

**COLOURED'S PERFORMING QUEER, OR QUEER COLOURED'S
PERFORMING?: ASSERTING BELONGING THROUGH QUEER BEHAVIOR
IN CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA**

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Dedication

For Dr. Carol Muller, my academic mentor and ‘mother’

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ABSTRACT

COLOURED'S PERFORMING QUEER, OR QUEER COLOURED'S PERFORMING?: ASSERTING BELONGING THROUGH QUEER BEHAVIOR IN CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA

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The mixed-race community of Cape Town is known locally as the “coloured” people of South Africa: neither black nor white according to nuances of strict racial criteria and classification systems rooted in colonialism and apartheid legislature. South Africa’s “coloured” people have historically been regarded as the “bastard children” of the nation. From their very beginnings, their classification as “off-white” rather than as black created a crisis in their identity. Coloured people dealt with this crisis in diverse ways. Some chose to reject the notion of colonialism and white privilege by embracing black or Afro-centric consciousness movements, but many adopted enculturations of “Englishness” that they associated with the British empire and church.

This dissertation examines how certain cohorts of the Cape coloured community perform multiple-identities, and use *voorstellen* (identity projection techniques) as a means of claiming respectability and dignity. By associating themselves with specific musical genres – centred around choral singing, brass or string ensembles, ballet, ballroom or modern dancing, marches and parades – some coloured people strengthened this notion of being seen as respectable rather than disreputable; by performing a “sense-of-self” that they believed was

able to connote the distinction. I also analyze how the Cape coloured community engages a habitus of “queer identity” - the display of behavior more fluid and deviant than the norm; a behavior that does not conform to strict etiquette or social codes. This queer identity is a dissociated reality that I equate with “coming out of the closet” as multi-racial, black and white, African and European, heterosexual and homosexual – i.e., not fully normative. In this context, I argue that music acts as a catalyst, or social aid, to induce a particular habitus of coloured identity: a habitus not fixed, but, rather, dependent on the function of the music to negotiate one’s dissociated reality as either the conforming or deviant “other”. Using queer theory and autoethnography rooted in ethnomusicological discourse, I examine the social function of music and associated corporeal gestures of mixed-race South African’s living in the (post)colonial and (post)apartheid port city of Cape Town.

Table of Contents

Dedication	ii
Acknowledgments	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
Table of Contents	vi
List of Illustrations	ix
Maps	xii
Preface	xvii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Background	1
Disjunctures of Dialect	8
Entanglement and Belonging	11
Anglicizing the Cape	18
Enculturations of Englishness	25
Habitus of Respectability	31
“We come from Windermere” – Ethnographic Case-Study	35
Geography of Distress	41
Methodology	50
Chapter 2: Embodying Englishness	57

An Anglo Sense of Self	60
The Cape Coloured Anglican Chorister	65
Chapter 3: The Cape Coloured Anglican Church Brigade	94
Parading Respectability	94
History and Mission of the Anglican Brigade.....	98
Uniform	99
Music	101
Parades.....	104
Competitions	108
Case-Study of the Company of Good Shepherd Maitland	113
Theoretical significance	118
Chapter 4: Langarm Music and Dance	121
The Cape Coloured Dancehall.....	121
Social Codes of Practice	128
Miscegenation in Music.....	135
Chapter 5: Moffies and Queers.....	150
The Bishop, the Pope, and Marie Antoinette.....	153
Moffies and Mirrors	165
Girl, can you Gayle?	171
Chapter 6: Conclusion	182

Epilogue	189
Appendices.....	191
Appendix A - Images.....	191
Appendix B.....	200
Gaily Horoscope: Aquarius by Sergio Ben (2014).....	200
Gaily Horoscope: Aquarius by Sergio Ben (2014). English transliteration .	202
Bibliography.....	204

List of Illustrations

Figure 1 – Map of the Southern Suburbs and Overberg Region of the Western Cape, South Africa.....	xii
Figure 2 – Map of the residential areas of the Western Cape, South Africa.	xii
Figure 3 – Map of Rural Towns, Western Cape, South Africa	xiii
Figure 4 – Map of Kensington, Western Cape, South Africa	xiv
Figure 5 – Map of the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa	xiv
Figure 6 – Map showing architectural gardens in Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa	xv
Figure 7 – Map of Atlantic Seaboard Towns in Western Cape, South Africa.....	xv
Figure 8 – Map of Westfleur, Atlantis in Western Cape, South Africa.....	xvi
Figure 9 – Arial view of Cape Town Central Business District (CBD) showing the Company Gardens and the location of St. George’s Cathedral.	191
Figure 10 – Motto and Badge of the Church Lads Brigade (CLB).	191
Figure 11 – Photograph of Drum Major Justin May of the Good Shepherd Company. Cape Town (2007).....	192
Figure 12 – Photograph of clergy from the Good Shepherd, Maitland company, including a Bishop, marching in a procession of witness. A lad of the Brigade serves as a ceremonial guard or attendant to the Bishop. Circa 1970s.	192

Figure 13 – A photograph of the Good Shepherd, Maitland company colors on parade in Cape Town city center. Circa 1970s.	193
Figure 14 – A photograph of the Good Shepherd, Maitland company, on parade in Cape Town city center making their way towards St. Georges Cathedral for their annual service. Circa 1970s.	193
Figure 15 – A facsimile of a singing competition programme taken from the archives of the Good Shepherd, Maitland company. Circa 1970s. ...	194
Figure 16 – A facsimile of the opening page of the Good Shepherd, Maitland company register.	194
Figure 17 – Rev. Gilmore Fry starting in the Good Shepherd Company as a lad of the brigade. He would eventually become a priest and local chaplain to prisoners.....	195
Figure 18 – Procession of the Cape Highlanders during a parade in the city center in Cape Town.....	195
Figure 19 – Photograph of the Company of St. Joseph, Bishop Lavis, Cape Town taken at the Castle of Good Hope. (2012).	196
Figure 20 – Photograph of a Cape coloured ballroom couple in formal hold. Circa 1970s.....	196
Figure 21 – Photograph of langarm patrons seated around tables with drinks and light snacks. (2005).....	197
Figure 22 – Photograph of Cape coloured langarm patrons dancing in the vastrap or los-skud style. (2005).	197

Figure 23 – Photograph of the founding members of the Ikey Gamba Dance Band. Circa 1951.....	198
Figure 24 – Photograph of a Cape coloured “ <i>moffie</i> ” as the drum major of a minstrel troupe. Circa 1990s.....	198
Figure 25 – Photographs of Marc Lottering performing in drag. Characters are from left to right, Aunty Merle, Galatia, and Colleen.	199
Figure 26 – Photograph of Casper de Vries in drag and black-face performance as the character Patience.	199

Maps

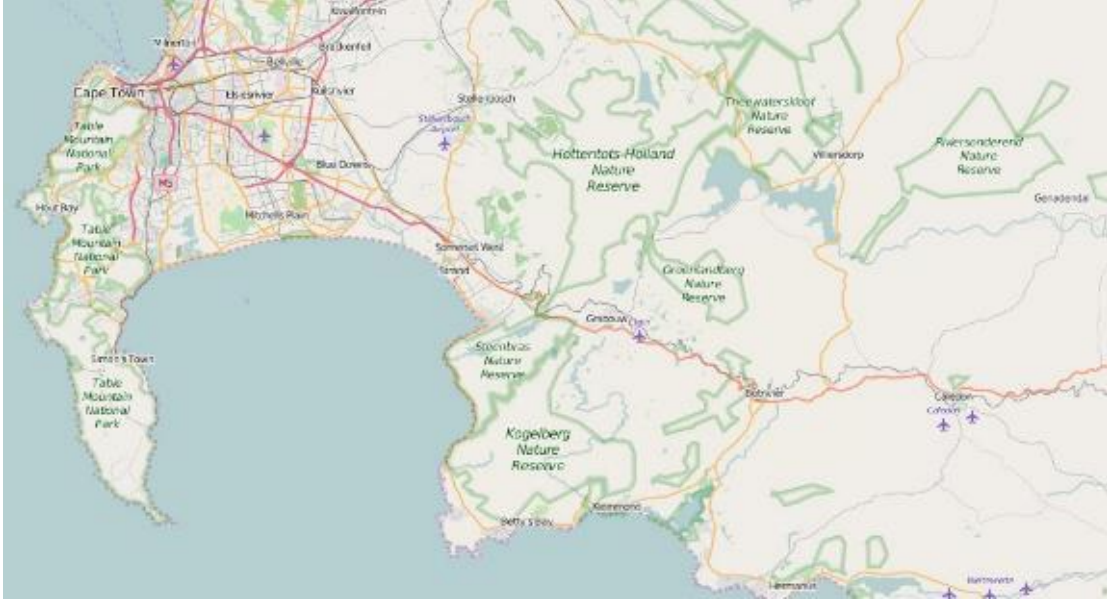


Figure 1 – Map of the Southern Suburbs and Overberg Region of the Western Cape, South Africa.

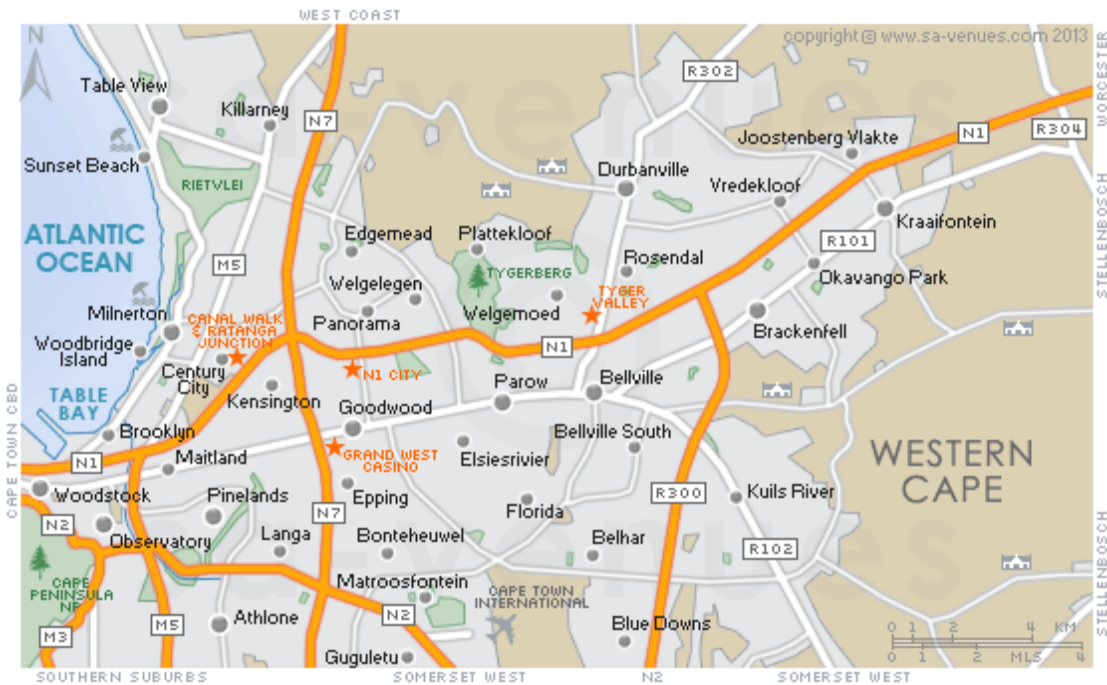


Figure 2 – Map of the residential areas of the Western Cape, South Africa.



Figure 3 – Map of Rural Towns, Western Cape, South Africa



Figure 4 – Map of Kensington, Western Cape, South Africa

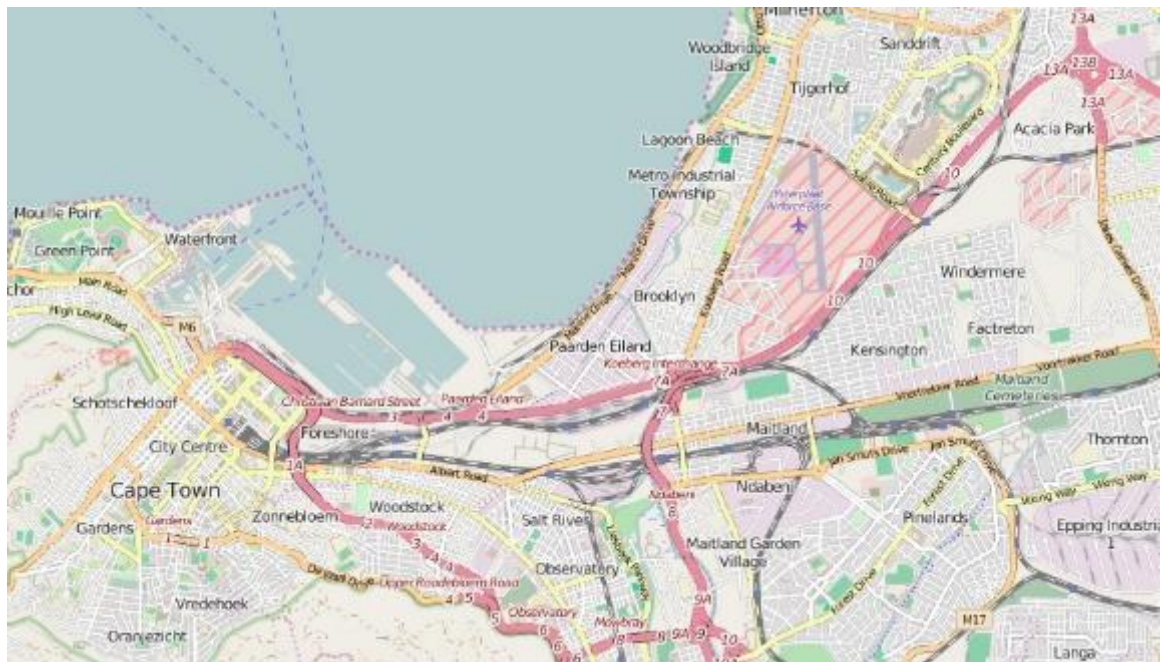


Figure 5 – Map of the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa



Figure 6 – Map showing architectural gardens in Cape Town, Western Cape, South Africa

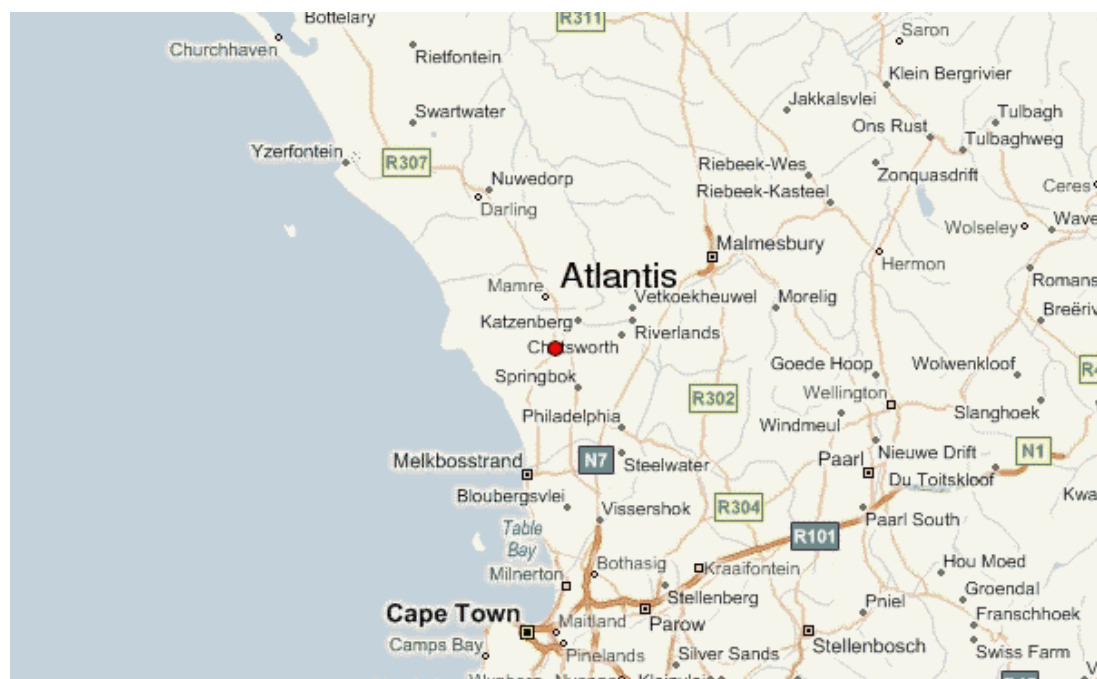


Figure 7 – Map of Atlantic Seaboard Towns in Western Cape, South Africa

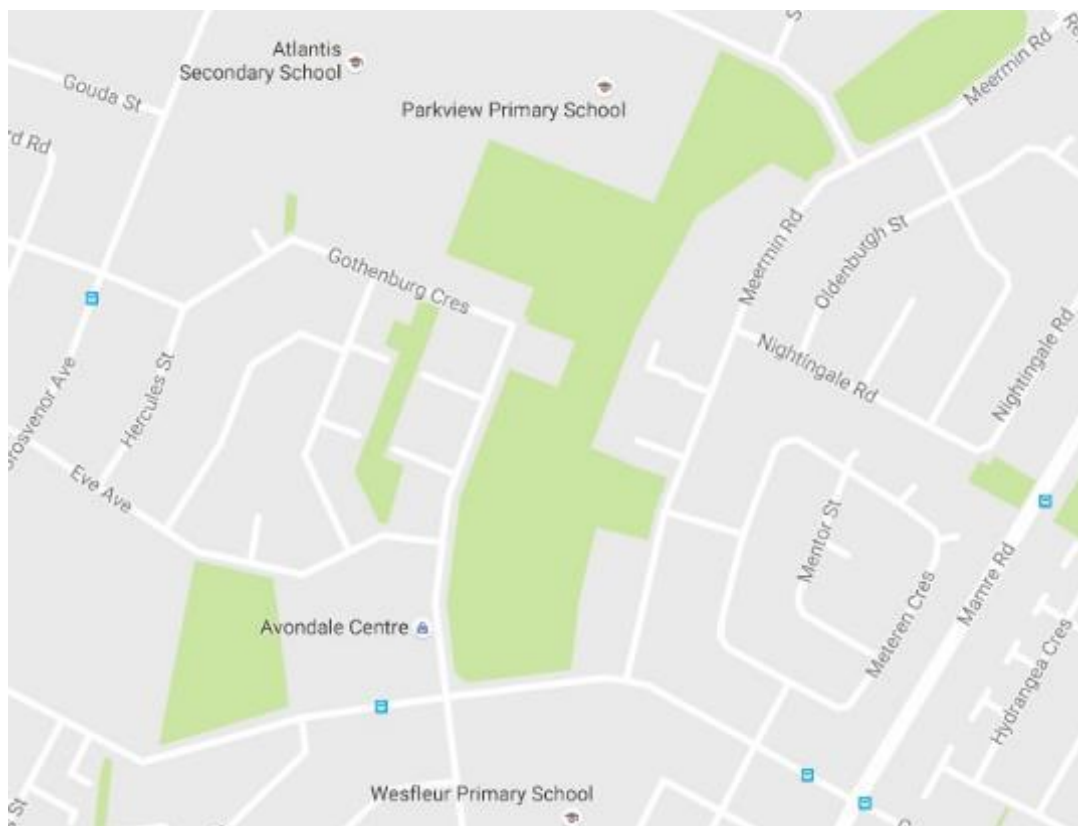


Figure 8 – Map of Westfleur, Atlantis in Western Cape, South Africa

Preface

In May 2008, I was living in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in the United States. I had just completed my first year of graduate school at the University of Pennsylvania and I had decided to take a short trip to Mexico to meet up with a friend who was conducting research in a fishing village called Cabo San Lucas. As a South African citizen, I presented my passport and boarding pass to the customs official when I arrived at the security checkpoint at Philadelphia International Airport.

Before even inspecting my documents, the official immediately started speaking to me in Spanish. She greeted me, asked me how I was, and where I was going. I was able to decipher her rapid Spanish phrases (since I had become accustomed to being mistaken for a Puerto Rican or Dominican national due to my so-called “Latino look”), but when I replied in English, greeting her and stating that I was going to Mexico, she was clearly startled. I would later learn that she herself was Mexican. Further, I would learn that it was not so much my English itself that had caught her off guard, but rather my accent and my fluency.

She stared at me for a while. Then she inspected my documents. She asked me, “Where are you from”? I replied, “South Africa”. She stared into my eyes and said, almost reprimandingly, “You look Spanish. I thought you were from Puerto Rico. Are you Spanish?” I said, “No, I’m not Spanish, but I do have Spanish or Portuguese heritage”. She replied with a sense of amusement, “A Spanish African!”

The official continued to inspect my documents. She asked me, “How do you pronounce your last name”? I replied, “Holtzman. It’s German”. Conveying more bewilderment and amusement, she said, “A German, Spanish, African”? I replied, “Yes”, and chuckled along with her nervously. “Well you don’t see a German, Spanish, African, Englishman every day” she said, and sent me on my way to the boarding area. I breathed a sigh of relief.

The customs official was satisfying her own curiosity and making light of my anomalous status, and I was prepared to bear the cultural insults and assumptions to avoid further interrogation - a traumatic phenomenon I had already become used to in American airports because of my “deviant” or “suspicious” traits as “look-a-like” Arab or Puerto Rican, depending on who the customs official was, or was looking for.

I mention this experience because it is an example of the social capital that bodies carry in a globalised world, in which valuing or devaluing of human existence is often experienced through the body. This encounter with a Mexican customs official, who found it amusing that I could be easily mistaken as a *latino* by the criteria of her own value-judgements of self and others, left me feeling so “othered”, or what I began to call “queered”, that I internalised it as an affirmation of my queerness as being at least a “partial truth” (Clifford, 1986:7).

As a “mixed-race” or “bi-racial” South African man, I am living what I call a queer existence. I regard myself as an anomaly in my nation and the world. I also perceive myself as being received by the public and society as an anomaly as well. This anomalous status is primarily derived from how my body and

personality is being presented to and being received by others. My self-identification as queer, or the recognition of living a so-called “queer-existence” or “queer life”, also stems from the fact that I have embraced the term “queer” to refer to my homosexuality and ambiguous or fluid gendered behavior and dress sense. I am rendered as queer by not conforming to a heterosexual or conventionally masculine expression of self. My deviance from the social stereotype of what an “African” black man should look like, or how he should behave, means that, often, I do not identify as a masculine, black African man, but rather as a “queer person of color” born in Africa.

There is, however, another layer of queerness with which I began to identify. The concept of being racially mixed positioned me as being “in between” whiteness and blackness, a product of “mixing” between the binary white and black races. In this regard, I equate the anomalous status of being a *métissage* product in a racially-pure fixated society (such as South Africa and the United States) as being “racially queer”. This racially queer construct of being in between whiteness and blackness was termed “coloured” in South Africa – a term with a completely different meaning than the historical use of the term “Colored” to refer to African Americans in the United States. I inherited this label of “coloured”, a referent to my racially queer status of being visibly mixed, when I was born into an already mixed-race family in Cape Town, South Africa in 1985. At the time of my birth, South Africa was a racially segregated country. Apartheid policies of the racist white government demonstrated an obsession with racial purity: curbing the mixed-race “problem” by isolating it, and restricting the

movements of these “queer” citizens – the majority of whom lived in the Cape Town area. Purity was marked visibly - as purely white, or purely black.

There was nothing queer to me about being regarded as a coloured while I was growing up. The normality of being surrounded by other mixed race bodies who proudly expressed their “coloured” identity resulted in me adopting and internalising this racial construction as a means of defining myself in relation to others. Oyserman, Elmore, and Smith (2012:76) point out that our childhood group memberships reveal self and identity and are directly linked to determinations of what is valued as culture and one’s place within social hierarchy. In other words, by the characteristics, traits, social relations, roles, and social group memberships that define who one is, I developed a sense of “knowing myself” as a coloured South African, not as a black or white South African, through the value systems of my group and society (ibid). I developed a particular type of consciousness, an awareness of how coloureds perceive other coloureds, as I began to conceptualise my individual coloured identity as so-called “Cape Coloured”. As a young boy, I inherited socialization values from family members, from my peers and teachers at school, and from the ministers and fellow parishioners of the church I attended. My cognition and regulation of self, or self-consciousness as coloured, was a social product of group memberships.

I grew up in a family who identified as being “Anglican coloureds”¹. The denominational identity formed an anchor of pride on my maternal side. On the other hand, my father and his family had an alternate denominational identity. They took great pride in their heritage as “Moravian coloureds” and being descendants of the Moravian Missionary Station in the town of Genadendal². I was acutely aware of not only the differences between these denominational or doctrinal groups, but also that these groups were two of many. Our next-door neighbors were “Muslim” or “Malay” coloureds and in the street adjacent to our house stood the *Hidayatul Islam Masjid* (Mosque) that served as the locus for that particular faith and ethnic group in the Kensington area where we lived (see fig. 4 for map).

I embraced the customs and traditions of my mother’s side of the family. In the late 1980s and 1990s I grew into my Anglican identity, but with an awareness that it was positioned within a hierarchy of coloured identities. To be “Anglican” was to be “respectable”. Coloureds had their own ingrown prejudices and hierarchies that denoted the social capital associated with particular identities. The social capital that was associated with belonging to the religion of the Queen

¹ Anglican coloureds practiced the Anglo-Catholic traditions of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, the colonial Southern African branch of the Church of England and global Anglican Communion. For more on the history of the Anglican tradition in South Africa, see Suberg (1999).

² Genadendal, or “Valley of Grace” is located in the Overberg region of the Western Cape, South Africa. It is the oldest Moravian Mission Station on the African continent. See Krüger (1966) and Ballie (1988) for an overview of the history of the Genadendal Moravian Station, and Martin (2011) for references to the Moravian Brass Bands in Genadendal. See fig. 1 for map.

of England and being a post-imperial military family held a particular clout in my community³.

The Cape Coloured Anglicans were known for their processions through the streets of the city on Sundays. These military style parades were visual and sonic spectacles put on by the church Brigades, wherein they enacted ceremonial parade drills that were accompanied by bugle, fife and drum bands. One would be able to hear the reverberations or echoes of the bugle horns and snare drums from a number of blocks away, and the thundering claps of the bass drum growing louder meant that one would soon behold the fantastic splendour of Anglicans in action.

As a child, observing this spectacle and experiencing it, I was mesmerized. It would induce an ecstatic state unlike any other I had experienced at the time. The drum major would enter into view as he turned the corner. He would be wearing white gauntlet gloves, a diagonal red sash across his torso. The ceremonial mace he handled would be made of ebony and silver and adorned with dress cords wrapped around the staff, as would be his navy blue pressed uniform where the colorful tassels hung between polished brass buttons. His mace would be extended at a 90-degree angle to his chest to indicate the turn to the band and marchers behind him. Once the full ensemble had successfully aligned in marching formation after the turn, the drum major would perform a number of acrobatic tricks with the mace by throwing it in the air and catching it again, or by twirling it around in a star formation. After these

³ See Jorritsma's (2011) chapter titled "Singing the Queen's English" for similar examples of status attached to singing "English" hymns and anthems by the coloured community of Kroonvale in the Eastern Cape.

improvised gestures were completed, to the delight of the audience who lined the street, he would raise the mace vertically into the air to signal to the leading drummer and band to count-in a series of bugle calls and drum rolls. Soon afterwards, a familiar hymn would sound in strict marching time. Young and old, Christian and Muslim, would come out of their homes to line the streets on the procession route. For some it was just to watch, while others would fall in line behind the procession as it grew bigger and snaked through the streets to lead people to the church.

My Anglican family was not just there to watch. They were deeply involved not only in these Brigade activities as members or leaders, but also in other musical groups like the church choir. Seeing their involvement in these activities reinforced the deep hold and significance I attached to my own Anglican identity, and might explain my loyalty and positive identification achieved through this type of socialization process (Kagiticbasi, 2013:146). I did not become involved in the Brigades myself, but rather took up a position as a young boy chorister, and later as organist in our local parish. I valued my body and purpose in the context of wearing liturgical vestments and medals that were issued by the cathedral or the Royal School of Church Music in England. Along with that of my friends and family, my consciousness was not that of a Black African, as defined by the former colonial expectation; rather, we celebrated a group identity of being what retrospectively might be called “diasporic citizens” of the British Empire.

As a graduate student living in America, being exposed to the critical theory on postcolonialism and identity, or theories of “self”, I remember

interrogating my own colouredness and “Englishness”, or “queering” it as an anomalous identity among the varying or multiple other coloured identities that have been documented and written about extensively - identities with which I engage in this dissertation. I began to ask myself why and how I developed an identification as a so-called “Anglican” or “English” coloured, and why the identity did not have a social value outside of Cape Town.

This dissertation is the product of this interrogation of self. Over the course of the past ten years, I have travelled to Cape Town numerous times to conduct research or fieldwork that seemed to have been what Henry Louis Gates Jr. calls being “in search of our roots” (Gates, 2009). What are our roots as Coloureds, and why do we use music in the ways that we do? I document and analyze what it means to be positioned “in-between” whiteness and blackness, and how the concept of “coloured” has taken on specific and varying meanings to those who were grouped and classified under this label denoting difference. I ask how people with a “queer racial consciousness” manage or negotiate racialized trauma and positive self-identification through the social capital they carry within their bodies and conceptualizations of self. I comment on how mixed-race bodies living in Cape Town during the twentieth century used group spaces or activities that relied on music-making to achieve a heightened awareness of group identity. In other words, these “brown” bodies use music as a means of validating their sense of self and purpose as a reaction to their otherwise socially-queer or anomalous status as “Black Africans”.

I position my narrative against those who say there is no such thing as a coloured culture, because there are in fact multiple coloured cultures defined by an array of practices that constitute senses of belonging for mixed race families within the broader geography of the Cape Peninsula. I particularly want to react to the comment by Norman Duncan where he says, “there is no such things as a coloured culture or coloured identity, someone has to show me what it is” (Duncan cited in Erasmus, 2001: 21). Below, I substantiate my position that one of the multiple coloured cultures or identities that exists within coloured communities of Cape Town is in fact that of the “English” or “Anglican” coloured.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Background

According to a media release issued by Statistics South Africa (STATS SA) in June 2016, the coloured community of South Africa was estimated to be 4.9 million people out of the 55.7 million people living in the country⁴. Thus, coloured citizens are a minority community in the purely numerical as well as the racial sense of the word. While the label “coloured” was originally a political construct meant to disparage people, who were neither pure white nor pure black (in fact, “coloured” was used to denote the various mixtures of European, African, and Asian within South Africa), the classification of coloureds as the “third race” or the collective “other” created solidarity, fostering a collective and positive social identity for mixed race persons living in Cape Town, where they are now the numerical majority⁵. This solidarity grew out of their shared ethnic hybridity, cultural practices, and marginalized status within South African citizenry.

The population groupings of the colonial and apartheid era had a formative impact on the national consciousness. Citizenship in South Africa was historically defined not as belonging to the nation but rather as belonging to a group with political power. This is something the coloured community will never be able to claim due to their status as a national numerical minority with multiple

⁴ According to the data released by Statistics South Africa (STATS SA) in June 2016, Coloureds were 42.4% of the population in Cape Town, while Black Africans were 38.6%, Indians were 1.4%, and Whites were 15.7%. See http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=1021&id=city-of-cape-town-municipality (Accessed: 14 October, 2016).

⁵ See above.

sites of ethnic origin. Further complications exist. For example: despite popular rhetoric that locates the coloured population primarily in Cape Town, there are communities of coloured people who constitute small minorities throughout South Africa. The particular localities of these communities have profound effects on the ways they produce and represent their identities (Jorritsma, 2011 and Coetzer, 2005)⁶. Comparatively, coloured people who have been born and raised in Cape Town would consider themselves “Cape Coloured”: seeing themselves as fundamentally distinct from coloureds in other parts of South Africa due to their particular places of ancestral origin as well as differences in class position, language dialects, and social and cultural practices. There is, however, even a distinction among so-called “Cape Coloureds”: namely, that sub-groups or communities distinguish themselves from one another along class, religious and ancestral lines. This can especially be seen between the group identities of the Malay or Muslim coloureds and their Christian counter-parts - who in turn can be sub-divided even further according to denominational or doctrinal differences.

“Cape Coloured” identity can therefore be considered to be a homogenous group identity or classification that was imposed onto the mixed race bodies of the residents of Cape Town by the State. As Richard van der Ross (2015) points out, the notion of coloured group thinking must be understood and approached from the position that there is no such thing as “coloured”. Yet, because it

⁶ See *Sonic Spaces of the Karoo* by Marie Jorritsma (2011) that discusses the sacred song of the Kroonvale community in the Eastern Cape region, and *Langarm in and around Grahamstown* (Coetzer, 2005) that also discusses the social dance practices of coloureds living in the Eastern Cape region.

was created as a fabrication that was to take on meaning by referring to a group, it does exist, and it does have meaning – particularly for those who are inside the group⁷.

A significant problem for the colonial and apartheid regimes of South Africa, which sought to segregate a country along the ideas of racial purity, was their obsession with being purely white (European/British) or purely Bantu (Black African with an authentic language and culture). Thus, to be coloured as a result of cultural/language/bodily mixing in South Africa, was to be aberrant, bastard, or, in a manner parallel to the LGBT community that is thought of as a “mixed up” sexuality, was to be racially “queer” in the eyes of the colonial and apartheid governments. Despite constitutional protections, being “coloured” continues to be thought of as an aberration in post-apartheid South Africa. Since they have been left with few options for positive self-identification, I will argue and demonstrate that coloureds living in Cape Town have worked, both in the past and at present, to capitalize on this perception of being “in-between”. I argue that they do so by behaving queer or performing queer, i.e. they use group spaces or activities that rely on music-making to validate their sense of self and purpose as a reaction to their otherwise socially queer or anomalous status in a continuum of black Africaness.

In 1994, South Africa became a democratic country. In 1996, a constitution was adopted that protected the rights of all South Africans, not only the elite white minority that had governed the country since the seventeenth

⁷ Although van der Ross does not explicitly make this claim, his book *In our own skins* (2015) documents the political history of the coloured community in Cape Town. I have drawn my own conclusions about the argument presented by van der Ross.

century. Though the coloured citizens of Cape Town experienced a liberation in their consciousness and lived experience, no longer having to negotiate white oppression or regulation, they also found themselves confronted with a new communal shift in the consciousness of the nation: a shift that sought to re-classify or re-label mixed-race bodies in South Africa as being hegemonically “Black African”. This group membership, or the ability for this type of identification, was something that coloureds had deliberately been excluded from for centuries before, although some coloureds, particularly the educated and politicised, did identify as “Black Africans” - and had liberated their coerced “colonized consciousness” from the label and meaning of the term “coloured”. But because of the political implications, these were often “hidden” or “underground” identities during the height of apartheid. However, for many coloureds who had been born into the construct, or for those who had embraced the term to distinguish themselves from Bantu “Black Africans” (because of their own inherent racism or ingrained prejudices), the racial shift, identifying as “black,” or embracing one’s “blackness,” has resulted in confusion and trauma – a splitting or shattering of a racial identity, as well as an exacerbation of the problem of multiple identities that Cape Coloureds already have to perform.

My research has been concerned with how coloureds have historically been performing “coloured” identity, and how this has mutated or evolved in recent years, although the bulk of my work has been concerned with living as coloured in twentieth-century Cape Town. In this dissertation, I trace the development and conceptualisations of elite coloured identities from what I am

calling the imperial generation (those citizens born at the turn of the twentieth century), through the post-war generation (those citizens born after World War II), through the apartheid generation (those citizens born at the height of formalized racial segregation in the second half of the twentieth century), and finally, to the democratic generation (those citizens born at the turn of the twenty-first century, also sometimes called the born-free generation). I am concerned that racial classification, or racial identities, construct strong “senses of self” and “group-belonging”, in contrast to exclusions from other groups, and the performativity of an “us” and “them” dichotomous consciousness becomes a pathological vehicle for not only social mobility and progression but also fragmentation and marginalization.

I use the term pathology because of its association with discussions of deviant human sexuality in relation to the dichotomous or binary conceptualisations of sexuality that renders certain sexual acts or desires as “normal” /the “good” and deviant/ the “bad” (Gilman, 1985:24). I deliberately use this terminology to unpack the entanglement and shame that living inside a brown body can have on one’s patterns of thinking as a so-called coloured. Just as one’s sexuality is generally regarded as being outside of control of the self because of its strong biological basis, being born into a brown body is regarded as being outside of the control of the self.

I began my research on the Cape coloured community in 2004 by examining social dance music known as *langarm*⁸ in the Western Cape of South

⁸ Literally “long arm”, a reference to the style of local ballroom dance and music—likened to the long outstretched arms of the tango.

Africa (Holtzman, 2006). In the course of constructing that early research, it was clear to me that processes of social marginalization, and the fraught constitution of social identities, were connected to understanding privilege and disadvantage in my home community. The area or neighborhood a person grew up in constructed nuances of language or speech patterns, dress codes, and other aspects of life. Each individual community seemed to have a particular social structure and character — even inside the larger communities classified as coloured. The types of homes people lived in, their levels of education, the recreational activities they participated in, the various faith based groups they belonged to; all of these indicators provided coloureds with an orientation to life in Cape Town, the so-called “Mother City” of Africa. There seemed to be a certain *cachet* or social capital, sometimes even stigma, attached to the texture of one’s hair, the hue of one’s skin, or the accent or dialect with which one spoke.

Coloureds are inherently self-aware of their marginalised status as a residual group of the nation, and of the negative stereotypes about their group that circulate. These stereotypes or stigmas mainly portray coloureds as being politically indifferent, undereducated, prone to alcoholism, and lazy, violent or aggressive. Martin Amberger (2007: 1) explains that, for coloureds, these widespread prejudices become a type of disadvantage when regarding the group as a national collective. Using data from the Afrobarometer of February 2006, Amberger noted that this mixed-race community was profoundly impacted by apartheid policies, and that unemployment among coloureds had increased from 15.8 percent in 1998 to 22.4 percent in 2005. By 2014, STATS SA had estimated

that the national unemployment rate for coloured South Africans had increased to 28 percent. Amberger uses this data to explain the alarming crime rate among coloureds, particularly in the Western Cape region, where rates of gangster activity, and burglary or violent deaths, are among the highest in the country. Coloured people are twice as likely to die a violent death when compared to blacks, and three times more likely to have children suffering from foetal alcohol syndrome than white South Africans. When coupled with the large proportion of coloured families living in poverty, or suffering from tuberculosis, the socio-economic factors and profile of the coloured community constitutes a problem *sui generis* (Amberger, 2007:2) for South African society.

