

**“It’s just a matter of time”: African
American Musicians and the Cultural
Boycott in South Africa, 1968-1983**

by

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Declaration

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Abstract

In 1968 the United Nations General Assembly instituted a cultural boycott against apartheid South Africa. The cultural boycott prevented South Africa from having cultural, educational and sporting ties with the rest of the world, and it was an attempt by the international community to sever ties with South Africa. A culmination of this strategy was the publication of an annual registry by the United Nations of all international entertainers, actors, and others who performed in South Africa from 1983.

Based on this registry a number of academic studies have been conducted, but very few studies have investigated those who came to perform in South Africa before the publication of the registry even though renowned artists such as Percy Sledge (1970), Brook Benton (1971 & 1982), Jimmy Smith (1978 & 1982) and Isaac Hayes (1978) performed in South Africa during this time. This study will investigate a selection of African American musicians who came to perform in South Africa before the publication of the registry. Specific attention will be paid to the reception of these musicians in South Africa, the promoters that brought them and their accompanying musicians.

Based on close readings of their tours, this study will argue that the cultural boycott was not as successful in deterring musicians from performing in South Africa. In fact, in some instances their careers regained renewed relevance after their return to America.

Keywords: African American musicians, Music and politics, Cultural Boycott

Opsomming

In 1968 het die Algemene vergadering van die Verenigde Nasies 'n kulturele boikot teen apartheid Suid-Afrika ingestel. Die kulturele boikot het verhoed dat Suid-Afrika kulturele, opvoedkundige en sportbande met die res van die wêreld het. Dit was ook 'n poging van die wêreld gemeenskap om bande met Suid-Afrika te verbreek. 'n Hoogtepunt van hierdie strategie was die publikasie van 'n jaarlikse register deur die Verenigde Nasies van al die internasionale vermaaklikheidssterre, akteurs en ander wat sedert 1983 in Suid-Afrika opgetree het.

Op grond van hierdie register is 'n aantal akademiese studies gedoen, maar baie min studies het diegene ondersoek wat voor die publikasie van die register in Suid-Afrika opgetree het. Selfs het bekende kunstenaars soos Percy Sledge (1970), Brook Benton (1971 & 1982), Jimmy Smith (1978 en 1982) and Isaac Hayes (1978) gedurende hierdie tyd in Suid-Afrika opgetree. Hierdie studie ondersoek 'n uitgesoekte groep Afro-Amerikaanse musikante wat voor die publikasie in Suid-Afrika opgetree het. Spesiale aandag word geskenk aan die ontvangs van hierdie musikante in Suid-Afrika, die bemerkers wat hulle gebring het en hul gepaardgaande musikante.

Hierdie studie is gebaseer op noukeurige bestuderings van hul toere en sal argumenteer dat die kulturele boiket nie suksesvol was om musikante te keer om in Suid-Afrika op te tree nie. Intendeel, in sommige gevalle het hul loopbane hernude belangstelling gekry nadat hulle teruggekeer het na Amerika.

Sleutelwoorde: Afro-Amerikaanse musikante, Musiek en politiek, Kulturele Boikot

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Chapter One

Introduction

In 1968 the United Nations General Assembly instituted a cultural boycott against apartheid South Africa.¹ The cultural boycott theoretically prevented South Africa from having cultural, educational and sporting ties with the rest of the world, and it was an attempt by the international community to cut ties with South Africa. One of the foremost scholars on music censorship in South Africa, Michael Drewett, argues that the boycott as a policy sought to restrict the distribution of music in South Africa as well as prevent international musicians from performing in the country.²

The culmination of this strategy was the publication of an annual registry by the United Nations of all international entertainers, actors, and others who performed in South Africa from 1983. A number of authors on music such as Michael Beaubien (1982), Charles Hamm (1989), Louise Meintjies (1990), Michael Drewett (2006), Jonathan Richard Freeman (2014), and David Toulson (2016), have written about international musicians who came to perform in South Africa after 1983 when the Register of Entertainers, Actors and Others was published by the United Nations General Assembly Centre against apartheid (see literature review below). However relatively little has been written on international musicians that came to perform in South Africa before 1983. This is largely due to the ease of using the registry and the lack of a cohesive archive on musicians who toured the country prior to 1983.

This study will investigate this period with a specific focus on African American musicians who toured South Africa, namely Percy Sledge (1970 and 1972), Brook Benton (1971, 1980 and 1982), Jimmy Smith (1978 and 1982) and Isaac Hayes (1979). According to Jonathan Richard Freeman, “[m]any black artists grew up and came out of social and political struggles in the United States.”³

¹ Apartheid was a system of institutionalised racism, wherein a system of racial classification was used. These problematic racial markers had political, social and cultural consequences of significance to the arguments presented in this dissertation.

² H. Willemsse: “Censorship or Strategy?” in *The Purple Shall Govern* edited by D. Smuts and S. Westcott (Cape Town, SA: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 24; M. Drewett: “An Analysis of the Censorship of Popular Music within the Context of Cultural Struggle in South Africa during the 1980s.” PhD thesis, Rhodes University, South Africa, 2004, p. 172.

³ J. R. Freeman: “Sun City and the Sounds of Liberation: Cultural Resistance for Social Justice in Apartheid South Africa.” Master’s thesis, University of California, 2014, p. 4.

Their socio-economic backgrounds and political struggles echo those of South African black communities and local artists. Historically, literature suggests that there has been some support between cross-Atlantic black communities in resistance to oppressive regimes. It should be noted that according to the available sources, no African American musicians came to perform in South Africa from the institution of the cultural boycott in 1968 to 1970. Those who did tour South Africa in the following years, form part of a bigger strategy of promotion companies to bring black musicians to the country. Exploring their tours and their reception in South Africa provides insight into the effects of the cultural boycott on the careers of these international musicians. This will be addressed by exploring the spaces in which the musicians performed, their supporting acts and the promotion of these tours. Through microanalyses, this study argues that the cultural boycott during this interim period, between 1968 and 1983, was more complex than current literature suggests, with somewhat unusual repercussions.

Literature Review and Theoretical points of departure

In 1948 apartheid was implemented in South Africa, which was a system of institutionalised racial segregation and discrimination that encouraged state repression of the black majority for the benefit and economic stimulation of the white minority.⁴ It was supposedly designed to allow races to develop on their own but forced blacks into poverty.⁵ The system was rooted in the country's history of colonisation and slavery that viewed black South Africans as a cheap labour source.⁶ There were two types of apartheid laws. 'Grand' apartheid laws focused on keeping blacks in their designated 'homelands,' while 'petty' apartheid laws restricted the daily lives of South African blacks.⁷

Dissatisfaction grew against this system not only within South Africa but also within the international community. Individuals such as Father Trevor Huddleston, an Anglican clergyman and anti-apartheid activist, and Albert Luthuli, a Nobel Peace Prize recipient and ANC president, were some of the first to appeal to the United Nations General Assembly for a cultural boycott of

⁴ S. Dubow: *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, p. 1.

⁵ P. E. Louw: *The Rise, Fall, and Legacy of Apartheid*, pp. 27-54.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ T. J. Jukes: *Opposition in South Africa: the leadership of Z. K. Matthews, Nelson Mandela, and Stephen Biko*, pp. 112-115.

South Africa. According to Simon Stevens, “Huddleston wanted foreign entertainers to refuse to perform to all-white audiences in South Africa.”⁸ It was believed that visits by popular musicians legitimised apartheid and oppression.⁹

After the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, the banning of the liberation movement and the outlawing of alternative institutions, Luthuli considered the cultural boycott as one facet of a far broader assault on apartheid.¹⁰ It was one of a number of ways to exert pressure on the apartheid government.

However, the cultural boycott also had negative implications. It restricted South African musicians from performing internationally and by implication prohibited them from promoting themselves overseas. John Street, for example, argues that the boycott could be interpreted as a form of censorship.¹¹ Drewett noted that most South African musicians supported the boycott but did not believe it should be imposed on them.¹² They were ultimately impeded regardless of whether they supported or opposed the apartheid government and struggled to make a living off music.¹³ There was also a contrasting view that it hindered the outside world’s ability to help South Africa since they were not exposed to the culture.¹⁴ However, South African musicians were not only hindered by this external pressure but they were also subject to internal pressure within South Africa in the form of censorship.

Music Censorship is defined by Michael Drewett as:

⁸ S. Stevens: “Boycotts and Sanctions against South Africa: An International History, 1946-1970.” PhD thesis, Columbia University, 2016, p. 83.

⁹ J. R. Freeman: “Sun City and the Sounds of Liberation: Cultural Resistance for Social Justice in Apartheid South Africa.” Master’s thesis, University of California, 2014, p. 3.

¹⁰ R. Nixon: *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*, pp. 157-159.

¹¹ J. Street: “‘Fight the Power’: The Politics of Music and the Music of Politics,” *Government and Opposition*, Volume 38(1), 2003, p. 118.

¹² M. Drewett: “The Cultural boycott against Apartheid South Africa: A case study of Defensible Censorship?,” In *Popular Music Censorship in Africa* edited by M. Drewett & M. Cloonan (USA: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), p. 31.

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 32; M. Drewett: “Music in the Struggle to End Apartheid: South Africa,” In *Policing Pop* edited by M. Cloonan & R. Garofalo (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), pp. 159-160; C. Hamm: “‘The Constant Companion of Man’: Separate Development, Radio Bantu and Music,” *Popular Music*, Volume 10(2), 1991, p. 172; C. Ballantine: “A Brief History of South African Popular Music,” *Popular Music*, Volume 8(3), 1989, p. 309; I. B. Byerly: “Mirror, Mediator, and Prophet: The Music Indaba of Late-Apartheid South Africa,” *Ethnomusicology*, Volume 42(1), 1998, pp. 13-14.

¹⁴ L. Meintjies: “Paul Simon’s Graceland, South Africa, and the Mediation of Music Meaning,” *Ethnomusicology*, Volume 34(1), 1990, p. 54.

The monitoring and control of creative work and, crucially, deliberation over whether or not pieces of music will be allowed to be listened to or performed in certain contexts, involving particular people within South Africa.¹⁵

This definition consists of the restriction on association, expression and movement. Musicians were discouraged from creating music with individuals from a different race or as a multi-racial group, their views were restricted to fit within the conservative apartheid ideology of the government and they struggled to expand their career beyond South Africa unless they went into exile.¹⁶

Censorship was applied through various state structures, for example, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), who had their own censorship committees, the Directorate of Publications, the South African police and record companies.¹⁷ Drewett lists common reasons for songs being banned from airplay by the state-owned SABC. Firstly, songs were banned because they were considered rebellious, too political or that they promoted the political struggle. Secondly, songs were also prohibited for reasons of blasphemy or that they were too religiously offensive. Thirdly, if songs promoted sexual promiscuity, drug use and offensive words, in general, it was outlawed. Fourthly, if songs referred to brand names, they were considered free publicity and later banned. Lastly, songs that consisted of multiple languages were also subject to rejection.¹⁸ The SABC's pro-government stance also put pressure on record companies, which in turn put pressure on musicians to practice self-censorship in order to receive airplay on the radio.¹⁹ There

¹⁵ M. Drewett: "An Analysis of the Censorship of Popular Music within the Context of Cultural Struggle in South Africa during the 1980s." PhD thesis, Rhodes University, South Africa, 2004, p. 172.

¹⁶ Censorship formed part of a bigger state apparatus that included the Group Areas Act (1950) and the Separate Amenities Act (1953), all geared towards keeping the races separate.

¹⁷ For a more comprehensive explanation please refer to: D. J. Durbach: "A study of the linkages between popular music and politics in South Africa under Apartheid in the 1980s." Master thesis, University of South Africa, 2015, p. 47; M. Drewett: "An Analysis of the Censorship of Popular Music within the Context of Cultural Struggle in South Africa during the 1980s." PhD thesis, Rhodes University, South Africa, 2004, pp. 80-86; M. Drewett: "Music in the Struggle to End Apartheid: South Africa," In *Policing Pop* edited by M. Cloonan & R. Garofalo (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), pp. 154-155; M. Drewett: "Developing a retro brand community: Re-releasing and marketing anti-apartheid protest music in post-apartheid South Africa," *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, Volume 11(4), 2008, p. 32; M. Drewett: "'Stop this filth': The censorship of Roger Lucey's music in Apartheid South Africa," *South African Journal of Musicology*, Volume 25(1), 2005, pp. 56-63; M. Drewett: "Exploring 'space' in censorship battles: the case of popular musicians in 1980s South Africa," *South African Review of Sociology*, Volume 46(1), 2014, pp. 7-8; J. M. Coetzee: *Giving Offense: Essays on Censorship*, p. 185; C. Merret: *A Culture of Censorship: Secrecy and Intellectual Repression in South Africa*, pp. 41-78.

¹⁸ M. Drewett: "An Analysis of the Censorship of Popular Music within the Context of Cultural Struggle in South Africa during the 1980s." PhD thesis, Rhodes University, South Africa, 2004, pp. 125-128.

