

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE BLACK AMERICAS AND AFRICA: PRE-WAR

The prewar concert party's ragtimes, tap-dancing routines and blackface comic minstrels were largely drawn from white take-offs of African-American music, dance, dialect and humour. Ironically, black Africans were copying whites who were imitating blacks.

Many African and Africanist musicologists have commented on the marked influence of the black New World performing arts on Africa. Coplan (1985:236) states that the black Americas have provided a model and resource for black South African entertainers for over a century. Kazadi and Kubik see Central and East African popular dance music as a blending of local music with various 'Afro-American' forms.¹

A.A. Mensah (1969:13) has observed New World links with West African popular music whilst A.M. Jones (1959:chapter 11) even mentions the 'swinging' of traditional African music.

It must be noted, however, that these black influences were sometimes introduced to Africa indirectly through the medium of white entertainment forms that were based on, or utilised, black American music, dance, dialect and humour. The earliest example is 19th century white minstrelsy with

its 'coon' and ragtime songs, cakewalk dance and blackface acts. Then there has been a string of white ballroom dance crazes from the late 19th century that includes the habanera, foxtrot, shimmy, black bottom, charleston, samba, rumba, conga, meringue, mambo and cha-cha-cha. All of these Janheinz Jahn (1961) calls stylised imitations of African rhythms.

Swing music is another case in point, for although the word was coined in 1934 by Benny Goodman and popularised by his and other white bands (Glenn Miller, Tommy Dorsey, etc), this music was initially pioneered by the 1920's African-American big bands of Fletcher Henderson, Count Basie and others.² Similarly interwar white harmony groups such as the Boswell Sisters and Andrews Sisters were modelled on the Mills Brothers, Ink Spots and other black American groups.³

In the postwar period rock 'n' roll became popular throughout Africa. This too is another white version of a black dance music, the urban rhythm 'n' blues that has its roots in the earlier country blues of the southern United States.⁴ Likewise, the international 'disco' dance rage of the 1970's and 80's has its origin in African-American soul music and 'tamla motown'; as does the latest hip-hop fashion whose breaks and freezes also have, according to Farris Thompson (1986), a source in Afro-Caribbean and African dance techniques.

Whether direct or indirect, the black influences from the Americas on sub-Saharan Africa can be treated as a 'home-

coming', 'resonance' or 'diasporic feedback' - a topic that will be returned to in Chapter Eighteen. This and the next chapter, however, provide a detailed chronological survey of the black New World popular entertainment styles that have had a formative and catalytic effect on Africa in the pre and postwar eras. Indeed, the black diasporic input from the Americas extends far beyond the parameters of the performing arts. There is the profound effect on African nationalism of the African-American and black Caribbean thinkers Edward Blyden, Alexander Crummell, W.E.B. Du Bois, Marcus Garvey, George Padmore and Aimé Caesaire - right through to the American black power spokesmen and women of the 1960's. Then there is the effect on African literature of the African-American writers who have emerged since the Harlem Renaissance, such as Langston Hughes, W.E.B. Du Bois, James Baldwin and Richard Wright.⁵ An earlier New World impression was made on Africa during the 19th century by West Indian missionaries who brought with them cocoa, tobacco, maize and New World species of yams.⁶ Also important during that century were the repatriated Yoruba slaves of Brazil and Cuba who introduced to West Africa 'Brazilian architecture', the preparation of gari (processed South American manioc or cassava) and the skills of tailoring, carpentry and baking.⁷

This mention of liberated slaves leads directly to the first topic concerning the black diasporic influence of African popular performing arts; that of the freed slaves who

settled in Sierra Leone, Liberia and elsewhere in West Africa between the late 18th and late 19th centuries.

**FREED SLAVES - FREETOWN'S GOOMBAY, THE LIBERIAN
QUADRILLE AND WEST AFRICAN 'BRAZILIANS'**

Goombay (Gumbe, Gumbay or Gumbia) is the Jamaican drum-dance of myelism, a neo-African healing cult associated with the maroon descendents of runaway slaves. It is played on the European bass and snare drum and the large square goombay framedrum upon which the player sits.⁸ The first reference to goombay in Jamaica is in 1774,⁹ from whence in 1800¹⁰ it was taken to Freetown onboard ship. This followed the maroon rebellion of 1795 when, because of white fears of a Haitian type black revolution in Jamaica, the British gave some of the surrendering rebels the option of going to Freetown to join other groups of freed slaves who had begun to settle there.

The first Freetown references to goombay are from 1820/1 and 1834, and indeed by 1858 this maroon drumming had so scandalised elements of the Krio elite that the local church Mission Society published a newspaper article warning people that 'Gumbay is the cause of many vices'.¹¹

In spite of this opposition, goombay drumming and dancing continued to flourish in Freetown and spread to parts of West and Central Africa. The Ga musician Squire Addo told me that 'gome', as this dance and drum is called in Ghana, was first introduced to the country around the turn-of-the-century by Ga carpenters and blacksmiths returning from the Belgian Congo where they had been working for 'big firms'.¹²

Infact they were working there alongside Sierra Leone artisans, as these two¹³ groups of skilled West African workers were employed up to 1908 in building the docks and infrastructure of the then Congo Free State, the private and ruthlessly run private domain of King Leopold of Belgium who had trained no local Africans to do such work. A later wave of gome music was introduced to Accra in the 1940's from Fernando Po and the Cameroons by Ga migrant fishermen returning home.¹⁴

A `gombe' drum is also found as part of some western Nigerian juju music ensembles,¹⁵ most probably introduced there by `Saro' (i.e. Sierra Leone) people; that is the descendents of Yoruba recaptive slaves who had been liberated in Freetown in the early 19th century and later that century returned home to Nigeria. `gumbe' or `gube' was also popular in the Malian capital Bamako between the 1930's and 50's where it gave its name to the multi-ethnic associations of young people.¹⁶ Likewise `le goumbe' was connected with the urban multi-ethnic youth associations of Abidjan in the Côte d'Ivoire in the immediate postwar period.¹⁷

Goombay is of course still played in Sierra Leone's capital Freetown, where it is used to accompany masked dancers¹⁸ and sometimes features the `musical saw' that is bent and scraped with an iron rod. A variant of this music evolved there around the turn-of-the-century called `asiko' or `ashiko', that shortly after became popular in Ghana and

Nigeria.

Asiko musicians used a small hand-held goombay like 'asiko' framedrum, a carpenter's musical saw and a tapped bottled, with the music being accompanied by a dance that resembled a quickstep or foxtrot.¹⁹ Asiko may have been initially associated with the 'Aku' people of Freetown, the descendents of freed Yoruba slaves who settled and stayed there for, as Harrev (1987:11) points out, the word 'asiko' in Yoruba means 'time'. It is therefore possible that this is a loan word from Yoruba that refers to the role of the asiko drum as a 'timekeeper'.

Whereas the freed slaves of Sierra Leone introduced goombay music, those who were sent by the American Colonisation Society to Liberia from the 1820's brought with them the quadrille, an old European dance of which black creole versions existed in the southern United States and the Caribbean.²⁰ The old Liberian Grebo guitarist and accordion player David Kwee Bendell told me that in the 1920's a local version of the quadrille that involved a circle dance, was played at public weekend picnics by Kru and Grebo marching bands, or bands consisting of guitars, banjos, accordions, musical saw, shakers and local drums.²¹ According to the Ghanaian musician E.T. Mensah who visited Liberia in the 1950's, the quadrille was the popular dance of the coastal Americo-Liberians. Indeed the quadrille was the national dance of this ruling elite who are known as 'Congos' in

Liberia.

Another important group of freed slaves who made an impact on African popular entertainment were the Brazilian and Cuban slaves of Yoruba descent who settled in many West African coastal towns, particularly Lagos in Nigeria and Porto Novo in the Republic of Benin (formerly Dahomey). Although this influx began in the 1840's, it increased so dramatically after Brazil emancipated its slaves in the 1880's²² that by that decade these Yoruba emancipados constituted ten percent of the Lagos population, where they were known as the 'Aguda' or 'those who have gone away' people.²³

In addition to the architectural and other innovations mentioned earlier, these 'Brazilians' introduced Afro-Brazilian performing arts to Lagos, Porto Novo and the 'Brazilian quarters' of other West African towns. These included 'carata' fancy dress, the elaborate 'calunga' masquerades and the 'bonfin' festival.²⁴ Also introduced were the samba da rodo dance and the small rectangular 'samba' frame-drum similar to the 'asiko' one;²⁵ indeed the two names are interchangeable. The samba drum was later incorporated into Yoruba juju music and the pan West African 'palmwine' and 'asiko' syncretic music styles.²⁶ Although not employing the samba drum, highlife music was influenced by the music of the Brazilian samba. As A.A. Mensah (1969/70:3 and 4) remarks, the samba rhythm is a dominant pattern in

highlife music and 'provides a visible link with the Latin-American spirit.'

The 'Brazilians' or 'Aguda' people also made a contribution to the early popular drama of Lagos, for these immigrants - as well as the Saro ones - introduced western type concert and theatre. The Saro elite began staging such performances as early as the 1860's²⁷ whilst the Aguda elite established a 'Brazilian Dramatic Society' in the 1880's that put on 'Grand Theatre' and performances of humorous pieces and songs for violin and guitar.²⁸

**BLACK MISSIONARIES AND SOLDIERS: THE SPIRITUALS
AND CARIBBEAN MILITARY BANDS IN 19TH CENTURY AFRICA**

African-American spirituals and jubilees were introduced to Africa by missionaries and preachers, some of whom were from the black diaspora. An early documented example is from Freetown of the 1860's where extempore hymns, local Krio spirituals and 'shouts' were sung by Krio methodist congregations. Indeed, the Krio English Dictionary defines the word 'shawt' as 'Krio religious song in the manner of the negro spiritual.'²⁹ The spirituals and 'ring shouts' were also part of the religious musical repertoire of the African-American Methodist and Baptist missionaries who began working in Liberia from the 1820's, and of West Indian missionaries who were first brought to Ghana in 1834 by the Methodist Swiss Basel Mission to 'prove that the Bible was

for the Negro.' In the 1850's there were visits to Sierra Leone and Liberia by other black American missionaries, most notably Edward Wilmott Blyden and Alexander Crummell.³⁰

Black missionaries of the American Methodist Episcopal Church (or AME) of the United States, including the head of the church, Bishop Turner, began visiting and establishing AME branches in South Africa from the late 19th century. As a consequence African choral societies began performing African-American religious music.³¹ Other sources of the spirituals for South Africa were the black American minstrel-cum-spiritual outfits that visited the country in the 1890s, and the famous African-American Fisk Jubilee Singers who visited there in 1911.³²

Colonial marching bands were, as mentioned in Chapter Twelve, a seminal influence on early acculturated African popular dance-music, and these military bands included those of black Caribbean as well as white soldiers. Five companies of the West Indian Regiment were stationed in the British colony of Sierra Leone as early as 1819. Harrev says³³ that the Freetown tradition of public Sunday concerts of European songs and hymns being performed by a British drum-and-fife band was taken over by the band of the West Indian Regiment in 1864.

West Indian regiments were also barracked at Cape Coast and Elmina castles in Ghana from the mid-19th century, being part of the British force involved in the Ashanti Wars of

1873/4 and 1900. A.A.Mensah, (1969/70) says that towards the end of the century there was a large settlement of West Indians at the Cape Coast garrison and that local Fanti youths joined the fife and brass bands of these Caribbean soldiers. These mixed groups played English and West Indian popular songs and one of the favourites of the period was, according to Cape Coast oral tradition, the calypso 'Everybody Likes Saturday Night'. Mensah (Ibid:10) goes on to suggest that the young Fanti members of these military style bands began swinging these imported songs to 'African rhythms.' This would explain why one to the earliest Fanti 'proto-highlife' styles, known as 'adaha', employs as one of its clave rhythms a calypso pattern. Adaha in turn became the distinctive dance style for the numerous local brass bands that became established throughout southern Ghana from the turn of the century. Contact with black Caribbean soldiers would also explain why the Ghanaian members of adaha playing brass bands marched about in colourful 'zouave' uniforms, as these red-rimmed black uniforms and matching red hat with tassels were also worn by the West Indian Regiment.³⁴

Two companies of the West Indian Regiment were also stationed in Lagos from the late 19th century. Reminiscent of the Ghanaian situation, Waterman³⁵ mentions that these influenced local marching bands; the most famous being the Calabar Brass Band of the 1920's and 30's.

EARLY BLACK AMERICAN MINSTRELSY IN AFRICA

The first case of American minstrelsy in Africa goes back to 1848 when, according to Coplan (1985:38), the Ethiopian Serenaders were set up in Cape Town by a group of white South Africans who had seen a London performance of the 'refined' white American Ethiopian Serenaders; probably the Christie Minstrels of Buffalo who made the first foreign tour of an American minstrel company in the late 1840's. Indeed the Christie Minstrels actually visited South Africa in 1862, as did another white blackface company called Leslie's Anglo-American Minstrels who played in the country in 1883. These early white minstrel shows, however, made little impact on black and coloured South Africans, although minstrel stereotyping of American blacks was used to bolster the racism of white South Africans.³⁶

It was only when African-American minstrel companies began visiting South Africa, says Coplan (1979/80:54), that minstrelsy really started to influence the blacks there, including professional performers. The most important of these visiting black American groups was Orpheus McAdoo's Virginia Jubilee Singers that toured South Africa in the late 1880's and 90's³⁷ and was, like so many contemporary African-American minstrel groups of the times, a minstrel-cum-spiritual outfit.³⁸ It was McAdoo's group, says Erlmann (1988:339 and 332), that introduced the cakewalk dance to

South Africa and `heralded an era of widening trans-Atlantic contacts between whites, but especially black Americans and South Africans.' Indeed, one of McAddo's group, the black pianist Will P. Thompson, actually settled in South Africa and became involved in several local minstrel groups there.³⁹

It was primarily the impact of imported minstrelsy that led to the establishment of a tradition in Cape Town of annual `Cape Coon Carnivals' when working-class Cape Coloureds `dressed as blackface minstrels.... singing American Negro songs.'⁴⁰ A Zulu form of `coon song' music played on the piano and known as `isikhunzi' also became popular.⁴¹

Minstrelsy, with its combination of ragtime music and the spirituals continued to make an impact on South Africa after the First World War. It led to the setting up of local minstrel groups like the Hivers Hivers, Darktown Strutters and Midnight Follies⁴² and affected the choral music of both rich and poor Africans. An important pioneer of the refined choral `makwaya' style was the elite Zulu composer and pianist Reuben Caluza who was `fascinated by the music of black American minstrel and vaudeville quartets.'⁴³ At the other end of the social spectrum was the spirituals influenced choral music of urban Zulu migrants known as `isicathamiya'.⁴⁴

American minstrelsy was introduced to West Africa later than it was to South Africa. The first references to it in

West Africa is made by Eburn Clark (1979:127) who says that black and white minstrelsy was a tradition in Lagos that goes back to the late 19th century. In Ghana and Sierra Leone minstrelsy came even later, through early films and touring vaudeville acts. One such, mentioned in Part one, was the African-American team of Glass and Grant who worked in Ghana in the mid-twenties and who were understudied by the Ghanaian comic duo of Williams and Marbel and the Sierra Leone one of Williams and Nicol. An 'African Comedy Group' also performed in Freetown Sierra Leone in 1915,⁴⁵ although it is not clear as to whether this was a minstrel outfit or not.

The story of the black American Glass and Grant man-and-wife team is an intriguing one. They were brought from Liberia⁴⁶ to Ghana in 1924 by the Ghanaian film distributor Alfred Ocansey and in 1926 they moved on to Nigeria: so they were obviously on an extended West African tour. This visiting American duo seems to have been very much in the tradition of other African-American man and woman comedy teams of the American late minstrel period. One such was that of Butterbeans and Suzie. Another was 'Coot' Grant and 'Kid Sox' Wilson, and according to Paul Oliver (1984:2) both were typical of 'duets who acted out domestic relationship in song.' In fact it is possible that the 'tall, slim black American woman' Grant, described by the Ghanaian comic Mr. A. Williams in Part One, was 'Coot' Grant; whose real name was Leola B. Wilson and who was born in 1890 (Ibid). As the

`Coot' Grant and `Kid Sox' Wilson team only became famous in the United States in the 1930's⁴⁷, then the Glass and Grant team of the mid-twenties who toured West Africa may have been `Coot' Grant working with another partner.

BLACK SAILORS AND WEST AFRICAN PALMWINE AND MARINGA MUSIC

As noted in the previous chapter, African sailors, fishermen and stevedores played a crucial role in the evolution of the low-class `palmwine' music that combined African rhythmic instruments with the portable imported ones of seafarers. A.A. Mensah (1969/70:8) mentions that amongst the seamen who introduced the guitar, concertina, bandoneon and banjo to Ghana, there were ex-slaves from the Americas. The Ghanaian concert actor Bob Johnson (born 1904) also recalls as a youth seeing West Indian and African-American sailors performing ragtime music on banjos at the Optimism Club in the port of Sekondi. Likewise, the Ghanaian drummer Kofi Ghanaba (formerly Guy Warren) has childhood memories from the 1930's of the black American sailors - as well as English and white American ones - who visited the dockside Gold Coast or Basshoun Bar. This venue was situated in the James Town fishing quarter of Accra which, Ghanaba says, `catered for seamen, prostitutes and pimps' who listened to jazz and ragtime music, watched tapdancing acts and danced the charleston and black bottom.

As noted previously, it was the maritime Kru people of

coastal Liberia who first developed the 'two finger' guitar technique that is used in palmwine, highlife and juju music. Their association with African-Americans came partly through their employment from 1823 by the freed slaves of the American Colonisation Society: indeed in 1845 a 'treaty of peace and friendship' was made between the black American settlers and the Kru people. Another source of contact between the Krus and New World blacks is that although generally these West African mariners operated along the western seaboard of Africa, there are references to them sailing to the Caribbean and working in Panama and New York.⁴⁸

In Sierra Leone both palmwine music and maringa music have connections with seafarers and New World blacks. The Freetown musician Samuel Oju King told me that prewar palmwine guitar music was often played by local seamen in this port town and that it was sometimes referred to as 'ragtime'. Waterman (1986:125) mentions that the Saro (i.e. Sierra Leone) people of Lagos at this time also played a guitar style modelled on ragtime, as well as on Latin American music. The father of the guitarist Ebenezer Calendar (born 1912), Sierra Leone's most famous maringa player, was a Barbados member of the West Indian Regiment who settled in Freetown as a ship's barber.⁴⁹

Samuel Oju King believes that maringa is a local adaption of the popular meringue music of the Caribbean. This

evolved in the Dominican Republic shortly after the country gained independence in 1844. Two similarities between maringa and meringue is that they both are dance-musics that are based on a fast quadratic meter, and both employ percussion instruments, with guitars and the giant hand piano, known as the 'congoma' in Sierra Leone.⁵⁰

From Sierra Leone maringa spread to other African countries. Waterman (1986:132) mentions that it was popular with working-class Saro guitarists of interwar Lagos. Maringa was also played in Central African countries and, according to Kazadi (1973:274/5), was Zaire's most popular inter-tribal dance music up to the 1950's, being played on frame-drums, bell, 'likembe' hand-piano, guitars and accordions. However this dance goes back to the First World War period when maringa dance-halls had become so notorious that the separatist Christian prophet Simon Kimbangu forbade his followers both alcohol and the maringa dance.⁵¹ Maringa may have been introduced to Zaire sometime prior to this by the Sierra Leone artisans who worked as contract labourers between 1885 and 1908 in the then Congo Free State of King Leopold of Belgium.

RAGTIME AND EARLY JAZZ IN AFRICA

Ragtime became immensely popular in Africa, making its first impact in South Africa. There from the late 19th century it was introduced by black American minstrel groups

like McAdoo's, as well as by visiting marching bands and banjo players.⁵² Ragtime was also introduced from around the turn-of-the-century, says Coplan (1985:13), by black and white American prospectors who played 'honky tonk' piano in the canteens of the Kimberly Diamond Mines.

In the years immediately following the Great War, whites coloureds and visiting Americans popularised both ragtime and early jazz to such a degree that Zulus even coined their own local words for ragtime music and dancing.⁵³

Like the spirituals, ragtime and jazz was subsequently incorporated into the makwaya music of Reuben Caluza and other well-to-do Zulu musicians, and into low-class Zulu 'marabi' music played on pianos in the illegal 'shebeen' drinking-bars of the 1920s and 30's. Local 'dixieland' jazz bands were also formed then, and indeed the Queenstown area of Johannesburg became known as 'Little Jazz Town'.⁵⁴

From the First World War period ragtime also became established in West Africa. It was part of the repertoire of the 1915 African Comedy Company of Freetown referred to earlier, and of many of the early West African dance orchestras. A.A. Mensah talks of a Ghanaian one formed in Cape Coast in 1922 that was actually called 'Rag-a-jazz-bo'.⁵⁵

As in South Africa, ragtime in West Africa seems to have been particularly associated with piano players, and one such was the early recording artist from Accra, Squire

Addo.⁵⁶ A.A. Mensah believes that many of the features of early highlife played by dance orchestra pianists, such as the use of dominant sixths, chromatic runs, breaks, riffs, and a steady left hand harmony, were derived from ragtime.⁵⁷

Horton (1984:184) likewise notes a similarity between the Scott Joplin type of ragtime (known as the 'classic' or 'Missouri' variety)⁵⁸ and the style played by the 1920's Sierra Leone pianists David Christian Parker of the Danvers Orchestra and Lawrence Nicol of the Dapa Jazz Band. The latter pianist incidently was the comedian who, together with the Ga comics Williams and Marbel, understudied the African-American team of Glass and Grant in Accra during the mid-twenties.

**BLACK AMERICAN ENTERTAINMENT ON EARLY
RECORDS AND FILM IN AFRICA**

The African interest in black American recording artists goes back to the 1902 'coon song' of the American ex-slave George Washington called 'The Original Haw-Haw Man'. which sold well in Central and Southern Africa. In fact the earliest contemporary account of the African love of black American records occurred that year, when Major Cyril Fosset in Central Africa received a box of 'laugh records' (including Johnson's 'Haw Haw Man') which he later claimed eased a 'tricky situation with the natives,' as they 'seemed to prefer these to Reverend's piano recitals of Gilbert and Sullivan.'⁵⁹

In the 1920's the records of the Broadway vaudeville and tap-dancing duo of J. Turner Layton and Willie Johnstone became the rage in South Africa and influenced local minstrel companies there which, says Coplan (1979;145 and 139), played 'ragtimes, Negro spirituals, jazz vocals....(and) syncopated African hymns.' The spirituals and ragtime music also became popular in East and West Africa from this time, as did various other black inspired dances.⁶⁰ For instance, the 1929 Zonophone West African 'Native Artist' catalogue contains banjo songs, 'Negro Spirituals', music by a 'native jazz orchestra' and foxtrots and one-steps (i.e. turkey trots) in the Akan and Ewe languages. By the 1920's records of early Trinidadian calypsos and Brazilian sambas had also

became available.⁶¹ The melody of the calypso 'Sly Mongoose' was used for the English speaking West African popular tune 'All For You'.

An idea of the variety of black American music available in West African during the 1920's and 30's on record and sheet music can be appreciated from the repertoires of some local dance orchestras. Horton (1984), Waterman (1986,1990) and A.A. Mensah (1971) refer the Triumph Orchestra and Dapa Jazz Band of Freetown and the Maifair Orchestra and Chocolate Dandies of Lagos that played jazz, foxtrots, quicksteps and Latin-American numbers. The 1920 program of the Accra Excelsior Orchestra, formed in 1914, included the banjo songs 'The White Coon' and 'Posums Picnic', whilst the Jazz Kings formed in Accra in 1916 played, as its name suggests, jazz and ragtime songs amongst its ballroom dance-numbers.⁶² During the 1930s the Accra Orchestra's repertoire included foxtrots, rumbas, mambos and jazz numbers, whilst the contemporary Casino Orchestra of Koforidua played foxtrots and la congas.⁶³ It was, incidentally, also in the thirties that konkoma bands became popular in southern Ghana, which not only played highlifes and 'African blues' but also sambas and la congas.⁶⁴

Right from the first films imported into Africa contained black American acts performed by white imitators. The first white blackface comedian to appear in early silent

movies was in 1902, followed by others like Louise Fazenda, Walter Long, Marshall Neilan and Eddie Cantor - with an occasional appearance being made by African-American artists such as Sunshine Sammy and Farina.⁶⁵ Then in 1927 came the 'talkies', the very first being the 'Jazz Singer' that starred the famous Jewish American blackface performer, Al Jolson. Whether through blacks or white imitators, African-American songs, dances, dialect and humour therefore began to make an influence on African entertainers.

Coplan (1985:123) comments on the impact of early films or 'bioscopes' on black South African minstrel groups, whose tap-dancing techniques were copied from films of Fred Astaire and the Nicholas Brothers. Tap-dancing also became popular in Zimbabwe in the 1930s.⁶⁶ Indeed, after the Second World War and 'inspired by film'⁶⁷ it became such a rage in southern Africa that it was absorbed into makwaya music and local variety groups, which performed what A.M. Jones (1959:256) calls 'exceedingly clever imitation of western tap-dancing.'

As mentioned in Chapter Twelve, films began to be shown in West Africa well before the First World War and venues especially built to show movies appeared in the 1920s. Several Ghanaian performers comment on the effect the 'Jazz Singer' and the later films of Al Jolson had on them.⁶⁸ The Ghanaian concert party comedian Bob Johnson recalls seeing at Arkhurst Hall in Sekondi both silent blackface films and the

films of Al Jolson who he says wore 'blackface makeup and could sing.'⁶⁹ The drummer Kofi Ghanaba also remembers watching Al Jolson films. However as Ghanaba mentions in his biography, he was much more interested in genuine black American acts: the tap dancing Nicholas Brothers and 'shorts' by Duke Ellington, Arty Shaw, Buddy Rich in 'Deep Purple' and Harry Roy in 'Everything is Rhythm'.

The entrance of African-American into film in starring roles rather than as comics and stooges began in the early thirties with 'The Heart of Dixie', 'Hallelujah', 'Emperor Jones' and other all-black films. By the 1940s many black musicians were also appearing on film and therefore became accessible to African audiences. Besides the ones mentioned by Ghanaba above, these included those featuring Cab Caloway, Louis Armstrong, Fats Waller, Count Basie, Lena Horne, Hazel Scott and the famous tap dancer Bill Robinson.⁷⁰ Most of these artists played jazz and swing music, the most popular dance-music of the wartime period. It is the black American influence on Africa during and after the Second World War that is the topic of the next chapter.

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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE BLACK AMERICAS AND AFRICA: THE SECOND WORLD

WAR AND AFTER

The American influence was so great on the young Opia that he actually called his first concert party the Yanky Trio. His later J.J.'s band played American jazz and swing as well as Caribbean calypsos, Afro-Cuban rumbas and Latin-American dancetunes.

The Second World War acted as a catalyst in the evolution of African popular entertainment. The war and its immediate aftermath was a period when many black American and Caribbean inspired dance-styles were introduced to the continent: swing, close-harmony singing, 'dixieland' jazz, bebop and its associated jitterbug dance, the Afro-Cuban rumba and mambo, and the beguine from Martinique. Calypsos also became internationally popular as a result of American troops being stationed in Trinidad. One of the most popular was a version of Lord Invador's calypso 'Rum and Coca Cola' that was released by the Andrews Sisters and sold five million copies.¹

One route into Africa for these music styles was through the English, American and other Allied troops stationed there during and after the war. These included some black troops, such as the soldiers from Martinique who were with General de Gaulle's Free French forces in Congo

Brazaville, and the black American sailors who visited Cape Town in South Africa. Ware (1978:300) also refers to West Indian soldiers with the West African Frontier Force even before the war.

An opposite avenue for black diasporic dance-music was through the returning African troops who had fought with the Allies Forces abroad; like the sixteen thousand Nigerian 'Boma (i.e. Burma) boys',² and the East African 'askaris' who were particularly fond of the rumba. The Ghanaian concert party comedian Bob Vans told me that when he returned from India in 1946, after having run the African Theatre of the West African Frontier Force there, he introduced tap-dancing routines and the use of wigs for lady impersonators to Ghana; innovations he borrowed from black American comedians he met abroad. To examine this whole question of the wartime influence on African popular performance we will turn first to English speaking Africa.

THE WARTIME AND IMMEDIATE POSTWAR ERA IN ANGLOPHONE AFRICA

Several Ghanaian musicians have told me of the great impact British and American servicemen made on Ghanaian night-life. E.T. Mensah of the postwar Tempos dance band refers to a Sergeant Leopard from Scotland, who had been a professional dance-band saxophonist in Britain. He recruited some local musicians, including E. T. Mensah, and formed the Black and White Spots band in Accra in 1940. This band

played ballroom numbers and swing at Allied army camps. Sergeant Leopard, says E.T. Mensah, taught the African members 'new methods of intonation, vibrato, tonguing and breath control.' Mensah also recalls that the Allied soldiers, especially the Americans who began coming to Ghana in 1942 (after Pearl Harbour) stimulated the growth of local drinking spots where jazz and swing records were played.³

Another Ghanaian dance-band musician, King Bruce, recollects that it was when he was at Achimota School that he became interested in jazz, swing and ballroom music. This was during the war when 'we had British and American army units stationed here who had bands for their entertainment.' One such band was Sergeant Leopard and the Black and White Spots.

Another was the 'Firework Four' composed of four Ghanaians that included the drummer Kofi Ghanaba (then called Guy Warren) and saxophonist Joe Kelly, both of whom later joined the Tempos band. These two musicians not only played for foreign soldiers but also made their own record collections of black and white swing and jazz records.⁴

The famous postwar Tempos band was itself initially associated with wartime servicemen, as it was jointly founded in 1940 by the Ghanaian pianist Adolf Doku and an English engineer and saxophonist Arthur Harriman, who recruited two members of the armed forces stationed in Accra. The Tempos began playing for private parties and at the European club, where incidently there had been an all-white resident dance-

band from the late thirties called the Pop Hotshots.⁵

After the war and with the departure of white army personnel the Tempos became totally Ghanaian, as did its audience. Not surprisingly the group added highlifes to its repertoire, but with a strong swing influence. However, it was the addition of two other musical ingredients that made this band's version of highlife so successful. These were Afro-Cuban percussion and the Trinidadian calypso, both introduced to the Tempos by Kofi Ghanaba who had been in London as bongos player for Kenny Graham's Afro-Cubists (modelled on Stan Kenton's band) and the compère of a BBC radio calypso programme.⁶ As a result of these innovations and under the leadership of E.T. Mensah the Tempos became the most successful West African dance-band of the 1950's and many other groups modelled themselves on it. With its small combo line-up of alto and tenor saxophones, trombone, trumpet, trap-drums, Afro-Cuban percussion, double-bass and guitar, the Tempos put an end to the reign of the huge local dance orchestras of the pre-war period.⁷

King Bruce formed his dance-band in 1952 and being 'much enamoured by jazz, swing and music with a beat' he called his group the Black Beats. He told me that his particular style of highlife, with its emphasis on vocals, was affected by the 'jump' music of Louis Jordan that was very popular in Ghana at the time. Moreover, the band's trumpet style was influenced by Lord Kitchener's calypsonian

trumpeters, Lesley Hutchinson and Snake Hips Johnson.⁸

Black New World dance music styles were also part of the repertoires of other early 1950's Ghanaian dance-bands, such as the Red Spots, Rhythm Aces, Joe Kelly's Band, the Stargazers and Rakers - as well as being included in the popular song books of the period.⁹ These imported styles also influenced other types of Ghanaian popular band of the period. Concert parties began to play swing, calypsos, la congas, rumbas, sambas and mambos,¹⁰ whilst the youthful Mr. Bampoe actually called his schoolboy group the Yanky Trio. E.K Nyame's Akan Trio formed in 1952 was the first concert party to use the 'Spanish bongos' plucked double-bass and clarinet; ideas which he borrowed from the Tempos-type urban dance-bands. Even the few remaining konkoma groups of the times included rumbas and chachacha's in their repertoires.¹¹

As in Accra, the British and Americans servicemen stationed in Lagos interacted with the local musicians. According to Waterman (1986:12), it was during this time that the Eastern Progressive Swing Band, the Harlem Dynamites, the Delux Swing Orchestra and other swing dance-bands were established in the city.

The most important dance-band leader of the period was Bobby Benson who had been in the British navy and had entertained foreign wartime troops.¹² He was naturally enough influenced by wartime dance fashions and in 1948 he formed his Modern Theatrical Group that Clark (1979:127/8)

says, put on 'black and white minstrel type shows for Lagos audiences.' Together with his English wife Cassandra¹³ Benson danced the jitterbug and kangaroo to jazz and boogie-woogie music, with Benson himself wearing a 'zoot suit' (Ibid).

Ajax Bukana, who joined Benson in 1950 as double-bass player and tap-dancer, told me that the group not only played jazz numbers but also rumbas and highlifes. Waterman (1986:60) mentions that Benson's earliest recording included sambas and calypsos.

Nigerian guitar bands also played black diasporic music. Waterman (1988:212/3 and 96-80) says that during the 1950's local versions of the Afro-Cuban bongos and congas began to be used in juju music, and a version of this music known as 'toy motion' that was 'enlivened' with mambos and calypsos appeared. Bender (1991:89) refers to the calypso played by the Lagos based Ibo highlife guitar-band of Israel Njemanze and the Three Night Wizards.

The pioneer of Yoruba travelling theatre, Hubert Ogunde, likewise utilised jazz, swing and calypso - and used blackface minstrel makeup for some of his actors in the early postwar era. There were two reasons for this. One was that Ogunde was in competition with Bobby Benson, and so wanted to be able to provide the same music as this dance-band musician. The other, was that Ogunde's popular theatre visited Ghana twice in 1948 where concert parties were already using blackface and playing ragtime and swing. He

subsequently borrowed ideas from them. Indeed, the Ghanaian influence was so marked that for several years he called his Nigerian group a 'concert party'.¹⁴

Sierra Leone's nightlife also felt the wartime impact, and 'big bands' like the Mayfair Jazz Band, Cuban Swing Band and Melody Swingers were set up in Freetown. In addition to the foxtrots, swing music and rumbas of these bands, by the late 1940's Lord Kitchener type calypsos also became popular in the country, provided by the local bands of Tejan Sie, Ali Ganda and others.¹⁵

Black South Africans had elite swing bands even before the Second World War; one of the most popular being the Merry Blackbirds that was modelled on Glen Miller's orchestra. Some, including the Merry Blackbirds, were hired by the military during the war to play for the black sailors of the Allied Forces. The African performers of the Jabulani Concert Party even left South Africa to entertain the Allied Forces in North Africa where they met members of the Glen Miller Orchestra. During the war a white officer called Lieutenant Ike Brooks put together another variety company called 'Zonk' that was composed members of the South African Native Military Corps. This, after the war made a highly successful combination of American and South African jazz.¹⁶

There were other postwar South African responses to imported American music and entertainment. One was the creation in the 1940's of local close-harmony groups such as

the Manhattan Brothers, which Miriam Makeba later joined. A contemporary of this was black working-class 'tsaba-tsaba' dance-music and jitterbug dancing, known locally as 'jive'. In the fifties this was followed by Kwela music, a poorman's imitation of swing and jazz bands played on penny-whistles and home-made guitars.

Neighbouring Zimbabwe also had many jazz, swing and close-harmony groups in the 1940s and early 50s. These included the Milton Brothers, the Golden Rhythm Crooners and the famous Dorothy Musuka who, says Joyce Makwenda (1990:5/6), 'specialised in African versions of American jazz favourites.' This Zimbabwean musicologist also makes the general point (Ibid) that Zimbabwean popular music between the 1930's and 60's was a mixture of indigenous music and American jazz and blues.

In East Africa the local 'askari' wartime troops had a profound affect on local dance music. Both Kubik (1981:92) and Kayvu (1979:117) mention that it was the Kenyan and Ugandan members of the Kings African Rifles returning from Burma who largely introduced the immensely popular rumba to East Africa. Infact it was members of this regiment who formed East Africa's most famous band of the immediate postwar period, the Rhino Boys, which played imported dance band music and rumbas. Low (1984:18) mentions that the pioneering postwar Kenyan guitarist, Fundi Konde, also fought in Burma, where he was influenced by both European and black

American musicians. Jazz also became popular in East Africa after the war; so much so, says Ranger (1975:150), that the local beni groups created a jazzy genre known as 'brasso'.

**THE WARTIME AND IMMEDIATE POSTWAR INFLUENCE
OF THE RUMBA AND 'LATIN TINGE'**

As has been mentioned, the Afro-Cuban rumba and the 'Latin' samba became extremely popular in postwar Anglophone Africa. This was enhanced by the HMV record company restarting its GV label after the wartime freeze on record manufacture: a label that had specialised in these varieties of music from 1933.¹⁷

However, it was in Francophone Africa that Latin and Afro-Cuban music became particularly influential; starting in Central Africa where they made an impact on the music of the 'dry' guitarists Mwenda Jean Bosco, Losta Abelo and others.¹⁸

This postwar blending of local music with South American and Caribbean music - and even jazz¹⁹ - led to local rumbas being recorded in the late 1940's.²⁰ With the formation of Grand Kallé's (Joseph Kabaselle) African Jazz in 1953, then Franco's O.K. Jazz and others, a series of 'Congo-jazz' styles emerged²¹ that absorbed influences from the rumba, samba, meringue, beguine and the succession of Afro-Cuban styles that followed the rumba: mambos, boleros, chachacha's and pachangas. Congo-jazz gradually replaced the maringa music that has been so popular in Central Africa from World War One times.

Latin American and Afro-Cuban dance-music also became popular in other French-speaking African countries from the late 1940's. Ignace do Souza, who joined the Alfa jazz

dance-band of the Benin Republic in 1953, told me that they often played slow romantic boleros at this time, whilst E.T. Mensah who visited Abidjan, the capital of the Côte d'Ivoire, in 1955 recalls seeing white bands there playing boleros, chachachas and tangos. Senegal and Mali had large numbers of Cuban influenced bands in the 1950s and 60's. Indeed the National Band of Mali was actually formed by Malians in Cuba who, on returning home, renamed it the Marovillas de Mali.²²

In Guinea, Latin American and Caribbean music was so popular that when the country gained independence from France in 1958, President Sekou Touré saw it as a threat to his indigenisation policy. As a result he disbanded L'Africana Swing Band, La Habanera Jazz, La Harlem Jazz and the numerous local bands that played `tangos, waltzes, foxtrots, swing music and other rhythms imported from Europe and the Caribbean.'²³

JAZZ IN AFRICA FROM THE MID 1950's

During the 1950's and early 60's two types of jazz made an impact of Africa: modern jazz, and the `dixieland' style of Louis Armstrong whose influence was enhanced through two trips he made to Africa during this period; visiting Nigeria, Ghana, Zaire, Togo, Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe.²⁴

Up to the time when Armstrong and his All Stars visited Ghana in 1956, dixieland jazz had never caught on there with the general public. All this changed however after

Armstrong's three-day trip, organised by the Columbia Broadcasting System who were making a film called 'Satchmo the Great' that involved an outdoor performance by the All Stars before an Accra crowd of one-hundred-thousand.

When Armstrong, Velma Middleton and the band first arrived at Accra Airport they were welcomed on the tarmac by a collection of local dance-band musicians who greeted the Americans with the old highlife song 'All For You'. Iain Lang, an English reporter in Ghana at the time, mentions in his article 'Jazz Comes Home To Africa' that Armstrong recognised the melody as that of a turn-of-the-century creole song from Louisiana. Lang pondered over the question as to whether this song was an American one brought by African-American seamen, or an old African melody taken to America and then brought back to West Africa. The melody of 'All For You' is also identical to that of the Trinidadian calypso 'Sly Mongoose' which, as mentioned earlier, was first recorded in 1914. Whatever the ultimate origin of the song, the puzzle concerning it does demonstrate the close and early musical contact between three black cultures; those of the Southern United States, the Caribbean and West Africa.

On this three day trip Armstrong jammed with the Tempos dance-band at E.T. Mensah's Paramount Nightclub in Accra, and Satchmo's trumpet playing made a deep impression Mensah and other local dance-band musicians who began copying the American's phrasing. The 'Saint Louis Blues' also became a

popular standard with them, and this dixieland influence was strengthened when the All Stars clarinetist, Edmund Hall, returned to Ghana and ran a jazz band for a time at the Ambassador Hotel in Accra.

Even one of Armstrong's trumpets found its way to Africa, through the Reverend Trevor Huddleston who ran a jazz band in Johannesburg in the 1950's. When this white South African was on a visit to the United States he secured the instrument and on returning home gave it to one of his band's budding members, the young black musician Hugh Masekela.²⁵

If South Africa itself during the fifties it was the 'modern' jazz of John Coltrane and the Modern Jazz Quartet that became in vogue with many African popular musicians. This led to the formation of the Jazz Epistles, the Sophiatown Modern Jazz Quartet, the Blue Notes and other groups that played their own local versions of this music. In the 1960's bands like Malomba began experimenting with what Coplan (1985:195) calls 'Afro-Jazz' fusions; as did the black South African musicians Abdullah Ibrahim (Dollar Brand), Hugh Masekela and Dudu Pukwana. Because they and many other local jazz musicians had to go into exile as a result of their government's apartheid policy, they made a significant contribution to American and European jazz music.

Modern jazz never became as popular in West Africa as it did in South Africa.²⁶ However two West African musicians did go to the United States to successfully pursue this form

of music. One was the Yoruba master-drummer Olatunji, who settled in New York in the early 1960's, worked for a time with John Coltrane and African touches to the impressionistic jazz of the post-bebop era.²⁷ The other was the Ghanaian drummer Kofi Ghanaba who, as Guy Warren, went to the United States in the late 1950's. He played modern jazz there with Thelonius Monk, Miles Davis, Billy Strayhorn and Max Roach - and also began to develop his own African blend of jazz.

POP MUSIC IN AFRICA SINCE THE SIXTIES

From the early 1960's a new wave of black New World derived dance-music spread throughout Africa. These were rock `n' roll; (a version of black American rhythm `n' blues), followed by soul music, the twist, and Jamaican ska and reggae.

The first sign of this was that all over Africa, but particularly in the English-speaking parts, numerous pop bands composed mainly of students and schoolboys sprang up, emulating the recorded music of Elvis Presley, Cliff Richards, Sam Cooke, Fats Domino and Chubby Checker; the latter actually touring Africa in the mid-sixties.²⁸ Some of the most well known African pop bands of the sixties were the Blue Knights, the Postmen, the Cyclops, the Top Toppers and Hot Four of Nigeria,²⁹ the Heartbeats and Echoes of Sierra Leone,³⁰ the Super Eagles of Gambia,³¹ the Avengers, Bachelors, Saints and Psychedelic Aliens of Ghana,³² the

Settlers of Zimbabwe and the Beatles influenced Beaters of South African.³³

The ska and early reggae music of the Jamaican artists 'Millie' (Millicent Small), Jimmy Cliff, Johnny Nash and Desmond Dekker also became part of the African pop repertoire, with both Millie and Jimmy Cliff making tours of Africa in the late sixties and early seventies.³⁴ Also influential was black gospel-influenced 'soul' and 'funk' music and the associated 'jerk', 'popcorn' and 'boogooloo'³⁵ dances of James Brown, Sam Cooke, Ray Charles and Otis Redding. Indeed, James Brown played in Nigeria and Zambia³⁶ in the late sixties whilst Wilson Pickett and Ike and Tina Turner performed in Ghana in 1971. Other soul artists who have visited Ghana since then are Isaac Hayes, Dionne Warwick and Stevie Wonder.

The first West African band to play soul was the Heartbeats of Sierra Leone, the members of whom were first exposed to this music when they were resident in Liberia between 1964 and 1966. They subsequently introduced live soul sessions to their own country,³⁷ and then to Ghana and Nigeria. Early Nigeria soul bands were Tony Benson's, the Hykkers, Segun Bucknor's Soul Assembly and the Clusters led by Nigeria's own local James Brown, Johnny Haastrup. In Ghana there were the El Pollos and Barbecues band and the homegrown soul artists Elvis J. Brown and Ray Otis. This music caught on so much with the Ghanaian public that by the

mid-seventies the Kumasi based Ambassador Records was releasing local version of soul - as well as the 'boogaloo', the 'funky fuse' and the 'shake'. Soul became popular elsewhere in English speaking Africa,³⁸ so much so in Tanzania that James Brown records were banned from the radio in 1969.³⁹ Soul and funk influenced a whole succession of African-American dance-styles: 'disco', hip-hop, break-dancing, rap and house-music. Following in the wake of the African soul craze, these too have become popular in Africa.

