

**MUSIC AND PRESBYTERIANISM AT THE LOVEDALE
MISSIONARY INSTITUTE, 1841–1955**

by

VIVIENNE PIETERS

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DECLARATION

Student Number: 3712478

I, Vivienne Pieters, declare that *Music and Presbyterianism at the Lovedale Missionary Institute, 1841–1955* is my own work. All the sources that have been used and quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

I further declare that I submitted the thesis to originality checking software and that it falls within the accepted requirements for originality.

I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at the University of South Africa (Unisa) (or any other university).

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'V. Pieters', written over a horizontal line.

Vivienne Pieters

Date: 14 December 2021

SUMMARY

Music and Presbyterianism at the Lovedale Missionary Institute, 1841–1955

Summary:

This history of music and Presbyterianism at the Lovedale Missionary Institute focuses on the work of Scottish Presbyterian missionaries, students and graduates of Lovedale in the period 1841 to 1955. The period under consideration begins with the foundation of the mission in 1841 and ends with its closure in 1955 as a result of the apartheid government's decision to stop funding the independent mission schools. This work offers a critical appraisal of the careers, influence and ideology of the five Scottish principals: William Govan, James Stewart, James Henderson, Arthur West Wilkie and Robert Henry Wishart Shepherd. Many of South Africa's most prominent African intellectuals and composers studied at Lovedale under their tutelage. A survey of these musicians and intellectuals is described in a series of profiles, which include discussion of their careers and analysis of their music. Case studies of composers Tiyo Soga, John Knox Bokwe, Benjamin Tyamzashe, Daniel Marivate, Michael Moerane, Joshua Polumo Mohapeloa and Reuben Caluza explore themes of influence and syncretism. Stories about events, characters and the relationships that developed between students and teachers are brought to the fore because these give insight into the social and political dynamics of music and mission in general, and to a changing South Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The role of women at Lovedale is emphasised with a focus on the wives of missionaries, such as Mina Stewart, but also independent figures, such as Frieda Bokwe Matthews, Jane Waterston and Monica Wilson. It thematically discusses how Lovedale became an intellectual and musical centre with a strong tradition of African music and literature supported by the publications of the Lovedale Press. This thesis offers a careful review of documentary sources in South Africa and Scotland, and in so doing draws

close attention to the mission's policies and educational outcomes in relation to music. The research is based on archival methods and framed by contemporary theories of postcolonialism and decoloniality.

Keywords:

African composers; Choralism; Free Church of Scotland; Hymns; Lovedale Missionary Institute; Post-colonialism; Presbyterianism; Tonic sol-fa; South Africa.

Umculo NobuPresbhitari Kwiziko Lecawe laseDikeni ngowe1841 ukuya kowe1955

Isishwankathelo:

Le mbali yomculo nobuPresbhitari kwiziko Lecawe laseDikeni (iLovedale Missionary Institute) igxila kumsebenzi wabaququzeleli bevangeli bamaSkoti, abafundi kunye nabathweswa zidanga besinala saseDikeni esaziwa ngokuba yiLovedale ngeminyaka ephakathi kowe1841 nowe1955. Eli xesha sifunda ngalo liqala ekwakhiweni kwemishini ngowe1841 kwaye liphela ekuvalweni kwayo ngowe1955 kuba urhulumente wocalucalulo wagqiba ekubeni apheze ukuxhasa ngemali izikolo zeecawe ezizimeleyo. Esi sifundo siphengulula ngeliso elibukhali umsebenzi, impembelelo kunye nezimvo ezisisiseko seenqununu zamaSkoti ezintlanu: uWilliam Govan, uJames Stewart, uJames Henderson, uArthur West Wilkie kunye noRobert Henry Wishart Shepherd. Uninzi lweenkcubabuchopo nabaqambi beengoma abangama-Afrika bafunda eLovedale phantsi kwezi nqununu. Uphononongo lwezi nkcubabuchopo nabaqambi beengoma lwenziwe kwiqela leeprofayili eziquka ingxoxo ngemisebenzi yabo nohlalutyo lomculo wabo. Izifundo ezingumzekelo ezingoTiyo Soga, uJohn Knox Bokwe, uBenjamin Tyamzashe, uDaniel Marivate, uMichael Moerane, uJoshua Polumo Mohapelo kunye noReuben Caluza ziphonononga imixholo yempembelelo kunye nokudityaniswa kweenkolo ezahlukeneyo. Kubaliswa namabali eziganeko, abantu abahlukeneyo nentsebenziswano eyayikho phakathi kwabafundi nootitshala. La mabali adandalazisa amahla ndinyuka kwezentlalo nezopolitiko malunga nomculo kunye nemishini ngokubanzi, noMzantsi Afrika owawuguquka ngenkulungwane yeshumi elinethoba neyamashumi amabini. Indima yamabhinqa eLovedale iqwalaselwe ngokugxila kumakhosikazi abaququzeleli bevangeli abanjengoMina Stewart kunye namanye amakhosikazi azimeleyo afana noFrieda Bokwe Matthews, uJane Waterston kunye noMonica Wilson. Isifundo sibonisa ngokwemixholo, indlela iLovedale eyaba liziko lemfundo nelomculo osekelwe ngamandla kumculo wobuAfrika noncwadi olwalupapashwa kwiziko

lokushicilela, iLovedale Press. Le ngxelo yophando inika uphengululo olunzulu lwemithombo yolwazi eseMzantsi Afrika naseScotland, kwaye ngokwenza njalo itsalela ingqalelo kwimigaqo nkqubo yale mishini kunye neziphumo zemfundo emalunga nomculo. Uphando lusekelwe kwiindlela zemithombo kavimba kwaye luphanhlwe ziingcingane (iithiyori) ezingexesha lasemva kobukoloniyali nokupheliswa kolawulo lwezizwe ezingamathanga.

Amagama aphambili:

Abaqambi bama-Afrika; Ubukwayara; Icawe Ekhululekileyo yaseSkotlani; Amaculo ecawe; Iziko Lecawe laseDikeni/eLovedale; Emva kobukoloniyali; UbuPresbhitari; Umculo *wetonic sol-fa*; uMzantsi Afrika.

Musiek en Presbiterianisme by die Lovedale Missionary Institute, 1841–1955

Opsomming:

Hierdie geskiedkundige oorsig van musiek en Presbiterianisme by die Lovedale Missionary Institute fokus op die werk van Skots-Presbiteriaanse sendelinge, studente en gegradueerdes van Lovedale in die tydperk 1841 tot 1955. Die tydperk onder bespreking begin met die stigting van die sendingpos in 1841 en eindig met die sluiting daarvan in 1955 vanweë die apartheidregering se besluit om nie meer die onafhanklike sendingskole te befonds nie. Hierdie werk bied 'n kritiese beoordeling van die loopbane, invloed en ideologie van die vyf Skotse hoofde: William Govan, James Stewart, James Henderson, Arthur West Wilkie en Robert Henry Wishart Shepherd. Vele van Suid-Afrika se mees prominente Afrika-intellektuele en komponiste het by Lovedale gestudeer onder hul leiding. 'n Oorsig van hierdie musikante en intellektuele word in 'n reeks profiele beskryf en dit sluit 'n bespreking van hul loopbane en 'n ontleding van hul musiek in. Gevallestudies oor die komponiste Tiyo Soga, John Knox Bokwe, Benjamin Tyamzashe, Daniel Marivate, Michael Moerane, Joshua Polumo Mohapeloa en Reuben Caluza fokus op temas wat met invloed en sinkritisme verband hou. Stories oor gebeure, karakters en die verhoudings wat tussen studente en onderwysers ontwikkel het, word prominent omdat dit insig gee in die sosiale en politieke dinamika van musiek en sending oor die algemeen, en 'n veranderende Suid-Afrika in die negentiende en twintigste eeu. Die rol van vroue by Lovedale word beklemtoon, met 'n fokus op die vrouens van sendelinge – soos Mina Stewart, maar ook onafhanklike figure soos Frieda Bokwe Matthews, Jane Waterston en Monica Wilson. Daar word tematies bespreek hoe Lovedale 'n intellektuele en musieksentrum geword het, met 'n sterk tradisie van Afrika-musiek en -literatuur, ondersteun deur die publikasies van die Lovedale Press. Hierdie tesis gee 'n sorgvuldige oorsig van dokumentêre bronne in Suid-Afrika en Skotland, en vestig sodoende die aandag op die sending se beleide en opvoedkundige uitkomstes ten opsigte van

musiek. Die navorsing is gebaseer op argivale metodes in die konteks van kontemporêre teorieë van postkolonialisme en dekolonialisme.

Sleutelwoorde:

Afrika-komponiste; koorsangtradisies; Free Church of Scotland; lofsange; Lovedale Missionary Institute; postkolonialisme; Presbiterianisme; tonika-solfa; Suid-Afrika.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABRSM	Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music
AFCS	Annals of the Free Church of Scotland.
AOUP	Archives of the Oxford University Press
CofS	Church of Scotland
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CSTC	Church of Scotland Training College (Glasgow)
CTAR	Cape Town Archives Repository
CTU	Cape Town University Library
CWM	Council for World Mission
DD	Doctor Divinitatis (Doctor of Divinity)
DOD	Department of Defence (Archives, Irene, Centurion)
EpCS	Episcopal Church of Scotland.
FC	Free Church.
FCS	Free Church of Scotland
FCTC	Free Church Training College (Glasgow)
FRGS	Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society
FRSE	The Royal Society of Edinburgh
GFCC	Glasgow Free Church College
GMS	Glasgow Missionary Society
ILAM	International Library of African Music
IRM	International Review of Mission
LMS	London Missionary Society.
LUL	Leeds University Library Special Collections
MBGMS	Minute Book of the Glasgow Missionary Society/ Missionary Board of the Glasgow Missionary Society
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People
NELM	National English Literary Museum (September 2018)
OUP	Oxford University Press
RGS	Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society
SAO	South African Outlook
SAMUS	South African Journal of Musicology
SATB	Soprano, alto, tenor and bass which are voice types required by a chorus or choir
SGE	Superintendent General of Education
SM/PROG	The oldest <i>biological</i> mother progenitor of her family line (PROG), and the 'stammoeder' <i>cultural</i> matriarch of her husband's surname line (SM) can often be two

different women.

SOAS	School of Oriental & African Studies (SOAS), University of London
SAMRO	The South African Music Rights Organisation
WITS	University of the Witwatersrand
WMMS	WMMS Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society
UFTC	United Free Church Training College (Glasgow)
UPC	United Presbyterian Church.
USC	United Secession Church (the United Associate Synod of the Secession Church, a Scottish Presbyterian Protestant denomination).
URCSA	Uniting Reformed Church in Southern Africa
VOC	Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company)

PROLOGUE

I was drawn to this research in part because of my own background related to missionaries. After discovering and subsequently reading through notes made by my great-grandfather (Reverend Karl Larsen Titlestad) (1832–1924) about his life at the Ekombe mission in Zululand, Natal, I realised that here was a rich family heritage dating back to the nineteenth century. There were also historical similarities between the accomplishments of the Norwegian missionaries in Natal and the Scottish Presbyterians at Lovedale in the Eastern Cape. I attended a Presbyterian Sunday School where my role model was Jose Munro (née Yule). Jose was a Lay Preacher of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa who, among other duties, worked for the South African National Sunday School Association.¹ She was an example of how women can make a difference to the lives of others. Lay preachers and developments in Sunday schools led to foreign missions being established in various parts of the world, especially South Africa, where there was a “scramble for mission fields.”²

Scholars have sometimes accused Christian missionaries of having acted as instruments of imperialism (Dachs 1972, Mafeje 2016, Said 1978). In his book, *The Bible and the Flag*³, Brian Stanley presents a more sympathetic reading founded on historical evidence. This thesis offers a history based on the study of archival sources. These sources do not tell the whole story of Lovedale, nor could they. This is because the sources available to us in the present are but an imperfect collection of those preserved from the past. I offer a *history* of missionary activity and music rather than a cultural critique of missionary activities. The

¹ Ruth E. Gordon, *Petticoat Pioneers: Women of Distinction*. Federation of Women’s Institutes of Natal and Zululand (Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter, 1988), 249.

² Benneth Mgekajaza Chabalala Masumbe, “The Swiss Missionaries’ Management of Social Transformation in South Africa (1873-1976) (PhD Thesis) (University of South Africa. 2002), vi.

³ Cecil Hugh, “Stanley Brian, The Bible and the Flag: Protestant missions and British Imperialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries,” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 22, no 3 (1992): 269.

actions of these missionaries are considered on their own terms and in their historical contexts; but the consequences of these actions are also carefully scrutinised. Presbyterian missionaries at Lovedale had two main goals: spreading the gospel in southern Africa and educating indigenous peoples in the European fashion. Both goals were pursued with conviction and idealism. They believed fervently in the justness of their cause, and that it was a moral endeavour in service of the communities to which they were commissioned. There can be no doubt that they succeeded in achieving their goals. African students at Lovedale had access to a Western formal education at this institute from 1841 to 1955. The Black graduates at Lovedale also adopted Western cultural practices. Musicians aspired to an ideal of ‘modernity’ and ‘economic betterment’ which was common right across British colonies in Africa and the East. Black graduates sought to resist ‘racist colonial ideologies’ by becoming Westernised. Their contributions have not been properly documented.

This study is a musical biography of Lovedale which offers new perspectives on the history of the institute through consideration of multiple voices, many of which had previously been marginalised. To challenge the prevailing Eurocentric view of history, which was sustained throughout the colonial and apartheid eras, is nevertheless a challenge, given that most of the sources available were written from a European perspective. The theoretical framework that informs my study is shaped by the post-colonial world from which it emerges. There were different cultures and social groups who were influenced by the communication at Lovedale. The missionaries needed to understand the different cultures, customs and languages of their students. Questions of race and coloniality are addressed with due consideration for the contexts of Black South Africans. I highlight the contribution of different people who are interlinked by events as well as the views of both Black and White scholars. Questions as to how Africans resisted racist colonial ideologies are considered together with discussions of class and ethnicity. The indigenisation of evangelical effort and the role of gender in shaping

missions is important. Establishing a record of the work of female anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, educators, missionaries and sociologists is an important goal of this thesis, given that the emphasis in most historical accounts is on male principals, missionaries, and musicians. ‘Empire’ and the civilising mission of Western ‘imperialism’ is discussed. Assuming that imperialism was the precursor to modern day globalisation, it is important to see how the civilising mission through ‘Christian-based education’ unfolded elsewhere in comparative perspective. This includes ‘social implications’, and since so many of those educated at Lovedale studied, travelled and worked overseas, one could see this as the beginning of the elitist cosmo-African (Afropolitan) in southern Africa, such as the Soga and Jabavu family members.

One main goal of this thesis is to broaden our understanding of the contributions of African composers and musicians, as well as missionaries, to the history of music in Southern Africa. The fact that the archival materials are overwhelmingly the texts of the European missionaries and, in far more limited ways, those of the African students, missionaries, and musicians who attended Lovedale, is a limitation that has inevitably shaped the findings of this research. Delimited in this way, this study focuses on the ways in which the European missionaries educated Africans through a British nationalist system, and how Africans used this education to accomplish themselves in music and other intellectual and artistic pursuits. Music is a language of exchange. African composers interpreted hymnody and made it their own. This includes the development of an African musicology with nationalistic sentiments, also being addressed in compositions by African composers including Bokwe, Caluza, Mohapeloa, and Tyamzashe. Permission was granted from SAMRO, Braamfontein, to analyse brief excerpts of music but my own commentary accompanies the chosen music examples within the thesis. How the music was received from inside and outside the institute of Lovedale is also discussed.

Education is a powerful force, as it shapes both political and social ends.⁴ The contexts of Lovedale missionaries, students, and graduates who shaped and developed their country, South Africa, are considered. One major factor in balancing this thesis needs to be mentioned at the outset, and this is the question of how to address the prejudices that the missionaries brought with them, and how their prejudices inevitably shaped the indigenous cultures with which they interacted. John Bennie reported in 1821 when he came to South Africa that the children were quite “destitute of education”; but what sort of education?⁵ To some, education was seen to give them “increased social mobility” and was the solution to racial oppression and segregation.⁶ To others, European education meant the destruction of indigenous knowledge systems and culture. The ways in which European colonialism undermined and destroyed highly effective systems of education demonstrates the profound misunderstandings that comes of prejudice.

My research on Lovedale includes archival work in both South Africa and Scotland and this has shaped the research I was able to carry out. A two-week field trip was undertaken to the Eastern Cape in February/March 2018, presenting the opportunity to travel to Alice and visit Lovedale (now the Lovedale Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) College) and the Lovedale Printing Press (23 Gardens Street, Alice). Contact was established with the present custodians, Mr Mnqumevu and Mr Cebo Ntaka. I also went to the University of Fort Hare and the library at The Hunterstoun Centre in Hogsback (the old home of Monica Wilson (1908–1982)). I visited the International Library of African Music (ILAM) and appreciate the kind assistance given to me by Dr Lee Watkins and Elijah Madiba before

⁴ T.S.N. Gqubule, “An Examination of the Theological Education of Africans in the Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregational and Anglican Churches in South Africa from 1860 to 1960” (PhD Thesis) (Rhodes University, 1977), 45.

⁵ R.H.W. Shepherd, *Lovedale Missionary Report for 1945*. (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1945).

⁶ Veit Erlmann, *African Stars: Studies in Black South African Performance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 43.

doing research at the National English Literary Museum (NELM) (now known as the *Amazwi* South African Museum of Literature) and the Cory Library. Contact was established with the Donald Woods Foundation at Hobeni in the Eastern Cape. Research in Gauteng included the Samro Foundation in Braamfontein, Johannesburg. In Pretoria the following venues were visited: the Archival Collections at the Unisa Archives; the Heritage Foundation at the Voortrekker Monument; the Music Library at the Musaion, University of Pretoria; National Library of South Africa (NLSA) Pretoria Central; South African National Defence Force (SANDF) Documentation Services at the Reading Room at their Archives in Irene and the Unisa Library, New Muckleneuk Main Branch, Pretoria.

I visited Lovedale at what is now known as the Alice Campus of Lovedale TVET College. This is on the site of of the well-known Lovedale College, the institute this research is based on. I appreciate this opportunity as I was able to see first-hand where the missionaries and their students interacted before the institute was closed down by the apartheid government in 1955, and education was no longer under the control of the Missions. The name Lovedale was chosen in 2002 when the present college was established because of the rich academic legacy of education, excellent training and the political heritage of the original institute. Lovedale today is known as a TVET College which is a ‘post-school educational institute’.⁷ It was founded in 2002 and is located in Victoria Road in Alice. Its category is vocational, pre-university, lifelong learning with courses which are “responsive to the needs of the community” as well as to the “public and private sectors.”⁸ This is in keeping with the apprentice courses introduced at nineteenth century Lovedale. UNESCO adds that a TVET College allows for the acquisition of practical skills, attitudes, understanding and knowledge

⁷ Odendaal, Adriaan. “What is a TVET College?” December 15, 2015. <https://www.oxbridgeacademy.edu.za/> (accessed September 19, 2020).

⁸ “Lovedale TVET.” <https://osau.com/schools/336/lovedale-tvet-college> (accessed 19 September 2020).

relating to occupations in various sectors of economic and social life.”⁹ This is very similar to the nineteenth century equivalent of an industrial school which proved to be such a success when Sir George Grey became the Governor in 1854 and industrial courses started at Lovedale in 1855. Agriculture is still offered today, and the canal built for irrigation in 1839 still exists.

The Main Educational Building was originally completed in 1883 but was destroyed by fire in 1924 and rebuilt.¹⁰ Today it is used by the current college where the facilities are utilised for tuition and computer training. There is even a piano upstairs, reminiscent of the musicking including piano lessons and performances by the students in days gone by. The original dining hall is still in use although the students now prepare their own meals. A memorial erected in honour of a Scottish missionary, Alexander Geddes (1848-1907), is still found in the campus grounds as are some of the oak trees planted by the missionaries.

Research in Scotland included Aberdeen, Glasgow and Edinburgh. I also contacted archivists at the Dollar Academy, Dundee City Archive and Record Centre. I presented a paper at the British Forum for Ethnomusicology (BFE) at the 2019 Annual Conference at the University of Aberdeen. I appreciate the kindness and assistance of Professor Emeritus Ian Russell, Dr Frances Wilkins (the convenor of the conference) and Dr Simon McKerrell. I was also able to do research at the Special Collections Centre at the Sir Duncan Rice Library at the University of Aberdeen. Research was done in Glasgow through an archivist at the Andersonian Library at the University of Strathclyde, the Mitchell Library Glasgow Archives and Special Collections (North Street), University of Glasgow Archives (Thurso Street) and the University of Glasgow Special Collections department on Level 12 of the University Library.

⁹ Odendaal, Adriaan. “What is a TVET College?” December 15, 2015. <https://www.oxbridgeacademy.edu.za/> (Accessed September 19, 2020).

¹⁰ R.H.W. Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa 1824–1955* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1971), 151.

Research was done in Edinburgh at the National Library of Scotland Special Collections Reading Room on Level 1 and at the General Reading Room George IV Bridge, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Wolfson Reading Room and at the New College Library (Special collections) School of Divinity, The Mound, Edinburgh.

The archival research for this thesis has inevitably shaped the final product. In many ways, I have focused on the documents available to me, and I acknowledge that these are based mainly on the writings of the Scottish Presbyterian missionaries. It is largely through the scores of African composers that I have developed an understanding of their music. Writings by these composers are unfortunately not widely available. It has thus been challenging to achieve a balance of views between the perspectives of the missionaries and those of their students. Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that this imbalance is itself a product of the colonial encounters that shaped missionary activity at Lovedale in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

CHAPTER 1

MUSIC AND BRITISH SETTLER COLONIALISM AT THE CAPE, PRE-1840



Figure 1.1: “Map of the Eastern Frontier of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope 1835.”¹¹

¹¹ “Map of the Eastern Frontier of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope 1835,” Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Commons:Community_portal/File:Eastern_Frontier_Cape_of_Good_Hope,_ca_1835.png. Adelaide was “a Scottish settlement” and Fort Hare was “a military encampment established in 1847”. The ‘Zuurveld’ refers to the “farming districts of Albany and eastern Uitenhage,” and exiled/displaced Khoi-khoi were found at “the Kat River Settlement.” The Cape Colony fell to the British Crown in 1795 and again in 1806

This map is from Algoa Bay to the Great Kei River, indicating Chumie ‘Old Lovedale’ and Alice where Lovedale was established. It should be noted that the name ‘Chumie/Gwali’ refers to the mission station also known as ‘Old Lovedale’ which closed down in 1851 and ‘Tyumie’ refers to the mountains, river or valley. The Tyumie River flows into the Keiskama. Shepherd, Robert H.W. *Lovedale South Africa 1841–1955* (Lovedale: The Lovedale Press, 1940), 34.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This history of music at the Lovedale Missionary Institute focuses on the work of Scottish Presbyterian missionaries and on the musical contributions of their African students in the period 1841 to 1955.¹² The focus is on the careers of the missionaries at Lovedale and their music students rather than on mission work in general. Stories about events, characters, and the relationships that developed between students and teachers are brought to the fore to give insight into the social dynamics of music and mission in the nineteenth through mid-twentieth centuries. An important theme running through this thesis is how Lovedale became the intellectual and musical centre for a strong tradition of music in the Presbyterian Church, and how this took on increasing political significance with the rise of Black intellectuals and politicians in the twentieth century.¹³ This thesis also focuses on the history and contexts for Presbyterian music and education of the period, and profiles the influential school principals, students and their music. Important events in this history are chronicled through a series of vignettes, or short biographical entries.¹⁴ The period under consideration here begins with the foundation of the mission in 1841 and ends with its closure in 1955 as a result of the apartheid government's implementation of the Bantu Education Act (1953), which effectively stopped funding to independent mission schools in South Africa, including Lovedale.¹⁵

¹² Refer to Appendix 1 for a chronology of historical events from 1486 to 1955. This overview places the history and events of the Lovedale Missionary Institute within the wider historical context.

¹³ H. L. Henchman, *The Town of Alice, Lovedale and Fort Hare* (Lovedale: Lovedale Institution, 1927), 5–6. Mr Henchman was the Rector and Military Chaplain at Fort Beaufort for many years. The town of Alice was known as *Edikeni*, translated as a *vlei* or pond. The name Alice was used early in 1847 and has been attributed to Princess Alice, who was the daughter of Queen Victoria. Alternatively, the village may have been named after the wife of Colonel Hare, whose name was also Alice.

¹⁴ Nelson R. Mandela wrote in 1994, “A biographical record concentrates on the people of a single country; these are the people on whose shoulders we stand” (Verwey 1995: v).

¹⁵ Neil Overy, “These Difficult Days: Mission Church Reactions to Bantu Education in South Africa, 1949–1956” (PhD thesis, University of London, 2002), 4.

The Bantu Education Act was passed in 1953. Africans were forced to accept the state's dogma that “Bantu Education was better than no education” (Overy, “These Difficult Days”, 4). For an overview of Bantu education, see Hunt Davis, R. *Bantu Education and the Education of Africans in South Africa*. Athens, Ohio University Centre for International Studies, 1972.

This thesis adopts a narrative literary technique to the writing of music history and musical biography, a method widely used and theorised.¹⁶ It is in fact a ‘musical biography of Lovedale’. The role of the Lovedale Press in publishing music scores is considered, as is the interpretation of hymnody by the African composers, as well as the societal messages in their hymn writing together with the hymn writers’ socio-political role in the wider South African society. As the historian C.F. Mullet explains, “history is about people, what they do, what they think, what happens to them and how they influence the world in which they live”.¹⁷ Putting together narratives is a process that involves the interpretation of facts, and as such is a product of present concerns as much as it is an inquiry into the past. In a classic statement of the problem, E.H. Carr observes: “When we attempt to answer the question, ‘What is history?’ our answer, consciously or unconsciously, reflects our own position in time, and forms part of our answer to the broader question of what view we take of the society in which we live.”¹⁸ History writing is not simply the assemblage of facts. Indeed, facts do not speak for themselves. “The facts speak only when the historian calls on them: it is [s]he who decides to which facts to give the floor, and in what order or context.”¹⁹ The selection and interpretation of these facts is of particular consequence in South Africa, where history itself served an ideological function, especially during apartheid, when some historians sought to justify segregation and White minority rule using selected ‘facts’.

Unfortunately, in South Africa, more traditional historical pursuits have often excluded many voices, especially those of marginalised individuals and communities. In applying a narrative research approach, the thesis presents a music history that relies on the written words of

¹⁶ Brian Roberts, *Biographical Research* (London: Open University Press, 2002). Hayden White, "The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory," *History and Theory* 23 no. 1 (February 1984): 1.

¹⁷ C.F. Mullet, *Biography as History: Men and Movements in Europe since 1500* (New York, 1963), 3.

¹⁸ E.H. Carr, *What is History?* (London: Penguin, 1961[1990]), 8.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

individuals “to examine and understand how human actions are related to the social contexts in which they occur”.²⁰ By incorporating the stories and lives of African intellectuals – such as Daisy Makiwane (the first Black female journalist), John Knox Bokwe (composer), Isaac Williams Wauchope (poet), and Solomon Tshekisho Plaatjie (composer and author) – the thesis provides a voice to those silenced by past histories – those marginalised by history because of the colour of their skin. This decolonial perspective provides balance to histories dominated by the exploits of White composers of art music in South Africa as the only legitimate subjects for study. A decolonial critique valorises the work of Black Africans.

Birgitt Olsen views history as being “created in specific conditions, places and times.”²¹ This thesis is conceived as a musical biography of the Lovedale Missionary Institute in the sense that this place served as the focal point for musicking and mission in the Cape Province for more than a century. The “colonised and formerly colonised” should be presented as “subjects of history”.²² In South Africa the African concept of *ubuntu* (a person is a person through people), has similar connotations of community, mutual tolerance and support.²³ However, governmental structures in a colonised state were inevitably authoritarian and illiberal. So much so that some historians have characterised late 19th and early 20th century South Africa as a “conquest state”.²⁴

The social dynamics of Presbyterian missionaries and their students is also crucial to the formulation of a musical biography for the Lovedale Institute. Indeed, the institution is

²⁰ Torill Moen, “Reflections on the Narrative Research Approach,” Norwegian University of Science and Technology. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods: Archive* 5 no 4 (2006).

²¹ Birgitt Olsen, “An Overview of Translation History in South Africa 1652–1860,” (MA dissertation) (University of the Witwatersrand, 2008), 1.

²² John Arthur Garraty, “*The Nature of Biography 1920–1007*” (New York: Knopf, 1957), 28.

²³ Jacob Mapara. “Indigenous Knowledge Systems in Zimbabwe: Juxtaposing Postcolonial Theory,” *Journal of Pan African Studies* 3, no. 1 (September 2009), 147.

²⁴ Graham Dominy, “Limitations on Liberalism: A Tale of Three Schreiners,” *The Journal of the Helen Suzman Foundation*, no. 81. December (2017), 39.

widely viewed as the nexus around which an intellectual community grew and flourished. But it was also a place of acrimony, dissent and contestation around issues of race, class and ideology. These complexities come to the fore in the lives of musicians Soga, Bokwe, Tyamzashe, Marivate, Moerane and Mohapeloa, who studied there and who made Lovedale the iconic institution that it is. Still, this iconic status should not obscure the limitations and failings of its principals and staff, despite the significant work they did and their musical influence in the lives of their students musically. Later, some churches also endorsed the apartheid policy of the state and turned a blind eye to conflict.

Generations come and generations go, but by focusing on the institution and its people, this thesis situates Lovedale as central to the identity and development of a community. The relationship of the institution to its community needs to be understood as the product of changing socio-political contexts that are characteristic of this period of colonial history in South Africa. Every story has a beginning, a middle, and an ending. This narrative will therefore start at the beginning when Lovedale was established and the story will be developed sequentially, offering a chronicle of the principals, composers, and intellectuals who shaped the character of the mission, and who came to play an important role in South African society. It takes into account the role of music and singing during three main historical periods: (1) British settler colonialism at the Cape until 1910, (2) the Union of South Africa from 1910 to 1948, and (3) the Afrikaner nationalist government with their policy of apartheid, beginning in 1948.²⁵ In terms of structure, the history of Lovedale is divided into five periods corresponding to the terms of its five Scottish principals, namely: the First Period: 1840–1870, the Second Period: 1870–1905, the Third Period: 1906–1930, the Fourth Period: 1932–1942 and the Fifth Period: 1942–1955.

²⁵ A chronology of events pertaining to Lovedale and the history of the Cape Colony is included in the Appendix.

The period of colonial settlement before the establishment of Lovedale is also important within the greater context of this narrative, although it is not the primary focus of this thesis (which is one of the limitations of the study). What should be kept in mind, however, is that Western influences on music began with the arrival of the first Europeans and their missionaries in southern Africa in the late fifteenth century. In short, singing and musicianship was to play an important role in the development of colonial society from the very beginning, with Lovedale playing a very specific and influential role during the five periods outlined above.²⁶

1.2 THE ROLE OF SINGING IN MISSION WORK

Missionaries travelling from Scotland to Africa during the nineteenth century brought their music with them, and the singing of hymns can be seen as a virtual “conduit” for the spread of Christianity. Robert Moffat (1795–1883) promoted the idea that the “great truths of salvation” should be sung constantly as they would then become “imperceptibly written on the minds of the people”.²⁷ The above is re-enforced by Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, who emphasise that “mission music was to be widely domesticated in Southern Africa in the secessionist Churches”²⁸ (namely the Scottish denomination churches). This would occur when missionaries began to evangelise by singing hymns, and the “heathen(s)” started to listen to the gospel. The missionaries saw singing as being “of ideological importance” as it provided a transition to “Christianity and civilisation”.²⁹

²⁶ David Smith. Colonial Encounters through the Prism of Music: A Southern African Perspective. *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 33 (2002), 31–55.

²⁷ Robert Moffat, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa* (London: John Snow, 1842), 478.

²⁸ Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa*. Volume 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 241.

²⁹ Markus Detterbeck, “South African Choral Music (Amakwaya): Song, Contest and the Formation of Identity” (PhD Thesis) (University of Natal, Durban. 2002).

In the work of Markus Detterbeck, the role of choral music in the formation of the African elite's identity is explored through the recollections of those who had personal experience of singing within a missionary environment. For example, Thulasizwe Nkabinde, in his experience with Christian missions, describes how hymn singing incorporated Western harmonies and church hymns that were taught in four parts.³⁰ Langa Nkosi enjoyed the influence of the mission institutions at Christmas time when everyone joined in a “sing-along around the Christmas tree” (*ihlahla*). In my view, the teachers at the mission schools who were composers were themselves stars, but they were not seldom recognised as such. They incorporated the practice of Western harmonies and Christian influences in their instruction and worship.³¹ In 1888, Rev. J.A. Chalmers, Tiyo Soga's biographer and formerly a missionary at Emgwali ‘closed his career’.³² Soga had left a musical legacy and his children were also composers and missionaries. David Rycroft describes how African composers tried to “come to grips with the majority of folk music styles” by taking into account the “multipart organisation of voices” in the “traditional music of all Nguni people”.³³

In South Africa, the “European (Victorian) missionary influence” on traditional African music is largely seen in a negative light. There have not been many positive implications except for attempts to preserve “indigenous music knowledge” for future generations through ‘new’ Euro-African hybrid traditional music genres, such as the cultural ‘Cape coloured voices’.³⁴

³⁰12 Detterbeck, “*South African Choral Music, (Amakwaya)*, 2002: 126. Detterbeck is a German author, conductor, composer and music teacher who is interested in ethnomusicology around choral works.

³¹ Detterbeck, “South African Choral Music”, 125.

³² “Tiyo Soga.” *The Christian Express*, July, 1988: 97–98.

³³ Christine Lucia, *The World of South African Music: A Reader* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2005), 100.

³⁴ Gibson. “The Impact of the Fostering of European Industry and Victorian National Feeling on African Music Knowledge Systems,” *Journal of European Popular Culture*, 10 no. 2 (October 2019): 97–108.

How African composers interpreted hymnody and made it their own is a major theme in this thesis. Some of the African composers who stood out in this regard were Tiyo Soga, John Knox Bokwe, Daniel Marivate, Benjamin Tyamzashe and Michael Moerane who took advantage of their opportunities at Lovedale to pursue music careers.³⁵ Their music conformed to what Henry Wemen describes as congregational singing which was present wherever the “Christian missions [were] active”.³⁶ This observation reinforces the point that four-part harmony became the *lingua franca* for African composers associated with Lovedale and other missions, beginning in the nineteenth century. Before describing the early history of Lovedale, it is important to recognise the broader historical context from which the mission station was fashioned in the mid-nineteenth century.

1.3 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

South Africa has a turbulent history with inequalities in education that are linked to cultural, economic, political, racial, and social problems during the nineteenth century and the larger part of the twentieth century.³⁷ Although schools such as Lovedale played an ambiguous role in this history, they were also seminal in the development of the Black intellectual elite in South Africa. This section points to the events in Britain and continental Europe that had a marked influence on the lives of people in countries colonised by these nations, including those that were established as colonies in southern Africa.

³⁵ D.D.T. Jabavu, *The Life of John Tengo Jabavu: Editor of Imvo Zavbantsundu, 1884–1921*. (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1922), 14–15.

³⁶ Henry Weman, *African Music and The Church in Africa* (Uppsala: Ab Lundquistka Bokhandeln, 1960), 190.

³⁷ Thomas Pooley, “Extracurricular Arts: Poverty, Inequality and Indigenous Musical Arts Education in Post-apartheid South Africa,” *Critical Arts* 30, no. 5 (2016), 639–654.

1.3.1 Colonial settlement and early music encounters

The Portuguese were the first to explore south-east Africa with the so-called explorers' "voyages of discovery" beginning in the late fifteenth century³⁸. George McCall Theal (1837–1919), a South African historian who was a teacher and printer at Lovedale between 1871 and 1877³⁹, viewed South African history as having commenced "with the Portuguese voyages of discovery".⁴⁰ This Eurocentric view of history – which advances the notion that history only began with the arrival of Europeans, or that it only became "noteworthy" upon their arrival – was sustained throughout the colonial and apartheid eras, but is now subject to critical reflection in a post-colonial world. Here it is necessary to consider the role of European colonialism because this thesis examines their role in missionary activity at the Cape.

Bartolomeu Dias (1450–1500), was a Portuguese navigator who had undertaken a voyage to find a sea route to India for spices and gold. Dias explored the southern African coast between 1487 and 1488. Dias, together with John Infante, were the first Europeans to 'discover' the Cape of Good Hope, exploring 'three hundred and fifty leagues of coast' during their voyage.⁴¹ They had been commanded by King John II of Portugal "not to offer violence or give cause of offence to the inhabitants of the lands they should discover".⁴² After encountering heavy storms, Dias found fresh water when he rounded the Cape of Good Hope and encountered its inhabitants, the Khoi herdsman. Racial difference shaped these encounters from the outset, with João de Barros describing the Khois using derogatory

³⁸ Caroline Hamilton, Bernard Mbenga and Robert Ross, (eds), *The Cambridge History of South Africa, from Early Times to 1885* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2019), 21.

³⁹ Robert H.W. Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 520.

⁴⁰ George McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa in 9 volumes*. Volume 1 (Cape Town: Government of the Cape Colony, 1898–1903): Preface.

⁴¹ Ian Colvin, *Extracts from the Writings of the Early Travellers with Numerous Illustrations* (London and Edinburgh: T.C. and E.C. Jack, 1912), 10. It was Da Gama who actually made it to the east.

⁴² Charles Ralph Boxer, *João de Barros: Portuguese Humanist and Historian of Asia* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1981), 2–4.

terms.⁴³ But there were musical encounters, too. David Smith provides an account of the Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama (1460–1524), whose men went ashore in 1497 in the Cape and bartered informally with the Khoi of Mossel Bay,⁴⁴ who danced while four to five flutes harmonised very well with low and high sounds.⁴⁵ The visitors in the boats then proceeded to play their trumpets and danced as well.⁴⁶ The first European explorers called these people they encountered in the hinterland of southern Africa the Khoekhoe.⁴⁷ A Dutch seafarer’s account of a European wishing to buy livestock from the Khoi people in 1605 stated that music could be useful in times of “uncertain diplomacy”, especially with inhabitants who had become cautious when encountering “visitors from the sea”. Within the larger global experience of colonialism, for example, fiddle music is described as a “language of exchange” between the Cree and European fur traders in James Bay, Quebec.⁴⁸

⁴³ David Smith, “Colonial Encounters through the Prism of Music: A Southern African Perspective.” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 33, no. 1 (June 2002): 31–55. This article considers topics such as singing, hymns, and early perspectives on African cultures by European explorers.

⁴⁴ Colin Botha, *Place Names in the Cape Province* (Cape Town: Juta, 1926), 98. Mossel Baai was named after the Dutch name for mussel (*mossel*) by early Dutch navigators who could not ‘obtain any other food from the ‘natives’.

⁴⁵ Smith, “Colonial Encounters,” 33.

⁴⁶ Eric Axelson, *Vasco da Gama: The Diary of his Travels through African Waters, 1497–1499* (Somerset West: Phillips, 1999), 19.

⁴⁷ Early voyagers adopted the term “Hottentots” ‘in their own use when hearing words such as *Hautitou* (Hottentoo), which was used in many of their dance songs’, but the inhabitants called themselves Khoikhoin, translated as “men of men”. Olfert Dapper, “Kaffraria or Land of the Kafirs, otherwise named Hottentots.” in *The Early Cape Hottentots*, ed. Olfert Dapper, Willem te Rhyne and Johannes Gulielmus de Gravenbroek, translated by I. Schapera and B. Farrington, (Cape Town: The Van Riebeeck Society, 1933), 1–79.

Early sailors in the seventeenth century ‘wrote letters to their employers in Europe’ and also ‘kept journals’. Some wrote about the ‘savage Hottentots who lived in the Table Valley’ and had a ‘clicking of speech like a turkey-cock’. (Ian Colvin, *The Cape of Adventure*, xxv)

The early Dutch settlers classified the people into four main divisions, known respectively as the Cape Hottentots, the Eastern Hottentots, the Korana and the Naman. Another view of the word Hottentots is that it may also have been derived from a German word meaning stuttering, referring to ‘the many plosive clicks in their language’ (Coplan, *In Township Tonight! South Africa’s Black City Music and Theatre* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008). 13.

‘Hottentots’ were also known as “Men of men” (Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1940*, 39).

⁴⁸ Lynn Whidden in *Essential Song: Three Decades of Northern Cree Music* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007).

Smith chiefly focuses on musical developments in the nineteenth century between the settlers, the missionaries and the indigenous people as a result of European colonisation in southern Africa.⁴⁹ Smith suggests that they were played “hocket-style”, where “a single melody is shared between two (or occasionally more) voices such that alternately one voice sounds while the other rests”.⁵⁰ He also records that the sound of these reed pipes of the Cape Khoi could be compared to the sound of the trumpet marine, namely the *tromba marina* in the late seventeenth century.⁵¹ Dapper⁵² also makes reference to this musical practice in the “welcoming dance” performed in 1661 by “one hundred musicians”, here called *Namaquas*, who each had “a hollow reed of different lengths” and were arranged in a ring around a central time-beater, a man who “beat time with a stick”.⁵³

The Dutch and English navigators came to South Africa after the Portuguese, and the Cape changed hands between the Batavia Republic (Holland) and Britain several times.⁵⁴ The Cape Colony became part of the empire established by the Dutch East India Company (VOC), and it was during this period that significant changes occurred at the Cape of Good Hope.⁵⁵ The Dutch East India Company was founded in 1602 and chaplains from Dutch churches were persuaded to serve the colonists and the military. The Waldensians are related to the Presbyterians⁵⁶ and some joined the Huguenots and travelled to South Africa in 1700.⁵⁷ They also undertook to do mission work among the indigenous people.⁵⁸

⁴⁹ Smith, “Colonial Encounters,” 32.

⁵⁰ “Hocket,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, accessed May 19, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/art/hocket>

⁵¹ Smith, “Colonial Encounters,” 37.

⁵² Dapper, “Kaffraria or Land of the Kafirs,” 35.

⁵³ Urs Bitterli, *Cultures in Conflict: Encounters between European and non-European Cultures. 1492–1800* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 4.

⁵⁴ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1940*, 12.

⁵⁵ Robert Ross, “Khoesan and Immigrants, the Emergence of Colonial Society in the Cape, 1500–1800,” in *The Cambridge History of South Africa. Volume 1, From Early Times to 1885*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton, Bernard Mbenga and Robert Ross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 168.

⁵⁶ Nicholas Weber, *Waldenses-New Advent. Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Appleton Company, 1912).

The Board of the Dutch East India Company decided to establish a permanent base in Table Bay in 1651 with the intention that ships could replenish their supplies of food, herbs and water as well as care for their sick crew members.⁵⁹ Three ships were dispatched and Jan van Riebeeck arrived to establish a station in April 1652 and appointed Krotoa (‘Eva van Meerhof’) (1643–1674) as his indigenous interpreter/translator.⁶⁰ He commenced with the construction of a fortified stockade⁶¹ with plenty of wood from the slopes of Table Mountain.⁶² Appel wrote that up until 1652, the forests in the area of the Cape Colony were untouched and unspoilt as the “primitive” lifestyle of the “Hottentots” made few demands on the wood resources. However, after 1652 the need for wood grew as timber was required for ship repairs, the construction of bridges, as well as the building of ox wagons used to travel inland. As the people moved further away and established settlements, there was a demand for wood to build churches, parsonages and schools. Immanuel Wallerstein explains that the missionaries were inclined to explore the interior, whereas the merchants wanted to trade along the strip of land by the coast.⁶³ It was at Cape Town that the first missionary efforts in

⁵⁷ Hendrik Leibrandt, *Rambles through the Archives of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1688–1700* (Cape Town: Juta, 1887), 205.

⁵⁸ Dana L. Robert, ed. *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706–1914* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2008), 6.

⁵⁹ Donald Moodie, *The Record. A Series of Official Papers Relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa, 1838–1845* (Cape Town: A.S. Robertson, 1838), 7.

⁶⁰ Vertrees Canby Malherbe, “The Cape Khoisan in the Eastern Districts of the Colony before and after Ordinance 50 of 1828,” (PhD Thesis) (University of Cape Town, 1997), viii.

⁶¹ Hamilton, Mbenga, Ross, *The Cambridge History of South Africa*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 174. Van Riebeeck had been involved in private trade as a merchant in Vietnam which had been forbidden.

⁶² André Appel, “Die Ontginning van die Inheemse Houtbosse op die Kaapse Skiereiland 1652–1795.” *Historia* 22, no. 1 (1977), 141. Visiting ships to the Cape of Good Hope needed firewood to be loaded on board. On land, the hospital, slave quarters and bakery at the refreshment station itself needed to be provided with wood. Wood was also used in the process to bake bricks and later when mission buildings were erected.

⁶³ Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, *Africa: The Politics of Independence and Unity* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 29.

South Africa began.⁶⁴ According to Allan Anderson, a British theologian and Professor of Mission at the University of Birmingham, it was only much later that missionaries settled in various parts of the Eastern Cape.⁶⁵ Prior to their arrival, the predecessor of Governor CJ van de Graaff had requested (prior to December 1783) that a printing press be supplied from Amsterdam to be used by the colonial government.⁶⁶ The government was uneasy about the press being in private hands and all official printing was done by the government until 1822.⁶⁷

1.3.2 The slave orchestra

Music played an important role in the relations between the indigenous communities and the Europeans. This was especially true during the 1670s when Johan Anthoniszoon – ‘Jan’ van Riebeeck (1619–1677) – was the governor of the Cape. It was during the 1670s that a “slave orchestra” was instituted.⁶⁸ At the time, a slave who was a musician was much sought after.⁶⁹ David Coplan records that there were often thirty slave musicians playing in an orchestra on a country estate.⁷⁰ Anne Marieke van der Wal-Rémy discusses the Early Modern Song Culture Movement in the Cape and writes that slaves were expected to sing and entertain their masters.⁷¹ The Europeans had their own music too, but ‘cultural fusion’ certainly had an

⁶⁴ Horton Davies and Robert Shepherd, *South African Missions. 1800–1950* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1954).

⁶⁵ Allan Anderson, Michael Bergunder, Andre Droogers, and Cornelius van der Laan, eds. *Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2012).

⁶⁶ A.C.G. Lloyd, “The Birth of Printing in South Africa,” *The Library* 3, no. 17 (1914), 31-43.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 35, 37.

⁶⁸ Mike Doeff, “Governors of the Cape Colony,” Geni Project. <https://www.geni.com/projects/Governors-of-the-Cape-Colony>. (accessed March 18, 2019).

⁶⁹ C.G. Botha, *General History and Social Life of the Cape of Good Hope*. Collected Works in Three Volumes (Cape Town: Struik Uitgewers, 1962), 296.

⁷⁰ Coplan, *In Township Tonight!* 15. Some slaves were sold for a higher price if they were a musician because the seller was sure of an “enhanced value.” Colonists visiting the taverns would be entertained by flutes, harps, hautboys (an oboe or similar treble clef double reed instrument) trumpets and violins.

⁷¹ Anne Marieke van der Wal, “Singing of Slavery, Performing the Past: Folk Songs of the Cape Coloured Community as Cultural Memory of the South African Slave Past, 1657–present.” (PhD thesis, Utrecht University, 2016), 252.

influence on the nature of music now played on African soil. Cape Town became a “melting pot of cultural influences from all over the world”. A cultural transfer took place when the slaves learnt European languages and folk songs, cultural practices and music genres.⁷² The archivist and author, Victor de Kock, wrote that at what was known as ‘Rainbow Balls’ in the 1730s⁷³, they took on the ‘cultural identity’ of the westerners. During Saartjie Baartman’s (1789-1815) ‘show’ in Europe she would play several musical instruments and dance.⁷⁴ Baartman was, however, seen by westerners as being primitive. Crais and Scully raise questions which explore the impact she had on people’s ideas about race and women.⁷⁵

1.3.4 European colonisation, slavery and mission work

European colonisation was accelerated in the nineteenth century through the expansion of the empire⁷⁶, and for reasons that were economic, political and religious. A “race to colonise Africa,” known as “The Scramble for Africa” was initiated by the Congress of Berlin (1884–1885), at which all the major European powers were present.⁷⁷ Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal and Spain all sought to acquire and colonise “more territory on the African continent”. Korieh and Chijioke, two Nigerian historians, explain that the European penetration into the interior of Africa during the late nineteenth century extended their commercial and political influence, which made it easier for ‘Christian evangelical

⁷² Anne Marieke van der Wal-Remy, “Slave Orchestras and Rainbow Balls: Colonial Culture and Creolisation at the Cape of Good Hope, 1750–1838.” in *Identity, Intertextuality and Performance in Early Modern Song Culture*, ed. D. Poel, and W. van Anrooij. (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 352.

⁷³ Victor De Kock, “Those in Bondage: An Account of the Life of the Slave at the Cape in the Days of the Dutch East India Company”. (New York: Kennikat Press. 1971) (originally published in 1950), 93-94.

⁷⁴ Justin Parkinson, “The significance of Sarah Baartman,” *BBC News Magazine*. January 7, 2016. Her story is one of suffering within black womanhood.

⁷⁵ Clifton Crais and Pamela Scully. *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus: A Ghost Story and a Biography*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010. This is an account of the life of hardship of one forgotten woman who was put on exhibit.

⁷⁶ Victor Gordon Kiernan, “Let’s Change; but What and How?” accessed May 18, 2020, <http://byadav.blogspot.com/2009/>

⁷⁷ Wallerstein, *Africa: The Politics of Independence and Unity*, 30.

expansion.⁷⁸ The nineteenth century saw a large expansion of missions which overlapped with European colonialism. Many missions were established as a result of the three C's, namely, Christianity, Civilisation and Commerce. These missions brought with them "Western-style education to Africa".⁷⁹ An important part of this education included the notation of hymns/songs, singing and playing instrumental music.⁸⁰

Scholars Eric Akrofi and James Flolu from Ghana mention that the education systems of most African countries were "inherited from Western European countries". In this colonial setting, prominent organisations and individuals included the colonial governments, Christian missionaries and merchants. In terms of music legacy, the British systems of staff notation, "tonic sol-fa", together with "western tonal-functional harmony are notable introductions". Other colonial legacies include ballroom dancing, bands, choirs, external music examinations, as well as playing Western musical instruments.⁸¹ Students at Lovedale and Fort Hare later participated in ballroom dancing, a Western influence.⁸²

⁷⁸ Chima J. Korieh and Njoku, Raphael Chijioko. ed. *Missions, States and European Expansion in Africa*. New York: Routledge, 2011, 1. Korieh and Njoku are Nigerian scholars who specialise in African History.

⁷⁹ South African History Online, "*The Scramble for Africa: Late 19th century*," accessed September 16, 2019, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/grade-8-term-3-scramble-africa-late-19th-century>

⁸⁰ This thesis will show that it was "song" which played an important role in the accounts of these European travellers, explorers and missionaries.

⁸¹ Eric Akrofi and James Flolu, "The Colonial Influence on Music Education in Ghana and South Africa." in *Music and Identity. Transformation and Negotiation*, ed. Eric Akrofi, Maria Smit and Stig-Magnus Thorsen (Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2007), 143.

⁸² Interestingly, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela (1918-2013) took up ballroom dancing when he entered Fort Hare University College in 1940 where he was enrolled for a Bachelor of Arts (BA) degree. Daluxolo Moloantoa, "The mission schoolboy – Nelson Mandela and missionary education," *The Heritage Portal*, May 18, 2018. <http://www.theheritageportal.co.za/article/mission-schoolboy-nelson-mandela-and-missionary-education>. (accessed September 11, 2020).

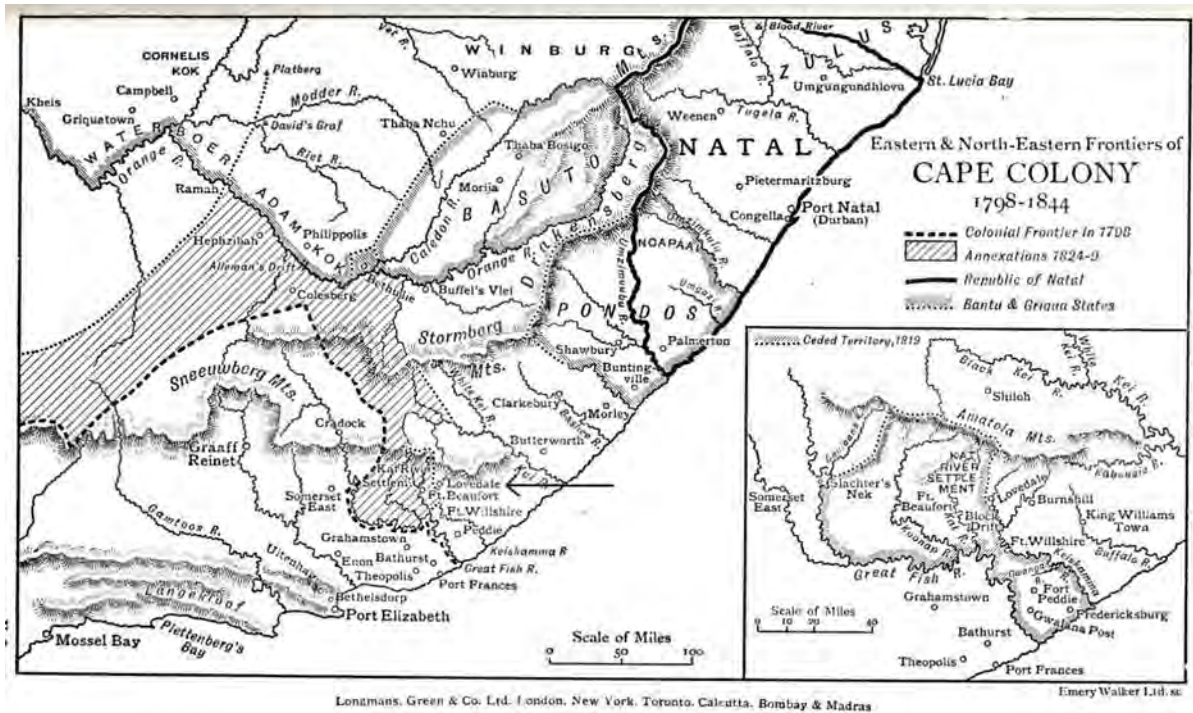


Figure 1.2: Map of the Cape Colony 1798–1844. The location of Lovedale is indicated by the arrow.

European explorers met people in other parts of the world when they established colonies and opened up trade routes, bringing back cotton, tea, silks and spices. The views they formed about the people they met were recorded by diplomats’ wives in their letters, by explorers in their diaries, and by missionaries in their memoirs. Writers such as the novelist and poet Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936),⁸³ were among those who recorded their travels and encounters. It was through his books and poems⁸⁴ that he became highly influential in shaping Victorian England’s perception of Africa.⁸⁵ Charles Carrington (1897–1990)

⁸³ Alberto Manguel, *Kipling: A Brief Biography for Young Adults* (Canada: Bayeux Arts Inc, 1948), 9. Kipling wrote *The Jungle Book* in 1894; he was also a popular English poet during the late nineteenth century. His view was that the sacrifices of the ‘common British soldier,’ a ‘Tommy,’ were seldom appreciated or acknowledged properly.

⁸⁴ John McGivering, “The Ballad of East and West.” Kipling Society, June 27, 2010, http://www.kiplingsociety.co.uk/rg_eastwest1_p.htm. (accessed September 26, 2019.) Kingsley Amis observed that the English writer, Kipling, honoured and understood men of other races. Charles Carrington, *Rudyard Kipling: His Life and Work* (London: Macmillan, 1955, 54).

⁸⁵ Victor Gordon Kiernan, *The Lords of Humankind: European Attitudes Towards the Outside World in the Imperial Age* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969). This book has been seen by historians as ‘a landmark in the history of Eurocentrism’.

recorded that Kipling was “a child of Queen Victoria’s Empire”.⁸⁶ His contemporaries, and sometimes correspondents, included Field Marshal Horatio Herbert Kitchener (1850–1916), Lord Alfred Milner (1854–1925) and Cecil John Rhodes (1853–1902). These Victorian luminaries were personal friends of Dr James Stewart, the longest serving principal at Lovedale. Sir Bartle Frere (1815–1884),⁸⁷ General Charles George Gordon (1833–1885), and Edmund Garrett, then editor of the Cape Times, were also contemporaries and friends of Stewart.⁸⁸ These British colonialists held paternalistic and Eurocentric views about the potential of the country after assuming control over much of southern Africa in 1806. Many Englishmen regarded Africa as a continent without progress that was characterised by its apparent “ignorance, poverty and slavery,” despite the fact that most made such judgements “without having met any Africans”.⁸⁹

Portugal had instigated the Atlantic slave trade, where slaves were captured during the “last of Louis XIV’s wars” and the “aftermath of Napoleon Bonaparte’s defeat”.⁹⁰ With Napoleon’s retreat from Russia in 1812, the war swung decisively against the French Empire. Christopher Sailus provides background to the situation in Europe, after Napoleon⁹¹ and the

⁸⁶ David Gilmour, *The Long Recessional: The Imperial Life of Rudyard Kipling* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002), ix, x.

⁸⁷ Walker, *A History of South Africa* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1928), 346. Sir Bartle Frere was the High Commissioner of the Cape from 31 March 1877 to 15 September 1880. At the London conference held in August 1876, Sir Theophilus Shepstone (1817–1893), the Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes, wanted Frere to ‘federate South Africa’ and then to remain as “first Governor General.” Walker, *A History of South Africa*, 370.

⁸⁸ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1940*, 254.

⁸⁹ Jürg Emile Richner, “The Historiographical Development of the Concept ‘Mfecane’ and the Writing of Early Southern African History, from the 1820s to 1920s” (MA dissertation, Rhodes University, 2005), 8.

⁹⁰ Seymour Drescher, *Abolition. A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 46.

⁹¹ Christopher Sailus, “Europe after Napoleon: Restoration and the Balance of Power.” Study.com. <https://study.com/academy/lesson/europe-after-napoleon-restoration-the-balance-of-power.html> (accessed September 17, 2019).

British also believed that “a spiritual darkness” prevailed in South Africa.⁹² Missionaries thought that they needed to control and supervise the reading and reading material of Africans and that literacy would “unleash Africa’s potential”.⁹³ Lewis and Foy observe that missionaries had a strong civilising mission among the Africans.⁹⁴ These authors portray ‘the human side of British colonialism’ and believed, as did Rev Govan, the first principal at Lovedale, that Africans were individually capable of attaining any heights”.⁹⁵

Anthropologists Jean and John Commaroff put forward the view that because frontiers in the Eastern Cape during the nineteenth century were “unchartered spaces of confrontation”, scholars could explore the relations among “culture and power, hegemony and ideology, social order and human agency”.⁹⁶ The frontier wars that decimated the Cape frontier were largely fought between the British colonists and indigenous peoples. But there were also conflicts between the local Khoisan and Nguni/Bantu which predate the arrival of the Europeans. The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were a period in which peoples fashioned new worlds through political confrontation. Scholars could therefore view frontiers as areas that might “expand or shrink” as “front lines” of something new or “last lines of defence” by people trying to conserve cultural traditions⁹⁷ in the wake of European colonisation.⁹⁸

⁹² Richner, “The Historiographical Development of the Concept ‘Mfecane’”, 8.

⁹³ Patrick Harries, “Missionaries, Marxists and Magic: Power and the Politics of Literacy in South-East Africa.” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27, no. 3 (2001), 411.

⁹⁴ Shepherd R.H.W. *Where Aloes Flame: South African Missionary Vignettes* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1948), inside flap of the book.

⁹⁵ Roy Lewis and Yvonne Foy, *The British in Africa*. (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1971), 68. This book is part of the social history of the British overseas series in the Africana category. Roy Lewis was born in 1913.

⁹⁶ Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 1997, 313.

⁹⁷ Bradley Parker and Lars Rodeseth, eds. *Untaming the Frontier in Anthropology, Archaeology and History* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2005), 150.

⁹⁸ In South Africa, ‘Western colonial domination’ took the form of ‘settler colonialism’ where Christian missionaries ‘tested’ their ‘evangelistic capacities. Eric Akrofi and James Flolu, “The Colonial Influence”, 143–157.

1.4 MISSIONARIES AND THEIR MISSION STATIONS

Several nations contributed missionaries to the Cape frontier. English and Scottish school masters “swarmed” to the “white” British colonies in South Africa where “Anglicisation” was also cultural policy.⁹⁹ Here a community “could be imagined through language.”¹⁰⁰ One of the most distinctive contributions was made by the Scots, and the activities of the Scottish missionaries on the frontier are central to the history described in this thesis. They were pioneers who, although they got embroiled in turbulent circumstances, were able to establish their mission stations.¹⁰¹

1.4.1 Nineteenth-century missionaries

Jean and John Comaroff, who rely on the writings of early explorers, missionaries and travellers, offer one of the most notable accounts of missionary activities in nineteenth century South Africa.¹⁰² The section that follows focuses on some of the earliest missionaries in southern Africa, and serves as background to the arrival of Presbyterian missionaries in the nineteenth century. Table 1.1 presents a list of pioneer missionaries to the Eastern Cape (1796–1826), while Table 1.2 presents a brief timeline of some London Missionary Society (LMS) missionaries and their missions, as taken from letters and reports to the Council for World Mission (CWM) from 1813 to 1824. A few Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) missionaries are also acknowledged. This overlaps with the timeline of the Lovedale Institute.

⁹⁹ Benedict Anderson. “Patriotism and Racism.” in *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 93.

¹⁰⁰ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 146.

¹⁰¹ John. M. Mackenzie and Nigel R. Dalziel. *The Scots in South Africa: Ethnicity, identity, gender and race, 1772–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), Chapter 4.

¹⁰² Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 326.

Table 1.1: Pioneer missionaries to the Eastern Cape, 1796–1826.

Date	Missionary	Mission Society	Mission Station
1796	9 February 1796	Glasgow Missionary Society (GMS) formed	
1816	Rev Joseph Williams	LMS	Chumie outstation near Fort Beaufort
1820	Rev John Brownlee arrives June 1820	LMS	Settles at Chumie on Gwali stream Tyumie Valley
1821	Rev William Ritchie Thomson and Mr John Bennie, a catechist	GMS	Chumie: Mr Bennie started a school
1823	Rev John Ross brought a small printing press	GMS	Chumie: Hymns were printed
1824	1 January: Presbytery formed	GMS	New station founded at Incehra
1825	17 December: Dr John Love died	GMS	
1826		GMS	Incehra station renamed as Lovedale

Table 1.2: Timeline of LMS Missionaries and their missions, 1795–1824.

Date	Missionary	Mission Society	Mission Station
1795	Rev John Love	LMS was formed	
	Dr Johannes T van der Kemp	LMS	In the Tyumie Valley
1800	Van der Kemp	LMS	31 December: Leaves to establish Bethelsdorp
1813	Campbell, John.	LMS	Klaarwater
1817	Read, James	LMS	New Lattakoo, Kuruman
1818–1819	Hamilton, Robert	LMS	Kuruman
1823	Broadbent, S.	WMMS	Matlwasse
1824	Moffat, Robert	LMS	Kuruman

LMS missionaries established the missions of Bechuana, Bethelsdorp, Cape Town, Graham's Town, Hankey,¹⁰³ Kat River Settlement, Phillipolis,¹⁰⁴ New Latakoo,¹⁰⁵ Theopolis as well as Vredeburch.¹⁰⁶ It is important to note that schools and sometimes also infant schools were established at each station.¹⁰⁷ Africans were recruited to join a particular mission institution, where they were also educated. The Eurocentric education they received was primarily in the

¹⁰³ Davies and Shepherd, *South African Missions, 1800–1950*, 112.

¹⁰⁴ Martin Montgomery, *History of Southern Africa*. Second Edition, Comprising the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius and Seychelles (London: Henry G. Bohn. 1843), 271.

¹⁰⁵ Davies and Shepherd, *South African Missions, 1800–1950*, 145.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 111.

¹⁰⁷ Montgomery, *History of Southern Africa*, 271.

hands of the various denominations and their missionaries and was not regulated. Singing and music played a prime role in the proselytisation process. The Swiss Mission Education instilled a love for 'Europeanism'.¹⁰⁸ Later Christian Education and the social advancement of the African people was approached regarding the relevant Eurocentric versus the Afrocentric perspective.¹⁰⁹ The music and work of the Scots is described in the next section which focuses on how the Presbyterian missions functioned.

1.4.2 The development of Presbyterian missionary work

Presbyterian missionary work took place mainly in the Cape Province. However, there was some missionary activity in other parts of southern Africa, with the Free Church of Scotland beginning missionary activities in Pietermaritzburg, Natal in 1867.¹¹⁰ In 1870, the Free Church of Scotland also began missionary work at the Gordon Memorial Mission in the *Umsinga* district among what were then known as the Native Reserves.¹¹¹ In 1896, the Reverend James Dewar from The Free Church of Scotland, who had initially worked in Pietermaritzburg, undertook missionary work for 18 years in the Klip River County at Kalabasi.¹¹² Later, in 1905, the Reverend W.R. Moodie was sent by the Free Church of Scotland to Bulwer to take charge of "the Polela Mission" where he was expected to add "to the educational resources of the missionary enterprise in Natal".¹¹³

Other missionary institutions included the American Zulu Mission to Mosega and Zululand (1835), Anglicans from the Church of England (1837–1838), the Berlin Society at Bethal

¹⁰⁸ Benneth Mgekajaza Chabalala Masumbe, "The Swiss Missionaries' Management of Social Transformation in South Africa (1873-1976)," (PhD Thesis) (University of South Africa, 2002), 126.

¹⁰⁹ Masumbe, "*The Swiss Missionaries*," 2002: 176.

¹¹⁰ Edgar Brookes, *Century of Missions in Natal and Zululand* (Durban: E.P. & Commercial, 1936), 20.

¹¹¹ Brookes, *Century of Missions*, 22. This mission was established 'in memory of the Hon. James Henry Gordon' who was the 'second son of the fifth Earl of Aberdeen' and had wanted to become a missionary.

¹¹² Brookes, *Century of Missions*, 30.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 36.

(Stutterheim 1836), L.M.S. at Hankey, King William's Town, Knapp's Hope and Philipton (1925–1829), Moravians at Shiloh (1828), Paris Evangelicals at Motito (1832), Morija (1833) and Thaba Bosigo (1837). The Rhenish Society worked among the coloured people from 1829 onwards throughout villages in the Colony, and the Wesleyans at Buntingville, Butterworth, Clarkebury, Mount Coke and Old Morley (1829–1830).¹¹⁴ This shows that missionary activities in southeast Africa developed rapidly in the nineteenth century, and in parallel with work at Lovedale. These mission stations were colonial institutions designed to communication “many of the essential ingredients of British rule.”¹¹⁵

1.4.3 Victorian era missions and education

Queen Victoria reigned for nearly sixty-four years from 1837 to 1901. Educational reforms in the Victorian era had a major impact on people in Great Britain, especially after the introduction of the Grammar Schools Act of 1840.¹¹⁶ This would have implications for mission education as well. At Lovedale, the curriculum “on the whole followed the pattern of schooling in England”.¹¹⁷ The Scottish missionaries endeavoured to only use English when teaching their students, while the Wesleyans used both isiXhosa and English.¹¹⁸ Pupils at Lovedale were to get a thorough understanding of English, which was substituted instead of

¹¹⁴ Johannes du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa* (London: Longmans Green and Co, 1911), 185.

¹¹⁵ Crais. C. *White Supremacy and Black Resistance in Pre-Industrial South Africa: The Making of the Colonial Order in the Eastern Cape, 1770-1865.* (Cambridge: 1992, 104.)

¹¹⁶ Grameen Bank, “The Grammar School.” *New World Encyclopaedia* www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Grammar_school, accessed February 27, 2019, The Grammar Schools Act of 1840 meant that other subjects could be taught besides the teaching of classical languages. Up until 1840, the exclusive focus had been the study of Latin and Greek. The curriculum was now expanded to include science and literature, among other subjects.

¹¹⁷ Rev. P.K. Kawa. “*Minutes of evidence of the South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903–1905.*” 2, 612. Reverend Kawa, a minister in the Church of England, made a ‘plea for more education in every training institution’ when asked if he thought that African farm labourers should be taught Euclid (mathematics, geometry) and Latin.

¹¹⁸ R. Hunt Davis, “Nineteenth Century African Education in the Cape Colony: A Historical Analysis” (PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1969), 202. For additional insight into the colonial period, refer to Hunt Davis, “Interpreting the Colonial Period in African History,” *African Affairs* 27, no. 289 (October 1973), 383–400.

Greek or Latin, and were to be familiar with their own ‘vernacular tongue’.¹¹⁹ A.C. Jordan (1906–1968), a literary historian, explains that the ‘dawn of literacy’ is associated with the Glasgow Missionary Society.¹²⁰ Henderson accepted that an understanding of English was necessary in a “modern world” but he also promoted vernacular education. His approach was that the vernacular should be the medium of instruction in the lower standards, with English taught as a foreign language in all standards.¹²¹ Wilkie enforced the “English-speaking rule” which caused friction at Lovedale, as only English could be spoken from Mondays to Fridays, but the rule was later dropped. Edgar Brookes mentions that there was a similar rule at Adams College.¹²²

The converts needed to read the Christian message themselves in order to share the scriptures with others. Literacy included music literacy, because converts were expected to sing the gospel, making it accessible and appealing to a broader public. Lovedale remained the focal point of the “literate Christian culture emerging in the Eastern Cape amongst the Xhosa people”.¹²³

Detterbeck explains that hymn singing was taught in an effort to “emphasise the Christian message in their mission work”,¹²⁴ while at Lovedale, the singing of hymns was used to attract African converts to Christianity and church worship.¹²⁵ Thulasizwe Nkabinde suggests that the “first major influence of missionaries on African music was in the church”. This was

¹¹⁹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 160–61.

¹²⁰ A.C. Jordan, *Towards an African Literature: The Emergence of Literary form in Xhosa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 37. Jordan was also an intellectual pioneer of African studies in South Africa and a novelist.

¹²¹ Timothy Raymond Howard White, “Lovedale 1930–1955: The study of a missionary institution in its social, educational and political context (MA Dissertation) (Rhodes University, 1987), 8.

¹²² White, *Lovedale 1930–1955*, 45.

¹²³ Jeffrey Peires, *Lovedale Press: Literature for the Bantu Revisited*. *English in Africa* 7 No. 1 (1980), 71.

¹²⁴ Detterbeck, “South African Choral Music”, 126.

¹²⁵ Akrofi, Smit and Thorsen, *Music and Identity*, 145.

where hymns were taught using four-part Western harmonies including soprano, alto, tenor and bass.¹²⁶ This was very important as it was often through music that colonisers and missionaries were able to form connections with the indigenous population. The ‘Scotch United Presbyterians’ assisted and established mission schools, bringing their culture and hymnbooks with them.¹²⁷ The Norwegian missionaries used Lutheran hymn books and sang Lutheran hymns. Not all missionaries adopted the vernacular language, thus losing out on traditional African elements which led to cultural underdevelopment. Lutheran hymns became the prototypes of the “nineteenth-century congregational hymn.” Their aim was to involve the congregation “more actively in hymn singing”.¹²⁸ The Swiss mission in South Africa was founded in 1875. The contribution of their missionaries impacted on the history of the Vatshonga (Tsonga people) in southern Mocambique and Limpopo and Mpumalanga in South Africa. They speak Xitsonga and a Tsonga hymnbook (*Tinsimu ta vakriste*) was published by the Evangelical Presbyterian Church.¹²⁹

Education was important to the missionaries because, in addition to equipping their converts with the ability to read the Bible for themselves, their aim was to train future ministers, preachers and teachers.¹³⁰ The missionaries carried a Bible with them as an indication that they wanted to raise the literacy levels by teaching the people how to read as well as teaching them the Gospel. Norman Etherington records that the demand for education grew steadily in the nineteenth century.¹³¹ Christian tradition and education also became central to the *amakhwaya* middle-class groups (or “school people”), who saw education as assuring

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 126

¹²⁷ Noble, *The Redemption of Africa*, 349.

¹²⁸ Nathan J. Corbitt, “Christian Music in Africa,” *Ethnodoxology* 1, no. 2 (1994), 8.

¹²⁹ Peter Halala, M.W. Khosa, J. Makaana, H.D. Masangu, J. Nwamilorho and J. Tshwane, *A history of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in South Africa, 1875-2015* (Tzaneen: P and H. Publishers, 2015).

¹³⁰ David Rhys Owen, “The Journal of the Reverend William Impey (1838–1847): A Critical Study of his Work and Theology.” Masters dissertation. Rhodes University. January 1993, 265.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 82.

prestige and achieving social status.¹³² Their preferred careers were as clergymen, clerks and teachers.¹³³

There can be no doubt that missionary endeavours resulted in the detribalisation of the indigenous people, whose culture was undermined.¹³⁴ Some missionaries were criticised for aiding imperial expansion because indigenous societies were broken down as a result. Scholars such as Kofi Agawu have criticised the negative effects of colonial music education on African music. In *Representing African Music*, he provides a post-colonial critique on “the erosion of creative potential” when people are forced “to speak other people’s musical languages”.¹³⁵ This occurred when “Christian hymns, anthems (choral), and orchestral music for ballroom dancing (light)”, were introduced in various locales by those who came from Europe.¹³⁶

1.4.4 Nineteenth century African education in the Cape colony

Instruction at missionary schools was offered in isiXhosa from 1824. With the expansion of the curriculum that took place between 1824 and 1852, the subjects of arithmetic, elementary science and geography were added; isiXhosa grammar was introduced in 1839,¹³⁷ although the language was only reduced to writing in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹³⁸

¹³² Detterbeck, “South African Choral Music”, 85.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 84.

¹³⁴ N.S. Maxengana, *The Impact of Missionary Activities and the Establishment of Victoria East. 1824–1860* (MA dissertation) (University of Fort Hare, 2012), 2.

¹³⁵ Kofi Agawu, *Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Theories, Positions* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

¹³⁶ Eric Akrofi, and James Flolu. “The Colonial influence on Music Education in Ghana and South Africa.” in *Music and Identity. Transformation and Negotiation*, ed. Eric Akrofi, Maria Smit and Stig-Magnus Thorsen (Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2007), 143.

¹³⁷ Davis, “Nineteenth Century African Education in the Cape Colony,” 189.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 190.

The missionaries and their wives were the first teachers at the mission stations during the 1820s and 1830s.¹³⁹ Teachers and mission personnel, including catechists, were trained at the outstation schools.¹⁴⁰ A three-state school system was introduced by the Glasgow Missionary Society at Lovedale, and it became a good example of a ‘specialised educational institution.’ Lovedale opened in 1841 and the intention was that this establishment would provide teachers for the central station schools, who would train instructors for the outstation schools. The “normal English education” curriculum was supplemented with religious education.¹⁴¹ Lovedale also had manual training as a part of industrial education, with agriculture and vocational education offered.¹⁴² The aim of industrial education was to encourage students to have aspirations to join a “native middle class”.¹⁴³ James Cochrane records that the missionaries encouraged the “emergence of classes” which incorporated the “rise of the black elite”.¹⁴⁴ It was from this group that the first African composers emerged. Robin Stevens acknowledges the Lovedale Missionary Institution where the objective was to educate the indigenous Xhosa people and to train teachers who were taught the tonic sol-fa method of music notation, which resulted in the establishment of what he called a “fine tradition of choral music” at this institute.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 194.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 201.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 201.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 202.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 222.

¹⁴⁴ James R. Cochrane, *Servants of Power. The Role of the English-speaking Churches in South Africa 1903–1930* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987).

¹⁴⁵ Robin S. Stevens, “The Case for a Revival of Tonic Sol-fa in the Twenty-First Century,” http://music-ed.net/curwenbicentenary/index_htm_files/Stevens_2001, (accessed on May 18, 2020). The pdf also refers to Stevens, Robin S. “Propagation of Tonic Sol-fa in South Africa during the Nineteenth Century and its Survival in Indigenous Community Choirs to the Present Day”, in *Proceedings of the Third Asia-Pacific Symposium on Music Education Research. Volume 1*. (Nagoya, Japan: Aichi University of Education, 2001): 139–146.

1.4.5 Missionaries and their missions in the colonial era

The spread of colonialism and its effects also influenced missionaries and their missions in South Africa. A brief discussion of Presbyterian missions in South Africa illustrates their influence. The context for the Presbyterian missions in South Africa also needs to be understood in terms of the larger European approach to politics and theology.

The Industrial Revolution in Europe had an impact on evangelical colonialism in the Eastern Cape. Thomas Beidelman states that “the missionary movement in Britain cannot be separated from the Industrial Revolution and the rise of the lower middle classes”.¹⁴⁶ Jean and John Comaroff explain that this is because the evangelists and foreign missionaries who came from this “narrow band” of the social spectrum acquired respectability through their modest “upward mobility” into the “new middle class”.¹⁴⁷ Etherington writes that these men would probably have remained artisans if they had not entered the ministry. Initially, the London Missionary Society did not require their candidates to have received any schooling.¹⁴⁸ The Scottish missionary, Reverend John Campbell (1766–1840), wrote from his position in the South African interior that evangelists did not have to come from seminaries.¹⁴⁹ Robert Moffat (1795–1883), a Scottish Congregationalist missionary to Africa, and his son-in-law, David Livingstone (1813–1873), a pioneer Scottish Congregationalist missionary with the LMS, are examples of the “first generation of nonconformist evangelists”. They had to contend with the spread of European Industrial culture where rural

¹⁴⁶ Thomas O. Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism: A Socio-Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982). 50. This view is also shared by Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church. Part 1*. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1966), 37 and Neill Stephen, *A History of Christian Missions in the 19th Century* (Cape Town: Penguin Books, 1964).

¹⁴⁷ Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 81.

¹⁴⁸ Norman Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants and Politics in South East Africa 1835–1880* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), 28.

¹⁴⁹ John Campbell, *Travels in South Africa: Being a Narrative of a 2nd Journey* (London: Westley, 1822).

or traditional values were gradually being displaced by ‘modern’ values.¹⁵⁰ Reverend Thomas Bell (LMS) drew up the basic requirements for young men to become missionaries. The most important was that they had to genuinely want to become missionaries and needed to know what life in the mission field entailed.¹⁵¹

1.5 THE COLONIAL ERA AT LOVEDALE

During the Colonial era, the Presbyterian missionaries emphasised the value of educational effort and vernacular literature at missions in the Eastern Cape.¹⁵² Some missionaries also saw value in preserving examples of the original music found in the area and promoted the composition of hymns in isiXhosa, which was considered “the main language of Kaffraria”.¹⁵³ The music scores of the African composers were printed at the Lovedale Press. At this time, missionaries at Lovedale held the view that Bantu culture and language were unique and needed to be preserved; the loss of which would be a loss to the world at large. James Weldon Johnson (1871–1938), an African American educator, literary figure and song writer, stated that “No people that has produced great literature and art (which includes music) has ever been looked upon by the world as distinctly inferior”.¹⁵⁴ The preservation and publication of literature and music was thus an important part of missionary activity that served to promote the interests of African students, graduates and associates. These

¹⁵⁰ L.S. Funani, “State, Democracy and Development: An Exploration of the Scholarship of Professor (Archie) Monwabisi Mafeje.” (MA dissertation, University of the Western Cape, 2016), 147.

¹⁵¹ Abner Saul, “Missionaries and the Xhosas. A Comparison of the Educational Work of Christian Missionary Societies with Particular Reference to the London and Glasgow Societies” (MA Dissertation, Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 1985), 74.

¹⁵² Davies and Shepherd, *South African Missions, 1800–1950*, xv.

¹⁵³ “Kaffraria was the descriptive name given to the southeast part of what is today the Eastern Cape of South Africa. Kaffraria, i.e., the land of the Kaffirs, is no longer an official designation (with the term kaffir now an offensive racial slur in South Africa)” (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kaffraria>). For this reason, the term Kaffraria will be presented in inverted commas to indicate that it is not the author’s terminology.

¹⁵⁴ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa 1824–1955*, 143. Johnson was a leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) in the United States from 1917.

developments serve as background to the establishment of Lovedale at Alice in the Cape Province of South Africa.

1.6 LOVEDALE

1.6.1 Alice, Genadendal and Lovedale

The small town of Alice was established in the district of Victoria East in the Cape Province. The town had no shortage of water and was known by its isiXhosa name of *Edikeni*, meaning *vlei* (wetland) or pond.¹⁵⁵ The oaks in the town and the surrounding cultivated fields gave it “the impression of one large garden”,¹⁵⁶ something that is well-illustrated by images found in the works of Stewart (1894), Mendelssohn (1910), and Well (1909) (refer to Figures 1.2 to 1.4). During the 1920s, the missionaries at Chumie, also known as Gwali, irrigated¹⁵⁷ their fields with water obtained by constructing a furrow from Alice as they needed water to cultivate their farmlands.¹⁵⁸ They also taught their African converts to plant trees.¹⁵⁹ The Reverend John Ross travelled to Chumie in 1823 and visited Genadendal, the pioneer Moravian mission station among the “Hottentots” while on his journey by wagon.¹⁶⁰ He later planted oak trees at Lovedale where open-air services were held.¹⁶¹ Presbyterian missionaries tended to plant “large numbers of oaks at their mission stations”¹⁶² throughout the world, and this love of nature also inspired African composers to write compositions with a theme incorporating nature.

¹⁵⁵ Henchman, *The Town of Alice*, 6.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁵⁷ R.H.W. Shepherd, *Bantu Literature and Life* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1955), 23.

¹⁵⁸ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1940*, 33.

¹⁵⁹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1940*, 66. Later several of the local people began to plant fruit trees in their own enclosed gardens.

¹⁶⁰ Dapper, “Kaffraria or Land of the Kaffirs,” 35.

¹⁶¹ Saul, “Missionaries and the Xhosas,” 89.

¹⁶² Saul, “Missionaries and the Xhosas,” 89.

1.6.2 Education at Lovedale

Christian missions provided the first formal music training in South Africa. It was the mission-educated Black middle-class students who became schoolteachers and who were subsequently responsible for the practical content of the music education in schools. For many of these teachers, their education began at Lovedale, and music education at the school would thus have a major impact on the education of children across the Cape, and beyond. The importance of Lovedale in the history of music education in South Africa cannot be overstated. According to Hunt Davies,¹⁶³ Lovedale provided education at the pre-university level that was equivalent to that available in Great Britain at the time. Lovedale also ranked among the best schools in the Cape. It was only during the late 1880s that several schools for Europeans began to surpass Lovedale, with the former being aided by substantial government assistance. Lovedale had excellent resources, a substantial library, well-qualified teachers, and everything needed at an institution for basic to advanced education. There was also a printing press which was used to print music in tonic sol-fa and staff notation, including hymns written by composers at Lovedale.¹⁶⁴ The tonic sol-fa form of notation taught at this institute was easy to use and is still in widespread use by choirs today.¹⁶⁵

Performance provided an “important cultural dimension” to adapting to institutional life and change for African students at Lovedale. Cultural communication “spanned all racial and social categories”.¹⁶⁶ There were different cultures and social groups who were influenced by the communication at Lovedale. The missionaries needed to understand the different cultures, customs and languages of their students. An emphasis on teaching and learning in indigenous

¹⁶³ Davis, “Nineteenth Century African Education in the Cape Colony,” 206.

¹⁶⁴ Stevens, “The Case for a Revival of Tonic Sol-fa in the Twenty-First Century,” 7.

¹⁶⁵ Robin S. Stevens and Eric A. Akrofi, “Tonic Sol-fa in South Africa: A Case Study of Endogenous Musical Practice.” in *Proceedings of the XXVIth Annual Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Music Education*, held on the Gold Coast, Melbourne: (25–28 September 2004): 301–314.

¹⁶⁶ Coplan, *In Township Tonight!*, 67.

languages was a distinct feature of the Lovedale curriculum, and it placed demands on missionaries that they learn vernacular languages. It was different with music, however. The members of the bands at the mission stations such as Lovedale were part of the music culture offered at this institute and learnt “musical literacy” through the church. It was at the mission school where they were influenced by the European repertoire of Victorian music.¹⁶⁷ Unfortunately indigenous music was never made part of the Lovedale curriculum. The omission reinforced a hierarchy with European culture at its apex.

Lovedale was presided over by five Scottish principals whose leadership had a major impact on music education between 1841 and 1955. These principals, and the students who composed during their principalship, informed the layout and structure of the rest of the thesis (chapters 2 to 6). Figure 1.3 describes the timelines for these principals, while Figures 1.4 to 1.13 depict these principals and some of the important African composers who studied under them.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 37.

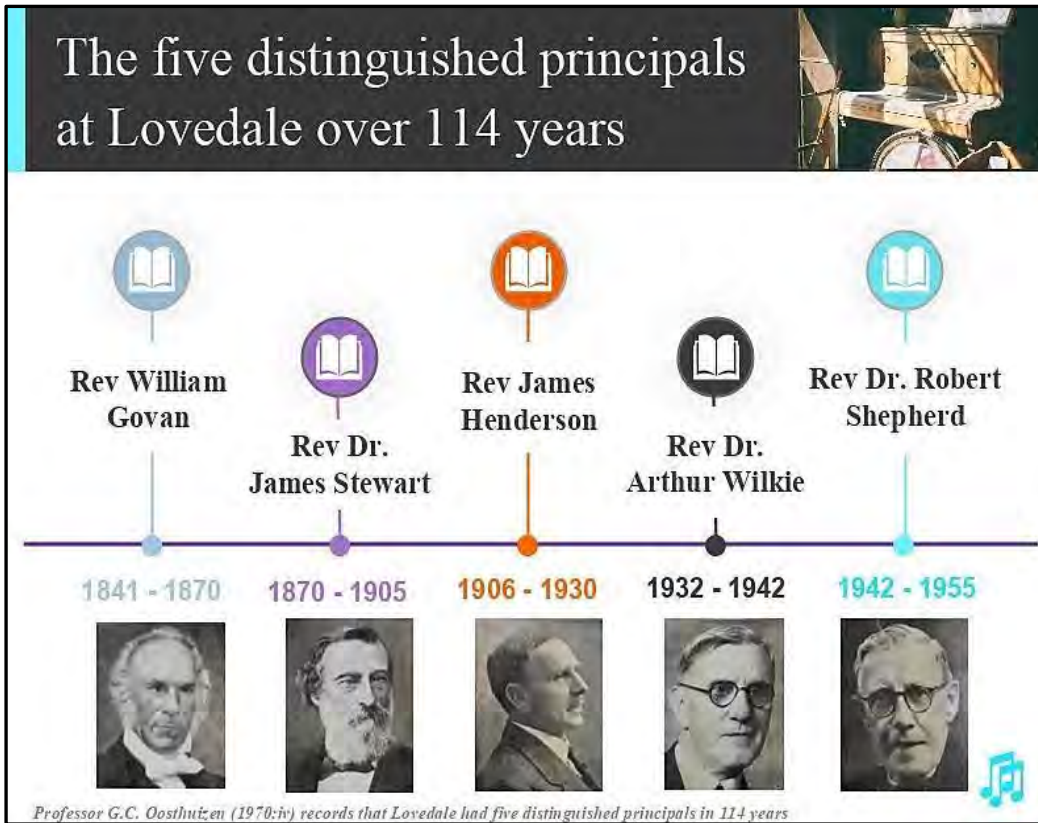


Figure 1.3 The five principals of Lovedale (1841–1955) ¹⁶⁸

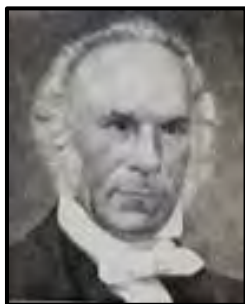


Figure 1.4: Reverend William Govan. The first principal from (1841–1870).