What is certainly positive about the changes brought about by the dismantling of apartheid is that coloureds have since been able to enjoy better access to education, specifically higher education. Even so, they have also dropped from 13 percent of the national labour force in 1994 to 11 percent in 2014 due to the competition for jobs with Black African workers; jobs which otherwise would have been earmarked for them specifically (Statistics South Africa, 2011). Furthermore, the significant cost of attending a previously whites-only school, and the high cost for tuition at universities, means that many coloureds do not have a university education, and that families continue to be headed by semi-skilled labourers rather than skilled or professional workers. Thus, the level of income, the type of employment, the place of residence and type of dwelling, and the state of health and well-being, also all contribute to perpetuating inherent class distinctions within the community. Division within the

community is compounded even further by expressions of class through language.

Disjunctures of Dialect

Carol Muller (2011) notes that the diverse places of origins of early generations of coloureds who were slaves meant that they had almost no cultural or linguistic homogeneity, but that the development of a lingua franca in the Cape, first called *Kaaps*, and later Afrikaans, allowed slaves to communicate with one another and with their owners (Muller, 2011:38). The Afrikaans language thus developed out of the creole Dutch dialect slaves were using in the Cape. Ironically, once standardized by white Afrikaners, it became the official language of the nation during the apartheid era. During that era, coloured and black South Africans regarded Afrikaans as the language of their oppressor, and Cape coloureds continued to retain and develop their unique creole dialect of *Kaaps* to demonstrate or perform various aspects of their identities. The majority of research on *Kaaps* focuses on the socio-cultural nature of the language, by documenting the phonological features and so-called “code-switching” linguistic techniques of Cape coloureds. Jade Schuster (2016) underscores that speakers of *Kaaps* use the language as a racial representation, not only to distinguish

Cape coloureds from other South African groups, but also to unify the working class community of the Cape Flats⁹.

In 2010, a stage production titled *AfriKaaps* was produced by a group of poets, musicians, filmmakers, and rap and spoken-word artists from the Western Cape region of South Africa. Catherine Henegan directed and staged the musical theatre production at the *Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees* (The Little Karoo National Arts Festival) and the Baxter Theatre in Cape Town. The production made use of *Kaaps* and *Ghoema* music¹⁰, but was not the first to do so, since David Kramer and Taliep Petersen had already established a tradition of creating this genre of musical theatre¹¹. *AfriKaaps* was nevertheless unique in that it included rap and hip-hop musical idioms and experimented in the genre that has come to be known as “Hip-Hopera”¹². *AfriKaaps*, the musical, was based on a documentary film made by Cape Town filmmaker, Dylan Valley, who conducted his own ethnographic project on *Kaaps* wherein he traced the roots of Afrikaans

⁹ The Cape Flats (Afrikaans: *Die Kaapse Vlakte*) is an expansive, low-lying, flat area situated to the southeast of the central business district of Cape Town. To many people in Cape Town, the area is known simply as “The Flats”. Cape coloured residents of the city were forcibly removed to new townships on the Cape Flats when the apartheid government declared the inner-city areas as being for whites-only.

¹⁰ A particular syncopated rhythm that has become emblematic of the music of Cape Town, often referred to as the “Ghoema Beat”. See *Sounding the Cape* by Martin (2013).

¹¹ David Kramer and the late Taliep Petersen were two icons in the South African music industry whose works (District Six, Fairyland, Crooners, Poison, Klop Klop and Kat and the Kings) have been performed to audiences locally and abroad, since the late 1980s.

¹² The term hip-hopera was first used in the twenty-first century African American adaptations of the musical dramas such as R. Kelly’s *Trapped in the Closet* (2005) and Robert Townsend’s (2002) rendition of Bizet’s *Carmen* that starred Beyoncé Knowles. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trapped_in_the_Closet and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carmen:_A_Hip_Hopera for Wikipedia entries.

to the indigenous Khoi-San communities and slaves in the Cape (Becker and Oliphant, 2014:1)¹³.

Schuster (2016) notes that *AfriKaaps* provided the background for breaking ground for revealing (while also affirming and elevating) the coloured contribution to the Afrikaans language. Schuster uses Judith Butler's theory of the reiteration of performance to form identity by arguing that, by speaking *Kaaps*, coloured people have an awareness of who they are and claim a sense of pride in their heritage and multiple identities (Schuster, 2016:67). Although *Kaaps* and *Suiwer Afrikaans* (pure Afrikaans) are spoken among the coloured community of Cape Town, Cape coloureds are mostly bilingual, able to switch fluidly between English and Afrikaans. Kay McCormick's (2003) linguistic and anthropological study *Language in Cape Town's District Six* points out that bilingual speech (English and Afrikaans) among Cape coloureds has been a characteristic feature of the community since the nineteenth century, but that Afrikaans, or *Kaaps* has historically been, and continues to be, the mother-tongue for many Cape coloureds who are aware that English is privileged locally as a "medium of exchange better than Afrikaans", and was generally seen as a "superior *taal*" (language) (McCormick, 2003:102).

Although English has become the language of instruction in almost all Cape Town schools since 1994 (Deumert, 2004), McCormick points out that

¹³ See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DYifENqE3hU> for the trailer for the documentary, and https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SVpBHcR1_tU or <https://afrikaaps.wordpress.com/> for an overview of Afrikaaps. Other interpretations of Afrikaaps include this modern Khoisan example, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CGo-8W4Pkno> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UAK1eJ3rT3E>

English-Afrikaans mixing continues to be a distinct marker of the local vernacular of Cape coloureds, in that “it is still not acceptable to speak standard English or standard Afrikaans in informal interactions with local friends” (McCormick, 2003:127). The 2011 South African Census results reported that in the Western Cape only 20 percent of coloureds reported English as their mother-tongue or first language, and that 75 percent reported Afrikaans instead (Statistics South Africa, 2011). These results reflect households, not individual speakers. Often within families, there will be a generational split between older family members being Afrikaans dominant, and those born after 1980 being increasingly English dominant (McCormick, 2003:120).

Entanglement and Belonging

The disparity between the “us” and the “them” coloured dichotomy I mentioned above was always clear to me growing up in Cape Town. As a child and adolescent living in the city, I often experienced this through language. In my family, “we” spoke English and “they” [the majority of other coloured families] did not. “They” spoke Afrikaans. Similarly, there was always a distinction to be made between whether or not someone was living in a “council house”¹⁴ or a free-standing, privately constructed home. The distinction was an indication of social class and status. In my fieldwork, I could feel the type of social character or fabric that existed in these different neighborhoods and communities. The areas with the double-story homes and large grounds seemed to have fewer people

¹⁴ Subsidized housing provided by local government and municipalities to residents who are not able to build or purchase their own homes.

lingering outside; those same homes were of different designs, with expensive cars standing in the driveways. Other areas had lots of boys and men lingering on corners or in front of home tuck-shops¹⁵ - small family-owned stores: playing gambling games, or loitering outside against backgrounds of laundry blowing in the wind overhead, suspended between two apartment buildings. The houses were either all small or built in the same style; the apartments were set up in row after identical row, known locally as “flats”. Some areas were much older, while others were of much newer construction.

Distinguishing between the old and the new townships became essential knowledge not only in my making sense out of my research findings, but also for navigating my own life in the latter half of the twentieth century in Cape Town. Families had an awareness that they were either living in “old Cape Town” or “new Cape Town” – a distinction you had to digest and accept in order to interpret why and how you were living as you were. For coloureds, the “old Cape” included the residential and business areas that surrounded the city center in the adjacent northern and southern suburbs: Bo-Kaap, Walmer Estate, District Six, Woodstock, Salt River, Maitland, Kensington, Windermere, Mowbray, Rondebosch, Athlone, Claremont and Newlands. (See fig. 1 for map.) The “new Cape” included new residential areas established in the 1950s and 60s by the apartheid regime, when residents were forcibly removed from certain parts of the “old Cape”, and resettled on the outskirts of the city in previously uninhabited flat and barren parts of the peninsula. These new areas included townships such as

¹⁵ An informal convenience store operated by a family out of their home, sometimes also referred to in Afrikaans as a *huis-winkel* (home shop).

Bontheuwel, Heideveld, Hanover Park, Mannenberg, Mitchell's Plein and Atlantis (See fig. 2 for map). The distinction in the types of housing and areas, i.e. the sub-economic housing and architecture of the "new Cape" vs. the historical European styled "bungalow" homes of the "old Cape," denoted a certain social hierarchy among coloureds. When the question was asked from one coloured to another – "where are you from?" – the answer would immediately place them on an ingrained geographical and hierarchical map within one's consciousness as a Cape coloured, and would clarify whether he or she is "one of us", or "one of them".

Over the course of my research, as I interrogated and made sense of this racial label of "coloured," and in particular, my own identity as an Anglican/English" coloured, I concluded that the coloured community of Cape Town, South Africa, constitutes a queer people. The concept that all coloured people in South Africa are queer is rooted in the ambiguity that emerges with being of "mixed race" descent in a country with an establishment that has privileged racial/ethnic purity and all things English/European/not African through 1990. From 1994, despite the move to a democratically elected, black majority government, the issue of racial/ethnic/cultural authenticity has not changed that much for those of mixed racial heritage. Coloureds continue to occupy an "in-between" position in the new neo-liberal dispensation of a "rainbow nation" or democratic society – a society in which blackness and whiteness continue to be the labels used to refer to the narratives of the white oppressor and the black

liberator. This issue of not-belonging is rooted in South Africa's deep history of racial segregation.

These group identities, or "multiple-identity" claims and the social archetype of the Cape coloured subject and society, have received significant scholarly attention over the past twenty years. It should be noted that academic writings published by scholars around the topic of Cape coloured identity are mostly produced by those classified as Cape coloured. The most notable of these texts is a discourse on the disconcerting and discomfiting meanings that have grown around coloured identities in South Africa. Zimitri Erasmus (2001) is both a contributor to and editor of a collection of essays entitled "Coloured by History, Shaped by Place": a pioneering collection of articles that attempt to dissect the various definitions of colouredness, offering new perspectives on coloured identities in Cape Town, particularly in the post-apartheid era. The multiple meanings of coloured identity are explained as connoting a racial category, an ethnic marker, an adjective for distinct physical and biological features, a label of both shame and pride. In other words, "coloured" is ultimately what I am calling a queer identification. Therefore, coloured people "measuring" themselves by these discourses can experience emotional consequences of living uncertain, hybrid identities: confusion, complication, and pain.

Mohammed Adhikari (2009) has also produced a historiographical analysis of the South African scholarship that exists on coloured people. He classifies these writings by dividing them into several categories, i.e. "essentialist," "instrumentalist," and "social constructionism". Adhikari notes that

the essentialist school approach subscribed to the notion that coloured people are “in-between” racial categories and thus a racial group of their own in a country consisting of distinct races (Adhikari, 2009:7). Marie Jorritsma has described how the essentialist approach also historically prevented the serious study of coloured people’s music as an integral component of their distinct culture and identity, in that it was either seen as the music of the “exotic other” or as an inferior, inauthentic version of white people’s music – and therefore not as a music worth studying (Jorritsma, 2011:7). There was, however, a small body of essentialist musicological literature primarily concerned with the music of the Malay or Muslim coloured community (Du Plessis, 1935, 1972; Desai, 1985, 1993; Drury, 1985; Burden, 1991).

By contrast, the instrumentalist approach “regarded coloured identity as an artificial concept imposed by the white supremacist state and the ruling establishment on an oppressed and vulnerable group of people as an instrument of social control” (Adhikari, 2009:11). Jorritsma notes that during this period of instrumentalist thought, research topics tended to focus mainly on histories of coloured people’s political movements and resistance to white rule – and that musicological scholarship by Coplan (1985, 2007) and Erlmann (1991) during this period focused on Black South African urban performance, but neglected to understand colouredness as part of an African identity (Jorritsma, 2011:8).

The social constructionism body of literature that developed during the post-apartheid era postulated that coloured identity was a product of human agency, “shaped by a complex interplay of historical, social, cultural, political and

other contingencies” (Adhikari, 2009:13). Jorritsma explains that the majority of post-apartheid musicological scholarship on coloured musical practices has adopted this more fluid approach: one that “enables researchers to investigate coloured identity as an entity that incorporates an ongoing process of making and remaking, resistance and complicity” (Jorritsma, 2011:8). These types of coloured music studies include examination of the festivities that occur around the Christmas and New Year period such as the Coon Carnival and Christmas Bands (Jeppie, 1990; Martin, 1999, 2013; Bruinders; 2012), the Cape jazz tradition (Layne, 1995; Muller, 1996, 2006 2007, 2008, 2011), and studies on coloureds from other regions in South Africa (Jorritsma, 2011; Coetzer, 2005).

Carol Muller (2011) and Marie Jorritsma (2011) have both drawn on the work of Erasmus and Adhikari by describing the “burden of race” coloured people have to navigate and negotiate as a “history of entanglement” (Muller, 2011:52; Jorritsma, 2011:12). By analyzing traditions of music-making among coloureds in South Africa, they have demonstrated that the processes of hybridity, creolization, and in-betweenness of coloureds, in an imposed racial hierarchy that privileged whites as superior and denigrated blacks as inferior, represent what Edouard Glissant termed a half-way category between two “pure” extremes (Glissant, 1989:140), and that music often served as a locus or medium where coloured identity could be expressed through creative agency on the margins or periphery of the racialized nation. Moreover, for Muller and Jorritsma, music becomes a site of (re)connection between the past and the more recent present. Jorritsma describes this return to the “point of entanglement” as representing a

confrontation and acceptance of a painful often denied past, and requires an engagement with its (often fragmented) lived experiences (Jorritsma, 2011: 12). For Muller, discourses of entanglement have the ability to reveal cornered communities and secret histories that might otherwise remain hidden from view (Muller, 2011:52). Muller's and Jorritsma's applications of the entanglement concept to the history of jazz in Cape Town and the soundscape of sacred song in the Karoo, respectively, shed light on the formation of "hidden" coloured cultures, identities, and music.

The academic discourse makes clear that to talk of a coloured identity and the concept of a coloured culture is to problematize matters of belonging and the construction or deconstruction of stereotypes and conceptualizations of "self-knowing". In my dissertation, the entanglement concept offers a useful way for drawing attention to one of these "hidden" identities of coloureds – what I am calling the phenomenon of a coloured "English Identity". A minority of coloured families who have English heritage and have historically belonged to the Anglican church, or had family members in the military of the British Empire in the first half of the twentieth century, regarded themselves as "English Coloureds". To be an "English Coloured," they believed, was to carry a certain cultural or social capital. The identity distinguished them from other coloureds, in that they perceived themselves as embodying respectability. Respectability was equated with Englishness/Anglicanness - with whiteness.

Anglicizing the Cape

In 1997, as a young boy chorister in my local Anglican church, at one ordinary Thursday evening rehearsal, I remember the choir master handing us each a printed booklet of music. There was going to be a High Mass celebrated by Desmond Tutu, then Archbishop of Cape Town, to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the arrival of Bishop Robert Gray and his wife Sophy at the Cape, and their establishment of “Anglicanism” in Cape Town. All local churches would cancel their regular Sunday morning services in lieu of the prestigious occasion; everyone was encouraged to attend the joint High Mass. And indeed: our choir was going to join in and sing.

The High Mass was celebrated in the Bellville Veleldrome (a large indoor stadium). Tens of thousands of Anglicans living in Cape Town descended on the stadium one September Sunday morning. A digital pipe organ was installed into the stadium for the occasion; joining it was a mass choir made up of all the small parish choirs, the majority being coloureds. We were clad in our various choir robes. The organist and master of choristers wore their academic hoods, as did the numerous clergy, who snaked through the stadium in a large liturgical procession. The sermon by Archbishop Desmond Tutu praised the legacy of Robert Gray, and noted that we owed, to the work of this man, and the many other men who had travelled from England, a debt for our “Anglican identities”.

But how did we come to have commemorations of Robert Gray, a white Victorian clergyman, by black and coloured citizens in South Africa one hundred and fifty years later, considering the Anglican church was still largely white until

the turn of the twentieth century? Eric Walker (1968) explains that at the turn of the eighteenth century, the city of Cape Town – the “Cape Colony” – was the only important urban centre in the British territory, and that the European immigrant population at the time was predominantly rural and scattered over large areas (Walker, 1968:164). Cape Town had been under the rule of the Dutch East India Company (DEIC), with European settlers either farming in towns like Stellenbosch or Graaf-Reinet, or doing pastoral work in established Calvinist towns like Genadendal (near Caledon), Paarl, Malmesbury, and Tulbagh (See fig. 3 for map). When the British occupied Cape Town in 1795, their purpose was to secure the territory from Napoleon’s control. After the battle of Waterloo in 1814, the Cape formally became a British territory and colony.

By the time the Cape had become a British colony, the Church of England was having to compete with the pervasive presence of Islam among the Cape slave population. After slaves were emancipated in 1834, those who were not already Muslim began converting to Islam. There was also a need, identified from within the empire, for distinctly “English” spiritual nourishment to be given to the British soldiers stationed at the Castle of Good Hope. To this end, in 1816, Lord Charles Somerset attempted to prevent Methodists, as dissenters, from ministering to the troops. For Somerset, it did not matter if the Methodists worked among the Africans beyond the borders, but the established Church of England, he felt, should have a monopoly with regard to the British in South Africa. Religious intolerance, which would not be permitted in Britain, could also not be allowed in the colonies.

In the early nineteenth century, the small Anglican congregation in Cape Town was predominantly made up of military chaplains and traders who were en-route to India. The colony itself was under the oversight of the Bishop of Calcutta. The first Anglican church, the Church of St. George, was built on the lower end of the Company Gardens of the Dutch East India Company, where today runs what is known as Wale Street (see Appendix A, fig. 1). The church was opened on Christmas day in 1834 (Hermitage Day, 1930:3). In 1848, the Englishman Robert Gray was consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury as the Bishop of Cape Town. The “High Anglican” tradition that Robert Gray carried within him made its way to Cape Town alongside his *cathedra* (throne), which travelled from his Westminster Abbey consecration ceremony (Buchanan 2015:541). The installation of the *cathedra* in the Church of St. George made it a cathedral, one that would later serve as the physical manifestation of Englishness in the Cape – Herbert Baker’s architectural monument of Empire, an effigy of the “cache of the religion of the Queen” (Ward, 2006). However, Robert Gray did not live to see Baker’s monument to “Englishness” (Coetzer, 2013:16). During his life, he was concerned with denominational matters: the need to establish Anglicanism in the Cape Colony, where Methodists had a much stronger presence (Ward, 2006:137); and the need to counter the Calvinist, Reformed, and other Protestant denominations in the country, where they had already established Mission Stations, churches, and schools (van der Ross, 2015:27). The Anglican church did not enjoy a huge following in the coloured population during the nineteenth

century, as the denomination was particularly associated with English settlers in the Cape.

Joe Hardwick (2012) traces the significance of the Anglican church in creating “English Diasporas” in the colonies of the early British Empire, before the “global Anglican Communion” came into existence in the later nineteenth century. According to Hardwick’s criteria, the clergy and missionaries from England who settled in Cape Town were a “hidden white English diaspora”. He points out that historians are correct to argue that as the Church of England migrated overseas, it came to represent Englishness to those in the colonies (Hardwick, 2012:85).

Unlike missionaries for whom spreading the gospel was key, high church Anglicans believed that Church extension and the formation of England overseas could not occur without the extension of the Church’s full institutional machinery of parishes, clergymen, congregations and bishops. The idea that religion was not enough on its own raises important questions about the extent to which English identity was, first and foremost, understood as being connected with English institutions rather than an organic English culture, race or folk tradition” (Hardwick, 2012:86).

These diasporic English, or what Howard Le Couteur calls “agents of Anglicanism and Englishness” (Le Couteur, 2008:6) were the institutional carriers or agents of Anglicanism and Englishness. They used their Englishness, and the machinery of Anglicanism, to fertilize and cultivate an additional “English diaspora”: an imagined diaspora of the global Anglican Communion and British Empire. In other words, as Hardwick argues, the Anglican church as an institution of empire played a major role in the emergence of an English diaspora for those English who had migrated to, and settled in, territories of the British Empire in the

nineteenth century. Although Hardwick's research is anchored in the "Anglicized colonies" of North America and Australia, his observation about the "central institutional aspect" of this ecclesiastical colonial project is applicable to other colonies of the British Empire, and is certainly true for Cape Town.

The "institutional aspect" of the Anglican church in Cape Town was quickly developed when Robert Gray was installed as Bishop in 1849. His original diocese consisted of some ten churches, sixteen priests, and approximately ten thousand congregants. By the time of his death in 1872, a whole province, with five dioceses, a synodical structure, and a strong corporate identity of the "cache of the religion of the Queen," was firmly in place (Ward 2006:138). Ecclesiastical Anglicization, however, was not the only type of Anglicization taking place in Cape Town in the nineteenth century. When the British inherited a formerly Dutch settlement, one in which the language of Afrikaans had already mutated from Dutch and become widely used across the territory, they found that, in addition to dealing with Dutch culture and a particular Dutch dialect, they had to navigate varying ethnic groups already present in their new territory. These groups included the indigenous Khoisan pastoralists, sometimes called "Bushmen" or "Hottentots," who had resisted the forced labour and customs of their colonisers, as well a large imported slave population that had originated in East Africa and the Indonesian Islands, primarily Malaysia – the so-called "Cape Malays".

Furthermore, by abolishing slavery in 1834 in Cape Town, the British increased the number of people regarded as "coloured" both in social interaction and in law, even though the coloured people had little influence in political

matters in the nineteenth century (van der Ross, 2015:34). Vivian Bickford Smith notes that, later in the century, “coloured” became a term that was used by the British to exclude “Black Africans” who were more usually referred to as “Natives” by the whites – and, furthermore, that all of these terms were already used as self-descriptors by the residents of Cape Town in the nineteenth century, before they took on a politicized connotation in the twentieth century under enforced segregation policies of the apartheid regime (Bickford-Smith, 2016:23). The migration of Black Africans from the Eastern Cape, and the arrival of East European Jewish artisans and labourers, along with small traders who were of Indian descent, added to the development of a “substantial and cosmopolitan, multi-racial, working-class “inner-city” population” of “coloured,” or darker-skinned but not black, African people (Bickford-Smith, 2016:23).

Bickford-Smith explains that because of the predominantly “un-British” center of the city of Cape Town before the turn of the twentieth century, the surrounding suburbs, particularly the southern suburbs, were where the majority of British immigrants chose to live: so as to be close to nature but also conveniently close to the elite social scene that surrounded the British Military camp at Wynberg (See fig. 5 for map).

Early aristocratic acknowledgement of the merits of the southern suburbs was reinforced by the establishment of the British Governor’s summer residence at Newlands and that of the Anglican Archbishop at nearby Bishops court (Bickford-Smith, 2016:38).

The Anglicized naming of areas, streets, facilities, and institutions signified to city residents that the colony was being made English. Suburbs were either

named for British origin cities (Woodstock, Observatory, Mowbray, Claremont, Bishopscourt, Kenilworth, Rosebank, Maitland, Kensington, Windermere), or Anglicized from the Dutch, in either their written version or their pronunciation (Niuw Land to Newlands, or Wynberg pronounced “Wineberg” rather than “Vainberg” (Bickford-Smith, 2016:39). Nicholas Coetzer (2013) describes this Anglicization of the Cape in the second half of the nineteenth century as the *pièce de résistance* of the British Empire in the capital of their Southern African colony, as it created the connotation of British or English religious and social identity via city planning and architecture. Coetzer argues that the “English Ideal” was signified and solidified through the “Utopian English Garden City,” and that these garden suburbs were deliberately fashioned to divide and create racially segregated areas so that the “other” could be identified and isolated. He concludes that this English ideal was responsible for the apartheid city before the nationalist agenda of classification and the forced removals of the apartheid era.

In other words, there was an apartheid based on class before an apartheid based on race, and, as Coetzer has traced through architecture and urban design, the British were mainly concerned with the “aesthetic” of their city. The visual aesthetic of the city was directly linked to the “cultural” aesthetic that was being fashioned by the machinery of the British Empire. Coetzer argues that an example of this can be seen in the design and layout of the white suburbs Pinelands and Constantia, which were deliberately fashioned as “English Utopias” around communal gardens (See fig. 6 for map). Another example is the residency and work of the British architect Herbert Baker, who, in his designing

houses and schools for the elite of Cape Town and churches and cathedrals for the Anglican church, brought the “essence of Englishness and empire” to a people wanting to project their “well-being” as residents of the capital city in the colony (Coetzer, 2013: 27).

Bickford-Smith (2003) compellingly argues that scholars of imperial history and customs should be aware of the multiple meanings that the terms “Anglicization,” “Britishness,” and “Englishness” have acquired over the past three centuries in South Africa. She notes that English nationalism is derived from English values and customs, as well as from customs of Englishness that developed in England; and that Englishness is the dominant influence within Britishness, which must be seen as the customs of of the Kingdom of Great Britain, comprised of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, and extended to include the (former) dominions of the British Empire. Bickford-Smith argues that, already in the nineteenth century, a core theoretical underlying notion of Englishness, and therefore of Britishness, was the association that had to be made with the enculturation of “respectability” (Bickford-Smith, 2003:88).

Enculturations of Englishness

The most notable piece of scholarship that seeks to understand enculturations of British “respectability” was put forth by Robert Ross (1999). Ross describes his work as a “semiotic history of the Cape,” or a history of the markers of status (Ross, 1999:3), and clarifies that his commentary on markers of status is rooted in the examination of so-called *etiquette* and *voorstellen*. He

explains that *etiquette* should be regarded as the relationship between codes of behavior and the assignment to categories, whereas *voorstellen* implies the projection of a way of life in the mind's eye or a performance – like watching a play – in order to imagine something as being possible (Ross, 1999:3). Ross points out that the nineteenth-century ideology of the British society as a respectable society was firmly established within the psyche of the residents of the Cape colony; and, furthermore, that this was particularly apparent in matters of gender. Ross draws attention to how clothing was used as an important element of Anglicization and as a means of conveying gender-differentiated notions of respectability, status, and dominance. He explains that by adopting the behavior and outward signs of a respectable society, the citizens of Cape Town ingrained respectability as an outward manifestation of a specific class ideology. He concludes that this phenomenon was not confined to the white urban middle-class (Bickford-Smith, 2003:88).

For Ross, the establishment of a respectable society was an expression of cultural imperialism – the work of the British Empire in the British colonies – and a direct precursor of the attempted Americanization of the world in the later twentieth century (Ross, 1999:5). Ross explains that the “contents” of respectability were often outward signs or embodied behaviors. He argues that this was primarily articulated through the guise of interpreting “maleness” and “femaleness” behaviourally, in terms of the adjectives “gentlemanly” and “ladylike”.

In 19th Century colonial South Africa, these went under the appellations of gentility or respectability – they became social codes –

part of a wider set of rules for conduct, ideologies of behavior and self-images (Ross, 1999:78).

One of the social codes established in nineteenth-century Cape Town was the belief that the bodies of respectable men and women were totally covered, except for the face, neck, and hands. This was regarded as “civilized; the display of bare skin in the torso, arms, legs or feet, let alone near-nudity, was savage” (Ross, 1999:86). For Ross, clothing becomes an example of a medium whereby people make statements to claim status, as well as providing an example of “*voorstellen*” – the ability to see in the mind’s eye how clothing (in this case) becomes an extension of personality, or a performance of a personality that the wearer desires, and can thus be chosen in relation to what is being projected consciously. Whereas one could project or perform what one looked like, or how one disciplined the body, gentility, a variation of respectability, was not something that could be performed easily. As Ross notes, gentility had to be acquired, and thus taught.

Education was concerned with matters of literacy and numeracy – skills with fairly wide cultural applications. As much as this, though, education was about the moulding of ‘character; in other words, about socialisation into a set of very specific roles which the children would be expected to play later in life. It was indeed seen as the main way in which the Colony could be racially and culturally homogenised (Ross, 1999:88)

What is interesting is that the ideas of respectability and gentility, in terms of possessions, education and behavior, were not group-specific. The semiotics of gentility and respectability provided ideals to which all in the Cape colony could aspire. Moreover, they contained within themselves the assumption that

everyone should attempt to follow such examples. What we gain from Ross' interrogation of the semiotics of nineteenth-century society in Cape Town is that, for the disreputable individual struggling to be recognized as respectable, "it was thus the outward signs that truly mattered". In other words, skin color and race mattered less than the performance of personhood and bodily attire.

Similarly, Ross examines the "acceptance" and the "rejection" of Anglicization, or enculturations of Englishness, and the relationships, tensions, and ambivalences between respectability and "unrespectability". Ross devotes a chapter to "outsiders," what he and Bickford-Smith describe as the "Cape Town underclass": [Malay] farm laborers and Muslims – those least touched by Anglicization or those who tried to reject it outright (Bickford-Smith, 2003:91). He points out that, in addition to the "respectable Christian character" trope dominant in the nineteenth-century Cape Colony, there was another type of respectability: that of being seen as Muslim, or "learned in Islam". The British admired the Muslims for their literacy in Arabic, and respected and tolerated their places of worship. However, Muslims were also often seen as outcasts through their rituals and bodily attire that the British saw as "exotic" (Ross, 1999:144). This type of "othering" by the British was not unique to the Malays or Muslims. It served to set up a social category or class that distinguished the disreputable from the respectable. Ross explains that the antithesis to respectability was drunkenness or debauchery, and that the stereotypes of coloureds or "hottentots" as sailors, prostitutes, gamblers, drunkards, drug addicts, and raucous dancers, contributed to the coloured stigma: that theirs was what Andrew Bank called a "canteen

culture”, and that it increasingly came to comprise individuals who were not seen as respectable (Bank cited in Ross, 1999:133)¹⁶.

What is clear from Bickford-Smith’s and Coetzer’s commentary on Anglicization, and from Ross’ work on respectability, is that by the early twentieth century imperial ideologies of “self” and “other” were already strongly developed within the pathology of Capetonians. As Bridge and Fedorowich (2003) explain, these types of social distinctions are rooted in the fact that South Africa increasingly became part of “the British world,” with the institutional machinery of the Church and English garden aesthetic of the city – but also in another factor: that of warfare and adopted imperialist identities rooted in “Englishness” that were imparted to military volunteers and families in post-war generations of the “British World”. The common cause of fighting in the British Army during the Boer War and the First and Second World Wars bound together the British world beyond the motherland, so that ordinary men of the various dominions started seeing themselves as “Britons” (Bridge and Fedorowich, 2003:6).

The Cape Corps Battalion of the Union Defence Force¹⁷ was made up almost exclusively of Cape coloured men. The history of the Cape Corps dates back to the earliest periods of colonization. By 1806, when the British colonial occupation of the Cape was solidified, the Corps was named the Cape Regiment. During the period up to 1910, when the Union of South Africa was established, the unit was employed in nearly all British military campaigns. By 1915, after the

¹⁶ See Said (2014). This may be regarded as a type of local manifestation of Said’s exposition on orientalism.

¹⁷ The Union Defence Force was the military of the Union of South Africa from July 1912 until 1957 when it was reorganized and renamed the South African Defence Force.

outbreak of the First World War, more than thirty-five thousand mostly coloured men volunteered as imperial troops for the British motherland. A similar scenario unfolded with the outbreak of the Second World War: in 1940, more than forty-five thousand men volunteered for service. This military history is critical to understanding some coloured families in Cape Town, as well as the multiple identity claims and associations with imperial citizenship and whiteness that dominated in the first half of the twentieth century. Carol Muller (2011) describes how the Cape Corps Military Band was formed during the First World War, and was at the time comprised of a mix of white and coloured musicians.

The founder of the band was Irish, and he espoused the values of the working class: promoting musical excellence and social respectability. As social dancing did for young factory workers, the Cape Corps Military Band enabled the transformation of working-class individuals into a citizenry that was beautiful, regal and respected in its community for the sound of their music and their ability to read scores rather than just play by ear (Muller, 2011:61).

Such sophistication and elitism associated with belonging to the military or military bands developed for coloureds an awareness that they were more than just coloured South Africans. As Bridge and Fedorowich have explained, citizens of the British Empire, or “Britons,” could have a number of concurrent identities where imperial Britishness did not contradict the national identity, particularly for those who had been “colonial born” (Bickford-Smith, 2003:89), and that beyond the core of the white British diaspora, there existed an adopted Britishness. Bridge and Fedorowich specifically mention that in the early twentieth century, Cape Coloureds, Hong Kong and Singapore Chinese and West Indians all laid claim to British values and institutions. Bickford-Smith explains that in addition to

the study of the Anglicization of the Cape through architecture and urban design, through the Church and the military, through leisure activities and social dress codes, adopted English or British identities in the nineteenth or twentieth centuries must not be dismissed as an area of valuable intellectual interrogation when studying the colonized British psyche (Bickford-Smith, 2003:88).

Thus, for Anglican coloureds in the twentieth century who inherited this machinery of empire, the Anglican Church and the Anglicized city of Cape Town, became a vehicle and integral component in the construction, and development, of a pathology that achieved positive identification through visual spectacles and embodied sonic experiences: of a habitus of lessening one's blackness through the enactment of traditions associated with being "English". In other words, for many coloureds in Cape Town, to be Anglican was to wear the "badge of respectability" (Badham, 1988). This particular denomination, and the rituals and symbols of the proxy mother church of Empire, became an anchor in the consciousness of those who identified as "Anglican": the knowledge that this was where dignity was to be found, and that to be Anglican was to be English.

Habitus of Respectability

In this dissertation, I argue that the traditions of Anglican Brigades, church choirs, and social ballroom dance halls became social spaces that manifested a uniquely "English habitus" – what I am calling a "habitus of respectability". I use Pierre Bourdieu's (1990) idea of "habitus" as a concept for understanding coloured society, and the process of social change or persistence. More

specifically, I am concerned with Bourdieu's conclusion that members of the same group or class, being products of the same objective conditions, share a "habitus". Habitus is the "mental or cognitive structures" through which people deal with the social world, or the "product of the internalization of the structures" of the social world (Bourdieu, 1989:18). Habitus is defined as "internalized, embodied social structures" that reflect objective divisions in the class structure, such as age groups, genders, and social classes. One acquires a habitus as a result of a long-term occupation of a position within the social world. Thus, not everyone has the same habitus, habitus varies depending on the nature of one's position in that world, and habitus is likely to be shared by those who occupy similar positions (Bourdieu 1980:13). "The habitus functions below the level of consciousness and language, beyond the reach of introspective scrutiny and control by the will" (Bourdieu 1984:466). In other words, as George Ritzer (1996) describes, although we are not conscious of habitus and its operation, it manifests itself in our most practical activities, such as diet, posture, accents, dress, etc. (Ritzer, 1996:405). For Bourdieu, habitus is relational to "field" – a network of relations among the objective positions within it (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992:97).

It is the structure of the field that both undergirds and guides the strategies whereby the occupants of these positions seek, individually and collectively, to safeguard or improve their positions, and to impose the principles of hierarchy most favourable to their own products (Bourdieu, cited in Wacquant, 1989:40).

The field is thus a marketplace in which various kinds of *capital* (economic, cultural, social, and symbolic) are employed and deployed (Ritzer, 1996: 406).

For Bourdieu, the field *conditions* the habitus, but the habitus also *constitutes* the field as something that is meaningful, that has sense and value, and that is worth investment of energy (Bourdieu in Ritzer, 1996:407).

My application of Bourdieu's theories of habitus, field, and capital, seeks to understand how Christian, specifically Anglican, Cape coloureds in South Africa have historically perceived themselves as a group with a specific lifestyle that had cultural and social capital in the field of a hierarchical Cape Town; and that the habitus of respectability constituted an "altered state of consciousness," whereby Anglicized coloureds, or those coloureds who regarded themselves as "Britons" or belonging to the "British World," engaged in what Robert Ross has called *voorstellen* – a projection in the mind's eye, or the performance or embodiment of being "English" or "educated" via one's Anglicanism.

The habitus of respectability is a therefore a product of colonial history: a feature of Cape society due to the Anglicization processes that were powerfully at work there during the nineteenth century. As I will demonstrate below, the habitus of respectability was further strengthened in the twentieth century, particularly during the post-war years, as a space of positive self-identification for coloured families who wanted their relation to the broader field of Cape Town to be "legitimate" – a citizenship of empire which they were entitled to as "Anglicans". This habitus could work as a claim to be made to the citizenship of the nation which was otherwise denied to them in political terms under colonial and apartheid rule.

Similarly, I will demonstrate how the Cape coloured community living in the post-war era negotiated spaces of position-taking to sustain their imperial citizenship, their “colouredness,” and their “Englishness,” through music and performance. I am particularly mindful that the parallel consciousness of being an English coloured or educated coloured in relation to “other coloureds” reveals itself as a social status that epitomizes the queerness of coloureds as having to put on what Franz Fanon calls a “white mask” (Fanon (1986). The whitening of consciousness to assimilate to, or to satisfy, the coloniser or oppressor, is where positive self-identification presents itself as a reaction to the reality that one is otherwise not white and not seen as educated or English – a distancing of self from the ideology of a “homogenous coloured group”. Fanon puts forth an example of this phenomenon in arguing that history demonstrates that a Negro reacts against Negroes because of negrophobia, or that a Jew reacts against Jews because of anti-Semitism (Fanon, 1986:87). He calls this whitening of consciousness “lactification”. Derek Hook (2007) points out that examples of lactification include practices of hair-straightening, skin-lightening, attempting to earn a white spouse, and enthusiastically adopting the accent and language of the oppressor. Hook argues that, for Fanon, all of these are examples of *inauthenticity* (Hook in Duncan, 2007:127). What Fanon and Hook are suggesting is that the coercion to discriminate against one’s own kind, and to assimilate or perform the norms of the dominant culture, defines individuals and groups as having *essentialized* qualities of identity (ibid).

