	*[illegible]	"	"
YI 1114 (Shalimar)(Release)	*Kaisi Khushi Ki He Raat from "Nagina"	Hindustani Film Song	Manorma
	*Ek Sitara Hae Akash Me from "Nagina"	"	Kumar
YI 1123 (Shalimar) (Release)	*Jabse Balam GHar Aye from "Awaara"	Hindustani Film Song	Manorma
	*Awaara Hoo'n from "Awaara"	"	Kumar

Label: Regal

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer/ Composer
RI 1278	*[Indian script]	Hindi Song	[illegible]
	*"	"	"

Label: Star Hindustani Record

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer/ Composer
H.5042	*[Indian script]	Hindi Song	Master Alladin and Party
	*"	"	"

Label: National

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer/ Composer
NR 6024	*[Indian script]	Hindi	Pt. Nathuram Shirma Hathras Party
	*"	"	"

Label: Shahenshahi

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer/ Composer
NO.3209	*[Indian script]	[?]	Benarsi Chorus Girls
	*"	"	"

Label: National

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer/ Composer
NR 15042	*[illegible]	Hindustani	Manorma and Dran
	*"	"	Surojini and Chorus

Label: His Master' Voice 78 r.p.m.

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer/ Composer
SAD.576 (N.52334)	*from the film "Mother India"	Hindustani	Lata Mangeshkar, and Manna Dey
	*"	"	"
N.5822	*Rajkumari	Hindustani Orchestral	Hindustani W. Prakash Orchestra
	*"	"	"
N.15772	*from the film "Bhabi"	Hindustani Film Orchestral	Renukadevi
	*"	"	"
N.26076	*from the film "Roti"	Hindustani Film	Ashraf Khan & Chorus
	*"	"	"
N.25652	*from the film "Madari" Mohan	Hindustani Film	[illegible]
	*"	"	"
N.35852	*[illegible]	[illegible]	Premlata and Satish, Uma Devi and Batra, and Vinod
	*"	"	"
N.35853	*[illegible]	[illegible]	Premlata and Batra, Premlata and Satish, and Vinod
	*"	"	"
N.35854	*from the film Tara	Hindustani Film	Geeta Roy, Premlata and Batra, and Vinod
	*"	"	"
P.10568	*[Indian script]	Quawali [Qawwali]	Fakhre Alam Quawali
	*"	"	"

Label: Awaz

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer/ Composer
MQ 788	*[Indian script]	Quwali [Qawwali]	Master Babu Wala, composed by Firoz Jullandhari, A. Khan Merathi
	*"	"	"

Label: The Twin

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer/ Composer
FT.3124	*[Indian script]	Hindustani Drama	The Twin Dramatic Party
	*"	"	"
FT.3125	*"	"	"
	*"	"	"
FT.3126	*"	"	"
	*"	"	"
FT.3127	*"	"	"
	*"	"	"
FT.3128	*"	"	"
	*"	"	"
F.T.3909	*Pati-Bhakti* Part 1	Hindi Drama	Twin Dramatic Party, composed by Shamsher Bahadur
	Pati-Bhakti Part 2	"	"
F.T.3910	*Pati-Bhakti* Part 3	"	"
	Pati-Bhakti Part 4	"	"
F.T.3911	*Pati-Bhakti* Part 5	"	"
	Pati-Bhakti Part 6 [record damaged]	"	"
FT.4356	*[Indian script]	Hindustani Song	Lachhi Ram
	*"	"	"
FT.4448	*Iswar Bhakti* Part 1	Hindi Drama	Twin Dramatic Party
	Iswar Bhakti Part 2	"	"
FT.44449	*Iswar Bhakti* Part 3	"	"
	Iswar Bhakti Part 4	"	"
FT.4450	*Iswar Bhakti* Part 5	"	"
	Iswar Bhakti Part 6	"	"
FT.4503	*[Indian script]	Hindustani Song	Nargis
	*"	"	"
FT.4559	*Shravan Kumar* Part 1	Hindi Drama	Twin Dramatic Party
	Shravan Kumar Part 2	"	"
FT.4560	*Shravan Kumar* Part 3	"	"
	Shravan Kumar Part 4	"	"

FT.4616	*[Indian script]	Hindustani Song	Master Lachi Ram
	*"	"	"
FT.4821	*"	Hindi Arati	Matri Sevak-Sevika-Dal, music by Master Brij Lall Varma
	*"	"	"
FT.4822	*"	Hindi Sketch	Twin Dramatic Party
	*	"	"
FT.7548	*"	Hindustani	[illegible]
	*"	"	"
FT.7939	*"	"	"
	*"	"	"
FT.12114	*"	"	"
	*"	"	"
FT.13990	*"	Hindi Lachari	"
	*"	"	"

Part 2: S.A. Artists' Recordings in S.A. 78 r.p.m.

Label: Shalimar

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer/ Composer
H 705	*Daga Kar Devi	"	Maya Devi, Ramchandra, composed by "Musavvir"
	*Marte the Ham	"	"
H 710	*Maidan-E-Mohabbat	Hindustani	Ramchandra, composed by "Farooki" ["Farooqi"]
	*Kahan Se Lawoon	"	"
H 716	*Dilko Jalane Wale	" Hindustani Rhumba	Zureen, Buxson, composed by "Farooqi"
	*Mae Thoom Ko Bhool Jawoon	" Hindustani Tango	"
H 720	*Ulfath Me Dilko	*Filmi Dunya* Hindustani Quick Step	Naushad, Buxson, composed by "Farooqi"
	*Mun Rotha He	" Hindustani Waltz	"

Part 3: Indian Artists' Recordings in India 33⅓ r.p.m.

Label: His Master's Voice

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer/ Composer
JDLP 12008	*from the film *"Tere Char Ke Samne"*	Hindustani	Lata Mangeshkar, Asha Boshle & Chorus, Mohd. Rafi, and Nav Ketan
JDLP1 12009	*from the film *"Sangeet Samrat Tansen"*	Music of Tansen Hindustani	Mohd. Rafi, Lata Mangeshkar, Manna Dey, and Mahendra Kapoor
JDLP1 12017	*from the film *"Beti Bete"*	Hindustani	Mohd. Rafi, Lata Mangeshkar, Asha Bhosle, and Suman Kalyanpur

The first Indian film seems to have come to South Africa in 1937, starting to bring, with its arrival, the "era of live drama" to an end.[175] Although drama continued to contribute to performance practice, its incidence, style, and status changed radically. These early films had not yet taken on the Hollywood character of later years, when the influence of the British Raj, and subsequently, the American dollar, resulted in *filmi geeto* (film music) taking on a three-chord crooner style; therefore, initially, they gave impetus to the development of Indian folk and classical music here. The first music-orientated Indian film, as opposed to one or two earlier "jungle" films, was called *Seva Sadanan* (Columbia CA 1306 Madras United Artistes Co.; see Table No.1 for excerpts from this film) and the

leading singer-actress was M.S. Soobalukshmi.[176] It was shown at the Mayville Theatre, Bellair Rd. A.G. Pillay describes the response:

> People went in their hundreds... for the first time they are seeing a trained Indian person singing and acting. She had a very pleasing voice and personality. It was very catchy even for the person who didn't know music, just to see. And thereafter the young ones who could play... they tried, they sang, they bought the record, they put it on over and over again. And I was one of them till that record was worn off by the needle.[177]

The extent to which Govindasamy Pillay and his circle were influenced by these early films is expressed in the following letter excerpt:

> and your visits to those two celebrated film-stars, Thyagaraja Bhagavathar and my idol T.R. Nahalingum. My! my! I indeed envy you. How fortunate were you to meet that famous personality and brilliant star T.R. Nahalingum. And how may I ask do you have the audacity and impertinence to malign my idol so?[178]

The film craze did not however really reach its climax of obsession for South African Indian youth until the mid-1950s. Indeed, the film phenomenon did not affect all Indians in South Africa as it was out of reach for the many who lived in outlying areas. Some had their first experience of film in the late 1950s. Thus, indocentric cultural practices would seem to have continued longer in the rural areas. Performance conventions found in Indian film have increasingly dominated the live

performance practices of Indian South Africans. This influence was starkly demonstrated at the 1987 Folk Dances of India competition hosted by the Indian Academy of South Africa, where many examples were included which clearly had been imitated directly from video versions of films. Though they might have folk roots, these films are so highly modified as to be redolent of contemporary popular rather than ancient peasant culture.

Edward J. Govindaswami 1920-1948: Classical Music Beginnings: Symbol of National and Social Status

Edward Govindaswami continued his personal collection and study of books on music and Tamil literature throughout the twenties. For instance, he received Vidwan K.V. Srinivasa Aiyangar's Sri Tyagaraja Hridayam Vols. 1 and 2 in 1923. He only managed to acquire Vol. 3 in 1947. These volumes consist of the works of Tyagaraja Swami.[179] On 24 September 1926 he received Psalms of a Saiva Saint by T. Isaac Tambyah, selections from the writings of Tayumanaswamy translated into English with introduction and notes.[180] The author was Barrister-at-law, member of the Royal Asiatic Society (Orientalists) and a member of the Royal Society of

Literature. Despite being a collection of Saivite poetry, this book includes a commentary with references to Christ and continually makes comparisons with Christian philosophy.

In October 1930, after having spent much energy and time in equipping himself with the elementaries of Carnatic music and Tamil literature, and after having read Popley's book on Indian music, called The Music of India, Govindaswami wrote to Rev. H.A. Popley of the National Council Young Men's Christian Associations expressing a wish to study Indian music "by post". Popley's book is one of The Heritage of India Series, written "in this great day of national aspiration and progress... so that the educated Indian, and also the European, may be stirred to such a living interest in Indian music... as to start musical societies and schools...".[181] The reply acknowledged Govindaswami's enthusiasm, but cautioned him as to the difficulty of studying music by correspondence.

> With regard to studying it [Indian music] by post, I do not quite see how you can manage that. That is somewhat difficult.[182]

And so it was difficult, and limiting, but not impossible. Starting with material and information in the form of questions answered and books sent by Rev. Popley, Govindaswami went on to correspondence courses

by Professor Sambamoorthy of Madras University, and T. R. Visvanatha Sastri of Mayavuram, author of Keetha Tamil, which was a collection of the author's own vocal compositions.[183] These included early editions of the Sambamoorthy music tutors, A Practical Course in Karnatic Music Books I-IV.[184] Other books used by him after 1920 in his newly motivated search for an understanding of South Indian music and literature include S.K. Pillai's The Ancient Tamils as Depicted in Tholhappiyam Pomladiharamu Pt. 1, which is a biography and commentary in English on the poet of and the poetic themes in Tholhappiyam.[185] Govindaswami received this in 1936, at a time when he was most active in pursuing his programme of self-study. Although it is difficult to determine precisely which books were used by him at this time, it is known that of those that were available between 1930-1948, the most popular amongst immigrant settlers in English-speaking countries were the following, all in English:

	[pounds]		
South Indian Music, BooksI-IV	2	8	0
72 Melakarta Raga chart, separately	0	12	0
The Flute, a study with instructions for practice	1	0	0
South Indian Musical Instruments (Madras Government Museum Bulletin)	2	8	0
Indian Melodies in Staff Notation	0	2	0
Graha bheda Pradarsini: explaining the process of deriving scales by graha bheda	0	4	0
Graha bheda Pradarsini (Mode-shift-ton) instrument	40	0	0[186]

We also know that in 1940 Mr. Edward received, and made use of, K. Ramachundran Aiyar's The Grammar of Carnatic Music. This is described in the Fort St. George Gazette as "Being a Text Book of Varnams for Class Use."[187] In 1946 he acquired E. Krishna Aiyer's Personalities in Present-day Music.[188] This is a description of eighteen contemporary Carnatic musicians and Bharata Natyam dancers, and is considered to be an authority on late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century performance styles and critical standards. This status still applies; it is referred to in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians.[189]

Govindaswami sought authentic Indian instruments through his contacts abroad. For instance Sambamoorthy sent a left-handed flute to him on which he taught A.C. Naicker.