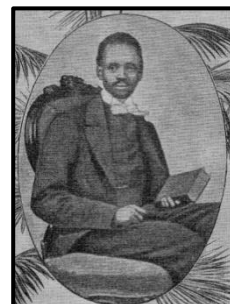


Figure 1.5: Reverend Tiyo Soga (1829–1871).



Figure 1.6: Reverend Dr James Stewart. The second principal from (1870–1905).

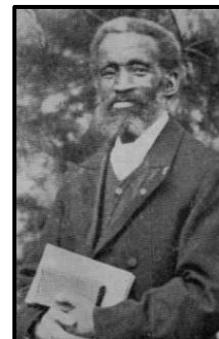


Figure 1.7: Reverend John Knox Bokwe (1855–1922).

¹⁶⁸

G.C. Oosthuizen, *Shepherd of Lovedale* (Johannesburg: Hugh Keartland, 1970), iv.



Figure 1.8: Reverend James Henderson.
The third principal from (1906–1930).

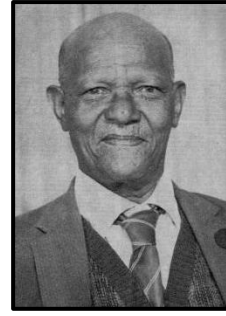


Figure 1.9: Benjamin, Peter, John Tyamzashe
(1890–1978).



Figure 1.10: Reverend Dr Arthur Wilkie.
The fourth principal from (1932–1942).

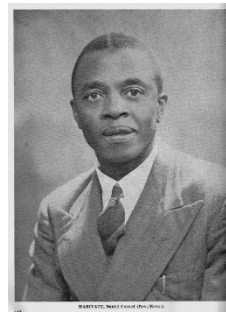


Figure 1.11: Daniel Cornel Marivate
(1897–1989) also featured.



Figure 1.12: Reverend Dr Robert Shepherd.
The fifth principal from (1942–1955).



Figure 1.13: Michael Mosoeru Moerane
(1904–1980).

1.7 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.7.1 Aim

The aim of this thesis is to write the first history of music at the Lovedale Missionary Institute, focusing on its musical impact in South Africa, in the period 1841 to 1955. This history is conceived as a musical biography of the institute focusing on the narratives of the women and men who shaped life at Lovedale. This thesis critically assesses the role played by missionaries in the formal schooling of Black South African composers and musicians and weighs the musical and cultural impact of these composers and musicians. A consideration of

themes such as the ways in which African composers interpreted hymnody and made it their own, and the role of Lovedale Press in wider South African society will be addressed through analysis and discussion of the compositions by African composers. The socio-political role of hymn writers and their wider societal messages in their hymn writing will also be addressed. The research methodology employed relies principally on historiography and archival research conducted in South Africa and Scotland, focusing on texts, images, and objects. The theoretical framework is based in postcolonial and decolonial theory, thus taking into account present challenges to the Eurocentrism and racial inequality that persists, particularly in historical musicology.

1.7.2 Research questions

The main research question is as follows: What role did the Presbyterian mission of Lovedale play in the formation of Black South African musicians in the period 1841–1955? Secondary questions include: What educational opportunities were open to students at Lovedale and why? How were these opportunities shaped by the political and social realities of the period? What was the institutional culture at Lovedale, and how did it change with the times? How did principals, missionaries, and students interact at Lovedale, and what societal impact did these personalities have beyond the Institute? The focus is thus principally on Lovedale as a place of connection. Specifics about the nature of music education supplement a broader discussion around the cultures created at Lovedale, and their impact on society. This study will concentrate primarily on demonstrating the wealth of talent and proliferation of music and compositions produced by students and former students of the Lovedale mission, the case study of the research, clearly showing why this is such an important area of study within the wider musical milieu of South Africa. Another aspect is to record the careers of Scottish missionaries and their origins, and how these links to overseas education became important for Black South African students who first studied at Lovedale.

1.7.3 Literature review

Historiography and Mission

The Cape Province was under British rule for the entire period covered by this thesis (1841-1955). It is important, therefore, to consider the British colonial influence and its global manifestations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The protestant Christian missionary movement of these centuries followed the ‘evangelical revival’ which coincided with British colonial expansion. A pioneering book on the topic, *The Bible and the Flag*, is most useful.¹⁶⁹ Brian Stanley describes the global transformation of Christianity during the twentieth century which tells a ‘multifaceted’ story in a period marked by decolonisation, nationalism and war. Another important study on the influence of the British colonial presence is Norman Etherington’s *Missions and Empire*.¹⁷⁰ This book brings together the study of missions in all parts of the British empire and their role in globalisation, modernisation and Western cultural hegemony. Themes relating to the work of missions include the creation of ethnicity, gender and language, the role of indigenous evangelists, and tensions between missions and government.¹⁷¹ This book can profitably be read as an adjunct to the multi-volume *Cambridge History of the British Empire, 1929–1961*.¹⁷²

The history of mission in South Africa, has received attention by numerous scholars. Missionaries were at first assessed by colonial historians as having been either an aid or a hindrance to the expansion and consolidation of colonial power. After the Second World War, with the rise of African Nationalism, Nosipho Majeke captured the perception of

¹⁶⁹ Hugh, “Stanley Brian, *The Bible and the Flag*,” 269.

¹⁷⁰ Norman Etherington. ed. *Missions and Empire*. Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 4.

¹⁷¹ Etherington, *Missions and Empire*, 5.

¹⁷² John Holland Rose, Arthur Percival Newton and Ernest Alfred Benians. General eds. *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, 8 Volumes (Cambridge England: Cambridge University Press, 1929-1961).

missionaries from the radical anti-colonial perspective with her book, *The role of missionaries in conquest*.¹⁷³ This book was written in an altogether different tone to Gerdener's *Recent developments in the South African Mission field*.¹⁷⁴ As the historiography of South Africa started taking cognisance of the new critical historical assessments of imperialism from the 1890s, the complex and diverse role of missionary endeavours and the often unintended and uncontrolled outcomes of the presence of Christian missionaries amongst African societies became a topic of investigation. Imperialism refers to the ideology or policy where power and control is extended over other countries and peoples by a centralised power or nation state. Stephen Howe offers a pro-imperialist outlook.¹⁷⁵ In his view, the cultures and history of colonialism promoted the "beneficial effects of the colonial empires", namely, that the British and French empires provided 'security' and 'stability' for their subjects. This contentious view needs to be weighed against perspectives on the detrimental effects of cultural imperialism on indigenous peoples.

A focus on Christianity and empire is to be found in two special issues of the *South African Historical Journal* which are devoted to church history.¹⁷⁶ In the first, editors Jeannerat, Kirkaldy and Ross explain that there is still considerable scope for research on missions. This

Nosipho Majeke, *The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest* (Johannesburg: Society of Young Africa, 1952). Majeke, who had to flee the country with her family in the 1960s used the pen-name Dora Taylor. She was a pioneer in the history of struggle in South Africa and challenged the approaches of the 'official' historian. See: Eric Walker. "The Role of the Missionaries in conquest – Nosipho Majeke: A Biographical Note." *South African History Online*. June 18, 2019. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/role-missionaries-conquest-nosipho-majeke-biographical-note>. (accessed March 5, 2021).

¹⁷⁴ G.B.A. Gerdener, *Recent Developments in the South African Mission Field*." (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1958). The Foreword is written by R.H.W. Shepherd. This book is available at the Unisa Muckleneuk Campus.

¹⁷⁵ Stephen Howe, *Empire: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2002), 164. Stephen Howe, ed. *The New Imperial Histories Reader* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2009).

¹⁷⁶ Joel Cabrita and Natasha Erlank, "New Histories of Christianity in South Africa: Review and introduction." *South African Historical Journal* 70, no. 2 (2018): 307.

is reinforced by the glaring omission of contributions on music in both special issues.¹⁷⁷ The second, more recent collection of essays in this journal draws attention to the importance of understanding church history and explains how Christianity cuts across ethnic, linguistic and national boundaries. Significant literature for the purposes of this study on Black South African music making in the colonial period includes research by Markus Detterbeck,¹⁷⁸ Christine Lucia¹⁷⁹ and Grant Olwage.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷ Caroline Jeannerat, Alan Kirkaldy and Robert Ross. "Introduction: Christian Missions in Southern Africa," *South African Historical Journal* 61, no. 2 (2009). Kirkaldy is a professor at the History Department at Rhodes University and Ross is a Professor Emeritus African History, Leiden University.

¹⁷⁸ Detterbeck Markus Detterbeck, "South African Choral Music (*Amakwaya*): Song, Contest and the formation of Identity (PhD Thesis) (University of Natal. 2002), and Markus Detterbeck. *Makwaya: South African choral music: song, contest and the formation of identity* (Innsbruck: Helbling, 2011).

¹⁷⁹ Christine Lucia, *The world of South African music: A reader*. Cambridge Scholars Press, 2005; Christine Lucia, "Travesty or Prophecy? Views of South African Black Choral Composition," in *Music and Identity. Transformation and Negotiation*, ed. Eric Akrofi, Maria Smit and Stig-Magnus Thorsen (Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2007);

Christine Lucia, *Music Notation: A South African Guide* (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2011); Christine Lucia, "Joshua Pulumo Mohapeloa and the Heritage of African Song," *Journal of International Library of African Music* 9 No. 1 (2011);

Christine Lucia, "Composing towards/against Whiteness: The African Music of Mohapeloa," In *Unsettling Whiteness*, ed. Lucy Michael and Samantha Schultz, 219-230 (Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press, 2014).

Lucia Christine Lucia, "The Times Do Not Permit," *Moerane*, South Africa, Lesotho and Fatše La Hesó. *Muziki* 16, no. 2 (2019); and,

Lucia Christine Lucia, *Michael Mosoeu Moerane: Critical Edition in Four Volumes* (Cape Town: African Composers Edition, 2020).

¹⁸⁰ Grant Olwage, "Scriptions of the choral: the historiography of black South African choralism," *South African Journal of Musicology* (SAMUS) 22 no. 1 (2002).

Grant Olwage, "Music and (Post) Colonialism: The Dialectics of Choral Culture on a South African Frontier" (PhD Thesis) (Rhodes University, 2003).

Grant Olwage, "The Class and Colour of Tone: An Essay on the Social History of Vocal Timbre." *Ethnomusicology Forum* 13, no. 2 (2004): 203.

Grant Olwage, "John Knox Bokwe, colonial composer: Tales about race and music," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, no. 1 (2006); and,

Grant Olwage, "Singing in the Victorian World: Tonic sol-fa and Discourses of Religion, Science and Empire in the Cape Colony," *Muziki* 7, no. 2 (2010), 193.

Farina Mir, a historian, proposes that decolonialisation was one of the most important events of the twentieth century.¹⁸¹ An important body of literature on decoloniality has emphasised the role of Black intellectuals in making sense of the consequences of colonialism. Lewis Gordon's recent work on Frantz Fanon provides an important overview of this icon of the movement.¹⁸² Fanon is seen as an example of "living thought," against "the legacies of colonialism and racism". Ngugi wa Thiong'o describes Fanon as a "many-sided thinker." Ngugi's own *Decolonising the Mind* is a classic in which he theorises the language debate in post-colonial studies.¹⁸³ Russell Kaschula offers critical insight into the complications of post-colonial thought, saying "what is Western becomes universal and what is Third World becomes local." This reminds scholars that the conceptual frames we impose on African cultures are never neutral and should not be normalised. Kaschula's article is also important for the ways in which he acknowledges individuals who played a pivotal role in the intellectualisation of isiXhosa, including John Bennie, Ntsikana ka Ghaba, J.J. R. Jalobe, A.C. Jordan, S.E.K. Mqhayi, Jeff Opland, W.B. Rubusana and Tiyo Soga.¹⁸⁴ There are several important studies on the history of music and mission in southern Africa.

This thesis contends throughout with the problem of interpreting and contextualising dedicated missionary zeal with its consequences for the indigenous peoples and knowledge systems they encountered. This is a theme that has been taken up in similar contexts by other scholars. For example, Jean and John Comaroff portray the missionaries in southern Africa as horticulturalists and craftsmen with practical skills who, as evangelists, taught Christianity

¹⁸¹ Farina Mir, "Introduction: The Archives of Decolonisation", *The American Historical Review* AHR Roundtable, 120 no. 3 (June 2015): 844.

¹⁸² Lewis Ricardo Gordon, *What Fanon said: A Philosophical Introduction to His Life and Thought* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015).

¹⁸³ Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (London: J. Currey, 1986).

¹⁸⁴ Russell H. Kaschula. Intellectualisation of isiXhosa Literature: the Case of Jeff Opland. *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde*, Volume, 54 no. 2 (2017).

and also wanted to bring a sense of “practical upliftment and modest respectability to their converts”.¹⁸⁵ However, these ideals, however noble in spirit, also came with numerous social and cultural drawbacks. For example, many scholars now critique the missionaries’ educational and linguistic interventions as integral parts of the “classifying project of colonial control”, which sets out to normalise the adoption of Western music and culture through a process of forced enculturation.¹⁸⁶

A broad array of historical sources is excerpted in Christine Lucia’s edited volume, *The World of South African Music: A Reader*.¹⁸⁷ This work includes valuable historical accounts on music in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁸⁸ Two important doctoral studies on music and mission were written by Markus Detterbeck and Grant Olwage. Detterbeck tells the story of the *amakwaya*, who were mission-educated Black South Africans who turned to choral singing to communicate their class identity.¹⁸⁹ Olwage’s thesis explores Black choralism in colonial South Africa, and focuses on Victorian choralism during the late nineteenth century in the Eastern Cape.¹⁹⁰ Olwage explains how Africans arriving at the mission schools had to “learn to think, speak and sing like a westerner”.¹⁹¹ He reports on how John Knox Bokwe, “stands at the head of the tradition of Black choralism” in southern Africa and is followed by Tiyo Soga and Enoch Sontonga,¹⁹² figures that will be discussed in detail

¹⁸⁵ Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 81.

¹⁸⁶ Derek Peterson, “Colonizing Language? Missionaries and Gikuyu Dictionaries, 1904 and 1914.” *History in Africa* 24 (January 1997), 257.

¹⁸⁷ Lucia, *The World of South African Music*, 15.

¹⁸⁸ Susan Harrop-Allin, “Ethnomusicology and Music Education: Developing a Dialogue.” *SAMUS. South African Journal of Musicology* 25 (2005): 121.

¹⁸⁹ Detterbeck, “South African Choral Music”, 1.

¹⁹⁰ Grant Olwage, “Music and (Post) Colonialism: The Dialects of Choral Culture on a South African Frontier” (PhD Thesis, Rhodes University, 2003).

¹⁹¹ Detterbeck, “*South African Choral Music*”, (2002), 87.

¹⁹² Christine Lucia. “*General Introduction to the J.P. Mohapeloa Critical Edition*,” https://www.researchgate.net/publication/333677042_General_Introduction_to_the_JP_Mohapeloa_Critical_Edition. (accessed May 18, 2020).

later. Detterbeck also points out that Africans arriving at the mission schools were influenced by their Western approach.¹⁹³ The imposition of colonial values on African subjects is therefore thematic in this research.

Detterbeck's study of *amakhwaya* describes the performance practice of Black choir competitions and their repertoire. Detterbeck shows how the emerging Black middle class were able to assert an elite identity through choral music.¹⁹⁴ Detterbeck recorded that the missionaries saw singing, for instance, as being "of ideological importance" as it provided a "transition to Christianity and civilization".¹⁹⁵ Detterbeck also claims that the teaching of hymns later in the nineteenth century was to have an important influence on African composers. This is because the musical approach was "distinctly Western" and the traditional background of the "mission-educated" Africans no longer played a role.¹⁹⁶ Singing formed an integral part of mission life and in their desire for musical socialisation; and the mission-educated Africans channelled their energy into Christian congregational singing.¹⁹⁷

Grant Olwage refers to both British and evangelical colonialism in South Africa in the Eastern Cape. His research explores Black choralism in the Victorian era in late-nineteenth-century colonial South Africa and the structures through which choralism functioned. He points out that literacy improved with the implementation of tonic sol-fa practices, but that the method of tonic sol-fa notation, with its institutional affiliations in Britain, became racialised in colonial South Africa.¹⁹⁸ Olwage has observed that John Knox Bokwe (1855–

¹⁹³ Detterbeck, "*South African Choral Music*", (2002), 87.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 128.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 126.

¹⁹⁷ Coplan, *In Township Tonight!*, 29.

¹⁹⁸ Olwage, "Music and (Post) Colonialism." Abstract.

1922) stands “at the head of the tradition of Black choralism” in southern Africa.¹⁹⁹ Bokwe, a choral conductor who composed almost entirely for voice, wrote more than 30 pieces establishing certain norms “in the genre of African choral music”, although his mission hymnody notation scripts were often in “tonic sol-fa notation”.²⁰⁰ A number of other studies point to the rise of choralism in the history of South African music, including David Coplan’s *In Township Tonight!*, although the emphasis in this work is very much on the urban traditions that were its consequence.²⁰¹ One further scholar whose work will be of enduring interest to this study is Veit Erlmann, whose books on the history of music and colonial encounter include case studies of composers and musicians directly associated with Lovedale, and with the social milieu in which it functioned.²⁰² Veit Erlmann investigates “late Victorian forms of global imagination”. His argument is that within “imperial time and space”, both colonisers and colonised thought they were within a global ‘inhabited land’ of ‘civilisation and progress’. He also writes about classes, cultures and races.²⁰³

Apart from these important studies, which are discussed in further detail in the chapters that follow, there is relatively little detailed research on the function of missions in educating Black South African musicians and composers during the nineteenth through mid-twentieth centuries. Making sense of these diverse perspectives on music, mission, and British cultural imperialism in southern Africa, postcolonial and decolonial theory is within my framework.

¹⁹⁹ Grant Olwage, “John Knox Bokwe: Father of Black South African Choral Composition.” *New Music SA Bulletin* (2010) 9&10, 18–19.

²⁰⁰ “*John Knox Bokwe*,” African Composers Edition, Music Score Section, Joshua Pulumo Mohapelo Biography, <http://www.african-composers-edition.co.za/mohapelo/biography> (accessed on July 27, 2018).

²⁰¹ Coplan, *In Township Tonight!*

²⁰² Veit Erlmann, *Music Modernity and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 112.

²⁰³ Erlmann, *Music Modernity and the Global Imagination*, 112.

1.7.4 Theoretical framework

This study offers a history of music and mission in the Eastern Cape of South Africa. Moving beyond the insights of previous scholars, such as Detterbeck and Olwage, who focused exclusively on postcolonial theory, this study turns also to decolonial theory. This turn to decoloniality recognises the power and importance of Black voices in a dialogue about the South African past. The linkages between postcolonial and decolonial theory are considered in this section and are explored in some detail in the chapters that follow. Nevertheless, an attempt is made to balance the writing of history with the exploration of theory. This is not principally a work of cultural or social theory, but rather a close reading of the archive that brings to light new evidence and information on the history of music and mission in the Eastern Cape. What postcolonial and decolonial theory provides is thus a framework for interpretation, as well as an imperative to address racial disparities. Past educational practices and educational policies have a bearing on social transformation as they are an indication as to what should be retained in future and what should be discarded.²⁰⁴

Gordon Lewis's study of the influential philosopher, Fanon, illustrates the continued importance and relevance of his ideas.²⁰⁵ He is seen to be an example of "living thought" against "the legacies of colonialism and racism" which are part of my theoretical framework applied within the thesis. Robert Young describes post-colonialism as "a language and a politics" to see things differently. "Post-colonialism claims the right of all people on this earth to the same material and cultural well-being."²⁰⁶ The missionaries promoted 'Europeanism'. Christian Education and the social advancement of the African people

²⁰⁴ Masumbe, "The Swiss Missionaries' Management of Social Transformation." 2002: vi.

²⁰⁵ Lewis Ricardo Gordon. *What Fanon said: A Philosophical Introduction to His Life and Thought* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015).

²⁰⁶ Robert Young. *Postcolonialism: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 2.

regarding the Eurocentric versus the Afrocentric perspective is a relevant discussion.²⁰⁷ The disparities created by European imperialism in the nineteenth century denied people basic rights. Colonial and imperial rule was legitimised by anthropological theories which increasingly portrayed the peoples of the colonised world as inferior, childlike, or feminine, incapable of looking after themselves (despite having done so perfectly well for millennia) and requiring the paternal rule of the west for their own best interests (today they are deemed to require ‘development’). The basis of such anthropological theories was the concept of race. In simple terms, the west-non-west relation was thought of in terms of whites versus the non-white races. White culture was regarded (and remains) the basis for ideas of legitimate government, law, economics, science, language, music, art, literature – in a word, “civilisation”.²⁰⁸

The postcolonial period in Africa arguably began with Ghana’s independence from Britain in 1957. This was two years after the dissolution of Lovedale in 1955. Thus, the period for this thesis is very much contained within the colonial period in Africa. However, postcolonial theory is concerned with different ways of seeing and knowing. Postcolonial theory is useful for exploring both the political and cultural legacy of the Lovedale Institute. It also had a socio-cultural impact with missionary influences (such as formal education, music education, and evangelisation) on the people of Lovedale – and the people of southern Africa as a whole. Homi Bhabha, an important scholar in contemporary post-colonial studies, offers further insight into the dynamics at play. Bhabha explores cultural change and power and questions of syncretism. Several key concepts, such as ‘ambivalence,’ ‘difference’ and ‘mimicry’ are invoked to describe the ways in which colonised people were able to resist the power of the coloniser. Bhabha, theorises identity in useful ways for this study by focusing on

²⁰⁷ Benneth Mgekajaza Chabalala Masumbe, “The Swiss Missionaries’ Management of Social Transformation in South Africa (1873-1976)” (PhD Thesis) (University of South Africa. 2002), 1.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 2, 3.

hybridity, and also national affiliation and social agency.²⁰⁹ Decolonial theory takes the project of post-colonialism further in pointing to the need for redress, and for actively rethinking the basis of Western epistemology and reason.²¹⁰ Decoloniality or decolonialism offers a critique of Eurocentric/Western knowledge and the superiority of Western culture, which is seen as the basis of Western Imperialism.²¹¹ In its academic form it is a method which analyses area studies, class distinctions, ethnic studies and gender studies which were “rooted in colonialism”.²¹² Decoloniality is the aftermath of colonisation and settler colonialism. It is a method of restoration and acknowledgement of the culture and knowledge of indigenous people, including people of colour and colonised people.²¹³ Cognisance is given to the current discourse in academia regarding decolonising the curriculum. This school of thought is critical of the “perceived universality of Western knowledge and the superiority of Western culture”.²¹⁴

The ideas of several decolonial African scholars will also be explained and applied in the thesis. An important theme is the dynamics of power relations between White and Black South African people. In addition to the seminal work of Frantz Fanon and Ngugi wa’ Thiong’o, there are also several scholars writing today about similar concerns. Paul Gilroy, for instance, has written of Black cultural expression and repression in his landmark 1993 book *The Black Atlantic*, showing how ethnicity, nation and race are “culturally constituted”.

209 Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994) (republished 2004). Social agency refers to the capacity of institutions, organisations and/or organisations to transform. They can also have influence or the ability to act. Local community programmes for the youth are included as well as shelters. See Chapter 3: Jane Waterstone’s philanthropic activities.

210 Achille Mbembe, *Critique of Black Reason*, transl. by Laurent Dubois (Braamfontein: Wits University Press, 2017).

211 Anibal Quijano, “Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality,” *Cultural Studies* 21 Nos. 2-3 (2007), 168

212 “Decoloniality.” <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Decoloniality> (accessed February 22, 2021).

213 “What is Decoloniality?” <https://www.wm.edu/sites/dhp/decoloniality/index.php> (accessed February 22, 2021).

214 *Ibid.*

Jacob Mapara is a post-colonial theorist who discusses indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) which could be described as a movement against the vestiges of colonialism and neo-colonialism. An important part of IKS as postcolonial theory is not to present people who became visible because of their contact with Westerners, but to “present the colonised and formerly colonised as subjects of history”.²¹⁵ The personalisation of stories about indigenous evangelists will be discussed in this regard. Njabulo Simakahle Ndebele is an academic who studied at the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (UBLS) in 1973, where he became involved in the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), which shaped his views. His approach to “living with disagreement’ offers a view of South Africa’s past to explain what seems baffling in the present.²¹⁶

Achille Mbembe discusses the concept of “Westernised” institutions which are places of learning that “aspire to become local instantiations of a dominant academic model based on a Eurocentric epistemic canon”.²¹⁷ The principals and most of the staff at Lovedale came from Europe and shared what they had learnt at Scottish universities in Scotland with their students. In Khwezi Mkhize’s view, John Tengo Jabavu’s *Imvo Zabantsundu* can be connected to a project of “imperial liberalism”. Mkhize argues that Jabavu and his peers were “black Victorians”.²¹⁸ This meant they, as the ‘colonised, accepted the culture identity of the ‘colonisers’. Charles Petersen co-authored ‘Decolonising the Academy’ which discusses Decolonisation and race identity.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Jacob Mpara. “Indigenous knowledge systems in Zimbabwe: Juxtaposing postcolonial theory,” *Journal of Pan African Studies* 3, no 1 (September 2009), 147.

²¹⁶ Njabulo Simakahle Ndebele, *Living with Disagreement*. 1988.

²¹⁷ Achille Mbembe. “Decolonizing Knowledge and the Question of the Archive”: Africa is a country (Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 2015), 9.

²¹⁸ Khwezi Mkhize, “To See Us as We See Ourselves’: John Tengo Jabavu and the Politics of the Black Periodical,” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 44, no 3 (2018): 413. Mkhize is from UCT.

²¹⁹ Carol Boyce Davies, Meredith Gadsby, Charles Peterson and Henrietta Williams, *De-Colonizing the Academy: African diaspora studies*. Trenton: Africa World Press, 2003.

The works of Jean and John Comaroff will be discussed,²²⁰ together with approaches to the history of missions, such as those of Markus Detterbeck²²¹ and Grant Olwage.²²² Edward Said's *Orientalism* will be used as a point of departure for this historiography. This is because it helps one to understand European constructions of Africa, and the perceptions of Africans, which influenced the shaping of the musical worlds that Africans created for themselves during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in South Africa.²²³ By not only attending to the facts of history, but also to the contexts in which people made history is relevant. "Historical reality has many ways of concealing itself. A most effective way consists in displaying itself in the full view of all".²²⁴ This thesis moves beyond the research of Lucia, Olwage, and Detterbeck on choralism and coloniality to offer a detailed case study of Lovedale, which will show how one of the most important institutions for the education of African musicians functioned in the context of a changing social and political milieu. The life and works of the Black composers – who studied at or were linked to Lovedale, and who subsequently shaped Black South African music in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – will be discussed in great detail throughout this thesis.

1.7.5. Critique of the missionaries

Many scholars have been critical of the missionaries and the ideas they promoted in Africa. There was much debate on "Whose side was the missionary really on?" and "Whose ends did he serve?".²²⁵ Slowan discusses the 'story of our Kaffrarian Mission' and the 'attraction of

²²⁰ Comaroff and Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 80.

²²¹ Detterbeck, "South African Choral Music", 87.

²²² Olwage, "Music and (Post) Colonialism," 2003.

²²³ Edward Said, "Orientalism Reconsidered." *Cultural Critique* no. 1 (Autumn 1985).

²²⁴ Octavio Paz, "The Flight of Quetzalcóatl and the Quest for Legitimacy," in *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness*, ed. Jacques Lafaye (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 1531–1813.

²²⁵ Colin Bundy, *The rise and fall of the South African peasantry* (Ibadan, Nairobi: Heinemann, 1979), 36. Most of the missionaries were male.

Africa'. His view is that the missionaries were sympathetic, especially towards South Africa which they found to be an attractive destination where they thought their missionary societies would be able to work.²²⁶ Jean and John Comaroff record that the non-conformists, also known as the evangelists, who came from protestant churches overseas, were mainly Presbyterian missionaries. They were the "free" churchmen because they were free from the state control of Scotland. Comaroffs' view, however, is that these churchmen "lacked the power to deliver to Black communities the world promised in their worldview and these people ended up regarding them as agents of colonialism".²²⁷

Monica Wilson, in her address at the opening of the South African Missionary Museum at Lovedale in 1976, asked the question "*Missionaries: Conquerors or Servants of God?*"²²⁸ An important theme in this book is 'the significance of religion'. Wilson was a pioneer who acknowledged the religious role of the missionaries, but she also had a clear grasp (quite unique at the time) of "social change in rural African societies". She realised it was impossible to study 'contact' without having an understanding of indigenous culture, and "first-hand knowledge of tribal customs". This is something that missionaries needed to learn.

Edgar Brookes, on the other hand, viewed the European churchmen as "well-intentioned philanthropists".²²⁹ Anthony Sillery portrays the missionaries as "benign imperialists" in his study of John Mackenzie in Bechuanaland, when he writes about Mackenzie's work from

²²⁶ William J. Slowan, "The Story of the Kaffraria Mission." In *Missions of the United Presbyterian Church described in a Series of Stories*. Jamaica, Old Calabar, Kaffraria, Rajputana and Manchuria (Edinburgh: Offices of United Presbyterian Church, 1896), 9.

²²⁷ Slowan, "The Story of the Kaffraria Mission," 312.

²²⁸ Monica Wilson, *Missionaries: Conquerors or Servants of God?* (King William's Town: South African Missionary Museum, 1976). Wilson was analysing the 'Co-operation and Conflict' on the eastern Cape Frontier.

²²⁹ Edgar Harry Brookes, *White Rule in South Africa: 1830–1910* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1974). For a 'missionary imperialist thesis', see Anthony Dachs, "Missionary Imperialism: The Case of Bechuanaland." *Journal of African History* 13 (1972), 647–658.

1835 to 1899.²³⁰ There was, however, tension between Christianity and African cultures. Thabo Mbeki highlights the fact that the work of the missionaries and their effects on indigenous African cultures need to be seen “against a backdrop of unrelenting cultural imperialism”.²³¹ There will be difficulties and differences in culture with “faith across borders” and these have to be anticipated and respected.²³²

With all these differing perceptions considered, the position developed for this thesis proposes the following: European missionaries came, in essence, to evangelise and develop the African interior while representing their different missionary societies. However, they were not born in South Africa and came with their own preconceived ideas and world views.²³³ Because they found themselves in an environment that was vastly different, unfamiliar and perhaps even intimidating, they were bound to make mistakes and subsequently had to deal with the problems that emerged. Both the mistakes and solutions should be seen in the light of the historical, political and social contexts in which these missionaries found themselves. To them, the recognition of missed opportunities led to their recognition of the value of a new Christian African society based on incorporating Western and traditional culture. For Africans, their arrival led to the transformation of the very fabric of their social order. This connotes retention of some of the old and forced adaptation to the new.

²³⁰ Anthony, Sillery, John Mackenzie of Bechuanaland, 1835–1899: A Study in Humanitarian Imperialism (Cape Town: A.A. Balema, 1971).

²³¹ Thabo Mbeki, “Speech of President Thabo Mbeki at the Funeral of Sarah Bartmann,” delivered at Gamtoos on 9 August 2002, <http://www.dirco.gov.za/docs/speeches/2002/mbek0809.htm>. accessed May 19, 2020.

²³² Peter Tshobiso Mtuze, “Bishop Dr S. Dwane and the Rise of Xhosa Spirituality in the Ethiopian Episcopal Church Formerly the Order of Ethiopia” (PhD thesis, University of South Africa, 2008), 203.

²³³ Norman, A. Etherington, “Missionary Doctors and African Healers in Mid-Victorian South Africa.” *South African Historical Journal* 19, no. 1 (1987): 77. The attitude of some European medical missionaries during the colonial period towards anything African was shaped by their ‘racist notions about Africa’ and they did not think they could learn anything from Africans.

1.7.6 Thesis structure

This thesis is organised into thematic parts emphasising culture and the role of music at Lovedale. It describes a history of Presbyterian music, the Scottish Presbyterian missionaries who came out from Glasgow and Edinburgh and their music students who were at the Scottish Presbyterian mission institute of Lovedale in the Eastern Cape between 1841 and 1955. Chapters 2 to 6 focus on the influence of the five principals and the African composers who studied under their principalship. Their contribution to the development of music in South Africa will be highlighted through their compositions and their musical influence at Lovedale.

1.7.7 Synopsis

Chapter 1 is an introduction to the thesis, which focuses on music and British settler colonialism at the Cape. Chapter 2, details events at Lovedale under the leadership of its first principal, Reverend William Govan. Religious teaching was emphasised during this first period with European and African children educated to the same standard as in Scotland.²³⁴ The importance of Presbyterianism to the development of music education at Lovedale is also discussed, as is the important link between Lovedale and Dollar Academy in Scotland, a relationship established through the musical legacy of the Soga family.²³⁵

Chapter 3 discusses the influence of Reverend Dr James Stewart's principalship. It also includes a discussion of the music and career of Reverend John Knox Bokwe (1855-1922). The influence of *Noqakata* (the 'mother of activity') or Dr Jane Waterston (1866-1905), is measured in terms of the upliftment of women and the establishment of a boarding school for

²³⁴ Mackenzie, *The Scots in South Africa*, 2007, 110; Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1940: 11.

²³⁵ Soga (1829-1871) wrote that Govan was a constant benefactor and friend to all "native races of South Africa". H.T. Cousins, *Rev. Tiyo Soga. The Model Missionary* (London: S.W. Partridge & Co, 1897), 127. Cousins also wrote another article about the life and work of Tiyo Soga; H.T. Cousins, *From Kafir Kraal to Pulpit. The Story of Tiyo Soga* (London: S.W. Partridge & Co. 1899).

African girls at Lovedale. Other important developments during this period include the establishment of the Lovedale Brass Band, and visits by Orpheus McAdoo (1858–1900) and the Fisk Jubilee Singers who toured in 1871 singing their repertoire of African American Spirituals. Their visit to Lovedale influenced some students who embarked on an ill-fated choir tour of the UK in 1891. The musicians and intellectuals Paul Xiniwe (b. 1857), Josiah Semouse (b. 1860) and Charlotte Maxeke (1871–1939) (known as the ‘Native Christian Mother’) are introduced. The musical contribution by Enoch Mankayi Sontonga (1873–1905) is also highlighted as is the contribution of Samuel Edward Krune Mqhayi (1875-1945), a Xhosa biographer, historian and poet.

Chapter 4 focuses on the period under Reverend Dr James Henderson, who served as principal from 1906 to 1930. The establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 marked a major shift in South Africa’s political and social history and was to have important consequences for race relations. Black South Africans took part in the First World War, and some incidents such as the sinking of the transport ship Mendi on 21 February 1917, were commemorated in song at Lovedale.²³⁶ Composers who studied at Lovedale during this period include Benjamin Tyamzashe (1890–1978), whose tonic sol-fa leaflets were published by Lovedale Press in 1937. Reuben Caluza (1895–1969) was an associate of Lovedale who took a choir to England in 1930, and his African Quartet to America in the early 1930s. Z.K. Matthews (1901–1968) was the first African appointed in 1925 as the head of the high school and went on to have a remarkable career in South African public life. The music of Joshua Polumo Mohapeloa (1908–1982) was printed by the Lovedale Press. His life and music are introduced in this chapter but discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. The establishment of the Fort Hare College on 8 February 1916 is another important milestone marked here. The 1934

²³⁶ When the troop ship ‘Mendi’ was sunk on 21 February 1917 in the English Channel when it hit a mine, 615 black soldiers drowned. Albert M. Jonas composed a musical arrangement in Tonic sol-fa to words by S.E. Mqhayi called ‘*Amagora E-Mendi.*’

Fort Hare Report mentions that the composer, Michael M. Moerane (1904-1980), was on the staff of Lovedale High School in 1930. The strong tradition of music at Booker R Washington's Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, in Alabama, America, was a link utilised by representatives from Lovedale including Rev James Henderson. Both Washington and Henderson promoted "African industrial education" and "self-improvement".

Chapter 5 considers the tenure of Rev. Dr Arthur West Wilkie (1932–1942), who taught the Xhosa composer Hamilton John Makhoza Masiza (1894–1955). Masiza was one of the first students to study at the University of Fort Hare. He wrote 'A! Sosizwe' for the special occasion of the British Royal family's visit in 1947. Hamilton Masiza (1894–1955) and Richard Mbuyiselo Mfamana (b. 1918) were both educated at Healdtown, which is close to Lovedale. E.E. Monese (1917–1965) and E.A.J. Monaisa (n.d.) had links with Lovedale. The music of Daniel Cornel Marivate (1904–1980), who came to be known as the "African Renaissance Man", is discussed with musical examples. Wilkie was a firm believer in the importance of village life where Lovedale was the centre and was connected to the community. This also meant that music and familiar songs were shared. This chapter considers the importance of two poets. Dr Francis Carey Slater, a colonial poet (1876–1958) received his initial education at Lovedale and later wrote 'At Stewart's Grave'. Siph Mangindi Burns-Ncamashe (1920–1996) who was a Xhosa *imbongi* (praise poet) is also mentioned. The importance of the natural world as inspiration to Xhosa composers is also discussed.

Chapter 6 is a study of the principalship of Reverend Dr Robert Henry Wishart Shepherd (1942–1955), who oversaw the last years at Lovedale before its demise under the apartheid government. Shalati Joseph Khosa (b. 1936-2013), Todd Tozama Matshikiza (1921-1968) and Michael Mosoeu Moerane (1904–1980) fit into this time frame, as does Davidson Don

Tengo Jabavu (1885–1959), who had been educated at Lovedale. Jabavu was a pianist and a violinist who took a leading role in the establishment of the South African Native College known as Fort Hare, where he became a lecturer. He trained and conducted the 5000-strong Lovedale choir that sang during the 1947 visit of the British Royal Family to Lovedale. Chapter 7 offers a conclusion to the thesis, summing up themes from the thesis and reflecting on the importance of Lovedale as a Presbyterian educational institute in the history of music in South Africa.

1.7.8 The significance of the study

There is still a gap in the literature on the formation of Christian choral music, one of South Africa's largest repertoires. Olwage reviews the structures through which choralism functioned as a practice of colonialism as well as the religious contexts within which choralism operated.²³⁷ His research shows how tonic sol-fa notation came to embody racial segregation. This thesis moves beyond this core work on choralism and coloniality to offer a detailed case study of Lovedale which will show how one of the most important institutions for the education of African musicians functioned in the context of a changing social and political milieu. It discusses the life and works of the Black composers who studied at or were linked to Lovedale, and who subsequently shaped Black South African music in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The thesis explores a wide range of cultural, political and social narratives as told through the lens of both the coloniser and the colonised. It expresses the dynamics of power and conquest, together with the emergence of “new identities” through intellectual growth, musical creativity, and individual expression. With this stated, Cultural Studies and theories of race and class in performance will be taken note of in relation to post-colonialism. This thesis is postcolonial primarily because it avoids utilising only

²³⁷ Olwage. “The Class and Colour of Tone” 2004.

colonial narratives and purposefully includes the narratives of African people. In doing so, the thesis challenges historical biographies that have traditionally focused on Eurocentric ideals and a recollection of events that favour colonial perspectives. The focus of this thesis is the creation of a musical biography that takes all voices, especially those of the previously marginalised, into account. In this way, it advocates for a decolonial music history for African societies, for too long shaped by a Western conceptual imaginary.

CHAPTER 2

THE FIRST PERIOD OF LOVEDALE, 1840–1870

‘One event is always the child of another, and we must not forget the genealogy.’
A Bechuana Chief.²³⁸

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the early years of the Lovedale Missionary Institute, and the key figures involved in its establishment. The GMS institute of Lovedale was officially opened on Wednesday 21 July 1841 at the Lovedale Church.²³⁹ Black and White students who belonged to congregations connected with the principles of the Church of Scotland were eligible upon admission to have board and education free of charge.²⁴⁰ The first principal, William Govan, having established the mission in 1841 at Alice, retired three decades later in 1870. The ideals of excellence and equanimity that he espoused were to have a lasting impact that enabled a generation of Black South Africans to make pioneering contributions in a range of fields, including education, music, medicine and law. Two Xhosa missionaries and composers who made a profound impact on the subsequent development of choral music in South Africa, and who are associated with this period at Lovedale, are uNtsikana Ka Gaba (c1780–1821) and Tiyo Soga (1829–1871). Their music and careers will be detailed later in this chapter.

It was at the Chumie Mission, also known as Igwali/Gwali (GMS 1838: 6)²⁴¹ that Ntsikana had been introduced to the ministry of a London Missionary Society (LMS) missionary

²³⁸ Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 1.

²³⁹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 95.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 99.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

(GMS Report: 1823), namely the Reverend Joseph Williams who died in 1818.²⁴² Ntsikana (1780–1821) was a historical figure who became a Christian Xhosa, teaching his hymns to his followers by rote. ‘Sicana’, as he was also known, was a poet who composed hymns which were repeated to his people until they could remember them.²⁴³ These were written down by students at Lovedale, namely, Tiyo Soga and John Knox Bokwe, who later made arrangements of this works.²⁴⁴

The Soga family are of special interest because their music legacy continues to this day, both in South Africa and in Scotland. In my view the women in the Soga family are exceptional in as far as the role of gender in shaping missions is concerned. Both of Tiyo Soga’s daughters were mission teachers in the Eastern Cape. Isabella McFarlane Soga (186–884) (a noted concert pianist in Britain) worked at the Cunningham Mission in Toleni, Transkei.²⁴⁵ Frances Maria Anna Soga (1868-1942) was at the Darabe mission in the Elliotdale district.²⁴⁶ Frances was involved with the Womens’ *Manyano*.²⁴⁷ The *Manyano* is an African women’s group within the Presbyterian church mission.²⁴⁸

Other notable musicians and composers include the missionaries John Bennie and John Brownlee, who were at ‘Old Lovedale’.²⁴⁹ Govan arrived at ‘New Lovedale’ on 16 January

²⁴² *Ibid.*, 17.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 17.

²⁴⁴ Elsewhere in the world Tomlinson writes about the encounter of Europeans and indigenous Americans, and the role of song in mediating their encounters. Their own folk music melodies were also taught by rote and were later written down. See Gary Tomlinson, *The Singing of the New World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 350.

²⁴⁵ Nelly E. Sonderling, (ed.) *New Dictionary of South African Biography*. Volume, 2 (Pretoria: Vista University: HSRC, 1999).

²⁴⁶ The unveiling of her Memorial at the Miller Mission took place on 24 May 1959.

²⁴⁷ George McArthur, “The Sogas,” in *New Dictionary of South African Biography*, Volume, 2 ed. Nelly E, Sonderling (Pretoria: Vista University, 1999).

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*,

²⁴⁹ John Bennie became known as ‘The Father of Xhosa Literature.’ He arrived at Chumie, ‘Old Lovedale,’ on 15 November 1821, together with Reverend William Ritchie Thomson. They both studied Dutch and

1841 and proceeded to learn isiXhosa.²⁵⁰ His education in isiXhosa was in keeping with the many missionaries who tasked themselves to learn the local language as soon as possible upon their arrival. Many hymns were later translated into isiXhosa or written in the local vernacular.

It was decided to build a new station ('Old' Lovedale) on the 'River Incehra', twelve miles to the south-east of Chumie. Bennie and Ross, whose salaries were paid by the Glasgow Missionary Society, took up residence here in November 1824 (Memorials of Rev. James Laing, 333).²⁵¹ This missionary station, namely Incehra in "Caffraria" was later renamed 'new' Lovedale as a tribute to Reverend Dr Love from the Anderston Church in Glasgow. This was after his death on 17 December 1825.²⁵² The GMS missionaries had a local helper called Fiti when 'Old Lovedale' was founded. His son Tshuka was the wagon driver who brought Mr Weir to the mission in 1827. He also helped to build the seminary and later became a well-known elder.²⁵³ The site of Lovedale on the Incehra stream was abandoned and in 1836. New Lovedale, its successor, was founded four miles away.²⁵⁴ It was built on the west bank of the Tyhume/Tyumie River on the advice of Captain Lenox Stretch, who was known to the missionaries as "the philanthropic commissioner".²⁵⁵ The Xhosas called him Xol'ilizwe.²⁵⁶ The possibility for irrigation was greater at this new site and it was thought that the indigenous people would also find this settlement more attractive.²⁵⁷ Reverend William

Xhosa. Reverend John Ross arrived at Chumie on 16 December 1823 (Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1940*, 515, 56), and set up his own printing press.

²⁵⁰ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1940*, 93.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 64.

²⁵² G.M.S. Report (1827: 80); Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1940*, 64.

²⁵³ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1940*, 237

²⁵⁴ Williams, *The Journal and Selected Writings of the Reverend Tiyo Soga*, 203.

²⁵⁵ GMS Quarterly Paper Volume, XV (1836): 3 (Supplement).

²⁵⁶ Peacemaker. Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1940*, 88.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 87.

Govan arrived at New Lovedale on 16 January 1841 and proceeded to learn isiXhosa. Many missionaries such as Govan began to learn the local language as soon as possible upon their arrival. Govan could speak to Soga in both English and isiXhosa. Lovedale “was destined to give great service to native education in South Africa”.²⁵⁸ Many hymns were later translated into isiXhosa or written in the local vernacular.

To understand the dynamics of early Lovedale, and the context for missionary activity in the early nineteenth century, the next section explores the Presbyterian background that informed this work and shaped the outlook of the first generation of graduates.

2.2 PRESBYTERIANISM AND THE CAPE MISSIONS

2.2.1 Scottish origins of Presbyterianism

The religious background of Presbyterian missions in the nineteenth century needs to be understood as the product of several currents of Protestantism in the modern era. Presbyterianism emerged in Scotland but takes its roots in Calvinism. Scottish reformers established a strong Presbyterian tradition in 1689, with two influential religious groups, namely the “Evangelicals” and the “Moderates”, becoming prominent. Evangelicals, who had been strengthened by religious revivals and the “Sunday school movement”, expanded between 1833 and 1843. This led to the establishment in Scotland after the Disruption of the Free Church in 1843 under the leadership of Reverend Thomas Chalmers.²⁵⁹ It is from this group in Scotland that the missionaries left to evangelise in South Africa. The goal of the Reformed Kirk of Scotland was that Protestants should focus on the Bible, the sermon and the psalms in their worship. This promoted a new Protestant identity that was vested in

²⁵⁸ Andrew Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843–1974* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1975).

²⁵⁹ William Adamson, *The Religious Anecdotes of Scotland* (Cologne: White Press, 2017 [1872]).

Scottish reformed culture.²⁶⁰ Each of the Scottish Presbyterian principals at Lovedale worked with this viewpoint, as the Free Church of Scotland supported their activities after the Disruption in 1843.

2.2.2 Music in the Presbyterian Church

Psalms were sung in Protestant churches after the Reformation with a praise leader or precentor “giving out the line”.²⁶¹ The music sung during Presbyterian services in Scotland at the Free Church of Scotland (FCS) was with no instrumental accompaniment, with a precentor leading the singing from the Reformation onwards.²⁶² Psalmody in church worship with accompanied hymns was only permitted in 1883 at some churches.²⁶³

The formation of the Presbytery of Relief had taken place in 1761 in Colingsburgh, Fife in Scotland.²⁶⁴ Its founder was the Reverend Thomas Gillespie, the minister at Carnock, Dunfermline.²⁶⁵ There was an evangelical revival in Scotland in the spring of 1742 at Cambuslang outside Glasgow and another revival later at Kilsyth between Glasgow and Stirling.²⁶⁶ The Relief Church then sprang into being in Scotland with a new style of preaching.²⁶⁷ A hymn book was published in Scotland by junior members of the Relief Church in 1792.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁰ Margo Todd, “Profane Pastimes and the Reformed Community: The Persistence of Popular Festivities in Early Modern Scotland,” *Journal of British Studies* 39 No. 2 (April 2000): 123.

²⁶¹ Campbell 2011: 241.

²⁶² Nigel M. de S Cameron. ed. *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark. 1993), 672.

²⁶³ Cameron, *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, 616. William Ritchie introduced a chamber organ into his services in Glasgow at the St Andrew’s Church, where he was the minister in 1807.

²⁶⁴ Gavin Struthers, Rev. The History of the Rise, Progress and Principles of the Relief Church: Embracing Notices of the other Religious Denominations in Scotland. (Glasgow: A. Fullarton and Co., 1843), 160.

²⁶⁵ Struthers, History of the Relief Church, 71.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 27.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 54.

²⁶⁸ Drummond and Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland, 1843–1874*, 183.

There were different denominations in Scotland including the Anglicans (Episcopal Church), Congregationalists, the Presbyterians and the Relief Church. The Evangelical Christian denominations (Baptist, Brethren, Assemblies of God and Salvation Army) followed different doctrines to those of the Presbyterian church. There were a number of Presbyterian churches in Scotland and the people often moved between these different churches. Initially there was the established (Kirk) Church of Scotland, and after the Great Disruption of 1843, the Free Church of Scotland (FCS) was formed. The Free Church of Scotland was more accepting of the Gaelic culture and language than the established church and grew quickly in the Highlands and islands.²⁶⁹ The Free Church of Scotland was formed to enable congregations to choose their own ministers rather than have the landowners make this choice for them. Ministers were more likely to support the people they served as a result.

Lovedale was established initially with pupils who had ties to the Church of Scotland but in 1844 the missionaries of the GMS joined the Free Church of Scotland (FCS) which subsequently supported them from then on.²⁷⁰ Later, in 1893 the Free Presbyterian Church²⁷¹ was established and in 1900, the United Free Church was created, which incorporated most of the secessionist churches. Hymns were introduced in the United Presbyterian Church (formed through the union of the Relief Church and the United Secession Church) from 1847 to 1900. The Free Church of Scotland has only had unaccompanied psalm singing in church worship in Scotland, and this is still the case in most of their churches today. Worship in the Free Church of Scotland was conservative and music with organs was not permitted until 1883.²⁷²

²⁶⁹ George, Robb. "Popular Religion and the Christianisation of the Scottish Highlands in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Journal of Religious History* 16, no. 1 (1990): 19.

²⁷⁰ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 104.

²⁷¹ A. Roger, *The Courts, The Church, and The Constitution: Aspects of the Disruption of 1843* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 98.

²⁷² S. J. Brown, "Beliefs and religions," in *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1800 to 1900*, T. Griffiths and G. Morton (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 122.

Robert Lee from the Church of Scotland (CofS) introduced a harmonium into his service at Greyfriars Church in Edinburgh in 1863 and by the 1870s the use of the organ was commonplace during their worship. In 1882, a Free Church of Scotland (FCS) minister,²⁷³ James Begg, petitioned the Assembly to make use of an organ during services, which was not the norm in the FCS. Begg argued that the organ regulated congregational singing and took the part of the “tuning-pipe”²⁷⁴ or precentor.²⁷⁵ A number of Church of Scotland churches in the Highlands continue to have precentor-led psalmody in their services today. “Great Precentors” would usually refer to precentors of Gaelic psalmody in the Free Church of Scotland, on the west coast of Scotland.²⁷⁶ Hymns were also later sung unaccompanied in northern Scotland by “Free Presbyterians”.²⁷⁷ In evangelical Christian musical worship, there are singers of gospel hymnody in the North-East fishing communities.²⁷⁸ Evangelical Christian music worship can be found across Scotland in Baptist, Brethren, Salvation Army and other denominations, but the tradition is especially strong in North-East Scottish fishing communities.

²⁷³ “The Free Church of Scotland,” freechurch.org. The Free Church of Scotland, accessed 21 November 21, 2019, “is committed to the proclamation and furtherance of the Christian faith in the nation of Scotland and beyond.”

²⁷⁴ Cameron, *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, 616. Guitars were introduced since the 1960s.

²⁷⁵ Chris Coldwell, *The Westminster Directory for Public Worship and the Lining of the Psalms* (Texas: First Presbyterian Church of Rowlett, 1998). A precentor in Scotland in early reformed worship was the person who led the congregation in the unaccompanied singing of the Psalms. This practice still continues today as ‘Gaelic psalmody’. In the nineteenth century there was a move to improve congregational singing and many precentors became “choirmasters”. The precentor read or sang the lines of the psalms aloud and the congregation then repeated what he had just sung.

²⁷⁶ Today in the Free Church and other Presbyterian denominations, mainly in the Scottish Highlands, one can find precentors of both Gaelic and English psalmody. However, there continues to be no musical accompaniment in many of the Free Church congregations, as well as in the Free Presbyterian Church and their various branches in Scotland.

²⁷⁷ Norman Campbell, *Reading the Line: An English-Language Lined-Out Psalmody Tradition in Presbyterian Scotland* (Norman Campbell, M.A.: Stornoway). 2005. This is a booklet.

²⁷⁸ Frances Wilkins, *Singing the Gospel along Scotland’s North-East Coast, 1859-2009*. SOAS Musicology Series (London, Routledge, 2018), 56. This book is specifically about evangelical Christian musical worship.

Lovedale became part of the work of the Free Church in 1844.²⁷⁹ Rev. Govan would probably have introduced psalms. The isiXhosa hymn book (published in 1881) also has traditional Western hymns in tonic sol-fa. The Free Kirk were strong evangelicals when they broke away during the Disruption of the Church of Scotland. They were faithful to the scriptures and placed a strong emphasis on the Bible and the singing of psalms. The Scottish Psalter would have been used by both the Church of Scotland and the Free Kirk. The difference was that the Free Church would have sung the psalms unaccompanied, led by a precentor, who would have found the key before singing commenced. The students were taught four-part harmony through the singing at Lovedale.

2.2.3 The Cape Missions

The context for the Cape missions was marked by its diverse population. By the early nineteenth century, there were already many different groups ranging from African chiefs, Boer farmers, British colonial administrators and Christian missionaries from England and Scotland, as well as traders and trek-boers. Clifton Crais described this complexity as characteristic of “ambiguous frontiers of contact”.²⁸⁰ Veit Erlmann likewise refers to “an increasingly differentiated social universe composed of classes, cultures and races” in the Cape.²⁸¹

Mimicry in post-colonialism described the uncertain relationship which existed between the colonised and the coloniser. There was imperial dominance on the part of the coloniser, who tended to control the behaviour of the colonised, as was the case with cultural habits such as the clothes they wore. British tastes, manners and opinions as well as values were also

²⁷⁹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1824–1945, 105.

²⁸⁰ Clifton C. Crais, *White Supremacy and Black Resistance in Pre-Industrial South Africa: The Making of the Colonial Order in the Eastern Cape, 1770–1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

²⁸¹ Veit Erlmann, *Music Modernity and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 112.

adopted. There was the change from living in huts to living in houses. These were generally in an avenue, as was the case at Lovedale, due to the Scottish influence of the Presbyterian missionaries who generally kept things Scottish.²⁸² This also applied to the indigenous staff at Lovedale as well as to the students who in both cases were made “Black Scotsmen and Scotswomen”.²⁸³ Scottish missionaries aimed to promote their Scottishness with the African students through dress, manners, education, language, and culture.

Two important early converts in this period were the prophet Ntsikana, and Tiyo Soga. Ntsikana’s tradition was handed down to Soga, who established the first Xhosa mission and was perceived to be the leader of the “school people”. The following sections consider their contributions in turn.

2.3 NTSIKANA AND MUSIC

The first Xhosa missionary was Ntsikana Gaba (1760–1821). Reverend William Chalmers, who had arrived at ‘Chumie’ (Tyumie) in 1827, met Ntsikana on 5 January 1828. He wrote a letter explaining that Ntsikana was a real Christian who had experienced an exemplary conversion and had endeavoured to “train up his family” and all those around him to revere God.²⁸⁴ Ntsikana is also considered the first composer of Black choral music in South Africa. Archibald Campbell (AC) Mzolisa Jordan (1906–1968) was a pupil who completed his junior certificate at Lovedale and recognised the importance of Ntsikana²⁸⁵, describing Ntsikana’s

²⁸² Nasrullah Mambrol, *Mimicry in Postcolonial Theory*, 2016.

²⁸³ John MacKenzie, “Making Black Scotsmen and Scotswomen. Scottish Missionaries and the Eastern Cape Colony in the Nineteenth Century.” In *Empires of Religion*, edited by H.M. Carey, 113–136. Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies Series. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.

²⁸⁴ This letter was published in *Edinburgh: The Scottish Missionary and Philanthropic Register for 1828* (Edinburgh: The Edinburgh Religious Tract Society, 1828), 477.

²⁸⁵ Erlmann, *Music Modernity and the Global Imagination*, 127.

hymns as bridging the “traditional and post-traditional periods”.²⁸⁶ Ntsikana was called *umphrofethi wakwa* (a Xhosa prophet), with some early missionaries and churchmen, including Bennie and Brownlee, referring to him as “prophet Ntsikana” in the late 1880s and early 1890s.²⁸⁷ Ntsikana belonged to his father's clan, namely the Cirha clan, and initially experienced conflict between *Inkolo yakwaNtu* (his indigenous belief system) and *Inkolo yaseMzini* (the new foreign belief system). By adopting Christianity, he realised that he had to turn away from his traditional Xhosa belief systems. He had to throw away his blanket and wash off the red ochre with which he had painted his body.²⁸⁸ He was a traditional diviner who had “mystical experiences” and “spiritual trances”, but he believed that “God was calling him to be a Christian.” It was through his conversion that he became a prophet and “spread the light of God to others” and wanted to live in peace with his neighbours.²⁸⁹

Ntsikana is remembered as a “pioneer of African Christianity” who attempted to “acculturate Christianity to African culture” and tried to lay a “foundation of an African form of Christianity”.²⁹⁰ Ntsikana’s father was the son of *Gaba*, a councillor of the chief Ngqika, and his second wife Nonabe. As a child, Ntsikana heard the Christian teachings of the London Missionary Society, including those of Reverend James Read (1780–1852),²⁹¹ Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp (1747–1811) and Joseph Williams (1780–1818).²⁹² Ntsikana was

²⁸⁶ Archibald C Jordan, *Towards an African Literature: The Emergence of Literary Form in Xhosa* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), 73.

²⁸⁷ John Brownlee, “A Few Brief Details Referring to the Two Prominent Characters (Makanda and Ntsikana),” in *The School Book*, compiled by Rev. J. Bennie (Cape Town: Grey Collection, n.d.).

²⁸⁸ Ross, “*Ntsikana*”, 2015.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 2015.

²⁹⁰ Simangaliso, R. Kumalo, “Religion and Politics in the Heritage of *uNtsikana Ka Gaba* and its Relevance to a Democratic South Africa,” *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 40, no. 1 (May 2014), 21–37.

²⁹¹ M. Legassick, *The Struggle for the Eastern Cape 1800–1854: Subjugation and the Roots of South African Democracy* (Johannesburg: KMM Review, 2010), 99. James Read unfortunately died a ‘broken hearted man’.

²⁹² Donovan Williams, “Joseph Williams and Pioneer Missionary Frustration.” *Theologia Viatorum* 40, no. 2 (2016), 66.

the headman of a large village and had studied with Williams.²⁹³ Dr John Philip (1775–1851) – a Scottish independent minister, political missionary and the Superintendent of the London Missionary Society, who had arrived in South Africa in 1820 to put the affairs at the LMS mission in the turbulent Eastern Cape in order²⁹⁴ – wrote an interesting account of Ntsikana in 1828.²⁹⁵ He made regular contact with the Presbyterian missionaries at ‘Old Lovedale’.²⁹⁶

Ntsikana was one of the earliest converts who composed music for worship.²⁹⁷ This included four hymns which have been preserved: ‘*Dalibom*’ (‘Life-Creator’), ‘*Ingoma en Qukuva*’ (‘Round Hymn’), ‘*Intsimbi*’ (‘Ntsikana’s Bell’), and ‘*Ulo Tixo Mkulu*’ (‘Thou Great God’) (the Great Hymn,²⁹⁸ also known as ‘*Ahomna homna!*’.²⁹⁹ Ntsikana never learnt to read and write in either English or isiXhosa, but in 1810 he composed these four hymns by drawing on isiXhosa song and oral poetry. In so doing, he managed to “cast Christian ideas in Xhosa imagery”, which led to these hymns becoming enduring favourites.³⁰⁰ Ntsikana was a role

²⁹³ Shepherd, Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1940, 15.

²⁹⁴ Elizabeth Elbourne and Robert Ross, *Combating Spiritual and Social Bondage: Early Missions in the Cape Colony* (Washington D.C. Smithsonian Libraries, 1997), 38. The subject discussed is the London Missionary Missions in South Africa.

²⁹⁵ John Philip, *Researches in South Africa, Illustrating the Civil, Moral and Religious Condition of the Native Tribes. Volume II* (London: James Duncan, 1828), 186–188).

²⁹⁶ Erlmann, *Music Modernity and the Global Imagination*, 113.

²⁹⁷ Jonathan T. Knight, “Sing On, Ntsikana: The Story of Christian Music among the Xhosa People of South Africa,” *Musical Offerings* 1 no. 1 Article 3 (Spring 2010): 21.

²⁹⁸ Vuyani Booï, “Ntsikana.” in *African Intellectuals in 19th and Early 20th Century South Africa*, ed. Mcebisi Ndletyana, 7–16 (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2008), 7. Ntsikana was ‘the son of Gaba’ who was a councillor to the ‘amaRarhabe king Ngqika’ and his mother, Nonabe was Gaba’s junior wife. Ntsikana was adopted and became Gaba’s heir when Noyiki, Gaba’s Great Wife, had no sons but only one daughter. He therefore grew up north of Alice in the Thyme valley. The LMS missionary Johannes van der Kemp established his camp close to Ngqika’s Great Place in 1799 and found himself among the western amaXhosa of the region. Booï, *Ntsikana*, 1.

²⁹⁹ “The Great Hymn: The South-African Prophet Ntsikana on Opera Stage,” Fort Hare, 2013. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=54DW8la0IAM>. (accessed June 12, 2019.)

³⁰⁰ Jennifer Wenzel, *Bulletproof: Afterlives of Anticolonial Prophecy in South Africa and Beyond* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010) 52.

model for politics and music in South Africa³⁰¹ and was the first Christian Xhosa composer of hymns whose hymns were transmitted orally.³⁰²

Ntsikana was also an accomplished singer, skilful traditional dancer³⁰³ and poet.³⁰⁴ Ntsikana's son, William Kobe Ntsikana, wrote that his father "liked to dress well" when he preached and used to wear a *kaross* (cloak) made only of "the skin of a male leopard". This skin covered his whole body and before he preached everyone sang 'That great cloak that covereth us'.³⁰⁵ Later, Ntsikana's biographers wrote that "his Hymn of Praise was the first literary composition ever assigned to an individual" and was of great historical significance as it was seen to be "a bridge between the traditional and the post-traditional periods".³⁰⁶ His spiritual influence was seen in how he brought Christian teaching to bear directly on the lifestyle of the Xhosa people by claiming Christianity as one of the important features of Xhosa cultural identity. This ideal features prominently in his music, especially in his Great Hymn, where he drew its "form, images and symbols from everyday life" and adapted a Xhosa *izibongo* (traditional poem)³⁰⁷ into a hymn of praise known as *Thixo*,³⁰⁸ and included Jesus Christ his son.³⁰⁹

³⁰¹ "The Great Hymn: The South-African Prophet Ntsikana on Opera Stage," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=54DW8la0IAM> (accessed June 12, 2019).

³⁰² John Ross, "Ntsikana," delivered at the Dumisani Theological Institute, King William's Town, South Africa (March 2015), 13, <http://www.dumisani.org/resources.html>. (accessed June 24, 2016).

³⁰³ Ross, "Ntsikana," 3

³⁰⁴ Michael Somniso, "Echoes of Orality in Christian Xhosa Songs," *Literator* 26, no. 3 (November 2005): 137.

³⁰⁵ Jordan, *Towards an African Literature*, 115.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 118.

³⁰⁷ Nomathamsanqa Cynthia Tisani, "Continuity and Change in Xhosa Historiography during the Nineteenth Century: An Exploration Through Textual Analysis" (PhD Thesis, Rhodes University, 2000), ix. Tisani records that Peires wrote about *izibongo* (praises) in oral tradition.

³⁰⁸ "Historically, the missionaries preferred the term *Thixo* for God. This is the only name found in the standard isiXhosa Christian Bible and in the Anglican Prayer Book, Morning and Evening Prayers". Mtuze, "Bishop Dr S. Dwane," 215. The missionaries opposed the use of the term *Qamata* for God in hymn writing, because to them *Qamata* was a pagan god.

³⁰⁹ Ross, "Ntsikana," 11. Ntsikana valued and left intact what he did not think was 'in conflict with Christian teaching and subsequently only changed what he thought 'needed to be changed.'

‘Ntsikana’s Bell’ is of historical importance as one of the first recorded works of Xhosa choral music. This setting, from the Lumko hymnbook, was arranged by the composer Tiyo Soga. The first phrase is an irregular seven bars that descends from a high point on C to an octave lower. This downward trend (or declination) is characteristic of Nguni vocal music which is shaped by the pitch-lowering features of speech-tone and intonation.³¹⁰ The second phrase of the tune descends to G, which is very low for a soprano (an octave plus a fourth). (+8) indicates that the bass and tenor are singing octaves lower than the soprano and altos up to the first repeat. The chorus remains in unison up to bar 12 and it is only at the cadence, in this arrangement, that the voices split. Interestingly, there is no leading tone, and the full F major tonality is only sounded on the final chord

In Example 2.1, the praise words *Sele* and *Ahom* are addressing God. Ntsikana used this hymn to call his people to come and pray. Ntsikana had a pacifist teaching, which probably stemmed from what he experienced during the battle of *Malinde* in the Fifth Frontier War (1818–1819). Veit Erlmann refers to him as a “placid man” who had regular contact with missionaries at Chumie (the original Lovedale). Ntsikana was very community conscious. Dr John Philip wrote that ‘Sicana was a poet as well as a Christian’.

³¹⁰ Thomas Pooley, “Linguistic Tone and Melody in the Singing of Sub-Saharan Africa,” in *The Routledge Companion to Interdisciplinary Studies in Singing* 1, Development, ed. Frank Russo, Beatriz Ilari and Annabel Cohen. (New York: Routledge, 2020), 108-120.

Example 2.1: 'iNtsimbi kaNtsikana' ('Ntsikana's Bell')

Ntsikana's Bell

(iNtsimbi kaNtsikana)

(+8)

Se le! Se - le! A - hom, a - hom, a hom!// A
sabela - ni! Sabela - ni! Niyabi - zwa e - zulwi ni!

hom, a - hom, a - hom, a - hom, a - hom!

'Ntsikana's Bell' was originally written in A flat in the tonic sol-fa. The range may have been too high or low for some singers and so there is also a version in F Major in staff notation. This version can be found in the in *Lumko Institute Music Brochure* (1991), edited by David Dargie. Dargie (1991) reports that this song is reputed to have been used by Ntsikana when he called his disciples to prayer. From bar 1 to 5, and the first beat of bar 6, the melody contains only the notes of the F Major triad. The C is common to the tonic (I) and the dominant (V) and you hear the repeated C in bars 1-3. On beat 3 of bar 6, the G implies a dominant which resolves to the tonic in bar 7. The first phrase ends with an imperfect cadence (namely tonic (I) to dominant (V)). In the second phrase, starting in bar 8, we find a Bb triad which is the subdominant F. There is brief movement through the minor mode before a return to the dominant which resolves in a perfect cadence to the tonic in bar 14.

The repeated C (bars 1-3) imitate the chiming of a bell. According to Dargie, the praise words ‘Sele’ and ‘ahom’ are used to address God. ‘Come, come you are called to Heaven’ is the literal translation of the second line of the Xhosa text.³¹¹ Ntsikana’s most important successor was Tiyo Soga who will be discussed later in this chapter. First it is important to consider the population pressures that were a factor in the expansion of Scottish missionary activities at the Cape.

2.4 URBANISATION, EVANGELISM, AND THE MISSION OF THE CHURCH

Dr Johannes Theodorus van der Kemp (1747–1812)³¹² and the Rev Joseph John Williams (1737–1825) were the first missionaries to the “eastern Bantu”.³¹³ These pioneers, together with the first missionaries in the Tyumie Valley, were interested in the lives of the people around them and believed that agricultural, educational, evangelical, industrial and medical work was necessary in the mission field.³¹⁴ The value of the printing press was also acknowledged.³¹⁵ During the nineteenth century, there was a great expansion of Protestant Missions and this period in history is referred to as “The Great Century” by Kenneth Scott

³¹¹ David Dargie, ed, “no. 1: ‘Ntsikana’s Bell’ (*iNtsimbi kaNtsikana*)”, in *Lumko Music Brochure* (Delmenville: Lumko Institute, 1991). Also refer to to the following article by Dargie on the music of Ntsikana; David Dargie, ‘The Music of Ntsikana,’ *South African Music Studies* 2 (1982): 7–28.

³¹² Van der Kemp, who was given the native name *Nyhengane*, cared about the poor and was one of the first representatives of ‘humanism’ because he actively tried to help the oppressed and those who were marginalised. He even proposed to build an orphanage for children rescued when the slave trade of 1795–1803 was abolished. His criticism of the settler farmers on the frontier encouraged nineteenth century missionaries, such as James Read and John Philip, who were interested in ‘equality for all’, to promote social justice. Johannes Smit, “Van der Kemp J.T. and his Critique of the Settler Farmers on the South African Colonial Frontier (1799–1811),” *Journal for the Study of Religion* 29, no. 1 (Durban 2016).

³¹³ Shepherd, *Bantu Literature and Life*, 22.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

³¹⁵ Lloyd, “*The Birth of Printing in South Africa*,” 38, 39. The second printing press to be found in the Colony was at the London Missionary Society’s Betheldorp mission in Uitenhage. At Betheldorp, in about 1805 or 1806, a Dr Bleek is said to have catalogued the printing of: ‘Tzizika Thuickwedi mika Khwekhwenama’ (Principles of the Word of God for the Hottentot Nation) which had been written by the London Missionary Society missionaries, J. Read and Reverend Dr van der Kemp.

Latourette (1884–1968).³¹⁶ It was also the time of upheaval, with whole communities, and even nations, who were a developing idea at the time, on the move.³¹⁷

Urbanisation played a significant role during the Victorian era (1837–1901) within the broader context of changes that occurred in Europe. Hobsbawm explains that the industrial revolution caused substantial changes in Scottish society, with scientific discoveries and urbanisation having an influence.³¹⁸ This resulted in the depopulation of the rural areas in Scotland.³¹⁹ Urbanisation was concomitant with the clearance of the Highlands, immigration and industrialisation.³²⁰ Wallace explains that approximately two million people left Scotland in the early nineteenth century as a result of industrialisation, urbanisation, and population growth. Some of them travelled to the Cape Colony in 1820 to become missionaries.³²¹

2.5 MUSIC AND MISSION UNDER BROWNLEE, BENNIE, ROSS AND THOMSON

During the Victorian Era (1837–1901), many religious Scots pursued missionary endeavours with a new sense of evangelism.³²² The missions were run by Victorian-age missionaries who travelled to Africa from Scotland during the nineteenth century. Music played an important role in the lives of the missionaries and formed an integral part of their missionary activities.

³¹⁶ Kane, J. Herbert, *A Concise History of the Christian World Mission: A Panoramic View of Missions from Pentecost to the Present* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House. 1978), 93.

³¹⁷ Originally, nations were defined as ‘a people sharing a common immutable ethnicity, which dated to the mists of time and could be seen by their shared language, history, bloodline, culture, character, habits, and manners’. Douglas Bradburn, “*Nation, Nationhood, and Nationalism*,” Oxford Bibliographies, June 29, 2011, <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/.../obo.../obo-9780199730414-0070.xml> (accessed August 12, 2017).

³¹⁸ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: Europe 1748–1848* (London: Abacus. 1962).

³¹⁹ Trevor Griffiths, Graeme Morton, Christopher Whatley and Elizabeth Foyster, *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2010) 27.

³²⁰ William G. Enright, “Urbanization and the Evangelical Pulpit in Nineteenth-century Scotland,” *Church History* 47, no. 4 (December 1978), 400–407.

³²¹ Valarie Wallace, *Scottish Presbyterianism and Settler Colonial Politics: Empire of Dissent* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018) 2.

³²² Graham Alexander Duncan, “Inculturation: Adaptation, Innovation and Reflexivity. An African Christian Perspective,” *HTS Theological Studies* 70, no. 1 (2014): 2.

The London Missionary Society sent many Scottish missionaries to southern Africa who were generally evangelical nonconformists from the artisan class.³²³ The Scottish missionaries who travelled abroad were trained teachers,³²⁴ and many of those who came from Germany and Scotland were university graduates.³²⁵ Missionaries from the Glasgow Missionary Society who worked on the missions in “Kaffraria” (in the present-day Eastern Cape) arrived in 1821,³²⁶ and included John Brownlee, John Bennie, John Ross, and Rev W.R. Thomson.³²⁷ These Scottish missionaries did not see colour, and believed they should minister to both Black people and White people. They sold Bibles to the European soldiers from Fort Willshire on the banks of the Keiskamma River. In 1823 Reverend Thompson encouraged Black teachers to work under the direction of the missionaries.³²⁸

2.5.1 Reverend John Brownlee (1791–1871).

The Reverend John Brownlee was a Scotsman from Clydeside, and the founder of King William’s Town in the Eastern Cape. He did much to advance the church in South Africa. In June 1820, Brownlee settled with his wife, Catharina Carolina Elizabeth Johanna Brownlee (1794-1871), in the eastern part of the Colony at the Chumie outstation.³²⁹ His reputation as a teacher and administrator was established over a long career at this station. Before he died, Ntsikana made a request that his people should go with his sons, Kobe and Dukwana, and

³²³ Terence Thomas, “Foreign Missions and Missionaries in Victorian Britain,” In *Religion in Victorian Britain. Volume V, Culture and Empire*, ed, John Wolffe, 101–134 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 113.

³²⁴ Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996), 192.

³²⁵ Herbert, *A Concise History of the Christian World Mission*, 96.

³²⁶ John M’Kerrow and D.D. Bridge. *History of the Foreign Missions of the Secession and United Presbyterian Church* (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1867), 431.

³²⁷ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa. 1841–1941*, 96. Rev W.R. Thomson was the first ordained missionary of the Glasgow Society to be appointed to leave for mission work in South Africa.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 63.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 32. Their son, Charles Brownlee (C.M.G.) became the first Secretary of Native Affairs at the Cape Colony.

attend Brownlee's church-school.³³⁰ He wanted his followers, "his children", to attend this particular church-school.³³¹ It was therefore at Chumie, and under the guidance of Brownlee, where the "first generation of literate Xhosas" were taught.³³²

Three of John Brownlee's hymns are housed in the Special Collections in the Library at Divinity Hall in Edinburgh. They are mentioned in the Preface of the hymn book, *Hymns and Melodies for School and Family Use*³³³ and include: 'Hark! The Voice of Angels',³³⁴ 'O God Thy Glory Gilds the Sun',³³⁵ and 'Every Onward, Every Upward'.³³⁶ 'Hark the Voice of Angels' was sung to the tune of Francis Ridley Havergal's 'Golden Harps are Sounding'.³³⁷ 'Golden Harps are Sounding' is an Ascension hymn written in December 1871 at Perry Barr, a suburban area in North Birmingham.³³⁸

Another one of Brownlee's tunes, '*Kungecebo lakho Yesu*' ('It's about your riches, Jesus'), can be found in *Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa* (Xhosa hymn book). These songs are characteristic of the hymns of the period: common practice harmony in four parts, regular

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 22.

³³¹ Glasgow Missionary Society. *Summer Quarterly Intelligence* (Glasgow: GMS, 1840), 1.

³³² Noyi Balfour (1783–1873) was appointed as Ntsikana's successor at *Thwathwa* and moved the *Kholwa* (or followers) after his death. Phyllis Ntantala, "Noyi Balfour". *The Encyclopaedia Africana Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, (Michigan: Reference Publications, 1995), 42, 43. Balfour had descended from *Ngconde*, a former King of the Xhosa.

³³³ E.W. Gall Inglis & J. Gall Inglis, eds, *Hymns & Melodies for School & Family Use* (Edinburgh: Gall & Inglis, 1893).

³³⁴ Gall Inglis and Gall Inglis, *Hymns & Melodies*, 65. No. 64. *Hark! The Voice of Angels*. Tune: Hermas for the hymn no. 65 *Golden harps are sounding*. Author: Rev John Brownlee, Composer: Frances R. Havergal.

³³⁵ Gall Inglis and Gall Inglis, *Hymns & Melodies*, 63. no. 91. "O God Thy Glory Gilds the Sun," Tune: Libya. Tonic Sol fa. Adapted. Author: Rev John Brownlee.

³³⁶ Gall Inglis and Gall Inglis, *Hymns & Melodies*, 76. no. 108. "Every Onward, Every Upward," Tune: Adrian, Key: B flat, Adapted, Author: Rev John Brownlee.

³³⁷ John Peterson, ed, *Great Hymns of Faith* (Grand Rapids: Singspiration, 1968). Francis Ridley Havergal was a great Christian worker.

³³⁸ John Julian, ed. *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, Setting Forth Origin and History of Christian Hymns of all Ages and Nations (London: John Murray, 1892), 441.

metre and phrase structure, and the standard contrapuntal techniques of the era. A comparison of these songs and those of the African composers the missionaries trained are instructive, as we shall see later on in this chapter and in those that follow.

Example 2.2: ‘Kungecebo lakho, Yesu’ (‘It’s about your riches, Jesus’), metre (L.M.), key: (G), authored by Brownlee and composed by John Henderson Soga (1860–1941).³³⁹

<i>Brownlee, L.M.</i>	<i>INGOMA II</i>	<i>J. H. SOGA.</i>
<i>DOH .. G.</i>		
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \underline{d} : m \mid \underline{f.m} : r.d \mid \underline{d} : t_1 \mid \underline{d} : d \\ \underline{s}_1 : d \mid \underline{d} : l_1 \mid \underline{s}_1 : f_1 \mid \underline{s}_1 : s_1 \end{array} \right\} \left\ \begin{array}{l} s : s \mid \underline{s.m} : l.s \mid s : \underline{f.m} \mid m : r \\ \underline{d} : t_1 \mid \underline{d} : d \mid l_1 : l_1 \mid \underline{d} : t_1 \end{array} \right\ $		
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m : s \mid \underline{l.s} : r.d \mid m : r \mid m : m \\ \underline{d} : d \mid \underline{d} : f_1 \mid \underline{s}_1 : s_1 \mid \underline{d} : d \end{array} \right\} \left\ \begin{array}{l} m : f \mid s : \underline{f.s} \mid f : f \mid s : s \\ \underline{d} : r \mid m : \underline{f.m} \mid r : r \mid \underline{s}_1 : s_1 \end{array} \right\ $		
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m : m \mid m : r \mid \underline{d} : r \mid m : m \\ \underline{d} : t_1 \mid \underline{ta_1.l_1} : l_1 \mid \underline{s}_1 : t_1 \mid \underline{d} : d \end{array} \right\} \left\ \begin{array}{l} l : m \mid \underline{s.f} : d.r \mid m : r \mid \underline{d} : d \\ l_1 : l_1 \mid \underline{l_1} : l_1 \mid \underline{d} : t_1 \mid \underline{s}_1 : s_1 \end{array} \right\ $		
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} s : s \mid \underline{s.d} : r \mid m : s \mid s : s \\ \underline{d} : d \mid \underline{d.f}_1 : f_1 \mid \underline{s}_1 : s_1 \mid \underline{d} : d \end{array} \right\} \left\ \begin{array}{l} m : s \mid f : f \mid s : f \mid m : m \\ \underline{de} : \underline{de} \mid r : f_1 \mid \underline{s}_1 : s_1 \mid \underline{d} : d \end{array} \right\ $		

³³⁹ *Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa*, No. 307: ‘Kungecebo lakho, Yesu’ (‘It’s About Your Riches, Jesus’) ‘INGOMA II’, (Lovedale: Lovedale Press. 1983), 339.

Example 2.3: ‘Kungecebo lakho, Yesu’ (‘It’s by your plan/way Jesus’), ‘Ingoma II’ (‘Second Song’), key: (G), tune: Brownlee, metre: (LM) authored and composed by John Henderson Soga (1860-1941). Transcribed from tonic sol-fa into staff notation by Sue Cock.

INGOMA II

Brownlee, L.M. J.H.Soga

Chord progression for the first staff: G, Am/C, G/D, D, G, G, D7/A, G/B, C, G/B.

Chord progression for the second staff: Am(sus), Am, G/D, D, G, G7, Am/C, G/D, D, G.

Chord progression for the third staff: E/G#, Am(sus), Am(sus)/C, G/D, D, G.

Table 2.1: ‘Kungecebo lakho, Yesu’ (‘It’s by your plan/way Jesus’), Ingoma II.

Verse 1	isiXhosa	English translation
	<i>Kungecebo lakho, Yesu</i>	It is by your plan/way
	<i>Esilapha phambi kwakho;</i>	That we are here before you
	<i>Yongamela eli butho,</i>	Cover these people (cover this gathering)
	<i>Kuba linggunya lakho</i>	Because it is through your will
Verse 2	<i>Siphe sibe nemihlali</i>	Give us all the joy
	<i>Nomanyano sibe nalo.</i>	Let us be united
	<i>Maze zingabonakali</i>	May they not be seen
	<i>Ezo zinto zingendawo</i>	Those evil things

2.5.2 Reverend John Bennie (1791–1869).

Of the two missionaries from the GMS, Bennie and Thomson,³⁴⁰ it was John Bennie who became known as the “Father of Xhosa Literature”.³⁴¹ The lyrics he wrote to hymns made a major impact on congregants, and he was remembered in song and verse. *Izibongo* (praise singing) is a praise poem written in isiXhosa by a Thembu poet (*imbongi*),³⁴² and it describes Bennie’s “deep” command of the language.

Table 2.2: An example of *Izibongo* (praise singing), a praise poem written in isiXhosa by a Thembu *imbongi* (poet), with translations in English.

isiXhosa	English
<i>“Siyabulela thina basemaXhoseni</i>	We the amaXhosa are thankful
<i>Ngokufika kweento zooRose nezooBheni</i>	By the arrival of people like Rose and Bennie
<i>Ukuz’ amaXhos’ avulek’ ingqondo</i>	Who opened up the minds of the Xhosas
<i>Kulo mhla yaqal’ ukubhalwa le ntetho</i>	On the day they began writing this thing
<i>Intethw’ engqongqotho yasemaXhoseni”</i>	A deep unequalled Xhosa language

Bennie set about the task of mastering isiXhosa at the Chumie mission station. He thought that isiXhosa was an agreeable, fine and soft language that was “uncommonly musical”.³⁴³ Recognising the tonal characteristics of isiXhosa was important for his settings of the music. In fact, Bennie was a prolific hymn-writer who wrote fifty-one hymns, all of which can be found in the isiXhosa Presbyterian hymnbook.³⁴⁴ One of his tunes is No. 91: ‘*Umbulelo wosindiso*’ (‘Thank you for salvation’).³⁴⁵

³⁴⁰ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1940*, 31. Bennie and Thomson sailed from Gravesend aboard the Woodlark on 20 April 1821. Bennie’s studies were interrupted so that he could travel as a missionary catechist. He had been training in Glasgow for missionary service. Thomson was ordained by Presbyterian ministers in London. *Glasgow Missionary Report*. 1821. 9–11.

³⁴¹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1940*, 515.

³⁴² Russel Harold Kaschula, “Intellectualisation of isiXhosa Literature: The Case of Jeff Opland,” *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde* 54, no. 2 (2017), 5–25. John Bennie is praised and recognised for his contribution to the written language.

³⁴³ Shepherd, *Bantu Literature and Life*, 27.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

³⁴⁵ *Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa*, No. 91, ‘*Umbulelo wosindiso*’, tune (Bennie), metre (8,7), key (F), author and composer (John Henderson Soga, 1860–1941), 112.

Example 2.4: 'Umbulelo wosindiso' ('Thank you for salvation'), key (F), metre (8,7.), tune by Bennie, authored and Composed by John Henderson Soga (1860–1941).³⁴⁶

112 ANGAYE UYESU KRISTU

91

Bennie. 8,7. J. H. SOGA.

DOH = F.

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A-MEN

Example 2.5: 'Umbulelo wosindiso' ('Thank you for salvation'). J.H. Soga. Transcribed into staff notation by Sue Cock.

ANGAYE UYESU KRISTU

91 J.H.SOGA

Bennie. 8,7.

A - men

³⁴⁶ Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa, No. 91: 'Umbulelo wosindiso' ('Thank you for salvation'), 112.