Much in the same way as an 'Afro-jazz' was created in the sixties by African musicians who initially played imported modern jazz, so the local imitation of sixties western pop-music led on to a wave of 'Afro-pop' experimentation. This began with local adaptations of soul and funk music and as will be discussed in the next chapter, soul became a creative catalyst in Africa partly because of its messages of 'doing you're own thing', 'black and proud' and its connection with the American 'Afro' craze of the late sixties and seventies.

Coplan (185:195) refers to a combining of soul and township mbaqanga popular music that took place in South Africa. Kazadi (1971:25-7) mentions the soul influence on the 'kiri-kiri' and 'ngwabin' styles of Congo jazz in the late sixties. The top Cameroonian artist Manu Dibango had an enormous international hit in 1973 with his 'Soul Makossa' record which, as its name suggests, combined soul with the

makossa popular-music of Cameroonian guitar bands. Horton (1975:195), talking about Sierra Leone, comments on the fusion of 'pop' and local maringa music by the Afro Nationals and Doctor Dynamite's Afro Rhythms band. Indeed, this Sierra Leonian musicologist states (Ibid:191) that the imported 'Afro' fashions resulted in many local bands becoming interested in the 'traditional African heritage' and incorporating the slit-log drum and other local instruments into their ensembles.

In Nigeria during the late sixties the highlife musician Victor Uwaifo created his soulful 'mutaba beat' because, as he puts it, he 'started losing fans' to imported soul music. In 1969 Segun Bucknor and his Soul Assembly band moved away from playing the imported style, changed their band's name to 'Revolution' and began experimenting with soul and 'the real African beat.' It was that year the Fela Anikulapo-Kuti (then Ransome-Kuti) blended soul, jazz and highlife into his immensely popular 'Afro-beat'; elements of which were incorporated during the early seventies into the 'synchro system' juju-music style of King Sunny Ade.

Ghana also had its Afro-soul and Afro-beat bands, some of the most well known being the Black Santiagos, the Psychedelic Aliens, Big Beats and Sawaaba Sounds. Highlife bands were also affected. The African Brothers for instance produced its 'locomotive' and 'Afro-hili' dance styles of the early seventies that were influenced by soul and Afro-beat

respectively. This experimentation was given an impetus by the 'Soul to Soul' concert held in Accra in 1971, which was later released on film. The show included the local artists Kwaa Mensah, the Psychedelic Aliens and Kofi Ghanaba, and the visiting American soul, funk and gospel artists, Wilson Pickett, Ike and Tina Turner, The Voices Of East Harlem, Roberta Flack and the Staple Singers. A particularly memorable moment occurred when the Frafra calabash player Amoa Azangeo combined this northern Ghanaian instrument with the jazz music of Eddie Harris and Les McCann. These interactions going on in Ghana between local and African-American music during the early seventies are well captured in the feature film 'Doing Their Thing', produced by the Ghana Film Corporation. It is about two young Ghanaian soul fanatics who are advised to tour the country to search for the roots of their own music, 'only to find that their own traditional music is basically the rhythmic basis of soul music.'⁴⁰

Another Afro-pop style that appeared in the early seventies was 'Afro-rock', pioneered by African musicians under the influence of the 'progressive rock' of Jimmy Hendrix, Sly and the Family Stone and Blood Sweat and Tears, and the 'Latin rock' of Santana; a band that also featured at the 1971 Soul to Soul concert in Ghana. As a result there was a proliferation of African rock bands that combined African and western instruments,⁴¹ the most famous being the

London based Ghanaian group Osibisa.

Besides soul and rock, African popular music has also become creatively blended with new Caribbean popular dance-music styles. These include Puerto Rican salsa, Trinidadian soca (i.e. soul-calypso), Jamaican 'roots' reggae and the cadence or zouk music of the French Antilles. An example of an African response to these West Indian imports is the string of 'discalypso' releases made by the Sierra Leone producer Akie Deen in the early eighties that combined his country's maringa music with Trinidadian 'soca'. Without question however it is reggae that has been the most influential of these Caribbean styles; partly as a result of its radical 'back to Africa' rastafarian message and partly due to so many reggae bands actually visiting Africa.⁴² Most notable was the trip by Bob Marley and the Wailers to Zimbabwe in 1980 for its independence celebrations.

As a result, African reggae and rastafarian musicians have emerged all over Africa.⁴³ A Nigerian example is the highlife musician Sonny Okosun who, in the late seventies, began releasing militant 'Afro-reggae' songs like 'Papa's Land', 'Holy Wars' and 'Fire in Soweto'. Facilitating his fusion-music is his belief that 'reggae has a highlife formation.'⁴⁴ A later Afro-reggae star is Alpha Blondy from the Côte d'Ivoire who began his musical career playing Afro-rock, and then fell under the sway of Bob Marley after a trip to the United States. Since 1982 Alpha Blondy has released

a number of reggae songs sung in Dioula, the most successful being his 1985 West African hit 'Apartheid is Nazism'. The most recent Afro-reggae performer to make a continental impact on Africa is the South African musician Lucky Dube who sings reggae songs in English and Zulu.

In the next chapter we turn to some of the reasons for the enormous impact of black diasporic popular entertainment on that of sub-Saharan Africa.

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

BLACK TRANSATLANTIC FEEDBACK

The initially fanatical West African jazz musicians, Kofi Ghanaba and Fela Anikulapo-Kuti, were paradoxically brought back to their 'Afro' roots by visiting the United States. Conversely, James Brown toured Africa and, when I first played with the J.J.'s in the late 1960's, his song 'Say it Loud I'm Black and Proud' was on everybody's lips.

There are two main reasons for the huge effect of the black performing arts of the Americas on African popular entertainment, each of which will be discussed in turn. Firstly, there are socio-historical similarities between Africa and the black Americas. Secondly, there are similarities or analogues between their performance styles.

SIMILARITIES IN THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF AFRICA AND THE BLACK AMERICAS

Both New World blacks, especially those from North America, and black Africans have experienced a comparable type of economic and racial oppression in recent history: that of slavery and the post-Reconstruction era in the United States, and of the colonial and apartheid regimes of Africa. The international success of African-American performing arts from the end of the last century, in spite of the repressive context, provided, says Coplan (1982:123), important early

'models for South African urban cultural adaption, identity and resistance.'

These models were effective moreover, not just due to the equivalent socio-economic repression that both American and African blacks suffered under white christian society, but because both experienced this discrimination in the context of rapid rural-urban migration and the emergence of heterogeneous black urban populations. Jacobs (1989:6), for instance, notes that the musical 'resonance' of American blues in South Africa is partly explained by it being a product of southern black American migrant workers, and migrant labour formed the foundation of the modern South African industrial economy.

Jacob's notion of 'resonance' help account for the fact that very early South African minstrelsy, as compared to the later forms, never had much effect on the black population. The earliest minstrel shows were performed by white blackface artists for white audiences, who through this medium, says Erlmann (1986:335), released racial hatred and sometimes even called their African labourers and servants 'Jim'; the foolish rustic 'Jim Crow' character of minstrelsy.¹ Unlike the racist white minstrel tradition however, the later black American minstrel groups that visited South Africa, such as McAdoo's Virginia Jubilee Singers, played for black as well as white audiences (albeit segregated) and included spirituals and jubilees in their shows. These, as Erlmann

(Ibid) puts its, were `deeply anchored in the culture of the oppressed black (i.e. Americans) population.' Not surprisingly these struck a chord with black South Africans and facilitated black American minstrelsy's effect on the evolution of marabi, makwaya, isikhunzi and other black South African performance styles.

In West Africa the picture is quite different, as the minstrelsy imported there, even when performed by white vaudeville artists, never had racist repercussions. For instance, the films of the American blackface performer Al Jolson `resonated' in Ghana and led to the paradox of Bob Johnson and other local black performers imitating white imitators of African-American music, dance, humour and dialect.² It is of interest here to note that a similar irony of blacks copying whites, copying blacks, occurred in the case of American minstrelsy itself. In the 1870's, when African-Americans began entering this up-to-then largely northern white blackface genre, they put on burnt cork and white rimmed their mouths in order to resemble white `Yankee' minstrels.³ These black minstrel performers also danced white versions of the cakewalk, that itself was originally the harvest festival dance of Virginian slaves.⁴

In the postwar period socio-historical similarities between black Africa and the black Americas have continued, for the great nationalist upsurge in Africa during the late fifties and sixties corresponds to the period of de-

colonisation in the Caribbean and the civil rights and black power movements in the United States. One feature of this new black consciousness in the Americas has been a growing interest by diasporic blacks in their African or 'Afro' cultural roots. In this context one only has to think of the success of Alex Haley's book and film 'Roots' that traces his ancestry to Gambia, or the current African-American fashion for the colourful Akan kente cloth design. In the realm of music this is reflected in African-American jazz musicians and West Indian reggae and rastafarian artists⁵ who have been influenced by African music, and/or have made trips to Africa. Another example is soul and tamla motown music that expresses a more militant and optimistic stance than did the spirituals and blues and whose emergence coincided with the black power movement of the sixties⁶, epitomised in the James Brown 1968 hit record 'Say It Loud I'm Black and Proud' that was so readily taken up by the youth of the newly independent African nations.

To detail how this turn by black artists of the diaspora towards Africa has 'resonated' in Africa itself we will take the cases of a number of performing artists from Ghana, South Africa, the Cameroons and Nigeria.

An example of an African jazz musician who was inspired by the American 'Afro' fashion - indeed he contributed to it - is the Ghanaian drummer Kofi Ghanaba. As Ghanaba explains, up to the time when he first visited the United States in the

late 1950's 'I had been imitating somebody who was himself imitating me.' Realising that he could never play jazz like Americans, he decided to 'de-colonise' himself and became the 'African musician who reintroduced African music to America.'

This resulted in him changing his name from Guy Warren to Kofi Ghanaba (son of Ghana) and developing an 'Afro-jazz' style of music. He subsequently released a number of albums in the United States in this vein, such as 'African Speaks and America Answers' and 'Theme for African Drums'. On returning home to Ghana he did away with the trap-drums altogether and switched to a battery of traditional ones. As Ghanaba explains, he is now 'playing African music with a little bit of jazz thrown in, not jazz with a little African music..... (as)... it is African music that is the mother, not the other way around.' Ghanaba's Africanised jazz has made a mark on many African-American musicians. The drummer Max Roach wrote after a visit to Ghana in 1975 that 'none of us understood what he (i.e. Ghanaba) was saying, that in order for Afro-American music to be stronger it must cross fertilise with its African origin.....[now]..... later, black music in America has turned to Africa for inspiration and rejuvenation.'⁷

Other examples of the 'resonance' of American jazz comes from South Africa where there were Afro-jazz experimentations in the sixties that, as referred to in the previous chapter, arose from local artists copying John

Coltrane, who himself was inspired by African music. This, claims Coplan (1985:189) helped Julian Bahula, Hugh Masekela, Dudu Pukwana and Abdullah Ibrahim to 're-examine their own indigenous resources.' Miriam Makeba and Letta Mbulu, who were initially famous in South Africa as female jazz vocalists, ironically made their transition to traditional music after they went in the sixties to America, the home of jazz. There they were both exposed to the black power movement and 'Afro' fashions. Indeed Makeba helped popularise the American 'Afro' hair-fashion and married the Black Panther leader Stokely Carmichael. The South African percussionist Lefifi Tladi puts it clearly when he states 'we came to appreciate ourselves through America.'⁸

Two West African guitarists who have been helped in exploring their roots through jazz music are the Cameroonian Francis Bebey and the Ghanaian Koo Nimo. Bebey 'rediscovered Louis Armstrong' on a tour of the United States, and this, together with his exposure to Caribbean and Brazilian music, inspired him in the seventies to begin experimenting with Hispanic and African folk rhythms. He also incorporated the hand-piano and other traditional instruments into his music.⁹

Koo Nimo's creation of the updated 'up and up' palmwine style referred in Chapter Thirteen, was partly stimulated by American jazz, including that of Louis Armstrong whom he saw perform in Kumasi in 1961 on his second trip to Ghana. Koo Nimo's appreciation of Armstrong can be appreciated from a

statement that he told Fosu-Mensah (1986:48): that 'America uses its sportsmen and musicians in world politics...[and] ... in the heat of the Soviet-American tensions it was the music of Louis Armstrong that saved the situation.' During Koo Nimo's numerous trips abroad he became friendly with members of Duke Ellington's and Count Basie's bands and became familiar with the music of John Coltrane, Thelonius Monk, Dizzy Gillespie and Miles Davis. As he explained to Fosu-Mensah (Ibid), 'I play traditional guitar but listen to jazz at home because the roots come from Africa.... [but] ... I don't want to become a second rate guitarist playing jazz.'

An indirect jazz influence on Koo Nimo also comes from the Kumasi-based concert party guitarist, Onyina, who incorporated jazz chord progressions into guitar-band highlife music during the fifties and sixties.

Soul music with its 'implications of black solidarity',¹⁰ and the radical back-to-roots message of reggae have found a ready response amongst African musicians and audiences. Coplan (1979:148 and 1985:195) points out that in South Africa the reggae music of Bob Marley, Peter Tosh and Jimmy Cliff 'came to dominate the protest music,' and their songs (as well as Harold Melvin's soul number 'Wake Up Everybody') provided 'inspiration for the students of the 1976 Soweto uprising.' A similar militant message is found in the Afro-reggae releases of Sonny Okosun, Alpha Blondy, Thomas Mapfumo and others mentioned at the end of the last

Chapter.

However, the musician who has taken the black consciousness message to its furthest and even controversial level in Africa is Nigeria's Fela Anikulapo-Kuti. Like the Ghanaian percussionist Ghanaba, Kuti had been initially a youthful jazz fanatic and in the early 1960's he and his Koola Lobitos dance-band played a jazzy highlife style. After visiting Britain, and particularly the United States where he became close to the Black Panther Sandra Isidora Smith, he became 'exposed to African history.' This made him realise that he had been 'using jazz to play African music, when really I should have been using African music to play jazz.... so it was America that brought me back to myself.' As a result, on his return to Nigeria in 1969 he fused highlife with jazz and soul music to create his own highly percussive and very distinct 'Afro-beat' style, the lyrics of which projected Kuti's views on the 'African personality' and 'blackism'.

**SIMILARITIES IN THE PERFORMING ARTS
OF THE BLACK NEW WORLD AND AFRICA**

In addition to socio-historical similarities, many writers have treated Africa's attraction to the music, dance and drama of the black Americas in artistic and performance terms. Jacob's (1986:6) explanation for the 'resonance' of the blues in South Africa involves not only non-musical resemblances, but also the musical one of 'call-and-

response.' Roberts (1974:245) believes that the Afro-Cuban musical influence on Africa is due to Cuban music having come from Africa in the first place: thus there is the 'most natural of affinities.' Likewise, the Stearn's (1968:16) refer to the early postwar mania in Zambia for the highly rhythmic footwork of black-American derived tap-dancing as 'cultural feedback.'

However, this 'feedback', or what A.A. Mensah (1971:124) calls the 'homecoming' of black performance to Africa, only makes sense if it is clearly recognised that much of the black popular entertainment of the Americas themselves contain African features that 'resonate' when returned home. Before proceeding to this topic in detail it is therefore first necessary to turn to the African survivals in New World performing arts.

The degree and type of Africanisms that survived amongst the estimated ten to twenty million slaves who survived the Middle Passage to the various regions of the New World¹¹ can be related to three major factors: the nature of the particular colonial policy they met, the degree of black cultural resistance, and the specific ethnic area from which the slaves originated.

In connection with the first factor, there was a marked contrast in the colonising policy of the Catholic Portuguese, Spanish and French on the one hand and the Protestant British and Dutch on the other.¹² The more tolerant assimilationist

Spanish and French influence¹³ in Louisiana for instance explains why, after the state was acquired by the United States from France in 1803, it was only in New Orleans' Congo Square that African drumming was openly allowed.¹⁴ In sharp contrast was the British and Dutch *modus operandi*, which did not foster racial intermarriage and was intolerant of Native American and African-American customs. As a result they banned African drumming in the United States in 1739,¹⁵ banned the Pinkster and other northern black parades,¹⁶ banned the slave Voodoo religion imported from Haiti,¹⁷ and even ultimately closed down Congo Square in 1885 during the repressive post-Reconstruction 'Jim Crow' era.¹⁸ Similarly, after the British acquired Jamaica from the Spanish in 1655 they prohibited the neo-African Obeah religion of the maroon escaped slaves.¹⁹

This mention of slave revolts leads us on to the second factor concerning African retentions in the Americas: the degree of cultural and other resistance put up by black slaves. Although the United States had sixty-five slave rebellions and fifty maroon settlements between 1691 and 1865²⁰, it was only in the Caribbean and in South America that permanent maroon communities were established. Both the British and Dutch were forced to make treaties with the maroons of Jamaica and Surinam respectively, and many maroon communities or 'quilombos' were set up in Brazil. Geographical and demographic factors were crucial to the

slave resistance in the southern hemisphere, where dense jungles and inaccessible mountains were suitable for guerrilla warfare. The black-to-white ratio was also higher than in the United States. In Haiti for example, which after the defeat of the French in 1804 became the first independent black nation, there were twenty blacks for every white, with over two-thirds of the country's half a million slaves at the time of the revolt having actually been born in Africa.²¹

The third factor that determined both the type and degree of African survivalism, was that up to the late 18th century the slaves brought to the New World were mainly from the Guinea coast (i.e. Senegal to the Cameroons), whereas towards the end of the slave era it was largely from Central Africa and Angola that slaves (and later indentured labourers) were drawn.²² These latecomers were less thoroughly assimilated into white culture than were the earlier captives, explaining the strong Kongo influence in many parts of the New World: the conga dance, conga drum and New Orleans' famous Congo Square.

The difference between the protestant north and catholic south was noted by the musicologist Melville Herskovits, who put the 'bush negroes' of Surinam highest and the blacks of the United States lowest in his 'Scale of Intensity of New World Africanisms'.²³ Thus in the Caribbean and Latin countries a number of African instruments are still used, including pegged drums, the wooden xylophone (marimba)

and the hand piano (marimbula or rumba box). Many of the African musical features discussed in Chapters Ten and Eleven are also still strong. Sometimes the African derived music styles were connected with resistance; as with the Brazilian capoeira de Angola that is a martial arts disguised as a dance, and the choreographed kalinda stick-fighting of the Caribbean.²⁴ Moreover, there are numerous African and neo-African cults in these southern areas²⁵ that help keep 'tribal' memories²⁶ and indeed sometimes languages intact. Yoruba is the language of the devotees of the Lucumi, Shango and Candomblé cults of the Caribbean and Brazil, whilst Akan is the tongue used in the Djuka cult of the 'bush negroes' of Surinam.

Because of the particularly 'brutal nature' of North American slavery,²⁷ 'de-tribalisation' was more thorough and there were consequently fewer African survivals. Furthermore, as Keil (1966:5) observes, those features that did survive in the United States tended to be the non-material ones of language, religion, folklore and art. Thus there are significant African elements in the black American church,²⁸ in black folklore (Bre'r Rabbit, Uncle Remus and Ananse or Nancy Stories)²⁹, herbalism and hoodoo,³⁰ in the southern black 'Bongo Talk' and 'Gulleh' dialects, and indeed in many common African-American expressions and verbal techniques like 'dozens' and 'signifying'.³¹

Non-material survivals also include the African

features found in the spirituals, blues, ragtime, jazz and hot gospel; such as antiphonal singing, syncopated dance rhythms and the flattened 'blues' note.³² The originally Spanish and French southern state of Louisiana is particularly rich in Africanisms, not only reflected in the African type drumming and ring dances of New Orleans' Congo Square, but also in this state's important contribution to popular performance. Jazz emerged there from the 'second line' of black brass-bands returning from the gravesides of African-American funerals, whose lavishness Bastide (1967:62) believes is a carryover of African ancestor worship. Both the spirituals and gospel music employ southern ring dances (walk arounds and ring shouts),³³ whilst New Orleans is famous for its Mardi Gras masquerades that in the 19th century included 'Zulu parades' of African-Americans in blackface wearing grass-skirts.³⁴

To conclude this section on African survivals some specific black New World performance styles that have made an impact on Africa will be discussed. One is minstrelsy, which from its onset in the early 19th century contained some African features, even though at first it was largely performed by white imitators of blacks. These features include a high degree of audience participation, the appearance of trickster characters, the introductory 'walk around' and the use of the turkey trot (one step), snake hip and other African-type animal mimicry dances.³⁵ Two of the

instruments used by minstrels were also of African origin: the bone castanets and the banjo, the progenitor of the latter coming from West Africa via the Caribbean.³⁶ With the emergence of postbellum African-American or 'coloured' minstrelsy there was, says Southern (1972:19), a more genuine depiction of plantation slave songs, dances and humour than there had been with white blackface acts. These late 19th century 'coloured' groups, as mentioned in Chapter Sixteen, performed the spirituals and ragtime music. The latter was initially associated with the banjo, and the word 'rag' itself comes from its 'ragged', staggered, syncopated, African-like rhythms.³⁷

The blues emerged out of the communal work songs and field hollers of the southern United States, and both this rural music and its urban offshoot rhythm 'n' blues (and more indirectly rock 'n' roll) contains many African features in addition to the 'blues' notes, syncopations and call-and-response mentioned above. These are the use of slides, slurs, moans, song-speech utterances, an 'answering' guitar, buzzing or 'dirty' tones and the high falsetto voice of some bluesmen.³⁸

For jazz and the swing music that evolved out of it, Africanisms included the use of riffs and 'fours', the vocal quality of the solo instrument and in early jazz a 'forward propelling directionality.'³⁹ The links between modern jazz and the African tradition include its cyclical form, the use

of polyrhythms and of free improvisation.⁴⁰

From Latin America it is primarily the samba that has taken root in Africa. This Brazilian dance itself evolved out of the music associated with the neo-African Candomblé cult and the Kongo/Angolan lundu dance popular in late 19th century Brazil. The samba also employs the Yoruba 'agogo' iron cowbell. It became the dominant dance-music of the pre-Lent masquerade carnival of Rio de Janeiro from the 1920's.⁴¹

In the Caribbean region it is the Cubans who, says Bilby (1985:10), have the 'most purely African music.' Since the mid-19th century this island has produced a string of internationally successful African-derived dance styles; the son, the habanera, rumba, conga, mambo, bolero, chachacha and pachanga. The meringue dance of the Dominican Republic also has some African features, one being that its double-headed 'tambora' drum is thought to be derived from the double-headed drum of Bantu speaking people.⁴² Some of the popular-music genres of the ex-British colonies of Trinidad and Jamaica (both originally Spanish colonies) also have an African component. The calypso has its origin in 'kaiso', an improvised music of flattery, satire, and insult that goes back in Trinidad to the late 18th century and is, according to Warner (1982:9), based on an African tradition. Likewise, modern Jamaican reggae has incorporated features of rastafarian 'nyabingi' drumming, which itself is 'African based'.⁴³ More recent is salsa (hot sauce), a fusion of

Dominican, Cuban and Puerto Rican music created in New York.

In spite of this cosmopolitan context, Bilby (1985:29) notes that many salsa groups use the Yoruba `bata' drums of the Lucumi (or Santería) cult and many salsa players belong to this syncretic neo-African religion.

**DIASPORIC FEEDBACK: CULTURAL ANALOGUES,
HOMOLOGUES AND CO-ORIENTATION**

It is by taking into account the African retentions in the Americas that the effect of the New World performing arts on Africa can be treated as a diasporic `homecoming' or `feedback'. Not surprisingly diasporic elements that have an African origin `resonate' and are easily acculturated into African popular entertainment. Therefore the phenomenon can be considered as an example of the previously mentioned `analogue' effect of Merriam, Richard Waterman and Nettl, that posits that the rate of cross-cultural syncretism is enhanced by the presence of similar cultural traits. This hypothesis explains, for instance, that the ease of syncretism between black diasporic and Catholic religious beliefs results from correspondences: such as those between the hierarchy of saints and the African pantheon. Likewise, the African-American affinity for the Methodist rather than the Puritan church is due to the former encouraging `outward bodily signs of religious zeal' which coincides with the traditional African custom of worship through dance.⁴⁴

In the case of African-American/African syncretism one can take the 'analogue' hypothesis one step further; for although much of the performing arts brought 'home' to Africa have been mutated or acculturated in the New World, there are, as discussed earlier, many African features that have remained basically unchanged in the Americas over the centuries. The resonance of these, when imported to Africa, is therefore not just a result of them being similar and analogues, but of them being identical or homologous to aspects of the performing arts in Africa itself. In short, the syncretism between contemporary Africa and the black New World is enhanced by both performance homologues as well as analogues.

This supposition that the number of cultural analogues and homologues increases the rate of acculturation helps explain the long term African preferences for, and syncretism with, the black diasporic portion of imported western popular entertainment. Today, with the black consciousness and pan-African ideals current in most African nations, and the Afrocentric 'back-to-roots' sentiments of New World blacks, it is easy enough to understand the African adoption and adaptation of diasporic performance. But even during the imperialistic period with its 'black Europeans' emulating 'superior' white culture, imported black music, dance and drama was a vital formative catalyst for African popular entertainment; even if this preference was not self-consciously articulated due to

the black element of white popular entertainment being somewhat disguised.

During the colonial period therefore one finds the situation that in copying 'white' entertainment introduced through sheet-music, records, early films and visiting artists, African popular performers, even those imbued with the 'colonial mentality', still managed to end up by selectively choosing black elements from the imported art-forms. Thus 'coon songs' for all their white racist overtones, were admired by Africans and saved Major Fosset from a 'tricky situation'. Much of the refined European ballroom dance music that was so fashionable amongst coloniser and colonised alike drew on African-American, Afro-Brazilian and Afro-Cuban sources. Another example is the early Ghanaian concert party with its paradox of blacks copying whites copying blacks. Thus inspite of being distant, indirect and alienated echoes of black diasporic culture, imported 'coon songs', white blackface minstrelsy and colonial ballroom-dance music helped 'short circuit' the cultural imperialism of the times, and in so doing helped lay the foundations for the explosion of African popular entertainment styles we are witnessing today.

Here we can rephrase Charles Keil's idea (1966:43) of the 'appropriation-revitalisation process' in which African-Americans have responded to the white exploitation and commercialisation of their music by continually creating new

styles. In the case of African popular entertainment it is more a process of 'reappropriation-revitalisation'; that is the regaining and creative use by African performers of aspects of their own culture, lost in the black diaspora and returned home embedded in white culture.

Using differing terminologies many African and Africanist researchers into popular entertainment have commented on the diasporic 'feedback' and 'analogue' effect. Jacob's 'resonances', Storm Roberts 'affinities', A.A. Mensah's 'homecoming' and the Stearn's 'cultural feedback' have already been referred to.

Another, is Luke Uche's 'cultural triangulation' that was discussed in Chapter Fourteen. This hypothesis was based on Theodore Newcomb's (1953) earlier development concept of 'co-orientation': that cross-cultural selection depends on the 'degree of overlapping familiarity and shared environment of societies in culture contact.' Uche became critical of the 'cultural imperialism' developmental model and utilised Newcomb's one precisely because Uche was aware of Nigeria's ready adaption and assimilation of the black American dance-music that had been imported from the West.

In a like vein, Waterman (1986:28) believes that stylistic change in Nigerian juju music is partially conditioned by 'perceptions of syncretic compatibility.' Nketia (1972:2) states that African enjoy African-American music 'because it is closer to them than western art music.'

Kubik (1981:93) remarks that the striking effect of the rumba and other diasporic music styles on Africans, as compared to European music, is due to Africans 'recognising something familiar in a new garment.' For Ware (1978:317), it is the Caribbean origin of some of Sierra Leone's Krios that helped make West Indian music acceptable in the country. This idea of a shared cultural environment is also expressed in Farris Thompson's (1991:2) notion of an 'Afro-Atlantic world' that links the blacks of the New World and those of Africa.

'Resonances' and 'co-orientations' between African and diasporic popular entertainment has also been noticed by the performers themselves: on both sides of the Atlantic. Here we will take just one example from each side. The jazz pianist Randy Weston, who began visiting Africa in 1961, comments that when he first went there he 'heard music that sounded like Louis Armstrong and Bessie Smith... (and) ... everything we do in its true form.' Subsequently, when he began performing with African musicians he found himself quite naturally playing in a polyrhythmic way.⁴⁵ On the African side, the Nigerian musician Segun Bucknor observes that 'Latin American music and our music are virtually the same. It is all in 6/8 time, but when you play Latin music you have to double the tempo.'⁴⁶

To summarise, one can say what was lost by Africa to the Americas in the days of slavery has, in various acculturated, transmuted and even identical forms, been

reclaimed by Africans in the twentieth century.

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CHAPTER NINETEEN

CITY LIFE

In the 1950's the term 'Jaguar' conjured up fantasies of the flashy and urbane western dream. Since then the plays of the Jaguar Jokers have been introducing this dream, as well as the problems and dangers of urban life, to rural villager and polyglot city dwellers alike.

The importance of syncretic popular music in the urbanisation and modernisation process has been stressed by many Africanist writers. One of the earliest was Clyde Mitchell (1956) of the 'Manchester School' who considered the kalela dance of the 1930's and 40's Copperbelt to be not only a mock copy or 'pantomime' of European brass-bands, but also of European social structures as well. For Mitchell the organisation of these dance clubs helped create the group boundaries and 'categorical relationships' pertinent to the new towns and workcamps.

In similar vein Coplan (1982:120), from his more recent work in South Africa, sees urban popular entertainment there as a metaphor for the social dynamics of the new urban-industrial structures. Influenced by the 'Manchester School' and its interest in pluralistic urban fields, Coplan studies music in terms of networks of intercommunication, (Ibid,236) and calls his approach 'social dialectics'.

Ranger (1975:3 and 165) believes that East African Beni music both symbolically 'mirrors' power divisions amongst modernising Africans and acts as a useful 'decoder' for social historians studying African social change. Likewise, Waterman's (1986:92) studies of Nigerian popular music lead him to conclude that it is both urban oriented and acts as a 'map' for urban identities in cities such as Lagos.

This idea that popular entertainment provides a metaphorical map or mirror of urban society is also taken up by Barber (1987:60) who believes it not only reflects, but also articulates attitudes. A viewpoint shared by Fabian and Fabian-Szombati (1976:17) who see Zairean popular painting as a way contemporary Africans consciously communicate, rather than merely being an echo of socio-economic structures.

Jeyifo calls the Yoruba travelling theatre a 'secular rite' and insofar as rituals symbolically 'recreate categories through which man perceives reality' (Turner 1968:7), this Nigerian popular drama can be said to articulate processes connected with urbanisation. This is similar to what Peacock (1968) calls the 'rites of modernisation' provided by the 'ludruk' popular theatre of Indonesia. Like West African popular theatre, this urban and proletarian Javenese theatre dramatises modern life against a traditional village background and introduces its audiences to western notions of bureaucratisation, monetisation and nuclear family relationships.

To look at the relevance of African popular entertainment to urbanisation in detail the chapter will cover four areas: popular performance's connection with urban migration; its role in urban socialisation; its presentations of tensions within the traditional extended family system; and its function as a modern lingua franca.

A. THE LURE OF THE CITY

Urban migration or the 'lure of the city' as Kenneth Little (1970) calls it, is a result of the financial, educational and cultural gains that African were able to make in the cities and industrial centres that were established in colonial times. More negative inducements, particularly in eastern, central and southern African, were the loss of 'tribal' lands to white settlers and the 'hut tax' that was imposed on peasants to force them to work for Europeans.¹ This migration into town led to the growth of population centres; and in West Africa, Lagos grew from forty to seventy thousand between 1900 and 1914, with Accra doubling in size to thirty-eight thousand between 1911 and 1921. By the late 1940's their respective populations were one-hundred-and-thirty and two-hundred thousand, whilst Kumasi, reflecting the interwar cocoa boom, grew to seventy thousand.²

Popular entertainment is relevant to the 'lure of the

city' in two important ways. Firstly, many genres have been created by and catered for new urban migrants. Secondly, the actual performances of itinerant African groups, such as concert parties, introduce modern ideas and fashions to the villages and therefore act as an agent of 'urban pull'.

Turning to the first point, Coplan (1978:23 and 1985:66) mentions the neo-traditional 'focho' guitar and concertina music of the turn-of-the century Sotho urban migrants, and the later 'ingoma ebusuku' or 'nightmusic' of Zulu and Swazi migrant workers. The contemporary Central African equivalent was the maringa music of the work-camps and mining towns of Zaire during the 1920's that employed labour from as far as Malawi and Mozambique.³ The Copperbelt kalela dance was likewise associated with migrant labourers from the countryside.

In West Africa there were the drum and accordion groups of the Tarrancis and Yankadde voluntary associations of the Mandinke and Temne migrants in Freetown, and the guitar groups of seafaring migrants, such as the Krus of Liberia who had 'Krutown' settlements in many coastal towns. Waterman (1986:67) also comments on the contribution of rural migrants to the palmwine music of interwar Lagos, when over half the city's population was composed of such newcomers.

After the Second World War there was a multiplication of syncretic popular entertainment genres. Kubik (1981:87), talking about East Africa, says that this was partly a result

of the increased urban migration that occurred then. Waterman (1990:87/8) claims the same cause helped in the proliferation of Nigerian juju styles from the late 1940's. The increase in the number of Ghanaian concert parties from a handful in the 1930's to twenty-eight by 1960 can also be partially explained in terms of the postwar expansion of cities. By that year the populations of Accra and Kumasi was six-hundred-and-forty and two-hundred-and sixty thousand respectively, twenty-three percent of the country's population lived in urban communities,⁴ thirty-nine percent worked in the industrial section,⁵ and a quarter of the population was migrant.⁶ It was these first generation urbanites, consisting largely of newly arrived village folk, who comprised a large component of the concert party and guitar band audiences - and indeed performers.

In examining the active role of the Ghanaian concert party in urban pull it should first be noted that several underlying postwar factors drew people into the ever-expanding towns and cities. One was the dramatic increase in the number of jobs that were created after the war⁷ and particularly after independence; rising from eighty-three thousand in 1948 to a quarter of a million in 1960.⁸ Another was the six-fold increase in the number of schools between 1950 and 1964,⁹ and the fact that there is a positive correlation between the level of schooling and a pre-disposition to live in urban areas: as people with education

tend to move to the cities in search of new job opportunities.¹⁰

The plays and songs of the concert parties were also an urban enticement, introducing news, novel ideas, international fashions, modern social norms and the pleasures of city life to even the remotest areas of Ghana. This policy of taking concert performances to the rural areas goes back to the Two Bobs and Axim Trio groups of the 1930's. At that time there was practically no rural cinema and no radio coverage for the provincial areas, so plays like the Axim Trio's 1936 production of 'The Coronation of King George VI', with its depiction of archbishops and admirals, must have been a vivid source of western images.¹¹

With the proliferation of the number of concert parties in the late 1940's and 1950s their innovative impact increased. They introduced modern nationalist sentiments; a topic that will be returned to again in Chapter Twenty Four.

They also introduced western social norms; an example is an early 1950's song by E.K.Nyame's Akan Trio called 'Se Wo Chi Anny E Ye San Bra'. In this highlife the singer implores a departed lover to return if things do not work, so that they can kiss and make-up. Kissing on the mouth was traditionally unknown to the Akans and was a custom connected with the ideals of romantic love introduced by Europeans.

As the reader will gather from Part One, many of the Jaguar Jokers comic operas portray new urban fashions and

mores; so helping entice Mr. Johnson's children away in 'Go Back to the Land' and 'The End of Our Greedy Women'. During Kofi Bekyere's opening statement in the play 'Onipa Hia Mmoa' he tells the audience that he and his wife have had to come to Accra to find a decent job. In Mr. Johnson's general piece of advice that he sings at the close of 'Awisia Yi Wo Ani' about the orphan Antobam and his lazy half-brother King Sam, he says 'if you don't succeed it may be best to leave and go elsewhere, Antobam didn't succeed until he went to Kumasi, as you can see my wife wants Sam to succeed, so now she is letting him go away.'

Infact the very term 'Jaguar' is itself relevant urban pull, for this name, given to the band by Mr. Bampoe in 1954, was taken from the then current quintessence of the modern imported urban dream of the fifties: the sleek, expensive and stylish Jaguar car from Britain. Mr. Bampoe told me that to be jaguar 'meant to be fine or modern..... of high class' and the name was often used in this way at the time.

Iain Lang (1956) mentions a highlife refrain that goes 'jagwah, been-to, houseful, careful, fridgeful,' and is probably referring to a highlife hit of the times sung in English and Ga by the Hotshots dance-band.¹² The Ghana Film Industry summarised this sentiment in the description of its short highlife ballet 'Jaguar' made in 1958. This says 'unless you own a fridge, are a Been-to, have been to England that is - and own a flash car like a Jaguar, the girls won't

love you.'¹³ An example that comes from Nigeria is 'Jaguar Nana', the title of Cyprian Ekwensie's fifties book about an adventurous 'goodtime' girl in a big city.¹⁴

B. POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT AND URBAN SOCIALISATION

Like syncretic voluntary associations and separatist churches¹⁵ popular performing groups are important for African urban socialisation. There are three key ways they contribute to this. Their shows function as a cathartic tension reducing medium; the plays and song texts provide positive and negative guidelines for behaviour; and thirdly these texts warn their audiences of the dangers of urban life. Each will be dismissed in turn.

1. Urban Catharsis

The popular performing arts provide an emotional outlet for the strains arising from rapid modernisation and urbanisation - and various writers have commented on this. Coplan (1985:242) remarks on its 'tension easing' role critical for black South African survival. Johnson (1989:111) comments on the 'therapeutic' nature of Yoruba travelling theatre, which Jeyifo (1984:120) believes helps in the 'painless resolution' of the sour experience and reversals of life. Ricard (1974:178) says that the Togolese concert party 'fills an emotional vacuum' for the newly urbanised, whilst Bame (1968 and 1969) claims the Ghanaian variety is a social

tranquillizer that integrates anti-social behaviour. African popular music and drama therefore, like many other forms of performance, provide a cathartic or 'purging' release for its audience in the classical Aristotlean sense.

One way this purging takes place is through weeping and I noticed this on several occasions amongst the members of the audience of the Jaguar Jokers' plays. A similar observation was made by Bame from a survey of concert audiences he made in the 1960's.¹⁶

Laughter is another form of cathartic release and it can help deflate the antagonisms the audience feels towards others. The audience became hilarious over the foolish antics of the illiterate policeman, Corporal Bobo, whom Opia makes fun of in 'Onipa Hia Mmoa' and 'Ebe Ye Dwe'. In 'Awisia Yi Wo Ani' Opia accidentally-on-purpose knocks down a school teacher. Then there is the J.J.'s rather pompous gentleman, Mr. Johnson, who in spite of his uplifting moral sermons is full of indiscretions. For instance, in the play 'Onipa Hia Mmoa' he cannot control his wife, he ogles other men's wives and performs a crazy dance. Barber (1986:27) notes a similar ambiguity of the aladura priest who appears in a Yoruba popular play,¹⁷ for although being a moraliser and representative of authority, he is also farcical, corrupt and preposterously proud.

Hostility towards other ethnic groups or nationalities can also be deflected or displaced by the humorous

exaggeration and stereotyping of their mannerisms. The Jaguar Jokers depiction of the Nigerian, Saka, who is frightened of being executed in a traditional Akan rite in the 1954 play 'Kashelee', is a case in point. Indeed, the very name 'Kashelee' is Opia's witty way of saying in Twi 'Kyere no' (tell or warn him or her) with a thick Lagotian accent. Another example is the fun the Akan comic Yaw Bob makes of a Ga kenkey seller in the story he tells during the 'opening comedies' of a J.J.'s performance that is described in Part One. Sutherland (1970:10) gives an early example of this ethnic stereotyping in the 1930's 'Minnie the Moocher' play of the Two Bobs concert party. In this, the two 'Bobs' (Bob Johnson and Bob Ansah) dress up to look like typical Liberian 'Kroo Boy' stevedores and carry oversize spoons to eat rice from oversize bowls: for the two comics and their audience are familiar with jokes about the Kru peoples 'passionate love of rice.'

2. A Guide To Behaviour

Popular arts can supply codes of behaviour, and researchers into Ghanaian and Nigeria popular theatre have observed that their contents have a social control function by dramatising both the positive and negative consequences of various types of conduct. Bame (1968 and 1969) states that the Ghanaian variety dramatizes the immoral through ridicule and exaggeration, whilst Johnson (1989:101) comments on the

didactic nature of Yoruba travelling theatre; which Barber (1990:9) believes helps 'instill popular values... concerning progress and identity.' In both the Nigerian and Ghanaian genres, the formative church influence may be a factor in their moralising stance.

For the Ghanaian concert party the do's and don'ts of urban living are spelt out by the altruistic, hardworking and humble characters, contrasted with the lazy, greedy and downright evil ones. Then there is the moral of the story that closes many concert plays; for the J.J.'s this being given by their gentleman, Mr. Johnson. Mr. Bampoe is quite clear about the positive role of his plays, which he designs to encourage the young to stop 'roaming around' town and instead help their parents. This point is also made by Bame (1968), who believes concert plays help reinforce kinship ties that tend to be weakened in the modern urban context: a topic that will be returned to later in the chapter. Bame also provides evidence that concert audiences believe that the moral messages of the plays are beneficial for them and help them in their daily lives.¹⁸

Many of the highlife songs of the concert party guitar-bands also contain moral and didactic advice.¹⁹ Some examples from the 1950's are E.K. Nyame's recording 'Boa Wo Nye Nko Onipa' that advises one to help one's neighbour, and Kwese Peperah's 'E Sono Sika' (Twi for 'Family Money') which is a funeral song that declares good character is more

important than money. Rather than extolling positive virtues, E.K. Nyame's 'Obi Neye N'Ade A Gyae No' warns listeners not to meddle in other people's affairs, whilst 'Wo Ye Me A Meye Wo' advises his fans not to abuse peoples unless they want to be insulted back.²⁰

Not only the highlifes of the guitar bands but also those of the dance bands that were so popular during the 1950's and 60's contained moral messages. Examples of negative sanctions are the numerous songs that condemn gossip: the Rhythm Aces 'Konkonsa' (Twi for 'gossip'), and the Star Gazers 'Beenu Nkombo' (Twi for 'tête-a-tête') and 'Adesa Beka' (Fanti for 'people will talk').²¹ Other dance band highlifes songs may affirm noble sentiments. Two by King Bruce's Black Beats band are 'Obra Bo' (Ga for 'life-style') that declares honesty is what matters in life, and 'Mena Wom' (Fanti for 'my mother brought me forth') that says one should respect one's mother.²²

3. Urban Danger

The third socialising function of popular entertainment is its theme of urban danger.

Barber (1987:50) notes that both Nigerian and Kenyan popular literature deal with the 'horrors' of the city. Waterman (1986:135) states that one of the subject matters of interwar Yoruba palmwine was marital conflict, economic uncertainty, the duplicity of city women and the other

stresses faced by male wage migrants. Likewise, Wachira-Chiuri (1981:43), writing about the 1960's music of the Kenyan accordionist Joseph Kameru, states that prostitution, drunkenness, poverty and other urban social ills 'have become part of our lives and the popular artist responds to these.'

Prostitution is also a problem in Ghanaian towns, which Twumasi points out is a result of the high ratio of male to female migrants in the urban areas.²³ Not surprisingly it is also a recurrent topic of concert party plays. Bame (1968) comments on this, and 'goodtime' girls are found in most of the plays of the J.J.'s: two being Selena and Georgina. The male equivalent is the flashy and crooked urban dandy Tommy Fire. These are the urban characters who help lure village or school children to town and spoil them there: as happens when Asabea chases the playboy Tommy Fire in 'A Day Will Come', the school-girl Ama bolts away with Georgina to the town of Tema in 'The End of our Greedy Women' and lazy King Sam follows Selena about in 'Awisia Yi Wo Ani'. It is this potential for urban life to ruin the young that makes Mr. Bampoe want his plays to stop them from roaming about town and becoming 'hopeless'.

A play that contains both the 'goodtime girl' and 'playboy' stereotype is the 1959 production of Kwaa Mensah's concert party called 'If You Bamboozle Somebody They Will Bamboozle You', (see Appendix of plays, Part One). Here the spendthrift taxi-driver, Johnson, chases the guitar playing

and money loving lady Owurama, but loses his wife in the process. Johnson moralises at the end of the play by telling his audience 'if your wife is an old lady or farmer, don't go and take the one with lipstick, otherwise you will fall.'