In contrast to the peculiarity of the South African coloured history and attendant issues, during my time as a graduate student in the United States, I became increasingly aware of the reality of WEB DuBois' (1940) argument that African Americans develop a double consciousness in response to the white supremacist social legacy of the nation: behaviour flattering and obedient to white authority among whites, with an alternate that presents itself when among other African Americans or minorities. I began to recognize parallels within my home community in South Africa: how the Cape Coloured community displayed a similar phenomenon of a double consciousness – that of being flattering and obedient to white authority, and an alternate that presents itself when among other coloureds. Bowler and Vincent (2011), in their paper “Contested Constructions of Colouredness,” take this theoretical application of DuBois one step further by arguing for the recognition of a “triple consciousness”. In South Africa, those who occupy the precarious “middle”, they argue, must operate according to a “triple consciousness” – coloured as defined from within but also coloured in relation to black and coloured in relation to white (Bowler and Vincent, 2011:7). In my dissertation, I am concerned with the first part of this triple consciousness: the one whereby coloureds define themselves from within.

“We come from Windermere” – Ethnographic Case-Study

My ethnographic case-study of the Windermere/Kensington area in the Western Cape region of South Africa provides an example of a distinct mixed-race Anglican culture, and of a distinct musical identity. I will argue that this

culture and musical identity must not be contextualized as being black African, but rather as being the product of a queer pathology: one of a post-war, post-colonial people who yearn for belonging. I will also argue that these people achieve positive self-identification, constituted as English/Anglican colouredness, through a variety of local forms of music-making.

In the post-war years, Windermere was a racially segregated settlement. Situated right next to what was then known as the Wingfield Airforce Base, it was an important area in the city of Cape Town: it was close to the center of town and to District Six, and it was adjacent to military bases and other industrial factories in the nearby areas of Maitland and Salt River. The area was officially named Windermere in 1928, after Lake Windermere in England. It consisted of the areas previously known as Kensington Estate, located between 2nd and 6th Avenues; Kensington Estate Reserve, located between 6th and 13th Avenues; and the then semi-rural part, soon to be known as Factreton Housing Estate, located between Acre Road and 18th Avenue (See fig. 5 for map).

The strong social influence of the Anglican church on the community of Windermere/Kensington is a central theme in this dissertation. My decision to use this particular area as the case-study for my ethnography was based on a number of factors. Firstly, in contrast to the many publications existing on the township that was known as District Six (Jeppie, 1990; McCormick, 2003; Schoeman, 1994; Rasool and Prosalendis, 2001; Hallett et al, 2007), very little scholarship has been written about Windermere/Kensington. Sean Field is the

only scholar to have examined the history and social landscape of this now “coloured-only” community. In his book “Oral History, Community and Displacement”, Field (2012) describes the history and character of Windermere as follows:

At its peak in the 1950s, the Windermere/Kensington area was estimated to contain in excess of thirty thousand residents. During the 1950s, Africans were approximately 55 to 60 percent of the population, coloured people were 40 to 45 percent, and whites were 2 to 4 percent in the Windermere/Kensington area. This area was notorious for its poor sanitary conditions, overcrowding, unscrupulous land owners, and high incidence of disease, especially tuberculosis. Despite these poverty-stricken and squalid conditions, there was a vibrant cultural milieu of *shebeens* (informal bars), dance halls, gangs, brothels, and even a sand racetrack where people gambled on the horses on Sunday afternoons” (Field, 2012:88)

The second reason I chose to study this area was due to my familiarity with the people and place. Because I had lived in Windermere/Kensington for most of my childhood and adolescence, I could collect and report information relayed to me as an “insider”. Further, my natural curiosity about the history of the area and customs I had been born into had been fuelled by hearing elder family members always speaking about “the good old days” when they were growing up in Windermere, and how their lives had changed because of apartheid.

In an interview I conducted in 2013 with Aubrey Dedricks, my mother’s brother-in-law, he explained to me what it was like growing up in Windermere in the post-war years, and how he perceived the influence of the Anglican church on his childhood – how their imperial identities or “white masks” were being moulded not only by the internal family pride of being a military family, but also by

what Le Couteur called “agents of Anglicanism” (Le Couteur, 2008:6). From the extract, we are able to get a sense of the strong influence white mentors had on the coloured youth of the area who were members of the Anglican church, and how those mentors came to represent the authority and embody the respectability to which these youths aspired.

It was Father Samuels and later Father McBride who made us into the people we are today. Do you know there where Wingfield Airforce Base used to be? Now near there, there was a little small prefab house... that was St. David's. That's where we went to church, every Sunday morning and evening, and every Wednesday night. We used to love going there and Father Samuels was the one who gave the orders. He was a very strict white man. He was the priest who used to come from Good Shepherd in Maitland to our chapelry. And he started the Brigade and the Choir. If you weren't at church for the services, then you were there for choir practice or Brigade meetings. And if you weren't at church, then you were at the community centre or at school... or just playing in the street to keep yourself busy (Aubrey Dedricks, 2013).

Aubrey Dedricks is speaking about growing up in Cape Town in the early 1950s. What is remarkable here is that, almost a century after Bishop Robert Gray's arrival from London in Cape Town, we continue to have clergy, what Le Couteur (2008) called “high clergymen or agents of Anglicanism,” playing instrumental roles in the cultivation of “respectable” citizens. What can also be gleaned from this extract is that the parents of these children must have endorsed the authoritarian role which the white Anglican priests came to embody. This was the case in various interviews I conducted with participants in my study: strict or authoritarian parenting styles that emphasized discipline and respectability dominated in Christian families in post-war Cape Town, particularly families in Windermere.

Diana Baumrind, an influential developmental psychologist, notes that authoritarian parents have high expectations of their children and have very strict rules, expecting their commands to be followed without question. She concludes that these parents are "obedience and status-oriented": very demanding, but expressing very little, if any, warmth or nurturing (Baumrind, 1991:60). It is therefore perhaps not surprising that children of Anglican families eagerly embraced the teachings of, and attention from, the white priests who they came to see as nurturers and role models of respectability. It is also possible to postulate that the reverence for discipline and the authoritarian personalities of parents and priests may be regarded as an internalized or enculturated entanglement in "Englishness" or British stoicism – a type of habitus of respectability. In the same interview with Aubrey, he remarked:

We used to play in the streets a lot there in the *Pleins*. As young boys, we used to dress up in army uniforms and play with the gasmasks that were laying around... yes, many of the coloured families who moved to Factreton were given houses there because they were ex-military families, our fathers and grandfathers fought in the wars. I would say almost all the families who were living in the *Pleins* [Squares) had to have somebody who fought in the war. And so when they introduced this thing about the Church Brigade and the different ranks, we really took to it. We could go to church in our uniform twice a month and we would do drill parades, and the highlight was the parade to the Cathedral for our annual service (Aubrey Dedricks, 2013).

Mohammed Adhikari (2009: 9) calls these assimilationist aspirations of coloured people "the liberal essentialist approach" to coloured life. He specifically calls educated and politicized coloured people in the first half of the twentieth century "progressionists". Adhikari argues that coloureds in Cape Town established among themselves an elite status for those who were products of the education

systems dominated by church schools. These progressionists, as he calls them, demonstrated that they were well advanced in the process of becoming “as fully civilized as whites, and thus, deserved inclusion in the dominant society” (Adhikari 2009:10). It is also worth speculating that perhaps *voorstellen* and habitus are generally more associated with these inner-city areas that became known as the “old Cape”: when the post-war generation of coloureds were still largely being educated by the Mission Schools, and when churches were prescribing to coloureds that as a people without a history or culture of their own, they should latch on to white culture or put on a white mask to keep themselves from being regarded as “people from the ghetto”.

Making a parallel observation, Brian Barrow (1997) writes the following about how District Six was not always seen in a flattering light:

People who never really knew District Six dismissed it as a slum. They never cared about the quality and vivacity of the people who were its life blood. They would reinforce their beliefs about dirty streets, peeling walls and drug trafficking. They saw the district only from the outside (Barrow, 1997:46).

What is clear from Field’s research on Windermere’s notorious status as a place with poor sanitation and rampant poverty, Aubrey Dedricks’ commentary on the cultivation of discipline and respectability by white clergy, and Barrow’s remarks about these inner-city residential areas being regarded as slums, is that coloured people were aware that their group was being observed from the “outside”, and that they continued to use the mechanisms of etiquette and *voorstellen* as a means of dissociating themselves from what they regarded as inaccurate stereotypes of coloureds as “disreputables”.

Geography of Distress

The apartheid administration of the Afrikaner Nationalists certainly saw inner-city multi-racial neighborhoods like District Six and Windermere as disreputable ghettos, and intended to destroy them in their quest for “separate development” of different racial groups. In 1950, the Race Classification Act, or Population Registration Act as it was also known, legitimized the concept of separate and different racial groups in the country, and required that all citizens be classified as being either White, Black, Indian or Coloured. The Group Areas Act (1950) mandated that land ownership or land occupation in the country be re-assessed, becoming the chief weapon in the destruction of social networks and communities by forcibly removing persons from land, often ancestral, and relocating them to new racially segregated settlements that were designed to restrict the black or coloured race groups to their own residential and trading areas. These acts, along with numerous other laws focused on segregating racial groups from each other, meant that the consequences for coloured or mixed-race families were devastating. Land was stolen, houses were bulldozed, churches and schools were abandoned, sports teams and music ensembles were disbanded, families became divided and dispersed across the Cape Peninsula: in sum, the forced removal and relocation experience created a rupture or trauma in the social fabric and communal consciousness of coloureds. This removal and relocation resulted in existing coloured townships experiencing

a massive influx of newly (dis)placed residents, or new coloured townships being created.

In this context, I use John Western's (1981) idea of describing the Cape Flats as a "geography of distress" and suggest that one can only understand the Cape Flats by studying what he called "the texture of the lives of its inhabitants" (Western, 1981:321). A recurring motif in almost all modern scholarship about the Cape coloured community and life on the Cape Flats is the fact that coloured lives are vulnerable and tragic, coloured bodies are displaced bodies, and coloured memories are nostalgic for a better life that once was but is no more.

As the Cape Flats became a home away from home for coloureds after the removal process, it in turn created a new category of "English in Diaspora" within the coloured community. The respectable and the not-so-respectable coloureds were living side-by-side in newly established coloured townships, and existing townships were being expanded to accommodate newly placed residents. This meant that the cultural capital of an "English Identity" or being Anglican no longer functioned as it used to in the post-war years before removal in places like Windermere or District Six. Anglican congregations, like all other denominations who had communities built around them, were changed. English identity through Anglicanness had to be re-established and re-fashioned in these townships by those Anglican coloureds who found themselves now living dispersed in an internal diaspora, even though they were still in the same city. They negotiated the geography of distress (Western, 1981:25) and the "soulless townships" of the Cape Flats (Macmaster and Theron, 2009:90) by using a

variety of activities associated with Englishness, in order to achieve positive self-identification in a communal space. Music was a key piece of that process.

Erika Theron and Llewellyn MacMaster (2009) describe the Cape Flats as a conglomeration of “soulless townships” when they discuss the impact the shattering of faith communities had on the lives of the coloured people under the apartheid regime. But perhaps more accurately, their description captures the juxtaposed irony of the “soulless” Cape Flats containing inhabitants that happen to be people of strong faith and resilience. I interpret MacMaster’s metaphor in reference to the newly established townships or areas located outside of the city bowl, where coloured families began a life of imposed exile. Their relation to the place that was “Cape Town” in their lived experiences and mind before being removed meant that they now conceptualized Cape Town as a place that “was no more”, but that continued to haunt them. For the generation of “removees” who make up the coloured community, their townships reflected a soullessness because the same ghost of the past was haunting all of them in their new and different locations of re-settlement. However, the toll of communal survival and resilience in relation to one’s body being in exile from ancestral land, the trauma of displacement, and the violence of local gangsterism, coupled with the violence of the State against coloured bodies, domestic abuse, epidemics of illness, rampant poverty, and living in cramped locations with new people, while being plagued with memories of your “life that was” – all of these social plagues presented themselves as something that one had to learn to negotiate and come to terms with, if one was to survive on the “rough” Cape Flats.

In his writing about the coloured township of Elsies River during the post-removal years, Derrick Marco (1980) states:

As a result of prevailing conditions and the effects it [the forced removal] has on the lives of people, it is difficult to detect an authentic community spirit i.e. a feeling of belonging, of appreciation and of respect. Attitudes have hardened and defensiveness, withdrawal, and individualism regulate social relations. This, while it cannot be condoned, is understandable in a community where 'the rule of the jungle' applies, i.e. the fittest survive. Trusting, caring relationships seldom exist. Love is a foreign phenomenon (Marco quoted in MacMaster, 2009:292).

The feelings of belonging, appreciation, and respect that Marco refers to were social virtues that coloured communities enjoyed and experienced in their places of residence prior to being uprooted and dispersed across the peninsula. The role of extended family members or neighbors in rearing the children who played together, as well as mosques and churches as spaces of fellowship and community-building, contributed to coloureds feeling a sense of belonging and co-operation. This tangible community spirit was often associated with the coloured township of District Six in the city center, of which the current District Six Museum may be considered a type of mausoleum for "the lost community spirit," that Marco refers to above.

MacMaster (2009) correctly notes that faith communities are "part and parcel of the broader society" and that they are not "islands unaffected by broader social changes" – and as such, they experience everything that communities at large experienced (MacMaster, 2009:252). The loss of the community spirit, and the fragmentation of the faith communities, was directly linked to removees being relocated on the Cape Flats. More applicable to this study is the fact that the social capital that became attached to belonging to, or

being active in a particular church; no longer had the same gravitas in the construction of meaning in one's life. A similar diminishment capital occurred in connection to another belonging: being a part of, or active in, what I have often encountered as coloureds referring to as "their clan" – the people who understand you for who and what you are.

Church congregations were being reformulated across the Cape Flats at the height of apartheid. The High Anglican church of the former Cape colony had to address the reality that coloureds were now living further away from their places of work and worship due to the removals. New churches had to be built in townships where none had existed before; the map of the Diocese of Cape Town had to be re-drawn. The imagined diaspora of "Englishness" that had flourished as a result of the work of Empire was being eroded by the Afrikaner nationalists, and a new generation of imperial citizens, possibly its last, had to be crafted. As a result, a new interpretation of "Englishness" as a cosmopolitan or liberal identity, in reaction to the dominance of the Afrikaans of the "Afrikaner oppressor," began to fuse Englishness with "educated".

The coloured Capetonians of the post-war generation who regarded themselves as "culture carriers" of their appropriated "Englishness", were willing, and able, to forge surrogate clones of their former places of worship where so-called "High Church" customs existed. When parents sent their children to be confirmed as Anglicans, lavish "confirmation parties" would be staged to announce that you and your family were proud to wear "the badge of respectability" as an Anglican. This was not a new phenomenon, but a deliberate

attempt to sustain the continuity of old customs on a much grander scale to compensate for infrastructural loss and the fragmentation of congregational community.

As new parishes were being shaped on the Cape Flats, so too were new companies of the Church Brigade being established. (I provide a more in-depth discussion of the Church Brigade in Chapter 2.) Church choirs were being made up of choristers from various former neighborhoods and numerous choir festivals were held each year to revive the community spirit that was once lost. Church bazaars and social dance functions became fund-raisers where people who had previously been neighbors before the removals could once again gather around the same table for some frivolous fun and remember the social capital they once carried as “citizens of empire” or British subjects.

I invoke the syntax of “subjects and citizens” but personally prefer to use the terminology “citizens of empire” as Mkhize (2015) does, by regarding empire as an imagined structure of power and system of government that exceeds the terrain of the nation-state. An imaginary citizenship provides agency on the part of the individuals or broader collective case-study of the coloured community under examination. By being citizens and subjects simultaneously, the authoritarian nuance of “the empire” gives way to one that favors an appreciation of a development of self and empire that is perhaps reciprocal, as I will demonstrate below in my discussions of “English” practices – what Laura Briggs refers to as a “companionship one has with one’s colonizing government” (Briggs, 2002:45).

The forced removals during apartheid created a hidden diaspora where Englishness becomes a dissociated state of consciousness (i.e. its only value is in the habitus of respectability), no longer the city at large (the field) — it becomes individualized. In other words, the Anglican citizens of the “British World” who had a place in the colony, albeit by performing, became displaced. The displacement rendered Anglicans, and those who were previously citizens of the “imagined British World,” a hidden diaspora. Hidden, because the sheer magnitude of the force and gravitas of the Anglican denomination in the surrounding city-center suburbs was lost in communities who had to revive the stature of the faith and its cultural capital by going to the previous micro-centers where these identities still had capital – since these elite coloured identities no longer carried the same value on the “Flats” where everyone’s lot was considered the same. The diaspora became hidden. It is revealed in the apartheid generation, where “the English Identity” presents itself as pockets of families performing “middle-class” behavior on the Cape Flats (with their pianos and televisions and cars, and their attendance at *langarms*) – Queer in relation to their general trauma, and in relation to the Afrikaans-working class identity that dominates on the “Flats”.

Belonging to Anglican churches and going to English schools are the influences of Englishness, and why families are predominantly English-speaking. This scattered minority of “progressionists” makes it a “hidden English diaspora,” or an entangled diaspora of Anglicans. In this context, my writing draws on the scholarship of Jayne Ifekwunigwe (2002 and 2010) and her theoretical

frameworks of English diasporas, including more “subversive and perhaps utopian modes of Englishness” – paradigms for belonging that are not predominantly racialized and do not enclose but rather include. At the core of Ifekwunigwe’s work lies her lived experience as an English woman of mixed racial descent, and her search for a space of belonging in the spaces of Englishness that have historically been reserved for “the white English elite”. Ifekwunigwe contends that even though she is indigenously English by being born in England, her physical body and the visible presence of “blackness” renders her as not being authentically English in the eyes of the state and the English cultural mainstream. In her work, Ifekwunigwe explores this position through (auto)ethnographic methods of interpreting the question often asked to non-white English: “Where are you from?” The question “Where are you from?” implies by default that you are not “from here” [England], or that this [England] may be your home now, but that it is not where you or your people have their origins. This is an example of a paradigm of Englishness that encloses and excludes, not one that is broadly inclusive.

My interpretation of being “English in diaspora” via one’s Anglican identity or education in English is not unique to the coloured community of Cape Town, since imaginary English diasporas of the global Anglican Communion reveal themselves to be present in other post-imperial places like Canada and Australia (Hardwick, 2012:69). What makes the Cape Coloured community unique is that this hidden English Diaspora is manifested amongst a mixed-race, multi-ethnic people, and that because of the community’s non-white affiliation, it is dismissed

as being non-English as measured by the definitions of Englishness that are defined in whiteness. Definitions exist at the imperial center, and amongst its white English extension in Cape Town, that seek to exclude, not include.

The notion of advocating for recognition of new English diasporas in the Cape Colony was also recently put forth by Khwezi Mkhize (2015). Mkhize explores the history and politics of empire and imperial citizenship that went into the making of South Africa before the Second World War. He argues that as South Africa became a self-governing territory in the early twentieth century it folded the remnants of empire into its instrumentalities of racial governance. Mkhize uses the city of Cape Town to demonstrate how, as the first point of contact with the colonizer, its long history of empire and colonial figures formed what he calls the “grammars of belonging in South Africa and the Atlantic world” – the use of racialization as a technique of control and subjection.

Mkhize demonstrates how notions of Victorian Englishness influenced the concept of imperial subjectivity for Black African intellectuals in the pre-war Cape colony, and how reading and writing became social and cultural capital for the colonized in the colonial diasporas of Southern Africa. To enunciate Englishness in English literature by so-called non-English writers was to demonstrate oneself and be recognized as an imperial citizen on the margins of the motherland metropole – to access the “space of position-taking” as Bourdieu calls it (Mkhize, 2015). As Mkhize points out, these intellectuals were far from mimics; rather, they were involved in a dialogue of what it meant to belong in a world after empire. Similarly, the Cape coloured community living in the post war era

negotiated such “spaces of position-taking” to sustain their imperial citizenship and the meanings of their “colouredness” and “Englishness”.

In my work, I am concerned with the fact that the social hierarchies inherited from colonizer and empire, as constructed in the consciousness of how coloureds related to one another, were shattered – and, further, I am particularly concerned with how those who identified as “English” re-assembled their English identities while living in diaspora. My work therefore argues for the recognition of a “hidden/barely visible English Diaspora” that seeks to understand a part of the Cape coloured consciousness as being both indigenously [South] African and diasporically English.

Methodology

The phenomenon of coloureds identifying as English, and the use of music as a catalytic agent whereby one negotiates or engages the identification as a citizen of empire, is the human experience with which my research is primarily concerned. My phenomenological ethnography of the coloured consciousness and the catalytic work of music was investigated using a combination of research methods that included interviews, participant observation, and the study of historical documents and artefacts: what is more broadly known as “fieldwork”. The research design used in this study may thus be described as qualitative in nature, with the bulk of my data being generated from a combination of ethnographic and archival materials. The purpose of the design was to correlate the social scientific data gathered through interviews and

participant observation experiences with historical artefacts and documents that participants either had in their own private collections or bequeathed to museums. Historical memorabilia or tangible evidence such as rare artefacts, newspaper clippings and photographs could begin to paint a picture of a pre-apartheid Cape Town and contextualize the “commemoration narratives” I had often heard in my interviews with my participants who spoke of their “English Identity” as coloureds.

Henry Trotter (2009) identified what he calls the “commemoration narrative,” a particular method or sequence to story-telling about personal pasts among coloured residents of Cape Town. The biographical narratives were filled with “meaning-making devices – plots, themes, tropes, and anecdotes... - means through which coloured removees make multiple identity claims” (Trotter in Adhikari, 2009:66). In my fieldwork, I similarly recorded biographical interviews with so-called coloured residents of coloured areas. These included documenting stories or “commemoration narratives” from participants who primarily lived in the Windermere/Kensington area or who moved from the area to other Group Areas locations such as Heideveld and Atlantis on the outskirts of the city.

As Trotter points out, the commemoration narrative exemplifies these qualities of a linear remembrance of the past: its pre-removal beginnings, its forced removal middle, and its post-removals ending. Trotter argues that these narratives are deliberately structured to make three crucial points: “that their government’s rationale for eviction were illegitimate, that their lives were far better before their removal than after, and that removees honour the memories of

their lost homes, communities and identities” (Trotter in Adhikari, 2009:66). I couple the commemoration narratives I collected in my field work with my own lived experience in Cape Town as a young coloured boy growing up on the Cape Flats in the late apartheid years, by examining how life has changed or evolved over the past few decades. By employing this research method retroactively and selectively, my research focuses primarily on past experiences or phenomena. The product of this method is the “thick description” of a culture or people whom I consider myself to be a part of (Geertz, 1973). The objective of this thick description is to aid in the historic preservation and comprehension of the nuances of [Cape Coloured] culture for both insiders and outsiders by identifying and commenting on repeated feelings, stories and phenomena – as I have collected in my field notes, interviews, and artefacts (Jorgenson, 2002).

The dissertation may also be considered a reflexive ethnography that documents the way in which the researcher, doing fieldwork and writing, changes: a documentation that studies his or her life alongside cultural members’ lives. In this way, my research constitutes what Max van Maanen (2014) calls “phenomenological research”: where the emphasis of data collection and data interpretation is always on deciphering the meaning of lived experience (van Maanen, 2014:32). Van Maanen explains that the point of phenomenological research is to “borrow other people’s experiences and their reflections on their experiences in order to be able to come to an understanding of the deeper meaning or significance of an aspect of human experience in the context of the whole of human experience” (ibid). Even though the experiences of the

researcher are not the main focus of the dissertation, my personal reflections about my own lived experiences add layers and context to the story being told about the community under study – the community that I consider mine (Ellis, 2013).

In addition to my fieldwork and biographical research, I employed the method of what has become known as the “virtual ethnography of online coloured identities” on the social media platform “Facebook,” where I was able to collect primary data in the form of individual status updates or comments that were directly linked to expressions of coloured stereotypes or consciousness. Tanja Bosch (2008) coined the phrase “virtual ethnography of online coloured identity” in her work that looked at contemporary or post-apartheid articulations of coloured identification on the internet portal and forum known as “Bruin-ou.com” – a site that describes itself as “endeavouring to educate the South African and world population at large on what exactly it means to be coloured”. Bosch notes that the merits of virtual ethnography reside in its ability to assess how racial identity is able to be constituted in the physical absence of the racialized body, and that online platforms allow scholars to access data where social meaning is being contested and constructed by the public (Bosch, 2008).

The ethnomusicologist Harris Berger (2011) describes the significance of phenomenological ethnography as a valid research method in that it attends to elements of experience that are often ignored by other forms of scholarship, providing a richer sense of the ways in which music plays out in people’s lives, and that, like other fieldworkers, phenomenological ethnographers seek to

partially share the meanings that their research participants find in social life (Berger in Barz and Cooley, 2011:72).

What is clear is that the sociopolitical landscape of Cape Town South Africa has changed considerably since the time when I was a child in the 1980s and from 2004 when I began researching as a scholar. Researchers struggle to keep up with the impact of the changes on identity development in those persons who have matured over the course of the past twenty years of South Africa as a liberated nation. The lived realities and experiences of Cape coloured young people today are profoundly different from those of even a decade or so ago, and also vary considerably from those coloureds who matured in the post-war years and under apartheid policies of segregation.

Having introduced the larger research project, core ideas, and research methods here, in the next few chapters, I present the case-studies and ethnographic evidence of the Anglican Church Brigades and Choirs on the Cape Flats. In this dissertation, I am interested in how embodiment of the culture of the colonizer is not only a product of membership in an imagined Anglican diaspora, but also an example of a practice of lactification: “parading respectability”, as Sylvia Bruinders (2012) calls these types of spaces that are concerned with musical processions. I extend the embodiment of culture to more closely examine the “habitus of respectability”, and the dissociative qualities that musical spaces occupied in the consciousness of coloured citizens. Here, I examine the spaces of social and competitive dance halls where ordinary church or community halls are transformed into “imperial” ballrooms. I focus on the

“*langarm*” phenomenon: how it can be seen to represent a space of performing one’s social and cultural capital as a not only a “progressionist” or elite coloured citizen, but also an indigenous African when the correct musical stimulus is present. I do this by demonstrating how the musicians and dancers at these events slip fluidly from one identity to the next, depending on whether a Viennese waltz or a local *vastrap* (folk dance) is sounding in the space. In my concluding chapters, I juxtapose these examples of “respectability” with the more “deviant” performance practices of the coloured community, and I consider how this habitus of deviance and respectability may in fact be the two sides of the proverbial coin of the consciousness of coloureds. I will argue that my case-studies of the *moffie*, or cross-dressing coloured male, and some stand-up comedy showcases in South Africa may be seen as aberrations or deconstructions of the heteronormative or conservative social codes of society – and as such, both can be interpreted as reactions against the more formal and essentialized notions of respectability which some coloureds were performing to distance themselves from being regarded as “queer”. In my closing chapter, I discuss how these “queer” coloured identities continue to play themselves out in the twenty-first century, and how the coloured habitus of respectability has reconstituted itself to the more globalized demand of the “Afropolitan” (Ifekwunigwe, 2010) identity: namely, the habitus has become a Westernized performance or technology of self that continues to be concerned with occupying “spaces of position taking,” just as Anglican coloureds were doing in the twentieth century under political domination. I also examine an example of a “reactionary”

performativity that once again continues to capitalize on the “queer” status of coloureds by deliberately performing deviance.

Chapter 2: Embodying Englishness

BR: I can remember as a child, being taken to the local parish church and hearing 'the Crucifixion' and works of that sort, and this meant a great deal more to me than the person who was actually speaking, and as a child, I suppose the sound of music is more pleasurable to listen to than a single voice droning on from the pulpit, dare I say it... but I wanted to be part of that, and give people the experience I was getting. And it has to be church music... and it does strange things to your own insides when you do that sort of music... very strange things indeed.

BBC Interviewer: And does it still do it to your insides?

BR: Yes, even after twenty years. It still does it. (Interview, Barry Rose with BBC, 1978)¹⁸.

"Paul's Children," a BBC documentary, was first broadcast on December 17, 1978. It traces a day in the life of the boy choristers of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, England¹⁹. The documentary opens with scenes of the choirmaster, Barry Rose²⁰, conducting choir rehearsals with "Paul's Children": the medieval name that was given to the boys who lived at St. Paul's choir school. The documentary is primarily concerned with commenting on the preservation of a "uniquely English Choral tradition" that has been handed down to these boys – a tradition that can trace its origins to the twelfth century.²¹ During the film, Barry Rose rigorously teaches the boys treble descant parts designed to ornament the cantus firmus, or tunes, of traditional "English" hymns. They also practice the appropriate anthems for specific feast days or occasions. Towards the end of the

¹⁸ Documentary featuring the boys and families of St. Paul's Cathedral, London. First broadcast on BBC 1 on 17 December 1978

¹⁹ See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bgiwFXSI-nc>

²⁰ Barry Rose was Master of St. Paul's Cathedral Choir in London, England from 1975-1985.

²¹ For more information about the history of boy choristers, see Boynton and Rice (2012).

documentary, attention shifts from the lives of the boy choristers to their choirmaster, in order to demonstrate the power of the lived experience of being an Anglican boy chorister, since Barry Rose had been one such chorister himself. The interviews focus on what it means to be a boy chorister, demonstrating the shaping of Anglican musical identity and, by extension, the self-identity of the boy singers – and showing what I am calling the “queerness” of this identity in the modern world, an identity few outside of the choral experience can relate to.

The documentary’s story reflected parts of my own lived experience as a young coloured boy chorister in Cape Town in the 1990s. Though I did not go to a boarding school as these boys in the documentary had, my experience was still rich: one of attending the summer schools or weekend workshops at St. George’s Cathedral that were specifically designed for Anglican church choirs in the city of Cape Town. These meetings were held under the auspices of the Royal School of Church Music’ (RSCM) and were directed by the Cathedral organist and choirmaster, Barry Smith. In these spaces, I observed that music was doing the same work to other persons who were also participating in these RSCM spaces. It was affecting our insides. We were all sharing in the phenomenon of worship or the preparation thereof: yet there was something else. What I observed was the ability for music, space, and gesture to signify to everyone present at these services or rehearsals that yes, we are all the same in

this space. We are Anglican musicians: heirs and practitioners of a great medieval tradition that we had inherited, and that we identified with²².

When Barry Rose spoke of Anglican church music doing “strange things to his insides,” I felt deep resonance as a viewer. This man was speaking about a phenomenon I was encountering myself as a young boy in an Anglican choir in Cape Town: a phenomenon that few others in my family or community seemed able to relate to. During my time as a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania, I remember a close African-American friend of mine asking me why I, as an African man, would listen to broadcasts of the BBC choral evensong live-streamed over the internet into my apartment in Philadelphia. I encouraged him to watch the documentary, since it provided a good example of the processes and experiences that had influenced me: the “phenomenon” of how a particular musical identity had developed within me.

In essence, my friend was queering my behavior and my identity, unaware that this queer identity was a sense of self, a product of a habitus where the social capital of not only being Anglican, but an Anglican musician, had value. As Andrew Bethke explains of Anglican choristers in Cape Town: “[It] was a status symbol to sit in front of the congregation, fully robed and leading worship on behalf of the people” (Bethke, 2014:8). But there was another reason I was still listening to BBC choral evensong almost twenty years after I first began my

²² See Ellen Koskoff’s “My Music” Charles Seeger lecture (2016) https://iu.mediaspace.kaltura.com/media/SEM2016-Seeger+Lecture/1_ezhwttrji and Judith Becker (2004) for descriptions of similar humanistic experiences in music that invoke ecstatic or altered states that can be achieved from listening and performing. In other words, one becomes the music (and associated culture) through embodied performance and heightened awareness through listening.

musical identity as “boy chorister”. Even though I no longer practiced as an Anglican musician, it was the English religious music that continued to move my insides more profoundly than any other type of music, just like Barry Rose had said. By listening to the chanting of Psalms, versicles and responsories, or anthems, I was able to experience ecstatic moments. The experience reminded me of my days as a chorister and organist wearing my robe and medals in the Anglican church in my home town. It reminded me of the times I was allowed to stand in the same pew as the white boy choristers of St. George’s grammar school or Diocesan College, when we sang evensong together in St. George’s Cathedral with Barry Smith. In those moments of listening, I was experiencing ecstasy and enjoying an awareness of a “sense-of-self”. It was music, specifically Anglican music, that allowed me to say to myself an echo of the words coined by the Cape coloured poet and author Diana Ferrus (2009) “*Ons kom vandaan*” (We come from there...) ²³.

An Anglo Sense of Self

Mary Ellen Kondrat (1999) defines self-awareness as an individual’s becoming awake to present realities: noticing one’s surroundings and being able to name one’s perceptions, feelings, and nuances of behavior (Kondrat, 1999:452). Similarly, Anthony Giddens (1991) argues that self-identity, as a coherent phenomenon, presumes a narrative of self that extends to the body,

²³ See URL link for a live performance of the poem *Ons kom vandaan* performed live by Diana Ferrus to a musical accompaniment in the *Ghoema* idiom.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8yg0i01Jwxs>

“where the body is part of an action system, rather than merely a passive object”
(Giddens, 1991:77).

Awareness of the body is basic to grasping the fullness of the moment, and entails the conscious monitoring of sensory input from the environment, as well as the major bodily organs and bodily dispositions as a whole (Giddens, 1991:77).

In other words, Giddens argues that the body can perceive external stimulation as well as solicit a particular external stimulation. For Giddens, perhaps more importantly, the body is a reflexively mobilized phenomenon. He argues that what some may interpret as a narcissistic performance of bodily appearance, status or emotion, is in fact symbolic of a deeper underlying concern – a construction of self that is obtained via disciplining or controlling the body as an emblem of safe existence in an open social environment with plural, but ambiguous options (Giddens, 1991:107).

In this chapter, I interrogate how some Cape coloureds actively constructed a “sense-of-self” via their participation in English or Anglican musical activities and simultaneously achieved a sort of ecstatic moment of keen perception, of realization, of coming to know who they were individually and collectively, through action. In this chapter and the next, I focus primarily on the musical identities that were rooted in Anglicanism – organist, chorister, or brigadier in the organization known as the Church Lads and Girls Brigade (see Chapter 3). I am concerned with the fact that the consumption and performance of Anglican culture seems to have had a cognitive impact in shaping the generational psyche of ‘imperial subjects’. I examine the musical practices of

coloured Anglican church communities in the twentieth century as socio-cultural paradigms where the imitation of ritual signified to the self and others that one was a “respectable” Cape coloured. In the context of coloured parish choirs or brigade companies, I examine not only how the disciplining of the body becomes an emblem or narrative of the self that is constructed, but also that there is more to this phenomenon than mere imitation of ritual or performance of status – namely, a way of playing with imperial power locally (Mkhize, 2015). I am concerned that for some coloureds living inside “the brown body,” a history was internalized: that of the miscegenation so abhorred by the apartheid regime, which their bodies represent. For them, clothing, or the deliberate “dressing” of the body with the aesthetics of respectability (drawn from the aesthetics of imperial dress-codes), thus became more than just an example of *voorstellen* (the projection of a self-image), it was also a mechanism by which coloureds could hide their entanglement in racial “mixing” under a regime that prized racial “purity”. In contrast to the ordinary brown body, exposed to its shameful history, the dressed body was transformed in the minds of some into a “civilized” body. The music or action produced by this civilized body could be distinguished from “other” sounds in the city of Cape Town, like the minstrel carnival and could operate in a *habitus*, a communal consciousness where value had been ascribed to the dressed and hence more “disciplined” brown body. Marie Jorritsma refers to these types of enculturations or embodiments of status or social class as a type of performativity of respectability among coloured South Africans (Jorritsma, 2011:100).

Singing the Queen's English" in the Kroonvale coloured community in Graaf-Reinet, while performing English religious choral music, became a vehicle for coloured sentiments of pride and dignity, signalling to the self and others that one belonged to a middle-class, educated, and respectable group (Jorritsma, 2011:100).

I call this type of self-knowing of the value of Englishness an "Anglo-pathological awareness" of self. In a manner similar to sexual pathologies that engage fantasies, I extend the terminology of pathology to refer to the *voorstellen* or projections of identity – a projection that can reflect a particular entanglement in this context: one of positive identification through ecstatic moments that celebrate individual and collective authenticity, but also one that signals a tendency to hide feelings of inherited shame via the masking of the brown body – what I have referred to above as "wearing white masks" through imperial clothing, imperial behaviors, and performances.

In this chapter I demonstrate that some Cape coloureds use music to assist in the construction of "being in the world," a "they-self" (Heidigger 1927 cited in Wheeler 2013), or what Giddens refers to as a communal "unification" of an otherwise "fragmented" self or selves (Giddens, 1991:107) that can ultimately contribute to a sense of knowing and understanding the individual self, or the "mine-self". Moreover, I am concerned that for some Cape coloureds, Anglican or "English" music-making has become what Tia DeNora (1999) calls a "technology of self". According to DeNora, "music is a cultural resource that actors may mobilize for their on-going work of self-construction, and the emotional, memory, and biographic work, such a project entails" (DeNora, 1999:32). In other words, DeNora is arguing that music can become a tool

whereby persons reveal themselves to others, what she calls the “projection of biography”: a type of *voorstellen*, as Ross (2003) has called this phenomenon of presentation of self to others. However, DeNora also points out that music has the ability to catalyse a form of “introjection,” a presentation of the “self to the self”, the ability to hold on to a coherent image of “who one knows one is” (DeNora, 1999:45), or to say in the Cape coloured vernacular: *ons kom vandaan...* (“we come from there...”). In this dissertation, I draw attention to DeNora’s claim that music has the ability to become a device for the reflexive process of remembering, a technology for memory retrieval (which is of course, simultaneously memory construction), and a device of “artefactual memory” as Alan Radley (1990) calls it – but, more importantly, that music is a device that can be used for the generation of future identity and action structures (DeNora, 2000:63).

My aim is to provide scholars of coloured identity insight into the ways that imperial culture continued to be embodied through corporeal performance and *voorstellen*, i.e., through kinetic acts as they contingently reiterate learned behaviors of an English or British sense of self and society in the Cape and in the broader “British Imperial Family of Nations”. The mixed-race bodies of these (post)colonized Africans, while regarded on the one hand as “other” from an Imperialist perspective, become, on the other hand, vessels of systems of knowledge that have posited hierarchical meanings by mirroring cultural and gestural traits that are essentially not regarded as being indigenously “Black” in South Africa. The identification with the notion of superiority of the body as

Anglican or English, and therefore “respectable”, manifests in embodied experience, deliberate adherence to a dress code, and the psychological reaction to musical stimulation that allows for Cape coloureds to have a heightened experience of knowing and performing oneself as being respectable.