Without doubt, Govindaswami's greatest contribution lay in his didactic role in the thirties and forties, notwithstanding his influence as an accomplished performer. In 1937 he was instrumental in the inception of the Indian Eisteddfod, at which he adjudicated. As Chairman of the Durban South Indian Musical Society and the Natal Indian Musical Association, he did much to promote Carnatic music.[190] His influence was felt over

a wide spectrum of South African society due to his contacts with the Natal Anglican community as well as with descendants of South Indian families. In the thirties, for example, he gave a lecture/demonstration on Carnatic music at Howard College, in Durban, where he transcribed ragas into staff notation on the board, after which he explained and performed them.[191]

Amongst the many pupils tutored by him, the most prominent were S.P. Reddy, who was a music tutor and adjudicator at Tamil Vedic Society Eisteddfod, and Kalaimani A. Govindasamy Pillay who is a Tamil and Carnatic music scholar, music tutor, adjudicator, and violinist. It is significant, perhaps, that otherwise well-established musicians of a patently Hindu tradition should seek him out for his expertise in music theory and literature. For instance "Tabla" A. Govindsamy "went to Mr. Edward for talam theories, and South Indian theoretical terms."[192] Similarly, Kannu Govender, Mayville violinist and harmonium player, was a disciple of Mr. Edward. "Saturday Morning Mirror" announcer, J.R. Devar, used to sing Tyagaraga kritis accompanied by Govender in the forties, during the advent of Indian classical performance.[193]

The Overport South Indian Orchestra, led by A.M. Iyavoomurthi Pillay who worked for the City Police and City Engineers, was to some extent the result of Govindaswami's industry and enthusiasm; not only was Iyavoomurthi Mr. Edward's disciple, but the Honorary Patron of this orchestra was Sambamoorthy, which meant that some of Sambamoorthy's transcriptions were included in their repertoire. For example, the "Band" performed a "March" in *Garudadwani* raga by Professor Sambamdorthy on the occasion of the marriage between Krishnasamy Naidoo and T. Visalatchi Pillay, at Patel's Hall, Prince Edward Street, 16 June 1940. The programme, entitled a "Feast of Music", was arranged by Iyavoomurthi, "Gold Medallist", and presented performances by his pupils, P. Soobiah Pillay, M. Subramaniam Pillay, and the band. Works included vocal and instrumental items composed by Sekillar Swamigal, Veena Kuppiar, Tyagaraja Swami, Pattnam Subramani Iyer, Gangadhara Navalar, Jatiswaram, and "Selected".[194] This orchestra was very well respected as is revealed by the role it played in entertaining visiting Agent-Generals from India. Iyavamoorthi gained further prestige, and perhaps some music expertise, by his close association with Ramachandra Pulavar, visiting poet and musician.[195]

Further evidence of Sambamoorthy's influence on Indian music in South Africa through E.J. Govindaswami may be found in The Pietermaritzburg Indian Musical Society which was founded in 1945 largely as a result of the effort of Secretary and Treasurer, A.G. Govindasamy; the patron of the society was: P. Sambamurthi (Sambamoorthy) (B.A., B.L. Madras).[196] In retrospect, it seems that Mr. Edward was perceived by many other Indian South Africans as promoting a respectable cultural image of India and Indians in general. In his obituary, it was said of him: "His passing away deprives the community of the talent so badly needed to raise our prestige".[197]

Mr. Edward was recognised as a figurehead for many South African Indians. This was possible partly because of his universalist religious outlook.[198] Clearly, he functioned with equal comfort in the Anglican European tradition, and the Tamil neo-Hindu world. This brought him into close and unhostile contact with otherwise irreconcilably alienated parties.

His syncretic position also worked to his disadvantage, however, in that most of his contact with South Indian arts and language was perpetrated via a secondarily-acculturated medium. As we have seen, although much of the written material used by him in his course of

correspondence study was prepared by scholars of good standing by standards of the day, they were also the product either of acculturated Indians or British indologists, and reflected a strongly eurocentric and christocentric perception of Indian art forms. Traditional treatises on music, dance, and drama in vernacular appear not to have been available to him, but more important than this, perhaps, Edward Govindaswami was denied access to that most important key to the intimacies of Indian performance practice: the master, the purveyor of the subtleties of poetic interpretation, of the articulation of the *swarams*, of the innuendos of the gamakas, and of the tricks of technical facility. These, it appears, can only be achieved directly through the eye, the ear, and the emotions in an intimate and dedicated tutelage with a practising musician. Govindaswami never did go to India. Lacking the resources in his earlier life, and handicapped by long years of crippling illness in his later years, he sublimated his desire to study at the feet of a master by preparing others for just such an adventure, to the best of his considerable ability.

Early Music Tuition: A Case study

Arunachallem Govindasamy Pillay was born in Pietermaritzburg in 1924, the paternal grandson of Ayakanoo Pillay, a worker indentured to a farmer in Howick where he was employed to build and maintain farm sheds and other farm buildings. Ayakanoo had come to South Africa in the 1890s at the age of about twenty-five. He later settled in Pietermaritzburg as a freelance builder of houses and as a market gardener. There he was a founder member of the H.Y.M.A., and, as an experienced builder, he assisted in the building of the Siva Soobramaniar Temple in Longmarket Street and the Pietermaritzburg Aryan Benevolent Home. He was active in the temple where he attended C.V. Balakrishnan Pillay's song and study group in the waiter's common room, as he and the waiters were originally from Tanjore.

Govindasamy's paternal grandmother, Munniamah, had died young and, as small children, his father and uncles were taken care of by a group of Paddyachees and Govenders, ex-indentured market gardeners who ran the horse-driven carts "following the market" from the gardens in Longmarket Street. Three of these Paddyachees were accomplished Tamil scholars and were familiar with the

repertoire of Tamil songs which they taught to Govindasamy's father and uncles.

Appavu Pillay, Govindasamy's maternal grandfather was indentured to the Railway Police during the building of the railway at the Durban Point. He was also a Tamil master at the Point. He later became a market gardener at Wyebank and at Shallcross. Govindasamy's maternal grandmother was a Chetty, an indentured worker from a merchant family.

Arunachallem, Govindasamy's father, was born in Pietermaritzburg, educated at St. Anthony's Mission school up to Standard IV, the highest grade offered, becoming well versed in Tamil and English. He was a waiter at the Norfolk hotel 1922-1928, after which he served as barman at the Watson Hotel for the rest of his life. He became active in the drama presentations of the twenties and early thirties and was an avid collector of drama and music records from the twenties. His collection was fairly unique in this country as it had a substantial proportion of very selectively chosen classical records; recordings of some of the "great" musicians of the nineteenth-century performing tradition.[199] He also had in his possession a priceless book of Tamil tevarams and kritis.[200] Geetha

Amirthasaram (translated = nectar of songs) was published in Madras in 1897. Govindasamy speculates that this was acquired by his grandfather as a result of his grandfather's association with C.V. Balakrishnan Pillay. One of Govindasamy's paternal uncles was a violinist and the other, A. Aroomugam, became a Tamil and English teacher. Tholsie Pillay, Govindasamy's mother was born at the Point. She was a keen singer, but sang only in the home. Her sister, however, Andal (née Pillay), was the first South African Indian Tamil woman to sing and act on the stage. She was partnered at times by R.B. Chetty, a well-known dramatist.

Govindasamy was educated under Scottish masters at St. Paul's School, Pietermaritzburg, opposite which the family lived. Later, he attended the Woodlands High School, where A.J. Anderson, the principal, was also from Scotland. Other teachers were De Wet, who taught Afrikaans, and Livingstone, Science subjects. Govindasamy remembers participating in plays from the Ramayanam, translated into English, and produced by Philip Seethal, the headmaster. Music was provided when required by Lawrence Barnabas, later to become the conductor of the 1946 "English" band, the "Say Swingsters", featuring Joseph Peters, grandson of a waiter from India. Barnabas accompanied the school

music activities on piano or violin. "Eastern concerts" were presented in 1932/1933 in St. Paul's church hall by Moses Abraham. In Standard VII, at the age of fourteen, Govindasamy discovered that he could no longer concentrate on general academic work:

> I felt that something was missing. As I am, I feel that something is missing. Being an Indian, I don't qualify to call myself an Indian. That was the thing. I'm asking the question "As an Indian, what do I know about the Indians? Their culture, their language - I don't know!"[201]

In 1939, during the Second World War, feeling disillusioned with the educational facilities available to him, he left school to work at Eddel's Boot Factory, one of the few industrial outlets available to Pietermaritzburg Indians at the time. The only other financially viable form of employment was waitering. At the same time, he studied for the National Junior Certificate at the Technical College. But more important than this, perhaps, at least for his development as a musician, was his informal exposure to music and his family-centred tuition. As a small child Govindasamy remembers dreaming about the violin, and he asked for a toy violin at a very tender age. As the eldest son, it was his job to wind the gramophone and change the records on Sunday mornings after temple when his father's friends came to visit. In 1935, as an eleven-year-old, he started to take part in the dramas, under

the skilful tuition of Teacher Anthony, who taught him how to sing the songs in vernacular languages. It was this more than anything that awakened his interest in Indian music, language, and drama. At public performances he narrated stories, recited poems, sang, and improvised. He considered this phase of his education to be so significant that he has kept his costume to this day, hoping, (in vain as it turned out) that perhaps one of his sons would have made some use of it. At this time, Govindasamy says, Pietermaritzburg was a hive of activity, where many forms of popular culture were represented. By comparison, Durban "had nothing".

On 12 May 1937 Govindasamy decided to study music seriously. He remembers the time vividly because it was the time of King George VI's Coronation. He frequently took his father's supper to the hotel where his father worked. In order to get there, he walked past the music stores, Reid's, Kemp's, and Mackay Brothers, all of which had violins displayed in the window. On this day, at the age of thirteen, Govindasamy had his first violin lesson after having received his first violin and some very elementary tuition in Tamil notation from his maternal uncle, Appavu Kannah Pillay, who was no longer

musically active. It was just a student violin, but he used to play on his own, listen to the records, and try to play again.

> I could set the bow and my finger on the fingering board. There was something there. I used to play to 11, 12 o'clock. They used to get fed up at home. My father didn't mind. He knew and my mother too.... Well I used to play, look through books and through music. Couldn't get anywhere!- without a master! I knew there was something wrong. I said "This is not music!"

For a very short period he had violin lessons with Juganathan Moodley who was a designer of lady's shoes. He paid 5/- per month for this tuition, but found that there was nothing new for him in the information on offer.

In about 1937 Govindasamy met C.R. Warriner, organiser of the Indian Music Eisteddfod and chairman of the Natal Music Association. He was able to give some information about Indian music, but it was "just elementary". Of more use was the meeting with S.P. Reddy in 1944 who was tutoring about twelve young girls of the Tamil Women's Association in Durban. Their band, called Vani Vilasa, was very popular at weddings and parties, and it was on the occasion of a performance at a wedding in Pietermaritzburg that Govindasamy met Reddy. Reddy transcribed Indian ragas and talas into Western staff

notation, from which scores the women would play directly. Reddy was a type-setter at the Mercantile printing press.