Drink is another danger facing migrants moving to strange towns, and drunkards abound in the plays of the J.J.'s. Just two cases are the akpeteshie (local liquor) drinking Kwaa Tawia in 'Onipa Hia Mmoa,' and the spoilt King Sam of 'Awisia Yi Wo Ani' who spends all his time in beer bars. Highlife recordings may also condemn drinking, and two well known examples are A.B. Crentsil's 'Akpeteshie Seller' released in the 1980's, and the 1972 record of Okukuseku's Number Two Band called 'Robert Mensah,' about the stabbing to death of a famous Ghanaian footballer in an akpeteshie bar. Some songs, however, try to explain the reasons for drunkenness. An example of this is the record 'Osigyani' (Twi for a 'bachelor'), released by Yamoah's guitar band in the 1950's.²⁴ In this highlife the singer says he has turned to drink because he has no girlfriend or wife: a common situation for a poor male migrant in town.

Sometimes it is not the unpleasant side of urban life that is bemoaned in popular texts, but the very fact of migration itself; as in the case of the African Brothers 'Obiba Broke' (Twi for 'someone's child who is broke') record of 1972²⁵ about the social forces that compel young people to migrate from home. An earlier example is the 1959

highlife song by the Modernaires dance-band called 'Akwankwaa Hiani'. This concerns a 'poorman' who is forced to travel and leave his family - but faces worse problems in his new home than the ones he left behind.²⁶

A final Ghanaian example that graphically depicts the danger and what Brempong (1984:260/1) calls the 'chaotic' conditions of urban life is the Koforidua Casino Orchestra's highlife song 'Looting Awamwoo.' It was written in 1948, just after the looting of European shops following the anti-British demonstration in Accra that year in which three Ghanaian ex-servicemen were killed. J.K. Addo, the leader of the orchestra and composer of the song, told me in 1973 that it was about the people who went to buy things at big department stores and got maimed, so he wanted to advise his fans not to go and buy anything from European shops again.

6C. THE BREAK-UP OF THE TRADITIONAL EXTENDED FAMILY

Popular entertainment is relevant to the tensions and strains within the Ghanaian traditional kinship system, resulting from the breakup of the extended family into the smaller western nuclear type, which is particularly prevalent in the urban context.

In Ghana traditional kinship is based on a clan sub-unit called the extended family, marriage is polygamous and, amongst most of the Akan speaking peoples, descent is reckoned matrilineally.²⁷ There are several reasons why this

pattern has been eroded in the urban context. One is the adoption of European norms. These include the monogamous conjugal ideal of a husband and one wife, the patrilineal practice of inheritance, and the emergence of the 'filiocentric' family (Asimeng, 1981:64); that is families where the children are central and due to family planning are few in number. Another western norm is that marriage should be based on the romantic love between two individuals, rather than being a 'bond between two families' (Ibid:62), as is the typical traditional Ghanaian practice. Economic factors have also weakened kinship solidarity. Men have to migrate away from home to work and cash payments to individuals have replaced unpaid communal family labour. The cash nexus has also exacerbated the inheritance disputes already complicated by the introduction of the imported patrilineal system. Formal education has also affected traditional familial patterns. It has led to the postponement of the age of marriage, so enhancing the modern tendency towards smaller families, and has contributed to the decline in the respect for parental authority, polygamy and other traditional customs.

Taking the above factors into account, four specific areas of familial tension expressed in the plots and lyrics of Ghanaian popular entertainment will be examined. These are the hostile attitude to polygamy found in these popular texts; their sympathetic depiction of the plight of the

orphan the neglected child; their concern with inheritance disputes; and finally their portrayal of family tensions in terms of witchcraft accusations.

1. The Anti Polygyny Stance of Concert Party Texts

Various writers on Ghana have noted the trend towards the monogamous conjugal family.²⁸ This is reflected in concert party plays dealing with polygyny in a negative light, particularly the topic of co-wife jealousy and the ill-treatment of stepchildren by their stepmothers.

The theme of trouble between co-wives is found in several of the J.J.'s plays. In 'Ye Atomfo Okyena' the senior wife Ama Bedua convinces her husband to divorce the junior one, and in 'Ebe Ye Dwe' Ama Bedua goes as far as trying to poison the other wife. Bame (1985) refers to an identical plot in a concert play he has translated called 'The Jealous Rival'. In the highlife sung by Mr. Johnson at the end of the J.J.'s play 'Awisia Yi Wo Ani' he warns husbands that 'there is always trouble if you marry two wives, for one wife will never look after the other wife's children properly.' He also advises wives 'never discriminate between your children, for they all belong to your husband.'

Another example is E.K. Nyame's play 'Wo Sum Brodea Sum Kwadu', a synopsis of which appears in the Appendix of Plays.

The play's title literally means 'If you push Plantain you have to push Banana' and is very much like the English saying

`what is good for the goose is good for the gander': in short an appeal to co-wives to treat all the husband's children equally. A popular song of K. Gyasi in his `Highlife Doctor' record-album released by Essiebons of the 1970's warns husbands of the dangers of having more than one wife. It is called `Meko Ma Obi Aba' and in it an unhappy wife say's that `I will go so that someone else will replace me.'

2. Orphans and Neglected Children

The plight of orphans and foster children is a very common topic of concert party plays and highlife songs. A typical example is the J.J's `Awisia Yi Wo Ani' which, Mr. Bampoe told me, is about greediness, `as the orphan will share some of the father's wealth, so the stepmother wants to kill the child.'

Usually the problems of the neglected child occurs in the context of a polygynous household, as in E.K. Nyame's play mentioned above, or as the result of the death of a parent or parents, which is the case in `Awisia Yi Wo Ani'. Bame (1985) mentions two plays on the subject. One is Ahamono's play about an orphan and evil aunt called `Wu A Na Family Ties'. The other is a Cinderella-like play by Kakaiku's group called `Wo Yonko Ba Se Wo Ba' (Treat Somebody's Child as Your Own). The disregard child is also an important subject matter for the Happy Stars of Lomé concert party, with its President, Pascal D'Almeida, usually

taking the role of the evil stepmother. Indeed the orphan is the hero of the group's most famous play 'Agbenoxev'.²⁹

The topic of the orphan is prevalent in the lyrics of highlifes of all types. 'Mere Wo Beko Asamen' by E.K. Nyame's (1955:28) guitar band is about an orphan who wants to join his dead parents in 'ghostland', whilst 'Egyanka Ba' by Kakaiku's band is about a 'fatherless child'. Bame, van der Geest and Yankah mention³⁰ more recent examples of guitar-band highlifes on this subject. The Silver Stars and other konkoma groups of the 1940's also played songs about orphans - as did dance bands. Two examples are 'Agyanka' by the Red Spots released in the late fifties,³¹ and the Ramblers 'Agyanka Due' highlife hit of the early seventies.

One reason for the common theme of the neglected child in contemporary popular texts is, as already mentioned, the stresses and strains in the polygynous system. In the modern environment these have intensified due to the customary seniority arrangements between co-wives breaking down, resulting in rivalry between them over the allowance and inheritances that go to them and their respective children. Another schismatic pressure on the modern Ghanaian family comes from the high incidence of migration which is helping contribute to separation, divorce and broken homes and the consequent fostering of children. Whilst traditional fostering was of a voluntary kind and a technique for training children and preventing them from being spoilt by

overfond parents, Ester Goody³² points out that the modern type is 'crisis fostering'; where the parents remarry and the child is open to maltreatment by the new parent or guardian.

Quite a different reason for the recurrent theme of the lost or orphaned child in popular entertainment may be that the child without parents, particularly the mother in the case of the matrilineal Akans, is a person without a family.

This in traditional non-individualistic societies based on strong kinship ties is the quintessential disaster that can befall a human being. Indeed, in the old days to be exiled from one's family and particularly one's clan meant death. The orphan state lamented in songs and plays may therefore be a graphic way of describing the acute loneliness, rootlessness and loss of primary social relations encountered by many newcomers to the big city, but couched in traditional symbolism. In short, a poetic way of expressing urban anomie.

3. The Matrilineal Puzzle

A family problem that sometimes crops up in concert plays and highlifes songs is that arising from the clash between the traditional Akan matrilineal system of inheritance and the imported patrilineal European one. Although none of the Jaguar Joker play I have documented touch directly on the subject, Bame (1985:91/2) provides one that does. It is called 'So Is The World' by Kojo Brake and

in this story the farmer Kojo Brake is hounded for money by his sister and her son Kwaku Sharp. Brake refuses to give them anything as they never helped him or his wife with the farm, so the greedy nephew, Kwaku, attempts to kill his uncle with 'juju'. When this backfires Kwaku goes mad. The play highlights the reluctance of some Akan men to allow their wealth to pass to their matrikin and, although this is not openly stated in the play, the implication is that Brake wants his wealth to go to his wife and children.

A similar theme is found in a highlife song by Koo Nimo called 'Nkrabea Nni Kwatibea' (Fate Is Just)³³ about the downfall and death of a lazy and avaricious nephew who cannot just wait to inherit from his maternal uncle, a rich cocoa farmer. When his old uncle becomes sick the nephew begins celebrating by drinking and gambling. He buys a coffin to bury his uncle - but ends up in it himself.

This conflict of interests between a man wanting his property to go to his direct heirs rather than his lateral matrikin, anthropologists call the 'matrilineal puzzle'. It was solved traditionally amongst the Akans by a system known as 'cross-cousin marriage': a customary arrangement within the extended family for a man's son to marry his sister's daughter. Although this does not allow the man to pass on his assets to his son, it does enable him to pass them on, via the matrikin, to his grandchildren and therefore still end up in the hands of his direct descendants. In the modern

situation, this complex mediating mechanism of juggling genealogies by extended families has been largely discontinued, leaving a head-on clash between a man's obligations to his matrikin and his inclination to inherit his direct descendants. Moreover, this inclination had become stronger with the introduction of the European and christian patrilineal system; which explains why in the play and song just mentioned, the matrikin is depicted negatively.

Infact this whole question of inheritance obligations has become so acute in Ghana, that in the late 1980's the P.N.D.C. government passed a law on the matter. This declared that intestate (i.e. unwilled) property should be equally divided amongst a man's wife or wives, their children and his matrikin, rather than everything going to the matrikin as would have occurred customarily.

4. Witchcraft Accusations Within The Family

The real ugliness of the fragmentation of the extended family system is made apparent in witchcraft accusations, which as mentioned in Chapter Fourteen, are psycho-social processes that have become exacerbated by rapid modern change. These accusations help tear apart kinship ties that span centuries and is a contemporary social pathology related to the relatively sudden emergence (as compared to Europe) of the nuclear family. It is dramatised by concert plays and highlife songs that dwell on the use of evil spells and

poisons by family members.

The Jaguar Jokers 'Onipa Hia Mmoa' provides an example, for in this play the drunkard Kwaa Tawia blames his sorry state on his mother, Aunty Amakon, for putting a 'grawa' or a large water-can in his stomach.³⁴ Later in this play Opia gives a long soliloquy on witchcraft in the family being the cause of barrenness, of debt, of young women running away from home and of his friend having to have his leg amputated.

The previously discussed jealous co-wives and greedy nephews also sometimes resort to evil medicine and 'juju'.

Examples of highlife songs of the fifties on this theme include 'Wa Ye Me Pasa' (Someone Has Destroyed Me Completely) and 'Enye Me Nkrabea' (It's Not My Fate) by Otoo Larte's guitar band, and 'Yen Panyin Asa'³⁵ (The Sayings Of the Elders) by Kwesi Peprah's band. In all these the singer is complaining of family hatred towards him, with the added ironical comment in the last song that when a person dies it is the family members who most wanted his downfall who will praise him the most. An example from the seventies is the African Brother's song 'Yaw Asante', which warns Yaw that the family he is marrying into is full of witches and maliciousness.³⁶

Brempong (1984) provides the texts of many highlife songs about witchcraft in the family,³⁷ and the reason why this gloomy topic is so common in the largely Akan concert party and guitar-band genres is that, traditionally amongst

the Akans, witches were thought to inflict their evil specifically on members of their own family or 'abusua' (matrikin). The witches or 'obayifo' in fact represent egoistic tension-creating agencies within the communal kinship structure that are projected onto particular individual men or women. The increased individualistic tensions within traditional kinship networks operating in the modern urban and cash-crop context are therefore simply being expressed in a customary way: as witchcraft accusations.

D. POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT AS AN URBAN LINGUA FRANCA

Various writers on West Africa have noted that syncretic popular entertainment acts as a lingua franca in the polyglot urban African centres. Barber (1987:15) sees popular arts as transcending geographical, ethnic and national boundaries, and Waterman (1986:18) believes these are performances equivalent to the super-ethnic 'pidgin' languages. Indeed 'pidgin' or 'broken' English is actually used in maringa, highlife, Afro-beat and some other popular entertainment forms. Nketia (1957:15) considers highlife to be an 'inter-tribal' idiom. In a similar vein, Ware (1978: 317/8) claims that not only is there a 'lack of tribalism' in the popular music of Sierra Leone, but it rather fosters a 'pan-African musical culture that celebrates the African idiom.'

This non-ethnic nature of some types of syncretic popular performance has been observed elsewhere in Africa. Ranger (1974:44 and 65) mentions that eastern African beni was initially 'supertribal', whilst Coplan (1979/80:72) states that interwar South African marabi was a pan ethnic urban working class music which drew on several traditional sources. In some cases an acculturated popular genre utilises an already existing African lingua franca. Central African Congo jazz (or soukous) is often sung in Lingala, and East African Swahili jazz is sung in Swahili: both Lingala and Swahili being non-ethnic African trade languages. Similarly, the kalela dance-music of the 1930's and 40's was sung in Bemba, which, says Mitchell (1956), was the lingua franca of the miners of the southern African Copperbelt at that time.

Here let us turn specifically to popular theatre, which not only provides a lingua franca for Africans in the urban and cash-crop context through music, but also through the various stage characters portrayed. The Ghanaian genre presents a cross-section of the country's population, from illiterate rural farmers, traditional chiefs and 'fetish' priests, to urban doctors, lawyers and teachers in European clothes and speaking English. Also contrasted to the rural 'bushman' are the smart young urbanites who dress in the latest fashion, frequent drinking bars and womanise. The J.J.'s spoilt schoolboy King Sam and roving seaman Tommy Fire

are examples. Others are the greedy nephew Kwaku Sharp of Kojo Brake's concert party who prefers Takoradi town to rural life, the lady chasing taxi driver Johnson of Kwaa Mensah's group, and the playboy 'Francis the Parisien' of the Happy Stars of Lomé. The female equivalents are the adventurous 'hightime girls' Selena, Sapon, Asabea and Georgina of the Jaguar Jokers and the 'ashao' (prostitute) of the Happy Stars of Lomé (Ricard, 1974:170/1).

Another important concert party character is the 'gentleman' who in the case of both the J.J.'s and Bob Cole's group is invariably called Mr. Johnson. He is industrious, speaks good English, is usually well-to-do or acquires wealth during the course of the play, and supplies the story's closing moral. In short, he projects a personality that the audience is expected to listen to, if not emulate.

Different ethnic groups are also depicted on stage, and some already referred to include the northern policeman speaking a mixture of Twi, Hausa and 'broken' English, Lagotians speaking with thick Yoruba accents, kenkey eating Ga people and the rice loving Krus of Liberia. Another example is the famous pioneering highlife guitarist Jacob Sam (Kwame Asare) who in the late 1930's joined the Axim Trio and then formed his own concert group called 'Sam and his Party'. In both of these he usually appeared in drag, often as a Sierra Leone Women.³⁸ The Ewe concert party the Happy Stars of Lomé has a severe Yoruba policeman character called 'Nago'

and their Ghanaian member, Simon de Fanti, who began his acting career with the Happy Stars concert party of Ghana,³⁹ performs the companies Akan characters.

Unlike Ghanaian and Togolese popular theatre, the Yoruba variety, according to Barber(1991:15) and Jeyifo (1984:121/2), does not usually present different ethnic groups on stage. However it does contain a spectrum of contemporary Yoruba stereotypes. The self-important 'bigman' just returned from Europe and known as a 'J.J.C.' (Johnny Just Come), illiterate old parents, the sly houseboy, traditional obas (kings), priests and babalawos (diviners), the poor and the rich, the lazy and hardworking, and the person who acquires wealth through evil medicine.

To close this discussion on the role of African popular entertainment as a modern urban lingua franca it is worthwhile to compare it to American minstrelsy, which from its inception in the 1820's to 1840's also provided a panorama of urban and rural stereotypes. Just as West African popular theatre has its urbane Tommy Fire, Kwaku Sharp, Francis the Parisien and Johnny Just Come, so the American variety had its Dandy Jim and Zip Coon who were white blackface versions of the free northern blacks who were adopting white urban mannerisms and dress. In contrast to these were the minstrel depictions of rural types as 'childlike, carefree, harmless southern darkies.'⁴⁰ Thus, like the farcical illiterates and rustic 'bushmen' of African

popular theatre, minstrelsy had its southern rural Gumbo Chaff, Faithful Jack, the cripple stablehand Jim Crow, the plantation Mammy, and the comic servant Sambo.⁴¹

This contrasting of the urban and rural types in both the American and West African stage is partly explained by the fact that both forms of popular theatre evolved in periods of rapid rural-urban migration, when the first concentrated and polyglot urban and industrial centres appeared. In West Africa this took place during this century, whereas in the United States it occurred during the first half of the nineteenth century: precisely the time minstrelsy evolved.⁴²

In addition to its folk content, it was the humorous portrayal of the split between town and country types that helped make early American minstrelsy so popular amongst new urban immigrants; who were mainly poor and mainly from the rural areas of the United States and Europe. Moreover, compared to the 'legitimate' American theatre performed in 'King's English' that was also emerging at the time to cater for the rising elite, early minstrelsy was inexpensive and was performed in vernacular American. As Davidson (1952:211) says, it therefore attracted the 'foreign born.... hungry for diversion and knowledge of the American way of life.' In a nutshell, it was the perfect artistic lingua franca of the period.

The creation of an inexpensive, vernacular popular

theatre is exactly what the Two Bobs, the Axim Trio and other early Ghanaian concert parties did for their country in the 1930's. But rather than for the foreign born, they catered for the local rural-born villager and new urban migrant, hungry for diversion and knowledge of modern city life.

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CHAPTER TWENTY

CLASS: SOCIAL DISTANCE AND STATUS RANKING

The be-suited members of highlife orchestras and dance bands were considered to be a cut above the common man. Members of roving concert parties and guitar bands, on the other hand, are considered to be such a bunch of thieves, rascals and drunkards that no respectable family will allow its child to join such as 'useless' profession.

This and the next chapter examine the relevance of African popular entertainment to the growth of modern classes: that is horizontal divisions based on socio-economic differentials and disparities. We turn first to how popular performances both reflect and help create the social distance and differing status and prestige ratings that are pertinent to class stratification.

It was Clyde Mitchell's pioneering work on the kalela dance of southern Africa that began the research into popular entertainment as a medium for helping demarcate the group boundaries of emergent strata of modern African society. This acculturated dance-music was used by young wage-earning Bisa men to distinguish themselves with both other ethnic groups and rural people. Moreover, this dance and others like it - such as beni and mganda - catered for tailors, domestic workers, lorry drivers, mineworkers and others who existed in the modern sector but were of low status, as

compared to the colonial administrators, the traditional aristocracy and modern black elite. As Ranger (1975:9,110 and 96) points out, beni was considered subversive by the British and Belgians, was frowned upon by old village heads, and was considered ethnically divisive by early African nationalists.

As observed in Part One, the Jaguar Jokers and other Ghanaian concert parties and guitar bands are also at the lower end of the social hierarchy - and this has generally been the case for the acculturated popular entertainment of sub-Saharan Africa. There are various reasons for this. One that was discussed in Chapter Fifteen is that many performers and members of their audiences are drawn from the 'intermediate' class of semi-skilled and semi-literate new urbanites.

Another reason stems from the traditional attitude towards professional performers. In the case of South Africa for instance, there was no tradition of fulltime musicians playing for money. Consequently, when the first urban musicians appeared¹ who were not directly associated with the colonial or christian authorities, they were seen as marginal people existing between the traditional and colonial elite. As Coplan (1982:120/1) puts it, they were persons who were 'unaccountable to the rules of social morality.'

Infact throughout pre-colonial Africa, fulltime professionals making an exclusive living from performing were

rare; and where they did operate their status was low. Alaja-Browne (unpublished:25) states that the notion of music as a 'respectable' occupation did not exist for the Yorubas, and claims that this view has been 'carried over' to the modern context. Waterman (1986:186) says this low esteem was particularly associated with praise singers and drummers, and other ambulatory Yoruba musicians. Indeed, praise musicians were even feared, as they could ridicule their patrons or, as M.G. Smith observes in the case of the Nigerian Hausa singers, they could exaggerate or over-state their praise.²

Praise singing was also one of the functions of the traditional family groups of professional griot entertainers of West Africa, such as the 'jalis' of the Mende people³, who moved from place to place providing entertainment, history and news for their chiefly patrons. In spite of their valuable role, however, they were mistrusted and disdained because they could de-legitimise as well as legitimise a ruler, mis-inform as well as inform the public. Their marginal status was enhanced by the fact that, like the feared blacksmith clans who had their own isolated quarters in town, the griots were composed of tightly knit endogamous clans of specialists; in this case musical ones.

Besides this traditional ambivalent 'carry-over' towards modern professional and particularly itinerant performers, a third reason for popular acculturated

entertainment being at the low end of the contemporary social-scale results from attitudes towards popular culture imported during colonial times and adopted by the modern African elite. Fully endorsed by the colonialists were hymns, classical artworks, martial music and 'authentic' African music: and these genres have remained in the post-colonial era as the models for official, state and university patronised art forms. This contrasts with the European and elitist notion of popular culture being ephemeral, lowbrow and inferior; to which in the African context are added overtones of inauthenticity and cultural hybridism.

Having given some of the causes for the low esteem of African syncretic popular entertainment, the qualification must be made that there are graduations in the prestige rating of the various genres that exist in one particular country. In Ghana there has been a longstanding cleavage of popular groups into the lowly concert parties, palmwine and guitar bands on the one hand and the more highly regarded dance orchestras and dance bands on the other. Before proceeding to this topic in detail however, it should be mentioned that a similar longterm split into higher and lower status forms has been a feature in other African countries.

In 19th century Sierra Leone there were the 'dignity balls' and 'picnics' of the Krio (Creole) upper-class, particularly those descended from the 'Nova Scotian' freed slaves who, together with Europeans, commemorated the King's

birthday and the Battle of Waterloo in a 'sedate and exclusive manner.' Later in the century the Krio elite were enjoying European type piano recitals, glees and English recitations supported by a string band or orchestra. In stark contrast was the talla and gumbay dancing and drumming of the descendents of the maroon freed slaves that was associated with the 'lower classes' of Freetown.⁴ An explanation for the difference in status in Nova Scotian and maroon popular music may lie in the differing degrees of Europeanisation of the two Krio groups who played them. The Nova Scotians were already well exposed to European customs before their arrival in Freetown, for they were the black loyalist soldiers who sided with the British in the American War of Independence. They even brought their own preachers with them to Freetown. The Maroons on the other hand had lived in isolated mountain settlements in Jamaica, had worshipped ancestral spirits, and had actually fought the British before surrendering to them and being settled in West Africa.

Equivalent to Freetown's 'dignity balls' were the elegant and tasteful 'rainbow balls' that Coplan (1985:11) says were the rage with 19th century Cape Coloureds and were modelled on those of their masters. He also says (1979:137/8) that in South Africa by the early part of this century there was an enormous gulf between black middle-class makwaya and the marabi music of the Zulu migrant workers that was played in slum-yard 'shebeens'. Makwaya partially had its roots in

the Xhosa and Sotho vernacular hymns of John Knox Bokwe, Woodruff Boti and other black elite composers (Coplan 1979/80:52), whereas there was an antipathy to marabi music by the black middle-class who saw it as a threat to both African community life and their own civilised position.

Late 19th century Lagos had its 'grand theatre'. ballroom dances and hymns and recitals by Europeans trained performers (Echeruo 1962) who largely belonged to the Saro (Sierra Leonian) and the Aguda (Brazilian) elite.⁵ In contrast to the performances of these 'Oyinbo Dudu' (black Europeans), as they were called by local people, were those of the low-class palmwine and juju bands of the inter-war years. Juju music says Waterman (1986:185) was seen by many members of the westernised African elite to be a displeasing 'bastardisation' and 'hodgepodge' of Western and African elements. However this music did have a slightly higher status than contemporary palmwine music which was, as its name suggests, played in drinking bars. Juju music on the other hand was not initially associated with bar-life, but with local elite ceremonies and the quiet 'salon culture' of professional Lagos people.⁶

We now turn to a detailed examination of the ranking of Ghanaian popular performance ensembles based on the criteria of instrumentation, type of performer, and nature of the audience and performance venue.

**THREE CRITERIA FOR THE PRESTIGE RANKING
OF GHANAIAN POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT**

1. The Varying Prestige of Imported Instruments

As noted in Part One, concert performers are held in low esteem. Mr. Bampoe of the J.J.'s told me that guitarists are particularly frowned upon as 'in the old days people used to play guitars in palmwine bars.' This view is supported by Bame (1985:12/1) who declares that the instrument became 'associated with drunkenness and other social vices.' Likewise, A.A. Mensah (1969/70:8) sees a connection between the guitar, concertina and other small seamen's instruments, and 'lowbrow folk'.

All this explains why the pioneering highlife artist Jacob Sam had to learn the guitar against the wishes of his father who thought 'only ruffians play guitar.'⁷ The musician Dr. Otto Boaten recalls that in 1927, when he was a student at the prestigious Achimota School, the early guitar band highlife 'Yaa Amponsah' was considered by the students to be a 'vulgar street song usually sung by drunkards, labourers, lorry drivers and lowclass people, a song never to be sung by a Christian or educated person.' The Akan lyrics of this song, first recorded in 1928 by Jacob Sam, concerns a man who wants to continue being the lover of his ex-wife, and contains the racy lines, 'nothing can stop my love for you, not even if your mum threatens to douche me with pepper or

your dad with enema of boiling water.'⁸

This low prestige of the guitar and guitar-music has been observed in other areas of Africa. Watermann (1990:46) mentions that in Lagos during the interwar years the guitar was not considered to be a 'serious' instrument. Another Nigerian example is that the father of the highlife musician 'guitar-boy' Victor Uwaifo of Benin city, threatened to destroy the first instrument the young Uwaifo bought as a boy in the early 1950's.⁹ This was the very time in Kenya when guitarists were regarded by chiefs, churchmen and colonial administratives as 'trouble makers' and 'rebels'.¹⁰ Rycroft (1977:219/220) makes a similar observation concerning this instrument in South Africa, where it became associated with Zulu strolling guitarists who occupied the 'lowest social and economic strata in town society' and was 'eschewed by missionaries and teachers.'

Although both Jacob Sam and Victor Uwaifo had parental problems with their guitar playing, Uwaifo's father played Spanish songs and rumbas on the accordion, whilst Sam's father played Fanti popular tunes on the concertina.¹¹ Why the guitar was so abhorred cannot simply because it was a sailor's instrument played in drinking and palmwine bars, as this criteria also applies to the concertina and accordion. It may also be a question of the accordion and concertina being more expensive than the guitar, which in the late 1920's and early 30's was selling for around one pound

sterling.¹² Moreover, the guitar could be substituted with local stringed instruments such as the Akan seprewa and Yoruba molo: or homemade version of the guitar could be easily fashioned. Thus, the relatively inexpensive guitar, or its even less costly local homemade substitutes, were the cheapest available modern instruments for the rural and urban poor.¹³

An additional factor in the low esteem of the guitar may have arisen from the 19th century European attitude towards this and some other stringed instruments; for these were frowned upon by Christians who preferred the piano or organ. Indeed, in the early part of this century another black guitar music style, African-American blues, was known as the 'devil's music.'¹⁴

At the opposite end of the Ghanaian prestige scale to lowly guitar music has been the popular music of the local elite, played on expensive keyboard, brass and orchestral instruments. One type of early elite popular music was associated with church organs, pianos and harmoniums. In the 1920's Zonophone released numerous recordings by George Aingo, Kwesi Biney, Roland Nethaniels and other local educated artists who played a mixture of Christian and non-sacred songs in Ga, Ewe, Fanti and Hausa, accompanied by the piano and an assortment of other instruments that included the violin, banjo, concertina, tambourines, castanets (i.e. claves) and western trap drums.¹⁵ Also of high status were

the early coastal brass-bands which were established by the military, the police, wealthy merchant families, protestant christian missions¹⁶ as well as the chiefs and 'bigmen' of the cocoa rich areas of the South. Although the konkoma music of the 1930's and 40's was an offshot of the brass-band tradition, it was associated with 'rascals' and 'ruffians',¹⁷ a low status that may partly be due to these indigenised marching groups doing away with most of the prestigious imported instruments.

A third variety of early 20th century elite entertainment was provided by the Excelsior Orchestra, Jazz Kings and other large dance orchestras that consisted of brass, woodwind string and percussion sections, and often a piano as well. Some of the earliest recordings of this genre were the pidgin English and Ewe foxtrots, sentimental songs and 'native dance tunes' that Roland Nethaniel released with orchestral accompaniment in the late 1920's on the Zonophone label.¹⁸

There was some overlap between these early 'posh' dance orchestras and both local brass bands and classical symphonic orchestras. The Accra Orchestra of the 1930's evolved out of a schoolboy brassband, and the interwar Ashanti Nkramo (Muslim) brass band of Kumasi, says Professor A.M. Opoku, played ballroom numbers. According to A.A. Mensah (1969:/70:11) the Cape Coast Sugar Babies dance orchestra of the 1920's was also known as the Cape Coast Light Orchestra.

Mensah (Ibid:9) also remarks that the Excelsior orchestra and similar ballroom dance-music outfits devoted some of their time to classical music. Waterman (1990:43) makes a similar observation concerning the Calabar Brass Band of interwar Lagos that was also known as the Lagos Mozart Orchestra.

Although occurring much earlier and on another continent, this overlap between brass band, popular dance and light classical music also occurred with the black music of 19th century America. Frank Johnson, the famous African-American composer, bugler and leader of the Washington Guards Band of Philadelphia, would get members of his brass band to play as an orchestra for society balls. Storm Roberts refers to an 1840 advertisement by the Louisiana Neptune Brass Band, that declared it was available for both quadrille dances and for military music.¹⁹

To summarise, the instruments of the low-class guitar bands consisted of local instruments and imported and relatively cheap maritime ones, such as the concertina, mouth-organ and much maligned guitar. Elite popular music ensembles, however, consisted of expensive pianos and organs associated with the church, brass bands that go back to the colonial military tradition, and the almost symphonic instruments of the early dance orchestra patronised by educated coastal Africans. In short, guitar music had its imported root in the migrant and proletarian seafaring

community, whilst black elite popular entertainment was connected with the 'respectable' instruments of the missionaries, educationalists and colonial administrators.

2. The Occupation of the Performer

There is a difference in the social background of Ghanaian concert party actors and musicians as compared to those of the more urban oriented highlife dance bands. The low-status origins of the Jaguar Jokers and some other concert performers has already been mentioned in Chapter Fifteen, in connection with their 'intermediate' state. More recent examples are A.B. Crentsil who, like his father, was an electrician,²⁰ and C.K. Mann of the Carousel Seven Band who was originally a seaman. The case of the Happy Stars concert party of Togo that was formed in the mid-sixties presents a similar picture. Its leader or President, was a trading company clerk, the Vice-President worked in a brewery, their lady impersonator was a carpenter, Datiso the clown was unemployed, and the group's Director was brought up in a straw thatched hut which, Ricard (1974:170) says 'testifies to his poverty.'

The social background of the performers of both the prewar dance orchestras and the smaller postwar band-bands were somewhat higher up the social ladder. Moreover, unlike the majority of concert and guitar-band artists, they read music. The Excelsior Orchestra was established in 1914 by

`educated Africans' trained by the Torto Brothers, and included Mr. Roger Chinery who later on became the James Town Mantse (chief) Nii Krashie II.²¹ Squire Addo, one of the members of the Jazz Kings formed in 1916 had a degree from the London School of Music, whilst their drummer Caleb Quaye later joined Billy Cotton's big band in London.²² MISTAKE IT WAS CALEB QUAYE'S SON CAB KAYE Joe Lamptey also belonged to the Jazz Kings, and later formed the Accra Orchestra whilst he was a teacher at the Government Elementary School in James Town. King Bruce told me that by 1950 Lamptey's orchestra consisted of fellow teachers, local engineers, traders, company clerks, government department clerks and military personnel. The postwar highlife dance-bands were smaller than the dance orchestras but their members came from a similar social environment; infact many passed their musical apprenticeship in the earlier orchestras. E.T. Mensah of the famous Tempos dance-band of the 1950's and 60s was a schoolboy member of the Accra Orchestra and went on to become a professional pharmacist. At one point in the late fifties and early sixties he owned his own nightclub called the Paramount. The Tempos drummer Kofi Ghanaba (then Guy Warren) was educated at the prestigious Achimota College and was a journalist and radio disc jockey, before going into a fulltime musical career in Ghana and the United States. The Nigerian musician, Segun Bucknor, makes an illuminating comment on the Tempos that began visiting his country in the

1950s. Comparing their style of dance-music to the low-class asiko, konkoma and juju music of Lagos during this period, he says 'E.T. Mensah's music was liked by the people who took the English way, they were the first middle-class Ghanaians and Nigerians. There was a kind of snobbery, in that a man who was in dance-bands felt himself to be nearer the whiteman, as he would put on hat, tie and jacket, and would be called to balls and formal occasions.'²³

The situation with the Ghanaian bands that followed in the Tempos' wake was similar. Jerry Hansen of the Ramblers dance-band became the owner of several music shops, whilst Stan Plange the leader of the Uhurus band worked in a bank for a while. The Black Beats was formed in 1952 by the civil servant King Bruce and the teacher Saka Acquaye, both of whom had been to school at Achimota College. King Bruce's father was a civil servant and a private merchant dealing in fishing gear.

King Bruce's case is interesting in that when he moved up the social scale to become a senior civil servant, pressure was put on him to stop playing on stage. This first began in the pre-1957 colonial period, when the British head of a government department for whom Bruce worked kept transferring him around the country to discourage him from playing. This negative official attitude continued after independence, and in 1967 a Ghanaian government official wrote to Bruce to tell him that unless he stopped playing

dance-music in public he would not be promoted to full Principal Secretary of the Administrative Service. Bruce chose his civil service career and stopped performing, but diverted his musical activities to managing eight bands.

This story shows that inspite of the more elevated position of dance- band artists vis-a-vis the concert ones, their high status was not fully indorsed by the elite. If King Bruce had been the leader, member or conductor of a church choir of the Anglican church, or of a symphonic orchestra, rather than a popular music band, this ban on public performances by him would probably have never been made. Indeed, the officer who wrote to him in the 1967 letter, actually said this to Bruce in a later conversation.

The final point on this question of the differing status of dance-band and concert party performers is that these two groups of entertainers belonged to quite different trade unions for many years. In the early 1960s there was the Ghana National Entertainments Association (GNEA) that catered for guitar-bands, concert parties and stage magicians, whilst the Musicians Union of Ghana consisted of members of the more urban oriented dance-bands. Both these unions were dissolved in 1966, after the anti-Nkrumah coup, due to their links with his Conventions Peoples Party. However, when entertainment unions were re-established in the 1970's, this schism persisted for a while. The new Musicians Union of Ghana (MUSIGA) recruited mainly urban dance-band member and the new

generation of 'pop' band musicians, whilst the Ghana Cooperative Indigenous Musicians Society (GHACIMS) was formed specifically by concert party and guitar-band artists. It was only towards the end of the 1970s, when GHACIMS collapsed, that all unionised Ghanaian popular entertainers for the first time came together into a single organisation, MUSIGA. Indeed, Nana Ampadu of the African Brothers concert party became one of MUSIGA's joint Vice Presidents. This unification was largely a result of the need for a musical common-front in the face of the severe economic collapse of Ghana in the mid and late seventies. However, a contributing factor was that the gradual demise of the dance-band genre in the seventies removed a whole group of performers who had looked down upon the concert parties and their bands.

3. The Venue and Type of Audience

The venues for palmwine music were lowclass dockside and rural drinking bars, whilst those of the itinerant concert parties were, and still are, urban and rural compound houses, small night-clubs and cinema houses that cater for the general public. Quite different are the venues for the ballroom type dance groups.

The prewar Excelsior Orchestra, Jazz Kings and Accra Orchestra played for the black elite at the Victoria Hotel, Merry Villas, Rodger Club, Palladium Cinema, Wesleyan School and Accra Town Hall, where evening dress and top-hats were

worn. Another highclass venue mentioned by A.A. Mensah (1969/70:12) were the 'at homes' and 'soirees' of the wealthy. An example of these were the weekend parties held at Temple House in James Town, Accra that was built around the turn of the century by the Ghanaian lawyer Hutton-Mills. I lived there in the 1970's and when E.T. Mensah visited me he told me that he had played as a schoolboy member of the Accra Orchestra at weekend parties there in the 1930's and was still nervous of the place due to the 'high-ups' he had met. Often the dance orchestras shared the same stage as the local high-class variety shows that consisted of films and concerts modelled on western vaudeville and music-hall. This was the case at the Palladium which, incidentally, not only catered for the black but also the white elite. An example was the pantomime 'Zacharia Free' staged there in 1935, produced by the then Governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Arnold Hodson.²⁴

The smaller postwar dance-bands that played a mixture of ballroom music and highlifes also played at exclusive nightspots²⁵ where, although top-hats had gone out of fashion, the entrance rule was 'ladies strictly in frocks and gentlemen in tie.'²⁶ In short, these bands like the earlier orchestras played to a more 'respectable' clientel than did the concert bands. The attitude of the Ghanaian university students of the fifties provides an illuminating example of the differing status of these two genres for, as mentioned in

Part One, they disliked guitar-bands and only hired the more prestigious dance-bands for their end-of-term dances.

From the subject of ranking and social distance we move on in the next chapter to the differing ways popular entertainment has affected class consciousness.

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CHAPTER TWENTY ONE
THE ARTICULATION AND MASKING OF
CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

Sometimes the concert parties endorse the high life and hardwork. On other occasions they complain about 'money palava' and poverty in terms of evil medicine, and in proverbs about small and large animals. The gentle deer is pushed into the cold by the bullying leopard, or the monkey 'de work' whilst the baboon 'de chop'.

Here we turn first to the subject of wealth and poverty in the lyrics and plots of popular music and drama and how these explain socio-economic inequalities in traditional terms. This is followed by an examination of how popular texts either articulate the emergent class consciousness of the economically oppressed, or conversely help consolidate the ideology of the African elite.

A. POVERTY, WEALTH AND THE TRADITIONAL EXPLANATIONS FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC INEQUITY

Lack of money and the consoling of the poor is a common theme in the plays of the Ghanaian concert parties. An example is the J.J.'s play 'Onipa Hia Mmoa' about the poverty stricken Kofi Bekyere who has to leave home to find work. He sings several songs about his plight and in one he says 'I'm

so poor that I have nothing to eat..... God I need help.'
Another is the group's popular Twi highlife 'Ahiame Obi Nhwé Me' which means 'I am poor, someone should help me'.

Money problems are a common subject of many other concert party highlifes, and two examples from Otoo Larte's guitar-band of the 1950's are 'Ahoofe Ene Sika' (With Money You Can Obtain Anything) and 'One Pound No Balance'¹ which is sung in pidgin English and complains about inflation in the following terms.

Man tire before penny pocket now now, say a'body now
I give one pound to my wife to go to market today,
One pound take out out of and chop, one pound no dice,
One pound, one pound, one pound no balance.

Songs by other concert bands of the period are Kakaiku's 'Darling Money No Dey' and Kwaa Mensah's 'Maaye Apensa' about a drunk man who complains that when he has money his family thinks he is ill, but when he is broke they call him an alcoholic. Also from the fifties is the song 'Money' by I.O. Oni's accordion band that contains the lines 'if you dey money they dey call your name, money I go die for you.'² A Nigerian Ibo highlife of those times in a similar vein was 'Money Money' by Israel Nzemanze and the Three Night Wizards.

More recent Ghanaian examples are two popular highlife songs of the seventies by the African Brothers band, One is 'Yaw Berku' in which Yaw bitterly complains that although he is forty years old he does not have even forty pounds to his

name. The other is 'Obiba (Someone's) Broke' which is about poverty being one of the causes for people having to leave home. An example from the dance-band genre is the 1976 highlife 'Sika' (Money) by the Uhurus International band which contains the following lines translated from Twi: 'like it or not money is king, money is all powerful, have money and you will be loved and fawned upon by all... and you will be the family favourite... money is the soul of life.'

Like the Ghanaian concert party, Malawian popular theatre, says Barber (1987:44), contains a precise sense of what it is like to be chronically short of money.' She (Ibid:20) also points out that the Yoruba genre is concerned with 'how to avoid slipping down into ridicule and destitution' and (1982:47) 'the distinction between money honestly earned, or though "money magic" and robbery.' Likewise, Lakoju (1984:37) comments on the 'common man' theme in Nigerian popular drama.

The maringa songs of Sierra Leone sometimes refer to money matters. An early example is the 1950's record by the Famous Scrubb's band called 'Poor Freetown Boy' that contains the lines 'cost of living so high that it's cheaper now for die.' Another was the 1970's hit record of the country's top band the Afro Nationals called 'Money Palava'.⁴ Waterman (1986:135) mentions that a recurring topic in interwar Nigerian palmwine music was economic uncertainty. Nigerian juju music is also sometimes concerned with this topic and

some examples are provided in Matthew Abigerro's (1978) discography of Ebenezer Obey. However a more important theme of juju music lyrics is the praise of the rich, a topic that will be returned to later in the chapter.

A final point to add here is that some popular songs suggest that poverty leads to other social problems, such as being forced to migrate from home, the topic of the African Brothers 'Obiba Broke' referred to earlier. Alcoholism is another result of poverty and this link is made in the 1959 highlife song 'Ewiase Ye Me' by Onyina's concert band. In this the singer bemoans that 'although the world is sweet I don't have money or a job, so I've turned to drink to forget my problem.' A more recent Ghanaian example from the 1980's is A.B. Crentsil's 'Akpeteshie Seller' which treats the huge consumption of this locally distilled liquor as a consequence of the economic hardship the people face.⁴

Besides just simply lamenting the state of poverty, the texts of African popular entertainment genres also attempt to provide reasons for economic inequity. Sometimes modern reasons are given for this, and these will be discussed later in the chapter. However, on the whole the economic divisions in society are couched in traditional terms and are seen as stemming from two primary causes. Firstly there are the personal moral ones of laziness and debauchery versus perseverance and hardwork. Secondly it may be seen as a result of witchcraft, magical 'money doubling' and good or

bad luck.

We turn first to the moral causes, which crop up in some of the J.J.'s plays. Through sheer hardwork Mr. Johnson is able to become a wealthy farmer in 'Go Back To The Land', and his advice to Opia, Kofi Bekyere and the audience in 'Onipa Hia Mmoa' is to work diligently, behave oneself and 'suffer to gain.' Humility is another factor for success, as portrayed by the meek and modest orphan Kofi Antobam of 'Awisia Yi Wo Ani' who passes his exams and becomes a postmaster. The links between destitution and laziness or immorality are numerous. Comfort in 'Onipa Hia Mmoa' ignores her husband Kofi Bekyere to follow the 'hightime girl' Selena, losing Kofi at the very point he becomes successful.

Idle King Sam of 'Awisia Yi Wo Ani' wastes his time in beer bars and so fails his exams. Sapona in 'Go Back To The Land' refuses to farm for her parents and takes off for the big city - only to return in rags. Likewise Ama who is corrupted by Selena in 'Ebe Ye Dwe' ends up in rags.

The plays of other concert parties also contain similar motifs. Kwaa Mensah's 1950 play about a taxi driver who ends up in dirty clothes after chasing women, (see the Appendix of Plays) is a case in point. Onyina's play 'The Taxi Driver And the Wicked Friend' has a similar theme, although in this case it is drink and drinking friends who lead the driver to his downfall; first to unemployment and then to prison. Conversely, rags-to-riches is the subject to another play

translated by Bame (1985) called 'Ye Wo Yonko Ba Sa Wo Ba' or 'treat somebody's child as your own'. This play by Kakaiku's concert party is about the constantly toiling Cinderella-like Mansa, who later becomes a chief's wife.

Barber (1990:21) says that the plays of Yoruba travelling theatres also treat the unequal distribution of wealth in terms of personal morality. The rich are seen as an 'embodiment of what each individual aspires to,' with wealth coming to the richman because he 'works hard' and poverty being caused by 'foolishness, laziness or moral feebleness.'