Consequentially, for some Cape coloureds, the cognitive development of finding a sense of belonging, and identity, in a habitus that embraces the “respectable” subject, regardless of the biological features of the body, functioned very much to create a brown “British or English sense-of-self”.

The Cape Coloured Anglican Chorister

The history of Anglican church music in Cape Town, South Africa, has been studied and documented primarily by local Anglican church musicians from Cape Town. To date, my research has revealed that former local organist and chorister, Andrew-John Bethke²⁴, has traced what he calls ‘the development and expansion’ of Anglican Music in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Cape Town (Bethke, 2012 and 2014). Barry Smith, the former organist and choirmaster at St. George’s Cathedral, provides an overview of the influence the British musical body known as The Royal School of Church Music had on local Anglican music-making in twentieth-century Cape Town (Smith, 1988 and 2005). It is worth pointing out that I too am a former local organist and choirmaster, and the consistent concern with this subject matter among local Anglican musicians

²⁴ Bethke was formerly organist and choirmaster of St. Stephen’s Anglican Church in Pinelands, Cape Town, during the early 2000s and now lectures in liturgical music at the Anglican Seminary School, The College of the Transfiguration, in Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape Region of South Africa.

demonstrates the considerable impact this type of musical identification can also have on one's intellectual life or scholarly interests.

Bethke traces the development of Anglican church music from the practices of the “Mother Church” in England, to their use in white and black parishes before the turn of the twentieth century. The absence of commentary or reference to coloured communities in this body of material is striking. Bethke does argue that the spread of Anglicanism among poorer communities, the coloured and black families in the city, was also largely due to the fact that, when Anglican pastoral care missions provided meals, recreational activities, or other social interventions, they often included Anglican hymn singing that allowed all to participate. Bethke concludes that this may explain why the practice of hymnody has been retained in these communities today. Nevertheless, his research reveals historical evidence suggesting that the Anglican church music scene was primarily male dominated in the nineteenth century. Anglican organists in Cape Town were civil servants, undoubtedly male, and were appointed by the Cape colonial government. Of relevance to my study is that, like Vivian Bickford-Smith (2009) and Robert Ross (1999) who have argued the “outward signs of Anglicization ... became markers of respectability in Cape Town in the nineteenth century,” Bethke points out that Anglican churches with particular visual signs of musical Anglicization – pipe organs, particularly pipe organs with pedal boards, and the visible “robing” of choristers in a surplice –became markers of status for Anglican musicians in relation to their peers from other denominations (Bethke, 2014:13).

In addition to these markers of social status, the repertoire used in Anglican services in Cape parishes proved to be greatly significant. The so-called “English model was encouraged and guarded fiercely” (Bethke, 2012:100). The features of the “English model” or “Anglican model” included singing hymns from the English hymnal *Hymns Ancient and Modern Revised* (1950), performing the English musical genre known as the anthem, and chanting canticles and psalms in the “King’s College fashion”²⁵ (Bethke, 2012:99). Although Bethke’s work is primarily concerned with the white Anglican parishes of Cape Town, he correctly points out that the music in parishes was largely controlled by the clergy. I would argue, that the same was true for coloured parishes in the first half of the twentieth century where “high” clergy who had migrated from England were deliberately deployed in order to expand the Anglican Communion and to establish a following among the coloured population. The Anglican church was competing with other denominations already active in the mixed race community during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, working to prevent further conversion of coloureds to Islam. In other words, clergy who followed the practices of the Oxford Movement²⁶, implemented this model and doctrine of worship. The music sung at services reflected this. For example, Bethke notes that in the time before television when congregants were more likely to attend

²⁵ In Anglican chant the first portion of a line is sung on a sustained pitch with harmonic support, with the final syllables resolving in a short series of chords. Anglican chant had the advantage of preserving certain structural aspects of the psalms’ original Hebrew, but since it was suited more for choirs than for congregational singing it was discarded by the “nonconformist” churches that emerged from the English Reformation.

²⁶ Sometimes also referred to as the Tractarian Movement, the Oxford Movement was a revival, in the Victorian Church of England, of certain ecclesiastical traditions of Christian worship: liturgical observances associated with Roman Catholicism and monasticism. This form of Anglo-Catholic worship has also become known as “High Church” (Yates, 1983:44).

church, these high clergy also often observed the celebration of the office service for Matins and Evensong²⁷. This practice, often associated with cathedrals or monasteries, became part of the weekly worship of Anglican communities in Cape Town.

In my own research, I encountered stories from coloured choristers about what type of worship permeated the inner-city suburbs of Cape Town in the 1940s, 50s, and 60s, prior to the forced removals. In the extract below, Ruth Arendse, a former member of St. David's Parish in Windermere, recalls the period. Her stories provide valuable insight into both coloured choir and Brigade activities, and how they have transformed over the past sixty years. Ruth has been a chorister and brigadier since the 1950s. Now in her 60s, she continues to remain active in these organizations in the Kensington area.

Woensdag aand en Sondag aand het ons Evensong gehou, en die koor oefening was Maandag en Donderdag aand. O Lord open thou our lips, and our mouth shall show forth thy praise.... My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my saviour... ons ken die goed woord vir woord. Ons het so uitgesien daar na... ja dit was lekker vir ons. Jy sal dit nie misloop nie.

Wednesday and Sunday evenings, we held Evensong, and the choir rehearsals were on Mondays and Thursdays. "O Lord open thou our lips, and our mouth shall show forth thy praise.... My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my saviour"... we know all these things word for word. We really looked forward to it... and yes, it was nice for us. You wouldn't miss it. (Ruth Arendse, 2011).

Similarly, Mathew Daniels (now deceased), another resident of the Windermere/Kensington area, spent over sixty years as a chorister in Good Shepherd, Maitland's church choir. He was a brigadier from the age of thirteen

²⁷ In *An Anglican Prayer Book*, the service order handbook that used by Anglican churches in Cape Town, (CPSA, 1989), Matins is referred to as "morning prayer" and Evensong as "evening prayer" the former being observed before noon, and the latter, after 3:00 pm.

onward in that particular company. Mathew was one of the oldest members of the choir at the time I was conducting the interviews between 2008 and 2013. He became a sort of church grandfather to me during my tenure as chorister and organist at Good Shepherd from 1992 to 2007. He often told stories about the rich history of musicianship in the Windermere/Kensington area, allowing me to access his personal collections of photographs, sheet music, and service books that dated back to the 1940s.

Of course, it was always a big occasion if the Bishop or Archdeacon came to visit. When the church was still in Maitland, and those *hoe kope* [important people] came to visit for Evensong or a special High Mass... oh, you should have seen it... People would come to church with flowers for the procession of the sacrament and they would scatter the petals on the floor in front of the altar party as it moved past them. And then if you threw the petals, the priest would stop and bless you with that gold thing that they couldn't touch... but now they only do it on Maundy Thursday and Corpus Christi, but it's not the same. (Mathew Daniels, 2009)

Both Ruth Arendse and Mathew Daniels are life-long residents of the Windermere/Kensington area in Cape Town. Ruth was born in the area of Windermere called *Matroos Plein* (Sailor's Square). Her maternal grandfather served in the First World War, her father served in the Second World War, and her mother was a teacher and pianist from Paarl who was able to read music. All of these military and musical factors, coupled with the Anglican faith affiliation she was born into in the early 1950s, meant that Ruth came to maturity in a family where the identity of being a "Briton" – a citizen of empire, and a follower of the religion of the Queen – became part and parcel of her identity as brown and "English". She is fluent in English, but more naturally herself when speaking

Afrikaans, her mother tongue. For Ruth and her family, it did not matter that they did not speak English in the home. There was enough of an identification with Englishness to sustain the social capital or status that was attached to a military and musical family in the community. We can see this in the extract above, when she recites verbatim the opening lines of the various parts of the Anglican Evening Service as they are stated in the *Book of Common Prayer* (1940). What is even more fascinating to me, is that when Ruth is engaging with me in the interview, she actually sings the specific tunes of those particular phrases – “O Lord open thou our Lips and our mouth shall show forth thy praise” and “My soul doth magnify the Lord” – as though forty years had not passed in the interim. We see here, an example of what DeNora (1999) referred to as music’s ability to become a device for the reflexive process of remembering, a technology for memory retrieval that allows for further scholarly research. Using these incipits, I was able to locate the tunes in a specific psalter that stopped being used in the 1980s, when a new psalter and service book was introduced into these parishes. The chants were located in the 1928 Novello and Company Limited Edition Cathedral Psalter²⁸.

Even though St. David’s congregation in Windermere was only a chapelry of the larger Good Shepherd parish in Maitland, there was a strong observance of the “English” or “Anglican” tradition of worship. Ruth Arendse’s tune singing shows this tradition, and the memory of this tradition at this congregation, embodied within her.

²⁸ This was also the same psalter being used in St George’s Cathedral in Cape Town and at Westminster Abbey and St Paul’s Cathedral in London.

Mathew Daniels' father also served in the First World War, although he himself was too young for conscription to the Union Defence Forces in the Second World War. Nevertheless, he inherited his family's military pride and enrolled as a young lad in the Boys Brigade in 1937 at the age of ten. I discuss the Brigade as an organization in the following chapter, but it is worth pointing out that that Mathew's being schooled at the Good Shepherd Anglican Mission School in Kensington, and his membership of both the Anglican church Brigade and choir, meant that every other Sunday, Mathew would either attend services in his Brigade uniform, or his choir cassock and surplice. He continued to do this for almost all of his life. His strong English or Anglican identity, his pride in being what might be called an "active Anglican" through his experiences as brigadier and chorister, and the visible *voorstellen* or projection of self by wearing a uniform or robe in public, is an example of what Anthony Giddens refers to when he states that "the body participates in a very direct way in the principle that the self has to be constructed" (Giddens, 1991:107).

The stories Ruth and Mathew tell further reveal that there were parallel forms of worship and music-making occurring in both coloured and white Anglican parishes in post-war Cape Town, and that the 'High Church' or Oxford Movement traditions and doctrines were espoused in coloured parishes largely controlled by white clergy. In Mathew's extract, he references the observance of a particular Anglo-Catholic tradition known as the Veneration or Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. In *The History of Eucharistic Adoration*, John Hardon (2005) explains that the rite of the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament began

in the thirteenth century, and was strongly influenced by the Feast of Corpus Christi. The recitation of Marian canticles at the evening monastic services was made even more solemn by exposing the “Host” in a monstrance on the high altar. Over time, the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament became a unique rite known as the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, in which the monstrance would be carried in procession to the sick to bless them (Hardon, 2005:12). Ron Rhodes explains that the significance and meaning of this ritual was derived from the association that believers attached to the “body of Christ” in the form of bread placed behind a glass case in a gold receptacle (the monstrance), “believing that it is actually Christ” (Rhodes, 2000:177). The flowers or petals take on the form of a “fragrant offering” like the incense being offered by the thurifer in adoration of the sacrament. One can argue that these types of adoration or veneration, however pious the intention might be on the part of individuals who performed these types of offerings, were also visible, embodied manifestations to the self, and to others in the church, that one was not only proud to be Anglican, but also zealously so - a deliberate performance to Bishops or peers that one identified with the “they-self” as a respectable Christian and coloured.

Anglicanism in South Africa, particularly in Cape Town during the first half of the twentieth century, was “entirely English [and male] in character”: in that the entire hierarchy was composed of white male expatriates, and that many of the priests were not locals (Bethke 2012:100). However, the second half of the twentieth century began to see many more coloured clergy being ordained into the priesthood. Some coloured clergy were the products of the ecclesiastical

pipeline of “Brigade Lads”: young men who developed a strong identity as Anglican and who believed that their vocation was to continue to be of service to God and their communities: less as laity and increasingly as leaders. There was also a need for developing coloured priests due to the Group Areas Act (1950) that began to segregate the city of Cape Town and the Anglican Diocese. Anglican churches located in areas newly classified as for “whites-only” sometimes established new churches for the white community in those areas and disbanded the old congregation. Other times, an existing congregation was wholly transplanted into an adjacent area, if possible, or chapelries were re-established as new fully-fledged parishes to accommodate the influx of new residents to areas that had previously not warranted the status of parish.

These changes in clergy, location, and social organization, coupled with the forced removals in the 1960s, created a period in the history of the Anglican church that Thabo Makgoba calls a “curate’s egg” of both good and bad, of both honourable and shameful elements (Makgoba, 2014:44). On the negative side, racial segregation policies of the apartheid government had to be followed, white and non-white clergy were not paid equal stipends, and, often, brown communities, and the fellowship they enjoyed around their parish or chapelry, became fragmented. On the positive side, many archbishops, bishops, and priests were vehemently opposed to racial segregation and apartheid in general, and the ordination of more coloured and black priests, and the consecration of black or brown bishops in the 1980s, were signs of progress and evolution in the history of Anglicanism in South Africa. As Makgoba states, “the church was not

immune from the practices of its South African context,” and this fragmentation of the Diocese was perhaps one of the challenges of apartheid that were not so “well-handled” by Anglicans (Makgoba, 2014:45).

In many places the CPSA sold churches in what were designated ‘white’ areas in order to fund new churches in the ‘group areas’ to which so many of their congregants had been removed. While there were pastoral reasons for ensuring churches were situated where their parishioners lived, it can also be argued that in many cases this practice was little different from acquiescing to the existence of the new areas (Makgoba, 2014:45).

In one of my many interviews with Aubrey Dedricks (cited earlier), he explained that similar developments occurred in the Maitland / Kensington / Windermere areas that were adjacent to one another²⁹.

There used to be one big Church in Maitland in Koeberg Road... it was turned into a Jewish synagogue, but that’s why it was always known as Good Shepherd, Maitland. So, all the coloured people who lived in Maitland and Kensington, they went to Good Shepherd. The whites had their own church called St. Anne’s. Then there was a chapelry of Good Shepherd called St. David’s. St. David’s choir was famous you know... we recorded an LP with Mr. Trimm. But after Maitland became a white area, then they moved Good Shepherd to Kensington, first in 12th Avenue, and then to 7th Avenue, when the building was finished. St. David’s became St. Timothy’s parish, and they also moved us into a new church that was built in a section called Glider Crescent, and that’s when Father McBride became our priest and we had to start everything all over again. (Aubrey Dedricks, 2013).

While Aubrey is clearly sharing factual information about events that transpired as he remembers them, as my uncle he is also trying to impart to me a sense of family history, an attempt to convince me that *ons kom vandaan* (“we come from there”). In this instance, the sharing of memories goes beyond recall of experiences or events in response to a posed question. Instead, I would argue

²⁹ See fig. 4 for map.

that as much as we learn about the various removals of Anglican congregations in the Maitland / Kensington / Windermere areas, what can also be gleaned from the extract, and from my interpretation of the nuance of the delivery of the information, is what Sean Field (2012) explains as “memories being social currency that is exchanged between groups, individuals, and generations” (Field, 2012:39). This can be seen in the section where Aubrey references the local prestige St. David’s Choir enjoyed before it was disbanded. The fact that a coloured choir from a chapelry in Windermere, an economically poor area, was selected to record an album of Anglican psalms and anthems (as he later explained to me), was, for Aubrey, a formidable achievement. There is of course another layer of meaning: Aubrey wanted to demonstrate to me that these were the origins of my very own Anglican musical identity that I had inherited and cultivated. There is innuendo that “like you, we were fine musicians,” or to use a colloquial Afrikaans expression, “*jy is een van ons*” (you are one of us).

This is what I have earlier called a commemorative narrative. Field calls anecdotes that deal with the glory of “that time”, as opposed to what followed later or the present time, “the myths of Windermere” – the myth here being that “all was well in Windermere but then the evil of apartheid destroyed that ‘tranquillity’ and brought instability, pain and hatred between people” (Field, 2012: 43). Field notes that for the coloured residents of Windermere / Kensington, the places and spaces in which people have played, worked, and lived over time, are crucial to their developments as individuals and communities, and that oral histories from Windermere echo emotions of assault and a personal sense of

belonging to a particular place before things changed (ibid). However, what I wish to draw attention to is that for some coloureds, Anglican music-making was a technology of self. Furthermore, the preservation of that technology of self in the form of a musical recording, and the listening to “oneself” reciting psalms and anthems is an example of what DeNora (1999) called music’s ability to signify the “self to the self”. In this instance, the technology of self is “knowing oneself” as “Anglican musician” despite changing circumstances, or in the frame of a violently shifting world.

The choirmaster Aubrey mentions, a Mr. Eddie Trimm, must also have self-identified as an “Anglican musician,” since he appears to have had the necessary capabilities to prepare his chapelry choir in such a manner that the calibre of their singing was fit for the recording of an LP. Those necessary capabilities must have included the fine nuances of the “English Cathedral style” of music-making. Eddie Trimm was already deceased by the time I began my research in Windermere/Kensington; however, I interviewed his brother John. At the time of my interviews, John Trimm was already in his 80s. Affectionately called ‘Uncle John’ by all, he was a long-standing member of Good Shepherd choir; however, he started out as a chorister in St. David’s Chapelry choir in Windermere in the 1950s. John loved Anglican music. His hymn book, *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (1972), contained all types of annotations: from which verses of hymns should be sung in unison and which in four-part harmony, to which hymns had appropriate descants. Similarly, the psalms in his Anglican Prayer Book (1989) were littered with hand-written scribbles about which tune in

the psalter corresponded to the text in question, or what tune had been traditionally selected by previous choirmasters or organists. John explained to me that both he and his brother Eddie, born into an Anglican family, were heavily influenced by the white clergy to believe that Anglicanism was an aesthetic that was performed, and, thus, something that could be learnt and imitated.

We started off with Eddie at St. David's. We would listen to LPs of the choirs from London, and we saw those boys and men wearing their red robes and white surplices standing in front of organ pipes or stained glass windows on the cover you know. When Father Samuels came from Good Shepherd in Maitland, he wanted us to sound just like they were sounding at Good Shepherd and the Cathedral, and so we would listen to these records. Eddie could read and write a little bit of music. So, he would listen to the LP and then write down the notes of the descants to the [hymn] tunes. Then he would teach it to us at the choir practice and when Father Samuels would come the Sunday, he was impressed you know, and so he made Eddie the leader". (John Trimm, 2009).

John, with his meticulous note keeping from decades of choir rehearsals and services, still possessed one of Eddie's manuscript ledger books. The pages had become yellowed from age and tobacco smoke, but one could still clearly see Eddie's hand-notated treble descant parts for the tune "Hyfrodol," traditionally used for the Easter hymn "Allelulia sing to Jesus," and a tune called "Jerusalem," used for the processional hymn "The God of Abraham Praise," alongside numerous others. Similarly, one could see "faux-bourdon" transcriptions of hymns: where the melody, or cantus firmus, was sung by the tenor part and the harmonies were sung by the other parts, rendering the soprano part a counter-melody, another form of descant.

These inscriptions have potential connections to historical events of Eddie's life, as well as to musical performance. The practice of creating faux-bourdon and descant lines was revived by the English composer Ralph Vaughan Williams, when he edited a new hymnal for use in cathedrals and parishes in England in 1906 (Bethke, 2014: 67). However, Vaughan Williams also used faux-bourdon and descant techniques in his arrangement of "Old Hundredth," the hymn "All people that on earth do dwell," also commonly sung as the doxology "Praise God from whom all blessing flow". Vaughan Williams composed his setting specifically for the coronation of Queen Elizabeth in 1953; a recording of the coronation service was issued as a 3 LP vinyl set by [the company] His Masters Voice. It is possible that, at that time, Eddie was listening to either the original recording performed by Westminster Abbey choir or other cathedral choirs that might have made subsequent recordings of the service music (Billboard, 1978). Given that Charles Hubert Parry's anthem "I was glad when they said unto me", the processional sung at Queen Elizabeth's coronation, was also included in Eddie's collection of sheet music, this scenario seems likely. Furthermore, the anthem was described by John Trimm as both his, and Eddie's, personal favorite. This virtuosic choral work, scored for double choir, would not have been easy to perform – and yet, John indicates that the choir of St. David's sang the anthem on a number of occasions. In an interview with Ruth Arendse, she too remembers singing the anthem at St. David's. It would appear that when it came to Anglican music-making in the Windermere/ Kensington area of Cape

Town in the 1950s and early 1960, there was a musical fetish “for all things English”.

We can clearly see that “English cathedral style” of worship was being used in parishes and chapelries beyond the cathedral. Although Anglican coloured choirs were comprised of both male and female choristers, there was enough of a resemblance in the type of religious music being performed to make these “Anglican musicians” engaging in “Anglican music-making”. The use of the hymnal *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, the chanting of psalms in the King’s College fashion, the incorporation of the distinctly “English” style of hymn tune ornamentation with descant and faux-bourdon techniques, the renditions of coronation anthems – the presence of all of these musical features in a coloured community in Cape Town, indeed confirm what John and Eddie Trimm believed. Anglicanism was an aesthetic that could be performed, and thus, something that could be learnt and imitated, as one claimed membership in the imperial church.

In December 2011, as part of my fieldwork, I attended an Anglican choir festival in Malmesbury, a historic church town approximately 120 kilometres outside of Cape Town, near the west coast of the Atlantic seaboard (see fig. 7 for map). One of the anthems performed by the mass choir was Parry’s coronation anthem “I was glad”. What is important to note here is that almost sixty years after the coronation of Queen Elizabeth, Anglican coloured choirs were continuing the tradition of performing this type of authentically “Anglican” music. I don’t mind saying that the performance, or rendition, fell short of the aesthetic benchmark that had been set by Westminster Abbey choir. The majority of the

sopranos were not young boy trebles trained in music-making, but middle-aged and elderly women who often failed to sing the high treble parts correctly. The rich organ accompaniment, a reduction of the original full orchestral scoring, was played on an electric Lowry organ. And, as was often the case in coloured choirs where the majority of musicians were not musically literate, the tenors and basses became lost in certain parts of the double choir sections.

However, what could easily be dismissed as an “amateur” delivery of a choral masterpiece, contains, I would argue, the very ecstatic moments that some of the choristers and choirmasters live for. This re-enactment of the rendering of a work they associated with their younger years as choristers, possibly with the actual coronation, became embodied experience where the music was able to “move one’s insides” not only through listening, but also, and even more profoundly, through performing.

I attended the choir festival at the invitation of Frank van Senssie, the choirmaster of All Saints Parish in the neighboring town of Atlantis (see fig. 7 for map). Atlantis was considered to be part of the “new Cape,” a coloured-only suburb that had been created by the apartheid regime – where coloureds could buy land or purchase homes that were being built in the English bungalow style. Frank explained to me that many families willingly moved to Atlantis because they saw that their places of work had been moved there, or because of its proximity to the Koeberg Nuclear Power Station, where many coloured residents of Cape Town were employed in the 1960s. In its early phase of development, Atlantis was designed as an industrial town, containing many factories and

workshops moved from their previous locations in the inner-city area of Maitland³⁰.

The whites declared Maitland a whites-only area. That whole area, Salt River, Woodstock, Maitland, Paarden Eiland... that's where all the factories were, and the people also lived in those areas, and went to church in those areas. It's where all the big clothing factories were. The big oats and flour mills, the places where they made paint and bricks. It was all there. Some of them are still there, but a lot of them were moved out here. People became fed-up with travelling on the bus because it took you over an hour just to get from [Cape] Town to Atlantis (Frank van Sensus, 2009).

All Saints Parish in Atlantis provides an example of what I have referred to in the previous chapter: a community of coloured Anglicans that can be considered to be “Anglicans in diaspora”. In other words, those coloured families who regarded themselves as “Britons” saw themselves as carriers, or performers, of the “machinery of empire”. The families who moved to Atlantis were a new, mid-century generation of “progressionists”. They were employed, they had a skill or trade they were proficient in, and they wanted to manifest their desire to own land and live in a bungalow-styled home rather than the sub-economic housing they had grown up in. They certainly were not prepared to live in the project-style apartment buildings that had been erected to accommodate the mass removal of families to new townships on the Cape Flats. These families were being forced to make a decision: even though their displacement was involuntary, they opted to be socially mobile – to retain their social capital as “respectable citizens”.

³⁰ See fig. 2 for map.

By the 1970s, when the forced removals were complete, the congregation at All Saints, Atlantis, included people who had formerly lived in District Six, Maitland, Windermere, Mowbray, Newlands – people from various faith groups. For those who had grown up as Anglican, or who had married into the Anglican faith and adopted it as their own, it seemed only natural that they would continue to worship and identify as Anglican. Frank van Sessie explained to me that within the area of Atlantis there were various neighborhoods that had been designed by apartheid architects to deliberately create a hierarchy of class. He explained that those who could afford the plusher bungalow homes lived in the section known as Westfleur (see fig. 8 for map) – the latest iteration, at that time, of an economy version of the “English garden city” ideal, embodying the respectability associated with the southern suburbs of Cape Town. Westfleur, with its cul-de-sac “closes,” tree-lined streets, and vast open fields, had the look of a twentieth-century English village or suburban utopia. Schools were built for the residents who had settled there; parents could choose to have their children schooled in either English or Afrikaans. Frank explained to me in an interview that although almost all of the coloured families who had moved there spoke Afrikaans as their mother tongue, Anglican families who identified as Britons deliberately started speaking English to their children at home, and started enrolling them in English-language schools, around the time of the 1976 student uprisings – when the Afrikaner Nationalist government mandated that Afrikaans should become the only language of instruction at schools across South Africa.

Below, I deliberately use a lengthy extract from Frank's interview to demonstrate a number of crucial points that substantiate my arguments: that music becomes a tool for remembering, particularly for Anglican musicians; that identification as Britons permeated more broadly than being rooted in military or faith affiliations; and that some coloureds have a "sense-of-self," both as English, and as "other".

It all started with a little jingle on the radio when we were children. We were still using the [British] pound as our money, and there used to be this advert that would play. "Decimal Dan, the rand-cent man". [Frank sings the jingle]. I still remember it to this day! We heard it over and over on the radio. There was an English version, and an Afrikaans version *Dan Desimaal*. When they stopped the pound, then we started to already see that we were going to have to make adjustments to a new government. And later, they started sending letters telling people to start packing up and they were either told where they were going, or in some instances, you could choose between one place or another. We had to choose between Atlantis or Mitchell's Plein. Both places were far away from [Cape] Town, and the people who moved to Atlantis, we didn't want to live in those small houses on top of one another. But even though we moved here, those *Boere* continued to be on our case. They wanted to control everything, the schools you know... and we had to work for them as our Baas in the factories. But they had separate canteens for whites, blacks, and coloureds in the factories. We didn't like these Afrikaans whites because they didn't like us. That's why we were also proud to be Anglican. We grew up with the pound, in those churches where the priests and the nuns spoke English to us, and we just continued to be ourselves the way we were and we wanted to raise our children the same way we were raised. And we formed new sports clubs, playing darts and soccer, we sent our children to ballroom and gymnastics classes like we were taught in the [19]60s, and when we saw these things happening with the *Boere* in the 70s and 80s where they started hunting down people who said anything against whites or speaking out against this system, people started disappearing, and we knew we had to protect ourselves. So, we also wanted to show that we were not involved in any suspicious activities, just coloureds being coloureds like we used to be. (Frank van Sessie, 2009).

This narrative is an example of what Henry Trotter calls a “nostalgic story” presented by a coloured removee (Trotter, 2009:61). Frank van Sensusse narrates his story not only as a representation of his own lived experience, but also as a shared experience. This can particularly be seen in the phrases “we grew up with the British pound,” and “we wanted to raise our children the same way we were raised”. There is a sense of coloured self-understanding as a “they-self” or coherent group-identity legitimized via memory. As Trotter explains, memory is palimpsestual: subject to revision in commemorative narratives. Coloured removees are aware that there is a shared grief, a shared assignment of blame, a shared treasuring of good times, shared values that were lost – a shared identity with other removees (Adhikari, 2009:62). As Frank indicates in his narrative, “they” identified as Britons through their use of the British currency. The remembering in music of how this particular type of association with Britishness was fragmented is revealed in his distinct memory of the ‘Decimal Dan’ advertising jingle.

An American newspaper, “The Spokesman Review” published an article in January 1961 titled “Catchy Tune Teaches New Currency System”. A reporter based in Johannesburg wrote, “[T]he melody is ready-made for bathroom whistling but the lyric is a mild form of brainwashing”. The article concludes with the author explaining that “Africans are told of the changes in typical African story-telling style: ‘Listen, and I will tell you about the new money we are going to have...’”. This is an example of what DeNora describes as music’s power to make people obey. DeNora argues that when it comes to music and a “sense-of-

self,” the dominant function of music is its work as a *stimulus* in the organization of the self – its ability to affect organization of the self, mood, energy level, conduct style, and mode of attention and engagement in the world (DeNora, 1999:44). However, when music is used as a deliberate unit of affect, then music’s effect is altered to provide listeners primarily with an orientation that there is more than music acting on them – what DeNora calls the “semiotic web of music”.

The use of music as an organizing device in relation to subjectivity and self is above all a pragmatic affair, and although this process may possess its own logic, it differs considerably from the practice of ‘music appreciation’ traditionally conceived” (DeNora, 2009:44).

In other words, DeNora’s commentary on the ability for music to solicit that “one should obey” becomes Frank’s association with this jingle – a rupture, or signal of things to come, as opposed to the ecstatic experience, or commemoration of a pleasurable lived experience, as Frank’s singing the coronation anthem “I was glad” fifty years after the coronation itself.

In the context of scholarship on multiple coloured identities, and commemorative narratives of coloured removees as analyzed by Trotter (2009) and Field (2012), what my research reveals, along with that of other ethnomusicologists (Martin, 2005, 2013; Bruinders, 2006, 2012; Layne, 2005; Muller, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2011), who have conducted research on musical phenomena in and of the Cape, is that for coloured removees and their descendants, music has the ability to both signify the deconstruction or fragmentation of a former individual and social psychological awareness of self,

as well as play crucial roles in the (re)construction of self-identity. I unpack this point further below as the dissertation unfolds; however, an important point to make here in the context of Frank's interview, is that, just as for Ruth Arendse who sang incipits of the Magnificat and the Preces, Frank and many more Anglican musicians use music subjectively, particularly in remembering, as an organizing device of "self".

Carol Muller (2011) calls this phenomenon of recollecting a musical past through sound "a home within" when describing the musical memories of her interlocutor and co-author, Sathima Bea Benjamin. Muller and Benjamin's volume, *Musical Echoes*, is concerned with the cosmopolitan identity and musical background of the renowned South African female jazz singer. By drawing on Benjamin's anecdotes, recollections, and experiences that have shaped her music and "sense-of-self" or "being-in-the-world," the volume becomes a theoretical or intellectual scaffold grounded in ideas of "musical surrogacy". Muller describes how English culture was represented in live and mediated forms in the Benjamin household – a St. Helenian one (Muller, 2011:22.) The same was true for many respectable coloured families living in Cape Town during the post-war era (including my own). Benjamin's memories of biographical and musical experiences of post-war jazz and popular musicians, and Muller's scholarship, reveal histories of "coloured entanglements" in music, of how coloureds find in music "a home within". The musical memory that catalyzes a "home within" becomes a core part of negotiating memories of "home" and childhood that are shattered by rupture or abuse, or what Veit Erlmann has called

“unhomely” (Erlmann, 1996 in Muller, 2011:49). Benjamin’s memories of popular ballroom dancing tunes, or jazz standards and ballads induce for her a type of “time-travel” to a past that seems sublime in her recollections. In an interview with Muller, Benjamin commented on the effect her musical memories had in transporting her back to the dancehalls of Cape Town she attended as a young woman, before apartheid. Speaking about the songs “When day is done” and “If I should fall in love again,” she states: “Those melodies, they did something to me, you know, there was magic in the melodies” (Muller, 2011:249). Like Benjamin’s memories of popular song and Ruth Arendse’s recollections of Anglican sacred song, music and memory become “an organizing device of self” for Cape coloureds or brown bodies who lived in Cape Town during the post-war era.

Finally, to return to Frank’s interview extract, coloured biographies provide mechanisms for revealing hidden histories, confirming the legitimacy of what I referred to in the previous chapter as “a hidden diaspora of Anglicans”. The town of Atlantis takes on multiple meanings as a “hidden” community in Cape Town. Atlantis is referred to by locals as “The Lost City”. There is a double entendre attached to this phrase that derives from the mythical connotation of a wondrous ancient city that became lost to humanity, certainly, but for the local residents of Atlantis, it is also a reference to how local people feel forgotten or neglected by inner-city residents of the city. Atlantis is a palimpsest: where one layer of history underneath seeps up through the next. Muller (2011) also uses the idea of the palimpsest to describe how lineages in jazz, and the layering of histories or

“living histories” of musicians who have lived through traumatic times, engage with the “echoes of the past” (Muller, 2011:263).

As Frank points out, the journey from Cape Town to Atlantis could take up to two hours of travelling time. Thus, locals felt that they had become an island community. They felt forgotten and displaced, even though they had not forgotten where they came from and what life was like before the trauma of displacement. We can also see that within the new coloured township of Atlantis, the suburb of Westfleur became a sort of essentialized English village of progressionists, as Mohammed Adhikari would call them (Adhikari, 2009:xvi). This community of socially mobile coloureds regarded itself as what Trotter calls “the middle-classes of the peri-urban settings” where a “pastoral idyll or an image of urban sophistication” was remembered and recreated (Trotter, 2009:61).

My point here is that Anglican music-making was also remembered and recreated or revived in the newer coloured “Group Areas”. There was a trickle-down effect of Anglican music being imported from the mother church in England, to the cathedral, then to the inner-city churches of the old Cape and then as a “revival” in the new Cape. Anglican choral music was sustained during the apartheid era by a similar trickle-down effect at work in the Diocese of Cape Town in the first half of the twentieth century. The task was willingly taken on by Barry Smith, himself a student of Vaughan Williams at the Royal College of Church Music in the 1950s, as organist of St. George’s Cathedral and Head of the South African Chapter of RSCM. In the 1980s and 1990s, many of the coloured Anglican churches became affiliates of the RSCM. Like the lineages of

the jazz musicians Muller speaks about in her volume (2011), we see here a phenomenon of “musical surrogacy,” where liturgical, “English” musicianship, and the prestige of having been trained in musicianship in the locus of the British empire or being learned in the Anglican musical traditions, become influential on the conceptualization and shaping of an Anglican “sense-of-self” for brown or coloured choristers. The enculturations of Englishness through lineage may once again also be considered as being palimpsestual.

In my own experience in the RSCM during the 1990s and early 2000s, when I was chorister and organist at Good Shepherd parish in Kensington, I regarded myself as being privileged and different from other brown boys or musicians my age, because I was learning liturgical and choral music directly from a choirmaster like Smith at the cathedral. In my mind, I was acutely aware that I had become part of a lineage of musicians who could trace their musicianship to the tastes and techniques of Vaughan Williams via Barry Smith, who, coincidentally, was also the composer of the sung “St. George’s” Mass that was performed every Sunday across the peninsula across coloured townships, including my own. Through the RSCM meetings I could engage with this mentor, who I deeply admired for being “respectable” (similar to the admiration my uncle, Aubrey Dedricks, had for the white priests at the chapelry of St. David’s in Windermere during the post-war years): and like whom I wanted to become in the *voorstellen* or projection of my own life in my mind’s eye at the time.

In one of his scholarly publications, Barry Smith explains that the activities of the RSCM can be traced to the establishment of the “School of English Church

Music” by the organist of Westminster Abbey, Sydney Nicholson, in 1928 in London (Smith 2005:156). Nicholson’s first objective was to establish a college for the study of church music, and for the training of church musicians. His second was to encourage church choirs who wished to improve themselves to affiliate themselves (ibid). The choir of St. George’s Cathedral in Cape Town was affiliated to the School in 1933. The benefits for affiliates included receiving badges of membership, sheet music, service books, and literature that pertained to church music that was published as a quarterly magazine. In 1945, King George VI renamed the school “The Royal School of Church Music” (RSCM), and the activities of the organisation expanded more widely and rapidly to other countries that were still British dominions (Smith, 2005:157).

Smith notes that it was only in 1959, after the RSCM’s new director Gerald Knight toured South Africa and then suggested that the RSCM host an annual residential summer school there, that Anglican music really began to flourish in South Africa (Smith, 2005:158). By 1967, four separate South African branches had been established. Smith became himself chairman of the Cape Town branch in 1964, in his capacity as Organist and Master of the Choristers at St. George’s Cathedral.

Bethke (2012) explains that the Royal School of Church Music became a mighty force among Anglican parish choirs in Cape Town in the latter half of the twentieth century under Smith’s tenure as musical director at St George’s Cathedral. Although the primary purpose of being an affiliated choir was to improve both parish choir singing and congregational singing, the outcomes did

not align with the objectives. Bethke astutely points out that there seemed to be a paradox in the RSCM's, and consequentially Smith's, curriculum – since that curriculum focused mainly on choral, rather than congregational, aspects of worship (Bethke, 2012:71). The result for coloured choirs and choirmasters was that the focus of leading the congregation in communal song became secondary and that their own focus instead shifted toward the more dominant “performance” of religious or sacred repertoire as “showcases” for the choir or organist during services.

By the time I was active as an Anglican boy chorister in the 1990s, the celebration of the daily morning services or observance of the office of Evensong had become virtually extinct. They were only held for special occasions, or when RSCM mass choir workshops, led by Barry Smith, would culminate in an evensong performance of the music that had been rehearsed throughout the day. RSCM events were usually held at the Cathedral, or at an Anglican parish in the wealthier white southern suburbs. But despite the racial segregation and forced removal policies splitting the Anglican church communities in Cape Town, we all assembled from our various parts of the peninsula to learn from Barry Smith, and we all gained pleasure from reciting the prepared settings of versicles and responsories, chanting psalms in the King's College fashion, and rendering the anthem. Our Anglican music was “doing strange things to our insides” as Barry Rose said in the 1978 documentary about the choristers at St. Paul's. Young and old, white or coloured, at those RSCM services under the tutelage of Barry Smith, we were somehow all “St. George's children”. It did not matter that we did

not attend St. George's Grammar School, as the cathedral boy choristers did, and that we were not members of St. George's Cathedral. We were citizens of the larger Anglican Communion.