Table 2.3: Lyrics to ‘*Umbulelo wosindiso*’ in isiXhosa with translations in English. *Umbulelo wosindiso* (‘Thank you for salvation’) (‘Gratitude of being saved/born again’)

	isiXhosa	English Translation
1 st Verse	Nkosi, ndiya kudumisa	My King, I praise you
	Ngayo intliziyo yam;	With all my heart
	Nceda undikhanyisele	Help lighten my path
	Bumke ubumfama bam.	May my blindness go away
2 nd Verse	<i>Ngekukad’ ulahlekile</i>	it would have been lost
	<i>Wona umphefumlo wam;</i>	My soul (my soul would have been lost)
	<i>Ndandinge ndise ndifile,</i>	I should have been dead
	<i>Ndaya elishweni nam.</i>	I was surrounded by bad luck

Bennie arrived in the Cape with his wife, Margaretha Magdalena Marè (1801–1868), who was of Huguenot descent. They worked with Reverend W. Ritchie Thomson (1795–1891) of the Kat River mission and his wife, Isabella Smith. Together they joined Brownlee who had arrived in 1820.³⁴⁷

2.5.3 Reverend John Ross (1799–1878)

Reverend John Ross M.A. (GMS) was ‘set apart’ on 15 April 1823, in the Tron Church of Glasgow, as the first missionary from the Glasgow Missionary Society to be stationed in Kaffraria. Ross was later ordained by the Presbytery of Hamilton, Lanarkshire, in the central Lowlands of Scotland, before sailing to South Africa, arriving in the Cape Colony in September 1823.³⁴⁸ Ross and his wife, Helen Blair (from Ayrshire) arrived together with Mr and Mrs Brownlee at Chumie on 16 December 1823.³⁴⁹ The personal sacrifices they made as missionaries were extraordinary, and Ross persevered through terrible personal tragedies.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁷ Henchman, *The Town of Alice*, 1927.

³⁴⁸ Brian J. Orr, *Bones of Empire* (Raleigh: Lulu Enterprises, 2013), 171.

³⁴⁹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1940*, 62. Reverend John Ross M.A. had completed his studies for the ministry in Scotland before travelling to South Africa.

³⁵⁰ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa 1824–1955*, 61. In 1825, the same year that Dr John Love died, the Ross couple lost their young girls. Their second son died in 1828 and in 1838 Mrs Ross was laid to rest in the little cemetery next to the Incehra stream. Two sons, namely, Bryce Ross (1825–1899) (who later

Ross brought a small Ruthven printing press with him.³⁵¹ His first printing took place on 19 December 1823,³⁵² with Bennie printing hymns.³⁵³ The staff notation and tonic sol-fa scores of African composers were printed much later, and included the works of R.T. Caluza, E.A.J. Monaisa, M.M. Moerane, E. Sontonga and B. Tyamzashe.³⁵⁴

Mr Bennie and Reverend Ross established a second mission station in 1824 along the banks of the N'cera stream, which they called "Lovedale".³⁵⁵ It was named after the Reverend John Love of Glasgow,³⁵⁶ the respected Secretary of the GMS who had previously served as the Secretary of the LMS.³⁵⁷ John Love (1757–1825) was from Paisley and attended the University of Glasgow, as did Rev William Govan.³⁵⁸ The course of history in South Africa was influenced through the impact of missionaries sent to provide education for the African people at both Lovedale and Fort Hare in the Eastern Cape.³⁵⁹

became a missionary at Pirie) and Richard Ross (1828–1902) (who later became a missionary at Cunningham) sailed from Port Elizabeth en route to Scotland with Rev Govan and Tiyo Soga when the War of the Axe broke out (Shepherd, *Bantu Literature and Life*, 39). John Ross later planted oak trees at Lovedale, and it was here that open-air services were held under the oaks (Saul, *Missionaries and the Xhosas*, 89).

³⁵¹ Shepherd, *Bantu Literature and Life*, 32. Unfortunately this press belonging to the Scottish missionaries was destroyed in the war of 1834–1835.

³⁵² Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1940*, 62. G.M.S. Report 1824, 27.

³⁵³ Detterbeck, "*South African Choral Music*", 87. Markus Detterbeck draws on diaries, letters, journals and reports to show that the missionaries used hymns to 'emphasise the Christian message in their mission work'.

³⁵⁴ The Lovedale Collection, "Cory library for historical research–Rhodes University" Brochure. The Lovedale Collection is one of the main collections at the Cory library. It was first deposited by the Mission Council of the Free Church of Scotland in 1961 in the Cory Library. This collection covers the history of the Lovedale Press as well as the missionary institution of Lovedale's history. Sir George Edward Cory (1862-1935) was a Professor of Chemistry at Rhodes University, who on his retirement gave his private collection to the university.

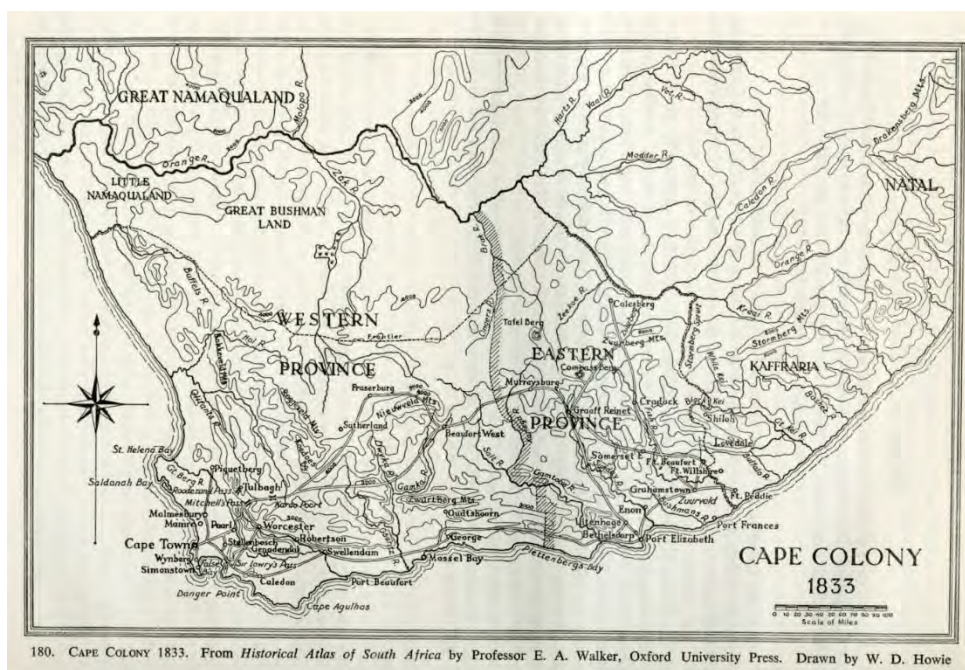
³⁵⁵ Henchman, *The Town of Alice*, 31.

³⁵⁶ Robert Hunter, *History of the Missions. The Free Church of Scotland in India and Africa* (Edinburgh: T. Nelson & Sons, 1873), 345.

³⁵⁷ Peter Warwick, *History of Christian Missions in SA up to 1900 AD* (KwaZulu Natal South Africa: Footprints into Africa, 2018).

³⁵⁸ Hew Scott and John Love, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae. Volume VIII, The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation. Synod of Glasgow and Ayr.* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1920), 389.

³⁵⁹ Saul, "Missionaries and the Xhosas," 2,



180. CAPE COLONY 1833. From *Historical Atlas of South Africa* by Professor E. A. Walker, Oxford University Press. Drawn by W. D. Howie

Figure 2.1: Map showing Lovedale and 'Kaffraria' in 1833 (Walker 1922: 801).³⁶⁰

William Chalmers, a catechist from the Relief Church, arrived with his family in 1827.³⁶¹ The missionaries found themselves staffing mission stations under hostile conditions.³⁶² Richard Mbuyiselo Mfamana (b.1918, d.1985) was a Xhosa choirmaster and composer who composed a song which depicted the “arrival of the early missionaries to South Africa” and describes their “bravery, hardships and sacrifices in the face of adversity”.³⁶³ The industrial missionaries, who combined missionary evangelism and teaching with agriculture and commercial activities, were Mr James Weir and Mr Alexander McDiarmid, also arrived in 1827 together with Rev James McLachlan, a clerical missionary who had to return to

³⁶⁰ E.A. Walker, Prof. Cape Colony 1833. *Historical Atlas of South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1922, 80).

³⁶¹ Henschman, *The Town of Alice*, 1927, 33.

³⁶² Robert, *Converting Colonialism*, viii. The couple fled to Fort Armstrong (Seymour) with their eight children in 1846 when the War of the Axe broke out (Robert, *Converting Colonialism*, 32). During a night-time attack everyone had to lie down while bullets “rattled against the door, walls and windows.” The children remember that they were cold as they had insufficient clothes on and had to contend with the noise of the bursting of shells and canon fire outside. Henschman, *The Town of Alice*, 1927, 32.

³⁶³ Yvonne Huskisson, *The Bantu Composers of South Africa* (Johannesburg: SABC, 1969), 133, 134.

Glasgow.³⁶⁴ An important event, namely the ordination of John Bennie, took place on 29 May 1831 in the little church at Lovedale. Afterwards, Bennie conducted the service by speaking isiXhosa without an interpreter.^{365 366}

2.6 LOVEDALE AND THE LOVEDALE MISSIONARY INSTITUTE

The Lovedale Missionary Institute was established in 1841 and was born of missionary activities influenced by the “eighteenth century evangelical awakening, and the imperial ambitions of the Crown”.³⁶⁷ The first site of Lovedale on the Incehra stream was abandoned in 1836 and building at a new station, also called Lovedale, was started near the home of Captain Charles Lenox Stretch. Captain Stretch, known as Xolilizwe (Peacemaker in the Land) and (Improver of the Country)³⁶⁸ was also known as a “philanthropic commissioner”,³⁶⁹ as he visited schools and distributed financial rewards.³⁷⁰ Rev John Ross prepared a proposal for the directors in Scotland that an educational establishment/seminary be built, and a well-qualified individual be chosen to do the training.³⁷¹ The directors agreed³⁷² and the two-storied seminary building was completed in 1841.³⁷³

³⁶⁴ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1841–1940, 71.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 80. Reverend Ross supervised the building of the church at Lovedale. It was built by boys, girls, men and women according to their age and strength, and later the children also participated in worship in the church. (Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1940: 79).

³⁶⁶ Glasgow Missionary Society, *Report*, 17.

³⁶⁷ Graham Alexander Duncan, “Coercive Agency: Lovedale Missionary Institution under Principals Arthur Wilkie and R.H.W. Shepherd,” *Missionalia* 38, no. 4 (2010), 430–451.

³⁶⁸ Stewart, *Lovedale Missionary Institution*, 59.

³⁶⁹ Glasgow Missionary Society, *Quarterly Paper* XV, no. 3 (1836) (Supplement).

³⁷⁰ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1940, 88. At Burnshill he had also offered a cow as a prize to the reader at the Glasgow Society’s schools who read the best.

³⁷¹ Glasgow Missionary Society, *Report 1837*: 27, 28. Also refer to Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 89.

³⁷² William Govan, *Laing’s Memorials*, 344. James Laing was born in 1803. He was assigned to the Burnshill Mission on the Eastern Cape frontier by the GMS.

³⁷³ Glasgow Missionary Society, *Report 1841*, 17. Also refer to Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 90.

Lovedale grew from being a “small mission station” to a “large educational centre”.³⁷⁴ Some of the principals at Lovedale spoke out about South Africa’s changing policies on race relations.³⁷⁵ The missionaries had their own approach to the problem of race relations. The principals Govan, Stewart, Henderson, Wilkie, and Shepherd viewed the situation at Lovedale as an opportunity and placed significant value on their tasks at this educational institution.³⁷⁶ Even so, their approaches were quite different, responding to the politics of each period differently. Govan established Lovedale as a “multi-racial establishment” where boys and girls could receive an education. For admission, Black and White children needed to have made some progress with arithmetic and writing and had to be literate in their own language.³⁷⁷ Deserving African students from the vicinity were initially clothed and taught at the society’s expense when necessary.³⁷⁸ They were admitted to the classes without being boarded and were educated together with the children of missionaries and shared the activities offered at the school, including music education.³⁷⁹ The European children were mainly English speaking, being the sons and daughters of European missionary parentage, either of the GMS or other societies.³⁸⁰ Dudley Kidd, a visitor, had been sceptical of missions until he visited Lovedale.³⁸¹ Then he noticed that opportunities were given to some who otherwise would not have had any, namely “the natives” who were given “a helping hand”.³⁸²

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.* Preface.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Preface.

³⁷⁶ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, vi.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 99.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 100.

³⁷⁹ Mackenzie, *The Scots in South Africa*, 110. Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1940: 99.

³⁸⁰ Hunter, *History of the Missions*, 351.

³⁸¹ Dudley Kidd, *‘Kafir’ Socialism and the Dawn of Individualism*, 1908: xi. Kidd thought that the missionaries had exploited individualism among ‘the Kafirs’.

³⁸² Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 348.

2.6.1 Reverend William Govan (The first principal at Lovedale 1841–1870).

William Govan (1804–1870)³⁸³ was born in Paisley and educated at the University of Glasgow. He was chosen to be a missionary to “Kaffraria”, as he had been the classical master, a teacher of classical literature and town-clerk of Dunbarton.³⁸⁴ He therefore had both teaching and business experience. Govan was the minister at the congregation of the Free Church in Inchinnan in Renfrewshire for three years after leaving South Africa during the War of the Axe.³⁸⁵ Tiyo Soga, his pupil, who became a minister and composer, attended school in Inchinnan and later in Glasgow. Soga was adopted by the John Street Church and baptised on 7 May 1848.³⁸⁶

In May 1839, while still a student of theology at Glasgow University, Govan was invited to be the seminary tutor at the Presbyterian educational institution of Lovedale.³⁸⁷ He completed his studies and was ordained on 16 June 1840 by the Presbytery of Glasgow.³⁸⁸ He was present that same month at a meeting of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilisation of Africa, which was held in the Exeter Hall in London and presided over by His Royal Highness Prince Albert, the organisation’s president.³⁸⁹ It was not long after this, and armed with the ideals of this civilising movement, that Govan and his wife Margaret left Liverpool and sailed for Port Elizabeth. They arrived at the site of Lovedale on 16

³⁸³ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 520.

³⁸⁴ Hew Scott and William Govan, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae, The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation*. Volume VII, Synods of Ross, Sutherland and Caithness, Glenelg, Orkney and of Shetland (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd. 1928), 562.

³⁸⁵ “Sketch of Mr Govan’s career”. *Christian Express* (May 1876): 4.

³⁸⁶ Phyllis, *The Encyclopaedia Africana Dictionary of African Christian Biography*, 430.

³⁸⁷ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 93.

³⁸⁸ Scott and Govan, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, 562.

³⁸⁹ Schomburg Centre for Research in Black Culture, Art and Artefacts Division, The New York Public Library. "Meeting of the Society for the extinction of the Slave Trade, & for the Civilization of Africa; On the 1st of June 1840, at Exeter Hall: His Royal Highness Prince Albert, the President, presided," New York Public Library Digital Collections, <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47df-e2e8-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99> (accessed November 18, 2019). James Harris was the engraver.

January 1841.³⁹⁰ The Lovedale Missionary Institute was founded by Govan that same year.³⁹¹ He decided that Lovedale would be non-sectarian and that pupils from other Christian bodies were welcome. He also decided that different races would be taught in the same classroom, eat their meals together in the same dining room, and that all students would have the opportunity to join the same literary societies.³⁹² It was Govan’s hope that the African and European students would learn how to “live together as citizens of the same country”.³⁹³ This vision of a multi-racial educational institution proved vital to the first generation of African students who studied at Lovedale and who had access to education on a par with that of their European peers. It was an extraordinary undertaking at a time when slavery still existed in many parts of the world, including the United States. In the latter’s case, the abolition of slavery took place in 1865, but equal access to education would only be established much later.



Figure 2.2: The main educational building at Lovedale 1841.³⁹⁴



Figure 2.3: The main educational building at Lovedale 2018.³⁹⁵

³⁹⁰ William Ewing, *Annals of the Free Church of Scotland, 1843–1900* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1914). Another reference is the G.M.S. *Summer Quarterly Intelligence*, 1840, 9.

³⁹¹ Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 103. Wells considers Govan to be an “educationalist” and an “admirable missionary.”

³⁹² Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 99.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, 103.

³⁹⁴ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, inside cover page.

³⁹⁵ Image credit: The author.

The Lovedale Missionary Institute was officially opened on 21 July 1841. This was also the first anniversary of Govan's ordination.³⁹⁶ Reverend H. Calderwood (1830–1897) and Reverend James Laing (1796–1872) attended the opening.³⁹⁷ Lovedale's primary objective was religious education in the Scottish Presbyterian tradition.³⁹⁸

Lovedale was initially a project of the Presbyterian Church, but with the Disruption of the Presbyterian Church in 1843, and the formation of the Free Church of Scotland (FCS), Lovedale ultimately became part of the work of the FCS in 1844.³⁹⁹ The Disruption meant that many members of the CoS moved to the FCS, most notably in the Highland regions. The CoS still remained and continued to be the church of the state.

2.6.2. Govan's approach to education at Lovedale

This section focuses on the sub-question: "What educational opportunities were open to students at Lovedale and why?" Govan's view was that the Institution of Lovedale should conform to the 'colonial system of education'.⁴⁰⁰ In terms of Black education in South Africa as a whole, the system was built on a well-established Scottish educational tradition.⁴⁰¹

Govan promoted religious instruction with hymn singing, but he did not promote vernacular

³⁹⁶ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 95.

³⁹⁷ Henschman, *The Town of Alice*, 32.

³⁹⁸ M. Gideon Khabela, Tiyo Soga – The Struggle of the Gods: A Study in Christianity and African Culture. (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1996), 130.

³⁹⁹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1940: 510. There was a mass movement of people within Scotland when the "Disruption" occurred in 1843. The Disruption was the conflict which took place when the "Evangelicals" passed a "Veto Act". They wanted to restore "the call" because up until then parishioners who had the church's interests at heart had no say in the choosing of which ministers would fill vacant positions. The "Protestant population adhered almost unanimously to the Free Church"; which because of this "mass movement", had a huge task to provide "catechists", "churches", "manses", "ministers" and "schools" in the Highlands. Derick Thomson, *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), 63. The Disruption refers to the succession when 'ministers and people from the Church of Scotland' came together to 'form the Free Church of Scotland'. Also refer to Alexander C Cheyne, *The Ten Years' Conflict: The Disruption, An Overview* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1993).

⁴⁰⁰ Robert Young, *African Wastes Reclaimed: Illustrated in the Story of the Lovedale Mission* (London: J.M. Dent and Co, 1902), 111.

⁴⁰¹ John M. Mackenzie and Nigel R. Dalziel, *The Scots in South Africa: Ethnicity, Identity, Gender and Race, 1722–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 109.

education for the masses, nor did he support a strong emphasis on ethnic nationalism. He believed that through multi-racial education, an elite group of Africans could reach the same level as their European counterparts.⁴⁰² Lovedale “was destined to give great service to native education in South Africa”⁴⁰³ as it produced African leaders and composers alongside Dollar Academy in Scotland and Fort Hare in the Eastern Cape, but these were of course Africans trained in Western traditions very different from those of their home communities.

2.6.3 Educational training

Govan initiated the “Govan Bursary Fund” for those who wished to obtain an education at Lovedale.⁴⁰⁴ He believed that the pupils should be given an opportunity to attend school and to have the same education they would have received in Scotland. This included the study of Greek and Latin.⁴⁰⁵ There were a few musical influences on the missionary and Latin canticles in tonic sol-fa found in their “Inxwadi Yamaculo isiXhosa” hymnbook in Xhosa. The missionaries were well-versed in Latin. Govan believed in the opportunity of equality and in his view the qualifications for ordination to the ministry should be the same for both Europeans and Black students. He thought Lovedale should offer “a higher education to a few” rather than “mere elementary education of the many”.⁴⁰⁶ An elementary school would train teachers like the “Normal Schools” did in Scotland, while a “preparatory school” would provide instruction on a level equivalent to Scottish high schools. A college department would give higher education and “a divinity hall or theological school would train the theology students”.⁴⁰⁷ Govan emphasised an academic education. He realised that the

⁴⁰² William Saayman, “Subversive Subservience. Z.K. Matthews and missionary education in South Africa,” *Missionalia* 25, no. 4 (1997), 523.

⁴⁰³ Drummond and Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland 184–874*.

⁴⁰⁴ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 165.

⁴⁰⁵ Mackenzie and Dalziel, *The Scots in South Africa*, 111.

⁴⁰⁶ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 156.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 156.

provision for educating girls was particularly limited during the Victorian era and introduced the teaching of girls right from the start. Even in this regard, Lovedale was ahead of its time. Girls were taught separately and had more access to music education, including learning how to play an instrument, with piano lessons being a popular choice next to singing.

2.6.4 Victorian grammar schools and Govan's bursary

The Grammar Schools Act of 1840 meant that other subjects could be taught in addition to the teaching of classical languages.⁴⁰⁸ Music and singing were incorporated in the curriculum in Scotland in 1841. This influenced what was taught at Lovedale, as Govan worked towards including decisions made about education in Scotland. He compiled his bursary requirements accordingly (Figure 2.20) and implemented them later.⁴⁰⁹ The curriculum included the following subjects: Arithmetic, English Grammar, History (of Great Britain from 1603) including that of the Cape Colony, Geography and Scripture Knowledge. Several of the students who became composers in the later chapters of Lovedale's history received an education at Lovedale because they were awarded a bursary. They were taught Latin under Govan and learnt to sing in Latin.⁴¹⁰ The Xhosa hymn book, *Incwadi Yamaculo EsiXhosa*, has a cross-section of different musical influences and is a good source for examples with Latin names such as the "Nunc Dimittis" and "Jubilate Deo".⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁸ Bank, "The Grammar School," 2017.

⁴⁰⁹ John, D. Donn, "The Govan Bursary," *Christian Express*, February 23, 1880, 16. Don was the president of the board of trustees.

⁴¹⁰ Norton explains that there are many French, German, and Latin tunes that can fit isiXhosa very well. This is because the accent in these languages is more like isiXhosa than the English accent (Norton, *Native Hymn Music. Report 1921*, 128).

⁴¹¹ T.C.L. Prichard, ed. 'Nunc Dimittis', Origin: St Luke ii, 29-32. The Scottish Psalter. (London: University Press, 1929).

THE GOVAN BURSARY.

NOTICE is hereby given that two Bursaries, the first of the value of £10, the second of £5, both tenable for one year, will be offered for competition during the present year.

Conditions.

1. The Bursaries are open to male competitors of all classes and colours, holding the Protestant Faith, and otherwise eligible.
2. The candidates must have passed the entrance examination of the Lovedale Missionary Institution.
3. The candidates must be approved of by the Board of Trustees, and the Educational Board of Lovedale Institution.
4. The candidates must send notice in writing of their wish to compete, along with satisfactory certificates of moral character, to the undersigned, at least one month before the day fixed for the competition.
5. The Bursaries will be awarded by open competition conducted by written papers, to take place at Lovedale, in the second week in August, 1880.
6. The successful competitors must study at Lovedale Institution while holding the Bursaries.
7. The Bursaries may be forfeited through improper conduct: the Board of Trustees and the Educational Board of Lovedale being the judges.

Subjects.

- (1.) Arithmetic to Compound Proportion, including Vulgar and Decimal Fractions.
- (2.) English Grammar, with Analysis.
- (3.) The General Outlines of Descriptive Geography.
- (4.) History: (a) Great Britain, from 1603 to the present time; (b) The Cape Colony.
- (5.) Scripture Knowledge: I and II Samuel; Acts of the Apostles.

JOHN D. DON,

President of the Board of Trustees,
King Williamstown, February 23rd, 1880.

Figure 2.4: Govan's bursary requirements.

2.6.5 Govan, his wife Margaret, and female teachers

Both Reverend William Govan and his wife Margaret were well thought of at Lovedale. In the months after William and Margaret's return to Lovedale (on 3 February 1850), a female teacher from Scotland, Miss Thomson, arrived to teach the Fingo at Gaga (located to the west of the institution). A classroom and a two-roomed house were built there for her.⁴¹² Close to

⁴¹² Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1824–1955, 19.

the main seminary was a school for girls with Miss H.H. Harding in charge until 1855.⁴¹³ Govan's plan was that a female seminary should be established at Lovedale at a later stage.⁴¹⁴ In the meantime, Miss Isabella Smith was appointed as a female teacher from 1845 and had 26 pupils at the commencement of the War of the Axe in 1846.

2.7 AFRICAN STUDENTS AND IDENTITY THROUGH MUSIC

2.7.1 Western education and the transformation of identity

De Kock views "Victorian English" as "the language of civilisation and progress" when seen in the colonial context,⁴¹⁵ and draws on the philosophies of Colin Bundy,⁴¹⁶ and Shula Marks.⁴¹⁷ The "Schooled Youth" were the first generation in the colonies of "nationalist intelligentsia" who acquired "a European education". It was because of this, that they were "culturally" and "linguistically" cut off from the generation of their parents,⁴¹⁸ and by extension, cut off from their cultural identity.

It is difficult to imagine what life was like for the student composers at Lovedale, but what is apparent is that the African students endeavoured to uphold their identity through their music, especially since African languages did not hold the same status as English. Interestingly, having been relocated from their homelands, the Scots shared this sensibility with their

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, 517. Miss Harding taught the girls at Lovedale from 1845 to 1855. She died at King William's Town on 22 February 1885.

⁴¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 17. When Lovedale closed as a result of the War of the Axe in 1846, Miss Isabella Smith was in charge of the girls' department at the seminary where there were 26 pupils, nine of them daughters of missionaries. Miss Smith became Mrs W.R. Thomson later (Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 520).

⁴¹⁵ Mastin Prinsloo, "Behind the Back of a Declarative History: Acts of Erasure in Leon De Kock's, Civilising Barbarians: Missionary Narrative and African Response in Nineteenth Century South Africa." *English Academy Review* 15, no. 1 (1998), 32.

⁴¹⁶ Colin Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1988). The crucial years at the Cape were between 1890 and 1913.

⁴¹⁷ Shula Marks, *The Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class, Nationalism and the State in Twentieth Century Natal* (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1986).

⁴¹⁸ Colin Bundy, "Lessons on the Frontier: Aspects of Eastern Cape History," *Kronos* 30 (November 2004): 14.

African students.⁴¹⁹ As many different Western “denominational” churches were introduced during the colonial period between 1880 and 1960,⁴²⁰ missionaries brought not only the Gospel, but also Western culture and music with them. In doing so, the Scots were able to retain their cultural pride while adapting to different environments. Music played a major role in expressing their faith and the hymns that were sung at Lovedale. In the words of a Xhosa composer, “music” is derived from the word “musa” meaning “inspiration”.⁴²¹

The missionaries were idealistic and came with their own ideas and tried to educate the people for a society they hoped would come. However, in the case of the Scottish Presbyterian missionaries who established their missions among the Xhosa at Lovedale, it was the determination of the students, coupled with the ideals of their teachers, that enabled them to overcome prejudice. They were able to make a difference by leaving behind a successful musical legacy. Most African composers obtained their initial music education at Christian mission stations, of which Lovedale was to become the most prestigious and influential.⁴²² It was the quality of the education that ensured this prestige.

2.7.2 Tonic sol-fa and its role in regaining cultural identity

With the introduction of Western education, African students were being taught differently to the traditional methods they were accustomed to. Formal education led to severe changes in cultural identity (especially on linguistic fronts) and tonic sol-fa played a role in its reformation. Invented by Sarah Ann Glover (1785–1867) of Norwich, England, tonic sol-fa is

⁴¹⁹ Keith Snedegar, *Mission Science and Race in South Africa: A.W. Roberts of Lovedale 1883–1938* (London: Lexington Books, 2015), 3.

⁴²⁰ John Nathan Corbitt, “Christian Music in Africa,” *EthnoDoxology* 1, no.2 (2002).

⁴²¹ Yvonne Huskisson, *The Bantu Composers of Southern Africa* (Johannesburg: SABC Publication’s Department, 1969), xxiii.

⁴²² J.H. Kwabena Nketia, “The Scholarly Study of African Music: A Historical Review,” in *Garland Encyclopaedia of World Music. Volume 1, Africa*, ed. Ruth M. Stone (London: Garland Publishers, 1998).

a pedagogical technique for teaching sight-singing.⁴²³ Rev John Curwen (1816–1880) was a minister and music educationist who promoted the tonic sol-fa system of teaching singing in Britain. He did so because he understood the “social value of music in education”. In 1841, he was asked if he could recommend the best way of teaching music in Sunday schools and spent time perfecting his own method of tonic sol-fa teaching before publishing a book in 1843.⁴²⁴ This method of “sight singing”, introduced to the Cape in 1855 by a teacher called Christopher Birkett, became very popular during the mid-Victorian period.⁴²⁵ Birkett proceeded to teach in the more remote parts of the Eastern Cape at the mission stations, and it is there where tonic sol-fa became a favourite with African singers.⁴²⁶ The African Christians proved that they “had a natural gift of music and enjoyed singing the Gospel”.⁴²⁷ Grant Olwage argues that tonic sol-fa spread throughout the world during the 1850s because it was seen to be “an aid to missionary labour”.⁴²⁸ However, the adoption of tonic sol-fa also had an unexpected outcome; the recording and preservation of indigenous music.

This piece, written by Christopher Birkett, was designed specifically to show how tonic sol-fa could be used to accommodate indigenous music. The title of the piece ‘*Ingoma*’ means “song”, which suggests that a generic title of the piece had this function.⁴²⁹ Birkett gave this song a Xhosa name, ‘*Vutelani Ixilongo*’ (Blow the trumpet/horn).⁴³⁰

⁴²³ “Tonic sol-fa,” Oxford Music Online, <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view> (accessed May 19, 2020).

⁴²⁴ John Curwen, *Singing for Schools and Congregations: A Grammar of Vocal Music, with a Course of Lessons and Exercises Founded on the Tonic Sol fa Method, and a Full Introduction to the Art of Singing at Sight from the Old Notation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

⁴²⁵ Grant Olwage, “Singing in the Victorian World: Tonic Sol fa and Discourses of Religion, Science and Empire in the Cape Colony,” *Muziki* 7, no. 2 (2010), 193

⁴²⁶ Olwage, “Singing in the Victorian World,” 192.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*, 193.

⁴²⁸ Olwage, “Music and (Post) Colonialism,” 1.

⁴²⁹ G. Killian, nd. “The Significant of the Shofar,” <https://www.betemunah.org/shofar.html>. accessed March 23, 2017. The trumpet is mentioned in this song. Birkett knew that there were many rural Xhosa people in the Cape who were probably familiar with the African Kudu horn. The trumpet could serve the same

Example 2.6: ‘*Vutelani Ixilongo*’ (‘Blow the trumpets’), Birkett’s ‘*Ingoma 1*’ ‘First Song’ key (G), metre (C.M.), tune by Vutelani Ixilongo, authored and composed by Birkett.⁴³¹

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IZIBHALO EZINGCWELE

Iintsikelelo ZeLizwi

122

Vutelani Ixilongo. C.M.

BIRKETT’S INGOMA.

DOH – G.

INGOMA 1

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} n \text{ :-}n \text{ d} \text{ :n} \\ d \text{ :-}d \text{ s}_1 \text{ :s}_1 \\ s \text{ :-}s \text{ n} \text{ :d} \\ d \text{ :-}d \text{ d} \text{ :d} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} f \text{ :-}f \text{ n} \text{ :d} \\ l_1 \text{ :-}l_1 \text{ s}_1 \text{ :s}_1 \\ d \text{ :-}d \text{ d} \text{ :n} \\ f_1 \text{ :-}f_1 \text{ d} \text{ :d} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} r \text{ :-}t_1 \text{ t}_1 \text{ :r} \\ t_1 \text{ :-}s_1 \text{ s}_1 \text{ :t}_1 \\ s \text{ :-}r \text{ r} \text{ :f} \\ s_1 \text{ :-}s_1 \text{ s}_1 \text{ :s}_1 \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} r \text{ :-}s \text{ s} \text{ :-} \\ t_1 \text{ :-} \text{ d} \text{ :-} \\ f \text{ :-} \text{ n} \text{ :-} \\ s_1 \text{ :-} \text{ d} \text{ :-} \end{array} \right.$
$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} l \text{ :-}l \text{ s} \text{ :n} \\ f \text{ :-}f \text{ n} \text{ :d} \\ d \text{ :-}d \text{ d} \text{ :d} \\ f_1 \text{ :-}f_1 \text{ d} \text{ :d} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} f \text{ :-}f \text{ n} \text{ :d} \\ r \text{ :-}r \text{ d} \text{ :d} \\ s \text{ :-}s \text{ s} \text{ :s} \\ s_1 \text{ :-}s_1 \text{ d} \text{ :n}_1 \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} l_1 \text{ :-}l_1 \text{ s}_1 \text{ :n} \\ f_1 \text{ :-}f_1 \text{ s}_1 \text{ :d} \\ d \text{ :-}d \text{ n} \text{ :s} \\ f_1 \text{ :-}f_1 \text{ d} \text{ :-} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} r \text{ :-} \text{ d} \text{ :-} \\ t_1 \text{ :-} \text{ d} \text{ :-} \\ f \text{ :-} \text{ n} \text{ :-} \\ s_1 \text{ :-} \text{ d} \text{ :-} \end{array} \right.$

purpose as the animal horn for important announcements or to summon the people to an important meeting as the *shofar* did in Biblical times.

⁴³⁰ Andrew-John Bethke, “*Ingoma and St Matthew’s Tune Book: Two South African Missionary Tonic Solfa Humn-tune collections,*” *Journal of the Musical Arts in Africa* 16, no. 1–2 (2019), Abstract. Birkett often gave his tunes Xhosa names.

⁴³¹ *Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa*, No. 122: ‘*Vutelani Ixilongo*’ (‘Blow the trumpets’), 148. For the Xhosa and English translations, refer to Table 2.6.

Example 2.7: 'Vutelani Ixilongo' ('Blow the trumpets'), Birkett's 'Ingoma 1.
Transcribed into staff notation by Sue Cock.

IZIBHALO EZINGCWELE

Iintsikelelo ZeLizwi

122

Vutelani Ixitongo. C.M.

BIRKETT'S INGOMA

The musical notation is presented in two staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 4/4 time signature. The melody consists of quarter notes with dotted rhythms. The chords indicated above the notes are G, C, G, D, D7, D7, and G. The second staff starts with a measure rest (marked '5') and continues the melody with chords C, G, D7, G, G/B, C, G, D7, and G. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

This hymn is written in the key of G Major. The melody remains in this key throughout with a regular phrase structure. There is no repetition, however, with each phrase different. The dotted rhythmic pattern is characteristic of all the phrases. The harmonic structure is inferred without specifying the parts. Interestingly, there is no leading tone to tonic movement anywhere in the piece, even if the perfect cadences are conventional by nineteenth century European standards.

Table 2.4: Ilizwi lixilongo with ‘*Vutelani Ixilongo*’, the tune of hymn in isiXhosa with translations in English.⁴³² Ilizwi lixilongo: The word is the trumpet/sound of a trumpet. ‘*Vutelani Ixilongo*’ (blow the trumpets). The one line recurs at the beginning of each verse. English translation by Elijah Madiba.

	isiXhosa	English Translation
	<i>Izibhalo Ezingcwele</i>	Holy book or writings
	<i>Iintsikelelo ZeLizwi</i>	Blessings of the Word
	<i>Tune: Vutelani Ixilongo</i>	Blow the trumpet/horn
	<i>Ingoma 1</i>	Song 1
	<i>Ilizwi lixilongo</i>	Word of the trumpet/sound of a trumpet
1 st Verse	<i>Vuthelani ixilongo, nina bantu bakhe;</i>	Blow the trumpets oh His people
	<i>Ixilongo lezwi lakhe, Lihlokomiseni</i>	Trumpet of His voice, make it loud or amplify it
2 nd Verse	<i>Vuthelani ixilongo, nina bantu bakhe;</i>	Blow the trumpets oh His people
	<i>Leyo nqwelo yezwi lakhe</i>	That chariot/vehicle of His word
3 rd Verse	<i>Vuthelani ixilongo, nina bantu bakhe;</i>	Blow the trumpets oh His people
	<i>Maliviwe iziwi lalo, ngabo bangaboni</i>	Let his word be heard even by those who cannot see
4 th Verse	<i>Vuthelani ixilongo, nina bantu bakhe</i>	Blow the trumpets oh His people
	<i>Lihanjiswe izwi lakhe, Ngenyameko yonke</i>	May His word be spread, with perseverance
5 th Verse	<i>Zonk' izizwekude, mazilazi lona,</i>	All the far away nations must know the word
	<i>Zikhangele kongu Yesu, zimthande yena.</i>	They must look up to Jesus and love Him Amen.

2.7.3 Tiyo Soga (1829–1871)

Lovedale played an important role in the formation of Black South African musicians. Students at Lovedale and some of the other mission schools were taught music education and had the opportunity to learn how to play an instrument. Some had piano lessons while others played in the brass band or sang in the choir. African composers built their careers on a foundation of choral music, and choral music is still enjoyed by many of these same communities today. Veit Erlmann echoes these sentiments and relates a desire by scholars to

⁴³² Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa, No. 122. ‘*Vuthelani ixilongo*’ (‘Blow the trumpets’), 148.

know the composers by their works and how they were influenced by the society in which they lived.⁴³³

The story of Tiyo Soga (1829–1871) is a good example of the close ties that existed between Scotland and the Eastern Cape region of South Africa. Soga was born at a time when Chief Maqoma was expelled from *Shokoshele* in the Kat River valley by the British.⁴³⁴ Tiyo was born in May 1829 (on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony), at at Mgwali in the Chumie valley in the Stutterheim district (30 miles east of today's King William's Town). He died in 1871 at *Tutuka* (later known as Somerville near Butterworth, Kreli's country) in 'Caffraria,' the mission field of the modern Ciskei and Transkei, where he was respected. David Calhoun writes that Tiyo Soga's mother, Nosutu, named him *Sani* (what bringest thou?) but his father, Jotello Soga, changed his name and instead called him *Tiyo* (a hero of his people).⁴³⁵ Tiyo was famously known as 'the boy who loved to sing,' and music played a central role in his life.

Soga received his initial schooling from his older brother, Festili, who became a mission teacher at Struthers after establishing his own school at the homestead of "Old Soga".⁴³⁶ Tiyo later became Govan's pupil at Lovedale after initially attending school at Gwali under Rev.

⁴³³ Erlmann, *Music, Modernity and the Global Imagination*, 113.

⁴³⁴ Manton Hirst, "Famous Firsts, The Soga family." *Imvubu*, Amathole Museum Newsletter 16, no. 2 (2004): 7. (Donavan Williams, "Tiyo Soga Umfundisi," *South African Outlook* (June 1976): 94). 'Caffraria' is a word for the land which was inhabited by the Xhosa and referred to by the British as the area between the Kei River and Great Fish River in the Cape Colony which was annexed by them in 1847 (Keith Irvine, "Tribute to Tiyo Soga." *The Encyclopaedia Africana. Dictionary of African Biography*. Michigan: Reference Publications, 1995).

⁴³⁵ David Calhoun, "What Bringest Thou? The Life and Ministry of Tiyo Soga." *Knowing & Doing. A Teaching Quarterly for Discipleship of Heart and Mind* (Fall 2010), 1.

⁴³⁶ Jeff Opland, Wandile Kuse and Pamela Maseko, eds, *William Wellington Gqoba, Isizwe esinembali: Xhosa Histories and Poetry (1873–1888)*. Volume 1 (Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2015), 5. The Reverend William Chalmers, originally from Glasgow, established four elementary schools when he joined the missionaries at Lovedale in 1827. They were Burnetts, Mitchells, Struthers and Swanstons and were named after a Glasgow merchant and three Scottish clergymen who each paid an annual grant to the teachers at these schools. John Chalmers, *Tiyo Soga: A Page of South African Mission Work* (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1878), 18.

William Chalmers. Chalmers was so impressed with the character of the boy, that he submitted Soga's name to the bursary competition to attend school at Lovedale.⁴³⁷ Soga benefited from the "liberal education" he received at the Lovedale Institution as well as from their practical and technological policies,⁴³⁸ including music. However, his education at Lovedale was interrupted as a result of the War of the Axe (Seventh Frontier War) (1846–1847). Lovedale was temporarily closed in 1846. Govan took Tiyo with him to Scotland and paid the boy's travelling expenses himself.⁴³⁹ He was convinced of Soga's potential and believed that he would benefit from the training and higher education available to him in Scotland.⁴⁴⁰ John Henderson, a wealthy merchant, paid for Soga's education while he was in Scotland.⁴⁴¹ Soga was to have friends in Scotland who would aid him financially with his studies while he was there. Friends also assisted later with his children's education at Dollar Academy, near Glasgow. The Scottish connections would prove important for generations, and these started with Govan. In fact, Govan was inducted into the Free Church at Inchinnan and Soga was enrolled at the school at Inchinnan. Soga later received his schooling at the Glasgow Free Church Normal Seminary until 1848.⁴⁴²

Tiyo Soga was South Africa's first Black missionary among Africans, the first ordained African minister, as well as the first to train abroad in Scotland.⁴⁴³ He returned to South Africa and initially worked as an evangelist and a catechist at the Gwali outstation (Chumie) from 1849, endeavouring to share the education he had received in Scotland with his people.

⁴³⁷ Shepherd, *Bantu Literature and Life*, 38.

⁴³⁸ Cameron, *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, 573.

⁴³⁹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1971: 112. Govan first asked Nosuthu, Tiyo's mother for permission to do so.

⁴⁴⁰ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1824–1955, 18.

⁴⁴¹ Joanne Ruth Davis, *Tiyo Soga, A Literary History* (Pretoria: University of South Africa Press), 365. Mr Henderson of Park was a generous supporter of Tiyo.

⁴⁴² Chalmers, *Tiyo Soga*, 44.

⁴⁴³ David Attwell, "Intimate Enmity in the Journal of Tiyo Soga," *Critical Inquiry* 23, no 3 (Spring 1997): 559.

The Reverend Robert Niven then requested that Soga establish a new mission in the area of the Amatole Mountains. He did so and began composing sacred songs at this Uniondale Mission in Keiskammahoek before it burnt down on Christmas day in 1850.⁴⁴⁴ Soga also spent considerable time writing hymns and composed 29,⁴⁴⁵ many of which were published in a school hymnbook in 1864.⁴⁴⁶ Khabela records that “seven of Soga’s original hymns” were published by Lovedale Press in 1864 in the *Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa*.⁴⁴⁷ Soga set the words of Ntsikana’s Great Hymn ‘*Ulo Thixo omkulu ngosezulwini*’ (He the Great God, High in Heaven) to music.⁴⁴⁸ He also composed hymns of hope.⁴⁴⁹ ‘*Lizalis’ idinga lakho*’ is recorded as being Nelson Mandela’s favourite hymn, as it speaks of a God who fulfils his promise of saving all races.⁴⁵⁰ A modern African scholar, Mcebisi Ndletyana, refers to Soga as ‘the most prominent African of his time’.⁴⁵¹ Soga tried to “preserve the Xhosa heritage” and requested that the missionaries study the customs, habits and history as well as the

⁴⁴⁴ J.A. Millard, *Malihambe – Let the Word Spread* (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 1999), 64.

⁴⁴⁵ Jeff Opland, “Tiyo Soga,” in *Dictionary of African Biography*. Volume 5, eds, Emmanuel Akyeampong and Henry Louis Gates, 430 (Oxford: Oxford University, 2012). Soga started writing hymns when he arrived back in South Africa to work as a catechist in 1849 ‘under Reverend Robert Niven’ at Tyhume and Uniondale.

⁴⁴⁶ John S. Ross. “Sound the Trumpet: An Introduction to the Life and Ministry of Tiyo Sogo,” *Haddington House Journal* (2010), 116. An example of Soga’s hymns is *Lizalis’ idinga lakho* (Fulfil Thy Promise).

⁴⁴⁷ M. Gideon Khabela, *Tiyo Soga – The Struggle of the Gods: A Study in Christianity and African Culture*. (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1996), 130. Okuvunywa inxalenye Yezikolo Zika Hrestu, ezisema Xhoseni, Ishicilelwe ngesishicilelo sabafundisi eLovedale. (Conditions of approval on the part of the School of Christ, in Xhosa, published at Lovedale by pastors). English translation from staff at the University of South Africa’s archives.

Also recorded in Davis, *Tiyo Soga, A Literary History*, 57.

⁴⁴⁸ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 20. This Great Hymn was translated into English from the Xhosa.

⁴⁴⁹ Jeff Opland, “Tiyo Soga,” 430. An example of Soga’s hymns is *Lizalis’ idinga lakho* (Fulfil Thy Promise). This hymn captures the hope of making a difference in the world.

⁴⁵⁰ Drum Digital, “Lizalis’ idinga Lakho – Mandela’s favourite hymn,” *Drum*, December 15, 2013, <https://www.news24.com/Drum/Archive/lizalis-idinga-lakho-mandelas-favourite>, accessed August 12, 2018. To listen to a rendition of the song, watch “Soweto Gospel Choir - Lizalis'Idinga Lakho & Thina Sizwe,” accessed April 5, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hIWDYsQiNns>.

⁴⁵¹ Mcebisi Ndletyana, ed. *Tiyo Soga. African Intellectuals in the 19th and Early 20th Century: South Africa*. (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2008), 22.

prejudices of the Xhosa people'.⁴⁵² Tiyo strove towards the Christian evangelisation of his people, as well as encouraging them to improve their education and skills development. This in turn would lead to their “economic betterment”, or else they would find themselves in a situation where they would become dependent on “the whites”.⁴⁵³

Reverend Robert Niven⁴⁵⁴ decided to take Soga to Scotland where he was enrolled at Glasgow University to prepare him for the ministry. He was ordained in 1857 at the United Presbyterian Church in Glasgow, and in so doing; Soga became the first “fully qualified African” to achieve this status. He was also praised as one of seven young men who “had given themselves to Christian work in the foreign field”. To commemorate this auspicious occasion, Rev Dr John took his lyre and sang a missionary hymn entitled, ‘The Seven’.⁴⁵⁵

Table 2.5: First Verse of ‘The Seven’ in isiXhosa with translations in English by Elijah Madiba.

IsiXhosa	English
<i>Abazalwa kuhlanga olumnyama</i>	Brothers to the black race sent!
<i>Bazala bomsebenzi weNkosi</i>	Brothers to the Lord’s work lent!
<i>Hamba ngendlela yeNkosi yakho</i>	Go the way your Master went
<i>Ngomoya oqhutywa</i>	By the Spirit driven;
<i>Kwintlango nasemfazweni</i>	To the desert and the war –
<i>Ukuya kwitheku nakwiziqithi ezikude</i>	To the kloofs and isles afar,
<i>Apho akhoyo amagorha omonakalisi</i>	Where the spoiler’s strongholds are,
<i>Yibani mikhosi, nina zisixhenxe</i>	Valiant go, ye seven!

⁴⁵² Ndletyana, *Tiyo Soga. African Intellectuals*, 26.

⁴⁵³ Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, 244.

⁴⁵⁴ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 126. Niven had come to South Africa in 1836 but during the voyage his wife died. She was buried at a Lutheran cemetery when they reached Cape Town. *Glasgow Missionary Society Quarterly Paper*, XVI: 3–4. His second wife was Rebecca Irvine Ogilvie. *Robert Niven. Perils of a Missionary Family* (1850, Glasgow, 1–20).

⁴⁵⁵ Chalmers, *Tiyo Soga: A page of South African Mission Work*, 18.

Soga married Janet Burnside, a Scotswoman, at Ibroxholm before returning to South Africa in 1857.⁴⁵⁶ Upon returning from Scotland, Soga struggled to be accepted among the Xhosa people as a modern missionary in the world of the nineteenth-century British Empire. Even so, he remained faithful to his people and believed to the end that his ministry would uplift them. In a letter of advice written to his sons soon before his death, he said: “take your place in the world as coloured, not as white men; as [Xhosas], not as Englishmen.”⁴⁵⁷ They should also cherish the memory of their mother who was “an upright, conscientious and thrifty Christian Scots woman” and be “ever thankful for your connection by this tie with the white race.”⁴⁵⁸

The Soga children were pioneers and missionaries like their parents and did much for the advancement of their people and their country, South Africa. Tiyo started his London Missionary Society ministry near King William’s Town, supported by a mission known as Peelton. He, however, soon moved to the site of Emgwali on the Mgwali River (near present day Stutterheim). The land for this mission, which was given by Sandile (1820–1878), enabled Soga to work among his own people, the Ngqikas.⁴⁵⁹ Soga later left Emgwali to establish a new mission station in Tutuka (across the Kei River near present-day Butterworth) at the request of Sarhali (1815–1892), the eleventh king of the Xhosa. Soga was able to continue his mission work and his composing at different mission stations. Unfortunately, despite his older brother (Festili, an evangelist) coming to help him, Soga himself died of

⁴⁵⁶ Robert Shepherd, *Bantu Literature and Life* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1955), 40. Emmanuel Akeampang and Henry Gates Junior, *Dictionary of African Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 430.

⁴⁵⁷ Soga’s sons were away in Scotland for their education in the early 1870s. John Chalmers, *Tiyo Soga: A Page of South African Mission Work* (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1878), 430.

⁴⁵⁸ H.T. Cousins, “*From Kafir Kraal to Pulpit. The Story of Tiyo Soga*” (London: S.W. Partridge & Co. 1899), 146.

⁴⁵⁹ Millard, Malihambe, *Let the Word Spread*, 65.

tuberculosis at Tutura on 12 August 1871 at the age of 42.⁴⁶⁰ Many said when he died that “we have lost the first missionary of the Xhosa tribe”.⁴⁶¹

Saayman⁴⁶² states that Soga had “a good relationship with African tradition as well as religious and tribal structures” and was very concerned with “the quality of life of his own”. Soga was a “modern” Presbyterian Xhosa pioneer missionary in the nineteenth century world of the British Empire who, although he sometimes struggled to be accepted by the Xhosa people, remained faithful and probably preached to congregations from all denominations of the Protestant church.⁴⁶³ Soga was also a prolific hymn-writer and was one of the first Xhosa missionaries who actually wrote down the hymns he composed.⁴⁶⁴ Today, Xhosa-speaking people often sing these hymns, including: ‘*Khangelani nizibone izibele ezingaka*’ (Look and see such mercy), ‘*Sinesipho esikhulu esisiphiweyo thina*’ (We have a big gift given to us), and ‘*Lizalis’ Idinga Lakho*’ (Fulfil thy promise)⁴⁶⁵ (Example 2.8.).⁴⁶⁶ The example below demonstrates the complexity of the musical and cultural relationships at Lovedale. These lyrics were originally written by Tiyo Soga to music by Walklett. This was subsequently arranged and harmonised by John Knox Bokwe. Many historians have failed to recognise the significance of Soga because so many arrangements were made by Bokwe.

⁴⁶⁰ Huskisson, *The Bantu Composers of South Africa*, 272.

⁴⁶¹ F. Wilson and D. Perrot, eds, *Outlook on a Century: South Africa 1870–1970* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1973), 51.

⁴⁶² W. A. Saayman, “Tiyo Soga and Nehemiah Tile, Black Pioneers in Mission and Church,” *Missionolia* 17, no. 2 (August 1989): 101.

⁴⁶³ Donovan Williams, *Umfundisi: A Biography of Tiyo Soga 1829-1871* (Lovedale, Lovedale Press, 1978), 11.

⁴⁶⁴ Huskisson, *The Bantu Composers of South Africa*, XVII.

⁴⁶⁵ Shepherd, *Bantu Literature and Life*, 41.

⁴⁶⁶ One can listen to the hymn ‘*Lizalis’ Idinga Lakho*’ on Youtube as sung by the Soweto Gospel Choir. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hiWDYsQiNns> (accessed April 7, 2018).

Example 2.8: 'Lizalise Idinga Lako' ('Fulfill thy promise'), by Rev. Tiyo Soga, in the key of G Major, an arrangement harmonized by John Knox Bokwe in tonic sol-fa.⁴⁶⁷

Lizalise Idinga Lako.

FULFIL THY PROMISE.

REV. TIYO SOGA.

WALKLETT.

KEY G.

Arranged and harmonized by J. K. B.

{	:m	.,re	m	:d	.d	s ₁	:m	r	:—	l ₁	:r	.,de	}			
	:s ₁	.,fe ₁	s ₁	:-	.s ₁	m ₁	:s ₁	f ₁	:—	f ₁	:f ₁	.,m ₁				
	1. Li	- za	- li	-	s'i-di	-	nga	La	-	ko,	Ti-xo					
	2. A	- ma	- do	-	lo kwe	-	li	li	-	zwe	Maka-					
{	:d	.,d	d	:-	.d	s ₁	:d	l ₁	:—	l ₁	:d	.,d				
	:d ₁	.,d ₁	d ₁	:-	.d ₁	d ₁	:d ₁	f ₁	:—	f ₁	:l ₁	.,l ₁				
{	r	:-	.r	de	:r	m	:-	.d	s ₁	:m	.,re	m	:-	.d	s ₁	:m
	f ₁	:-	.f ₁	m ₁	:f ₁	s ₁	:—	m ₁	:s ₁	.,fe ₁	s ₁	:-	.s ₁	m ₁	:s ₁	
	Nko	-	si ye	-	nya-	ni	-	so;	Zonk'i-	ntla	-	nga za	-	lo	-	
	go	-	be pa	-	mbi-	Kwa	-	ko;	Zi-de	zi	-	ti zo	-	nk'i-		
{	t ₁	:-	.t ₁	d	:t ₁	d	:—	d	:d	.,d	d	:-	.s ₁	d	:d	
	s ₁	:-	.s ₁	s	:s ₁	d	:—	d ₁	:d	.,d ₁	d ₁	:-	.d ₁	d ₁	:d ₁	
{	r	:—	l ₁	:s	.,fe ₁	s	:-	.f	l ₁	:t ₁	d	:—	d			
	f ₁	:—	l ₁	:l ₁	.,l ₁	s ₁	:-	.s ₁	f ₁	:f ₁	m ₁	:f ₁	m ₁			
	mhla	-	ba	Ma-zi-	zu	-	ze u	-	si	-	ndi	-	so.			
	lwi	-	mi,	Zi-lu-	xe	-	l'u-du	-	mo:	Lwa	-	ko.				
{	d	:—	d	:d	.,d	t ₁	:-	.t ₁	d	:r	s ₁	:l ₁	s ₁			
	f ₁	:—	f ₁	:f ₁	.,fe ₁	s ₁	:-	.s ₁	s ₁	:s ₁	d ₁	:—	d ₁			

⁴⁶⁷ 'Lizalise Idinga Lako' in tonic sol-fa. *Amaculo ase Lovedale*. Part III. SAMRO (Braamfontein, Johannesburg: South Africa).

Example 2.9: 'Lizalise idinga lako' ('Fulfill thy promise'), by Rev. Tiyo Soga in G
(Transcribed into staff notation by Engela Fullard).

Lizalise Idinga Lako
Fulfil Thy Promise

Rev. Tiyo Soga Walklett
Transcribed by Engela Fullard

Doh is G

Li - za - li - s'i - di - nga La - ko, Ti - xo

3 Nko - si ye - nya - ni - so; Zonk' - i - ntle - nga za - lo -

6 mhla - ba Ma - zi - zu - ze u - si - ndi - so.

'Lizalise Idinga Lako' (Fulfil Thy Promise) is in the key of G Major. Soga makes distinctive use of several chromatic lower auxiliary notes in his original G major version, which was unaccompanied. Bokwe has arranged this version using standard four-part harmony and employing formulaic harmonic progressions (such as I IV V I used here). The piece is in binary form. This transcription in G Major was done according to the tonic sol fa version of 'Lizalise Idinga Lako'. A second arrangement of this song in E flat major is sung by the Soweto Gospel Choir, and this version sounds more lyrical. The melody in the E flat arrangement differs slightly from the original written by Soga. In this version there are no chromatic notes, which creates a more lyrical and flowing melody.

Table 2.6: ‘Lizalis’ indinga lakho’ in isiXhosa with translations in English by Elijah Madiba.

Lizalis’ indinga lakho

Xhosa	English Translation
“Lizalis’ indinga lakho,	Fulfill/realise your promise
Thixo Nkosi yenyano!	Faithful/Truthful God
Zonk’ iintlanga, zonk’ izizwe,	All races, all nations,
Ma zizuze usindiso.	must be saved
Amadolo kweli lizwe,	All knees in this world
Ma kagobe phambi kwakho;	Must bow before you
Zide zithi zonk’ iilwimi,	So that all tongues
Ziluxel’ udumo lwakho.	Proclaim your glory
Law’la, law’la, Nkosi, Yesu!	Govern/Prevail our God
Koza ngawe ukonwaba;	Happiness can only come through you
Ngeziphithi-phithi zethu,	Because of our struggles/challenges
Yonakele imihlaba.	The world is damaged
Bona izwe lakowethu,	Look at our world
uxolel’ izoono zalo;	Forgive our sins
Ungathob’ ingqumbo yakho,	Do not send your wrath
Luze luf’ usapho lwalo.	To kill the children
Yaala, Nkosi, singadeli	Prohibit us God from disobeying
Iimfundiso zezwi lakho;	The teachings of your Word
Uze usivuselele,	Revive us
Sive inyaniso yakho.	We can hear your Truth”

Gideon Khabela believes that some of Soga’s hymns were probably written ‘during the war of Mlanjeni’ (the Eighth Frontier War) (1850–1853).⁴⁶⁸ Shepherd refers to this as ‘the War of Umlanjeni’, when a new young Xhosa prophet was against both the English and the Fingo. This war affected the missionaries, as he had vowed to destroy the mission stations. John Henderson Soga, a Xhosa missionary from Lovedale and Tiyo Soga’s son, refers to both Makhanda and Mlanjeni as itolas (‘war doctors’) who prepared their armies with ukukhafula (‘war charm’ medicines) instilling courage to defeat their enemies. The amaXhosa still use ‘Pelargonium pulverulentum’ (Powdered-leaf pelargonium) and ‘Plumbago auriculata’ (Cape leadwort, blue plumbago, or Cape plumbago), used by Mlanjeni as ‘war charms’ in the nineteenth century, “medicinally and symbolically” today.⁴⁶⁹

Table 2.7: Tiyo Soga’s Hymns in isiXhosa with translations in English by Elijah Madiba.

isiXhosa translation	English
<i>uYesu ilifa lamaKhristu</i>	Christ, the Christian’s Inheritance (Calhoun, 2010:3)
<i>Nkosi sikelela iAfrica</i>	God Bless Africa (Wentzel, Bulletproof, 94)
<i>izulu likhaya lam</i>	Heaven Is My Home (Calhoun, 2010:3)
<i>iNtsimbi kaNtsikana</i>	Ntsikana’s Bell (Huskisson 1969:270)
<i>Yenzani lento njengesikhumbuzo sam</i>	This Do in Remembrance of Me (Calhoun, 2010:3)
<i>Khangelani nizibone izibele ezingaka</i>	Seek/look and see this great mercy/ look and see the goodness of God
<i>Lizalis’ idinga lakho</i>	Fulfill Your Promise

Hymn No 122 in the isiXhosa hymn book is a well-known celebratory hymn that is often sung. It was sung at a special memorial lecture given on Soga in 2011 by Rev. Dr Bongani B. Finca.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁸ Khabela, Tiyo Soga, *The Struggle of the Gods*, 119.

⁴⁶⁹ Tony Dold and Michelle Cocks, “Mlanjeni’s war charms – Ikhubalo likaMlanjeni,” *Veld and Flora* (March 2006), 26. Institute of Social and Economic Research. Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

⁴⁷⁰ Bongani B. Finca, ‘The Challenges of the Theological & Ethical Principles of Mfundisi Tiyo Soga to a Nation living in a Time between Times,’ Tiyo Soga Memorial Lecture, September 09, 2011, <http://www.nhc.org.za/uploads/documents/RevDrBonganiBFincapaper>. (accessed July 16, 2019).

2.8 REFLECTIONS ON RACE AND HYBRIDITY AT LOVEDALE, 1841-1870

Soga's return to the Cape after having been educated abroad marked the beginning of a new cultural hybridity, and the formation of a new African subjectivity. Soga had enculturated and educated in Scotland, and was married to a Scot. The music he espoused and the hymns he sang and composed for his church services were in many ways derived from Scottish traditions. But he never did lose the sense of place and identity that made him Xhosa. Returning to the Cape was thus a complex journey of faith. The politics at the time were fraught with the on-going wars between the colonials and Xhosa which tore communities apart, and undermined Soga's efforts to set up mission stations.

Soga must be recognised as a hybrid subject, as one who identified with two distinct cultures: African and Western. The folk tales and folk songs he knew so well were conceived in indigenous African languages. Students at Lovedale were required to fit in with a new culture and mimic the Europeans. Mimicry in post-colonialism described the uncertain relationship which existed between the colonised and the coloniser. There was imperial dominance on the part of the coloniser, who tended to control the behaviour of the colonised, as was the case with cultural habits such as the clothes they wore. British tastes, manners and opinions as well as values were also adopted. There was the change from living in huts to living in houses. These were generally lined in an avenue as was the case at Lovedale due to the Scottish influence of the Presbyterian missionaries who generally kept things Scottish.⁴⁷¹ Homi Bhabha rethought questions of identity, social agency and national responsibility. According to Homi, hybridity is a matter of perspective: "Out of a spirit of resistance" a

⁴⁷¹ Nasrullah Mambrol. "Mimicry in Postcolonial Theory." April 10, 2016. <https://literariness.org/2016/04/10/mimicry-in-postcolonial-theory>. (accessed March 6, 2021).

migrant may become part of the ‘imagined life’ of ‘civic society as illustrated by an immigrant tailor who says, “A coat is not a piece of cloth only”.⁴⁷²

Franz Fanon conceives hybridity as “a counter-hegemonic opposition to colonial practices”. Paget Henry argues that this conception of hybridity is at the core of his Africana political philosophy.⁴⁷³ Fanon was a critic of the ‘institutions of colonialism’ that Lovedale epitomised.⁴⁷⁴ Hybridity calls on us to revisit our ‘myths of belonging’ and of ‘symbolic citizenship’ by identifying ourselves with other international and national geographies and histories.⁴⁷⁵ The students at Lovedale received a European education and were taught Victorian English. Their education was the product of British cultural imperialism, a term post-colonial theorist Edward Said used to describe “any system of domination or subordination organised around an imperial core”.⁴⁷⁶ The hybridity that became the hallmark of composers at Lovedale emerged from this melding of European language, education and manners with indigenous rhythms and tonal inflections. Composers like Soga lived between two worlds. In Soga’s case this was a life torn between Glasgow, Scotland, and the eastern Cape, South Africa. He had to deal with much racial prejudice when he came back to South Africa with his white Scottish wife. The multiracialism that Govan sanctioned enabled a vision of cultural hybridity that would not last into the twentieth century, when laws of segregation became more sinister and complete.

⁴⁷² Homi K. Bhabha, *The location of culture, With a new preface by the author* (London: Routledge, 2004). Bhabha was an Indian English critical theorist and scholar whose school or tradition is post-colonial theory. See also Homi Bhabha, “Preface to the Routledge Classics edition,” in Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, (London: Routledge, 1994), xx.

⁴⁷³ Tracey Nicholls, “*Frantz Fanon*,” Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy (IEP) www.iep.utm.edu/fanon. (accessed October 8, 2020). Paget Henry was an Africana scholar who argued that Fanon was an extraordinary thinker who saw Hybridity as “a counter-hegemonic opposition to colonial practices” where connections are built across cultures. Paget Henry argues that this constitutes Africana political philosophy.

⁴⁷⁴ Frantz Fanon, Biography, Writings and Facts, Britannica, <https://www.britanica.com> (accessed July 20, 2021).

⁴⁷⁵ Bhabha, Looking back, moving forward, xx.

⁴⁷⁶ Edward W. Said. *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Publishers, 1994).

2.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter has focused on the early history of Lovedale, from its establishment in 1841 to 1870, as well as the key personalities involved in its initial phase under its founding principal, Rev William Govan. Tiyo Soga is perhaps the most important student to have attended Lovedale at this time, and his children continued his legacy in a range of fields, including law, medicine, and music. The religious background to the development of Presbyterianism in the nineteenth century provides a context for the discussion of specific genres of music, especially the singing of psalmody unaccompanied at the mission, which was a central aspect of musical worship among members of the FCS. The education of African composers and missionaries is another important theme running through this chapter.

What this chapter demonstrates is the increasingly complex relationship of the missionaries to their African converts and how, in the early years at Lovedale, there was a real sense of idealism and equanimity pursued by Govan. Govan was a benevolent gentleman who made a difference by bringing a sense of calm romanticism to Lovedale by introducing music and a love of the classics. Soga and his family took their opportunities with considerable zeal and set in motion a new vision for what African scholars could achieve through a missionary education. The next chapter takes up the narrative with a discussion of Lovedale under the principal, Rev James Stewart.

CHAPTER 3

JAMES STEWART, JOHN KNOX BOKWE AND THE SECOND PERIOD AT LOVEDALE, 1870–1905

Music, though a part of tradition and culture, cannot stay static⁴⁷⁷.

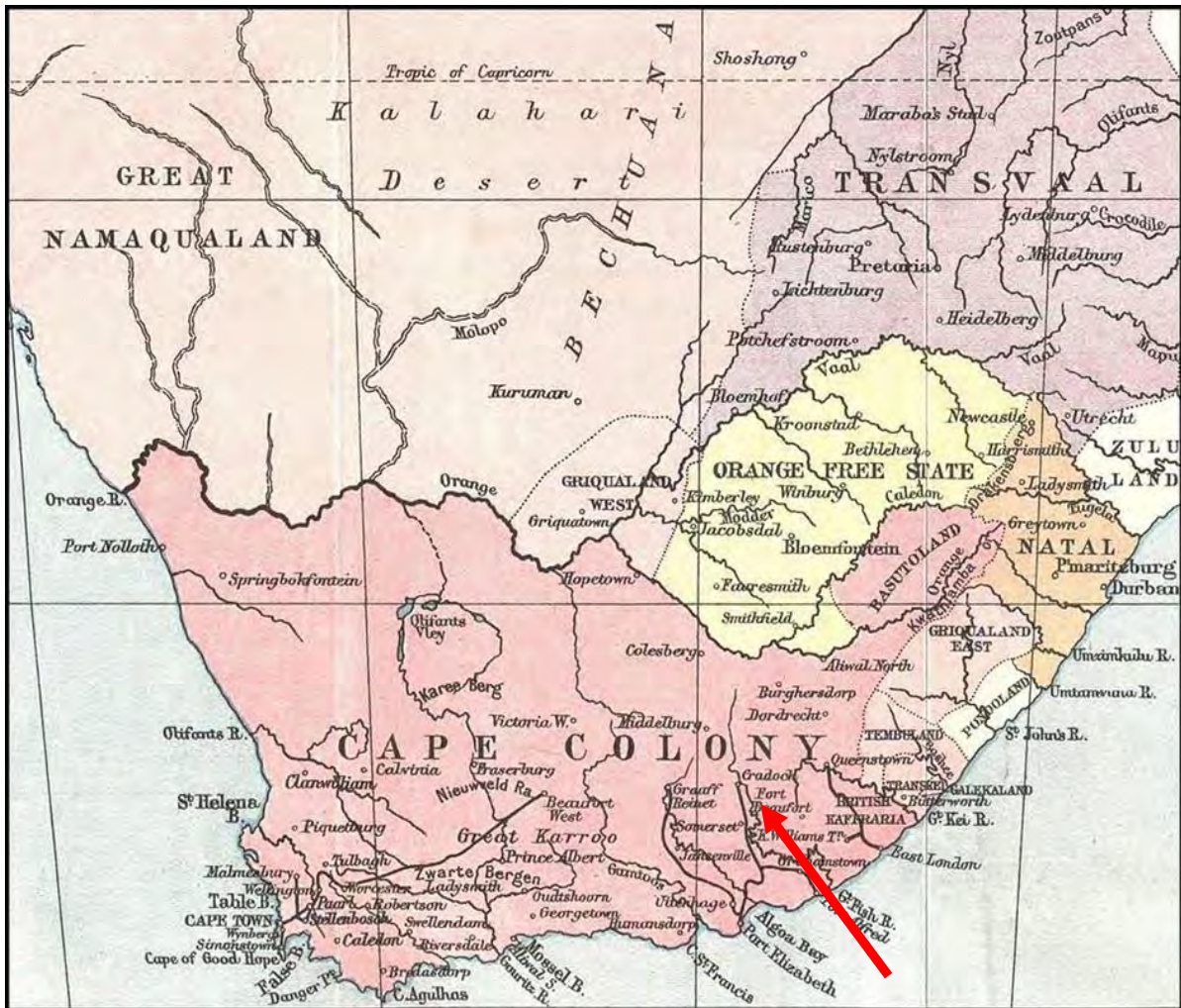


Figure 3.1: Map of Southern Africa in 1878 indicating the location of “British Kaffraria”⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷⁷ Jean Kidula, “Where is Your Tradition?” Presented at the *Southeastern Regional Seminar in African Studies (SERSAS), Fall Conference*. Savannah, Georgia, October 15, 1999.

⁴⁷⁸ Percy Molteno, *The Life and Times of Sir Charles Molteno*. Volume, II. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1900.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The Reverend Dr James Stewart (1831–1928) became the second principal at Lovedale, serving from 1870 to 1905.⁴⁷⁹ During this second period, the superiority of the missionaries’ own culture was promoted above that of Africans.⁴⁸⁰ It was during Stewart’s tenure that racial segregation was implemented at Lovedale and Stewart became known as the “Great White Father” between conflicting parties at the mission.⁴⁸¹ To understand the complexities of this racial context for missionary education at the Cape frontier, it is useful to consider Stewart’s views within the broader missionary context in southern Africa at the time. Nineteenth century British imperialism was “profoundly racist” in character.⁴⁸²

Stewart appreciated music and was very fond of what he termed “good music”.⁴⁸³ In comments characteristic of the period, and showing a degree of prejudice, he wrote: “The African is fond beyond measure of music” and possesses “an instinctive knowledge of harmony and an extraordinary power of keeping time”.⁴⁸⁴ This chapter focuses on the development of Presbyterian music and music education at Lovedale under Stewart’s leadership, focusing also on the life and music of the composer John Knox Bokwe (1855–1922).⁴⁸⁵ Mrs Stewart was particularly influential in encouraging Bokwe with his music. The

⁴⁷⁹ Eric Akrofi, Maria Smit and Stig-Magnus Thorsen. *Music and Identity Transformation and Negotiation* (Stellenbosch: African Sun Media, 2007), 42. Colin Bundy also discusses the history of the economic and social changes which took place between the years 1870–1913 in South Africa in the rural regions: Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry*.

⁴⁸⁰ Hunt Davis, *Nineteenth Century African Education*, 165.

⁴⁸¹ Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 273.

⁴⁸² Anderson, “*Imagined Communities*”, 93.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*, 190.

⁴⁸⁴ Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 190. For a reappraised discussion on Stewart and missionary attitudes during this period, refer to Brock, M. Sheila, “James Stewart and Lovedale: A Reappraisal of Missionary Attitudes and African Response in the Eastern Cape, South Africa, 1870–1905,” PhD Thesis, University of Edinburg, 1974.

⁴⁸⁵ “Bokwe, John Knox,” Ancestors South Africa. General Register of Native Pupils and Apprentices Lovedale Missionary Institution, ancestors.co.za/general-register-of-native-pupils-and-apprentices-lovedale (accessed November 22, 2019). In 1955, Bokwe published a small collection of tunes which

contributions of the composer Enoch Sontonga (1873–1905) and the poet S.E.K. Mqhayi (1875–1945), as well as some intellectuals who were educated at Lovedale, including Dr Modiri Molema (1891–1965), T.D. Mveli Skota (1890–1976) and Richard Victor Selope Thema (1886–1955), will be mentioned briefly. The medical, musical and educational contribution of Dr Jane Waterston (1943–1932) will also be detailed, as it offers insight into the social contexts in which female missionaries and members of staff at Lovedale found themselves, yet still managed to make important contributions to the lives of students through their introduction to music.

The expansion of South Africa has been attributed in a great measure to the missionaries who had an impact on opening up the land, and missionaries established some of the earliest roads in the Cape. Wells sees them as great pathfinders and pioneers in this country.⁴⁸⁶ He described Stewart as contributing, together with the Rev. John MacKenzie, to the expansion of the British Empire.⁴⁸⁷ The indigenous helpers who assisted Stewart were W.W. Gqoba (Indigenous editor: language), William Koyi (Nyasaland indigenous evangelist), Shadrach Mngununa (Nyasaland indigenous evangelist), Mapassa Ntintili (Nyasaland indigenous evangelist), Isaac Williams/Wauchope and John Knox Bokwe.

were suitable for hymns in 'Amalculo ase Lovedale' also known as 'Lovedale Music.' I have been unable to obtain a copy of the 1855, 1929 or the revised 1974 edition of the *Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa* hymnbook and have referred to the 1983 edition, as subsequent editions of Lovedale Music were issued by the same publisher, namely Lovedale Press.

⁴⁸⁶ Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 329.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 330.

3.2 MISSION STATIONS AND MISSIONARIES DURING STEWART'S PRINCIPALSHIP

3.2.1 Different mission stations of the United Free Church of Scotland

Between 1850 and 1900, the provinces⁴⁸⁸ of Natal and the (eastern) Cape were the most heavily evangelised regions in southern Africa.⁴⁸⁹ There were different mission stations of the Free Church of Scotland, including Lovedale in the Eastern Cape and travelling up to the Gordon Memorial in Natal.^{490 491} A large community of missionaries and converts began to play a major role in the political and social life of the region, and Lovedale became a centre of these activities in the decades to follow.

3.2.2 Reverend Doctor James Stewart (1830–1905)

James Stewart was born in Edinburgh in 1831 and educated at Perth Academy and Edinburgh High School before attending St Andrews University in Fife. He served as an assistant at both St Georges Free Church in Edinburgh and at St Johns Free Church in Glasgow. He married Williamina (Mina) (née Stephen) in 1866.⁴⁹² The couple had nine children: one son and eight daughters.⁴⁹³ Stewart was ordained at the Presbytery of Glasgow on 1 February 1865 and was appointed to Lovedale on 20 December 1864, before becoming the principal in 1870. He died at Lovedale on 21 December 1905,⁴⁹⁴ while his wife, Mina, died much later in 1928. Stewart

⁴⁸⁸ “Cape Colony,” Encyclopaedia Britannica, accessed January 8, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Cape-Colony>. The Cape Colony became the province of the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Province).

⁴⁸⁹ Etherington, *Preachers, Peasants and Politics*, 275.

⁴⁹⁰ C.H. Malan, *Rides in the Mission Field of South Africa*, between the Kei and Bashee Rivers, Kaffraria. *A Visit to the Missionary Colleges of Lovedale and Heald Town, in British Kaffraria* (London: Morgan and Scott, 1872). The Gordon Mission, named in memory of the Hon. F.H. Gordon, would be established in Natal.

⁴⁹¹ Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 346. The Gordon Mission was of special significance to Stewart. He named his son, James Gordon Stewart, after General C.E. Gordon who visited Lovedale in 1882 ‘as a memorial of this friendship.’

⁴⁹² *Ibid.*, 101. Mina was the youngest daughter of a wealthy ship builder, Alexander Stephen from Dundee and Glasgow.

⁴⁹³ Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 342. They were a musical family and Stewart’s one daughter in particular is referred to as his ‘dear wee singing bird.’

⁴⁹⁴ *Register of Missionaries* (UP Free Church 1855-1921). Acc7548/D 104.

was buried on Christmas Day 1905 on Sandile's Kop, a neighbouring hill behind Lovedale, at which his favourite hymn, 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty' was sung.⁴⁹⁵

3.2.3 Stewart's early career

This section and those that follow focus on Stewart and his relatives. The Stewart family played an important role in the stewardship of Lovedale. Peter Stewart, a cousin of James Stewart, was a teacher who came to Lovedale in the mid-1880s. He was later in charge of the Book Department before he left in 1884.⁴⁹⁶ Thomas Stewart, a missionary in Zululand, was also a cousin of James Stewart.⁴⁹⁷ In his biography, James Wells describes Stewart as a "born traveller" and "a pioneer".⁴⁹⁸ Stewart graduated with degrees in botany and theology.⁴⁹⁹ His first career was as a botanist and he published a number of influential books,⁵⁰⁰ with his missionary career only commencing later on. Although he was ordained into the Presbyterian Church,⁵⁰¹ he always took a pan-denominational view of Protestantism. He once stated that "while we are entirely Presbyterian" we are also entirely and openly "undenominational". We

⁴⁹⁵ S.M. Molema, *The Bantu Past and Present: An Ethnographical and Historical Study of The Native Races of South Africa* (Edinburgh: W. Green & Son, 1920), 213.

⁴⁹⁶ Lucy Bean and E van Heyningen, *The Letters of Jane Elizabeth Waterston 1866–1905* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 1983), 181.

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁴⁹⁸ Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 22.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2. His parent's home was No 5 South Charlotte Street, adjoining 136 Princess Street, Princes Street Gardens near Edinburgh Castle.

⁵⁰⁰ In 1875, the Cockburn Association was founded to "enhance and protect the beauty of Edinburgh." The natural beauty surrounding Stewart's daily walk to school is said to have fostered his patriotism and his love of nature which led to him becoming a botanist. Stewart wrote: *A Synopsis of Structural and Physiological Botany, presenting an outline of the Forms and Functions of Vegetable Life* (1894). He also wrote, *Botanical Diagrams, illustrating the general classification* (1857). These pictures were "artistically drawn" "beautifully coloured" and were numerous illustrations of "all the parts of plant life." These two books were used as textbooks in Scottish schools and colleges (Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 25).

⁵⁰¹ Stewart was 13 years old when the Disruption took place (Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 3). Lord Henry Thomas Cockburn (1779–1854) called it "the most remarkable upheaval in Scotland since the Reformation." Evangelical Ministers broke away from the Established Church of Scotland and formed the Free Church of Scotland (Norman L. Walker, *Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1895).

are both “colour blind and denominationally blind”.⁵⁰² This non-racialism was a product of an outlook formed in his youth as much as his experiences at Lovedale. He respected his Black students and colleagues and came to realise that they had as much to offer him as he to them, or so he said.⁵⁰³

Due to serious financial losses, Stewart’s father had to relinquish his farm in 1847 and relocated to Edinburgh. Despite straitened circumstances, Stewart matriculated with a first-class pass and supported himself with private tutoring at university, thereby learning self-reliance. He was 20 years old when he studied at Edinburgh University (1850–1852). This was followed by further studies at United College at St Andrews University (1852–1854). His chief interests at the time were botany and science. He then became a Student of Divinity (1855–1859) at the New College in Edinburgh and The Divinity Hall of the Free Church of Scotland. He was known as “Africa Stewart”, “long Stewart” and “Stewart Africanus” while at college.⁵⁰⁴

Stewart’s interests in Africa as part of his studies in divinity were inspired (in part) by the Scottish missionary, David Livingstone’s book, *Missionary Travels* (1857), which set the example for becoming a missionary in Africa.⁵⁰⁵ Stewart went to Central Africa in 1861 where he explored the Nyasa Highlands and the district around Blantyre before travelling up the Zambesi to Senna.⁵⁰⁶ He later travelled with Mrs Livingstone in 1862 to Livingstone’s

⁵⁰² Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 101.

⁵⁰³ George Smith, “James Stewart, MD, DD of Lovedale.” *The Missionary Review of the World* 16, no. 4 (April 1906), 290.

⁵⁰⁴ Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 17.

⁵⁰⁵ David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London: John Murray, 1857). This book was a brief overview of Livingstone’s (1813–1873) personal life as a Scottish missionary and explorer during his second expedition of 1853.

⁵⁰⁶ Molema, *The Bantu Past and Present*, 211.

headquarters called *Shupanga*, on the Zambesi, and spent four months there.⁵⁰⁷ There he met with David Livingstone and the two men spoke at length about Astronomy, Botany, Literature, Natural History and Theology. They also discussed mission, as Stewart's objective was to establish a Presbyterian mission, and he tried to gather as much information as he could.⁵⁰⁸ In 1863, before returning to Scotland, Stewart went to Mozambique before visiting "Kaffraria" in the Cape.⁵⁰⁹ Following these travels, Livingstone proposed to establish a mission in Nyasaland (a British protectorate at the time, known today as Malawi).⁵¹⁰

During his travels, Stewart's long education was not interrupted, nor did it end with theology. He went on to study medicine at Edinburgh University in 1859,⁵¹¹ qualifying at Glasgow University in 1866.⁵¹² It was while he was in Glasgow at this time that he began preaching at the Free Church of St John's in 1864. The Scottish clergy are known for their "erudition" and scholarship",⁵¹³ and Stewart was a good example, in this tradition. Wells records that for Stewart, "knowledge was an instrument of practical power" and not "a luxury or an adornment".⁵¹⁴ Stewart was appointed as the first president of the General Missionary Conference of South Africa in 1904.

⁵⁰⁷ Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 65.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid., 63. Stewart was able later to establish a mission, Livingstonia, in Central Africa while he was at Lovedale.

⁵⁰⁹ Molema, *The Bantu Past and Present*, 211.

⁵¹⁰ Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 83.

⁵¹¹ William Gray, "Stewart James," *Dictionary of National Biography*. (London: Smith, Elder, and Co, 1912).

⁵¹² Molema, *The Bantu Past and Present*, 212.

⁵¹³ Jack Whytock, *An Educated Clergy: Scottish Theological Education and Training in the Kirk and Secession 1560–1850*. Studies in Christian History and thought (United States: Wipf and Stock, 2008). Stewart graduated with the degrees M.B. (Bachelor of Medicine/ Medicinæ Baccalaureus) and C.M (Bachelor of Surgery/ Baccalaureus Chirurgiæ) and received distinctions in forensic medicine and surgery.

⁵¹⁴ Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 11.

3.2.4 Stewart and Lovedale

Dr Alexander Duff was a friend of Stewart's who travelled to South Africa in the spring of 1864, visiting both Cape Town and Lovedale.⁵¹⁵ Prior to his visit, Duff had settled in Calcutta, India, in 1830. It was on his recommendations that "the Free Church Foreign Missions Committee" decided to invite Mr James Stewart, who had visited "the Kaffrarian Mission Stations" in 1863, to go to this mission station.⁵¹⁶ During his 1863 visit, Stewart noted the need to increase the teaching staff and to generally revise "the mode of conducting the Institution" by "introducing certain changes in the management of the Mission". He was convinced that "the time had come for some modifications to the existing plan of operations".⁵¹⁷ Stewart's aim was to offer a practical education to both African and European students to raise "a special class of native preachers and native teachers".⁵¹⁸

When in Scotland, Stewart worked among the "neglected poor" in the "lanes of Glasgow". He used this mission work as a basis for his plans at Lovedale, where he took over as principal in 1870. His pragmatism was immediately felt. They sang hymns and many agents came to Africa from the "Wynd churches". Rev. Robert Buchanan D.D. (Glasgow) (1802–1855), as the minister of the Tron parish, worked together with his congregation doing practical work among the wynds of the congested area in Glasgow. The outcome of this movement was the formation of the Wynd church.⁵¹⁹ Stewart encouraged senior pupils at Lovedale to go out on a weekly basis to the kraals in the surrounding areas and share what they had learnt with others. They used to address the people and sing. A week of evangelistic

⁵¹⁵ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 511.

⁵¹⁶ Robert Young, *African Wastes Reclaimed: Illustrated in the Story of the Lovedale Mission* (London: J.M. Dent and Co. 1902), 105.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 107.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 110.

⁵¹⁹ Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 173. Also Rev. Robert Buchanan D.D. (Glasgow). *Text of Ewings Annals*, Volume I, (1843–1900), 108.

services was also held twice a year where hymns were sung. This was an opportunity for students to put into practice what they had learnt during Stewart's principalship.⁵²⁰ Lovedale often followed contemporary trends in Scotland. There was a remarkable growth of preparatory schools in both Scotland and England in 1889, where religious and music instruction, particularly singing, were considered important and were integrated into their curriculum. The youth of the middle and upper classes studied at public schools, which were fee-paying. Here the boys sang hymns in their college chapels.⁵²¹ At Lovedale, both the boys and girls sang hymns.

Stewart had a vision for expanding the missions in the Cape. He promoted an initial class of vernacular catechists who would share simple presentations with others. This would then leave a second group (consisting of a higher class of Anglo-vernacular catechists) who could also receive training. These catechists would be employed as assistants to ordained ministers and pastors already in charge of scattered congregations within a large district.⁵²²

Dr Duff was the convenor of the Committee in Scotland regarding education at Lovedale. Consultation took place between Dr Duff and Dr Stewart regarding lay preachers taking over the task of teaching elementary arithmetic, mathematics and geography at the Lovedale Institution, which would then relieve the ordained ministers of this task. Duff had already implemented this plan in Calcutta.⁵²³ Stewart's idea for the students was that they first master one language, namely English,⁵²⁴ a decision which led to the exclusion of Latin, Greek,

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, 174. Stewart used to meet these young people, who shared their preparation and the subject of their addresses with him on Saturday evenings.

⁵²¹ Austin Pember, "The Religion of our Boys," *The National Review* 13 (March to August 1889), 749.

⁵²² Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 55.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, 152.

⁵²⁴ This meant that the 'Te Deum' (You are God: We praise You; You are the Lord: We acclaim You) would have been sung in English. There is a tonic sol-fa version of the 'Te Deum Laudamus' in the Xhosa Hymnbook (Lovedale: Lovedale Press 1983), 425.

Dutch, French, and German as part of the basic curriculum.⁵²⁵ Stewart therefore stated that the Greek and Latin classes “were closed to African students” except for those who had enrolled in the “theological course”.⁵²⁶ Govan, who had promoted the study of the classics, had retired in 1870. Austin Pember later wrote an article in *The National Review* of 1889, advising that the clergy, the British parents of boys in Preparatory Schools in Scotland and England, together with their schoolmasters, should be involved in the choices regarding their sons’ education where the “classics, mathematics and science” were taught.⁵²⁷ The committee in Scotland proposed, however, that the students who were “studying for the ministry” should learn Hebrew.⁵²⁸

It was during this second period in the history of Lovedale that the supposed “superiority” of the missionaries “own culture” was promoted.⁵²⁹ Stewart thought that education should be shaped to meet the requirements of the individual or the community. He promoted the idea that there should be ordained pastors as well as a class of readers who could read books, religious tracts and passages of Scripture to those who were illiterate. Music could be promoted at these gatherings and group singing encouraged.

3.2.5 Scottish missionaries and female teachers

During the nineteenth century, it was common for a male missionary to oversee a Protestant mission station in South Africa and be assisted by his wife and a staff of African evangelists and teachers.⁵³⁰ Reverend Stewart’s wife, Mrs (Mina) Stewart, was referred to as ‘a true missionary’s wife’ because she endeavoured to raise funds to assist her husband in his

⁵²⁵ Young, *African Wastes Reclaimed*, 111.