The uneven distribution of wealth and the tensions this creates is also expressed in terms of traditional African witchcraft, 'juju' and mystical luck. Barber (1990:20 and 22) mentions that one reason for riches in Yoruba popular theatre is 'evil medicine', and for poverty the 'machinations of ill-disposed neighbours.' Ulli Beier (1954:33) says that misfortune brought about by envious and unfaithful friends is a typical theme in the plays of Kola Ogunola's Yoruba travelling theatre group.

The notion of prosperity and poverty being associated with witchcraft often occurs in the plays of the J.J.'s concert party. There is the affluent chief in their play 'The End of Our Greedy Women' who in fact is an evil spirit. Opia in his soliloquy in 'Onipa Hia Mmoa' suggests that debt, amongst other problems, arises from witchcraft in the family.

In the same play, Kwaa Tawia blames his mother's witchcraft as being the cause of both his alcoholism and the loss of his good job with the town council as sanitary inspector. Another example, referred to in Chapter Nineteen, is Kojo Brake's concert party play 'So Is The World' in which a nephew attempts to 'juju' his wealthy uncle in order to obtain his wealth; the uncle successfully counteracts this by going to another 'fetish' priest for spiritual protection. A play discussed by Bame (1985) is F. Micah's 'Don't Kill Yourself Because of Poverty'. This emphasizes the positive side of magic, for in the story the penniless, divorced and unemployed Bob Agoji, with the help of some mystical powder obtained from a Muslim priest, gets his wife back and wins the national lottery.

Not only the plays, but also the highlife songs of Ghanaian concert parties, put sickness, suffering and the lack of financial gain down to evil and jealous people. Three examples from E.K. Nyame's Akan Trio during the 1950's are 'Otomfo Me Yee Wo Den' (Enemy, What Have I Done To You), 'Suro Onipa' (Fear People) and 'Onipa Beka Wo Ho Asem' (People Will Gossip About You).⁵ The cause of Yaw Berku not having forty pounds to his name in the already mentioned African Brother's record of the seventies is witchcraft. Brempong's (1984:136) translation of the song includes the lines 'it is a person from home who is doing this to me, what he has left on me is walking about..... I am roaming about

aimlessly I like work but my soul entirely hates money.'

Similarly in the previously mentioned African Brother's song 'Obiba Broke' it is a witchcraft and poverty that forces people to leave their homes. Van der Geest (forthcoming) supplies a line from this song that goes 'my enemy is the one staying with me in the house, hatred comes from the home.' Yankah (1984:572) also makes the interesting observation that the most common topic of highlife song texts is that of misery, brought about factors that include those of poverty, hardluck and witchcraft.

Popular entertainers not only act and sing about witchcraft and magical luck, but are also worried about how these matters affect their own lives. In Part One, Mr. Bampoe mentions that some of his members have their instruments blessed, will not eat certain foodstuffs on tour, whilst the lady impersonators hate anyone to touch their powders and thus spoil their stage magic. Bampoe also told me about the sad case of his musician friend who was allegedly poisoned by a rival with three 'jujued' record needles that were found in his throat, needles which were believed to have first been used to play some of the dead man's music. In other words, a case of sympathetic magic using the trace of a person's voice on plastic, rather than a hair, nail-clipping or other part of the victim's body. King Bruce, the leader of the Black Beats dance-band also told me of a case of mystical protection. In 1955, shortly after the band was

formed and after a series of unlucky incidents, Bruce obtained a safeguard against jealous rivals from an Ewe 'jujuman', in the form of thistles that had to be worn in the hair when planning a tour.

Mathew Ajibero (1978) also touches on the subject of mystical protection in his discography of the famous Nigerian performer Ebenezer Obey who plays juju-music; a Yoruba term, incidentally, that has no connection whatsoever with the magico-religious expression 'juju'. Ajibero notes that a constantly recurring theme in Obey's song lyrics is the wealth and fame of his band and a warning to rivals and enemies 'lest they fall into a ditch.' Moreover, Obey has released several records of Yoruba christian song-prayers and believes that one of the reasons for his success is through constant prayer. Indeed, a person's wealth and progress in life being affected by good and evil mystical forces is a prominent idea in the theology of the Yoruba Aladura, Cherubim and Seraphim and other Nigerian separatist churches.

As mentioned in Chapter Fourteen, there is a link in Ghana between syncretic popular entertainment styles (such as the concert party and highlife) and the separatist churches.

These churches, like the Nigerian ones, provide spiritual protection, faith healing, prophecy, divination, exorcism, with a major concern of their congregations being the fear of 'witches and evil men at workplaces'.⁶ The Christo Asafo Mission is one such church and as noted in Chapter Fourteen,

it runs seven gospel highlife bands and stages biblical concert plays. The leader, Prophet Kwadwo Safo told me that 'spiritual healing is one of my main principles and I can cure people of bad spirits.'

This preoccupation with spiritual protection in some of the syncretic entertainment genres and churches of Nigeria and Ghana is connected with the general increase in witchcraft paranoia that has been noted by various writers to be taking place as a result of modernising processes; such as the emergence of a cash economy and new wealthy classes, as well as the breakdown of the traditional community and the extended family discussed in Chapter Nineteen.

Garlick (1971) observes that there is a supposed association between witchcraft and wealth amongst the Kwahu traders of Ghana .Indeed, West African markets are often regarded as areas of great mystical danger. A case of this market-place danger occurred in Ghana in the mid-70s when a sudden panic overtook the general public that to shake hands with certain individuals would result in the involution of the male genitals and consequent loss of potency. At the market near Kwame Nkrumah Circle in Accra one of the alleged culprits was actually stoned to death by an angry crowd.

Margaret Field in her book 'Search for Security' (1960) considers the enormous increase in anti-witchcraft accusations and the flourishing of anti-witchcraft cults such as Tigari, Blekete⁷ and the spiritual healing churches, to be

a 'neurotic response' to sudden modernisation. An example of a 'neurotic response' that I recall, took place in Accra around 1969/70 when many people painted white crosses on their doors. I was told that these were put there as a result of a rumour that the son of Sasabonsum, the Akan forest devil, had run away to town and his father was coming to look for him. People therefore painted these door signs to ward off this giant devil and for a while no one was prepared to open their front door at night to strangers. An explanation for both this social hysteria and the one concerning handshakes and disappearing penises is that they are magico-religious ways of expressing the exaggerated fears of strangers that is so characteristic of the modern urban ethos, with its individualism, heterogeneity and economic 'rat-race'.

Not surprisingly, some of the above evil images appear in popular entertainment forms. Barber (1987:22) notes this in Nigeria when she states that the subject of evil medicine is 'flourishing a never before' in Yoruba travelling theatre, due to the 'present day environment of increased social danger.' In the Ghanaian genre, the animal-like Sasabonsum devil sometimes actually appears on stage. An instance is the fanged and bat-winged monster of the J.J.'s play 'Awisia Yi Wo Ani' that is sent by the evil step-mother to kill the orphan Kofi Antobam. Brempong (1984:109) mentions that in the 1970's F. Micah's concert party

sometimes puts a stuffed animal on top of its 'campaign' bus to represent a supernatural being that was to appear in the evening's show. Indeed, one of the favourite eye-catchers used by concert parties for the painted 'cartoons' that they carry on 'campaign' or put outside the performance venue, is some sort of monstrous or mythical being.

**B. POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT AND THE ARTICULATION
OR MASKING OF CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS**

Popular performance not only comments on money-matters and provide traditional images for the new tensions arising from a laissez-faire cash economy, they can also draw attention to and object to modern-type class formation. Ghanaian highlife songs and concert plays, for example, may not only depict the plight of the poor, but may also protest against this state of affairs from the position of the impoverished class.

One way they protest is by making fun of the rich or calling for retribution from them. Examples of these are the African Brother's highlife 'Sika Anibre Da Owu' about a greedy man whose lust for money ends in his death by execution,⁸ and the popular 1970's dance-tune 'Yen Nyira Ye Bow Pepeepe' in which a poor akpeteshie drinking man claims 'we all booze the same', whether it is this cheap local liquor or the expensive imported ones the rich like to consume.

The modern notion of society being divided into social classes based on solely socio-economic criteria is foreign to indigenous Ghanaian cultures,⁹ and so this novel state of affairs is sometimes deplored through the traditional usage of proverbs and parables. A non-performance example from the 1950's mentioned by Robert Raymond is 'monkey work, baboon chop am.'¹⁰ The similar slogan 'monkey (i.e.the poor) de work, baboon (i.e.the rich) de chop' has been used more recently on the badges of the Ghana Trade Union Congress.

An example from a highlife song of the late 1930's is Kwami's guitar song 'Adwin De Nsum'. This is based on the Fanti proverb that although the mudfish lives in water it is unable to bath, whilst the crab who lives on dry land can always find a hole to bath in. One interpretation of this is that water is equated with wealth; so the mudfish lives in (i.e.produces) wealth but cannot enjoy it, whereas the unproductive crab becomes rich.¹¹ Another early example is 'Tengah' by Jacob Sam that is about the problems between friends, landlord and tenants, or the rich and the poor - but couched within the Fanti proverb 'there's going to be rain (i.e.trouble)'.¹²

A recent highlife that is rooted in an Akan proverb is Nana Addo's record of the 1980s 'Dan Nte Se Adako' which means as a house is not a small box you cannot carry it with you. This song warns landlords to be patient with tenants who are in debt, as sometimes even landlords have to travel.

As landlords cannot take their houses with them, they too may one day be in the situation of a tenant.¹³

The most famous of all these class-protest highlifes in parable form is the 1967 African Brothers record 'Ebi Te Yie, Ebi Nte Yie'. This means 'some sit well whilst others do not' and later became the title of one of the group's concert plays. The song concerns a general meeting of the forest animals held around a camp fire, during which the leopard bullies and pushes the small dyker deer away from the warmth.

Finally the deer shouts out in English 'petition please, on a point of order, chairman, secretary, gentlemen' and then in Twi 'ebi te yie etc'. All these expressions have passed into popular language, with the Twi one becoming the catch phrase for socio-economic inequality and exploitation, there being no indigenous Akan expression or word for this concept.¹⁴ A very similar idea is expressed in another highlife song of the same period by the Medican Lantics dance-band called 'Kokofu Ball'. The Akan word for 'kokofu' means families, groups - and by extension classes - who are comfortable in life and do not think of others.¹⁵

Sometimes it is not the composer's intention to create lyrics that enhance class concepts. One example is the Fanti highlife record 'Wala Tu Wala Sa' released in 1973 by the Ga 'cultural group' Wulomei. The title means 'you are digging it and then shovelling it away' and continues '..... onipa baako (all on your own).' Incidentally, when Opia makes fun

of the gravel contractor Mr. Johnson in the J.J.'s play 'Awisia Yi Wo Ani' (see Appendix of Plays) he uses the expression 'wala tu wala sa' with the audience joining in. The song's composer, Nii Ashitey, told me that it was written in support of the then new regime of Colonel Acheampong which was initiating and encouraging a number of self-reliance programs; such as 'Operation Feed Yourself' and the 'One Man Contractors' or public spirited individuals who, of their own accord, repaired street potholes.¹⁶ This was also a time when major repairs were being undertaken on Accra's drains. However, the workers who were doing these various digging works did not like the expression Wulomei had coined, as they claimed that members of the public re-interpreted it to mean, if you are removing what you have already dug then you are making double work for yourself and therefore must be an idiot. 'Wala tu wala sa' therefore became transformed into a patronising term directed at the labouring class.

The de-meaning of manual labour is not generally found in traditional Ghanaian societies where most people at some point undertake farming, portering and other physical work. Indeed, the Akans, far from having patronising term for those who are toiling, rather have the customary greeting 'ayekoo' that has no overtones of superiority/inferiority. Expressions such as 'ebi te yie' (some sit well) and 'wala tu wala sa' have become, whether the authors intended it or not, a part of the evolving Akan vocabulary concerned with modern

class distinctions.

Elsewhere in Africa popular song lyrics can be pertinent to class identity. Several of the maringa tunes of Sierra Leone's Famous Scrubbs band were, according to Bender (1987:24) critical of the plight of the poor. Segun Bucknor's Revolution band had a big hit in Nigeria in the late 1960's with his anti nouveau-riche Afro-soul song 'Pocket Your Bigmanism.' Wachiri-Chiuri (1981:24 and 45-7) refers to popular songs by Kenya's Joseph Kamaru written from the poorman's perspective. Two are 'Kiuru' that condemns the bourgeois man who 'contribute nothing to the people' and 'Wamuthini Akuo ta-Wagitonga' which means the poor should be judged just like the rich. However, this whole question of artistic protest against inequality on behalf of the common-man will be dealt with more fully in Chapter Twenty-Four.

Besides helping to crystallise the class consciousness of the poor, popular entertainment may also mask this process. As mentioned earlier, both Ghanaian and Nigerian popular drama may ascribe wealth and poverty to hard work, laziness and other moral factors, as well as the fatalistic ones of good and bad luck. This all creates what marxists call a 'false consciousness' that camouflages exploitation and counteracts class awareness.

Ghanaian popular texts that fall within this category are the ones that console the hard-up and destitute and encourage them to accept their situation in life, precisely

the theme of the African Brothers 1973 highlife 'Mirswaa Ba.'¹⁷ Another is Koo Nimo's Twi song 'So Dee Wowo Mu Yie' about a poor tinker. It ends up with a verse that translates as 'we all envy other people and wish for things we have not got, but if you want to be contented it pays you to accept your lot.'¹⁸ A fatalistic theme also runs through F. Micah's concert play 'Don't Kill Yourself Because of Poverty', as it is the hero's luck in winning the national lottery that saves him financially.¹⁹ The importance of personal morality in relation to prosperity and success is clearly stated by Mr Johnson to his son in the J. J.'s play 'Awisia Yi Wo Ani'. Here Johnson advises Kofi Antobam in a highlife song that 'if you respect yourself the future will be a happy one.....in this world if you are patient you will enjoy.....for God works mysteriously and you have to suffer to gain.'

Barber (1990:23) talks about the ambiguous attitude of the Nigerian travelling theatre plays to class stratification in that they express both 'resentment' and 'acquiescence' to inequalities of wealth. If the 'haves', as Barber (Ibid) puts it, are blamed at all, it is usually in the moral sense of not carving the 'national cake' fairly. To the extent that no political view is proposed, she believes that the 'elite ideology can be said to have achieved hegemony.' Jeyifo (1984:4) suggests that a reason for this ambivalence on the class question in Yoruba travelling theatre is that 'it's audience cut across the nascent divisions of people into

groups and classes differentiated on the basis of privilege and wealth.' Barber (1990:7/8) likewise refers to the 'boundless' nature and the wide economic range, from poor to rich, of Yoruba travelling theatre audiences. This is quite different from the Ghanaian genre which, except in its very earliest forms, was never patronised by the local elite. The concert party's bias towards the rural and urban poor may help explain the political radicalism of Ghanaian popular theatre as compared to that of the Nigerian variety - a topic that will be returned to in Chapter Twenty-Four.

Aside from its lyrics and plots, another traditional way popular entertainment may mitigate against modern class distinctions is that it can act as avenue for redistributing wealth. Coplan (1979/80:59-62) mentions that the Xhosa stokfel rotating-credit clubs of interwar South Africa, held parties with marabi music and homemade beer that were financed by members who had just received funds. This form of conspicuous consumption therefore helped allay the 'amassing of private wealth' by its members. Waterman (1986:415) remarks that the redistribution of wealth occurs in Nigeria as the 'spraying' of juju musicians by the rich Yoruba patrons who are praised by them. As Barber (1990:23) points out, one of the reasons for juju-music's lack of criticism of 'bigmen' is that it is descended from traditional praise music. 'Spraying' also occurs during the Ghanaian concert party and guitar-band performances.

However, unlike juju-music with its prestige giving and personal displays by wealthy patrons coming to the stage, the Ghanaian genre did not arise out of a traditional praise music. 'Spraying' for them is therefore more a matter of audience participation.

Not only are there aspects of popular entertainment that moderate or even mitigate against the emergence of an African proletarian socio-political awareness, but some genres actually play a part in the formation of black elite ideology. An early example was the makwaya music of the black mission educated South Africans of the 1920s that, says Coplan (1975:72), 'helped build middle class pride.'

Waterman (1986:415-18) believes that juju-music also plays an 'active constitutive role in the consolidation of power amongst members of modern Yoruba elite.' One explanation he offers for this is that the lyrics of juju praise music reflect the traditional Yoruba ideals of an 'unequal but open' society in which class-structure is not seen as horizontal socio-economic groupings, but rather a vertical ladder of patron-client and leader-follower networks.

Quite another reason is that during the Nigerian Civil or 'Biafran' War of 1966-70 there was a decline of interest by the Yoruba elite in Nigerian highlife. Up-to-then the refined dance band variety of highlife music had been the most popular syncretic music with them, whilst juju music was

considered to be of a lower social standing. Nigerian dance-band highlife was mainly played by musicians from the east of the country, but during the civil war there was, as Alaja-Browne (1987:11) puts it, an 'exit' from Yorubaland of these Ibo musicians who belonged ethnically to break-away Biafra. Because of the ensuing popular music vacuum, Yorubas, including the elite, 'turned around to juju bands' as Segun Bucknor expressed it;²⁰ a process enhanced by I.K. Dairo, Ebenezer Obey, Sunny Ade and other juju musicians releasing records in support of the Yoruba backed Federal Army.²¹ Shortly after the Federal Government's victory there was an increase in the world price of petroleum products and the economy of oil producing Nigeria boomed. This led to an accelerated growth of the Yoruba elite who employed juju musicians to praise them at lavish parties that typified the nouveau-rich of the boom era. As a result of the 'spraying' of 'petro naira'²² that went on, Sunny Ade and Ebenezer Obey became the first millionaire juju superstars.

Some aspects of Ghanaian highlife music are also relevant to the ideological consolidation of the local upper-class. Indeed the term 'highlife' itself was coined in an elite context; this being the high-class performances of interwar ballroom dance orchestras and local vaudeville acts.

The dance orchestra leader Yebuah Mensah claims that the term 'highlife' appeared in the early 1920's as a catchname for the orchestrated 'indigenous songs' heard by people who

gathered around exclusive clubs but `did not reach the class of the couples going inside, who not only had to pay a relatively high entrance fee of about seven shillings and sixpence, but also had to wear full evening dress, including top-hats if they could afford it.'²³ A.A. Mensah (1969/70:11/12) makes the similar observation that `through the patronage of high ranking merchants and other local elite... enjoying the good life, the new musical type earned it's name.'

Whether created by wealthy patrons or by less well-off onlookers, the term `highlife' with its connotations of high living and modern life, went into Ghanaian popular language before the Second World War. Furthermore, after the war it was taken out of the sophisticated elite urban environment by the concert parties and guitar-bands that played for the rural and urban poor. Insofar as `highlife' as a constellation of high status ideals was incorporated into the popular culture of Ghana (and Nigeria) one can argue that it was a symbol of the westernised ideology of the African elite, adopted in the immediate postwar period²⁴ by the African poor as a model or paragon to which to aspire. The opposite ideal to `highlife' would be the low-class and rustic `bush' or `palmwine' stereotype, often depicted in concert plays in the characters of illiterate farmers and unsophisticated newcomers to urban life. It should be noted that the word `highlife' was so clearly associated with the

ideals of the westernised elite that Kwame Nkrumah equated it with the 'colonial mentality': which is why he unsuccessfully tried to replace the name in 1959 with the local Fanti one 'osibisaaba'.

Having said all this, however, it should be pointed out that in recent years the association of 'highlife' with high status ideals has lessened. One reason is that some of the Ghanaian elite is endorsing indigenised forms of popular music; such as that of the Ga 'cultural groups' and Akan 'palmwine' ensembles. Another cause is that the word 'highlife' is being treated by some to mean 'high' in the sense of 'high-spirited'. For example, Koo Nimo calls his brand of acoustic palmwine highlife 'up and up', whilst the young musician Sloopy Mike Gyamfi calls his 'pop' variety 'bright life'. What Nkrumah tried to do through government pressure in the late fifties has ironically occurred through the semiotic transformation of the word 'highlife'. It is therefore not the name that has been dropped or replaced, but rather the English word 'high' has taken on an alternative meaning.

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CHAPTER TWENTY TWO

THE AGE GAP

The J.J.'s caused a furore in one village when they broke a traditional ban on drumming during the 'homowa' harvest festival. The village elders said the youth who wanted the show to go on had no respect. The young people replied 'Kyenkyemna', the title of a current local hit that compares the old to a tattered vine that blocks the path of youth.

As already mentioned in Chapter Ten, youthful age-sets, secret initiation societies and warrior associations could, through performance, ridicule priests, chiefs and members of the older generation. Traditional generational conflict has not only also been carried over into modern context, but as mentioned in Chapter Nineteen, has actually increased for a variety of reasons. The urban migration and formal education of young people are particularly important as these have resulted in a questioning of traditional authority, a lack of respects for parents, and a turn away from the extended family towards the nuclear and filiocentric one.

Yet another cause of increased generational struggle in contemporary Africa is the introduction of imported social norms, and one mentioned in Chapter Nineteen is that of romantic love. Even more important, however, are those associated with the western youth culture and its teen-age fashions, rebels, generation gap and youth oriented cultural

innovators, pop idols, and 'entertainment heroes'.

In Africa too, popular performers, particularly urban ones, have become 'role models' for youth. Ware (1978:311) claims this in the case of Sierra Leone, and many other writers have commented likewise. Low (1982:26) refers to the clash, in East Africa of the fifties, between the older generation and young popular musicians (particularly guitarists) returning home to their villages from urban and industrial centres. Ranger (1975:165 and 108-10) notes that beni music 'mirrored' tensions between the young and old, especially after it had spread into the rural hinterland and became associated with self-supporting youngmen's societies that ignored the jurisdiction of the village heads. Wachiri-Chiuri (1981:50) documents some of the popular songs by the Kenyan guitarist Joseph Kamaru that are about generational problem; and one is 'Kunsu Maita' or 'Welcome Mother'. It is about a rural mother who goes to Nairobi to visit her children, but as they do not want her around and put her in the servant's quarters the old lady throws the fruits she brought for them from the village into the dustbin. A Sierra Leone example referred to by Banton (1957:Chapter IX) are the interwsar songs of Freetown's Ambas Gede voluntary association that catered for new urban migrants. These songs sometimes expressed dissatisfaction with the lethargy of the traditional leaders and one text Banton (Ibid:166/7) provides goes 'the old folk envy the Geda... have nothing but

bad turns up their sleeves ... he may go to hell.'

As mentioned education has also enhanced generational strife, and this is sometimes linked to the acculturated music of the school's themselves. From the late 19th century, mission schools formed vernacular choirs and fife and marching bands to counteract what South African whites, for instance, called the 'revolting traditional communal dances, beer drinks and other customs inconsistent with christianity.'¹ This clash between the older 'pagan' generation and the younger mission educated ones was a general feature of Africa in colonial times. In the post independence era schools continue to produce music unfamiliar and disliked by the older generation for, as will be discussed later in this chapter, they have been a breeding ground for youthful 'pop' bands.

Just as important as the music of school children was that of school drop-outs and truants: like the 'no good boys' of Ghana in the 1930's and the 'street urchins' of South Africa in the 1950's who respectively created konkoma and kwela music.² In West Africa, the drop-out and delinquent factor in generational conflict became more important after independence, when the dramatic expansion in the educational system resulted in an increase in the number of youths unable to find employment in the modern sector. Twumasi (1975:49) mentions that the sudden increase in youth unemployment in Ghana during the 1950's was one of the factors that led Prime

Minister Nkrumah to establish the Workers and Farmers Brigades. These also hired and trained the unemployed as musicians and actors for the Brigade bands and concert parties that were established from the late fifties. It was these that also, and in the face of strong parental opposition, opened up the popular entertainment profession for a whole new generation of women performers; a topic that will be returned to in the next chapter. Waterman (1986:220 and 223) observes that in the western Nigerian case the urban migration of large numbers of rural primary school drop-outs in the fifties and sixties was a factor in the dramatic rise in the number of juju groups. Moreover, there was a subsequent frequent fissioning of older bands and the emergence of new generations of band leaders.

To look into the subject of popular entertainment and generational conflict in more depth, four specific areas will be examined. These are the youthful age of many popular artists and the parental opposition that they face; the content of popular song and dramatic texts that dwell on inter-generational strife; the generational disputes within popular entertainment ensembles themselves; and fourthly, examples of some specific entertainment genres that are linked to juvenile sub-cultures, fashions and delinquency.

A. THE YOUTHFUL AGE OF PERFORMERS AND THE PARENTAL OPPOSITION THEY FACE

As noted in Part One, many members of the J.J.'s became professional concert entertainers at an early age. Mr. Bampoe joined the Yanky Trio when he was eleven years old and many of the J.J.'s artists began their professional careers in their teens.³ Like the Yanky Trio, Bob Johnson's Versatile Eight and Bob Cole's Happy Trio were also put together by schoolboys. The pioneer highlife guitarist Jacob Sam (Kwame Asare) began making public appearances early in life, when he *sat on the shoulders of his accordionist father, playing claves. Sam's nephew, the guitarist and concert band leader Kwaa Mensah, began his musical career in the 1930's as a small boy in the Atwem drum-and-fife band. The famous lady impersonator and falsetto with E.K. Nyame's Akan Trio, Kwabena Okai (or Okine), began his musical activities at thirteen when he joined a konkoma group. Nana Ampadu of the African Brothers first went on stage with Yamoah's concert party when he was fifteen years old.⁴

The youthful nature of popular drama performers is also found in other areas of West Africa. Jeyifo (1984:84) says that Kola Ogumola's Yoruba travelling theatre group included school children, whilst those of Hubert Ogunde, Oyin Adejobi and Akin Ogumbe contained the sons and daughters of these founder-leaders (Ibid:87). The three founders of the Happy

Stars of Lomé at its creation in 1965 were twenty-four, nineteen and eighteen years old and in 1973, when the group was filmed at the World Drama Festival at Nancy in France, its other twenty members, says Ricard (1984;69/70), ranged in age from seventeen to twenty-two. Ricard (Ibid:178) also mentions that this group is particularly popular with school leavers and apprentices, as well as the unemployed. Even younger was Angelique Kidjo of the Benin Republic who began her singing career when she was a six year old member of her mothers thirty-strong popular theatre group, the first in the country.⁵

Numerous West African musicians, including many that I have interviewed, began their careers early. E.T. Mensah of the Tempos dance-band joined the Accra Orchestra in 1933 at fourteen and the Tempos one-time drummer, Kofi Ghanaba, first began as a young boy in the late 1930's with the Accra Rhythmic Orchestra.⁶ The horn player Ignace de Souza of the Republic of Benin who led the Black Santiagos dance-band began playing professionally at sixteen with the Alfa Jazz band of Cotonu.⁷ Liberia's Daisy Moore began professional singing and composing at eight year old.⁸ The Bendel State born Nigerian highlife musician Victor Uwaifo played with Victor Olaiya's Lagos based dance-band as a schoolboy, as did the creator of Afro-beat, Fela Anikulapo-Kuti.⁹ The Lagotian musician Segun Bucknor who pioneered Afro-soul in the late 1960's had prior to this been a schoolboy member of Roy

Chicago's highlife dance-band,¹⁰ and the famous juju music exponent, Ebenezer Obey, joined the Royal Mambo Orchestra at the age of twelve.¹¹ Waterman (1986:254) mentions that the pioneering juju musician I.K. Dairo also began his career at twelve, and both Waterman (1990:64) and Alaja-Browne (1987:1) talk of this Yoruba genre emerging in the early 1930's from a group of 'area boys' of the Saro (Sierra Leone) Olowogbowo quarter of Lagos who had been playing together from the late 1920's.

In eastern and southern Africa a similar youthful contribution to syncretic performance styles has been observed. A seminal influence on beni music was, according to Ranger (1975:10), the brass band music of the children of freed slaves taught at christian missions like Freretown in Kenya. Likewise, Coplan (1985:267) notes that makwaya music had its origin in the South Africans attending mission schools. In the postwar era, Kubik (1981:87/8) stresses the importance of urban and wage earning youth for Kenyan popular dance music. The internationally famous South African trumpeter Hugh Masekela formed his first jazz band in the 1950's, when he was a fifteen year old schoolboy.¹²

Because of the low esteem of most popular entertainment genres, there is often strong opposition from parents, relatives and teachers to their youngsters becoming performers. As mentioned in Part One, Mr. Bampoe and his school boy Yanky Trio encountered family problems and the

J.J's lady impersonator Yaw Nyamekye got into trouble with his school master for joining a guitar band. Two examples discussed in Chapter Twenty were that both Jacob Sam's and Victor Uwaifo's respective fathers tried to stop them playing guitar. Bame (1985:20) says that I.K. Yeboah's Abuakwa Trio concert group of the 1950's actually collapsed due to parental problems. The elder brother of the Akan Trio's singer, Kwabena Okai, considered music a 'useless profession' and to lever the young Kwabena away from the konkoma group he had joined, he was sent to Accra in the early 1940's to learn tailoring. Unfortunately for the brother but luckily for Ghana, the tailor was Appiah Adjekum who played Hawaiian guitar and was just starting up a guitar band - which Kwabena Okai naturally enough joined.¹³

The resistance that young Ghanaian popular entertainers have encountered is found elsewhere in Africa. The Yoruba comic actor and popular theatre leader Moses Olaiya or 'Baba Sala' began his professional stage career as an instrumentalist with the Empire Hotel Dance Orchestra of Lagos, which his father, says Lakoju (1984:36), 'did not take kindly to.' Zaire's famous Luambo Franco was only able to begin his musical career as a twelve year old member of the Watam Band because his father, who wanted him to pursue an education, had died two years previously.¹⁴ The Krio elite of Sierra Leone, says Ware (1978:313) 'strongly discouraged their children from associating or with becoming popular

musicians.' The Ghanaian/Togolese percussionist Kofi Ayevor told me¹⁵ that his father wanted him to become a doctor, but Kofi was so keen to become a drummer that he would walk a `twenty mile round trip to see top Ghanaian bands like the Black Beats and E.T. Mensah's Tempos.' The father of the Senegalese musician Youssou N'Dour at one point, says Bender (1991:37) `forbade him to sing publicly,' whilst the parents of Côte d'Ivoire's Alpha Blondy were so incensed by his interest in music, his growing of rastafarian dreadlocks and his refusal to become a teacher, that they had him placed under psychiatric care for two years.¹⁶

The popular Nigerian/Cameroonian musician Prince Nico Mbarga actually released a record with his Rokafil Jazz in 1977 on the topic of parental opposition. This highlife sung in pidgin English and called `Music Line' is the story of Nicholas himself. The song begins with a father warning his son against going into the music business, as he will never be able to save enough money to settle down and get married.

However, it ends on a happy note, with the son replying that he has become so successful in the `music line' that he can afford several wives and a very large car.¹⁷

B. GENERATIONAL STRIFE IN POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT TEXTS

The theme of the young's lack of respect for their elders occurs in many of the plays of the Jaguar Jokers concert party. Mr. Johnson's daughter Asabea in `A Day Will

Come', who follows the flashy Tommy Fire to drinking bars and has no care for her sick mother, is an example; as is Johnson's daughter Sapona in 'Go Back To The Land' who ignores her father's advice and is lured to the big city. In the play 'Awisia Yi Wo Ani' it is the obedient Kofi Antobam, rather than the spoilt and disrespectful King Sam, who is successful in life. Mr. Johnson's general counsel to the audience in the closing moral of this play includes the following line: 'to the children I say this, young people should respect their elders, they shouldn't steal or go to beer bars.'

Other concert parties also dramatise the clash of generations. Indeed it is a facet of two of the oldest concert party characters, the moralising and once top-hatted 'gentleman' and the mischievous 'Bob' who is often a house-boy. The theme of the young versus the old occurs in one of the plays documented by Bame (1985). This is 'Think Twice' by the Golden Stars, which is about a 'boy about town' who dupes an illiterate old farmer.

In the above play the old farmer is sometimes made fun of for his poor English; which brings us to the point that it is not only the young who are criticised in concert plays, but also the old. In the J.J.'s play 'Onipa Hia Mmoa' the moralising Mr. Johnson never develops into an overbearing pompous bore, due to his numerous indiscretions described earlier. In 'Awisia Yi Wo Ani' Opia pokes fun of Johnson's

crotchety old age by making exaggerated efforts to help him sit down, whilst shouting 'hold him, he is somebodies old man', which the audience finds hilarious. In their television play 'Ewo Bibiara', Mr Johnson actually has a fight with another old man, which Opia characteristically encourages.

With both Togolese and Nigerian popular theatre, contrasting old and young stereotypes are depicted. The Happy Stars of Lomé has its 'playboys' and 'girls' dressed in the latest fashions, as well as a 'gentleman' and an old man leaning on a cane.¹⁸ Barber (1990:20) mentions that the characters of Yoruba popular plays include illiterate old parents making comic misinterpretations of modern ways and 'sly cynical houseboys.' Beier (1954:33) says that Kola Ogunmola's Yoruba dramas typically contains a 'strong-headed child who is punished for his disobedience.'

Highlife songs also sometimes dwell on the generational topic, as with Mr Johnson's closing moral which he sings in the J.J.'s play 'Awisia Yi Wo Ani' referred to above. Another J.J.'s example is Kwaw Tawia's song in 'Onipa Hia Mmoa', in which this drunkard accuses his mother of being a witch whom he has to protect himself from by putting 'medicine' in his hair. A very popular song of the early 1970's that also condemned the old was the Big Beats Afro-beat type of highlife 'Kyenkyemna Osi Akwan', which compares the old to a vine or 'broken thing' that crosses and blocks

the path of the youth who want to get on in life.¹⁹

The generational theme in highlife music, however, is not always one of tension. One such by E.K. Nyame's Akan Trio called 'Ao Magya No Mama' (Oh, My Father and Mother) calls for peace. The singer says that he, like many other children, offended his parents by destroying the property they gave him, but now like the Prodigal Son, he has humbled himself and come back to his parents to be taken as a servant if necessary.²⁰ Some highlifes lyrics also reflect the worries that the older generation has in understanding the ways of the young. An example by the Black Beats dance band is their mid-1950's record 'Tsutsu Blema Beneke' which translates from Ga as 'the old days were not like this.' This song was an adaption of an old Ga highlife song that laments on how things are changing, and how young lovers are behaving differently, by showing their affection too openly.²¹

C. GENERATIONAL DISPUTES WITHIN POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT GROUPS

As noted in Part One, the J.J.'s leader Mr. Bampoe made many complaints about his 'band boys' whom he said were fickle rascals, 'wee' (marijuana) smokers, heavy drinkers, swollen headed and constantly quarrelling over women. An example of the latter occurred at Mangoase when some of the younger members of the J.J.'s tried to 'kidnap' some female members of the audience after the show, which so infuriated

Mr. Bampoe and his executive that they put a ban on bandsmen 'roaming about' town. During this fracas the young bandsmen called Mr. Bampoe 'kyenkyemna' or decrepit, the title of the popular song of the Big Beats discussed above.

Another cause of friction between the younger and older members of the J.J.'s is that it is usually the young who introduce the latest styles and fashions. Sometimes these are accepted - as in the case of the band's incorporation of Afro-beat, reggae and Afro-rock music between 1969 and 1973.

Sometimes however innovations are rejected, as with Bampoe's complaint about the 'bandboys' putting on earrings and colouring the nail. Indeed, the term 'bandboys' itself is a reflection of the executive's attitude towards younger members: and this patronising expression is current with many band owners.

E.T. Mensah, the leader of the Tempos dance-band criticises his 'band boys' by saying that they 'don't love music as much as we did in our early days. It's the dough they're after, and if they don't get it they simply move on to another band. Discipline is another headache. The bandsmen today are swollen headed and everyone of them styles himself a star. Musicians do tend to be young and wild and they like women, drink and wee (marijuana). But since I've been with the Tempos I've tried not to direct my band into that frenzied life.'²²

This age difference in the Tempos became exacerbated

after 1967, when E.T. Mensah had to re-organise the group and include some of his own sons and their peers. As he explains, these 'young boys did not like to play waltzes, quicksteps, slow foxtrots and other Victor Sylvestor type numbers: they didn't like highlife music much either. All they were interested in were Congo numbers and pop music I nearly gave up music because I was being compelled to play music out of my taste.'²³

The problem that E.T. Mensah was facing at the time was that during the 1960s the music of Congo jazz from Zaire and pop music from the West were sweeping through Ghana's younger generation, and many youthful 'pop chains and 'soul brother' competitions were organised for student bands by Faisal Helwani, Raymond Azziz and other local impresarios.²⁴ The youth therefore began to treat the older highlife dance-bands and their music as 'colo'; colonial and old-fashioned

King Bruce of the Black Beats dance-band also felt the sixties generation pressure. He responded to this in 1969 by letting his Black Beats to provide the highlife and ballroom repertoire whilst he managed new bands to cater for the latest styles. One such group was the Barbecues whose members says Bruce were 'mostly playing pop music and imagined they were the Beatles and Rolling Stones.' He complains that other groups of 'scruffily dressed youths' also came to him to be managed. Whereas Bruce knew the members of his Black Beat dance-band intimately, he really

did not know the youngsters in the pop groups he managed, which led him to complain that 'some of them had all the bad characteristics of bandsmen; running always with money, indiscipline and so on.'²⁵

Nigerian examples of this type of friction are found in various popular performance genres. The highlife musician Victor Uwaifo, commenting on the large number of musicians that have passed through his Melody Maestros band says, 'after a time they became stagnant and uncontrollable. Or they don't find it interesting anymore to play with me as they want to branch out and find better opportunities elsewhere ...it is a task to keep going... they don't lead responsible lives.'²⁶ Barber (1987:65) refers to the 'father figure' leader of Yoruba travelling theatre who is surrounded by an inner core of permanent artists and fluctuating 'outer rings of increasing instability.' Waterman (1982:67-9) has actually written a paper on the subject of band seniority that is about the problems between 'Captain' Dayo Adeyemi, the leader of an Ibadan juju-music band, and his bandsmen; which became particularly tense when he went to Mecca and bought a new car.

D. YOUTH CULTURES, JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND GENERATIONAL CONFLICT

As described in Part One, the J.J.'s concert party became involved in a dispute in June 1972 between the youths

and elders of the town of Pokuase over the question as to whether the band's percussionists could play during the drumming ban that precedes the traditional Ga 'homowo' festival. This connection between Ghanaian popular performance and social friction of a generational nature can be further illustrated by the example of local 'pop' music and by the neo-traditional *simpa* and *kpanlogo* genres.

The sixties and seventies 'pop' generation of Ghana adopted many youth fashions and heroes from abroad, and treated the older generation as 'colo' or out-of-date. A fashion in vogue in the mid-sixties was Italian clothes and pointed shoes, and a hero of the period was the 'Jack Toronto' cowboy character of Italian 'spaghetti westerns'. To be called by this name was a form of praise amongst youths and from the late sixties other terms of acclaim that became current were 'psychedelic', 'Santana man', 'soul brother', 'Afro' and 'Peace Corp': the latter stemming from the motorbike riding American Peace Corp volunteers, many of whom before the Nixon era wore beads and long hair. The other expressions were borrowed from the rock music of the 'hippie' and 'flower power' generation, and from African-American soul and motown music that projected a message of black pride. Linked to this imported pop culture was the emergence of a new generation of local bands, like the Psychedilic Aliens, Cosmic Boom, Fourth Dimension, Pagadeja and Hedzolleh (Freedom) that played psychedelic rock, Latin-rock and soul -

as well as the Africanised offshoots, Afro-rock and Afro-beat. It was one of this variety of band, the Big Beats, that released the Ga Afrobeat 'Kyenkyemma' that condemned the older generation. Some of these bands were featured in the local Ghanaian film 'Doing Their Thing' that exactly captures the fashions and ambiance of the times. It is about a father who puts obstacles in the way of his daughter becoming a pop musician.²⁷

Also relevant to the generational struggle is the northern Ghanaian neo-traditional 'simpa' music that evolved in the Dagbon traditional area during the 1930s, when local recreational music became acculturated with imported western and southern Ghanaian performance styles; including the music of concert parties and highlife bands. When I stayed in the Dagomba capital of Yendi in 1974 there were two rival simpa groups, called 'Wait and See' and the 'Real Unity Stars'. These consisted of a group of young male percussionists and female singers and dancers, all aged between ten and sixteen years old. Besides local Dagomba songs and highlifes, they also played their own renditions of Congo jazz, soul music and the twist.

I was told that simpa music had always been associated with the young and frowned upon by the older people, as since its inception simpa gatherings have been considered as improper places for young boys and girls to meet. This generational stress has become compounded in the post-

colonial era by the fact that the two competing groups in Yendi each supports one of two sides of a political moiety in the town (and indeed Dagbon in general) based on a longstanding dispute over the chiefly succession between the Abdullai and Andani royal houses. In 1969 this became so serious that there was major violence in Yendi and a six-month ban was imposed by the police on what they believed was inflammatory simpá music.²⁸

Chernoff (1979:212/3) mentions a newer acculturated recreational percussion genre²⁹ that swept through Dagbon in the 1970's called 'atikatika' which is played by children between the ages of five years old and the early teens. These children are known for singing witty songs related to the chieftaincy dispute just mentioned and 'think nothing of attacking local figures like school head-masters and prominent businessmen.' Due to their political lyrics and outrageous gossip about the older generation, atiktika groups have been periodically banned by the local and national authorities. Neo-traditional kpanlogo is a southern acculturated music that in its early days became the focus of youthful identity and protest. It was created around 1962 by some Ga youths in the fishermen's Bukom area of Accra who merged the old Ga kolomashie dance with elements of western 'pop' and oge, the latter being a Liberian seaman's percussion music popular with Ga's from the 1950's. Because of the exaggerated pelvic movements of the kpanlogo dance,

borrowed from rock 'n' roll's 'Elvis the Pelvis' and Chubby Checker's 'twist', the older generation initially opposed this new-fangled traditional genre, claiming it was sexually suggestive. Otoo Lincoln, one of the originators of this dance and music told me that a director of the Ghana Arts Council 'wanted to spoil the name of kpanlogo.... and said my dance was no good as one of the beats in the dance makes the body move in an indecent way.'³⁰ As a result of the ensuing quarrel between the Ga youths and some older members of the Accra public a demonstration was organised in 1965 for the by then fifty kpanlogo groups. It was held at Black Star Square in Accra where President Nkrumah and some members of his C.P.P. government, who were present as arbitrators, endorsed this percussion backed dance-music as genuine 'cultural' music.

Nevertheless, even after this official blessing, the Ga musician Jones Attuquayefio told me of³¹ kpanlogo performers he knew who were arrested by the police, their drums seized, with some of the musicians caned and put in the cells for a few days. One reason for this harassment, says Attuquayefio, was that early kpanlogo (and indeed rock 'n' roll) were popular with the fashionably dressed 'young rascally Tokyo Joes' who were the supporters and 'action troops' of Dr. Busia's anti-C.P.P. United Party. They used kpanlogo rhythms to accompany their anti-Nkrumah songs.

Another factor contributing to this harassment may have

been that the content of the short dance-dramas that are often part of a kpanlogo session, are sometimes anti-establishment. An example I saw in 1975 was an open air performance by Frank Lane's group of James Town.³² Their Ga play was about a government health inspector catching and summoning some street sellers for not putting netting over their foodstuffs as protection from flies. They begged the official to let them off and got him drunk, so that he began dancing the kpanlogo. While he was doing this the culprits ran away, and when the inspector realised he had been tricked he tore up the summons and threw the pieces in the air.

The association between acculturated entertainment and fashion conscious and often admired juvenile delinquents, such as Ghana's 'Tokyo Joes', has been observed in other parts of Africa. Alaja-Browne (unpublished:4/5 and 23) says that although the competing groups of Lagos 'area boys' who created juju music in the 1930's were of 'low status coupled with deviant behaviour,' they were also respected and feared for their courage in championing their districts.

In South Africa the 'Blue Nines' gangs of the interwar period consisted of school drop-outs who drank, smoked 'dagga' (marijuana), spoke 'flytal' slang³³ and danced to marabi music. They were followed in the mid-1940's by the flytal-speaking 'tsotsis'; anti-social city youth who enjoyed imported jazz, the jitterbug dance and the local sexually suggestive 'jive' dance-music. Their dress was the then

highly regarded American 'zoot suite': thus the name 'tsotsi' (pronounced 'zoat-si'). According to Coplan,³⁴ as conditions worsened in South Africa during the 1950's the tsotsis turned into violent thugs and protection racketeers, modelled on the gangsters they saw in American films.