There was also status benefits attached to participation in RSCM activities for affiliated choristers that included adorning one's choir robe with medals as badges of membership, and wearing an academic hood if one held a degree in music. This is an example of what Giddens referred to as bodies that become vessels of systems of knowledge that have posited hierarchical meanings (Giddens, 1991:70). One can therefore argue that for Anglican choristers, and particularly for coloured choristers in Cape Town, what emerged over the course of the twentieth century was a musical identification, or a technology of self in music, where the superiority of the body as Anglican or English, and therefore "respectable," was exemplified by embodied experience, deliberate adherence to a dress code or conditioning of the body, and psychological reaction to musical stimulation.

What then do we learn about Anglican coloured choristers living in the twentieth century? This social and liturgical practice of choral singing may be regarded as being part of a "hidden" English diaspora of coloureds. Although belonging to a church choir in itself is not unique, for Anglicans specifically, there is a symbolic and materialistic emphasis that has been placed on insignia and how the body is dressed, and the type of repertoire which is performed that constructs a technology of self for some Cape coloureds. This rendering of oneself as "English" or "Anglican" – a visible proclamation of a "mine-self" and

one's membership to a historically elitist or essentialized "they-self", has received attention by white scholars in their expositions of "English" as "white", but in relation to coloureds, with the exception of "singing the Queen's English" by Jorritsma (2012), has been largely overlooked in scholarly literature that deals with coloured musical practices. Although Anglican music-making in coloured parishes evolved in the latter half of the twentieth century and early part of the twenty-first century to include more diverse repertoire influenced by American gospel aesthetics and the evangelical or Pentecostal style of worship songs that became popularised by the Australian group *Hillsong*, and the dominance of organ accompaniment for hymnody has given way to a more younger and contemporary palette that appreciates a gospel band; nevertheless, choristers from across the peninsula continue to gather at St. George's Cathedral or other churches in the peninsula to engage in RSCM choral workshops and activities in the present day. The collective Anglican coloured cohort identification with the "English" choral repertoire and its status of respectability, continues to be perpetuated and valued.

Chapter 3: The Cape Coloured Anglican Church Brigade

Parading Respectability

In this chapter, I turn my attention to the parades and processions that were associated with the Church Lads Brigade or Church Girls Brigade among Anglican coloureds living on the Cape Flats. I primarily focus on one company, the Good Shepherd Company of Maitland, where I conducted ethnographic research on the history and social work of the organization and its members. By looking at the content and structure of this organization, especially how it operated before and during apartheid, the ethnographic evidence I unpack about this particular company becomes part of my larger argument that among the multiple coloured identities on the Cape Flats, there exists cohorts of coloured families who have been shaped by their membership of this Anglican organization. I am claiming that for some Cape coloureds, their identification with “parading respectability” (i.e. a performance of regimental behavior via the enactment of bodily discipline through uniforms, obedience to authority, and decoration of the body in regalia), can be understood via embodiment and kinetic mechanisms. In other words, the body was, and perhaps still is, constituted as a corporeal vessel of biological, psychological and socio-cultural ideology inscribed on the minds of participants – through lived experience, and as practices that were passed down to later generations within family units.

Religious brigades or marching bands and processions are not unique to Anglican coloureds. They are also found among coloureds belonging to the Dutch Reformed Church³¹, and there are even Islamic rituals that involve musical ensembles parading in formation during a *Janazah* (funeral). The historical tradition of parading through the streets of Cape Town has been well documented by Denis Martin (1996, 2009), although his historiography deals largely with the tradition of the minstrel carnival. In relation to my case-study of the Anglican Church Brigades, Martin notes that “the Anglican Lads’ Brigade created a tradition that eventually gave birth to the Christmas Choirs” (Martin, 2014:105). The Christmas Choirs are brass bands who parade in processions through coloured neighborhoods during the “festive season”, or Christmas and new year period, before the minstrel carnival takes place. Sylvia Bruinders, in her research that deals primarily with Christmas choirs or marching bands in Cape Town, also mentions that there is a strong relationship between the Christmas Bands and the Anglican Church Lads’ Brigades: “people involved in the Brigades often train and recruit members to the Christmas Bands” (Bruinders, 2012:61).

The Church Lads Brigade or the Church Girls Brigade was thus one of a number of music ensembles that could be located within the coloured community, however, as Martin (2014:105) and Bruinders (2012:61) point out, the Anglican Brigade appears to have been in existence before the tradition of the Christmas Bands, although no substantial scholarly research has been published about the Anglican Brigades in Cape Town. Apart from the brief and

³¹ See Bruinders (2012) for more information on the church bands such as the Salvation Army and Moravian Church brass bands, and the Dutch Reformed Church Lads Brigades with their drum and fife bands.

anecdotal commentary by Martin and Bruinders referenced above, Andrew Bethke also only makes a brief statement in his narrative on Anglican music in the city that “the Church Lads’ Brigade was almost entirely a coloured group” (Bethke, 2012:100).

In my exposition of the Church Lads Brigade as an organization that promoted the “parading of respectability” for some coloureds, I draw attention to the claim made by Sylvia Bruinders (2012), that the socio-cultural phenomenon of “being on parade” becomes a mechanism by which coloureds identify from within – coloureds in relation to coloureds. The moving body, and the performed corporeal gestures by individuals within the hierarchical social and racial matrix present in the Cape, is evidence that a British or English socio-pathological development was imported into colonized territories like the Cape with inter-generational consequences. A body on parade, visible to others, demonstrated that one’s body or consciousness had been disciplined, and that this discipline could be publicly performed by embodying status, morality, obedience.

Parading respectability encompasses a duality: the literal parading in a disciplined and orderly manner on road marches and in competitions, and the figurative, yet ostentatious exhibiting of respectability. It is rather the representation or embodiment of a particular Christian respectability through neat uniforms, precision marching, hymn playing and prayers that have been most striking in researching this community in practice. This embodiment of respectability, along with the adoption of a military ethic, has dignified and ‘made respectable’ an otherwise historically maligned and still marginalized community (Bruinders, 2012:218).

Just as I do in this dissertation, Bruinders demonstrates that certain “cohorts of coloureds” have individual subjectivities, and that these subjectivities are produced through collective experiences in musical spaces. Bruinders

successfully demonstrates that music “facilitates the performance of an ethical/aesthetical citizenship through the embodiment of respectability” (Bruinders, 2012:219).

My similar concern with the Anglican Brigade is rooted in understanding how Anglican corporeal discipline, and the spectacle of parades accompanied by music is triggered by, and simultaneously triggers, a consciousness of an Anglo-sense-of-self; a visible manifestation of *voorstellen*, a projection that one is a respectable British subject, or engaging an identification with Englishness. Similarly, the phenomenon of “parading” as an Anglican stimulates a type of introjection, a confirmation to self, that one is indeed Anglican. To understand how the Anglican Brigades contributed to shaping the consciousness or identity of some coloureds, one must first understand that the Brigade is a religious organization with required membership in the Anglican Church, and secondly, understand that the Brigade is a uniformed organization that sees itself as a social movement within which cultural value is placed on insignia and symbols on parade. Finally, the Brigade is an educational and extra-curricular space for youth who desire to learn how to live a life of service to self, church, and society. It was the most appropriate youth organization to join if one’s parents deemed it an appropriate model and framework to aid in the raising of their children as Anglican, and became a social vehicle whereby Anglican coloureds could parade their respectability.

History and Mission of the Anglican Brigade

The Church Lads Brigade is an Anglican youth organization with branches in the United Kingdom, the Republic of Ireland, Bermuda, Kenya, South Africa, Newfoundland and St. Helena. It was founded in 1891; its sister organization, the Church Nursing and Ambulance Brigade for Young Women and Girls – later the Church Girls' Brigade – was founded in 1901. The two respective founders were Walter McGee, and Rev. Thomas Milner; the headquarters of both organizations were established in London, England.

International research archives contain organizational manuals that date back to the Victorian era, providing insight into the pedagogical philosophies of the organization that centred around a consistent emphasis on uniformity in social behavior, both in and out of uniform (Wakefield, 1894; CLB, 1900; Rogers, 1908). This early literature reveal how the Brigades trace their contemporary ritualistic behavioral patterns back to the Victorian era, how the cultural currency of dressing the body evolved, and what embodied visual displays of social status meant to these authors.

According to a brochure published by the Anglican Diocese of Cape Town in celebrating the 75th Anniversary of the South African Regiment of the Brigade in 1969, it states that the objective of each Brigade is "to extend the Kingdom of Christ among boys and girls". The Brigade is structured by location. Each location (normally a diocese, for example: Cape Town) has a regiment or a

diocesan battalion, the latter of which then divides further, into companies. Generally, each regiment has more than one battalion and each battalion has more than one company. Within the Brigade, it is accepted that no two companies will be identical, and each company will have its own identity.

The motto of the Brigade is "fight the good fight". Its badge is designed around the Christian armor as described by St. Paul in Ephesians 6:11-18. It shows the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation, the sword of the spirit, the girdle of truth, and the breastplate of righteousness (see Appendix A, fig. 10). The ecclesiastical "armor of God" was symbolically coupled with military style dress uniforms as an extension of imperial Britishness and Christianly duty: signifying that respectable lads and girls were soldiers of Christ, and by extension, that Britons were a respectable Christian people. The Brigade's proponents saw dress codes of the organization as an ideal means by which to give the empire's youth an early introduction to military drill and self-discipline. The dress codes and neat uniforms also became emblematic of what Bruinders refers to as the aesthetics of a distinctly "Christian" respectability for coloureds (Bruinders, 2012:218).

Uniform

Just as I have argued in the previous chapter that the robing of Anglican choristers, becomes an "outward sign of respectability," as well as a status symbol for Anglican coloureds in Cape Town, I wish to draw attention to the hierarchical principles upon which the Brigade was structured, and how the uniform allows not only for a display of respectability, but also hierarchical rank

within the organization. By parading one's leadership qualities or social stature, one's *voorstellen* as a respectable Christian coloured is thus compounded in the projection of a "mine-self" to the "they-self" in that the individual and collective "self" makes the distinction of being a "disciplined Anglican" coloured; one capable of social mobility.

The basic template for the Brigade uniform consisted of navy-blue trousers and navy-blue dress shirts with a red or blue tie for men. Male officers wear a light blue dress shirt, and senior ranking officers wear a blazer that matches the trousers. Members may wear medals for military or Brigade service on the right lapel, or if the medals are inherited from a deceased ancestor, they may be worn on the left lapel. Instead of trousers, younger boys wear khaki shorts and matching socks that come just above the knee. The women wear navy blue skirts and navy blue dress shirts with a red or light blue tie. Head-dresses vary by rank, however, male officers and staff wear a military style peaked hat, and all other members, including the women, wear a pillbox hat or bicorne-styled hat, depending on the preference of the Regiment. Senior female officers in companies also adorn their bicorne with a plume of feathers that corresponded with the colors of their dress cords. Dress cords are worn by both male and female staff to indicate rank, but not by younger members. Band members may also wear dress cords when on parade, though they must be the same pattern throughout the band. Lanyards may be worn over the left shoulder to denote membership of sections or squads, although only one lanyard may be worn at a time. The drum major, who is often dressed in more ornate clothing

than the rest of the band or corps, is responsible for providing commands to the ensemble regarding where to march, what to play, and what time to keep. The commands are given with the mace which is also decorated with dress cords wrapped around the pike – the symbol of authority that the drum major has the privilege of carrying. The drum major is always clad in a red sash, wears dress cords, and holds the mace with white gauntlet gloves to denote his or her rank (see Appendix A, fig. 11 for an example of the drum major's uniform).

In keeping with military aesthetics and protocol, it is standard procedure that every parade starts with an inspection of all who are in it, to ensure that all those present are dressed correctly, that their uniforms are serviceable and clean, and that they are alert and healthy. This is usually done by the officer appointed as the drill commander for the parade³².

Music

The primary purpose of the Brigade band is to produce musical accompaniment to the ceremonial and ritualistic phenomena to which social meaning has been ascribed. Excellence in musicality is also of the greatest importance, not only to display individual or group skill, but also because the better the band, the better the parade – and one could argue the better the visibility and audibility of the ritualistic procession, the more authentic the imagined claim that one is a subject of the British empire. The bigger the band, the higher the social ranking within the battalion; the larger the inventory of

³² The drill commander is a rotating post, although it is usually a senior officer.

instruments a company may own, the greater the perception of group wealth and stability projected by the parish company to the spectators of the parade³³.

Anglican Brigade bands perform hymn-tunes and military bugle marches when on parade. The most frequently performed piece of music in the repertoire of the Brigade fife and bugle bands is the hymn tune "St. Theodolphus," or *Ein andächtiges Gebet* (1615), more commonly known as "All glory, laud, and honor" (*Gloria, laus et honor*), the processional hymn for "Palm Sunday" or "Passion Sunday"³⁴. The focus of this liturgical feast day is a solemn procession which re-enacts the story of Christ entering Jerusalem on a donkey, greeted with palms and olive branches. The procession may include the normal liturgical procession of clergy and acolytes, the parish choir, or the entire congregation. In the case of the coloured parishes of the Anglican Diocese of Cape Town, this "procession of witness," as it is known, was led by the church Brigade band in a ceremony that took place outside of the church building, usually en route to streets on the periphery of the church or cathedral³⁵. Processional parades on Palm Sunday was the highlight of the year for many brigadiers, and the majority of the hymns they performed corresponded with the Passiontide liturgical season e.g. Glory be to Jesus, When I survey the wondrous cross, and Ride on, ride on, in majesty. Other core hymnody repertoire was taken from the "religious warfare" genres for

³³ Such grandiosity is similar to the pipe organs with pedal boards Bethke spoke of as musical currency in Cape Town church contexts (Bethke, 2012:47).

³⁴ Palm Sunday is also the sixth and last Sunday of Lent and beginning of Holy Week. Liturgical procession for this feast can trace its origins to the Middle Ages (Davey, 1986:142) like the appointed hymn (ibid).

³⁵ See Appendix A, fig. 12 for a photograph of clergy from the Good Shepherd, Maitland company, including a Bishop, marching in a procession of witness. A lad of the Brigade serves as a ceremonial guard or attendant to the Bishop. Circa 1970s.

its distinctly military flavour e.g. Onward Christian soldiers, Fight the good fight, and Stand up, stand up for Jesus ye soldiers of the cross.

Hymn tunes are usually performed by the fife and drum bands, and interspersed with the bugle calls. It is customary practice that the drum major, as the leader of the parading ensemble, be attentive of the rhythms intoned by the leading snare drum and bass drum to ensure that strict quick marching time is observed. If the Brigade is approaching the vicinity of another church where a service may be underway, the drum major performs a particular gesture with the mace to indicate to the bass drum player that he should beat 2 quaver beats to every crochet in the 2/4 or 4/4 marching time. These sonic and visual cues are picked-up by the band members to be alert, and cease playing their instruments on cue. The leading drummer continues to play a solitary steady marching beat very quietly to ensure strict marching time. Once enough distance has been achieved between the parading corps and the church, the drum major may again signal for the music to commence.

Excellent musicianship is highly emphasised among band members of Brigades, although almost 70% of band members are not able to read music, but perform on their instruments by ear. Those musicians who are able to read sheet music are usually responsible for teaching their sections how to pick-up melodies and rhythms by ear, and through mechanical imitation on the instrument. In larger bands, the bugle sections are augmented by trumpets, and again it is usually trumpeters teaching the bugle players how to intone the appropriate notes. Often organists or choirmasters are also involved in teaching or directing

the music, and especially when bands are preparing for their annual parade or competitions. I expand on the various types of parades, festivals and competitions below.

The music used for Brigade parades has undergone little to no change over the past century. Although the organization is no longer as prominent or popular among contemporary youth as it was perhaps twenty or fifty years ago, there is a consistency in the type of musical repertoire performed. Anglican hymn tunes and “English” bugle calls and military drum rolls are always performed on parade, and this practice continues today across various companies that can still be found on the Cape Flats.

Parades

Unless a slow march is induced (usually for funeral processions), all hymn-tunes and bugle marches are performed in what is known as “quick time”. The signal for the slow or quick time is also uttered aloud by the drill commander after he completes his inspection of all on parade. Almost all drill parades begin with the drill commander issuing the following voice prompts: “Stand at ease! Attention!”. The entire squadron of participants on parade will perform the appropriate gesture of relaxing their postures, and immediately again assume the military formal posture for being at attention. If any company, battalion, or regimental colors are to be paraded, the drill officer will then issue a voice command: “Color party on parade”. The color party consists of a brigadier holding a flag or banner that usually bears the badge of the organization and text

noting the name of the company, battalion or regiment. The flag bearer is flanked on either side by color guards (see Appendix A, fig13). The color party is positioned behind the band, but leads the remaining corps³⁶. Once the color party has taken their position, the drill commander may again say: “Stand at ease! Attention!” Notice is given that the parade is about to advance when the drill commander says: “Brigade, you will advance in columns of three³⁷ to the right! Band Ready! Right and turn!” The entire squadron then moves uniformly in a right-turn away from the direction they faced for inspection, and they all utter-aloud “one-two-three-one” with military precision to face the direction for the parade. Without hesitation, the drill commander will then immediately shout aloud: “Quick, march!”, and the drummers sound a series of drum rolls before the bugles enter. The drum major leads the ensemble and spectators in procession on a pre-determined route.

Parades may occur at the discretion of the captain of the company or if the priest-in-charge of the company requests a parade. Brigades are expected to parade at least once a month, either before or after a Sunday Mass on what is known as their “corporal or corporate Sunday” when they also sit together in the church in uniform. These may be described as ordinary parades, where the Brigade marches through the streets of the neighbourhood where they are located to either lead people to or from the church building. Despite my classification or description of these parades as “ordinary”, they are nevertheless

³⁶ In my ethnographic research, I observed the regimental Queen's Color's hanging from the ceiling in St. Georges Cathedral. The Union flag was clearly very old, and would have been paraded in regimental parades or displayed at the annual combined service of the Church Lads Brigade that occurred every Easter Sunday afternoon.

³⁷ Depending on the size of the parade, it may be columns of three or four.

still spectacular sonic and visual events. Special parades occur on Palm Sunday, Easter Sunday, Low Sunday and for funerals. The Sunday parades around the Passiontide and Easter season are significant and have historically been climactic moments in the history of the Capetonian Regiment and for the temporal soundscape of Cape Town. Unlike around Christmas or the new year period when the minstrel bands and the Christmas bands dominate, the Easter season was traditionally marked by the Palm Sunday processions, and the annual Diocesan celebratory or anniversary services that were held on Easter Sunday and Low Sunday for the Lads and Girls Brigades respectively. Unfortunately, since the late 1980s, the spectacle of seeing all the companies assemble on the plaza in front of the City Hall and making their way down Darling Street towards St. Georges Cathedral became less common³⁸, and eventually ceased by the mid-1990s. These battalion and regimental gatherings were scenarios of great pomp and circumstance, and they peaked between the 1950s and 1970s before the dispersal of coloured families across the Cape Flats due to the forced removals. A local newspaper popular among coloured readers at the time, *The Cape Herald* was known to have taken rich photographs and publish newspaper spreads covering the activities of the Brigade parades during that time³⁹.

An extraordinary parade occurs for the death of a brigadier who is a member in good-standing, or for non-members who have made significant contributions to the organization, e.g. a patron for purchasing uniforms or musical

³⁸ See fig. 6 for map.

³⁹ These photographs are not unlike the one that can be seen in Appendix A, fig. 14.

instruments, or an organist or musician who directed musical rehearsals. Band members will convene a special rehearsal to prepare slow marches for the funeral, and all members will attend the funeral in uniform. As the coffin leaves the church, members will form a guard-of-honor as a sign of respect, and once the coffin has been placed in the hearse, they assume their positions for inspection. Once the advance signal is given, the leading drummer intones a solemn slow march. The brigade leads the funeral procession towards the cemetery by foot, or if the cemetery is located a distance away, the brigade ceremoniously takes the procession a few blocks away from the church. The bugle section does not perform military bugle calls during the funeral procession, but instead performs an arrangement of the "Death March from Saul" by Handel. Once at the grave site, a solo bugle or trumpet will sound the last post, a final military and musical salute to the deceased "soldier of Christ" who was not ashamed to fight valiantly under the banner of Christ - against, sin, the world, and the devil⁴⁰. After internment, the brigade members disperse and do not parade back to their headquarters or church.

The majority of companies will also organize an "Annual Display" to demonstrate to parents and benefactors the achievements of the company during the year. This is primarily the parading of the company colors and trophies won at the competitions between companies and battalions.

The parades I describe above are ceremonial rituals that emphasise pageantry and spectacle. In these scenarios, particular social functions and

⁴⁰ Part of the Catholic baptismal vow, and in fact, contained in the Brigade prayer, are the words of the baptismal vow: "Do not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified. Fight valiantly under the banner of Christ against sin, the world, and the devil".

expectations of the organization are fulfilled, e.g. leading people to or from a church building, or manifesting an Anglican visibility in the city of Cape Town, and even more so, a coloured Anglican visibility. The processions of witness are primarily religious in nature, but they also become visibilities of respectability. Brown bodies clad in military style dress uniforms or clerical attire, parading through the streets of Cape Town to hymn-tunes, become spectacles of self-proclaimed pride for Anglicans, and like the Kings College tradition of chanting the Psalms for choristers, it once again illustrates the concept that coloureds strategically use mechanisms from the past to construct and aid their present sense-of-self in the world. By engaging in a habitus that operates in relation to a broader field, they manifest a uniquely coloured space via music and *voorstellen*. This mode of practice affirms their sense of belonging to the place that is Cape Town, but also their belonging to the so-called coloured community. Moreover, in the hierarchical matrix of coloured identity, members of Anglican Brigades are making an even more refined social status distinction by parading their identification with English or British customs and rituals in a largely Afrikaans-speaking community, they recognize the social capital that a brown body can carry on parade.

Competitions

Apart from parading ceremonially, Anglican Brigades also host competitive events where companies from across the Diocese will gather at a sports stadium and compete against one another for coveted trophies and titles in various

categories. These events are designed to promote camaraderie among the various companies and they also give families an opportunity to support the corps, and particularly to cheer on their loved ones who may be competing for individual categories. These categories include titles for the larger brigade such as “best dressed”, “best-band”, “best-drill” and “best grand-march-past”. The individual titles refer to “best leading drummer” or “best drum-major” etc. Competitions are further divided by age categories e.g. juniors and seniors. In the past, between the 1940s and 1980s, there were also choral singing and physical strength and agility categories, but this is no longer the case⁴¹. It appears that the forced removals once again had a tremendous influence on the reformulation of the brigade companies and competitions after they became disbanded or fragmented because of the relocation to new neighborhoods by some members.

A revival of the Anglican Brigade occurred in some Anglican parishes on the Cape Flats during the early 2000s after the popularity and visibility of the organization had begun to decline in the 1990s. The Diocesan Regiment also took a decision to amalgamate the Church Lads Brigade and the Church Girls Brigade into one organization known simply as “The Church Lads and Girls Brigade”. Competitions were also consequentially altered to allow for both genders to compete together, whereas there had previously been separate competitions for the separate organizations.

⁴¹ See Appendix A, fig. 15 for some archival source material I collected as part of my ethnographic data that supports the occurrence of choral categories at Brigade competitions.

In 2006, I attended a Brigade competition at the Vygieskraal Stadium in Athlone (see fig. 2 for map). It was the first time the companies of the newly established Diocese of Saldanha Bay assembled under the auspices of a new regiment⁴². I was a spectator or observer, and was supporting my home parish, Good Shepherd Maitland. Buses arrived at the stadium with the brigades and supporters from all across the region. Companies travelled from far away towns on the West Coast of Cape Town like O'kiep and Malmesbury, and then more locally from Bishop Lavis and Bellville (see fig. 7 for map). The raised seating at the stadium had been divided into sections, so that each company participating was allocated its own section, one next to the other. This division of the seating was deliberate so that when brigadiers were not participating in the competition, they were all seated together in a type of holding area. An additional advantage of this seating arrangement was that supporters of a particular company could display a collective identity with banners and cheer their team or loved ones from the same position. A salute station was setup as the focal point for the competition. All activities occurred in front of the saluting station where the adjudicators were seated. Adjudicators included members of the military, high-ranking officials in the Dutch Reformed Brigade, and music professors from local universities. When it was appropriate for a salute to be taken, one of the adjudicators would step forward. The reciprocal salute, usually done by military

⁴² The Diocese of Cape Town was split into three separate diocesan regions in 2005 and the Diocese of Saldanha Bay was born. It was inaugurated on Saturday 10 December 2005. See: <http://www.dioceseofsaldanhabay.org.za/> for more detailed information.

officials, were always moments of euphoria for the crowd. To this very day, I can recall in my memory the exact sounds I ingested at the Brigade competition that day. I can recall the sound of the companies entering from one side of the stadium, the drum rolls and bugle calls growing louder and louder as they paraded on the curving athletic track. As they drew closer to the crowd, so too would the cheers coming from supporters in the stands. As the drum major approached the position of the supporters in the stadium, he, or she, would engage in a series of acrobatic tricks with the mace to the delight of the spectators. Finally, as the drum major passed the saluting station and delivered the salute, the loudest cheers would erupt when the reciprocal salute was given. Spectators could be heard screaming the name of their company, the names of their loved ones, and comical Afrikaans phrases such as: “*Hulle show weer af vandag!*” (they are showing-off today!) or “*Ons het dit, gebore met dit!*” (we’ve got it [natural talent], we’re born with it!). All the while, the master of ceremonies leads the proceedings and delivers a running commentary over the loud speaker to maintain order and keep the audience entertained.

Companies participate in drill and band categories, but not in choral or physical activities. These competitions are not unlike the ones that occur among the minstrels and Christmas groups that Martin (1996, 2011) and Bruinders (2012) have studied, where choral categories do feature; but it would be worthwhile for a future study to identify if, and how, the Brigade might have influenced the practices and customs of these sister organizations.

Although the minstrel carnival does not articulate the parading of coloured “respectability” in the sense that Bruinders and I invoke, i.e. displays of Christianly values, hymn-playing, and military fetishizations; the social structures, and the operations and function of these sister organizations, have much in common. The common factor of parades, competitions, *tafels* (tables)⁴³, corporate meetings, and the use of similar fundraising strategies⁴⁴, demonstrates that each organization is a distinct, but not unique, type of cultural or social habitus in a broader social economy and playing field that constitutes what I regard as a non-heterogenous Cape coloured culture”.

Below, I turn my attention to my ethnographic case-study, the Good Shepherd Maitland, Lads’ Brigade. This is one of the oldest companies of the organization in Cape Town that is still in existence⁴⁵. The company also maintained a rich archive of photographs, documents and video recordings that I was allowed to access during my research. The ethnographic data I collected, some of which I discuss below, provides a narrative that is consistent with my claim that organizations such as the Anglican Brigade fosters an “Anglo-sense-of-self” within the individual and collective consciousness of some Cape coloureds.

⁴³ The table of local foods and delectable dishes ranges from fruit and juice to savory meals such as curry and rice, to cakes, sweets, nuts, ice cream, and sodas served to members at meetings or after parades. See Bruinders, 2012:52 for more on *tafels*.

⁴⁴ It is very common for sports clubs and church organizations to host fundraising events that included *langarms* (discussed in the the next chapter), bingo evenings, or by selling curry-and-rice or *koeksisters* (a local sweet cake).

⁴⁵ See Appendix A, fig. 16 for a facsimile taken from the company register, where the first entrant is listed as enrolling in 1907.

Case-Study of the Company of Good Shepherd Maitland

I started researching Anglican Brigades, and the history of the company of Good Shepherd Anglican Church in Kensington/Maitland in 2006. The company was celebrating their centenary that year, and prepared an exhibit in the local church hall. Some of the artefacts and documents on display included antique musical instruments, the company minute book and register, with some of the entries dating back to early 1900s, and hundreds of photographs and certificates. As I continued to work more closely with the archive and conduct interviews with leaders and members in later years, I was able to surmise just how rich and valuable the history of this particular company would prove to be in my excavations of the coloured consciousness, or coloured identities, that existed in the Windermere/Kensington area.

Included among some of the notable achievements of the company is a case where the Archbishop of the Diocese of Cape Town inspected over 3500 lads, and chose one of the boys from the Good Shepherd Company as the best dressed lad, and they were also the company that was asked to play the music at the trooping of the first Regimental colors in Cape Town in 1939 and at a drill on Robben Island in 1962. Of the six captains of the company, four of their wives were also the captains of the girls' Brigade. Similarly, the company produced six majors of battalions in the South African Regiment, and six priests for the then Diocese of Cape Town. In a 1986 "80th Anniversary" brochure I accessed in the private archives of the company, I came across the following description of the

stature and prestige associated with the company at that time. Major Gordon of the First Battalion writes:

Good Shepherd is not a company of today. They have excelled in every sporting competition that was staged under the banner of the CLB... to name some of it, drill, both bugle and fife bands - a difficult lot to beat on the day of competition, athletics, singing, and a host of others...The proudest gift this company could have given this parish was the lads who went on to serve as full time priests in the Cape Town Diocese (80th Anniversary Brochure of the Good Shepherd, Maitland Company, 1986).

One of the pillars of pride for this parish, and the company, is the six male priests who went into theological seminary as a result of their upbringing in the Brigade. A few examples include: Rev. Gilmore Fry, who spent most of his childhood and adolescent years as a Brigade member climbing the ranks, and who today is chaplain to prisoners within the Diocese of Cape Town⁴⁶. Similarly, Rev. Charles Blows started in the Brigade as a junior and would later become captain of the Good Shepherd company; and as a priest, the entire regimental chaplain. Another priest, the former Dean of St. George's Cathedral in Cape Town, Rowan Smith, also began as a lad in the Good Shepherd Company. At the centenary celebrations of the Good Shepherd Company in 2006, Rowan Smith delivered a sermon wherein he made the following remarks about how wearing the brigade uniform shapes and influences the consciousness of the brigadier:

It [the uniform] gives those participating a sense of belonging, a sense of unity, of a common cause. It gives them strength and power, so let us not undermine the value of a uniformed organization since it presents us with a sense of identity, but especially in the Brigade, the

⁴⁶ See Appendix A, fig. 17 for a series of photographs depicting the various stages of Gilmore Fry's career from lad to priest.

uniform gives you a sense of your purpose...you are to live what you proclaim through your uniform (Rowan Smith, 2006).⁴⁷

In other words, just as a priest's collar is emblematic of his identity as a servant of Christ and of the people, of belonging to a fraternity or "they-self" of clergy, so too does a brigade uniform, or choir vestments as I have mentioned in the previous chapter, function as a mechanism of *voorstellen* – of the projection of a sense of identity.

In the 1969 brochure marking the 75th Anniversary of the South African Regiment, Colonel A.J. Sylvester, the colonel of the Regiment, and the most senior ranking officer of the Brigade in South Africa, coupled the sense of identity through uniform with a sense of duty when he made the following remarks: "Not what I am, but I strive to be, is of use to the community and the second is the crest of the Prince of Wales: '*Ich Dien*' - I Serve. I think we can all take that motto to our hearts – 'I serve'".

The history and achievements of the Good Shepherd company is thus a testament to Christianly duty or service, an example of how "parading respectability" for Anglican coloureds becomes a social vehicle for the body to be a reflexively mobilised phenomenon. In other words, the attachment to dressing one's body to display, not only the disciplining of the body, but also the disciplining of the consciousness within the body; allows Anglican brigadiers to develop a "technology of self" via the projection of biography. Sylvia Bruinders describes these enactments of parades, of military ethic and Christianly virtue as displays of identity and self-confidence – of dignity (Bruinders, 2012:219).

⁴⁷ Video recording of centenary celebrations of the Good Shepherd Maitland Company, 2006.

In thinking about the effects of material culture, Chris Gosden has claimed that "our sense of self as individuals and as groups is built up through objects which connect us to others, or isolate us as individuals" (Gosden, 2003:181). The communal Anglican coloured identity fostered within the Good Shepherd company authenticates and legitimizes my claim of an "English habitus" or "habitus of respectability" on the Cape Flats. Biographical moments rooted in Anglicanism signifies that moments of *voorstellen* are effective, but not permanent; and hence needs to be continuously renewed.

Following this train of thought, I am intrigued that the uniform and insignia of the brigade not only fosters a sense of belonging to a group on the micro level of the company, battalion or regiment, but on the macro level to the wider Anglican Communion or British empire. A scenario in my ethnographic case-study illustrates and signifies an instance of a "bicultural" identity of the brown coloured body in Cape Town and how it could claim ties to London, the locus of the British empire.

Another pillar of pride for the Good Shepherd company was when Col. Sylvester and Major Arnold Peters of Good Shepherd were selected to sail to London in 1958 as part of the first C.L.B. contingent to travel to headquarters and represent the South African Regiment. The 75th Anniversary brochure of the Regiment records the details of the event from a perspective of one of the South African officers:

The Royal Review took place at Buckingham Palace on July 11th [1958] and the parade to the palace started from the Wellington Barracks, the depot of the Brigade of Guards. Three hundred officers and lads of the Church Lads' Brigade, set off for the Palace, rounding the huge memorial

to Queen Victoria at the bottom of the Mall, and marching into the huge courtyard of the Buckingham Palace... and all who took part will never forget that day...having carried the honor of the South African Regiment high before the world⁴⁸.

In the account above of the South African contingent to London, we see that the psychological sense of belonging to an English diaspora is perpetuated through the immense pride of an actual subject from the diaspora not only reaching the locus of the "nation" but also being embraced as a willingly obedient subject that although biologically "other", is "at home" culturally and psychologically. It is precisely this ideology of corporal visibility, and how citizens in Cape Town, or New Foundland, or Australia, recognize that they are part of a broader "they-self"; an imagined diaspora of Anglicanism, and how it becomes tangible for brief moments, that supports the existence of what I am calling an "Anglo-pathological awareness of self". In other words, via the mechanism of *voorstellen*, there is an enactment or embodiment that one is capable of being an ambassador for the empire, that one is capable of parading respectability.

Furthermore, the notion that parading respectability was something that could be learnt and taught, and rehearsed through drill, is also articulated in the Good Shepherd company. During the height of the operations and achievements of the company in the post-war years, they attributed their excellence in musicianship and drill to the influence of a mentor who was authentically "British", Drum Major Mcanitre. Mcanitre was a Scottish immigrant, and the drum major of

⁴⁸ See the 75th Anniversary brochure of the South African Regiment, 1969. Available in archives of Good Shepherd, Maitland company.

the Cape Town Highlanders that were stationed at the Castle of Good Hope⁴⁹. This example of transnational engagement through musical performance or music education between a coloured Brigade company and a member of the Cape Town highlanders is akin to the instances described by Carol Muller and Vincent Kolbe (Muller, 2011:61) in their descriptions of how the Cape Corps Military Band whose founder was Irish, and the post-war dance bands, became shaped by cosmopolitan fraternal legacies. At one stage, Good Shepherd had a band of 42 bandsmen, and 75 members, with 180 boys on parade. Charles Blows, the regimental chaplain, recalls that the Good Shepherd band was unique, because they had 18 five-key flutes, 14 b-flat bugles, 6 [snare] drums, 2 kettle drums, cymbals, triangles and bass drum. Parading respectability is thus also attached to the status symbols associated with the wealth of a company to be in possession of that many musical instruments.

Theoretical significance

In essence, the point I am making is that the Good Shepherd, Maitland company, was very similar to many other brigades that peaked during the post-war era like St. Mark's in District Six, or St. John's in Bellville whom they competed against. Even for the companies located in the more rural towns like Oudsthoorn or O'Kiep (see fig.1 for map), the same claim can be made: that Anglican coloureds use the organization as a vehicle for claiming and parading their respectability. The normality for the display of British pageantry on African

⁴⁹ See Appendix A, fig. 18 for a photograph of the Cape Highlanders parading in front of their base at the Castle of Good Hope. Circa 1960s.

soil illustrates the engagement of the mind on a higher mental functioning where music is the crucial element that dictates a mental unison among the subjects participating in the habitus of the brigade spectacle. In other words, music acts as a device for the reflexive process of remembering, a technology for memory retrieval, and a technology of self as DeNora describes (DeNora, 2009:44).

My ethnographic evidence on Cape coloured Brigadiers reveals how the dichotomy of what Adhikari calls "not being white enough, not being black enough" (Adhikari, 2009) produces a communal trauma that is negotiated through reading one's own body in relation to that of others. Reading the body allows participants and observers of the parade to witness the social capital the coloured body carries in the habitus of respectability. The value, or capital, generated by the body is the result of social interaction amongst members in drill nights and competitions, where disciplined behavioral and musical excellence is emphasized and judged.

In other words, in the context of the Brigade, acts of music-making and ritualistic performances by the disciplined body are formal mechanisms for performative culture, producing a habitus where actors perform their social obedience and allegiance to an imperial psychological authority represented by the British "headquarters". The identification with the notion of superiority of the body as Anglican or English, and therefore "respectable", is exemplified by embodied experience, deliberate adherence to a dress code, and psychological reaction to musical stimulation. The cognitive impact of the consumption of Anglican culture must also not be undermined in understanding how the

consciousness of a self-identified subject or citizen of empire was shaped to develop within a socio-cultural paradigm that encouraged the appropriation of culture. The Anglican Brigade, as an organization, was perhaps one of the last social or cultural vehicles of influences the British Empire had on the post-colonial citizens who either self-identified as religiously and culturally Anglican or “British”.

The popularity of the Anglican Brigade declined as time evolved after the forced removals on the Cape Flats, and as younger generations of the late 1980s and 1990s, and even more contemporary youth, became less interested in uniformed organizations and a performative discipline whose only reward was the promise of respectability. It is my experience and opinion that the majority of youth are put-off by the phenomenology that admires or participates in the cultural continuity built on the foundation of British pageantry, military, monarchy and Anglican or English musicality. Like those coloured youth who become choristers or organists, it is a small minority of the community who partake in these Anglican music activities, but there is nevertheless enough evidence to suggest that an Anglican coloured identity is but one of the multiple coloured identities that exists within the broader collective coloured culture and identity. Anglican Brigades continue to exist at present but their longevity in the future is highly speculative⁵⁰.

⁵⁰ See Appendix A, fig. 18 for a more recent photograph of the St. Joseph the Worker company from Bishop Lavis, another coloured township on the Cape Flats. The company poses at the Castle of Good Hope (2012). Also see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Zc4pus85no> for a video of the company of Christ the Mediator, Mitchells Plain, competing in 2014.