⁵²⁶ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1824–1955, 35.

⁵²⁷ Pember, “The Religion of our Boys,” 743.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁵²⁹ Davis, *Nineteenth-century African Education in the Cape Colony*, 165.

⁵³⁰ Richard Elphick and Rodney Davenport, *Christianity in South Africa. A Political, Social and Cultural History* (Claremont, South Africa: David Philip, 1997), 349.

work.⁵³¹ Stewart, like many other male Scottish missionaries, initially opposed the education of girls beyond basic domestic training in mission schools. It was their view that their wives were able to undertake this training duty, thereby “obviating the need for female teachers”.⁵³² The local ladies’ committees who were “subordinate to the Foreign Missions” were responsible for the appointment and financing of female missionaries as well as female education matters.⁵³³

Stewart’s mindset on the education of girls eventually changed and Mrs J.A. Bennie became the Head of the Industrial Department at the Girls’ School from 1889–1893.⁵³⁴ Miss Janet MacGregor (L.L.A.) also joined Lovedale.⁵³⁵ MacGregor had known that “A Lady Literate in Arts (LLA) qualification” was offered by the University of St Andrews in Scotland from 1877, when William Knight became the Convenor of the Senate Committee which “administered the diploma of (L.L.A)”.⁵³⁶ Knight had been the minister of St John’s Free Church in Dundee, and the Free Church supported Lovedale. He was also the last Professor of Moral Philosophy to have been “recruited from the ranks of the Scottish clergy” and was “an ardent supporter of higher education of women”. MacGregor was the Lady Superintendent of the Girls’ School from 1904–1906 and went on to become the Principal of the Emgwali Institution from 1907–1939.⁵³⁷ Fortunately, headway was made in terms of women’s education towards the close of the nineteenth century. From 1892 Scottish

⁵³¹ C.H. Malan, *Rides in the Mission Field of South Africa*, 1872:141.

⁵³² Norman Etherington, ed. *Missions and Empire. Oxford History of The British Empire Companion Series* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 185.

⁵³³ Bean and van Heyningen, *The Letters of Jane Elizabeth Waterston, 1866–1905*, 14

⁵³⁴ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 515.

⁵³⁵ N. Kemp Smith, “The Scots Philosophical Club,” *The Philosophical Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (October 1950): 1. An L.L.A. qualification was an external degree which women could study through correspondence, as women were not allowed to graduate in the same way as men at the time. It was equivalent to a ‘Master of Arts’.

⁵³⁶ O. Checkland and S.G. Checkland, *Industry and Ethos: Scotland, 1832–1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989), 147–150.

⁵³⁷ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 518.

universities could admit women who graduated after the completion of their studies.⁵³⁸ Miss Sophia Jex Blake (1840–1912) who came first in the entrance examination at Lovedale in February 1871, had campaigned for women to have access to university education in Edinburgh.⁵³⁹

Few experts on imperialism have seriously considered gender, but historians of women are interested in power relations between the sexes.⁵⁴⁰ Dr James Emmanuel Kwegyir Aggrey (1875-1927) stated: “The surest way to keep people down is to educate the men and neglect the women. If you educate a man, you simply educate an individual, but if you educate a woman, you educate a family.”⁵⁴¹ The principals at Lovedale were male at the time but were supported by their wives. The composers at Lovedale were also all males.

Stewart came to Lovedale for missionary service late in 1866⁵⁴² and believed that girls needed to be trained in singing.⁵⁴³ He therefore allowed girls to be admitted for training in 1868 when the Lovedale Girls’ School opened with ten pupils, with Miss Waterston as the Lady Superintendent.⁵⁴⁴ The overall number of girls enrolled increased from 66 in 1873 to 339 in 1939. During this period, the girls were welcome at Lovedale, as long as they were

⁵³⁸ M. F. Rayner-Canham and G. Rayner-Canham, *Chemistry was Their Life: Pioneering British Women Chemists, 1880–1949* (London: Imperial College Press, 2008).

⁵³⁹ Bean and van Heyningen, *The Letters of Jane Elizabeth Waterston, 1866–1905*. 1983: 30, 31. Elizabeth Garrett (daughter of Mr Edmund Garrett) a pioneer medical student, joined Sophia in first place for the ‘European’ girls. Tause Soga (Tiyo Soga’s niece), Letitia Ncheni Cumbe (the wife of John Knox Bokwe) was top of the ‘black’ girls.

⁵⁴⁰ Malia, B. Formes, “Review essay: beyond complicity versus resistance: recent work on gender and European imperialism” *Journal of Social History* XXVIII (1995): 629. Formes is from the Rutgers University, New Jersey.

⁵⁴¹ Sylvia M. Jacobs, "James Emman Kwegyir Aggrey: An African Intellectual in the United States." *The Journal of Negro History* 81 no. 1/4 (1996): 47.

⁵⁴² Shepherd, *Bantu Literature and Life*, 87.

⁵⁴³ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 155.

⁵⁴⁴ Shepherd, *Bantu Literature and Life*, 78.

trained to become “good homemakers,” and did “domestic work during this period”.⁵⁴⁵ Music was considered a form of domesticity.

There was a rich Christian music tradition for girls that had been started by Govan. Girls at Lovedale were taught how to play the piano and were expected to perform for visitors. Some travellers referred to these performances as “showy accomplishments taught to young princesses and the Native aristocracy”.⁵⁴⁶ It was not unusual for musically talented pupils in Black mission schools in southern Africa to receive additional instruction in staff notation and piano or harmonium.⁵⁴⁷ Dudley Kidd⁵⁴⁸ “heard one of the pupils playing his own composition on the piano”.⁵⁴⁹ He admitted that his severe criticism of Mission Schools did not apply to Lovedale and exclaimed that “they were quite up to the level of our drawing-room songs”.⁵⁵⁰

It should be remembered that the piano was a drawing-room instrument and considered the pursuit of cultured women. Women were not encouraged to be composers, but they could be pianists. Fanny Mendelson’s husband frowned upon her composing and Clara Schuman was expected to play her husband’s compositions. They were not expected to fulfil intellectual functions such as composing, which was still a man’s field.

Christine Lucia explains that in a musical biography of a country, such as South Africa, there has been a shift since the mid-1990s towards reclaiming the past.⁵⁵¹ Traditional indigenous

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁵⁴⁶ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1824–1955, 45.

⁵⁴⁷ Christine Lucia, *Music Notation: A South African Guide* (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2011).

⁵⁴⁸ Dudley Kidd, *The Essential ‘Kafir’*, (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1904). This is an anthropological work that illustrates the ‘native’ peoples of South Africa and includes 100 full page illustration and photographs by the author himself.

⁵⁴⁹ Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 189.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 190.

⁵⁵¹ Lucia, *The World of South African Music*, xxii.

music was frowned upon by many missionaries during the nineteenth century and they were more interested in promoting their own European music, which included their own hymns. Similarly, the ideology of European cultural superiority and apartheid meant that African musical traditions were excluded from the curriculum. Hence the importance of this study in documenting a hybrid tradition of choral music that incorporated elements of language and culture into a tonal palette made from the categories and procedures of tonic sol-fa.

3.2.6 Doctor Jane Waterston (1866-1905)

Dr Jane Elizabeth Waterston was a female missionary who had “determination, patience, self-reliance, tact, vivacity and zeal”. She was also a fearless woman with strong convictions. Waterston was a “unique” woman during the nineteenth century in South Africa. She was amongst the second generation of Scottish missionaries who came from Scotland and was a “fierce supporter of African rights”, especially in education.⁵⁵² Waterston had arrived at Lovedale with Reverend Dr James Stewart and Mrs Mina Stewart in 1867 and undertook to organise a new boarding school for African girls.⁵⁵³ Her early years at Lovedale were “active and sociable”.⁵⁵⁴ She stayed at Lovedale for six years until 1873, and under her care music and singing were introduced.

Waterston made a very forward-thinking move by making music an important part of their training. This included instrumental music at the girls’ school, piano playing in particular, which was established at a time when education was generally not provided for girls. C.H. Malan visited the Girls’ School at Lovedale in 1872.⁵⁵⁵ He considered Waterston a good

⁵⁵² Bean and van Heyningen, *The Letters of Jane Elizabeth Waterston*, 11

⁵⁵³ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1824–1955, 34.

⁵⁵⁴ Bean and van Heyningen, *The Letters of Jane Elizabeth Waterston*, 15.

⁵⁵⁵ C.H. Malan, *Rides in the Mission Field of South Africa*, 134. Malan recorded that there were 23 boarders. He also wrote that the school reminded him of a school in Singapore run by a Miss Cooke.

headmistress and was impressed with the opportunities offered to the girls at this Presbyterian institute.

One of Waterston's students was Tause Soga, the daughter of Tiyo Soga's brother Zaze. Both Tause and her close friend, William Koyi, an evangelist, studied at Lovedale where Waterston was Tause's headmistress. However, Tause's father did not approve of the friendship between Tause and William Koyi, who was a Xhosa missionary in northern Malawi who made a great contribution through interacting with the local people. Her father sent her to Scotland in January 1874 to continue her education. Tause studied at the Free Church Glasgow normal Seminary where she would have sung psalms unaccompanied. Unfortunately, she (like her uncle Tiyo) died of tuberculosis on 22 March 1877.⁵⁵⁶

Waterston (also fondly known as *Noqakata* or "the mother of activity")⁵⁵⁷ left Lovedale to study at a medical school in Dublin, Ireland, as women were not permitted to study at the university medical schools in Britain. She later became a medical missionary in Nyasaland, East Africa (1873), where she spent a year before returning to Lovedale.⁵⁵⁸ She first went home to Inverness to visit her sister Agnes and attended an evening Scottish Revival meeting on 7 July 1874, hosted by Dwight Lyman Moody (1837–1899) and Ira D. Sankey (1840–1908).⁵⁵⁹ She found a "subtle charm" about their singing and also went to a noonday meeting in Inverness on 16 July 1874.⁵⁶⁰ It was in 1874 that the Scottish Revival of Moody and Sankey inspired a Revival at Lovedale.⁵⁶¹ Waterston, who was already a doctor at this time, promoted singing and wrote that a harmonium would assist in the improvement of the singing

⁵⁵⁶ Jack Thompson, *Ngoni, Xhosa and Scot: Religious and Cultural Interaction in Malawi* (Oxford: African Book Collective, 2007), 37, 38.

⁵⁵⁷ Shepherd, *Bantu Literature and Life*, 78.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 11, 80.

⁵⁵⁹ Bean and E van Heyningen, *The Letters of Jane Elizabeth Waterston*, 66.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 67.

at Lovedale, especially on Sunday evenings “or any other time”.⁵⁶² Waterston had had an affluent childhood and was educated at home in Inverness Scotland by a governess.⁵⁶³ Traditionally a governess taught the ‘accomplishments’ expected of the young ladies under their care, which included the piano or another musical instrument.

In the 1870s, Waterston complained about being unable to practise medicine in the mission field, despite having studied at Sophia Jex-Blake’s London School of Medicine for Women.⁵⁶⁴ There was a major shift in mission policy toward women in 1878, because missionary organisations saw the need for women to participate in mission work and medical care.⁵⁶⁵ There was also a need for music teachers, of whom the majority were women. Waterston was the first Lady Superintendent and female doctor at Lovedale.⁵⁶⁶

Waterston moved to Cape Town in 1876, where she spent four successful years practising as a doctor.⁵⁶⁷ She later returned to Lovedale to take charge of the Medical Department from 1880 to 1883.⁵⁶⁸ The ministry of missionaries included the medical and social needs of the society they were trying to evangelise. Waterston opened a coffee-room for African labourers working at the docks in Cape Town, and a school for their children. She took care of the lepers at Robben Island and organised relief for refugees at the beginning of the South

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*, 70. A harmonium at Lovedale would help the singing. Moody and Sankey had used a reed organ during their campaigns, and instrumental accompaniment was adopted by a number of church congregations into their services. A source is Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843–1874* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1975), 187–188.

⁵⁶³ Elizabeth van Heyningen, "Jane Elizabeth Waterston – Southern Africa's first woman doctor". *Journal of Medical Biography* 4, no. 4 (1996) 208.

⁵⁶⁴ Bean and van Heyningen, *The Letters of Jane Elizabeth Waterston 1866–1905*, 74. The London School of Medicine for Women was later known as the Royal Free Hospital School of Medicine. Sophia Louisa Jex-Blake (1840-1912), an ex-Lovedale student, founded the school in 1874 so that women in Britain would be able to have medical training.

⁵⁶⁵ Etherington, *Missions and Empire*, 185.

⁵⁶⁶ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 521. Miss Waterston was in charge of the Medical Department at Lovedale from 1880 to 1883.

⁵⁶⁷ Shepherd, *Bantu Literature and Life*, 1955.

⁵⁶⁸ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 521.

African War (the Second Anglo-Boer War, 1899–1902). She was also appointed to a commission to oversee the women and children in the concentration camps. John Xavier Merriman (1841–1926) admired how she endeavoured to “lift up the down-trodden” and brought comfort to those in distress.⁵⁶⁹ Dr Neil Macvicar (1871–1949), a medical practitioner and Presbyterian missionary from Lovedale, witnessed first-hand how “she was revered” in Cape Town and how many lives were touched when she died in 1932.⁵⁷⁰

3.3 THE MISSIONARY CONTRIBUTION AND THE INFLUENCE OF AFRICAN CHRISTIAN INTELLECTUALS

There are many outstanding *alumni* of the Lovedale Institution, including John Knox Bokwe and Tiyo Soga. The Missionary Board of the Glasgow Missionary Society (MBGMS) recorded that these two men, together with their missionaries made important musical contributions, each in their own way.⁵⁷¹ They were members of the emerging Xhosa middle class and had a strong influence on other emerging Black intellectuals. Zachariah Keodirelang (Z.K.) Matthews (1901–1968), Bokwe’s son-in-law (who married Frieda Bokwe), described them as “leaders who drank deep at the spring of Western civilisation and yet remained true Africans, loyal to the best traditions of their people and good examples of what has been described as the African personality”.⁵⁷² This aspect came through in their music education and music compositions where they had to face the challenges of modernity and Black identity in a colonial society. Cochrane records that the missionaries encouraged the “emergence of classes”, which incorporated the “rise of the black elite”⁵⁷³. Three figures

⁵⁶⁹ Shepherd, *Bantu Literature and Life*, 81. John X. Merriman was the last prime minister of the Cape Colony before the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 82.

⁵⁷¹ John Stuart Ross, “The Trivial Round, the Common Task: Minutes of the Missionary Board of the Glasgow Missionary Society (1838–1843),” *Die Skriflig* 43 no. 3 (2009), 563–584.

⁵⁷² Z.K. Matthews, *Freedom for My People. The Autobiography of Z.K. Matthews: South Africa 1901 to 1908* (Cape Town: David Philip, 1981).

⁵⁷³ Cochrane, *Servants of Power*, 1987.

in this Black elite were Dr Modiri Molema, T.D. Mweli Skota, and Richard Victor Selope Thema.

3.3.1 Dr Modiri Molema (Silas Modiri) (1891–1965)

Dr Silas Modiri, Molema was a member of the Barolong chieftaincy, and was born in 1891 in Mafikeng. He was the first African historian to construct a history of “black people in South Africa.”⁵⁷⁴ He studied to become a doctor at the Medical School of Glasgow University in 1914 and volunteered at Lovedale Hospital under the supervision of Dr Neil Macvicar (1871–1949). Molema’s daughter, Warada, mentions how much he loved music. Silas received a Junior Certificate from the London Tonic Sol-Fa College on 13 September 1901 when he was 10 years old. He went on to attain the College’s “Elementary Certificate in musical memory, time, tune and sight singing” in 1903 and received the Intermediate Certificate in 1904. Many of his copies of hymns in careful tonic sol-fa notation were documented and illustrate the links between his musical and religious interests. He travelled to Lovedale in 1910 and matriculated there in 1912.⁵⁷⁵

3.3.2 Trevor Skota (1890–1976)

Trever Dundas Mweli Skota was born in Kimberley in 1890 and became Paul Xiniwe’s son-in-law when he married Paul’s daughter, Francis Xiniwe (a Lovedale graduate) in 1920. It is important to mention that in the early twentieth century, Skota compiled *The African Yearly Register*, which included the names of Charlotte Manye and Sol T. Plaatjie.⁵⁷⁶ Skota also

⁵⁷⁴ Silas Modiri Molema, *Bantu Past and Present: An Ethnographical and Historical Study of the Native Races of South Africa* (Edinburgh: Green, 1920).

⁵⁷⁵ Jane Starfield, “Dr S. Modiri Molema (1891–1965): The Making of an Historian” (PhD Thesis) (University of the Witwatersrand, 2008), 171.

⁵⁷⁶ T.D.M. Skota, ed. *The African Yearly Register* (Johannesburg: R.L. Esson & Co, 1930).

described Bokwe as “a true progressive” in the *African Yearly Register*, because he had many talents, such as being an editor, musician, poet and a writer.⁵⁷⁷

3.3.3 Richard Thema (1886–1955)

Richard Victor Selope Thema had contact with missionaries when he attended mission schools as a child and would have received some elementary music education. In 1906, Thema enrolled at the Lovedale Institution and obtained his Junior Certificate in 1907, whereafter he qualified as a teacher. He served for many years on the Lovedale Governing Council and became the editor of *The Bantu World* in 1932.⁵⁷⁸

3.4 RELIGION AND SONG AS UNIFYING FACTORS IN SOCIETY

3.4.1 Traditional African songs and the Psalms

In the nineteenth century, race relations at southern African missions were brokered in the context of evangelism. An ideology of unity emerged, and this was served best by congregational singing. Phrase-singing from the same hymn sheet reinforced shared communities of belief. The emphasis on shared hymn books and communities of song served the purposes of the missions well.⁵⁷⁹ In this regard, Tiyo Soga set the example for many African Christian students to “continue using music as a unifying element” so that Christianity could find a home in African religion.⁵⁸⁰ His son, John Henderson Soga, turned to scripture to underscore the importance of unity among Europeans and Africans. He drew a strong connection between “black African songs” of “deliverance and lamentation” and the

⁵⁷⁷ T.D.M. Skota, 1930, in Detterbeck, “*South African Choral Music*”, 313.

⁵⁷⁸ E.J. Vervej, ed, “Richard Victor Selope Thema,” *New Dictionary of South Africa Biography*, Volume 1, ed. E.J. Vervej (Pretoria: HSRC. 1995). Thema married Phillipine Mapule Chide and the couple had a son and a daughter.

⁵⁷⁹ Robert Strayer, "Mission History in Africa: New Perspectives on an Encounter," *African Studies Review* 19, no. 1 (1976), 12.

⁵⁸⁰ John Henderson Soga, *The Ama-Xhosa: Life and Customs* (Lovedale South Africa: Lovedale Press, 1931). Also refer to John Henderson Soga, *The South-Eastern Bantu, Abe-Nguni, Aba-Mbo, Ama-Lala* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), 217.

book of Psalms. African songs and the Psalms have an impact on society, as both are soaked in wisdom and convey a plain message in forms that are directed to conditions of inequality and oppression in Africa.⁵⁸¹ The Psalms were generally used in times of difficulty and in situations that seemed hopeless. The message of these “Songs of the Harp” is said to have been unique in terms of an African worldview, as they are an expression of people’s reactions to conditions around them. What sets the book of Psalms apart from other Scriptures is the sacramental nature of its songs. The translation of the Psalms, and other Biblical texts, was important to the development of a shared sense of community among the students of Lovedale, one that was fostered through song and music.

3.4.2 Latin songs sung in English

The unity of purpose and community is made concrete in the development at Lovedale of hymns and sacred songs in English and in isiXhosa. The hymns could be found in the tonic sol-fa version in the *Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa* (1983), while the staff notation and English words for the same hymn could be found in the *Scottish Psalter* (1929). Below are some examples of hymns found in both these books. Despite being sung in different languages, there is a sense of unity and social cohesion when people sing the same songs. Carols which were sung in Scotland were also sung at Lovedale. The tonic sol-fa scores, including ‘O Come All Ye Faithful’ (‘*Yizani makholwa*’) and ‘Silent Night’ (‘*Ubusuku benzolo*’), are to be found in the isiXhosa hymnbook. ‘Still the night’ (‘*Ubusuku buthule*’) is sung to the same tune found in the *Scottish Psalter* of 1929. These carols will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

⁵⁸¹ Thias Kgatla, “Songs of the Harp from an African Xylophone: Cries of Deliverance,” *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae* 40, no. 2 (December 2014).

Example 3.1: 'Adeste Fideles' ('Oh Come, All Ye Faithfull')⁵⁸² key: (F), tune: Adeste Fideles, metre: 66,12,66,13

54

ANGAYE UYESU KRISTU

41

Adeste Fideles. 66,12,66,13.

DOH = A.

$$\left(\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{c}
 |d \quad |d \text{ :--} |s_1 \text{ :d} \quad |r \text{ :--} |s_1 \text{ :--} \quad || m \text{ :r} \quad |m \text{ :f} \quad |m \text{ :--} |r \\
 |s_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :--} |s_1 \text{ :s}_1 \quad |l_1 \text{ :--} |s_1 \text{ :--} \quad || s_1 \text{ :s}_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :l}_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :--} |s_1
 \end{array} \\
 \begin{array}{c}
 |m \quad |m \text{ :--} |m \text{ :m} \quad |f \text{ :--} |r \text{ :--} \quad || d \text{ :r} \quad |d \text{ :d} \quad |d \text{ :--} |t_1 \\
 |d \quad |d \text{ :--} |d \text{ :d} \quad |d \text{ :--} |t_1 \text{ :--} \quad || d \text{ :t}_1 \quad |d \text{ :f}_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :--} |s_1
 \end{array}
 \end{array} \right)$$

$$\left(\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{c}
 |d \quad |d \text{ :--} |t_1 \text{ :l}_1 \quad |t_1 \text{ :d} \quad |r \text{ :m} \quad |t_1 \text{ :--} |l_1 \text{ :--s}_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :--} |-- \\
 |m_1 \quad |m_1 \text{ :fe}_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :fe}_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :--} |s_1 \text{ :s}_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :--} |fe_1 \text{ :--s}_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :--} |--
 \end{array} \\
 \begin{array}{c}
 |d \quad |d \text{ :--} |r \text{ :r} \quad |r \text{ :d} \quad |t_1 \text{ :s}_1 \quad |r \text{ :--} |d \text{ :--t}_1 \quad |t_1 \text{ :--} |-- \\
 |l_1 \quad |l_1 \text{ :--} |s_1 \text{ :r}_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :m}_1 \quad |t_1 \text{ :d}_1 \quad |r_1 \text{ :--} |--s_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :--} |--
 \end{array}
 \end{array} \right)$$

$$\left(\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{c}
 |s \text{ :--} |f \quad |m \quad |f \text{ :--} |m \text{ :--} \quad || r \text{ :m} \quad |d \text{ :r} \quad |t_1 \text{ :--} |s_1 \\
 |s_1 \text{ :--} |l_1 \text{ :t}_1 \quad |d \quad |d \text{ :t}_1 \quad |d \text{ :--} \quad || s_1 \text{ :s}_1 \quad |l_1 \text{ :l}_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :--} |s_1
 \end{array} \\
 \begin{array}{c}
 |m \text{ :--} |f \quad |s \quad |f \text{ :--} |s \text{ :--} \quad || s \text{ :d} \quad |m \text{ :f} \quad |r \text{ :--} |t_1 \\
 |m \text{ :--} |r \quad |d \quad |r \text{ :--} |d \text{ :--} \quad || t_1 \text{ :d} \quad |l_1 \text{ :f}_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :--} |s_1
 \end{array}
 \end{array} \right)$$

$$\left(\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{c}
 |d \quad |d \text{ :t}_1 \quad |d \text{ :r} \quad |d \text{ :--} |s_1 \text{ :m} \quad |m \text{ :r} \quad |m \text{ :f} \quad |m \text{ :--} |r \text{ :m} \\
 : \quad : \quad | \quad : \quad : \quad | \quad :s_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :s}_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :s}_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :--} |s_1 \text{ :d} \\
 : \quad : \quad | \quad : \quad : \quad | \quad :d \quad |d \text{ :t}_1 \quad |d \text{ :r} \quad |d \text{ :--} |t_1 \text{ :s} \\
 : \quad : \quad | \quad : \quad : \quad | \quad : \quad : \quad | \quad : \quad : \quad : \quad | \quad :d
 \end{array}
 \end{array} \right)$$

$$\left(\begin{array}{c}
 \begin{array}{c}
 |f \text{ :m} \quad |r \text{ :d} \quad |t_1 \text{ :--} |d \text{ :f} \quad |m \text{ :--} |r \text{ :--d} \quad |d \text{ :--} |-- \\
 |t_1 \text{ :d} \quad |s_1 \text{ :s}_1 \text{ :fe}_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :--} |s_1 \text{ :l}_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :--} |--m_1 \quad |m_1 \text{ :--} |-- \\
 |s \text{ :s} \quad |r \text{ :r} \quad |r \text{ :--} |d \text{ :--} \quad |d \text{ :--} |t_1 \text{ :--d} \quad |d \text{ :--} |-- \\
 |r_1 \text{ :d}_1 \quad |t_1 \text{ :l}_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :f}_1 \quad |m_1 \text{ :f}_1 \quad |s_1 \text{ :--} |--d_1 \quad |d_1 \text{ :--} |--
 \end{array} \quad \left\| \begin{array}{c}
 |d \quad |d \\
 |f_1 \quad |m_1 \\
 \text{AMEN} \\
 |l_1 \quad |s_1 \\
 |f_1 \quad |d
 \end{array} \right.
 \end{array} \right)$$

Ngokuzalwa kukaKristu.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1 Yizani makholwa,
Yizani ngovuyo,
Masihambele siye eBhetelehem,
Nanku lo mntwana
UyiNkosi yenu;
Yizani siqubude kuKristu iNkosi.</p> | <p>2 Mboneni makholwa
OnguThixo wenu,
Ongadelanga kuhlala emhlabeni;
NguNyan' oYise
Ozelweyo emnye:
Yizani siqubude kuKristu iNkosi</p> |
|--|---|

⁵⁸² Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa, No. 4: 'Adeste Fideles' ('Oh Come, All Ye Faithfull'), 54.

Table 3.1: ‘*Adeste Fideles*’ in Latin, ‘*Yizani makholwa*’ in isiXhosa, and the Christmas carol ‘*O Come all ye faithful*’ in English.

Latin	isiXhosa	English
<i>Adeste fideles</i>	<i>Yizani makholwa</i>	O come, all ye faithful,
<i>Laeti triumphantes,</i>	<i>Yizani ngovuyo</i>	Joyful and triumphant
<i>Venite, venite in Bethlehem;</i>	<i>Masihambele siye eBhetelehem</i>	O come ye, O come ye to Bethlehem;
<i>Natum videte,</i>	<i>Nanku lo mntwana</i>	Come and behold Him,
<i>Regem Angelorum</i>	<i>UyiNkosi yenu</i>	Born the King of Angels.
<i>Venite adoremus,</i>	<i>Yizani siqubude kuKristu iNkosi</i>	O come, let us adore Him,
<i>Venite adoremus,</i>		O come, let us adore Him
<i>Venite adoremus Dominum.</i>		O come, let us adore Him, Christ the Lord.

Example 3.2: ('Still the Night'),⁵⁸³ tune ('Stille Nacht'), key (C), dynamics (moderately slow), metre irregular (Irr), composed by Franz Gruber (1787–1863).⁵⁸⁴

48

ANGAYE UYESU KRISTU

37

Stille Nacht. Irr.

FRANZ GRUBER, 1787-1863.

DOH = C. Moderately slow.

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} \underline{s} \text{ :-l :s} \quad | \underline{m} \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{s} \text{ :-l :s} \quad | \underline{m} \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{r}' \text{ :-:r'} \quad | \underline{t} \text{ :-:-} \\ \underline{m} \text{ :-f :m} \quad | \underline{d} \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{m} \text{ :-f :m} \quad | \underline{d} \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{f} \text{ :-:f} \quad | \underline{f} \text{ :-:s:f} \end{array} \right)$$

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} \underline{d}' \text{ :- :d'} \quad | \underline{s} \text{ :-l :s} \quad | \underline{d}' \text{ :-:d'} \quad | \underline{s} \text{ :-l :s} \quad | \underline{t} \text{ :-:t} \quad | \underline{r}' \text{ :-:m:r'} \\ \underline{d} \text{ :- :d} \quad | \underline{d} \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{d} \text{ :-:d} \quad | \underline{d} \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{s} \text{ :-:s} \quad | \underline{s} \text{ :-:-} \end{array} \right)$$

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} \underline{d}' \text{ :- :d'} \quad | \underline{s} \text{ :-:-} \quad | \underline{l} \text{ :-:l:l} \quad | \underline{d}' \text{ :-:t:l} \quad | \underline{s} \text{ :-:l:s} \quad | \underline{m} \text{ :- :-} \\ \underline{m} \text{ :- :m} \quad | \underline{s} \text{ :-:f:m} \quad | \underline{f} \text{ :-:f:f} \quad | \underline{l} \text{ :-:s:f} \quad | \underline{s} \text{ :-:f:s} \quad | \underline{d} \text{ :- :-} \end{array} \right)$$

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} \underline{d}' \text{ :- :s} \quad | \underline{m}' \text{ :-:r':d'} \quad | \underline{d}' \text{ :-:d':d'} \quad | \underline{l} \text{ :-:t:d'} \quad | \underline{d}' \text{ :- :d'} \quad | \underline{d}' \text{ :- :-} \\ \underline{d} \text{ :- :d} \quad | \underline{d} \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{f} \text{ :-:f:f} \quad | \underline{f} \text{ :-:f:f} \quad | \underline{m} \text{ :-:f:m} \quad | \underline{s} \text{ :-:l :s} \end{array} \right)$$

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} \underline{l} \text{ :-:l :l} \quad | \underline{d}' \text{ :-:t :l} \quad | \underline{s} \text{ :-:l:s} \quad | \underline{m} \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{r}' \text{ :-:r':r'} \quad | \underline{f}' \text{ :-:r':t} \\ \underline{f} \text{ :-:f :f} \quad | \underline{f} \text{ :-:-} \quad | \underline{f} \text{ :-:d} \quad | \underline{d} \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{f} \text{ :-:f :f} \quad | \underline{r} \text{ :-:r :f} \end{array} \right)$$

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} \underline{d}' \text{ :-:d':d'} \quad | \underline{l} \text{ :-:t :d'} \quad | \underline{d}' \text{ :- :s} \quad | \underline{s} \text{ :-:l:s} \quad | \underline{t} \text{ :-:t :t} \quad | \underline{t} \text{ :-:t :r'} \\ \underline{f} \text{ :-:f :f} \quad | \underline{l} \text{ :-:s :f} \quad | \underline{m} \text{ :-:f:m} \quad | \underline{d} \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{s}_1 \text{ :-:s}_1 :s_1 \quad | \underline{s} \text{ :-:s :s} \end{array} \right)$$

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} \underline{d}' \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{m}' \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{d}' \text{ :-:s:m} \quad | \underline{s} \text{ :-:f :r} \quad | \underline{d} \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{f} \quad | \underline{m} \\ \underline{m} \text{ :-:f:m} \quad | \underline{s} \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{m} \text{ :-:m:d} \quad | \underline{t}_1 \text{ :-:t}_1 :t_1 \quad | \underline{d} \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{d} \quad | \underline{d} \end{array} \right)$$

$$\left(\begin{array}{l} \underline{d}' \text{ :-:l:s} \quad | \underline{d}' \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{s} \text{ :-:s:s} \quad | \underline{f} \text{ :-:f :f} \quad | \underline{m} \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{l} \quad | \underline{s} \\ \underline{d} \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{d} \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{s} \text{ :-:s:s} \quad | \underline{s}_1 \text{ :-:s}_1 :s_1 \quad | \underline{d} \text{ :- :-} \quad | \underline{f}_1 \quad | \underline{d} \end{array} \right)$$

A-MEN

Still the Night

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1 Ngobusuku obungcwele,
 Ilizwe lilele,
 UMary, noJosef' estalin'
 Balind' inzwana yosana,
 Lulele obezulu.</p> | <p>2 Ngobusuku obungcwele,
 Babon' abalusi
 Ibane apho bev' isandi,
 Kukul' iinglosi zisithi,
 'UKrist' uMesiy' ukho.'</p> |
| <p>3 Ngobusuku Obungcwele,
 Nyana, Thixo, Khwezi,
 Oluthandokaz' ebusweni,
 Luxela umhla wofefe,
 Wozalo loMsindisi. AMEN.</p> | |

⁵⁸³ Bill Egan, "Silent Night, Holy Night. The history of a famous carol," Silent Night History. shtml. accessed July 20, 2019.

⁵⁸⁴ *Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa*, No. 37: 'Still the Night' (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1983), 48.

Table 3.2: ‘*Ubusuku buthule*’ (‘Still the Night’), or ‘*Ubusuku benzolo*’ (‘Silent Night’) in isiXhosa with translations in English done by Elijah Madiba.⁵⁸⁵

	isiXhosa	English
1st Verse	<i>Ngobusuku obungcwele,</i>	On the holy night
	<i>Ilizwe lilele,</i>	The nation is sleeping
	<i>UMary, noJosef’ estalin’</i>	Mary and Joseph in the kraal
	<i>Balind’ inzwana yosana,</i>	Awaiting the newborn baby (looking after a newborn baby)
	<i>Lulele obezulu.</i>	Is sleeping like in heaven
2 nd Verse	<i>Ngobusuku obungcwele,</i>	Holy night
	<i>Babon’ abalusi</i>	They saw the shepherds
	<i>Ibane apho bev’ isandi,</i>	The lights then they heard a sound
	<i>Kukul’ iinglosi zisithi,</i>	It was the angels singing saying
	<i>‘UKrist’ uMesiy’ ukho.’</i>	Christ the Messiah is there (is born)

3.5 MUSIC EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL POLICIES AT LOVEDALE

Some of the changes to education at Lovedale that took effect under Stewart included the implementation of the Education (Scotland) Act of 1872, which transferred education from the Kirk and Free Kirk schools to regional School Boards and made some provision for secondary education.⁵⁸⁶

In 1874, there were about 400 pupils at Lovedale who followed a school curriculum for six years, which included music education. Provision was also made for the training of primary school teachers, with a Junior High School being established later. It was the mission-educated Black middle-class students who eventually became schoolteachers themselves. Among other duties, they were responsible for the practical content of music education in schools. Lovedale was the only school in the colony where Black pupils could receive this standard of education. However, because of policy changes and segregation during Stewart’s

⁵⁸⁵ Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa, no. 37: ‘*Ubusuku buthule*’ (‘Still the Night’), 48.

⁵⁸⁶ L. Patterson, "Schools and Schooling: 3. Mass Education 1872–present," in *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, ed. by M. Lynch, 566–569. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

time, some Black pupils sought education overseas to further their studies.⁵⁸⁷ This was a major shift from the equality sought by Govan up until his retirement in 1870, but it was in line with the kinds of segregationist thinking and paternalism that would come to characterise late nineteenth and early twentieth century British colonialism. Oral tradition with stories told and handed down for generations were undermined.

3.5.1 Education in Nineteenth Century Scotland

Lovedale generally followed developments in Scotland with regard to education. In the nineteenth century in Scotland education was offered by parish schools run by the Church, where instruction in basic reading, writing and arithmetic was given. However, many parents in Glasgow in 1857 preferred their children to “earn rather than learn”. Sunday Schools were introduced in order to supplement the parish school system, and by the 1830s and 1840s, mission schools were included in this educational structure. Bible societies also endeavoured to provide some education and improvement opportunities for the growing working classes. Parents of boys who were sent to private schools were required to pay school fees. At these schools, the boys were taught ancient and foreign languages, while girls were simply given domestic training. In 1872, an act was passed (Scotland’s Education Act of 1872), where control of education was put into school boards (which were elected). This led to a state-funded national system of compulsory free basic education which was instituted in 1890. However, contrary to expectations, access to secondary education was not provided for in the Act.⁵⁸⁸

⁵⁸⁷ Hermann Giliomee and Bernard Mbenga, *New History of South Africa* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2007), 181. By the end of the nineteenth century, 100 or more black students were studying overseas.

⁵⁸⁸ W. W. Knox, “*A History of the Scottish People. The Scottish Educational System, 1840–1940.*” http://www.scran.ac.uk/scotland/pdf/SP2_1Education.pdf. (accessed May 20, 2019).

3.5.2 Stewart's approach to education at Lovedale

Stewart promoted the idea of a practical education to produce well-trained African workers who needed an education suited to their purported "lower status".⁵⁸⁹ Stewart believed in an adapted curriculum for Black students who were being trained for specific roles within local society. His philosophy was different from that of Govan, in that education at Lovedale began to be segregated according to race and class. According to David Coplan and Bennetta Jules-Rosette, Stewart's approach followed a strictly segregated vocational model of education, which saw the white missionaries of Lovedale maintaining close control over the ideas to which the African students were exposed.⁵⁹⁰ This led to racial and political conflict,⁵⁹¹ causing some students to protest while others sought opportunities to study in Europe and the United States.

Stewart promoted the "combined method" of education at Lovedale. Educational, industrial and religious instruction were designed to aid the "success of their missionary work in the African Continent".⁵⁹² Children attended the kindergarten class, the Village school, a class for "House boys", and a Senior Normal Class for the older boys and girls. Different trades were taught, including blacksmithing, bookbinding, carpentry, printing, telegraphy and wagon-making.⁵⁹³

3.5.3 Minor agencies at Lovedale

The role of music was largely extracurricular for boys and entailed a "good instrumental band" which Stewart said "provided relaxation" for the students who were musical. Other minor agencies included a library of more than 8000 volumes, two "Literary Societies, a Post

⁵⁸⁹ Davis, "Nineteenth Century African Education in the Cape Colony," 232.

⁵⁹⁰ Coplan, *In Township Tonight!*, 292.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 289.

⁵⁹² Stewart, *Lovedale Missionary Institution*, Preface.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*, 5.

and Telegraph Office, two small newspapers (the *Christian Express* and *Lovedale News*), as well as the Scripture Union Association,⁵⁹⁴ which also had its own band.

3.5.4 Employment and different occupations

There were different forms of employment and occupations followed by students when they left Lovedale. Some graduates went on to become evangelists and ministers to African congregations. This included the sons and daughters of missionaries, who themselves became missionaries. Some became clerks, editors, interpreters, printers, storemen, and teachers,⁵⁹⁵ while others became composers and musicians.

With reference to the brass band at Lovedale, Reverend Stewart wrote that “black and white mingle in the band as they do elsewhere and in the classes”.⁵⁹⁶ But the nature of race relations at Lovedale at this time needs careful consideration because, as Olwage explains, “the domestic segregation of white and Black students” was “more in line with late nineteenth century Lovedale policy”.⁵⁹⁷ It was in the context of this racialised space that Bokwe’s achievements need to be understood.

3.6 LOVEDALE’S SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

3.6.1 Lovedale as a place of refuge for freed slaves

The abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century took a slow course. Lovedale was set to become a sanctuary for freed slaves from across Africa. The Galla children from Ethiopia arrived at Lovedale in 1890 where there were two houses for these children, one at the Girls’ School and one at the boys’ section.⁵⁹⁸ Scottish missionaries in Yemen interviewed each of

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁵⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁵⁹⁶ Stewart, *Lovedale Missionary Institution*, 80.

⁵⁹⁷ Olwage, “Music and (Post) Colonialism”, 58.

⁵⁹⁸ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 230.

the Oromo children shortly after they were liberated from their captors and sent to Lovedale. They had been enslaved during the late nineteenth century and their life histories, told by the children themselves, are very important as such narratives are very rare.⁵⁹⁹ These children would have brought their songs and music with them to Lovedale. It was again music that was tied to their identities. Stewart commented that “The Ethiopians are apt to be smit with the love of sacred song”.⁶⁰⁰ Bishop Samuel Wilberforce promoted “dignity to labour”, “security to possession” and “value to life” and was therefore against “exporting people” as “commercial people”.⁶⁰¹

3.6.2 Slavery, indentured labour and the creation of “African American spirituals”

After the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act of 1807 was implemented in the United States, it was illegal to sell and buy people in the British colonies. However, indentured labour (the system of forced labour that followed the abolition of slavery) continued until 1865 – even though the slaves had been declared free with the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. It was against this background that “jubilees, slave songs and sorrow songs” were created by the Africans who would not be stripped of their culture, despite not having access to their indigenous instruments in the colonies. The “spirituals” provided inspiration and motivation to those who were still indentured. At the time, these songs were referred to as “Negro spirituals”, a racial terminology that is considered unacceptable today. These songs have several characteristics which set them apart from the choral music of the church, including syncopation, call and response, and modal features with melodies that adopted blues-like

⁵⁹⁹ Sandra Rowoldt Shell, *Children of Hope: The Odyssey of the Oromo Slaves from Ethiopia to South Africa*. (Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2018). Sandra Rowoldt Shell was born in Zimbabwe and has focused on the history of the Eastern Cape in her research. She also authored *A Missionary Life among the amaXhosa: The Eastern Cape Journals of James Laing, 1830–1836*.

⁶⁰⁰ Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 190.

⁶⁰¹ Andrew Porter, “Commerce and Christianity: The Rise and Fall of a Nineteenth-Century Missionary Slogan,” *The Historical Journal* 28, no. 3 (September 1985), 555–584. An alternative source is Thomas Fowell Buxton, *The African Slave Trade and its Remedy* (London: John Murray, 1839): xi–xii.

qualities. Rhythms are repetitive, in keeping with the manual labour they accompanied. As drums were prohibited in the British colonies in 1739, the singers clapped their hands and stamped their feet, using body percussion to mark out the rhythms they had memorised. Oral tradition played a role, with spirituals sometimes being derived from melodies held in memory. New songs were added, with texts often based on the Old Testament stories of “liberation and deliverance”. An example is ‘Go down Moses’, where the pharaoh was asked to “let my people go”. This was associated with masters in the southern plantations of the United States. The first major collection of these “spirituals” was published in 1867, and they were sung by the “Fisk University Jubilee singers” as part of their repertoire. These singers will be discussed later in this chapter because their influence on composers at Lovedale and other missions in Southern Africa was to be profound, and shaped both the musical and political outlook of the Black elite.⁶⁰²

3.6.3 Drawing on religion as an inspiration for music

Music-making among most formally educated African people across southern Africa took the form of mission-inspired choral music with vernacular words, drawing upon the old nineteenth-century missionary styles.⁶⁰³ An example is John Knox Bokwe, a Xhosa minister of religion, who made a significant contribution as an early pioneer in the arranging and composing of vernacular Christian hymns and sacred songs.⁶⁰⁴ Veit Erlman, however, offers critique, as he views the choral repertoire of the young Black African composers, such as

⁶⁰² “The power of song in a strange land,” *The Conversation*, <https://theconversationafrica.cmail19.com/t/r-l-jhukhllk-ukutdrkti-w/>. (accessed February 18, 2020).

⁶⁰³ David K. Rycroft, “Black South African Urban Music since the 1890’s: Some Reminiscences of Alfred Assegai Kumalo (1879–1966),” *African Music* 7, no. 1 (1991), 5–32.

⁶⁰⁴ Rycroft, “*Black South African Urban Music since the 1890’s*”, 5. John Knox Bokwe (1855–1922) was a member of the rising new group of ‘elite’ mission-educated intellectuals who studied at Lovedale under the second principal Dr James Stewart (1870–1905).

Bokwe, as being influenced too strongly by “Western four-part music”.⁶⁰⁵ Erlmann argues that there was very little “blend” between the traditional African musical elements and Western European influences. Erlmann writes that *imusic* is music that referred to “English ballads and part songs”, “hymns,” and “Western classical music”. He highlights the fact that the start of “African nationalism” did not correlate on a cultural level to “Anglo-African choralism” or the “English values” of *imusic*. Coplan believes that African American spirituals were more in line with traditional African music.⁶⁰⁶ This was probably because there was a significant relationship between African musical practices and African American spirituals.

3.6.4 Incorporating African Music

Some Scottish Presbyterian missionaries tried to incorporate African music in Christian liturgy. This took place toward the end of the nineteenth century and at the “turn of the twentieth century”.⁶⁰⁷ Not all missionaries adopted the vernacular language at the expense of traditional African elements. Lutheran hymns became the prototypes of the “nineteenth-century congregational hymn” when their vernacular hymns replaced the Latin hymns. Their aim was to involve the congregation “more actively in hymn singing”. Jacob Getknechtin published hymns which were characterised by the use of folk imagery, strophic form and the vernacular language in his ‘*Achtliederbusch*’.⁶⁰⁸ Sadie reflects that Charles and John Wesley were influenced by Isaac Watts (1674–1748) and endeavoured to promote church songs that

⁶⁰⁵ Veit Erlmann, “Africa Civilised, Africa Uncivilised: Local Culture, World-system and South Africa,” *South African Journal of Musicology* 14 (1994): 5.

⁶⁰⁶ Grant Olwage, “Scriptions of the Choral: The Historiography of Black South African Choralism,” *South African Journal of Musicology* 22 (2002): 41.

⁶⁰⁷ Corbitt, “Christian Music in Africa,” 8.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

“expressed the thoughts and feelings of the singers”. In their worship, hymns were a “central feature” and were modelled on the “popular music style of the day”.⁶⁰⁹

3.7 JOHN KNOX BOKWE (1855–1922)

John Knox Bokwe (1855–1922) is one of the most celebrated Xhosa hymn writers and musicians. He was born at Ntselamanzi, near Lovedale, on 15 March 1855. J.A. Millard records that Bokwe was a member of the Ngqika Mbamba clan. His father, Jacob, who was one of the first pupils to enrol at Lovedale on 21 July 1841, named his son after John Knox, the Scottish Presbyterian churchman.⁶¹⁰ However, Bokwe called Lovedale his “home” and the Stewarts, his “parents”.⁶¹¹ This was because to many *amaXhosa*, the mission became their new home, the place where the converts now lived. It was here that they were introduced to “Victorian domestication”.⁶¹² In the case of Bokwe, the relationship seems to have been much deeper. His education was to be shaped by the Stewarts more than most. Bokwe attended the Lovedale Primary School and the Lovedale College (1869–1872).⁶¹³ During this time, he was given piano and organ lessons by Mrs Stewart and became proficient on both instruments.⁶¹⁴ This was unusual because, until this point, it was usually the girls who were trained on instruments and in the details of both staff notation and tonic sol-fa. The advanced music education that Bokwe received was very important to his achieving renown as a composer and arranger. He transcribed Ntsikana’s hymns and arranged many of those composed by Tiyo Soga. Bokwe’s achievements were not limited to music. One such

⁶⁰⁹ Stanley Sadie, ed. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, Grove’s Dictionaries, 2001), 849.

⁶¹⁰ Millard, Malihambe, *Let the Word Spread*, 7.

⁶¹¹ Letter to Mrs Stewart, 5 January 1895, ‘*Letterbooks*.’ Volume 2. National Library of South Africa (Cape Town Campus), MS B59,1 (2).

⁶¹² Grant Olwage, “John Knox Bokwe, Colonial Composer: Tales about Race and Music,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131, no. 1 (2006): 12.

⁶¹³ James Steven Mzilikazi Khumalo. ed. *South Africa Sings: African Choral Repertoire in Dual Notation. Tonic Sol-Fa and Staff Notation. Volume 1* (Johannesburg: Samro Scores, 1998), 6.

⁶¹⁴ Huskisson, *The Bantu Composers of South Africa*, 8.

example is his editorship of *Imvo Zabantsundu*, the first Black-managed newspaper in South Africa from 1898 to 1899.⁶¹⁵ There has been speculation that Bokwe studied for a time in Scotland, but no records of his studies could be found.⁶¹⁶

3.7.1 Bokwe's Music

Bokwe was the most important musician to emerge from Lovedale under Stewart's principalship. He was a gifted musician who enjoyed conducting choirs, playing the organ and piano, singing, as well as conducting the brass band.⁶¹⁷ He wrote numerous choral compositions,⁶¹⁸ including: 'Ingom' enqukuva' – the Round Hymn, No. 32 'Lovedale' found (as tonic sol-fa) in *Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa*, 'Saviour of Sinners' (Lovedale in staff notation), No 166 'Msindisi Waboni' (in *Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa*), 'Plea from Africa' and 'Vuka, Vuka, Debora!'

3.7.2 John Knox Bokwe and Ntsikana

Ntsikana's work as a composer drew on isiXhosa song and oral poetry. As a convert he, like Soga, linked Christianity to Xhosa cultural identity by using images from everyday life, especially in 'Ntsikana's Bell', which was used as a call to prayer. Ntsikana's Christianity was itself a hybrid. He preached wearing the traditional 'kaross' of the skin of a male leopard.

⁶¹⁵ Lucia, *The World of South African Music*, 21.

⁶¹⁶ Dr Anne Cameron is the Archives Assistant at the Andersonian Library from the University of Strathclyde Archives and Special Collections in Glasgow. A search of the student registers at the The University of Strathclyde Archives and Special Collections, and the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College was done. Sessions 1891–1892, 1892–1893, 1899–1900, 1900–1901 and 1901–1902, which cover the period Bokwe was in Scotland, did not find any mention of Bokwe having studied in Glasgow during this time. The registers of another two antecedent institutions from that period, namely, the Glasgow Church of Scotland Training College (CSTC) and the Glasgow Free Church Training College (FCTC known from 1900 as the United Free Church Training College UFTC) did not have any record of Bokwe either. This is not surprising, because the CSTC and FCTC/UFTC were both established to train schoolteachers rather than ministers. Training for the ministry was carried out at the Trinity College in Glasgow which, confusingly, was also known as the Glasgow Free Church College. Trinity College is now part of the University of Glasgow.

⁶¹⁷ "John Knox Bokwe," *Imvo Zabantsundu*, July 29, August 5, 1961.

⁶¹⁸ *Imvo Zabantsundu*, "Bokwe".

Ntsikana and his music were to become sacrosanct at Lovedale.⁶¹⁹ Bokwe in fact wrote a book about Ntsikana that was published by Lovedale Press.⁶²⁰ Veit Erlmann places emphasis on ‘The Great Hymn’ and concludes that it was not just a “traditional” expression of the Gospel “in the vernacular”, but that it exemplifies Ntsikana’s role in “adapting Xhosa music for Christian worship”.⁶²¹ Olwage takes a different view, arguing that, “together with three other Ntsikana fragments, the ‘Great Hymn’ was exceptional for being Bokwe’s only attempt at transcribing pre-colonial music”. Bokwe was clearly associated with Ntsikana and his music, however, neither the public nor Bokwe saw Ntsikana’s music as representative of his output”.⁶²² What is at stake here is the normative practice of hymn writing during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and how African composers understood their music and its relationship to European and African traditions respectively. The following music examples show how Bokwe’s practice drew largely on European models, even if its grammar and syntax remained distinctive to his style of writing.

⁶¹⁹ Erlmann, *Music, Modernity and the Global Imagination*, 121.

⁶²⁰ John Knox Bokwe, *Ntsikana: the Story of an African Convert, with an Appendix ‘Ibali lika Ntsikana’ in the Native Language* (Lovedale: Mission Press, 1914), 67. <http://explore.up.ac.za/record=b1723352> (accessed June 12, 2019).

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*, 126.

⁶²² Olwage, “*John Knox Bokwe*,” 13.

Example 3.3: 'Lovedale', tune ('Lovedale'), metre (6.8.6.8),
based on Genesis xxxi, 13, composed by J.K. Bokwe (1855–1922).⁶²³

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“Lovedale” 6.8.6.8.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m :-.m \mid r.r :d.d \mid l :l \mid s :-.s \mid f :m \mid l :s \mid r.r :— \mid m :-.m \\ d :-.d \mid t_1,t_1:l_1,l_1 \mid f :f \mid m :-.m \mid r :d \mid f :m \mid t_1,t_1:— \mid d :-.d \\ s :-.s \mid f.f :m.m \mid d' :d' \mid d' :-.d' \mid s :d' \mid d' :d' \mid s.s :— \mid s :-.s \\ d_1 :-.d_1 \mid t_1,t_1:l_1,l_1 \mid f :f \mid m :-.m \mid r :d \mid f_1 :l_1 \mid s_1,s_1:— \mid d_1 :-.d_1 \end{array} \right\} \parallel$$

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} r.r :d.d \mid f :f \mid m :-.m \mid l_1,t_1:d.r \mid m :r \mid r.d :— \\ t_1,t_1 :d.d \mid d :d \mid d :-.ta_1 \mid l_1 :t_1 \mid d :t_1 \mid t_1,s_1:— \\ f.f :m.m \mid l :l \mid s :-.s \mid f.d :m \mid s :f \mid f.m :— \\ t_1,t_1 :l_1,l_1 \mid f_1 :f_1 \mid d :-.d \mid f_1 :r \mid s :s_1 \mid d.d :— \end{array} \right\} \parallel$$

Genesis xxxi, 13.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1 THIXO, ova izikhungo,
Obaxhas' abantu bakho,
Othe wena kule ntlango,
Wakhokel' oobawo bethu.</p> | <p>3 Thixo wab' oobawo bethu
Yiba ngowosapho lwabo;
Yiba nguy' uBawo wethu
Usiphathe kwanje ngabo.</p> |
| <p>2 Nanga amadinga ethu,
Siwabeka phambi kwakho;
Nazi nezikhungo zethu
Siphe impendulo yakho.</p> | <p>4 Solahleka emhlabeni,
Sihambise endleleni,
Usidlise, usiseze,
Nokwambesa ungaphezi.</p> |
| <p>5 Wanek' amaphiko akho,
Ulufihl' usapho lwakho.
Side size kuwe, Bawo,
Sihlangulwe kongendawo. AMEN.</p> | |

⁶²³ Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa, no. 32: 'Lovedale' (Lovedale, Lovedale Press, 1983), 41.

Table 3.3: ‘Lovedale’ in isiXhosa with translations in English by Elijah Madiba.⁶²⁴

	Genesis xxi, 13	And I will make a nation of your offspring
	isiXhosa	English
1 st Verse	<i>Thixo, oova izikhungo</i>	The Lord who hears your cries
	<i>Obaxhas’ abantu bakho</i>	Will support Your people
	<i>Othe wena kule ntlango</i>	In the midst of darkness
	<i>Wakhokel’ oobawo bethu</i>	You led our fathers
2 nd Verse	<i>Nanga amadinga ethu</i>	Here are our pleas
	<i>Siwabeka phambi kwakho</i>	We place them before you
	<i>Nazi nezikhungo zethu</i>	Here are also our cries
	<i>Siphe impendulo yakho</i>	Give us an answer

Example 3.4: ‘*Msindisi wa boni*’ (‘Saviour of Sinners’), corrected by J.K. Bokwe.⁶²⁵
Notation provided by John Leonard.

Saviour of Sinners (Lovedale)

J.K Bokwe

⁶²⁴ *Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa*, no. 32: ‘Lovedale’, (Lovedale, Lovedale Press, 1983), 41.

⁶²⁵ *Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa*, ‘*Msindisi wa boni*’ (‘Saviour of Sinners’), (Lovedale, Lovedale Press, 1983), 41.

Msindisi wa boni

The song ‘*Msindisi wa boni*’ was the first song published by Bokwe: “it is the first known notated composition by a Black South African, the first of Bokwe’s 40-odd original compositions, the first music published by what was to become Africa’s largest mission institution, Lovedale”.⁶²⁶ Bokwe called this song ‘Lovedale’ because he enjoyed the scenery around his home in Alice in the Eastern Cape. However, it was known as ‘Saviour of Sinners’ in Victorian Scotland. Three versions of this song, which was variously known as ‘*Msindisi wa boni*’, ‘Saviour of Sinners’, and ‘Lovedale’, are discussed below. The various interpretations of these songs, and the revisions, need to be understood in the context of debates on anti-colonialism.

Version 1

‘*Msindisi wa boni*’ is the isiXhosa for ‘Saviour of Sinners’. It was translated into English by Mrs G.H. Knight from Glasgow, using Bokwe’s English paraphrase of the text.⁶²⁷ To a Western observer, some of the harmonic features of this hymn may seem problematic, or even as simple blunders.⁶²⁸ Percival Kirby notes that although Bokwe had managed to grasp some of the “basic principles of simple European harmony”, his “musical grammar” was faulty.⁶²⁹ A second, corrected version appears below. Here the harmonies are made to conform to Western common practice.

⁶²⁶ Olwage, “John Knox Bokwe, Colonial Composer,” 1.

⁶²⁷ John Knox Bokwe, ‘*Msindisi wa boni*’ (‘Saviour of Sinners’), transcription from Tonic Sol-fa. Kaffir Express (June 1875).

⁶²⁸ Olwage, “John Knox Bokwe, Colonial Composer,” 3.

⁶²⁹ Percival R. Kirby, “The Uses of European Musical Techniques by Non-European Peoples of South Africa,” *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* II (1959), 38, 39.

Example 3.5: 'Saviour of Sinners', by John Knox Bokwe. (corrected).⁶³⁰
Notation provided by John Leonard.

Saviour of Sinners 'corrected'



Version 2

Olwage describes how the harmony was “corrected” by Bokwe before it became “a model Victorian tune.” It was brought to Britain by the well-known evangelist Alexander Neil Somerville (1813–1887). On 20 May 1886, Somerville was elected Moderator of the Free Church General Assembly.⁶³¹ Somerville visited Lovedale in 1883 as part of his South African tour.⁶³² He liked the tune and it was introduced to Scotland through the *Free Church of Scotland Monthly*.⁶³³ The race of the composer was not an issue at this time, and because the hymn was Victorian in composition, the Scottish children sang it.⁶³⁴

⁶³⁰ “Saviour of Sinners ‘corrected’”, Autograph manuscript (c1883), Rhodes University, Cory Library for Historical Research, MS 11076.

⁶³¹ Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae. Volume III, Synod of Glasgow and Ayr* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1920), 390. Somerville was educated at Edinburgh High School and the University of Edinburgh. He was licenced by the Presbytery of Jedburgh on 9 December 1835 and devoted his life to evangelical work around the world. “Alexander Neil Somerville,” University of Glasgow, biography, <https://universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH9324&type=P> (accessed on May 22, 2020).

⁶³² Olwage, “John Knox Bokwe, Colonial Composer,” 5.

⁶³³ *Ibid.*, 2. ‘Msindisi wa boni,’ *Free Church of Scotland Monthly* (November 1892), 268.

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

Example 3.6: 'Msindisi waboni' ('Saviour of Sinners'), key (F), metre (66),
 composed by J.K. Bokwe (1855-1922).⁶³⁵

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UBOMI BOMKRISTU

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Msindisi Waboni. 66,66.D.

J. K. BOKWE.

DOH = F.

INGOMA I

{	d	d	:-	d	m	r	:-	r	r	:-	r	m.f	n	:-	n	
	s ₁	s ₁	:-	s ₁	d	t ₁	:-	t ₁	t ₁	:-	r	d.r	d	:-	d	
{	m	n	:-	m	s	s	:-	s	s	:-	s	s	s	:-	s	
	d	d	:-	d	d	s ₁	:-	s ₁	s ₁	:-	t ₁	s ₁	d	:-	d	
{	m	n	:-	d	s	f	:-	f	l ₁ r	d	:-	t ₁	l ₁ t ₁	d	:-	d
	d	d	:-	s ₁	ta ₁	l ₁	:-	l ₁	l ₁	s ₁	:-	s ₁	s ₁	s ₁	:-	s ₁
{	s	s	:-	m	m	r	:-	r	r	n	:-	r	f	n	:-	n
	d	d	:-	d	m ₁	f ₁	:-	f ₁	fe ₁	s ₁	:-	s ₁	s ₁	d	:-	d

{	s.l	f	:-	r	t ₁	f	n	:-	n	s.l	f	:-	r	t ₁	f	n	:-	n
	d.d	t ₁	:-	t ₁	r	d	:-	d	d	t ₁	:-	t ₁	r	d	:-	d		
{	m.n	s	:-	s	s	s	:-	n	n	n	:-	s	s	s	:-	s		
	d.d	s ₁	:-	s ₁	s ₁	d	:-	d	d	s ₁	:-	s ₁	s ₁	d	:-	d		

v.4. Asiku - ko

{	m.r	d	:-	r	m	f	:-	f	l ₁ r	d	:-	t ₁	l ₁ t ₁	d	:-	d	d	d
	d.t ₁	s ₁	:-	t ₁	d	l ₁	:-	l ₁	l ₁	s ₁	:-	s ₁	s ₁	s ₁	:-	s ₁	l ₁	s ₁
{	s.f	n	:-	s	s.ta	f	:-	f	f	n	:-	r	f	n	:-	n	f	n
	d	d	:-	s ₁	d ₁	f ₁	:-	f ₁	r ₁	s ₁	:-	s ₁	s ₁	d ₁	:-	d ₁	f ₁	d ₁

AMEN.

Ukutarhuzisa.

1 MSINDISI waboni,
 Ndisondele kuwe;
 Msindisi waboni,
 Ndizibika kuwe.

3 Ndisindwa ngumthwalo
 Ondixhalisayo;
 Umnced' andinayo
 Ondikhululayo.

2 Akukho nalinye
 Endilithethayo;
 Akukho nendawo
 Ndizincoma ngayo.

4 Asikuko nokuba
 Ndililo ijacu;
 Ndithwele ihlazo,
 Kuba ndingumoni.

⁶³⁵ Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa, No 166: Msindisi Wabon' ('Saviour of Sinners') (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1983), 194.

Table 3.4: ‘*Msindisi waboni*’ in isiXhosa with translations in English by Elijah Madiba .⁶³⁶

	<i>Ukutarhuzisa</i>	To exalt or praise
	isiXhosa	English
1 st Verse	<i>Msindisi waboni</i>	Saviour of my life
	<i>Ndisondela kuwe</i>	I come to You
	<i>Msindisi waboni</i>	Saviour of my life
	<i>Ndizibika kuwe</i>	I present myself to You or I confess to You
2 nd Verse	<i>Akukho nalinye</i>	There is no other
	<i>Endilithethayo</i>	That I speak
	<i>Akukho nendawo</i>	There is no place
	<i>Ndizincoma ngayo</i>	That I pride myself in
3 rd Verse	<i>Ndisindwa ngumthwalo</i>	I am heavily burdened
	<i>Ondixhalisayo</i>	Burden that worries me or that does not give me peace
	<i>Umced’ andinaye</i>	I do not have a helper
	<i>Ondikhululayo</i>	That I can free (help) me
4 th Verse	<i>Asikuko nokuba</i>	It is not because
	<i>Ndililo ijacu</i>	I lack direction
	<i>Ndithwele ihlazo</i>	I am carrying an embarrassment
	<i>Kuba ndingumoni</i>	Because I was a sinner

Bokwe, being a choral conductor, composed almost entirely for voice. He wrote more than 30 pieces, establishing certain norms in the genre of African choral music. His mission scripts were often written using tonic sol-fa.⁶³⁷ Olwage has observed that John Knox Bokwe stands “at the head of the tradition of Black choralism in southern Africa”.⁶³⁸ Cameron explains that

⁶³⁶ *Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa*, no. 166: ‘*Msindisi waboni*’, (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1983), 194.

⁶³⁷ African Composers Edition. “John Knox Bokwe.” Music Score Section. Joshua Pulumo Mohapelo Biography. <http://www.african-composers-edition.co.za/mohapelo/biography> (accessed on July 27, 2018).

⁶³⁸ Olwage, “*John Knox Bokwe*,” 18, 19.

the choral music movement had already begun during the mid-eighteenth century when there was a revival of church singing.⁶³⁹

3.7.3 Plea from Africa by John Knox Bokwe

Bokwe wrote 'Plea for Africa' on 21 July 1892 while on a visit to Scotland.⁶⁴⁰ This hymn was typical of the mission style and was written for a British audience who were to have compassion for an "unenlightened Africa".⁶⁴¹ Olwage records that it "is exemplary revivalist music" with its "verse-chorus form" the "hallmark of revivalist hymnody".⁶⁴² Bokwe had a strong tenor voice and sang hymns at different social gatherings, which generated an interest in Presbyterian missionary work in South Africa. Reverend John Buchanan gave Bokwe a character reference that commended him on being a good musician who brought "honour to the Lovedale institution" and to the "Christian Church".⁶⁴³ Walter Sisulu (1912–2003), a South African activist, claimed that 'Plea for Africa' was "an exemplary Victorian mission hymn" nearly one hundred years later.⁶⁴⁴ Sisulu thought that through the first line, namely, 'Give a thought to Africa', Bokwe was indicating "a forward-looking outlook much advanced for his time", and was concerned with "the whole of Africa".⁶⁴⁵

⁶³⁹ Cameron, *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, 614.

⁶⁴⁰ Lucia, *The World of South African Music*, 315.

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 318.

⁶⁴² Olwage, "Music and (Post) Colonialism," 155.

⁶⁴³ "Bokwe, John Knox," *Ancestors South Africa*, ancestors.co.za/general-register-of-native-pupils-and-apprentices-lovedale (accessed on July 27, 2018).

⁶⁴⁴ Olwage, "Music and (Post) Colonialism," 163.

⁶⁴⁵ Frieda Bokwe Matthews, *Remembrances*. Mayibuye History and Literature Series No. 54 (Bellville, South Africa: Mayibuye Books, 1995), 106.

Example 3.7: 'Plea for Africa', a Victorian mission hymn, key (F Major), SATB, words by a Glasgow Lady, slightly adapted by Mzilikazi Khumalo, composed by J.K. Bokwe.^{646 647 648}

Plea From Africa
(SATB)

Words by a Glasgow Lady
(Slightly adapted by Mzilikazi Khumalo)

J K Bokwe

Solo

1. Give a
2. Breatha

5
thought to A - fri - ca! 'neath the burn - ing sun. There are
pray'r for A - fri - ca! God the Fa - ther's love. Can reach

It appears that Bokwe was trying to add 'Western influences' in his music scores. Bokwe had only received basic theory instruction at Lovedale, and yet was able to write this four-part setting. Bokwe uses standard harmonic progressions. The melody is harmonised to I IV Ic V I. Bokwe uses a variety of non-harmonic tones, including chromatic auxiliaries and pass notes.

⁶⁴⁶ The full score is available from Samro in Braamfontein, Johannesburg. It is Desmond Tutu's favourite hymn. (Copyright Samro used with permission).

⁶⁴⁷ Khumalo, South Africa Sings, 12.

⁶⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

Example 3.8: *Vuka, Vuka, Debora!* (Awake, Awake, Deborah!), key (D Major), dynamics (Martial with spirit), origin (based on Judges 5.12), authored and composed by J. K. Bokwe.⁶⁴⁹

VUKA, VUKA DEBORA!

Awake, Awake, Debora! (Judges 5.12)

(SATB)

J K Bokwe

The musical score is for a four-part vocal setting (SATB) of 'Vuka, Vuka Debora!'. It is written in D Major (two sharps) and 4/4 time. The score consists of five staves: Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass, and Piano. The lyrics for the vocal parts are: Soprano: 'Vu - Ka, vu - ka - ke - De - bo - ra!'; Alto: 'Vu - Ka, vu - ka - ke - De - bo - ra!'; Tenor: 'Vu - Ka, De - bo - ra!'; Bass: 'Vu - Ka, vu - ka - ke - De - bo - ra!'. The piano accompaniment is marked 'Marziale con spirito' and 'For rehearsal only'. The score shows the first four measures of the piece.

‘Vuka, Vuka Debora!’ is written in D Major in four-part harmony with piano accompaniment for rehearsal only. The song starts with the tenor part, which has no lyrics. This could presumably be sung by a soloist, perhaps on a syllable, to serve as an introduction, with the repetition of the tonic and dominant notes used to establish the key. Soprano, Alto and Bass enter with the lyrics in bar three. Mzilikazi Khumalo, the general editor of *South Africa Sings*, describes ‘*Vuka, Vuka, Debora!*’ (1875), as “one of the earliest songs written by a South African black composer”.⁶⁵⁰ Many people learnt this song at school as one of their first choral pieces. Frieda Bokwe Matthews sang this song in her youth and also whenever a group had “an informal get together”.⁶⁵¹ The harmonisation is unconventional, with numerous

⁶⁴⁹ Khumalo, *South Africa Sings*, 7.

Vuka, vuka Deborah! John Knox Bokwe page 64 *South Africa Sings*, Volume 1: African Choral Repertoire in Dual Notation. ed. J. S. M. Khumalo.

⁶⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶⁵¹ Bokwe Matthews, *Remembrances*, 105.

unresolved dissonances, such as bar 3 going to bar 4, the D Major 7th Chord, to A7. This could be attributed to his lack of formal training in harmony at a conservatory, or it may be interpreted as Bokwe's attempt to preserve the tonal features of his own culture and language.⁶⁵² The assertion of an anticolonial mentality by African composers at this time was largely overlooked, or deliberately ignored by the missionaries. Musicologists have long considered the "mistakes" in harmony and voice-leading to indicate weaknesses, when in fact these features may be interpreted, in a post-colonial context, as deliberate attempts to subvert the norms of European music and thereby to assert African identities in song.

3.7.4 John Knox Bokwe and Mrs Mina Stewart

Said suggests that "at the heart of European culture during many decades of imperial expansion lay an undeterred and unrelenting Eurocentrism".⁶⁵³ The musical examples considered here show how 'colonial' composers like Soga and Bokwe immersed themselves in Western practice, to such a degree that there is very little trace of their indigenous idioms. Harmony played a key role in this, as Kofi Agawu points out in *Representing African Music*,⁶⁵⁴ and the piano was used as the instrument par excellence for transcribing choral music and harmonising it. The piano was "the predominant instrument of the Victorian hegemonic class" and had status as "bourgeois furniture".⁶⁵⁵ The piano was a symbol and tool of cultural imperialism, and its use in southern Africa would extend the reach of tonality as colonising force.⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵² Khumalo, *South Africa Sings*, 7.

⁶⁵³ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Knopf, 1993), 221, 222. Said looks at the connections between Western imperial endeavour and the culture that reinforced and reflected it. The quotation is also to be found in Erlmann, *Music Modernity and the Global Imagination*, 26.

⁶⁵⁴ Kofi Agawu, 'Colonialism's impact,' In *Representing African Music: Postcolonial Notes, Theories, Positions* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

⁶⁵⁵ Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840–1914: A Social History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 181. Hegemony promotes the idea that the ruling class can manipulate society.

⁶⁵⁶ Kofi Agawu, "Representing African Music," *Critical Inquiry* 18, no. 2 (1992), 245.

Mrs Mina Stewart was a pianist who had had piano lessons in Scotland and made a significant contribution by initiating piano lessons at Lovedale.⁶⁵⁷ She shared her musical knowledge from Scotland with the students at Lovedale. Mina was playing ‘Home! Sweet Home!’ when she met Bokwe for the first time.⁶⁵⁸ This theme of the mission as home recurs in historical documents. Detterbeck alludes to Lovedale as “being an important mission station which was *ekhaya*, more than home”.⁶⁵⁹ One of the missionaries on the staff who stayed with the family until he was able to get a home of his own wrote: “I felt at home with Mrs Stewart from the first hour”.⁶⁶⁰ In the Report of 1906, Mrs Stewart is praised for her forty years of service at Lovedale where her influence was “very marked”.⁶⁶¹ The couple often had guests who frequently remarked that Mina was always most gracious, hospitable and kind.⁶⁶²

John Knox Bokwe became Mina Stewart’s piano student and protégé.⁶⁶³ He received organ lessons from Mina and became a proficient organist and a pianist.⁶⁶⁴ Bokwe became Dr James Stewart’s secretary and later became an honoured minister and musician among his people.⁶⁶⁵ Bokwe first served as an evangelist and then as a probationer in 1900.⁶⁶⁶ Bokwe took charge of the Ugie mission in East Griqualand until he retired in 1920.⁶⁶⁷ The

⁶⁵⁷ Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 339.

⁶⁵⁸ David Chidester, *Religions of South Africa*. (London: Routledge. 1992), 4.

⁶⁵⁹ Detterbeck, “South African Choral Music”, 19.

⁶⁶⁰ Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 344.

⁶⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 340.

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*, 342.

⁶⁶³ Erlmann, *Music, Modernity and the Global Imagination*, 122.

⁶⁶⁴ Huskisson, *The Bantu Composers of South Africa*, 6.

⁶⁶⁵ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 194.

⁶⁶⁶ Peter E. Raper, *Dictionary of Southern African Place Names* (Pretoria: Human Science Research Council, 1987), 442. The town of Ugie was founded in 1885 and developed from a mission station established by William Murray in 1863 at Gatberg. He named it ‘after the Ugie River in Scotland’.

⁶⁶⁷ Gail Gerhart, Thomas Karis and Gwendolen Carter, *From Protest to Challenge. A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882–1964* (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 1977), 9.

missionaries brought their congregational hymns with them and found that African congregations accepted the “Evangelical hymns” more easily. However, when texts were translated in South Africa, problems arose in connection with the text and the melody.⁶⁶⁸ isiXhosa is a tone language and so the pitch movement of the melodies had to accord with the inherent tones of the isiXhosa lyrics, sometimes in opposition to the original melodies set to English words. Ethnomusicologists, such as Hugh Tracey (1903–1977), believed that Africans should create their own hymns, both “words and tunes” themselves.⁶⁶⁹

3.7.5 Bokwe and his music

Cameron explains that the choral music movement had already begun during the mid-eighteenth century when there was a revival of church singing.⁶⁷⁰ ‘Queen Victoria’s Jubilee Ode’ was sung at Lovedale in 1887.⁶⁷¹ It was a musical composition written by Bokwe to show the loyalty of the African middle class to Britain.⁶⁷² Bokwe also wrote ‘Reflections on the Lovedale Jubilee’.⁶⁷³ Bokwe was a “prominent member of the Lovedale Brass Band” who enjoyed “arranging concerts” at the institution and “trained many choirs.” Aitken recorded that choralism was “decidedly the strong feature of the place”.⁶⁷⁴ Vocal music was also offered to pupils in Scotland at the time.⁶⁷⁵ Bokwe’s favourite item was ‘The March of

⁶⁶⁸ Weman, *African Music and the Church in Africa*, 133.

⁶⁶⁹ Hugh Tracey, “Native Music and the Church,” *Native Teachers’ Journal* 12, no. 2 (1932): 112. Also refer to Olwage, “*Music and (Post) Colonialism*,” 59.

⁶⁷⁰ Cameron, *Dictionary of Scottish Church History and Theology*, 614.

⁶⁷¹ Thomas Bratt, *In Commemoration of Her Majesty’s Jubilee, 1887* (Cullwick Bros: Wolverhampton, 1890). Another source is: John Fabb, *Victoria’s Golden Jubilee* (London: Seaby, 1987). The Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria was celebrated on 20 June 1887. This was the 50th anniversary of Queen Victoria’s accession to the throne on 20 June 1837.

⁶⁷² Detterbeck, “South African Choral Music”, 89.

⁶⁷³ John Knox Bokwe, *Reflections on the Lovedale Jubilee* (Lovedale Missionary Institution Report, 1891), xiv.

⁶⁷⁴ James Aitken, “Music at Lovedale,” *The Musical Age* 1 no. 11 (1899), 184.

⁶⁷⁵ Olwage, “*Music and (Post) Colonialism*,” 60.

Cameron Men’,⁶⁷⁶ which is a traditional Scottish song.⁶⁷⁷ There were many marches written during the nineteenth-century imperial world to build morale among the marching men of the infantry. It is recorded that his interest in composition was stimulated by conducting the Lovedale Brass Band at events and performances.⁶⁷⁸ It is interesting that already in 1864 music for brass band in tonic sol-fa had been published.⁶⁷⁹

Bokwe’s music was published in Scotland as early as 1893. The hymn, ‘We sing the praise of Jesus’, was included in *Hymns and Melodies for School and Family Use*.⁶⁸⁰

⁶⁷⁶ “March of the Cameron Men,” as sung by Mr M.G. Simpson, National Library of Scotland. <https://digital.nls.uk/special-collections-of-printed-music/archive/90261377> (accessed May 20, 2020).

⁶⁷⁷ There are many Scottish songs and music of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, including music for the Highland bagpipe available. There are more than 330 publications and about 320 selected from the collection of John Glen (1833–1904).

⁶⁷⁸ Khumalo, *South Africa Sings*, 7.

⁶⁷⁹ Olwage, “Music and (Post) Colonialism,” 61.

⁶⁸⁰ Gall Inglis and Gall Inglis, *Hymns and Melodies for School and Family Use*.

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And Messrs. Biglow & Main; John Church Co.; S. R. V. Ford, Esq.; Rev. James Gall; and Messrs. Morgan & Scott, for the use of many of these copyrights throughout the book.

Figure 3.2: Preface page indicating J. Knox Bokwe 'Lovedale'.⁶⁸¹

681 *Ibid.*, iv.

8. WE SING THE PRAISE OF JESUS.

KEY F

{	:d	d	:-d		d	:n	r	:-		r	:r	r	:-r		r	:nf	n	:-		-
{	:s	s	:-s		s	:d	t	:-		t	:t	t	:-t		t	:dr	d	:-		-
{	:n	n	:-n		n	:s	e	:-		s	:s	f	:-f		r	:s	s	:-		-
{	:d	d	:-d		d	:d	s	:-		s	:s	s	:-s		s	:s	d	:-		-

{	:n	n	:-n		d	:s	f	:-		f	:l,r	d	:-d		t	:l,t	d	:-		-
{	:d	d	:-d		s	:ta	l	:-		l	:l	s	:-s		s	:s	s	:-		-
{	:s	s	:-s		n	:n	f	:-		f	:f	n	:-n		f	:f	n	:-		-
{	:d	d	:-d		d	:d	f	:-		f	:f	s	:-s		s	:s	d	:-		-

{	:s,l	f	:-r		t	:f	n	:-		n	:s,l	f	:-r		t	:f	n	:-		-
{	:d	t	:-s		s	:r	d	:-		d	:d	t	:-s		s	:r	d	:-		-
{	:s	s	:-s		s	:s	s	:-		s	:s	s	:-s		s	:s	s	:-		-
{	:n,f	r	:-t		s	:t	d	:-		d	:n,f	r	:-t		s	:t	d	:-		-

{	:n,r	d	:-d		r	:n	f	:-		f	:l,r	d	:-d		t	:l,t	d	:-		-
{	:t	d	:-d		t	:ta	l	:-		l	:l	s	:-s		s	:s	s	:-		-
{	:f	n	:-n		s	:s	f	:-		f	:f	n	:-n		f	:f	n	:-		-
{	:s	l	:-l		s	:d	f	:-		f	:f	s	:-s		s	:s	d	:-		-

1. We sing the praise of Jesus,
The holy Son of God;
Who came from heaven to save us,
And shed for us His blood.
Who died in awful anguish
Upon the cross, that we
Might live to sing His praises
Throughout eternity.

2. We sing the praise of Jesus;
Though once on earth He taught,
He's now in heaven and sees us,
And knows our every thought.

He will not frown upon us,
Although to Him we raise
Our sinful hearts and voices
In our sweet song of praise.

3. We sing the praise of Jesus,
Who did our souls redeem,
And welcomed little children
When they were brought to Him;
He kindly spake and told them
That they for Him had charms
And then he did enfold them,
And bless them, in His arms.

9. TELL ME THE OLD, OLD STORY.

KEY C

{	:n	:n,f		s	:s		l	:-		s		:s		d'	:d'		d'	:n,fe		s	:-		-
{	d	:d,r		n	:n		f	:-		n	:r		s	:n		n	:d		r	:-		-	-
{	s	:s,s		d'	:d'		d'	:-		d'	:t		d'	:d'		d'	:d'		d'	:-		t	-
{	d	:d,d		d	:d		d	:-		d	:f		n	:l		l	:l		s	:-		-	-

6

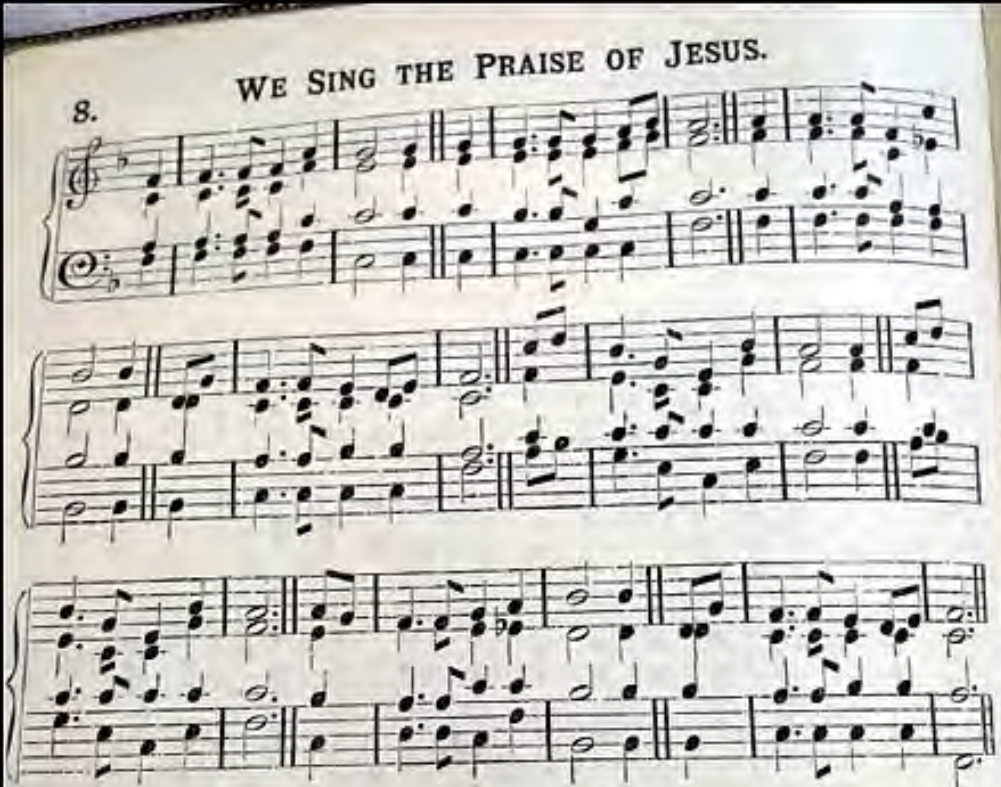
Figure 3.3: Hymn No. 8: 'We Sing the Praise of Jesus' in tonic sol-fa.⁶⁸²

I found this music example in Edinburgh at the special collections of the New College Library, on the mound. Bokwe's music was published in Scotland as early as 1893. The

⁶⁸² Ibid., 6.

hymn, 'We sing the praise of Jesus', was included in *Hymns and Melodies for School and Family Use*.

8. WE SING THE PRAISE OF JESUS.



<p>1. We sing the praise of Jesus, The holy Son of God; Who came from heaven to save us, And shed for us His blood. Who died in awful anguish Upon the cross, that we Might live to sing His praises Throughout eternity.</p> <p>2. We sing the praise of Jesus; Though once on earth He taught, He's now in heaven and sees us, And knows our every thought.</p>	<p>He will not frown upon us, Although to Him we raise Our sinful hearts and voices In our sweet song of praise.</p> <p>3. We sing the praise of Jesus, Who did our souls redeem, And welcomed little children When they were brought to Him; He kindly spake and told them That they for Him had charms, And then he did enfold them And bless them in His arms.</p>
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Figure 3.4: Hymn No. 8: 'We Sing the Praise of Jesus' in staff notation, composed by J.K. Bokwe.⁶⁸³

The rhythm of the melody is determined by the lyrics and the words fit the tune. The harmony is simple (I IV V I) with the harmonic rhythm following the rhythm of the melody.

⁶⁸³ A Companion to the Canadian Sunday School Harp. *Being a selection of hymns set to music for Sunday schools and the social circle* (Toronto: S. Rose, 1899), 81.

The lyrics above can be found in: *A Companion to the Canadian Sunday School Harp: being a selection of hymns set to music for Sunday schools and the social circle*.⁶⁸⁴ This version refers to ‘holy Lamb of God’.

It was John Knox Bokwe who was instrumental in spreading Ntsikana’s music throughout Southern Africa through his publications. He was able to ‘display musical uniqueness’ in his arrangement of ‘Ntsikana’s Bell’ in the Victorian style, influenced by the European cultural tonic sol-fa notation.⁶⁸⁵

Music literacy was important at Lovedale, and although Bokwe was introduced to Scottish culture through tunes from Scotland, he established certain norms in the genre of African choral music and also promoted the mission’s brass band. It was good to find a reference to his hymn ‘Lovedale’ as well as some of his music in ‘*Hymns and Melodies for School and Family Use*’ at the Special Collections Library at the Divinity College on the Mound in Edinburgh.

The hymns of Lovedale would travel into the 1890s together with their Black South African composer, John Knox Bokwe (1855–1922), as he prepared to republish a ‘tonic sol-fa hymnal’ in 1894. It is important to note that examiners from the UK came to South Africa. One is introduced to Franklin Taylor, the first examiner from Britain to examine for the

⁶⁸⁴ A Companion to the Canadian Sunday School Harp. 1899: 81. “We sing the praise of Jesus.” https://hymnary.org/text/we_sing_the_praise_of_jesus. (accessed February 2, 2021).

Alternative lyrics – same tune. Reference: Video: ‘We sing the praise of Jesus’. You Tube. Inseon Yoo. May 24, 2012.

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pPol2RwXneg>. These words are by Norman Wallwork, Tune: Morning Light by George Webb (1803–1887). Reference: The Morning Light is Breaking. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ddTStPIMHhQ> Author: Samuel Francis Smith (1832) Tune: WEBB

⁶⁸⁵ Dylan Lawrence Gibson, “The impact of the fostering of European industry and Victorian national feeling on African music knowledge systems: Considering possible positive implications.” *Journal of European Popular Culture* 10 no. 2 (October 2019), 98. Gibson is linked to Stellenbosch University.

One can both sing this tune with other lyrics and also sing the words to the tune of ‘Stand up, stand up for Jesus ye soldiers of the cross’. Stand up stand up for Jesus YouTube Fountainview Academy January 24, 2020. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=79FT7kJpZ1g>

Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music from abroad, who arrived in South Africa in 1894.⁶⁸⁶

3.8 OTHER PROMINENT FIGURES AT LOVEDALE

3.8.1. Jubilee Singers in South Africa

The influence of African American culture on music at Lovedale began with visits by the Virginia Jubilee Singers who toured South Africa between 1890 and 1898. The impact of their concerts of spirituals⁶⁸⁷ and folk music was to have a major impact on Africans, even though most of their audiences in South Africa were white.⁶⁸⁸ The images of race relations in the American South were to reach Lovedale, and many of the songs sung by the Jubilee Singers would have a lasting impact on the music of performers in South Africa.