The Zairean equivalent to the tsotsis were the 'Bills' or 'Buffalo Bills' of the fifties and sixties who rode bicycles and motorbikes and watched cowboy films. They particularly favoured the Congo jazz of Minzoto Wela Wela, the Orchestra Negro Success and Zaiko Langa Langa. The latter band formed in 1969 was influenced by western rock guitarists and so did away with the usual horn section of other contemporary Congo jazz bands. The Zaiko Langa Langa format was subsequently mimicked by a host of similar Zairean guitar-bands that became the focus for student and youth cults of the 1970's and 1980's.³⁵ One of the most well known was that of Papa Wemba, who went on to become the leader of the 'sapeurs'; the Kinshasha youth who wear the latest expensive imported French fashions. Nkolo (1990:29) believes that this 'sapeur' cult may partly be a youth reaction to President Mobutu's 'authenticite' policy of the 1970's which attempted to ban European dress.

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CHAPTER TWENTY THREE

WOMEN ON STAGE

Jealous co-wives, hightime girls, Cinderella-like heroines, evil aunts and strong-willed mummies abound in concert plays. In the old days these were all played by men in drag singing in falsetto voices. Today these female impersonators are being gradually replaced by a rising tide of professional stage artistes.

In many of the Jaguar Jokers plays women are depicted in a misogynous light: as spoilt 'hightime girls', jealous co-wives, wicked stepmothers and evil witches. Male chauvanism is the central plot of their play 'The End of Our Greedy Women' in which a mother encourages her daughter to marry for money. 'Onipa Ni Aye' is about a woman's downfall arising from making her own friends against her husband's wishes. The guitar playing seductress, Owurama, in Kwaa Mensah's 'Bamboozle' play (see Appendix of Plays) is another case in point. Other examples of negative female stereotyping are the 'jantra' call-girls and spoilt 'London ladies' that appear in the concert plays of F. Micah and Bob Cole, and the 'ashao' (prostitute) and cruel stepmother of the Happy Stars of Lomé.¹ Barber (1990:20 and 1986) also mentions the frowned on 'cash madams' and worldly single women that appear in Yoruba travelling theatre, whilst Beier (1954:33) refers to an example from this genre that concerns

a man whose wife deserts him after he loses his money.

This low esteem for women in popular drama also extends to highlife lyrics. Indeed, Asante-Darko and van der Geest (1983) have written an article specifically on this topic. Early examples of the male chauvinist theme occur in two 1940's recordings by Kwadwo Mireku's guitar band. One is 'Enno Seewa' about a troublesome women called Seewa, the other is 'Mede Meho' (I Bring Myself) in which a man complains that his love for a woman who is not up to his standard has trapped him.² A more recent example³ is Koo Nimo's humorous odonson highlife 'Okosua Lampah'. This is about a man who is found on the floor after a brawl with his wife, and the song advises men to marry women they can beat, rather than ones who beat them. Another recent example is the African Brothers song 'Moondie Love' that Oppong (1979) says satirises women who only follow men at the end of the month (i.e. moon-die), when wages are paid.

Oppong also provides some dance-band highlife examples. The Sweet Talks 'Angelina' is about an unfaithful wife, and the expression 'cocoa love' in their song 'Ye bo Bi' refers to the rude and 'bush' behaviour of a wife to her husband. Another is the Ramblers dance-band's 'Awura Artificial' that lampoons women who put on airs. King Bruce's Black Beats also released a number of dance-band highlifes denigrating women. 'Ao! De! Oh!' is a plea to an impatient girl-friend called Dede. 'As Regular As a Record Changer' refers to women who

jump from man to man. A third Black Beats example is 'De Hehuo' (That Which is Faded) in which a man advises women who want to be with him to use lip-stick, have their hair stretched and wear new, not faded, clothes.⁴

The low regard for women in the concert party and highlife band genre is also manifested in the reluctance of band leaders to allow women to join their groups; which is why up to recently female parts and voices have been performed by men. Mr Bampoe of the J.J.'s told me in 1974 that forty women had approached him for a job as actress-singer, but he had never hired any because women members of the audience would be annoyed to see their husbands admire a real woman on stage. Likewise, the pioneer concert comic, Bob Johnson, said that 'a girl on stage would be branded as a girl without morals.'⁵

Vida Hynes (née Oparabea), who worked as a teenager in the early 1960's with concert parties, told me in 1990 that there was a similar reluctance to accept women into Okutiekue's concert group of Agona Swedru. The band manager thought it would create bad luck for women to move with men, especially, as Oparabea explains 'when females have menstruated and they touch band instruments - as the band may not then succeed.' She continues, 'a lot of men in Ghana think that if a female is having a menstruation, she should not cook dinner for her husband, nor sleep with him - but just keep low.' Vida Oparabea also had problems with some of

the people in the towns she played in and recalls a man saying to her 'we men are waiting for you to grow up so we can marry you, and all you do is follow a bunch of musicians around.' Townspeople also called her 'ashao' or prostitute and she once even fought a woman for calling her this. She was advised by the Okutiekus' manager and the police not to punch members of the audience again.

Oparabea also had trouble from her family, particularly as she was only thirteen years old when she first ran away from home to join Okutiekus' group and her elder cousin, Amma, who was already acting female and orphan parts with the band. Once, when waiting at her hometown of Adeiso for the concert bus to pick her up, Oparabea was arrested by four policemen on the instructions of her uncle, and jailed overnight as a runaway child. Nevertheless, the next day she rejoined the band. On another occasion Oparabea's mother took her, together with Amma and two other girls, to the Chief of Adeiso to whom she gave a bottle of schnapps. The chief then lectured the four young women for hours as to what their duties and chores were. He advised them 'to get married, have children and help their mother's at the farm or do marketing, as women have no place where a man is and should understand that she is the last person that counts when it comes to men.' Oparabea continues, 'these were heavy talks and I was yawning and the four of us girls were making little laughs - but the chief didn't notice.' Not

surprisingly Oparabea went on to join another concert party, but this time in Accra and far away from home.

Another concert woman who told me she had family problems is Adelaide Buabeng, who in 1965 ran away from home when she was sixteen to join the Workers Brigade Concert Party. Her relatives were particularly annoyed as they belonged to a royal Akan family who considered the concert profession as 'hopeless'. Her mother, however, supported Adelaide and gave a bottle of schnapps to the chief each year to allow her daughter to continue her acting career.

This low regard for women in both the texts, and as performers of popular entertainment, has been observed in other parts of black Africa. Mitchell (1956) talks of the lampooning of the 'smart young miss' by the kalela groups of southern and central Africa during the 1930's and 40's. One of the songs by the well-known 1950's Zairean 'dry' guitarist, Mwenda Jean Bosco, contains the line 'a woman without a husband is like a bicycle without a lamp.'⁶ Some Nigerian examples of song-lyrics that censure women are Godwin Omogbewa's highlife of the early seventies called 'Man On Top'⁷ and the contemporary Afro-beat of Fela Anikulapo-Kuti called 'Lady' who 'go say she equal to man.... she got power like man.' This attitude Anikulapo-Kuti compares unfavourably to the 'African woman' who knows that 'man na (is) master.'⁸

The Nigerian musicologist Omibiye-Obidike (1987:25/6)

points out that women popular musicians are portrayed by her countries public as being 'immoral and sexually loose,' and she quotes the artistes Onyeka Onwenu and Oby Onyioha who talk of the 'belittling' of female musicians as 'cheap girls.' Omibiyi-Obidike (Ibid) also says that Nigerian parents do not encourage their daughters to become professional performers; disapproval also commented on by Aicha Kone, one of the top female stars of the Côte d'Ivoire. She says 'not all families will accept a woman to be an artist and embrace her as a bride. Lack of trust in female artists sometimes creates problems in our personal lives. You are rejected in your marriage, they think an artist cannot be a serious person, that she is never at home, travelling all the time.'⁹

As noted in previous chapters, the status of all professional popular entertainers is low as a result of their itinerant life, their youthfulness and their intermediate position, compounded by imported elitist attitudes to popular culture. However, women performers, as can be appreciated from the above discussion, are held in particularly low esteem. One group of reasons for this stems from traditional African attitudes.

The menstrual taboo that Vida Oparabea talks of is one cause, and it is a general African custom for women to seclude themselves during their monthly period. There is also a widespread prohibition on women using certain

instruments such as horns and drums that are reserved for men.¹⁰ Amongst the Akans of Ghana for instance, women are not allowed to play drums (except pressure drums) but are allowed to play bamboo stamping tubes and rattles.¹¹ There is also a long tradition in African dramatic performance for women's roles to be played by men. This is found in the female impersonators associated with both the liminal festivals mentioned in Chapter Ten, and with indigenous theatre; such as that of the Mande people and the Ibo Okumkpo theatre with its 'drag' parades.¹²

These traditional carry-overs that have lowered the status of contemporary female popular artists have been exacerbated by some of the aspects of urbanisation and westernisation discussed in Chapter Nineteen. These include the demise of the extended and polygynous family, an increase in prostitution resulting from the high ratio of urban male migrants, the formal education of women and the introduction of new sexual norms. All these have combined to threaten traditional male authority, which explains why popular texts so often dwell on the subject of sexual tension, marriage treachery, prostitution, witchcraft accusations and the duplicity of city women.¹³

**THE ENTRANCE OF WOMEN INTO POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT AND
THE FOUR MAJOR REASONS FOR THIS**

With some exceptions, until the 1960's there were few

African women popular stage artists. In Nigeria up to this time the popular music field was 'dominated by men' and Ghanaian highlife was 'mainly a male affair'.¹⁴ The situation is quite different today, however, with many of Africa's top singing stars being women. Some are also breaking the taboo against women playing drums and solo instruments. Zimbabwe's Stella Chrisweshe plays the traditionally male mbira lamellophone, and Ghana's Asabea Cropper plays alto sax. In spite of the guitar's unsavoury reputation, women are also nowadays playing it: like Ghana's Vida Rose, the Nigerian juju band leader Queen Decency, the Nigerian bass guitarist Jolly Okwanugo Ebonwu,¹⁵ and the members of Guinea's all-female Les Amazons dance-band.

Let us here examine the situation in Ghana where, before the 1960's, there were only a handful of well-known female popular performers. One of the earliest references to one is in the 1929 Zonophone West African Catalogue that mentions the singer Akousia Bonso, who accompanied George William Aingo's Fanti guitar and accordion recordings. Kofi Ghanaba¹⁶ talks about Squire Addo's discovery in the late 1930's of Aku Tawia, who had a voice 'like a nightingale.' The Ga pianist Addo subsequently took her to London to record Ga highlifes for Zonophone, including one called 'Tiitaa Nmaa Wolo' or 'Sweet Canary Write a Letter'. It should be noted that the konkoma highlife groups of the 1930's and 40's also contained women members, but not as instrumentalists, only as

singers and dancers.¹⁷ There were also a few famous female names in the 1950's, particularly Julie Okine who sang with the Tempos dance-band, and Perpetual Hammond who acted with the Bob Vans concert party.

During the sixties however, women began to join Ghanaian popular bands in some numbers. In the early part of the decade some of the concert female impersonators began to be replaced by professional actresses. These included Asha of Arebela's group, Margaret Qainoo, Adelaide Buabeng and Comfort Akua Dampo of the Workers Brigade Concert Party and Madame Kenya of the Riches Big Sound. They were followed by Vida Rose and Efua Sutherland who both set up their own concert parties in the late sixties. A succession of star concert actresses have appeared since then who will be referred to later.

It was also in the sixties that the first female pop stars, many influenced by the imported genre, entered into local show business. The first to be acclaimed were Lola Everett and Charlotte Dada, the latter starring in the 1972 musical film 'Doing Their Thing' about a young girl who, against her father's wishes, becomes a soul singer. Since the seventies more and more women have moved into the commercial music and recording scene. There was Efua Dokonu who, like the late Bella Bello of neighbouring Togo,¹⁸ sings 'pop' songs in Ewe; Naa Amanua who sings Ga 'cultural' songs and highlifes; and Joanna Okang who sang with the Uhurus

dance-band. Important Akan recording artistes who also began their careers in the seventies were Mumbea, Janet Osei and Awura Ama. They were followed in the eighties by Abena Nyarteh who is the daughter of the concert band leader Senior Eddie Donkor, and Akosua Amoam, Akosua Agyepong and Yaa Oforiwa who like Mumbea, worked with Nana Ampadu and his Africa Brothers band. The singer-composer Lady Talata Heidi from northern Ghana also entered the popular music arena in the eighties - as have a large number of other female pop singers¹⁹ and local 'gospel' artists.

The rest of this chapter will examine the postwar 'explosion of female artists', as Omibiyi-Obidike (1987:4) puts it, by focusing on four major causes. These are the impact of black and white foreign artists; the effect of government policies of the newly emergent African nations; aspects of the traditional ethos that have helped rather than hindered female participation in popular entertainment; and the importance of the christian church as an avenue for musical women.

**1. THE LIBERATING INFLUENCE OF FOREIGN FEMALE ARTISTS
AND 'SOLO SINGER SUPERSTARS'**

Some of the first professional foreign female artists to visit Africa were the members of the sexually mixed Black American spiritual and minstrel outfits who performed on the continent around the turn-of-the-century: such as McAdoo's

Jubilee Singers, the Fisk Jubilee Singers and the vaudeville group led by the American singer Black Patti.²⁰ A later American female influence on Africa came through what Omibiyi-Obidike (1987:5) calls the 'solo singer superstars' who were associated with the jazz and swing bands of the 1930's and 40's. These include black women such as Ethel Waters, Ella Fitzgerald, Billy Holiday and Lena Horne, as well as the white singers Judy Garland and Peggy Lee. It was the music of these artistes on record and film²¹ that led to the first small but significant number of African female stars.

One of the first was the Zimbabwean singer Dorothy Mazuka whose career goes back to the 1930's²² and who says Makwenda (1990:5/6) 'specialised in African versions of American jazz favourites.' By the early fifties there were others²³ in what was then the British Rhodesias (present Zambia and Zimbabwe), even though at the time 'Zimbabwean society did not approved of women being musicians.'

The most famous female jazz-influenced singer to come out of Africa since the Second World War is undoubtedly South Africa's Miriam Makeba, who was influenced by both Dorothy Mazuka and the records of foreign female singing stars. In 1952, and in spite of a young women going on stage being then considered 'something bad,' Makeba joined her first band. This was the Manhattan Brothers that was modelled on the American Ink Spots and Mills Brothers close-harmony

groups. Later Makeba formed her own female quartet called the Skylarks which Coplan (1985:178) says was inspired by the American Andrews Sisters. The Skylarks in turn paved the way for the 'simanje-manje' popular music of the 1960's and 70's performed by such groups as the Dark City Sisters and the Mahotella Queens. Moreover, after Makeba went to the United States in 1959 and became an international star, she helped make popular entertainment a respectable career for African women.²⁴ Makebeba also says that it was she who introduced the 'Afro' haircut to America during the heyday of the black power movement in the sixties. Ironically, the 'Afro' haircut and wig were re-exported to Africa where it replaced the previously fashionable European wig, and was itself superseded by a craze for local African plaits and hair-sculpturing in the late seventies.

In West Africa, jazz and swing became part of the local night-life from the Second World War period. Ghanaba (1975:60) refers to the local women, Dinah Attah who had visited the United States and sang jazz numbers in a 'wild bar' in Accra that catered for wartime American G.I.'s. E.T. Mensah told me that his Tempos highlife dance-band, although initially an all-male group when it was formed towards the end of the war, was by 1953 featuring the women maracas player Agnes Ayite and the singer Juliana Okine. A year later the Rhythm Aces dance-band included a Nigerian singer called Cathy.²⁵ A stimulus to local dance-band women came

from the 1956 visit to Ghana by Louis Armstrong and his All Stars that included the famous blues singer, Velma Middleton.²⁶

Nigerian swing and jazz was pioneered by the late Bobby Benson who, in 1948 and together with his English wife Cassandra²⁷, began their Modern Theatrical Troupe in Lagos. The pair danced the jitterbug to jazz and boogie-woogie music played by women saxophone and trumpet players. They were often accompanied by the local Aiken Sisters singing group and later the Nigerian/Sierra Leonian jazz vocalist, Maude Meyer. Benson's dance-band was also the first Nigerian popular music group to introduce 'dancing girls - cabaret type' on stage.²⁸ An earlier feminine musical influence on Benson was, according to Williams (1983:51), that he first became interested in the guitar and popular music through a women musician he met in Cape Verde, after landing there during the war in a life-boat, having been torpedoed aboard a British navy vessel.

In more recent years it has been soul, pop, 'hot' gospel and reggae singing foreign women who have provided a model for African artistes. Kazadi (1973:276) comments on the importance of Aretha Franklin as well as James Brown for the 'kiri kiri' style of Congo-jazz. Nigeria's Patti Boulaye says she constantly listens to American females singers²⁹, whilst the countries top reggae artistes Peggy Umanah and Evi Edna Ogholi-Ogosi take their inspiration from Afro-Caribbean

women.

Particularly significant is that since the 1960's many black American, Latin and Caribbean women performers have visited Africa. Millicent Small or 'Millie' made an African tour in the late 1960's, the Brazilian Omo Alakya performed at Nigeria's FESTAC '77 and Bob Marley's 'I Three' female singers played at Zimbabwe's independence celebration in 1980. In Ghana a number of African-American women appeared at the 1971 'Soul to Soul' concert, including Tina Turner, the Staple Singers, Roberta Flack and the female members of the Voices of East Harlem. In 1974 there was a visit by the jazz pianist Patti Brown and more recently ones by Jermaine Jackson and Dionne Warwick. In the early 1990's Nina Simone and Rita Marley decided to put down roots and settle in Ghana.

2. THE EFFECT OF AFRICAN GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES

The cultural and educational policies of the newly independent African states have also contributed to the entrance of women into popular entertainment. These policies include the establishment of state and para-statal bands and theatres, the projection of local performing arts through the mass media and government endorsed local and Pan African festivals. To start with some non Ghanaian examples, in 1961 the Guinea government set up the Les Amazons dance-band of the female gendarmerie which launched the singing career of

Sona Diabete. Ten years later the Nigerian government formed Maggie Aghumo's all-female Armed Forces Band³⁰ whilst Liberia's Fatu Gayflor rose to fame through her country's National Cultural Troupe. For some instances of women playing at state sponsored festivals we can take Nigeria's FESTAC '77 where M'Pongo Love, Miriam Makeba, Yatta Zoe and Les Amazons represented Zaire, black South Africa, Liberia and Guinea respectively. Omibiyi-Obidike (1987:5) claims that the opening-up of Nigerian education to women in her country's post-independence era led them 'to venture into areas that were otherwise dominated by men,' and she refers (Ibid) to the university background of singers Dora Ifudu and Onyeka Onwenu. The Yoruba Lijadu Sisters also had a 'substantial educational background'³¹ as did Liberia's Miatta Fahnbulleh³² and Yatta Zoe.

The Ghanaian government opened-up a major avenue for concert party actresses when in the early sixties President Nkrumah formed the Workers Brigade concert group that employed Margaret Quainoo, Adelaide Buaben and Comfort Akua Dampo. When the Brigade group broke-up in the mid sixties some of these actresses joined the Kusum Agromba concert party, founded in 1969 by the university lecturer Efua Sutherland and linked with the National Drama Studio.³³

Since then a large number of concert actresses have risen to fame; many being members of the new brand of mixed caste television concert party series that began in the early

seventies. The first was the Osofo Dadzie series that starred Beatrice Kissi and Florence Mensah, and after it was re-continued in 1986, the actresses Joyce Agyeman and Mary Adjei. The Obra concert party, formed in 1982, also has a mixed caste that has included Esi Kom, Cecilia Adjei and the group's lead character Grace Omaboe, whose stage name is 'Mammy Dokoku' and who is the Director of the group. Omaboe was at one time the School Drama Organiser for Greater Accra and Cecilia Adjei is a university lecturer.

Although not strictly a popular musician, Dinah Reindorf is another highly educated artiste. She studied at the Royal College of Music before setting up her thirty-two strong Dwenesie Choir in the mid-seventies that has released records, appeared on television and represented Ghana at FESTAC '77. In 1976 she became the Director of the Ghana National Orchestra. I asked her in 1984 whether there was any resistance in Ghana to her musical career - and as her reply is pertinent to the present discussion I will quote it in full.

People here tend to look upon music as something of a man's world; and I remember being asked at FESTAC '77 after a performance, how I felt about being in a man's world, during a television interview. I found the question rather amusing because I cannot find any good reason why women cannot progress in music or any other field of work. I believe there should be no labels. I even have a lady in my choir who is a welder in the Fire Service. We have two hands, two feet and a mind we can apply. In music, the main thing is to have a feel for it and to be able to express yourself through it. Women, especially in Africa,

find it easier to express themselves. So I think the idea of keeping them in the background is out of this time. There is so much women can do - and with such grace. They bring enhancement and balance to most things.'³⁴

3. TRADITIONAL FACTORS THAT HAVE ABETTED POPULAR ARTISTES

In spite of the traditional restrictions and taboos on musical women mentioned earlier, there are aspects of African culture that have facilitated women's entrance onto the popular stage. The most obvious is that there are African societies that have a tradition of female professional performers - which has simply been continued into the present. An example is the 'djely mouso' or West African female hereditary jali or griot. They customarily sing, clap, dance and play small percussion instruments that accompany the kora, xylophone - and today guitar - that are played by men. Many of Mali's current top singing stars, such as Fanta Damba, Fanta Sacko, Tata Bambo, Koutay Kouyate and Ami Koita, fall into this category.³⁵

Another important feature of pre-colonial Africa was that women were not excluded from the musical sphere altogether: indeed the hunter-gatherer societies of the Kung bushmen and Mbuti pygmies were completely egalitarian in their music making.³⁶ In agricultural communities too, women played a major role in art production, although women's and men's art often constituted very different spheres of activity.³⁷ Roberts (1974:50/1) claims that there is a

widespread African tendency to regard certain sorts of music and musical instruments as being for men and others for women. Nketia (1961) refers to the organisation of African music into feminine domestic and maiden songs, and masculine hunting and warrior songs. Let us take a few examples.

Omibiye-Obidike (1987:5) says that Yoruba women have a special realm of music specifically meant for them, and the members of the Bundu secret age-set society of the Mende women of Sierra Leone, like the Poro initiation society counterpart, have their own specific drums, instruments and songs.³⁸ The Tiv of Nigeria have exclusively women's wedding dances to welcome a new bride and Keil (1979:155) notes there is a marked difference in the way Tiv men and women dance. In northern Ghana there is a twirling dance for Dagbani men called 'takai' and one for women called 'tora'.³⁹ The coastal Fantis of Ghana have the male 'kununku' and female 'akrodo' recreational dances that were referred to in Chapter Ten. Similarly, the neighbouring coastal Ga people have the male music of the 'asafo' warrior companies and what Hampton (1978:2) calls their 'auxiliary' and mainly female 'adowa' performance groups. The Ga's borrowed both the asafo and adowa age-set ensembles from the Akans, and amongst both these Ghanaian ethnic groups it is the women who play small percussion instruments and stamping tubes whilst the men play the drums.

Besides traditional female performing groups there are

also cases in Africa of local female clubs and associations being linked to popular entertainment. Coplan (1979/80:66) mentions that the South African fund raising 'stokfel' societies that patronised local marabi and brass-band music, were rotating-credit systems rooted in the female initiation societies of the Tswana people. The interwar beni music of East and Central Africa that was played by local 'askari' soldiers and male migrant workers also had a female equivalent. These were the 'lelemama' dance associations that Ranger (1975:Appendix) says consisted of single women, widows, deserted wives, traders and prostitutes. A Nigerian example is the all-female neotraditional Yoruba-Islamic 'waka' genre, that goes back to the late 19th century.⁴⁰

A Ghanaian example of a neotraditional ensemble that involves women are the modern Ga 'cultural groups'. These consciously draw on this ethnic group's folkmusic, which traditionally has a place for women. Indeed, the name of the pioneering cultural group of the early seventies, 'Wulomei', is the Ga word for both indigenous priests and priestesses. This popular genre has subsequently introduced large numbers of Ga women to commercial music. However, unlike the traditional segregation of music into male and female spheres, such as the asafo and adowa groups mentioned above, gender separation is not so marked in modern Ga 'cultural' dance-music where men and women appear on the same stage together. The women sing, dance and play small percussion

instruments such as the maracas and claves, whilst the men sing and play the drums, guitar and solo instruments. Infact, this format has been the prevalent sexual division of labour in Ghanaian popular music groups in general; including guitar-bands, dance-bands and 'pop' bands. Having said this however, it must be reiterated that since the seventies women have also begun to play guitars, horns and conga drums. This also applies to the Ga 'cultural groups' where today men as well as women play solos on the bamboo 'atenteben' flutes. Indeed, one of the most currently well-known of these groups, Suku Troupe, is run by the woman Naa Amanua, who is the ex-vocalist of Wulomei.

Besides continuing the African custom of having women performers, popular entertainment sometimes expresses the sentiments of both female solidarity and protest, again a long African tradition. Some examples of traditional songs of solidarity are the corn-grinding tunes of the Hausa wives of northern Nigeria, the recreational nnwonkoro music of adult Ashanti women, the paired dance performances of the Nankani and Kassena women on northern Ghana, and the fifty-strong choirs of the 'Amazon' warrior army of the 19th century kingdom of Dahomey. The Akan 'adowa' groups also perform songs in praise of the queen-mother, who is also known as the 'Adowahemma' or 'Adowa Queen.'⁴¹

In the case of traditional feminine musical protest Diawara (1985) cites the case of the oppositional songs of

the female slaves of the pre-colonial Jaara kingdom of Mali.

Often protest is associated with female organisations. The Ibo women's 'mikiri' (or 'mititi') farmer-trader associations of eastern Nigeria employed songs of ridicule for those who offended them, and the Kon women of the Cameroons have the practice of 'anlu' or 'sitting on' the males who annoy them.

Likewise, the Bundu secret society of Sierra Leone and the cooperative groups of Tiv women farmers sing abusive songs, whilst during the eastern Nigerian Ibibio yam-festival the members of the all-female Ebre societies recite poems that challenge male authority.⁴²

Writers have noted that the feminine perspective continues to be projected by some women popular entertainers. Ranger (1975:169) comments on the 'note of rebellion' against men in the East Africa African lelemama dance associations of the 1940's. Harlow⁴³ talks of the vital role of female performers, like Siti Binti of the 1930's and 40's, for coastal East African tarab music, who continue the long tradition of Swahili speaking women promoting their rights through music. More recent is Miriam Makeba's involvement with America's civil rights and South Africa's anti-apartheid movements, whilst the goal of Guinea's Les Amazons is, says Bender (1991:16), to create a place for women in society where they will neither be enslaved by men nor subject to sexism.

These sentiments are expressed in some of the songs

lyrics that women sing. Bender (1991:29) refers to a song by the Malian 'djely mouso' Mokontafe Sako that pays homage to African women. May and Stapleton (1988:169) cite a song by Zaire's Mbilia Bel that supports divorced women, whilst Brian Ward⁴⁴ mentions songs by Mozambique's Zena Baker, Zaire's M'Pongo Love and Mali's Oumou Sangare that deal with the need for the independence of and the respect for women. As a Ghanaian example we can take the calypso-highlife that Julie Okine sang in English with E.T. Mensah's Tempos dance-band, released by Decca (WA 806) in 1957/8. It is called 'Nothing But A Man's Slave' and its meaning is self-explanatory.

VERSES

I went down town one Saturday night just for a bottle
of beer,
I met a lovely Cape Coast boy looking so nice and
sweet,
He stepped into a taxi-cab heading straight for me,
We went to a busy nightclub and he asks for table for
two,
We went into a private saloon and he asked for gin-and-
lime,
I searched into my breast pocket nothing was left for
me.

CHORUS

He want to know my name, he wishes to know my game
If I died of a man's love, I'm nothing but a man's
slave.

4. THE CHURCH AS AN AVENUE FOR WOMEN POPULAR PERFORMERS

A fourth factor that has helped women popular performers in Africa, as it has in the West, are the

christian churches, particularly the protestant ones. To understand this we first have to turn to those of Europe and America.

Unlike the catholic church that only employed men, boys and 'castrati' (i.e. castrated male) singers, during the 17th century the Protestants began to allow women into congregational singing.⁴⁵ This was followed by the methodist 'Second Great Awakening' of the early 19th century which emphasised what Koskoff (1987:180) calls the 'gentler aspects of Christ's nature,' as compared to 'hard and masculine' calvinist and puritan beliefs. This 'feminisation of religion' (Ibid) encouraged women singers, composers and pianists.

It was also in the context of the protestant revival in the southern United States that the 'negro spirituals' were born⁴⁶ that were popularised amongst both blacks and whites by the Hampton Institute Singers, the Fisk Jubilee Singers⁴⁷ and the other sexually mixed groups of the black educational centres established during the postbellum 'reconstruction'. This music subsequently became absorbed into 'coloured' minstrelsy from the 1870's which in turn both helped to develop the concept of black female professional entertainers⁴⁸ and became the launching ground for many black female 'classic blues' singers, cabaret performers and Broadway and film stars.⁴⁹

The protestant church also had an impact on African

music, for their missionaries, including African-American ones of whom half were women,⁵⁰ introduced African men and women to mixed congregational singing, women instrumentalists and the spirituals. Church missions also helped women to become familiar with western music-making by teaching music to both boys and girls and establishing amongst them marching bands, choirs (eg. makwaya) and theatrical groups that performed bible-stories and cantatas. This explains why so many contemporary African artistes refer to the effect of the church on them when they were young: some examples being Miriam Makeba and Nigeria's Uche Ibeto and Onyeka Onwena.⁵¹

Another important protestant factor that enhanced the feminisation of African popular music was the late 19th century pentecostal 'Third Great Awakening' that in the United States is associated with the 'storefront', 'holiness' and 'sanctified' churches set up in the 1920's by southern blacks settling in northern cities. These African-American churches established 'hot gospel' groups in which women played a crucial role, like Mahalia Jackson, gospel's 'first woman superstar'.⁵² It was out of this idiom that many of the postwar black American stars who are popular in both the West and Africa have emerged: examples being Dinah Washington, Nina Simone, Aretha Franklin and Dione Warwick.⁵³

Local African churches have also facilitated the entrance of women into the popular entertainment field, particularly the syncretic separatist sects that have been so

much influenced by the American baptist, pentecostal and charismatic churches. The African separatist churches have continued the indigenous custom of dancing and clapping during worship and the membership of these churches and the choirs contain a high proportion of women.

In Ghana these churches became particularly important for popular music during the country's economic decline of the 1970's, when the music industry collapsed and a considerable number of musicians had to go abroad to pursue their careers. At this point in time many guitar-band musicians joined the choirs that were run and financed by the local separatist churches. This in turn led to the growth of the 'gospel-highlife' groups that are guitar-bands fronted by sexually mixed four-part harmony choirs singing danceable christian songs. Prior to this, guitarists and guitar-bands had been associated with drunkenness and the footloose life of itinerant concert parties: so few women were involved with them. However, when the guitar-bands went under the patronage of the church, christian families found it difficult to forbid their daughters from joining them. As a result, since the 1980's a whole new generation of women singers have risen to local fame. These, to name a few, include Mary Ghansah-Ansong, the Tagoe Sisters, Stella Dugan, Josephine Dzodzegbe, Mavis Sackey, Evelyn Boate, Ester Nyamekye⁵⁴ - and the women members of the thirty-two gospel groups that I recorded at my Bokoor Studio between 1982-1992. Bender (1991:109) mentions

a similar situation in Nigeria where there are a great number of mixed and even all-female choirs, maintained by the various independent African churches. He cites the example of the Good Women's Choir of the Christian Apostolic Church of Ibadan that has released many record albums.

As mentioned previously and unlike in Nigeria, women were not generally part of the Ghanaian popular theatre profession until the 1960's. One explanation for the employment of actresses in Nigerian theatre from its inception in 1945⁵⁵ can be traced to the strong church influence on it. Leonard (1967:Part Two) points out that the origin of Yoruba popular drama lies in church organised 'Native Air Opera', cantatas and oratorios that go back in Lagos to the late 19th century - and included both men and women performers. According to Jeyifo(1984:36) Hubert Ogunde's first experiments with popular drama began under the patronage and sponsorship of the Church of the Lord Aladura and other similar nativist sects in which women have a prominent role. Jeyifo (Ibid:49) also makes the important observation that the separatist church movement became the primary starting point of Yoruba popular theatre because the economic slump of the 1930's put an end to the secular theatrical and glee performance productions of Lagos. This resulted in the 'sacralization' of these productions operating within the orbit of the churches; a process Ogunde reversed during the postwar period of economic recovery when

he pioneered secular theatre with his sexually mixed group.

The move from secular to sacred parallels what happened in Ghana during the economic decline of the country in the 1970's, when many highlife guitar-bands turned to gospel music. Furthermore, an economic slump leading to the sacralization of a popular entertainment genre also has a parallel in the United States; for with the Great Depression of the 1930's and the consequent collapse of the commercial record industry,⁵⁶ Thomas Dorsey (i.e. 'Georgia Tom'), Ethel Waters and many other blues artists, moved away from the secular 'devils music' and began to play gospel music - but with a blues touch.⁵⁷ This infusion of a popular music into the black church explains the blues and jazz influence on the prewar 'hot gospel' artists Mahalia Jackson and Sister Rosetta Tharpe⁵⁸ - and ultimately in the postwar era, on Diana Ross, Roberta Flack, the Staple Singers and the other previously mentioned gospel trained stars who have contributed to the feminization of African popular music.

Moreover, it was from the postwar boom period in the United States that many African-American gospel singers moved back from sacred music to secular and commercial 'doowop', 'soul', 'motown' and 'disco' dance music. This very much parallels what Ogunde was doing to Nigerian theatre during his country's period of economic recovery that followed the Second World War. Although the process of the sacralization of popular entertainment has happened much more recently in

Ghana than it did either in Nigeria or the United States, there is now the beginning of a corresponding sacred-to-secular reversal of this trend. Today some Ghanaian men and women 'gospel-highlife' artists are beginning to move into the secular area of commercial dance-music recording. Indeed, women trained gospel singers are now a major source for the female session-musicians needed in Ghanaian recording studios for local 'pop' releases.

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CHAPTER TWENTY FOUR

PERFORMANCE AND STRUGGLE

Many concert partys openly supported the independence struggle in plays like 'Nkrumah is a Mighty Man' and the 'Creation of Ghana'. Post-independence political criticisms have taken on a more oblique form: a ghost mother lamenting the plight of her children, a storm that is preceeded by a strong wind, the same old lorry with just a different driver.

There has been much controversy as to whether popular entertainment is an instrument for controlling the masses, or is, like folkmusic, a genuine product of the people. This question of the dual nature of popular performance, and indeed popular culture in general, first cropped up in the polemic within the marxist movement over the role of art in society.

On one side there was the 'Frankfurt School' of prewar Germany that was hostile to popular culture, seeing it as providing the instant gratification that it believes helps foster a 'false consciousness' amongst the masses and thus part of what Herbert Marcuse called the 'repressive tolerance' of the ruling class. On the other hand however, the Italian marxist Antonio Gramsci (1971) treated popular culture as as 'peoples art' that could potentially threaten the 'hegemony' of the ruling-class - which is never permanent.

Gramsci's ideas have become very influential and today many writers consider that popular culture can either be used for political-cum-bureaucratic control, or can be anti-hegemonic, decentralised and individualistic. What Enzenberger calls 'repressive' and 'emancipatory' Bigsby call 'epthanic' or 'apocolyptic' and Carey 'centripetal' and 'centrifugal'.¹ Raymond Williams (1974:15) also notes this double aspect when he distinguishes between popular culture that is 'developed by the people or the majority of the people to express their own meanings and values,' and mass-culture which is 'developed for the people by an internal group, embedded in them by a range of processes from repressive imposition to commercial saturation.'

This double nature of popular culture also applies to the so-called 'Third World' countries undergoing colonial or neo-colonial 'commercial saturation' from the Anglo-American west, for this process not only involves 'cultural imperialism' but also indigenous cultures actually employing external western influences for its own purposes; as was noted in the earlier discussions on 'transculturation' and 'cultural triangulation'. Musical enrichment rather than impoverishment resulting from the emergence of trans-national 'Third Cultures' in undeveloped countries has been noted for instance by Frith and Featherstone.² Likewise, Coplan's work on black South Africa popular entertainment demonstrates this double hegemonic/anti hegemonic aspect of musical

acculturation, which he connects with western domination on the one hand and the struggle for African cultural autonomy, retrenchment and indigenisation on the other.

This chapter will focus on the anti-hegemonic side of acculturated popular entertainment, dealing with the subject in three ways. Firstly, how it has been linked to early nationalism and the anti-colonial struggle. Secondly, some of the ways that emergent African nations have utilised popular performance to foster a new African cultural awareness and identity, including its role in the 'Invention of a Tradition' as Terence Ranger puts it.³ Finally, how in the post independence era, popular music and drama has become a local medium for criticising the new African governments.

**A. POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT, EARLY NATIONALISM
AND THE ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLE**

From the late 19th century, music, including the popular form, was involved in the conflict between the European colonial regimes' ideological use of the notion of the 'African tradition' as part of the emergent institutional racism of the period,⁴ and the black elite who responded by self-consciously indigenising and creating the early nationalist movements.

Up to the middle of that century it had been the policy of mercantile capitalism to encourage the formation of an African elite class of black Europeans and middle-men;

especially in the British colonies. This explains in Nigeria for instance, the flowering up to the 1880's of black elite replicas of European dramatic, literary and musical forms; such as the Lagos Philharmonic Society, the Handel Festival and Grand Theatre.⁵

However, after the 1884/5 Berlin Conference, the 'Scramble for Africa' and the discovery of quinine, imperial expansion into the malarial interior of Africa began in earnest. At first the colonial powers obtained ethnographic information on the societies they wanted to rule from explorers and missionaries, later sending out anthropologists to gather this intelligence. This was particularly important for the British, whose colonial policy of 'indirect rule' operated through coopted traditional emirs, chiefs and administrative systems.⁶

The main focus of colonial ethnographers and anthropologists was on small scale village societies, an ideological stance that reflected the colonial administration's hostility to large scale traditional units that posed a threat to imperial expansion. Indeed, not only de-centralised communities but also the centralised African nations were relegated to the position of mere 'tribes'. Furthermore, African social systems were depicted by colonial anthropologists as existing in a static and changeless 'ethnographic present' when, in fact, as Hobsbawm and Ranger (1986:248/9) point out, European imperialism had simply

frozen pre-colonial African socio-political dynamics in order to justify the immobilisation and control of local populations. Africa thus became the 'Dark Continent' consisting of 'simple' kinship-regulated villages, with no fullscale nations, no indigenous trading networks and no history. In short, Europeans ideologically invented an African tradition that condoned imperial expansion and their 'civilising' mission. This late imperial policy also led to a clash with the very African elite whom the earlier mercantile Europeans had endorsed, as the local westernised elite and merchant princes blocked European consolidation and expansion. This anti-creole policy went hand-in-hand with the European romanticisation of 'pure' and unadulterated 'tribal' African culture, and a sudden interest in the customary and ritual side of the African life that colonialists saw as helping stabilise the imperial status quo.

It is no coincidence that it was from towards the end of the 19th century that European 'scientific racism' and the doctrine of the superiority of nations came to full flower.⁷

These fuelled the imperialist animosity towards the African elite who, it was believed, disguised their 'natural' and 'inferior' condition under the a thin veneer of European dress. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1986:123) cite the case of the white missionaries who had initially taught East Africans to dress and play music like Europeans, but who by the 1920's were expressing a dislike for Africans in European clothes.

Racist overtones were even exhibited by the comparative musicologists of the period, who compared the complexity of European music to the 'primitiveness' of African forms. Moreover, just as the full venom of racism was directed against the westernised elite and not against the romanticised 'noble savage', so musicologists saw acculturated music as an adulterated and what Waterman (1980:230) calls 'a flawed compromise' between idealised African and western traditions.

Increasing colonial racism and the progressive exclusion of the African elite from the economic and administrative areas they had dominated, led to their rejection of their earlier assimilationist position. This in turn resulted in the growth of what Coleman (1960) calls the 'nationalist generation' and a trend by westernised Africans towards cultural retrenchment. In Nigeria for instance, between 1897 and 1915 a 'united opposition' was forged between the westernised and traditional Yoruba elites and modern 'Pan Yorubaism' was ironically invented by the anglicised black elite.⁸

Traditional music was also involved in the nationalist-retrenchment current. Waterman(1986:71/2) mentions that the music of the professional Yoruba drumming associations of Lagos played an important role in the 'labyrinthine manoeuvres' of the nationalists of the 1920's and 30's. Likewise in Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah and his Convention Peoples

Party during the fifties patronised oge drumming that was popular then with the Ga people of Accra.⁹ In eastern and south Africa there were the Kenyan 'mau-mau' songs of the fifties and the Zimbabwean 'chimurenga' ones of the seventies that Barber(1987:22) says attempted to 'deliberately reclaim' precolonial culture. Both Rhodes (1962:15) and Berliner (1977:7) refer to the use of traditional Shona songs of insult that employed allusion and innuendo to disguise anti-colonial sentiments. Coplan (1975:235) also notes that elements of traditional culture have been adopted by black South African nationalists, such as by trade unionists in the 1920's and 30's and by the Congress Youth League of the 1940's and 50's.

Acculturated music has also played a role in the modern nationalist current that emerged from the late 19th century and was initially associated with westernised Africans. These syncretic performance forms included Africanised christian hymns, African orchestral 'art' music that drew on folk music and some of the early popular entertainment styles that utilised indigenous resources. Before turning however to these acculturated African genres that followed in the wake of late imperial expansion and racism, it is worthwhile mentioning here that there are parallels with the evolving African-American music of this period. Like Europe, late 19th century United States was itself undergoing both colonial expansion (into the Caribbean and Pacific) and a

period of increased racism; expressed in the 'Jim Crow' segregation laws, the Chinese Exclusion Act and the anti-black books of Thomas Dixon, Grant Madison and others. This forced African-American communities to recognise their own identity and as Amiri Baraka (Jones 1963:159) puts it 'black music lost many of its more superficial forms it had borrowed from the white man.' This helps explain why this period saw the birth of blues, jazz, black gospel music and 'coloured' minstrelsy. The latter in turn helped pave the way for black Broadway musicals like 'Shuffle Along' that Hill (1980) says was the 'keynote' of the black middle-class 'Harlem Renaissance' of the 1920's. This search for a black identity also encouraged John Wesley Senior, Frederick Work and a generation of African-American classical composers who orchestrated black spirituals and folksongs.

In Africa the first westernised musical forms to be indigenised were the hymns sung by the black middle-class congregations of early separatist churches; which themselves broke away from the western churches as part of the African elite response to the previously discussed institutional racism of the late 19th century. Some examples of these churches are the Native Baptist Organisation established in Ghana in 1888, the same year that Mojola Agbebi formed an equivalent baptist church in Nigeria that rejected European forms of worship.¹⁰ In South Africa about that time Xhosa hymns were being composed by John Knox Bokwe, which Coplan

(1985:30) says were a 'musical support for cultural nationalism.' Coplan (Ibid:80) also mentions the Zulu hymns and dances of the nationalistic and messianic 'Nazerite Faith' founded by Isaiah Shembe in 1911, who preached in traditional animal skins. This is similar to Ghana's Ephraim Amu who during the 1920's wrote vernacular hymns and patriotic songs like 'Yen Ara Asase Ni' (This Is Our Land) and who was dismissed in 1932 from a Presbyterian Teachers Training College for preaching in an African garment.¹¹ A Nigerian contemporary of Amu was the grandfather of the Afro-beat musician Fela Anikulapo-Kuti, the Reverend J.J. Ransome-Kuti, who wrote Yoruba patriotic songs and hymns, some of which are listed on the 1929 Zonophone Native Artists catalogue.

Many writers have commented on the African use of church hymns to express anti-colonial sentiments. Nketia (1961) refers to the hymn 'Lead Kindly Light' that was sung in Ghana with political intent and which E.T. Mensah told me was the signature tune of the Nkrumaist nationalist party. The melody of 'Onward Christian Soldiers' was also used for pro-Nkrumah songs of the early 1950's.¹² Rhodes, Berliner and Ranger comment on the utilisation of Africanised hymns amongst the Shona of east and southern Africa.¹³ However, the most famous of this political protest genre of hymn is 'Nkosi Sikel' l Africa' (God Bless Africa) that was written by the South African Methodist mission schoolteacher Enoch

Santonga in 1899. This became the anthem of the African National Congress in 1925¹⁴ and subsequently was sung in numerous African languages from 'Cape to Kenya,' as Berliner (1977:19) puts it.