> He taught them music in uniformity with the notes, by having the music sheets. He knew just to transpose from the Indian to the English staff notation but he wasn't able to play, but he could talk theoretically, to set out the music.

S.P. Reddy, principal and tutor of the School of South Indian Music, Durban, and Edward Govindaswami's caller and pupil, realised that Govindasamy's appetite and capacity for music was beyond his ability and experience. He undertook therefore to introduce him to Edward Govindaswami (Mr. Edward) with the result that Govindasamy began to study with Mr. Edward in Durban in 1943. Mr. Edward had been a schoolmaster in English at St. Aidan's Mission at Overport. He was ageing at the time. He said:

> "I see your heart and soul is in music so I'm prepared to teach you if you come to Durban." So I travelled from Maritzburg every week and the taxi fare was 5/-; it was during the last war. He used to expect me on Friday nights, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. We sat down, we didn't know how the time went. Our teas would come in quietly, no disturbance. He had two sons who were fine musicians, English, they played English. We used to compare. Now I couldn't do the English staff notation part of it.

In response to questioning about the need for an understanding of staff notation, Govindasamy said:

> It is useful.... Well being a South African he thought it would be useful. And I didn't pay a lot of attention [to it]. Mr. Edward taught me the Trinities, Syama Sastri, Tyagaraja Swami, and Muttuswami Diksitar. These are the works they specialise in in the universities in India. He started me. When I heard him play, I couldn't sleep, you know that perfection, the difference. I couldn't sleep - I suppose it was worth it. At that time things were bad. I was attending Tech. [Pietermaritzburg Technical College] and working together. I did it [learning the music] studiously. He said "These are the exercises we've got and the bowing technique". One day he said "I see you are interested in music, but that is not all, what about your language?" I am a lover of the English language, the grammar, the literature, the poetry, Shakespeare, Coleridge, Tennyson. At that time that was something natural. And yet I didn't like the Tamil language at that stage. It was something that was sour, bitter. My father clouted me for not going to Tamil school... it was just phonetic, parrot fashion. When my father questioned me I said, "They are not teaching me the proper way. Because when I am at the English school they teach me the forming of the words, the subject, predicates, adjectives, but they are not telling us, it's something different." My mother intervened. "When he wants it he will go and look for it."

When it was suggested that Govindasamy had learnt Tamil as a foreign language, despite the fact that it was his parents' home language, he said:

> Yes. We are **here**! We haven't the facilities. We are not brought up in that way. And I was interested in the true music, where we can talk about it, where it is not just a smattering of music for pastime or entertainment, but the true art of it. We enjoyed it although there were barely a dozen people who would appreciate that music. Mr. Edward says "I'll teach you Tamil. I'll teach you through the English medium". He always quoted G.U. Pope and H.A. Popley, both missionaries who translated some of the richest literature in the Tamil language which is very complex. He used to go to the

> [Gandhi] library in Queen Street to search for books and have them ready for me.

But generally Mr. Edward taught via the many books which had been sent to him through his contacts with Christian missionaries in England and India, and through his correspondence courses in India. One of these was H.A. Popley's The Music of India, about "music, the instruments, musicians, and he was drawing comparisons". Another was Popley's translation of Tiruvalluvar's sacred poetry, i.e. The Sacred Kural.[202] These are aphorisms in couplets which had been set to music as hymns.

> The beauty of the Tamil language is in the palatals, the dentals, and the nasals and you don't find that knowledge here. Mr. Govindaswami was the first one who told me all that. We used to read aloud. Most of our [South African] Indians here don't know their language. It's a tragedy! They spoke the colloquial language at home, but that is also dying very fast with the present generation. Although you meet some musicians they sing Tamil songs but they can not talk the language.

Through Mr. Edward, Govindasamy embarked on a study programme utilising the tutorial publications of Professor P. Sambamoorthy, Head of the Department of Indian Music, Queen Mary's College, Madras. The most useful books were found to be Syama Sastri and Other Famous Figures of South Indian Music, a history of Carnatic musicians, and A Practical Course in Karnatic Music, Books I - IV, "for beginners and for use in

schools", which included exercises varnams and pieces.[203] Amongst Sambamoorthy's works in English, the best-known is Indian Melodies in Staff Notation, specifically written "at the request of some lovers of Indian Music in Europe... in staff notation... which has become the universal language for music...". The author expresses his concern about the effects of the tempered scale, the absence of quarter-tones, and the requisite conventions of the *varak* singing style with its improvisation of embellishments. Inevitably, as was true of the works of many Indian university academics in the thirties, some elements of English idiom, suggesting a British educational background, had crept into Sambamoorthy's Tamil publications as well as in his English works. For instance, he refers to "musical compositions", "vocal forms", "instrumental forms", "art music", "music for operas and dance forms", "folk music", "vocalises", and "concert pieces", despite the otherwise fairly consistent use of Tamil language and Indian script.[204] It is also significant, perhaps, that in 1948, while studying in India, Govindasamy's master, Vidwan Needamangalam G. Krishnamurthi Iyer, saw a need to correct passages from the Sambamoorthy score, excerpts of which were being used for practice and for auditions by Govindasamy. Iyer considered them to be completely incorrect in places.

Imperfect though the circumstances were, these books and others served to familiarise local musicians with a theoretical perspective, a perspective keenly sought by an emerging intelligentsia who saw in the great classical tradition of India a means of acquiring a respectable national identity so far denied them in the country of their birth. Whilst studying classical music Govindasamy was being sought for his performing ability in the genre of popular music. Although his heart was not in it, he played "entertainment" music whilst always longing for "platform" music.

> All along I didn't like to play our Indian jazz. Because there was nothing to it. Just for the sake of playing I used to play it, you know, the little bhajans and all you hear. They don't need any skill, it's just straightforward.

As Govindasamy learnt the theory of music so he passed it on. In 1945 he became involved in tutoring the members of the Kalaivani Orchestra, free of charge. Although they were playing "entertainment" music, he was tutoring them in reading *saregama* notation. At the same time he was teaching members of the Mathar Sangam, the women's association of the Tamil Vedic Society. Neither of these groups had the ability to "improvise and add on and beautify the mood" but "it sounded nicely".

Govindasamy became increasingly dissatisfied with his limited music experiences and with what he considered to be the complacence of many local musicians.

> The majority of South African South Indian musicians don't practise the 12 Carnatic exercises. It's like trying to write a simple sentence without knowing the alphabet. They don't know what it is in the music alphabet, a sharp sound or a flat sound, they don't know the difference. If a person is singing a flat sound he imitates from the record, and his accompanist is not playing the flat, he's playing the sharp. It's concocted, it's not pure, and the melody is distorted. There's no precision there. If a flat note is played it must be bold and clear. You can't just skip over it; you've got to produce that note! And that's what they haven't got.... The vocalists don't practise their pitches, on their own, with a drone. What do they do? They lean on the accompanist. They say "You start off". That doesn't take place in India at all. The accompanist is meant to follow the singer. That is the major fault with our local musicians. It is cart before the horse. The accompanist is not a principle performer. He's got to just touch, fill in the sound, you don't have to play verbatim, note to note.

Although Govindasamy considers that he gained much experience from his participation in popular music he was really in search of that music which you can **"talk about"**; where the poet's symbolism in the song-text is given at least as much attention as the music. Due to the strong influence of imported recorded music, he felt that most musicians were unaware of the implications of their actions; they merely followed fashions laid down by the commercial record companies.

The catalyst, however, that really sparked off Govindasamy's decision to go to India for the purposes of music and literary study was provided by Swami Ghanananda, Hindu Missionary from the Ramakrishna Mission, India. The Swami presented a series of neo-Hindu revivalist lectures in Pietermaritzburg, 24 April - 4 May 1947.[295] The most significant lecture for Govindasamy was perhaps the one entitled "That it is necessary for Indians outside India to preserve their individuality and steps should be taken to attain this end."[296]

> Swami Ghanananda said "Look here my boy, there's no music in this country.... I know what you are interested in. This country's no good. You can't get anything from here. You must come to India."

Although it was a seemingly impossible task, Govindasamy, grandson of an indentured builder turned market gardener, eldest son of a waiter/barman, and oldest brother of fourteen children, went to India in 1948.

> At that time there were few people who went to India; well that was a village class! It was a great thing going to India, no ordinary person can afford it. When I went we had about a dozen people on the boat. Now it is different, we can go overnight, we wake up there.... It was my own money when I went down, and my parents. They loved music, it was in their blood. Although they didn't like me to go down with all that [financial] burden they had. Well my brothers worked, they were all right, they helped too. We are a cohesive family.

Sponsored by his parents and those of his brothers who were working, Govindasamy spent three years in India. On his arrival there he went to the Ramakrishna Mission headquarters intent on becoming an ascetic, but he was soon told that this was not to be his destiny. He then set about finding accommodation and inspiring tutelage.

During this three-year period Govindasamy dedicated himself to absorbing the culture of South India by way of attending films, festivals, kacheris, conferences, and, most significantly, by studying with his master, Vidwan N.G. Krishnamurthy Aiyer. Apart from the regular theoretical and technical tuition received and paid for by Govindasamy, some of his more influential experiences were to be found in attending all the Vidwan's performances and other lessons. Thus the most important growth for Govindasamy was the rare opportunity to be a South African in a traditional master-disciple relationship. Not only was this a rare experience with regard to the fact that few South Africans got to India at all in those days, but those that did, generally did not stay long enough to absorb intuitively those elements of Indian culture that cannot be taught overtly. Although Govindasamy did not enter into the ancient *guru-kula-vasa* arrangement, i.e. living with and serving his master, he did experience something of the

guru-sisya tradition. Contact with the Anamalli University was made and though there was the possibility that Govindasamy could have become a student there, he chose the other, perhaps more difficult, but more authentic arrangement.

Govindasamy remembers his time in India as being one of great hardship alleviated by moments of great ecstasy. Lack of funds, more than anything else, caused him great anxiety and discomfort, particularly at the beginning of his stay. So severe were these stresses that M. Soobramoney who accompanied Govindasamy to India, and who was also intent on furthering his music and language studies, succumbed and returned home ahead of schedule, as was revealed in two letters written to Govindasamy by S. Muthray Pillay of Pietermaritzburg.

> I am pleased that you are earnestly endeavouring to fulfill [sic] the aim and object of your visit to the Motherland, despite the obstacles that face a visitor, through the high cost of living and tuition.... I regret that your friend Soobramoney could not adapt himself to conditions there. Maybe, that his ill health is responsible for this state of feeling....[207]

And:

> It is indeed a great pity that he [Soobramoney] did not make the best of his visit and that he had to return to this country without fulfilling his desires. Do not think unkindly of him, but feel sorry for his position.[208]

Perhaps the most distressing of "conditions" to which Govindasamy and Soobramoney had to "adapt" was the unanticipated situation in which both were required to humble themselves entirely to the highly critical opinions of their Indian masters. Despite having been lauded and garlanded by such organisations as the City Youth Club in South Africa as prodigies, which by South African standards they quite likely were, and despite having had their achievements "as South Africans" applauded in India, they had to start from the beginning, as novices.[209]

> Although I knew it theoretically, practically it was nothing. I had to start again. Although I used to be on the stage and play, imitating the other classical performers, the refinement was not there. Just the skeleton I was playing. The flesh had to be covered, then the nerves and the blood had to be put. And then the most important of all, the heart, the beat, to give it life. It was dead music I was playing.