The Jubilee Singers were managed by Orpheus Myron McAdoo (1858–1900) from Hampton in the United States. The repertoire for the opening night of their performances usually included jubilee hymns such as ‘Go down Moses’, ‘Good news, the chariot’s coming’, ‘I am rolling through an unfriendly world’, ‘Steal away to Jesus’, ‘Swing low, sweet chariot’ and ‘The Gospel Train’. Each of these tunes had a strong Christian message, and often the lyrics would affirm values of determination and hard work in the face of hardship.⁶⁸⁹ On the second and subsequent nights, the repertoire changed to cater for the “colonial taste” of the audience. Genres such as ballads, glees, and songs from a more classical repertoire, or sometimes even

⁶⁸⁶ E. Johnson-Williams, “The Examiner and the Evangelist: Authorities of Music and Empire, c. 1894,” *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 145, no. 2 (November 2020): 317.

⁶⁸⁷ In the United States, Spirituals were turned into ‘a vehicle of cross-racial dialogue’. Erlmann, *Music Modernity and the Global Imagination*, 164.

⁶⁸⁸ Veit Erlmann, *African Stars: Studies in Black South African Performance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 23.

⁶⁸⁹ The missionaries and their students could identify with this, as most had come from humble backgrounds and had faced hardships en route to coming to Lovedale. Rev. James Stewart supported himself through his studies with tutoring privately (Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 9). Josiah Semouse walked 600 miles from Basutoland in 11 days to reach Lovedale to get an education (Erlmann, *Music Modernity and the Global Imagination*, 48).

whole “Scottish” programmes were sung. This was effective in the Eastern Cape, for instance, because many residents had come from Scotland or had Scottish roots.⁶⁹⁰

Many concerts were given to white audiences, but McAdoo did have contact with some Black South African musicians. He wrote a letter, which was published in 1890 in a publication of the Hampton Institute, the *Southern Workman*, where he indicated his sympathy for South African race relations and the Black people living there⁶⁹¹. The group was prepared to travel from Grahamstown to Alice, where they sang for and with the students, namely the young men and girls of the Lovedale Missionary Institute, referred to as the “African Hampton”. The students also sang spirituals for them.⁶⁹² McAdoo mentions that their voices were good. An article later appeared on 16 October 1890 in the *Imvo Zabantsundu* (Feelings, Views of the Black people), a newspaper published in King William’s Town, that mentioned that the African students may become like the singers they had heard singing at their institution.⁶⁹³ Eighteen months later an African Native Choir from Lovedale was established, and their members travelled to Britain. Unfortunately, this visit did not go well on numerous fronts and the group was eventually disbanded.⁶⁹⁴ This was as a result of “betrayed hopes” and “unmet promises”.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹⁰ Stephen Clingman, ed. *Regions and Repertoires: Topics in South African Politics and Culture. Southern African Studies*. Volume 6 (University of the Witwatersrand: Ravan Press, 1991), 10. A glee is a song in three or more parts, which is usually sung unaccompanied. It was popular between 1750 and 1830.

⁶⁹¹ Dale Cockrell, “Of Gospel Hymns, Minstrel Shows and Jubilee Singers: Toward Some Black South African Musics,” *American Music* 5 no. 4 (Winter 1987), 425.

⁶⁹² Erlmann, *Music Modernity and the Global Imagination*, 164. In the United States, Spirituals were turned into ‘a vehicle of cross-racial dialogue’.

⁶⁹³ Cockrell, “Of Gospel Hymns, Minstrel Shows and Jubilee Singers,” 426.

⁶⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 427.

⁶⁹⁵ Erlmann, *Music, Modernity and the Global Imagination*, 148.

3.8.2 Josiah Semouse and the African Native Choir

The African Native Choir consisted of 15 members who were recruited from both Lovedale and Kimberley by Reverend Albert Walklett.⁶⁹⁶ Josiah Semouse (b. 1860) was a student at Lovedale, together with seven others in the choir.⁶⁹⁷ Music literacy was important at Lovedale and both Semouse and his fellow student, Paul Xiniwe, were “fully conversant with Curwen’s method of notating pitches” (tonic sol-fa).⁶⁹⁸

Paul Xiniwe (b. 1857) and Charlotte Manye (Mrs Maxeke) (1871–1939)⁶⁹⁹ joined the choir.⁷⁰⁰ Once Charlotte was in London, she mentioned in an interview that the Black people in South Africa received “negative treatment”.⁷⁰¹ The choir went on a tour to the UK in 1892, but some of the music critics found their music “too European” and said that it lacked an “African identity”. They were disappointed because they were looking for “more exotic” elements.⁷⁰² Reverend W.J.B. Moir, who had been the Acting Principal of Lovedale on several occasions between 1873 and 1897, was in charge at the time, and according to Markus Detterbeck, also thought their music “lacked an African character”.⁷⁰³ Veit Erlmann highlights the two tours undertaken in the 1890s by South African Black choirs, thereby

⁶⁹⁶ Detterbeck, “South African Choral Music”, 82

⁶⁹⁷ “The members of the African Native Choir in London: Notes written by themselves,” *The Illustrated London News* (July 1891).

⁶⁹⁸ Erlmann, *Music, Modernity and the Global Imagination*, 44. Xiniwe was inspired by the visit to Lovedale by the Fisk Jubilee Singers and took additional Tonic Sol-fa classes in England.

⁶⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 52. Charlotte married Marshall Maxeke, whom she called *Yise ha Clarke* (father of Clark their son) under a custom known as *ukuhlonipa* (to have deference for).

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 52. Charlotte had a beautiful contralto voice. She was also the best linguist in the choir and spoke five languages. She attended mission schools for her schooling and became an assistant teacher prior to the choir tour and was the leading voice in local concerts (Erlmann, *Music Modernity and the Global Imagination*, 45).

⁷⁰¹ *The Christian Express* (May 1, 1891).

⁷⁰² Erlmann, *Music Modernity and the Global Imagination*, 130, 131.

⁷⁰³ *The Christian Express* (February 1, 1891) and (March 2, 1891).

examining the “global imagination of black South Africans” at the time.⁷⁰⁴ Some members of the African Native Choir who toured England were profiled in the British press.

One example is the singer Josia Semouse, who had been trained at Lovedale where he had “received both education and civilisation”.⁷⁰⁵ His story paints a complex portrait of the aspirations of young African musicians and graduates in the late nineteenth century.⁷⁰⁶ It is recorded that the churchmen were “products of Western nineteenth-century empiricism” who introduced “literacy” to the missionary societies in South Africa. They brought “a new body of knowledge”, which included music literacy.⁷⁰⁷ The “Lovedale Experiment” took place from 1880, when students were trained in the colony for service in the civil service as “telegraph messengers”.⁷⁰⁸

This short “autobiography” is reproduced by Veit Erlmann from the *Illustrated London News*, which featured coverage of the African Choir in England. Clothing had been part of the missionaries’ message⁷⁰⁹ and at Lovedale, many African men adopted the “dress code of the West”, as this was where they received their tertiary education. Semouse offers insight into the workings of Lovedale under Stewart, while Erlmann reads these autobiographical narratives as anticolonial discourse. Similarly, Grant Olwage points to the ways in which Africans found ways to express their distinct identities through choral music. The politics of anti-colonialism was seldom explicit, however, and was usually rooted in Christianity. One example of a song with Christian lyrics, that would have major political importance

⁷⁰⁴ Erlmann, *Music Modernity and the Global Imagination*, 131.

⁷⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 48. Semouse was born in 1860, at Mkoothering, Basutoland of Christian parents. His initial schooling was in Korokoro, a village where his father was the local preacher. Later at the Moriija training institution he heard about the school, Lovedale, in the Cape Colony, which he later attended.

⁷⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁷⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁷⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 102.

throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, is ‘*Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika*’ (‘God Bless Africa’) by Enoch Sontonga.

3.8.3 Enoch Sontonga

In 1899, Enoch Sontonga (1873–1905) composed a song, ‘*Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika*’, translated as “God Bless Africa”. This song, which has a “mix of politics and religion”, was adopted as the “official song of the African National Congress” in 1925. It has subsequently been used as the national anthem in Tanzania (sung in Swahili: ‘*Mungu ibariki Afrika*’) and Zambia (new lyrics set to the tune of *Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika*, entitled ‘Stand and Sing of Zambia, Proud and Free’), and since 1994 became part of the National Anthem of South Africa.⁷¹⁰ Sontonga, a member of the Mpinga clan (of the amaXhosa people) was a choir master and photographer, who received his teacher training at the Lovedale Missionary Institute.⁷¹¹ A record of Sontonga is included in the writings of another Lovedale graduate, Davidson Don Tengo (D.D.T.) Jabavu (1885–1959).⁷¹² He indicates that Sontonga wrote the first verse of the lyrics and S.E. Mqhayi (1875–1945), who took on the role of Imbongi (the speaker of praises),⁷¹³ the amaXhosa National Poet, added seven stanzas.⁷¹⁴

3.8.4 Samuel Mqhayi (1875–1945)

Samuel Edward Krune Loliwe Ngxekengxeke Mqhayi (1875–1945) was known as imbongi yakwaGompo (the poet of Gompo) and later *imbongi yesizwe* (the poet of the nation/race).⁷¹⁵

⁷¹⁰ Corbitt, “Christian Music in Africa,” 11.

⁷¹¹ Khumalo, *South Africa Sings*, 59. The grave of Enoch Sontonga was declared a National Monument on Heritage Day (24 September 1996). South Africa’s highest civil decoration ‘The Order of Meritorious Service to the State’ (Gold Class) was bestowed posthumously upon Sontonga at the same time. His wife, Diana Mqgibisa, was the daughter of a prominent Minister in the African Episcopal Methodist Church.

⁷¹² Shepherd, *Bantu Literature and Life*, 195.

⁷¹³ Oosthuizen, *Shepherd of Lovedale*, 201.

⁷¹⁴ D.D.T. Jabavu, “The Origin of ‘*Nkosi Sikelel’ I Afrika*,” *Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflets. No. 17*. (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1937).

⁷¹⁵ Shepherd, *Bantu Literature and Life*, 111.

Mqhayi was born in Gqumashe in the Tyumie Valley, Alice, Transkei, on 1 December 1875. His teacher, Mr Joseph Fondini, called him Edward. He grew up in Centane, near an uncle, Ngonzana, in Gcaleka. It was in this district that he learnt the isiXhosa language as well as the Xhosa customs and way of life.⁷¹⁶ He was sent to Lovedale and later became a teacher there. He first became a teacher in East London and then a secretary at the church of Reverend Walter Benson Rubusana (*'Mbonjana,'* guaranteed).⁷¹⁷ It was here that he was introduced to “matters of race relations.”⁷¹⁸ Mqhayi wrote *'Isikumbuzo zom Polofiti uNtsikana'* (roughly translated as ‘remembering the contributions of prophet Ntsikana’).⁷¹⁹ He also wrote a hagiography of Bokwe, whom he treated with reverence.⁷²⁰ In his autobiography, published in 1939 and entitled *'UMqhayi waseNtab'ozuko'* (‘Mqhayi of Mount Glory’), he calls upon the African people to unite.⁷²¹ Mqhayi is one of the greatest figures in the history of South African literature, and is a significant South African historian and author, yet his achievements are not fully appreciated or widely known because he only wrote in isiXhosa.⁷²²

3.9 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF STEWART’S PRINCIPALSHIP

Stewart was a Christian imperialist whose principalship was distinct in focus and in consequence for the direction that Lovedale would take in the late nineteenth century. The rise of British imperialism was to have a powerfully negative force on the indigenous peoples

⁷¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 112.

⁷¹⁷ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 320, 487. Rubusana was a former pupil of Lovedale who became the first Bantu member of the Cape Provincial Council.

⁷¹⁸ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 113.

⁷¹⁹ Samuel Mqhayi, *Isikumbuzo zom Polofiti uNtsikana* (Johannesburg: Caluza, 1926).

⁷²⁰ Samuel Mqhayi, *Ubomi buka J.K. Bokwe* (Life of J.K. Bokwe) (Lovedale: Lovedale Mission Press, 1925).

⁷²¹ Jeff Opland, *The First Novel in Xhosa. (S.E.K. Mqhayi' USamson)* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2007). Mqhayi named Tilana’s Hill between East London and King William’s Town “Ntab’ozuko” (Mount of Glory). Shepherd, *Bantu Literature and Life*, 114.

⁷²² Samuel Mqhayi, *Abantu Besizwe: Historical and Biographical Writings, 1902–1944* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 2009). The significance of Mqhayi to this thesis has to do with his writings on Bokwe, as well as his important contributions to the lyrics of songs by African composers.

of the region, and racial inequalities came to the fore in this period at Lovedale. There were fundamental issues in Fanon's Day, including gender discrepancies, language, racism, social formation and religion. These issues were also to be seen in Stewart's time. Drabinski undertakes readings of Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak and Edouard Glissant in order to rethink difference and language and gives a new perspective to these important post-colonial theorists.⁷²³

At Lovedale and other mission stations, 'being cultured meant being civilised' as culture became synonymous with the refined pursuits of music, art and literature.⁷²⁴ In some instances, this enabled Africans to write back against the grain of cultural imperialism. For instance, Isaac Wauchope used his pen to fight for the rights of Africans in his poem, "To the Rescue," in 1882.⁷²⁵ But ultimately, the expansion of Christianity in Africa had a profoundly negative impact on the transformation of indigenous cultures.⁷²⁶ The Scottish had their roots in Scotland and the hegemony of the ruling class was used to manipulate society. The piano was "the predominant instrument of the Victorian hegemonic class" and had status as "bourgeois furniture."⁷²⁷ John Knox Bokwe (1855–1922) grew up in the Stewart's home, at Lovedale and was exposed to their European culture. He had music lessons with Mrs Mina

⁷²³ John E. Drabinski, *Levinas and the Postcolonial: Race, Nation, Other* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011).
Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (born 1942) is an Indian postcolonial theorist who is noted for her concept of 'Subaltern' which means 'of lower rank'. She wishes to give a voice to those subalterns who are silent or who cannot speak. Encyclopaedia Britannica. "Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak: Indian literary theorist and critic." Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Gayatri-Spivak>. (accessed July 27, 2021).
Edouard Glissant (1928-2011) a French literary critique from Martinique was from the school of Postcolonialism. He promotes "poetics as a means of building new imaginaries" when "political processes as a means of change" lead to disillusionment. The question is "Where are we located?" His work highlights how one needs to "navigate the colonial/decolonial boundary at all times". Refer to Edouard. Glissant, *Poetics of Relation*. University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor: 2010.

⁷²⁴ Godfrey Vulindlela Mona, "A Century of IsiXhosa written poetry and the Ideological Contest in South Africa," (PhD Thesis) (Rhodes University, 2014), 17.

⁷²⁵ Mona, *A Century of IsiXhosa written poetry*, 42.

⁷²⁶ Etherington, *Missions and Empire*, 2005.

⁷²⁷ Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England, 1840–1914: A Social History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 181.

Stewart and became Stewart's right-hand man. Bokwe became known as a Black colonial composer writing music for the brass band and his native choir at the little native church at Lovedale. In exploring 'black choralism' in colonial South Africa during the late nineteenth century, Olwage proposes that early Black choral music became 'black' in its reception and that the 'African' music content reflected culture and race, with hybridity becoming racialised as resistance.⁷²⁸

The missionaries promoted Europeanism, but the Afrocentric perspective is also relevant. Said explains that in historiography it is important to understand both the perceptions of Africans and the European ideas of Africa. The relevance of the contexts in which people made history is also important for the reader. Jacob Mapara is another post-colonial theorist who presents the colonised and formerly colonised as subjects of history. The changing nature of colonialism and race needs to be considered in relation to theories of cultural imperialism and critical race theory. In the 1870s Oxford students, which included Lord Milner and Baden-Powell, thought it their imperial duty to serve the poor at home.⁷²⁹ This later spread to the Cape Colony. The rise of British imperialism was to have a powerfully negative force on the indigenous peoples of the region and racial inequalities came to the fore in this period at Lovedale. According to Homi Bhabha, global cosmopolitanism is found to be influential in both privilege and relative prosperity, with 'imagined communities' paying little attention to the poor and inequality.⁷³⁰

During this period there was very little written about the transformation of indigenous societies, or indeed the nature of those societies at all. Deemed inferior to Europeans, the culture of Africans was seldom the subject of scholarly concern. This erasure from the

⁷²⁸ Olwage, *Music and Post colonialism*, 2003.

⁷²⁹ Tim Jeal. *Baden-Powell: Founder of the Boy Scouts* (Yale University Press, 2001), 43.

⁷³⁰ Bhabha, *Looking Back, Moving Forward*, xiv.

historical and anthropological record means that we have little to balance accounts of cultural imperialism. As far as women and African-Christian identity is concerned, Sokombela explains that although missionary activity was recorded, the ‘evolving culture of the colonised people’ was ignored. A post-colonial reading of the writing of Nontsizi Mqgqwetho (a female Xhosa poet) reveals that her work has ‘contemporary significance’ and is ‘a great historical resource’.⁷³¹ The attempt to recover work on nineteenth-century Africans on the Cape frontier will be important to correcting a narrative of exclusion.

3.10 CONCLUSION

Themes in this chapter include Reverend Dr James Stewart’s appreciation of music and the development of Presbyterian music and music education at Lovedale under Stewart’s leadership. Both Stewart and his wife, Mina Stewart, supported its development in the curriculum at Lovedale. In Scotland at the time, tonic sol-fa was primarily used for singing and it was used in choralism at Lovedale. This contributed to compositions being written by composers such as Enoch Sontonga and John Knox Bokwe. As far as African hymnody was concerned, there was a call for the “hymns for Africans”, both the tunes and the words, to be written by Africans themselves.⁷³² Said suggests that European culture during years of imperial expansion led to Eurocentrism.

Women made a difference and the musical influence of Mrs Mina Stewart, together with that of Dr Jane Waterston, offered insight into their lives within a social context at this institute. Miss Waterston realised that Lovedale was not an ordinary school and assisted the Stewart family in playing an important role in the stewardship of this institute. They were forward-thinking, especially regarding the education of girls, and wanted progress to take place at Lovedale. In 1876, Major Charles Hamilton Malan, a friend of Reverend Stewart, visited the

⁷³¹ Thulani Sokombela. *Looking Back and Looking Ahead: the Poetry of Nontsizi Mqgqwetho* (Alice: University of Fort Hare. 2012), 101.

⁷³² A.M. Jones, “Hymns for the African,” *African Music Society Newsletter* 1, no. 3 (1950) [1930], 21.

missions of the Eastern Cape. He was impressed with Lovedale and his impressions of the institute contributed to Lovedale's continued reputation as an outstanding centre for learning over the years. An important point is that, while en route to this institute, he noticed many women working at the missions and their involvement in music and singing.

The performance of Orpheus McAdoo and his Jubilee singers during the 1890s introduced African American music, particularly spirituals, to the students at Lovedale, thereby adding to their musical culture. Their music became influential in that it shaped "a broad range of Black South African styles".⁷³³ The educational instruction and life skills the students learnt at Lovedale became well known, especially when their graduates left and went elsewhere. The African Choir, with members such as Charlotte Manye, Josiah Semouse and Paul Xiniwe, consisted of good musicians, well versed in tonic sol-fa, who tried to find ways to express their distinct identities through choral music. The formation of the Lovedale Students Christian Association (1987) was good for the Lovedale Missionary Institute because it was a group of like-minded students who upheld the Christian ethos of the school. The principal, Reverend James Stewart, was held in high esteem, and when he became Moderator of the Free Church in 1899, he was the first missionary from Africa to have received this honour.

⁷³³ Erlmann, *Music Modernity and the Global Imagination*, 246.

CHAPTER 4

JAMES HENDERSON AND THE THIRD PERIOD AT LOVEDALE, 1906–1930

In Stewart's Footsteps?⁷³⁴

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The principal of Lovedale from 1906 to 1930 was Rev. Dr James Henderson. His tenure coincided with a tumultuous period in world history marked by war and economic depression. The aftermath of the South African War (1899–1902) saw a long period of recovery for a country that had suffered under the cruelties of Lord Kitchener's scorched-earth campaign, concentration camps (in which Boer women and children, as well as Africans, were imprisoned) and a bitter truce between the British and the Boers.⁷³⁵ The Union of South Africa was established on 31 May 1910, and was perceived by some as a new start.⁷³⁶ At Lovedale, the hope was that a new dispensation would result in improved opportunities for Africans, but it was not the start long hoped for, as Africans would not be granted the franchise (the right to vote). The Union consisted of the former British colonies of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal, the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek, and the Oranje Vrijstaat.⁷³⁷ Under Henderson's leadership, Lovedale was concerned that, within this new Union, the foundations of South Africa's political future should be built on a just society that provided for everyone. A powerful, stable and strong central government was needed, and this government needed to be independent of any interference from Great Britain. Lovedale

⁷³⁴ Andrew Roberts, ed. *Christianity in the colonial moment in Africa: Essays on the movement of minds and materials, 1900–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 140–90.

⁷³⁵ Thomas Pakenham, *The Boer War* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1980).

⁷³⁶ The Union Buildings, inaugurated in 1913, were designed by Sir Herbert Baker, a British architect, the two wings symbolising the Union between the Afrikaans and the English speakers in South Africa. "The Union of South Africa 1910," South African History Online, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/union-south-africa-1910> (accessed February 5, 2020).

⁷³⁷ "South Africa 1914." *Centenary Retrospective* (1917–2017), 5. Department of Defence Archives, Irene, Centurion.

declared that “when a federal parliament is established, the Bantu Natives, the Coloured people, and the Asiatics, as well as the white people must be represented”.⁷³⁸ This was so that minority groups would be able to “protect their interests”. However, a draft constitution for a Union of the South African States, and not a Federation, was published in 1909. The colour bar clause meant that minority groups were excluded from political activities on the basis of race, and provision was made for the members of Parliament to be solely of European descent. Later, the Draft Act “for the new constitution” was accepted by all and William Philip Schreiner’s (1857–1919) amendments in the Cape Parliament were not carried.⁷³⁹ It is forgotten that Schreiner favoured political rights for all “civilised” men regardless of race.⁷⁴⁰ Unfortunately the rights and expectations of the African and Coloured people in the Union Parliament were disregarded, which directly impacted on Black intellectuals and students, including musicians at Lovedale.⁷⁴¹ What also did not help the situation was the acceptance of the Union Bill by the British Parliament.⁷⁴²

In 1910, General Louis Botha became the first Prime Minister of the first Government of the Union of South Africa. The Native Land Act became law in June 1913 and thousands of Black people became homeless. The missionaries and educators at Lovedale were opposed to the Act and its consequences for Africans, describing it as a “confiscatory measure”. However, all efforts to prevent its passage, including a high-level delegation of African

⁷³⁸ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1824–1955, 80.

⁷³⁹ Graham Dominy, “Limitations on Liberalism: A Tale of Three Schreiners,” *The Journal of the Helen Suzman Foundation*, no. 81 (December 2017), 40. The Schreiners as a family fought for structural and humane liberalism. Lovedale is a Presbyterian institute, which promoted a liberal education. Schreiner was linked to Lovedale when he met John Tengo Jabavu during a visit to the Transkei and realised that Jabavu was ‘an educated man who was being discriminated against’. William Schreiner was the younger brother of the novelist Olive Emilie Albertina Schreiner (1855–1920) Dominy, “*Limitations on Liberalism*,” 39.

⁷⁴⁰ Dominy, “*Limitations on Liberalism*”, 41. Through his contact with ‘African men of western black education’ he realised that a political system which gave a vote to an ignorant white wagon driver but not to a black graduate (such as the students at Lovedale) was seriously flawed.

⁷⁴¹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1824–1955, 81.

⁷⁴² *Ibid.*, 81.

leaders to England, failed. Protest songs against political domination written during the nineteenth century have a place in South African history. Composers such as Reuben Caluza realised that a song can provide resistance against unjust laws. An example is ‘*Si lu Sapo*’ (‘We are family’) or ‘*i Land Act*’ (‘The Land Act’). ‘*Ixegwana*’, known as ‘Ricksha Song’, composed by Caluza in 1917, also became a protest song. Both these songs in tonic sol-fa are discussed later in this chapter.

4.2 REV DR JAMES HENDERSON (1906–1930)

Reverend Dr James Henderson (1867–1930)⁷⁴³ was the principal from 1906 to 1930.⁷⁴⁴ He was known as *Mbumba* (‘the moulder’).⁷⁴⁵ Henderson was from the far north of Scotland, born in the Highlands of Scotland at Dunn in the Watten parish near the head of Loch Watten in Caithness.⁷⁴⁶ Henderson was the son of Donald Henderson and his wife Christine (née Sutherland). He was educated at Dunn and Lanergill Schools as well as the Old Town Grammar School in Aberdeen. He continued his education at Edinburgh University from 1885 to 1889 and graduated with an MA before enrolling for a degree in Divinity at New College from 1889 to 1893.⁷⁴⁷ He tutored while attending this college in Edinburgh, which is one of the Divinity Halls of the Free Church of Scotland.⁷⁴⁸

In preparation for foreign mission work, Henderson had attended a year at the training school for teachers at Moray House in Edinburgh.⁷⁴⁹ It was at the Murray Training College that Henderson took his teacher’s certificate. He then completed a Medical Course from 1893 to

⁷⁴³ John Alexander Lamb, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*. Volume IX, Ministers of the Church from the Union of the Churches 2 October 1929 to 31 December 1954 (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd), 735.

⁷⁴⁴ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 517.

⁷⁴⁵ Duncan, *Lovedale Coercive Agency*, 228.

⁷⁴⁶ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 267.

⁷⁴⁷ James Henderson, *Register of Missionaries* (UP Free Church 1855–1921), 46. Acc7548/D 104.

⁷⁴⁸ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 267.

⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 267.

1895 and was licenced by the Caithness Free Presbytery in 1893. He received his appointment on 15 June 1895 and was ordained by the Glasgow Free Presbytery that same year. It was only much later, in 1924, that he received his Doctor of Divinity in Edinburgh.⁷⁵⁰ In 1895, not long after his graduation, Henderson travelled to Malawi where he initially served at the Livingstonia Mission, and did some “pioneer work in Zambia” before becoming the head at the Training School in Khondowe, Malawi.⁷⁵¹ This experience as a teacher, missionary, and administrator in Africa stood him in good stead as the third principal at Lovedale. Henderson married Maria Serena Davidson (1867–1948) of Watten on 28 April 1899. The couple had three children, namely: Donald John Davidson Henderson (1900–1947) who became a doctor, Elizabeth Harriet Christina Henderson (b. 1903) and Margaret Mary Serena Henderson (b. 1908).⁷⁵²

4.2.1 Henderson’s principalship

When Henderson arrived at Lovedale, the institute had developed a reputation as being “the most important centre of African education in the southern hemisphere”.⁷⁵³ Scottish missions had moved beyond just evangelism, literacy and the training of African representatives.⁷⁵⁴ Henderson himself became very involved in the establishment of the Fort Hare University College, upholding Lovedale “as a centre of ecumenical co-operation”, keeping Lovedale “at the forefront of African education” and editing *The South African Outlook*, a publication which provided an avenue for the African students to express their opinion.⁷⁵⁵

⁷⁵⁰ Henderson, *Register of Missionaries*, 46.

⁷⁵¹ Gerald H. Anderson, ed, *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions* (Grand Rapids: Wm B Eerdmans, 1999), 288.

⁷⁵² Henderson, *Register of Missionaries*, 46.

⁷⁵³ Anderson, *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, 288.

⁷⁵⁴ Richard Gray, *Black Christians and White Missionaries* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), 186.

⁷⁵⁵ Anderson, *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, 288.

During Henderson's principalship, Lovedale was gender inclusive. In 1908, he approved the construction of a new classroom block at the girls' school, as well as a dormitory.⁷⁵⁶ Women were given the opportunity to return to Lovedale after obtaining further qualifications and to play leading roles in the further development of the institution. One such example is Mrs R. Ross (née Macvicar) (M.D. F.R.C.S. (Edinburgh)), who worked as a surgeon at Victoria Hospital (1927–1937).⁷⁵⁷ This hospital maintained its ideals during the years and the staff contributed greatly to the welfare of the students at Lovedale.⁷⁵⁸

4.2.2 Henderson and education

Henderson arrived in 1906 to inherit the educational system instituted during Dr Thomas Muir's time (1892–1915). Dr Thomas Muir (b. 1845), an educator and a musician, had been the assistant professor of mathematics at Glasgow University in 1871, but had previously studied "harmony and composition in the Andersonian University in Glasgow".⁷⁵⁹ Muir realised the importance of teaching vocal music in schools and that "music deserved a place in the school curriculum" in Scotland.⁷⁶⁰ He later became the Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape Colony.⁷⁶¹ It was here that he proceeded to promote music in the schools.

⁷⁵⁶ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 373. Unfortunately, the choir leader Tseu decided to sing an alternative tune. Henderson expected 'loyalty' to the institute.

⁷⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 520.

⁷⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 360. The words *Egameni lika-Yesu* (In the Name of Jesus) could be seen above each entrance doorway.

⁷⁵⁹ "Dr Thomas Muir, C.M.G., F.R.S. Superintendent-General of Education in Cape Colony," *The Musical Times* 47, no. 756 (February 1, 1906) 88. Muir was the mathematical and science master in 1874 at 'the ancient High School of Glasgow.' In 1884, he was awarded 'the Keith medal' by the Royal Society of Edinburgh. He also assisted in 'the founding of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society.' He was also a 'Fellow of the Royal Society' from 1900.

⁷⁶⁰ *The Musical Times*, 88. This article on Dr Thomas Muir does not contain author details but is available at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/902739?seq=1>. (accessed January 13, 2020).

⁷⁶¹ Muir, *The Musical Times*, 88.

In his report to the Colonial Secretary of the Cape Colony, dated 31 March 1893, with regard to singing, Muir highlighted that “little was being done in the schools to develop the talent”.⁷⁶² He had noticed that often only hymns were sung but that the lyrics were sometimes unsuitable for young children. He recognised that “South Africa is a country that loves and practises music”.⁷⁶³ But, since few teachers had passed the examination for the Teacher’s Certificate, there was a shortage of trained music teachers in the government schools.⁷⁶⁴ Muir invited two experts in school music from England and drew up a syllabus, and organised “vacation courses for acting teachers”. In his 1904 report, he recorded that “singing is the most popular of the so-called extra subjects”.⁷⁶⁵

At mission schools such as Lovedale, children enjoyed part-singing, where anthems and songs were sung in four parts, with hand signs providing instruction. A suggestion was made that tonic sol-fa could be the foundation of notation, but that staff notation should be added in the higher standards.⁷⁶⁶ Mr Arthur Lee, a music expert, promoted “systematic ear-training and sight-reading” as well as “selected part songs by good composers”. Mr Frederick Farrington, a music expert in the Eastern Province, also referred to the “native fondness for singing”. He had written a report in 1899 on the “methods of school singing employed in Colonial schools”. He wrote that the African children enjoyed “sol-fa-ing their songs” as much as “singing the words”. These children were able to successfully harmonise simple melodies and learnt to “feel the simple chords required”.⁷⁶⁷ He also mentioned that such children were able to “make an effective accompaniment by clapping their hands”.⁷⁶⁸

⁷⁶² *Ibid.*, 89.

⁷⁶³ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁷⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁷⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁷⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁷⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 90.

⁷⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 90.

Olwage refers to “tonic sol-fa choralism”, while Percival R Kirby (1887–1970) stated that this “tonic sol-fa choralism” was taken up by Black singers, “like ducks to water”. It is good to re-evaluate his views on segregationist thought.⁷⁶⁹ Kirby was a first-generation African music scholar who conducted research from 1930 onwards.⁷⁷⁰ Olwage promotes the idea that musical literacy is improved by implementing tonic sol-fa practices. However, he points out that the method of tonic sol-fa notation used within its institutional affiliations in Britain became racialised in colonial South Africa.⁷⁷¹

Notwithstanding the promotion of music in education during Muir’s time, the instruction in schools in the Cape was in English, with little attention given to the teaching of African languages. Henderson felt that English was not a language spoken in the pupils’ homes,⁷⁷² and therefore felt that English should be taught as a foreign language in all standards at Lovedale.⁷⁷³ The medium of instruction in the lower standards was the language spoken by the pupils. This was quite unique, since the teaching of isiXhosa as a subject had been discouraged in the Cape Colony.⁷⁷⁴

4.2.3 Henderson and music at Lovedale

Henderson’s chief contribution at Lovedale was in the field of education. His aim was that when his students graduated from Lovedale, they would do so as responsible leaders.⁷⁷⁵ AC Jordan (*Zwelinzima*) had been brought up at Lovedale and continued his studies at Fort

⁷⁶⁹ Olwage, “*Scriptions of the Choral*,” 33. Olwage uses the word ‘choralism’ to index black South African choral culture which includes choral composition, choral institutions and performance practice.

⁷⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, abstract. Kirby was Scottish and was born in Aberdeen.

⁷⁷¹ Olwage, “Music and (Post) Colonialism”.

⁷⁷² Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 295.

⁷⁷³ *Ibid.*, 296.

⁷⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 297.

⁷⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 269.

Hare.⁷⁷⁶ Henderson encouraged and supported the students' singing and performing arts. This included a range of groups, including choirs, dancers, and bands. Choirs would perform at important events, such as a visit by Sir Robert and Lady Baden-Powell, at which the choir sang the hymn '*Lizalis indinga lakho*' (roughly translated as 'It fulfils your needs').⁷⁷⁷ Henderson also enjoyed organising events. At one such event, a Gala Day for children, the Girl Guides were seen by visitors conducting drills and saluting their instructors. Step dancing was also done with the students keeping "wonderful time".⁷⁷⁸ These activities lifted the morale of the students and improved their skills outside of the classroom.

Important connections were established with other missions and educational institutions across the Atlantic. In 1923, Henderson travelled to the United States for a conference at the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, which had been established by Booker T. Washington in 1881 to train Black teachers.⁷⁷⁹ There, he was exposed to the choral singing and music ministry of African Americans. The Institute had a very successful Tuskegee Mixed Choir, as well as a band and orchestra.⁷⁸⁰ The parallels between the two institutes are interesting. The Lovedale choirs had also achieved an excellent reputation and both institutes had brass bands. Tuskegee and Lovedale were both gender inclusive.⁷⁸¹ After the South African War, there was an increasing local interest (following international trends) in Tuskegee as a model institution. Both institutes offered industrial training and were designed to inculcate practical

⁷⁷⁶ A.C. Jordan, *The Wrath of the Ancestors (Ingqumbo Yeminyanya)* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1980), 36. AC Jordan studied at Fort Hare towards the end of Henderson's principalship and expressed the power of his culture in his novel.

⁷⁷⁷ Graham Duncan. *Lovedale, Coercive Agency: Power and Resistance in Mission Education* (Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications, 2003), 280.

⁷⁷⁸ Cory MS 14431/3, SP's Diary, 7 November 1925.

⁷⁷⁹ Louis R. Harlan, "Booker T. Washington and the White Man's Burden." *American Historical Review* 11, no. 2 (1966): 441.

⁷⁸⁰ "William L. Dawson," *Alabama History Notebook*, https://archives.alabama.gov/teacher/Alabama_History_Notebook.pdf. (accessed May 21, 2020.)

⁷⁸¹ "Huntington Hall, a girls' dormitory, Tuskegee Institute," Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2016806100/> (accessed May 21, 2020).

skills in their graduates.⁷⁸² Henderson's work was influential in terms of the "industrial ideology" pursued at Lovedale.⁷⁸³ Through this ideology, Henderson was able to support individual innovation at Lovedale.⁷⁸⁴

4.2.4 Henderson's view of race

In the introduction the critical race theory (CRT) is mentioned regarding the oppression and exploitation of people of colour. In Ahmad Aijaz's view, perceptions of race are linked to "colonial domination" as well as "economic and political oppression".⁷⁸⁵ Henderson was concerned with the economic condition of the indigenous people in South Africa, and was aware of their increasing poverty.⁷⁸⁶ He considered education to be "a bridge across the gulf of time", which "separated the two races".⁷⁸⁷ Henderson saw the members of the Christian church as individuals and not as races. He was also aware that the parents of pupils made great sacrifices for their children.⁷⁸⁸ The third period at Lovedale therefore played an important role in changing the African's social position.⁷⁸⁹ A colleague in Scotland declared publicly that Henderson was courageous, had the ability to win admiration, was earnest and tactful and that his 'deep spirituality' had influenced his work.⁷⁹⁰

⁷⁸² Harlan, "Brooker T. Washington and the White Man's Burden," 271.

⁷⁸³ D.E. Burchell, "Alexander Kerr of the University College of Fort Hare," *Acta Academica* 23, no. 2 (1991), 29. Also refer to James Henderson, "Industrial Training in Africa: The Situation in South Africa. with Special Reference to Lovedale," *International Review of Mission* 3, no. 10 (1914).

⁷⁸⁴ Paul B. Rich, "The Appeals of Tuskegee: James Henderson, Lovedale, and the Fortunes of South African Liberalism, 1906–1930," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 20, no. 2 (1987), 291.

⁷⁸⁵ Aijaz Ahmad, "The Politics of Literary Postcoloniality," *Race and Class* 36, no. 3 (1995): 2. Ahmad (born 1932) is a cultural and literary theorist from India.

⁷⁸⁶ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa 1824–1955*, 72. Henderson rendered an outstanding service to his country by his analysis of the causes of poverty increasing in South Africa.

⁷⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁷⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁷⁸⁹ Davis, "Nineteenth Century African Education in the Cape Colony," 181.

⁷⁹⁰ *The Christian Express*, January 1907, 11.

4.2.4 Henderson and the World Missionary Conference of 1910

Throughout his career, Henderson promoted cooperation between churches, missionaries and missionary societies in southern Africa. He travelled to the executive meetings of the General Missionary Conference in South Africa, where he addressed the conference gathering about the increasing poverty of Africans. His actions were instrumental in forming the Ciskeian Missionary Council in 1925.⁷⁹¹ The place of music in mission was also discussed at these conferences. The World Missionary Conference of 1910 took place in Edinburgh, Scotland. Henderson and others at Lovedale were especially interested in the proceedings. A survey was done in response to this conference, the findings of which “criticised training institutions for not encouraging art, literature and music more, with music being an important missionary tool”.⁷⁹² It is significant that the importance of music was emphasised in relation to mission work rather than general education. This emphasis was borne out in the promotion of choirs and bands as extracurricular activities, rather than playing a role in advanced music education in the classroom. Even so, many Black composers explored voice in the choral tradition, and wrote music that addressed societal issues of the day. The Native Land Act of 1913 was one such matter that would change the political dynamics of South Africa for more than a century to come.

4.3 LOVEDALE PRESS

The English and Scottish Presbyterian missionaries who came to the Eastern Cape frontier at the beginning of the nineteenth century introduced reading and writing to the isiXhosa-speaking people they encountered so that they could read the Gospels themselves.⁷⁹³ Printed

⁷⁹¹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1824–1955, 83.

⁷⁹² World Missionary Conference, Report of Commission III. Education in Relation to the Christianisation of National Life. With Supplement: Presentation and Discussion of the Report in the Conference on 17th June 1910 together with the Discussion on Christian Literature (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, and Fleming H. Revell, 1910), 319.

⁷⁹³ Cordelia Theresa-Marie Mayekiso Almita, “Cultural and Religious Contrasts and Symbiosis in D.B.Z. Ntuli’s Short Stories” (PhD Thesis, University of Durban-Westville, 1994), 296.

sheets aided hymn singing during congregational singing, and the importance of publishing was soon evident. The introduction of printing presses at missionary stations and schools served the purpose of printing publications and hymns, which were designed in such a way as to serve the mission communities and to assist in the conversion process the missionaries envisaged. Literacy spread through the education offered at the mission stations, where many composers also received their initial music education from the different missionaries. With time, isiXhosa contributions were received from native speakers, and it grew increasingly apparent that school leavers also required literature to read. This led to mission journals and newspapers being published at mission stations from 1837 onward. However, the African elite began publishing their own secular newspapers from 1884. Missionaries began discussing the publication of books in isiXhosa around 1907, when S.E.K. Mqhayi paid for the printing and distribution of his first novel, ‘*USamson*’ (‘Samson’), which was written in isiXhosa.⁷⁹⁴

Lovedale Press became a leader in its field under Henderson and important advances were made in publishing the work of African authors and composers. A unification of departments to form the Lovedale Press took place in 1928.⁷⁹⁵ There was one head of the press when the various departments were combined, with a special Committee of the Governing Council acting as the controlling body.⁷⁹⁶ “Bantu workmen in South Africa” were able to print orders from churches and missionary societies based in Europe at a cheap rate, and the quality of work was exceptional, especially the printing of music scores.⁷⁹⁷ This had an impact on composers such as Caluza, Moerane, Monaise, Jonas and Sontonga, among others. The

⁷⁹⁴ Jeff Opland, “The First Novel in Xhosa.” *Research in African Literatures* 38, no. 4 (Winter 2007), 87.

⁷⁹⁵ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 514.

⁷⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 402. In 1928 four branches of the Press, namely, bookbinding, bookstore, printing and the South African Outlook (renamed in 1922 as the Christian Express), were consolidated under ‘a director of publications.’ Duncan, *Lovedale Coercive Agency*, 262.

⁷⁹⁷ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 403.

printing of their tonic sol-fa leaflets at Lovedale enabled their music to have a wide audience across southern Africa, especially in missionary circles. Lovedale Press was happy to publish the music of composers such as Caluza who, although he had not attended Lovedale, had received his primary education at Presbyterian mission schools in Edendale, Pietermaritzburg. He later studied at the Hampton Institute, a Presbyterian College in the state of Virginia in the United States that served the needs of Black students. The composers Marivate, Moerane and Monaisa also had links with Lovedale and their compositions were printed by the Lovedale Press.

4.4 REUBEN T. CALUZA

Reuben Tholakele ‘Thola’ Caluza (1895–1969) was brought up in a Christian home in Edendale near Pietermaritzburg and had a Presbyterian background, starting in primary school. In his home, he kept brass instruments (as he was interested in playing the baritone horn and cornet) and an organ⁷⁹⁸ in the parlour to accompany the singing of church hymns.⁷⁹⁹ His father, Mordecai Caluza, bought him a portable organ and it was reported in *Ilanga Lase Natali* (The *Natal Sun* newspaper) that he was soon considered as “one of the finest keyboard players in Natal.”⁸⁰⁰ Veit Erlmann records that Caluza was an “excellent vocalist” and a “versatile instrumentalist” who did not shy away from “experimentation”. Reuben received his initial primary schooling and music education, which “spanned the whole spectrum of black performance and culture” regardless of class, in Pietermaritzburg at the Presbyterian church school, where his musicality was soon evident.⁸⁰¹ Caluza composed and played hymns at schools and church halls, and also enjoyed popular dance tunes, folk songs with a social

⁷⁹⁸ Erlmann, *African Stars*, 118. The organ in the parlour was an ‘icon of respectability’ for the ‘educated Christian elite’.

⁷⁹⁹ Both of Caluza’s uncles, Moffat and Zion, could play keyboard instruments.

⁸⁰⁰ *Ilanga*, May 17, 1912.

⁸⁰¹ Erlmann, *African Stars*, 118.

commentary, patriotic songs as well as ragtime and even vaudeville.⁸⁰² He composed over a wide spectrum, which included sacred as well as secular compositions, which the Lovedale Press printed and published, probably due to his Presbyterian affiliation through his schooling.

Caluza's great-grandfather was Reuben Inhlela (Tuyana) Caluza, a Christian convert of the Presbyterian missionary, Reverend James Allison in 1830.⁸⁰³ His grandfather was John Mlungumnyama Caluza, the first choir conductor at Edendale, who could sing and teach from staff notation.⁸⁰⁴ His father was Mordecai Caluza and his mother Mejile (née Nxele).⁸⁰⁵ Caluza married Evelyn Nxaba and the couple adopted three boys. In 1909, Caluza became a boarder at John Dube's Ohlange Institute – a high school for Africans in Natal. Mordecai was impressed with the brass band and choir at the school, and Caluza would later play “the organ for the kindergarten classes.” He also trained a male vocal quartet and a boys' choir, the Royal Singers, performed hymns, spirituals and ragtime as well as traditional Zulu songs in 1910. These songs were “arranged for choral performance” and his choir won “major student choir competitions”.⁸⁰⁶ Caluza recognised the potential of what were termed the “Scottish African street bands” and subsequently organised a “fife and drum ensemble” in 1911 to raise funds for the school.⁸⁰⁷ He decided to take over Rev John Dube's brass band, using instruments he had brought from America.⁸⁰⁸ He also had “penny whistlers” marching in the

⁸⁰² “Caluza's Double Quartet,” Discogs, <https://www.discogs.com/artist/1658856-Caluzas-Double-Quartet> (accessed May 21, 2020).

⁸⁰³ Erlmann, *African Stars*, 113. Caluza left a legacy of mid-Victorian ideology summed up by the words ‘progress’ and improvement’ (Erlmann, *African Stars*, 116).

⁸⁰⁴ Coplan, In *Township Tonight!*, 90.

⁸⁰⁵ Erlmann, *African Stars*, 113.

⁸⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁸⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁸⁰⁸ Coplan, In *Township Tonight!* 91.

streets of Ndwedwe, North of Durban.⁸⁰⁹ Caluza composed ‘*Silusapho Lwase Africa*’ (‘We are the children of Africa’) in 1912, a work that was performed at Lovedale and published by its press.

Caluza continued teaching until 1918, when he attended the Mariannahill Training College and finished his work there in 1920. The Mariannahill College choir sang his composition ‘*Ixegwana-Ricksha*’ in a concert at the Durban City Hall in 1921. Twenty-seven of Caluza’s songs were published in the early 1920s by the Lovedale Press in a book of isiZulu songs, ‘*Amagama Ohlange Lakwe Zulu Songbook*’, of which one thousand copies were sold within six months of publication. Caluza composed ‘*Sixotshwa Emsebenzini*’ (‘We are being expelled from work’) in 1924, in which he criticises the Industrial Conciliation Act No.11 of 1924 in which Black professionals, such as nurses, would become “underpaid labourers” together with “black artisans” and “shop assistants”.⁸¹⁰ Davenport records that this Act “gave the unionised white workers a secure position”.⁸¹¹ Other Lovedale graduates would work with Caluza. For instance, Frieda Bokwe Matthews from Lovedale was a teacher at Inanda in the late 1920s. She had just completed her Teacher’s Diploma in Education and had married ZK Matthews in 1928 prior to his joining the staff at Adams College.⁸¹²

A major turning point in Caluza’s career was his multiple visits to the United Kingdom and to the United States. Caluza took his singers to England in 1930 and recorded songs at the studios of His Master’s Voice Gramophone Company in Hayes, Middlesex. From September to October 1930, Caluza, together with his wife Evelyn, and fellow teachers M. Dlamini,

⁸⁰⁹ Hilda Kuper and Sara Kaplan, “Voluntary Associations in an Urban Township,” *African Studies* 3 (December 1944): 179–180.

⁸¹⁰ Erlmann, *African Stars*, 133.

⁸¹¹ Rodney Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 531.

⁸¹² She found the American missionaries in Natal “completely free of colour prejudice” (Bokwe Matthews, *Remembrances*, 19).

Gule and Mrs A. Ndimande, and pupils from the Inanda Seminary and Ohlange Institute, recorded 150 songs.⁸¹³ The singers then travelled back to South Africa, while he continued on to the United States of America.

Caluza received a Phelps Stokes Fund scholarship to attend the Hampton Institute, Virginia, where he studied for a four-year Bachelor of Arts degree in music. He acquainted himself with the music of Scott Joplin (1868–1917), the King of Ragtime, and compositions such as ‘*The Maple Leaf Rag*’ that would make an impact on his use of rhythm in his compositions. He wrote two instrumental compositions while at Hampton for his degree, namely ‘*Reminiscences of Africa*’ and ‘*Rondo for Orchestra*’. This foray into instrumental music built on his unusual capacity on several instruments. Most African musicians of this period had only limited experience of instrumental music, and most were singers. Caluza formed a quartet with West African students at Hampton to whom he taught Zulu folk songs and toured with folk song concerts. After graduating in 1934, he received a Carnegie Corporation Scholarship and enrolled for a Master of Arts degree in Music Education at Columbia University, New York, which he completed in 1936. He submitted two string quartets, namely ‘*Go down Moses*’ and ‘*Ricksha*’ as part of his studies.

Caluza liked to emphasise rhythm in his music. His choristers enjoyed singing and dancing, and his compositions had a strong ragtime influence. He introduced into his songs *ukureka* (ragging), which were the “step movements of ragtime”.⁸¹⁴ Caluza’s compositions were often humorous. He had some fun with the fashionable “Oxford bags” (loose-fitting trousers popular among undergraduates at Oxford) of the Zulu men which were likened to the *ngomnkholwane* (red-billed hornbill) in his popular song ‘*Ubanghca*’ (‘AmaOxford

⁸¹³ Erlmann, *African Stars*, 143. This was the unofficial name of a major British record label created in 1901 by The Gramophone Co. Ltd. Namely ‘His Master’s Voice (Multinational label)’.

⁸¹⁴ Erlmann, *African Stars*, 139.

Bags’).⁸¹⁵ He became the head of Music at Adams College in 1936, succeeding Albert Luthuli. Adams was situated in a rural setting, as was Lovedale. This historic rural Christian mission school was founded by the American Zulu mission board in 1853 in association with the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (UCCSA). While at Adams College, Caluza taught music and conducted and trained the choir, went on tours and made recordings. The repertoire included “spirituals and minstrel music” which he believed “retained the essence of African American folk music”.⁸¹⁶ Hampton had supported a number of South African students since the 1890s and it was also McAdoo’s alma mater.⁸¹⁷ Caluza’s choir later participated in an annual inter-choral competition before he left Adams in 1947 to become a part time lecturer in choral music at the University College of Zululand (Ngoya), which was established in 1959.⁸¹⁸

4.4.1 Caluza and ‘*i Land Act*’

Lovedale was important to Reuben Caluza because it was through his link with the Lovedale Press that his songs were published, both in the early 1920s and in the 1930s, in the *Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflets*. His song, ‘*Si lu Sapo*’ or ‘*i Land Act*’, was composed when he was seventeen years old. It was a protest against the injustice of the Land Act of 1913. Black society as a whole was badly affected by the Native Land Act, which saw the legal dispossession of land from African titleholders. The song was adopted by the African National Congress as their anthem for a while.⁸¹⁹ In the formation of the first Government of the Union of South Africa in 1910, Lord William Ewart Gladstone (1809–1898), the Governor-General, nominated

⁸¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 129.

⁸¹⁶ Y.G.M. Lulat, *United States Relations with South Africa: A Critical Overview from the Colonial Period to the Present* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 432.

⁸¹⁷ Erlmann, *African Stars*, 145.

⁸¹⁸ E.J. Verwey, eds, “Caluza, Reuben Tholakele (Thola)”, in *New Dictionary of South African Biography*, Volume 1, eds, E.J. Verwey. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1995, 38, 39.

⁸¹⁹ Cavid Coplin, *In Township Tonight!* 91.

General Louis Botha (1862–1919) to be the Prime Minister. The Botha government introduced a bill that allowed for the “expropriating of land held by Natives in European areas and by Europeans in Native areas”.⁸²⁰ The implementation of this in June 1913 had far-reaching implications for students at Lovedale and elsewhere in South Africa. Many people were rendered homeless, lost their livestock and were forced to move to already crowded locations.⁸²¹ The 1913 Land Act, as it came to be known, was among the most destructive pieces of segregationist legislation to be passed into law in South Africa. The segregation that took place in education was to become even more pronounced as the century continued, but it paralleled the situation in the United States in many ways, particularly as colleges for Black and White students were separated.

⁸²⁰ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1824–1955, 81.

⁸²¹ *Ibid.*, 82.

Example 4.1: 'Si lu Sapo' ('We are family') or 'i Land Act', key (B flat), composed by R.T. Caluza.⁸²²

Si lu Sapo or i Land Act.

KEY B_b. R. T. CALUZA.

D.C.

s ₁ : d ll : r Si lu sa po s ₁ : s ₁ ll : l n : n lf : f Si lu sa po d ₁ : d ₁ lf : r	t : n lr : r d s : n lf : l s ₁ : n nr : d s ₁ : n d ll : r d lwa se A-fri-ka si ka le la i - zwela ki ti Mzu lu no mXo sano s ₁ : d lt : t : s ₁ d : t ll : l s ₁ : d d lt : s ₁ s ₁ : d ta ll : l : l r : s lf : f : n s : s lf : f r : s s lf : n n : s s lf : f n lwa se A-fri-ka si ka le la i - zwela ki ti Mzu lu no mXo sano s ₁ : s ₁ ls : s : d d ₁ : d ₁ lf : r s ₁ : s ₁ s ₁ : s ₁ : d d ₁ : d ₁ nr : r : l	t : t : n nr : d s ₁ : n d ll : r d t : t : n nr : d n : n f ln : r Msutuhla-nga na ni Mzu - lunom Xo - sa no Msutuhla-nga na ni - S'ka lange Land Act s ₁ : s ₁ : d d lt : s ₁ s ₁ : d ta ll : l : l s ₁ : s ₁ : d d lt : s ₁ d : d d ld ta : l r : r : s s lf : n n : s s lf : f n r : r : s s lf : n s : s l ls : f Msutuhla-nga na ni Mzu - lunom Xo - sa no Msutuhla-nga na ni - S'ka lange Land Act s ₁ : s ₁ : s ₁ : s ₁ : ls ₁ : d ₁ d ₁ : d ₁ nr : r : l s ₁ : s ₁ : s ₁ : s ₁ : ls ₁ : d ₁ : s ₁ : n : nr : r : l : r : l Si ya ka la nga	n : n f ln : r u ku ka le la d : d d ld ta : l s : s l ls : f u ku ka le la d : t : l : s ₁ : lf : - e yo ka le la
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r : r nr : d d : d r ld : t f : l : ls ₁ : n n : n f ln : r Um te t'o mu bi o wawe le lwa a ma nxu sa u ku ka le la .l : l : l : l : l : s ₁ s ₁ : s ₁ : s ₁ : ls ₁ : s ₁ : d : l : ls ₁ : d d : d d ld ta : l f : f f lf : n n : n f ln : r l : f ln : s s : s l ls : f Um te t'o mu bi o wawe le lwa a ma nxu sa u ku ka le la s ₁ : - : s ₁ : d ₁ : - : s ₁ : n : - : ls ₁ : s ₁ : s ₁ : ld ₁ : d ₁ d : t : l : s ₁ : lf : - lo mte to o wa we le - lwa ma nxu sa e yo ka le la	r : r nr : d d : d r ld : t l : t : lr : d n : n f ln : r ti na-lu hla nga u ku ba si li te ng'i li zwe S'ka lel'i nga ne .l : l : l : l : l : s ₁ s ₁ : s ₁ : s ₁ : ls ₁ : s ₁ : s ₁ : ls ₁ : s ₁ d : d d ld ta : l f : f f lf : n n : n f ln : r f : f lf : n s : s l ls : f ti na-lu hla nga u ku ba si li te ng'i li zwe S'ka lel'i nga ne r : - : ls ₁ : - : s ₁ : s ₁ : ls ₁ : s ₁ : s ₁ : ls ₁ : d ₁ d : t : l : s ₁ : lf : - ti - - na u ku ba si te ng'i li zwe Si ka lel'i nga -	r : - : nr : d d : - : r ld : t f : l : ls ₁ : n n : n f ln : r za o ba ba e zi mi ha - mb'i m'e zwe ni zi ngena nda wo .l : - : l : l : l : s ₁ s ₁ : - : s ₁ : ls ₁ : s ₁ : d : l : ls ₁ : d d : d d ld ta : l f : - : f lf : n n : - : f ln : r l : f ln : s s : s l ls : f za o ba ba e zi mi ha - mb'i m'e zwe ni zi ngena nda wo r : - : ls ₁ : - : n : - : ls ₁ : s ₁ : s ₁ : ld ₁ : d ₁ d : t : l : s ₁ : lf : - ne e zi mi ha - mb'i me zwe ni ze nge nanda wo	n : n f ln : r u ku ka le la d : d d ld ta : l s : s l ls : f u ku ka le la d : t : l : s ₁ : lf : - e yo ka le la
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r : - : nr : d d : - : r ld : t l : t : lr : - d : - : l : - : - yo ku hla la e li zwe ni lo ko - ko be tu .l : - : l : l : l : s ₁ s ₁ : - : s ₁ : ls ₁ : s ₁ : s ₁ : s ₁ : ls ₁ : - s : - : l : - : - f : - : f lf : n n : - : f ln : r r : r : f : f lf : - n : - : l : - : - yo ku hla la e li zwe ni lo ko - ko be tu r : - : ls ₁ : - : s ₁ : - : ls ₁ : s ₁ : s ₁ : ls ₁ : - d : - : l : - : - e zwe - ni la o - ko - ko be tu	n : n f ln : r u ku ka le la d : d d ld ta : l s : s l ls : f u ku ka le la d : t : l : s ₁ : lf : - e yo ka le la	n : n f ln : r u ku ka le la d : d d ld ta : l s : s l ls : f u ku ka le la d : t : l : s ₁ : lf : - e yo ka le la	n : n f ln : r u ku ka le la d : d d ld ta : l s : s l ls : f u ku ka le la d : t : l : s ₁ : lf : - e yo ka le la
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'Si lu Sapo' or 'i Land Act', is a simple tonic sol-fa score with a simple message, namely 'We are children of Africa' who 'cry for our land.' The Land Act was a devastating law, and this message is portrayed in the lyrics and their translation below, which indicates power and

⁸²² Lovedale Sol fa Leaflet, No. 1C: 'Si lu Sapo' ('We are family') or 'i Land Act', (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1937).

unity between the isiZulu, isiXhosa and seSotho nations who stand together as one family against the injustice.⁸²³

Table 4.1: 'Si lu Sapo' or 'i Land Act' in isiXhosa with translations in English by Fatima Dike.⁸²⁴

isiXhosa	English
<i>Singabantwana baseAfrika</i>	We are children of Africa
<i>Sililela umhlaba wethu</i>	We cry for our land
<i>Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho</i>	Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho
<i>Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho dibanani</i>	Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho unite
<i>Siphambaniswa ngomthetho woMhlaba (Land Act)</i>	We are mad over the Land Act
<i>Umthetho ovumela abaphambukeli</i>	A terrible law that allows sojourners
<i>Ukusala umhlaba wethu</i>	To deny us our land
<i>Sikhaliswa ukuba Thina bantu</i>	Crying that we the people
<i>Kufuneka sihlawule ukubuyisa umhlaba wethu</i>	Should pay to get our land back
<i>Sililela abantwana boobawo</i>	We cry for the children of our fathers
<i>Abahambahamba emhlabeni wonke ngaphandle kwekhaya</i>	Who roam around the world without a home
<i>Kwanasemhlabeni wookhokho babo</i>	Even in the land of their forefathers

It is interesting that the famous struggle anthem, '*Thina Sizwe esimnyama sikhalela izwe lethu, elathathwa abamhlophe, abawuyeke umhlaba wethu*' ('We Africans! We cry for our land, they took it, the Europeans took our land, they must return our land Africa') also shares this theme.⁸²⁵

4.5 THE FIRST WORLD WAR OF 1914–1918

The Great War began in August 1914 and the Union Defence Force (UDF) were initially committed "to the invasion of German Southwest Africa" and then to "the war in Europe."⁸²⁶ Lovedale was concerned about the fate of the Africans whose German missionaries had been interned. The government was approached, and they agreed that the older missionaries could be left at their mission stations.⁸²⁷ The fledgling Union Defence Force was mobilised at the

⁸²³ Coplan, In Township Tonight! 86.

⁸²⁴ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁸²⁵ Thulasizwe Nkabinde, "Indigenous Features Inherent in African Popular Music of South Africa" (Masters Dissertation, University of Zululand, 1997).

⁸²⁶ "South Africa in World War 1." *Centenary Retrospective 1917–2017*, 1. Department of Defence Archives, Irene, Centurion. It is estimated that 235 000 South Africans of all races did service in WWI; and 13 700 are recorded to have lost their lives on the various fronts.

⁸²⁷ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1824–1955*, 84.

outbreak of the war and consisted of “a small Permanent Force element,” which was supplemented by “the Coast Garrison and Citizen Force,” together with the Rifle Associations (who were essentially former Boer Commandoes), and the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve.⁸²⁸ In September 1916, General Botha requested that a Labour Contingent of five battalions of Africans leave to work at the French ports.⁸²⁹ The troop ship S.S. Mendi was sunk on 21 February 1917 in the English Channel when it was rammed by another vessel. Six hundred and fifteen Black soldiers drowned. The evangelist, Isaac Williams Wauchope, stayed aboard the sinking ship with the remaining men who had enlisted in the South African Native Labour Contingent (SANLC). The Government of South Africa refused to issue war medals to the members of the SANLC despite the remarkable record of this group of brave men.⁸³⁰

Wauchope’s name and regimental number, 3276, appears on The Roll of Honour.⁸³¹ Allan Loxton reported that the Rev Isaac Wauchope, Dyobha (Regimental No. 3276), a clergyman from Beaufort West kept his men calm on the sinking SS Mendi ship.⁸³² As their *Umfundisi*

⁸²⁸ “South Africa in World War 1.” Centenary Retrospective 1917–2017 (Irene, Centurion: DOD Archives), 5.

⁸²⁹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1824–1955, 84.

⁸³⁰ *South African Outlook*, August 1935, 154.

Joseph Tshite, a teacher before he drowned, encouraged the drowning men around him with hymns and prayers. An archivist at the South African Defence Force Archives (SA DOD Archives) Gerald Prinsloo, stated on 14 February 2020 that files at the DOD Archives list that the reason why the government at the time did not award these people medals was because it was the ‘then’ government’s viewpoint that they were not entitled to medals as they were contracted labourers and not attested soldiers, through the agency of the Department of Native Affairs and not the Department of Defence. Although the members of the SANLC which originated from the high commission territories Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland did receive medals, these were awarded through the agency of the high commission of those respective territories and not the South African government. For this reason, there are limited personnel records on the SANLC held by the Department of Defence Archives and it is uncertain that they reside at the national archives. These are the views of the archivist, Gerald Prinsloo, at the Department of Defence archives.

⁸³¹ Bennett Ncwana, S.M. “Roll of Honour of the Troopship “Mendi” who were drowned at sea on 21 February 1917.” Souvenir of the Mendi Disaster February 21, 1917. Roll of Honour. Mendi Memorial Bursary Fund.

⁸³² “Reverend Isaac Williams Wauchope,” *The African Yearly Register*. ,[Chttp://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdf/A1618/A1618-C4-2-006-jpeg.pdf](http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdf/A1618/A1618-C4-2-006-jpeg.pdf) accessed May 21, 2020), 106. Wauchope was born at Doorn Hoek in the Cape Province near Uitenhage

(‘pastor’) and chaplain, he told them “Be quiet and calm my countrymen, for what is now taking place is exactly what you came to do. You are going to die, but we are drilling the death-drill.” This, according to a few eyewitnesses, they did with boots off while the European officers stood to attention and saluted them from the bridge while the Black men danced and sang below.⁸³³ Basson, one of the men on an earlier ship, noted that once they had left the white cliffs of Dover behind them en route to France, they started singing ‘Home sweet home’ and the other men joined in with ‘There’s no place like home’.⁸³⁴ Albert M. Jonas composed a musical arrangement in tonic sol-fa of words by S.E. Mqhayi called ‘*Amagora E-Mendi*’.⁸³⁵

4.5.1 Reverend Jonas A. Ntsiko (1860–1915)

Reverend Jonas Ntsiko was an “early independent African thinker” and a pioneer Kholwa (African Christian converts, collectively referred to as Amakholwa). This African intellectual received his initial schooling at different mission schools in the Cape Colony and wrote 19 of the 130 hymns published in the isiXhosa Hymn Book of 1881. During the 1880s, he was also a literary commentator who wrote under the pseudonym *Uhadi Waseluhangeni* (‘The Harp of the Nation’). This enabled him to contribute articles to the *Isigidimi SamaXhosa*, an isiXhosa newspaper at Lovedale, although not all of the articles were published.⁸³⁶ William W. Gqoba,

in 1852 where he became a teacher later in 1879. He went to Lovedale when he was 22 years old in 1874 and received a Certificate of competency for Elementary Teachers in 1875. He joined the ministry and was popular with his people, whose welfare he took to heart and paid attention to their education. He drowned when the Mendi sank in 1917.

⁸³³ Allan Loxton, ‘800 Natives Stamped Death-dance on Sinking Ship,’ *Sunday Tribune*, 25 February 1917. 44. The view of some people is that this account in the media may be a ‘colourful presentation’ story in keeping with the oral tradition in Africa.’ Norman Clothier, *The Loss of the Mendi: The Story of the South African Native Labour Contingent 1916–1918* (Pretoria: SANDF, 1982), 147.

⁸³⁴ Clothier, *The Loss of the Mendi*, 123.

⁸³⁵ Background to developments, sinking of the SS Mendi. Neville Smith, “Recruitment and Re-Memory: S.E.K. Mqhayi’s ‘*Umkhosi Wemidaka*: The Dark-Skinned Army’ (1916) and Fred Khumalo’s ‘Dancing the Death Drill’ (2017),” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 45, no. 2 (2019), 303. DOD Archives, Irene, Centurion.

⁸³⁶ J.O. Vanderpuye, ed. “Ntsiko, Jonas A.” *The Encyclopaedia Africana Dictionary of African Christian Biography*. South Africa-Botswana-Lesotho-Swaziland. Volume 3, South Africa-Botswana, Lesotho-

the editor of *Isigidimi* in 1884, rejected one of his articles, the reason being that it was “too hostile to British rule”. Ntsiko later wrote a song about the SS Mendi disaster titled ‘*Ama-Gora eMendi*’, with lyrics by S.E. Mqhayi.

Swaziland (Algonac: Reference Publications, 1955). Many of Ntsiko’s articles were in the library at Umtata, still in manuscript form.

Example 4.2: 'Ama-Gora E-mendi' in tonic sol-fa, key (E flat), dynamics (boldly), words by S.E. Mqhayi and Music by Albert M. Jonas. Example by Albert M. Jonas.⁸³⁷

AMA-GORA E-MENDI.

Words by S. E. MQAYI.

Music by ALBERT M. JONAS.

KEY Eb. *Boldly.*

ff

	n	n	n	re	n	d	t	l	d	n	l	s	f
Kwa-	fik'	u	mtya	nga	mpo	u	pu	ma	e	Bo-	twe,		
d	d	d	d	d	n	t	l	d	n	n	n	r	r
s	s	s	s	fe	s	l	t	l	d	n	l	ta	l
Kwa-	fik'	u	mtya	nga	mpo	u	pu	ma	e	Bo-	twe,		
d	d	d	d	d	d	t	l	d	n	de	de	r	r

	f	n	r	l	s	n	d	l	t	d	r	r	r
Pa-	nga	ni	ma	ka	ba	a	zo	z	onk'i	zi	zwe		
r	r	r	t	t	d	n	n	l	l	d	t	s	s
la	s	s	f	s	n	n	n	l	fe	s	s	s	s
Pa-	nga	ni	ma	ka	ba	a	zo	z	onk'i	zi	zwe		
d	t	t	s	s	l	l	s	fe	r	s	s	s	s

P rall. D.C.

	s	s	fe	s	ld	n	n	r	l	d	d	d	t	d
Zi-	nge	ke	mki	in	ko	mo	luf	u	sa	po	lwe	tu.		
r	r	r	d	t	l	l	d	s	l	s	s	s	s	s
t	t	l	t	s	s	f	r	n	l	s	fe	f	n	s
Zi-	nge	ke	mki	in	ko	mo	luf	u	sa	po	lwe	tu.		
f	f	f	l	n	f	l	fe	s	f	n	r	s	d	s

KEY Bb. *faster.*

	n	n	n	re	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
	a	li	di	ni	le	tu							
	t	d	t	l	t	l	s	e					
	n	n	d	d	d	t							
A	pu	maa	ma	go	ra	a	li	di	ni	le	tu		
d	t	d	l	d	n	t	s	l	f	t	f	n	s

KEY Eb.

	n	n	n	re	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n
E	ye	la	ne	nqa	na	wa	kwa	si	nda	in	xe	nye,	
l	l	l	d	t	t	d	n	l	l	n	f	f	f
de	n	r	f	f	f	n	d	n	r	r	l	s	s
E	ye	la	ne	nqa	na	wa	kwa	si	nda	in	xe	nye,	
l	s	f	r	s	s	d	l	s	fe	r	l	r	s

S accompaniment soft.

	n	n	n	re	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	n	
H'm					H'm					H'm				
d	d	d	t	t	d	d	t	l						
s	fe	s	l	l	s	n	s	d	l	n	n	r	l	
Pu	m	la	ni	nia	we	tu	Ngo	xo	lo	lo	So	ma	ndfa	Nge-
d	s	r	s	r	s	d	n	n	f					
H'm					H'm					H'm				

FULL CHORUS. D.S.

	d	d	t	d	r	n	f	s	t	r	d	d	d
H'm					Nge	na	ni	e	nywe	be	ni.		
s	s	s	s	t	ta	l	d	t	s	s	s	s	s
s	d	n	r	s	f	n	s	s	f	f	f	n	n
nx	yo	Msi	ndi	si	we	tu,	Nge	na	ni	e	nywe	be	ni.
s	s	d	r	n	f	r	s	s	d	s	d	s	s

⁸³⁷ Lovedale Sol fa Leaflet, No. 20: 'Ama-Gora E-mendi', (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1937).

4.6 THE INFLUENZA EPIDEMIC AT LOVEDALE

The Spanish Flu (influenza) epidemic swept through the Eastern Cape in October 1918, with approximately 2000 deaths in the King William's Town district alone. Although there were 600 cases of influenza at Lovedale, there were only four deaths. Students from both Lovedale and Fort Hare acted as orderlies in small hospitals and were able to save many lives in the neighbouring villages. ZK Matthews and Roseberry Bokwe were part of this campaign.⁸³⁸ The impact of poverty on Africans was great, with milk and fuel being in short supply. A "social service committee" of Lovedale staff members was formed to offer practical assistance and Henderson pleaded their case. However, the government only appointed a "Native Economic Commission" ten years later, after Henderson had passed on, denying him the chance to offer valuable assistance to those in need.⁸³⁹ Dr W.J. Viljoen was appointed as the Superintendent General of the Cape Province in 1918.⁸⁴⁰

Reuben Caluza wrote a song commemorating this difficult period in South African history titled 'Influenza'. The tonic sol-fa example below is relatively simple, with only few markings, and would have been easy to sing. The structure of this piece is basic binary form, with both sections being in the same key and the second section almost an exact repetition of the first. However, there is no modulation at the end of the first section and the second section also does not begin in "a related key and return to the tonic".⁸⁴¹

⁸³⁸ Z.K. Matthews, *Freedom for My People*, 61.

⁸³⁹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1824–1955*, 86.

⁸⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 513.

⁸⁴¹ Zelda De Beer, "Analysis of Choral Works by the Zulu Composer: Professor R.T. Caluza" (Bachelor's Degree in Music, University of Pretoria, 1967), 1.

Influenza (1918).

KEY F.

R. T. CALUZA.

n .f :s :n	f .s :l :f	s .l :t :s	d' :n :l .m	s :f :t .l	s :d' :d .r
d .t :d .r :d .t,	l, .s, :l, :l,	f .f :f :f	n :d :d .d	t, :t, :f .f	n :n :d .d
Ngonya ka ka	nineteen eighteen	sa qe dwa u -	ku fa e si	ku bi - zango	ku - ti ku yi
s .s :s :s	f .m :f :f	s .s :s :s	s :s :n .m	r :s :s .s	s :s :n .f
d .r :n :d	r .m :f :r	s .f :r :t,	d :d :l, .l,	r :r :f .f	n :d :l, .f,

n :f :r	d :— :—	n .f :s :n	f .s :l :f	s .l :t :s
d :d :s,	s, :— :—	d .t, :d .r :d .t,	l, .s, :l, :l,	f .f :f :f
In - flu - e -	nza	Ya zi qe - da	i zi - hlo - bo	e si zi ta -
s :l :f	n :— :—	s .s :s :s	f .m :f :f	s .s :s :s
n, :r, :s,	d, :— :—	d .r :n :d	r .m :f :r	s .f :r :t,

d' :n :l .m	s :f :t .l	s :d' :d .r	n :f :r	d :— :—	s :s .s
n :d :d .d	t, :t, :f .f	n :n :d .d	d :d :s,	s, :— :—	d :d .d
nda yo a o	ma ma o	ba - ba no Si	si no Bhu - ti	Kwemnyi	
s :s :n .m	r :s :s .s	s :s :n .f	s :l :f	n :— :—	n .m
d .d :l, .l,	r :r :f .f	n :d :l, .f,	n, :r, :s,	d, :— :	

s :f :f .f	f :n :n .m	f :d :r	n :— .s :s .s	s :f :f .f
t, :t, :t, .t,	d :d :d .d	d :d :d	t, :— .d :d .d	t, :t, :t, .t,
mi zi kwaqo	tu la a kwa sa - la	mu - ntu	kwa tat'i	nto - mbi nensi -
r :t, .r :s .s	s :n .s :d' .ta	l :l :l	se :— :	t, .r :s :—
:	:	f, :f, :f,	n, :— :	kwata ta

n :— .m :s .d'	l .f :l	s :— .s :s .s	s :f :f	n :— .d :r .m
d :— .m :n .m	f :f :f	n :— .m :n .m	r :r :r	d :— .d :d .d
zwa kwa zike	te - l'e . . . zi -	nhle kwata ta	na ma bhu	ngu a ye bu
n .s :d' :—	f .l :d' :d'	m .s :d' .d' :d' .d'	t :s :s	s :— .m :f .s
nensi zwa	kwazi ke - te -	l'e zi nhle kwata ta	s, .t, :r :s	d .m :s :
:	:	:	kwata - ta	na - mabhu-ngu

f :l, :t,	d :— .s :s .s	s :f :f	n :— .m :s .d'	l :f :l
d :l, :s,	s, :— .d :d .d	t, :t, :t,	d :— .m :n .m	f :f :f
ke ka ka -	hle Kwata ta	ma - jo - ngo -	si kwata ta	na ma - tshi
l :r :f	n :— :	t, .r :s :s	n .s :d' :	f .l :d' :d'
f, .l, :r :s,	d, :— :	:	:	kwata ta na
buke ka ka	hle	:	:	:

s :— .s :s .s	s :f :f	n :— .d :r .m	f :l, :t,	d :— .m :n .m
tshi, kwa tat'i	zi - ngo - du -	so e za ze	te - nji si	we Kwata t'o
n :— .m :n .m	r :r :r	d :— :	d :l, :s,	s, :— :
n .s :d' .d' :d' .d'	t :s :s	s :— .m :f .s	l :r :f	n :— :
matshitshi	:	s, .t, :r :s	d .m :s :—	f, .l, :r :s,
:	:	Kwata + ti	zi ngodu so	ze - te nji si we

⁸⁴² Lovedale Sol fa Leaflet, No. 11C: 'Influenza', (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1937).

⁸⁴³ Arthur West Wilkie, 1937 Report (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1937), 28.

Example: 4.4: 'Gugu Mzimba Sala Nhliziyo', key (A flat), words and music by R.T. Caluza.⁸⁴⁴ Gugu Mzimba Sala Nhliziyo means "gone are the days" and many more.⁸⁴⁵

Guga Mzimba Sala Nhliziyo.

Key Ab. R. T. CALUZA.

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⁸⁴⁴ Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflet, No. 13 C: "Gugu Mzimba Sala Nhliziyo", (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1937).

⁸⁴⁵ Nkabinde, "Indigenous Features Inherent in African Popular Music,"

Isangoma.

KEY Ab.

R. T. CALUZA.

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Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflet, No. 15 C: 'Isangoma', (Lovedale: Lovedale Press. 1937). An *isangoma* is a traditional healer. These *amaxhwele*, herbalist doctors, "had a certain skill in their profession" (Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841-1941*, 54).

This tonic sol-fa music example composed by Reuben T. Caluza is written in A flat. Zelda de Beer observes that a general characteristic of Caluza’s music is that it is through-composed with a flow from the beginning to the end without any interruptions.⁸⁴⁷ Caluza was the most popular composer in South Africa between “World War 1 and the early 1930s”.⁸⁴⁸ He was very skillful at singing topical lyrics in isiZulu while using a combination of action and dance moves.⁸⁴⁹ The table below is in three languages, namely isiZulu, English and isiXhosa, to provide a link to the Lovedale Missionary Institute and its Xhosa students. The themes also centre around nature, people and their surroundings.

Example 4.6: ‘Ixeghwana’ or ‘Ricksha Song’, by Reuben Tholakele Caluza (1895–1969)⁸⁵⁰.

Ixeghwana or Ricksha Song (HMV GU 5)

R.T. Caluza composed in 1917

Nga bon i - xegwa na li - mbet'i ngutsha na
 wo! nga bon' i xegwa li - mbet'i ngutsha

5
 i - - - wo
 Li - mhlope li - te qwa i ka - nda ka - nye ne zi-nyo ka - nye ne zi-nyo

⁸⁴⁷ De Beer, “Analysis of Choral Works,” 1.

⁸⁴⁸ Veit Erlmann, “Singing Brings Joy to the Distressed,” *History Workshop*, 9–14 February 1987, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 7

⁸⁴⁹ Veit Erlmann, *Nightsong. Performance, Power and Practice in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996), 48.

⁸⁵⁰ Erlmann, *African Stars*, 124.

Caluza's 'Ricksha Song' has an interesting rhythm with tied notes onto the second beat, found in bars 1-5 and 7-8, creating a syncopated rhythm. This piece shows the ragtime influence of Scott Joplin, whose music Caluza enjoyed and sometimes emulated. Only bar 6 does not contain syncopation. The first four bars follow the harmonic progression – I V V7 I/vib, unless the D in the soprano of bar 4 is regarded as an accented passing note, moving downwards to the tonic chord's C on the first beat of bar 5. This resolution of the leading note E (soprano bar 3, decorated with the chromatic lower auxiliary note D#) is unusual, as movement to an F would traditionally be expected. Bars 5–6 suggest either a modulation to the subdominant key, Bb Major, with a V 7 in bar 5 resolving to the tonic in bar 6, or simply a secondary dominant and its resolution. The song then returns to the tonic key, albeit with a G# chromatic lower auxiliary note in the soprano of bar 7. There is melodic imitation from bar 1 in bar 2; the soprano melody and rhythm is imitated an octave lower in the tenor part in bar 2, although the first interval F-E is changed to G-E in the tenor, for harmonic reasons. Similarly, in bar 3 the soprano part is imitated a major 7th lower in the tenor part in bar 4 and in bar 7 the soprano part is rhythmically imitated in bar 8 in the tenor part, a major 3rd lower, although with a small difference because of the G# which changes to a G natural later in the bar of the soprano part.

'*Ixegwana*' is also known as the 'Ricksha Song' and was composed in 1917. It is written in da capo form. The B section offers contrast to the A Section, with "unison singing" and a "straightforward unsyncopated rhythm".⁸⁵¹ Rickshaw pullers were part of Durban's working class and this song composed by Caluza in 1917 became a protest song.⁸⁵² The name

⁸⁵¹ De Beer, "Analysis of Choral Works," 1.

⁸⁵² Erlmann, *African Stars*, 125.

‘*Ixegwana*’ could be interpreted as “a criticism of the European attitude towards the African”.⁸⁵³

Table 4.2: Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflets List/Framework discussion of music examples published in 1937.⁸⁵⁴

No	Composer	Words and Music in tonic sol-fa	Key	Publisher
1C	R.T. Caluza	<i>Sikulekel’ U Solomon</i> English translation: We pray for Solomon <i>Si Lu Sapo</i> (we are family) IsiXhosa Language or <i>I Land Act</i> Land Act theme	G B flat	Lovedale Press, 1937, 29. The Lovedale Press, 1937, 29.
8C	R.T. Caluza	<i>Ingoduso</i>	A flat	The Lovedale Press, 1937, 29.
11	Seth Motsuin’ Mphahlele	<i>Rakgopa</i> Nothern Sotho	F	Lovedale Press, 1937.
11C	R.T. Caluza	<i>Influenza</i> (1918)	F	The Lovedale Press, 1937, 28.
13C	R.T. Caluza	<i>Guga Mzimba Sala Nhliziyo</i> isiXhosa Language (The body ages but the heart remains)	A flat	Lovedale Press, 1937
15C	R.T. Caluza	<i>Isangoma</i> isiXhosa Language <i>A sangoma</i> (traditional healer)	A flat	Lovedale Press.1937, 28.
16	D.C. Marivate	<i>Shidzedze</i> Vortex wind Tsonga Language (3 pages of tonic sol-fa)	G	Lovedale Press, 1937.

⁸⁵³ Percival R. Kirby, *The Music Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934).

⁸⁵⁴ Wilkie, *1937 Report*, 28–29

17	Enoch Sontonga	Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika isiXhosa Language (God bless Africa) (Now part of the South African National Anthem)	B flat	Lovedale Press, 1937.
19	G.C.S. Mdhladhla	<i>Abant' Abasha</i> (Young people) Language: isiZulu but can also be isiXhosa	F	Lovedale Press
20	S.E. Mqhayi (words) and A.M. Jonas (music)	<i>Ama-Gora E-Mendi</i> isiXhosa Language (Heroes of Mendi)	E flat To be played boldly	The Lovedale Press, 1937.
	E.A. J. Monaisa	<i>Botani Matshawe</i> isiXhosa Language (Greetings to the Chawes)	E flat	Lovedale Press, 1937.
	M.M. Moerane	<i>Liphala</i> (2 pages) Sesotho Language (Horns or trumpets)	F To be played Moderato	Lovedale Press, 1937.
	M.M. Moerane	<i>Nobody knows the trouble I've seen</i> (Negro Spiritual) (Harmonised by M.M. Moerane).	A To be played not fast	Lovedale Press, 1937.

Matthews received formal music instruction during his time at Lovedale (under Henderson's principalship), when students were still taught tonic sol-fa and staff notation but by different teachers. Mr James Chalmers, a missionary from Scotland, was interested in music and assisted Matthew's double quartet group with their singing, probably by addressing their musicality and giving some advice on vocal coaching. He also taught Matthews the tonic sol-fa system of notation.⁸⁵⁵ Matthews' friend, Roseberry, was very confident singing in front of an audience, while Matthews preferred to be part of the male quartet rather than sing a

⁸⁵⁵ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1824–1955*, 38.

solo.⁸⁵⁶ The friends generally sang together on a Sunday afternoon at the home of Rev John Knox Bokwe, who had a piano.⁸⁵⁷

At Fort Hare, Matthews met Prof Davidson Jabavu who used to sit at his piano and play song after song written down in a little notebook. He was a pianist, a singer and a violinist and also the conductor of choirs. Jabavu trained the double quartet, of which Matthews was a member, together with Solomon Plaatjie, Roseberry Bokwe, Garrett Xiniwe, Attwell Madala, Ishmael Mompati, Robert Nqandela and Frank Mogale. Prof Jabavu was very enthusiastic about his music and took the college choir on a tour of all the major cities of the Cape in 1919.⁸⁵⁸ The choir was successful and were compared to the Royal Welsh Choir, which had recently toured the country. Despite no formal music instruction at Fort Hare (which only came later), Matthews enjoyed making music with his friends and was part of a group that sang jazz and spirituals, and even experimented with tap dancing in 1922.^{859 860}

There has been an increase in the number of biographies done on “nationalist leaders”⁸⁶¹ over the past few decades. Zachariah Keodirelang (Z.K.) Matthews (1901–1968) was a product of the humanitarian and liberal education that was offered at Lovedale, who became well-known African academic and politician.⁸⁶² Matthews entered Lovedale on the Andrew Smith bursary (valued at 20 pounds for three years) in 1916, the year of Lovedale’s seventy-fifth anniversary. Matthews realised that he was part of the first generation of Africans who would be able to further their education and he could now achieve a degree at the South African

⁸⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁸⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁸⁵⁸ Matthews, *Freedom for My People*, 53.

⁸⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁸⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 66, 67.

⁸⁶¹ Bundy, “Lessons on the Frontier: Aspects of Eastern Cape history”, 14.

⁸⁶² Saayman, “Subversive Subservience,” 532.

Native College, which was built in the same year.⁸⁶³ Matthews, who spoke *seSotho/seTswana* at home, was now in contact with students of other language groups, namely isiXhosa and isiZulu.⁸⁶⁴ Matthews married Frieda Bokwe on 19 December 1928. ZK's first position after graduating from Fort Hare was at Adams College and Frieda worked at Inanda Seminary for Girls before they got married. The couple had three children, a daughter, Shena, and two sons, Vincent Joseph and John Knox Itumeleng. The latter was born in 1932 and was offered a scholarship by the Phelps-Stokes Fund to study at Yale University in the United States of America, where he obtained a MA degree.⁸⁶⁵

4.6.1 Frieda Deborah Bokwe Matthews

Frieda Matthews (née, Bokwe) was John Knox Bokwe's daughter and came to Natal from her old alma mater, Lovedale, to work as a member of the teaching staff at the Inanda Seminary.⁸⁶⁶ This was the sister school to Adams College, where her husband, Z.K. Matthews, worked. She was one of the first women to graduate from the University of Fort Hare and received music training as a pianist in London at the Trinity College of London in the mid-1930s. She subsequently became a music teacher and spent many years teaching music in Botswana, Switzerland and the United States.

It was while Z.K. and Frieda Mathews were in London in 1935, that Z.K. gave a lecture on music,⁸⁶⁷ and also received a "Fellowship from the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures," whose headquarters were in London. Professor Bronislaw

⁸⁶³ Matthews, *Freedom for My People*, 34. Don Davidson Jabavu, Tengo Jabavu's son also matriculated at Fort Hare.

⁸⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁸⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁸⁶⁶ "The Inanda Seminary," KZN: A Photographic and Historical Record, Schools and Universities, <https://kznpr.co.za/natal-kzn-schools-2/nggallery/natal-kzn-schools/durban-inanda-seminary> (accessed February 23, 2020).

⁸⁶⁷ Bishop Smyth had invited ZK Matthews to join him on a tour of the continent. Places visited were Paris, Rome, Assisi, Florence, Ravenna, Venice, Germany, Frankfurt, Cologne, Belgium and finally reached Chalford, Gloucestershire where the bishop's sister Miss Ethel Smyth welcomed them.