Rhodes (1962:11) points out that the use of African hymns to protest against colonial rule is equivalent to the use of the spirituals by African-Americans to protest in a hidden or 'codified'¹⁵ way against slavery. Infact some of the spirituals and anthems used by African-Americans to condemn racial oppression were actually adapted to the colonial African situation. One is the famous pro-emancipation anthem of the American Civil War, 'John Brown's Body', that was adopted by the postwar nationalists of both Ghana and Malawi.¹⁶

Whereas classically trained African musicians of the 19th century played the works of European composers, many 20th century ones have looked towards their own folkmusic for inspiration. The previously mentioned Reverend Ransome-Kuti and Ephraim Amu of Nigerian and Ghana respectively are two early examples. Amu for instance published 'Twenty-Five African Songs' in 1932/3¹⁷ and adapted the local atenteban flute for orchestral music.¹⁸ Postwar composers who have worked traditional motifs into 'art' music are Fela Sowande who wrote the 'African Suite For Strings' in 1944, followed by his fellow Nigerians Ayo Bankole, Akin Euba and Samuel Akpabot.¹⁹ Their contemporaries in Ghana were J.H.K. Nketia,

A.A. Mensah, and Phillip Gbeho who in the 1950's wrote his country's national anthem. More recent is Nana Danso Abiam, a university graduate who formed the Pan African Orchestra that employs traditional African flutes, percussion, hand-pianos, xylophones, one-stringed fiddles and harp-lutes. As Abiam told me in 1985, he is putting together a performing team of virtuosos 'made up of the creators of the country's folk music and will ultimately draw in other African musicians as well.'

This turn towards indigenous artistic resources by educated and middle-class Africans from the end of the last century not only involved hymns, anthems and 'art' music, but also early popular entertainment forms. In Ghana wealthy merchants began to patronise brass bands from the 1880's that included proto-highlife 'adaha' music in their repertoires. Squire Addo told me that the name of another early form of highlife, 'osibisaaba', was derived from the shortening of the words of a popular Fanti song that goes 'ko se bi maye Sarbah', or 'go and defend us Sarbah'. This, says Addo, refers to the success in 1897 of the Fanti lawyer and leader of the Aborigine's Rights Protection Society, John Mensah Sarbah, in preventing the colonial authorities' appropriation of Gold Coast land by the British Crown. By the 1920's prestigious Ghanaian ballroom dance orchestras began to play local melodies that were called 'highlives' because they were associated with the local 'high class'. The twenties was

also the period when the South African pianist, Reuben Caluza, was combining hymns, spirituals, ragtimes and traditional Zulu music into the refined 'makwaya' choral style popular with the local black elite of his country. In Nigeria during the 1930's and although beginning as a youthful 'native blues'. Yoruba juju-music began to be played at the evening salon entertainment of what Alaja-Browne (unpublished:14) calls 'respectable' Lagos society.

From immediately after the Second World War there was in many African colonies a shift of focus in the independence struggle from the elite and its nationalist parties to mass parties. For example the prewar National Congress of British West Africa and Herbert Macaulay's Nigerian National Democratic Party gave way to Kwame Nkrumah's Convention Peoples Party, the Yoruba Action Party and the National Congress of Nigeria and the Cameroons. Popular entertainment became linked to these radical parties that spearheaded the nationalist upsurge that followed the war.

It was from the late 1940's that Ghana's Axim Trio concert party staged a number of pro-independence plays such as 'Nkrumah Will Never Die',²⁰ 'Nkrumah Is A Mighty Man'²¹ and 'Nkrumah Is Greater Than Before'.²² Bob Ansah's concert group staged 'We Shall Overcome', 'The Achievement of Independence' and 'The Creation of Ghana' in the immediate pre-independence era. Ansah also told me that he was twice arrested by the British and questioned about his plays. Some concert parties

also released guitar-band highlife records in support of Nkrumah. One was E.K. Nyame's 'Onim Deefo Kukudurufu (Honourable Man and Hero) Kwame Nkrumah' that in 1951 welcomed this nationalist leader after his release from imprisonment by the British. In 1953, E.K. Nyame went on to accompany the by then Prime Minister Nkrumah on a state visit to Liberia.²³ Another pro-Nkrumah song by E.K.'s band was 'Ghanaman Momma Vensua Biako' (Ghanaian You Learn To Be One)²⁴ and E.K. Nyame told me in 1975 that he had written forty songs in praise of Nkrumah. Many such songs were written by other concert party musicians.²⁵ Indeed the link between the concert profession and Nkrumah was so strong that when the National Liberation Council overthrew him in 1966 there was a three week ban on the movement of concert parties, and their G.N.E.A. union, which was affiliated to the Nkrumaist C.P.P, was dissolved.

Although both Barber (1990:13) and Jeyifo (1984:108) make the comment that in general Yoruba travelling theatre was not distinguished for its anti-colonial stance, the pioneer of this artform, Hubert Ogunde, did stage plays critical of the British. In 1946 he was fined and his theatre banned in Jos for his 'Strike And Hunger' production about the 1945 Nigerian General Strike. That year (i.e.1946) he was also cautioned by the colonial police for his play 'The Tiger's Empire'. Then in 1950, Ogunde's play about the Enugu coal strike entitled 'Bread And Bullets' was banned in

Kano, and Ogunde was arrested for sedition.²⁶

The situation with South African popular theatre is quite different from either of the above West African varieties. Up to the 1950's productions like the famous 'King Kong' were multiracial. However, with the white apartheid regime's banning of multiracial performances, Gibson Kente, who began his career in 'King Kong' established a popular theatre in Soweto during the mid-sixties. As Coplan (1985:208) observes, at first Kente carefully avoided dramatising the overtly political and rather concentrated on 'personal morality and social responsibility based on African christianity.' However, with the radicalisation of his audience in the 1970's, Kente's plays began to become more openly political; a trend that has been followed by Sam Mhangwane and other younger popular playwright-directors.

In Ghana, besides concert party guitar-band highlifes, other forms of acculturated popular music and dance were involved in the anti-colonial struggle in the period leading up to independence. The pianist Squire Addo and his London Rhythmic Band released a number of Ga and Twi dance-songs in support of the C.P.P.²⁷ The famous black nationalist George Padmore who in the 1950's was the London correspondent for the Ghanaian newspaper the Sekondi Morning Telegraph, mentions in the issue of the 5th of February 1952, a calypso called 'Freedom For Ghana'. This was recorded in London that year by the Trinidadian George Brown and a mixed group of

Ghanaian and West Indian musicians - and twenty thousand copies were ordered from HMV by the C.P.P. The song was dedicated to the 'Honourable Kwame Nkrumah' and the British were so worried as to whether the lyrics were subversive or not, that Colonial Office minutes were written on the matter.²⁸ In addition to the concert party variety, other types of highlifes were involved in the pre-independence movement. Konkoma music became identified with 'Osagyefo' Nkrumah's C.P.P. in the 1950's as did the konkoma influenced 'borborbor' music of the Ewe people, with the pioneering group from Kpandu actually being called 'Osagyefo's own borborbor'. The outstanding highlife dance-band of the era, E.T. Mensah's Tempos, regularly played the C.P.P signature tune 'Lead Kindly Light' at pre-independence rallies.

Although in Ghana, gome or gombe music was not connected with the independence struggle, in the Côte d'Ivoire it was. Lloyd (1968) says that just after the Second World War the 'Le Goumbe' drumming of Abidjan's youth associations became absorbed into the national party of Francophone West Africa, the Rassemblement Democratique Africain or R.D.A. This was also the period that the Ambas Gede ethnic union was established in Freetown, Sierra Leone, by Temne immigrants, whose acculturated dance songs, says Waterman (1986:20), also included ones of 'mild abuse' against the British colonial government.

With the gaining of nationhood there was a spate of

independence songs. In 1960 the Zairean musician Luambo Franco celebrated the event in his country with 'Independence Cha Cha' and the following year Sierra Leone's independence was marked by Ali Ganda's calypso 'Freedom Sierra Leone' and Ebenezer Calendar's maringa song 'April 27 1961'.²⁹ Ghana obtained its full independence in 1957, when the Tempos dance-band released the celebratory song 'Ghana Freedom Highlife'; followed the next year by 'Ghana Guinea Mali'³⁰ that commemorated the political union between these three newly independent socialist states.

The Tempos jazzy style of highlife, played on instruments that in the 1950's were the height of sophistication and modernity, partly explains the band's success; for the Tempos brilliant postwar fusion of local Ghanaian dance-melodies and western instrumentation became a symbol of early independence optimism. In short the Tempos became a musical metaphor for the hoped for successful Africanisation of the European Gold Coast socio-political system. This also explains the band's popularity throughout West Africa. E.T. Mensah told me that when his band first visited Nigeria in 1949, none of the western-type dancebands there played local music, only swing, calypsos and ballroom numbers. Consequently the Tempos modern style of highlife created a sensation in Nigeria, where many dance-bands began to imitate this Ghanaian one and later went on to compose their own highlifes. Two of the Nigerian musicians the

Tempos inspired were E.C. Arinze and Charles Iwegbue, both of whom released celebratory highlifes after their country gained independence in 1960³¹. The Tempos also visited Guinea just after its independence in 1958. There, E.T. Mensah told me, they were personally 'dashed' money by President Sekou Touré who was himself about to embark on an Africanisation policy in the arts.

In other areas of sub-Saharan Africa popular performance also played a role in the search for local identity and autonomy. The brass-band derived beni music of East and Central Africa during the 1930's was accused, says Ranger (1975:chap. 4), of being communistic because of its drill-like dances and ranks of uniformed men. It was therefore banned by the Belgians in the Katanga (now Shaba) region of Zaire and alarmed the British Chamber of Mines in Southern Rhodesia (modern Zimbabwe). Although many reports were exaggerated, beni did play a part in 1935 Copperbelt Strike and there was a general white fear of Africans 'capturing' such European symbols as uniforms, badges and ceremonies (Ibid:165/6).

During the 1940's the British Colonial Office also became worried over the possible subversive nature of the vernacular language recordings that were being made for the East African colonies. Harrev (1989:107) mentions that during the war a number of censors who knew Kenyan languages were employed by the Colonial Office to translate record

lyrics. One of these censors happened to be Jomo Kenyatta, who was then a student in London and later became the first Kenyan President.

In southern Africa, where the independence struggle continued longer, or still is continuing in the case of South Africa, popular music has been utilised against both the colonial and apartheid regimes. After Ian Smith's Southern Rhodesia (modern Zimbabwe) declared its 'Unilateral Declaration of Independence' or 'UDI' from Britain in 1965, a guerilla-war against his bogus independence took place that was supported by a local popular music style known as 'chimurenga', the Shona word for 'struggle'. The man who spearheaded this was the Shona musician Thomas Mapfumo³² who released a number of anti-Smith songs in the early 1970's; such as 'Pamuromo Chete' (Mere Big Mouth) and 'Hokoyo' (Watch Out). In 1977 Mapfumo was imprisoned by the Smith government, but after three months was released as the singer's masterful use of Shona ambiguity enabled him to claim that the lyrics were not consciously political.³³

With the installation of the South African apartheid regime in 1948, the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre, the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act that forbade multiracial performances, and the destruction of Johannesburg's black jazz centre of Sophiatown, musical resistance became expressed in two ways. One was in the openly anti-apartheid stance of the exiled South African

musicians Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, Dudu Pukwana, Abdullah Ibrahim and others. Particularly well known is Miriam Makeba who had all her records banned in South Africa after speaking at the 1962 United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid. A less explicit way of voicing anti-apartheid feelings was through multiracial jazz and pop groups like the Brotherhood of Breath, Jaluka and Savuka.

**B. THE 'INVENTION OF A TRADITION'
BY THE NEW AFRICAN NATIONS**

Many of the African nations that have gained independence since the fifties have utilised popular music and drama to help 'invent' a non-tribal national and Pan African identity. Ghana was the first sub-Saharan African colony to gain independence and as already noted, many concert parties, dance-bands, konkoma and borbobor groups supported Nkrumah's demand for rapid de-colonisation. After the country became independent in 1957, Nkrumah's C.P.P. government established numerous highlife bands within the police force, army and various state enterprises.³⁴ These included the Farmers and Workers Brigades whose dance-band celebrated their establishment in 1959 with the highlife 'Hedzole (Freedom) Aha Brigades'.³⁵ The Workers Brigade also formed a concert party that year, with the comedian Bob Johnson as stage instructor.³⁶

This was also the period when two popular performance unions, the concert party G.N.E.A. and the dance-band Musicians Union of Ghana were set up in 1960 and 1961 respectively. In 1958 the Ghana Arts Council was instituted at what had been the colonial European Club in Accra, and in 1968 the National Liberation Council government organised a board to supervise music, dancing crafts and drama.³⁷ One of the board members was the playwright and musician Saka Acquaye who played an important part in the formation of the

pioneering Wulomei 'cultural group' that, as mentioned in an earlier chapter, was the first of a large number of similar Ga groups that became nationally admired for performing in 'ancient historical garb'.³⁸

In 1973 the Arts Council held the first national festival of concert parties to 'pay tribute' to popular drama,³⁹ and since the launching of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) government's 'Cultural Revolution' in April 1982 the state sanctioning of concert parties has continued. A PNDC minister declared the concert party as 'the most developed form of drama' in the country,⁴⁰ and in 1988 there was official acknowledgement of Ajax Bukana as state comedian; re-establishing a tradition begun by President Nkrumah, for whom Bukana was 'court jester'.⁴¹

Another feature of this endorsement and legitimisation of the concert party profession is that their plays and songs sometimes enunciate government information and propaganda. Bob Cole began and ended his concert shows with pro CPP government messages, whilst the Jaguar Jokers 1956 play 'Go Back To The Land' and their 1966 one 'A Day Will Come' both recommend the audience to farm. Bame (1969,1985) mentions that concert performances were used to disseminate family-planning ideas, and provided advice relevant to Ghana's switch to the decimal currency in the early seventies. More recently a festival was held in Accra called Multifest 1990 that employed local highlife musicians in a campaign

organised by the Ghana Anti-Drug Abuse Committee.⁴² Around this time highlife musicians were being encouraged to compose songs warning of the danger of the AIDS disease, the most popular one being by Nana Ampadu and his African Brothers concert group.

The Nigerian government has also recognised popular theatre. Hubert Ogunde's Yoruba travelling theatre was commissioned to write the play 'Song of Unity' to mark Nigeria's independence, and both he and Duro Lapidu represented Nigeria overseas at international festivals during the 1960's.⁴³ In 1971 ninety-five popular theatre groups came together to form the Union of Nigerian Playwrights and Dramatists, with Ogunde as President. More recently a 'Festival Of Forty Years Of Nigerian Theatre' was held in Lagos at which Ogunde was acclaimed a 'tireless cultural worker'.⁴⁴ As in Ghana, Nigeria's popular theatre has been directly used by the government to spread its policy. Examples that Jeyifo (1984:117) mentions are the film 'My Brother's Children' made by the Family Planning Council who employed Kola Ogunmola's theatre group, and the Federal Army's induction of Jimoh Aliu's group during the Nigerian Civil War.

In Sierra Leone health and planned parenthood educators have also experimented with drama for adult education: at first through the Theatre-for-Development that was introduced to the country in the late 1970's, and then through the

medium of popular drama. In 1986 the Adult Education and Extra-Mural Studies Department of Fourah Bay College set-up a popular community theatre.⁴⁵ As a consequence, Charles Haffner's Freetown Players, the most popular travelling theatre group in Sierra Leone from the seventies began in the late eighties to highlight topical issues in their songs and acts: the need for immunisation, voter registration, the dangers of toxic waste dumping and the Sierra Leone love of American money and culture.⁴⁶

In other parts of Africa there have been similar policies of using popular music and drama for national development. Barber (1987:33) says that Tanzania's popular theatre was actually instigated by the government, after the economic downturn that followed the 1978 war with Uganda; with groups being sponsored by parastatal organisations. The country's pan-ethnic 'ngoma' urban social dance style was also utilised by official bodies to voice the socialist and anti-colonial policy of President Nyere's government.⁴⁷ The Lesotho government stimulated popular drama through its National University, which set up a Theatre-for-Development that employed the Marathali Travelling Theatre to stage plays on the themes of re-forestation and the benefits of cooperative societies.⁴⁸

Kubik (1981) lists a number of eastern and southern African countries that established official dance-music ensembles after independence. Tanzania is one example, and in

the 1960's its government not only set up a traditional-oriented National Dance Troupe, but also created several popular dance-bands that were encouraged to adapt local folk music and compose songs in support of national policy. Swahili became Tanzania's official language in 1967 and as the government saw 'Swahili jazz', an East African version of Congo jazz, as a non-tribal national popular music, they sponsored bands that played it. To enhance this indigenisation policy they also banned imported western pop-music during the early seventies; which was also the policy of the Freelimo government of Mozambique between 1974 and 1979.⁴⁹

The independent socialist West African countries of Guinea and Mali also had state entertainment, both traditional and popular. President Keita of Mali created a National Ballet in 1960 and in 1959 President Sekou Touré of Guinea set up the Syli National Orchestra, as well as a National Ballet formed out of the earlier Paris-based Les Ballets Africain of Keita Fodeba.⁵⁰ That year Sekou Touré also ordered the army to stop using old colonial military tunes and replace them with the 'war tunes, chants and epic songs of the old African Empire.'⁵¹ He also disbanded L'African Swing Band, Le Douce Parisette, Le Habenera Jazz and other local western-type dance orchestras - and the many small white trios of piano, violin and drums that E.T. Mensah told me he saw in Conakry in 1959 when his Tempos dance-band

visited the country a few months after it said 'Non' to de Gaulle. Sekou Touré went on to form Bembeya Jazz, Les Amazons and other African oriented popular dance-bands and to disseminate home-grown music through the state record company, La Voix de la Revolution.

After the fall of Mali's President Keita in 1968, the new government also began to sponsor local popular-music bands, the most famous being the Rail Band of Bamako. Although this group, like Bembeya Jazz, used modern instruments, it also employed several jali (i.e. griot) musicians. Not surprisingly, this and other similar groups continued the jali tradition of praise-song. An example is 'Mandjou' the eulogised Guinea's Sekou Touré and was released in 1975 by Mali's most well-known popular singer and ex-member of the Rail Band, Salif Keita. This utilisation by the newly independent African nations of traditional and popular performing arts - and even of 'classical' symphonic African music - has been part of a larger drive to create national unity and reconcile old 'tribal' rivalries by establishing a common connection with the past.

The problem of attempting to base a national culture on the 'African heritage', however, is that somehow it has to bypass the whole factious issue of ethnicity. In the case of the British Gold Coast this 'tribalist' issue was circumvented by the country changing its name at independence to Ghana. This idea was fostered by the nationalist leader Dr

Y. B. Danquah who, by making a tenuous historical connection between his country and the ancient kingdom of Ghana in present day Mauritania-Senegal, 'invented a tradition' that did not promote internal ethnic rivalry in the modern Ghana. His ideas were influential well before independence, as evidenced by the fact that Bob Vans changed the name of his concert party from the Burma Jokers to the Ghana Trio in 1948.

Similarly, during President Mobutu's 'authenticite' policy of the early 1970's, the colonial name of the Belgian Congo - derived from the pre-colonial Kikongo kingdom of Central Africa - was changed to the less 'tribal' one of Zaire. This policy also involved a ban on all foreign names, including those of local musicians. Thus in 1972 the singer Rochereau became known as Tabu Ley, Jean Bosco became Mwenda wa Bayeke and Franco, the leader of O.K. Jazz, became Luambo Makiadi. Infact Franco Luambo Makiadi became a spokesman for 'authenticite' and wrote praise-songs for president Mobutu, whilst Rochereau Tabu Ley began his shows with the anthem 'Djalelo' that glorified the President.⁵²

A less successful attempt to authenticitize popular music took place in Ghana in 1959 when Dr. Nkrumah's CPP government called various interested bodies to the Accra Community Centre⁵³ to discuss changing the name 'highlife' to 'osibisaaba', an early Fanti name for the music. Although the motion was passed, E.T. Mensah told me that some musicians,

including himself, were against the proposal and that in practice 'the new name never caught on as the name of Highlife had gone so deep that it couldn't be uprooted.' More successful was the forcing of the Nigerian government by the countries music union (formed in 1958) to employ local musicians to entertain the foreign dignitaries attending Nigeria's 1960 independence celebrations, instead of the planned Edmundo Ross show. One of the then union executive members, Stan Plange, told me that this followed a march of almost one thousand members of the Music Union of Nigeria, carrying a petition to Prime Minister Tafawa Balewa at Government House in Lagos.

The post-colonial African 'invention' of artistic traditions not only helped create a pan-tribal national identity, but also has played a role in expressing Pan African ideals. The attempts to create a Pan African musical genre by the classically trained orchestral composers Fela Sowande, Ayo Bankole, Nana Danso Abiam and others was referred to earlier. Far more important however, are highlife, Afro-beat, Congo jazz, Swahili jazz and other trans-national African popular music styles that provide a lingua franca (in English, Lingala and Swahili) that cuts across ethnic and national boundaries. Ware (1978:318) has also observed this feature in the popular music of Sierra Leone, which she says has little ethnic sentiment but rather projects a 'Pan African musical culture that celebrates the

African idiom wherever it occurs.'

Popular music may even directly express Pan African ideals. An early example from Ghana was the song 'Destiny of Africa' by Onyina's guitar band that celebrated the first Pan African Conference held in Africa, which took place in Accra in 1958.⁵⁴ Another is the change of name in 1964 of the Broadway dance-band to Uhuru, the Swahili word for 'freedom'.

Stan Plange, who was a member of both groups, told me that the Uhuru band often accompanied President Nkrumah on international trips and was 'regarded as a national band.' More recent is that Ghanaian song 'Ka Na Wu' (Say And Die) by King Pratt and his African Revolution, that puts some of Nkrumah's famous speeches to highlife music.⁵⁵

Some other West African examples are Fela Anikulapo-Kuti's Afro-beat records of the 1970s that includes the 'explosively Pan Africanist' songs 'Who No Know Go Know' and 'Everything Scatter Scatter' that praise Nkrumah, Sekou Touré and Idi Amin.⁵⁶ Also from Nigeria is Sonny Okosun who told me that he wants to 'tell the world about Shango, Chaka Zulu and the deep history of Africa.' He released several Pan African record in the late 1970's like 'Papa's Land', 'Fire In Soweto' and 'Holy Wars'.⁵⁷ Even newer to the popular music scene is Côte d'Ivoire's Alpha Blondy, who had great success in Africa in 1985 with his song 'Apartheid Is Nazism'.

Popular as well as traditional performances have also

played a part in Pan African festivals. At the very first one, the Festival des Arts Negres held in Senegal in the mid-sixties, the Nigerian juju musician I.K. Dairo represented his country. A decade later Nigeria's FESTAC '77 included shows by the Osibisa Afro-rock group of Ghana, by South Africa's exiled Miriam Makeba and Dudu Pukwana, by the Tanzanian Swahili jazz group Afro 70, by Gabon's Pierre Akendengue and by Bembeya Jazz and Les Amazons from Guinea. As a final example we can take the Ghanaian 'cultural group' Wulomei that in 1983 represented its country at the Second Pan African Youth Festival held in Tripoli, Libya.⁵⁹

C. POPULAR ENTERTAINMENT AND SOCIO-POLITICAL PROTEST

Besides playing a role in the independence struggle and the post-independence search for a national and Pan African identity, popular entertainment has also acted as a medium to protest against the emerging hegemony of the new African government and ruling elites.

If we first examine the case of Ghanaian concert parties and highlife bands we find that they not only comment on the uneven distribution of wealth, as was discussed in Chapter Twenty-One, but also criticise the country's politics and politicians. However this protest is usually done in a disguised or oblique rather than direct way, through the use of parables, proverbs and allusion or, as van der Geest and Asante-Darko (1982:33) put it, the public may retrospectively

give a highlife song a 'secret political meaning.' The African Brothers 1966 song 'Ebe Te Yie' (Some Sit Well) about big animals pushing smaller ones into the cold and referred to in Chapter Twenty-One, falls into the latter category. Although this song was considered to be an attack against the political and economic elite, when Ampadu was questioned by the government about the matter, he said it was a fable his father had told him. A slightly earlier example is the record 'Agyimah Mansah' released in 1964 by K. Gyasi and his Noble Kings concert band about a ghost mother lamenting the plight of her children. President Nkrumah questioned Gyasi about the lyrics, and although the composer claimed these were based on a dream he had had and were not a political reflection by 'Mother Ghana' on the state of the nation, the song was banned from the radio.⁶⁰

E.K. Nyame recorded several songs of allusion to criticise Nkrumah in the latter period of his rule. One was 'Nsu Bota Mframa Dzi Kan' that includes the lines 'if the rain falls the wind will blow first... so I'm warning you like the wind'. This became the slogan of the anti-CPP. National Liberation Movement that opposed Nkrumah's socialist policies. E. K, Nyame followed this up with 'Ponko Abo Dam A, Ne Wura No Dze Ommbuo Dam Bi' that is based on the Akan proverb that translates as 'if the horse is mad it does not mean the owner is mad'.

Like E.K. Nyame, the highlife dance-band leader E.T.

Mensah and the concert comedian Bob Cole were also initially staunch supporters of Nkrumah, but towards the end of the era Dadson (191:11) mentions they released songs critical of him; like Bob Cole's 'very blunt' song 'Aban Nkaba' (Handcuffs) and 'Ne Aye Dinn' (Hold It Well) by E.T. Mensah's Tempos. The comedian Ajax Bukana however, continued to support the CPP right up to the bitter end, and told me that as a result he was arrested on the orders of the National Liberation Council that ousted Nkrumah, and questioned by the C.I.D. for several days. Even after the 1966 coup, anti-Nkrumah songs continued to appear for a while and one that Bame (1969) mentions is the African Brothers record 'Okwanduo' (Wild Ox). This included a refrain by a hunter that goes 'you are gone but woe to your brethren' and referred to the desire that although Nkrumah and many of his supporters had escaped, those who remained in the country should be punished.

The regimes that followed Nkrumah's also had their share of highlife songs that were critical of them. One, which was banned during the era of the military National Liberation Council that followed the anti-Nkrumah coup, was a record in Twi by the African Brothers which contained the expression 'the lorry is the same but the driver is different'.⁶¹ Following a brief period of civilian rule from 1969 led by Dr. Kofi Busia, another military coup took place on January 13th 1971 led by Colonel Acheampong. The record of Kofi Sammy's Okukuseku concert band 'To Wo Bo Ase, Efidie

Wura Beba' (that means 'be careful the owner will come') was continuously played on the day of the coup, and in fact became the slogan for it. Later on, however, this same highlife song was banned from radio and television as its message, which contains the lines 'be careful enemy the one who will beat you has not yet come', also began to be applied to the increasingly unpopular Acheampong regime⁶² that became notorious for its 'kalabule' or corruption. A song by the prolific African Brothers released in the early 1970's called 'Afe Bi Ye Nhyira, Afe Be Ye Asan' was also interpreted as an attack on this military regime, as the title means 'some years are a blessing whilst some years are full of trouble'. More openly critical was the Konadu's concert band record 'Yedo Wo' (You Are Born With It). This reproved Colonel Acheampong for his failed 'Operation Feed Yourself' project and was consequently banned from the air.⁶³

Even popular literature took on an anti-Acheampong stance and Barber⁶⁴ refers to the Kumasi made Twi-English comics of the mid-seventies whose central character was a combination of the 'Spiderman' of American Marvel Comics and the Akan Ananse-the-Spider. From his jungle hideout this syncretic hero bemoans the plight of the masses under the military and goes in disguise to help them. Through superhuman strength he escapes the clutches of the securitymen and leads a revolt of the people who are redeemed by this updated mythological figure.

In other parts of West Africa popular entertainment makes socio-political attacks on the ruling elites: and Sierra Leone provides our first examples. Yalisa Amadu Maddy who founded the Kru Gbakanda Tiata (i.e. Theatre) of Freetown in 1969 was imprisoned for putting on political plays, whilst the Freetown Players group often got into trouble for their radical and satirical sketches, including one in the mid-seventies that criticised the government for a rice shortage.⁶⁵

Although claiming to be politically neutral, the Yoruba comedian Baba Sala (Moses Olaiya) acts the character of houseboy, messenger, labourer and underdog wearing the attire of a 'poverty stricken man..... exploited and cannibalised by the horrible political and economic system.'⁶⁶ Conversely, Barber (1982) talks of the 'silence' and 'hollowness' surrounding the character of the good rich man in Yoruba popular plays. However both Barber (1990) and Jeyifo (1984) comment on the lack of direct political statement in the performances of most of these itinerant theatres. The one exception is the founder of the genre, Hubert Ogunde, whose plays are overtly political. As already mentioned, some of his early productions were anti-colonial and after Nigerian independence they continued to be politically controversial. The most well known of these is 'Yoruba Ronu' (Yoruba Think) that took sides in the power struggle within the Western Region's Action Party. As a

result there was a two year ban on the play, which Ogunde responded to by producing the play 'Otito Koro', or 'Truth is Bitter'.⁶⁷

Nigerian juju-music has also played a political role and according to Waterman (1986:226/7) hundreds of records of this music were released in the 1950's and 60's that praised or attacked the local party candidates of the Action Party and the Nigerian National Democratic Party. However, juju-music is, as Barber (1990:20) observes, generally 'silent on national politics,' a phenomenon that can be partly explained by this Yoruba genre continuing the musical tradition of praising the rich and powerful. Indeed, as mentioned in Chapter Twenty-One, Waterman believes juju-music helps in the consolidation of power by the Yoruba elite.

Unlike Yoruba juju-music, the 'Afro-beat' of the Yoruba musician Fela Anikulapo-Kuti is so blatantly political that he has often got into trouble with the Nigerian authorities since the early 1970's. Anikulapo-Kuti is from an elite family but has rejected his background. He told me in 1975 that because it was his grandfather, the Reverend J.J. Ransome-Kuti, who introduced christianity to western Nigeria, he has to undo what his grandfather did and 'get the colonial thing out.' Anikulapo-Kuti became radicalised through contact with American black nationalists and believes that pre-colonial African music 'was for purposes like religion, work and politics, and so Afro-beat is an occasion for

politics because that is the occasion we are in now - people suffering.' Indeed, he calls his premises the 'Kalakuta (Swahili for rascal) Republic', because as he puts it 'we are dealing with corrupt people and we have to be "rascally" with them.'

As a result, Fela Anikulapo-Kuti has become what Johnson (1989:95) calls a 'spokesman for the downtrodden' with his Pidgin English lyrics being the language of the 'common man.' This militancy and social commitment is reflected in many of his record-album releases. 'Kalakuta Show' and 'Alagbon Close' are anti-police, 'VIP' or 'Vagabonds In Power' is anti-elite, 'Army Arrangement' and 'Zombie' are anti-army, 'No Bread' and 'Coffin For Head of State' are anti-government, and 'ITT' or 'International Thief Thief' is anti-neocolonial.⁶⁸ Infact Anikulapo-Kuti is so political that in 1979 he formed his own political party MOP, Movement of the People, and he unsuccessfully stood for President.

Less confrontationist is Sonny Okosun from Nigeria's Bendel State. He told me that his record albums 'Power To The People' contains 'songs of protest and songs of truth.' His composition 'We Don't Want To Fight Wars No More' was written when the 1970's 'Nigerian and Cameroon conflict burst.'

Neighbouring Camerouns too has its own radical singers and particularly prominent is Lapiro de Mbarga. He, like

Anikulapo-Kuti and Okosun, sings in Pidgin English and he directs his compositions towards the 'Ndos' (loafers and street urchins) and 'Mboutoukous' (have-nots): both words he invented. In the late 1980's he was arrested for writing a song about a corrupt city council executive member, in which he took sides with the street-peddlers who were being harassed by the official. Pressure from fans, however, soon led to his release.⁶⁹

To close this discussion on popular music and struggle we will take examples from outside of West Africa, beginning with Zaire. There, and in spite of President Mobutu's iron-grip on the country from the 1960's, there has been some political protest by popular musicians. Luambo Franco, although supporting Mobutu's 'authenticite' policy, released several songs in the 1970's denouncing the police and the elite - and in 1980 made a satirical song about the Prime Minister. Another of his songs called 'Tuba Tuba' (Speak Speak) criticise the use by politicians of 'radio-trottoir' ('street rumour') to leak information.⁷⁰ Le Grand Kallé (Joseph Kabaselle) who is the 'father of the Zairean rumba' has, says Nkolo (190:31), 'stood up against the military ruler of Zaire;' partly as a result of him being the nephew of the persecuted Archbishop of Kinshasha, Cardinal Malula. Representing a newer generation of the countries popular entertainers is Papa Wemba who, in 1980, made a film about Kinshasha life called 'La Vie Est Bell' that satirically

depicts the evils of that society.

Kenya also has its protest music and two songs composed by the guitarist Joseph Kamaru in the 1960s during the rule of President Jomo Kenyatta were entitled 'The Poor Should Be Judged Like The Rich' and 'A Call For Social Justice'.⁷¹ President Daniel Arap Moi has also to contend with critical songs: so much so that in 1980 he warned people about listening to subversive Kikuyu music cassettes. Some were banned, including 'The Tribulations of The Poor People Of Muoroto' by Jonah Wanyeki that is about the battle between squatters and the warders of Nairobi City Commission. Others are 'Let Us Praise The Lord' which mentions the mysterious disappearance of several leading opponents of Arap Moi, and 'Who Is With Us' that deals with the topic of the poor and rich.⁷²

Further south is Zimbabwe there is Thomas Mapfumo who, as mentioned earlier, was famous for his anti-colonial 'chimurenga' songs of the 1970's that condemned the Ian Smith regime. However, since Zimbabwe's independence in 1980 Mapfumo has turned his critical ear and eye to the one-party government of President Mugabe, and has released albums about the corrupt officials who surround this Head-of-State.⁷³

Let us end this discussion on struggle with the J.J.'s. In spite of all Mr. Bampoe's protestations against getting involved in politics, as well as his group's rather fatalistic and moralistic explanations for the uneven spread

of wealth and power, the J.J.'s do provide a forum for socio-political discussion. Their plays depict the problems of the 'commonman', lampoon policemen, judges and the nouveau riche, warn about urban chaos, encourage a return to the land and generally conscientize their audience in a way akin to Theatre-for-Development. Even more important for questioning the state of the nation than the actual words of the plots and lyrics is the way they are created and performed: process rather than content.

The performances are not mediated through government institutions or the mass media but through a private commercial network of inexpensive venues spread over the country. The J.J.'s therefore have a far-flung audience of farming families, the urban poor, schoolchildren, mine workers and various other 'intermediate' groups who, over the last thirty years of the group's existence, must number well over a million. This audience is highly interactive and so the members of the J.J.'s like to know something about the current affairs and gossip of the locality in which they are staging. This enables them to edit, embellish or otherwise modify their plays to suit the taste of any particular public. These alterations can easily be made in the course of a performance as they are unscripted and partially improvised. The crowds jeer, hiss, clap and 'spray' the actors and it is the dialogue with, and feedback from, the audience that contributes to both the long-term nature and

stylisation of the stage-figures and the themes of the plays and songs.

Insofar as the J.J.'a and similar groups provide an unofficial, immediate and carnival-like atmosphere in which performers and the general public can discourse on topical and controversial matters, the concert party can be treated as an anti-hegemonic people's theatre in the full Gramscian sense.

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CODA

Through this study of the Ghanaian concert party and highlife music in particular and African popular performance in general the reason for the title becomes apparent. 'At the Crossroads' refers to these new artforms being at the intersection or confluence of many aesthetic, historical, socio-cultural and geographical realms.

The performance event, with its cross-rhythms, multi-media, polyglot text and audience participation, is itself a polycentric affair. Furthermore, the performers criss-cross the country in vans and buses easily handling many varieties of aesthetic and expressive modes.

Popular entertainment styles operate at important historical nexi. They bridge the gap between the modern and old, both in the sense that they retain some traditional elements, and/or that they retrospectively rework them into the genre; a double process that questions simplistic traditional-to-modern models of social change. They also complete a four hundred year old artistic trans-Atlantic feedback cycle, beginning when African slaves were shipped to the New World and concluding with the 'homecoming' of black diasporic popular performance to Africa in recent times.

Syncretic African performance styles are also at the crossroads of numerous socio-cultural spheres. They are a

melting pot for artistic influences from Africa, Europe, the Americas (black and white) and, although only touched on briefly in this thesis, Islamic countries and the Indian sub-continent. African popular entertainment groups link town and country and their audiences, like the itinerant performers themselves, move to-and-fro between village and city in a way that mirrors the complex urban-rural feedback movements noted by social scientists. These groups have an intermediate position in the modern social scale and constantly proletarianise, 'hijack' and 'filter down' aspects of elite culture. Conversely, their music becomes legitimised by a ruling elite 'inventing a tradition' and searching for national identity.

Whereas some forms of popular entertainment become intensely regionalised, others are 'pan-tribal' and act as a lingua franca for the various ethnic groups and polyglot urban communities of one particular nation, or as a Pan African genre at the continental level. Popular entertainment also provides an arena in which generational and gender tensions, increased by modernising processes, can be articulated and played out.

African popular bands are also at a technological cross-roads. They employ the latest imported equipment and media techniques and so provide data for the 'centre-periphery' debate in developmental and mass-communication studies. Although popular bands of the 'periphery' use

technologies created by the advanced industrial countries and their multi-nationals, many successfully modify these to the local context, so enriching the indigenous culture rather than homogenising and impoverishing it. This transcultural ability of local performing groups to actively select and 'co-orientate' the hardware of the 'centre' throws doubts on the 'cultural imperialism' developmental model that depicts the 'periphery' as passive.

As a final point the title 'At the Crossroads' raises the question regarding which way African popular entertainment will move in the future. Will it become absorbed into the hegemonic cultures of the various African elites or will it act as a platform for the oppressed? Will the emergence of women entertainers since the 1960's be followed by a greater feminisation of lyrics, an increased number of women solo instrumentalists, and the appearance of female bandleaders and music entrepreneurs? Will the 'back to roots' movement continue apace? Will popular entertainment retain its link with the young? Will African popular performance become a bland and standardised component of the international entertainment industry or will there continue to be a flowering of regional varieties?

Finally there is the question of whether new forms of high technology, (multi-track recording studios, digital equipment, videos, Music TV, etc.) will lead to a demise of live popular performance in Africa. Evidence from the Yoruba

travelling theatre and Ghanaian concert party professions shows that since the 1980's new technologies have reduced the number of groups. The remaining Yoruba groups now concentrate on video productions which are taken on tour by band leaders using the same old venues that once accommodated their live performances. Nowadays, Ghanaian concert parties operate mainly in the rural areas, as in the cities they have been pushed off the dance-floors by mobile discos or 'spinners' whose up-to-date sounds, rappers and special effects are all the rage with the urban youth. In both countries the economic hardships of recent years have made it expensive to run large bands, which are now being replaced by cheaper disco and video operations that employ just a few personnel.

Furthermore, partly because of economic considerations and partly due to audiences demanding the latest gimmicks, trap-drummers and percussionists are being replaced by drum machines, and horn players by a single keyboard synthesiser. This is particularly noticeable in the area of recording where multi-tracking dubbing techniques enable songs to be made without a full band ever meeting. This has resulted in some Ghanaian groups, for instance, not being able to reproduce their recorded songs live on television or stage, so their members have to mime or 'lip synch' to the canned music.

Consequently, in Ghana at the time of writing there is

beginning to emerge a new class of performer who, unlike earlier stage, record and film artists, never meet their audiences face-to-face. Indeed, with overdubbing techniques that can take place over weeks and in different studios, performers need never meet up as a group at all. Thus the performance event that used to take place at a specific moment and place has, through modern technology, become spread out in time and space, consequently distancing both performers and audience alike.

Whether these above changes in Ghana are long-term trends or just current fads is yet to be seen. It should be noted that a similar hi-tech induced separation of audiences and performers took place in the West during the eighties, which is now appearing to be followed by a reverse trend of 'unplugged' pop stars playing acoustic instruments to live audiences.

The Ghanaian concert parties and guitar bands are therefore at a cross-roads between the creativity of interpersonal immediacy and that of electronic mediation. Will they continue as recognisable stage bands playing for live audiences, or will they be eclipsed by synthesised dance-music and plays on video broadcast to audiences in the seclusion of their homes or on their walkmans? This is really no longer a Ghanaian or even an African question, but the global one of how will mankind deal with advanced technologies. Will the electronic and digital mass-media

completely replace the intimate primary relations between performers and audiences? If it does, how will this effect the the creative basis of artistic continuity and change that until recently has largely been worked out through the act of group performance and the instant feedback from an on-the-spot audience?

The Ghanaian concert party genre is now at this creative intersection and hopefully, as it has done so often before, it will be able to act as a bridge, this time between the creative conjunctures of live performance and the artistic potentials of postindustrial technology.

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FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER TEN

TRADITIONAL CONTINUITIES : DRAMA

1. The loudness of the music may indicate the support for the ruler, as with the Venda 'tshikoma' dance (Blacking 1969). Amongst the Tiv, the best organised ensemble is the criteria for who wins a political contest (Harding, 1990).
2. See Abba 1988, Ottenburg 1971 and Jeyifo 1984.
3. See Ranger 1975, Nketia 1968, 1972, 1973, Kauffman 1975, Barber 1987, Kirby 1974 and Wachsmann 1956.
4. for okunkpa theatre see Ottenburg 1971. For 'halo' songs see Kofi Anyidoho's discussion on the topic in Priebe 1988, pp. 87-102.
5. For rituals of rebellion see Max Gluckman's Order and Rebellion in Tribal Africa, Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1963. The 'liminal' is also discussed by Turner (1982) and Bakhtin (1984). Turner also calls the liminal 'liminoid', 'neutral space' and 'anti-structure' (1982). Examples are as follows. Phallic songs and insults of elders in the New Year festivals of the Ila of Zambia (Zuesse 1979:113); sexual display at the Yoruba okebadan festival (Adedeji 1967); licentiousness and taunting of chiefs at the apoo festival of Wenchi in Ghana (Bame 1991); sexual inversion and rough treatment of priests during the Ga homowo yam festival (Zuesse 1979); satirical songs and comments by the Akan age-sets that occurs after the aboakyer annual deer-hunt at Winneba, Ghana (Etherton 1982).
6. High degrees of audience participation are noted by Arom, 1991, Frisbie 1970, Nketia 1961, Nettle 1956, Bascom and Herskovits 1959, Blacking 1974, Donner 1980, and Ottenburg 1971. The importance of improvisation is noted by Nketia 1965, Kauffman 1980, Akpabot 1986 and Arom 1991.
7. See Nketia 1961, 1965 and 1973, Chernoff 1979 and Barber 1987.
8. Non African writers include Coplan 1985, Finnegan 1970,

Arom 1991, Merriam 1964 and Diamond 1981. African writers are Bame 1991, Akpabot 1986, Wole Soyinka 1976, President Senghor (see Arom 1991:7), Bebey 1969, and the Ghanaian composer Phillip Gbeho in the Indigenous Gold Coast Musician, African Music Society Newsletter, Ghana, June 1952, pp 30-7:31. Also see the Nigerian musician and composer Akin Euba's The Evaluation of Afro-American Music, a paper read at the symposium on African and Afro-American music, held at the Institute of African Studies, Legon, University of Ghana, March 1972.

9. See Donner 1980 for `ngoma'. For `nkwa' see Kenneth Gourlay's The Non Universality of Music and the Unversality of Non Music, World of Music, 36, (2), pp. 25-36, 1984. For `pele' see Stone 1982.
10. Dictionary of the Asante and Fanti Languages, by J.C. Christaller, Basel Evangelical Society, 1933.
11. Yeboa-Dankwah 1988:33.
12. see Jeyifo 1984, Barber 1990 and 1987, and Lakoju 1984.
13. According to Yaboa-Dankwah, (1988:34/5) the moral may also be at the beginning of the ananse story.
14. See Collins 1985A:23.
15. For Danga see Taylor 1985:84, Two later examples are the `mayombe' jester of the 16th century king of Mozambique (Coplan 1985:64), and the `asa' at the Alafin's Palace of the old Yoruba Oyo state (Adedeji 1967).
16. See Daniel Avorgbedor's The Construction and Manipulation of Temporal Structures in Yewe Cult Music: a Multidimensional Approach, African Music, volume 6, number 4, pp. 4-18, 1987.
17. See Soyinka 1976:16 and Opoku 1987:72.
18. See Herskovits 1941:253 and Zuesse 1979:208.
19. See Zuesse 1979, Roberts 1974 and Keil 1979.
20. Efua Sutherland's The Marriage of Anansewa, Longman Drumbeat Series, London, 1975, page V of Forward.
21. Also see Bame 1985:38.