It seems that in this regard, Govindasamy was the first South African to achieve the status of a professionally qualified classical performer, recognised by discerning critics in India. Others before him had gone to India, studied for a short while, made some recordings even, but none had stayed and persevered in self-sacrifice and self-discipline. He was recognised by some few South African Indians as a bright star of the new indocentric intelligentsia, one who could perhaps lead the way in offsetting the persuasive influence of Westernisation,

Christian proselytisation, and commercialisation. He, perhaps, would be able to collect and disseminate something of that proud and ancient heritage of classical India, something which could stand indisputably and uniquely against those who relegated all South African Indians to "coolie" status with suspect, or quaint at best, primitive customs and beliefs.

One of those to support and encourage him in this endeavour was S.N.C. Varadacharyulu, herbalist and homeopath selling goods and treatment which he imported from India.

> It pleases me very much that now you are going to know what is real music. I like to make one... request to you that in these real musical exercises you may some time get tired, but through that please do not lose interest and courage to pursue the art. And it may sometimes take some more time than what you had thought before but don't be in a hurry to come back without gaining efficiency in that fine art. When you do that you will be the first one to achieve that status of an ambassador to this great art hitherto unknown to this land. Those who professed to have learnt this art from India, before you, were only great lazy liars. Once they spoilt themselves by playing jazz method I am sure they cannot put themselves in the right track unless they work hard and control themselves from temptations as you are doing. The human weakness is such that they like to get greatness without working hard for it. Those are called cheap honours. [People] try any silly Editor of a cheap press and get big head lines about themselves without much meaning....[210]

Some of these attitudes were shared by S. Muthray Pillay who expressed them in a letter which also reveals the implications of Govindasamy's successes for "the Community."

> Your letter was read and re-read. It contained a good account of your ambition to meet great musical personalities and to assimilate as much as possible, the art of music and all it stands for. It is anticipated that your return to this country will be a credit to the Community. Beginning from the lower stages will see that the future structure is built on a sound foundation. "Humility is Greatness".[211]

The significance of Govindasamy's achievements for his family may be seen in the following two excerpts: the first is from brother A. Ganas Pillay:

> I am very pleased to hear that you will be awarded a professional certificate in a few months time, and further more I was told that you were welcomed by the minister of Education, and also delivered a speech in Tamil. An article will appear in the Leader regarding the praise you got in India for addressing a gathering of 500. I am sure people will be shocked [colloquial for "impressed in the extreme"] when they see the article in Leader.[212]

This is reiterated in the second letter from a cousin, A. Maggalutchmee Chetty:

> we are... eagerly looking forward to a new and changed Govindasamy - a Govindasamy for whose achievements, and learning Maritzburg may well be proud. We do hope that you will rise to great heights of distinction in the intellectual and musical world.[213]

In spite of qualifying for a title of proficiency in classical music, *Kalaimani* (translated = "Gem of the Art") A. Govindasamy Pillay, unlike some other visiting South African musicians, was unsuccessful in applications for having his music recorded in India. Besides other avenues he made contact with the director of Gemini Studios and wrote to Saraswathi Stores offering his services in recording.[214] Those South Africans that did manage to have recordings made and released did so apparently as a result either of family or business contacts in high places, or financed the venture themselves for sale in South Africa.[215]

Although Govindasamy was tempted to stay in India where he felt prospects as a musician and in business could have proved fruitful, he returned as he had family responsibilities to attend to in South Africa. The temptation to stay was increased by the event of the 1949 Durban Riots in which his family had experienced "grievous losses", which added to his consternation on receiving news of "the new Citizenship Bill, passed by the 'Monarch of all he Surveys', Dr. Malan and his colleagues".[216]

Kalaimani A. Govindasamy Pillay returned to share his soul-stirring experiences with those who had been unable

to participate actively in the same. The first person with whom he did this on his return was Mr. Edward Govindaswami. During the interview in which Govindasamy generously conveyed much of the above to me, he broke down, unable to speak for emctional feelings when he described this first meeting back with Mr. Edward. He "teared" on reflecting how Mr. Edward, then on his deathbed, requested Govindasamy to show him how his Indian Vidwan had taught him to hold the violin, while sitting on the floor, and how he was to position his fingers accurately on the finger-board.

The extent to which Kalaimani G. Govindasamy Pillay was able to realise his and his supporters' ambitions on his return to the land of his birth remains to be explored. Suffice it to say here that he attempted to find employment using his South Indian language and music experience and qualifications but was unable to earn enough monies to cover his financial and familial responsibilities. It soon became necessary for him to contract himself to the eurocentric legal system as a Tamil court interpreter. In his own words:

> When I came back from India, there was no audience for my music.

There does not appear to have been even a group of musicians with whom he could play empathetically and

with a sense of disciplined purpose. The only financially viable music was the "Indian jazz", which itself took until the 1970s to become a realistic option for musicians, and then generally only on a semi-professional basis. Having become disillusioned and frustrated at the absence of an informed and empathetic performing and teaching environment, there was a period of about twenty years in which no music was part of Kalaimani A. Govindasamy Pillay's life. This was a period in which he lost much of what he had gained in India, and in which he reconciled himself to the financial responsibilities of providing for a family in an unhospitable environment.

The "Indian" Orchestra, a "Gypsy" Music Entertainer, and a Local Indian Record Company: Music into the Economy

The advent of the "Indian" Orchestra in South Africa in the late 1930s was not an exclusive phenomenon although it did have some unique characteristics and socio-economic implications. Music performed by large instrumental ensembles in India had had a long tradition before the twentieth-century "Orchestra". The *periya melam* (Tamil translated = great ensemble) was an outdoor instrumental ensemble used in South India in street

processions of a deity image.[217] The northern equivalent of the periya melam was the Muslim *naubat*, imported from Persia during the Muslim invasion. The naubat ensembles of the Mughal (Moghul) court consisted of up to eighteen musicians. One seventeenth-century iconographic example shows a group consisting of six pairs of kettledrums, four trumpets, three *shahnai* (oboe-like reed instrument), three pairs of cymbals, one curved metal horn, and one large single drum.[218]

A stronger influence than this, however, was probably the military brass bands of the nineteenth century, and later, British music-hall "light music" orchestras.

> [T]he military bands of the French and British Governors begot many imitators. The *maharaja*-s and *raja*-s had to be imitative! Thus were born the Palace bands and the police bands.[219]

The best-known orchestra in India is the *Vadyavrnda* of All India Radio, a collection of Indian instrumental performers, with one or two Western instruments included at times for special, and experimental, effects. This is a post-Independence ensemble which seems to have been formed for a number of extra-musical reasons. One might have been to serve as a vehicle of national unification because it performs music which is linguistically, spiritually, and regionally non-specific. A second reason could be to provide as much patronage for as many

musicians under a single cover as possible, i.e. to employ as many as possible in an attempt to provide a state-funded democratic substitute for the obsolete aristocratic patrons of the arts.

To date South Africa has not had a comparable instrumental ensemble. Rather, the local "orchestra", which seems to have developed from about 1945, was initially a replica of those Indian orchestras which appeared on imported records, which had a smattering of Indian instruments and a propensity to Western wind and brass instruments. The music played was classified by local listeners as "Indian jazz", and was clearly the advent of a mass South African Indian popular culture. The sources of orchestral music were unspecific: it drew on Indian folk and classical Hindustani and Carnatic traditions; European folk and "light-classical" traditions; and American "pop" traditions. These appeared in syncretic forms, establishing themselves as slightly more Western versions of the extremely popular *filmi git* of the post-1940s film industry.

The resultant music was in a sense "Indian". Vocals were sung in Indian vernaculars and in the commonest South African Indian dialects, such as *Bhodjpuri*, and simple ragas could be clearly recognised against a

harmonic background that often included both a drone and tertial concepts of harmony. Instruments were tuned to the tempered scale of the keyboard component, usually the harmonium, and the tala were usually those based on two, three, or four pulses, often becoming indistinguishable from the dance rhythms of contemporary Europe and America. "Indian" orchestral music could be said to be "tailormade" for the South African post-colonial industrial environment of the forties. It was Indian enough to conjure up an evocative Indian nationalistic sentiment which had become largely nostalgia for most South African Indians but which was being fanned by pre-Independence Indian fervour. But it was also Western enough to cater for the new Indian South African nationalism which called for a non-sectarian unity as evidence of its new sense of communality and South African citizenship.

The musical and extra-musical neutrality of this music, added to the accessibility of India-made recordings, the broadcasts of the All India Radio foreign service, the Indian films which enhanced "Indian" orchestral music's glamorous image, and a new feeling of excess wealth and leisure resulting from industrial employment, meant that South African musicians now had something to sell. Furthermore it was a mass market. Orchestras

were hired to play at weddings, engagements, and other celebratory functions. Although some saw the intended role of the orchestra as a didactic force, stimulating an interest in Indian music, attracting new listeners, and teaching potential serious musicians in large numbers, clearly this was not generally the case.[220] The "Indian" orchestra provided music that was inherently an art form with its own stylistic and performance-practice conventions, not a means to some other artistic end. What had been essentially a fragmented remnant of Indian folk culture and an aspirant Western elite culture prior to this, had now syncretised, emerging as a unique and vital popular culture which, with some modifications, dominated the performance environment for the next forty years.

Well known, popular "Indian" orchestras of the forties were the Ranjeni, (still in existence under the leadership of Madhavan Nair), the Odeon, and the Lingum.[221] The Ranjeni was started in the barracks that had earlier been used to house indentured workers, but which was housing wage earners at the time of this early orchestra.[222] It was known for its associations in the past with musicians such as the late Billy Gengan, K.S. Naicker, Mayadevi, and Ramchandra. The latter two featured significantly on the Shalimar recordings 1945-

1953. Today the group consists of Gopalan Govender, Madhavan Nair, Pat Krishnan, Billy Kisten, Srinivasen Pillay and Loga Moodley, to mention a few of the main players. Instruments represented are Yamaha electronic keyboard, violin, banjo, mrdangam, electric rhythm guitar, saxophone, clarinet, tambourine and assorted percussion. Despite the spread of obviously Western instruments, this orchestra is considered to be one of the bastions of good taste and upholders of "Indian Culture". Referring to the group's contribution to the South Indian Thyagaraja festival, October 1986, T.P. Naidoo, Director of the Indian Academy of South Africa says:

> At a time when the Indian people are giving the impression that there is complete apathy to Indian Culture, the Ranjeni Orchestra's cultural venture is timely. Ranjeni's orchestrations of Swami Thyagaraja's Kritis is a blow to the pessimists in our midst and a victory for the culture minded.... Their stability is proof of their greatness - they are perhaps one of the very few orchestras whose minds were never dizzied by the clap-trap and mumbo-jumbo of the disco rock era.[223]

Immediately prior to this new, (and nerve-wracking[224]) excursion into "Culture", manifested in hitherto unexplored areas of classical Carnatic music such as Thyagaraja's kritis, which were being included in their repertoire for the first time for performance at this festival, the orchestra had concerned itself almost exclusively with North and South Indian and hybrid film

music. In the early days it seems likely that the music was a peasant-derived style, including ad hoc orchestrations of folk songs and dances.