¹⁹ M. Drewett: "Music in the Struggle to End Apartheid: South Africa," In *Policing Pop* edited by M. Cloonan & R. Garofalo (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), p. 156. See also I. B. Byerly: "Mirror, Mediator, and

were also varied attempts of resistance against these mechanisms of censorship by the state.²⁰ Such as using over lyrics, camouflaged textual messages, symbolic and cryptic lyrics, satirical and ironical messages, resistance through live performance, album covers, posters, banners and concert programmes.²¹

Musicians such as Dollar Brand, Hugh Masekela, and Chris McGregor were forced into exile with the introduction of new censorship laws by the South African government.²² South African musicians in exile joined the protest against apartheid through supporting the cultural boycott from overseas.²³

The boycott not only affected South African musicians and organisations but also exerted pressure on international musicians not to perform in South Africa. In 1965, several American artists pledged to observe a total boycott of South Africa.²⁴ Hein Willemse, a South African academic, literary critic, activist and author, defined the cultural boycott as a “resolution passed by the United Nations General Assembly, where member states and organisations were asked to suspend all

Prophet: The Music Indaba of Late-Apartheid South Africa,” *Ethnomusicology*, Volume 42(1), 1998, p. 14; Please refer to these for examples of resistance against this: M. Drewett: “‘Stop this filth’: The censorship of Roger Lucey’s music in Apartheid South Africa,” *South African Journal of Musicology*, Volume 25(1), 2005; M. Drewett: “Shifty Records in Apartheid South Africa: Innovations in Independent Record Company Resistance,” *South African Music Studies*, Volume 34-35(1), 2015; M. Drewett & J. Clegg: “Why don’t you sing about the Leaves and the Dreams? Reflecting on Music Censorship in Apartheid South Africa,” In *Popular Music Censorship in Africa* edited by M. Drewett & M. Cloonan (USA: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), pp. 127-136.

²⁰ For a more comprehensive explanation please refer to: M. Drewett: “Music in the Struggle to End Apartheid: South Africa,” In *Policing Pop* edited by M. Cloonan & R. Garofalo (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), pp. 154-158; M. Drewett: “An Analysis of the Censorship of Popular Music within the Context of Cultural Struggle in South Africa during the 1980s.” PhD thesis, Rhodes University, South Africa, 2004. It is also addressed in I. B. Byerly: “Mirror, Mediator, and Prophet: The Music Indaba of Late-Apartheid South Africa,” *Ethnomusicology*, Volume 42(1), 1998, pp. 13-15; M. Drewett: “Exploring ‘space’ in censorship battles: the case of popular musicians in 1980s South Africa,” *South African Review of Sociology*, Volume 46(1), 2014, pp. 5-12; D. B. Coplan: “God Rock Africa: Thoughts on politics in popular black performers in South Africa,” *African Studies*, Volume 64(1), 2005, pp. 147-149.

²¹ For a more detailed explanation please consult: M. Drewett: “An Analysis of the Censorship of Popular Music within the Context of Cultural Struggle in South Africa during the 1980s.” PhD thesis, Rhodes University, South Africa, 2004, pp. 207-303.

²² I. B. Byerly: “Mirror, Mediator, and Prophet: The Music Indaba of Late-Apartheid South Africa,” *Ethnomusicology*, Volume 42(1), 1998, p. 13.

²³ *Ibid*, p. 14.

²⁴ American Committee on Africa: “Cultural Boycott of racist South Africa Broken: Percy Sledge sells soul,” *American Committee on Africa*, 16 July 1970, <http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.acoa000341a> (Accessed 9 Sep. 2018); G. Morlan & P. Irish: “Report of N.G.O. Actions in the U.S. for the Cultural Boycott of South Africa to the International NGO Action Conference held in Geneva July 4, 1980,” <http://kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/50/304/32-130-CA5-84-al.sff.document.acoa000571.pdf> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

cultural, educational and sporting ties with the racist regime.”²⁵ The cultural boycott was implemented in 1968 by the United Nations General Assembly and continued until 1990 as South Africa began the transition towards democracy.²⁶

In 1980, the American Committee on Africa (ACOA)²⁷ made their stance very clear. In a report circulated at the Geneva conference, musicians pledged “Not to display, publish, conduct, perform, or produce their works in South Africa until the day when black and white equally enjoy the educational and cultural advantages of that rich land.”²⁸ Those who defied the boycott were perceived to act in support of apartheid and the white oppression of blacks.²⁹

Internationally the boycott started slow but gained momentum after the Sharpeville massacre and even more so in 1976 with the Soweto Uprising as South African conditions received more international exposure.³⁰ This was coupled with an influx of international musicians. Initially only a few came but as the boycott’s pressure increased so did the musicians who came to South Africa. The United Nations Centre against apartheid claimed that by this time:

The Government of South Africa, concerned over its increasing isolation, tried to restore international cultural and sporting contracts by relaxing certain apartheid regulations so as to allow some mixed-race performance and mixed audiences in some theatres, under permit, and tried to persuade entertainers that since multiracial

²⁵ H. Willemsse: “Censorship or Strategy?” in *The Purple Shall Govern* edited by D. Smuts and S. Westcott (Cape Town, SA: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 24.

²⁶ M. Drewett: “Developing a retro brand community: Re-releasing and marketing anti-apartheid protest music in post-apartheid South Africa,” *Consumption, Markets and Culture*, Volume 11(4), 2008, p. 297.

²⁷ The group was founded in 1953 in New York by the co-chairmen of AFSAR were Rev. Donald Harrington of the Community Church of New York and Rev. Charles Y. Trigg of Salem Methodist Church in Harlem. It was founded to support the liberation struggle in Africa. American Committee on Africa grew out of the ad hoc Americans for South African Resistance (AFSAR) which was formed to support the Campaign of Defiance Against Unjust Laws led by the African National Congress (ANC). Moreover, the ACOA played a key role in campaigns related to South Africa especially for sanctions and the divestment which resulted in churches, universities, states and cities selling their stock holdings in companies that did business in apartheid South Africa.

(<http://africanactivist.msu.edu/organization.php?name=American+Committee+on+Africa> (Accessed 7 Jul. 2019);

<https://www.aluka.org/struggles/collection/ACOA> (Accessed 7 Jul. 2019);

<https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/american-committee-africa-acoa> (Accessed 7 Jul. 2019))

²⁸ G. Morlan & P. Irish: “Report of N.G.O. Actions in the U.S. for the Cultural Boycott of South Africa to the International NGO Action Conference held in Geneva July 4, 1980,” <http://kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/50/304/32-130-CA5-84-al.sff.document.acoa000571.pdf> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ M. Drewett: “An Analysis of the Censorship of Popular Music within the Context of Cultural Struggle in South Africa during the 1980s.” PhD thesis, Rhodes University, South Africa, 2004, p. 185.

performances and audiences were possible, they should no longer boycott South Africa.³¹

By 1980, the United Nations General Assembly was no longer asking governments but started appealing directly to the “writers, artists, musicians, and other personalities to boycott South Africa.”³² Furthermore, Huddleston and Luthuli’s appeals to boycott South Africa served as a catalyst for a welter of artistic organisations to act against apartheid.³³ The boycott was largely driven from abroad by the exiled individuals of the liberation movements with the support of various solidarity movements that were fighting against anti-racism across the world.³⁴

There were also concerns from the Committee of Concerned Blacks that condemned American Blacks touring South Africa for any reasons in a report titled “Should African Blacks tour South Africa to entertain Africans?”³⁵ They were of the opinion that:

Any accommodation with the present racist regime of South Africa is: traitorous to the 8 000 militant Africans imprisoned in South African jails; is injurious to the liberation struggles presently being fought in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea – Bissau; and aids the confusion and disunity the white ruler in South Africa are trying to foster.³⁶

Additionally, Richard Jonathan Freeman stated that “[m]usic had been an important component of the struggle for freedom in South Africa since its inception.”³⁷ However, there were promoters and production companies that brought these foreign musicians to South Africa, which made it difficult to gauge these organisational bodies’ stance on the cultural boycott. According to Rob Nixon, the cultural boycott was problematic to enforce as “musicians, writers, photographers, or painters could not be assailed as the official representatives of a racist nation-state.”³⁸

³¹ United Nations Centre against Apartheid: “Artists and Entertainers against Apartheid: An Update,” April 1991, *United Nations Centre Against Apartheid*, Notes and Documents, pp. 1-14, http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.nuun1991_05 (Accessed 7 Jul. 2019); T. R. H. Davenport: *The Birth of a new South Africa*, p. 5.

³² M. C. Beaubien: “The Cultural Boycott of South Africa,” *Africa Today*, Volume 29(4), 1982, p. 7.

³³ R. Nixon: *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*, p. 157; D. Siegfried: “Aporias of the Cultural Boycott: Anti-Apartheid Movement, ANC and the Conflict surrounding Paul Simon’s album Graceland (1985-1988),” *Studies in Contemporary History*, Volume 13, 2013, p. 4.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Committee of Concerned Blacks: “Should African Black tour South African to entertain Africans?,” <http://kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/50/304/32-130-1533-84-GMH%20CCBEntertainers.pdf> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ J. R. Freeman: “Sun City and the Sounds of Liberation: Cultural Resistance for Social Justice in Apartheid South Africa.” Master’s thesis, University of California, 2014, p. 2.

³⁸ R. Nixon: *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*, pp. 156 & 167.

This is one of the things that made the cultural boycott contentious as one has to consider the lives of these touring musicians and promoters as well.³⁹ For these touring musicians, especially if they were struggling financially, touring South Africa was an approach to not only secure funds but exposure as well. However, one should point out that if they were aware of the cultural boycott, these musicians should also have been aware that touring or performing in South Africa could have a negative impact on their careers. The content chapters of this dissertation might suggest otherwise.

Musicians were offered large sums of money to break the cultural boycott and to perform in South Africa particularly after the establishment of the Sun City resort in the homeland of Bophuthatswana in December 1979.⁴⁰ In 1977, Bophuthatswana was turned into an independent homeland or Bantustan.⁴¹

This came with certain implications in which the cultural boycott against South Africa could be circumnavigated. This legal loophole attracted the hotel magnate Sol Kerzner. David Toulson stated in his PhD that, “[t]he Sun City resort was a Las Vegas-style resort that featured luxurious casinos, colossal water parks, upscale restaurants, hotel amenities, showrooms and spas, and a world-class golf course.”⁴² This resort served as a tourist attraction that white South Africans and a few wealthy blacks enjoyed and they indulged in gambling and other forms of recreation. What is interesting with subsequent chapters is while we have this loophole the content chapters will also look at how artists had to navigate around the cultural boycott by visiting neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe, Lesotho and Botswana, attracting large South African audiences to

³⁹ M. Andersson: *Music in the Mix: The Story of South African popular music*, p. 50.

⁴⁰ D. Toulson: “Culture is a Weapon: Popular Music, Protest and Opposition to Apartheid in Britain.” PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 2016, p. 6; K. Tomaselli & B. Boster: “Mandela, MTV, Television, and Apartheid,” In *A South African and American Comparative Reader: The best of Safundi and Other Selected Articles* edited by A. Offenburger, S. Rosenberg & C. Saunders (United States of America: Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Comparative Studies, 2002), p. 196.

⁴¹ Through the 1951 Bantu Authorities Act these homelands were provided to create their own ‘tribal authorities’, which laid the basis for the notion of the future Bantustans self-governing states. (S. Dubow: *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, p. 64.)