Chapter 4: *Langarm* Music and Dance

The Cape Coloured Dancehall

Langarm is the Afrikaans word for ballroom music. Literally meaning “long-arm”, it refers to the formal hold required for ballroom dancing. The formal hold sees the gentleman holding his left hand extended up at 90 degrees and his right hand is then arched around the back of the female, who is tilting her head backward in her right direction⁵¹. Although strict ballroom dancing in a formal couple-hold has historically defined the genre, over the past twenty years, “loose” popular dancing has also seen significant popularity amongst patrons at *langarms*. The term *langarm* is used to refer to the genre of music, the genre of dance, and the actual physical location where the event is staged.

Social ballroom dancing becomes for some coloured’s an experience whereby they can immerse themselves in a habitus of respectability that extends beyond the religious Anglican spaces of worship and performance (like church choirs or brigades) I have referenced above. The *langarm* environment constitutes a space where “regulated behaviour”, rather than “obedience to rules” allows for social improvisations among the patrons who wish to perform a localized iteration of “Englishness” that slips fluidly between the inherited Victorian and Edwardian customs of “gentility” and the mechanisms of “working-class/middle-class” group identities. In other words, Cape coloureds attending

⁵¹ See Appendix A, fig. 20 for a photograph of a Cape coloured ballroom couple in formal hold.

langarms amalgamate social dance practices that were determined by past conditions of colonial diasporic practices with indigenous (or local) collectively orchestrated genres of music and dance. Bourdieu explains that “the habitus, the product of history, produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemes engendered by history” (Bourdieu, 1990:82).

Langarm in Cape Town is thus according to the criteria laid out by Bourdieu in his *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, a social class product of “a system of dispositions” – a past which survives in the present and tends to perpetuate itself by making itself present in practices structured according to its principles – the principle of continuity and regularity which objectivism discerns in the social world while simultaneously the product of the principles of transformations and regulated revolutions which voluntarist or spontaneist subjectivisms are capable of accounting for (ibid).

The late Cape jazz musician Robbie Jansen described *langarm* as a “caricature by poor people of ballroom as we know it” (Jansen in Johnson, 2011). The dance and music of ballroom is strict and formal, whereas *langarm* is raggy and loose (Miller, 2007). Tamara Johnson (2011) describes *langarm* as an “extremely class-segregated activity” where the imitation of ballroom dances were “less formal, less rigid in both posture and codification”, and perhaps not as technically precise as competitive ballroom (Johnson, 2011:75). Despite the descriptions of *langarm* as “watered-down” versions of ballroom dancing, the genre must not be mistaken for being a poor man’s version of ballroom, but

rather as a phenomenon that exhibits social interaction among coloureds from various class groups, and the “caricature” Jansen describes above should be regarded as a commentary on the “performative” qualities of identity that the dancehall affords to local coloureds.

As Muller explains, dance bands were expected to perform similar kinds of music for the coloured elite who called their events ballroom and the coloured working class who called their events *langarm*, but that it was especially on the dance floor or performing in the band where “the tiny gradations of social status within coloured communities were created” (Muller, 2011:56). *Langarms* have undergone significant transformation over the past fifty years, and Valmont Layne (2005) and I (Holtzman, 2006), have already commented on the changes of musical repertoire and dance styles. Most notable is the distinction between the separate “ballroom” and “*langarm*” events that constituted the class divide among coloureds, and over the past twenty years, these two groups and variations of social dance have merged into a single event that retained the term *langarm*. The days of staging high-society style ballroom events have long gone, these were occasions referred to by the late Cape cultural historian and librarian, Vincent Kolbe, as spaces where women would demonstrate “Cinderella-like transformations” from their ordinary daily expression of self as working class women into what Muller has termed “princess for the night” (Muller, 2011:58). The wearing of an evening gown, and ballroom dance shoes by women, and the outfitting of men in tuxedos, bowties and patent leather shoes was on the one hand, imitations of elitist or bourgeoisie archetypes inherited from the European

culture that permeated in the city, or imitations of characters and persona's adopted from movies locals watched in cinema's; but they were also based on the activities of the competitive ballroom dancing competitions of the 1960s and 70s that elitist coloureds participated in and attended. My parents, who frequented these ballroom (rather than *langarm*) events, explained to me that it was the coloured version of what they saw happening in the ballroom competitions being hosted or staged by white locals. Ballroom dancing competitions before the 1980s had all-white bands performing the music for the competitions, and the adjudicators at these competitions were also white. Coloureds assimilated to the requirements of the competitive ballroom by doing exactly what their white counterparts were doing, wearing specific ballroom dancing shoes, and specific required apparel or dress that allowed them to demonstrate they were legitimate competitors, and worthy of winning trophies due to their mastery of the various European dances such as the waltz, quickstep, tango, slow-foxtrot, and Viennese waltz. There was a status attached to being a dancer of ten different styles when one included what was known as the "Latin" genres of samba, cha-cha, rumba, pasodoble, and jive. Elitist coloureds were schooled in these dances, and made tremendous sacrifices to perfect their dancing by attending both group and private lessons with their coloured dance instructors who were known for their expertise in these genres.

While the competitive ballroom dancehall saw one having to adhere to the strict prescribed rules of the ballroom space and dance choreography, the social ballroom where there were no whites present, and a coloured band performed

the music, became opportunities where ballroom dancers could showcase their talents and discipline to one another without the tensions of competition. The music was similarly in the required strict time necessary for ballroom dancing, but because it was “coloureds being with coloureds” there was a different atmosphere in the social dance-hall, and the sound of the music was also somewhat different. Sathima Benjamin describes one of these distinguishing musical nuances as “the way the saxophone bent the notes” and how there was also a conscious and unconscious interpretation of timing to coloured ballroom music. Coloured ballroom musicians and dancers are subconsciously aware of embodying ballroom music in such a manner that despite the sounding of strong down-beats in the music, there is a conceptualisation of “feeling” the beat somewhere in-between beat 1 and 2.

This “feeling” of the music through the body is a very real phenomenon among coloureds, and it was because of my own training as a ballroom dancer in the 1990s, that I was able to understand the nuances of this “off-beat” embodied experience that comes through in both the execution of the dancing choreography for the ballroom genres, but also in the performance of the music. There is a type of losing oneself in the music, an immersive process of “being-in-the-sound” that allows one to feel a type of fluidity of being both in and out of time, what may perhaps be described as being “on-time” – a consciousness of stealing time and giving it back (like a rubato technique required for the execution of Western European Romantic music).

Coloured ballroom dancing that was social rather than competitive produced a secular “habitus of respectability”, one where the gentility of Englishness was retained, but also marginally improvised. The *langarms* of the post-war era were instead for those persons who were not professionally trained in formal ballroom dancing, but had either been self-taught to copy or memorise the most basic choreography of the ballroom dances as a manner of participating in what had become known as a coloured cultural practice – dancing in the formal hold. The formal hold can thus be seen as an expression of *voorstellen* that denoted one as belonging to the so-called coloured group, a revelation by the “mine-self” to the “they-self” that “*ons is ook kleurling, maar nie eintlik soos hulle nie*” (we are also coloured, but not quite like them). These cultural codes of class, or code-switching worked both ways among the coloured working and middle classes. Working class coloureds appropriated ballroom as *langarm* from a small minority of elite coloureds, who had themselves assimilated to ballroom dance as a performativity of embodying Englishness to complement their status as respectable citizens.

However, despite the performances of class-based hierarchies in separate ballroom and *langarm* dancehalls, after the forced removals, when class-structures among coloureds became fragmented, formal and exclusive ballroom dance events became less common and a mixing with the more local Cape sound of *ghoema* or Cape jazz associated with the working-class communities began to gain prominence in terms of the types of music that was sounding in the dancehalls by the 1980s and 1990s. The separate status of ballroom and

langarm, and the decline of formal ballroom can especially be seen in the extinction of the genre known as “the square” – quadrille style dances where couples danced in specific formations. The dancefloors of *langarms* in the 80s and 90s were more likely to be filled with couples dancing the watered-down *langarm* choreography than the professional ballroom choreography, and there was a distinct preference in this evolved “habitus of respectability” of the coloured dancehall for loose-dancing or improvised “Cape jazz-style” repertoire that allowed for attendees to unashamedly tap-into their “South-Africaness” that became refigured by preferences for South African jive, and *ghoema vastrap* numbers.

The *langarm* environment saw the post-war habitus of respectability of the ballroom become a newly reconfigured product of the principles of transformations and regulated revolutions of which it was also a product - an entangled respectability that celebrated the local and the foreign, the sophisticated and the simple. In other words, the habitus of respectability that was previously only associated with perpetuating strict or formal secular Englishness, constituted a habitus of respectability that allowed all patrons, working and middle-class to say proudly “ons kom vandaan” (we come from there) through their performance of both choreographed and loose dancing. *Ons kom van dit* (we come from that) in relation to ballroom, and *ons kom van dat* – in relation to *sopvleis* and *ghoema* music - what was uniquely coloured or South African. There was a respectability attached to “knowing oneself” and knowing that the music, new or old, could move your insides, and your body.

Social Codes of Practice

The venue for the coloured ballroom is usually the community or town hall known locally as the “civic centre”. However, often church halls are also used. These large halls are located in various townships across the Cape Flats that play host to school concerts and graduation ceremonies; senior citizen social clubs, gymnastics rehearsals, and other large scale communal recreational activities. Such community halls also served to promote the concept of “group area segregation” under the colonial and apartheid administrations by controlling freedom of movement within non-white racial groups so that there was no need for residents of the community to leave their residential location, since almost all social gatherings are hosted at a central location within the designated or allocated residential areas.

These community halls therefore served as physical spaces where communal group identity was fostered on a social, and psychological level. By day, the civic centre functioned as an informal recreational and leisure centre, and by night it was transformed into the formal ballroom. The once empty stage becomes laden with musicians and the floor with dancers. I have already documented the history and evolution of *langarm* in the 20th Century (Holtzman, 2006) where I concluded that in the inner-city areas of Woodstock, Maitland, Salt River, Kensington, town halls and church halls, played host to regular afternoon (matinee) and evening social dance events for Coloured Capetonians (see fig. 2 for map).

Langarms always unfold in a gradual sequence of various social atmospheres. My attendance at *langarms* for the past twenty years as both a dancing patron and musician, has confirmed that there is always a consistent sequencing or programming of repertoire and social atmosphere that will naturally evolve during the event. For *langarms* taking place in the evening, the day begins in the mid afternoon when the hall is being prepared by the musicians and hosts.

Below, follows a participant observation ethnographic narrative from one of my experiences as a band member in the Ikey Gamba *Langarm* Dance Band.

As we enter the building with our musical instruments we are greeted with the aroma of stale potato chips and polished wooden flooring. The bandmaster surveys the empty hall and claps his hands so that the sonic reverberation is noticeable. We proceed to prepare our instruments and amplification equipment. It is time for the sound check before the patrons arrive for the dancing. The drummer counts in a quickstep and as the pianist, I begin to open with the traditional harmonic sequence that serves as the introduction to all ballroom songs,

I – VI - II7 - I 6/4 - V7 - I.

The horns and guitars enter in full 4-part harmony along with me, while the drummer maintains a strict tempo. The bandmaster begins to adjust positions of microphones and corresponding dials on the amplification controller. Eventually he leaves the stage where the band is located and he begins to move around the circumference of the hall taking notes about sound quality, audibility and architectural acoustics. The band reaches the end of the number and the bandmaster again claps his hands and makes a final written note for himself. He requests that the band perform a popular coloured folk song in order to adjust the monitor speaker for the vocalist. The drummer shouts to the band: “Welcome to Cape Town, 1,2,3,4...” On the downbeat, the full band sounds the music to the local favorite folk song and the vocalist sings his heart out. Finally, the band master and musicians are satisfied with the sound check and are dismissed to take a smoke break and change in the cloak rooms.

At sunset, families begin to prepare for their attendance at the *langarm* by beautifying themselves and dressing themselves in clothing that have been deliberately chosen for the event, and packing their drinks, usually alcoholic, in “cooler bags” and their finger foods or snacks on “platters” that are then covered with aluminium foil. At 7.30pm, patrons begin to arrive at the hall and seat themselves at tables where they pour drinks and share in eating light snacks while recorded jazz music is played through the amplification system of the band⁵². Traditionally, and perhaps more for practical reasons, there are ten people seated around one table⁵³. The trestle is always decorated with a table cloth and some kind of candle, so that when the lights are dimmed in the hall, the candles are lit on the table. The table lit by the candle, creates a significant ambience in the social atmosphere, and like music, lighting is a necessary element to cultivate the habitus of the coloured ballroom in the community hall.

The scent of the stale chips slowly starts to fade into fragrances of Cape Malay finger foods, fried chicken, and a distinct sweet breeze wafts throughout the hall from the many drinks of whiskey and Brandy the patrons have laden on their tables.

At 7.45pm, the musicians take to the stage and assume their places and positions, all dressed in a matching uniform, although, if a female vocalist is part of the band she may wear her own individual costume. At 8pm, a priest or a chairman of a social or sports club takes the microphone and delivers a welcoming speech to the patrons. Once this is completed, the overhead lights are extinguished, candles are lit on tables around the perimeter of the hall, a

⁵² See Appendix A, fig. 21 for a photographic illustration.

⁵³ This type of table is known locally as a trestle – a wooden plank supported by two metal stands, known in Afrikaans as *bokkies*.

waltz is sounded by the band and the multi-purpose hall is transformed via sensorial stimulation into a *langarm*. The first 30-45 minutes of repertoire is referred to by the bandsmen and patrons as “strictly ballroom”. Only strict tempo ballroom music is played and the dancing consists mostly of professionally trained ballroom dancers taking to the floor and dancing in the formal hold. The habitus of respectability is constituted by elitist families performing their “English” identities and proficiency in all the competitive style ballroom dances, while the band plays lush four-part harmony arrangements of “golden oldies” – tunes taken from radio or cinema during the post-war years. In this early stage of the habitus of respectability, there is a particular emphasis on “observing the rules and customs of the ballroom”. Patrons are not yet intoxicated from consuming too much alcohol, and there is a sense of refinement - of a deliberately staged, yet improvised performance, or *voorstellen*, of respectability.

My participant-observer experiences in the *langarm* scene in Cape Town over the past 20 years, indicates that there is still a considerable amount of *langarm* etiquette observed by patrons. There appears to be a concern with how, and where, patrons are seated at their table. The more professional dancers, and perhaps more eager participants to dance ballroom, would be seated on one end of the table, closest to the dance floor and those patrons who are less inclined to dance would be seated closer to the wall. It is also worth mentioning that there is very limited space between chairs to compensate for how the hall has been arranged to accommodate the maximum number of tables and patrons around the dance floor. Seating etiquette codes also dictate that the single women sit

closest to the dance floor, to prevent the association of them being perceived as a “wall flower” - a social taboo. The single women are also usually the more professional dancers, and traditionally seated closest to the dance floor. This seating custom thus allows any gentleman seated at another section of the hall at a different table, to approach a prospective dancing partner by crossing the dance floor and inviting her to a dance without having to struggle her way through all the chairs, hindering her entrance to accompany the gentlemen.

Dress codes are also very important. Gentleman are always encouraged to wear a blazer if possible, or a sports jacket and trousers are almost always essential if you are to be perceived as being a gentleman with some “class”. However, the dress-code has undergone some transformation over time in lieu of the popular fashion influences from the United States. It is increasingly the case that gentleman forsake the dress-slacks for denim jeans, however, sneakers or “tekkies” as they are locally known, is considered a major faux-pas. Similarly, the use of a tie to indicate social standing amongst men, is no longer a prominent feature of the male dress code. Instead, the casual open collar, which is seen as more relaxed and informal, has become the new flare. Women on the other hand, tend to dress primarily in terms of formal evening wear. Older women tend to wear evening gowns or long slacks, high heeled shoes and a decorated blouse or shirt. In keeping with the formal dress code, make-up and elaborate jewellery is also worn, and the hair is always styled. At the contemporary *langarm*, one may see younger women tend to engage the sexuality of their

bodies by wearing tight fitting clothing. However, this was not the case in the 1980s, 1990s, and early 2000s, when I was growing up in Cape Town.

In an interview I conducted with Mr Henry Martin, a well-known ballroom dance instructor in the Windermere/Kensington area during the second-half of the twentieth century, he vehemently expressed his disapproval of this fashion trend among the “ladies in the ballroom”. He explained to me that this modern form of clothing for women is in stark contrast to the purpose of the presence of attendees in the ballroom. “A lady was always encouraged to wear a long skirt so that it flows to the contours of her body as she dances. I mean, otherwise, why are you doing this type of dancing?” (Henry Martin, 2006).

Known simply as “Mr Martin” by almost everyone in the Windermere/Kensington area, he was a fine gentleman, with a posture so upright, it appeared he was constantly leaning backwards. Mr Martin was queer, and yet, he was well-respected in the community, and he performed his own respectability via mechanisms of speech, dress, and gesture. Mr Martin was the ballroom dance instructor to my parents in the 1960s and later to my sister in the 1970s, and he continued to teach well into his retirement. Mr Martin and his partner, Mary Mouton, were South African National Champions in Dance, and watching them at competitions was like seeing a swan glide across a pond in one gentle sweep, so that it was not two persons dancing, but one unified character in motion. Mr Martin was an accredited teacher of the Associated Board of Dance in London and graded as “Highly Commended” in his various examinations and Diploma's he undertook during the course of his career.

Legitimizing oneself as “English”, and respectable, through accreditation by the governing bodies in the locus of the empire, provides confirmation to the self, and to others, that one is under no circumstance meant to be mistaken as a coloured with a “canteen culture”, but should be recognised as the “progressionist” with discipline. Like Major Sylvester and the Lads Brigade of the Good Shepherd Company from the same area (see previous chapter), Mr Martin and his ballroom students could lay claim to having been authentically trained in the “English style”. In the interview extract above when he rhetorically asks, “why are you even doing this dancing” as an expression of his displeasure of the “watering-down” of the ballroom scene, Mr Martin reveals that for him, ballroom dancers must have an identity as such, and therefore embody the appropriate corporeal and etiquette codes prescribed.

The coloured *langarm* thus constitutes a habitus of respectability via both the mechanisms of etiquette observance, and *voorstellen*. The etiquette codes of gentile behavior, as Vivian Bickford-Smith (2003) explained, was something that could be learned, and thus, performed. Gentlemanly and lady-like nuances of behavior in dress, seating protocols, and courting gestures, reveal that for Cape coloureds *langarms* become spaces where one does not literally have to be on “parade” as a musician, or necessarily as an Anglican, but that one could parade one’s embodied respectability in the dancehall. The use of costumes and sequential choreography to indicate a graceful, yet charismatic sense-of-self, to the self, and others, demonstrates the phenomenon of *voorstellen*, in that the body becomes an emblem, or narrative of the self that is constructed, and

consciously projected. There is a social code of conduct in terms of how people are to behave, in what is now a ballroom. The space which is otherwise the community hall, has been transformed into a formal ballroom by means of altering the lighting, staging the venue, and how people are enacting or encoding certain behaviors in relation to music. An explicit example of this in the “strictly ballroom” iteration of the *langarm* event can be seen when professional dancers always end their dancing with the traditional competitive formal hold release of the gentleman spinning his partner away from himself, and the “lady” completes the gesture of a curtsy. These are moments in the communal habitus of respectability where behavior that has been regulated by social customs and history, of which it is a product, demonstrates what Bourdieu refers to as the concepts of continuity and regularity in social practice.

Miscegenation in Music

The “strictly ballroom” phase of the habitus is signalled as having come to an end when the bandleader decides to sound the first *vastrap* of the evening. A *vastrap* is a local South African dance genre practiced by the coloured communities of South Africa, although the dance and music can trace its way back to the “*sokkie/sakkie*” concertina music that is known in South Africa as *Boeremusiek*, and there may also possibly be influences from the so-called *Riel*⁵⁴ dances of the more rural coloured communities in the northern cape region of

⁵⁴ The Riel dances are based on the courting ritual dances of the Nama people of Southern Africa and has been revived throughout the Kalahari and the Karoo. The women often wear bonnets and the men wear a waistcoat. There is a strong heel action involved in the footwork and the gestures are completely improvised.

South Africa (see fig. 3 for map). The fusion of the unique Cape musical idiom known as *ghoema*, is what makes the Cape coloured *vastrap* different to those versions one might encounter among coloureds or whites living elsewhere in South Africa. The Cape coloured *vastrap* is a fast-paced couples dance requiring no particular structure in the steps. In fact, during the *vastrap*, couples are not necessarily required to remain in formal partner hold⁵⁵. Comic dance movements called *passies* are performed to entertain groups of people gathered in a circle surrounding the dancers (Holtzman, 2006). The loose and improvised dancing is induced by the band playing the more improvised *ghoema* style of music.

Denis Martin (1999) contends that the *ghoema* beat constitutes a common thread in the music of Christmas bands, *nagtroepe* (malay choirs) and *klopse* (minstrels) (Martin, 2005:95). I would argue that this common thread of the *ghoema* beat be extended to include *langarm* music, as I have often observed dance bands performing songs with a *ghoema* beat, specifically for loose dancing. It would not be a *langarm* coloured social event if these *ghoema-liedjies* and *ghoema-rhythms* are not performed in the dancehall. Patrons possess a cultural knowledge that the music will not be split equally, since ballroom must dominate, but it is expected that loose dancing or improvised folk music will be performed to allow patrons not trained in ballroom to also take to the floor.

The signalling of a shift in the habitus, engaged by an alteration in the type of music sounding, alters the practice of the habitus of respectability to one that is less rigid and concerned with adherence to protocols, but to a space of transformation and improvisation. The “strictly ballroom” atmosphere of the

⁵⁵ See Appendix A, fig. 22 for a photographic illustration.

langarm gives way to the section of the *langarm* referred to as “*mengelmoes*” (mixture). The band will perform a variety of genres, but usually two numbers of the same genre, one after the other before alternating. E.g. *vastrap, vastrap*; waltz waltz; jive, jive; samba/*ghoema*, samba/*ghoema*; quickstep, quickstep; etc. Included in the *mengelmoes* section, is the genre of Cape Jazz, and the “Blues”⁵⁶. Modern jazz dancing⁵⁷, referred to by locals as “the jazz step” or “a jazz”, is also interspersed in the repertoire of the *mengelmoes*, and like the blues, is a couple’s dance that slips in and out of hold.

The *mengelmoes* section concludes when the band takes a break, and recorded music is sounded for approximately thirty minutes. During this time, the band members use the restroom, smoke cigarettes and have something to eat. Consumption of alcoholic beverages is strictly prohibited for band members to ensure they keep an accurate and steady tempo. When the live music ceases, the dancing also usually decreases, although some younger patrons may take to the floor when contemporary popular radio hits are included in the recorded playlist.

The significance of the *mengelmoes* period of the *langarm* is its signification that every person present at the *langarm* belongs in the habitus, that each one will have a chance to dance. Participants respect and acknowledge the fact that not everyone is able to dance to the same music, and that different

⁵⁶ A slow couples dance reserved exclusively for lovers or courting, and although there is a hold, it is not formal. Couples shuffle by transferring their weight from one foot to the other, but remain in the same spot of the dance floor.

⁵⁷ This style of dancing is distinct from ballroom, and more part of the working-class *langarm* genres. It is a distinct local Cape choreography of modern jazz, and very often, strictly ballroom dancers find themselves unable to master this dance because of their formal training. See Tamara Johnson (2012) for more information about modern jazz and salsa dance in Cape Town.

musical pallets and social classes are present in the same habitus, and thus it demands a variety of genres of music and dance. The *mengelmoes* section of the evening is also a microcosm of the history and evolution of the story of *langarm* and ballroom on the Cape Flats, with its strictly ballroom origins that became imitated, watered-down, and that consequentially also mutated into being more contemporary to the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Finally, the hybridised habitus catalysed by the *mengelmoes* signifies the shift from the coloured progressionists (who glorified elitist customs and culture associated with the English), by giving way to the more local and indigenous soundscapes and dance choreography. There is a noteworthy parallel here with the collective development and shift of coloured classification as “Black” that became earmarked to the mixed-race population group after 1994, and the evident “blackening” of the music as the *langarm* event unfolds.

Respectability attached to “knowing oneself” meant that in the *langarm* habitus, all were respectable, and whether you came from “*dit*” (ballroom) or “*dat*” (*langarm/sopvleis*), you belonged. The *langarm* was a space for multiple coloured identities.

Entanglements in Sound and Gesture

Once the band members return from their break, they are relieved to reach the final stretch of the long day, but they also know the final section of the *langarm*, the *los-skud* (loose-shake) genres, will require their heightened concentration and lots of stamina and endurance, since the music moves fast,

and the atmosphere of “party” or “disco” must be sustained for some time. Very little ballroom will sound during the *los-skud* stage of the evening, and the *vastrap* and *ghoema* soundscape, or the Cape Jazz genre, will dominate.

The *ghoema* musical idiom or so-called Cape Town rhythm, is a core part of the coloured identity in music. Although this idiom is engaged by *langarm* musicians as part of their repertoire, it does not define or constitute the musical identity of the *langarm* musician. *Langarm* musicians are regarded by the Cape coloured community as distinguished musicians, as respectable musicians. Their status is derived from their versatile musicianship. The repertoire of the dance bands is diverse, ranging from the standard ballroom dances of waltz, slow foxtrot, quickstep, the Latin-American genres of Samba, Cha-Cha, the American Jive, to the more local genres known as *sopvleis*, *vastrap*, and Cape Jazz. In addition to being competent in performing comfortably in the various genres listed above, for many of the musicians, their musical identity as a *langarm* musician is not static or fixed, since each night of the week, they shift fluidly between other musical identities on the Cape Flats. For instance, on a particular evening a *langarm* bandsman may be involved in a rehearsal for the minstrel troupe he might belong to, the next evening he could be participating in church Brigade drill practice, or a gospel band rehearsal, and over the weekend he might be performing *langarm*, and participating in a religious brass band. A *langarm* musician is able to participate in any one, or more, of the variety of musical activities associated with the coloured community. However, a brigadier, or a carnival minstrel performer, may not necessarily be able to perform *langarm*.

One may speculate that coloured musicians are perhaps more musically adept because of racial mixing, but although I am not making that direct correlation here, I am trying to assert that mixedness is deeply embedded in coloured practices and identities

I observed these multiple musical identities and obligations of the bandsmen who belonged to the Ikey Gamba Dance Band in the Kensington/Windermere area during my participant observation experiences as the assistant keyboard player in the band from 2005-2007. My decision to work with this band was guided by the number of years the band has been in existence, their popularity in the community, and my familiarity with the current band leader, Ikey Gamba Jnr, through our previous work together in the Good Shepherd, Kensington, gospel band.

The Ikey Gamba Dance Band (aka Orchestra), was formed in 1951, and is still in existence today⁵⁸. A family band of three generations of Gamba's and friends, the band is known by word-of-mouth across all coloured townships on the Cape Flats. The band is known for their large size, rich harmonies, ability to play in strict time, and vast repertoire. In the book "Sounding the Cape" (2013), Denis-Constant Martin writes: "The repertoire of Ikey Gamba's *langarm* band is extremely diversified, and has absorbed kwela, boeremusiek, Indian music, as well as Brazilian samba". (Martin, 2013:346). Similarly, Sylvia Bruinders had noted that one of the highlights in the musical career of the Ikey Gamba Dance Band, was performing for an Indian Musical, where they performed "authentic

⁵⁸ See Appendix A, fig. 23 for a photograph of the founding members of the Ikey Gamba Dance Band from Kensington, Cape Town. Ikey Gamba Snr. is pictured holding the piano-accordion, with his mother as the original keyboard player.

Indian Music” (Bruinders, 2012:84). However, the most notable achievement the Ikey Gamba Dance Band lays claim to, is that it was in this particular band that the South African Jazz personality Abdullah Ibrahim was once a former member with Ikey Gamba Snr⁵⁹. Finally, the popularity of the Ikey Gamba Dance Band extends beyond the coloured community of Cape Town, as the band enjoys national airplay of their recordings on the Afrikaans radio station, *Radio Sonder Grense* in a programme titled “*Kap-it-uit*” (Shake-it-loose), a weekly programme devoted exclusively to playing *langarm* and *sokkie/sakkie* music and announcing upcoming *langarm* events in the country.

By the time I had joined Ikey Jnr’s band in 2005, the band had been in existence for over fifty years, and the very sound of the band, as well as the history and legacy of it being a family-band of three generations, was what had come to shape the identity and reputation of this particular *langarm* band. The band was known for their rich big-band jazz aesthetic that was exemplified by playing the various ballroom repertoire in a lush four-part harmonization by the horn section⁶⁰. The musical arrangements were heavily influenced by the American Big Band jazz sound of the post-war era, which would have also been fed into the Cape colony via the distribution of vinyl recordings, and airplay on the radio. Carol Muller explains:

The more conventionally musical renditions could be heard on the radio and through live performance at home, singing in the church, and at

⁵⁹ Abdullah Ibrahim was still using the name ‘Dollar Brand’ at that time in the late 1950s. He was born in Kensington in 1934.

⁶⁰ The genre of *langarm* must have a leading saxophone playing the dominant melody for the band to be recognized as a *langarm* band. There will almost always be a keyboard that is going to accompany two or more saxophones. Very prestigious, and large bands, will have at least four saxophones to manifest this fetishized rich musical tone.

school. There was always live music on the streets, live and mediated musical performances in 'bob' parties and the cinema/bioscope on Saturdays, and the live dance bands sounds of teenage bop clubs. (Muller, 2008:175).

In an interview I conducted with Ikey Gamba Jnr in 2006, he explained to me that his father, Ikey Gamba Snr, was also heavily influenced in this way, by the popularity of the English band known as Victor Silvester. Victor Silvester and his string band recoded popular jazz tunes or movie soundtrack tunes in strict tempo ballroom rhythms. Ikey Gamba Jnr explained an example of this:

It might be Judi Garland performing the song *Somewhere over the rainbow* in the film *The Wizard of Oz* and Victor Silverster's band would then take the main theme from *Somewhere over the rainbow*, have a string orchestra playing the melody, and then manipulating it into a strict tempo of either a Waltz or a slow Foxtrot (Ikey Gamba, 2006).

Sylvia Bruinders, who also conducted her own interviews with Ikey Gamba Jnr (2001), also noted this strong influence of the Victor Silvester sound on the Kensington based band.

The IGDB played in the distinctive style of the English dance bandleader, Victor Silvester. The IGDB was extremely popular in Cape Town for many years. They were such a formidable competitor in the dance band competitions that the organizers asked them not to participate as they won the trophy each year. The organizers felt that their constant winning was not good for competition (Bruinders, 2012:83).

Ikey Gamba Snr's musical gimmick of combining English ballroom music with American jazz music, and coupling these genres with indigenous *ghoema* folk music, sustains the notion that English music has had a place in this community along with the other genres, and that the mixing of English music with other genres and sounds could once again be read as a metaphor for the visible mixing located within in the brown body. Finally, musical excellence was

something that had to be cultivated, and sustained. The reputation of a band, although determined by the quality of sound produced, is also dependant on the favourable response of *langarm* patrons to the band. The tighter the sound, and the more inclined patrons are to dance; the more likely they are to attend a future *langarm* event where the same band might be performing. From the late twentieth century, the third and final section of the sequence of events at *langarms*, the *los-skud* period, became crucial for determining, ensuring, and maintaining the success of a dance band in Cape Town. Whereas in the post-war years the bands might have been judged on the calibre of their strict tempo ballroom music, in recent times, it is the *los-skud* music, and the band's ability to induce collective ecstatic moments in the habitus, that will determine their future fate.

Coloured's will not usually attend a *langarm* blindly. Prior to reserving or purchasing a ticket, patrons want to know "*wie speel?*" (who is playing [the music]?). Similarly, once the *langarm* event has reached this final stage of practice, one can hear patrons saying "*Ek het nog tien-rand oor. Hoeveel het djy nog oor?*" (I have ten-rand left. How much do you still have left?). This rhetorical question is asked by *langarms* patrons from one to another as they come off the dance floor as the event is about three-quarters of the way complete. The phrase may be mistaken by a cultural outsider as being a reference to the amount of money that one has remaining in their possession, whereas cultural insiders are aware that the phrase actually refers to the amount of the *langarm* ticket or

admission fare that the patron has danced-off.⁶¹ For those who have come to the *langarm* to dance, rather than to socialize, there is great pride in being able to say you have “danced-off” your admission fare, that you have been on the dance floor regularly, and it is also a testimony to how much one has enjoyed the music from the band – that you could not just stay in your seat, but had to take to the floor. The phrase is a social indication that the music has moved your insides and your body.

Band members are profoundly aware that they must move the insides of the patrons to ensure a successful event, and as I experienced in the Ikey Gamba ensemble, the manipulation and fluidity of the habitus constituted among the musicians as workers on duty, directly influences, and is influenced by the habitus of the patrons on the dance floor. This mutual exchange of one group feeding the other with momentum, with reciprocal high-energy and pleasure, is something that will require a more thorough excavation and exposition in my future research on *langarm*, but for now, it is worthwhile making the point that the *los-skud* section of the *langarm*, and the associated music-making, induces a heightened state of awareness among musicians and patrons.

As I came to learn through my participant-observer experiences, patrons want to perform queer or comical gestures and engage in group dancing that expresses the sameness and South Africaness of all present. The burden of catalyzing or shifting the habitus rests with the bandsmen. Since everything is occurring live, in the moment, and because dance music requires a steady down

⁶¹ *Langarm* events are almost always hosted as fund-raising events for sports clubs or churches, and to sustain a cash-flow for the band performing the music. Ticket prices range from 50-Rand to 100-Rand, and are usually purchased long in advance to secure a seat at a table.

beat, there is no opportunity to go back and correct any errors, and one cannot afford to lose one's place in the sheet music. The *los-skud* habitus is induced and sustained by the band playing uninterrupted medleys of folk-songs. What could be five or six separate numbers, often becomes fused into one non-stop "remix" or improvised arrangement with one song flowing into the other; or by using a bridging refrain. Just as Ikey Jnr surveyed the acoustics of the hall when the band was setting-up, in the *los-skud* temporality, he surveys the crowd on the dance floor below the stage where the band is positioned. He surveys the number on the floor, whether it's full or empty, and the activities and dancing style of the patrons.

If a particular musical number sounds and it happens to be popular among the patrons, the dance floor will begin to fill within the first few bars of the music. Once the floor is filled with patrons engaging in loose dancing or *passies*, Ikey will want to keep them there for a bit of time in order for them to "dance-off" their admission fare. In instances such as these where a packed floor is achieved, Ikey will begin to use hand gestures as signals to the band to either repeat a song, or to play a bridging pattern. Sometimes a hand signal will indicate he is about to do a medley, and that a transition to a new number is imminent. In this case, he simply shouts out titles of various *loskud* numbers one after the other. Every band member, including the vocalist, is on high alert. Everything is done by ear with no sheet music, and musicians cannot afford to miss their cue. It is absolutely crucial that the drummer never misses a beat because patrons will

simply walk off the floor if they need to compensate for any rhythmical error or readjust their already embodied pulse or down beat.

Patrons are completely oblivious to the heightened awareness among the band members and their investments in a habitus that seeks to preserve an already achieved respectability, i.e. the preservation of the prestige of the band and associated renowned musicianship that has attracted followers. In other words, the patrons at *langarm* events are not concerned about the high-stakes and cognitive or consciousness shifts that band members are undergoing, because they are too concerned with their own habitus where they are achieving a cognitive ecstasy or mental unison of coloureds being coloureds⁶². Their heightened state of awareness is characterized by the phenomenon of “knowing oneself” as coloured, via the collective celebrations and recognition of “self” in the *ghoema* musical idiom. In essence, whether you came from *dit* or *dat*, it didn’t matter, because in those moments of ecstasy, in the engagement and expression of the natural or authentic self, the brown body locates its belonging to the city of Cape Town, and to the broader South African identity as “indigenized and improvised”, just as *langarm* music and dance happens to be constituted.

In concluding this chapter, I wish to return to a recurring theme in this dissertation – that Cape coloureds have multiple identities, and that these identities are able to be excavated by understanding how coloured individuals

⁶² See Rouget (1985) where he uses the word “trance” to refer to the type of altered state of consciousness I am describing. For Rouget, trance is obtained by means of noise (sonic events), agitation, and in the presence of others (in contrast to “ecstasy” which is attained in silence, immobility, and solitude). However, Rouget denies that music “directly” causes trance states. Music is rather only one of many components causing trance states.

identify with music, how they use music, how the music acts on coloured bodies, and how music is used a tool for remembering. Social theory suggests that occupied or oppressed peoples either reject or embrace the social order and customs of the antagonist, and what is unique about the history of the coloured community of Cape Town is how some cohorts of coloureds embraced or used a practice of genteel Englishness to expand and locate respectability into new communities, adding new racial identities, insisting on forms of cultural inclusion of their own making. By examining the history, music and bodily gestures of choristers, brigadiers and ballroom dancers in Cape Town, I have revealed that there is need for further scrutiny of this mode of practice of *voorstellen* that has lodged itself in the very tissue of the brown body in Cape Town.

My research reveals a social conditioning of embodiment, or an imprint of culture on the body, or what Marcell Mauss calls "the meaning-making aspects of motor movements, i.e., "the way movement experience supports yet inflects a culturally legible signification" (Mauss cited in Noland, 2009:23). For Mauss, the body is not only a socio-biological entity, but a body that is governed by a psychological attitude. Mauss calls the techniques civilization concocts, such as sitting in chairs "efficient" (*efficace*) not because they are harmonious with physiology, but rather because they fulfil other social requirements, such as ensuring hierarchies or establishing gender distinctions. He argues that cultural efficacy of the body is achieved through ritualized gestures, and that the body establishes and maintains social, class, gender and race distinctions with psychosocial significance (ibid). In his essay "The materiality of gesture:

Intimacy, emotion and technique in the archaeological study of bodily communication, Steven Matthews (2005) points out Mauss taught us to notice that there was something meaningful in the way that we move and the way in which we do things (Matthews, 2005:3), and in this chapter, I explained how as a cultural insider, I believe the Cape coloured dancehall functions as a habitus of respectability that is fluid and improvised, analogous to the multiple coloured identities that exist in the Western Cape region. Music is a tool that signifies the constitution of the habitus as celebrating those coloureds who regard themselves as being part of a “hidden English Diaspora”, and evolves to also signify that all coloureds are essentially indigenous Africans and can claim “South Africaness” via their corporeal responsiveness to uniquely South African music.