Malinowski had offered him a year of post-graduate study in “social anthropology”.⁸⁶⁸ ZK was aware that children used to sing spontaneously at recess and stated that attention should be given to “the creative side of music in African schools.”⁸⁶⁹ He was seen with the British Diplomat Lord Caradon (Sir Hugh Foot, 1907–1990), a UK representative to the United Nations. ZK was able to liase with diplomats even though he came from humble beginnings.

4.6.2 Joe Matthews

Joe Gaobakwe Matthews (1929–2010), started school at Lovedale at the Practising School and continued studying there, completing his Standard 6 in 1942. The Practicing School was where trainee teachers from the Lovedale Training College did their practice teaching. In 1951, he married Regina Thelma Philips (d. 2002), who was also from Durban, and the couple had seven children. Joe Matthews had something in common with the Lovedale and Fort Hare students, namely music, and enjoyed playing the piano, with a preference shown towards classical music.⁸⁷⁰ It was while he was living in Alice that he had contact with both Lovedale and Fort Hare students, and even met O.R. Tambo, who received his Bachelor of Science Degree at the University College of Fort Hare in 1941.⁸⁷¹ O.R. Tambo had been introduced to formal music at a school at Embhobeni, and enjoyed singing and making music to such an extent that it became “a lifelong activity and a hobby”. He became a member of the St Peter’s Secondary School choir in 1934, and at Fort Hare he was a member of a group of eight students whose “singing was broadcast by the local radio station in Grahamstown,

⁸⁶⁸ Matthews, *Freedom for My People*, 99. Professor Bronislaw was a famous Polish anthropologist.

⁸⁶⁹ Lucia, *The World of South African Music*, 39.

⁸⁷⁰ “Vincent Joseph Gaobakwe Matthews,” South African History Online, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/vincent-joseph-gaobakwe-matthews> (accessed May 21, 2020.)

⁸⁷¹ “Joe Matthews,” *The Road to Democracy. South Africans Telling Their Stories, Volume 1, 1950–1970*, South African Democracy Education Trust http://www.sadet.co.za/road_democracy_sastories1.html (accessed November 15, 2019).

Eastern Cape”.⁸⁷² Music was a connecting thread among the students from Fort Hare and Lovedale, where there was a tradition of music, especially piano playing and singing. Fort Hare was closely related to Lovedale and many musicians also continued their studies at Fort Hare. It can thus be argued that the music culture of Lovedale extended well beyond its own borders.

4.7 MARCUS MTIMKULU MYATAZA

Marcus Mtimkulu Myataza (1900–1986) was born on 27 April in the Transkei (Mqonci Location, Engcobo District). Also known as “Big Ben”, Myataza became a Xhosa choirmaster and composer. Like him, many composers came from very humble, often rural, origins. He was brought up by his grandparents who used to sing hymns during their evening prayers. In 1926, he visited Marcus Mtimkulu Myataza, who inspired him to embark upon a career in music. He was unable to receive formal lessons in music theory but studied the books on composition that Marcus gifted him and later wrote the Trinity College of London music theory examinations. “Big Ben” began composing in 1931 and his choral works, many of which were inspired by themes from nature, have been sung at different choral events. For example, ‘*Ingoma phezu kodonga lomlambo*’ (roughly translated as ‘A song on the river wall’), refers to people hearing birds singing while they are sitting on a riverbank.⁸⁷³ He was a Xhosa composer and choir master who matriculated at Fort Hare in 1922 and later passed the Intermediate Solfa Music Examination after studying music privately.⁸⁷⁴ The Lovedale Press printed and sold his first composition for four voices, ‘*Wo! Wo! Wo! Elilizwi Lathethwa*

⁸⁷² “Oliver Tambo,” South African History Online, , <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/oliver-reginald-kaizana-tambo> (accessed May 21, 2020).

⁸⁷³ Vusabantu Ngema, *Indigenous Music in South Africa: An Introduction* (Pretoria: Feenstra Books, 2019), 165.

⁸⁷⁴ Huskisson, *The Bantu Composers of South Africa*, 197.

Ngu Yohanne Um-Baptizi (roughly translated as ‘Wow! Wow! Wow! This Word was spoken by John the Baptist’) in 1924.⁸⁷⁵

The establishment of Lovedale Press was beneficial for composers, including Myataza and the many fellow African composers, who published their work through the press. During the 1930s “it was one thing to be literate but quite another to find a publisher”. From 1823, when Reverend John Bennie’s first printed book in isiXhosa was printed at the Chumie mission station, Lovedale remained “the focal point of literate Christian culture”, including the printing of isiXhosa music scores, through the publishing and printing activities of the Lovedale Press. The Lovedale Press also flourished alongside the South African Native College, its host institution, which became known as Fort Hare.⁸⁷⁶

4.8 BENJAMIN TYAMZASHE

Benjamin Tyamzashe, also known as “B-ka-T”, was born in Kimberley on 5 September 1890 and received his primary education at the Peelton Mission.⁸⁷⁷ He later married Mercy Gladys Nonolyi Xiniwe,⁸⁷⁸ and the Tyamzashe family became known for their “musical abilities”. The Reverend Gwayi, Benjamin’s father, taught his children the rudiments of music. Tyamzashe’s great-great grandfather was Oya, his great grandfather was Mejana, and his grandfather was Tyamzashe, the head councillor at the King’s Court, who was married to Nontsi, Benjamin’s grandmother. Benjamin’s father wrote that he was from the MaNgwevu

⁸⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 198.

⁸⁷⁶ Jeffrey Peires, “Lovedale Press: Literature for the Bantu Revisited,” *English in Africa* 7, no. 1 (March 1980), 71.

⁸⁷⁷ E.J. Verwey. “Benjamin John Peter Tyamzashe 1890–1978,” *New Dictionary of South African Biography*, Volume 1 (Pretoria: HSRC. 1995), 247.

⁸⁷⁸ “Mercy Gladys Nonolyi Xiniwe Tyamzashe,” *Biography*, *The African Yearly Register*. http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdf/A1618/A1618-C4-2-006-jpeg.pdf. (accessed May 21, 2020), 109. Mercy’s sister Francis Mabel Maud, the third daughter, married Skota, the editor of *The African Yearly Register*.

clan and the *amaNgwqika*/Gaika tribe, and was therefore a Xhosa by birth.⁸⁷⁹ Gwayi studied at Lovedale and was a credit to this institute when he won a gold medal by coming first in a “competitive exam” that included entrants from all the “colonial public schools”.⁸⁸⁰ Benjamin discovered that his father was proficient in ten languages, namely: ‘Bushman’,⁸⁸¹ Dutch, English, Greek, Hebrew, Korana, Latin, sePedi, seSotho and isiXhosa.⁸⁸²

Tyamzashe’s parents, Gwayi and Nontsi, found themselves at Lovedale during the principalship of Reverend William Govan, and lessons were open to all classes of pupils. Later, when Reverend James Stewart arrived, Gwayi found him studying with European pupils, which included the Grimmer brothers, Irvine and William Junior (sons of Dr William Grimmer who studied medicine in Edinburgh and his wife Jean Grimmer (née Patterson), William Schreiner (1857–1919, who became the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony during the South African War), William Henry Solomon (1828–1913, who became the Chief Justice of the Union of South Africa) and his brother Richard Solomon (1850–1913), who became the Attorney General in the Cape Colony). Gwayi became a teacher during the period that Tiyo Soga was studying theology in Scotland, and he decided to return to Lovedale to study theology.⁸⁸³

The Tyamzashe children were Benjamin, Charlotte, Henry, James, John, Kate and Mejana. It is interesting to note that Kate (who became Mrs Gwele) was a church organist until the

⁸⁷⁹ J.K. Bokwe, “Jubilee of the Lovedale Literary Society,” *Christian Express*: July 2, 1917.

⁸⁸⁰ Deirdre D. Hansen, *The Life and Work of Benjamin Tyamzashe. A Contemporary Xhosa Composer*. Rhodes University (Grahamstown: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1968), 5.

⁸⁸¹ It must be noted here that ‘Bushman’ is not a language and to refer to the ‘Bushman language’ is considered controversial and even racist. Rather, the Khoisan languages consist of “a unique group of languages spoken mainly in southern Africa” “Khoisan Languages,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, accessed May 22, 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Khoisan-languages>

⁸⁸² B. Tyamzashe, Letter written April 29, 1965.

⁸⁸³ “Prince Gwayi Tyamzashe,” Biography, *The African Yearly Register*, http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdf/A1618/A1618-C4-2-006-jpeg.pdf. (accessed May 21, 2020), 104.

middle of 1966 in Kimberley. Mejana was a teacher before he retired and was also the “local Headman at Mefeking”.⁸⁸⁴ His brother, James W.A. Tyamzashe, went to Lovedale in 1896 and later taught at Lovedale after passing “the Teacher’s Examination” in 1896, having passed his second year with honours. He was an exceptional organist and pianist and his songs in tonic sol-fa and staff notation were published in the *Education Gazette*. Charles Murray (1860–1946), the son of Professor John Murray – who was the acting superintendent-general of Education of the Cape Province (from Thomas Muir’s retirement in 1915 until 1918) – commented on his musical ability. James married Mina Elizabeth (née Xholla) the daughter of Mr and Mrs Xholla of Grahamstown. The couple had eight children.⁸⁸⁵

Benjamin Tyamzashe’s favourite sacred hymn was ‘*Wazithwal’ izono Yesu*’ (roughly translated as ‘He bore the sins for Jesus’), which was composed by Tiyo Soga.⁸⁸⁶ Benjamin and his siblings moved close to King William’s Town when their father died and lived with their uncle in his “music-loving home” for six years. This area brought Benjamin closer to “traditional isiXhosa life and music”.⁸⁸⁷ The family used to gather around a harmonium in the evenings and sing hymns, while Benjamin played European liturgical music, as well as old Victorian favourites such as ‘Sweet and Low’ and ‘Songs from the Kraal’. Benjamin’s first composition was an improvised tune in the church hall called ‘*Unomademfu*’, which was about a big toad (I-Denfu). The Tyamzashe children moved to Peulton in 1905 to live with their uncle Thomas,⁸⁸⁸ after which Benjamin studied at Lovedale from the fifth grade during

⁸⁸⁴ Hansen, *The Life and Work of Benjamin Tyamzashe*, 6. James died in 1935 and Kate and Mejana both died in 1966.

⁸⁸⁵ “Mr James W.A. Tyamzashe.” Biography, *The African Yearly Register* http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdf/A1618/A1618-C4-2-006-jpeg.pdf. (Accessed December 16, 2019), 100.

⁸⁸⁶ Hansen, *The Life and Work of Benjamin Tyamzashe*, 6.

⁸⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

Reverend James Stewart’s principalship. His friends were the sons of J.H. Soga, John Knox Bokwe and Samuel Mqhayi.

4.8.1 Tyamzashe’s Compositions

The majority of Tyamzashe's compositions are choral works and the themes centre around nature, people and the universe.⁸⁸⁹ Up until 1947, his music had a Western influence. However, after he arrived at Cala, he led the Transkei Border Troupe in Xhosa songs.⁸⁹⁰ Tyamzashe was educated at the Lovedale Training School and taught at Lovedale in 1910. His songs are generally divided into three main periods and correspond with the places where he worked and lived. During the First Period (Tiger Kloof, 1913–1924), he decided to contact the Tonic sol-fa College in London, took a correspondence course and received a diploma.⁸⁹¹ However, this course provided him with a limited knowledge of “elementary harmony and counterpoint”.⁸⁹² During the Second Period (Cala, 1925–1950), he admired the countryside and wrote songs about nature.⁸⁹³ During the Third Period (Zinyoka, 1950–1978),⁸⁹⁴ he wrote his favourite song, ‘*i-Bisho likhaya lam*’ (‘Bhiso is my home’) after settling in at his little farm Zinyoke in 1951. Tyamzashe was proud of his ancestry and his home.⁸⁹⁵

Table 4.3: Tyamzashe’s table of compositions (taken from Huskisson 1969) to facilitate isiXhosa translations, with a few examples from Hansen 1968.

	IsiXhosa	English Translation	Information
	<i>Abantwana Besikole</i>	School children	This song calls the children to come and sing a song (Huskisson 1969, 285).
	<i>Amagqabi Emethi</i>	Leaves of trees	Tree leaves (Huskisson 1969,

⁸⁸⁹ Huskisson, *The Bantu Composers of South Africa*, 284.

⁸⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 284.

⁸⁹¹ Hansen, *The Life and Work of Benjamin Tyamzashe*, 25

⁸⁹² *Ibid.*, 28.

⁸⁹³ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁸⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁸⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 22.

		285).
<i>Hai Abant' Abamnyama</i>	'Ho! The black people' was published in 1929 by the Lovedale Press (Hansen 1969, 22). This was sponsored by D.D.T. Jabavu (Professor at Fort Hare University College) (Hansen 1969, 22).	This was Benjamin Tyamzashe's first composition, composed at Tiger Kloof, Vryburg in 1917. It was published by the Lovedale Press (Huskisson 1969, 284).
<i>Inciba</i>	Name of a river (Kei River)	A song in which the Kei River is described. The Kei River flows from the Nkonkobe mountains in the Queenstown district down to the Indian Ocean (Huskisson 196, 285).
<i>Indonga z Tsomo</i>	The Banks of the river Tsomo. His son nearly drowned while the family were having a picnic on the banks of the river (Hansen 1968, 21)	Describes birds, bulrushes, tall grass and wild lilies at the Tsomo River which flows close by Cala (Huskisson 1969, 285).
<i>Inkonjane</i>	A swallow	Swallows (Huskisson 1969, 285).
<i>Intliziyo yam</i>	My heart	My heart (Huskisson 1969, 285).
<i>Inyibiba</i>	The lily	A song of the beautiful lilies composed in the Transkei in 1964 (Huskisson 1969, 284).
<i>Isithandwa (S'Thandwa) Sam</i>	My love (my favourite Sam),	My love (Huskisson 1969, 286). My beloved was composed in 1917 when his first wife's sister died (Hansen: 1968, 20).
<i>Iskhukukazi</i>	'The hen'	In 1952, 500 choristers sang this song to invoke God's blessing when Queen Elizabeth II was crowned (Huskisson 1969, 286).
<i>Intlakohlaza</i>	Spring	The melody of this non-hymnlike song is influenced by vocal salon music (Hansen: 1968a, 27).
<i>I-Voti</i> This song was published by the Lovedale Press in 1929 (Hansen: 1968, 22)	The vote	This song was sung by his Cala Choir in 1925; Inspector S.J. Newns introduced 'Bantu' choir competitions held at schools in the Cape in the Transkei. Tyamzashe songs were the first songs composed by a 'Bantu' composer to be accepted for performance (Huskisson 1969, 284).
<i>Lala Ngoxolo</i>	Rest in peace	A Requiem – Rest in Peace. Sung at the funeral of the son of a close friend (Huskisson 1969,

			286).
	<i>S'Thandwa Sam</i>	My love	This composition was also published at Lovedale (Huskisson 1969, 284).
	<i>Ukuba Bendinaphi-Ko</i>	If only I had wings	Had I wings to fly like a dove. Tuata in 1961 (Huskisson 1969, 284).
	<i>Umlonji</i>	The Canary	The melody in this non-hymnlike song is influenced by instrumental music (Hanson 1968b, 27).
	<i>Umtshato</i>	The wedding	The wedding day has come (Huskisson 1969, 286).
	<i>Unchwalazi = zulu</i> <i>Kusemva kwemini</i> <i>= Xhosa</i>	Late afternoon	Twilight This was composed when his wife was very ill in Umtata at the Sir Henry Elliot Hospital (Huskisson 1969, 286).
	<i>Unomyayi</i>	A black raven	The crow must not be destructive (Huskisson 1969, 286).
	<i>Voortrekkers</i>	Voortrekkers	This composition was written to commemorate the Centenary of the Voortrekkers, who faced danger as well as difficulties (Huskisson 1969, 286).

Lovedale Tonic Sol-fa Leaflets: Tyamazshe's Table of compositions. (Lovedale: Lovedale Institution Press, 1937). OCLC Number: 649810891.

Table 4.4: Tyamazshe's songs composed for special occasions.

	IsiXhosa	English Translation	Information
	<i>Mthin' (Athin') Amahlungulu</i>	The ravens	Composed in 1963 for the Methodist Conference held in Port Elizabeth invoking God's blessing (Huskisson 1969, 284).
	<i>UnoBantu</i>	Name of a woman	This was composed for the Mt. Arthur Girls' High School in Lady Frere when their new dining hall was officially opened (Huskisson 1969, 284).
	<i>Zweliyaduduma</i> (Thundering world) (Hansen 1968: 21).	The nation is rumbling	Composed for the British Royal Family in 1947 when they visited Umtata. Tyamazshe himself conducted a mass choir of 3000

			choristers (Huskisson 1969:284). The King thanked Tyamzashe personally (Hansen 1968, 22).
	<i>Amagora Esanta</i>	Warriors of santa SANTA stands for South African National Tuberculosis Association (Hansen: 1968, 23).	This TB song was requested by Mr Rontch and his wife Dr Schmidt, who came from Umtata (Huskisson 1969, 284).
	<i>Ekhaya Radio Bantu</i> <i>Infuduko Ye Radio Bantu eRini</i>	My home radio bantu The relocation of Radio Bantu from Grahamstown	Composed for the Radio Bantu (SABC) Xhosa Studios in King William's Town (Huskisson 1969, 284).
	<i>Ezants e Coalbrook</i>	Down in Coalbrook. Written in 1960 for the Coalbrook disaster (Hansen 1968, 23).	
	<i>Inkulungwane yeBayibileyesiXhosa</i>	This song was written in 1959 for the "100 th anniversary of the IsiXhosa/English Bible" (Hansen 1968, 23).	

Five SSC Part-Songs (listed above) were written by Tyamzashe and published by the Lovedale Press in 1954.⁸⁹⁶ Tyamzashe wrote these five S.S.C. Part Songs while he was the Principal of the Cala Higher Mission School. His publication was subsidised by the Bantu Welfare Trust, which meant the publishers were able to issue it at a reduced cost.⁸⁹⁷ Tonic sol-fa examples of these Five SSC Part-Songs are provided below.

⁸⁹⁶ Huskisson, *The Bantu Composers of Southern Africa*, 284.

⁸⁹⁷ Benjamin J.P. Tyamzashe, *Five SSC Part-Songs for Native Schools* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press. 1954), inside page of publication.

Example 4.7: 'Bantwana Be Sikolo' ('School children'), tempo (joyfully), dynamics (crescendo and decrescendo signs have been inserted in the score and there is also a rit, and S.S.C. could refer to 1st soprano, 2nd soprano and then Contralto/Alto), composed by Benjamin Tyamzashe⁸⁹⁸

BANTWANA BE SIKOLO.

KEY F. - M 100.

B. TYAMZASHE, A.T.S.C.

<i>mf</i>			
S.	{	n : s.,f m : f m : --- d̄ : --- m : m.,m r : d̄	}
		Yi za iu ma kwe di ni na ni zi nto	
S.	{	d : m.,r d : d̄ d : --- d̄ : --- d : d.,d̄ t ₁ : l ₁	}
C.	{	s ₁ : s ₁ ,s ₁ s ₁ : l ₁ s ₁ : -.,f ₁ m ₁ : --- s ₁ : s ₁ ,s ₁ s ₁ : f ₁ e ₁	}
<i>f</i>			
	{	r : --- --- : --- f : l.,f m : l.,m f : l.,f r : r : ---	}
		mbi Yi za ni ke si cu le li cu lo	
	{	t ₁ : d̄ r : --- r : f.,r d̄ : d̄ r : --- t ₁ ,t ₁ : ---	}
		mbi Yi za ni na li i cu lo	
	{	s ₁ : l ₁ t ₁ : --- l ₁ : d̄.,l ₁ l ₁ : l ₁ t ₁ : l ₁ s ₁ ,s ₁ : ---	}
		cu li cu lo	
	{	m.,r : d̄ --- : m s : s --- : --- d' : t --- : l	}
		a pa e si ko lwen'. Hai bo no	
	{	d.,t ₁ : d̄ --- : l ₁ t ₁ : t ₁ --- : --- m : r --- : f	}
		s ₁ ,s ₁ : m ₁ --- : s ₁ ,m ₁ r ₁ : r ₁ --- : --- s ₁ : se ₁ l ₁ : t ₁	
	{	s : l : f.s m.f : s d' : l f : m m : --- r : ---	}
		za ke si cu le Qa la ni ngo Ze na.	
	{	m.f : r.m d̄.r : m m : m r : d̄ d̄ : --- t ₁ : ---	}
		za ke si cu lo Qa la ni ngo Ze na.	
	{	d : --- s ₁ : --- d : d̄ t ₁ : d̄ s ₁ : --- s ₁ : ---	}
		cu la	
	{	m : s.,f m : s d' : --- s : --- l : d̄ --- : t ₁	}
		Yi za ni ke si cu le so nke ba	
	{	m : r d̄ : t ₁ ,r s ₁ : --- d̄ : --- d̄.l ₁ : s ₁ --- : s ₁	}
		Yi zan'ke si cu le so nke ba	
	{	d : t ₁ l ₁ : s ₁ ,f ₁ m ₁ : --- m ₁ : --- f ₁ : f ₁ m ₁ : r ₁	}
<i>rit.</i>		<i>a tempo. Joyfully.</i>	
	{	d : d̄ --- : --- .d' : l.t s : l : f.s m.f : r.m d̄.m : s	}
		fo ndin' Al i ntakaza na zi ya cu la	
	{	s ₁ : s ₁ --- : --- m : --- r : --- d̄ : t ₁ d̄ : t ₁	}
		fo ndin' Nta ka zi ya cu la	
	{	m ₁ : m ₁ --- : --- s ₁ : --- s ₁ : --- s ₁ : s ₁ l ₁ : s ₁	}

⁸⁹⁸ Five SSC Part-Songs for Native Schools, No. 4: 'Bantwana Be Sikolo' ('School children') (Lovedale: Lovedale Press. 1954), 12.

Example 4.8: ‘*Bantwana Be Sikolo*’ (‘School children’) Transcribed into staff notation by Sue Cock.⁸⁹⁹

BANTWANA BE SIKOLO B. TYAMZASHE A.T.S.C.
Transcribed S A Cock

mf = 100
F B \flat F F C G7 C
Yi za ni ma kwe di ni na ni si nto - mbi

5 Gm Dm C7 C9 C F Dm7 C
f za ni ke si cu le li cu lo a pa e si ko - lwen'

9 F A7 Dm C7 F Dm C7 F F/C C
Hai bo no za ke si cu lo Qa la ni ngo Ze na.

13 F C Dm C7 F B \flat B \flat sus F C *rit.*
Yi za ni ke si cu le so nke ba fo ndin'

17 *a tempo. Joyfully.* F C F C Dm C
A! i nta ka za na zi ya cu la

Table 4.5: ‘*Bantwana Be Sikolo*’ (‘School children’) composed by Benjamin Tyamzashe.

isiXhosa	English translation
Yizani makwedini nani zintombi	Come you boys and girls
<i>Yizani ke sicule liculo apa esikolwen'</i>	Come let us sing a song here at school
<i>Haibo nozake sicule</i>	Come let us sing
<i>Qalani ngoZena</i>	Start with Zena
<i>Yizanike sicule sonke bafondin'</i>	Come let us all sing friends
<i>A li ntakazana ziyacula</i>	Even the birds are singing

‘*Bantwana Be Sikolo*’ (‘School children’) is in F Major and is marked common time. The melody has a range of a ninth and comprises a few repeated notes, mostly moving stepwise and with small leaps of a third or fourth, with the exception of bars 16–17, where there is a leap of an octave. A dotted quaver, semiquaver motif recurs. There is some syncopation: in

⁸⁹⁹ *Five SSC Part-Songs for Native Schools, ‘Bantwana Be Sikolo’* (‘School children’) (Lovedale: Lovedale Press. 1954), 12. The abbreviation A.T.S.C. behind Tyamzashe’s name refers to his ‘Associateship’. “Front Matter.” *The Musical Times* Volume, 85 No. 1215 (May 1944): 129-136. The Musical Times was founded in 1844.

bar 6 and in bars 7, 8, 9 and 15. In bar 16 there is a ritardando followed by a totally different section in bars 17–18 with only quaver movement until the final crotchet. This song has a joyful mood throughout, and not only where specifically indicated in bar 17.

Example 4.9: 'I-Nkonjane' ('A swallow'), composed by Benjamin Tyamzashe.⁹⁰⁰

I-NKONJANE.

KEY F. M 60 (Twice).

mf

B. TYAMZASHE, A.T.S.C.

S.	{	n	:-.f:m	r	:m	:r	d	:-:--	s	:-:--	}
		Na	nzo i	nkonjan'	e		s'ba		ka		
		Ka	nti ke	no ko	zi		ce		li		
S.	{	d	:-.d:d	d	:d	:t ₁	d	:-:--	d	:-:--	}
C.	{	s ₁	:-.l ₁ :s ₁	f ₁	:-	:f ₁	m ₁	:-:--	m ₁	:-:--	}

{	r	:-:--	s	:-:--	n	:-:--	s	:-:--	}
	ba		ken'		na		nzo		
	mvu		la		na		ntso		
	t ₁	:-:--	t ₁	:-:--	d	:-:--	d	:-:--	
	f ₁	:-:--	f ₁	:-:--	s ₁	:-:--	m ₁	:-:--	

{	n	:-.f:m	r	:m	:r	d	:-:--	s	:-:--	}
	na	nzo zi	dla	la	ne	ntu		bi		
	Ka	nti kwa	ko	na	za	la		ti		
	d	:-.d:d	d	:d	:t ₁	d	:-:--	d	:-:--	
	s ₁	:-.l ₁ :s ₁	f ₁	:-	:f ₁	m ₁	:-:--	m ₁	:-:--	

C.

{	r	s	:-:--		:-:--	:s	s	:-:--	s	:-:--	}
	E				we	ku		hle			
	ntwa				sa	hlo		bo			
	t ₁ m	:-:--	r	:m	:f	m	:-:--	m	:-:--		
	s ₁ d	:-:--		:-:--	:l ₁	:t ₁	d	:-:--	d	:-:--	

f.F.

{	s	:-:--		:-:--	:s	s	:-:--	s	:-:--	s	:-:--	r	:n	}
	ku			ya	dla		lwa	xa	ku					
	e			zi	nko		njan'	e	si					
	f	:-:--		:-:--	:m	:r	m	:-:--	m	:-:--				
	s ₁	:-:--		:-:--	:l ₁	:t ₁	d	:-:--	d	:-:--				

{	f	:-:--		:-:--	:s	l	:-:--	l	:-:--		:-:--		:-:--	}
	ti			wa	nge		na							
	ba			ka	ba		ken'							
		:m ₁	:d	r	:-:--	:m	:-:--	d	:-:--		:-:--		:-:--	
		xa	na	zit'		d	:-:--	f ₁	:-:--		:-:--		:-:--	
		:ds ₁	:l ₁	t ₁	:-:--									
		e	-	si	bak'									

⁹⁰⁰ Five SSC Part-Songs for Native Schools, No. 3: 'I-Nkonjane' ('A swallow') (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1954), 9.

Example 4.10: '*I-Nkonjane*' ('A swallow'), composed by Benjamin Tyamzashe.⁹⁰¹
 Transcribed into staff notation by Sue Cock.

I-NKONJANE

B. TYAMZASHE, A.T.S.C.

The musical score is written on a single treble clef staff in 6/8 time, with a tempo marking of ♩ = 60. The key signature has one flat (F Major). The score consists of 12 bars, divided into three phrases of four bars each. Chord symbols (F, G7, C7, Dm, Bb) are placed above the staff. The lyrics are written below the staff, with English translations in italics. The lyrics are: Na nzo i nko - nja - n'e s'ba ka ba ken' na nzo; Ka nti ke no ko zi ee li mvu la na ntso; na nzo zi dla la ne ntu bi E we ku hle; Ku nti kwa ko na za la ti ntwa sa hlo bo; ku ya dla lwa xa ku ti wa nge na; e zi nko njan' e si ba ka ba ken.

I-Nkonjane by Tyamzashe is in 6/8 time and is in the key of F Major. There are 12 bars of 3 phrases, but the phrasing is irregular. The compound 6/8-time signature is different from the usual simple 4/4 time. The song is marked by leaps of a fourth and fifth, and appoggiaturas, possibly indicating features of the speech tones.

Table 4.6: '*I-Nkonjane*' ('A swallow') composed by Benjamin Tyamzashe.

isiXhosa	English
<i>Nanzo Inkonjan' es'ba ka</i>	There are the swallows in the sky
<i>Kanti ke noko zicel' imvula, nantso</i>	They are asking for rain, there it is
<i>nanzo zidlala nentubi</i>	There they are playing with ntubi
<i>Kanti kwakona zalati</i>	Yet again
<i>Ewe kuhle</i>	Yes, they are pointing to

⁹⁰¹ *Five SSC Part-Songs for Native Schools*, No. 3: '*I-Nkonjane*' ('A swallow') (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1954), 9.

	<i>ntwasahlobo</i>	Spring
	<i>kuya dlalwa xaku</i>	They are playing
	<i>ezinkonjan' e sibakabakeni</i>	These swallows in the sky
	<i>xa na zit'</i>	When they are in
	<i>esi bak'</i>	The sky

Tyamzashe came from a very musical family and the children were taught the rudiments of music. He enjoyed children's songs and composing with themes of nature. Many African composers chose to write about what they knew and had first-hand experience in. The many trees in and around the Lovedale property ensured a prolific bird life. His favourite sacred hymn was 'Wazithwal' izono Yesu' (to bleed and die for Thee), which had been composed by Tiyo Soga.⁹⁰²

Postcolonial perspectives on cultural imperialism

Aijaz Ahmad explains that post-coloniality is "the heritage of imperialism in the rest of the globe".⁹⁰³ In fact, it is the twin of the earlier term 'colonial discourse'.⁹⁰⁴ Robert Young saw post-colonialism as the right of all people on this earth to claim the same rights as others. The hybridity that characterises the music that emerged from Lovedale is indicative of local people "making their own history", who borrow from their European colonists while "reconstructing" their own cultural existence.⁹⁰⁵ This can be linked to the Comaroff's view of colonialism and missionaries during the nineteenth century, where this encounter "led to the objectification of 'the' culture of the colonised in opposition to that of whites."⁹⁰⁶

⁹⁰² Hansen, *The Life and Work of Benjamin Tyamzashe*, 6.

⁹⁰³ Aijaz Ahmad, *Theory: Classes, Nations, Literatures* (London: Verso, 1992).

⁹⁰⁴ Aijaz Ahmad, "The Politics of Literary Postcoloniality," in *Race & Class* 36, no. 3 (1995), 1.

⁹⁰⁵ Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), Introduction: 2.

⁹⁰⁶ Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution*, 18.

The introduction to this study drew on critical race theory as a lens for rethinking oppression and the exploitation of Black Africans' colour. Two Nigerian scholars, Korich and Njoku, have reported on the encounter between Africa and the West during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when African societies were shaped through colonial expansion, evangelism and missionisation. They note frequent disagreements over language and relations of inequality between the colonists and colonised.⁹⁰⁷ The missionaries were often opposed to the colonial authorities, but although their indigenous believers multiplied, at least half of the clergy remained white.⁹⁰⁸

The term 'Remaking Modernity' represents the cultural turn by twentieth-century historiography, along with gender studies and other disciplines.⁹⁰⁹ Deborah Gaitskell explains that 1914 was a 'hinge moment' between 'the developments of a new century' and the 'dying influences of the Victorian era'. When WWI broke out, British women missionaries were already supporting the mission field.⁹¹⁰ Black women's voices need to be heard when considering South Africa's past. Charlotte Manye Maxeke through her new vision, and activities is known as 'the great apostle of South African modernity'. Frieda Bokwe Matthews was a woman teacher who 'grappled with the historical experience of modernity among African people' and who made a lasting impression on her female students.⁹¹¹ Little is known of the life of Nontsizi Mqgqwetho, a South African female poet who competed against the dominance of male poets and whose significant work has been discovered recently.

⁹⁰⁷ Chima J. Korich and Raphael Chijioko Njoku. eds. *Missions, States and European Expansion in Africa* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

⁹⁰⁸ Eric John Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire: 1875–1914* (London: Abacus, 2014), 71.

⁹⁰⁹ Richard Lachmann, "Comparative and Historical Sociology." Newsletter of the ASA Comparative and Historical Sociology section 17 No. 1 (Fall 2005): 2.

⁹¹⁰ Deborah Gaitskell, "Women, Health and the Development of Medical Missions: Some South African Reflections." in a report, Mission No. 20 (Uppsala, Sweden: Swedish Institute of Mission Research, 2002), 58.

⁹¹¹ "Frieda Bokwe Matthews" <http://pzacad.pitzer.edu/NAM/newafre/writers/frieda/friedaS.htm> (accessed September 20, 2020).

Mgqwetho was involved in the mass demonstration against passes in 1919, and in 1924 she appealed for ‘black unity in the face of white oppression’. She was overlooked by scholars who wrote on Xhosa literature.⁹¹² These women leaders, activists and intellectuals whose voices had previously been hidden, fought for ‘the dignity of people of African descent’. They were committed to ending discrimination and racism and eradicating the colour bar.⁹¹³

4.9 CONCLUSION

The historical events which took place during Henderson’s principalship include the Union of South Africa, the Great War and the Mendi disaster, which involved many Lovedale students, as well as the influenza epidemic of 1918. Lovedale students were directly impacted by these events, and many wrote about them in literature and music. This chapter has focused on some of the important personalities to have studied at Lovedale, or to have been associated with Lovedale, its press and other programmes. Profiled in this chapter are A.M. Jonas, Alexander Kerr, Benjamin John Peter Tyamzashe, David John Darlow, Isaac Williams Wauchope, James Henderson, Marcus Mtimkulu Myataza, E.A.J. Monaisa, Neil Macvicar, Reuben Tholakele Caluza, Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews, Frieda Bokwe Matthews and their son Joe Matthews.

The previous chapter outlined the first connections established between African and African American musicians with the visit of the Virginia Jubilee Singers under Orpheus McAdoo. During Henderson’s principalship these connections were reinforced in several ways. Visits by Lovedale educators and students to Presbyterian institutions in the United States were to become frequent in the early decades of the twentieth century. Music and education in the

⁹¹² “Nontsizi Mgqwetho: Way Ahead of Her Time,” *The Journalist* August 19, 2014, <http://www.thejournalist.org.za › pioneers › nontsizi-m>. (accessed May 16, 2021).

⁹¹³ Keisha N. Blain. *We want to Set the World on Fire: Black Nationalist Women and the Global Struggle for Freedom*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018. Blain is a ‘black’ American historian and writer born in 1985. This book shows what is hidden in plain sight.

United States at the Presbyterian institutions Hampton Institute and Oberlin College, the oldest co-educational college in the United States, as well as Tuskegee University, were all important to the careers of students who studied at Lovedale and their principals. Henderson visited Tuskegee where he learnt how a co-educational historically Black institute promoted industrial training and music on a similar model to that adopted at Lovedale.

Under Henderson's leadership, music literacy improved with the implementation of tonic sol-fa practices at Lovedale. But this development was based on skewed race relations with African students no longer trained in staff notation. These developments embodied the kind of 'practical' education to which Africans were subjected, and which was ultimately to their detriment. Similarly, racial discrimination was in place at the American institutions visited by Henderson and others where segregation was firmly entrenched. Resistance to segregation is expressed in some of the music discussed in this chapter, but it was also made overt in the prevailing unrest in South Africa after the Great War. There was a riot at Lovedale in 1920 while Reverend John Lennox was Acting Principal. The growing racial divisions at Lovedale were evident, for instance, during the time of ZK Matthews who reported there being only a few white boys and girls as day-pupils and no white children boarders. This was a marked change for an institution that Govan had described as aspiring to equal and excellent education for both Africans and Europeans only a few decades earlier.

Ultimately, Henderson's tenure as principal provided continuity after Stewart's passing, and did not depart much from Stewart's policies. One of his major achievements was to bring to fruition Stewart's vision for the establishment of a university college for Africans. The University of Fort Hare was established in 1916 and had close ties to Lovedale until the latter's demise in 1955. Many of Lovedale's most prominent alumni would also go on to

study at Fort Hare, and some of them became influential leaders in South African politics and society.

The fourth principal, Rev Dr Arthur West Wilkie (1932–1942) will be discussed in the next chapter, as well as the enduring influence of Lovedale Press in terms of publishing the works of African composers.

CHAPTER 5

ARTHUR WEST WILKIE AND THE FOURTH PERIOD AT LOVEDALE, 1932–1942

“The earliest record of anything written by any Bantu-speaking African in his own language in South Africa was made at the small printing press at Old Lovedale.”

(Words by A.C. Jordan on a Plaque outside the Lovedale Press building Alice).

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Rev. Dr Arthur West Wilkie served from 1931 to 1942. Wilkie improved the Lovedale Press and made important contributions to the development of music education for girls. The Lovedale press became one of the most important publishers of music in Africa at the time. Wilkie also improved the Bible school, high school and hospital. Technical training was expanded, and Lovedale increased its capacity, taking on many more pupils. Some of the important figures and organisations associated with Lovedale during this period are Sol Plaatjie and the Bantu Church. The choral music of D.C. Marivate is discussed here in some detail. The chapter also describes the shift in gender dynamics at Lovedale. The development of music education is also evident in art music written by African composers such as Michael Moerane, whose ‘*Fatse La Heso*’ was recorded by the British Broadcasting Corporation. This remarkable work was in keeping with late Romantic and early twentieth century symphonic tone poems by British, Finnish, and other European composers who adopted pastoral themes. The importance of Fort Hare – introduced in the previous chapter – is incorporated and the music of Masiza, one of the first students to be enrolled at the College, is analysed. The poets Francis Carey Slater and Siphon Mangindi Burns-Ncamashe are introduced, and the importance of brass bands is discussed.

5.2 PROFILE OF REV. DR ARTHUR WEST WILKIE

Reverend Dr Arthur West Wilkie C.B.E., D.D. was a missionary of the United Free Church of Scotland.⁹¹⁴ He was also the fourth principal of Lovedale from 1932 to his retirement in 1942.⁹¹⁵ He was born on 9 November 1875 in Cheshire, England. His parents were Scottish, but his schooling was undertaken in England although he studied further in Scotland.⁹¹⁶ He was the son of Mougach Wilkie and Jessie Brown Wilkie (née Thomson). He was educated at Edgemont in England from in 1882 to 1884 and at the Wallsey Grammar School, located in Leasowe in the English county of Merseyside in north-west England, from 1884 to 1891. He attended Livingstone University from 1891 to 1892, Glasgow University from 1892 to 1897, and the United Presbyterian Theological Hall from 1897 to 1900. Wilkie married Marion Boyd Robson on 29 April 1903.⁹¹⁷ He had been ordained in Perth, a city in central Scotland, at the United Free Church in August 1901, and in the Bridgend Church in West Lothian. He was appointed to Calabar on 23 April 1901, the Gold Coast from 1918 to 1931, and then to Lovedale from 21 July 1931 until his retirement in 31 March 1942. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from The University of Glasgow in 1927.⁹¹⁸

Wilkie was appointed the leader of the mission in the Gold Coast territory, where he proved to be a good administrator and leader when faced with many difficult situations. He prided himself on creating a spirit of harmony and loyalty.⁹¹⁹ His wife, Marion, was the daughter of a former Moderator of the General Assembly of the United Free Church. Her father, Reverend George Robson, had been a leading figure in the work of the UFC. She

⁹¹⁴ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1841–1941, 381.

⁹¹⁵ John Alexander Lamb. *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae. The Succession of Ministers in The Church of Scotland from The Reformation*. Volume IX, Ministers of The Church from the Union of The Churches 2 October 1929 to 31 December 1954 (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1961).

⁹¹⁶ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1841–1941, 381.

⁹¹⁷ Register of Missionaries (UP Free Church 1855–1921) Acc 7548/D 104.

⁹¹⁸ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1841–1941, 382.

⁹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 282.

collaborated with her husband in their missionary work on the west coast of Africa, where she learnt the Ga language along the Gold Coast and tried to ensure “the betterment of the lot of women and children” living there, for which she received the thanks of government officials.⁹²⁰ She continued this role and assisted her husband at Lovedale.

5.2.1 Wilkie and the education of women and girls

Wilkie advanced the education of women and girls during his principalship and the number of boarding girls at Lovedale grew from a total of 220 in 1933 to 361 in 1941.⁹²¹ ⁹²² Wilkie improved the Lovedale Press and also encouraged women to become book binders.⁹²³ In 1940, a new group of women bookbinders completed their second year of apprenticeship.⁹²⁴ An important feature of Lovedale and other mission schools in the Eastern Cape is that they were boarding institutions.⁹²⁵ This meant that students from across southern Africa could attend and become fully integrated into the Lovedale community. Wilkie wanted to provide instruction at Lovedale that would enable African girls to optimise the limited resources available to them.⁹²⁶ A two- to three-year domestic science course was supplemented by a four-month course that included hygiene and “child welfare instruction,” as well as practical skills such as housekeeping, cooking, laundry work, knitting and sewing.⁹²⁷

⁹²⁰ *Daily Despatch*, 1 February 1932. *The South African Outlook*, March 1932, 55-57.

⁹²¹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1824–1955*, 113.

⁹²² Ellen Kuzwayo (Nnoseng Ellen Kate Merafe) (1914–2006), is one famous Lovedale alumna who went on to graduate from Fort Hare in 1936. She wrote her autobiography and became the first black writer to receive South Africa’s premier literary prize, the CNS Literary Award in 1987 (E. Kuzwayo, *Call Me Woman*. London: Woman’s Press, 1985).

⁹²³ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa 1824–1955*, 154. There were positions opening for women. Mrs G. Bauer was appointed in the bookstore in 1927 and became the head in 1955.

⁹²⁴ Lovedale Missionary Institution Report for 1940, 30.

⁹²⁵ Bundy, “*Lessons on the Frontier: Aspects of Eastern Cape History*”, 15. Initially Ellen had to adjust to the ‘foreign’ atmosphere at the college. She became a teacher in 1938 until her opposition to the Bantu Education Act in 1952. While a student at Lovedale she found that her ‘outlook, values and way of life’ were influenced by the established traditions of the Institute (Bundy, “*Lessons on the Frontier: Aspects of Eastern Cape history*”, 93).

⁹²⁶ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1824–1955*, 107.

⁹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 113.

Table 5.1: The growth of girls' attendance figures at the boarding house at Lovedale.

Year	Number	Total
1933	184 + 36 nurses	220
1937	204 + 56 nurses	260
1938	251 + 55 nurses	306
1939	281 + 58 nurses	339
1941	276 + 85 nurses	361
	Total	1 486

African nurses were trained at the Victoria Hospital at Lovedale. Dr Macvicar was assisted by Miss Mary Balmer, the hospital matron from 1903 to 1926, in this pioneering project. Initially, they encountered prejudice from both Black and White fronts over the exclusion of Black students. Eventually, in 1903, two young African women, one of them Miss Cecelia Makiwane (1880–1919), entered their course. Nurse Makiwane, who had attended the Girls' School at Lovedale, became the first “professionally trained African nurse” in South Africa.⁹²⁸ She was also an activist for women's rights.

5.2.2 The music curriculum in Britain and its influence on Lovedale

By this time, music education had developed into a formal part of the curriculum in England, and progress was made across Britain in the provision of elementary music education.⁹²⁹ Students at training colleges were tested in music. Mr William G. McNaught visited the different colleges of the Free Church of Scotland in 1884, as well as those at Bangor, Carmarthen, Homerton, and was impressed by the standard of singing at Borough Road and Westminster. He reported back to Dr John Stainer, an organ professor serving on the inspectorate of music education in the UK at the time, that the choral singing of the female

⁹²⁸ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa 1824–1955*, 91. Nurse Makiwane later passed the nursing examination of the Cape Colony Medical Council in 1907.

⁹²⁹ Bernarr Rainbow, “The Rise of Popular Music Education in Nineteenth-Century England,” *Victorian Studies* 30, no. 1 (1986): 25.

music students at Swansea, which is within the boundaries of Glamorgan in Wales, “showed good taste” and that care had been taken with their singing. Care had also been taken with “voice culture and expression” at Bangor and Carmarthen, where the male choir had made a concerted music effort to sing well, and their examination performance was good. The students were required to read music in a minor key and do ear tests. Since music was part of the education curriculum, everyone took music examinations. Back in South Africa, the students at Lovedale, with its association with the Free Church, would also have been required to do ear tests, read music and sing as part of their music education, since the institute followed the curriculum set in Scotland, which promoted singing in schools and institutions. Art, physical education, and music were promoted at Lovedale from 1904,⁹³⁰ as was solo and congregational singing.⁹³¹

5.2.3 Wilkie, education and the influence of Tuskegee

Wilkie possessed qualities of tact and diplomacy,⁹³² and his leadership style focused on the “conciliation between Government and missions” and between “Europeans and native races”.⁹³³ He believed in dialogue to solve problems and avoided conflict, as he was not a man of controversy. He steered a “middle path” while he was at Lovedale.⁹³⁴ From his headquarters in Accra, Wilkie had gained considerable experience in educational affairs with Achimota College while appointed as the leader of the mission in the Gold Coast (Ghana)

⁹³⁰ Clare Rachel Brown, “The Art of Mission: The Role of Visual Culture in Victorian Mission to Southern Africa, 1840–1910” (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, March 2018).

⁹³¹ The children were encouraged to perform on stage and a successful concert was held in the Ntselamanzi Hall in August 1940, when Mr Nyoka was thanked for his help in a report. *Lovedale Missionary Institution Report for 1940*, 23.

⁹³² Wilkie’s Journal, 2 Volumes, 1933–1942. Cory MS 9044. The journal gives interesting insight into his ability to ‘combine tact, diplomacy and negotiation to resolve any potentially explosive issues.’

⁹³³ Timothy Raymond Howard White, “Lovedale 1930–1955: The Study of a Missionary Institution in its Social, Educational and Political Context” (PhD Dissertation, Rhodes University, 1987), 17, 18.

⁹³⁴ White, “Lovedale 1930–1955”, 20.

and Togoland (Togo) territory. Wilkie had played an important role on the Gold Coast in educational affairs while he was a member of several government education commissions.⁹³⁵

Wilkie attended several important international missionary conferences, including the first International Missionary Council meeting at Lake Mohonk, New York, in 1921. In 1928, he travelled to Jerusalem for a meeting of the International Missionary Council and went to Le Zoute in Belgium to deliver a paper entitled, ‘The Education of the African Peoples’.⁹³⁶ Stewart and Henderson had also attended Missionary Council meetings to ensure a continued favourable influence in matters generally affecting their students and the African people of South Africa. Wilkie and his wife travelled to Hampton and Tuskegee in the United States in 1921, where they visited African American institutions. This gave Wilkie the opportunity to study “how a different society coped with its racial problems”.⁹³⁷ Wilkie also experienced the singing of the school choir and the prominent place singing had in the life of this educational institution. Wilkie noticed that the African Christian teachers and pupils referred to “my people”, and that the students who attended these schools were taught how “best to serve their people”.⁹³⁸ Wilkie was not the first person mentioned in this thesis to visit Tuskegee (see §4.2.3 on Henderson).

Booker T. Washington was the principal of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. He promoted “African industrial education” and “self-improvement” in Africa to attain the upliftment of African society through economic development. He also suggested that Africans “accept Western religion”.⁹³⁹ Washington developed the school choir in 1886 and

⁹³⁵ Ibid., 16.

⁹³⁶ Edwin Smith, *The Christian Mission in Africa: A Study Based on the Proceedings of the International Conference of Le Zoute* (Belgium: International Missionary Council, 1926), 58–59.

⁹³⁷ White, “Lovedale 1930–1955,” 19.

⁹³⁸ Ibid., 41, and Smith, *The Christian Mission in Africa*, 63.

⁹³⁹ W. Manning Marable, “Booker T. Washington and African Nationalism,” *Phylon* 35, no. 4 (1974), 398.

his daughter, Portia Washington Pittman, was one of the directors of the choir, which sang at vesper services and other campus events. There were weekly Chapel services where the singing of “African American Spirituals was a tradition by everyone attending worship”. This school “developed and passed on a singing tradition”. Washington promoted singing and stated that “If you go out to have schools of your own, have your pupils sing as you have sung here, and teach them to see the beauty which dwells in songs.” Singing at Tuskegee by The Tuskegee University Choir in Alabama was also a focal point, and students at this institute were all encouraged to participate in “communal singing”.⁹⁴⁰ Similarly, hymn singing was part of everyday life at Lovedale and it was tradition for the students to sing “on the steps and under the oaks”.⁹⁴¹ The musical activities of the two institutions were brought in harmony by a series of visits and collaborations by principals and teachers.

Lamin Senneh outlines the “ethnomusicology of Christianity” and suggests ways of “defining and historicising” the relationship between Christianity and “its musics in ‘cross-cultural’ and ‘transnational perspectives’”. Often, Christianity becomes part of the “musical experience”, where it is a “seemingly ever-present dimension of everyday life”. An example could be the religious practice of “congregational singing” in “colonial projects” and “Western missions”.⁹⁴² In this case, Lovedale and Tuskegee serve as perfect examples. Other Lovedale affiliates who had visited Tuskegee included Jabavu, as well as, earlier, the principals Henderson and Stewart, who followed Booker T. Washington’s view that education, which included music and singing, was the key to advancement.⁹⁴³ Graduates from mission schools enrolled at colleges in America where they were exposed to “African-American political

⁹⁴⁰ “History of the Tuskegee University Choir,” Tuskegee University, <https://www.tuskegee.edu/student-life/join-a-student-organization/choir/choir-history> (accessed January 10, 2020).

⁹⁴¹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1824–1955*, 70, 71, 93, 369.

⁹⁴² Lamin Senneh, “The Yogi and the Commissar: Christian Missions and the New World Order in Africa,” in *World Order and Religion*, ed. Wade Clark Roof (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), Abstract.

⁹⁴³ Coplan, *In Township Tonight!* 89.

ideas”. Upon returning home, such graduates looked at practical ways of interpreting their “black American experiences” to address the “needs of their own people”.⁹⁴⁴

Coquéry-Vidrovitch investigated the transformations of social segregation in the period of decolonisation. She found that the political and social reorientation adopted by postcolonial regimes within a process of modernisation, often still had its roots in colonial examples and practices.⁹⁴⁵ Els Bogaerts and Remco Raben wrote that most of the countries that had previously been colonised by European powers became independent in the twentieth century and there was a transition from ‘colonialism’ to ‘postcolonial rule’.⁹⁴⁶

As mission educated intellectuals, people like Caluza, Dube and Jabavu, built on their missionary training while observing the “progress” of African Americans in the United States. Students from Lovedale were also hospitably treated in Britain and returned home to South Africa hoping for economic, political and social progress “for their people” as well as “racial toleration”.⁹⁴⁷ They unfortunately found that nothing had changed in South Africa since they had left. This includes Helen Nontando Jabavu (Noni) (1919– 2008) who was born in Alice.⁹⁴⁸ During the latter part of the nineteenth century, missions in the Eastern Cape served as important centres promoting “agricultural and industrial skills”.⁹⁴⁹ D.D.T. Jabavu

⁹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁹⁴⁵ Els Bogaerts and Remco Raben. eds. *Beyond Empire and Nation – The Decolonization of African and Asian societies, 1930s–1970s* (Boston: Leiden, 2012), 5.

⁹⁴⁶ Bogaerts, *Beyond Empire and Nation*, 3.

⁹⁴⁷ A.P. Walshe, “The Origins of African Political Consciousness in South Africa,” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 7, no. 4 (1969), 590.

⁹⁴⁸ During the years 1880 to 1980, African literary figures produced literature in response to black-white relationships with the European settlers in South Africa, which often involved racism and oppression. Bojana Vuyisile Jordan, “Using the English Language, South African Writers Fight Back against the Colonisers’ Writings and Philosophies” (MA Dissertation, State University of New York at Albany, 1995). The lives of the Jabavu family were used as an example to emphasise and humanise the ‘new’ culture, basically ‘what happened’ and ‘why it happened’. Two books written by Noni Jabavu ‘paint a picture’ of ‘actual life experiences’ namely, ‘The Ochre People’ and ‘Drawn in Colour’. Noni Jabavu, *The Ochre People: Scenes from a South African Life* (London: John Murray, 1963), 20, 21. Noni Jabavu, *Drawn in Colour. African Contrasts* (London: John Murray, 1960).

⁹⁴⁹ Rich, “The Appeals of Tuskegee,” 271.

was commissioned by the Native Affairs Department to write a report on the Tuskegee Institute, as it could possibly become a model for Black education in South Africa.⁹⁵⁰

The Inter-departmental Committee Report on aspects of African education appeared in 1936. Wilkie had given the Committee a memorandum when they had come to Lovedale. In the Report, it was recorded that Professor Edgar Harry Brookes (1897–1979), Dr Wouter de Vos Malan (1892–1960) and Dr A.W. Wilkie (1932–1942) had maintained that “there is no difference in the ultimate aim of education; whether you are educating Black people or white people”.⁹⁵¹ These ideals did not lead to changes in educational policy in the context of a segregated society in which the politics of race were deeply entrenched. Instead, an emphasis on outcomes specific to the indigenous peoples became a goal of education for Blacks in South Africa.

Wilkie had been one of the main missionaries serving on the Phelps-Stokes Commission. A recommendation was that education should be adapted to the “actual condition of the people in their environment” and that the syllabus be adapted “to bear more directly on the actual lives of the people.”⁹⁵² Elementary education was important and the missionaries should concentrate on “village, intermediate and secondary education”.⁹⁵³ Wilkie’s idea was to “influence the African home” through the older women who would share ways on how to make healthy meals and durable clothes, amongst other things.⁹⁵⁴ A four-month course was

⁹⁵⁰ Sandra Stanley Holton, “Segregation, Racism and White Women Reformers: A Transnational Analysis, 1840–1912,” *Women’s History Review* 10, no. 1 (2001): 19.

⁹⁵¹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa 1882–1955*, 112. At Lovedale it is recognised that there are ‘Natives in South Africa who will be recognized by posterity as having done much significant work’ (Shepherd, 1971, 113).

⁹⁵² White, *Lovedale 1930–1955*, 32. International Missionary Conference, Le Zoute, Belgium, 14–21 September 1926.

⁹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 37. ‘Jeanes Schools’ were introduced by a Quaker woman, Anna T. Jeanes, who believed that supervisory teachers could travel from village to village and ‘initiate new methods and improvements.’

also offered at Lovedale that included topics on child care, cooking, knitting and needlework; singing formed part of the group activities.⁹⁵⁵ This was in keeping with the standards of other missionaries of the Glasgow Missionary Society, who emphasised village education, where the Africans were taught crafts and skills “which would be useful to them in life”.⁹⁵⁶ It was also here that singing was used to reinforce the Gospel. Wilkie was a strong believer in the importance of village life, where Lovedale was the centre and was connected to the community which it served. Lovedale emphasised “the social nature of education”, where the “African child” would be surrounded with familiar things.⁹⁵⁷ This included familiar songs but also the singing of a new repertoire of songs from African composers. In pre-colonial Africa, “education had been geared to life” in that children had sat around the fire learning about the folk tales, legends and traditions of their people from their elders.⁹⁵⁸ They also sang folk songs.

Wilkie hoped that the school would offer a good education and stem the tendency for drifting towards the towns. He also hoped that those who did go to the cities would have “stronger affinities to tradition and to their past”.⁹⁵⁹ Lovedale had a good singing tradition of Christian songs and hymns. The singing of local songs, using rhythms accompanied by Western instruments, had become popular among the students, especially those in the brass band. Gospel music could be enjoyed by both Christians and non-Christians in the area, and the instruments that were introduced came to influence even the more traditional (non-Western) music of many communities.

‘Jeanes Schools,’ *The South African Outlook* 2 (May 1927): 90-92. But in South Africa, the system would have to be ‘adapted to suit local conditions.’ White, “Lovedale 1930-1955, 38.

⁹⁵⁵ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1824–1955, 113.

⁹⁵⁶ White, *Lovedale 1930–1955*, iv.

⁹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁹⁵⁸ Smith, *The Christian Mission in Africa*, 63.

⁹⁵⁹ Lovedale, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1824–1955, 42.

5.3 GROWTH AT LOVEDALE UNDER WILKIE'S LEADERSHIP

5.3.1 Wilkie's approach and the principals before him

Stewart's powerful influence on the development of Lovedale had stretched over a long period of the institution's history. His long service provided stability, but the institute was also in need of change. Henderson continued to "pursue Stewart's goals," thereby ensuring continuity for the institute during his principalship. He also believed in promoting "the development of character" that would determine the survival of the African people.⁹⁶⁰ According to him, this would be achieved through discipline, obedience, self-restraint and a strong spiritual outlook, all of which would ensure the students' influence over, and the continued welfare of, their own people.⁹⁶¹ It was during Wilkie's principalship that important reforms were introduced. For instance, he established a Practising School for the "coloured" pupils in the area surrounding Lovedale in April 1940.⁹⁶² This Practising School, under the principalship of Mr V.L. Nixon,⁹⁶³ had an enrolment of 502 students in the last year of Wilkie's principalship.⁹⁶⁴ But this emphasis on segregated schooling was another factor in the polarisation of Lovedale, and its shift toward a more conservative and politically acquiescent institution. The policy at Lovedale was to provide students with "technical training", as this was considered both appropriate and necessary. A high standard of work was maintained in the industrial departments and academic courses at Lovedale.⁹⁶⁵ Industrial training therefore

⁹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁹⁶² Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa*, 1824–1955, 21.

⁹⁶³ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 519. Vivian Leonard Nixen was the assistant teacher at the Training School from 1931 to 1938, after which he became the Head of the Practicing School from late 1939.

⁹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 107. The Nationalist government emphasised the necessity for the segregation of non-Europeans in the life of the country. Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa 1841–1941*, 344.

⁹⁶⁵ White, *Lovedale 1930–1955*, 55.

played an integral role and received a prominent place in the planning process. By 1939, 161 young men and women were taking full-time courses that focused on industrial training.⁹⁶⁶

5.3.2 The Bible school and evangelism

Wilkie, as the new Principal at Lovedale, needed to organise the new Lovedale Bible School, which was formally opened in November 1932. This appeared to be one of the “most promising of Lovedale’s ventures”,⁹⁶⁷ and it provided yet another opportunity for music at gatherings. The school was inter-denominational and a respected minister of the Bantu Presbyterian Church, Reverend Y. Mbali, was present at the opening.⁹⁶⁸ Reverend Mbali was the first African Moderator of the General Assembly of the Bantu Presbyterian Church. There were 21 moderators between the years 1923 and 1946, of which 11 were African ministers and ten were European missionaries. The African ministers received a very good theological education at Lovedale and Fort Hare.⁹⁶⁹

5.3.3 Bantu Presbyterian Church.

The “native churches” in the colony needed to maintain themselves and supply their own pastors. After 1898, as a result of the Mzimba secession from the Scottish mission, the next step was the formation in 1923 of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa (BPCSA) in 1923.⁹⁷⁰ This church was to be independent of the Presbyterian Church of South Africa and the intention was that it would work closely with the United Free Church of Scotland. Dr Henderson had been the chairman of the Commission to oversee the establishment of the new

⁹⁶⁶ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa 1824–1955*, 109. A.D. Dodd, a member of the Lovedale teaching staff accessed the book, *Native Vocational Training* in 1939 and found that 75% of the Lovedale Industrial Department alumni apprentices made progressive ‘effective use of their training’.

⁹⁶⁷ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1824–1955*, 391.

⁹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 387.

⁹⁶⁹ G. Bengt and M. Sundkler, *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1948), 344.

⁹⁷⁰ David Burchell, “The Origins of the Bantu Presbyterian Church in South Africa,” *South African Historical Journal* no. 9 (1977), 39–58.

church. The church was constituted at Lovedale on 4 July 1923, with many Africans and Europeans present.⁹⁷¹

5.3.4 The Lovedale Press

The Bible School cooperated with the Lovedale Press to print monthly pamphlets used as part of the “ministry of the printed word”.⁹⁷² A vernacular press aided evangelistic work at clinics, hospitals and Sunday Schools. Lovedale realised the power and influence of the press on education and evangelism,⁹⁷³ as well as the printing of music scores. Examples of some isiXhosa publications are listed below:

Amavo by J.J.R. Jolobe⁹⁷⁴

Ingqumbo Yeminyanya by A.C. Jordan⁹⁷⁵

*The AmaCulo esikolo se Cawa - Xhosa Sunday School Hymnary.*⁹⁷⁶

The Xhosa Book of Occasional Offices for the Church of the Province⁹⁷⁷

The Xhosa Service Book of the Congregational Union⁹⁷⁸

The Lovedale Press, founded in 1823, was the “oldest printing press in Africa”.⁹⁷⁹ African languages and African culture were emphasised, and the development of African literature was promoted at Lovedale. Reverend R.H.W. Shepherd became the “Convenor of the Press

⁹⁷¹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1824–1955*, 88.

⁹⁷² *Ibid.*, 390.

⁹⁷³ John H. Ritson, “Christian Literature in the Mission Field,” *International Review of Mission* 4, no. 2 (2015), 200–220.

⁹⁷⁴ J.J.R. Jolobe, *Amavo: Xhosa Essays Black Writers (Xhosa Edition)* (Johannesburg: Wits University Press, 1973).

⁹⁷⁵ Archibald C. Jordan, *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* (Alice: Lovedale Press, 1940). This classic novel in isiXhosa was translated into English by Archibald C. Jordan, together with his wife Phyllis Priscilla Jordan (1920–2016) (née Ntantala), a South African women’s rights activist, and published as the ‘*Wrath of the C. Jordan, Ancestors*’ in 1980. The book discusses ‘The clash of cultures’ in the *Tsolo* district in the eastern Cape. Archibald, *Wrath of the Ancestors*, 36.

⁹⁷⁶ Lovedale Missionary Institution. *Principal’s Report for 1940* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1940), 28.

⁹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁹⁷⁹ White, *Lovedale 1930–1955*, 73.

Committee in 1930". Shortly after arriving at Lovedale, he accepted Sol Plaatjie's novel, *Mhudi*, for publication, with the overarching theme being the "transition from a traditional society to a western orientated one".⁹⁸⁰

5.4 DANIEL CORNEL MARIVATE (1897–1986)

5.4.1 Daniel Cornel Marivate

Daniel Cornel Marivate (1897–1986) was born on 18 February 1897 at the Valdezia Swiss Mission⁹⁸¹. He was a hymn writer who entered Lovedale in 1924 after completing his Junior Certificate. His hymns can be found in the *Tinsimu ta vakriste* (Hymns of Christians), a Tsonga hymn book published by the Evangelical Presbyterian Church (Swiss Mission in South Africa).⁹⁸² He was educated at Valdezia between 1904 and 1908 before receiving private tuition from Rev. Paul Rosset of the Swiss Mission Station between 1909 and 1912. Thereafter, he attended the Lemana College of education in Elim, Limpopo, between July 1912 and July 1915.⁹⁸³ Marivate was appointed as a teacher at Manabele School after his graduation, before being transferred to Mambedi near Valdezia in 1916. Shortly after marrying Bertha Mangengeni in July 1923, he moved to Lovedale High School in 1924. He obtained his Junior Certificate in 1925 and was appointed as the principal of the Valdezia

⁹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁹⁸¹ This mission was established in 1875 by Henri Bertroud and Ernest Creux in the Soutpansberg District. A clinic and the Valdezia Primary School were erected in 1888. Valdezia was the forerunner of the Elim Hospital, which was established in 1899.

⁹⁸² Mission Suisse dans l'Afrique du Sud, "*Tinsimu ta tinhlengeletano ta vakriste: xikarhi ka vatsonga*," (Johannesburg: Swiss Mission in South Africa, 1962). This particular copy is available at the University of South Africa's Main Library (in Pretoria) in the Open Collection 896.37301 TIN.

"Valdezia Mission Station," South Africa.com, <https://www.southafrica.com/attractions/heritage-sites/valdezia/> (accessed January 14, 2020). Shiambane, Shisozwele, Marivate's grandmother was the first convert of the Vatsonga, known as the people's daughter "Valdezia – South Africa," The Valdezia Mission Station was declared a national monument in 1999. The Swiss missionaries introduced churches, hospitals and schools in an area where there were none before they came.

⁹⁸³ The Lemana Training Institution was established in 1906 and the 'Lemana Alumni Association' is known as (LEALMA)' (Halala, *A history of the EPCSA*, 2015. The Rikatla Bible School was in Mocambique.

School shortly thereafter. In 1930, he returned to Lovedale, where he obtained a lower teacher's certificate in teaching (N.P.H.) by the end of the year.

In 1931, Marivate was invited to London by E. Gallo of the Singer Gramophone Company, who wanted to make recordings of both Shangaan and Venda music. While in London, he made good use of his time by obtaining a diploma in tonic sol-fa. In 1932, he was invited a second time by the African Boy Scouts Association to receive training in Scoutcraft. Marivate returned to South Africa in 1939. Over the course of the next year, he travelled all over South Africa and the Protectorates to visit the different scout troops. They spent much of their time learning and singing the scout songs that Marivate had encountered abroad. The Swiss Mission also organised scout and guide troops and teaching patrols were sent into the bush from the stations.⁹⁸⁴

In 1945, Marivate enrolled for his Matriculation certificate examination, which he obtained in 1945 with a University Exemption. He passed his final examinations in 1956, when the Swiss Mission offered theological courses free of charge. His ordination took place in July 1956. The list below of music examples written by D.C. Marivate was taken from various sources, including an unpublished address entitled 'The Development of Music in the Soutpansberg Area'. Marivate gave the address on April 4, 1973, to his European friends at the Elim Hospital, which is located in the Soutpansberg town of Elim, south-east of Louis Trichardt.⁹⁸⁵

⁹⁸⁴ Joan Knoesen, *The Swiss Mission in South Africa*, 1987. Inventory for AC1084. Wits Historical Papers Research Archive.

⁹⁸⁵ Marivate, "The Development of Music in the Soutpansberg Area," 1.

Table 5.2: List of some of Marivate’s compositions.^{986 987}

<i>A yi vuye Afrika</i>	They are not African
<i>Goliad</i>	Goliath
<i>Heilige Nacht (Beethoven)</i>	Based on the theme from Beethoven’s Piano Sonata in F minor, Opus 5, second movement.
<i>Homo yo Easa</i>	A cow of Easa
<i>Jobo</i>	Job
<i>Kaya</i>	Home
<i>Khale ka Jiwawa</i>	Jiwawa the old
<i>Lifu da ku, Muhanyisi</i>	Muhanyisi is the giver of life or healer
<i>Mbuti Ya Shidzwele (Key in E)</i>	Time to say goodbye
<i>Mhlakaza/ Umhlakaza</i>	Scatter
<i>‘No Colour det’</i>	Based on a Tsonga folk song.
<i>Phelindhaba (1947)</i>	A place: “the news ended”
<i>Vakhale va vurile (composed in the mid-Atlantic on his way to Europe)</i>	The old have spoken
<i>Xidzedze (published in Tinsimu) composed on his way from Louis Trichardt on a bicycle). He taught it at the Bethanic Teachers’ Conference and then sent it to Lovedale for printing. It is now in the Swiss Mission hymn book.</i>	Vortex
<i>Xinkankanka</i>	The Leopard
<i>Xinyenyani (words and music by Marivate)</i>	The Bird
<i>Xirimo</i>	Summer
<i>Yingysan, Vamakweru (included in the Tsonga hymn book)</i>	Listen Brethren

5.4.2 Marivate’s school songs for choir competitions

Henri Philippe Junod wrote the foreword to Marivate’s *School Songs for Choir Competitions* (Valdezia 1934) in which he refers to Marivate as a “true Tsonga (Shangaan) belonging to the

⁹⁸⁶ A good reference in connection with the above table is “Minutes of the meeting of the Transvaal Advisory Board for Native Education held in the Old Government Buildings, Pretoria on Thursday, 14 September 1939,” Historical Papers, http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdfo/AD1715/AD1715-12-9-1-001-jpeg.pdf (accessed May 21, 2020).

⁹⁸⁷ Also refer to D.C. Marivate, “*The Development of Music in the Soutspanberg Area*” An address held at Elim Hospital in April 1973, Elim, Soutspanberg.

clan of Sambo, settled in the vicinity of Shinavane in the Lourenques Marques District”.⁹⁸⁸ He refers to Marivate as “a good student of European culture” but also “a true lover of his own”. Marivate collected many of the folk songs of his people, which he arranged in tonic sol-fa. All of the songs in Marivate’s booklet are written in tonic sol-fa and are in four-part harmony (SATB). The lyrics to many of these songs are in Tsonga alone, but there are some, such as ‘Oxford Bags’, that combine Tsonga and English lyrics. Another example is ‘No Colour Det’ where the words and music are by Marivate himself.⁹⁸⁹

5.4.3 Marivate’s music teachers

Marivate’s family was very musical. Azael Solomon Tsongainwe, Marivate’s uncle, was a good singer, as was Gaius Nandlati. His music teachers included Mrs Harry Thomas at Lomana (1912), who gave Marivate private piano lessons and showed him how to read and write music by teaching him both staff notation and tonic sol-fa. Miss Parker also gave him private lessons and taught him music theory in 1924 at Lovedale. Miss Brunsweller trained him when he returned to Valdezia (the Valedzia mission was known for its singing),⁹⁹⁰ and also bought him a piano so that he could practise. Later on, after travelling to Pretoria, he was taught by the teachers who ran the music courses at The Christian Academy at Roodekrans in Krugersdorp.

5.4.4 Bantu Eisteddfod

Marivate claimed that “the Bantu like collective singing, especially harmonised songs”.⁹⁹¹ They also “prefer singing without accompaniment” as long as they are in a group.⁹⁹² A

⁹⁸⁸ D.C. Marivate, “No Colour det,” in *School Songs for Choir Competitions*, Valdezia 1934, http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/8691/MCC9_1_3_Part1.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y (accessed May 21, 2020.). This booklet is available online through the University of South Africa’s institutional repository.

⁹⁸⁹ Marivate, “No Colour det,” foreword.

⁹⁹⁰ Marivate, “The Development of Music in the Soutspansberg Area,” 1.

⁹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 1.

teacher, Mr H.S. Phillips, and others formed a Joint Council of Europeans and Africans at Valdezia and decided to organise a ‘Bantu’ Eisteddfod to encourage singing. The event was held at the Elim Chapel.⁹⁹³ Each choir that entered was required to sing their own song, one which had been composed for them. This is how the teachers Dan Malungana, Etiene Tlakula and Samuel Joos Hlekani Hlekani,⁹⁹⁴ and others began composing. One of Marivate’s compositions, ‘*Umhlakaza*’, is discussed below.

Figure 5.1: The certificate awarded to D.C. Marivate during the 1938 Bantu Eisteddfod.⁹⁹⁵



⁹⁹² *Ibid.*, 1.

⁹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁹⁹⁴ Yvonne Huskisson, “*Black Composers of Southern Africa: An Expanded Supplement to The Bantu Composers of Southern Africa*,” ed. Sarita Hauptfleisch. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council, 1992: 7. Hlekani composed ‘Hlavati; Khale anga vuyi’; ‘Makhweru’; ‘Tiko rale vuxeni’ and ‘Vuya kaya’. He passed away on 15 April 1978.

⁹⁹⁵ The Certificate of Merit was awarded by the Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu, Zoutpansberg. Image source: University of South Africa Archives, Marivate Papers Collection (DCAS ACC 124), <http://hdl.handle.net/10500/8714> (accessed May 21, 2020).

Table 5.3: Marivate's 'A yi vuye Afrika' in xiTsonga with translations in English.

Tsonga	English
<i>Hima-le- mbe la ye ta-la</i>	It has been many years
<i>Ti-ko ra A - fri – ka</i>	The continent/nation of Africa
<i>a ri e tle - le e swe – ni</i>	Has been asleep
<i>lo-wuku-lu nge-pfu</i>	A long sleep
<i>yi nga ti vi ni ku ta-la</i>	We did not know how much
<i>ka-shu-wa sha ro – na</i>	It is worth
<i>Ti - ko ra vu - lo - mbe ni ra ntswa mba</i>	The land of milk and honey
<i>Ka-mbeswe- swi swi-lo swihu-ndu-ke nge- pfunge- pfu kwa-la</i>	Now things have changed
<i>A fi-ri - ka Va nhuva ti ka-ra te - -la swi - ke – le</i>	In Africa now people are trying/are pushing themselves
<i>Ma - ja - ha Va - nhwa - na, Swi - hla – ngi</i>	Young men, young women, children
<i>ma - do - da hi - kwa vo va fe - la yo dyo – ndo</i>	And men, all of them are dying for education
<i>Af - ri – ka, A - fri – ka</i>	Africa
<i>Ay' vu ye A - fri - ka kho - mi - sa swi - ne - ne!</i>	Africa must come back, hold on tight
<i>ne! Dyo - ndo hi wo ma -tlha – ri</i>	Education is the spear/weapon

Example 5.1: 'Umhlakaza' (scattered). Notated by Gill Scott.⁹⁹⁶

Umhlakaza

D.C Marivate

F
Cm
B \flat
B \flat
F
C
F

SOPRANO
 A ku ri na ndla - la Ko - lo - ni Ndlala le yi ku - la swi ne - ne

ALTO
 Ndlala le yi ku - la swi ne - ne

TENOR
 Ndlala le yi ku - la swi ne - ne

BASS
 Ndlala le yi ku - la swi ne - ne

5

F
Cm
B \flat
B \flat
F
C 7
F

yi va-ngi-wa hi ya wa-nhwa-na vi-to ra yc na No - nqa-u - se
 vi-to ra yc na No - nqa-u - se
 vi-to ra yc na No - nqa-u - se
 vi-to ra yc na No - nqa-u - se

⁹⁹⁶ Marianne Feenstra, Unpublished arrangement.

9

F F Gm Gm C F

si-ku ri twa- ma a nga va xi- sa a ku ri dila-yan ti-ho-mu

si - ku ri - nwa - na dila yan ti - ho -

si - ku ri - nwa - na dila yan ti - ho -

si - ku ri - nwa - na dila yan ti - ho -

11

F Gm Gm F C F

Te-kan ma-ye- le mi hi-se-te- la mi ta ku-ma le swo ta- la

mu mi hi - se - te - la mi ta ku-ma le swo ta- la

mu mi hi - se - te - la mi ta ku-ma le swo ta- la

mu mi hi - se - te - la mi ta ku-ma le swo ta- la

Umhlakaza

D.C Marivate

F Cm B \flat B \flat F C F

SOPRANO
A ku ri na ndla - la Ko - lo - ni Ndla - la le yi ku - la swi - ne - ne

ALTO
Ndla la le yi ku - la swi ne - ne

TENOR
Ndla la le yi ku - la swi ne - ne

BASS
Ndla la le yi ku - la swi ne - ne

5 F Cm B \flat B \flat F C 7 F

yi va - ngi - wa hi ya wa - nhwa - na vi - to ra yc na No - nqa - u - se

vi - to ra yc na No - nqa - u - se

vi - to ra yc na No - nqa - u - se

vi - to ra yc na No - nqa - u - se

The music begins in F Major although it very soon has a chromatic Eb in the second bar (indicating a secondary dominant for chord IV). The chromatic Eb recurs in bar 10 and bar

14, although in those instances with different harmonic implications. This is initially a call and response song, with the first two bars solo, followed by a two bar “chorused refrain”, as it is described. After the call and response in the first four bars, repeated exactly in bars 5-8, the remainder of the work is in four parts throughout. There is a brief half-bar soprano solo, introducing the second half of the music, which has some block harmony. However, there is running movement in the soprano throughout, with further quaver movement in the other three voices as the music moves towards its conclusion. Both eight bar halves, each divided into two four bar phrases, end with perfect cadences. In the first bar there is a run up from the dominant note to the tonic F, but from the second bar the soprano begins to move downwards to the low point of the phrase, on D. Later the melody goes as low as middle C – in other words the soprano has an overall range of a perfect 11th/compound fourth which is a considerably larger range than found in any of the other three parts. The soprano also leaps both upwards and downwards far more than the other voices.

Marivate realised the value of education in Africa. He wrote “*ne! Dyo - ndo hi wo ma -tlha – ri*” (education is the spear/weapon).⁹⁹⁷ He had great influence in the community at Elm, with scouting and as a leader with his music.

5.5 MODERN AFRICAN NATIONALISTIC COMPOSITIONS

Many of the composers discussed in this thesis wrote music that addressed (and continues to address) racial inequality, segregation and other matters of social and political importance. This was true of Bokwe (isiXhosa), Caluza (isiZulu) and Tyamzashe (isiXhosa) who, through their music, aided “the growth of national sentiment” by providing lyrics in indigenous languages such as isiXhosa and isiZulu.⁹⁹⁸ It is important to note how the vocal music of Mohapeloa (Sotho) (to be discussed in Chapter 6) and Myataza (Xhosa), among others,

⁹⁹⁷ Lyrics from Marivate's ‘*A yi vuye Afrika*’ in *xiTsonga*

⁹⁹⁸ Coplin, *In Township Tonight!* 92.

voices their strong feelings of nationalism as well as that of other Africans in South Africa.⁹⁹⁹

It is interesting that these composers mostly drew on European rather than African musical devices to voice their nationalist sentiments. These composers were strongly influenced by the nationalistic traditions of Western composers in the late Romantic period (1848–1910), such as Tchaikovsky, Dvorák and Sibelius. These composers provided examples of how national identity could be strengthened using the dances, folk songs, history and legends of their homelands.¹⁰⁰⁰

5.5.1 *Finlandia* as an example of nationalistic compositions

Benedict Anderson discusses “the ways in which nationalist identity is constructed” and highlights “the centrality of cultural innovation”.¹⁰⁰¹ The idea of Nationalism grew during the nineteenth century, when groups of people were unified through sharing a national culture and a common language. Usually, national identity was created to “achieve social and political goals”.¹⁰⁰² In Europe, Nationalism “decreed that one’s primary loyalties were owed not to a dynastic state or even to a religious community, but to an ethnically homogeneous nation, to a ‘people’. A consequence of a nationalist point of view holds that products of culture “should reflect the character of the nation from which they arise.”¹⁰⁰³ Anderson tried to “delineate the processes by which a nation came to be imagined.” Once imagined, it was “modelled, adapted and transformed.” People had an attachment, with some ready to die for

⁹⁹⁹ Ngema, *Indigenous Music in South Africa*, 163.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Kamien, *Music: An Appreciation*, 297.

¹⁰⁰¹ Anderson, “*Imagined Communities*”, 2006: 123.

¹⁰⁰² J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout and Claude Palisca, *A History of Western Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), 663.

¹⁰⁰³ Leon Plantinga, *Romantic Music: A History of Musical Style in Nineteenth Century Europe* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984), 341.

their country.¹⁰⁰⁴ It is interesting to compare the efforts of African composers, and to consider why they choose European models for their own nationalistic works.

The Finnish composer Jean Sibelius wrote an orchestral suite entitled *Finlandia*, which was to have marked international influence, including on African composers. Initially titled 'Finland Awakes', Sibelius retitled the work *Suomi*, which was the Finn's name for their country in 1900. In France, it was known as *La Patrie* and in Germany, *Vaterland*. *Finlandia* is a tone poem illustrating Finland's struggle for liberation from Tsarist Russia. A tone poem is usually a piece of orchestral music which has a descriptive theme and is usually one movement long. Sibelius conceived *Finlandia* as "the voice of the Finnish people". There is a hymn, 'Be still my soul', introduced through a "choir of reeds" while "a prayer of hope, is sung by the strings". The reeds and strings alternate, speaking "of the good life where freedom, self-respect and truth dominate". The climax is an indication of a triumphant people who have struggled to preserve their identity.¹⁰⁰⁵ The strong sense of nationalism in this work made an impact on composers at Lovedale, and the work was arranged for inclusion in various hymn books. The students at Lovedale could associate with the theme of oppression in *Finlandia*. They too felt oppressed under the laws of the government of the day.

The Presbyterian missionaries who came to Lovedale in the 1800s represented a European cultural system and played a significant role within the Church, especially in terms of their musical influence, remembering that the Christian missions provided the first organised musical training in the country. What resulted was a "contradictory relationship between First and Third Worlds and between Africa and the West".¹⁰⁰⁶ The African composers who formed

¹⁰⁰⁴ Anderson, "Imagined Communities", 141.

¹⁰⁰⁵ David Ewen, *Music for the Millions: The Encyclopedia of Musical Masterpieces* (New York: Acro Publishing, 1946), 530.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Jean Comaroff, *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 129.

part of the new African elite at Lovedale endeavoured to bring an African influence and African pride into their music. Some composers of African choral music combined African and Western elements. We have seen this already in the case of Bokwe and Marivate, who incorporated elements of African tone systems, rhythms and folk tunes. However, through the training received in Western music, a composer such as Mohapeloa did not “stilt” the Africanism but looked for a way “by which to express it”.¹⁰⁰⁷ And this expression always took place in the context of a Christian world view. The composer who combined African and European elements most successfully in his music is Michael Moseu Moerane, who is discussed in the next section.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Christine Lucia, “Travesty or Prophecy? Views of South African Black Choral Composition,” in *Music and Identity. Transformation and Negotiation*, ed. Eric Akrofi, Maria Smit and Stig-Magnus Thorsen (Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2007), 167.

Example 5.2: 'Be Still my Soul', metre (10.10. 10.10.10.10.), dynamics (moderately quick), key (E flat), tune by Finlandia and composed by Jean Sibelius (1865–1957)¹⁰⁰⁸

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FINLANDIA: (10. 10. 10. 10. 10.)

Unison. Moderately quick.

JEAN SIBELIUS, 1865-

Harmony.

A-men.

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ST. HELEN. (10. 10. 10. 10. 10.)

Moderately quick.

WALTER HATELY, 1843-1907.

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¹⁰⁰⁸ The Scottish Psalter, No. 556: 'Be Still my Soul' (London: Open University Press, 1929), 678.

Example 5.3: *'Thi cwaka mphefumlo'* ('Be still my soul'), metre (10.10 10.10.10.10), dynamics (moderately quick), to be sung in unison, key (F flat), origin (The Scottish Psalter), composed by Jean Sibelius (1865–1957).¹⁰⁰⁹

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AWOKUMEMELELA

Amazwi Okumemelela

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Finlandia. 10. 10. 10. 10. 10. 10.

JEAN SIBELIUS, 1865-

DOH = Eb. Unison Moderately quick.

{ :m	r :m	f :— — :m	r :m	d :-.r r	:m	— :— —	
{ :m	r :m	f :— — :m	r :m	d :-.r m	:—	— :— —	
{ :s	s :s	l :— — :m	m :s	s :-.r r	:f	— :— —	
{ :f	m :r	m :— — :d	d :r	r :-.m m	:—	— :— —	f m
{ :s	s :s	l :— — :m	m :s	s :-.r r	:f	— :— —	A-MEN
{ :f	m :r	m :— — :d	d :r	r :-.d d	:—	— :— —	l s
							f d

Be still my soul

- 1 'Thi cwaka mphefumlo iNkos' inawe,
Nyamezel' usiz' intlungu nekрус
Yek' uThixo akulungiselele;
Kwiinguquququ uthembekile.
'Thi cwaka mphefumlo wam, lo mhlobo lo
Uhamb' emeven' as' ebomini.

- 2 'Thi cwaka mphefumlo uThixo wakho
Ukukhapha ngomso njengezolo;
Ungashukunyiswa kumathemb' akho
Iimfihlakalo zochazeka mva
'Thi cwaka mphefumlo wam, namaza la
Kwanceenkqwithela ziyamthobela.

- 3 'Thi cwaka mphefumlo, uneenyembezi,
Ushiywe ngabakh' obathandayo,
Loqaqamba uthando lwakhe Lowo
Uthuthuzela abalilayo.
'Thi cwaka mphefumlo wam, ubabalo
LweNkosi lwanela zonk' iingxaki.

- 4 'Thi cwaka mphefumlo, iyez' iyure
Esoba neNkos' unaphakade,
Aphel' amaxhala kwanezingqala,
Zisulw' iinyembezi sivuya qho.
'Thi cwaka mphefumlo wam, ulindele
Umhla wengqungquthela yovuyo.

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa*, no 358: *'Thi cwaka mphefumlo'* ('Be still my soul') (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1983), 389.

Table 5.4: We sing ‘*Thi cwaka mphefumlo*’ (‘Be still my soul’)

Awokumemelela: Invitation

Amazwi Okumemelela: Words of invitation

‘*Thi cwaka mphefumlo*’ Be still my soul.

	isiXhosa	English
1 st Verse	<i>‘Thi cwaka mphefumlo iNkos’ inawe,</i>	Be still my soul, the Lord/King is with you
	<i>Nyamezel’ usiz’ intlungu nekrus</i>	Bear the shame, pain and (cross)
	<i>Yek’ uThixo akulungiselele;</i>	Let God fix it for you
	<i>Kwiinguquququ uthembekile</i>	In all the ups and downs He is faithful
	<i>‘Thi cwaka mphefumlo wam, lo mhlobo lo</i>	Be still my soul, this friend
	<i>Uhamb’ emeven’ as’ ebomini.</i>	He walks through the thorns of life

2 nd Verse	<i>‘Thi cwaka mphefumlo uThixo wakho</i>	Be still, my soul, thy God doth undertake
	<i>Ukukhapha ngomso njengezolo;</i>	To guide the future as He has the past
	<i>Ungashukunyiswa kumathemb’ akho</i>	Don’t be shaken by thy hope (Don’t be shaken in your hope / Keep hoping and don’t be dismayed or shaken)
	<i>limfihlakalo zochezeka mva</i>	All mysteries shall be revealed at last
	<i>‘Thi cwaka mphefumlo wam, namaza la</i>	Be still, my soul, Even the waves
	<i>Kwaneenkqwithela ziyamthobela.</i>	Even the storms obey him)

5.5.2 Michael Mosoeu Moerane

Michael Mosoeu Moerane (1909–1981) enrolled for his initial education at Lovedale, where he completed his Junior Certificate in 1924. In 1925, he continued his studies at the University of Fort Hare. He became a choirmaster, composer and pianist.¹⁰¹⁰ The 1934 Fort Hare Report mentions that M.M. Moerane was on the staff of Lovedale High School in 1930. He continued his music studies between the years 1930 to 1940 and obtained a Bachelor of Music from the University of South Africa, Rhodes College, thereby becoming the first Black music graduate of a South African University. He passed courses in harmony and counterpoint, fugue, history of music, instrumentation, orchestration and score reading.¹⁰¹¹

¹⁰¹⁰ Khumalo, South Africa Sings, 15.