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 5; K. Tomaselli & B. Boster: “Mandela, MTV, Television, and Apartheid,” In *A South African and American Comparative Reader: The best of Safundi and Other Selected Articles* edited by A. Offenburger, S. Rosenberg & C. Saunders (United States of America: Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Comparative Studies, 2002), p. 197.

their performances. Artists such as Eartha Kitt and Sammy Davis, Jr for example performed in 1971 at the Spa in Lesotho and attracted large South African audiences to their performances.⁴³

Michael Beaubien, a journalist that has written extensively on Southern Africa, lists musicians that came to perform at Sun City during the 1980s.⁴⁴ The list provided by Beaubien focuses on

⁴³ Author Unknown: "Sammy Davis for Spa season," *The Star*, 14 September 1971, p. 1; Author Unknown: "Sammy would love to play in SA but not segregated," *The Star*, 15 September 1971, p. 5; Author Unknown: "Eartha Kitt to sing here for Whites," *The Star*, 5 October 1971, p. 1; Author Unknown: "Eartha's Swazi date," *Drum*, August 1971, p. 60; Author Unknown: "Sammy you are too pricey," *Drum*, December 1971, p. 34; G. Morlan & P. Irish: "Report of N.G.O. Actions in the U.S. for the Cultural Boycott of South Africa to the International NGO Action Conference held in Geneva July 4, 1980," <http://kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/50/304/32-130-CA5-84-al.sff.document.acoa000571.pdf> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); Committee of Concerned Blacks: "Should African Black tour South African to entertain Africans?," <http://kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/50/304/32-130-1533-84-GMH%20CCBEntertainers.pdf> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

⁴⁴ These include: Barry Manilow, Beach Boys, Billy Eckstine, Bob Anderson, Brook Benton, Candi Stanton, Carla Fontana, Cher, Cliff Richard, Curtis Mayfield, Dakota Staton, David Essex, Dolly Parton, Dusty Springfield, Freda Payne, George Benson, George Shearing, Chicago, Glen Campbell, Gloria Gaynor, Gwen Brisco, Helen Reddy, Isaac Hayes, James Moddy, Joe Henderson, Kenny Rogers, Karne Nelson, Leo Sayer, Lou Donaldson, O'Jays, Osmonds, Percy Sledge, Queen, Rick Wakeman, Rod Stewart, Shirley Basey, Na Na, Tina Turner, Tom Jones, and Village People. But he also list musicians that refused to perform namely: Ben Vereen, Ella Fitzgerald, Elton John, Gladys Knight and the Pips, Joe Williams, Nancy Wilson, Natalie Cole, Roberta Flack, Phyllis Hyman, Sammy Davis Jr., Stevie Wonder, the Floaters, Frank Sinatra, Liza Minelli, Eldon, Rod Stewart, Queen and the Jacksons. David Marks has also drawn up a list that include: Doc Watson and Merle, Percy Sledge, Isaac Hayes, Jimmy Smith, Stanley Turrentine, Stan Getz, The Stawbs, Hal Singer, Malcolm McLaren (Sex Pistol's Producer), Virgin Records Rhythm of Resistance, Janis Ian, Phil Ochs, Derek Brimstone, Mike Zwerin (UN Cultural Envoy), The Everly Brothers, Stu Phillips, Johnny Halliday, Cleo Laine and Johnny Dankworth, The Crusaders, The new Christie minstrels, The Byrds, Benton, The Hughes Corporation, Clarence Carter, Chase, Barclays James Harvest, Queen, Keith Emmerson, Rod McKuen, Spike Milligan, Hamilton Habib Camp, Sir Donald Swann, The Eagles, Jackson Browne, Yahoram Gaon, Stephanie Grappelli, The Platters, Bill Hayley and The Comets, Rufus Thomas, Albert Hammond and Joan Jet. (Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Lizabé Lambrechts Archive. Personal Correspondence, Lambrechts to David Marks, 28 May 2018; J. Campbell: "The Americanization of South Africa," In *A South African and American Comparative Reader: The best of Safundi and Other Selected Articles* edited by A. Offenburger, S. Rosenberg & C. Saunders (United States of America: Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Comparative Studies, 2002), p. 24; J. R. Freeman: "Sun City and the Sounds of Liberation: Cultural Resistance for Social Justice in Apartheid South Africa." Master's thesis, University Of California, 2014, p. 32; R. Nixon: *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*, p. 163; D. Toulson: "Culture is a Weapon: Popular Music, Protest and Opposition to Apartheid in Britain." PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 2016, p. 32; M. Drewett: "The Cultural boycott against Apartheid South Africa: A case study of Defensible Censorship?," In *Popular Music Censorship in Africa* edited by M. Drewett & M. Cloonan (USA: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), p. 26; M. C. Beaubien: "The Cultural Boycott of South Africa," *Africa Today*, Volume 29(4), 1982, pp. 13-14. A report by the American Committee on Africa also lists musicians that pledged not to associate with South Africa such as Carmen de L. Holder, Diahanne Carroll, Eartha Kitt, Frederick O'Neal, Godfrey Cambridge, Harry Belafonte, Johnny Mathis, Lena Horne, Leon Bibb, Miriam Makeba, Nina Simone, Oietta, Ossie David, Paul Robeson, Poppy Cannon White, Sammy Davis, Jr. and Sidney Poitier. (American Committee on Africa: "Cultural Boycott of racist South Africa Broken: Percy Sledge sells soul," *American Committee on Africa*, 16 July 1970, <http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.acoa000341a> (Accessed 9 Sep. 2018); G. Morlan & P. Irish: "Report of N.G.O. Actions in the U.S. for the Cultural Boycott of South Africa to the International NGO Action Conference held in Geneva July 4, 1980," <http://kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/50/304/32-130-CA5-84-al.sff.document.acoa000571.pdf> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); M. Andersson: *Music in the Mix: The Story of South African popular music*, p. 50.) The Author also compiled a list of African American musicians that came to perform in Sun City since its establishment in late 1979 until September 1983. The author also has a personal list of

musicians that came after the establishment of the Register of Entertainers, Actors and Others in 1983.⁴⁵

Beaubien argued that African American artists, who came to South Africa were insensitive and had little respect and concern for conditions facing black South Africans. These musicians merely wanted to make money at the expense of the anti-apartheid struggle. In contrast, Jonathan Freeman investigated African-American musicians, who performed in South Africa such as the Commodores, who refused to perform in spite of tempting contracts.⁴⁶ Freeman supported Beaubien's argument, noting that, "[a]rtists that did, in fact, go to perform in South Africa were naïve about the politics at the time."⁴⁷ Sun City management frequently tried to downplay the realities of apartheid, and so attracted various musicians.⁴⁸

Rob Nixon, a professor in postcolonial studies, argued otherwise, claiming that:

Sun City publicists had duped many performers into playing in Bophuthatswana on the grounds that apartheid's pleasure dome was located not in South Africa but in a neighbouring state; perhaps, from afar, artists couldn't be expected to tell their Bophuthatswana from their Botswanas.⁴⁹

Instead of blaming the artists, Nixon rather shifted the blame to the South African government in their attempts to break free from isolation. This view is supported by Drewett that claimed that Sun City later became a crucial venue diminishing the impact of the cultural boycott.⁵⁰

According to a report delivered to the international NGO action conference held in Geneva, "[t]he apartheid regime has used the staging of cultural events and the importing of foreign talent in its

musicians that went to Sun City between its establishment in 1979 and 1983: Peaches and Herb (1981), Gladys Knight (1981) and Ray Charles. This list is not all encompassing and largely restricted to African American musicians documented in the Rand Daily Mail.

⁴⁵ The list by the UN Centre against Apartheid was published in 1983 but they started compiling it in 1981. (R. Nixon: *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*, p. 163.)

⁴⁶ J. R. Freeman: "Sun City and the Sounds of Liberation: Cultural Resistance for Social Justice in Apartheid South Africa." Master's thesis, University of California, 2014, p. 32.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 34.

⁴⁸ D. Toulson: "Culture is a Weapon: Popular Music, Protest and Opposition to Apartheid in Britain." PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 2016, p. 6.

⁴⁹ R. Nixon: *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*, p. 163.

⁵⁰ M. Drewett: "An Analysis of the Censorship of Popular Music within the Context of Cultural Struggle in South Africa during the 1980s." PhD thesis, Rhodes University, South Africa, 2004, pp. 188-190.

propaganda effort to win acceptability for apartheid internationally.”⁵¹ Charles Hamm, an American musicologist, argued that the South African government was initially sceptical about importing black Americans, however, they realised that, “[b]lacks performing for blacks in highly publicized events reinforced the image of racial separation; the excitement and pleasure generated among the black population helped divert energy away from more contentious matters.”⁵² This was because the government had realized that these African American musicians’ music were topping South African charts.

The South African government gave these foreign black entertainers the title of “Honorary Whites” and allowed them access and use of white facilities such as hotels and restaurants that would normally be inaccessible for South Africans blacks.⁵³ Promoters were also careful not to choose musicians with strong political inclinations. According to Hamm, “[e]ntrepreneurs were careful to choose performers with no obvious history of political activity, and to instruct them to avoid controversial statements or contacts while in the country.”⁵⁴

Discussions around the cultural boycott on South Africa are complex. For example, the release of Paul Simon’s 1986 album *Graceland*, caused wide-ranging critique from anti-apartheid groups for recording in South Africa.⁵⁵ According to Hamm, Louise Meintjies and Michael Beaubien, Paul Simon and his apologists insisted firstly, that the album focused its attention on South Africa and South African music. Secondly, that South African musicians benefitted from this enterprise through wages received by Simon and subsequent international exposure. Thirdly, that the songs produced were apolitical and would not have endangered the lives of the musicians, and lastly, that *Graceland* contained a mixed-racial character.⁵⁶ According to these arguments, the production of *Graceland* can thus not be considered as supporting the apartheid system.

⁵¹ G. Morlan & P. Irish: “Report of N.G.O. Actions in the U.S. for the Cultural Boycott of South Africa to the International NGO Action Conference held in Geneva July 4, 1980,” <http://kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/50/304/32-130-CA5-84-al.sff.document.acoa000571.pdf> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

⁵² C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, p. 31.

⁵³ According to the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953), facilities such as hotels, restaurants, busses, benches and bathrooms were designated for the use of only one racial group. (C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, p. 31.)

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ D. Toulson: “Culture is a Weapon: Popular Music, Protest and Opposition to Apartheid in Britain.” PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 2016, p. 105; R. Nixon: *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*, p. 165.

⁵⁶ C. Hamm: “Graceland Revisited,” *Popular Music*, Volume 8(3), 1989, p. 299; L. Meintjies: “Paul Simon’s Graceland, South Africa, and the Mediation of Music Meaning,” *Ethnomusicology*, Volume 34(1), 1990, p. 39; M.

Simon stated that he had no particular stance towards South Africa, he did not consider there to be a link between politics and music, which was a common justification for visiting international musicians.⁵⁷ The negation of a possible link between music and politics becomes one of the key findings in this dissertation. For example, Isaac Hayes in a press conference prior to his tour to South Africa in 1978, commented that he “refuses to get drawn into a game of politics.”⁵⁸ Along with Hayes, this declaration of the separation of music and politics have been advocated by many more musicians that came to tour South Africa during apartheid.

In contrast to the argument presented above, Drewett argues that Simon, in his attempts to dismiss political pressure was weakening the implementation of the cultural boycott of the 1970s. This he argued, was because of Simon’s wealth and social standing, highlighting the disjuncture between race and class of and between international and local musicians.⁵⁹ As this dissertation will show this doesn’t only pertain to the *Graceland* album and Paul Simon. Similarly, one cannot neglect the impact of international consumer culture on local taste and consumption.

The influence of American culture on South Africa has a long history that can be traced back to the arrival of the first missionaries who arrived in the 19th century.⁶⁰ From the early 20th century, this consumer culture becomes more prevalent in urban spaces with “the development of an American inflected consumer culture [...] intimately related to the rise of mass media.”⁶¹ Moreover, cities played a substantial role in how foreign musicians were received. James Campbell notes that this was due to the introduction of new forms of “advertising and mass circulation weekly magazines to gramophone records, radio, and Hollywood movies.”⁶² In 1976, television

C. Beaubien: “The Cultural Boycott of South Africa,” *Africa Today*, Volume 29(4), 1982, p. 5; V. Erlmann: *Music, Modernity and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West*, p. 169.

⁵⁷ V. Erlmann: *Music, Modernity and the Global Imagination: South Africa and the West*, p. 169.

⁵⁸ P. Feldman: “Isaac cuts the fat cat image,” *The Star*, 13 November 1978, p. 17.

⁵⁹ See also the work of D. Toulson: “Culture is a Weapon: Popular Music, Protest and Opposition to Apartheid in Britain.” PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 2016; D. Siegfried: “Aporias of the Cultural Boycott: Anti-Apartheid Movement, ANC and the Conflict surrounding Paul Simon’s album *Graceland* (1985-1988),” *Studies in Contemporary History*, Volume 13, 2013.

⁶⁰ C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, p. 10; E. Rosenthal: *Stars and Stripes in Africa*, pp. 168-173; C. Ballantine: “Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz in South Africa between the Twenties and the Early Forties,” *Popular Music*, Volume 10(2), 1991, p. 124.

⁶¹ J. Campbell: “The Americanization of South Africa,” In *A South African and American Comparative Reader: The best of Safundi and Other Selected Articles* edited by A. Offenburger, S. Rosenberg & C. Saunders (United States of America: Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Comparative Studies, 2002), p. 40.

⁶² *Ibid*; C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, p. 28; M. Andersson: *Music in the Mix: The Story of South African popular music*, p. 51.

finally arrived in South Africa and in combination with films, music records and magazines, served to spread American culture to South Africans.⁶³ According to Campbell,

American influence has typically spread along general lines, with young South Africans, black and white, appropriating American music, fashion, and even slang as a means to distinguish themselves from their more conservative more Anglicized elders.⁶⁴

Even though American culture was popular amongst both black and white South Africans, Campbell points out that they have respectively taken different aspects from American culture and had different ideas about how Americans experienced life and how that related to South Africa.⁶⁵ Campbell remarked that “[i]n a society as riven by racial, class, ethnic, and generational cleavages as South Africa, the process of ‘Americanization’ has inevitably been uneven and contested.⁶⁶ This dissertation will add to the debate, by looking at the nuanced ways in which this process unfolds.