As I have demonstrated above, to consider the subject of bodily techniques as reactionary to music reveals not only the musical function and psychosociocultural work that is achieved through the phenomenology of sonic embodiment, but it is also of importance to disciplines concerned with the Anthropology of Music and Gesture. My case-studies on respectability and *voorstellen* can contribute to the discourse on how individual and group cognitive perspectives provide resources for conceptualizing ethnicity, race, and nation; and what that means for extending the musicological study of mixed-race musical identities, or identities in music. I explore this scholarly intervention in the final chapter, but not before I excavate what may be regarded as the other side of the proverbial coin of respectability, i.e. the “queer” or deviant identifications and

modes of practice that come to constitute a different, but equally dignified respectability within the broader social field of Cape Town.

Chapter 5: *Moffies* and Queers

In Cape coloured society, the term “*moffie*” is used to refer to (i) a male homosexual, (ii) a cross-dressing man (i.e. a man dressed in women’s clothing), and (iii) a male who displays effeminate mannerisms. One may hear coloured folk saying to one another “*Ek dink hy’s ‘n moffie*” (I think he’s a *moffie*) when there might be uncertainty about a man’s sexuality, or when a heterosexual man perhaps responds in an over-the-top or dramatic manner, he may be ridiculed or teased by his family and friends who will say to him “stop acting like a *moffie*”. But often, the phrase is used more light-heartedly or affirmatively when a gay man self-identifies as a *moffie* and uses the term as a term to claim pride and assert his social position in the hierarchical matrix of field that constitutes Cape coloured society. In this type of scenario, the *moffie* affirms his queer identity to others by exclaiming “*Ek is mos ‘n moffie!*” (I am, of course, a *moffie!*), or others might say to an “out” gay man “*hoe garr’it met die moffie?*” (how is the *moffie* doing?); and this is interpreted as a sign of respect, as a warm greeting.

It is more often the case than not, that self-identifying Cape coloured *moffies* perform their personas or queer “sense-of-self” as cross-dressers who use humor and parody techniques to bring laughter around them. *Moffies* are revered by many in the working class coloured community, and it is still the custom today, as it was in the apartheid era, to have a *moffie* as the *voorlooper*

van die klops (drum major of the minstrel troupe), a distinguished position⁶³. The *moffie* is an archetype of the “queer” or displaced member of society by being both mixed-race, and non-heteronormative or homosexual.

Roderick Ferguson (2004) called this sexual deviance in blackness an “aberration” in blackness, or a “queer of color” to point out that sexual deviance also often means racial deviance by the benchmarks that constitute the norms of the dominant heterosexual, patriarchal black family stereotype that persists in racialized societies. Ferguson is speaking specifically about his African American community, but a similar “queering” of deviant identity has taken place within the Hispanic homosexual and cross-dressing community by Jose Esteban Muñoz (2009). Muñoz argues there is more to identity than being included or excluded in a group or culture, and that by looking at those who fall outside of the constructs of what may be regarded as normative majority culture (such as racialized and sexualized minorities), we begin to see that deviant minorities validate themselves through performance to ensure survival – a disidentification or technology of self that is not the real self that is actually traumatized by not belonging (Muñoz, 2009: 7).

The performativity of this “technology of self” or disidentification (Muñoz, 2009) evolved from the post-war generation to the apartheid generation, and I

⁶³ See Appendix A, fig. 24 for a photograph of a Cape coloured *moffie* as the *voorlooper* (drum major) of a Minstrel troupe. I observed this in my own fieldwork over many years, that the best minstrel troupes have a *moffie* as their *voorlooper*, and people in the crowd can be heard shouting, “*kom aan moffie, skud daai lyfie*” (come on *moffie*, move that body). In numerous interviews I conducted with participants in the minstrel troupes, the members insist that it is not even worthwhile entering the competitive component of the carnival season, if the troupe does not have a *moffie*. For more on the minstrel carnival, see Martin (1999).

hypothesise that these queer experiences of coloured identity and minority coloured consciousness can be examined by looking at the respectability that *moffies* claim through their use of humor or satire. These queer performativities invoke nuances of laughing at one's own deviance, so that the *moffie* is also functioning as a social mirror for the Cape coloured community, articulating on their behalf the notion that to be living in South Africa as a mixed-race person, is to be living a queer life.

One of my earliest experiences with a *moffie* in Cape Town was as a young boy chorister in Good Shepherd church choir in the 1990s when Brian Isaacs joined the choir. Despite his rather large frame and fuller figure, and his manly tenor voice, he insisted on sitting in the front row along with the other sopranos. He also occasionally referred to himself as "Briana". His voice was loud, hoarse, and harsh. Its piercing and dominant timbre overshadowed the otherwise harmonious choral texture, making everyone cringe. If his voice and large size were not enough to get your attention, his distinctive laugh did the trick. A high-pitched shriek announced his presence wherever he went.

Brian is well known in the Windermere/Kensington area where he has lived all his life. Now in his 60s, he is retired, although he was a school teacher for most of his adult life. He is an avid baker, and he sells his cakes and trademark "*kaffir konfyt*"⁶⁴ (watermelon preserve) at the church, where he still

⁶⁴ *Konfyt* is the Afrikaans word for jam or preserve, and here the word *kaffir* is used to refer to the fact that it is watermelon preserve. I am uncertain as to how the racial term of *kaffir* is used to refer to watermelon, and have asked many in the coloured community if they have an explanation for it, however, no answers were forthcoming. I suspect it may have something to do with the stereotype and caricatures that exist of black American Negro's displayed eating a watermelon, and the derogatory status of the black's in South Africa, hence, the term "*kaffir*" for watermelon.

allows people to buy “*op die boekie*⁶⁵” (on the book—buy now pay later). Brian’s deliberate performance as an open or “out” *moffie*, is what makes him a local cultural icon. He is admired for his courage by many, frowned upon by the conservative few, but overall appreciated for his ability to make people laugh. When people engage with Brian they expect to laugh, and he knows his duty: always delivering a witty compliment or an insult in the form of a joke.

When I explained to Brian that I was interested in interviewing him to discuss gay life during the apartheid era, he insisted that I should meet one of his dear friends, another *moffie* in Kensington known locally as “Cliffie *Moffie*”, and that they would do the interview together. What follows below is an ethnographic, thick description of certain parts of the interview. I deliberately selected sections of the interview that discuss the “othering” of *moffies* even though there is a considerable amount of respect that *moffies* are afforded in the Cape coloured community.

The Bishop, the Pope, and Marie Antoinette

When we arrive at Cliffie’s home, we find him outside in his garden on his knees, buttocks raised in the air, and his head planted deep in a rose bush. At this stage, I have yet to see Cliffie’s face, only his silhouette from behind is visible, and with a long pony tail dangling from the back of his head, and the reflection of his earrings in the sun, one might easily mistake him for a woman. For myself and Brian, both openly gay men, we mischievously chuckle between

⁶⁵ Afrikaans term meaning “to buy on the book” on credit, where patrons pay at the end of the month.

one another and acknowledge the obvious ambiguity of Cliffie on all fours showing us his behind. As we approach Cliffie in the garden, Brian doesn't hesitate to take the moment in his stride and deliver a punch line joke about Cliffie always being ready to assume the "mounting" position. Cliffie bursts out with a laughter just as high-pitched as Brian's, one can hardly believe these are two middle-aged men.

Once we enter the home, I can't help but notice a large crucifix hung on the wall above the living room fireplace, and a flower arrangement display of Cliffie's roses from his very own garden are neatly placed on the mantle below. Cliffie orchestrates the seating and directs me as to where I should position the camera. Cliffie is seated in front of his fire place, on a chair placed just below the crucifix, so that it appears as though I were conducting the interview with the Pope himself. Brian is seated outside of the camera frame, deliberately placed there by Cliffie who clearly believes he is the star of this show, and not Brian. Brian does not argue about where he is seated, but merely drops one of his punching jokes: "*Ja nee, ek is mos die Bishop maar ek sien jy is die Pope* (Yes, I may be the Bishop, but I see you are the Pope), I know my place your holiness. *As hulle maar net moet weet hoe evil is His Holiness*" (if only they knew how evil His Holiness really is) and Cliffie promptly responds with a witty rebuttal: "Oh yes, many a man favors my holiness⁶⁶ over his lady's", and they proceed to erupt into a euphoric spat of laughter.

⁶⁶ Afrikaans double entendre, *hol* means hole, or buttocks. There is an inferred joke about male to male anal sex.

A woman enters the living room, curious to see what all the commotion is about. I later discover it is Cliffie's sister. After learning that the interview concerns homosexuality and *moffies*, she proudly exclaims, "Yes, my daughter is also a lesbian". Cliffie, not happy about this interruption, immediately takes control of the interview by responding, "Yes, my niece is only 17 years old, but already she says openly that she is gay, that she is attracted to women. I'm certain that if it wasn't for me being able to prepare my family with how to handle this type of thing you know, then I suppose, well we wouldn't be as accepting of it as we are. But, yes, it is also a whole new generation who don't really appreciate how difficult it was for us. Now yes, now you can walk and they will look at you and laugh".

Brian interrupts, "If they even look at you!" Cliffie continues, "*Ja ne! Ons is mos nou te oud* (Yes, but now we are too old), but back in our day, it wasn't easy to be a *moffie*, but the respect they had for you!" Brian interjects, "It's because we knew how to have respect for our elders back then also, and we knew what the boundaries were! *Hulle het altyd gesê die moffies soek vir kak! Ons het nie vir kak gesoek nie! Hulle was net jealous* that we got away with it. (They always used to say the *moffies* are looking for trouble, it that's not that we went looking for trouble, but they are jealous that we got away with it). Monday to Friday you were at your job, wearing your male uniform...oooh in those days het *almal mos 'n uniform gedra*. Gentleman, slacks and jacket. *Ons het maar ons knope gebrasso om te wys ons is nie* the ordinary man *nie*, but when the weekend arrived, *fok nou moet julle bang wees want die moffie gaan jou man steel!*"

(Monday to Friday you were at your job, wearing your male uniform...oooh in those days everybody had to wear a uniform. Gentleman, slacks and jacket. We used to polish our buttons to let the other gents know that we were not the ordinary gentleman, but when the weekend arrived, then you be better be scared, because the *moffie* is going to try and steal your man!).

Laughter erupts between the four of us in the room. The narrative is woven seamlessly between Brian and Cliffie who continue to engage their nostalgia for their youthful days. Cliffie continues, "We couldn't wait to get home from work on a Friday. Now you must know, the first decision is "*my hare, of die kas se hare?*" (My own natural hair, or the wig in the cupboard?). Cliffie subtly points to his own long hair, no doubt, a symbol of his feminine pride, but also hinting at how Brian, with his receding hairline, will always be reliant on a wig. Cliffie continues, "From the time you arrived home from work on a Friday, to the time you sat in church on Sunday morning, that was the time you could be a *moffie*".

Brian takes over. "And what a transformation it was. The one wanted to outdo the other. Now we would usually all meet at somebody's house, and usually it was Dennis Prince. Dennis would sit at the piano, or have the LPs playing, and we would all have a good sing-along while enjoying our drinks and snacks. From there, we would decide on where we would put in an appearance that night. Usually, it was a *langarm* at the Woodstock or Salt River Townhall, or maybe even a house party here in Kensington. Wherever we went, we were the

highlight of the night”. Cliffie asserts himself in the conversation again, “Yes, there was a never a dull moment with us”.

Cliffie and Brian continue to tell me stories about their younger days, the memories are clearly vivid since I can see emotions of pleasure as they engage in a mental unison of reminiscing on the past. However, when I probe deeper into the trials and trauma that came with being a *moffie* in Cape Town society during the apartheid era, the conversation takes a more sombre and serious tone. Cliffie begins this tale the same as many of the other nostalgic stories, by laughing.

He tells me about another *moffie* called Mitzy⁶⁷ and *her* mischievous escapades. “Oh, she was a real joke...always a character and flirting with the men. One night, we were all at the fair, it was like a bazaar, but you know, with the carousel and the ferris wheel. So, Mitzy manages to get herself on the ferris wheel in the seat, the booth, with one of her admirers. And as the car goes higher and higher, the wind picks up, and *oooh junne, die wind, dit was baie sterk en daar waai Mitzy se wig van haar kop af en dit land dan nou in ‘n noge man se gesig! Die skaamte! Want nou moet jy weet, nou moet sy hardloop van die man wat haar wil hê en die man wie se gesig die wig in gewaai het. Oooh, that ferrous wheel stopped and Mitzy was out of the cart, sy hardloop weg en ons agter na*” (So, Mitzy manages to get herself on the ferrous wheel in the seat, the booth, with one of her admirers. And as the car goes higher and higher, the wind picks up, and oh gosh, the wind, and there Mitzy’s wig blew off her head and it landed

⁶⁷ See *Golden City Post*, 18 June 1967, p1. In a report on the upcoming election for *Moffie* Queen in 1967, Mitzy Gaynor of Maitland Salon is noted as an entrant. This confirms that Mitzy was a well-known *moffie* at the time.

in another man's face! The shame! Because now you must know, she must run from the man that wanted her, and the man who wants to catch her. Oooh, that ferrous wheel stopped and Mitzy was out of the cart, she ran, and we followed behind).

Brian recalls another memory of Mitzy, and steers the conversation in a more serious direction. "And don't forget the incident with the police. *Ooooh, dit was vir jou 'n storie* (oh, what a story)! God, I will never forget that day", Brian says quite seriously. Cliffie's face immediately takes a more stern and composed appearance. His voice drops slightly, and the high pitched feminine voice that dominated before, is now more tense and dark. "It was a Saturday night. We were walking back to Kensington from a party in Salt River. You know, all the way down Voortrekker Road, it runs through Maitland. That night they got us. *Boere*⁶⁸(Boers). There is a long pause, and Cliffie's head drops down. A deafening silence is broken by Cliffie continuing what sounds like a potentially tragic tale. "*Wat is jou naam?*" (What is your name?). Cliffie's voice is harsh, and he imitates the deep baritone timbre and accent of the Afrikaner Boer. Then suddenly, he alters his voice back to a high-pitched squeak of a female voice, as he utters "*Mitzy, Meneer*" (Mitzy, Sir). Cliffie jumps back and forth, in character, one moment the Afrikaner policeman, the next, another *moffie* in the gang. "*Naam?*" (Name?) "*Elsie*". *Naam?* (Name?) "*Veronica, Meneer*" (Veronica, Sir). "*Wat gaan hier aan? Is julle moffies?*" "*Ja meneer*". (What's going on here, are you all *moffies*? Yes officer.)

⁶⁸ Afrikaans word referring to Afrikaner cultural identity and a racist derogatory term used by coloured and black South Africans to refer to white policemen.

Then he slips back into Cliffie the narrator, “Gosh, we didn’t know what he was going to do to us, but we prayed there, we knew all those hours in church were worth it, because we knew the power of prayer. “*Asseblief Here, laat die man net vir ons uit los, en nie vir ons ouers bel nie* (Please God, let this man leave us alone and not call our parents)... And he went to Mitzy and he pulled down her pants, and the powder came out of her pants like a volcanic eruption in that *boere’s* (white policeman’s) face. We couldn’t help it, but we all burst out laughing, and that was the biggest mistake. “*Lag julle vir my? Julle fokken moffies gaan julle gat sien*⁶⁹ (Are you laughing at me? You fucking *moffies* haven’t begun to laugh) ...And he tied all of our hands, and he put match sticks in between our toes and lit them, and we were all dancing around, our toes on fire, and they laughed amongst themselves while he shouted, *julle hotnotte wil mos so dans*” (you hottentots supposedly enjoy dancing like this). They untied us, and they let us go. We ran, we ran all the way with our burnt toes, down Voortrekker Road to Kensington, and the next morning we sat in church praying and saying “Thank you, God”. And then we knew what it meant *om jou gat te sien* (see your arse)⁷⁰.

This ethnographic account of Brian and Cliffie recounting their experiences as coloured *moffies* living in Cape Town circa the 1970s and 80s, as well as at the time of the interview, gives us insight into the performative qualities of *moffie* identity, and it also reminds us how traumatic life was for coloured people under the racist apartheid regime, and perhaps, how this was even more

⁶⁹ Euphemism for death or threat to kill.

⁷⁰ Double entendre, *jy maak gat van my* (you make a fool of me) as well as a homosexual inference with the Afrikaans word *gat* meaning hole or anus.

so the case for queer coloured men. There is an importance placed on the church, both in how they present themselves as being raised in religious homes, and their performativity of being “church-going” persons in their witty, but hyperbolic, self-referrals as “Pope” and “Bishop”. In Cliffie’s case, with his oversized crucifix, as though his mantle were an altar, and in Brian’s case, with the aid of a costume, his choir robe he wears on Sunday mornings, and his embodiment of the “know-it-all Bishop”. These are respectable *moffies* and their technologies of self are examples of *voorstellen*, a deliberate statement of *ons kom vandaan* (we come from there). There is a signalling to the self and others that they have been well-raised, as Christians – “we come from the church”. Respectability is being claimed through Christianity to reveal that one is noble, pious, gentle, disciplined. These projections of respectability of the self, are done via props and costume, and by deliberately referring to the church to demonstrate that as *moffies* or gay men, they were not heretics and sinners who know no other way of “being-in-the-world” (Giddens, 1999), but that they had multiple identities – as respectable Christian coloureds, and as cross-dressing gay men. There is also an indication that respectability was a trait of those who were obedient to authority. There is inference of a general respect for elders and a disciplining of self as *moffie*, to know one’s place, and not over-step the mark of one’s queerness – an understanding that queer behaviour had its place. We see this in the interview extract where Brian remarks: “It’s because we knew how to have respect for our elders back then also, and we knew what the boundaries were!”

There is a constant sense of performativity by Brian and Cliffie that comes across in the interview. In their appearance, mannerisms, and gestures, but also in how they engage me in the interview, as though it is the moment they have been waiting for. As the interviewer, I sense a projection of a narrative of a “mine-self” and a “they-self”. This is their moment on stage, and by speaking to me and my camera, it is their gateway to the global stage, to tell their story to somebody who is interested in hearing it, and more importantly, interested in preserving it. Cliffie and Brian are sharing stories as they lived them, but they extend their meaning to the broader queer Cape coloured community of the 1970s and 80s by speaking subtly on behalf of their queer counter-parts. An example of this comes across in the interview when Cliffie remarks poignantly: “*Ja ne! Ons is mos nou te oud* (Yes, but now we are too old), but back in our day, it wasn’t easy to be a *moffie*, but the respect they had for you!)”.

The scenario narrated by Cliffie about the *moffies* being terrorized by the apartheid policeman, illustrates just how easy it is to develop an empathy for a “shared queerness”, the shared vulnerability of not belonging to the ordained order of things as constructed by the normative other. The narrative by Brian and Cliffie above, is evidence that *moffies* see themselves as belonging to a cohort of “queer coloureds” on the micro-level – as peers of other cross-dressing or gay men, and on the macro level – as members of a Cape coloured society where they are revered as the best hairdresser, the best baker, the best seamstress, the best teacher, the best story-teller, the best gossip or joker, as the one who will allow you to pay at the end of the month. But the most valued trait of the

moffie remains his/her ability to entertain the coloured community, and perhaps this is how *moffies* have carved-out a space of acceptance within the coloured community.

When Brian and Cliffie were at their prime, there was another local queer icon from the Windermere/Kensington area, known as “Kewpie Doll” who was especially known for delivering spectacular theatrical performances and using humor as a tool of celebration. A *Golden City Post* article published in July 1967, provides the following description of one such performance:

Amongst the most celebrated of the public performances was the 18th century theme ball held at the Ambassador Club in 1967. Kewpie Doll/Cappucine was the toast of the evening which began with the procession through District Six and Woodstock of a horse-drawn carriage loaded with Marie Antoinette look-alikes (Golden City Post, 9 July 1967:14).

We can see that the performances *moffies* participated in were grand affairs. The French Queen Marie-Antoinette look-alikes in the horse drawn carriage moving through the streets of the inner-city suburbs demonstrates that *moffies* were not ashamed of their identities, or expressions thereof, and that these performances were also deliberately over-the-top. By engaging a costume associated with eighteenth-century Europe, these coloured *moffies* engage in caricaturing Europeans as “queer” through their over-the-top or excessive aristocratic behaviors and customs, but there is also another layer of meaning to how the *moffies* deliberately used their costumes and performances as a means of *voorstellen*, of projection of the self via a caricature of a ‘gentile’, respectable lady; but also to project to the broader Cape Town community, that “yes we are

here, and we are queer”, to echo a slogan of the gay movement. There is a sense of positive self-identification that is achieved through the performance of queer identity for *moffies* – a validation of self, by the self, and by others through their consumption of the performance. Chetty (1995) notes of Kewpie:

[He] remains a legend in the coloured working class area of Kensington in Cape Town, although this *enfant terrible* of the *moffie* drag scene in the 1960s is now more sedate and even a little maudlin in his later years...Like most of his generation of gay men, Kewpie grew up in District Six, in a family of six children who went to local schools like St. Philip’s and the Berlin Mission School. His mother, a housewife, is remembered especially for her tolerance of his sexuality from its earliest expressions. Kewpie wanted to be a dancer and began ballet classes at an early age: he was in fact trained in ballet at the University of Cape Town, destined for a career before lights. Parental pressure, though, put a hold on these ambitions (Chetty, 1995:123)

Similarly, Chetty (ibid) records brief historical biographies of other *moffies* who were known as performers. Particular reference is made of Piper Laurie from the coloured area, Mitchell’s Plain on the Cape Flats⁷¹. Piper was also a trained ballet dancer, and performed regularly with the Eoan Group, a local theatre and performing arts group⁷². But perhaps most significant about Piper Laurie, was his association with the black musical elite of South Africa in the 1950s, a revelation that *moffies* enjoyed acceptance beyond Cape coloured society, although, there it also had its limits, since it was frowned upon by the coloured bourgeoisie, as well as the whites.

For a time in the 1950s, Piper performed with a touring revue company, ‘African Jazz and Variety’. African Jazz went on to become Shebeen, and then African Follies; and Piper gained quite a reputation

⁷¹ Piper Laurie was part of the Golden City Dixies, or Coloured Jazz and Variety. See Benjamin and Muller (2011) for additional anecdotes on Piper Laurie and these productions.

⁷² For more on the Eoan performing arts group, see an article by Roos (2014) and a documentary video by Kaganof and Muller (2014).

as a dancer, working with Dolly Rathebe, Rose Mathys and Miriam Makeba, all of whom belonged to the same company at various times. In the black music world, it appears, gay people were generally respected and supported (Chetty, 1995:123).

The majority of scholarship covering coloured *moffie* identity deal with characters like Brian Isaacs, Piper Laurie, or Kewpie Doll/Cappucine. Just as I have done above, these academic texts are concerned with the history of the *moffie* character, or constructing a social stereotype by noting a benchmark or list of characteristics of noticeable normative traits in an otherwise deviant personality. Chetty (2005) calls this type of work the documenting of “pre-revolutionary” gay life on the Cape Flats and that “in their own way, these *moffies* created a culture worth celebrating. They sustained that essential element of queer culture – “subversion” (Chetty, 2005:126). Tucker (2009) calls this sustenance of queer life a “queer visibility”. Tucker argues that coloured cross-dressing men are uniquely tied to the progression of apartheid race-based logic among ruling whites and the evolution of spatial segregation. Visible expressions of queer sexuality are not only spatially but also racially distinct from those of white queer men.

Another scholar who provides insight into the visibilities of queer identities is Diana Adesola Mafe (2013) who provides an excellent account of the way that South African authors have portrayed the controversial *moffie* character in literature. She argues that the *moffie* specifically challenges the logic of racial and sexual categorization in the Cape coloured community.

This stereotyping of the *moffie* strongly evokes the traditional stereotyping of the tragic mulatto. Tragedy for the mulatto character is also about melodrama and performance and there is a similar sense of theatricality in

this description of the “tragic *moffie*” ... sexual and gender ambiguity functioned as stereotypical markers of colouredness, specifically coloured masculinity, precisely because – in the tradition of the stereotype, these markers were initially determined by a racist and heteronormative (white) gaze (Mafe, 2013:106).

Mafe is able to draw this conclusion of gender ambiguity as a stereotypical marker of colouredness by citing the work of Amanda Swarr (2012).

Differences among drag performances are rooted in the racialized sex-gender-sexuality systems within which South Africans operate. Distinguishing among sex (male or female bodies), gender (masculinity and femininity), and sexuality (sexual practices and orientation) is critical to understanding these systems (Swarr in Mafe, 2013:106).

My overarching argument in this chapter, is that there is enough evidence to infer that a queer performativity is at play in South African culture, and that these technologies of self that are rooted in a conscious performativity or projection of deviance, are courageous expressions of a traumatised mine-self, and they-self; but they are also simultaneously revelations to the self and selves, that being in-between, or being queer, is a traumatic and painful existence that is best handled via humor⁷³.

Moffies and Mirrors

The genre of comedy and satire has seen significant growth if one measures the huge following individual performers enjoy with their long runs of shows that remain sold out. In the coloured community of Cape Town, the genre

⁷³ Perfect examples of this technique of using humor as a reactionary and survival mechanism can be seen in the narrative of Trevor Noah's (2016) autobiography; and the similar themes of race, class, gender, politics, resistance, domination and agency in the creative work of the musical impresario and theatre director David Kramer. For more on Kramer, see his biography by de Villiers and Slabbert (2011).

of comedic and satirical theatre is a favorite. Marc Lottering, a local comedian from the suburb of Mitchell's Plain (see fig.1 for map) created a name for himself by doing a one-man show by performing in costume as various characters. Just as in the work of Mafe, where she is able to show that one can trace the stereotypes of mixed-race characters in South African literature; Lottering enacts the various stereotypical personalities of his "Cape coloured" characters that he self-scripts⁷⁴. The son of a Pentecostal pastor, Lottering grew up on the Cape Flats and his comedy is deliberately satirical, but also auto-biographical, given that the various characters he performs are emblematic of a working class coloured family, but one of them is a Pentecostal pastor. Undoubtedly, Lottering's successful career as a comedian is attached to his ability to do drag performance. Lottering's most notable drag characters are known as "Aunty Merle", "Galatia Geduld", and "Colleen the cashier"⁷⁵.

These characters he performs in drag, enjoy more popularity than Lottering's male characters. Another example of a similar scenario where a character performed in drag became more popular than hetero-normative male characters occurred in the *Joes Barber* series of plays that were directed by Heinrich Reisenhofer⁷⁶. In *Joe Barber*, Washielah, a Muslim housewife performed by David Isaacs, garnered more favor with audience members than

⁷⁴ Lottering's debut show was titled "From the Cape Flats with Love" (2001). See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vxPbNmfh-fw> for a recording available on Youtube.

⁷⁵ See Appendix A, fig. 25 for a photographs of Marc Lottering performing in drag as these respective characters.

⁷⁶ Joe Barber was a comedy sketch show that was based on the real-life story of one of the lead actors and writers, Oscar Petersen, and the experiences and characters he encountered at the local barbershop he frequented. Boeta Joe and Boeta Ghamat are the two principal characters. Six sequels were created and staged after the original show (2003) enjoyed sold-out performances. The subject matter is largely about Cape coloured lived experience.

the leading male characters of the comedy series. The fetishization of queer performance by coloureds remains a core part of my argument that the coloured community of Cape Town may themselves be regarded as a queer people, since there is something queer about enjoying the spectacle of a man pretending to be a woman. In other words, Cape coloureds enjoy a uniquely coloured habitus where queer performance is valued and eagerly consumed. Although this phenomenon is not unique to the coloured community, it nevertheless stands in contrast to the broader social field of the formerly colonized city and nationalized country, where the hetero-normative binary of a Western white culture was imposed upon the region and its people.

The first comedian in South Africa to do cross-dressing one-man performance with a mirage of satirical characters was in fact a white Afrikaans comedian, Pieter-Dirk Uys. Daniel Liberfeld published an article in 1997 that now seems archival since Uys has continued to work since then, but it provides a useful synopsis for understanding how Uys may be seen as the forerunner of the national queer theatrical scene during the apartheid era and during the transitioning years of democracy.

Since the early 1980s, Uys has developed in his skits and revues the persona of an Afrikaner matron named Evita Bezuidenhout, his best-known character. Uys has hosted since 1994 a series of weekly television interviews with top politicians of postapartheid South Africa... Uys has hosted stalwarts of the formerly whites-only Nationalist Party as well. One of them, Roelf "Pik" Botha, danced a suggestive *pas de deux* with Uys (as Evita) in the show's opening sequence. This image, remarkable in South Africa's virulently homophobic society, lent credence to the idea that participatory democracy may be revolutionizing sexual politics. On the other hand, it may be that many viewers actually perceive Evita not as a

male actor in a woman's wig and clothes, but as a real woman (Liberfeld, 1997).

Above, in my ethnographic description of Brian and Cliffie narrating the tale of Mitzy's encounter with the homophobic Afrikaner policeman, I illustrated how white South Africans had a genuine disdain for men who were practising gender fluidity and homosexuality. The zealous homophobia within the Afrikaner culture is rooted in the theological teachings of the *Neder-Duitse Gereformeerde Kerk* (NG) or Dutch Reformed Church, the spiritual home for many white Afrikaners. Under the *broederbond*⁷⁷ (Afrikaner brotherhood) leadership, South African politics, particularly policies enforcing racial segregation took as their points of origin the doctrines of morality observed by the NG church; and homosexuality or cross-dressing was not well tolerated. It is therefore not surprising that Liberfeld notes the poignancy of the former apartheid president "Pik" Botha dancing with a male in drag, calling the image, "remarkable in South Africa's virulently homophobic society". But Liberfeld also engages a similar logic to myself and Amanda Swarr (2009) in our understanding of the queer identity and behaviour of the cross-dressing male in South Africa in concluding "that many viewers actually perceive Evita not as a male actor in a woman's wig and clothes, but as a real woman". As in the case with Lottering, the veneration of the female alter-ego embodied by the male Uys, affords a certain level of tolerance and acceptance to the male cross dresser in an otherwise hetero-patriarchal national culture. Both Lottering and Uys, even though they perform in drag, they are not perceived as *moffies*, nor are any of the characters they enact *moffies*.

⁷⁷ A secret society of white Afrikaans politicians, known as the *Afrikaner Broederbond*.

I now turn my attention to another white Afrikaans comedian, Casper de Vries, who also has become famous for his satirical one-man, multiple character showcases. De Vries is known for poking fun at white Afrikaans culture, mostly through his skilful word play techniques that are often quite vulgar but filled with double entendre that best displays his wit when it comes to language. Like Lottering and Uys, de Vries also enacts multiple female characters in drag, the most notable being Greetje Appelmoes, a Dutch milk-maid, and Patience Candida April (aka *Patience die hoer* [Patience the whore]), a coloured woman from Cape Town who is now a retired alcoholic, ex-prostitute and single mother who shamelessly speaks out of turn at every opportunity⁷⁸. What is interesting is that de Vries does not restrict his satirical characters to white, Afrikaner stereotypes, but engages a mode of cross-dressing coupled with black face in the Patience character. De Vries created the character in 2000, and she was introduced to the public when a pre-recorded skit aired nationally on his television show, *Die Casper Rasper Show* and was received with such popularity, that Patience made subsequent appearances in the television series, as well as de Vries' live comedy show-cases that toured the country. By cross-dressing and engaging a drag performance, de Vries is already stretching the boundaries of the Afrikaner morality code of conduct as I have explained above, however, he pushes the boundaries of post-apartheid national morality codes by

⁷⁸ See Appendix A, fig. 26 for a photograph of de Vries in drag and black-face performance as the character Patience. Also see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=10Z_ePKVdig for a Youtube video of one of the sketches that was aired on de Vries' *Casper Rasper* television show.

his deliberate ridicule of the Cape coloured female stereotype as an uneducated prostitute and nymphomaniac.

By engaging the trope of the Wench/Jezebel promiscuous minstrel mullatto stereotype, de Vries, as a white (heterosexual)⁷⁹ man from Pretoria, performs as a coloured female from Cape Town. To refer to the gender-sexuality scaffold Swarr (2004) constructed regarding drag performance, when de Vries performs in character as Patience it is then a white, masculine, male body, performing as a hyper-sexual, coloured, effeminate, female body. Moreover, de Vries' coloured Patience character is on display for a white hetero-normative patriarchal gaze within the Afrikaner community, and he is showing white South African's how queer coloured folk are, so this type of drag performance differs significantly from that of Marc Lottering who performs as a coloured female for a coloured audience. By employing the black-face, cross-dressing, and drag performance, de Vries manifests the crux of my argument, that within the nation of South Africa, the Cape coloured body is caricatured as "queer", and de Vries' perpetuation of showing white South Africans just how queer coloured Capetonians are, directly correlates to my point of viewing the social character of the coloured *moffie* as embodying a spirit of "if you think we are queer, we will show you just how queer we can be". It is important to note, however, that de Vries is not poking fun at coloured *moffies*, rather he stereotypes coloured heterosexual women, and one might even begin to draw a comparison with the historical objectification with the coloured female body and the theoretical

⁷⁹ De Vries has for many years maintained that he was a heterosexual male, however, in recent years he has come out as gay and an atheist – a definitive deviance from the conservative white Afrikaner culture he was raised in.

framework of the “Hottentot Venus”⁸⁰, but I am more concerned with de Vries’ queering of the Cape coloured community specifically.

In a different skiet for his television series, de Vries himself refers to the Patience character as a “*Kaapse Chlora*” – a derogatory euphemism for the racial category of Cape coloureds in South African slang. The term “*Chlora*” for coloured is believed to have originated in a language made up by *moffies* known as “*moffietaa*”⁸¹ or what is today known as “Gayle”.

Girl, can you Gayle?

Gayle has its origins in the drag culture of the Cape coloured community in the 1950s. It permeated into white homosexual circles in the 1960s and became part of mainstream white gay culture through South African Airways “*koffie-moffies*”⁸² in the 1970s. (Cage, 1999).

It is important to mention that the term *moffie* does not only refer to the coloured cross-dressers like Brian and Cliffie, but it is used throughout South Africa as a derogatory term for any homosexual man, and this is particularly true for the Afrikaans white community.

I will return to examining the Gayle language below, but for now I want to return to an analysis of another of Casper de Vries’ characters, a “*koffie-moffie*” named Montelle Jansen van Rensburg, an effeminate, white flight attendant who continues to be disgruntled with homophobia in the white community, and he always manages to find fault with black affirmative action initiatives and how they affect white South African’s. Montelle made his stage debut in one of de Vries’

⁸⁰ See Magubane (2001).

⁸¹ Afrikaans: literally, “homosexual language”.

⁸² (Afrikaans: literally, “coffee gay men”, a slang name for male flight attendants).

shows called “*Toet en Taal*” (Speech and Language) which had language as its subject matter, showing just how queer the Afrikaans language is in its deviation from Dutch, as by poking fun at other inexplicable grammatical rules. Montelle introduced the white Afrikaners to *moffietaal* or Gayle. De Vries is thus the only comedian in South Africa that I know of who performs as a *moffie* on stage, however, the question is, would this performance by a masculine white male body performing as an effeminate white male body be regarded as drag performance? Since the performativity by a male body with a male gender identity pretending to be a male body with a female gender identity no longer involves the phenomenon of cross-dressing. De Vries illustrates that queer behavior is a result of an individual’s fluidity of gender identification. *Moffie* performativity is thus constructed by the ability for performers or comedians to slip in and out of various, or multiple identities, not necessarily the physical dress or sexual orientation of the *moffie*. Moreover, the Montelle character uses the Gayle language as an element of comedic relief by illustrating just how queer and non-sensical it is in its construction and function, thus he “queers the queer” – again, an approach of “if you think the *moffies* are queer, let me show you just how queer they are”.

I want to continue to focus on the use of the Gayle language, but this time I shift my attention once more to the *moffies* of the coloured community of Cape Town. Whilst Casper de Vries is using his one-man stand up shows to teach ordinary South Africans about *moffies* and the Gayle language, there are those who need no introduction to it, and for some *moffies* living on the Cape Flats, it is

their *lingua franca*. Although Gayle has its origins as being a secretive language, useful particularly for spreading coded messages amongst homosexual men during the apartheid era, it now mostly functions as a way to gossip or comment in public without drawing attention to the actual meaning of the judgemental comments being made about others in the vicinity. In his book, "Gayle, the language of kinks and queens" (2003), Ken Cage provides a dictionary of words and a historical record of the language, its development, its form, and its various social functions. Cage points out that Gayle is not so much a language as a list of words that are used interchangeably in Afrikaans and English. So, for example, a "dora" is a drink, and "hilda" means ugly. The words in Gayle are often formed by alliteration; for example, "hilda" was derived from the word "hideous". Although Gayle is intended to be a spoken language more so than a written one, I have come across a new generation of *moffies* in Cape Town who blog on their social media pages for their fans and followers. Sergio Ben, a *moffie* in his late 20s will occasionally write a "Gaily Horoscope" that is both satirical and highly humorous, albeit vulgar. The use of Gayle with English and *Kaaps* is amalgamated to form an original and signature style of prose. Ben publishes other forms of poetic writing on his homepage, but the virtuosic use of Gayle is what he is known for, and he also employs Gayle as a means of targeting a specific audience, deliberately eliminating readers who are not part of the *moffie* culture. Here, belonging to the *moffie* culture is not only restricted to *moffies*, but also to heterosexual women who are considered to be allies of the *moffie* persona, what is sometimes referred to in the United States as a "fag-hag".

Note: Refer to the attached addendum, Appendix B, for my transliteration of a column titled “Aquarius” that was published on 9 August, 2014, on Ben’s Facebook profile. Sergio Ben speaks as a *moffie* poking fun at stereotypical hetero-sexual woman, however, Ben also addresses *moffies*, speaking to them directly as a *moffie* himself.

Below, I will attempt to provide contextual analysis and interpretation of Ben’s literature arguing that the use of the Gayle language personifies *moffie* performativity in the absence of the male gendered body enacting gestures that could be perceived as feminine.