Another popular early orchestra was the City Youth Club, established in 1940.[225] It is significant that the name of this group emphasised its ideological neutrality, musical flexibility, and its urban status, its major claim being to offer music with "rhythm - classic and jazz music". Although the orchestra came under the auspices of the City Youth Club with six "patrons", the service offered seems to have had a strong commercial basis, in which not only music entertainment was for hire, but also electronic and electrical equipment. In a Sarasvathie Celebration programme hosted by the Stree Ambigay Tamil School, dated 19 October 1947, in Mayville, the orchestra took the opportunity of advertising its commodities. It is interesting, also, that along with the Tamil School requirements, the printed programme appears in Tamil language and script, again revealing the cultural ambiguity of these early orchestras.[226]

The Kalaivani Orchestra, on the other hand, established in 1944 by C. Govindasamy and A. Govindasamy Pillay who tutored the orchestra members, seems to have had a more specifically didactic objective in the promotion of

music per se. Despite the fact that the orchestra charged for its services, performing over a wide area of Natal, funds raised in this way seem to have been used to pay members' expenses, buy instruments, and provide for administrative and physical arrangements. In the 1945 Annual General Meeting report, it was indicated that the orchestra had earned £53 of which £35 had been used to buy instruments. As a service to the community, some of the earnings had been expended on printing and distributing Tamil religious calendars.[227]

In an advertisement (probably 1947) it is stated that by 1945,

> the Orchestra, conducted by Mr. L. Soobiah Moodley, won the Karnatic competition in Durban. It also had the honour of rendering musical items at the Show Grounds, where the Indian Community welcomed the Royal Family. At the Popular Competition, held in Pietermaritzburg during Easter, the Orchestra gained first position. It won the first prize as the most attractive orchestra on the day of the Indian Independence Day Celebrations, and was also placed first in the "Azalea Week" Orchestra Competition. The Orchestra has interested itself in both popular and classic music, and in both these spheres it is making remarkable progress. A new innovation is the opening of the Junior School of Music, under the principalship of Mr. A. Govindasamy Pillay, without doubt the City's most advanced musician. The younger generation will thus be trained to contribute the quota of the Indian Community towards the culture, art and music of the future South Africa.[228]

In 1949 the Kalaivani toured the Northern Districts of Natal with "Show Business".[229] It is not yet known what music comprised the programme, but the name indicates a strong eurocentric bias which confirms the earlier claim to provide "music with rhythm... for all occasions."[230]

Despite its apparent popularity, it seems that all members of the orchestra were not entirely satisfied either with the type of music played, or with the way it was played. Some confusion about the orchestra's musical and extra-musical objectives started to emerge at this time. The following suggests the heavy reliance of South African Indian musicians on imported records as a source of music material and the frustration that some felt in this regard. "The orchestra [Kalaivani] is getting on fine, still listen to records and play like a parrot."[231]

The report of the ninth Annual General Meeting 1952-1953 held at Manhattan Hall, Pietermaritzburg, 10 May 1953, reveals some important issues with which the orchestra, its members, and its patrons were concerned. Though not strictly drawn from the period in question, these issues seem to have been relevant from the orchestra's inception. In an attempt to have a South African national relevance, officials were drawn from the Cape

and Transvaal, as well as Natal. They included five patrons, one president, and fifty-two vice-presidents from Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Grahamstown, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban, Port Shepstone, Stanger, Estcourt, Ladysmith, Newcastle, Dannhauser, Dundee, Glencoe, Howick, and Pietermaritzburg. Other officials included an honorary secretary, an honourary treasurer and bandleader, a manager, an assistant manager, and executive committee members. Observation of the names recorded in this document would suggest that this group consisted mostly of Tamil settlers' children, which suggests that the music performed would be more linguistically based than that of some other orchestras of the time perhaps.[232]

In the year under review, this orchestra consisted of harmonium, thubla (tabla), violin, clarinet, saxophone, jazz drums, piano accordion, two sitars, tenor banjo, double bass, and guitar. The chairman, A. Saravanan Chetty, suggested that "endeavour should be made for a Trumpet whereby the Orchestra would be improved".[233] The main performance outlets for the orchestra seem to have been weddings, and school and society concerts.

The didactic element is shown in the following quote from the chairman's report:

> The running of any Orchestra, is mainly relied upon the Musicians, and in this instance I may say that the Musicians of our Orchestra whilst contributing towards the upliftment of the Orchestra, have not covered sufficient grounds for improvement. Nevertheless their co-operation and diligence, have brought the Orchestra to the prestige it now proudly holds, and a little more hard work by members would place the Orchestra on a much higher standard in years to come.[234]

With regard to financial matters, expenses seem to have been met not only by the orchestra's earnings, but by donation as well.

> Despite the fact, that the Orchestra had rendered musical entertainment for so many weddings [15], it must be realised, that an Orchestra like ours must have enough Finance to keep the practice going, cause [sic] without finance we would experience difficulties in paying for our rentals for practise rooms etc. Therefore, in order that our financial stability be assured, priority to the matter must be considered, and, incidentally, if a drive be made to all our officials for a donation, it will be of great help to us.[235]

The S.A.B.C. provided a limited patronage to local Indian musicians in their weekly half-hour "Indian Programme". This service seems to have featured ad hoc ensembles which came together precisely for the purpose of recording as well as those groups that played together regularly. "At the factory we formed a 12 piece band and we are broadcasting on 8th July at 9.30 p.m. from the Durban broadcasting station."[236] These artists must surely have been seeking out such performance channels simply for the prestige they

offered, because even the best artists, i.e. the "A" graded artists were paid only one guinea per performance![237]

"Indian" orchestral music has become the only financially viable performance genre for Indian South Africans. There are some incidents of semi-professionalism amongst devotional singers and professionalism amongst multi-genre music teachers. The local "orchestra", however, is given greater "air-time" on the radio, is hired for essentially money-making "Eastern Evening" concerts, and is hired, at a set fee, for fund-raising ventures. This is not to say that voluntary music-making for many purposes does not still exist. It is clear, however, that "Indian" music is now an intrinsic part of the Indian South African capitalist economy.

An interesting example of professionalism based on a barter economy was the presence of a *themangu*, or "gypsy" music specialist called Varathatpa Reddy, who lived in Durban between 1930 and 1950. Themangu is a Tamil folk vocal form which "always moved in three", i.e. it was it based on the tisram adi talam.[238] These songs were usually in *Jenshrudi ragam* and included much textual improvisation around topical matters such as

stories about social status, political manoeuvering, kinship, marital relationship, and all forms of moral aberration. The function of themangu is to act as a comical vehicle of condoned criticism which could at times be extremely insulting, and which could ventilate criticism normally forbidden across caste or kinship lines. The song text is conveyed in the *Sumbashana* singing style. This means that it takes place in the form of a dialogue, often between two singers. Snake charmer songs, frequently included in South Indian dramas, such as Harichandra, fall into this category. The snake charming ragam is *Punaga Varali* and the talam adi, tisra jati.

Varathatpa Reddy, a bachelor, was a singer and actor in the South Indian desi drama in the days when this form of drama was prevalent. He then became a specialist in anonymous national songs called *thayi natuka*, and, more especially, in themangu. Prior to becoming a professional musician, he ran a stall in the Durban Indian Market. In 1930 he went to India to visit his father. Although he did not study music there on a formal basis, it is thought that he spent much of his time following the "gypsy" or village entertainers who were specialists in this music form. On his return he became a professional musician, entertaining the

intellectual and merchant elite in private gatherings mostly, but also at weddings and other public functions. In return for entertaining the doctors and other middle class patrons, he was given whatever he required for his subsistence, such as free accommodation at Peter's Lounge which was owned by R.B. Chetty and Sons, free meals, free clothing, and some pocket money which was given to him on the occasions of his performances. Singaram Moodley of Pietermaritzburg was his sparring partner. Moodley would "challenge" Reddy to a song contest, in which each would attempt to outdo the other in powerful, sometimes outrageous, commentary, and in vocal virtuosity. Moodley was an India-born radical Congress man, deeply involved in the 1945-1946 Passive Resistance movement. During the latter years of the forties Indian South African politics formed the major part of these contests.

The tendency to become more Westernized in India-made films, in South African-made policy decisions, in state-patronised eisteddfods, and in institutionalised educational practice undermined the influence of rural locality and religious and class status on the preservation or germination of indocentric folk and classical music during the 1940s. The results of this process can be seen in the recordings made by a South

African company in Durban under the labels Cavalcade and Shalimar which were sung in Hindustani and Urdu, and under the label The Mogul, which were sung or recited in Urdu and Arabic. The nearest dates I have so far been able to apply to these records are 1945-1950 based on verbal information received by the Documentation Centre, University of Durban-Westville.[239] Considering that these records were first advertised in Indian Opinion in January 1951, it is more likely that they were made at the end of the forties. Advertisements continued through 1952 and then seem to disappear.[240]

During an interview with "Fardoqi" Mehtar who served as the main lyricist of the Cavalcade/Shalimar/Moghul recordings (see Table No.3), I was told that the trade embargo between India and South Africa in 1946/1947 was the major incentive for embarking upon this recording venture.[241] In 1946 Sorabjee Rustomjee and Ashwin Choudree went to India and England in order to muster up support against the "indophobia" of White South Africans articulated in the "Ghetto Act". Rustomjee and Choudree were chosen to go rather than the more radical Dr. Yusuf Dadoo, A.I. Meer, and Dr. G.M. Monty Naicker. Fired by the success of the Indian Independence struggle and the formation of the United Nations and its anti-fascist, anti-rascist charter, Indian South African

leaders appealed to the international leaders to assist them in their struggle.[242]

As a result of this appeal the United Nations called for a Round Table Conference between the Governments of India and South Africa. When this was turned down by the Smuts Government a trade embargo between India and South Africa was announced, with the result that new stocks of Indian records were unobtainable in South Africa although Indian films still made the South African circuit as they were re-routed via England since the British had purchased the film rights.[243] The first South African recordings were made on the Cavalcade label by Yusuf Kat, the Indian Views and Indian Opinion cartoonist. Only about three of these records were made "for fun".[244] They were named after the Cavalcade Show presented in Albert Park in the forties.

The Shalimar Company was then formed under the ownership of "Smile" Mahtir and was managed by "Smile" Mahomed Soosiwala. The intention was to produce music that was "cosmopolitan" under the Shalimar label, and Muslim under the Moghul label. "Farooqi's" lyrics are present on the majority of the Shalimar records. Although he is a Muslim he does not belong to any sect, he "just follows the teachings in the Qu'uran [Quran] and the

teachings of the Prophet".[245] He saw the Hindu Shalimar themes as embodiments of Muslim teaching; Rama and Krishna in "Farooqi's" eyes are prophets spreading the same moral principles as Islam. In his words: "Every mosque houses God". He found nothing irreconcilable in his being a Muslim writing song texts that were based on Hindu themes, as they were addressing issues of universal value.

Paradoxically, "Farooqi" also wrote the lyrics and the recitations for the Moghul recordings, including those calling in an inflammatory style for the partition of Muslim Pakistan from Hindu India. Whilst working on Indian Views he was sent to India to report on the Muslim/Hindu conflict. He stayed in Bombay for one year, after which he wrote Why's of the Great Indian Conflict. He looks back to this publication with regret, saying that if he were now to write such a book it would be written quite differently. Now, he says, as a mature person, he can see how exploitable inherently moral issues are to ruthless politicians. He was caught up in the emotions of the time. Retrospectively, he sees that those very partitionist policies, which he so avidly supported, were to result in violence, loss of life , and abject terror in their realisation.[246]

The records, "Farooqi" says, were very difficult to make. In one session a master would be cut which had to be printed in England. There could be absolutely no editing as they could not hear the original. If on its return they were dissatisfied with the quality, then they had to scrap it. The Shalimar Company selected the musicians but the lyricist could veto the choice. There were no professional musicians at the time: the organisers heard that someone "had a feeling" for music and called them in to do a recording. The organisers and musicians then brought the music to "Farooqi", stating that they required a text in a particular metre and character, and "Farooqi" would provide them with the lyrics. He saw these commissions and those to follow as challenges to his craftsmanship. Although he received 2d. per record sold, sometimes receiving a monthly cheque of approximately £5, it was the chance to develop his writing skills that motivated him.