According to David Coplan, black South Africans identified with the “socio-historical experience of black Americans” and “Afro American music served as a model for black South African urban cultural adaptation, identity and resistance.”⁶⁷ Scott Rosenburg similarly noted that “African youth drew on African-American culture in part due to the similarities in their experiences with racial oppression” and their struggle to combat racism.⁶⁸ He continues to point out that, “South Africans have incorporated aspects of American culture into their own identity as a means of rejecting the racial hierarchy.”⁶⁹ Afro-American music, therefore, played an important role in resistance politics

⁶³ The arrival of the television was delayed by the South African government because they had concerns that it would contaminate South African minds. (R. Nixon: *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*, p. 77.)

⁶⁴ J. Campbell: “The Americanization of South Africa,” In *A South African and American Comparative Reader: The best of Safundi and Other Selected Articles* edited by A. Offenburger, S. Rosenberg & C. Saunders (United States of America: Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Comparative Studies, 2002), p. 24; R. Nixon: *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*, p. 3.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, p. 15; D. B. Coplan: *In Township Tonight!: South Africa’s Black Music and Theatre*, p. 70. D. Martin: *Sounding the Cape: Music Identity and Politics in South Africa*, pp. 12-13; D. Coplan: “The urbanisation of African music,” *Popular Music*, Volume 2, 1982, pp. 122-123; C. Ballantine: “Concert and Dance: The Foundations of Black Jazz in South Africa between the Twenties and the Early Forties,” *Popular Music*, Volume 10(2), 1991, p. 124; R. Nixon: *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*, p. 3.

⁶⁸ S. Rosenberg: “Youth, Popular Culture, and Identity: American Influences on South Africa and Lesotho,” In *A South African and American Comparative Reader: The best of Safundi and Other Selected Articles* edited by A. Offenburger, S. Rosenberg & C. Saunders (United States of America: Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Comparative Studies, 2002), p. 156.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

in South Africa, particularly amongst the youth. Therefore, Rosenberg claimed that “South Africans have incorporated aspects of American culture into their own identity as a means of rejecting the racial hierarchy.”⁷⁰ This influence can be seen, for example in the development of new musical styles such as Mbaqanga and Marabi Jazz,⁷¹ adopting dress codes such as the zoot suit⁷² and the inordinate popularity of African American musicians in South Africa even after their careers in America had waned.⁷³ The popularity of these musicians can be recorded by how they were mobbed by both white and black audiences when they arrived in South Africa. Especially soul artists, who, on arriving in the country were revered by South African audiences, as will be investigated in this dissertation. Due to this popularity, the focus of the study will be four renowned musicians who have all to some degree been involved with the genre of soul music. For example, Percy Sledge was called the King of Soul, Brook Benton’s 1971 album was entitled “Soul Santa”, and Isaac Hayes’ 1969 album *Hot Buttered Soul*, whereas Jimmy Smith is credited with influencing the genre, soul-jazz.

Soul music, originating as an African American popular music style in the 1960s, has been defined in a variety of ways. David Brackett notes that “[w]hereas the term soul has connotations of black

⁷⁰ S. Rosenberg: “Youth, Popular Culture, and Identity: American Influences on South Africa and Lesotho,” In *A South African and American Comparative Reader: The best of Safundi and Other Selected Articles* edited by A. Offenburger, S. Rosenberg & C. Saunders (United States of America: Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Comparative Studies, 2002), p. 158.

⁷¹ C. Ballantine: “A Brief History of South African Popular Music” *Popular Music*, Volume 8(3), 1989, p. 306; J. Campbell: “The Americanization of South Africa,” In *A South African and American Comparative Reader: The best of Safundi and Other Selected Articles* edited by A. Offenburger, S. Rosenberg & C. Saunders (United States of America: Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Comparative Studies, 2002), p. 41.

⁷² Scott Rosenberg stated that, “[t]he zoot suit, [...] became popular during the 1940s as a central feature of the hipster identity of urban black youth.” C. R. D. Halasi similarly notes that the zoot suits symbolised, “the image of African Americans” and was “used to symbolize a black people who command the tools of modernity.” (S. Rosenberg: “Youth, Popular Culture, and Identity: American Influences on South Africa and Lesotho,” In *A South African and American Comparative Reader: The best of Safundi and Other Selected Articles* edited by A. Offenburger, S. Rosenberg & C. Saunders (United States of America: Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Comparative Studies, 2002), p. 159; C. Glaser: *Bo-tsotsi: The Youth Gangs of Soweto, 1935-1976*, p. 50; R. Nixon: *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*, p. 32)

⁷³ J. Campbell: “The Americanization of South Africa,” In *A South African and American Comparative Reader: The best of Safundi and Other Selected Articles* edited by A. Offenburger, S. Rosenberg & C. Saunders (United States of America: Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Comparative Studies, 2002), p. 41; S. Rosenberg: “Youth, Popular Culture, and Identity: American Influences on South Africa and Lesotho,” In *A South African and American Comparative Reader: The best of Safundi and Other Selected Articles* edited by A. Offenburger, S. Rosenberg & C. Saunders (United States of America: Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Comparative Studies, 2002), p. 160.

pride and culture, [...] its usage in conjunction with music has a complicated genealogy.”⁷⁴ Gayle Wald argued in the book *Soul: Black Power, Politics, and Pleasure* that Soul itself was a difficult term that could be interpreted in several ways. He stated that “one can have soul, be soulful and play soul music demonstrate soul’s compass over varied terrains of style, politics, ideology, subjectivity, and spirituality.”⁷⁵ Portia Maulsby further complicates the definition of soul music, pointing out during a round table discussion titled “Ain’t We Still Got Soul?”:

From a socio-political perspective, [soul] advocated self-awareness, Black empowerment, and Black identity. From a cultural perspective, [soul] identified expressions symbolic of a Black style or a Black way of doing things, as well as a range of traditions unique to African American. Within this context, soul identified cultural symbols (clutched fist, African-derived fashions, ornaments, hairstyle, etc.), Black behaviour (greeting one another with a unique handshake, walking with a glide in the stride, and other forms of physical expression), a unique cuisine (chitlins, ham hocks, black-eyed peas, okra, etc.), Black cultural institutions (soul radio), and creative expressions (dance, visual art, and music).⁷⁶

This term was regarded as an umbrella term that consisted of black popular culture during the 1960s and found its origins in church, which was one of the most autonomous institutions in African American communities.⁷⁷ In a similar vein, J. K. Obatala notes that:

[S]oul, like its African forerunners, ‘Negritude,’ ‘African Socialism’ and the ‘African Personality,’ is an ideological anti-Christ. Its mystic nature renders it void of analytical and critical content and the carefree, party-all-the-time atmosphere in which it thrives militates against the ideas of sacrifice and struggle.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ D. Brackett. 2014. Soul music. In *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2257344> (Accessed 23 Sept. 2019)

⁷⁵ G. Wald: “Soul’s Revival: White Soul, Nostalgia, and the Culturally Constructed Past,” In *Black Power, Politics, and Pleasure* edited by M. Guillory & R. C. Green (New York & London: New York University Press, 1998), p. 147; G. Tate, P. Maulsby, T. Davis, C. Taylor & I. Reed: “‘Ain’t We Still Got Soul?’,” In *Black Power, Politics, and Pleasure* edited by M. Guillory & R. C. Green (New York & London: New York University Press, 1998), p. 273.

⁷⁶ G. Tate, P. Maulsby, T. Davis, C. Taylor & I. Reed: “‘Ain’t We Still Got Soul?’,” In *Black Power, Politics, and Pleasure* edited by M. Guillory & R. C. Green (New York & London: New York University Press, 1998), p. 270; A. Grace Mims: “SOUL: The black man and his music,” *Negro History Bulletin*, Volume 33(6), 1970, p. 146.

⁷⁷ D. Brackett. 2014. Soul music. In *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2257344> (Accessed 23 Sept. 2019)

⁷⁸ J. K. Obatala: “Soul music in Africa: Has Charlie Got a Brand New Bag?,” *The Black Scholar*, Volume 2(6), 1971, p. 12; R. M. Irwin: *Gordian knot: Apartheid and the Unmaking of the Liberal World Order*, p. 11.

Soul music became popular in South Africa in the late 1960s and 1970s.⁷⁹ During this period black Africans' identification with Afro-American life reached a peak as the number of people with access to popular music by means of the radio, phonograph and film had increased.⁸⁰ Moreover, this idea of black power was central in the creation of some of the best soul music during the late 1960s. Vincent was of the opinion that:

Many popular songs from the period, from Sam and Dave's "Soul Man" (1967) to the Impressions' "Woman's Got Soul" (1968) to Ike and Tina Turner's "Bold Soul Sister" (1970) carried with them implicit affirmations of a strident racial consciousness.⁸¹

In South Africa, soul music found an audience amongst coloured, black and even white audiences. Its dual nature, on the one hand, spoke to audiences who were fighting against racial oppression while the themes of love and relationship spoke to those that wanted to escape from their current reality.⁸² International soul singers such as Percy Sledge, Brook Benton, Isaac Hayes, Jimmy Smith, Aretha Franklin, and James Brown were very popular in the country and had some of the biggest record sales.⁸³ Local groups also started performing in the genre including groups such as the Movers, the Cannibals (who later became Stimela), Harari and the Soul Brothers.⁸⁴ These groups did not merely imitate American soul but integrated local idioms and musical styles from South Africa to create a particular sound for soul music from South Africa.⁸⁵ Hamm further notes that "[s]oul reached a larger percentage of the black population than had any earlier styles based on Afro-American music."⁸⁶

Soul music was similarly popular amongst white audiences.⁸⁷ However, contra to rock 'n roll music where various songs are sung by black musicians were re-produced by white musicians such as Elvis Presley and the Beach Boys, initially, soul was not. Hamm remarked that "[s]oul was the

⁷⁹ C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, p. 28; S. Broughton, M. Ellingham, D. Muddyman. & R. Trillo: *World Music: Rough Guide*, p. 386.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ R. Vincent: *Party Music: The Inside Story of the Black Panthers' Band and How Black Power Transformed Soul Music*, p. 210.

⁸² D. Brackett. 2014. Soul music. In *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2257344> (Accessed 23 Sept. 2019)

⁸³ W. Greens: "King and Queen of Soul," *Drum*, January 1969, p. 28.

⁸⁴ S. Galane: *Beyond Memory: Recording the History, Moments and Memories of South African Music*, p. 3; S. Broughton, M. Ellingham, D. Muddyman & R. Trillo: *World Music: Rough Guide*, pp. 387-388.

⁸⁵ S. Broughton, M. Ellingham, D. Muddyman. & R. Trillo: *World Music: Rough Guide*, pp. 387-388.

⁸⁶ C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, pp. 29 & 36.

⁸⁷ M. Andersson: *Music in the Mix: The Story of South African popular music*, p. 51.

first Afro-American popular style to enjoy wide dissemination among white audiences without undergoing stylistic transformation at the hands of white, arrangers, producers, and entrepreneurs” and was one of the first genres not appropriated by white musicians.⁸⁸ This point will be further discussed in the chapters as it raises interesting questions regarding the temporary shift in power relations brought about by soul music performers such as Percy Sledge in South Africa.

Furthermore, Hamm argued that “[b]lack radicals of the 1970s, within the country and in exile, largely rejected contemporary commercial, mass-disseminated music in favour of older syncretic genres less contaminated by governmental appropriation.”⁸⁹ He also added that American-soul music was initially seen as protest music but because the production and dissemination were controlled by the SABC to establish separate development, the nature of the music changed.⁹⁰ This led South African musicians to go into exile or perform in other countries if they wanted to perform their own music because in apartheid South Africa if they wanted their music to be played on the radio, it had to fit within the country’s policy of promoting separate development or *lekkerliedjies*.⁹¹

Hamm stated that “[t]he style was not new in the mid-1960s but had been evolving for many years, particularly in the music of Sam Cooke, Ray Charles, James Brown, and Bobby Bland.”⁹² In the late 1960s soul began to be used to describe the music of artists such as Aretha Franklin, Wilson Pickett, Otis Redding, Curtis Mayfield and Percy Sledge.⁹³ Hamm points out that many of these

⁸⁸ C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, p. 26. There were white soul musicians, but they directly covered black artist’s singles. One of the first white musicians to create original soul music, credited as Blue-eyed soul, was the Righteous Brothers. However, McNutt stated that, “many of these proponents were from the UK, including Dusty Springfield, Tom Jones, and the Small Faces.” (R. R. McNutt: “Blue-eyed soul,” In *Grove Music Online*, 2013, <https://doi-org.ez.sun.ac.za/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2234419> (Accessed 29 Sept. 2019))

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p. 33.