22. Jeyifo 1984, also mentions that Kola Ogunmola often plays the fool in his group, whilst Lere Paimo is the the clown for his.
23. See Jeyifo 1984:34, Sutherland 1970:12 and Yeboa-Dankwah 1988:33.
24. For Tanzania see Barber 1987:32. Horton (1984:185) says that Sierra Leone's Rokel River Boys included singers, dancers, comedians and instrumentalists who performed Krio yarns, jokes and popular songs. Ricard (1974:173) says that the Happy Stars of Lomé uses songs, poetry and makeup, and that each actor's entrance on stage is accompanied by a highlife rhythm. For Yoruba travelling theatre see Jeyifo 1984:15 and 55, and Brian Crow 1983:70.
25. See Jeyifo 1984:74.
26. Personal communication with Ajax Bukana 30th November, 1988, Accra.
27. See Jeyifo 1984:129.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

TRADITIONAL CONTINUITIES: MUSIC

1. See Rycroft 1977, Bascom and Herskovits 1959, Nketia 1957 and Merriam 1959 for the inseparability of music and dance and the importance of percussion.
2. Segun Bucknor calls it the 'basic African beat' (Collins 1985A:138). It has the same rhythmic pattern as the Ewe agbadza but starts on the 5th pulse of this eastern Ghanaian bell pattern according to Dr. Willie Anku of the School of Performing Arts, University of Ghana Legon (personal communication 14th January 1992).
3. See Anthony King, The Standard Pattern of Yoruba Music, African Music, Volume 2, Number 3, 1960, pp. 51-4.
4. The performers sway and clap, see Nketia 1973.
5. Created in Mampong from mpre and akom according to Holmes (1984). The Adowa also borrowed elements of kete, akapoma and densewu music (Opoku 1966:55). Adowa is called adzewa by Fantis (Nketia 1973) where it is also known as densim according to Kwaa Mensah (personal communication).

6. Osibisaaba is a charm, according to A.A. Mensah 1971/2:132.
7. Information on osode, personal communication with Beattie Casely-Hayford, Kwaa Mensah, Koo Nimo and Y.B. Bampoe.
8. Besides bosoe, other examples include the following. Assadua which according to Nketia (1973:68) means 'sweet berry' and is a dance played in 6/8 time on three sizes of frame drum and a double headed metal 'pati' drum. Ahweya or ahwiya (pronounced ashiwa) is also known as 'aways' (i.e. waiste) due to this dance's stress on pelvic movements (Mensah 1971/2:132). A third example is Akosua tuntum that means 'Akosua (a woman's name) black' and which replaced the asaadua dance (Nketia 1973), Professor Bame told me it features the giant Akan lamellophone or 'aprempresemna'.
9. Fanti konkoma groups used the kew-kew double-bell and awaasa rattle (Sackey 1989). The Silver Stars konkoma group of Wiawase used the nnawuta double-bell, the akasaa rattle and the firikiyiwa finger bell.
10. This is a two to nine stringed pentatonic instrument used in both 'palmwine' music and syncretic Yoruba-Islamic 'sakara' music (Waterman 1986:126 and 1990:37).
11. In Zaire the likembe hand-piano was used by interwar maringa groups (Kazadi 1973:273), and in Sierra Leone some maringa groups employ the giant bass congoma that has four metal notes (Collins 1985A:39). The Shona mbira is used in some Zimbabwean chimurenga music, whilst Waterman (1990:48) says that the Yoruba agadigbo was employed for interwar Lagotian 'palmwine' music; this latter lamellophone, according to Akpabot (1986:16/17), being a heptatonic instrument made out of a gourd with metal notes.
12. Traditional drums were used in the southern African kalela dance (Mitchell 1956). Waterman (1986:151) and Alaja-Browne (1987:7) say that early juju bands used the Yoruba sekere bottle-gourd rattle, and later employed pressure drums. The mailo jazz groups of postwar Freetown Sierra Leone use traditional Mende, Temne and Limba drums (Nunley 1987) and the contemporary Senegalese 'mbalax' music of Youssou N'Dour features Wolof drums (Harrev 1992:chapter 22).
13. Nigerian 'palmwine' music (Waterman 1986:144), juju music (Alaja-Browne unpublished:4), Central African

maringa (Kazadi 1973:273) and Zulu town music (Rycroft 1977).

14. Another 1950's guitar band example in the COLLINS/BAPMAF collection is 'Tuameka' (Decca WA 104) that is based on the Akan proverb 'let me do my own running,' i.e. sort out my own affairs. The Modernaires dance band also produced a number of songs in the 1950's based on folksongs. These include 'Bre Bre' or 'Small Small', a 'Fanti folksong' (Decca WA 142); 'Abrantsie' or 'Good Young Man', a 'Twi folksong' (Decca WA 942); and 'Akwankwaa Hiani' or 'Poor Person', a 'Twi folksong' (Decca WA 942).
15. According to Otoo Lincoln (Collins 1983C) the chief offered his three daughters in marriage to the first man who could guess their secret names - but execution for those who failed. One man successfully marries the three women by pretending to be mad, so they speak openly in his presence, and then he remembers their names by making up a rhyme out of the three names.
16. Low (1982:21) mentions the 'sukuti' guitar style of Kenya that uses rhythms from the sukuti drum of the Luhya people of western Kenya. Kubik (1982:18/19) says that some of the rhythmic time-lines supplied by a struck bottle in Kenyan guitar music go back to the likembe (lamellophone) groups of the 19th century. Mitchell (1956) says that traditional dance steps were part of kalela performances. Kazadi (1973:273) refers to the influence of traditional dance on the 'soukous' style of Zairean Congo jazz that emerged in the late 1960's, whilst Rycroft (1962:100) states that some of the bottle rhythms that accompanied the guitarist Mwenda Jean Bosco of Zaire's Shaba Province was based on Luba rhythms from the area. The Nigerian musician Segun Bucknor told me (Collins 1985A: 138) that the traditional 12/8 'kon-kon' rhythm is used in many Ibo highlife tunes and was popular with some of the 1970's Afro-pop bands of the country, such as Ofege and his own group Revolution.
17. This is according to Kwaa Mensah who also told me that the fast version is known as 'ohugya', 'gya' meaning fire or hot. He also told me of a type of 'blues' played on the concertina and accordion called 'opim'. According to Darkwa-Asante (1974), odonson is a slow high-life played on guitar or accordion and is particularly associated with the Akan Kwahu people.
18. Nketia (1957:15) believes a slow highlife is referred

to as 'blues' because of its tempo. Sprigge (1961:76) says a slow highlife is called an 'Ashanti blues' and that it is either in 2/4 time (Ibid:80) or an alternation of duple and triple time (Ibid:78). In Nigeria, 'blues' is called 'native blues' (Waterman 1990:45).

19. This is based on an analysis of the COLLINS/BAPMAF collection.
20. The only one in the COLLINS/BAPMAF collection using the agbadza type of rhythm is an Ewe 'blues' of the 1950's called 'Nu Vevie Mewu Woo', or 'Nothing Serious Has Happened To You' (Decca WA 537).
21. Although not usually carried out in a performance situation, the two rhythms can be correlated and played simultaneously if the first beat of the 'triple offbeat' is made to begin on the third beat of the 'calypso-highlife' pattern.
22. The bell of Akan asafo songs are aligned with the drums but not the singing (Nketia 1973:7). Handclap patterns in Akan nnwonkoro songs do not enter with the voices (Ibid:18,32,38 and 48). For the apo songs of the Akan Brong-Ahafo people the voices begin after the castanets or claves (Ibid:156). The bell of adowa and kete music begins ahead of the foot's downstep (Michael Kojo Ganyoh and Johnson K.D. Kemah, personal communications; also see Holmes 1984). The adowa bell is also out of phase with the singing (Nketia 1973:91), and the bell of the kete 'atine' variation is offset against the drums (Koetting 1984).
23. Gahu is a combination of the words 'ga' (iron) and 'hu' (vehicle), i.e. an aeroplane. See David Locke's Drum Gahu, published by White Cliffs, USA, 1987.
24. Personal communication with Professors Ladzekpo and Eder, 18th February, 1989. It is also they who refer to Kofi Dey.
25. Waterman (1986:157) refers to the use of the male tessitura voice (octave above middle C) in the singing of the early juju musicians Tunde King and Ayinde Bakare. A high nasal voice is also typical of the early highlife recordings of Jacob Sam, and Koo Nimo told me that this was a general preference for 'palmwine' singers. Reference to a traditional use of male falsetto singing are for western Nigeria, Waterman (1986:157); for Ghanaian adenkum groups, Aning

(1968:66); and for Sierra Leone, Cootje van Oven's section on Sierra Leone in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Volume 17, 1980, pp. 302-4.

26. See Alaja-Browne (unpublished:2 and 1987:4) and Waterman (1990:56 and 1982:60) for Nigerian asiko and juju music. For marabi piano-music and the guitar and concertina playing of 'focho' neo-traditional Sotho music see Coplan (1985:258-263, and 21-24, and 1979/80:65). For Zairean maringa and Congo jazz see Kazadi (1973:173 and 276).
27. See Agawu (1981:71), Merriam (1959), Bascom and Herskovits (1959).
28. Improvisation in South African neo-traditional music is mentioned by Coplan (1979:65 and 80); in Central African guitar playing by Rycroft (1961 and 1961); and in Nigerian juju and 'palmwine' music by Waterman(1986:132 and 1990:65)
29. See Ward 1927:221, A.A. Mensah 1969/70:3 and Bruce King 1966:4.
30. Koo Nimo was talking about Menu's song 'Kwaa Asem' (A Laughing Matter) that he was playing in my Bokoor Studio in 1987 whilst being interviewed by Sean Barlow for his American Public Radio 'Afro-Pop' series.
31. According to Chernoff (1979:144-166) the feet move on the four onbeats whilst the hips move on the third onbeat. The gap that is filled in with a creative dance movement is between the bass guitar note on onbeat three and the first onbeat of the next measure.
32. Rycroft (1977:221-234) is saying that not only has the guitar adopted the same functional role as the gourd bow in providing an antiphonal chorus to the lead voice of ambulatory Zulu singers, but that the singer can also project onto the guitar one or more additional voice parts; which goes beyond the capacity of the gourd bow.
33. Coplan (1985:23) says that whereas the Sotho musician cannot sing and play the mouth bow at the same time, this can be done with the guitar or concertina, which themselves can play more than one voice: thus increasing the polyphonic nature of the music.
34. See my interview with Kwaa Mensah, (Collins 1985A:16). Cynthia Schmidt (personal communication 30th. April

1994) told me that the Kru expression is 'Dagomba Waye Tangebo' and means that the Dagomba ship is telegraphing or wiring (ie. waye) a particular sailor called Tangebo or Tankebo.

35. Examples are the six-stringed luo of the Dan people of Liberia (Townsend 1971:22); the twenty-one stringed kora of Mali, Guinea Senegambia and Sierra Leone: the six stringed seprewa of Ghana; the two to nine stringed Yoruba molo (Akpabot 1986:13-14).

36. See Low (1982: 18), Rycroft (1961:83), Roberts (1974:244), Kazadi (1973:274), Kayvu (1978:11) and Kubik (1981:94).

37. For Akan scales see Nketia (1973) and Aning (1968). Also Willie Anku personal communication, 9th January, 1992.

38. If in the key of 'C' then the 'doh' be similar to a C major triad and the 'ray' mode will be similar to an ascending D minor melodic scale, with a 'C' flattened seventh instead of C sharp.

39. Koo Nimo told me (20th March 1992) that there are a number of tuning songs for the seprewa. Using the solfa notation, one he gave me goes as follows:
Lah-so-fah-me Lah-so-fah-me Ray-doh-doh-doh-ray-ray.

The proverbial words that accompany it goes as follows:-

Opuro nka ntam x 2 (A squirrel does not oath)
Na wanya amere (He's just there innocently).

40. The chord sequence for 'Kwaa' in 12/8 time goes as follows:-

 B flat - B flat - C - B flat - B flat - B flat_
 C - C B flat - C/A minor - C/A minor_ etc.

The chord sequence for 'kokori-ko' in 4/4 time goes as follows:-

 B flat - B flat - B flat - B flat_
 B flat - B flat - B flat - B flat_
 C/A minor - C/A minor - C/A minor - C/A minor_
 C/A minor - C/A minor - C/A minor - C/A minor_
etc.

41. Rycroft (1961 and 1962), talking about the song masanga says it uses the following chord sequences: 'Tonic/Supertonic minor/Dominant/Tonic' and occassionally 'Supertonic minor/Flattened seventh/Dominant.' It is the latter that is suggestive of the traditional hepta-sol modality.
42. See Kubik (1981:93), Roberts (1974:255), Low (1982 :19/20), and Kayvu (1978:11).

CHAPTER TWELVE

MUSICAL CHANGE AND COLONIAL CONTACT

1. For inter-African syncretism see the following. K.P. Wachsmann, Musical Instruments of the Ki-Ganda Tradition and their Place in the East African Scene, Paper read at the symposium on the 'Music and History of Asia and Africa' held by the British Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, London 1962. K.P. Wachsmann, Folk Music in Uganda, Uganda Museum Paper, Number 2, Kampala, 1956. P.R. Kirby, The Musical Practices of the Native Races of South Africa, Oxford University Press, 1934. Professor J.H. Nketia 1968:6 and 14.
2. See A.M. Jones, Indonesia and Africa, the Xylophone as Cultural Indicator, J. Roy Anthropological Institute, Volume 86, Number II, 1959 page 15; and M.D.W. Jeffries, Negro Influences on Indonesia, African Music, Volume 2 Number 4, pages 10-16, (no date).
3. See Bascom and Herskovits 1959 and Nketia 1968: 13. Also Bruno Nettl, Continuity and Change in African Culture, Chicago, 1959, chapter 9.
4. See Donner 1980:89 and Martin 1982.
5. Sakara became popular around 1914 and the word may have an arabic origin says Waterman (1986:97). It is played on the northern Nigerian Hausa single stringed goje bow, but uses Yoruba call-and-response techniques (Ibid:101).
6. The commercial Ghanaian gold minig industry began in 1874 (C.K.Graham 1974:42). Diamonds were discovered in Kimberley in 1867 which soon reached a population of 25,000 (Coplan 1985:11). The Johannesburg gold-strike was in 1886 and by 1930 this South African city had a

population of 400,000 (Coplan 1979/80). Zaire's Union Minière began operating in the first decade of the 20th century (Kazadi 1973:167).

7. J.C. de Graft-Johnson, *The Fanti Asafu*, in *The Journal of the Institute of African Languages and Culture*, D. Westerman (ed), Oxford University Press, Volume V, 1932, pp. 307-322.
8. See F. Wolfson, *Pageant of Ghana*, Oxford University Press, London, 1958:122.
9. See John Beecham, *Ashanti and the Gold Coast*, John Mason London, 1841:1/2.
10. Quote from a fragment of a Ghanaian newspaper cutting of July 1959. No author and no other reference, document with COLLINS/BAPMAF archives. The article also says the play 'Zacharia Free' produced in 1935 by the then Governor of the Gold Coast, Sir Arnold Hodson, was first staged at the Palladium, Accra.
11. It was the Protestants who pioneered education following the creation of the Gold Coast in 1874. By 1881 there were 135 protestant, 1 catholic and 3 government schools there (Graham 1976:62). In Nigeria the protestant Missionary Society (originally based in Freetown) converted the inland Yoruba town of Abeokuta in the 1840's and when they were expelled from there in 1867 many of these Egbe christians, as they were called, settled in Lagos (See Waterman 1986:46). Kazadi notes (1973:267) that although the Catholics were in contact with the Kongo kingdom from 1485, the protestant influence there, which began in the second half of the 19th century, became more widespread.
12. It was the Swizz Basel Mission that first translated the Bible into a vernacular Ghanaian language. (Odamtten 1978).
13. See A.A. Mensah 1980:188 and Darkwa-Asante 1974.
14. For the church influence on juju music see Alaja-Browne 1987:3. On theatre see Barber 1987:9 and 1990:10. Also see Johnson 1989:101.
15. The Universities Mission to Central Africa was important in East and Central Africa. In the Cape and Transkei Provinces of South Africa there were 14 mission schools by 1884 (see Coplan 1985:25/6).

16. See Martins 1982:159, Donner 1980:92 and Coplan 1985:267.
17. C. Meillasoux (ed), *The Development of Indigenous Trade and Markets in West Africa*, Oxford University Press, London, 1971. D. Northrup, *Trade Without Rulers*, in: *Precolonial Economic Development in South-Eastern Nigeria*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1978.
18. Other 19th century explorers who gave musical gifts are Rohlf and Barth (see Collins and Richards 1989:39). For the Dutch trained orchestra in Kumasi see Ivor Wilks, *Asante in the 19th century: The Structure and Evolution of Political Power*. Cambridge University Press, 1975.
19. Personal communication with Marcel Witte of the Department of Visual Anthropology, University of Amsterdam, 21st June 1991.
20. Personal communication with J.K. Addo of the Koforidua Casino Orchestra, 29th May 1973 and 31st July, 1973.
21. See R. Boonzajer-Flaes and F. Gales, 1991: 15. They mention that both the Swedru Number One Band and the Kwanyakoh Band began as groups that played bamboo flutes.
22. For Keta reference see R. Boonzajer-Flaes 1991. King Bruce told me about the brass band that made a preshow march to the Palladium during the 1930's. Professor A.M. Opoku told me about the fife bands used by the Princess Cinema of Secondi-Takoradi for both the preshow campaign and inside the cinema during the film show.
23. See Whitcomb 1974:90 and Coplan 1985:71.
24. The number of records imported into South Africa by HMV/Zonophone in 1927/8 was 1,020,605; in 1928/9 was 1,119,764 and in 1929/30 was 876,276. Personal communication with Leonard Petts, Head of the EMI Archives, Hayes Middlesex, 1979.
25. Followed by others such as Odeon, Columbia, Pathé and Zonophone; according to Harrev 1989:104.
26. Personal communication with Leonard Petts, EMI Archives.
27. For the reference on the Odeon Company in Lagos see

Waterman 1990:27 and 47. The thirty-five catalogue of mainly local popular songs and hymns is 'The Catalogue of Zonophone West African Records by Native Artists', published by the Zonophone Company, Hayes, Middlesex, 1929.

28. For Lagos cinema see Leonard 1967; for Freetown cinema see Nunley 1987. Other Ghanaian cinemas belonging to Mr. Alfred Ocansey were the Mikado in Nsawam, the Capital in Koforidua, the Royal in Kumasi, Parks Cinema in Accra and the Princess Cinema in Secondi-Takoradi. Personal communication Professor A.M. Opoku and also see West Africa, London, 18-14 February, 1991:216.
29. White municipal radio began in South Africa in the 1920's (Coplan 1985:160) and Kenya's Nairobi based East African Broadcasting Company began in 1927 (Harrev 1989:114).
30. Sierra Leone see Horton 1984:185/6; for Nigeria see Waterman 1990:77; for Ghana, personal communication with Fifi Hesse in July 1985, then Director General of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation.
31. The two records were by Akanbi Wright's juju group. J.O. Alaba juju records were also shipped to Nigerian troops in Burma (Waterman 1986:199).
32. See Ware 1978:301, Waterman 1990:93, and Graham 1986:26.
33. For South Africa radio see Coplan 1985:160; and for Ghana radio personal communication with Fifi Hesse in July 1985. For 'Aban' cinema see West Africa, London, 1991:211.
34. For Nigeria see Waterman 1990:92. For Sierra Leone see Ware 1978:300/302 and Horton 1984:185/6.
35. For Kenya see Harrev 1989:114 and 155, for Zambia see Bender 1991:142.
36. See Collins 1985A:150 and Waterman 1990:90.
37. For the Jambo Label see Harrev 1989:104/5. For Zaire see Graham 1988:26 and 186.
38. For the Atakora Brother's label, see Nketia 1956:6.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

EUROPEAN PROGRESS AND PROGRESSIVE INDIGENISATION

1. Social Darwinists include Herbert Spencer, Lewis Morgan and E. Taylor.
2. Kwaa Mensah personal communication. For asiko also see Collins 1985A:15.
3. Of twenty-four Twi 'palmwine' recordings in the COLLINS/BAPMAF Archives, twenty-two are of the 'odonso' variety.
4. From its inception in 1931 the Two Bobs toured as far inland as Kumasi. In 1935 the Axim Trio was touring as far north as Tamale (see Sutherland 1970).
5. Groups directly influenced by the Two Bobs and Axim Trio include Bob Cole's Happy Trio formed at Aboso in 1937 and Kakaiku's group formed there in 1954 (Sutherland 1970:22 and 25). The Yanky Trio formed in 1946 in Suhum is also an example.
6. Examples of inland groups are as follows and in chronological order. The Happy Trio formed in Aboso 1937 by Bob Cole; The Yanky Trio, Suhum, 1946 by Y.B. Bampoe; the Abuakwa Trio in Apedwa, 1952 by I.K. Yeboah; the Jungle Jokers in Adoagyiri-Nsawam, 1954 by K.M. Hammond; the Jaguar Jokers in Adoagyiri-Nsawam, 1954 by Y.B. Bampoe; Kakaiku's concert party in Aboso, 1954 by M.K. Oppon; The Ahanta Trio in Swedru, 1955 by Kofi Asihene; the Royal Trio in Kumasi, 1957 by Kwabina Onyina; the Happy Stars in Nsawam, 1957 by Love Nortey.
7. Interviews with Shani Abrahams and Mr. Bukari, Yendi, April 1974. Also see Collins 1985A:135/6.
8. A.M. Opoku says it began in Kumasi with youngsters who congregated around an area where Fanti tatale (fried mashed plantain) was sold.
9. For School 'drop-outs' see Sackey 1989:chapter 5. A.M. Opoku says it was the 'ruffian boys' Put Water and his Hausa friend Abdullah.
10. Kwaa Mensah (Collins 1985A:16) and A.M. Opoku mention the use of the big bass drum. Sackey (1989:chapter 5) says a large hand held version of the frame drum called a 'baas-kese' (i.e. 'bass-big') was used. All mention the use of the pati drum.

11. Repertoire of konkoma groups, adaha, Akan adesim, 'Ashanti blues', rumbas, foxtrots, bumps-a-daisy, sambas, la congas, Spanish music and 'dagomba' highlifes according to Kwaa Mensah (See Collins 1985:16). Highlifes, 'blues' and sambas according to Professor K.H. Bame (personal communication). Highlifes, 'blues', dagombas and slow foxtrots according to the late Beattie Casely-Hayford (1987).
12. Sackey (1989:chapter 5) compares this to the non-synchronised form of traditional Fanti marching.
13. According to A.M. Opoku (personal communication 7th September 1990) 'we found out that the army was using them for campaigning and recruiting. Before, when soldiers had gone on route marches they had sung Hausa songs, but after konkoma and people were inducted into the army, route marches were in Akan.'
14. Sackey (1989:Preface) mentions the use of the local 'awaasa' rattles, the double cowbell and finger bell. He also says three frame drums were used, the alto, the tenor or 'tantaba' and the 'bass-kese'.
15. Konkoma influence on akyewa, see Opoku 1966:25.
16. Jeyifo (1985:Preface) refers to the use of konkoma or 'low' highlife at his school concerts in Ibadan in the early 1950's.
17. Segun Bucknor says 'by the early thirties you had informal dance-steps like konkoma... this dance step was later called agidigbo (See Collins 1985:137). Victor Olaiya told me at his Papingo Nightclub in Lagos in November 1974, that prior to the the Ghanaian Tempos dance-band type of highlife that swept Nigeria in the 1950's there was an earlier craze for the less prestigious konkoma highlife. Also see Waterman 1990:85.
18. According to the Ewe musician 'Eddie' Edinam Ansa borborbor groups either use the 'calypso-highlife' type clave pattern or ones very similar to it.
19. Gerhard Kubik refers to the 'kazoo zone' of southern Africa in his article Recording and Study in Northern Mozambique, in: The Journal of the African Music Society, Johannesburg, Volume 3, Number 3, 1964:footnote on p. 8.
20. The kalela was a 'mock copy' (Mitchell 1956) and the

mganda a 'burlesque' (Jones 1945) of brass band music.

21. For lyre influences on guitar, see Roberts 1974:244/255, Kayvu 1978:116, and Kubik 1981:93.
22. the Luhya version of the benga beat also incorporated a local 1950's guitar style known as 'sukuti' in which the guitar imitated some of the rhythms of the local sukuti drum (see Low 1984:21).
23. In this comparison between Hauyani and bottleneck guitar, Kubik is quoting the American folklorist David Evans. For origins of the diddley-bow see Oliver et al 1986:39/40.
24. See my interview with E.K. Nyame in Collins 1985A: chapter 3.
25. See Jeyifo 1984:101-104.
26. the 'kolomashie' is a Ga style of highlife that goes back to the 1930's according to King Bruce (1987/9). According to Nii Ashitey (see Collins 1985A:chapter 14), 'something' was a popular Ga fishermen's drum music of the 1950's. 'Oge' imported by Liberian Kru people was also popular in Accra at that time with fishermen.
27. Nii Ashitey had been a percussionist with E.T. Mensah's Tempos dance-band, the Ghana Police Band, the Ghana Workers Brigade Band Number Two, and also the Tubman Stars band of Liberia for a while.
28. For example in June/July 1975 Wulomei went on a 45 day tour of the United States, and in 1983 they played at the Second Pan-African Youth Festival held in Tripoli, Libya.
29. Nineteen such groups played at the Anansekrom Traditional Instrumental and Folk Music Competition held at the Accra Arts Council on the 2nd May 1975.
30. The Tanzanian Film Company and the Guinea State Radio and Syliphone Company were state monopolies.
31. In 1974 Nigeria had three major recording companies, twelve recording studios, two big indigenous pressing plants and fifty small local record labels. (Graham 1988:24). In 1978 twelve million records were pressed in Nigeria, half foreign songs under local license (see Collins 1985A:152/3).

32. In the early 1980's Victor Uwaifo set up Nigeria's first private television studio. I.K. Dairo and the apala musician Haruna Ishola had their Record Star label and after the 1977 indigenisation decree, Ishola went on to build a 24-track recording studio and pressing plant. Hubert Ogunde started his own record label as early as the 1960's. See Waterman 1990:117 and Collins 1985A:152.
33. Bokoor Studio was first in 1982, followed by Black Note, Elephant Walk, Overdrive, ARC in Tema, Roots Amabo and Sid Studio.
34. The ban in Guinea was in 1959 (Harrev 1992:chapter 22) and in Tanzania in 1973 (Donner 1980). In 1980 Kenya put a 25% limit on the airplay of foreign music for a while (Bender 1991;133).
35. Hesse told me that this increase in transmitting power took place in stages between 1958 and 1962.
36. The 'Band Series' were short films made in 1962/3. One was 'Joe Kelly and his Band' another called 'Highlife' featured the Workers Brigade Band and the Ramblers dance band. 'Walking to Stardom' was about the Tempos. 'I Told You So' was a full length feature film made circa 1970. It is included in the document Films We Have Produced, published by the Film Library section of the State Film Corporation, 1974. Document with COLLINS/BAPMAF archives.
37. See Horton (1984:186/7) for Rokel River Boys and Chris Na Case. For mailo jazz see Nunley 1987.
38. According to Kubik (1981:100) Zairean musicians looking for jobs in Uganda led to 'Congo bands swamping Kampala nightclubs.'
39. See Jeyifo 1984:65 and Jegede 1987:68.
40. Duro Lapidio's group was featured in two films in 1976 and 1977 respectively. Ogunde made a film in 1980 called 'Aiye' and in 1981 another called 'Jaiyesimi'. See Jeyifo 1984:75/6.
41. See Alaja-Browne 1985:68.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE MODERN AND TRADITIONAL: CONFLICTING OR COMPATIBLE

1. See E.M. von Hornbostel. African Negro Music. In: Africa, 1, 1928, pp. 30-62.
2. Hugh Tracey talks of the 'dangerous' influence of Europe on Zulu music in The State of Music in Bantu Africa, African Music, 1, 1954, pp. 8-11. A.M. Jones criticises the 'growing tendency to syncretise African and European dance forms' in Folk Music in Africa, the Journal of the International Folk Council, Volume 5, 1953, pp. 36-40.
3. The Tiv have an acephalous social organisation and treat any excess wealth, power, leadership or initiative in terms of 'tsav' or witchcraft (see Keil 1979 and Asimeng, 1981:108).
4. Hill says that patrilineal land is bought by the agnatic line and inherited as 'strip land' whereas for the matrilineal societies it is bought through the uterine line and inherited as 'cluster land'.
5. An example is the Yoruba Egbe Omo Oduduwa ethnic association that became the political arm of the Action Group of western Nigeria in the 1950's.
6. In Ghana for instance, 1600 organisations are registered with the National Commission on Culture's Religious Affairs Organisation, of which half are charismatic. This information is from the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation television news on 29th December 1991.
7. Hubert Ogunde is the leader and 95 other groups are involved according to Clark 1979:Biographical Notes XIX.
8. The GNEA gave 25£ to help the widow of a deceased member according to a copy of the union's constitution with the COLLINS/BAPMAF archives.
9. See Meillasoux 1968.
10. Personal communication with Dovi Soklu and Michael Kojo Ganyoh November 1991.
11. Such as the Cherubim and Seraphim church established by Baba Aladura in 1925 (see Marre 1985) and the Church of the Lord and the Christ Apostolic Church formed in 1930 and 1931 respectively (see Waterman 1988:144).

12. See Waterman 1990:59 and 150, Marre 1985, and Collins and Richards 1989:43.
13. Gospel-highlife records from my own Bokoor studio include 'Ntutu' by the Geneses Gospel Singers released 1985 by Africagram of London and 'Christo Asafo Onyame Beba' by the same group, released in 1986 by the SRT label of Ghana.
14. See Collins 1985C:38 and also personal communication with Yaw Boye of the Genesis Gospel Singers.
15. Personal communication with Francis Kenya in 1989. In fact he asked me to become the Treasurer of his church, but I declined.
16. See also Bruno Nettl 1956.
17. The Native Americans Richard Waterman and Merriam are talking about are the Flatheads of Montana, who like other tribes of the Great Plains and American West have no tradition of polyphony and harmony, but rather sing in unison and in a high nasal voice that is unaccompanied by instruments.
18. Sahlins 1981 is talking about the impact of Captain Cook and other Europeans on Hawaii.
19. See Waterman 1986:162-170.
20. For example, Ghana's Psychic and Traditional Healing Association is linked to the National Health Service (see Twumasi 1975:120).
21. See Marks 1983. Also Rutten 1984 mentions that some Dutch 'pop' bands influenced by the Anglo-American idiom nevertheless perform in their own languages and use the accordian, a favourite Dutch instrument.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

HEROES OF THE CULTURAL CROSSROADS

1. See Clark 1979, Lakoju 1984:38, and Jeyifo 1984.
2. Barber (1987:29) mentions taxi-drivers, cake-sellers, shoeshine boys, mechanics, lowgrade teachers, secretaries and secondary school children. She is quoting Chris Wanjala, For Home and Freedom, Kenya

Literature Bureau, 1980.

3. See Barber (1987:29) who is quoting Bogomil Jewsiewicki, *Collective Memory and its Images: Popular Urban Painting in Zaire - A Source of 'Present Past'*. *History and Anthropology*, 2, 1986. Also Jewsiewicki, *Collective Memory and the Stakes of Power : A Reading on Popular Zairean Historical Discourse*, *History in Africa*, 13, 1986.
4. See Alaja-Browne unpublished:4, and Waterman 1990:47 and 1986:130 and 137. Waterman (1986:184) says that the juju pioneer, Tunde King, had also been a seaman.
5. Ranger (1975:78-82) mentions the 1930's Kambas beni group of Lamu.
6. Maringa reference, Harrev personal communication. For Antoine Wemba, see Fosu-Mensah et al 1987:239. For Dondo Daniels see Ewens 1986:13.
7. Barber (1986:8) says that in the case of Yoruba travelling theatre, business competition with other groups led to diversification that includes the use of television, photoplay comics, films and records.
8. This personal stamp is literally the case for popular paintings which are signed by the artist concerned. This is quite unlike the anonymous approach to traditional art objects.
9. Three examples are King Sunny Ade's 'synchro system', Ebenezer Obey's 'miliki system' and Segun Adewele's 'Yo-Pop', i.e. Yoruba Pop.
10. From Sierra Leone there is 'Big Faya' and from Zaire 'Doctor' Nico. Waterman (1990:116) refers to Nigerian musicians called 'Admirals', 'Senators', 'Captains' and 'Uncles'.
11. Two early groups mentioned by Ranger (1975) are the Kingi and Scotchi beni associations.
12. See Etherton 1982, Barber 1987:7, Malamah-Thomas 1988:26, and Abah 1988.
13. 'Srotai Ye Mli' Decca WA 4019, 1969. 'Dzee Ashwe' Decca, WA 4097, 1963.
14. 'Gbehe He' Decca WA 4128, mid-sixties.

15. West African magazine, London, March 1989:348.
16. Personal communication with Joseph Aduoku November 1990.
17. West African magazine, London, March 1989:348.
18. Africans include Fred Zindi, Francis Bebey, A.A. Mensah, Sammy Akpabot, Miriam Makeba.
19. Non Africans include Charles Keil, Paul Richards and Christopher Waterman, who have all played with juju bands; John Chernoff who played percussion for the Ramblers danceband of Ghana; David Coplan who was percussionist with Molambo in South Africa in the mid 1970's; Gerhard Kubik who played with the East African Kachamba Brothers; John Low who toured and played with the Zairean guitarist Mwenda Jean Bosco; Robert Sprigge who played highlife piano with the Red Spots danceband of Ghana in the mid and late 1950's and Karin Barber who acted and toured with a Yoruba travelling theatre.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE BLACK AMERICAS AND AFRICA: PREWAR

1. Kazadi 1971:25 and Kubik 1981:86
2. See Harris 1956 and Koskoff 1987:Chapter 2.
3. See Koskoff 1987:Chapter 12.
4. According to Small 1987, rock `n' roll is a combination of rhythm `n' blues and country western music. Another black influence on rock `n' roll was the `Dooop Wop' singing of black female trios associated with black gospel music.
5. For influences South African black writers see Jacobs 1989:13.
6. Odamtten (1975:128/9) says these West Indians were brought to Ghana in 1843 by the Swizz Basel Mission and settled in the Akropong Hills.
7. See Waterman 1988:234/5 and Collins and Richards 1989:29 and 90.
8. For the connection between goombay or gumbe and mylism see Bilby 1985:7; also see personal communication with

him 19th April 1991. 'Gumbia' is mentioned in Maude Cuney-Hare, *Negro Musicians and Their Music*, Associated Publishers Washington DC 1936, p. 21. Waterman (1986:21) also mentions that goombay is found in Barbados.

9. Harrev, personnel communication, 13th April 1989.
10. Bilby, personal communication, 10th April 1991, says the Maroons took their drums with them when they sailed to Freetown in 1800.
11. Goombay in Freetown in 1820/1 see A.B.C. Sibthorpe, *The History of Sierra Leone*, Languages Review, Freetown, Frank Cass and Co. 1970, p.28. 'Gumbe' in Freetown in 1834 see E. Jones, *Mid-Nineteenth Century Evidence of Sierra Leone Patois*, *Sierra Leone Languages Review*, Freetown, No. 1, 1962, pp.19-26, p.21. Goombay as a cause of 'many vices' see Harrev, 1987:5, who is quoting the *Sierra Leone Weekly Advertiser* of 1858 in Leo Spitzer's *The Creoles of Sierra Leone*, University of Winsconsin Press, 1974, pp.23/4.
12. Squire Addo told me that gome musicians used claves and a large square drum with a goatskin head.
13. Sierra Leone contract labourers worked in the Belgian Congo Free State between 1885 and 1908 according to Bender 1989:66.
14. Both A.A. Mensah (1968) and Hampton (1983) mention Fernando Po. Drid Williams in the sleeve notes of the Mustapha Tetty Addy Master Drummer of Ghana record album volume 1 (Tangent Records TGS 113 early 1970's) also mentions the Cameroons as a source of Ghanaian gome drumming.
15. I was shown a 'gombe' drum by Ebenezer Obey in November 1974 that his Inter Reformers juju band used. It was a conga type drum, the body of which was typically hand carved in the African manner, but with the head and skin attached by screws rather than pegs. Although totally unlike a frame-drum in looks, it is, like the frame drum, a modified African drum, the manufacture of which involves modern methods of carpentry and joinery.
16. See Waterman 1986:21 and Meillasoux 1968:125/6.
17. See Lloyd 1969.
18. See Ware 1978:304.

19. Asiko was popular in Freetown between 1900 and 1920 according to Helga Kreutziger. The Picture of Krio Life 1900-1920, Acta Ethnological et Linguistica, Wien, No. 11, 1968, p.72. It was popular in Accra circa 1900 I was told by Squire Addo. Kwaa Mensah (Collins 1985A:15) told me that asiko groups used musical saw, accordion and concertina. Segun Bucknor claims that asiko was an early name for highlife in western Nigeria just after the First World War, whilst Alaja-Browne (unpublished:2) mentions its popularity in the Saro and Brazilian quarters of Lagos. According to Delano (1973:157) the dance associated with asiko resembles a foxtrot and was introduced into Nigeria from Sierra Leone.
20. See Storm Roberts 1974:55.
21. According to Bedell who was born in 1907, Grebo guitarists of the late 1920's Alfred Collins and Gyedate Johnson played the quadrille songs 'Carry Me Halfway' and the Grebo one 'I'm Looking for my Husband'.
22. Brazil began to free its slaves in 1820 and finally ended slavery altogether in 1888.
23. In 1881 there were 3,200 Agudas in a total Lagos population of 37,500 (Collins and Richards 1989:29 and 42).
24. See Waterman 1986:58, Alaja-Browne 1987:3, and Aig-Imoukhuede 1975:213.
25. See Waterman 1986:58 and Alaja-Browne unpublished:2. Aig-Imoukhuede (1975:213) says the samba drum was introduced to the Benin Republic (originally Dahomey) in the late 19th century and was associated there with an orchestra set up by Francisco de Souza for use in the Brazilian bonfin festival.
26. Ebenezer Obey told me in November 1974 that the samba drum is a rectangular frame-drum or tambourine used in Lagos 'street music'. Alaja-Browne (unpublished:2) says asiko groups used three samba drums. Waterman (1990) mentions the use of samba drums in asiko bands (Ibid:39/40), in inter war Lagos palmwine music (Ibid:46 and 49) and in early juju groups (Ibid:154).
27. See Jeyifo (1984:41) who also says that the Saro people began returning to Nigeria from Freetown in 1830.

28. See Echeruo (1962:69/70) who is referring to a Grand Theatre in May 1888 in honour of Queen Victoria's birthday. Important Brazilian-Aguda concert names of the times were J.J. de Costa, J.A. Campos, L.G. Barboza and P.Z. Silva.
29. For 19th Century Krio 'shouts' see Fyfe 1962:378/9. The Krio-English Dictionary is written by C.N. Fyfe and E.D. Jones, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1980.
30. Two early African-American missionaries in Liberia in the 1820's were Daniel Coker of the American Methodist Episcopal Church and Reverend Lott Carey who was a Baptist (see Wilmore 1972). For Swizz Basel Mission reference see Odamtten 1978:123. The very first diasporic black missionary in Ghana was the Methodist Thomas Birch Freeman who was in the country from 1838-1890.
31. See Coplan 1982:115 and 1985:42.
32. See Erlman 1988:336/7 and also Bergmeier.
33. Harrev (1987:6) is quoting Fyfe 1962.
34. Zouave uniforms were originally those worn by the volunteers who unsuccessfully tried to defend the Pope against Garibaldi in late 19th century Italy. Personal communication with Freed Gales and Robert Boonzajer - Flaes, 1991.
35. Waterman 1990:43.
36. See Erlmann 1988:335.
37. McAdoo's group under the name the American Jubilee Singers first visited South Africa in 1887, and the Virginia Jubilee Singers made four trips in the 1890's (see Coplan 1985:39). Ballantine (1989:306) refers to the existence of an African minstrel group in Durban as early as 1880.
38. The practice of black American minstrel groups using the spirituals goes back to the Georgia Minstrels of 1875 (see Toll 1974).
39. Coplan (1985:41) says Will Thompson was a member of the Balmoral Amateur Minstrels in 1886 and a year later, according to Erlmann (1988:348), he and a local man called Bud M'belle formed the Buffalo Glee and Concert

Company. Ballantine (1989:306) mentions two other late 19th century black South African groups, the Yellow Coons and the Pirate Coons.

40. Performed by clubs such as the Fabulous Orange Plantation Minstrels (see Coplan 1985:39).
41. Reference to `isikhunzi's is Seroff 1990:39. This style predates the Zulu `mbube' or `ingoma ebusuku' (night music) styles that are still played today.
42. See Coplan 1985:123,134 and 127
43. Coplan 1979/80:64.
44. Erlmann 1988:349.
45. Advertisement in the Sierra Leone Guardian Weekly of 21st May 1915 mentioned by Nunley 1987 in the chapter on Mailo Jazz.
46. Personal Communication with John Darky, Accra, 15th October 1991.
47. See Oliver et al 1986:58.
48. For `treaty of peace' and Panama references see Brooks 1972:84. References to the Kru in the Caribbean, Harrev personal communication March 1991;and in New York,Cynthia Schmidt personal communication April 1994.
49. Bender 1989:47.
50. Quadratic meter, see Manuel 1988. According to Austerlitz 1990, the instruments of the merengue of the Dominican Republic were originally the double headed `tambora' drum, the `guira' scraper, the cuatro and guitar - with the German button accordion being added in the 1870's and the bass hand-piano in the late 19th century. According to Ware (1978:304) Sierra Leonian maringa is played in guitars and banjo, whilst Samuel Oju King told me of the use of the `congoma'.
51. See Fosu-Mensah et al 1987:238 who is referring to A History of Central Africa by David Birmingham and Phyllis Martin.
52. Sousa's marching band from America visited South Africa in 1911, and England's banjo ragtime king, Olly Oaker, visited there in 1915 (see Bergmeier).

53. Ragtime music was called 'ukureka' and ragtime dance 'umreki' (Coplan 1979/80:54/5).
54. See Coplan 1979/80:64, 54/5 and 1978:146.
55. See A.A. Mensah 1971/2:125 and 1969/70:1.
56. Squire Addo told me he recorded fifty Ga-Adangbe folk songs in 1929 for Zonophone, recorded at Kingsway Hall London. He also played ragtimes up to the Second World War according to James Moxon.
57. See A.A. Mensah 1972. Peter Winkler of the Music Department of SUNY at Stony Brook, USA told me in a letter of November 21st 1990 that chromatic scales and breaks are a feature of ragtime and early jazz, whilst riffs are found in the blues, jazz and post 1913 ragtime.
58. The 'Missouri' style was slow and associated with the cakewalk dance. 'Eastern' ragtime was fast and ornate and associated with animal dances such as the turkey trot and chicken scratch (Oliver et al 1986:28)
59. See Coplan 1985:71 and Whitcolb 1974:98.
60. Foxtrots were popular with East African clubs that played dansi in the 1920's, according to Ranger (1975:15/16 and 127) and Kayvu (1978:115). Kayvu (ibid:113:) also mentions the popularity of the spirituals in Kenya in 1938. According to Kofi Ghanaba (1975) the father of the Ghanaian highlife trumpeter Joe Kelly had a large collection of spiritual and ragtime records in the 1930's.
61. The first samba recording was by Ernest 'Danga' des Santos in 1917 (Manuel 1988). The first calypso recording was 'Sly Mongoose' sung by Lionel Belasco and recorded in Trinidad in 1914 by the Victor Gramophone Company; whilst Columbia Records began issuing calypsos in 1925, the Okeh Label in 1927/8 and Decca in 1934 (Warner 1982:22). Paul Vernon (sleeve notes for the Heritage compact disc 'The West African Instrumental Quintet - HT CD 16, 1992) refers to a 1923 version of Sly Mongoose by Phil Madison with Lionel Belasco, the melody of which was used in the Quintet's song Tin Ka Tin Ka'.
62. These songs of the Excelsior Orchestra were part of the 'Program of Variety Entertainment at the Old Wesley School, James Town, Accra 10th November 1920' shown to

me by the late Frank Torto and now with the COLLINS/BAPMAF Archives. Squire Addo told me in the 1973 of the details of the Jazz Kings repertoire. The Jazz Kings' drummer, Caleb Quaye, told me at his Kensington Park Road flat in London in the late 1970's that he left Ghana in the 1930's and joined Billy Cotton's Band in London. ((MISTAKE THIS WAS CAB KAYE THE SON OF CALEB QUAYE I INTERV EJC JAN 09 PROB HE WAS THE SON OF THE JAZZKING DRUMMER WHO WENT UK C 1920))

63. The Accra Orchestra formed in 1932 also played highlifes, waltzes, Joes Loss numbers, the palais glide and the Lambeth walk (Collins 1986:12/13). The Casino Orchestra was formed in 1937 according to J.K. Addo, its leader.
64. According to Kwaa Mensah (Collins 1985A:16) the Silver Stars konkoma group of Cape Coast formed in 1939 played sambas and la congas. K.N. Bame told me that the Kpandu konkoma group also played sambas in the late 1930's.
65. See Noble (undated) and Montgomery (1954).
66. Personal communication with Paul Lunga, General Secretary of the Zimbabwe Musicians Union, at Falun Sweden, July 1990.
67. `Inspired by film' see M. and J. Stearns 1968. A tap-dancing routine was also captured on a film made in Zimbabwe in 1951/2 about the local variety group, the Black Evening Follies. This was shown by the Zimbabwean musicologist Joyce Makwenda at the Visual Archives Conference held in Falun, Sweden, 12th-15th July 1990.
68. `Mammy' and `Say it with Song' early 1930's, `The Singing Kid' 1936 and the `The Singing Fool' 1938/9 (Montgomery 1954).
69. See Sutherland 1970:7.
70. See Noble (undated) and Montgomery (1954).