Table No. 3: "Farooqi" Mehtar Record Collection

South African Artists' Recordings in S.A. 78 r.p.m.

Label: Cavalcade

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer/ Composer
RC 781	*Apna Roop Dikhade	Hindustani	Maya Devi and "Kat", composed by "Farooqi"
	*Malan Albeli	"	Maya Devi and "Kat", composed by "Shabnam"

Label: Shalimar

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer/ Composer
H 701	*Be Misal Prem	Hindustani Waltz	Naushad and A. Khan, composed by "Farooqi"
	*Jhuk Jae To Janoon	Hindustani Slow Fox-trot	Naushad and "Kat" composed by "Farooqi"
H 703	*Rone Wale Too	Hindustani	Sushila Rani and W. Nandu composed by "Farooqi"
	*Sajan Gaye Ja	"	"
H 704	*Mae Tumko Bhool Jawoon	"	Sushila Rani and A. Khan composed by "Farooqi"
	*Dilko Jalane Wale	"	"
H 709	*Isi Ka Naam Hai Preet	"	Maya Devi and Ramchandra composed by "Farooqi"
	*Ranjo Alam	"	"
H 710	*Kahan Se Lawoon	"	Ramchandra composed by "Farooqi"
	*Maidane Mohabbat	"	"

H 711	*Bhool Ja	Hindustani	Sushila and Buxson composed by "Farooqi"
	*Roothe Pritam	"	"
H 712	*Tu Mile Agar	"	Naushad and Buxson composed by "Farooqi"
	*Ham Aaj Kisi Ke	"	"
H 713	*Koyi Nahi Hae	Hindustani Waltz	Yanam Devi and Buxson composed by "Farooqi"
	*Hamne Dekha	Hindustani Rhumba	"
H 714	*Aja Sajan	Hindustani Samba	Kumari Sumitri and Buxson composed by "Farooqi"
	*Pyare Pyare	"	"
H 715	*Rooth Gayi Kismat Hamari	Hindustani Waltz	Zureen and Buxson composed by "Farooqi"
	*Hamari Thoombari	"	Zureen, Hamid and Buxson composed by "Farooqi"
H 716	*Dilko Jalane Wale	Hindustani Rhumba	Zureen and Buxson composed by "Farooqi"
	*Mae Thoom Ko Bhool Jawoon	Hindustani Tango	"
H717	*Insaan Ki Dono Manzil He	Hindustani Bolero	Asha Devi and Buxson composed by "Farooqi"
	*Dookh Dard Museebuth Me	Hindustani Quick-step	"
H 719	*Ek Dard Dil Ke Thaar	Hindustani Fox-trot	Ragini Devi and Buxson composed by "Farooqi"
	*Armano Bhare Dil Ki	Hindustani Tango	"
H 720	*Ulfath Me Dilko	Hindustani Quick-step	Naushad and Buxson composed by "Farooqi"

	Mun Rotha He	Hindustani Waltz	"
H 721	*Tum Nah Kisi Se* [record damaged - incomplete recording]	Hindustani Quick-step	Hamid and Buxson composed by "Farooqi"
	Joroo Aisee Milee He [record damaged - no recording]	Hindustani Samba	"

Label: The Mogul

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer/ Composer
U 909	*Ay Bade Saba*	Urdu Gazal	Yusuf Quawal, composed by "Farooqi"
	Khud Pareshan Hae	"	"

Label: Shalimar

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer/ Composer
U 904	*Maskan Na Jale*	Urdu	Ismail Nisar, composed by "Farooqi"
	Azad Fana Hokar	"	"
U 901	*Jiska Wajood*	Urdu Naat	Ismal Nisar and A. Khan, composed by "Farooqi"
	Sal-lal-Laho Alayhe	"	"
U 903	*Salaam Ay Quaide-Azam* (1)	Urdu Dedication	Master Nisar, composed by "Farooqi"
	Salaam Ay Quaide-Azam (2)	"	"
U 906	*Medine Ko*	Urdu Naat	G.M. Jamal, composed by "Farooqi"
	Ajib Ada Se	"	G.M. Jamal, composed by "Bashir"

Label: The Mogul

Record No.	Title	Genre	Performer/ Composer
U 908	*Daroodo Salaam*	Urdu salaam	Ishaq Quawal, composed by "Farooqi"
	Hamdo Sana	Urdu Ham'd	"
U 920	*Mun Sabir Milan Ko*	Urdu Naat	Mohd. Shafee, composed by "Farooqi"
	Paar Lega Moula Aaj	Urdu Naat	"
U 501	*The Glorious Death Part 1	Arabic	G.M. Jamal and M.B. Siddiqi, composed by "Farooqi"
	*Allah Musulmano Ki Part 8	Urdu	Shalimar Girls' Chorus, composed by "Farooqi"
U 502	*A Leader is Born Part 2	Urdu	Farooqi and Shalimar Girls' Chorus
	*Ya Ilahi Mulke Pakistan Part 7	Urdu	Naushad, composed by "Farooqi"
U 503	*Unity a Failure Part 3	Urdu	"Farooqi" and "Nisar", composed by "Farooqi"
	*Shahi De Mulko Millar Part 6	Urdu	Shalimar Girls' Chorus, composed by "Farooqi"
U 504	*The Only Solution Part 4	Urdu	Murchie, Siddiqi, and Siddiqi, composed by "Farooqi"
	*Pakistan A Reality Part 5	Urdu	Farooqi, Nisar, and Jamal, composed by "Farooqi"

The "Farooqi" Mehtar Record Collection (see above) is perhaps the most fascinating of the three collections presented in this paper. It consists of the most astonishing mix of East and West, Hindu and Muslim,

religious and secular. The Western influence in these recordings is unambiguous: the influence of the ballroom dance bands of the forties, as heard in the dance lounges of the post-colonial hotels and over the radio, can clearly be heard here. The instruments used are piano, piano accordion, saxophone, clarinet, electric guitar, electric bass, and woodblocks. The formal structure and the use of tertial harmony, and of metre and rhythm is a sometimes naive but fascinating intermarriage of East and West, and not only of West in the large sense but of South African "Europeanism". What "Farooqi" refers to as "the South African component of Indian music" can be seen in many of the Shalimar records where the musicians have borrowed to a varying extent from *boeremusiek*, sometimes taking complete phrases, sometimes just the tone colour and textual composition. For example, *"Be Mizal Prem"* (Shalimar H 701) by Naushad and A. Khan seems to draw on snippets of "Skater's Waltz" and "Jan Pierewiet". It is a love song written as a Hindustani waltz. Other examples of "Indian South African music" are *"Kahan Se Lawoon"* (Shalimar H 710) by Ramchandra, called a ghazal by "Farooqi" but recognisable as a slow Viennese waltz; and *"Roothe Pritam"* (Shalimar H711) by Sushila and Buxson which seems to incorporate phrases from *"Boere Braaivleis Aand"*, *"Hier's Ek Weer"*, *"Rooi Rok"*, "Sarie

Marais", and "Shoemaker's Shop" in a danceable samba rhythm. The most explicit example of "Indian boeremusiek" is the Hindustani samba *"Aja Sajan"* (Shalimar H714) by Kumari Sumitri and Buxson. This draws heavily on the *Suid-Afrikaanse tiekie-draai* (turn-on-a-tickey) for its melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic patterning. The tiekie-draai is a Cape style developed and popularised at the end of the nineteenth century by Coloured guitarists based on the Afrikaans *vastrap* (fast step) folk dance.[247] In this example one can quite clearly recognise such textual phrases such as *"Hier's ek weer"*, *"Ek wil haar hê en ek sal haar kry"*, *"Sannie ek is lief vir jou maar jy is 'n ander man se vrou"*, and phrases connotative of "You Are My Sunshine".

Other devices were used to reflect a "cosmopolitan" character. Latin-American sounds reminiscent of Carmen Miranda and South Africa's Basel Metaxis can be identified in *"Malan Albeli"* (Cavalcade RC 781) by Maya Devi and "Kat"; *"Rone Wale Too"* (Shalimar H 703) by Sushila Rani and A. Khan, which alternates between tango and waltz and is clearly not meant for dancing; *"Dilko Jalane Wale"* and *"Mae Thoom Ko Bhool"* (Shalimar H 716), a Hindustani Rhumba and a Hindustani Tango by Zureen and Buxson; Asha Devi and Buxson's Hindustani Bolero *"Insaan*

Ki Dono Manzil He" (Shalimar H 717); and the Hindustani Tango *"Armano Bhare Dil Ki"* (Shalimar H 719) by Ragini Devi and Buxson.

Dixieland/jive is brought to mind in *"Sajan Gaye Ja"* (Shalimar H703), and ragtime hints occur in *"Tu Mile Agar"* (Shalimar H712) which is remarkably like "Darktown Strutter's Ball". *"Tu Mile Agar"* also conjures up early swing such as "In the Mood" and "Chattanooga Shoe-shine boy". There are touches of Country and Western in the banjo passages of *"Ek Dard Dil Ke Thaar"* (Shalimar H 719) and in the violin interludes of *"Ulfath Me Dilko"* (Shalimar H 720) which is in a fast polka rhythm. German "Oom-pah-pah" appears in *"Mun Rotha He"* (Shalimar H729) and *"Koyi Nahi Hae"* (Shalimar H713), and "In a Persian Garden" seems to be the parent source of *"Ham Aaj Kisi Ke"* (Shalimar H 712).[248]

The Shalimar recordings in this collection do include some songs which are inherently of an Indian folk song character, such as *"Isi Ka Naam Hai Preet"* (Shalimar H 709). Apart from just the use of an Indian language, it is possible to identify an Indian flavour in many of these songs, in the embellishments to the vocal line, particularly the shakes and glissandi (Carnatic gamaka, Hindustani *mind*,) and in the drone bass played here on a

bass guitar or as a repeated note on the piano. Despite this, however, one is most forcibly struck by the Western idiom of these records. Even in those songs which are generally highly Westernised, the instrumental preludes and interludes are more explicit in their borrowing than the vocal lines which often have a more Indian character.

In spite of being intended as an indocentric Muslim nationalist selection The Moghul recordings are singularly Western in style. It seems that the musicians did not borrow consciously from particular popular pieces; however a Western influence is very apparent in most of the records in the "Farooqi" Mehtar Collection. For example, *Salaam Ay Quaide - Azam* Parts 1 and 2 (The Moghul U 903) by Master Nisar features a piano and banjo "boom-ching-ching" accompaniment based on an arpeggiated tonic chord. This, added to the altered or "blue" notes in the descending passages in parallel thirds, leaves one in no doubt about the melodic and harmonic roots of the composition. An explicit harmonic pattern of I V I IV I is identifiable in *Allah Musulmano Ki* by the Shalimar Girls' Chorus (The Moghul U 501) and the cadential picardy third used as a dramatic device in "A Leader is Born" (The Moghul U 326) lends an ironical twist to a collection of music

and recitation glorifying M.A. Jinnah, the radical separatist Muslim leader who was responsible for leading Pakistan to independence as a Dominion in 1947. Furthermore, some of the "Band Players", such as A. Govindsamy, were of South Indian Hindu descent.[249]

In the Urdu Naats *Mun Sabir Milan Ko* and *Paar Laga Moula Aaj* (The Moghul U 920), the presence of a sitar and violin, the lighter texture of the accompaniment, the less specific tonality, the alternation of a more authentic declamatory and sung vocal style by Mohd. Shafee, create the effect of a more Indian quality.