¹⁰¹¹ Lucia, “*Travesty or Prophecy?*”, 173. Kirby was able to obtain Moerane’s academic record in 1962 from the University of South Africa.

Two examples of his works are the African American spiritual in the key of A Major, namely ‘Nobody knows the trouble I’ve seen’ in tonic sol-fa and ‘*Barali Ba Jerusalema*’ (‘O Daughters of Jerusalem’)¹⁰¹² probably adapted from ‘the Song of Songs’ in staff notation.

¹⁰¹² M.M. Moerane, “Barali Ba Jerusalema” (O Daughters of Jerusalem). in *South Africa Sings: African Choral Repertoire in Dual Notation, Tonic Sol fa and Staff Notation*. Volume 1 (Johannesburg: Samro Scores, 1998), 15.

Example 5.4: 'Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen' in tonic sol-fa, key (A), dynamics (moderately loud), tempo (not fast), harmonised by M.M. Moerane¹⁰¹³ There are indications to assist an inexperienced choir.¹⁰¹⁴

Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen

Negro Spiritual.

KEY A. *Not fast.*

Harmonised by M. M. MOERANE.

mf S.C.C.

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to the groun'	O! yes, Lord!																				

N.B.—The "de" in this piece may be sung as a "d" by inexperienced choirs.—M. M. M.

¹⁰¹³ Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflets, 'Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen', (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1937)

¹⁰¹⁴ Wilkie, 1937 Report, 29.

Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen

Negro Spiritual

Harmonised by M.M. MOERANE

Not Fast Doh is A

S
mf No - bo - dy knows the trou-ble I've seen. No-bo - dy knows but Je - sus___ No-bo - dy

A1
mf No - bo-dy knows the trou-ble I've seen. No - bo-dy knows but_ Je-sus, No - bo-dy, No - bo-dy

A2
mf No - bo-dy knows the trou-ble I've_ seen. No - bo-dy knows but_ Je-sus, No - bo-dy, No - bo-dy

10 **Fine**

S
 knows the trou-ble I've seen glo - ry Al - le - lu - ia lu - ia. Some

A1
 knows the trou-ble I've seen glo - ry glo - ry Al - le - lu - ia lu - ia. Some

A2
 knows the trou-ble I've seen glo - ry Al - le - lu - ia lu - ia.

¹⁰¹⁵ *Lovedale Sol-fa Leaflets*, 'Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen' (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1937).

19

S

times I'm up, some times I'm down O yes, Lord. Some -

A1

times I'm up, some times I'm down O yes, Lord yes, Lord Some

A2

Some times I'm up some-times I'm down O yes, Lord. O yes, Lord.

2

27

S

times I'm al-mos' to the groun' O yes, Lord. O

A1

times I'm al-mos' to the groun' O yes, Lord! O! yes, Lord.

A2

to the groun' O yes, Lord. O Lord, O yes, Lord.

D.C. al Fine

“Nobody Knows the Trouble I’ve Seen” is an African American Spiritual harmonised by M.M. Moerane. It is my view that Moerane took the different versions he may have heard sung by McAdoo and the Jubilee singers visiting Lovedale, and then made his own harmonisations. Moerane introduced new auxiliary notes, intervals and triads. In Moerane’s *Nobody Knows the Trouble I’ve Seen*, the melody starts in the soprano part with supporting melodies in the alto 1 and alto 2 parts. The alto 1 part moves in contrary motion to the soprano part in bar 5 with running scales from bars 11-13. The alto 2 part supports the alto 1: plain harmonisation in the first section with more runs in the second section from bar 19–26, passing the melody on to the alto 1 part in bar 25 to bar 32, ending off the second section with a plagal cadence.

Moerane had a basic introduction to music education at Lovedale and had a thorough knowledge of tonic sol-fa. He tried to write his own harmonisation, incorporating how he would like the song to sound using the harmonisation of African voices. He wanted an African choir to perform his piece. To have written this score in three parts demonstrates Moerane's depth of musical knowledge.

5.5.3 Morane, classical music and Fatše la Heso (My Country)

Moerane, who thought of himself as a 'classical musician', used chromatic harmony in this orchestral symphonic tone poem, his exam composition in 1941. He used a full orchestra of brass, harp, percussion, piano, strings and woodwinds.¹⁰¹⁶ His orchestral work is based on thematic material which was derived from 'genuine African songs'.¹⁰¹⁷ Fatše la Heso "is built mainly around three traditional African themes – a war song, a work song and a lullaby".

¹⁰¹⁶ Lucia, *General Introduction to the Michael Mosoeu Critical Edition*. 2020: 4. Moerane's family members played an assortment of instruments, which were donated. These included the clarinet, flute, strings, trombone and trumpet. They had formed part of his 'African Springtime Orchestra'.

¹⁰¹⁷ M.M. Moerane, *Fatše La Heso (My Country): Symphonic Poem* (Grahamstown: Cory Library for Historical Research, Rhodes University, 1941). MS 14 467. *Fatso la Heso (My Country)* was performed at the Cape Philharmonic Orchestra's symphony concert, conducted by Bernhard Gueller at the National Arts Festival in July 2009 where harmony was encouraged among the Eastern Cape populations. "A spirit of artistic innovation. National Arts Festival". "Get set for a National Arts Fest feast," May 12, 2011. <https://www.brandsouthafrica.com>.(accessed May 12, 2021).

Example 5.6: 'Della', SATB, key (F), dynamics (mf), tempo (Adagio), composed by M.M. Moerane. Notated by Estelle Reynolds.¹⁰¹⁸

DELLA
(SATB)

Words adapted from a poem by SS Mputa

Adagio ♩ = 80

Doh is Ab

MM Moerane

S
Del - la! Del - la! Khu - mbu - la Mhla wa - wu

A
Del - la! Del - la! Khu - mbu - la mhla wa - wu -

T
Del - la! Del - la! Khu - mbu - la mhla wa - wu -

B
Del - la! Del - la! Khu - mbu - la mhla wa - wu -

Adagio ♩ = 80
For rehearsal only

7

Doh is F

fu - - nga Del - la! cntd

fu - - nga Del - la! cntd

fu - - nga Del - la! cntd

fu - - nga Del - la! cntd

fu - - nga Del - la! cntd

¹⁰¹⁸ 'Della' in Khumalo, *South Africa Sings*, 1998: 96–107. Della, which is part of the African vocal repertoire, is a love song which is quite popular. The composer, Moerane, has adapted the text from work done by Sampson Synor Mputa, a Xhosa writer.

'Della' is a song written by M.M. Moerane, in the key of F Major with a time signature of 4 crotchet beats in a bar. The dynamics of the piece start moderately loud in bar 1 with a diminuendo in bar 15, forte in bar 47 and piano in bar 60. The soprano and the alto enter simultaneously in bar 62 and then the tenor enters in bar 63 (mf) and the bass enters in bar 65 (mf). A crescendo is found in bar 73 and again in bars 86 and 90. Following on in the rest of the piece there is a diminuendo from bar 96, a crescendo in bar 98 and a forte in bar 102.

The soprano part enters first and one finds *molto espressivo* (with much expression) in bar 106: alto, tenor and bass enter in bar 107. There is a *Poco dim* instruction (a little quieter/softer) at the end of bar 109. The song starts with an anacrusis and varying melodies occur throughout each voice part. Initially the melody is in the soprano with the harmony in ATB. The piece seems to start with a call and response but from the fourth bar the alto and tenor have distinct melodies and the bass also has some movement. From bar 19 the sopranos have a solo until bar 28 when they are joined by the altos. In bar 35 the tenors join in and in bar 43 the bass voice enters. It then continues in four-part harmony to the end. As it approaches the end (bar 106 in the soprano) it also seems to have the call and response as in the beginning of the song. This complicated composition is quite lengthy by the standards of the day (13 pages/117 bars). There are four voice parts plus piano accompaniment with different entries of clearly marked dynamic contrasts. The dynamic range goes from piano to forte.¹⁰¹⁹ This shows Moerane's mastery of form, counterpoint, harmony and voicing at a time when very few Africans had received training in these facets of Western music theory and practice.

¹⁰¹⁹ A listening opportunity of Della can be found on Youtube, orchestrated by Sue Cock for solo voice and orchestra and sung by Sibongile Khumalo. (CD The Essential (Sibongile Khumalo). Sony Music Entertainment Africa (Pty) Ltd. 2017. The duration is 5.47.)

Background to *Della*

The Xhosa writer, Sampson Synor Mputa sent ‘Della’, his isiXhosa poem, to Rev R.H.W. Shepherd at Lovedale in Alice in 1937. Moerane agreed to do the musical setting and sent his score to Shepherd on 4 February 1938, waiving all rights to any royalties. However, Mr Mputa was unable to pay the advance of £3 3s. and the score was returned to Moerane by Shepherd on 30 April 1938 without publishing it. This decision was regrettable because the work is of enduring interest and has become popular thanks to more recent publications. Presumably, the Lovedale Press had expenses it needed to cover at the time.¹⁰²⁰

Table 5.5: English Translation: ‘Della’.¹⁰²¹

isiXhosa	English
<i>Della! Khumbula mhla wawufunga;</i>	Della! Remember the day you vowed;
<i>Della! Wawuyintyatyambo kum</i>	Della! You were a flower to me
<i>Della! Khumbula!</i>	Della! Remember!
<i>lintaka zezulu</i>	The birds of heaven
<i>Zaman’ ukuphaphazela</i>	Kept flying

¹⁰²⁰ “Della – African Composers Edition.” Michael Mosoeu Moerane Scholarly Edition. <https://african-composers-edition.co.za/work/della> (accessed May 15, 2021).

¹⁰²¹ Della brief translation. Khumalo, *South Africa Sings*, 1998: 95. A popular love-song in the African vocal repertoire.

Example 5.7: 'Ruri', SATB, key G flat, dynamics (animato), composed by M.M. Moerane. Notated by Estelle Reynolds¹⁰²²

RURI

MM Moerane

Doh is Gb
Animato | m :- | s :- | f :- | l :- | s :m | d :r | d :- | t₁ :-

SOPRANO
 Ru - ri, Ru - ri, ke - tso tsa Ra - bo - hle
 | d :- | d :- | d :- | r :- | d :- .t₁ | d :l₁ | l₁ :s₁ .fē₁ | s₁ :-

ALTO
 Ru - ri, Ru - ri, ke - tso tsa Ra - bo - hle
 | s :- | l :- | l :- | s :- | s :s | m :f | r :- | r :-

TENOR
 Ru - ri, Ru - ri, ke - tso tsa Ra - bo - hle
 | d :- | m :- | r :- | f :- | m :d | l₁ :f₁ | s₁ :- | s₁ :-

BASS
 Ru - ri, Ru - ri, ke - tso tsa Ra - bo - hle
 | s :- | d' :- | l :- .f | r :- | s :m | d :r

5
 Ru - ri, Ru - ri, ke - tso tse hlol
 | d :- | m :- | d :- | d :- | d :t₁ | l₁ :t₁

Ru - ri, Ru - ri, ke - tso tse hlol
 | m :s | - :s | f :l | - :r | m :s | f :-

Ru - ri, Ru - ri, ke ke - tso tse hlol
 | m :- | d :- | f₁ :- | f₁ :- | s₁ :- | r :s₁

Ru - ri, Ru - ri, ke - tse - hlol

¹⁰²² 'Ruri' in noteset for Caltex, 1998: 50-51.

Table 5.6: English Translation: ‘Ruri.’¹⁰²³

seSotho	English
<i>Ruri, Ruri, ketso tsa Rabohle</i>	Truly, truly, the deeds of Rabohle (I think it means God – direct translation is “Father of all”)
<i>Ruri, Ruri, ketsehlol khahliso baeti</i>	Truly, truly, they are big and attractive to the visitors
<i>Liabanya liaphatsima lirorisa</i>	They shine and they praise
<i>Mong a tsona</i>	Their maker/owner
<i>Ea ratang tsohle</i>	The one who loves all
<i>Ea sa khetheng le li ha ha bitsa leoatle</i>	He who does not choose, even the crawling creatures of the sea

‘Ruri’ is a song written by Michael Moerane. The word ‘Ruri’ is seSotho for truly. The full version of ‘Ruri’ can be found in the ‘Sowetan Nation Building Massed Choir Festival’ noteset for Caltex by Essi Music Productions CC, 1998: 50–62. The excerpt chosen above is from bars 1 to 6 and the whole song consists of 84 bars. The song starts in G flat Major but modulates to D flat Major in bar 29, returning to G flat Major from bar 41 until the end. In bar 18 one gets the first dynamic indication, marking *mf* with a mini crescendo beforehand. In bar 29 there is also *mf* and in bar 38 one finds a mini crescendo and diminuendo markings in the tenor part. The piece begins animatedly, as indicated by the tempo indication ‘Animato’, and remains consistently so to the end. Each voice part has its own melodic interest. In bar 73 the SAT sing in harmony and then the bass and tenor take the lead for bar 76. In bars 1 to 16, the melody is shared by all four voices. In bar 5 each part has interesting melodies, not like a hymn where the melody is in the soprano with the harmony in ATB. There is a performance marking at the end of bar 28.¹⁰²⁴

Together with his contemporaries, Moerane was inspired by classical, religious and traditional music. Moerane knew choral music, as the mission school culture he grew up with

¹⁰²³ ‘Ruri’ brief translation. Elija Madiba, ILAM.

¹⁰²⁴ A listening opportunity (audio) can be found on You Tube Marvin Zungu 29 Oct 2019 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W9x8L7OfSP4> (accessed April 11, 2021). Old Mutual National Choir Festival 2019 in the Free State.

encouraged singing in local African languages.¹⁰²⁵ Competitions in African schools took place from the 1930s. Moerane, although he taught English literature, made use of his opportunity as a teacher to try out his new works with the school choir. He later became an adjudicator and a ‘leading figure in the choral community.’¹⁰²⁶

Despite his musical background, Moerane was unable to teach in a white school or a university music department such as Fort Hare because of his race.¹⁰²⁷ Alexander Kerr was approached by Friedrich Hartmann, a Professor of Music at Rhodes University.¹⁰²⁸ Hartmann tried to persuade this Rector of Fort Hare University to appoint Moerane after his graduation to no avail. Sadly, this proved to be a lost opportunity as this would have enabled Moerane to collect ‘the songs of his people.’¹⁰²⁹ However, Moerane is an example of a composer who overcame obstacles he had no control over. It is unfortunate that Moerane and other composers of colour, his contemporaries, were unable to take their rightful place in academia at the time because of the influence of policies made by the government of the day. He, however, shared his musical knowledge and made a commendable difference in his own community. He did what he could under the circumstances and left his own musical legacy. Unfortunately, there was no one to whom he could pass the baton because students under the new education system did not have the same opportunities to study music that he had. Composers such as Moerane also had difficulty in getting some of their music scores

¹⁰²⁵ Grant Olwage, “John Knox Bokwe: Father of Black South African Choral Composition.” *New Music SA Bulletin*, no. 9/10 (2010/2011).

¹⁰²⁶ Lucia, “General Introduction to the Michael Mosoeu Moerane”, Critical Edition, vii.

¹⁰²⁷ Hartmann (Hartmann 900-1973) “Letter from Friedrich Hartmann to Percival Kirby, March 11, 1958”. UCT Archives.

¹⁰²⁸ Lucia, “General Introduction to the Michael Mosoeu Moerane,” Critical Edition. 2020: 4.

¹⁰²⁹ “Letter from Friedrich Hartmann to Percival Kirby, March 11, 1958”. Letters in Kirby Papers, University of Cape Town Archives, P.R. Kirby Collection file BC 750.

published. Goody and Watt point out that it was difficult to find a publisher even if you were ‘literate’.¹⁰³⁰

5.5.4 Brass bands

Lovedale had been part of the brass band tradition that took hold in South Africa in the eighteenth century. In this way, it was very similar to other Presbyterian institutions such as Dollar Academy in Scotland, and the Lawrence School Lovedale in India. All promoted learning music and provided an opportunity for their students to learn how to play an instrument as members of the brass bands. Music could be used as an evangelising tool, as it was a draw card encouraging people to join the gathering. Brass bands were part of the tradition of Presbyterian churches and missions, which encouraged their youth to play in a brass band. Khabi Vivian Mngoma, who was born in Johannesburg, was part of a marching band known as the “Scottishes”. He attributes the “harmonic structures” and “Western textures” to their affiliation with the church; also, these children all went to school in the Eastern Native Township where they had regular hymn singing. The tradition of a brass band had been initiated while Bokwe was at Lovedale.

The Dutch formed instrumental bands at the Cape with brass and wind instruments, similar to the bands they were familiar with in Europe.¹⁰³¹ The old Moravian tradition of brass bands started in Herrnhut, Germany, around 1734, and had been introduced to South African congregations in 1838 at the Genadendal Training School. The brass instrumentalists usually gathered “under the oak trees” and welcomed visitors with their “hymns of praise”. The brass band was a powerful attraction and after having played at different churches and schools during their training, the members moved on to other institutions where they established their

¹⁰³⁰ Jack Goody, “The Consequences of Literacy,” in *Literacy in Traditional Societies*, ed. J. Goody and I Watt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1968).

¹⁰³¹ Stephanie Przybylek, “*South African Music: Origin and History*,” 2003–2019, <https://study.com/academy/lesson/south-african-music-origin-history.html> (accessed July 12, 2019).

own brass bands. A newly established brass band played ‘Silent Night’ for the Clarkson congregation on Christmas Eve in 1867 in the Tzitzikamma region near Port Elizabeth. In 1907, the Maitland Moravian brass band was able to play at church festivals “held on mission stations”.¹⁰³² Brass bands have been synonymous with missions in South Africa, especially at Lovedale. Other organisations, such as the Salvation Army, also have brass bands as part of their outreach programme.

Christian organisations in Scotland, such as the YMCA (Young Men’s Christian Association) saw the benefit of establishing brass bands to assist with the spreading of their message.¹⁰³³ Another Christian youth organisation, the Boys’ Brigade (BB), was founded by a Glasgow Presbyterian Church in 1883, which became popular in the English and Welsh Free Churches who shared an evangelical agenda. This particular group wore a uniform and marched through the streets “blowing bugles” and “banging drums”. Later rivals were the (Anglican) Church Lads’ Brigade, formed in 1895, and the Christian patriotic Boy Scouts group that became known in 1909.¹⁰³⁴ The Boy Scout Movement was well supported at Lovedale.

Many industrial schools in Scotland established brass bands in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, and discipline for the boys was considered good.¹⁰³⁵ Everyone had to work together and listen to one another in order to make music and sound well rehearsed. At the institution of Lovedale, performance provided an “important cultural dimension” to adapting to institutional life and change. Cultural communication “spanned all racial and

¹⁰³² Isasac H.T. Balie, “*An Overview of the Moravian Brass Band Movement in South Africa*,” <https://www.moravianbrass.co.za> (accessed July 17, 2019). The “Moravian Brass Union” was established in 1951 to promote brass band music in their congregations.

¹⁰³³ Gavin Holman. *Brass Bands of Scotland. A Historical Directory*, https://www.academia.edu/38588816/Brass_Bands_of_Scotland_a_Historical_Directory (accessed May 21, 2020).

¹⁰³⁴ Hugh McLeod, “Christianity and nationalism in nineteenth-century Europe,” *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 15, no. 2 (2015).

¹⁰³⁵ Holman, *Brass bands of Scotland*, 10.

social categories”.¹⁰³⁶ The members of the bands at the mission stations such as Lovedale learnt “musical literacy” through the church because it was at the mission school where they were influenced by the European repertoire of Victorian music.¹⁰³⁷ The students enjoyed learning how to play an instrument and to be part of a brass band that performed at different events and functions. The Cape Nguni people were some of the best trained young players at the Christian brass bands of the mission stations.¹⁰³⁸ Knobel Sakhiwo Bongela was a member of the Lovedale Brass Band who played the side-drum before playing the trombone.¹⁰³⁹

5.6 SCHOOL AND DEPARTMENTAL REPORTS

5.6.1 Music and culture

In the 1937 Lovedale Report, the Principal of the High School, Mr C.A. Pilson, was pleased to announce that Mr Moerane, together with Mrs Geddes and Miss C. Nikani (who came to Lovedale from the St Matthew’s Practising School) were able to produce the operetta ‘Prince Ferdinand’ most successfully.¹⁰⁴⁰ This operetta was written specifically for performance at schools, with music by Richard Metcalfe and a libretto by H.J. Ashcroft.¹⁰⁴¹ Music with singing and acting was still popular at Lovedale, as it had been in the past. The band membership included 20 students who played at sports days and gala events, and who also enjoyed going out with the “missionary companies on Sunday mornings” from time to time.¹⁰⁴²

¹⁰³⁶ Coplan, *In Township Tonight!* 67.

¹⁰³⁷ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁰³⁸ *Ibid.*, 37.

¹⁰³⁹ R.H.W. Shepherd, *Lovedale Missionary Report for 1945* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1945), 3.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Wilkie, *1937 Report*, 24.

¹⁰⁴¹ W.G. McNaught, ed. *Prince Ferdinand. An Operetta for Schools* (London: Novello's School Music, Ewer and Co, 1896). The Author was Richard D Metcalfe and H.J. Ashcroft wrote the Libretto.

¹⁰⁴² Wilkie, *1937 Report*, 30.

5.6.2 Lovedale Press 1937

This section focuses on the year 1937 as an example of the scope of activities at Lovedale Press. Shepherd was still the Director and Editor of the press at the time. Later, in 1939, it was estimated that 238 books were produced in Xhosa. This was more than ‘any African language except Swahili’. It is important to note that discussion on local vernaculars in the post-colonial world often became contentious, as reported by Moradewun Adejunmobi.¹⁰⁴³

In his 1937 report, Wilkie records that among the new books is an isiXhosa Service Book *Inkonzo Zama Bandla Ka-Kristu*,¹⁰⁴⁴ published for use in church services. The musical edition of the Xhosa *Amaculo Ase-Rabe* hymn book was also published. Under English music, *The Teaching of Class Singing* by H.M. Parker and the *Junior Song Book for Native Schools* by C. Beal were published. In the same year, B. Tyamzashe’s ‘*Three-Part Songs*’ in IsiXhosa were also published. Music teachers in schools and choir masters needed singing resources and these publications were important to augmenting what was still a relatively small repertoire of songs for local choirs. The following songs were also published in 1937: ‘*Nodoli*’ by W.T. Bam, and R.T. Caluza’s ‘*Si-lu Sapo*’ (or I’Land Act) (Example 4.1), ‘*Ama-Gora E-Mendi*’ (Example 4.2), ‘*Influenza*’ (Example 4.3), ‘*Isangoma*’ (Example 4.5), ‘*Itandane*’, ‘*Kwa Madala*’, ‘*Umantindane*’ and ‘*Umtakati*’¹⁰⁴⁵. Other compositions by Caluza published in 1937 include the Ricksha Song, also known as ‘*Ixegwana*’ (Example 4.6), ‘*Bashuka Ndabazini*’, ‘*Elamakosi*’, ‘*Ingoduso*’, ‘*Kwati Belele*’, ‘*Sanibona*’, ‘*Sikulekel’ U-Solomon*’,¹⁰⁴⁶ ‘*U-Bhungca, Umtaka Baba*’, ‘*Vulindhela Mtaka Dube*’, ‘*Woza Mfowetu*’ and ‘*Yekan’ Umona*’.¹⁰⁴⁷ D.C. Marivate composed ‘*Shidzedze*’, E.A.J. Monaisa composed

¹⁰⁴³ Adejunmobi, *Vernacular Palaver*, 2.

¹⁰⁴⁴ John Henderson Soga, *Inkonzo zama-bandla ka-Krestu* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1934).

¹⁰⁴⁵ Wilkie, *1937 Report*, 28.

¹⁰⁴⁶ There is also a staff notation music example for *Sikulekel’ uSolomo*. See Erlmann, *African Stars*, 137.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Wilkie, *1937 Report*, 29.

'*Tabantani Inqubelo*', '*Vukan*' *Bantsundu*' and '*Botani Matshawe*' while S.M. Mphahlele composed '*Rakgopa*'. Enoch Sontonga composed '*Nkosi Sikelel' I-Africa*' and Mary Shearer Shepherd composed '*Dumani Ku-Yehova*'. M.M. Moerane composed '*Liphala*' and the "negro spiritual" known as 'Nobody knows the trouble I've seen'.¹⁰⁴⁸

5.6.3 The choir, educational films and literary society

The choir was doing well under Mr Arosi, the choir master who led a Christmas Praise Service. Reverend Kilgour thanked the organists and other member of staff for their help during the year. A nativity play was presented by a group of Lovedale students in the Large Hall. The children in the Victoria Hospital put on a play in their ward to an audience of "convalescent patients".¹⁰⁴⁹ Mr P. Gilowey, a High School staff member, made the arrangements to show fortnightly films obtained from the National Film Bureau of the Union Education Department in the Large Hall at Lovedale.¹⁰⁵⁰ The president of the Literary Society, Mr Quintin Whyte, reported that the standard was high in the debates. Mrs Godfrey Wilson (Monica Hunter) had delivered a paper on the "Primitive Peoples" at Lovedale.¹⁰⁵¹ After the tragic death of her husband in May 1944, Monica joined the staff at Lovedale as a lecturer in social anthropology in Z.K. Matthew's department. She was also the warden of *Elukhanyisweni* (the Place of Enlightenment), a women's residence.¹⁰⁵²

Piano playing was encouraged. Ellen Kuzwayo (1914–2006) was very musical and produced some impressive classical performances. She was therefore able to influence and inspire the

¹⁰⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Shepherd, *Lovedale Missionary Institution Report for 1943*, 9.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁰⁵¹ Andrew Wilson and Monica Hunter, "*The Study of African Society*," The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers No. 2 (1939).

¹⁰⁵² Andrew Bank, *The Life, Work and Legacy of Monica Hunter Wilson (1908–1982)*. Research Series no. 9 (East London: Fort Hare Institute of Social and Economic Research, 2008), 21.

other girls.¹⁰⁵³ A feature that Kuzwayo recognised early in life was the “importance of the values, standards and practices” of her own people.¹⁰⁵⁴ She was born in 1914 and entered an era of great global turmoil and grew up in a challenging period of racism in the history of South Africa. She was 34 when apartheid was implemented in 1948 and she was determined to challenge the system of oppression and empower the youth and women.¹⁰⁵⁵

Lovedale and the Decolonial Turn

Decoloniality or decolonialism is a school of thought that plays an increasingly important role in rethinking the consequences and meanings of colonialism. Decolonial perspectives recognise the hegemony of European epistemologies as a consequence of imperialism. Texts such as Paul Gilroy’s *After Empire* contend with these consequences in the present day.¹⁰⁵⁶ Beckett writes that Gilroy is one of Britain’s foremost Black academics, who believes that Britons should do some hard thinking about their actual present and colonial past.¹⁰⁵⁷ In participating in the empire, Scotland could retain its national pride and identity. Scots were able to extend their church, educational system and aspects of civil society into imperial territories.¹⁰⁵⁸ In Pokhrel’s view the colonists or imperialists tried to impose their culture, institutions and language onto indigenous communities.¹⁰⁵⁹

¹⁰⁵³ Ellen Kuzwayo, *Call me Woman* (Cape Town: Ravan, 1985), 148.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Ellen Kuzwayo, *Sit Down and Listen* (London: The Woman’s Press, 1990), 115.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Laura Wilson. “Ellen Kuzwayo Ellen Kate Cholefelo Nnoseng Motlalepule.” South African History Online. Principia College Partnership Project, May 3, 2018. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/biography-ellen-kuzwayo-laura-wilson-3-may-2018> (accessed September 20, 2020).

¹⁰⁵⁶ Paul Gilroy, *After Empire: Melancholia or Convivial Culture? Multiculture or Postcolonial Melancholia* (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2004).

¹⁰⁵⁷ Andy Beckett, British multiculturalism is under attack. History Lessons. *The Guardian*. December 11, 2004. <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2004/dec/11/highereducation.news1> (accessed July 29, 2021).

¹⁰⁵⁸ John Mackenzie. ‘Empire and Metropolitan Cultures’ in *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Volume III: The Nineteenth Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 289

¹⁰⁵⁹ Arun Kumar Pokhrel, “Empire,” in *Encyclopedia of Global Justice*, ed. Deen K. Chatterjee (Dordrecht: Springer, 2011).

Wilkie's role in imperial pursuits was complex. While he endeavoured to introduce some important reforms, he also tried to enforce the English as the language of the mission. This caused friction at Lovedale, as only English could be spoken from Mondays to Fridays. Daluxolo Moloantoa's research on missionary schools reports that Nelson Mandela began his secondary education in 1936 at Healdtown, a mission school in the Eastern Cape, before entering Fort Hare University College in 1940. This institute used English as the basis for all teaching, as did Lovedale. "Lapsing into one's home language was a punishable offence."¹⁰⁶⁰ Devine explains that the role of the Scots in the British Empire was to partner with the English missionaries to civilise, evangelise and mould their 'native heathens' into 'model British Christian citizens'.¹⁰⁶¹ Boys, including Mandela, and girls were required to sing "God Save The King" at the Sunday service under the Union Jack to brass band accompaniment at Healdtown. Both imperialist and missionary traditions co-existed on Sundays, which must have been difficult for the African students. The hybridity of colonial hymn singing was not considered an outgrowth of African indigenous cultures, but rather a form of European music and religious cultivation. Even so, the use of indigenous languages was highly significant, as Grant Olwage points out:

One of the early consequences of the ambivalences of the civilizing mission discussed earlier was a return from English to vernacular teaching in the first decade of the 20th century. While some of the black elite protested at this turn, its composers set largely Xhosa texts; in addition, other choral texts were translated into isiXhosa. The language of black choral music, then, was the mother tongue. This presence of the vernacular, and particularly the materiality of black singers using their mother tongue, must go some way in accounting for black vocality. Voice culture, by contrast, was never 'translated.' Always in English and proceeding from a concern with the English

¹⁰⁶⁰ Daluxolo Moloantoa, "The mission schoolboy – Nelson Mandela and missionary education," *The Heritage Portal*. May 18, 2018. heheritageportal.co.za/article/mission-schoolboy-nelson-mandela-and-missionary-education (accessed September 11, 2020).

¹⁰⁶¹ T.M. Devine. *The Scottish Nation, 1700–2000* (New York: Viking, 1999), 366.

language, it remained an unsatisfactory tool for re-forming the black voice, regardless of the Cape politics in which it found itself.¹⁰⁶²

In this chapter I have reflected on the ways in which language was used in instruction and around the mission, but also how indigenous languages came to be used in song. Olwage's observations point to the importance of the 'mother tongue' in song, and to how this resulted in a form of cultural hybridity that was material in nature. That is, voice played an important part in the racial politics of the mission, regardless of efforts to erase its agency.

5.7 CONCLUSION

Reverend Wilkie was responsible for developing Lovedale's facilities, including the expansion of education for girls, and the improvement of Lovedale Press, an important publisher of music. Wilkie claimed that his approach to education was non-racial, and this was supported by both Professor Edgar Harry Brookes and Dr Wouter de Vos Malan in the Inter-departmental Committee Report of 1936. This report pointed to the ideal whereby there would be "no difference in educating black people or white people". Even so, there was clearly a marked decline in the enrolment of European or white students at Lovedale in the early twentieth century, and the initially inclusive curriculum based on excellence increasingly took on the educational determinations of a segregationist South Africa in which Africans were encouraged to focus on practical outcomes rather than academic excellence. In music, this meant the development of expertise in tonic sol-fa rather than staff notation, and an emphasis on music as an extracurricular aid to evangelism rather than as an art. Wilkie continued to promote a vision for music education at Lovedale, founded by his predecessors, in which pupils were encouraged to sing and to learn how to play an instrument. The piano and various brass instruments were most popular, and successful music concerts were held under Wilkie's stewardship. Important composers and musicians who studied at Lovedale in

¹⁰⁶² Grant Olwage, 'The class and colour of tone: An essay on the social history of vocal timbre,' *Ethnomusicology Forum* 13, no. 2 (2004), 216.

this period included Marivate and Moerane. These composers turned increasingly to nationalist models for composition rooted in their own languages, folk songs and dances, but using the musical language of nineteenth century Europe. The chapter also considered the important role played by the press in publishing music and literature, and in ensuring that works of educational importance were available in southern Africa. The next chapter focuses on the last of the five periods discussed in this thesis, as well as the decision to close Lovedale in 1955.

CHAPTER 6

ROBERT H.W. SHEPHERD AND THE FIFTH PERIOD AT LOVEDALE, 1942–1955

“What sort of person have you helped him to become?”
(Shepherd 1971, vi)

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The last years at Lovedale took place in the aftermath of World War II. Mir states that in the twentieth century, one of the most significant events in Africa was decolonisation, which brought about change, with 50 new states created, beginning in the 1950s.¹⁰⁶³ It was during this time period that the principalship of Reverend Doctor Robert Henry Wishart Shepherd (1942–1955) was to be the last in the 114-year history of Lovedale. This chapter describes developments in music at Lovedale under Shepherd’s leadership. The first part describes Shepherd’s background, education and interests, as well as the impact he made on the cultural life of Lovedale. The second part of the chapter focuses on developments at Lovedale Press and on activities such as scouting. African composers and intellectuals are discussed later, including the composers, Todd Tozama Matshikiza and Joshua Polumo Mohapeloa. The career of D.D.T. Jabavu is also considered, as well as the royal visit which took place in 1947. The chapter closes with a discussion of Lovedale’s final years, and the decision by the government to stop funding all mission schools in 1955. This resulted in the closure of Lovedale’s educational offerings. All that remained was the Lovedale Press, which continued for several decades before it too was shut. Thomas Mokopu Mofolo (1876–1948), a Basotho author and literary giant, was born during Shepherd’s principalship.

¹⁰⁶³ Mir, *The Archives of Decolonisation*, 844.

6.2 PROFILE OF REV. DR ROBERT HENRY WISHART SHEPHERD

Robert Henry Wishart Shepherd (1888–1971) and his twin brother, Peter McGregor Shepherd, were born in 1888. Their family lived in the village of Mylnefield Feus or Invergowrie, which is on the Firth of Tay, four miles to the west of Dundee, a coastal town in Scotland. His parents were Matthew Moncrieff Shepherd and Isabella MacEwen Shepherd, and they were part of a large family, which was common in nineteenth century Scotland.¹⁰⁶⁴ Their mother died on 6 January 1890 when the twins were only nineteen months old, and their bereaved father moved his family to Dundee.¹⁰⁶⁵

6.2.1 Education

The twins attended the Rosebank School when they were six years old and made good progress. Due to financial constraints, they had to leave school when they were 11 years old and worked in the large jute mill in the town, which belonged to the firm Messrs Frank Stewart Sandeman and Sons.¹⁰⁶⁶ Their headmaster, Mr Alexander Leighton, continued teaching them and later assisted Robert when preparing for entrance to university.¹⁰⁶⁷ Robert enjoyed music¹⁰⁶⁸ and reading the books he won as prizes at Sunday School, developing an interest in church history.¹⁰⁶⁹ Shepherd taught himself shorthand from a copy of Pitman's *Elementary Shorthand Primer* and was able to pass the "Elementary, Intermediate and Advanced styles." He applied for a post at the North British Railway in Dundee in the District Traffic Superintendent's office with a testimonial from his minister, the Reverend

¹⁰⁶⁴ Oosthuizen, *Shepherd of Lovedale*, 2.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 16. His father died on 25 May 1907, on Robert and Peter's birthday.

¹⁰⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 10. However, when they were thirteen, they started attending evening classes four evenings a week after working a ten-hour daily shift. Their home was an eighteen minutes' walk away and Shepherd developed a "lifelong habit of walking."

¹⁰⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 9. It was helpful that the boys were members of the Dundee Free Library and read widely.

¹⁰⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 25. The mill workers were involved with music and other arts in the evenings after their repetitive and routine daily duties.

¹⁰⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 11. His father bought a copy of "Taylor's History of Scotland," a book with two volumes after a visit to Perth. James Taylor, *The Pictorial History of Scotland* (London: Virtue & Co. n.d.) This is a set of 8 books in two volumes. No date is given but it was published in the late 1800s.

John Beveridge B.D. (from the Bell Street Church). The position entailed correspondence and he successfully secured the post after writing a brief examination in Edinburgh.¹⁰⁷⁰ This position was the first step in preparation for his future administrative duties as the principal of a large educational institution – Lovedale.

6.2.2 Ministry of the United Free Church of Scotland

Robert Shepherd studied for university entrance to take the Master of Arts degree. He took evening classes in Latin, Mathematics and Greek, and commenced with a series of examinations in 1910.¹⁰⁷¹ He was first appointed as a part-time home missionary at the Dudhope United Free Church where Reverend Arthur Clark Abel was the minister.¹⁰⁷² He entered New College in October 1915,¹⁰⁷³ and it was here that he met an African student, Mdani Xaba from South Africa, who introduced him to the “Xhosa clicks.”¹⁰⁷⁴ Some of Xaba’s children attended Lovedale during Shepherd’s principalship.¹⁰⁷⁵

The life they were destined for, in Africa, would be very different for both the missionaries and their helpers. Shepherd mentions how strange it must have been for ‘Bantu’ assistants (‘children of the veld’) to help in a European household. The rooms needed to be spotless, and all work scheduled was ruled by a clock.¹⁰⁷⁶ Life at the mission house was also strange for the missionaries, who needed to use oil lamps. The water they needed was drained from

¹⁰⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 12. He climbed the steps at Waverly station, which he was to climb later as an ordained minister and Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

¹⁰⁷¹ Oosthuizen, *Shepherd of Lovedale*, 18. His colleagues from the office presented him with the books he would need for the first university sessions.

¹⁰⁷² Oosthuizen, *Shepherd of Lovedale*, 18. To supplement his income he wrote articles for *The Dundee Courier*. 25.

¹⁰⁷³ Oosthuizen, *Shepherd of Lovedale*, 26. New College is the divinity hall of the United Free Church of Scotland in Edinburgh.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Oosthuizen, *Shepherd of Lovedale*, 1970: 29.

¹⁰⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁰⁷⁶ R.H.W. Shepherd, *Where Aloes Flame. South African Missionary Vignettes* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1948),

the roof or obtained from a furrow (half a mile away). The cattle kraal and stable were close to the kitchen door and there was a fence of aloes alongside the house. This was very different from their prior lives in Scotland, but they still liked to return to “the hills of home.”

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6.2.3 A brief summary of Shepherd’s appointments

Shepherd was appointed by the Foreign Mission Committee of the United Free Church of Scotland as a missionary to South Africa. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Dundee as a probationer on 10 April 1918 and ordained at an evening service at the Dudhope Church on 14 May 1918. Shepherd, together with his wife, Mary Shepherd (née Goodfellow, Shearer), left Southampton for South Africa on Friday 12 December 1919.¹⁰⁷⁸ Their destination was the Main Mission among the Tembu people, Shepherd’s first term of service in South Africa, where he was stationed from 1920 to 1926.¹⁰⁷⁹ He was able to capitalise on his business experience by being appointed as the secretary of the Mission Council before proceeding to become the senior clerk of the General Assembly of the Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa. He also wrote several books during this period, before accepting the post as chaplain at Lovedale (1926), where he was the acting principal from November 1931 to February 1932. This period follows the passing of Dr Henderson and the ill health of Mr James Chalmers, and ends with the arrival of Reverend Dr Arthur Wilkie, the new principal of Lovedale. Shepherd performed the roles of chaplain and acting principal for 15 years before he was appointed as the principal of Lovedale.¹⁰⁸⁰

¹⁰⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 26.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Oosthuizen, *Shepherd of Lovedale*, 33.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1824–1955*, 121.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Oosthuizen, *Shepherd of Lovedale*, iv.

He was appointed as the editor of the *South African Outlook* in March 1932 and as the “sole Director of the Lovedale Press”. He was also assigned as the honorary secretary of the General Missionary Conference of South Africa, and later became the literary editor for the Christian Council of South Africa.¹⁰⁸¹ Shepherd was noted for his exceptional devotion to duty and for the place accorded singing during his time at the main mission and at Lovedale. The exceptional musical qualities of his students were showcased with a choir and band performances during the Royal Visit in 1947, when the Lovedale and Fort Hare students performed together for the King of England and the Royal Family. This was to be the high point of Shepherd’s fifty years of ministry.¹⁰⁸²

6.2.4 Reverend Shepherd’s policy in relation to his predecessors

Shepherd refers to Lovedale as “the cradle of English Christianity”¹⁰⁸³ where the “reaping of parts of the field where other missionaries have done the sowing” is taking place.¹⁰⁸⁴ There was a continuity evident with both Lovedale and Fort Hare, especially in terms of community service, and students often travelled by bicycle or bus to rural areas to help with “self-help projects” in the 1950s.¹⁰⁸⁵ The institute was also “the pathfinder”, and Shepherd writes that there were efforts to “develop an African brand of Christianity which would meet the needs of Africans”. The Lovedale Missionary Institute emphasised “African culture and language” and was the crucible where the “standardisation of African languages and the development of African literature took place”.¹⁰⁸⁶ This is consistent with Wilkie’s vision for Lovedale as a key site for the production of literature essential to the education of African students. Their

¹⁰⁸¹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1824–1955*, 122.

¹⁰⁸² Oosthuizen, *Shepherd of Lovedale*, 225.

¹⁰⁸³ Saul, *Missionaries and the Xhosas*, 110.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1824–1955*, 123.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Donovan Williams, *A History of the University College of Fort Hare, South Africa – The 1950s. The Waiting Years* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001), 55, 89.

¹⁰⁸⁶ David Exton Burchell, “A History of the Lovedale Missionary Institution 1890–1930” MA Thesis) (University of Natal, 1979), 196.

education would be “boosted by the promotion of vernacular literature because what was available was inadequate.”¹⁰⁸⁷ At Lovedale, there was “an ever-present emphasis on Bantu languages” as well as on the “excellence of Bantu culture”. The students were continually encouraged to “read widely” at the library. Members of staff at Lovedale also gave lectures on “cultural subjects” and the pupils were kept informed of “current events”. Men and women from different walks of life and fields of expertise also visited Lovedale to address the staff and students.¹⁰⁸⁸

The pupils at Lovedale were taught to cherish and preserve ‘that which is good in their racial heritage’.¹⁰⁸⁹ The “overall effect of this education” was to “foster nationalistic pride of the best kind”.¹⁰⁹⁰ This paternalistic attitude was very much in keeping with the racial politics of the day, which included policies of segregation and the later Bantu education under Verwoerd.

In 1931, Reverend B.J. Ross’s view about the instruction at Lovedale and Fort Hare remarked that the students learned about fighting for their own “land, kith, kin and his own race”, as part of their education.¹⁰⁹¹ This policy of developing African languages and literature, music and culture, had been an important part of Lovedale’s mission from the start. The products of this policy are recorded here in the discussions of music education and performance, but they are not limited to achievements at the institute itself. It needs to be recognised that Lovedale provided the cultural milieu in which many young African musicians developed their social and political identities and acquired the tools to create works of lasting value. Shepherd

¹⁰⁸⁷ White, “Lovedale 1930–1955.” 47.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1955*, 419.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 420

¹⁰⁹⁰ Burchell, *A History of the Lovedale Missionary Institution 1890–1930*, 197.

¹⁰⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 197. As well as Wilson and D. Perrot, eds, *Outlook on a Century*.

understood the importance of this tradition at Lovedale, but he was also bound by the same prejudices on race and ethnicity that limited his predecessors.

6.3 SHEPHERD AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING, MUSIC AND CULTURE

6.3.1 Vocational training

The main problem with vocational education at Lovedale was the reluctance by many White South African businesses to employ African graduates. Representatives of the institute did approach municipalities to employ carpenters and builders, but only for the construction of accommodation for Africans. Lovedale's Industrial Department was kept active in local work with the construction of the orthopaedic and medical blocks at Fort Hare, and with the new Lovedale Press building.¹⁰⁹² Despite the limited opportunities available to his graduates, Shepherd was reluctant to reduce the scale of industrial training, and he promoted electrical, plumbing, and motor mechanics, maintaining the optimistic view that students would ultimately find employment in these trades.¹⁰⁹³ This emphasis on practical skills was consistent with Lovedale's approach to music education, which emphasised tonic sol-fa and bands, both of which would be useful to the evangelist and missionary.

6.3.2 The influence of Mrs Shepherd on music

Mary Shepherd played a major role in the development of music in the Presbyterian Church in southern Africa. She had been interested in Church music for many years and decided to dedicate much of her time to "music among the Bantu".¹⁰⁹⁴ While at Main, she compiled and added to a collection of tunes which were used by the congregation. In 1928, she edited the initial musical edition of the *Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa*.¹⁰⁹⁵ A musical edition of the Xhosa

¹⁰⁹² White, *Lovedale 1930–1955*, 61.

¹⁰⁹³ *Ibid.*, 72.

¹⁰⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 38.

¹⁰⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 38. and *Amaculo ase-Rabe*, Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1928. This Xhosa hymnbook was used by both the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches.

Amaculo Ase-Rabe hymn book was also published later in 1937.¹⁰⁹⁶ The compilation of the hymn book would influence generations of composers and its publication in isiXhosa was a sign of great achievement. In short, Mary Shepherd established a foundation for others to build upon. As a missionary wife, she also played a valuable role with the *Manyanos* (The Women’s Christian Association).¹⁰⁹⁷ She was able to offer help and guidance at the weekly meetings at the various centres.¹⁰⁹⁸ It was here that she was able to listen to the Xhosa singing of hymns and was able to compose ‘*Dumani Ku-Yehova*’ in 1937.¹⁰⁹⁹

6.3.3 Cultural interests at Lovedale

There was a “rich variety of cultural interests” at Lovedale that was offered to both pupils and staff, including Bible classes, eight different sports, a literary society, singing, music lessons, the opportunity to play in the brass band, the African sections of the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides, public speaking, the Social Service Society, as well as a Student Christian Association.¹¹⁰⁰ The missions and their brass bands were the first training ground for African musicians whose repertoire consisted of “orchestrated hymns” and secular tunes that had strong American influences. It was through the mission brass bands that Africans became familiar with “African Christian hymns” and entertainment music from America and England and were taught how to play Western instruments.¹¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁹⁶ Wilkie, *1937 Report*, 28.

¹⁰⁹⁷ A *manyano* is a prayer organisation traditionally led by women. Beverly Haddad, “The Manyano Movement in South Africa: Site of Struggle, Survival, and Resistance,” *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity* no. 61 (2004), 4–13.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Oosthuizen, *Shepherd of Lovedale*, 95.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Wilkie, *1937 Report*, 29.

¹¹⁰⁰ Oosthuizen, *Shepherd of Lovedale*, 504.

¹¹⁰¹ Denis Constant Martin, *Sounding the Cape: Music, Identity and Politics in South Africa* (Somerset West: African Minds, 2013), 136.

6.3.4 Scouting and singing at Lovedale

The scouting movement was a new tradition introduced by Lord Baden Powell. Mr Atkinson founded the Pathfinders, also known as “the Braves”, which became a Scout Troop at Lovedale in 1918.¹¹⁰² Mr C.A. Pilson, who was in charge of the meteorological department at Lovedale, “joined the staff of the Lovedale High School in 1910” and ran the Scout troop of Lovedale which Mr Atkinson had done prior to 1935.¹¹⁰³ The troop used to sing camp-fire songs.¹¹⁰⁴ The importance of music to scouting is reflected in the career of D.C. Marivate as discussed in the previous chapter.

The gathering around the traditional campfire was seen as the highlight of camping excursions for many scouts. Each scout would bring his “Campfire Blanket“, usually an old blanket to be worn around the shoulders to keep warm at a campfire, and join his group around the fire. Traditionally, each group gathered for a “formal campfire” needed to be prepared to deliver a song or a skit. This campfire experience provided a great bonding opportunity for new scout troops and was also a suitable event through which to introduce the Xhosa scouts to the traditions of the Scouting Movement. As part of the tradition, it is told that Baden Powell would bring the ashes from his previous campfire and add these ashes to the new campfire. The idea was that the ashes would represent all the good memories from the previous campfire to be shared with everyone at the current campfire.¹¹⁰⁵

¹¹⁰² Shepherd, *Lovedale Missionary Report for 1945*, 7. Mr Atkinson was “entirely without race prejudice.”

¹¹⁰³ Shepherd, *Lovedale Missionary Report for 1945*, 7. Pilson was also a Bible class teacher and influenced many students to enrol as “Student Missionary Volunteers.”

¹¹⁰⁴ The Boy Scouts Association, *Camp Fire Song Book* (Ottawa: Canadian Headquarters the Boy Scouts Association, 1921).

¹¹⁰⁵ “Campfire Ashes,” http://storage.neic.org/event/docs/264/campfire_ashes.pdf (accessed 2 January, 2020,

Table 6.1: *Camp Fire Songbook*, 1921. Table of songs in English translated into isiXhosa.

Name of song in English	Name of song in isiXhosa	Page No.
Blow the man down (sung briskly)	<i>Yivuthele iwe phantsi indoda</i>	37
Ezekiel saw a wheel (Spiritual)	<i>UHezekile wabona ivili</i>	48
MacNamara's Band	<i>iBand kaMacNamara</i>	49
Now the day is over	<i>Ngoku usuku luhambile</i>	46
Pack up your duffle and your old camp kit	<i>Pakisha ingxowa yakho kunye nempahla yakho endala yenkampu</i>	23
Parting Hymn	<i>Ingoma yokusahlula</i>	47
Scout's Goodnight Song	<i>Ingoma yobusuku obuhle buka Scout</i>	39
Scout Vesper Song (Tune: Maryland, My Maryland)	<i>Ingoma kaScout Vesper</i> <i>(Ingoma: iMaryland, iMaryland yam)</i>	39
The Boy Scout Day (Tune Perfect Day)	<i>Usuku lweBoy Scout</i> <i>(Usuku olugqibeleleyo)</i>	18, 19
The Quarter Master's Stores	<i>livenkile zeQuarter Master</i>	49
The Scout grub song	<i>Ingoma ye-Scout grub</i>	32
'Til we meet again	<i>side siphinde sibonane</i>	40

6.3.5 African hymnody at Lovedale

Lovedale was one of the cradles of African hymnody. It was also a sociological “melting pot” where people from various regions interacted in mission station life. This included Africans, Coloureds and some whites, which resulted in a “mixed Euro African genre of music”.¹¹⁰⁶ The nineteenth century Christian converts were familiar with hymns sung at mission stations and published in the *Lovedale Series*. Students at Lovedale sang hymns in four-part harmony during religious services. They also sang songs which were part of new repertoires written by African composers. Hymns written in Western four-part harmony had a “dominant melodic line”, while folk music and indigenous music had a “call and response” format. The harmonic structure was simple, and the rhythmic “simple interwoven rhythmic patterning” was also simple, with many “parallel fourths and fifths” as well as octaves. Makwaya (choirs) emerged

¹¹⁰⁶ Graham Alexander Duncan, “Coercive Agency: James Henderson’s Lovedale, 1906–1930” (PhD Thesis, University of South Africa, 2000).

as a “form of expression” for converts who were educated at the missions who enjoyed choir singing. The Amakholwa (believers) were the educated African elite who did not want to forgo their “African roots”, “but also wanted to participate in the music of the missionaries”.¹¹⁰⁷ What transpired was that the *Amakwaya* hymns often included concealed references to their “current socio-cultural situation”.

6.3.6 Music education and awards

The 1945 annual report reveals the contribution of music education at Lovedale to the historical mosaic of South African music history, adding to our understanding of South African music history in the colonial period.¹¹⁰⁸ The Reverend E.E.C. Field joined the staff of Lovedale in 1945 as a “substitute obtained for those on active service”.¹¹⁰⁹ He became the Music Master at Lovedale during 1945 and gave piano lessons to Knobel Sakhiwo Bongela, who became a proficient pianist and organist.¹¹¹⁰ A new music society was formed in 1945, and with the support of the choristers in the church choir and the African staff contingent, they were able to “revive an interest in music appreciation”. The audiences at Lovedale were appreciative of their singing and their continued support encouraged them to win 21 prizes in an African Eisteddfod held in Port Elizabeth.

6.4 COMPOSERS

6.4.1 Todd Tozama Matshikiza (1921–1968)

Todd Tozama Matshikiza (1921–1968) was the youngest child in a very musical family of seven children whose father, Samuel Bokwe Matshikiza, was an organist in the Anglican Church and his mother, Grace Ngqoyi Matshikiza, was a soprano singer. His brother,

¹¹⁰⁷ Martin, *Sounding the Cape*, 133.

¹¹⁰⁸ Shepherd, *Lovedale Missionary Report for 1945*, Music and Culture.

¹¹⁰⁹ Shepherd, *Lovedale and literature for the Bantu*, 3.

¹¹¹⁰ Shepherd, *Lovedale Missionary Report for 1945*, 3.

Meekly, nicknamed 'Fingertips' was a proficient piano player and "an influential jazz musician." His other brothers were Gordon, Siphon and Themba, and his sisters were Grace and Winifred. In 1950, Todd married Esme Sheila Mpama, "a student social worker". He later established his own "private music school," namely the "Todd Matshikiza School of Music" where he taught students how to play the piano.¹¹¹¹

Matshikiza's primary education was received in Kimberley and Queenstown, after which he attended St Peter's College in Rosettenville, Johannesburg, before taking "a diploma in music at Adams College in Natal". Matshikiza received a teacher's diploma at the Lovedale Missionary Institute in Alice in 1941/1942 and as a teacher, taught English and Mathematics until 1947 in the high school. He was often referred to as the 'Pied Piper' during both his "student and teaching days at Lovedale". He entertained colleagues and friends playing the piano accordion and various other instruments.¹¹¹²

6.4.2 Compositions of Todd Tozama Matshikiza (1921–1968)

Matshikiza composed various songs and choral works. '*Hamba Kahle*', composed in 1946, became a standard work for choral groups throughout South Africa and was performed for the arrival of the Queen of England at Bulawayo in 1946, and for the Johannesburg Music Festival in 1950. '*Makhaliphile*', composed in 1953, is a choral piece which was dedicated to Father Huddlestone. '*Uxolo*' was commissioned for the seventieth City of Johannesburg anniversary celebrations in 1956. '*King Kong*' (1958), was an "all-black" musical about the heavyweight boxer, Ezekiel Dlamini. Todd Matshikiza and Alan Paton worked on the "a capella musical play" '*Mkhumbane*' together, the theme of which focused on the forced

¹¹¹¹ John Matshika, "Todd Tozama Matshikiza," South African History Online. February 17, 2011, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/todd-tozama-matshikiza>. (accessed October 11, 2021).

¹¹¹² John. Matshikiza, "Todd Tozama Matshikiza," <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/todd-tozama-matshikiza>. (accessed October 11, 2021).

removals of Black people from Cato Manor. This play was performed in 1961 in the West End of London.¹¹¹³

Forced removals took place at various locations across South Africa, with the Sophiatown removals serving as one of the most noteworthy examples. Sophiatown, known for its musicians and “vibrant music scene” as well as for its artists and writers, had been founded in 1897. It was one of the few areas in South Africa at the time where Black people were allowed to own land. A young Nelson Mandela was a frequent visitor in 1952. However, when the Group Areas Act policy of segregation was enforced in 1955, and as part of the government’s clearance plans, the residents were removed to Meadowlands. Sophiatown was the first in a series of forced removals in the 1950s and 1960s of “old communities” in South Africa.¹¹¹⁴ This is an example of an eviction event which took place during this time period and provides some background and a link to other forced removals besides Cato Manor. Matshikiza and Alan Paton’s *Mkhumbane* therefore delivered vivid social commentary on the evolving political landscape of the country. Lovedale contributed to shaping Matshikiza’s political outlook, as the students received a liberal education at this institute and were able to, for instance, take part in debates, listen to visiting guest speakers and read newspapers.

6.4.3 Joshua Polumo Mohapeloa (1908–1982)

Joshua Polumo Mohapeloa (1908–1982) was born in Molumong, a village in the mountains of Lesotho. His love for his country and nature inspired his music.¹¹¹⁵ He studied music and

¹¹¹³ John. Matshikiza, *The New Dictionary of South Africa Biography*. Volume 2 (Pretoria: Vista University, 1999).

¹¹¹⁴ Ellen Otzen, “*The Town Destroyed to Stop Black and White People mixing*,” BBC World Service, February 11, 2015. <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-31379211> (accessed November 5, 2019). Initially Hermann Tobiansky bought 237 acres of land and named them after his wife, Sophia, hence Sophiatown. Residents owned their own land in this area which was developed as a “freehold” township where plots were bought by black people. Sophiatown, was home to 65 000 black, Chinese, Indian, mixed-race and white people. Paul Joseph said that “People went to Sophiatown to listen to music.”

¹¹¹⁵ Ngema, *Indigenous Music in South Africa*, 163.

music education including tonic sol-fa and staff notation at the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) mission at Morija, where he learnt choruses and hymns from his teachers. After completing his Junior Certificate in 1927, he later travelled to the South African Native College (SANC) in 1928, where he wanted to matriculate but unfortunately contracted tuberculosis and was unable to finish his studies. Although he left school in 1929 due to his illness, he still managed to inspire countless others with his music talents and perseverance. His music was printed by the Lovedale Press. He went on to study at Fort Hare and was still composing in 1966, long after Lovedale had closed down in 1955. One of his most well-known compositions is 'U ea kae?' ('Where are you going?').

Example 6.1: 'U Ea Kae' (Where are you going?) SATB, key (A), dynamics (none), tempo (D.S. marking in bar 23), composed by J.P. Mohapeloa. Excerpt notated by Estelle Reynolds.¹¹¹⁶

U EA KAE?
Where are you going?
(SATB) J.P. Mohapeloa

Doh is A

S { | l . r | l . l : s . m , r | d : r . l | s | :- | : l . r | l . l : s . m , r | d : r . l |
Tshoa-ra kho-ng, Re ee_koa - na Ta - ung Tshoa-ra kho-ng, Re ee_koa - na Ta
A { . s | d :- . t | l | :- . d | s | :- m | m | : . s | d : t | t | l | : l | f |
Tshoa - ra khong, Re ee koo Ta-ung, Tshoa - ra ko-to, Re ee koa-
T { . f | m :- . d | f :- . d | m :- . d | d : . r | m : r . r | f : r . d
Tshoa - ra khong, Re ee koo Ta-ung, Tshoa - ra ko-to, Re ee koa
B { . t | | d | :- . d | f | :- . l | d :- . s | m | r | t | | d | :- . s | l | : f | . l |
Tshoa - ra khong, Re ee koo Ta-ung, Re ee koa

Piano

4 | s | :- | : l | : l | : l | s | :- m | - : l | : l | : l | s | :- m | - . : m . r
ung Ha Mo - le - tsa - ne, Ha Mo - le tsa - ne Re - e'o
m | :- s | s | : f | : f | : f | m | :- . d | - : r | : r | : r | m | :- . d | - . : s | . s |
na Ta - ung Ha Mo - le - tsa - ne, Ha Mo - le tsa - ne Re - e'o
d :- . m | m : r : r : r | m :- . s | - : f : f : f | m :- . m | - . : s . f
na Ta - ung Ha Mo - le - tsa - ne, Ha Mo - le tsa - ne Re - e'o
d :- . s | m | : t | : t | : t | d | :- . s | m | : t | : t | : t | d | :- . s | m | : t | : t |
na Ta - ung Ha Mo - le - tsa - ne Ha Mo - le tsa - ne Re - e'o

¹¹¹⁶ 'U Ea Kae' (Where are you going?) in Khumalo, *South Africa Sings*, 1998: 31, 32.

2

7

bo - na Ha ho po - loa ma - be - le, cntd

bo - na Ha ho po - loa ma - be - le, cntd

bo - na Ha ho po - loa ma - be - le, cntd

bo - na Ha ho po - loa ma - be - le cntd

cntd

cntd

The full score of this Sesotho, corn-threshing song is available from Khumalo, *South Africa Sings*, SAMRO, Braamfontein.¹¹¹⁷ The above is an extract of 8 bars from the full score written in SATB. The main melody starts in the soprano up until the first beat of the fourth bar, when all four parts as well as the accompaniment move together with the same rhythm, each part plays a different note within the chord.

The movement between the parts and the piano accompaniment complement one another as the right hand in the piano moves with the soprano part. The left hand moves with the same rhythmic structure as the alto tenor and bass parts. Western choirs may need guidance in the pronunciation of the words. This work is therefore easier for an African choir to sing as they

¹¹¹⁷ James Steven Mzilikazi, Khumalo, ed. *South Africa Sings: African Choral Repertoire in Dual Notation, Tonic Sol fa and Staff Notation. Volume 1.* (Johannesburg: Samro Scores, 1998).

would also have been trained in tonic sol-fa. This work would be easy to learn because of the simple chord structure. The parts move together within the chord structure of A Major.

It would be easy to perform in most venues (including outside venues).

The time signature indicates 4/4 time, and the song begins with an anacrusis. The rhythm of the triplets in bars 4 and 5 move to dotted rhythms, and the triplets have the same note reiterated within each part. There are no dynamic markings at any point in the song. After the pause at the end in bar 23 there is a tempo D.S. marking. The excerpt moves harmonically between the tonic and the dominant of A Major. In bar 7 there are passing notes in the melody in every part.

This song is among Mohapelo's most popular songs. Christine Lucia's view is that '*U ea kae*' is more of a composition than an arrangement.¹¹¹⁸ Tuang is the home of the Moletsanes, and little boys go along and also thresh corn with their 'knobkieries' (sticks). The refrain is: "Where are you going without even a 'knobkierie' a stick?", since admission is with a 'knobkierie' and everyone has brought their own stick.¹¹¹⁹

¹¹¹⁸ Christine Lucia, "Travesty or Prophecy? Views of South African Black Choral Composition," in *Music and Identity. Transformation and Negotiation*, ed. Eric Akrofi, Maria Smit and Stig-Magnus Thorsen (Stellenbosch: Sun Press, 2007), 167. Listening opportunities are available at:

P.J. Mohapelo, "U ea kae?", Nation Building: Celebrating 10 Years in Music. Unisa Audio CD Music and Audio-Visual Collection (South Africa: Janus Musiek, 1998) CD. 782.220968 NATI.

U Ea Kae. Sibongile Khumalo. March 16, 2017. YouTube (5.37 sec)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=81o1xw8X4YQ>

U ea Kae. Dr J.P. Mohapelo. SABC Choir March 6, 2015. YouTube (1.41 sec).

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cjb5G5u3U74>. (accessed February 7, 2021).

¹¹¹⁹ P.J. Mohapelo, "U ea kae?", Nation Building: Celebrating 10 Years in Music.

Table 6.2: English Translation: ‘U Ea Kae’.¹¹²⁰

seSotho	English
<i>Tshoara khong,</i>	Take your stick,
<i>Re ee koana Taung,</i>	And let us go to Taung
<i>Ha Moletsasne;</i>	Home of the Moletsanes;
<i>Re e’o bona</i>	Let us go and see
<i>Ha ho poloa mabele</i>	How corn is threshed
<i>Bashemanyana</i>	The small boys

Mohapeloa composed the ‘Coronation March’ in 1937 in honour of the royal couple, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth.¹¹²¹ This was in keeping with the reproduction of Britishness in Africa. Mohapeloa, however, loved his country (Lesotho) and nature was an inspiration for his music.¹¹²² He composed repertoire for choirs, and these songs were later introduced into schools. Josias Makibinyane, Mohapeloa’s brother, a historian, recorded that Mohapeloa composed songs based on folk tales. As a composer he celebrated animals, birds and traditional life.¹¹²³

Alpine folksongs, namely traditional folk music of the Alps, together with arrangements for different marches and religious songs, were ‘indigenised.’ This was done by notating all the music into Tonic sol-fa and translating the lyrics into seSotho.¹¹²⁴ Mohapeloa had an opportunity to study music under Percival Kirby, a professor and lecturer of music at The University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) in 1939, with a scholarship given to him by Mr O.B. Bull, the Lesotho Director of Education. His knowledge and skills were expanded when

¹¹²⁰ U Ea Kae, brief translation. Khumalo, *South Africa Sings*, 1998

¹¹²¹ Christine Lucia, “Joshua Pulumo Mohapeloa Critical Edition” 2021.

¹¹²² Vusabantu Ngema, *Indigenous Music in South Africa: An Introduction* (Pretoria: Feenstra Books, 2019), 163.

¹¹²³ Christine Lucia, “Joshua Pulumo Mohapeloa Critical Edition,” 2021.

¹¹²⁴ J.P. Mohapeloa. *Meloli le Lithallere tsa Afrika I* [Sounds and Songs of Africa]. (Morija: Morija Sesotho Book Depot, 1988 originally 1935), 3.

studying composition, counterpoint, harmony and history of music.¹¹²⁵ Unfortunately, many other African composers were not able to acquire the same music skills. Mohapeloa contracted tuberculosis but despite his illness he persevered and was able to inspire others with his music talent.

6.4.4 Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu (1885–1959)

Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu (1885–1959) studied at Lovedale College in Alice before studying abroad at the University of London, where he graduated in 1912 with honours in English. This was an historic achievement as he was the first Black South African to receive a British degree. He later travelled to the United States and visited African American colleges such as Tuskegee, where he studied their education methods.¹¹²⁶ He became a teacher at the African Native College of Fort Hare in 1916 and became a Professor in 1942.¹¹²⁷ He enjoyed playing the piano and violin, and conducting choirs.¹¹²⁸ During the Royal Visit in 1947, Jabavu conducted a choir who sang three songs, namely: ‘*Nkosi Sikelel’ i-Afrika*’, ‘*Vuka, Vuka, Deborah*’ and ‘*Ntsikana’s Bell*’.¹¹²⁹ This was in keeping with showing off their talent to their British guests. The performance by a choir of 5000 children demonstrated that they were subjects of an empire and had acquired the expertise to perform in front of honoured guests.

6.5 VISITORS TO LOVEDALE

6.5.1 The 1947 Royal Visit to Lovedale

It was very important that a British Royal family came to visit Lovedale, as it offered an opportunity for them to see that the students spoke their language, a form of cultural

¹¹²⁵ Christine Lucia,” Joshua Pulumo Mohapeloa Critical Edition,” 2021.

¹¹²⁶ Shepherd, *Bantu Literature and Life*, 195.

¹¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 196.

¹¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 197.

¹¹²⁹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1824–1955*, 130.

imperialism. According to the official itinerary, the British Royal Family were scheduled to visit Lovedale on Saturday 1 March 1947. After arriving at Alice, they drove by car to Lovedale.¹¹³⁰ They were informed that Lovedale, which offered training in trades from “shoemaking to printing”, accepted students from many parts of the sub-continent. Its sister establishment, Fort Hare, known as the South African Native College at the time, was built nearby and at the time of the Royal visit to South Africa in 1947, it was the “only institution of university rank for the Bantu in the Union”.¹¹³¹ It is important to realise that students from Fort Hare and Lovedale were able to socialise between the two campuses as they were located close to each other. Music was taught at both institutes, which provided a common bond between the two in terms of concerts and music events. The Lovedale Press also published many of the African composers’ music scores.

King George remarked to Shepherd that he had been unaware about the progress in the education of the African people. He expressed an interest in the courses available and what the prospects were for the trained Africans. The Queen was particularly interested in the training of nurses. Lovedale received great coverage from 54 reporters who were present at the event and King George requested a recording of the *News of the World* item on Lovedale.¹¹³²

6.4.5 Helen Keller (1880–1968)

Another famous visitor to Lovedale was Helen Keller (1880–1968), the remarkable blind and deaf author, political activist, and lecturer, who came to Lovedale in April 1951 as part of her

¹¹³⁰ General Manager, *South African Railways, Union of South Africa* (Pretoria: South African Railways Public Relations Department, 1947), 14.

¹¹³¹ General Manager, *South African Railways*, 44.

¹¹³² Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1824–1955*, 130. Shepherd was invited as the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to visit Queen Elizabeth II at Balmoral Castle, where he listened to the recording made of the Lovedale Choir’s rendition of ‘Nkosi Sikelel’ i-Afrika’ so many years before.

South African tour. A public engagement arranged at Lovedale involved a service in “Lovedale’s open-air sanctuary” known to many as “under the oaks”. Miss Thomson, Helen Keller’s companion, used manual signs to communicate the hymn and prayer to her. A choir of fifty choristers sang the 24th Psalm (the Scottish metrical version) namely: “Ye gates lift up your heads on high.” Helen Keller stood with her one hand on the organ “catching the vibrations” while she kept time with the other hand. She later recited the 23rd Psalm and declared that “her greatest happiness” was “in the service of others”.¹¹³³

During her visit to Lovedale, Keller shared her love for Greek and nature with the students. She also promoted her view that “the handicapped should be treated as normal people”.¹¹³⁴ Ms Keller was a “timeless testament” to her triumph over “deafness and blindness” and her story was a “symbol of hope” for many people worldwide.¹¹³⁵ On 5 September 1931, she wrote a letter where she commended Reverend Arthur William Blaxall (1891–1970) – who became the First Chairman of the South African National Council for the Deaf and the Superintendent of the Athlone School for the Blind – on reaching out to Coloured children who were blind, deaf or doubly-handicapped. Musical instruments such as the piano were used as well as rhythm bands and singing. Reverend Blaxall wrote a newspaper article on 13 July 1951 where he reported on Helen Keller’s tour of South Africa, where her main emphasis was on faith while travelling from place to place, appealing for more schools and workshops to be built for “blind and deaf Natives”.¹¹³⁶ At Lovedale, these children were taught “rug making” and “light basketry”. The role of music featured prominently with a teacher playing tunes on the piano while a child “changed the rhythm when the music

¹¹³³ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1824–1955*, 135.

¹¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 134. Polly Thomson, her interpreter and companion from Scotland, accompanied her, having taken over from Miss Anne Sullivan, Helen’s first teacher, who had passed on.

¹¹³⁵ Helen Keller, *The Story of My Life* (New York: Bantam Dell, 1990), back cover.

¹¹³⁶ Rev. Arthur William Blaxall noted that “Helen Keller’s visit was a great spiritual experience,” July 13, 1951, <https://www.afb.org> Helen Keller Archive (accessed March 31, 2020).

changed”, and “tapped joyfully”.¹¹³⁷ Keller’s visit was further indication of the status Lovedale had achieved as a leading educational institution in southern Africa, and as one of the most important and iconic intellectual centres for Africans. Unfortunately, the public and political successes of Lovedale would ultimately lead to its demise at the hands of the apartheid government.

6.6 THE CLOSURE OF LOVEDALE (31 DECEMBER 1955)

The boarding-house at Lovedale was a noteworthy feature with most pupils, from different races, being boarders. As long as the numbers were limited the supervision was comparatively easy.¹¹³⁸ In 1920, protests began in the Eastern Cape when the students at Lovedale rioted and set fire to buildings in protest against the food, namely ‘bad bread’.¹¹³⁹ There were some low-key protests again in 1945 which attracted much attention, partly because Lovedale was the premier black school in the country. It was the ‘flag ship for black education’ and an ‘independent’ Commission of Inquiry was set up by the Lovedale Governing Council. This council issued an official report, with the student voices of the students and their parents being largely absent. Authority figures examining grievances by the students were mainly white and the protest and Lovedale Riot of 1946 can be seen to be ‘largely a rebellion’ against their authority. Protests were also taking place at other educational mission institutions for the Black elite at the same time.¹¹⁴⁰ Prior to the closure of Lovedale, there were some disruptions and the riots in 1946 were an indication of an upsurge in African nationalism. Students at Lovedale, such as Bojana Jordan, were often visited by

¹¹³⁷ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1824–1955*, 132.

¹¹³⁸ Robert Young, *African Wastes Reclaimed: The Story of the Lovedale Mission* (London: J.M. Dent, 1902).

¹¹³⁹ “Amersfoort Legacy Timeline from 1658-present.” SA Timeline. January 9, 2020. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/Amersfoort-legacy-timeline-1658-present> (accessed March 31, 2020).

¹¹⁴⁰ Liz Stanley, Protest and the Lovedale Riot of 1946: ‘Largely a Rebellion against Authority’? *Journal of Southern African Studies* 44 no. 6 (November 2018), 3. Stanley is from the University of Edinburgh.

students from Fort Hare in the late 1940s who were members of the African National Congress Youth League.¹¹⁴¹

The 1948 election was a watershed moment in South African history, as the National Party came to power and instituted their policies of apartheid. The segregation that had characterised state policy up to this point was now advanced in a much more forceful and systematic way. Racial inequality was exacerbated, and opportunities for Africans were severely curtailed. The National Party government advanced a concept of Bantu education that would advance Africans only to positions considered appropriate or relevant to their immediate communities. This was of course an extension of earlier practices, but the exclusion of Africans from universities and schools based on race was a severe setback. This implementation of Bantu education had major consequences for the mission schools, who still relied on state subsidies.

The Bantu Education Act was passed in 1953. This forced all schools for Africans to register with the government. This resulted in almost all of the mission schools as well as night schools closing down. The 1953 Bantu Education Act targeted mission schools to prevent Black students from being educated. Most churches could not afford to maintain schools without subsidies and so, in 1955, Lovedale closed its doors. This was a tragedy for the students at Lovedale and other Black South Africans, as they would no longer have the educational opportunities, they had had access to up until now. The Government Council of Lovedale was dissolved on 31 December 1955, and Shepherd retired, whereafter Lovedale became the responsibility of the Native Affairs Department.¹¹⁴²

¹¹⁴¹ Bundy, "Lessons on the Frontier: Aspects of Eastern Cape history", 18.

¹¹⁴² Shepherd, *Shepherd of Lovedale*, 224.

Race, Hybridity and Mission

The British historian, Basil Davidson (1914–2010) described racial discrimination as becoming worse in South Africa after 1948 with apartheid.¹¹⁴³ In the early 1950s during Shepherd’s principalship, and because of racial segregation under apartheid, Mzilikazi Khumalo (1932- 2021) was unable to study at the major universities in South Africa. At the time when Khumalo was appointed at Wits as a language tutor, Black scholars were not recognized at white universities as lecturers. He was outspoken in South Africa in his criticism of the colonial nature of linguistic studies and is reported to have spoken abroad about the ‘rising decolonial movement in academia’.¹¹⁴⁴

I have tried to address the gap in scholarship which resulted from the overwhelming focus on white music and culture and the exclusion of Black genres and composers. I have discussed decoloniality, hybridity, identity and race. Racial strife can erupt into social violence as seen by the riots at Lovedale during Shepherd’s principalship. The elimination of ‘internal conflict’ is often a ‘central problem for policy making.’¹¹⁴⁵ Isaac Schapera stated that “the issues facing the country (South Africa) are the product of many decades of inter-racial contact and adjustment during which the Europeans and the Natives have exercised a steadily growing influence upon each other’s lives”.¹¹⁴⁶ The complexity of race and colonial subjectivity is seen in the role played by Black composers in the mid-twentieth century. For instance, Mohapeloa composed ‘Coronation March’ in 1937 in honour of the royal couple

¹¹⁴³ Basil Davidson, 3rd ed. *Modern Africa. A Social and Political History* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 14.

¹¹⁴⁴ Thomas Pooley, “Mzilikazi Khumalo: iconic composer who defied apartheid odds to leave a rich legacy,” *The Conversation*, June 23, 2021, <https://theconversation.com/mzilikazi-khumalo-iconic-composer-who-defied-apartheid-odds-to-leave-a-rich-legacy>. (accessed June 23, 2021).

¹¹⁴⁵ Joseph S. Himes, "The Functions of Racial Conflict." *Social Forces* 45 No. 1 (1966): 1.

¹¹⁴⁶ Isaac Schapera, ed. *Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa: Studies in Culture Contact* (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1934)

King George VI and Queen Elizabeth.¹¹⁴⁷ In this work, Mohapeloa demonstrated the attributes of the good British subject.

Racial inequalities were exacerbated with the implementation of apartheid and the South African government's policy of racially segregated neighbourhoods. This was formalised with the Group Areas Act in 1950. The reality of segregation played out in everyday experiences. Students at Fort Hare, visiting Monica Wilson at her home in Hoggs Back, sat on the dividing wall of her property as any form of hybridity was outlawed. Instead, Black and White cultures were deemed distinct and irrevocably separate. Blacks were not allowed access to a European education. This logic of 'separate development' resulted in the closure of Lovedale.¹¹⁴⁸

6.7 CONCLUSION

Shepherd was the last principal of Lovedale. It was during his tenure that King George VI visited the institute with the Royal Family, and luminaries such as Helen Keller also made stops at Lovedale on their tours of South Africa. These marked a highpoint in the institution's storied history. But most importantly, Lovedale had achieved a standard of excellence in producing graduates of distinction who became known across the Union and Commonwealth. There were remarkable cultural achievements made during Shepherd's time, including the advancement of vocational training and educational opportunities, along with the expansion of the Lovedale Press, which published important new compositions by African composers, as well as reference works and hymnals. Some of the musicians and composers educated during this period include Todd Matshikiza and Joshua Polumo Mohapeloa.

¹¹⁴⁷ Joshua Pulumo Mohapeloa Critical Edition 2021.

¹¹⁴⁸ Arnold Rose, 5th ed. *The Roots of Prejudice* (Paris. France: Unesco 1958) [1951].

It was thus with devastating consequences that the Lovedale Missionary Institute closed its doors at the end of 1955. The apartheid government succeeded in shutting down one of the most inclusive and culturally important institutions for Africans by withholding subsidies. This deliberate denigration of educational opportunities for Black South Africans is remembered as one of the most cruel and racist acts of the early apartheid era. This concluding chapter to this thesis reflects on the achievements and failures of the project that was Lovedale.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Choral music is the golden thread woven through this thesis. Lovedale developed a culture in which Black Africans created choral music that embodied their desires and aspirations, and a hybridity that came to mark their work as the product of colonial culture. I have used the concept of hybridity to explore the ways in which African musicians forged a syncretic identity during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in diverse ways. This thesis has focused on the achievements of these intellectuals and composers, and on the political importance they achieved in writing music and literature. The problem was that in order to aspire to a European norm to succeed in colonial society, they had to renounce their own culture, at least in part. This historical process took place over centuries, and it was not through the actions of a single person who could take responsibility for this whole movement in history.

The aim of this history of Lovedale was to offer a balanced perspective on the development of music and mission. There can be no doubt that Lovedale offered a standard of education for Africans that was unmatched in the nineteenth century, and for much of the early twentieth century too. The relationships between the principals, missionaries, and African composers and musicians were complex, and, in some instances deeply committed. The family linkages that took place through the education received at Lovedale are also important. Networks of musicians, writers, politicians, and intellectuals gave rise to a powerful Black elite whose influence on the events of the second half of the twentieth century was profound.

Students at Lovedale were exposed to Western culture, history and literature when they had the opportunity to go abroad to study. Tiyo Soga was an exceptional trail blazer, who was one of the first of the Black elite, and he epitomises the cultural hybridity that came to define the

predicament of the elite at Lovedale and other important missionary institutes in Southern Africa. Soga left a ‘Scottish legacy’ with an emphasis on education and music for his children. He has been criticised for being a “black Englishman” or too much like the “white missionaries” who educated him, but he left behind a music legacy which has continued through his descendants. Hector Soga who taught at Dollar Academy (another link Lovedale had with Scotland), may not have contributed to ‘black’ music in South Africa but if his great grandfather and grandfather hadn’t had the influence of Lovedale in their lives then he would not have had his musical heritage. Legacies left today include the ‘John Henderson Soga Library and Archive’ at Hobeni. But Soga was also among the first Black composers to have their music notated and published, and he played a major role in translating the Bible into isiXhosa. That he achieved all this by the age of 42 is extraordinary.

This thesis has drawn attention to the achievements of several African composers whose music remains central to today’s art, choral and popular repertoires. Most of these composers worked in tonic sol-fa and staff notation, and their styles were hybrid, mixing elements of African languages, myths, traditions, and social commentary with elements of conventional four-part harmony. Some of these composers and African Christian evangelists such as William Koyi, and interpreters and translators, such as Trevor Skota, were marginalised. It is sad, that the contributions of many marginalised people, including African composers, poets and many women did not receive the recognition they deserved. The stories of Noni Jabavu, together with other Black women including Adelaide Dube, Frieda Bokwe Matthews, Charlotte Maxeke and Nontsizi Mqwetho, need to be acknowledged; otherwise, the narratives about the past will remain incomplete.

Culture was used in the expansion of empire and intellectual life in the colonies. The reproduction of Britishness in South Africa was evident within the thesis where music was

used to advance their own culture. The activities and performances that were put on for dignitaries such as Baden Powell and Lord Milner who visited Lovedale were a way of showing off the success of the mission of reproducing British culture. The aim of those who put on the displays was that they wanted to create British subjects and to make the people feel that they were part of the empire. Baden Powell by introducing the scouting movement introduced a new tradition which was another form of cultural imperialism.

The missionaries promoted Europeanism and promoted Eurocentric Christian education and the advancement of the African people. However, there is the Afrocentric perspective. Masumbe rightly suggested that educational policies have a bearing on social transformation as they are an indication as to what should be retained in future and what should be discarded.¹¹⁴⁹ This thesis has drawn on a wide-ranging review of literature and archival sources from Scotland and South Africa, emphasising decoloniality especially regarding the role of Black intellectuals. Today African indigenous music is included in the modern-day curriculum, alongside Western classical music, at tertiary institutions.

When the Lovedale Missionary Institute was opened in 1841, its purpose was to spread Christianity and “civilisation” among the Xhosa people of the Cape Province. Lovedale developed into a multifaceted institution designed to serve a range of educational functions from formal education and academia to agriculture, Christianity, nursing, science, nutrition, vocational training, theology, and music. It is important to note that Christian missions provided the first formal music training in South Africa and the importance of Lovedale in the history of music education in South Africa cannot be overstated and not least of all because of the publications emanating from its Press.

¹¹⁴⁹ Masumbe, “*The Swiss Missionaries*,” 2002.

Initially, under its first principal, Rev. William Govan, Lovedale aimed at an inclusive and non-racial education of the highest quality for both European and African students. This ideal was gradually eroded, starting with the principalship of Rev. Dr James Stewart, who adopted a pragmatic approach that would be highly influential on his successors. Stewart's pragmatism meant a new focus on trades and agriculture, and a curtailment of academic studies for African students, especially classics and languages. It was during this period that musicians began to be trained in tonic sol-fa rather than staff notation, and music was perceived principally as an aid to worship and evangelism rather than as an art form. Most of the musicians trained thereafter pursued careers as choral composers, conductors and singers, but also as teachers. Most schoolteachers educated at the missions were subsequently responsible for the practical content of the music education in many southern African schools. For many of these teachers, their education began at Lovedale, and music education at the school would thus have a major impact on the educational outlook of children across the region.

The influence of European composers and music on the first generation of African composers is marked, but so is the influence of African Americans such as Orpheus McAdoo and the Jubilee singers. The connection with Presbyterian institutions such as the Hampton Institute and Tuskegee University were to be important for many graduates and for the principals themselves, who would visit and learn from developments in the United States of America. Lovedale had one of the best and most substantial libraries in southern Africa and used this to complement an advanced educational setup with well-qualified teachers. Lovedale Press performed an essential role in advancing African music and literature through its publications. The Press published some of the first music scores by Africans and was a leading source of choral music for singers and choirs across southern Africa. Most of South

Africa's most prominent choral composers were published by the press, including Michael Moseu Moerane, Benjamin Tyamzashe, Daniel Cornel Marivate, Reuben Caluza, Joshua Mohapeloa, Tiyo Soga, John Knox Bokwe, and Enoch Sontonga. These are composers whose music is still regularly performed by choirs at festivals, competitions, and in churches in many countries in Africa, and elsewhere.

According to Hunt Davies, Lovedale provided education at the pre-university level that was in the beginning equivalent to that available in Great Britain at the time. Lovedale also ranked with the best schools in the Cape. It was only in the late 1880s that several schools for Europeans began to surpass it, as these were aided by substantial government assistance. Yet, despite its many achievements and the accolades heaped on its principals, teachers and graduates, it must be recognised that Lovedale played a role in limiting opportunities for Africans by, as the years went by, enforcing segregationist thinking and prejudice. The project of the missionaries at Lovedale must always be understood first as an effort at evangelism tied to European concepts of civilisation and racial superiority.

This thesis has charted a narrative history of Lovedale centered on the principals and their leadership. But it has also sought to explain the important role of all the other people, including those who have languished in obscurity in the archives. While this thesis has developed a broad narrative history of Lovedale there has not been the opportunity to consider case studies of the many musicians and missionaries in the kind detail each deserves. Further studies must take up the biographies of individual composers whose music is not well-documented and whose contributions are still not properly understood. There are many facets to the dynamics of music and mission at Lovedale that would also benefit from comparative study of other large mission stations in southern Africa. Another important institution within Lovedale that is deserving of a study all its own is the Lovedale Press. In

the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries this press was central to the musical and literary history of southern Africa.

This thesis also offers perspectives on the role of the Presbyterian missionary institutions and their cultural influence. As such, it opens the way for a broader critique of Presbyterianism in the history and culture of southern Africa since the nineteenth century. The aim of the missionary service was the upliftment and conversion of African students at Lovedale, and beyond. Generally, in this thesis, the development of the musical identities of the individual music students under very specific circumstances was promoted. This led to a South African music identity evolving through the tonic sol-fa music notation system. Some identities, such as that of the African Native Choir, were manipulated when they were required to wear traditional dress on stage. However, the African students were fascinated with the musical achievements and distinctive culture of the visiting African Americans to Lovedale.

During this first period at Lovedale, there was considerable emphasis on religious teaching. The first principal, Reverend William Govan, established Lovedale at Alice in 1842. His student, Tiyo Soga, was the first indigenous African to be ordained as a Presbyterian minister. Soga's presence is emphasised in Chapter 2, for he and his family were to make extraordinary contributions to music, literature, law, medicine, and other fields; some of this legacy is discussed further in the Appendix. Donovan Williams observes that Soga's legacy has been "badly neglected by historians in southern Africa" and that even his grave at *Tututa* is neglected and overgrown.¹¹⁵⁰ Soga was committed to preserving the history of his people, the *amaJwara*, as well as that of South Africa. He was known as *Nonjiba Waseluhlangeni*

¹¹⁵⁰ Donovan Williams, ed. *The Journal and Selected Writings of The Reverend Tiyo Soga* (Grahamstown: Rhodes University, 1983), 1.