⁹⁰ Protest music in this thesis is defined as music that speak against Apartheid South Africa and its policies. (*Ibid.*)

⁹¹ According to Ingrid Byerly, lekkerliedjies or “nice songs”, was a form of easy listening with lyrics centred on flora, fauna and geographical locations that avoided controversial issues. (I. B. Byerly: “Mirror, Mediator, and Prophet: The Music Indaba of Late-Apartheid South Africa,” *Ethnomusicology*, Volume 42(1), 1998, p. 14; M. Drewett: “An Analysis of the Censorship of Popular Music within the Context of Cultural Struggle in South Africa during the 1980s.” PhD thesis, Rhodes University, South Africa, 2004, pp. 207-301.)

⁹² C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, p. 26; D. Brackett: Soul music. In *Grove Music Online*, 2014, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2257344> (Accessed 23 Sept. 2019)

⁹³ For example, Aretha Franklin’s (“I Never Loved a Man The Way I Love You”), Wilson Pickett’s (“Land of 1000 Dances”), Otis Redding’s (“I’ve Been Loving You Too Long” and “Try a Little Tenderness”) and Percy Sledge’s (“When a Man Loves a Woman”). (C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, pp. 25-26; D. Brackett. 2014. Soul music. In *Grove Music Online*,

singers, who began their careers in gospel music or choir singing, where the “characteristically flexible, highly expressive, extravagantly embellished vocal style grew out of black church-music traditions.”⁹⁴

Soul music as a descriptor was used to refer to “gospel music, jazz, and rhythm-and-blues” pointing to the “interconnection between these different African American musical practices, all of which already shared approaches to harmony, rhythm, melody, and timbre.”⁹⁵ This can be seen in the genre credited as Soul Jazz according to Barry Kernfeld, it was “[p]layed most often in small groups led by a tenor or alto saxophonist, a pianist or a Hammond organist, it is characterised by simple, tuneful themes and improvisations, modelled on the speech inflections of black preachers in the sanctified churches.”⁹⁶ This is a recurring theme to this study. Brackett, however, remarked that gospel, jazz and rhythm and blues, “do differentiate themselves by the way and degree to which these musical elements are deployed and by the subject matter of the lyrics.”⁹⁷

Soul music according to Sarah Fila-Bakabadio followed two directions, “one prorogued a nationalist orientation and conveyed overtly political messages” and the other that “[moved] away from ‘race music’.”⁹⁸ Within this stream soul musicians sang about emotional themes such as love

<https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2257344> (Accessed 23 Sept. 2019); G. P. Ramsey: African American music, In *Grove Music Online*, 2012, <https://doi-org.ez.sun.ac.za/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2226838> (Accessed 23 Sept. 2019); T. L. Kernodle: “Civil Rights Movement,” In *Grove Music Online*, 2012, <https://doi-org.ez.sun.ac.za/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2228003> (Accessed 29 Sept. 2019))

⁹⁴ C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, p. 26; G. Fared: “Wailin’ Soul: Reggae’s Debt to Black American Music,” In *Soul: Black Power, Politics, and Pleasure* edited by M. Guillory & R. C. Green (New York & London: New York University Press, 1998), p. 59; G. Tate, P. Maultsby, T. Davis, C. Taylor & I. Reed: “‘Ain’t We Still Got Soul?’,” In *Soul: Black Power, Politics, and Pleasure* edited by M. Guillory & R. C. Green (New York & London: New York University Press, 1998), p. 272; G. Wald: “Soul’s Revival: White Soul, Nostalgia, and the Culturally Constructed Past,” In *Soul: Black Power, Politics, and Pleasure* edited by M. Guillory & R. C. Green (New York & London: New York University Press, 1998), pp. 147-148.

⁹⁵ D. Brackett: Soul music. In *Grove Music Online*, 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2257344> (Accessed 23 Sept. 2019); P. Middleton and P. Manual: “Popular music,” In *Grove Music Online*, 2015, <https://doi-org.ez.sun.ac.za/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.43179> (Accessed 29 Sept. 2019)

⁹⁶ B. Kernfeld: “Soul jazz,” In *Grove Music Online*, 2001, <https://doi-org.ez.sun.ac.za/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.45698> (Accessed 29 Sept. 2019)

⁹⁷ D. Brackett: Soul music. In *Grove Music Online*, 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2257344> (Accessed 23 Sept. 2019)

⁹⁸ Race music was music created for African American musicians and specifically related to race. For more information please consult Guthrie Ramsey (G. P. Ramsey Jr: *Race Music: Black Cultures from Bebop to Hip-Hop*. Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2003). (S. Fila-Bakabadio: “‘Pick Your Afro Daddy’: Neo Soul and the Making of Diasporan Identities,” *Cahiers D’Études Africaines*, Volume 54(216), 2014, p. 923; G. P. Ramsey:

and relationships.⁹⁹ Afrofuturism emerged alongside this genre and according to Jérémie Kroubo Dagnini, “was an integral part of soul music which accompanied the civil rights movements.”¹⁰⁰ Moreover, Fared claimed that:

Buried not far beneath the surface of rich melodies and smooth, dance-inducing rhythms of soul is the articulation of the black community’s struggle against economic, political, cultural, and gender disenfranchisement in white America.¹⁰¹

Afrofuturism was a movement that stemmed from “[b]lack people’s constant struggle against racism and oppression” – according to Dagnini.¹⁰² This ideology was born as a response against Eurocentrism that implied superiority of Europeans over non-Europeans and more specifically whites over blacks.¹⁰³ There were various musicians who incorporated soul music that spoke out against racial injustices such as Marvin Gaye, Aaron Neville, Donny Hathaway, Stevie Wonder, Sam Cooke, Nina Simone and James Brown.¹⁰⁴ In contrast, artists from the Motown label such as The Jackson Five, Smokey Robinson or The Temptations, had a different perspective.¹⁰⁵ According to Robert Fink, “[t]hroughout the civil rights era the company wavered between

African American music, In *Grove Music Online*, 2012, <https://doi-org.ez.sun.ac.za/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2226838> (Accessed 23 Sept. 2019))

⁹⁹ G. Fared: “Wailin’ Soul: Reggae’s Debt to Black American Music,” In *Soul: Black Power, Politics, and Pleasure* edited by M. Guillory & R. C. Green (New York & London: New York University Press, 1998), p. 63.

¹⁰⁰ J. K. Dagnini: “Afrocentrism through Afro-American Music: from the 1960s until the early 2000’s,” www.revue-sociologique.org/sites/default/files/2_Kroubo_Afrocentricism.pdf (Accessed 20 Jul. 2019); P. Gilroy: “To Be Real: The Dissident forms of black expressive,” In *Let’s get it on: The politics of Black performance* edited by C. Ugwu (London: Bay Press, 1995), p. 12; D. Magaziner: “‘Black Man, You Are on Your Own!’: Making Race Consciousness in South African Thought, 1968-1972,” *The international Journal of African Historical Studies*, Volume 42(2), 2009, p. 232; M. David: “Afrofuturism and Post-Soul Possibility in Black Popular Music,” *African American Review*, Volume 41(4), 2007, p. 697; S. Fila-Bakabadio: “‘Pick Your Afro Daddy’: Neo Soul and the Making of Diasporan Identities,” *Cahiers D’Études Africaines*, Volume 54(216), 2014, p. 920; G. P. Ramsey: African American music, In *Grove Music Online*, 2012, <https://doi-org.ez.sun.ac.za/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2226838> (Accessed 23 Sept. 2019)

¹⁰¹ G. Fared: “Wailin’ Soul: Reggae’s Debt to Black American Music,” In *Soul: Black Power, Politics, and Pleasure* edited by M. Guillory & R. C. Green (New York & London: New York University Press, 1998), p. 59; D. Magaziner: “‘Black Man, You Are on Your Own!’: Making Race Consciousness in South African Thought, 1968-1972,” *The international Journal of African Historical Studies*, Volume 42(2), 2009, p. 232; S. Fila-Bakabadio: “‘Pick Your Afro Daddy’: Neo Soul and the Making of Diasporan Identities,” *Cahiers D’Études Africaines*, Volume 54(216), 2014, p. 922.

¹⁰² J. K. Dagnini: “Afrocentrism through Afro-American Music: from the 1960s until the early 2000’s,” www.revue-sociologique.org/sites/default/files/2_Kroubo_Afrocentricism.pdf (Accessed 20 Jul. 2019)

¹⁰³ *Ibid*; S. Fila-Bakabadio: “‘Pick Your Afro Daddy’: Neo Soul and the Making of Diasporan Identities,” *Cahiers D’Études Africaines*, Volume 54(216), 2014, p. 922.

¹⁰⁴ S. Fila-Bakabadio: “‘Pick Your Afro Daddy’: Neo Soul and the Making of Diasporan Identities,” *Cahiers D’Études Africaines*, Volume 54(216), 2014, p. 922.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*.

willingness and caution when asked to produce recordings—musical or spoken word—that involved overt political or racial messages.”¹⁰⁶

Dagnini further notes that by the end of the 1960s, another trend called blaxploitation became prominent due to films such as *Shaft* (1971), *Super Fly* (1972) and *Black Caesar* (1973).¹⁰⁷ These films, “[p]rimarily starred black actors and were the first to feature soundtracks of soul and funk music” – according to Dagnini.¹⁰⁸ There were contrasting views on these films according to Dagnini, “[Firstly] that such movies did not convey a good image of blacks, mostly depicting them as pimps, drug dealers or hitmen.” However, he notes that blaxploitation also had a positive impact on African American lives:

[F]irstly, it enabled black culture and black actors, film directors and musicians to be in the limelight in a white-dominated society. Secondly, it allowed to give rise to black stars, a status almost exclusively reserved for white people until then, contributing in a sense to Black pride. Thirdly, from a financial point of view, it enabled Blacks to make lots of money in a White-controlled business; and the money earned could then serve the African American community’s interests.[...] Fourthly, [...] blaxploitation has clearly changed the face of American popular culture inspiring major film directors [and] many outstanding African-American singers.¹⁰⁹

During the same period, soul music fused into other genres, according to Dagnini, such as “rap, funk and modern rhythm and blues” found in the music of musicians such as NWA, Erykah Badu and Isaac Hayes among other.¹¹⁰

While consumer tastes beyond the borders were gearing towards new genres such as disco, Soul music stayed popular in South Africa well into the 1980s. Therefore, while the careers of these

¹⁰⁶ R. Fink: “Goal-Directed Soul? Analysing Rhythmic Teleology in African American Popular Music,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Volume 64(1), 2011, p. 18; G. P. Ramsey: African American music, In *Grove Music Online*, 2012, <https://doi-org.ez.sun.ac.za/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2226838> (Accessed 23 Sept. 2019)

¹⁰⁷ G. P. Ramsey: African American music, In *Grove Music Online*, 2012, <https://doi-org.ez.sun.ac.za/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2226838> (Accessed 23 Sept. 2019)

¹⁰⁸ J. K. Dagnini: “Afrocentrism through Afro-American Music: from the 1960s until the early 2000’s,” www.revue-sociologique.org/sites/default/files/2_Kroubo_Afrocentricism.pdf (Accessed 20 Jul. 2019)

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*; G. Tate, P. Maultsby, T. Davis, C. Taylor & I. Reed: “‘Ain’t We Still Got Soul?’,” In *Soul: Black Power, Politics, and Pleasure* edited by M. Guillory & R. C. Green (New York & London: New York University Press, 1998), p. 271; M. White: “Neo-soul,” In *Grove Music Online*, 2016, <https://doi-org.ez.sun.ac.za/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2289160> (Accessed 29 Sept. 2019)

African American's were dwindling in America, they were still in high demand in South African markets.

This study is focussed on African American musicians in order to explore the dynamics of performing in a racially segregated country as a foreign black musician with local musicians. According to Freeman, “[m]any black artists grew up and came out of social and political struggles in the United States.”¹¹¹ The same can be said for many local artists. Exploring their tours and the reception of their music in South Africa might, therefore, provide insights into the complicated nature of the cultural boycott.

Methodology

The main archival source for this study is the Hidden Years Music Archive at Stellenbosch University. This archive was collected by David Marks, a sound engineer and Director of the 3rd Ear Record Label, an independent record label in South Africa. In 1969, Marks went to America where he worked for the Bill Hanley sound company.¹¹² On his return to South Africa in 1970, Hanley donated parts of his sound system to Marks. With this sound system (as shown below), one of the first to arrive in southern Africa, Marks set up a sound company and became a sought-after sound technician in South Africa in the early 1970s.¹¹³

¹¹¹ J. R. Freeman: “Sun City and the Sounds of Liberation: Cultural Resistance for Social Justice in Apartheid South Africa.” Master’s thesis, University of California, 2014, p. 4.