It is not possible to speculate about the character of the Shalimar and Moghul records missing in the "Farooqi" Mehtar Collection. Those records that are represented do however display a marked tendency towards Westernisation, whether this was intentional or otherwise. Two of the dominant political themes of the three decades after the 1927 Round Table Conference can be seen reflected in this collection. These themes were initially characterised by a call for a move towards Western standards of "civilisation"; they were followed by a call by radical leaders first for South African Indian communalism and then for South African Black communalism. The Westernisation theme is mirrored in a

conscious borrowing at times of stock phrases, textures, harmonies, and tone colours, and complete melodic themes from American and British popular music. The Indian South African theme is expressed in a fusion of Muslim/Hindu reworkings of Afrikaanse boeremusiek. It seems that what would have been the inevitable development of an articulated South African Black Indo-African performing art form was nipped in the bud by the Group Areas Act, which broke up those urban communities which were showing explosive signs of seeking such unification. Thus the third, and most recent, political dimension of this period, viz. Black South African communalism, is not reflected in this collection.

Conclusion

The relatively short period between 1920 and 1948 was perhaps the most active and varied in the history of Indian South Africa. It was marked by a massive swing towards urbanisation, by upward social movement, by enthusiastic patronage of the arts, popular and serious, and by explosive political challenge. Those Indian communities which had spontaneously mushroomed around the large city centres were fertile ground for such constructive activity. This was an unprecedented time in the history of South Africa when diligent, thinking,

and courageous leaders emerged from within the South African environment. These were genuine indigenous leaders who were themselves prepared to start addressing the complexities of their mother country, rather than looking to a mystic figure from abroad to wave a magic wand.

This chapter has revealed evidence indicating that the South Africanising energy which charged many Indian South Africans became articulated in the various Westernised forms of the performing arts in varying degrees. It resulted in a very active Christian church music tradition which spilled over into a related eisteddfod movement which was largely concerned with eurocentric folk and Romantic music. It also emerged unconsciously as modifications of otherwise indocentric art forms, and consciously, as highly Westernised orchestral arrangements of Indian, European, American, and South African popular and folk music.

If South African politics and ideas were the major influence in the latter part of the period in question, perhaps the major influences in the earlier part were India-made records and films. These were not entirely at odds with South African thinking as they themselves were often the expression of similar political,

economic, and social events in India. Ironically these records and films were responsible for both the swing to the West and the swing to the East, as cultural practices in India were similarly marked by this dichotomy which seemed to have been manifestations of a rising democracy, nationalism, and urbanisation.

Despite the general swing to Westernisation, or perhaps because of it, some communities and their leaders were dedicated to attempts to inform their members of indocentric practices and knowledge. They saw a sound education in the ancient folklore, literature, art, and religious practices of India as the solution for South African Indians living in a multicultural country. For them, "Unity in Diversity" was the key.

Tragically, the exciting developments and creative thinking characteristic of this period were to be brought to a sudden end with the forced removals which accompanied the implementation of the Group Areas Act. Communities were split up and members dispersed over a twenty-five kilometer radius. With no access to personalised transport, people who had previously been in walking or bussing distance were now completely out of touch with each other. The performing arts alone have taken twenty-five years to recover from the damage

done by the dispersal of thriving cultural communities. Vacuums were created where before social support services, study groups, informal performance venues and occasions, and bands of co-performers had existed. In the words of Ranji S. Nowbath,

> The full measure of the impact of the Group Areas Act on the Indian people of South Africa in human and socio-economic terms has still to be calculated , if it is at all possible to calculate human suffering. Settled communities, numbering tens of thousands... have been uprooted from their hearths, homes, temples, churches, schools and cultural institutions, and forced into dormitories and sleeping cubicles without the right or the opportunity to choose neighbourhoods and neighbours.[250]

The year 1948 heralded the first Afrikaner Nationalist Government which was to entrench the racist and anti-Indian policies which had been steadily growing since 1880. The year 1950 saw to it that any cohesion which might have been achieved in the Indian South African population was systematically and ruthlessly pruned before it could really take root.

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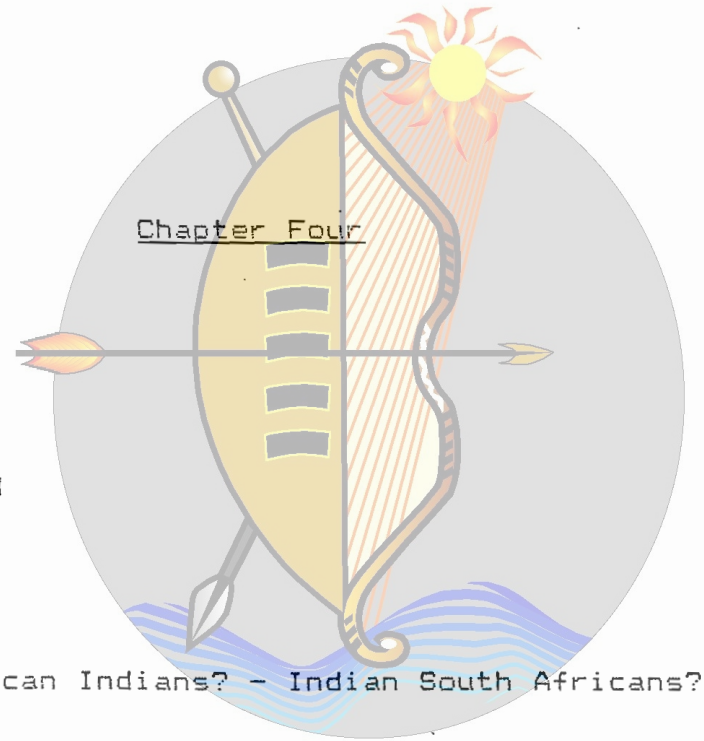
241 "Farooqi" Mehtar. Interview Overport, Durban 9/11/87.
242 "Letter from the Natal Indian Congress to Smuts, 1945" in Bhana and Pachai, A Documentary History, p.186 and p.188; and Dr. G.M Naicker's presidential address to Congress. Ibid., pp.189-193.
243 "Farooqi" Mehtar, interview 1987.
244 Ibid.
245 Ibid.
246 Ibid.
247 D. Coplan, In Township Tonight, London: Longman, 1985, p.14.
248 All the data regarding Western connotations in Shalimar records was derived from the spontaneous responses of four Western popular music enthusiasts. These were C. Donkin, L. Donkin, W. Meester, A. Myklebust. With some exceptions, the response to the excerpts played was remarkably similar on second or third hearing.
249 Booklet accompanying Quaid-E-Azam, a set of four records made by "Farooqi" Mehtar, writer, Yusuf Kat, director, Ismail Mahomed (Soosiwala), producer, and A. Khan, "Musical Scores". Farooqi Mehtar Collection.
250 R.S. Nowbath, "The Group Areas Act", in Bhana and Pachai, A Documentary History, p.217.



Chapter Four

CONCLUSION

South African Indians? - Indian South Africans?

Two key words are brought to mind when reflecting on events affecting Indian South Africans between 1860 and 1948: alienation and adaptation. The ways in which Indian South Africans confronted these two concepts determined the cultural structures which they elected. As we have seen, Indian South Africans confronted problems of alienation and adaptation in varying ways and in varying degrees of intensity. Groups and individuals sought their solutions in highly

contrasting channels, resulting in the confirmation of a heterogeneous society constantly fluctuating between striving for communalism, and reacting against imposed, coercive group identification. The struggle incurred both racial and class components, as was reflected continuously in cultural practices. The struggle took place not only between White and Indian South Africans, but also between competing factions of Indian South Africans. It could be said, however, that all internal change and struggle should be viewed against the background of White domination and repression, since this is clearly the most prevalent aspect of the power struggle.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Muslim merchants sought to differentiate themselves from what they perceived to be the lower-class Hindus. Their religion, which had Judaic-Christian roots, their passenger status, and generally their stronger group alliances, gave them a sense of strength from which position they approached the White-Indian confrontation. This position of relative strength was reflected in forms of cultural expression. Indeed Muslim music forms and religious practices were so invasive that the first phase of proselytisation away from Hinduism among the poverty-stricken, fragmented indentured agricultural

workers, was towards Islam, in the form of Sufism and Shi'ism. The Muslim merchants, under the leadership of M.K. Gandhi, constituted the first effective body to confront anti-Indian policies, using the Passive Resistance strategies which were to be used later, and on a broader scale, both in South Africa and in pre-Independence India. Music played an important role in these tactics.

There was a stronger sense of unification amongst the "Special Servant" and semi-skilled group of indentured Hindu workers. A sense of "belonging" was conjured up by the early formation of associations in Pietermaritzburg and Durban, catering generally for Tamil and Telugu Hindus. Ironically, because of the indocentric nature of these associations, many of the founders, who had stronger ties with family and friends in India and greater financial independence, went back to India at the end of their contracts. Before they left, they established a framework within which traditional South Indian Hindu cultural practices could function, however tentative and vulnerable to change they might have been.

A challenge to the Muslim merchant came from the Christian Western-educated elite. They were members of traditional Christian churches which had been conducting

missionary activity in India as a result of British trade involvement there. South African Christian Indians therefore displayed many British characteristics which perhaps made them more suitable for adoption into the society in Natal which had a strong British allegiance. It was this group which was to perceive itself as "South African" before any other. They, aligned to the Muslim merchant group, formed the core of the second wave of political opposition which was to address the status of Indians in South Africa. The conditions which, in 1927, this group chose to accept as part of the package deal offered by White authorities, brought into focus the conflicting goals and the absence of real representation of the different Indian South African groups by the leaders who were not elected freely by the people. Assimilation to Western cultural practices was seen by many of these leaders, who followed the pattern set down by British policy in the Cape, to be the solution to the problems of alienation and adaptation which had become increasingly evident during the seventy years of Indian settlement in South Africa. This option, however, did more to identify the fragmentation within South African Indian society itself than to solve the problems of South African Indian status in relation to other non-Indian South Africans.

The assimilationist campaign amongst Indian South Africans, which became articulated in South Africa in 1927, is a phenomenon which was widely advocated by the bourgeoisie in attempts to solve cross-cultural hostility in all parts of the colonial and post-colonial world. As Gramsci has pointed out, "the bourgeois class poses itself as an organism in continuous movement, capable of absorbing the whole society, assimilating it to its own cultural and economic level".[1] Well-intentioned though this middle-class attitude may have been, it seems to have served no real purpose in achieving a solution for Indian South Africans.

Policies about culture transmission after 1927 became a major concern amongst Indian South African leaders. In their attempts to find solutions to the alienation and adaptation problems, activities promoting assimilation, and activities reacting against external pressures to assimilate, became the focal points of groups within both the overall Indian South African structure, as well as those within the overall non-Indian structures. Those activities seeking to promote assimilation were the Indian Eisteddfod, albeit indirectly; the State education system; the traditional Christian churches; and the White liberal movement. Although Islamic principles stressed democracy and equality amongst all

people, South African Muslims sought to preserve their own culture, and were concerned rather with acculturating non-Muslims than with being acculturated into South African Western culture.