Through the use of language, Ben positions himself as speaking with a female gender identity, thus a woman speaking to other women—a less powerful social position in a racialized patriarchal society. The intended audience is not masculine men, but rather as I mentioned before, heterosexual females and *moffies* within the coloured community. The first line, and the use of the word “*meire*” as a collective noun for women is borrowed from the *Kaaps* word “*klimeid*”, I believe a corrupt diminution of the term “*klein meisie kind*” meaning young daughter. Thus, Ben opens the column by directly addressing his “sisters”. In the second line, the word “*Kassam*” is not a Gayle term, but rather a corruption of the Malay term for thank you, *tera makasi*. The use of the Malay term also makes the target audience uniquely Cape coloured, through his referral to the dialect associated with the Cape Malay community⁸³. In line 5 we see the use of the Gayle term *harriets* for hair. Hair is a recurring theme in this column, and it remains somewhat of a recurring theme in the history and identity of the Cape

⁸³ See Stell (2007) for more on Malay dialects in Cape Town.

coloured community. Zimitri Erasmus, has addressed the concern Cape coloureds have with hair in her edited volume, *Coloured by History, Shaped by Place* (2001) and in a separate article titled ‘*Oe! My Hare Gaan Huistoe*’: *Hair-Styling as Black Cultural Practice* (1997). Erasmus even titles her article with similar prose to that of Ben’s column. The use of the Afrikaans language and the coded meaning of *Oe! My Hare Gaan Huistoe*’ directly translating to “Oh, my hair is going home” actually refers to what is also locally known as one’s hair “mincing”, and it is quite common for many coloured folk to hear women screaming “*my hare gaan huistoe*” or “*my hare mince*” when there is inclement weather and the kink in their hair starts to show. The use of a phrase that is traditionally uttered by women then positions the written voice as feminine, and in Ben’s case, the use of phrases traditionally uttered by women coupled with Gayle personifies that in the case of Ben, it is a male body with a homosexual orientation and a female gender identification. I return to the point of the significance of hair to substantiate my view that *moffie* performativity transcends cross-dressing and drag performance. In Ben’s column, a virtual piece of literature, the absence of the live performative body does not detract from the performativity of the *moffie* persona. The constant referral to hair throughout the column (see Appendix B, lines 4-5, 36-41, 64, 74, 89-91) may be likened to the stereotypical obsession the *moffie* has with hair. *Moffies* have a history in the coloured community for being the best hair dressers, and so it remains a character trait for *moffies* to comment on women’s hair textures and styles.

Similarly, in the interview I conducted with Cliffie as laid out above, he specifically mentions that one of the biggest decisions for *moffies* who perform in drag is “*my hare, of die kas se hare?*” “My own hair, or the wig?” Ben invokes metaphors that concern the politics of hair in the Cape coloured community in a similar manner that Erasmus lays out in her commentary on the subject. Sleek hair, Malay or Indian hair that does not have a kink is prized, and people with naturally kinky hair, referred to locally as *kroes*, meaning corrupt hair, will attempt to straighten their hair through heating procedures and the application of chemicals. In fact, one of the physical markers of the *moffie* male body is the deliberate and visually noticeable attempt of a male with *kroes* afro hair manipulating it into a sleek and styled feminine bob hairstyle, to emphasize the female gender identity despite the obvious male body.

It is also well known that in the Cape coloured community, inter-faith (Muslim-Christian) marriages are a common occurrence. Ben makes reference to the politics of this phenomenon by referring to the conversion process and the associated name changes that come with this type of marriage. In lines 29-33, Ben talks about Wannie, a corruption of the Muslim name Riedewaan, not being tolerated or accepted by the Christian mother and who will always know him as Warren, who he was until he married and converted. This issue remains a sore spot for many in the coloured community, as it is prevalent, and there are social codes that dictates one is moving up the social hierarchy by marrying into a Muslim family, partly for the financial stability associated with Cape Muslims, but also for the gravitation towards the offspring having sleek hair from the Malay

genetic influence. A similar reference to the status of sleek hair can be seen in lines 35 and 36 where Ben writes, “*Janine se pa is slams en syt mos gladde hare*”, (Janine’s dad is Muslim that’s why she has sleek hair).

The final reference to hair in the column by Ben comes in lines 89-91. The reference to a hair salon in Kloof Street is meant to denote Cape Town city centre, and pokes fun at coloured women who go to upmarket elitist salons who end up destroying their hair rather than the local hairdresser who is familiar with treating coloured hair. These queer character traits of being obsessed with hair, and always wanting to appear better than you are, is skilfully narrated by Ben through his creoled prose. I return to my point I made earlier about *moffie* performativity not being reliant on cross-dressing and drag performance, but in the presentation and perception of self as blurring gender boundaries whilst simultaneously relying on their social construction to function as a queer identity. Ben is not unique in his use of Gayle or his performativity as a *moffie* on a social media platform.

Another Cape coloured *moffie*, Dencil Rooks, entertains his friends and followers with a daily comment that he always ends with his signature phrase “Peaches & Love to all. Xxx”. On 5 August, 2014, Rooks posted on his Facebook profile:

Hi Gesiggies. Kan iemand dalk vir my se hoekom die wendies (witmense) in die Milnerton, Rugby & Parow gedeeltes dan ammal soes chloras (coloured mense) beginne lyk. Ek het bietjie navorsing gaan doen en ek kom tot die slotsdom dat hoe nader 'n wendie aan 'n trein-stasie bly, hoe meer chlora word hulle velle. Serious, dit moet maar seker iets innie LUG wies en hulle even gayle (praat) al soes os oek. Dit sal nogals kwai wies as Carte Blanche se frkkies 'n draai moet

ga maak, om antwoorde te kry vi die snaakse phenomena wat da afspeel deesdae. Peaches & Love to all. Xxx”

Hi cutie pies. Can someone perhaps tell me why the wendies (whites) in the Milnerton, Rugby & Parow areas are starting to look more and more like chlora's (coloured people) to me? I've done some research on this phenomenon and the only conclusion I could draw is that the closer a wendie (white) lives to a train station, the more chlora (coloured) their skins become. Seriously, it has to be something in the air, especially because they even (talk) Gayle like me. It would be a good idea for the journalist hogs of Carte Blanch⁸⁴ to make a turn and try to get answers to explain this strange phenomenon that is unfolding these days. Peaches & Love to all. Xxx

In Rooks' comment we see the use of Gayle terminology, but also a direct reference to Gayle as a functioning dialect or language and the concern that it is no longer as secretive and reserved for *moffies* as it once was. Despite the content of the comment having nothing to do with the female gender, again we notice the positionality of the feminine gender identity in what is always Rook's signature opening phrase “Hi Gessigies” or “Hi cutie pies”⁸⁵. Again, by using a similar technique to Ben, through the use of language, Rooks positions himself as speaking with a female gender identity, thus a woman speaking to other women. The intended audience is not itself feminine and definitely non-white; especially since Rooks is poking fun here at poor whites specifically. Just as Casper de Vries engaged an “us laughing at those queers” with the coloured Patience character being performed for a white audience, Rooks engages a similar trope, but instead of it being “us coloureds laughing at those poor whites, it is intended to be “us laughing at them because they are becoming just as queer as we are”.

⁸⁴ *Carte Blanche* is a long-running investigative journalism programme that airs nationally.

⁸⁵ The Afrikaans term *gessigies* also has a double meaning here in that the literal translation of the word means “little faces” – a direct reference to the virtual publication platform and the users of the social media site Facebook.

Each time I click on my own Facebook news feed, I find myself engaging in a research methodology of virtual ethnography of online coloured identities and *moffie* performativity. More recently, I came across another Cape coloured comedian, Nathan Kennedy who hosts a video-blog channel on Facebook. Kennedy dresses in drag, has a signature opening phrase, and delivers witty commentary in the form of a parody news reporter or school teacher. His command of the Gayle language is impressive and some of the most superior I've heard. He also teaches the meanings of Gayle, as well as vocabulary that he invents himself. Kennedy delivers stand-up comedy showcases that he scripts himself, and also regularly performs in the coloured township of Eersterust in Pretoria.

The collective recognition of the *moffie* as a queer, deviant, and eccentric character, is rooted in the idea that *moffie* identification is deliberately performed to deconstruct social structures that perpetuate a heteronormative, patriarchal binary or “othering”. Queer performativities invoke laughter at one's own deviance, one's own entanglement; so that the *moffie* also functions as a social mirror for the Cape coloured community, articulating on their behalf the notion that to be living in South Africa as a mixed race person, is to be to living a queer life: the *moffie*'s ambiguous sexuality resonates with the racial uncertainty of being “coloured”—never fully black nor white—acting as the barrier between the positions of racial/gendered/sexual purity as identity.

This chapter problematized, or rather “queered” *moffie* identity as a performative behavioural trope that simultaneously constructs stereotypes of male homosexual orientation coupled with female gender identification, but also deconstructs hetero-patriarchal normativity in a South African context. I began with an ethnographic extract from an interview I conducted during the fieldwork component of my data collection in Cape Town, then I turned my attention to discussing the work of well-known comedians who are performing drag but not *moffie* identity, and finally, I analyzed the evolving use of a colloquial Cape slang dialect known as Gayle, arguing that *moffie* performativity is no longer reliant on queering the body specifically.

What begins to unfold in the social matrix and narrative of the coloured community, and within the broader conservative nation state of South Africa, is that minorities or marginalized groups tend to validate themselves through performance to ensure survival – a disidentification or technology of self that is not the real self, but the self that is actually traumatized by not belonging (Mùnoz, 2009: 7). My work is therefore not unlike the discourses of other black male scholars who identify as queer, and who have written about their native communities as being queer, namely E. Patrick Johnson (2008) for the African American gay community, and Thomas Glave (2005) for the Jamaican community. Both scholars are concerned with giving voice to their respective queer communities, exposing the disposable citizenship status of being both black and queer, and the resultant trauma of being an anomaly in their social environment where they already carry the trauma of their enslaved ancestors.

Further research will allow me to build on the work of these scholars, but already, I am able to see how my work has excavated the functions of humor, music, remembrance, and trauma in the Cape coloured community. Coloured identities that utilize mechanisms such as “dressing the body”, *voorstellen*, and that are preoccupied with claims of respectability suggests that these are fragile identities. Fragile, because coloureds are a queer (unique and deviant) people, having to navigate the trauma of living with a queer consciousness (multiple identities and multiple histories) within a queer body (i.e. not conforming to the black-white racial binary, or brown body as I have referred to it).

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Over the past ten years of conducting research in my hometown, I have noticed that my conceptualization of my city and community shifted towards a view of a place and people characterized by immense trauma and tragedy. I began to recognize that we have consistently been denied citizenship or what we would deem full citizenship rights in a nation that seeks freedom for all. Nelson Mandela's political canvassing slogan for the African National Congress was "a better life for all", and coloured people find themselves wondering whether this better life will come or not. For me, the better life did come. I was afforded the privilege of developing as an intellectual, by studying abroad and receiving funding to study my own people and history. But for many in the community, very little social mobility has occurred since the dismantling of apartheid. At present, the society is battling with drugs and alcohol. Young men are increasingly being imprisoned as a result of illegal activities usually associated with gangsterism or drugs and there is a diminished visibility of a street culture where brigades, brass band and minstrel troupes occupy the time of community members. One still sees children playing out in the street to entertain themselves, but then tragically, children are also often victims of stray bullets in cross fires between rival gangs. Violent crime is rampant in the coloured community, and the very lampposts that were once bearing elections slogans

such as “A better life for all”; now display tabloid headline posters that remind all and sundry of the latest family or local community in trauma.

Publications such as “The Daily Voice” and “*Die Son*” [The Sun] enjoy a large following in the Cape coloured community, and there can be no doubt that these tabloids are directly aimed at Cape coloureds. The deliberate use of *Kaaps* by journalists and contributors means that one must be from particular neighborhoods on the Cape Flats to be able to decipher the coded local dialect. The sensational headlines and hyper sexual content make the publication a successful seller. Every taxi rank, bus depot and train station stock the papers. Hawkers sell them on the street, even the local *huis winkel* (house tuck shop) have them for sale so that the suburban housewife or the unemployed can stay abreast of the most controversial happenings in the city.

Herman Wasserman (2010) in his book, *Tabloid journalism in South Africa: true story!*, looks at the growth of the tabloid industry in a post-apartheid South Africa, and a time in which print media is in decline across the world. For Wasserman, it is remarkable that main stream media, as well as government and political parties have largely ignored the important role of these papers in that they reach ordinary people on the ground in society. Wasserman points out that the tabloids provide a political and social sphere where community become exposed to the daily struggles of what it means to live in a new democracy, and how the reader is actually living inside this sphere, or what Bourdieu would call a *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990).

A similar virtual space of coloured identification, an imagined coloured habitus where coloured trauma is invoked as the “forgotten bastard”, the misplaced or lost child of the “rainbow nation”; can be seen in the recent music videos that were released by the Cape-based hip-hop group known as “Dookoom”⁸⁶. The group performs contemporary rap. They engage in a unique form of South African rap, and rap culture that was popularized by the group known as “*Die Antwoord*”. The manner in which Dookoom conducts interviews, shoots and stages their music videos, even how they construct their songs; strongly parallels the *Zef Culture*, a contemporary South African youth identity that was made popular by a South African stand-up comedy duo “Twakkie and Corne”⁸⁷ in the early 2000s, and was again revived when *Die Antwoord* shot to international stardom after their hit “Enter the ninja” (2010) achieved airplay in international nightclubs and gained millions of views on Youtube.

Dookoom’s rise to fame came through the release of their single “*Larney jou poes*” (Fuck you, master). The group received heavy criticism for the vulgar lyrics, but also for the violent narrative that was being projected in the music

⁸⁶ Dookoom is a contemporary Cape coloured electro hip-hop group. Their debut album, also titled *Dookoom* was released in 2013. The group raps in a mixture of English, Kaaps and a secret prison dialect known as *Sabela*. For more on Dookoom and the controversy surrounding the group, see https://noisey.vice.com/en_us/article/dookoom-interview-2014-Larney-Jou-Poes for a web article by Young (2014).

⁸⁷ *Zef* is an Afrikaans slang word meaning “common”, and in South Africa the term is largely regarded as a euphemism for what some may call a “poor white” stereotype. The aloof or dazed gestures or behaviour associated with *Zef* was made popular by electronic rap music group *Die Antwoord*. The group was formed in 2008, and after the success of their single “Enter the ninja” in 2010, (which garnered over twelve million views on Youtube, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wc3f4xU_FfQ), *Zef* music and culture began to take hold in the South African soundscape and broader world. See Buchmann (2014) for a scholarly exposition of *Zef*.

video⁸⁸. In a subsequent interview with the News 24 network group, the group was asked to explain themselves, who they were, and why they were engaging in such vulgar performativities. The leader of the ensemble, Isaac Mutant responded that Dookoom “is a band trying to make a difference”, and that their music video “Larney jou poes” was speaking on behalf of urban and rural coloureds, but especially the rural or “hidden” coloured farm laborers.

In the music video that was accused of inciting violence and farm murders, Mutant sings a corrupted parody of the Sunday School children’s song “Father Abraham had many sons”, but he has instead altered the lyrics to be: “Farmer Abraham had many farms, and many farms had farmer Abraham, I work one of them, and so would you, so let’s go burn ‘em down”. As the music video unfolds, Mutant is shown leading an uprising among the farm laborers and attacking the white employer or land-lord. The refrain or chorus of the musical number repeats the phrase “*jou poes my larnie, djy kan my nie vertel ‘ie*” (fuck you boss, who do you think you are [you can’t tell me what to do]) and band members and extras dressed as impoverished laborers yield pitch forks and cause havoc on the farm setting it alight and burning it to the ground.

In their music and videos, Dookoom engages the aesthetics of the grotesque, or bizarre and vulgar; the queer and controversial aesthetics of pervormativity. By coupling it with the *Kaaps* dialect of Afrikaans, and “over-the-top” or “dramatic” depictions of coloured life, they achieve what they set out to do. In other words, when Mutant says Dookoom is a band that wants to make a

⁸⁸ See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kmgpDostEqk> to view the video.

difference, what he in fact means is he wants to draw attention to the coloured community and their plight, their feelings of living on the margins. The group deliberately exposes, or sheds light on, the “hidden” visibility of coloureds in the broader democratic nation of South Africa, but also on the identities and lived experiences that even become hidden among coloureds themselves. Dookoom invokes the distinction of status claims, and the different cultural or social values that urban versus rural coloureds enjoy.

This theme of “social class” was addressed in one of the groups earlier debut songs titled “*Kak Sturvy*” (2013). The term “*kak sturvy*” is a *Kaaps* phrase that mocks so-called “proper behavior” or *voorstellen* of respectability. If one is described as being “*kak sturvy*”, then a reference is being made to one’s performed or projected sense-of-self as being snobbish or elitist, even discriminatory. The phrase is used by those community members who reject social hierarchical codes of practice, especially what they perceive as fake or false identities, social masks – inauthentic selves. What is interesting in this number and music video is how Dookoom once again “queers the queer” by flipping the meaning of the term “*kak sturvy*” and instead re-defining it as a Cape Coloured gangster who has “swag-on-the streets” or living with a high social rank in the ghetto or township. Mutant sings/raps a monotonous refrain, “I’m *kak sturvy*”, as he walks through rough and tough gang-lined streets on the Cape Flats in a fur coat. In other words, mechanisms of *voorstellen* are continuously used by Dookoom to suggest that respectability is directly tied to the coloured

technology of self, and that the meaning of respectability also shifts depending on the habitus it operates within.

In this ethnography of coloured identity and modes of “being-in-the-world”; I chose to delimit my study to examining the behaviour and social codes of certain cohorts of Cape coloureds that signalled to me “*ons kom vandaan*” (we come from there). Like many other cultural theorists, I began to ponder if differences are in our genes, our cultural learning experiences, or all in our minds? My research has revealed to me that it is probably a combination of these various elements, one big entanglement. This dissertation has led me to question the many different functions music and performance can have in human life, and how studying embodied social behavior and projected or performed identities can possibly elucidate the identification, or misidentification (Múnoz, 2009), mechanisms and social behaviors that prevails, or is perhaps “hidden”, in the community that I was born into. To put it plainly, I am genuinely intrigued by how music allows us to understand ourselves and others, to gain and maintain status, and most importantly, how music is able to solve particular problems as it relates to treating trauma and why it has the power to arouse deep and profound emotions within us and influence behavior and cognition.

In the chapters above, I have primarily been concerned with the generation of citizens who lived in segregated Cape Town during the post-war years from 1944 onwards, those Cape coloureds who had a lived experience of being forcibly removed from their land and homes by the apartheid government in the 1960s and 70s, or who developed into adolescence under white political

domination before the election of the first black government in 1994. Life in a now democratic South Africa presents itself as another significant social rupture or temporal and social shift that also demarcates a shift in the pathology and lived experience of this mixed-race community. In future research, I intend to uncover more contemporary musical practices and social behaviours, such as the performances and *voorstellen* associated with Cape coloured hip-hop groups such as Dookoom I began to probe above. As I have demonstrated in my narrative and unpacking of data, coloured technologies of self, and the use of music as a tool for remembrance and celebration; suggests that *voorstellen*, as a mechanism for achieving visibility and respectability, will continue to evolve with time.

Epilogue

I sit here on the very piece of earth where my mother, the matriarch of my family, was conceived in 1944. It is a dwelling made of clay bricks, no bigger than the size of a standard car garage. It has affectionately, and appropriately, become known by the family as “Kleinhuisie” (Tiny House). Here, in the shadow of grand mountain peaks is the grave and tombstone of my maternal great grandparents, proof positive of my maternal ancestral connection to this village, and the Valley of Grace is aptly named, a beautiful and peaceful site of internment for the bodies that conceived an offspring that would later endure an oppressed life under a racist regime that sought to dehumanize any physical body and mind that was not of pure European descent. Those Babylonian twin evils of colonialism and slavery that raped so much of Africa gave birth to an offspring of its own, i.e. the colonial racial bastard: a mixed race, a mixed ethnic brown body that would for centuries, and still up to the present day be thought of as a “queer” body and “queer consciousness”. We are a queer people, and I am a queer coloured. (Extract from field journal kept by author, Genadendal, Western Cape, 2010).

When I started this project, I wanted to know “*wie is ek, en waar kom ek vandaan?*” (who am I, and where am I from?). Watching Skip Gates’ PBS television series, and reading his book *In Search of our Roots* (2009), reminded me of the poem *Ons kom vandaan* (We come from there) by Diana Ferrus

(2009), and its opening lines: “*Was dit my ma se ma se ma, of my pa se pa se pa?*” (Ferrus, 2009). My curiosity, my desire for “self-knowing” drove me towards madness many times. When I started my Ph.D, I lacked the answers to these questions, and Ferrus’ rhetorical questions in her poem haunted me. After a painful, but rewarding quest to satisfy these curiosities, I have developed a profoundly rich understanding of the broader social field of Cape Town, and the multiple identities, multiple levels of consciousness, and multiple technologies of self located in distinguished, but not exclusive, habitus structures.

Finally, I am able to say “*Ek kom van die Engelse mense*” (I come from the English folk) and comprehend what that means; why an obsession with respectability and *voorstellen* is part of my “being-in-the-world”. Like those who are able to say “*ons kom van die St. Helena*” (we come from St. Helena, or “*ons kom van die Malay Muslims*” (we come from the Malay Muslims). *Ons kom van die Kaap, en ons is kleurling* (We come from the Cape, and we are coloured).

Appendices

Appendix A - Images



Figure 9 – Aerial view of Cape Town Central Business District (CBD) showing the Company Gardens and the location of St. George's Cathedral.



Figure 10 – Motto and Badge of the Church Lads Brigade (CLB).



Figure 11 – Photograph of Drum Major Justin May of the Good Shepherd Company. Cape Town (2007)



Figure 12 – Photograph of clergy from the Good Shepherd, Maitland company, including a Bishop, marching in a procession of witness. A lad of the Brigade serves as a ceremonial guard or attendant to the Bishop. Circa 1970s.



Figure 13 – A photograph of the Good Shepherd, Maitland company colors on parade in Cape Town city center. Circa 1970s.



Figure 14 – A photograph of the Good Shepherd, Maitland company, on parade in Cape Town city center making their way towards St. Georges Cathedral for their annual service. Circa 1970s.

CHURCH LADS' BRIGADE
4TH BATTALION.
=====

SINGING ----- COMPETITION

P R O G R A M M E
=====

PRESCRIBED SONG:.....TRACTION ENGINE by STANLEY MARCHANT

No.	Company	Selected Song	Conductor.
1.	St.Nicholas, Lavistown.	The Fly by Philip Wilkinson	C.Arries.
2.	St.Francis, Tiervlei 4	Jim The Carter Lad	Miss A. Abrahams
3.	St.Timothy's, Factretton. 3	Sea-Shells	Mrs. G. Constable. Pianist Miss G. April
4.	St.John's Parow. 2	The Fox	Miss M.Rinquest.
5.	Good Shepherd, Maitland.	The Fox I	Miss H.Kroneberg. Pianist: Mrs J.Paronzee

Figure 15 – A facsimile of a singing competition programme taken from the archives of the Good Shepherd, Maitland company. Circa 1970s.

Adm.No.	Surname	Christian Names	Address	Date of Birth	Date of Enlistment	Date of Discharge	Con- firmed	Fare
1	Manilla	John.	11th Street, 4th Ave. Ken.	3 4 1891	7 8 1907		Yes	Did 12
2	May.	John.	7th Avenue Windrose				"	
3	Petersen	Abraham	8th Ave. 4th St. Windrose.				"	
4	Clacken.	Hendrick	6th Ave. Windrose				"	
5	Sylvester	Adam.	13th St. 3rd Ave. Ken.	14 12 1900	8 1925		"	
✓ 6	Betz	Edward.	9th St. 4th Ave. Kensington	7 - 10 - 1916	8 1925		"	✓
7	Fry.	Paronzee.	Coronation Rd. Maitland	20 - 8 - 1926	1935		"	
✓ 8	Peters	Arnold	8th St. 3rd Ave. Ken.	14 7 1923	23 7 1935		"	
9	Geldersloot	Ronald.	8th St. 3rd Ave. Kensington	24 - 2 - 27	30 7 1935		"	
10	Abels.	Ernest	8th St. 3rd Ave. Kensington		11 2 1936		"	
✓ 11	Calvert	Neville	10th St. 5th Ave. Ken.	19 - 12 - 26	25 2 1936		"	
12	David	Daniel	7th Avenue. Windrose		23 - 8 - 1936		"	
13	Petersen	James.	8th Ave. 4th St. Windrose		29 - 9 - 1936		"	
14	Adams	Neville	4th St. 5th Ave. Ken.				"	
15	Klein-smith	Cyril	Coronation Rd Maitland	14 - 8 1932	27 - 4 - 1937		"	
✓ 16	Solomons	John.	9th St. 3rd Ave. Ken.	23 - 3 - 1926	13 - 5 - 1937		"	
17	Adams	John.	11th Avenue Windrose	28 - 8 - 1931	25 - 1 - 1938		"	

Figure 16 – A facsimile of the opening page of the Good Shepherd, Maitland company register.



Figure 17 – Rev. Gilmore Fry starting in the Good Shepherd Company as a lad of the brigade. He would eventually become a priest and local chaplain to prisoners.



Figure 18 – Procession of the Cape Highlanders during a parade in the city center in Cape Town. Circa 1960s.



Figure 19 – Photograph of the Company of St. Joseph, Bishop Lavis, Cape Town taken at the Castle of Good Hope. (2012).



Figure 20 – Photograph of a Cape coloured ballroom couple in formal hold. Circa 1970s.



Figure 21 – Photograph of langarm patrons seated around tables with drinks and light snacks. (2005).



Figure 22 – Photograph of Cape coloured langarm patrons dancing in the vastrap or los-skud style. (2005).



Figure 23 – Photograph of the founding members of the Ikey Gamba Dance Band. Circa 1951.

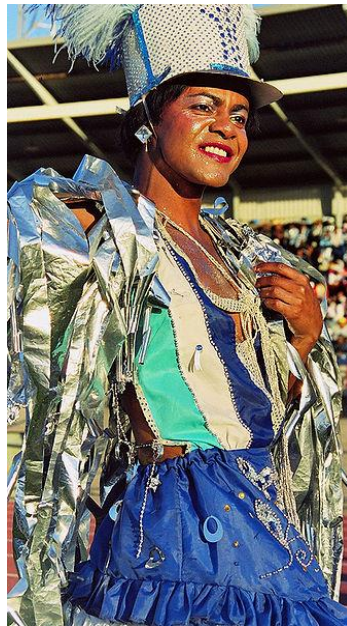


Figure 24 – Photograph of a Cape coloured “moffie” as the drum major of a minstrel troupe. Circa 1990s



Figure 25 – Photographs of Marc Lottering performing in drag. Characters are from left to right, Aunty Merle, Galatia, and Colleen.



Figure 26 – Photograph of Casper de Vries in drag and black-face performance as the character Patience.

Appendix B

Gaily Horoscope: Aquarius by Sergio Ben (2014)

1 There just isn't for you, meire.
2 Kassam.
3 Hulle het a moerse fout begaan met daai
4 fokken musical, Hair.
5 En jy is verskrik oor jou harriets.
6 Jy en jou Aquarius niggies speel erg verbeel.
7 Julle pats mos net met een tune, Flawless
8 (The Ones)
9 "And like a goddess,
10 somehow you remain modest."
11 Er, gayle ma soe.
12 Die gedagtes is mos "Ons is eerste innie jaar".
13 Oudste Suster Complex.
14 Pride and Vast prejudice.
15 Jyt daai kak Ou Belhar manniere.
16 En Aquarians brul en brom when they feel
17 snubbed...
18 Aquarians werk hulle gou op.
29 Dan doen sy daai Olympics gymnastics
20 cartwheel rhonda en is op daai perdjie!
21 Dan sien jy hoe skerp die bek is.
22 Oe jirre, hulle raak erg.
23 Mense wil hulle voor a trein gooi.
24 Oo Gentle Jeesaahs, Aquarians kan die vel
25 van jou gevreet af rasper.
26 En fokkol dink da oor.
27 Een, twee, drie... dan is almal oppie netball
28 team soema die and daai.
29 Tasneem is soema a tik tief, en daai issie
30 Waanie (jou broer) se kind nie, en sys die
31 rede hoeko hy nie meer by die klopskamer
32 issie, en moes nooit vir ha gedraai nie
33 hy sal altyd Warren wees in sy ma se huis mos...
34 Janine is soema a kak shooter (alweer) en sy hou
35 vir ha wat sy nie issie (Janine se pa is slams en syt
36 mos gladde haare ma jy moet nog sukkel met a
37 swirlkous) en vir wat moet sy pwasa, sy kan mos ko
38 practice na boeka en sy brand jou haare fokken
39 aspris as sy dit uitblow, sy weet sy moetie die gun
40 soe naby hou nie en dis net wolke wolke
41 gebrande haare.
42 En Meagon bly ha bek warm praat en bly se sy
43 gannie phone bring want jou ma wag al drie maande
44 vir ha BlackBerry repairs en sy weet ha broer Lionel
45 het dit innie pan gesit by Rajie vir tjoef
46 and and and and...
47 There's a huisraadje for that, really.
48 Vlou swart tea en Jamaica Ginger.
49 Meire, Saturn governs your house wat nandi in
50 ascension is and your elevated sense of self is just
51 because she's got hoolahoop bangles around her.
52 Your guava chakra is whirring too fast, sana.

53 Jy kan nandi in fifth gear bly.
54 Jou clutch gaan lelik uitgee en dan, KADWA,
55 da le Aquarius op a stretcher.
56 You will end up with no friends. Eventually.
57 Don't be Scorpio. Oppie ou end issit net julle twee
58 innie Spur op a Maandag aand en kou ou lettuce en
59 vaal burgers.
60 The only reason you're still playing Queen Bee
61 is because they allow you.
62 And they're too dumb to lead. Also, since we're
63 TruthGayling, they're not so attractive.
64 You're the pretty smart girl with the big curls all the
65 guys wanna fuck.
66 But wont.
67 Jou bek is te slim.
68 But take the abuse too far... Keep thick...
69 Nandi throne, nandi tiara, nandi adoration,
70 nandi being the best-looking bitch out of the lot
71 when you miena to Jade Lounge Friday nights.
72 And here's some more TruthGayle to go with your
73 bangles... It's going to be months before you can
74 grow out that Hilda bangs.
75 Jirre, uneven bangs work for meelmuis Wenderelles
76 wat half dood lyk en het a dun draad.
77 u were mos impatient and wouldnt wait for Irfaan to
78 return from visiting family in East London...
79 You had to wait ONE day, but that was mos too
80 much want jy is mos FabuLash,
81 jyt mos celestial bangles, jy kan nog in a Levis 32
82 pas (ma jys nou daai Guess gerty), jou pa het mos a
83 kar gekop want vir wat moet sy enigste meisie trein
84 vat UWC toe? Verby Langa en Lavistown trein wat?
85 Sy slim meisie swat mos Law en Pamela vra mos
86 altyd vir jou as sy daai lekker promotions jobs kry...
87 LG mos. Life's Good.
88 Nance.
89 Die ding is soos die... Snippity-Snip innie Kloof
90 straat het jou haare Op.Ge.Fok.
91 Jy moet ma nou a Hello Kitty clip dra.
92 Verwand tief.
93 Gurl, haal jou celestial bangles af.
94 You dont have any humility and the loneliness will
95 force you to shove your pride up your guava just for
96 a little conversation. And that would likely cause you
97 to make a booking at Stikland.
98 Also, stop being an ungrateful bitch.
99 Your friends het nandi monica that time of the year
100 to buy you a fokken birthday present and when
101 they do, be fokken grateful they got you something
102 en hou op kak offside comments maak
103 van Yardely maak jou vel jik!
104 En da is fokkol vekeerd met jou sinus.
105 Jirre fok, jy kry darem iets!
106 Hollyhar!

Gaily Horoscope: Aquarius by Sergio Ben (2014). English transliteration

1 Ladies, there's nobody else like you.
2 Thank you.
3 They made a huge mistake with that
4 fucking musical, Hair.
5 And you are so impressed with your own hair.
6 You and your Aquarius sisters fool no one.
7 You only dance to one tune, Flawless
8 (The Ones)
9 "And like a goddess,
10 somehow you remain modest "
11 Yes, talk/make it up like that.
12 You believe "We come first in the year"
13 Older Sister Complex.
14 Pride and Vast prejudice.
15 You have those shit old manners from Belhar.
16 And Aquarians must huff and puff when
17 snubbed...
18 Aquarians have a short temper.
19 Then she pulls those Olympic gymnastics
20 stunts all around and is quick to scold.
21 Then you see how sharp her mouth is.
22 Oh god, they are bad.
23 People want to jump in front of a train
24 Oh Gentle Jesus, Aquarians can
25 grate the skin from your face.
26 And not think anything of it.
27 One, two, three...then everyone on the netball
28 team is this and that.
29 Tasneem is a druggie, and that is not
30 Waanie (your brother's) child,
31 and she's the reason why he is no longer in the minstrels/coons,
32 and he should never have converted to Islam,
33 he will always be Warren in his mother's home
34 Janine is a shit shooter (again) and she
35 pretends to be something she isn't.
36 Her father is Muslim and has sleek hair,
37 whereas you must still struggle with a head cap so why must she fast?
38 She can visit after sundown and burn your fucking hair with a hairdryer
39 deliberately even though she knows not to hold it
40 so close and it's just plumes of smokey,
41 burnt hair.
42 And Meagon keeps telling tales saying she is
43 going to bring the phone she's waiting for three
44 months already for BlackBerry repairs, but she knows
45 her brother Lionel pawned it at Rajie's for drugs
46 and and and and...
47 There's a home remedy for that, really.
48 Weak black tea and Jamaica Ginger.
49 Ladies, Saturn governs your house that is not in
50 ascension and your elevated sense of self is just
51 because she's got hoolahoop bangles around her.
52 Your ass is moving too fast for a bottom.
53 You can no longer stay in a high gear
54 Your clutch will soon give way and then "doef",

55 there lies Aquarius on a stretcher.
56 You will end up with no friends. Eventually.
57 Don't be Scorpio. In the end, it will just be you two sitting
58 in the Spur on a Monday night eating old lettuce and
59 grey burgers.
60 The only reason you're still playing Queen Bee
61 is because they allow you.
62 And they're too dumb to lead. Also, since we're
63 TruthGayling, they're not so attractive.
64 You're the pretty smart girl with the big curls
65 all the guys wanna fuck.
66 But wont.
67 Your mouth is too clever.
68 But take the abuse too far... Keep thick...
69 No throne, no tiara, no more adoration,
70 no being the best-looking bitch out of the lot
71 when you go to Jade Lounge Friday nights.
72 And here's some more TruthGayle to go with your
73 bangles... It's going to be months before you can
74 grow out those horrible bangs.
75 God, uneven bangs work for pathetic
76 Whites that look half-dead and have a short fuse.
77 You were too impatient and wouldn't wait for Irfaan to
78 return from visiting family in East London...
79 You had to wait ONE day, but that was just too
80 much since you are fabulous,
81 you with your celestial bangles, that can still fit into a 32 Levis
82 (but is now that Guess girl), your dad
83 buys you a car because why should his only daughter take the train
84 to university? Past Langa and Lavistown, train?
85 His clever girl that studies Law and who Pamela
86 always arranges a job promotion for?
87 LG style. Life's Good.
88 No thank you.
89 You see it's like this...Snippity-Snip in Kloof
90 street fucked up your hair.
91 Now you have to wear a Hello Kitty clip.
92 Silly bitch.
93 Girl, take off those celestial bangles.
94 You don't have any humility and the loneliness
95 will force you to shove your pride up your ass
96 just for a little conversation. And that would likely cause you
97 to make a booking at Stikland.
98 Also, stop being an ungrateful bitch.
99 Your friends have no money that time of the year
100 to buy you a fucking birthday present and when
101 they do, be fucking grateful they got you something
102 stop with the shit offside comments
103 because "Yard"ley makes your skin itch!
104 And there's nothing wrong with your sinus.
105 God dammit, at least you've got something.
106 For crying out loud!

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Fig. 2 *Map of the residential areas of the Western Cape*. [Online]
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Fig. 9 *Aerial view of Cape Town Central Business District*. [Online]
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Fig. 10 *Motto and Badge of the Church Lads Brigade*. Digital facsimile taken from the archive of Good Shepherd, Maitland Brigade company, Cape Town.

- Fig. 11 *Photograph of Drum Major Justin May, Good Shepherd, Maitland company.* (2007). Private archive of author.
- Fig. 12 *Photograph of clergy from the Good Shepherd, Maitland company.* Circa 1970s. Digital facsimile taken from the archive of Good Shepherd, Maitland Brigade company, Cape Town.
- Fig. 13 *Photograph of Good Shepherd, Maitland company colors on parade.* Circa 1970s. Digital facsimile taken from the archive of Good Shepherd, Maitland Brigade company, Cape Town.
- Fig. 14 *Photograph of Good Shepherd, Maitland company on parade.* Circa 1970s. Digital facsimile taken from the archive of Good Shepherd, Maitland Brigade company, Cape Town.
- Fig. 15 *Facsimile of a singing competition programme.* Circa 1970s. Digital facsimile taken from the archive of Good Shepherd, Maitland Brigade company, Cape Town.
- Fig. 16 *Facsimile of the opening page of the Good Shepherd, Maitland company register.* Digital facsimile taken from the archive of Good Shepherd, Maitland Brigade company, Cape Town.
- Fig. 17 *Series of photographs of Rev. Gilmore Fry.* Circa 1950-2000. Digital facsimiles taken from the archive of Good Shepherd, Maitland Brigade company, Cape Town.
- Fig. 18 *Photograph of the procession of Cape Highlanders.* Circa 1960s. [Online] <https://za.pinterest.com/pin/283937951481922978/> (Accessed: 20 February, 2014).
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- Fig. 20 *Photograph of Cape coloured ballroom couple in formal hold.* Circa 1970s. Private archive of author.
- Fig. 21 *Photograph of langarm patrons seated around tables.* (2005). Private archive of author.
- Fig. 22 *Photograph of langarm patrons dancing.* (2005). Private archive of author.
- Fig. 23 *Photograph of founding members of the Ikey Gamba Danc Band.* Circa 1951. Archives of the District Six Museum. Used with permission.

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