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE BLACK AMERICAS AND AFRICA: THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND AFTER

1. See Warner 1982:22
2. According to Waterman (1990:79) there were sixteen

thousand Nigerians soldiers in Burma and East Africa by 1941.

3. This is why American names began to be common with postwar night-spots; the Weekend in Havana, the California, the Kalamazoo, etc.
4. Ghanaba had records of Artie Shaw, Benny Goodman, Count Basie, Jimmy Lunceford, Glen Miller and Lester Young. Joe Kelly collected the English swing of Jack Hylton, Billy Cotton and Harry Roy (Ghanaba 1975).
5. Interviews with the late Adolf Doku and with the Tempos saxophonist Horace Djoletto (see Collins 1985:15).
6. See Collins 1986:16. Ghanaba says in his biography that he got to know calypsos and steel-band music through a West Indian in London called Boscoe Holder.
7. The Cape Coast Sugar Babies of Ghana that went to Nigeria in 1937 (prob 1935 in Watermans juju book) was a twenty-seven piece band (Alaja-Browne 1985:85), Joe Lamptey's Accra Orchestra of the 1930 consisted of cornets, trumpets, euphoniums, tubas, sousaphones, trombones, clarinets, oboes, saxophones, bassoons, jazz drums, violins, violas, a cello, flutes, piccolos, a musical saw, guitar, swanee whistle, claves and the local pati side-drum (see Collins 1986:11).
8. King Bruce told me of the influence of Louis Jordan and of Lord Kitchener's musicians on his dance band. The influence of Louis Jordan in Ghana during the mid 40's was also noted by Professor Sid Lamb (see King 1966:4).
9. The Sensational Gramophone Record Song Book, published by Africander Stores in Accra in 1953, contains songs by the Mills Brothers, Louis Jordan, Ella Fitzgerald, Lord Kitchener and Lord Beginner.
10. The COLLINS/BAPMAF archives includes the following material by mid to late fifties concert guitar bands that are mainly sung in Akan. Calypsos by Onyina's band, Otoo Larte's group, the Oaks, Scorpion Mensah's group, E.K. Nyame's Akan Trio, I.E. Mason's group and I.O. Oni's accordion band. Sambas by Akuaka's, E.K.'s and I.O. Oni's. Foxtrots by E.K.'s and the Chic Brothers. Mambos by I.E. Mason's and Onyina's bands. Tangos by E.K.'s and Willie's guitar bands. Rumbas by I.E. Mason's and Kwaa Mensah's guitar bands.
11. The Silver Stars of Wiawase played rumbas. Sackey

- (1989:98-100) mentions rumbas and chachacha's.
12. Williams 1983:51.
 13. It was Bobby Benson's drummer Bayo Martins who on the 6th September 1990 told me about Benson's English wife.
 14. For Ogunde's use of blackface and the playing of swing, jazz and calypsos see Clark (1979:124-8 and Biographical Notes XVIII).
 15. For wartime bands see Horton (1984:185). For calypso groups see Horton (Ibid), King (1966:3/4) and Bender (1987:21).
 16. For Merry Blackbirds, Jubalani Concert Party and Zonk see Coplan 1985, 127, 131, 135 and 150/1.
 17. GV means 'Grabado on (pressed in) Venezuela'.
 18. Low 1982:22/3.
 19. Cab Calloway records were popular with Belgians in the Congo during the 1940's (Roberts 1974:253). Luamba Franco was influenced by the Django Rheinehardt style of guitar picking (Ewens 1986:13).
 20. The first local rumba was called 'Marie Louise' released in 1949 by guitarist Antoine Wenda. He also says that rumbas were introduced to Zaire by Sierra Leonians (Fosu-Mensah et al 1987:238/9).
 21. Kazadi (1973:273) divides these styles into the rumba (1955 to 1959), the kara-kara (1960-2), the boucher (1964-5), soukous (1966-8), kiri-kiri, mombetta and apollo (1969-70), ngwabin (1970). Not mentioned by Kazadi is the Zaika Langa Langa guitar band style of the 1970's and after.
 22. See Harrev 1992:chapter 22.
 23. See UNESCO 1979:80.
 24. Information on Armstrong's 1960/1 trip to Ghana, Nigeria, Zaire, Togo and Sierra Leone from Ajax Bukana who accompanied him (see Collins 1992:179). Reference to Armstrong in Zimbabwe from Zindi (1985), although it is not clear whether this is Armstrong's 1956 or 1960/1 visit to Africa.
 25. Ward 1990A:12.

26. Stan Plange told me (see Collins 1985A:91) that a small combo within the Ghanaian Urhurus dance-band, called the Bogarte Sounds and formed in 1969, did play modern jazz.
27. See Lagniappe Magazine, New Orleans, June 22nd 1984, in an article by Jason Berry called 'Sound of Passion'.
28. Chubby Checker went with the Broadway dance-band of Ghana to Nigeria in 1966 or 1967 according to Stan Plange, (see Collins 1985A:88).
29. King Kenytone of the Top Toppers was Nigeria's own Chubby Checker. Segun Bucknor was a member of the Hot Four. Sonny Okosun formed the Postmen, eastern Nigeria's first pop group, in 1964 (see Collins 1985A:134 and 34).
30. The Heartbeats was formed in 1961 and the Echoes in 1964. Ware (1978:303) mentions the rock 'n' roll influence on the early Heartbeats. Francis Fuster, the conga player of the Hearbeats, grew up in a Kru area of Freetown and his seafaring father exposed him to the records of Louis Jordon, Ella Fitzgerald and Nat King Cole (see Stewart 1989:964).
31. The Super Eagles visited Ghana in 1968 and introduced the 'psychedelic' rock of Jimmy Hendrix, the Doors and the post 'Sergeant Pepper' album music of the Beatles.
32. The Avengers was formed in 1966 by army musicians who had visited Britain. By 1966 many 'pop chains' or competitions were being organised for the numerous schoolboy pop groups. The Aliens, later called the Psychedelic Aliens, was formed in 1968 and played the music of Jimmy Hendrix and Santana. (see Collins 1985A:105/6).
33. For South Africa see Coplan (1979:161) and Stapleton et al (1987). For Zimbabwe see Zindi (1985). Low (1982:29) and A.A. Mensah (1971:135) mention the rock 'n' roll and twist fashion in Kenya and Zambia respectively.
34. The Ska and pop singer Millie visited Ghana and Nigeria in 1965 and 1966. Jimmy Cliff was in Nigeria to record and perform in 1974 (see Collins 1985A:88/9).
35. The bugulu or boogaloo is a New York blend of mamba and rhythm 'n' blues according to Bilby (1985:31).

36. James Brown also played in Zambia according to A.A. Mensah (1971:124).
37. Both Horton (1984:199) and Ware (1978:305) comment on the importance of soul music in Sierra Leone in the late 1960's.
38. Coplan (1985:195) mentions the soul influence on the Soul Brothers, Steven Kekana and other South African bands. Zinde (1985) mentions Zimbabwean disco bands like the Rusike Brothers, the Runn Family, etc.
39. See Obata 1971.
40. Quote is from the list of films with the Film Library of the Ghana State Film Industry Corporation, Accra, 1974.
41. Examples from Nigeria are the Lijadu Sisters, Ofege, BLO and the Funkees; from Ghana, Cosmic Boombya, Hedzolleh, Basa Basa, the Bunzus; from Sierra Leone, the Super Combo; from Kenya, Mutato and Makonde; and from South Africa, Jaluka and Harari; the later being originally called the Beaters.
42. Some reggae bands and artists who visited Africa include Jimmy Cliff (Ghana, Zimbabwe and Nigeria), Misty and Roots (Zimbabwe and Ghana), UB40 (Zimbabwe), Aswad (Zimbabwe), (Zimbabwe and Kenya), Steel Pulse (Nigeria), Musical Youth (Ghana). Greg Isaacs (Ghana).
43. Examples of some Afro-reggae bands and musicians are Miatta Fahnbuleeh of Liberia; Thomas Mapfumo of Zimbabwe; the Classic Vibes, Roots Amaboe and Felix Bell of Ghana; the Mandators, Evid Edna Ogholi-Ogosi and Majek Fashek of Nigeria.
44. See my interview with Okosun, Collins 1985B:44.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

BLACK TRANSATLANTIC FEEDBACK

1. 'Jim Crow' was a white minstrel song written in 1828 by the 'father' of minstrelsy Thomas Rice (see Toll 1974). Oakley (1983:23) says that it was after 1877 and during the repressive post-Reconstruction that the expression 'Jim Crow' took on its 'sinister

connotations of racism and segregation.'

2. From its inception, white minstrelsy was partially based on African-American melodies, syncopated rhythms, 'routines' (Toll 1974:22 and 50), and rowing songs (Davidson 1952:49). One of the first minstrel performers of the 1820's. the Englishman Charles Mathews, studied black dialect and humour (Toll 1974), and Dan Emmet of the Virginia Minstrels formed in 1843 'had close contact with Negroes' (Boskin 1986:78).
3. For reference to 'Yankee' minstrels see Boskin 1986 who in chapter four quotes from the Continental Magazine of 1863.
4. See Emery 1972. Even more ironic is that the black cakewalk itself was a 'parady' (Roberts 1974:199), a 'satire' (Oakley 1983:31) and 'take off' (Jones 1963:86) of white Virginian plantation owners.
5. Jazz musicians include John Coltrane, Max Roach, Art Blakey, Eddie Harris, Les McCann, Sun-Ra, Patti Bown, Randy Weston, Don Cherry, Pharaoh Sanders and Herbie Hancock. The reggae artists who have visited Africa are mentioned in the previous chapter. Rita Marley incidentally has actually settled in southern Ghana, where in the early 1990's she became a queen mother in the Feta Gomuah traditional area.
6. Keil (1966:186) talks of the emphasis of soul on 'sweeping reform,' whilst Oakley (1983:229) states its emergence occurred when the 'stoical mood of resignation had been replaced by a growing sense of resistance.'
7. See Collins 1985A:69. The letter by Max Roach was in Ghana's Daily Graphic newspaper of August 30th 1974, page 7.
8. Coplan 1979:136/7.
9. According to Berry (1982) Bebey was struck by how Armstrong used his voice 'instrumentally.' Caribbean and Latin American influences on Bebey are apparent in his 1975 song 'Clementina de Jesus' and his 1982 album 'Dear Haiti'. He used the hand piano in his 1982 record album 'African Stanza'.
10. Ware 1978:305.
11. Ten million according to Farris Thompson (1986), and

Kaufman and Guckin (1979). Twenty million according to Small (1987).

12. The Portuguese and Spanish policy was to marry into the local population, convert them to christianity (Nash 1982), and unlike the British and Dutch, they treated their New World possessions as additional kingdoms rather than colonies (Pendle 1973).
13. In Spanish Cuba, slaves could own land, buy their freedom and form cooperative associations or 'catildos' of freed slaves (Manuel 1988). The French policy, especially under King Louis XIV was integrationist, which led in New Orleans for instance to a racially mixed 'People of Colour' who constituted one-third of the cities population in the late 18th century (Ventura 1970).
14. Louisiana was French from 1718-1762, then Spanish from 1762-1800, then French again from 1800-8013, when Napoleon sold it to the United States in the Louisiana Purchase (after France lost Haiti).
15. This was after the South Carolina Cato Conspiracy (Emery 1972). It was after this ban that African-type rhythms began to be played on the body as 'patting juba' (Oliver et al 1986.)
16. Pinkster is the Dutch name for Pentecost and this parade was banned in 1812 (Jackson 1985).
17. The American authorities were frightened of Voodoo as it was the 'medium of the conspiracy' of the successful Haitian revolution (James 1963:86), and a 'voodoo grapevine' was used by the African-Americans of New Orleans (Placksin 1982).
18. See Harris 1951:53 and Sidron 1971:chapter 2.
19. See Ebanks 1974 and Roberts 1974.
20. See Carlisle 1975 and Blassingame 1979:chapter 5.
21. Manuel 1988.
22. An exception to this was Portugal, that from early on imported its slaves into Brazil from Angola (Ramos 1939).
23. Herskovits (1945) made a five-point calibrated scale based on New World African survivals in the realm of

technology, economics, social organisation, religion, language, art, etc.

24. See Small 1987 and Bilby 1985.
25. See Farris Thompson 1984, Bilby 1985, Roberts 1974, and Simpson 1961.
26. The various pantheons were known as 'nations' and they symbolised the different African ethnic origins: Minas (from El Mina, Ghana), Kromantis (from Koromante, Ghana), Papas (from Benin), Caravalis (from Calabar), Congos (from Kongo), etc.
27. See Herskovits 1958.
28. See Oliver et al 1986 and Hill 1989.
29. See Herskovits 1958 and Roberts 1974.
30. See Hurston 1935.
31. See Kedebe 1982, Oliver 1970. Dalby 1969, Farris Thompson 1984, and Ventura 1970.
32. For 'blues note' see Kidebe 1982, Jones 1963, Charters 1967, Small 1987, Oliver 1970. For African retentions in jazz see Schuller 1968, Blesh 1949, Stearns 1967, R. Waterman 1952 and Feather 1954. For retentions in the spirituals see Jackson 1985, Oliver et al 1986 and Hill 1980; and in gospel see Oliver et al 1986 and Small 1987.
33. See Ventura 1970 and Oliver et al 1986.
34. See Berry 1986:208. The pre-lent Mardi Gras tradition began in 1827 according to Emery (1972).
35. See Toll 1974:52/3 for reference to the trickster 'Ole Cuff', For 'Walk Around' reference see Hill 1980:27. For animal dances see Courlander 1963:200-203 and Roberts 1974:158.
36. See Toll 1974:chapter 2, Oakley 1984:31, Roberts 1974:199 and Oliver et al 1986:24.
37. See Jones 1963:chapter 2 and Berlin 1980.
38. See Jackson 1985:chapter 5. An example of a bluesman with a high nasal voice in Blind Lemon Jefferson (Oliver 1970).

39. A riff is a short melody-rhythmic phrase over which a solo is played. 'Fours' take place when musicians exchange passages of four bars. See Roberts 1974: 208-216 and also Schuller 1968.
40. See Sidron 1971 and Deveaux 1987.
41. See Bastide 1974, Roberts 1974, Thompson 1991 and Manuel 1988.
42. See Austerlitz 1990 and Thompson 1991.
43. For calypso see Warner (1982:9) who says the name 'kaiso' may come from the Hausa praise expression 'kaito'. For reggae references see Bilby and Leib (1986:22) who say that nyabingi drumming is based on the buru drumming of the kumina cult.
44. See Jackson 1985:14/5 and Jones 1963:chapter 2.
45. Interview with Randy Weston by Sylvia Moore in 1977 (see Collins 1985B:77)
46. See Collins 1985A:138.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

CITY LIFE

1. See Donner (1980:93) for Tanzania and Coplan (1985:11) for South Africa.
2. See Waterman (1988:233 and 237 and 1990:87) for Lagos, and Asimeng (1981:140), for Accra and Kumasi.
3. See Kazadi (1973:367) and Fosu-Mensah et al (1987:238).
4. For town populations see Asimeng (1981:140). The 23% figure is from Birmingham, Neustadt and Omaboe (1967).
5. Population Census, Ghana Government Publications, Accra, 1960, p.114.
6. Half the migrants were from neighbouring African countries and half were internal migrants (Birmingham, Neustadt and Omaboe 1967).
7. For creation of new jobs see Acquah (1958:62) and Busia (1950).

8. Figures from 1948 to 1960 are from the Population Census, Ghana Government Publications, Accra, 1960, p. 114.
9. See Twumasi (1975:50) who is quoting the Ghana Ministry of Education Statistics of 1967. The actual number of all schools in 1950 was according to these statistics 1604, rising to 9,799 in 1960.
10. According to the Rural-urban Migration Survey, published by the Population of Ghana Council in Accra in 1963, 76% of those with no schooling had no plan to migrate, whereas 66% and 91% of secondary and university educated students respectively, intended to move to the urban areas.
11. Sutherland (1970:20).
12. This HMV JZ 5527 shellac is with the COLLINS/BAPMAF archives. The refrain in English goes 'Jagwa, been-to, fridgful' and then in Ga it continues 'How am I going to see that gentleman Mr Ameko - it's because of that ... Jagwah been-to etc.'
13. Ghana Film Industry Corporation file, 1974, p.16.
14. Published by Hutchinsons, London, 1961.
15. Asimeng (1981:50) mentions these churches provide low-class urban migrants with social contacts, status and self esteem.
16. Bame (1969) mentions that 22.5% of concert audiences said that they shed tears during a play.
17. The play was the 1981 production of Adejobi's Theatre group called 'Ma Rowu'.
18. Bame (1969) says that 83.5% of the audiences he questioned claimed they learnt something from concert plays, whilst 64.5% believed that the play's moral helped them in their daily lives.
19. Also see Van der Geest (1980) and Brempong (1986).
20. 'Boa Wo Ayo Nko Onipa' literally means 'help your neighbours and human beings' and is a 'blues' on Queenphone QP 108 (also see Nyame 1955:4). 'E Sono Sika' is on HMV 5275. 'Obi Neye N'Ade A Gyae No' means 'if somebody is doing something, don't mind them or

you'll step into trouble' and is a 'blues' on Queensway Record 35. 'Wo Ye Me A Meye Wo' translates from Twi as 'if you abuse me then I'll abuse you' and the singer then proceeds to do so, by saying his abuser has crooked legs and an out-of-proportion body: it is a highlife on HMV TM (Teymani) 1099 (also see Nyame 1955:33).

21. The lyrics 'Konkonsa' says 'gossip is beating me but you the gossiper won't gain anything from lying'. It is on Decca West Africa 855. The lyrics of 'Asesa Beka' says that 'everything you do, people will talk about, so don't mind them as everyone has their own destiny'. It is on Decca West Africa 956 and was released in 1959.
22. 'Obra Bo is on the Senophone label FAO 1526. The meaning of 'Mena Wome' was given to me by King Bruce who told me that the message of the lyrics is that 'one has to maintain strict standards of behaviour in life because of respect for one's mother' (see Collins 1987-9).
23. Twumasi (1975:53) is quoting from the 1963 Ghana Population Study, Chief Statisticians Office, Accra, page 144, which says that five-sixths of rural people believe it is a good thing for men to go to town to earn money, but not women - as there is a danger of them becoming prostitutes.
24. Senophone FAO 1520.
25. Happy Bird label, Ghana, 1972.
26. Decca West Africa 944, released in 1959.
27. The Akan Fanti people have a 'dual descent' system: matrilineal for some types of inherited property and patrilineal for others.
28. Asimeng (1981:62-4), Twumasi (1975:56), Birmingham, Neustadt and Omaboe (1967:215/6).
29. Ricard (1974:169 and 177) says that 'Agbenoxev' is an Ewe proverb and means 'wherever there's life there's hope'.
30. Bame (1985:44) refers to 'Onuapo Due O' by Akwaboah's concert band that consoles a child who has lost its mother. Van der Geest (1980:150-2) mentions two songs about orphans by the African Brothers band called 'Gyae

Su; (Twi for 'stop crying') and 'Ade Aye Me' (Twi for 'disaster has befallen me'). Yankah (1984:574) mentions two songs by Doctor Gyasi's guitar band on the same subject called 'Ankonam Agyanka' (Twi for 'lonesome orphan') and 'San behwe Wo Mma' which appeals to a dead mother to return to earth to take care of her children.

31. Decca West Africa 940 released in 1959. The melody of this song was composed by the Englishman and pianist Robert Sprigge of the History Department of the University of Ghana, Legon.
32. Ester Goody, The Fostering of Children in Ghana, *Journal of Sociology*, Volume 2, 1966, pp. 26-33.
33. Koo Nimo and Latham 1969:18/19.
34. Brempong (1984:243) mentions a similar imagery in a Twi song by Opambuo's Internationals guitar band that he has translated. Here the a drunkard complains that his 'family has put a kerosine-tin in my stomach.'
35. The lyrics of 'Wa Ye Me Pasaa' are that 'someone in the family is destroying me, I cannot get any clothes or money, but I don't know who the person is.' It is on HMV TM 1020. The lyrics of 'Enye Me Nkrabea' translates from the Twi as 'whatever I do my family doesn't like it, whenever something goes missing they blame me': it is on HMV TM 1037.
36. An LP album on the JN 15 label released in the early 1970's.
37. Guitar-bands that have released highlifes on the topic of witchcraft in the family, according to Brempong, include Alhaji K. Frempong's, Opambuo's Internationals, Yamoahs, the African Brothers, and Doctor K. Gyasi's. He also mentions the Ramblers dance-band.
38. Reference to 'Sam' as a lady impersonator is Sutherland (1970:22). Reference to 'Sam' as a Sierra Leone women, Kwaa Mensah (see Collins 1985A:14).
39. References to 'Nago' and Simon de Fanti, Ricard (1974). The Happy Stars of Ghana is based in Nsawam-Adoagyiri, twenty miles north of Accra and is led by Love Norty. I jammed with them a few times in 1969.
40. See Sidron 1971:117. Also see Toll 1974:chapter 3.

41. Gumbo Chaff was the 'banjo player to some imaginary African chief' (Oakley 1983:22). The reference to 'hardworking and faithful Jack' is Blassingame (1976: chapter 6). It was the dance of the Kentucky stablehand Jim Crow that inspired Thomas 'Daddy' Rice to write 'Jump Jim Crow' in 1828 (Toll 1974:chapter 2). The reference to Sambo as the comic servant is Boskin (1986:chapter 5).

CHAPTER TWENTY

CLASS: SOCIAL DISTANCE AND STATUS RANKING

1. This was in 17th century Cape Town, during the time of the Dutch East India Company (see Coplan 1979/80:52).
2. See M.G. Smith, *The Social Function and Meaning of Hausa Praise Singing*, African XXVII pp 26-44, page 56 and footnote 66 on page 45.
3. The griots are known as the 'awlube' amongst the Fulbe and Toucouleur, and the 'gesers' amongst the Soninke and Wolof (see Bender 1991:17).
4. See Harrev 1987. The information on 'Nova Scotian' Krio music he obtains from J.W.S.G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for the Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone 1783-1870*, Africana Publishing, New York, 1976. Harrev's information on maroon music is from Leo Spitzer, *The Creoles of Sierra Leone*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin, 1974.
5. Waterman says (1990:33) that by 1915 they comprised 72% of the elite of Lagos.
6. See Waterman 1988:245 and Alaja-Browne unpublished:13.
7. Interview with Kwaa Mensah, see Collins 1985A:15.
8. See Amagatcher 1990 page 5. The lyrics were supplied by the late Kwaa Mensah and the translation was by A.E.F. Mends of the Ghana Information Service.
9. See Collins 1985A:26.
10. See Low 1982:26.
11. See Collins 1985A:75 and 15.

12. See Waterman 1990:45.
13. Rycroft (1977:234) for instance, mentions the homemade 'igqongwe' guitar of Durban South Africa.
14. See Oakley 1983 who uses this expression for the title of his book.
15. See Zonophone 1929:10,12 and 13.
16. According to Boonzajer-Flaes and Gales (1991) the German Bremen Mission used drum-and-fife bands in Ghana from the 1870's and brass bands from 1895. They also say that the Swiss Basel Mission established a brass band in Accra in 1901 and the Wesleyan High School in Mfantshipim set up a brass band in 1892.
17. 'Rascals' (Casely-Hayford 1987), 'ruffians' (A.M. Opoku).
18. Zonophone 1929:8-10.
19. For Frank Johnson see Southern (1972:5-7), and for the Neptune brass band see Roberts (1974:219).
20. See R. Graham's, A.B. Centsil Highlife Humour, in West Africa magazine, August 1988, pp.1, 678/9.
21. Reference to 'educated Africans' Frank Torto personal communication, December 1974. Other information on the Excelsior Orchestra is from an article called 'The First Orchestra' in the Weekend Scene section of the Ghanaian Daily Graphic, 1st September 1974, p.10.
22. Information on the Jazz Kings is from Ghanaba's autobiography (1975:730). Squire Addo on the 2nd July 1973 told me that the group also played for Europeans and West Indian businessmen.
23. See Collins 1985A:137/8.
24. This information comes from a fragment of a Ghanaian newspaper of July 1959, Number 19. There are no other details of the publication and the document is with the COLLINS/BAPMAF archives.
25. Some of these included the Seaview Hotel, the Metropole, the Weekend-in-Havana, the California, the Kit-Kat, the Paramount Club, the Weekend-in-Colarado, the Weekend-in-Florida, the Kalamazoo, the Tip-Toe, the Royal Gardens, the Grand Hotel - all in Accra; and the

Lido in Kumasi.

26. See Nketia (1956:5) who is quoting a Ghanaian Daily Graphic advertisement by the Weekend-in-Havana for the 19th March 1955, at which the All Stars and the Havana Delta Dandies dance-bands were billed to play.

CHAPTER TWENTY ONE

THE ARTICULATION AND MASKING OF CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

1. The Ahoofe Ene Sika record is on HMV TM (Teymani) 1037. One Pound No Balance is on Decca WA 729.
2. The Darling No Dey record is on Odeon PLK 49. Maaye Apena is on HMV JZ 5070. Money is on ECB 64.
3. The Poor Freetown Boy record is on Decca R 531. Money Palava is on Afro 16.
4. The Ewiase Ye Me record is on Decca WA 960 and was released in 1956. For the song Akpeteshie Seller see Dadson (1991:11).
5. The record Otamfo Me Yee Wo Den is on Queenphone QP 116, Suro Nipa is on HMV TM 1094 and Onipa Beka Wo Ho Asem is on Queenphone QP 107. All three songs are mentioned by Nyame (1955:7,5,and 2).
6. The quote is from Cult and Culture: How It Developes, by Joe Bradford Nyinah. Peoples Daily Graphic newspaper, November 18th 1988, p.7.
7. Tigare came from Northern Côte d'Ivoire to Ghana in the 1940's (Acquah 1958:143). The Blekete cult reached the Volta Region from northern Ghana in 1932 according to Richard Hill, the sleeve notes of the 'Ritual Music In Ghana' record, released by Lyrichord LLST 7303 of New York in the 1970's.
8. See Van der Geest 1980:162.
9. Twumasi (1975:20) says the traditional Ghanaian class distinction 'is rudimentary.' Asimeng (1981) says that traditional Ghanaian stratification was of the caste rather than class variety: ie.it was ascriptive, hereditary and endogamous with a ritual heirarchy, closed occupations and little inter-generational mobility.

10. Robert Ramond, Black Star In The Wind, MacGibbon and Kee.
11. The song is on HMV JZ 101 record.
12. HMV JZ 120.
13. See Dadson 1991:11.
14. See Bame (1985:46) and also van der Geest and Asante-Darko (1982:32).
15. See Dadson 1991:11.
16. Personal Communication Osei Ntiamoah, December 1991.
17. On the Odo Paa Nie album released by Broadway Films.
18. See Koo Nimo and Latham 1969:6/7.
19. See Bame 1985:92-4.
20. See Collins 1985A:136.
21. See Waterman 1990:116.
22. The naira is the basic unit of the Nigerian currency.
23. See Collins 1986:10.
24. The earliest use of the term 'highlife' for the songs of the guitar and concert bands in the COLLINS/BAPMAF archives are as follows. Ayi Hydes guitar band on Decca WA 116: as Decca began this series in 1947 and this is an early number, the song may have been released in very late 1940's or very early fifties. On the HMV JZ label there are three guitar band recordings that were released between 1950 and 1955: namely Atta Kwabena's (JZ 5082), Kojo Kwakye's (JZ 5096) and A.K. Akuoko's (JZ 5931). E.K. Nyame formed his guitar band in 1950 (that became a concert party in 1952) and the earliest of his recording in the COLLINS/BAPMAF archives under the name highlife is on the Queensway QP 34 label. As this song is included in the E.K. songbook (Nyame 1955) the record must have been released between 1950-55. The earliest example on the Senofone lable is by Kwame Agyei's guitar band (FAO 1018) and this was released through the French FAO (Compagnie Francasise d'Afrique Occidental) trading company, which Senophone discontinued in the late

1950's. King Bruce told me his Black Beats recording for Senofone released between the FAO numbers 1318 and 1526 were recorded between 1953-1955 so Kwame Adjei's record must have been released a little prior to this: i.e. in the early 1950's.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

THE AGE GAP

1. Coplan 1985:26.
2. Konkoma reference is from personal communication with Professor A.M. Opoku, 7th September 1990. The kwela reference is Coplan 1985:157.
3. Nine of the J.J.'s members were between thirteen and seventeen when they first went on stage.
4. For Jacob Sam and Kwaa Mensah see Collins 1985A:15; for Kwabena Okai see Collins 1985F; and for Ampadu see Fosu-Mensah and Atakpo 1992:138.
5. BBC interview with Kidjo on 2nd July 1992.
6. See Collins 1986:11 and 16.
7. See Collins 1985A:57.
8. Interview with Moore in Monrovia in September/October 1984.
9. See Collins 1985A:77 and 116.
10. See Collins 1985A:33.
11. See Collins 1985A:46.
12. See Graham 1988:26.
13. See Collins 1985F.
14. See Ewens 1986:11.
15. Collins 1985B:41.
16. See Graham 1988:124.
17. The record was released on the Rogers All Star label number 8.
18. Ricard 1974:179.
19. The late Lord Linden, the keyboard player for the Big Beats told me on the 8th August 1992 about the details of this song released in 1971. Professor A.M. Opoku told me that the word `kyenkyemna' meaning `tattered'

may be related to the Twi word `kyenkyen', a local cloth made from the beaten bark of a tree that is of inferior quality to cotton.

20. On the Queenphone 156 label released in the 1950's
21. On the Senofone FAO 1318 label, released in 1953/4.
22. See Collins 1986:42.
23. The one thing that E.T. Mensah did adopt from these youngsters was an electronic echo unit (Collins 1986:38).
24. See Collins 1985A:108.
25. See Collins 1987/9.
26. Fifty musicians passed through his band, including Sonny Okosun, Dandy Oboy and Collins Oke (Collins 1975:21/2).
27. Two bands that feature in the film were the Aliens and the El Pollos who became known as Pagadeja.
28. See Collins 1985A:Chapter 5.
29. On page 186 of Chernoff's book there is a photograph of an atikatika group with two European-like side drums with metal screws and metal feet.
30. See Collins 1983B or 1990:chapter 4.
31. Jones Attuquayefio was percussionist, singer and bass player for my Bokoor band, and he gave me this information on the 30th May 1979.
32. It was performed near the Palladium Cinema, James Town on the evening of November 19th 1975.
33. `Flytal' literally means `clever language' and is a blend of African, European (i.e. Afrikaans) and American slang (Coplan 1985:109 and 156).
34. Coplan 1985:162-4 and 270/1.
35. See Stapleton and May 1987.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

WOMEN ON STAGE

1. See Bame (1985:92 and 95) and Ricard (1974:171) for references to the Ghanaian and Togolese concert parties respectively.
2. Both are on Parlophone DKN 23.
3. Recorded at Bokoor Studios, Accra in 1987.
4. The first three Black Beats records are all on the Decca West Africa series and were released in the late 1950's. They are WA 903, WA 841 and WA 904. It was King Bruce told me of the meaning of the songs.
5. Sutherland 1970:15.
6. Traam 1969:28.
7. This is mentioned in the Ghana Weekly Spectator of June 2nd 1973, p.2.
8. On the CRLP 501 record.
9. Harrev 1992:233.
10. For example, both the Kissis people of northern Liberia and the Mbuti pygmies of Central Africa have sacred horns of trumpets that no women is allowed to see (see Howard 1984:8 and Turnbull 1962:154).
11. According to Nketia (1968) the adenkum gourd, rattles and pressure drum are played by Akan women in dances such as apoo, adze and akom. Hampton (1978:2/3) says that in the case of the Ga's, girls learn their musical skills from the matrikin whilst men learn from their patrikin; drums are reserved for men and stamping tubes for women.
12. See Finnegan 1970 and Ottenburg 1971.
13. See Yankah 1984:572 and Waterman 1986:135.
14. For the Nigerian reference see Omibiye-Obidike (1987:4) and for Ghana see Asante-Darko and van der Geest (1983:135).
15. Omibiyi-Obidike 1987:10.

16. Ghanaba's autobiography 1975:730.
17. For instance, the Silver Stars konkoma group of Wiawase consisted of eleven men and seven women.
18. Bella Bello was Togo's most famous women popular singer who sadly did in a car accident in 1973.
19. Such as Nana Yaa, Philo Selassie and Lady Burger.
20. Black Patti and her group made a tour of Europe, Asia and Africa in 1895 (see Southern 1983:242).
21. According to Coplan (1985:146) the films of Lena Horne and Ethel Waters led South Africa's Jazz Maniacs in the 1940's to hire Emily Koenane, the 'first female vocalist to front a major African orchestra.' For other 'superstar' references see Omibiye-Obidike (1987:5) and Makeba and Hall (1987:20).
22. Personal communication with Paul Lunga, General Secretary of the Zimbabwe Musicians Union, in Fayum Sweden on the 10th July 1990.
23. Others were Faith Dauti of the Milton Brothers and the tap dancer Linna Mattaka (Makwenda 1990:4/5).
24. Some who have been influenced by Makeba are the Lijadu Sisters and Mona Finnih of Nigeria, M'Pongo Love of Zaire, Aicha Kone of the Côte d' Ivoire, Franca Tchoko of the Cameroon and Angelique Kidjo of the Benin Republic. Makeba also made several trips to Ghana in the 1970's.
25. Personal communication with A.J. A. (Oscarmore) Ofori and Betty Mould-Iddrisu on the 29th May 1992.
26. Collins 1986:23.
27. Personal communication with Bobby Benson's ex- drummer Bayo Martins at Bokoor Studio on the 6th September 1990.
28. All references are from Clark (1979:126/27 and Biographical Notes) except the one for the Efik/Sierra Leone women Maude Meyer, which is Omibiye-Obidike (1987:28).
29. Amadi 1984:20.
30. Omibiye-Obidike 1987:8.

31. Shanachie Records, USA publicity sheet by Randall Grass, 1988.
32. See the article on Miatta Fahnbulleh by Senanu Adih, in Uhuru Magazine, Ghana, June 1989, p.5.
33. Personal communication with Esi Sutherland-Addy on the 10th June 1990.
34. Collins 1984A:43.
35. Duran 1989:34-9.
36. See Frisbie 1971:274 and Turnbull 1962:206.
37. See Hay and Stichter 1984:114/5 and Drinker 1948:15.
38. Van Oven 1981:21/3 and 46/7.
39. Haydon and Marks 1985:117.
40. Omibiye-Obidike 1987:9 and Waterman 1986:56/7.
41. For reference to Nigeria see Oliver (1970:59); for nnwonkoro, Nketia (1973); for northern Ghana, Koskoff (1987:chapter 13); for 'Amazons', Drinker (1948:40); for adawa see Nketia (1973) and Hampton (1978:6).
42. For the references to the Ibo and Kon see Hay and Stichter (1984:69), for Tiv Keil (1979:156); and for the Ibibio, Akpabot (1986:73/4).
43. The Beginners Guide to Tarub, African Beat, London, Winter 1985/6 pp.9-11.
44. The Women Have Arrived, New Africa Life, London, March 1990, pp. 12/13.
45. Drinker 1948:268.
46. Oliver et al 1986:227.
47. Consisted of four men and five women according to Du Bois (1975:161).
48. Jones 1963:93.
49. Oakley 1983: 103.
50. Half of the eight hundred African-American missionaries who worked in Africa between 1820 and 1975 were women

(Jacobs 1987:123).

51. See Makeba and Hall (1987:chapter 2), Amadi (1983:8) and the African Music magazine, London/Lagos, No. 25, 1985, p.9.
52. Broughton 1985.
53. Ibid.
54. See the Ghanaian Weekly Spectator of May 23rd 1992 page 6, which includes the following information. Mary Ghansah is the 'mother of gospel' and has released six albums on cassette, Dzodzegbe belongs to the Action Faith Ministry, Sackey to the Evangelical Assembly of God and Boate to the International Central Gospel Church.
55. Clementine Ogunbule (alias Mama Eko) joined Ogunde's group in 1947 (Clark 1979: Biographical Notes XVIII).
56. Record sales in the United States in 1927 was 104 million and only 6 million in 1932 (Oakley 1983:157).
57. See Oliver et al 1986:206/7 and Oakley 1983:105.
58. Ibid.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

PERFORMANCE AND STRUGGLE

1. See Hans Magnus Enzenberger 1974, C.W.E. Bigsby 1976 and James Carey 1975.
2. See Simon Frith 1989:Chapter IX and Michael Featherstone 1990:Introduction.
3. See Hobsbawm and Ranger 1986.
4. See Waterman 1988:236.
5. See Leonard 1967, Collins and Richards 1989:23 and Echeruo 1962.
6. As compared to the French policy of 'indirect rule'.
7. See Bernal 1987 and Benedict 1960.
8. See Cole 1975:75 and Barber 1990:4.

9. Personal communication with Jones Attuquayefio on the 30th May 1979. Oge is in fact an imported Liberian music.
10. See Acquah 1958:148 and Collins and Richards 1989:23.
11. See Amagatcher 1990:5/6.
12. In the Africander record song book (1953:46) it is called 'Onward Youth of Ghana' and is on Decca 65541 and Regal 45.
13. Berliner 1977:1, Rhodes 1962 and Ranger 1967:200 and 220.
14. See Coplan 1985:46.
15. Some spirituals were 'codified songs of protest' (Oliver et al 1986:11) or had a 'double meaning' (Zinn 1980:175). An example provided by Storm Roberts (1974:66) is 'Follow The Drinking Gourd' (i.e. Big Dipper and Northern Star) which 'was a sort of oral escape map' for slaves in the 'underground railway' to freedom in the north.
16. The lyrics of this song were adapted by the CPP nationalists to criticise the imprisonment of Nkrumah by the British in 1950 (Sithole 1970:90). In Malawi the melody was used in the anti-colonial song 'Kwaca Kwaca Malawi' (Kubik 1981:83).
17. Published by Sheldon Press in 1932/3 according to Nketia (1957:16).
18. This was traditionally a transverse flute which Amu adapted to resemble a European recorder and which he fashioned in various sizes (Agawu 1987:51).
19. See Collins and Richards 1989, Euba 1970 and Akpabot 1986.
20. Personal communication with Bob Johnson in Teshi-Nungua 20th March 1974.
21. This play was mentioned in the Gold Coast Evening News of 5th July 1950, which also said that the proceeds of it went to the CPP funds.
23. See Collins 1985A:24. E.K. Nyame went for one week in 1953.

24. See Dadson 1990:11.
25. Examples are Kwaa Mensah's 'Kwame Nkrumah' on the Queenophone label, I.E. Mason's 'Ghana Mann' (Queenophone 179) and the Fanti Stars 'Nkrumah Ko Liberia' (Decca Wa 653). Also see Nketia 1956:20.
26. Clark 1979:Biographical Notes XVII and XVIII.
27. The Ga dance song 'Hedzole-Baa-Ba' (Freedom Will Come) is on the Chebibs label ECB 2; the Twi song 'Obiara Sro' (No-one Fears) is on ECB 2; and the English dance-song 'Victory Song' on ECB 1.
28. The Colonial Office minutes of the 30th January 1952 (file number CO/554/595) from Mr. Maurice Smith to Mr. Williamson says that although the song makes 'offensive references to old-fashioned British Imperialism' there is 'nothing seditious' about it.
29. Ali Ganda's song is on Melodisc 1574. For Calendar's song see Bender (1989:85).
30. On Decca WA 4012.
31. The records were on Decca WA 1017 and Decca WA 3146 respectively.
32. Some other chimurenga bands were Oliver Mutukindzi and the Black Ghosts, the Marxist Brothers, Storm, etc. (see Zindi 1985).
33. See Take Cover Magazine 1990:41.
34. The bands of the Cocoa Marketing Board, the Black Star Shipping-Line and the State Hotels.
35. On Decca WA 3146.
36. See Sutherland 1970:23.
37. Hunter 1988:3/4.
38. This is an expression used by Stuart Hall (1981:126).
39. Held between 26th September and 5th of October. Twenty-four concert parties participated.
40. This was contained in a speech by the PNDC Secretary for Culture, Mr. Asiedu Yirenkyi called 'Towards a

- National Culture' (see Collins 1983:53).
41. See Collins 1992:178.
 42. See Myers 1990:876.
 43. See Clark (1979) for Ogunde at the Expo 67 in Montreal, and Jeyifo (1984) for Lapido at the 1965 Commonwealth Festival.
 44. Bryce 1990:627.
 45. Malamah-Thomas 1988:25 and 27.
 46. Information from West Africa journal (1989:Events Section) and a lecture by Dr. Julius Spencer on Sierra Leone street-theatre at the Centre for West African Studies, Birmingham, on the 24th October 1991.
 47. See Donner 1980:90/1.
 48. Malamah-Thomas 1988:26.
 49. For Tanzania see Obata (1971) and Donner (1980). For Mozambique reference see Bender (1991:167).
 50. See Adamolekun 1976 and Okpato 1967.
 51. See UNESCO 1978:80.
 52. See Ewens 1986:15/16.
 53. A letter of September 30th 1959 from Prince Adbodian, the National Secretary-General of the Ghana National Association of Teachers of Dancing, (with the COLLINS/BAPMAF archives), supports this change of name.
 54. It is a calypso in English on Decca WA 884.
 55. On the M and B music label, number NK 571, released in 1974.
 56. See Johnson 1989:95. Everything Scatter is on PMLP 1000.
 57. The three records are on Pathé 2 CO 588 released in 1977; NEMI 0330 released in 1978; and on NEMI 0350 released in 1978.
 58. On the Sterns 1017 label.

59. See 'The Arts Council of Ghana and the Cultural Renaissance' by Rex Lartey in the Peoples Daily Graphic, Ghana October 26th 1983, p.3.
60. Personal communication with the late E.F. Collins of the University of Ghana.
61. Ibid.
62. See van der Geest and Asante-Darko 1982:31/2.
63. See van der Geest and Asante-Darko 1982:32 and 31.
64. Barber (1987:40) is referring to a collection of such comics made by Tom McCaskie of the Centre for West African Studies, Birmingham.
65. Personal communication by letter on the 2nd October 1991.
66. Lakoju 1984:37 and 42.
67. See Adejebi 1967 and Clark 1979: Biographical Notes XVIII.
68. These eight songs are on the following labels: Creole CPLP 507, released in 1976; Makossa EM 2313, 1974; CPLP 511, 1976; CEL 6109, 1985; KILP 001, 1979; K 203554, 1979; SWS 1003, 1976; KALP 003, 1981.
69. See Take Cover magazine 1990:16 and Nkolo 1990:31.
70. See Ewens 1986:25. For the 'Tuba Tuba' song see Nkanga 1992.
71. See Wachira Chiuri 1981:47.
72. New African magazine, London 1990:18.
73. Take Cover magazine 1990:40.

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