¹¹² L. Lambrechts: “Letting the Tape Run: The creation and preservation of the Hidden Years Music Archive,” *South Africa Journal of Cultural History*, 32(2), p. 11.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*



Figure 1: Bill Hanley Sound System at Jabulani Amphitheatre, Soweto, 1971 - Photograph taken by David Marks.¹¹⁴

In addition, Marks recorded and collected wherever he went, and as such he built up a unique resource of live music recordings, posters, programmes, tickets, and newspaper cuttings.¹¹⁵ During the 1970s, Marks also toured with various international musicians that came to South Africa. As found throughout the study, technological challenges such as poor sound systems often served as a frustration for the touring musicians and sometimes as a catalyst for cancelled shows.

Working on the archive to collect source material for this study was a difficult and tedious process because the archive was only partially catalogued. This meant systematically working through every document in the collection. Part of this process entailed updating the finding aid with the information that I came across.¹¹⁶ Information consulted from the Hidden Years archive include newspaper articles, correspondence, contracts, photographs, music and a collection of interviews

¹¹⁴ Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Photographs, Box 191. Photograph of Bill Hanley Sound System at Jabulani Amphitheatre 1971 - Photograph taken by David Marks.

¹¹⁵ L. Lambrechts: "Letting the Tape Run: The creation and preservation of the Hidden Years Music Archive," *South Africa Journal of Cultural History*, 32(2), pp. 15-17.

¹¹⁶ From 2017-2019 I worked in the Hidden Years Music Archive internship programme at the Africa Open Institute for Music, Research and Innovation, Stellenbosch University. Updating the catalogue was part of my official duties.

with David Marks done for the Oral History Project of the Hidden Years Music Archive. These interviews were structured around paging through Marks's diaries with him, allowing him to chronologically recount the events documented in each diary. Marks, a meticulous note-taker, could, therefore, refer to specific dates and events around the tours discussed in this dissertation which allowed for rich detail surrounding some of the tours, especially evident in the Percy Sledge material.¹¹⁷ Therefore, some chapters are significantly longer than others. This was determined by the amount of detail contained in the primary material available to construct the histories of the various tours.

Challenges concerning the bias nature of interviews and material in an archive collected by a single individual was supplemented by research in newspaper sources such as the Rand Daily Mail, Drum, Rapport and The Star, as well as a variety of magazines all housed in the National Library of South Africa. Afrikaans and English newspapers were consulted.

David Marks's website, www.3rdearmusic.com was also a valuable site for information about the tours he did with international musicians in the 1970's. Only Marks has access to modify and add to the content on this website. The primary sources were supplemented with secondary sources including peer-reviewed articles, books and dissertations.

Chapter outline

This first chapter discussed literature pertinent to the effects of the cultural boycott on South African and international musicians during apartheid as well as censorship on South African musicians. It also looks at the impact of American culture on South Africa and explored the complicated notion of soul music in relation to the musicians that will form part of this dissertation. The chapter also discussed the methodology used and the limitations of this study.

My second chapter is an overview of African American musicians and looks at some of the various factors that played into their tours, their reception and the cultural boycott. It looks at how apartheid relaxed their restrictions, reception of these musicians, the reasons advocated by these visiting musicians, promotion companies and the supporting musicians. This chapter specifically explores

¹¹⁷ Correspondence between Ashrudeen Waggie and Lizabé Lambrechts. Waggie personal archive. 28 July 2018, Stellenbosch University.

the main themes that populate the four content chapters and highlight some of the main discussion points of the dissertation.

The third chapter looks at the dynamics of Percy Sledge's tours in South Africa (1970) and Southern African countries (1972), and what his performances and the temporary shift in power could tell us about the cultural boycott at the time. It first looks at Percy Sledge's background before turning to his first tour in South Africa. Within this section, his arrival, the venues he performed at, his promotion company and the reception of his shows are addressed. Secondly, attention is given to his second tour of Southern Africa. The supporting musicians accompanying Sledge, his promoters, as well as the reception he received during this tour, will also be analysed.

The fourth chapter discusses Brook Benton's tours in South Africa (1971, 1980 and 1982), his performances and the eventual fallout with the tour promoters, termed the 'Benton fiasco'. The chapter firstly looks at Brook Benton's rise to stardom before turning to his first tour in South Africa. Within this section, the promoters who brought him to South Africa, the supporting musicians, the reception he received and the eventual departure is addressed. Secondly, Benton's failed second tour to South Africa in 1980 is discussed, before turning to his controversial performances in 1982 and his early departure to America.

In the fifth chapter, Jimmy Smith's tours to South Africa (1978 and 1982) will be explored. His performances to mixed audiences and absence of supporting musicians speak to the cultural boycott at the time. It firstly looks at Jimmy Smith's rise to stardom before turning to his first tour in South Africa in 1978. This section looks at where he performed and the reception he received in South Africa. Secondly, Jimmy Smith's 1982 tour is addressed. This section looks at the performances of Smith along with Clarence Carter and then Stanley Turrentine.

The last chapter looks at the dynamics of the Isaac Hayes tour to South Africa in 1978. Many of the themes we see in Chapter Two are prevalent within this tour. However, Hayes declarations around music and politics, as well as his moniker of "Black Moses," will be unpacked through exploring the reception of his concerts. It first looks at Isaac Hayes' rise to stardom before turning to his first tour in South Africa. This chapter looks at the reception of Hayes in South Africa, his promoters and supporting musicians as well as his performances in South Africa

Chapter Two: Breaking the Boycott

“I’m not a politician, I’m here to work – I’m an artist. Nobody hired me to come here on a missionary basis.”¹

Introduction

In lieu of a comprehensive archive documenting the tours of African American musicians to South Africa before the publication of the United Nations Registry, the Hidden Years Music Archive proved an important resource. It provided a glimpse of some of the artists who performed in South Africa between 1970 and 1983 and was crucial in constructing a comprehensive history of the tours of these artists. As such, the selection of the four case studies was guided by this archive. To contextualise the micro-histories of these four artists and to contextualise it within a broader historical movement, this chapter drew on a systematic perusal of the *Rand Daily Mail*. Through this process, a more conclusive list of African American artists who visited and toured in South Africa during the period under investigation was compiled. This list is not conclusive as artists and tours that were not exclusively reported in *The Rand Daily Mail*. However, this list may serve as the starting point for subsequent studies to investigate the tours of African American musician to South Africa in more detail.

The list includes Art Reynold’s Gospel Singers (1975), Arthur Conley (1975), Betty Wright (1975 & 1980), Brook Benton (1971 & 1982), Buddy Tate (1981), C. L. Blast (1981-1982), Candi Staton (1981), Champion Jack Dupree (1981 & 1982), Clarence Carter (1980, 1981 & 1982), Curtis Mayfield (1981), Della Reese (1975), Dobie Gray (1976, 1978, 1979 & 1980), Earlene Bentley (1979), Eartha Kitt (1972), Ecstasy, Passion and Pain (1975 & 1976), Eddie Floyd (1975 & 1982), Eddie Harris’ Quartet (1983), Edwin Starr (1975), Gene Chandler (1981), George McCrae (1976 & 1979), Hal Singer (1976), Hues Corporation (1978), Isaac Hayes (1978), Janis Ian (1982), Jean Knight (1975), Jimmy Bo-Horne (1980 & 1981), Jimmy Smith (1978 & 1982), Jimmy Witherspoon (1979), Lamont Dozier (1978), Lionel Hampton (1975 & 1979), Lou Donaldson (1981), Lovelace Watkins (1974, 1975, Jan 1977, Nov 1977 & 1981), Marvin Jenkin’s Group (1975), Midnight Movers (1976 & 1979), Mighty Clouds of Joy (1982), Millie Jackson (1979 &

¹ S. Godson: “Millie got the ‘sexy’ bit in SA,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 January 1982, p. 9.

1982), Monk Montgomery (1974), O C Smith (1980), Percy Sledge (1970), Ray Charles (1980), Ray Charles' Orchestra (1980), Roberta Kelly (1980), Rufus Thomas (1975 & 1981), Sharon Redd (1983), Shirley Brown (1981), Shirley Scott (1982), Stanley Clarke (1978), Stanley Turrentine (1982), Staple Singers (1976), Stephanie Mills (1982), Teddy Wilson (1975), The Chilites (1976). The Drifters (1971 & 1975), The Main Ingredient (1976), The O'Jays (1981), The Platters (1978 & 1982), The Superfly Band (1981), The Supremes (1975), The Temptations (1979), The Three Degrees (1975 & 1976), The Young hearts (1975), Timmy Thomas (1974 & 1978), Tina Turner (1980), Two Tons of Fun (1981), Willis Jackson (1981) and Wilson Pickett (1976 & 1979).

This chapter will discuss specific themes in relation to the musicians who came to tour South Africa. This chapter will firstly explore the motivations for coming and the tours, reception of artists in relation to the cultural boycott. Secondly, it discusses the promotional companies that brought these tour groups and musicians to South Africa. Thirdly, it looks at the supporting musicians and supporting acts. These themes constructed from this broader context are present throughout the dissertation and allows for reflection in the case studies.

Tours, reception of musicians, and the cultural boycott

After the inception of the South African apartheid regime, the government sought to separate everything along racial lines.² People of different races were not allowed to socialize, areas were separated according to race even facilities were divided along colour lines. Act's such as The Group Areas (1950), Immorality (1950) and Population Registration (1950) and Separate Amenities (1953) were implemented to keep races separate as well as to develop separately.³ However, these laws were not as strictly enforced as we have come to understand as will be shown throughout this dissertation.

The musicians that were brought to South Africa were largely advised not to speak out against apartheid and its policies while in South Africa. They were monitored by the South African police that observed their performances and patrolled the audiences. On one occasion during the Staple Singers tour in 1976, an incident occurred that involved the police at one of their shows. During

² S. Dubow, *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, p. 10.

³ *Ibid*, p. 37.

the performance, a man was bitten by a police dog, who was patrolling with a police officer, at Orlando Stadium. When the police escorted him from the venue, “flying cans and other objects rained on him from behind.”⁴ This led to fans also barraging the police, which stunned the visiting Americans, but they eventually continued the show.⁵ This police presence was also visible during Percy Sledge’s performances, which will be addressed in Chapter Three.

Similarly, the restrictions of the apartheid government were also applied to visiting American musicians. Millie Jackson’s⁶ raunchy lyrics were for example censored throughout her 1979 and 1982 tours and her shows were restricted to only adults.⁷ Stevie Godson reported on one of her performances in 1979 that, “[s]he’s as naughty as you ever heard she was and then some, thrusting particular parts of her anatomy at the audience in a blatant display of sexuality.”⁸ However, some musicians also resisted the government’s attempts at censorship and refused to conform. Jackson, for example, did not abide by all the apartheid rules, and due to her disregard was “dragged off the stage by the police, who regarded her act as ‘blasphemous vulgarity’.”⁹ In the *Mail and Guardian*, the publicist David Wilson, recalled Jackson saying, “‘Hey you in the front row, how often d’ya do it?’”¹⁰

In order for the visiting musicians to stay in designated white hotels, eat in canteens earmarked for whites etc, they were given “honorary white status” by the government.¹¹ The government used this policy to create a better international image – for example, according to Masako Osada, “the South African Minister of Interior declared in 1961 that the Japanese would be treated as whites thereafter.”¹² This was as a response to a \$250 million business deal between Japan and South Africa during the 1960s.¹³ Benjamin Bailey believed, “South Africa did not want to alienate its

⁴ M. Nonyane: “The Fans vs the State at Orlando Stadium,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, p. 1.

⁵ *Ibid*; Author Unknown: “Police pelted by angry fans,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 January 1976, p. 2.

⁶ Mildred Virginia Jackson (also known as Millie Jackson) was born on 15 July 1944 in Thomson, Georgia. She was a soul and disco musician.

⁷ D. Bikitsha: “Teenage fan ban slapped on ‘sexsational’ Millie,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 11 October 1979, p. 1; M. Elliot: “Slinky, sexy Millie arrives,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 October 1979, p. 2.

⁸ S. Godson: “Millie’s total attack works,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 February 1982, p. 7.

⁹ <https://mg.co.za/article/1997-04-04-those-were-the-days> (Accessed 26 Sept. 2019)

¹⁰ *Ibid*.

¹¹ B. Bailey: “Language, power, and the performance of race and class,” In *Multiracial Americans and Social Class: The influence of Social Class on Racial Identity* edited by K. O. Korgen (USA & Canada: Routledge, 2010), p. 83.

¹² M. Osada: *Sanctions and Honorary Whites: Diplomatic Policies and Economic Realities in Relations Between Japan and South Africa*, p. 143.

¹³ B. Bailey: “Language, power, and the performance of race and class,” In *Multiracial Americans and Social Class: The influence of Social Class on Racial Identity* edited by K. O. Korgen (USA & Canada: Routledge, 2010), p. 83.

new business partners through direct racist discrimination against Japanese representatives.”¹⁴ Secondly, African Americans were also granted white status depending on their “socioeconomic success, communicative performance and perceived ideology.”¹⁵ Obtaining white status gave the bearer, “a relatively high degree of acceptance in white-dominated institutions.”¹⁶ However, this status was perceived as negative by South African races not classified as whites. They were considered as “sell-outs and disloyal to their communities” and often received a bad reputation in consequence.¹⁷ This was evidenced in Percy Sledge’s 1970 tour, where the public criticized his presence in the country.