(‘Dove of the Nation’),¹¹⁵¹ and also held the pseudonym of ‘Defensor’; which held a political connotation as the “defender of the nation.”¹¹⁵² Govan and Soga were both pioneers and built a solid foundation for the subsequent principals and music students to build further until Lovedale was closed down in 1955. Govan took Soga to Scotland in 1846 at the beginning of the War of the Axe, the Seventh Frontier War.¹¹⁵³ It is important to mention that the colonial force which had been under Colonel John Hare (who became the Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Province and commander of the forces) had initially suffered a defeat at Burnshill. Later Fort Hare was named after him.¹¹⁵⁴

Children of missionaries made a significant contribution to the development of South Africa. Tiyo Soga was able to leave a music legacy through his family, which is still appreciated in both Scotland and South Africa today. His eldest son, William Anderson Soga (1858–1916), established the Miller Mission in Bomvanaland near Elliotdale in 1888. Men like Soga have been criticised for being “black Englishmen” or too much like the “white missionaries” who educated them. However, what is apparent is that whatever African preachers may have been taught during the colonial education, they preached from “the heart of their African background”. They understood their listeners and spoke to their congregations “from an African point of view”.¹¹⁵⁵ Little is known about what the “dedicated African evangelists” did to spread the Gospel and what “grassroots work” they were able to accomplish,¹¹⁵⁶ as very few of their exploits and endeavours were recorded. The success of the mission work in South Africa is often due to their efforts. Soga was the missionary at Somerville in the

¹¹⁵¹ Sibusiso Tshabalala, “Pioneers. Tiyo Soga: Dove of the Nation,” *The Journalist*, August 4, 2014, <http://www.thejournalist.org.za/pioneers/tiyo-soga> (accessed June 10, 2019).

¹¹⁵² Joanne Ruth Davis, *Tiyo Soga: Man of Four Names* (Phd Thesis, University of South Africa, 2012), v.

¹¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 113.

¹¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 116.

¹¹⁵⁵ Millard, Malihambe – *Let the Word Spread*, xiii.

¹¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, xii.

Transkei, which became known as Tutuka, where Jan Boy, a native evangelist established an outpost among Chief Agubo's people.¹¹⁵⁷ Xinti Tshila, was another evangelist who worked amongst Chief Mapasa's people.¹¹⁵⁸

Rev. Dr James Stewart served as principal from 1870 to 1905. During this second period at Lovedale, he promoted the superiority of the missionaries' "own culture",¹¹⁵⁹ and this coincided with the gradual segregation of educational opportunity. The composer John Knox Bokwe (1855–1922) studied music with Stewart's wife, Mina, and became his private secretary.¹¹⁶⁰ Bokwe is considered one of the most influential choral composers of the late nineteenth century in South Africa, and his efforts in promoting and arranging the work of Tiyo Soga and Ntsikana are of major historical importance. Bokwe also assisted with a "a metrical version of the Psalms in isiXhosa".¹¹⁶¹

Women played an increasingly important role as educators at Lovedale during Stewart's tenure. Perhaps the most important and influential figure of all was Jane Waterston, who served several terms at the institution and ultimately qualified and practiced as a medical doctor. Stewart encouraged Lovedale students to continue their studies abroad. Tause Soga, Tiyo Soga's niece, who had been at Lovedale (1871–1874), travelled to Scotland in 1875 to further her studies at the Free Church Normal Seminary in Glasgow (1874–1876). While there she used the opportunity to urge people to give Black women a chance.¹¹⁶² Most of the composers discussed in this thesis are men, and this reflects the strong bias in educational policies toward boys and men. Nevertheless, some of the women at Lovedale made an

¹¹⁵⁷ Williams, *The Journal and Selected Writings of The Reverend Tiyo Soga*, 140.

¹¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 141.

¹¹⁵⁹ Hunt Davis, *Nineteenth Century African Education in the Cape Colony*, 165.

¹¹⁶⁰ Millard, *Let the Word Spread*, 7.

¹¹⁶¹ Khumalo, *South Africa Sings*, 6.

¹¹⁶² Bean and E van Heyningen, *The Letters of Jane Elizabeth Waterston 1866–1905*, 82.

outstanding impact through their political and musical exploits in the late nineteenth, and into the twentieth centuries.

Toward the end of Stewart's tenure was the South African War (1899–1902), which left the country in deep depression. This put on hold some of Stewart's plans for expanding educational opportunities for Africans. In 1904, Stewart told the South African Native Affairs Commission that "Education proceeds or progresses a country from above downwards, not from below upwards". In 1905, the commission recommended that a "central inter-state Native college" be established.¹¹⁶³ This was eventually brought to fruition as Fort Hare College under the guidance of Stewart's successor in 1916.

The third principal of Lovedale was the Rev. Dr James Henderson who served from 1906 to 1930. He played an important role in elevating the social position of African students.¹¹⁶⁴ The Xhosa composer and choir master, Marcus Myataza, was to play an important role in musical life during this period at Lovedale, but Benjamin Tyamzashe became more prominent, partially due to the fact that so many of his works were published by Lovedale Press. Reverend Henderson and the staff at Lovedale realised that both men and women should be educated. Mission-educated students from Lovedale were pioneers in their field. For example, Cecilia Makiwane (1880–1919), who was born at the MacFarlane Mission in the Victoria district of Alice, became the first Black qualified nurse on 7 January 1908 after passing her exams. Victoria Hospital at Lovedale played a significant role in promoting nursing among the students. Miss Mary Balmer, the Matron of Victoria Hospital (1903–1926) was a pioneer in the field of training "non-European nurses".¹¹⁶⁵ Electric light was introduced

¹¹⁶³ Matthews, *Freedom for My People*, 49. This college was to receive "state support from the governments of the different British colonies in South Africa."

¹¹⁶⁴ Hunt Davis, *Nineteenth Century African Education in the Cape Colony*, 181.

¹¹⁶⁵ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941*, 513.

at Lovedale in 1918, which meant that electricity could be used in the workshops, which was a great advantage.¹¹⁶⁶

The Rev. Dr Arthur West Wilkie served as the fourth principal from 1932 to 1942. Daniel Cornel Marivate, Benjamin Tyamzashe and Reuben Caluza were three composers who studied under Wilkie, and whose music remains at the core of the choral repertoire in South Africa. Wilkie also encouraged the advancement of women, and especially the leadership potential of women at Lovedale. The Lovedale Bible School, which was opened in 1932, meant that Lovedale could earnestly promote evangelism, which had been Lovedale's supreme task from the beginning. Another advantage for Lovedale under Wilkie was its prominence in the co-operation of Christian work in South Africa and abroad. There were ten churches represented on the Board of Management of the Bible School, and Lovedale represented the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa.¹¹⁶⁷ When the Centenary celebrations took place at Lovedale in 1941, the music of Lovedale's choirs and bands was put on display.¹¹⁶⁸ At this time, it seemed that the long-term future of the institute was assured.

The fifth and last principal of Lovedale was the Rev. Dr Robert Henry Wishart Shepherd, who served from 1942 until the institute's closure in 1955. It was during Shepherd's principalship that Lovedale achieved greatest renown, and many dignitaries and distinguished guests visited during this period, including the Royal Family with King George VI and a visit by the British Empire Parliamentary Delegation. The royal party were treated to a 5000-strong trained choir, conducted by Professor D.D.T. Jabavu, with student musicians

¹¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 94.

¹¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 98.

¹¹⁶⁸ H. Carey, ed, *Empires of Religion. Lovedale's Centenary: A record of Celebrations July 19–21, 1941* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press. 1941), 135. Much was made at these celebrations of the Scots' contribution to education, which had been distinctive.

from Lovedale and Fort Hare combined.¹¹⁶⁹ But all of this came to an end with the introduction of the National Party's policy of apartheid, and the implementation of the Bantu Education Act of 1953. An era of African education ended with the closure of Lovedale's schools in December 1955, which marked the end of missionary education at the Cape after more than a century of development.

This history of Lovedale has covered a broad range of documentary sources without exploring individual careers in great depth. This means that there is considerable scope for further research on composers, missionaries, and other personalities at Lovedale. It is hoped that this research will serve as a resource for those aiming for a more complete picture of the many facets of musical life at Lovedale. Further areas for research include the subject of hymns as a vehicle for expressing socio-cultural and political concerns. A second suggestion would be the wider influence of Lovedale Press beyond the mission. Finally, a study of other missions in Africa and their influence on music education and culture remains an important project.

Lovedale was a community of excellence served by leaders who made a lasting impact on South African society. Its strengths were manifested in its students, who took their education and used it to achieve extraordinary results in music and society. Its weaknesses were inherent in the prejudices of its leaders and in the racial segregation that hampered an equal education for all. Even so, Lovedale's importance as an educational institution, and as a beacon of hope for African musicians and intellectuals, is unmatched in the history of southern Africa's mission schools.

¹¹⁶⁹ Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa, 1824–1955*, 130.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Chronology

Chapter 1 – Music and British Settler Colonialism at the Cape, Pre 1840

- 1486 Bartholomew Diaz rounds the Cape of Good Hope
- 1652 Jan van Riebeeck arrives with the first Dutch settlers at the Cape
- 1779 First Frontier War (1779–1781)
- 1789 Second Frontier War (1789–1793)
- 1795 The London Missionary Society founded with Rev. John Love as secretary
- 1796 The Glasgow Missionary Society founded
- 1799 Third Frontier War (1799–1803)
 - Van der Kemp arrives in Cape Town
- 1814 Cape Colony annexed by Britain
 - Fourth Frontier War (1811–1812)
- 1818 Fifth Frontier War (1818–1819)
 - War between Ndlambe and Ngqika
- 1819 The Battle of Grahamstown and the Xhosa (22 April 1819) part of the Fifth Xhosa War
- 1820 Albany district established and the arrival of British settlers
 - Thomas Pringle arrives from Scotland
 - Lord Charles Somerset appointed governor at the Cape
 - Rev John Brownlee arrives at Chumie in June
 - Ntsikana Gaba dies
- 1821 John Bennie and Rev W.R. Thomson join Brownlee at Chumie
- 1823 Rev John Ross arrives at Chumie with his small printing press
- 1824 A new mission station is founded at Incehra
- 1825 Dr John Love dies on 17 December
- 1826 The Incehra station is renamed "Lovedale"
- 1827 Chalmers, Mc Diarmid and Weir arrive
- 1828 The Balfour mission station is founded
- 1829 Chief Ngqika dies
- 1830 The Pirie Mission is founded in May
 - The Burnhill Mission is founded in June
- 1833 Slavery is abolished in the Cape Colony
 - Sir John Herschel (1792–1871) visits South Africa, accompanied by his wife Margaret.
- 1834 Sixth Frontier War (1834–1835) Hintsa's war, begins in December (also known as 'The Imperial War')
- 1835 "Old" Lovedale is destroyed
 - British Governor Bartle Frere seeks to annex Gcalekaland to the British Empire
 - Sir Harry Smith (1787–1860) controls the tribal areas
 - Herschel records Halley's Comet as it recedes from the sun.

1836 "Old" Lovedale is abandoned

The Great Trek begins

1838 Voortrekker victory over the Zulus at the Battle of Blood River

1839 Site of the Lovedale seminary selected

Dr James Rose Innes (1839– is appointed as the first Superintendent General of Education at the Cape

Chapter 2: The First Period of Lovedale, 1840–1870

1841 Rev. William and Mrs Govan arrive at Lovedale on 16 January 1841

The Lovedale Institution opens on 21 July 1841

1843 The Disruption of the Church of Scotland in May 1843 and the Free Church formed

1844 Lovedale becomes part of the work of the Free Church of Scotland

1846 Seventh Frontier War (1846–1847), the 'War of the Axe' also known as the "Amatola War"

Lovedale closed. Rev Govan takes Tiyo Soga with him to Scotland

1847 Military Fort established on the Tymie River. It later became known as Fort Hare

1849 Lovedale re-opens

1850 Rev. Govan and Mrs Govan return to Lovedale

Eighth Frontier War (1850–1853) begins. Also known as the " War of *Mlanjeni*"

1852 January, 17 1852, the British troopship Birkenhead sunk off the coast of South Africa only 193 survivors

1854 Crimean War (1854–1856), Florence Nightingale (1820–1910) becomes an influential nurse

Sir George Grey (1812–1898) appointed Governor of the Cape, succeeding Sir George Cathcart

1855 Industrial courses including building, blacksmithing, carpentry and wagon-making initiated at Lovedale

1855 March 24, 1855 Olive Schreiner (1855–1920) is born

1856 The national 'cattle-killing' among the Xhosa begins

1859 Dr Langham Dale (1858–1932) becomes the Superintendent-General of Education at the Cape. He establishes the University of the Cape of Good Hope in 1873.

1861 American Civil War 1861–186

Louis Pasteur (1822–1895) a French biologist and chemist discovers that infectious diseases arecaused by bacteria, protozoa, viruses etc. He invents pasteurisation

Printing and book-binding courses start at Lovedale

1862 'Indaba' (the News) appears at Lovedale

1863 Rev. James Stewart visits Lovedale en route to Scotland after his travels with David Livingstone in Central Africa

1864 Dr Alexander Duff visits Lovedale

1867 Dr James Stewart, his wife Mrs. Mina Stewart and Miss Jane Waterston join the staff at Lovedale

Tiyo Soga's Xhosa translation of "The Pilgrim's Progress" is published
Diamonds are discovered in South Africa
1868 Education boards are set up at Lovedale
The Girls' School boarding section opens at Lovedale
1870 Rev. William Govan retires

Chapter 3: James Stewart and John Knox Bokwe and the second period at Lovedale, 1870–1905

1870 Rev. Dr James Stewart appointed as principal of Lovedale
1871 Rev. Tiyo Soga dies
1874 David Livingstone's burial takes place at Westminster Abbey in London
1876 Rev. James Stewart and four pupils from Lovedale travel to Nyasaland
1877 The Blythswood Institution opened
The Ninth Frontier War (1877–1878) begins in Ciskei and Transkei. This was also known as the Fengu-Gcaleka War or "Ngcayechibi's War"
1878 World Missionary Conference takes place in London
1880 Dr Jane Waterston opens a medical department at Lovedale
Book colportage begins at Lovedale
1880 The First Anglo-Boer War takes place from 16 December 1880 to 23 March 1881
1881 The England, Wales and Scotland Census takes place between the Boers of the Transvaal and the United Kingdom
1883 The Main Educational Building is completed at Lovedale
Reports by the Commission on Native Laws and Customs
Clara Barton founds the American Red Cross on 21 May 1883
1885 The Witwatersrand Gold Reef discovered
1886 "Lovedale, Past and Present" published
1887 Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria (50th year of her reign) on 21 June
1890 The Galla slave children arrive at Lovedale
1891 The Jubilee of the Lovedale Institution takes place
Dr Thomas Muir (1844–1934) becomes the Cape Superintendent-General of Education.
1892 January 31, 1892, the English evangelist and preacher, Rev. Charles Spurgeon, dies
1893 Rev. Stewart goes to Edinburgh where he is the acting Professor of Evangelistic Theology, travelling later to the United States
1894 The Glen Grey Bill assigned exclusively for African development is introduced by Cecil John Rhodes
1896 The Jameson Raid takes place
European teachers no longer allowed to be trained at Lovedale
1897 The Lovedale Students' Christian Association formed

- 1898 The Victoria Hospital opened at Lovedale
- 1899 Rev. Stewart serves as Moderator of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland
The South African War (Anglo-Boer War) begins
- 1900 The Free Church and United Presbyterian Church become the United Free Church of Scotland
- 1902 Rev. Stewart delivers the Duff Lectures in Scotland (“Dawn in the Dark Continent”)
May 31 – The Treaty of Vereeniging ends the South African War (Second Boer War).
The treaty of Vereeniging confirms British victory over the Boer republics after three years of war and lays the foundations for the Union of South Africa.
- 1903 Marie Skłodowska Curie (1867–1934) a Polish and naturalised French physicist and chemist is the first woman to win a Nobel Prize first in Physics
The South African Native Affairs Commission (1903–1905) begins work
The “Women's Social and Political Union” (WSPU) formed to campaign for “women's suffrage.”
- 1904 Rev. Stewart appointed as the first president of the General Missionary Conference of South Africa
April 8 – The 'Entente Cordiale' agreement is signed between Britain and France, thereby reconciling British and French imperial interests, particularly in Africa.
- 1905 The largest diamond in the world at 3,106 carats discovered at Cullinan by Captain Frederick Wells
June 7 – Alfred Milner appointed Prime Minister of the Orange River Colony
The Convention of the Inter-State Native College takes place
Rev. Stewart dies on 21 December 1905

Chapter 4: James Henderson and the third period at Lovedale, 1906–1930

- 1906 Pass laws – campaign of passive resistance led by Mohandas Gandhi
- 1910 The Union of South Africa established
May 6, Edward VII dies and is succeeded by his son George V
World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh
- 1911 Marie Curie receives a second Nobel Prize, this time for Chemistry
Mines and Works Act leads to the formation of the South African Native National Congress (renamed African National Congress in 1923)
- 1912 Natives Land Act
- 1913 Natives Land Bill
- 1914 The Afrikaner National Party (NP) formed under General Hertzog
Beginning of “The Great War,” World War 1
The Battle of Ypres takes place in the town of Ypres Flanders. The British Forces has 54 000 casualties.
- 1916 The South African College, Fort Hare opens on 8 February 1916 by General Botha. Rev. James Henderson is the Chairman of the College Council
- 1917 The Mendi sinks.

- February 1 – The United States, the principal neutral power, declares war on Germany on 6 April 1917.
- 1918 End of World War I
- Influenza epidemic: the 1918–1919 “Spanish Flu” epidemic quickly spreads around the world with 50 million people dead
- Report of the Native Education Commission in the Cape Province
- Dr W.J. Viljoen is appointed as the Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape
- 1920 The Native Affairs Act No. 23 provided for a system of local councils in the reserves
- Permanent Native Affairs Commission appointed. Dr A.W. Roberts (D. Sc.) the principal teacher of the Training school at Lovedale (1883–1920) a member from 1910 to 1935.
- W.G. Bennie is appointed the Chief Inspector of Native Education
- 1921 Albert Einstein (1879–1955) wins the Nobel Prize for Physics.
- 1922 British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) established
- Lovedale Governing Council formed with Rev Dr James Henderson as Chairman
- The Christian Express* renamed the *South African Outlook*
- A new course for Native teachers starts at Lovedale
- The Bantu Presbyterian Church of South Africa is founded
- 1923 The Native Urban Areas Act No. 21
- 1924 The first graduation ceremony at the South African Native College takes place
- July 25 fire destroys the Main Educational Building at Lovedale
- The Ciskein Missionary Council is formed
- The Lovedale Appeal for new buildings is launched
- The manor house of Groot Constantia devastated by a fire.
- 1926 John Logie Baird, (FRSE) (1888–1946) a Scottish engineer and inventor gives his first public demonstration of television in London
- 1927 The new Colportage scheme is organised at Lovedale
- The Bantu Administration Act 38 of 1927, also known as the Black Administration Act, 1927. The Governor-General of South Africa could transfer people or tribes from one area to another.
- James Barry Munnik Hertzog elected Prime Minister of South Africa
- 1928 Alexander Fleming (1881–1955) a Scottish pharmacologist and physician, discovers penicillin and Lysozyme.
- The Lovedale Press is formed through the unification of Departments
- 1929 The crash of the American Wall Street financial stock markets sparks the Great Depression
- The South African Race Relations Institute established in Johannesburg
- The Victoria Hospital at Lovedale becomes a Class 1 Training School for nurses
- The union between the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church takes place.
- 1930 The Native Economic Commission (1930–1932) appointed and headed by Dr John Edward Holloway
- Rev Dr James Henderson dies. Fort Cox Agricultural School opens

Chapter 5: Arthur West Wilkie and the fourth period at Lovedale, 1932–1942

1932 Rev Dr Arthur West Wilkie becomes the fourth principal at Lovedale

The Lovedale Bible School opens

The Native Service Contract Bill of 1932 is passed. This means that a farmer could ask an entire tenant family to leave his farm if one member defaulted on his/her labour obligation

1933 A 'Fusion' government formed in South Africa

1934 Dr John R. Mott visits South Africa and forms the Christian Council of South Africa

1935 The Inter-Departmental Committee on Native Education (1935–1936) formed

1936 George V dies and is succeeded by his son Edward VIII, Prince of Wales. Edward abdicates and marries Wallis Simpson in France in June 1937.

Native Trust and Land Act passed. It is also known as the Development Trust and Land Act, which followed the recommendations of the Beaumont Commission.

1937 George VI crowned king

1938 Mrs J.K. Bokwe visits churches in Scotland where she represents African women at the centenary of the Women's Foreign Mission.

1939 World War II begins in Europe in September

May 10 – Winston Churchill becomes the prime minister of a coalition government in 1940.

1940 Thousands of Allied troops evacuated from Dunkirk in France in destroyers and volunteers in little boats who were prepared to sail to France under attack by the Luftwaffe (German air force)

1940 The Macvicar Tuberculosis Hospital is opened at Lovedale

1942 Decisive British victory over German forces at the Battle of El Alamein in Egypt with African forces.

Chapter 6: Robert H.W. Shepherd and the fifth period at Lovedale, 1942–1955

1943 – May 16 – a Royal Air Force raid by 19 Lancaster bombers known as the 'Dambusters Raid' breach two dams in the Ruhr valley in Germany using a "bouncing bomb" which has been developed by Barnes Wallis, a British scientist.

1944 June 6 – Allied forces land on the beaches in Normandy on D-Day, which starts the liberation ofEurope

1945 8 May: Britain celebrates the end of the Second World War on "Victory in Europe Day"

The United Nations established, with Britain as a founder member.

Native Urban Areas Consolidation Act

1946 African Mine Workers Union (AMWU) labour dispute and strike on the Witwatersrand gold mines

June, 2 women in Italy vote for the first time

1947 January 2, Mahatma Gandhi, the pacifist and spiritual leader, begins march for peace in East Bengal

King George VI (1895–1952) and his family visit South Africa, including Lovedale

1948 National Party (NP) win the general election in South Africa

1949 The Eiselen Commission on Native Education is appointed.

- The Durban Riots take place between 13 and 15 January
- 1950 The Group Areas Act assigns racial groups to different business and residential sections in urban areas in South Africa
- 1952 Princess Elizabeth of York crowned Elizabeth II, the Queen of the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, Ceylon, New Zealand, Pakistan and South Africa
- 1953 Recommendations of 'The Eiselen Commission' form the basis for the Bantu Education Act No 47 of 1953 which came into effect on 1 January 1954
- 1954 Native Resettlement Act, No.19 of 1954, leads to forced removals
- 1955 Freedom Charter signed, proclaiming that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it" 25–26 June 1955
- 1955 Lovedale closes its doors

Appendix 2: William Anderson's Graduation Album for Surgery.¹¹⁷⁰



¹¹⁷⁰ William A. Soga. University of Glasgow. Graduation Album for Surgery. 1883, 3. (R1/5/2).

Appendix 3: William A. Soga. Graduation Register page for medicine.¹¹⁷¹

University of Glasgow.] MATRICULATION ALBUM. [SESSION 1880-81.
NATIO LOUDONIANA.
to be filled up by Students born within any of the Scottish Counties of Linlithgow, Edinburgh, Haddington, Dumfries, Peebles, Selkirk, Roxburgh, Wigton, Kirkcudbright, Berwick; or in ENGLAND, IRELAND, or FOREIGN COUNTRIES.)


Name in Full, W^r. Anderson Soga.
 Age at last Birth Day, 22
 Birthplace—(Town or Parish, and County; if not in Scotland, write the Country also), } Pulton, British Kaffaria
 Father's Christian Name } Zipo. Missionary.
 and Occupation, }
 Branch of Study (i.e., Arts, Medicine, Law, or Theology), Medicine.
 Classes for this Session, viz.— Surgery, Pathology, Mat. Medica, Midwifery.
 Previous attendance at this University, viz. Sessions 1875 to 1880 — five Sessions.
 on Classes in the Faculty of Arts & Medicine.

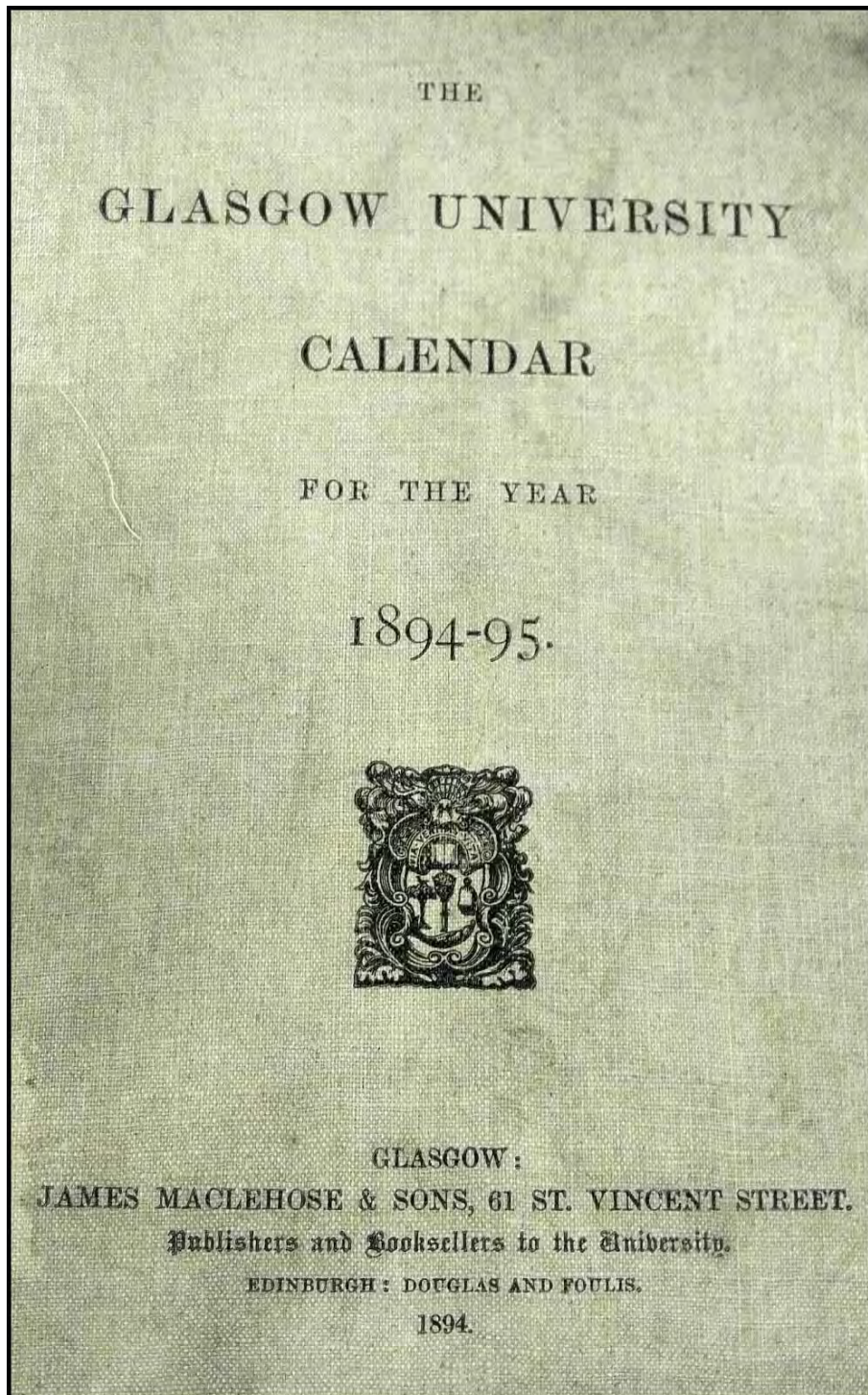
Present Address, 54 Garnet Hill St Glasgow.
 Home Address, Dollar.

DECLARATION to be signed by the Student before entering his Name in the Album.
 I hereby declare that I will faithfully attend the Class or Classes in which I shall enrol during the present Session.
 (Signature) W. A. Soga.

¹¹⁷¹ William A. Soga. Graduation Register page for medicine. In the Graduation Album for Medicine. 1883, 50. (R1/4/1).

Appendix 4: William A. Soga signed below as Gulielmus (William in Latin).

1883	
Die vicesimo sexta Mensis Julii	
Archibald M Lean	✓ ✓ Scotus
Josephus B Macnaughton	✓ Scotus
David W Orr	✓ Scotus
Joannes T Prauquell	✓ ✓ Scotus
Francis Prosser	✓ ✓ Cambrianus
Gul. F. Quarfe N.N.	✓ ✓ Australis
David T Richard	✓ ✓ Cambrianus
Ricardus G. D. Robt	✓ ✓ Scotus
Joannes M. Robertson	✓ Scotus
Joannes Russell	✓ ✓ Scotus
	✓ ✓ Indici
Gulielmus A Soga	✓ ✓ in Caffaria
Gulielmus Stafforke	✓ ✓ Anglus
Robt S Steel	✓ Scotus
Andreas Stewart	✓ Scotus
Gulielmus L. Strain	✓ Scotus
Gulielmus - Tort.	✓ ✓ Scotus
Alfredus Williams	✓ Anglus
Johannes C. Wilson	✓ Scotus
Joannes Young	✓ Scotus
Robertus ^{Bruce} Young M.A.	✓ Scotus
Robertus H. Young	✓ Scotus



¹¹⁷² Willam A. Soga. *Glasgow University Calendar 1884-1895*. (Glasgow: James Maclehorse & Sons, 1894). (SEN10/36).

Appendix 6: John Henderson Soga (1860–1941).¹¹⁷³



Appendix 7: Some of John Henderson Soga’s Hymns are provided in the table below.

IsiXhosa	English translation
<i>Kunamhlanje sizalelwe uMntwanana!</i>	Today for us a child is born
<i>Kungecebo lakho, Yesu,</i>	It is by your will, Jesus
<i>Nkosi, ndiya kudumisa</i>	My King, I praise you
<i>Zulu khaya lami!</i>	Heaven my home

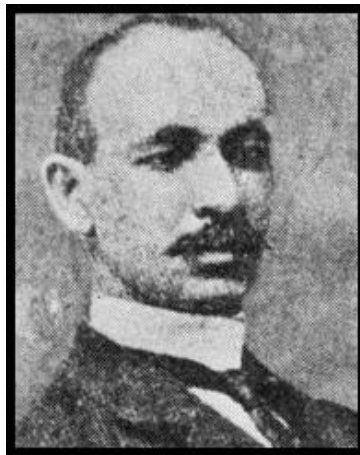
Appendix 8: Piano images: Donald Woods Foundation Centre Hlobeni, Eastern Cape.



This piano was gifted to Donald Wood’s father, Jack and still bears the pipe stains when J.H. Soga was composing at the piano.

¹¹⁷³ “J.H. Soga,” Dictionary of African Christian Biography, accessed June 10, 2017, www.dacb.org/stories/southafrica/soga_jh.html

Appendix 9: Alan Kirkland Soga (1862–1938).¹¹⁷⁴



Alan Kirkland Soga, “would have become the first black magistrate in southern Transkei at St Marks but he was suddenly replaced by a European in 1895.”¹¹⁷⁵

Appendix 10: Alan Kirkland Soga. University of Glasgow. Matriculation Certificate. 1877–1878. His home address is given as 54 Garnet Hill. Dollar.

University of Glasgow. MATRICULATION ALBUM. [SESSION 1880-81.]
NATIO LOUDONIANA.
Schedule to be filled up by Students born within any of the Scottish Counties of Linlithgow, Edinburgh, Haddington, Dumfries, Peebles, Selkirk, Roxburgh, Wigton, Kirkcudbright, Berwick; or in ENGLAND, IRELAND, or FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Name in Full, Alan Kirkland Soga
 Age at last Birth Day, 18
 Birthplace—(Town or Parish, and County; if not in Scotland, write the Country also), Umgwali, Kaffrland.
 Father's Christian Name and Occupation, Togo Missionary
 Branch of Study (i.e., Arts, Medicine, Law, or Theology), Law
 Classes for this Session, viz., Law
 Previous attendance at this University, viz. Sessions 1877/78 on Classes in the Faculty of Arts
 Present Address, 54 Garnet Hill Pt.
 Home Address, Dollar

DECLARATION to be signed by the Student before entering his Name in the Album.
 I hereby declare that I will faithfully attend the Class or Classes in which I shall enrol during the present Session.
 (Signature) Alan K. Soga.

¹¹⁷⁴ Thapelo Mokoatsi, “Allan Kirkland Soga,” *The Journalist*, February 24, 2015, <https://www.thejournalist.org.za/pioneers/allan-kirkland-soga> (accessed November 12, 2019).

¹¹⁷⁵ L.E. Switzer, ed. *South Africa's Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance, 1880–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 79.

Appendix 11: Dr Jotello Festiri Soga (1865–1906). South Africa’s first veterinarian.¹¹⁷⁶

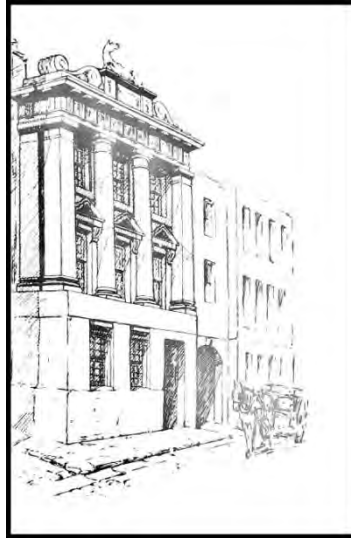


Jotello Soga earned his degree from the Royal (Dick) College of Veterinary Medicine at the University of Edinburgh in 1886 when he was 21 years old. He was the first South African to qualify as a veterinary surgeon. P.R. Viljoen, another South African qualified later in 1912. Jotello also received a medal for having attained a distinction in botany.¹¹⁷⁷ The image below shows the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College where Dr Jotello Festiri Soga studied. On this site from 1823 to 1916 stood the Royal (Dick) Veterinary College. In 1823, with the support of the Highland Society of Scotland, William Dick, then living close by at 15 Clyde Street, established the first Veterinary School in Scotland. It flourished. In 1833, he constructed a purpose-designed building at 8 Clyde Street. This became known as the Edinburgh Veterinary College and attracted many students.

¹¹⁷⁶ “Dr Jotello F. Soga 1865–1906,” The Soga Documentary, <https://www.jotellosogadocumentary.org/the-soga-documentary> (accessed November 12, 2019).

¹¹⁷⁷ “Jotello Festiri Soga,” Department of Library Services. University of Pretoria Library, accessed June 10, 2017, www.library.up.ac.za. (accessed November 12, 2019). Jotello married Catherine Watson Chalmers.

Appendix 12: Royal (Dick) Veterinary College, Clyde Street, Edinburgh during the nineteenth century. This picture is on the wall at the Edinburgh Bus Station.



Appendix 13: Alexander Robert Bogue Soga (1888–1949).¹¹⁷⁸
Son of Dr William Anderson Soga and Mary Agnes Soga (née Meikle), Grandson of Reverend Tiyo Soga.

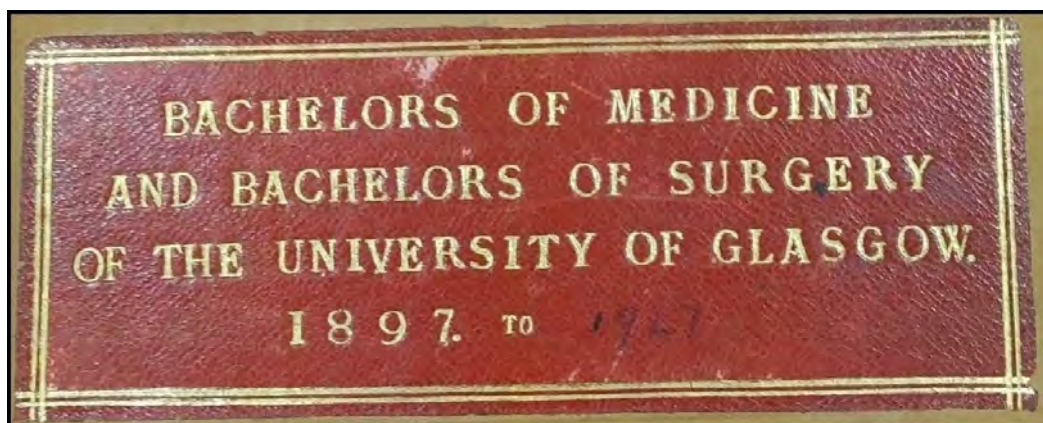


Alexander was William Soga's son. His full name was Alexander Robert Bogue Soga, who graduated in medicine in 1912. He later became a surgeon at Idutywa (Chalmers 1878).¹¹⁷⁹

¹¹⁷⁸ "Alexander Robert Bogue Soga," The University of Glasgow Story, <https://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/image/?id=UGSP01475> (accessed November 12, 2019).

¹¹⁷⁹ Chalmers, Tiyo Soga: A Page of South African Mission Work, 18.

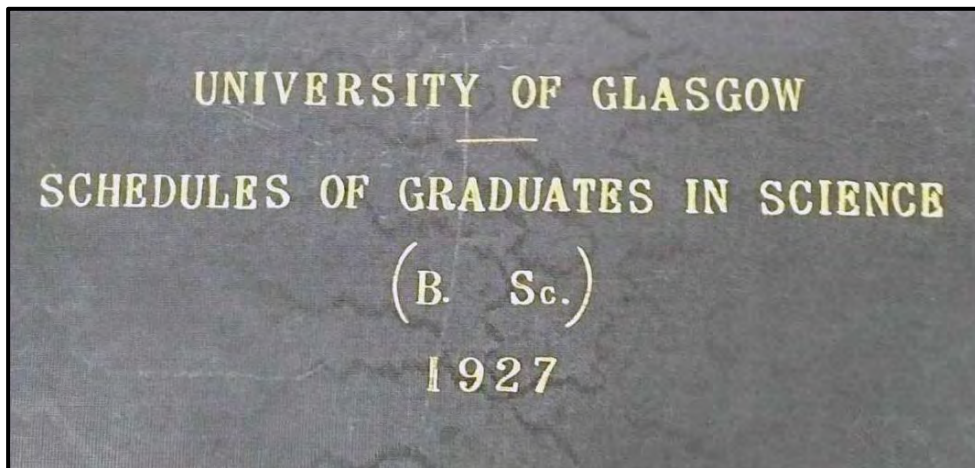
Appendix 14: Alexander Robert Bogue Soga University of Glasgow.¹¹⁸⁰



¹¹⁸⁰ Alexander Robert Bogue Soga University of Glasgow. Album for medicine and surgery 1897:80 (R1/4/2). He graduated on 10 October 1912.

Appendix 15: Another reference for Alexander Robert Bogue Soga, W.A. Soga's son and Tiyo Soga's grandson, who graduated on 10 October 1912.

10 th October, 1912	
James Ronald McCurdie	Scotland
Guy Dalzell McLean	Scotland
John Malcolm Macpherson	Scotland
Henrich Duncan Murchison	Scotland
Andrew Peden	Scotland
James Francis Dingley (Lambhill)	Scotland
David Williams Reid	Scotland
John Ritchie Richmond Ritchie	Scotland
Alfred Leopold Robertson	Scotland
Edwin Robertson	Scotland
James Inglis Robertson	Scotland
Frank Sheasar	South Africa
John Finlayson McGill Sloan	Scotland
Alexander Robert Bogue Soga	South Africa
Graham Stevenson	Scotland
Ronald Stewart	Scotland
William Patrick Andrew Stewart	Scotland
William Taylor	Scotland
John Cameron Thomson Teggart	Scotland
Janet Maria Walker [Soga]	Scotland
George Milroy Whish	Scotland
Frederick John Whitlam	Scotland



Appendix 17: Soga Family Tree

This family tree indicates the Soga family's association with the Dollar Academy in Fife, Scotland and indicates their music contributions. Major C.H. Malan, a Major in the 75th Regiment, visited the missionary colleges of Lovedale and Healdtown in "British Kaffraria" in 1872. He also travelled to Teduka, Tio Soga's old home on 13 January 1872. He found his widow, Janet Soga, still living in the mission house with her younger children.¹¹⁸² Three of her boys were away "at School near Glasgow." in Dollar.¹¹⁸³

Tiyo Soga – faithful to this people

Soga struggled to be accepted among the Xhosa people as a modern missionary in the world of the nineteenth century British Empire, but he remained faithful to his people. In a letter of advice written while close to death to his sons, who were away in Scotland for their education in the early 1870s, he made a clear statement: "take your place in the world as coloured, not as white men; as [Xhosas], not as Englishmen." Soga was Xhosa, but "Xhosa in a distinctly

¹¹⁸¹ Richard Ross Soga. University of Glasgow. *Graduation album for Bachelor of Science and Engineering. 1927 (R4/512).*

¹¹⁸² Malan, Rides in the Mission Field of South Africa, 71.

¹¹⁸³ Chalmers, Tiyo Soga: A Page of South African Mission Work, 430.

new way.”¹¹⁸⁴ William Anderson Soga (born 5 January 1858) and two of his brothers John Henderson (born 10 February 1860) and Allan Kirkland (born 20 November 1861) left South Africa in the early 1870s to be educated at the Dollar Academy in Scotland. There is a record of them being at Dollar in 1873.

Soga hoped that his musical sons would be able to use opportunities to develop their musicality.¹¹⁸⁵ Mrs Charles Brownlee commented that Soga was a Christian father who loved his little boys. They all had fine voices and when he led them in singing “it was a real treat.”¹¹⁸⁶ William had been having piano lessons in Alice in South Africa and Soga hoped that he would continue his lessons while at school in Scotland. Mention is made of the possibility of Alan playing the flute and John having violin lessons. There is proof at the Dollar Archives that the children had piano lessons at 1 pound per quarter.

Friends in Scotland raised a fund for the education of the Soga children. The ministry of the Bantu Presbyterian Church still receives bursaries from the Tiyo Soga Fund. The Dollar Academy was the alma mater of most of Tiyo Soga’s children. The Parish Church in Dollar is a Church of Scotland Church where there are tombstones of members of the Soga family in the graveyard. There are arrangements included in this thesis of both the School Song at Dollar and the Dollar Anthem (Will your anchor hold).

Appendix 18: The Soga family’s link with Dollar, an elite Scottish private school in Fife, Scotland.

Date of birth	Name of sibling	Affiliation to Dollar
1858	William Anderson Soga (Gulielmus: William in Latin)	Educated at Dollar from 1873
1860	John Henderson Soga	Educated at Dollar from 1873

¹¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, 430.

¹¹⁸⁵ Chalmers, Tiyo Soga: A Page of South African Mission Work, 389.

¹¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 415.

	<p>(died in Southhampton during the 2nd World War)</p> <p>His old Broadwood upright piano is in the care of Donald James Woods and his family who were of Irish descent. Donald was born in Mbashe, at the Hobeni trading station among the amaBomvana at Hobeni.</p> <p>Sparg, "Donald James Woods," 2015.¹¹⁸⁷</p> <p>Donald at 31 became the youngest editor in 1965 in South Africa.</p>	
1862	Alan Kirkland Soga	Educated at Dollar from 1873
1864	Isabella McFarlane Soga	She completed her studies at Dollar Academy in Clackmannanshire and was 18 years old in 1883.
	"Isobel" was a noted concert pianist in Britain.	
1865	Festiri Jotello Soga	Did his matric at Dollar.
1868	<p>Frances Maria Anna (1868–1942)</p> <p>Had a great love for children and made the Sunday School a happy place.</p> <p>Frances was the secretary of the Girls Association and was also involved with the Womens Manyano (JB)</p> <p>(McArthur, <i>The Sogas</i>, 1999).¹¹⁸⁸ Also known as JB (after Janet Burnside the wife of Rev. Tiyo Soga) of PCSA</p>	<p>Darabe mission in the Elliotdale district.</p> <p>The unveiling of her Memorial at Miller Mission took place on 24 May 1959</p>
1870	<p>Jessie Margaret</p> <p>Jessie was a leading singer in the Glasgow University Choir.</p>	She was also a pianist and music teacher in Dollar.

¹¹⁸⁷ Anthony Sparg, "Donald James Wood," April 27, 2015, <https://www.facebook.com/.../posts/>. (accessed June 11, 2018).

¹¹⁸⁸ George McArthur, "The Sogas," in *New Dictionary of South African Biography*, Volume 2, eds, Nelly E, Sonderling (Pretoria: Vista University. 1999).

Appendix 19: Framework of the Soga Family in Brief indicating the mission stations where they worked

<p>Jotello (Old Soga) and Nosuthu (Soga's Great Wife) (Chalmers 1878).</p>	<p>Reverend Niven asked Tiyo Soga to establish the Uniondale Mission in Keiskammahoek in 1849 after first assisting at Chumie as a catechist and evangelist (Millard 1999)</p> <p>Tiyo Soga (1829–1871) (Chalmers 1878) and his <u>wife</u> Janet Burnside Soga (1827–1903) were married on 27 February 1857 in Glasgow. Soga founded a mission at Mgwali near present-day Stutterheim (1857– 1867) The site was given to the Society by Sandile who worked among the Ngqikas. Tiyo died at Tutura (Somerville) near Butterworth in the Transkei in 1871. (Sonderling 1999:218).</p>	<p><u>Boys:</u> The first son, Dr William Anderson Soga (1858–1916) studied and qualified as a medical doctor in Glasgow in 1883. He became a Medical Missionary at the Miller Mission in Eliotdale, Bomvanaland in the Transkei (Chalmers 1878). He was ordained in 1885 at the United Presbyterian Church Divinity Hall. He went to the Malan mission in April 1886 and established the Miller Mission in December 1886 at Bomvanaland until 1903 (Sonderling 1999:219).</p>	<p><u>Son:</u> William's son, Alexander Robert Bogue Soga. Graduated in medicine 1912. He later became a surgeon at Idutywa (Chalmers 1878) Alexander was a contemporary and golfing companion to Donald Wood's father, Jack. Donald's parents were buried at the Miller Station.</p> <p><u>Daughter:</u> Mary Agnus Buchanan Soga who was Monica Wilson's interpreter.</p>	
		John Henderson Soga	<u>Son:</u>	<u>Son:</u>

<p>(1860–1941)</p> <p>composed for the piano. His compositions included examples of the Schottische, a partner's country dance popular in Victorian ball rooms; the Reel, a folk dance with fiddle accompaniment and waltzes.</p> <p>J.H. Soga walked with a limp as he had been born with a lame leg. He became a historian and a missionary (Chalmers 1878). He established a mission at Mbonda, near Mount Frere before taking over from his brother at the Miller Mission (Sonderling 1999:219).</p> <p><u>Wife:</u> Elizabeth Talman</p>	<p>Richard Ross (1898–1961) Born in South Africa. Studied at Edinburgh Engineering 1927.</p> <p><u>Wife:</u> Elizabeth Talman</p> <p>The family attended recitals in London when travelling. One daughter went to a Swiss School abroad.</p> <p><u>Daughter:</u> Janet Soga (Netta) (1896–1955).</p> <p><u>Son:</u> George Murray (b Glasgow 1902) known at Dollar as Murray. Had piano lessons.</p> <p><u>Daughter:</u> Ella Soga (born Cape Colony 1904) (died 14 years old Dollar 1918)</p> <p><u>Son:</u> William Soga (b 1908 South</p>	<p>Rev Dr Hector Soga (born 1947)</p> <p>Hector Soga attended the unveiling of Tiyo's monument at his Thuthura grave outside Butterworth in 2011.</p> <p>Taught at Dollar Academy and was the church organist in Dollar.</p>
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	Africa) (died in air raid Southhampton)	
<p>Alan Kirkland Soga (1862–1938) studied Law and Humanities at Glasgow University and became a newspaper editor of “Voice of the People,” Izwi La Bantu. (Sonderling 1999:219). He later became the acting resident Magistrate in the Transkei until 1898 (Chalmers 1878).</p> <p><u>Wife</u>: A Xhosa lady Ellen Mba.</p>	<p><u>Son</u>: De Villiers Mthetheleli Soga (was a minister and a musician in the Bantu Presbyterian Church)</p> <p>Went overseas to study.</p>	<p><u>Son</u>: Phethu Soga</p> <p>Daughters: Noluvuyo, Phiwokuhle and Thembisa</p>
<p>Jotello Festiri Soga (1865–1906) was born at the Mgwali Mission. *He wrote his matric at the Dollar Academy in Scotland. Trained at Edinburgh at the Royal Veterinary College. Graduated in 1886. (Sonderling 1999:219). He helped stem the outbreaks of rinderpest during the 1880s and 1890s.</p> <p>Jotello was the</p>	<p>3 <u>Daughters</u>:</p> <p>Catherine (1894–1978)</p> <p>Doris Esme (1898–1963)- was a singer and studied singing</p> <p>Margaret (1901–1992)</p>	

<p>first South African to qualify as a veterinary surgeon (Chalmers 1878).</p> <p><u>Wife:</u> In 1892 he married a Scotswoman, Catherine Watson Chalmers (daughter of David and Jessie Chamers). In the 1901 Census in Scotland Catherine and her 3 daughters were recorded as being in Edinburgh.</p>		
<p><u>Girls:</u></p> <p>Isabella McFarlane Soga (1864–1884) was the oldest child. She was born at Inverkip in Scotland and died at Cunningham Mission, Toleni, Transkei (Sonderling 1999:219).</p>		
<p>Frances Maria Anne Soga (1868–1942). Died at Darabe, Mthata, in the Elliotdale district (Sonderling 1999:219). She worked in missions in the Eastern Cape</p>		

(Chalmers 1878). A memorial to her contributions was unveiled at Miller Station on 24 May 1959.		
Jessie Margaret Soga (1870–1954). She sang in the University Choir in Glasgow. She was also a pianist who became a music teacher in Glasgow Scotland (Sonderling 1999:219).		

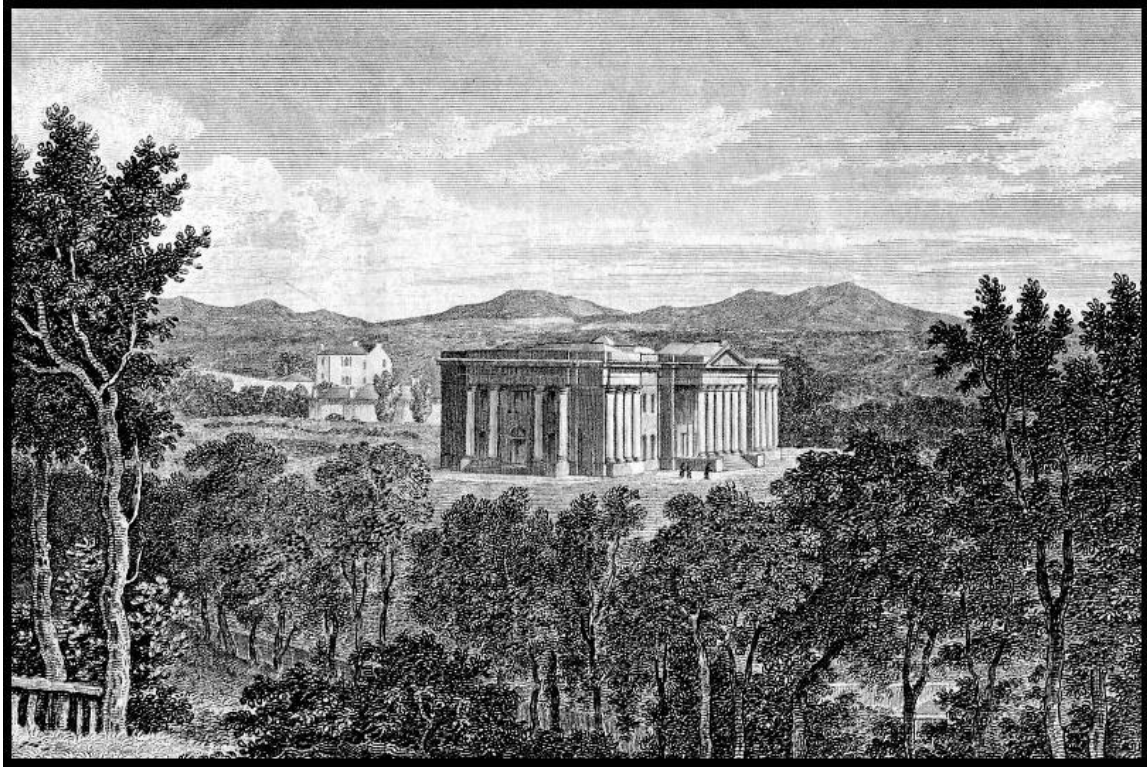
Appendix 20: Photos in the Dollar School Magazine

There are photos in the Dollar School Magazine of Richard Ross and George Murray, who were in the rugby team at Dollar. Ella and William were also represented the Soga family in a photo of a preparatory school class at Dollar. The Archivist at Dollar Academy Archive, Mrs Janet Carollan was most helpful with references to Dollar and had the following to say about the Soga Heritage:

The Soga family has a long association with the school, starting in the nineteenth century with the children of the South African missionary Tiyo Soga. All the Soga children had left Dollar by summer 1882. The most recent Soga former pupil was Rev. Dr Hector Soga, who also taught modern languages at Dollar and edited *Fortunas*. He is also a fine organist who contributed much to the musical development of the school. Hector became a member of staff at Dollar in 1985 and left in 2007.

Herewith follows a chronological journey through the years at Dollar with information supplemented with images that correspond with the time frame at hand.

Appendix 21: Dollar Academy during the 1850s.
This image of Dollar is from around the mid- nineteenth century.



Appendix 22: Janet Burnside Soga and her four youngest children in Dollar – 1881 Census.

In the General Minute Book, Foreign Missions No 4 of the United Presbyterian Church there is an entry on 26 March 1872, page 45.¹¹⁸⁹

The Committee agreed that Tiyo Soga’s third son would be financed from the “Fund for the education of Missionary children,” together with his two older brothers in Glasgow.

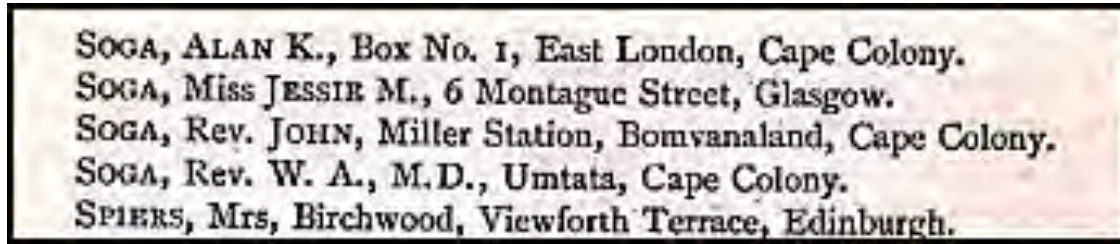
A further extract from the Minutes of 29 October 1872 page 137, reads: Authorisation given to Mrs Janet Soga (widow) that she can use monies to bring herself and the four youngest children (three girls and one boy) to Scotland so that she can take care of all seven of them during their education.

¹¹⁸⁹ General Minute Book, Foreign Missions No. 4 of the United Presbyterian Church. 26 March 1872, 45.

Appendix 23: The Dollar Magazine.

The Dollar Magazine started in 1902. There is a record of names and address of Alumni from Dollar: The Soga siblings were former pupils of Dollar who had returned to South Africa after having continued their education in Scotland.

Appendix 24: "Alumni from Dollar," Record of names and addresses of Soga siblings.
Dollar Magazine 1, no. 3 1902, 148.¹¹⁹⁰



Appendix 25: George Brown Murray Soga

There is a birth entry indicating that George Brown Murray Soga was born in Glasgow in 1901. This is proof that Janet Soga travelled between South Africa and Dollar near Glasgow. George Thom was the rector at Dollar from 1879 to 1902.

¹¹⁹⁰ "Alumni from Dollar," Record of names and addresses of Soga family members. *Dollar Magazine* 1, no. 3 (1902):148.

1913-1914

Appendix 26: Regarding Music Fees, there is a record below that George Murray Soga and Richard Ross Soga had music lessons.¹¹⁹¹

1913-1914 SESSION 1913-1914											
First Quarter. BOYS.											
DATE.	NAME OF PUPIL.	Drawing Material.	Workshop.	SPECIAL.		Grade.	Class.	Curriculum Fee.	SPECIAL FEE.		ORDINARY
				Piano.	Violin.						
1913 sept	2	Wm R. Elder	3/	12/16			I2a	✓	1		
		Joe Bleloch					I3	✓	1		
		George F. Laing					I3a	✓	1		
		David F. Laing					I2a	✓	1		
x	3	James Bruid					I1				✓ 18
		James Walker					S2	✓	7		
		John Cunningham					I1	✓	1		
		Fred Johnson					S1	✓	1		
		Joe B. Henderson					I2	✓	1		
		Maye M. Robertson					I1				✓ 13
1913 Sept		George Soga					I1	✓			17
		Richard Ross Soga	3/				I1	✓			27

¹¹⁹¹ George Murray Soga and Richard Ross Soga, *Record of Fees for Music Lessons, Boys, First Quarter, 1913/1914.*

1913-1914

Appendix 27: Netta (Ella) also had music lessons. Proof of her music fees paid is indicated below.¹¹⁹²

SESSION 1913-14
2nd GIRLS

First Quarter.

DATE	NAME OF PUPIL	Drawing Materials	Workshop	SPECIAL	
				Piano	Violin
1913 Sept 2	Agnes Lennox				
	Lottie Reoth			51	
	Anne Williams				
	Jessie M Wilson				
	Alice M McDonald				
	Jeanie C. Armistead				
	Margt Walker			51	
x	Mary E Wallace, Allen				
	Annie Shaw Tilly	31			
+	Charlotte Belknap	31			
	Sarah Reoth				
	Elizabeth Robinson			51	
	D'Arcy Rando	31			
	Netta Soga	31		51	

¹¹⁹² Netta (Ella) Soga, *Record of Fees for music lessons*, Girls, First Quarter, 1913.

1914

Appendix 28: Ella Soga and William Soga had schooling together. One can see them together in the Argyll House Prep School Photo of 1914.¹¹⁹³



A. Drysdale

Back Row—A. Thomson (Calcutta); B. M'Neil (Singapore); K. Dawson (Burmah); J. Spiers (Arran); J. Radford (India); G. Thakin (Burma); R. Cameron (London); A. Dobbie (Essex); R. Dinwiddie (Calcutta).

Second Row—F. Merry (Chili); A. Bowman (Fifeshire); R. White (India); D. Driver (India); R. Wilson (Spain); E. Ross (Singapore); A. Cruickshank (India).

Third Row—C. Spiers (Arran); J. Paterson (Madras); Ella Soga (Cape Colony); S. Currie (Tillicoultry); M. Anderson (Calcutta); A. Home (India).

Fourth Row—E. Reynolds (Chili); B. Johnston (Cheshire); C. Currie (Tillicoultry); C. Bowman (Fifeshire); K. Hamilton (India); D. Johnston (Cheshire); J. Johnston (Cheshire); F. Turton (Edinburgh); W. Henderson (Johannesburg); J. Gillespie (Berwickshire); J. Mallace (London).

Front Row—J. Anderson (Calcutta); N. Dinwiddie (Calcutta); E. Radford (India); A. Craig (Forfarshire); G. Radford (India); E. Wright (Greenock); W. Soga (South Africa).

The Argyll House Prep School was privately run in 1914 and became part of Dollar Academy later. (It is the same building where Hector Soga later boarded – as Dollar Academy bought it and converted it into a boys' boarding house.)

¹¹⁹³ Dollar Academy Archives.

Appendix 29: Photo of Argyll House today in 2019



1916

Appendix 30: “Rev Dr W.A. Soga.” Death notice.¹¹⁹⁴

On 15 July at Miller, Elliotdale –Rev Dr W.A. Soga, a respected and beloved doctor in the district for 29 years, died.¹¹⁹⁵

1941

Appendix 31: Dollar Magazine, Obituary: 57

The Rev. J. H. Soga with his wife and son Willie were killed in an air raid in the south of England. After being educated at the Academy in Dollar and at Edinburgh University, the Rev. J. H. Soga was ordained in 1893 and proceeded to South Africa as a Church of Scotland missionary. There he spent forty-four years, giving valuable service in the mission field, from which he recently retired. He had an extensive knowledge of the Bantu peoples, and was the author of two scholarly works on their life and customs, as well as many contributions to vernacular literature.

His wife and son Willie were well known to many Dollar folks, as they made many friends during a residence of several years. To Major R. R. Soga, R.A.O.C., and his sister, who mourn the loss of parents and brother, we extend our heartfelt sympathy.

¹¹⁹⁴ “Rev. Dr W.A. Soga,” Death notice in Dollar Magazine, Dollar Academy Archives, July 1916.

¹¹⁹⁵ Tolly, Bradford. *Prophetic Identities: Indigenous Missionaries on British Colonial Frontiers, 1850-1875* (Canada: UBC Press, 2012), 179. Reverend Dr William Anderson Soga had established an outstation with funds from the church in Perth of Reverend Thomas Miller, who had been a classmate of his at the University of Glasgow.

Appendix 32: Victims of War. A South African Missionary Family.¹¹⁹⁶

Victims of War.

A SOUTH AFRICAN MISSIONARY FAMILY.

(The Rev. J. H. Soga, on his retrial from missionary services in 1936, went to live in Southampton, several of his family being in this country. Last spring he and Mrs Soga and their son William were all killed in an air raid. The following tribute is from an article by the Rev. R. H. W. Shepherd of Lovedale, published in "The South African Outlook.")

WHEN Mr Govan, the first Principal of Lovedale, went back to Scotland in 1846, owing to the outbreak of the War of the Axe, he took with him a few sons of missionaries who were being educated at Lovedale and whose education war had interrupted. He also took an African boy, Tiyo Soga, a lad of great promise because of his outstanding character.

When they reached Scotland a wealthy Scotsman in the west country, John Henderson, not only insisted on reimbursing Mr Govan all the expenses incurred in bringing Tiyo Soga to Scotland but also undertook to meet all the cost of the boy's support and education.

In time, as many know, Tiyo Soga was educated for the ministry and married a Scottish woman. To their second son was given the name John Henderson, in honour of Tiyo Soga's benefactor.

The health of this child caused Tiyo Soga and his wife great anxiety, for he was lame from his early years, and indeed remained so till the end.

John Henderson Soga was educated at Dollar Academy in Scotland. After completing his studies in Glasgow University and the United Presbyterian Divinity Hall in Edinburgh he returned as an ordained missionary.

Appendix 33: St James The Great Episcopal Church 9 October 2019.



¹¹⁹⁶ "Soga Family – Victims of War." *Dollar Magazine*. 1942, 49, 50.

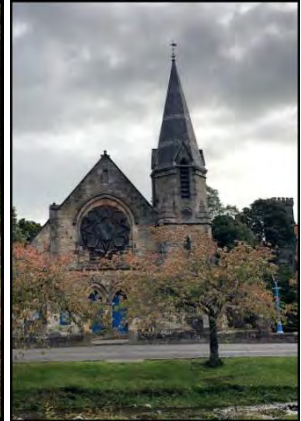
Appendix 34: Church of Scotland parish church Dollar and Graveyard



Tombstone Ella H. Soga
Died 1918



Church of Scotland graveyard at Dollar



Church of Scotland
parish church in Dollar

Appendix 35: Dollar Academy today 9 October 2019



Appendix 36: Latin songs sung in English. Nos. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9. from the Incwadi Yamaculo Esixhosa, 1983.

No.	Name in Latin	IsiXhosa translation	English translation	Pg. No.
1	<i>Te Deum Laudamus</i> <i>Incwadi 1983: 425.</i>	<i>Isidumiso</i> <i>Siyabulela kuwe, Thixo, siyabulela</i>	Thee, O God, we praise	425
4	<i>Magnificat</i> <i>(Song of Mary)</i> <i>Incwadi 1983: 429.</i>	<i>Umphefumlo Wam</i> <i>Icanticle kaMariya (Umphefumlo wam uyenza mkhulu iNkosi)</i>	Canticle of Mary (My soul doth magnify the Lord)	429
5	<i>Benedictus</i> <i>Incwadi 1983: 430.</i>	<i>Mayibongwe Inkosi</i> <i>Usikelelekile</i>	Blessed	430
6	<i>Jubilate Deo</i> <i>Incwadi 1983: 431</i>	<i>Dumani Kukehova</i> <i>Vumani kuThixo ngovuyo ngengoma yokudumisa</i>	Sing joyfully to God a song of Praise	431
7	<i>Venite</i> <i>(sung at matins – a Christian service of morning prayer)</i> <i>Incwadi 1983: 432.</i>	<i>Ukumemelela Kuyehova</i> <i>Inyaniso-yeengoma zomculo kwiNdumiso yama-95 (umthandazo ongamameli)</i>	Ecclesiastical – a musical setting of the 95 th Psalm (an invitatory prayer)	432
8	<i>Nunc Dimittis</i> <i>(The song of Simeon)</i> <i>Incwadi 1983: 433.</i>	<i>Ukundulula Umkhonzi Ngoxolo</i> <i>I-canticle kaSimeon (Luka 2: 29–32) Sung kwi ezinkonzweni lobuKristu evensong</i>	The canticle of Simeon (Luke 2: 29–32) Sung in the Christian liturgy at evensong	433
9	<i>Con sequuntur ad beatitudines</i> <i>Incwadi 1983: 434.</i>	<i>Banoyolo.</i> <i>lintsikelelo</i> <i>Ukundulula Umkhonzi Ngoxolo</i>	The Beatitudes	434

Appendix 37: Latin hymns translated from English into isiXhosa.

No.	Name in Latin	IsiXhosa translation	English translation	Pg. No.
1a	<i>Te Deum Laudamus</i>	<i>Isidumiso</i>	Thee, O God, we praise	425
1b	<i>Te Deum Laudamus</i> <i>No. 718 Scottish</i> <i>Psalter</i>			882
4	<i>Magnificat</i> <i>(Song of Mary)</i>	<i>Umphefumlo Wam</i>	Canticle of Mary (My soul doth magnify the Lord)	429
	<i>Magnificat</i> <i>No.715 Scottish</i> <i>Psalter</i>			868
5	<i>Benedictus</i>	<i>Mayibongwe Inkosi</i>	Blessed	430
7	<i>Venite</i> <i>(sung at matins – a</i> <i>Christian service of</i> <i>morning prayer)</i>	<i>Ukumemelela Kuyehova</i>	Ecclesiastical – a musical setting of the 95 th Psalm (an invitational prayer)	432
	<i>No Venite in staff</i> <i>notation Scottish</i> <i>Psalter.</i>			
8	<i>Nunc Dimittis</i> <i>(The song of Simeon)</i>	<i>Ukundulula Umkhonzi</i> <i>Ngoxolo</i>	The canticle of Simeon (Luke 2: 29–32) Sung in the Christian liturgy at evensong	433
	<i>Nunc Dimittis</i> <i>No. 716</i> <i>Scottish Psalter</i>			872
9	<i>Con sequuntur ad</i> <i>beatitudines</i>	<i>Banoyaolo</i>	The Beatitudes	434
	<i>The Beatitudes</i> <i>No.722</i> <i>Scottish Psalter</i>			891

Appendix 38: The Stewart family tree.

Stewart's Father was one of six brothers ¹¹⁹⁷ .	Stewart's mother Belonged to the Dudgeon sept of the Norsemen. (Scandinavian clan) ¹¹⁹⁸ . She was of Norse descent ¹¹⁹⁹ .	Stewart (1831 – 1905) Born: Edinburgh ¹²⁰⁰ . Died: Lovedale Buried: Sandili's Kop ¹²⁰¹ .	Stewart's wife Mina (née Stephen). The couple were married in November 1866 ¹²⁰² . Mina's father Mr Alexander Stephen died in 1875 ¹²⁰³ .	Stewart's children.
				Mina Waller, eldest daughter ¹²⁰⁴ .
				Florence Stephen (Lady Floss) (Flossy) 2 nd daughter ¹²⁰⁵ .
				Nora Nyassa, third daughter ¹²⁰⁶ .
				Margaret Stewart ¹²⁰⁷ .
				Evangeline (Eva) Malan fifth daughter ¹²⁰⁸ .

¹¹⁹⁷ Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 3.

¹¹⁹⁸ Ibid, 2

¹¹⁹⁹ Shepherd, Lovedale South Africa, 1841–1941, 169.

¹²⁰⁰ Wells, *The Life of James Stewart*, 2

¹²⁰¹ Ibid, 373. The inscription on his grave read 'James Stewart Missionary,' There is a parallel between Stewart's burial and that of Cecil John Rhodes. Both tombs 'are on a hilltop,' and were 'blasted out of solid rock'. Their final resting place is 'near to the scene of great achievements.'

¹²⁰² Bean and van Heyningen, *The Letters of Jane Elizabeth Waterston 1866–1905*, 14.

¹²⁰³ Ibid, 95.

¹²⁰⁴ Ibid, 15. Mina, Stewart's eldest daughter, married Captain Ronald Charles Grant. He was with the Cape Mounted Rifles. (1983, 240).

¹²⁰⁵ Ibid, 24.

¹²⁰⁶ Ibid, 103.

¹²⁰⁷ Ibid., 135. Miss Margaret Stewart oversaw the Girls' School after Miss MacRitchie left in 1880. (1983, 174).

¹²⁰⁸ Bean and van Heyningen, *The Letters of Jane Elizabeth Waterston 1866–1905*, 185. Eva was named in memory of 'Major Malan.'

				James (Jim) Gordon, Stewart's son. ¹²⁰⁹
				Rosalind Blyth, 6 th daughter. ¹²¹⁰
				Linda. ¹²¹¹

Appendix 39: Family tree of John Knox Bokwe

John Knox Bokwe				
(1st wife): Lettie Ncheni. Together, they had four children: John Knox Bokwe and Lettie Ncheni were married in 1878. Lettie Ncheni (Lettie was employed in the Stewart household (1868-1873) and enrolled as a day scholar at Lovedale in 1871) wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Knox_Bokwe				
Steven	Steven's grandson, Selbourne lives in Alice and his wife Pyrene works as a librarian at The University of Fort Hare			
Dyan				
Angie				
Vivi				
(2 nd wife): Maria Sopotela. Together, they had six children: Maria Sopotela (who originated at Tsomo and spent 15 years as a pupil and teacher at Emgwali, the United Free Church of Scotland's Training School for girls where she learnt Scottish baking techniques). (Bokwe, Frieda. <i>Remembrances</i> . Bellville: Mayibuye History and Literature Series No. 54. 1995).				
	Name of child	Information	Profession	Children
1	Barber Bokwe Played the piano Barber represented the head of the family at Frieda and ZK's wedding negotiations (Frieda Bokwe			Has a daughter in Alice called Nomalizo

¹²⁰⁹ Bean and van Heyningen, *The Letters of Jane Elizabeth Waterston 1866–1905*, 193. Stewart's son, who was born on 30 April 1885, was named after Stewart's friend General Gordon who died on 26 January 1885 at Khartoum in the Sudan.

¹²¹⁰ Bean and van Heyningen, *The Letters of Jane Elizabeth Waterston 1866–1905*, 203.

¹²¹¹ *Ibid*, 221.

	<p>Matthews Remembrances, 1995: 10).</p>			
2	<p>Roseberry Tandwefika Bokwe (1900-1963) Played the piano Roseberry Tandwefika Bokwe (1900-1963)</p> <p>Played the piano. Studied at Lovedale High School 1911- 1917 and enrolled at Fort Hare in 1918. He became a missionary doctor in 1933. He was a good choir conductor, comedian, performer, and singer who enjoyed tap dancing (Frieda Matthews, Remembrances, 1995: 8).</p> <p>The family all contributed to making his medical training in Edinburgh to become a doctor possible (Frieda Matthews, Remembrances,</p>	<p>Wife: Jane Nonkathazo</p>	<p>Doctor</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Yolisa <p>(This daughter lives in Pretoria: Mrs Yolisa Modise studied music (her husband was an ambassador)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Nomsa Linda (nurse) ● Phumelele (son) died in exile

	1995: 8).			
3	<p>Pearl Bokwe/Radebe</p> <p>Pearl attended Emgwali for 2 years before going to the co-educational school of Lovedale. She later became a schoolteacher at the Lovedale Primary School (Frieda Matthews, <i>Remembrances</i>, 1995: 4)</p>	<p>Husband:</p> <p>Mark Radebe a musician acomposer, an excellent pianist who did choir work and Eisteddfod competitions</p>	<p>Nurse who cared for TB-spine child patients at Victoria Hospital</p>	<p>(Nandi Bokwe's Aunt)</p> <p>Pearl had 5 children:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Chloe (Mrs Mpamba who taught piano. ● Mark Henderson Radebe who played the piano. ● Enit Nothembe ● Roy Mamfort who played the piano. ● Eileen Nomangesi
4	<p>Freda Bokwe/Matthews</p> <p>Played the piano very well.</p> <p>She was the only girl in a class of 15 boys and became the first 'black girl' to pass the Junior Certificate in 1921 through Lovedale, the only secondary school for Africans at the time (Frieda Matthews, <i>Remembrances</i>, 1995: 4).</p>	<p>Husband:</p> <p>Z.K. Matthews</p> <p>Grandson:</p> <p>Sipho Maqhubela (b: 20 Oct 1956)</p> <p>Is a judge in East London</p>	<p>She was a music teacher who taught her children how to play the piano.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Joseph (Joe)(b: 17 June 1929 –Durban) ● Seipelo ● Itumileng ● Lesego (A doctor in Botswana) ● Pulane
5	<p>Selbourne Bokwe (born</p> <p>Played the piano</p>	<p>Wife: Shiela Mgudlwa (a chief's daughter from the Transkei)</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <u>Nandipiwa</u> Bokwe (b: 3 Sept 1936) (married Shadrack)

				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sister Margorie Nohle Bokwe
	<p>Selbourne studied farming at Lovedale and worked on the fields (Ntselamanzi) in Alice where he grew crops mainly mielies and planted fruit trees. He later attended Tekosprings an Agricultural School in the Transkei. He became a choir conductor of the Zwelitsha Choral Society.</p>			
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nandi Bokwe (had three children) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Thokozile Boyang (born 7 November 1955) (was a school teacher who trained choirs who were awarded many trophies). Lives in Sunninghill <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ntombomzi (b: 30 August 1958) (d: December 1972) Tandubuzwe (son) (b: 30 May 1962) (d: June 1986) 			
6	<p>Waterson (Wat) Matamsanqa Bokwe Played the piano</p>	<p>Wife: Kathleen Xotyeni (a singer who was Phumla's mother)</p>	<p>He was a social worker and a sportsman</p>	<p>This couple had 7 children:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nomathamsanqa Nonoluthando Busiwe Zimkhitha KeKe Vuyani (son) Zukiswa Phumla (b: 7 Nov 1960)

Appendix 40: Some compositions of Caluza, Monaisa, Tyamzashe and Wes Telford Bam

Caluza	Language	English	IsiXhosa	Page No.
	Ixegwana-Ricksha Zulu?	Ricksha song People's names		
	Elamakosi	For kings	yooKumkani	3C
	Ixegwana and Vulindhlela Mtaka Dube	Ixegwana and Vulindhlela son of Dube	Ixegwana and Vulindhlela kaDube	2C
	Yekan' Umona Nenzondo and Bashuka Nsabazini	Stop envy and hate, resent them	Yekani umona nenzondo kwaye uwaphule	4C
	Sanibona	Greetings	Molweni	5C
	Kwati Belele	Hello	Molweni	6C
	U Bhungca			7C
	Ingodusu	Fiancé	Yintombazana ethandana naye	8C

	Umtaka Baba	My brother (my father's son)	Unyana kaBawo	9C
	Woza Mfowetu	Come my brother	Yiza bhuti wam	10C
Monaisa	Vukan' Bantsundu (Xhosa)	Wake up black nation	Vukani bantu abamyama (Zulu)	13
	Botani Matshawe (Xhosa)	Greetings to the Chawe clan	Sanibonani Matshawe (Zulu)	14
	Tabatani Inqubelo (Xhosa)	Take progress		15
Tyamzashe	Isitandwana Sam (Xhosa)	My love		
Wes Telford Bam.	Nodoli (Xhosa)	dolls		12

Appendix 41: Songs found in the “Xhosa Sol-fa Music”. Contains the following:

Composer	Song	Music and words by:
Caluza, R.T.	Ixegwana-Ricksha Song (composed in 1917)	Music and words by Reuben Tholakele (Thola) Caluza (1895–1969)
Jonas, Albert M.	Ama-gora E-Mendi (The S.S. Mendi sank on 21 02 1917)	Music by Albert M. Jonas Words by Samuel Edward Krune. Mqayi (1875–1945), a great figure in the history of Xhosa literature
Mdhladhla, G.C.S.	Abant' Abasha	Music and words by Mdhladhla
Tyamzashe, B.J.P.	Hai abant' Abanyama	Music and words by Benjamin John Peter Tyamzashe (1890–1978)
Tyamzashe, B.J.P.	I-voti	Music and words by Tyamzashe
Tyamzashe, B.J.P.	Isitandwana Sam	Music and words by Tyamzashe

“Xhosa Sol-fa Music”. School Songbook. Xhosa or English words with notes on Tonic Sol fa notation. Lovedale: Lovedale Press. n.d. 92 pages.

Appendix 42: Family Tree of the Tyamzashe family

<p>Tyamzashe's Father: Reverend Gwayi P. Tyamzashe was a minister of the Congregationa l Church who died in 1897.¹²¹²</p>	<p>Tyamzashe's mother: Rachel MacKriel, a missionary, was the daughter of a colonial. She was of Scottish French descent.¹²¹³ Her father was a French Huguenot.¹²¹⁴</p>	<p>Tyamzashe (1890 – 1978) Born: Died: Buried:</p>	<p>Tyamzashe's siblings James (b 1879) (d 1935) Kate (d 1966) Mejana (d 1966) Benjamin (1978) John Henry Charlotte¹²¹⁵</p>	<p>Tyamzashe's wife: Mercy Gladys Xiniwe (d 1938). The couple were married in 1918. Tyamzashe's brother: Peter Tyamzashe, Benjamin's brother lived in Mrgqesha near King William's Town.¹²¹⁶ His brother in Peelton was Thomas Tyamzashe.</p>	<p>Tyamzashe's children. Tyamzashe had four sons and two daughters from his first marriage.</p>
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¹²¹² Hansen, *The Life and Work of Benjamin Tyamzashe*, 5.

¹²¹³ *Ibid*, 5.

¹²¹⁴ "Mrs Gwayi Tyamzashe," Biography, *Yearly Register*, http://www.historicalpapers.wits.ac.za/inventories/inv_pdf/A1618/A1618-C4-2-006-jpeg.pdf. (accessed May 21, 2020) 97.

¹²¹⁵ Hansen, *The Life and Work of Benjamin Tyamzashe*, 6.

¹²¹⁶ *Ibid*, 6.

Appendix 43: D.C. Marivate's Family Tree

Marivate's father	Marivate's mother	Marivate (1897 – 1986)	Marivate's wife	Marivate's 7 children. (May 1962)
Cornel Marivate (a teacher and a principal)	Makhanani Timongo Baloyi (grew up in an English family with white girls)	Daniel Cornel Marivate (Composer, poet and schoolteacher) Marivate was born on 18 February 1897. Valdezia Swiss Mission Station, Zoutpansberg now Louis Trichardt in Limpopo. ¹²¹⁷ He was the eldest of 10 children. ¹²¹⁸	Bertha Manjengi (the couple were married in July 1923 at the Valdezia Church)	Charley Marivate (b. July 1924) (medical doctor at Shiluvane Hospital Tzaneen) Cornelius Masizane B.A. (head teacher of Wallmansthal High School, Pretoria) Russell, B.A. U.E.D. (fourth year medical student at the University of Natal) Cecil (an undergraduate teaching at Kilnerton High School) Martin (fifth year student Natal University)

¹²¹⁷ “Valdezia Mission Station – National Monument,” South Africa, <https://www.southafrica.com/attractions-home/heritage-sites/valdezia/> (accessed May 21, 2020).

¹²¹⁸ Marianne Feenstra, Unpublished article. Most of this information is from this source.

				<p>Medical Course)</p> <p>Richard (an undergraduate teaching at Pimville High School Johannesburg)</p> <p>Desiree (matriculated at Lemana College and did nursing at McCord's Hospital in Durban)</p>
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Appendix 44: Joshua Pulumo Mohapelo Framework of 1930 Tonic Sol-fa leaflets. Joshua Pulumo Mohapelo. Volume I & Ia: Meloli le Lithallere tsa Afrika I. The Xhosa translations for each title are provided below:

	Title	Translation	Voice arrangement	Volume, page number in the edition
	The titles below are in Sotho.			
	Chabana sa Khoma Xhosa: isizwe sikaKhoma	(The nation of Khoma) khoma. This is probably the name of a person. With Tonic Sol fa	STBSTB	Vol 1:15 Vol 1a:15
	Chuchumakhala Uloliwe	The Choochoo Train With Tonic Sol fa	SATAB	Vol. 1: 220 Vol. 1a: 220
	Ha Bo E-sa Xhosa: xa kusisa	At the Crack of Dawn With Tonic Sol fa	SATB	Vol I: 141 Vol 1a: 141
	Ha Ke Na Le Morena Xhosa: Xa ndikunye noThixo	When I am with God With Tonic Sol fa	SATB	Vol. 1: 328 Vol. 1a: 328

	Khanya Xhosa: uzuko	Glory With Tonic Sol fa	SATB	Vol. 1: 336 Vol. 1a: 336
	Khorolakoqo Xhosa: Bonke abantu mabeze (translated from the English)	Let Everyone Come With Tonic Sol fa	SATB	Vol. 1: 245 Vol. 1a: 245
	Lehlabula Xhosa: Ihlobo	Summer With Tonic Sol fa	SSATB	Vol 1: 121 Vol 1a: 121
	Linonyana iintaka Xhosa:	Birds With Tonic Sol fa	SATB	Vol. 1. 268 Vol. 1a: 268
	Lithallera Xhosa: Ingoma ezizukileyo	Fine Songs With Tonic Sol fa	SAATB	Vol. 1:95 Vol 1a: 95
	Methaka Emang Xhosa: phakamani bahlobo	Friends rise up With Tonic Solfa	SAATB	Vol.1:75 Vol. 1a:75
	Ncencethe Xhosa: Ncencethe (Ingoma yomtshato)	Wedding Song With Tonic Sol fa	SATTB	Vol. 1: 47 Vol. 1a: 47
	Palesa ea Bocha Xhosa: intyatyambo yobutsha	The New Bloom With Tonic Sol fa	SAATB	Vol. 1: 301 Vol. 1a: 301
	Potla-potla Le Ja Poli (sotho proverb) Xhosa: unyawo olungxamayo luyayiphosa indlela	Haste makes waste With Tonic Sol fa	SATB	Vol. 1: 88 Vol. 1a: 88

	(xhosa proverb)			
NB	Sealolo sa Baroa Xhosa: Umdaniso wabaThwa	Dance of the San people With Tonic Sol fa	SATB	Vol. 1: 107 Vol. 1a: 107
	Tsoha Moroki! Xhosa: vuka Mbongi!	Wake Up, Poet! With Tonic Sol fa	SATB	Vol. 1: 312 Vol 1a: 312
	Tsohang Xhosa: vukani	Wake Up With Tonic Sol fa	SATB	Vol. 1: 159 Vol. 1a: 159
	Tumeliso Xhosa: imibuliso	Greetings With Tonic Sol fa	SATB	Vol. 1: 175 Vol. 1a: 175
	U Ea Kae Xhosa:	Where are you headed? With Tonic Sol fa	SATB	Vol 1: 4 Vol. 1a:4

Christine Lucia, *Joshua Pulumo Mohapelo. Critical Edition in Six Volumes* (December 2016.)https://www.academia.edu/34511379/Joshua_Pulumo_Mohapelo_Critical_Edition_in_Six_Volumes (accessed 2 November 2019).

Appendix 45: The National Anthem. Notation provided by John Leonard.

NATIONAL ANTHEM OF SOUTH AFRICA

Afrikaans words C J Langenhoven
English words (Verse 4) Anthem Committee

Music E M Sontonga arr. Mzilikazi Khumalo
M L de Villiers arr. D I C de Villiers

Soprano *mf*

Nko-si Sik-ke-le - l'io - A - fri - ka, Ma - lu - pha - ka - nyi - sw'u - pho - ndo - lwa - yo,

5
S.

Yi - zwa i - mi - tha - nda - zo - ye - thu, Nko - si - si - ke - le - la

9
S.

thi - na - lu - pho - ndo - lwa - yo,

NATIONAL ANTHEM OF SOUTH AFRICA

Afrikaans words C J Langenhoven
English words (Verse 4) Anthem Committee

(SATB)

Music E M Sontonga arr. Mzilikazi Khumalo
M L de Villiers arr. D I C de Villiers

mf

Soprano

mf

Alto

mf

Tenor

mf

Bass

Nko-si Sik-ke-le - l'io - A - fri - ka, Ma - lu - pha - ka - nyi - sw'u - pho - ndo - lwa - yo,

Nko-si Sik-ke-le - l'io - A - fri - ka, Ma - lu - pha - ka - nyi - sw'u - pho - ndo - lwa - yo,

Nko-si Sik-ke-le - l'io - A - fri - ka, Ma - lu - pha - ka - nyi - sw'u - pho - ndo - lwa - yo,

Nko-si Sik-ke-le - l'io - A - fri - ka, Ma - lu - pha - ka - nyi - sw'u - pho - ndo - lwa - yo,

5

S.

A.

T.

B.

Yi - zwa i - mi - tha - nda - zo - ye - thu, Nko - si - si - ke - le - la

Yi - zwa i - mi - tha - nda - zo - ye - thu, Nko - si - si - ke - le - la

Yi - zwa i - mi - tha - nda - zo - ye - thu, Nko - si - si - ke - le - la

Yi - zwa i - mi - tha - nda - zo - ye - thu, Nko - si - si - ke - le - la

9

S. thi - na - lu - pho - ndo - lwa - yo,

A. thi - na - lu - lwa - yo,

T. thi - na - lu - pho - ndo - lwa - yo,

B. thi - na - lu - sa - pho - lwa - yo,

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