In 1925, a new slant on Christianity was introduced by the Pentecostal churches, particularly the Bethesda Church, which was more occupied with Indian evangelism than were the others. Bethesda was to turn increasingly towards ethnic preservation in contrast to the Catholic and Anglican missions which facilitated the adoption of Western culture as well as of Christian doctrine. Activities promoting the preservation of Indian culture as a means of creating a national identity between 1927 and 1948 were to be found in some Hindu temple associations and were seen in street music and dance, in drama, and, in a new guise, in the "Indian Orchestra". Hindu/Buddhism sought to promote Indian culture, but in a guise which could be socially acceptable. The Classical Indian music movement began its difficult climb towards training accomplished musicians and informed audiences with the help of imported records, films, and books, as a nationalistic expression of Hindu Indian middle-class social and economic status.

An example of an attempted "trans-culturation" process (Kartomi), as opposed to acculturation, could perhaps be found in some of the eclectic music styles included in the Shalimar recordings of the forties.[2] With their web of borrowed styles, and more significantly perhaps, their consciously integrative perspective, they could be seen as coming the closest towards an attempted expression of a South Africanised Euro-Indo-Pak culture. During the Passive Resistance campaign in the late forties, a wider section of the Indian South African population was represented by the more democratic Congress, which was striving for even greater representation of the people. The political struggle seems to have been powerfully expressed in a predominantly folk form by a "gypsy" musician. This musician seems to have been an anachronistic echo from village India, supported entirely by the local Indian South African elite, and hinting at a new sense of communalism which was brought to an abrupt halt by the Group Areas Act.

The role of the artist changed radically during the period under study. Traditional structures of patronage, already breaking down in village and newly-urbanised India, were never a viable option for settlers in the colonies. Funds generally were simply not available in the early years of settlement to

support any forms of professionalism amongst artists. As a result of this, perhaps, many immigrants who might otherwise have contributed to the performing arts left South Africa on the assisted repatriation schemes. Those that stayed generally were compelled to seek other means of support while developing their art skills as a sideline. They gave of their services in community projects as teachers and performers. They did this not only because this was a religiously-sanctioned gesture, but because temple caste and aristocratic court stuctures, which would have provided for them in India on a barter or monetary arrangement, were non-existent.

It was not really until the forties, with the advent of the "Indian" orchestra, that music was to enter the South African capitalist economy. Where before, an honorarium was given to performers if any monies should be left over after expenses were paid, now formally constituted orchestras were able to advertise their services on the open market with set fees. By the late forties some excess wealth and a trade embargo with India prompted the development of a recording company in Durban which brought music further into the economy.

The cultural domain in South Africa, as has been indicated, is defined by political and economic status,

class position and race (rather than ethnicity), age, and gender. It is also defined by psychological variables within the individual. Methodology in reconstructing cultural history must not confine itself to the study of large groups. Idiosyncratic interpretations at any given time and within any given set of circumstances tell the historian as much about prevailing events on a social scale as do studies of monolithic structures. They may reveal valuable information about efforts to circumvent external pressures, but they may also reveal innovative and personalised interpretations of events. Despite the socialising forces of his youth, and against what might to others have seemed to be insurmountable odds, a Christian Westernised teacher of English stepped ahead of his time, outside of his religion, and back to the class of his birth, seeking ways to gain elusive information about a music form which had hitherto not been part of the cultural environment in South Africa. He, no doubt, was one of many who, as individuals, went against the stream in order to realise an ideal.

It seems fairly clear that a great degree of modification to the originally imported folk music styles had taken place between 1860 and 1948. Can one, on looking at the resultant musics, as one eloquent form of

politico-cultural expression, determine whether the people producing those music systems saw themselves as South African Indians or Indian South Africans? Identification of central and marginal systems would perhaps be a key to this question. From 1860-1920 there appear to be only marginal systems in operation due to the general fragmentation of immigrant society. If there is any central cultural system at all at this time, it would probably be found amongst the Muslim merchants who seemed to have been more concerned with freedom to trade than with South African citizenship or South African affiliation. Clearly, they perceived themselves as "Indians in South Africa" and looked to India as the home land. Apart from the Christian Western-educated elite, which only started to emerge after forty-five years of Indian settlement, it seems that one must speak of South African Indians at this time.

Westernised Indian South Africans played a central role in the following period. They met ideologically with British liberal assimilationists, with whom they struggled to gain acceptance by White South Africa in general, as South Africans. They articulated and promoted their ideals through well-recognised channels, with which liberal White South Africans could identify.

Their policies were not so much integrative as monistic in the sense that they considered themselves to have adopted the Western system of culture in its entirety. It was, for them, not a question of adding cultures, but of already being part of one.

"Marginal survivals" (Nettl) of Hindu folk culture can be found in the period 1920-1948.[7] But most of this culture became transformed to suit new urban requirements. Some of these transformations had already been initiated before 1920. For instance, the bhajan movement, which was part of a Hindu and neo-Hindu revivalist campaign in urbanising India, was already being practised in South Africa as part of the First Passive Resistance campaign. The bhajan became increasingly popular towards 1948, during which time it merged with folk-derived film music, becoming the central system of South African urban Hindu music practice. Marginal survivals of Muslim folk styles can also be found. They too merged with new urban ideology, to produce the Muslim love-song, or ghazal, and the various forms of eulogistic poetic forms of music practised at the musha'aras. Hindu and Islamic folk forms, added to Western popular and folk forms, and to Indian urban forms, created the dominant urban popular Indian South African form: the "Indian" orchestra.

What of these forms? Did they represent a South African or an Indian affiliation? They clearly display elements of central systems found in all of the parent cultures. The homology theory could explain the relationships between an already acculturated Indian music system and the Western system of the dominant culture in South Africa. But what would this tell us about what these music forms meant to the musicians and the consumers? Rather than a Western ideological motive, perhaps a technological influence and a nationalistic motive could be the etiological explanation we are seeking. Nettl suggests that an explanation of Westernisation could be found in the theory of modernisation.[4] Depending on the conceptualisation and ideological process through which traditional musics accrete Western elements, they could be identified either as Westernisation or as modernisation.

> [M]odernisation is the process whereby... a music retains its traditional essence but becomes modern - that is, part of a contemporary world and its set of values.... [T]he traditional music is changed in order to remain intact in the modern world, not in order to become a part of Western civilisation.[5]

As Nettl points out, Westernisation and modernisation may produce the same effect on the sound of the music, but the motivations, and therefore the interpretative

meanings would differ. "The role of modernisation is... twofold: to facilitate Westernisation, and to keep it under control."[6]

The theory of syncretism might help to shed some light on the question of modernisation or Westernisation. Music syncretism could be defined as the merging of two or more music cultures in such a way that easily recognisable elements of the parent cultures exist in the new hybrid, but the fusion occurs in such a way that the syncretic system takes on a life of its own, becoming a vibrant example of *gestalt*. It has become a new species rather than an addition of discrete elements.

Examples of Westernisation, modernisation, and syncretism existed between 1920 and 1948. Whilst interviewing Indian South Africans about the functions of their music, I was frequently answered with "Well, we are in South Africa" as though that were sufficient explanation. Certainly the central systems of popular music in this period were conceived of as modernisations of inherited music forms. It is Indian music, however much it may sound Western to the ethnomusicologist. The function of this music, related as it is to Indian religions and to Indian social occasions, would

establish it as such. Furthermore, popular Indian music in South Africa developed along lines which were either initiated or paralleled in India, thus it was not seen by Indian South Africans as part of a foreign music system. It was, however, modernised sufficiently to accommodate an irreversible sense of South African affiliation. It seems that whilst wishing to be acknowledged as fully-fledged South Africans, with freedom of occupation and association, the freedom of cultural expression, and the freedom of choice to change if and when desired, most Indian South Africans by 1948 wished to embrace one of the modernised forms of Indian culture. Marginal groups embraced either what they perceived to be "authentic traditional Indian" music systems, which in the forties included both folk and classical, or "authentic" Western music systems, folk and classical. The Western-educated traditional Christian group was the only group at this time which rejected Indian culture outright.

Educational Implications

Perhaps the most significant educational implication to be deduced from this study is that great sensitivity and caution should be exercised when planning to include

musics from other cultures in any one music education curriculum. Music is not merely sound, patterns of pitch, rhythm, texture, words, and instruments of good tone. It can, and usually does, convey the values, aesthetic and otherwise, of a group or individual to whom it is meaningful. Anyone contemplating teaching Indian music should at the very least acquaint themselves fully with the theoretical foundations of the main forms of Indian music, including classical, folk, and its modernised forms. They should also take the greatest care to find out whose music it is they are "borrowing" and what that music means to its "owners". Only such a meticulous approach as this could prevent the recurrence of the kinds of well-meaning disaster which the liberal world has seen in the last century in cross-cultural interactions.

All forms of Indian music could be suitable for some aspect of a music education programme, but discretion must be brought to bear in selecting appropriate forms for the different phases in mind, and specific objectives need to be determined. In order to avoid a purposeless, confused perception of Indian music, the educational planner needs to differentiate between music appropriate for listening to and learning about, and music for performing and "doing". It is not enough

merely to know that ragas and talas inform Indian music. The complexity of the music forms themselves demand respectful treatment, and their position in the overall social matrix must be acknowledged in order to avoid a superficial, indeed a disreputable, approach to the implementation of Indian musics in the multicultural music programme.

Further Research

Almost all aspects of music practice and music meaning amongst Indian South Africans in the period in question require further research. Some areas, however, demand more attention than others, either because they were overlooked for one reason or another in this study, or because they are more complex or more inaccessible than others. For instance, the development of mosque and temple musics has not been adequately addressed. Collections of song-forms and, perhaps even more significantly, translations of song-texts are essential to the understanding of vocal music's social functions. Transliterations, transcriptions, and translations of scores in Indian notation need consideration. Due to my close association with a Tamil informant, this study reflects a strong South Indian bias. Much research

needs to be made into the early development of Hindustani musics, including such forms as the *khyal* and the *dhrupad*, amongst others. An index of key North Indian musicians could be formulated, and other unrepresented South Indian musicians need to be traced. Collections of brochures, letters, and other memorabilia not represented in this study require urgent attention. Extant records of the 1946-1953 Shalimar and Moghul companies need to be recovered and copied for posterity. Indeed, there is enough fascinating research to keep an entire team of researchers constructively occupied for a lifetime.

NOTES

1 A. Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks, edited by Q. Hoare and G. Nowell-Smith, London: Lawrence and Wisehart, 1971, p.260. Cited by Richard Middleton, "Articulating Musical Meaning, Re-constructing Musical History, Locating the 'Popular'", in R. Middleton and D. Horn, eds., Popular Music 5: Continuity and Change, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p.8.

2 Margaret J. Kartomi, "The Processes and Results of Musical Culture Contact: A Discussion of Terminology and Concepts", Ethnomusicology Vol. XXV, no. 2, 1981: p.244.

3 B. Nettl, "Introduction", in B. Nettl, ed. Eight Urban Musical Cultures: Tradition and Change, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978, p.9.

4 Ibid., p.10.

5 Ibid.

6 B. Nettl, "Persian Classical Music in Tehran: The Processes of Change", in Nettl, Eight Urban, p.176.

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