Most of the touring African American musicians, who came to South Africa were given white status. This subjected them to negative receptions not only within South African black communities but black communities in America as well. Although these musicians were allowed to use amenities reserved for whites, in some cases, they were faced with the grim reality of what it meant to be black during apartheid.

Edwin Starr and Arthur Conley,¹⁸ for example, suffered injuries while attending a soccer match at Orlando Stadium on 20 September 1975. The venue became so full that fans started to disregard the barriers, which resulted in a riot.¹⁹ Nat Serache reported that “[t]he corrugated iron enclosure was brought down in many places and thousands of fans gained entry without paying.”²⁰ During this incident, Conley suffered stick blows from the gatekeeper warding off people from the gate, punches from the fans and dog bites from police dogs.²¹ Edwin Starr²² was also robbed by fans during this incident.²³

¹⁴ B. Bailey: “Language, power, and the performance of race and class,” In *Multiracial Americans and Social Class: The influence of Social Class on Racial Identity* edited by K. O. Korgen (USA & Canada: Routledge, 2010), p. 83.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Arthur Lee Conley was born on 4 January 1946 in McIntosh County, Georgia. He sang soul music.

¹⁹ N. Serache: “Chaos ruled at Orlando,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 22 September 1975, p. 1; Author Unknown: “Conley hit at Orlando,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 22 September 1975, p. 23; S. Lerman: “The fear and the fury,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 September 1975, p. 26.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ N. Serache: “Chaos ruled at Orlando,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 22 September 1975, p. 1; Author Unknown: “Conley hit at Orlando,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 22 September 1975, p. 23.

²² Charles Edwin Hatcher was born on 21 January 1942 in Nashville, Tennessee. He sang in genres such as soul, funk and disco.

²³ S. Lerman: “The fear and the fury,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 September 1975, p. 26.

Another incident occurred during Betty Wright's tour in 1980.²⁴ She was refused permission to use the canteen facilities at the SABC Centre in Auckland Park.²⁵ According to Jayne La Mont in the *Rand Daily Mail*, a SABC employee claimed that "she was told she could not eat there 'because she was black'."²⁶ The public relations officer for SABC, Retief Uys, commented on this incident in the *Rand Daily Mail* that:

Blacks who work at the SABC have separate canteen facilities, but black guests use the white ones. It seems that there was a misunderstanding. Normally, Miss Wright would be very welcome to use the canteen.²⁷

La Mont stated that this was only possible with "prior permission from the Department of Justice to allow blacks to use the facilities before a 'special guest' arrives."²⁸

In the same year, Anne Baron reported in the *Rand Daily Mail* that Rebecca Kelly's²⁹ reception was troublesome, Kelly commented that "They wouldn't let us through customs at first because we didn't know where we were staying. And I couldn't believe they were so interested in my books when I could have had a gun in my bag."³⁰ We can clearly see the workings of petty apartheid here, where the government officials were more concerned with Kelly bringing in material that was censored or banned by the government than a potentially lethal weapon.

The 1970s and, in some cases, the early 1980s were marked by stricter adherence to the apartheid laws. African American musicians such as Eartha Kitt (1972), Della Reese (1975), Arthur Conley and Edwin Starr (1975), The Supremes (1975), Doobie Gray (1976, 1978), The Temptations (1979), Millie Jackson (1979, 1982), Betty Wright (1980), Tina Turner (1980) and Champion Jack Dupree (1981), who all came to tour South Africa under the promotion company of the Quibell brothers,³¹ performed mostly for white audiences at white venues. Some incidents are reported of audiences trying to gain entry into shows that were not earmarked for their race, such as during the tour of

²⁴ Bessie Regina Norris (or better known by her stage name Betty Wright) was born on 21 December 1953 in Miami Florida into a family with six siblings. She sang in genres such as gospel and R&B.

²⁵ J. La Mont: "SABC canteen bars US star," *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 April 1980, p. 2.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Roberta Kelly was born on 23 November 1942 in Los Angeles, California. She was a gospel singer.

³⁰ A. Baron: "A chance to help change Roberta's mind," *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 July 1980, p. 9.

³¹ The Quibell Brothers will be unpacked in Chapter three.

Percy Sledge (1970), where whites attempted to attend the scheduled coloured performances at the Luxurama.³²

However, where artists were adamant about their performances not conforming to the apartheid laws, they could perform for multiracial audiences. For example, the Supremes initially refused to tour South Africa unless they could perform for multiracial audiences.³³ They subsequently signed a No Barriers agreement, which allowed them to control a certain amount of tickets for each show.³⁴ This was done so that they could distribute the tickets themselves if the agreement was not upheld.³⁵ According to reports they, “want to pave the way for further integration in South Africa.”³⁶

In an article titled “Races mingle with Supremes,” a staff reporter noted that “[i]t was a night for blacks only, but a sprinkle of whites who probably could not resist were part of the audience.”³⁷ Similarly, during their Durban leg of the tour, a white show included in the line-up was attended by a small number of blacks, coloureds and Indians after Ronnie Quibell had obtained permission.³⁸ However, contention arose as black individuals were, in fact, refused tickets and the blacks that did populate the venue were given complimentary tickets to make the venue look multiracial, and consisted mostly of journalists and radio personalities.³⁹ It seems therefore that towards the late 1970s, the South African government allowed some performances to be multiracial by providing permits for these shows, but access restrictions still applied to *who* was allowed to be in the venue - in multiracial concerts blacks allowed to attend mostly consisted of the staff of the venue or reporters.⁴⁰

³² Staff Reporter: “Whites try to ‘crash’ show,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 June 1970, p. 1; Author Unknown: Picture of Percy Sledge and Stella Starr, *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 June 1970, p. 3; Author Unknown: “Sledge Show – 200 whites turned away,” *The Star*, 1 June 1970, p. 5.

³³ M. Nonyane: “Mixed feelings on mixed audiences,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 10 October 1975, p. 1; Author Unknown: “No race bar in Supremes pop tour,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 July 1975, p. 2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ R. Walker: “Mixed audiences only for Supremes,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 July 1975, p. 17.

³⁷ Staff Reporter: “Races mingle with Supremes,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 October 1975, p. 25.

³⁸ Author Unknown: “Supremes victory in mixed row,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 22 October 1975, p. 26; Author Unknown: “Blacks will still see Supremes,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 October 1975, p. 4.

³⁹ Author Unknown: “Musical Musings,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 24 October 1975, p. 31.

⁴⁰ G. Houser: “Relations between the United States and South Africa, August 1984, *United Nations Centre Against Apartheid*, Notes and Documents, pp. 28 – 30, <http://kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/50/304/32-130-16FE-84-UN%20August%201984.pdf> (Accessed 14 Mar. 2019); M. Nonyane: “Mixed feelings on mixed audiences,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 10 October 1975, p. 1.

Similarly, during this time in Cape Town, mixed audiences were attending the Betty Wright show at the Colosseum Theatre in 1975. According to Mateu Nonyane:

Audiences at the Colosseum Theatre were mixed long before the arrival of The Supremes. Mixed attendances began at the Betty Wright show at the same venue. Blacks were seen at the whites-only shows and vice-versa.⁴¹

By 1978, with the tour of Dobie Gray,⁴² it appeared that the government's restriction was loosening regarding mixed audiences. Ronnie Quibell commented in the *Rand Daily Mail*, that "[t]his was the first time a visiting artist had been granted a blanket permit for multiracial audiences throughout the country."⁴³

During a time that petty apartheid and its legislated racism and separate development was applied ever more strictly, it is interesting to note that with the tours of these African Americans, especially towards the late 1970s and early 1980s, that the restrictions were loosened so that multi-racial audiences could attend the shows. This is especially prevalent in the tour of Jimmy Smith in 1978 and will be discussed in Chapter five.

Reception of musicians

In spite of the cultural boycott, and the expected side effect of isolating the country from exposure to the rest of the world,⁴⁴ the African American musicians who toured South Africa were very popular amongst South African audiences.⁴⁵ This can be seen by how, for example, Percy Sledge (1970), Brook Benton (1971), Timmy Thomas (1974), Lovelace Watkins (1975), Wilson Pickett (1976), Jimmy Smith (1978), Isaac Hayes (1978), Millie Jackson (1979), Dobie Gray and Clarence

⁴¹ Betty Wright toured South Africa from 10 September until 26 September 1975, alongside co-stars Arthur Conley and Edwin Starr. (M. Nonyane: "Mixed feelings on mixed audiences," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 10 October 1975, p. 1.)

⁴² Lawrence Darrow Brown (also known as Dobie Gray) was born on 26 July 1940 in Simonton, Texas. He sang in genres such as soul, pop and country.

⁴³ Author Unknown: "Dobie gets first blanket multiracial show permit," *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 May 1978, p. 2; D. Bikitsha: "Dobie Gray has it all - and more," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 10 May 1978, p. 12.

⁴⁴ S. Stevens: "Boycotts and Sanctions against South Africa: An International History, 1946-1970." PhD thesis, Columbia University, 2016, p. 83; J. R. Freeman: "Sun City and the Sounds of Liberation: Cultural Resistance for Social Justice in Apartheid South Africa." Master's thesis, University of California, 2014, p. 3.

⁴⁵ C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, p. 26.

Carter (1980) were mobbed when they arrived in South Africa and during their performances.⁴⁶ Despite Timmy Thomas⁴⁷ 1974 tour being delayed, fans waited for him, according to Mateu Nonyane, “with banners at the airport [...] The message in big bold letters read loud and clear, ‘We welcome you Timmy Thomas. We all love you’.”⁴⁸

Throughout his tour he was mobbed wherever he arrived - during his arrival in South Africa, during his first conference, at his rehearsals and when he visited a hospital and almost had his hand broken by a fan gripping it tightly.⁴⁹ Thomas commented in the *Rand Daily Mail* that, “[o]ne of the guys held on to my shirt so tightly I thought I was going to be choked. I had to throw my sunglasses to one of the mobs to keep them away from me – but it was all great fun.”⁵⁰

Additionally, there were also musicians such as Wilson Pickett⁵¹ during his 1976 tour, who was mobbed while he performed. According to reports, “[p]olice had their hands full controlling the audience. They cordoned off the stage by linking arms. But towards the end, people broke through, got on stage, and danced as Pickett sang his “Hey Jude”.”⁵² Moreover, in the case of Millie Jackson (1979), instead of women mobbing these American stars, men were at the forefront. Marilyn Elliott reported that “[t]hunderstruck male fans gaped at the object of their fantasies; some trying to touch her and others just staring.”⁵³

This is reminiscent of Beatlemania, seen by the hysteria of fans in the 1960s for the touring Beatles. Beatlemania was described as the scenes of adulation that attended the group’s concert

⁴⁶ M. Nonyane: “Big Tim plays it cool in SA,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 10 December 1974, p. 32; Staff Reporter: “Funtime for Thomas,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 December 1974, p. 27; M. Mahlaba: “Timmy mobbed by local fans,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 13 December 1974, p. 35; S. Lerman: “The fans don’t mix at Orlando,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 December 1974, p. 17; G. Negri: “Kisses hugs for Lovelace,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 October 1975, p. 2; M. Mahlaba: “Wilson Pickett in the thick of it,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 18 March 1976, p. 1; M. Elliot: “Slinky, sexy Millie arrives,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 October 1979, p. 2.

⁴⁷ Timothy E. “Timmy” Thomas was born on 13 November 1944 in Evansville, Indiana. He sang soul music.

⁴⁸ M. Nonyane: “Whites fail in R30 000 bid for Timmy Thomas,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 9 December 1974, p. 1.

⁴⁹ M. Nonyane: “Big Tim plays it cool in SA,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 10 December 1974, p. 32; Staff Reporter: “Funtime for Thomas,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 December 1974, p. 27; M. Mahlaba: “Timmy mobbed by local fans,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 13 December 1974, p. 35; S. Lerman: “The fans don’t mix at Orlando,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 December 1974, p. 17.

⁵⁰ M. Mahlaba: “Timmy mobbed by local fans,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 13 December 1974, p. 35.

⁵¹ Wilson Pickett was born in Prattville, Alabama on 18 March 1941 and as a young child sang in Baptist church choirs when he was part of the Violinaires. He was a soul musician.

⁵² M. Mahlaba: “Wilson Pickett in the thick of it,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 18 March 1976, p. 1.

⁵³ M. Elliot: “Slinky, sexy Millie arrives,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 October 1979, p. 2.

performances.⁵⁴ These African American musicians were adored not only for their music but also for their American culture and what they represented for black consciousness in South Africa, were mobbed, stamped and injured by South African crowds – not only at the airports and venues but also in the street.⁵⁵ For example, Jimmy Smith in 1978, was mobbed by crowds in the street when he went to sign albums and other paraphernalia.⁵⁶ This is also prevalent in all the other case studies discussed in this study.

Due to television not yet being available in South Africa, censorship by the South African government, and the delay in products arriving, fans were even in some cases unaware that these musicians had released new music. For example, according to newspaper reports, Della Reese⁵⁷ was still popular among South African fans even after her records had not been released in South Africa for nearly ten years.⁵⁸ Several international musicians were famous in South Africa for the music they had created years ago. For some musicians, their careers lagging in America, coming to South Africa to screaming crowds and fans must have boosted their confidence.⁵⁹

Additionally, many of these musicians either came from a background of or performed soul music, which was revered by both black and white audiences, which is especially the case with Isaac Hayes in Chapter Six.⁶⁰ Soul music was popular among black audiences through the messages of black pride that it advocated, while also speaking of love stories and entertainment, possibly why it was also so popular amongst white audiences.⁶¹ For example, the tour of Arthur Conley, Betty

⁵⁴ B. Brown: “BEATLEMANIA!” *Junior Scholastic*, Volume 115(14), p. 10; V. Majerol: “BEATLEMANIA!,” *New York Time Upfront*, Volume 145(11), p. 18; B. Ehrenreich, et al: “Beatlemania. A Sexually Defiant Consumer Subculture?” in *The Subcultures Reader* edited by K. Gelder and S. Thornton (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 523-528.

⁵⁵ T. J. Jukes: *Opposition in South Africa: the leadership of Z. K. Matthews, Nelson Mandela, and Stephen Biko*, pp. 197-158.

⁵⁶ R. Vincent: *Party Music: The Inside Story of the Black Panthers' Band and How Black Power Transformed Soul Music*, p. 213; C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, p. 23; Author Unknown: “Shattering welcome for star,” *The Star*, 27 November 1978, p. 1.

⁵⁷ Delloreese Patricia Early (or better known by her stage name Della Reese) was born on 6 July 1931 in Detroit, Michigan. She was a pop, jazz and gospel singer.

⁵⁸ Author Unknown: “Blacks pack Della show,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 March 1975, p. 12; Author Unknown: “Away-day Della,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 31 March 1975, p. 1; V. Prince: “Playback,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 April 1975, p. 5;

⁵⁹ For more information on this please consult Chapters three – six.

⁶⁰ Author Unknown: “Not Fade Away: Percy Sledge,” *Uncut*, (218), 2015, p. 117; Author Unknown: “Brook Benton Dead of Spinal Meningitis,” *Billboard*, Volume 100(17), 1988, p. 28; P. Gallo: “Jimmy Smith,” *Variety*, Volume 397(13), 2005, p. 56; B. Hiatt: “Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar,” *Rolling Stone*, (1060), 2008, p. 18.

⁶¹ D. Brackett. 2014. Soul music. In *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2257344> (Accessed 23 Sept. 2019)

Wright and Edwin Starr in 1975 was advertised as “Supersoul on Tour”, Bev Gilligan commented on their opening performance, “[t]his is soul at its best, from the gravelly voice belting out the familiar Tamla sound to the good vibe that reached around the appreciative crowd.”⁶²

Their demand in the country was so enormous that Tina Turner⁶³ (1980) and Gene Chandler’s (1981) tours were extended and there were even individuals that capitalized on this demand by producing fake tickets for their shows.⁶⁴ The Staple Singers’ (1976) and Ray Charles’ (1980) tours were riddled with forged tickets throughout and the promoters were forced not to make the tickets available in advance.⁶⁵

By March 1981, the sentiment was divided among South African audiences. The *Rand Daily Mail* newspaper created a forum where the public could voice out what their views were on international musicians visiting South Africa. There were several reports on either end of the spectrum.⁶⁶ On the one side, there were those from the public that wanted these musicians to come. According to Donald “Unataka” Mthethwa:

I AM a supporter of any institute which is against discrimination and apartheid in this country. But I wish to express my displeasure at AZAPO. [...] What has music to do with politics? [...] You are causing more friction among us than you realise, while people like Bob Marley, Peter Tosh, Lamont Dozier and Jimmy Cliff are actually encouraging us to fight for our rights.⁶⁷

There were many more readers that agreed with this sentiment and agreed that they should come because they are Africans, to expose them to black South African life, for philanthropic reasons,

⁶² Author Unknown: Advertisement of Edwin Starr, Betty Wright and Arthur Conley,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 September 1975, p. 10.

⁶³ Anna Mae Bullock (better known by her stage name Tina Turner) and was born on 26 November 1939 in Nutbush, Tennessee and picked cotton with her family from a young age. She was a soul, dance and rock and roll musician.

⁶⁴ I. Motsapi: “Tina Turner is a ‘riot’ in her South African debut,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 19 September 1980, p. 15; D. Bikitsha: “That’s what you find at Edenpark,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 21 May 1981, p. 18.

⁶⁵ M. Mahlaba: “Staples send fans round the bend,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 8 January 1976, p. 1; Staff Reporter: “Flood of forged show tickets,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 October 1980, p. 5.

⁶⁶ To look at all these comments by readers please consult *The Rand Daily Mail* 14 March 1981, p. 4; *Rand Daily Mail* 17 March 1981, p. 4; *Rand Daily Mail* 19 March 1981, p. 4; *Rand Daily Mail* 21 March 1981, p. 4; *Rand Daily Mail* 24 March 1981, p. 5 & *Rand Daily Mail* 27 March 1981, p. 11.

⁶⁷ D. U. Mthethwa: “Azapo, please our visiting,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 March 1981, p. 11.

international exposure, to break the isolation and to elevate the standard of local music and culture.⁶⁸

On the other end, there were individuals that did not want international talent to tour South Africa. According to Mdungeni Ka Mnisi:

OVERSEAS artists and sportsmen should NOT come to South Africa because they act as window dressers. Their countries take it apartheid is dead and yet we are the ones who are suffering as the results of their co-operation.⁶⁹

Moreover, this view was also promoted by those that advocated for the cultural boycott. These touring musicians were assumed to be insensitive to the South African oppressed, naïve about the conditions in South Africa and driven by money and making big profits, not caring about those affected.⁷⁰

There was also active resistance from both these groups and individuals, who were against these musician's presence in South Africa. As soon as the announcement was made of the Supremes'⁷¹ tour of South Africa in 1975, resistance sparked from the international community to the point where a "Stop the Supremes" campaign was established.⁷² There were numerous attempts by the public by sending letters or personally calling these musicians to ask them to cancel their tours to South Africa, which still went on despite protest.

⁶⁸ B. Mdluli: "Azapo backed – and attacked: Should they or Shouldn't they?," *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 March 1981, p. 4; T. D. Wolfe: "Azapo backed – and attacked: Should they or Shouldn't they?," *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 March 1981, p. 4; K. Mulaudzi: "Azapo backed – and attacked: Should they or Shouldn't they?," *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 March 1981, p. 4; W. Chauke: "Should they or shouldn't they?," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 14 March 1981, p. 4; C. V. Ndaba: "Should they or shouldn't they?," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 14 March 1981, p. 4; Theo: "Let them come to SA," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 19 March 1981, p. 4; Fed Up With Azapo: "Let them come to SA," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 19 March 1981, p. 4; S. Dinga: "Let them come to SA," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 19 March 1981, p. 4; P. Jiyana: "Let them come to SA," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 19 March 1981, p. 4; P. Sebat: "Let them come – with whites on the hard seats," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 17 March 1981, p. 4; D. Moeno: "Let them come – with whites on the hard seats," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 17 March 1981, p. 4; K. Mashao: "Let them come – with whites on the hard seats," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 17 March 1981, p. 4; L. Khumalo: "Let them come – with whites on the hard seats," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 17 March 1981, p. 4; M. W. Mathabathe: "Let them come – with whites on the hard seats," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 17 March 1981, p. 4.

⁶⁹ M. K. Mnisi: "Azapo backed – and attacked: Should they, or Shouldn't they?" *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 March 1981, p. 4.

⁷⁰ D. Segola: "Struggle must be fought on all fronts – Azapo," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 24 March 1981, p. 4; F. Tshedi: "Betty Wright: the fast buck?" *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 May 1980, p. 8.

⁷¹ The group was formed originally as the Primettes with members: Betty McGlown, Diana Ross, Florence Ballard and Mary Wilson, as the sister act to the Primes. They sang in genres such as soul, pop and disco.

⁷² R. Walker: "Top US group's tour at risk," *Rand Daily Mail*, Special Edition, 22 July 1975, p. 1; R. Walker: "Protests will not stop Supremes," *Rand Daily Mail*, Special Edition, 23 July 1975, p. 2.

Moreover, anti-apartheid groups were in some cases successful in influencing South Africans to boycott musicians such as The Temptations (1979), Ray Charles (1980), Champion Jack Dupree (1981), Lovelace Watkins (1981), the O'Jays (1981), Gene Chandler (1981) and Millie Jackson (1982). Although anti-apartheid groups did speak out against the touring musicians, the boycotts of their shows became more prevalent and vocal from 1979 onward, especially with action by AZAPO,⁷³ The Azanian People's Organisation. AZAPO stemmed from a combination of people from outlawed groups such as the South African Students' Organisation (SASO), Black People's Convention (BPC), Black Community Programmes (BCP), Black Women Federation, Border Youth Organisation, Black Parents Association (BPA) and the National Association of Youth Organisations (NAYO).⁷⁴ The group was formed on 28 April 1978 and adopted the Black Consciousness philosophy advocated by Steve Biko.⁷⁵

During Ray Charles'⁷⁶ tour in 1980, there was some contention on his performance at Jabulani Amphitheatre on 19 October. Artzi commented in the *Rand Daily Mail* that, "Ray Charles did not come to this country as a politician and his performance in Soweto was not in contradiction with commemoration services to be held to observe the October 1977 Government crackdown on black consciousness organizations."⁷⁷ However, due to pressure from AZAPO outside the venue the show was cancelled by the promoters.⁷⁸

During Champion Jack Dupree's⁷⁹ tour in the same year, the Quibell brothers cancelled the show at Jabulani Amphitheatre due to threats from AZAPO. Quibell commented in the *Rand Daily Mail*

⁷³ Staff Reporter: "Azapo calls off meeting," *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 April 1981, p. 2; D. Bikitsha: "Margaret Singana to join O'Jays tour," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 26 March 1981, p. 1; D. Segola: "US artiste under fire for SA visits," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 14 April 1971, p. 3; D. Bikitsha: "Champion Jack's show is called off," *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 February 1981, p. 3; M. Moroke: "'Ignore Lovelace' call," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 3 March 1981, p. 1; M. Moroke: "Ray Charles show is cancelled," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 20 October 1980, p. 1; R. Walker: "Ray told to stop tour – or else!," *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 October 1980, p. 3; Staff Reporter: "US pop group shrugs off the threats," *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 May 1979, p. 3; S. Godson: "Millie got the 'sexy' bit in SA," *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 January 1982, p. 9; D. Bikitsha: "A different Millie," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 4 February 1982, p. 14.

⁷⁴ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/azanian-peoples-organization-azapo> (Accessed 16 Sept. 2019)

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Ray Charles Robinson was born on 23 September 1930 in Albany, Georgia. He sang in genres such as soul, blues, jazz and rock and roll.

⁷⁷ Staff Reporter: "And Ray will sing the blues," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 18 October 1980, p. 1.

⁷⁸ M. Moroke: "Ray Charles show is cancelled," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 20 October 1980, p. 1; R. Walker: "Ray told to stop tour – or else!" *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 October 1980, p. 3.

⁷⁹ William Thomas Dupree (also known as Champion Jack Dupree) was born on 23 July 1909 in New Orleans, Louisiana. He was a blues and boogie-woogie musician.

that, “[b]efore the show could start, a group of about 12 yellow T-shirted Azapo members told people not to go into the arena as they would be assaulted after the show.”⁸⁰ This was denied by AZAPO, who claimed that their posters were calling on people to stay away from the shows and that no intimidation took place.⁸¹

The O’Jays⁸² also experienced some trouble with AZAPO in 1981. During their tour, they were questioned about AZAPO’s anti-tour movement, their manager commented in the *Rand Daily Mail* that, “[t]he group were not politicians and only meant to entertain and ‘bring happiness’ to this country.”⁸³ However, their problems with AZAPO had only started, they would be continuously asked to call off their tour and head back to America and was condemned by AZAPO in the *Rand Daily Mail* throughout their tour.⁸⁴ AZAPO commented in newspaper reports that “[o]ur warning to the O’Jays is that we shall follow them wherever they are performing in South Africa.”⁸⁵

Before AZAPO was formed, the major obstacle to the successful implementation of the cultural boycott in South Africa during the 1970s and early 1980s was that those who advocated for the cultural boycott were either exiled to other countries or was based outside of South Africa, and therefore had no control to pressurize South African audiences not to attend these events. The execution of a boycott against these international musicians within South Africa, thus relied on newspaper articles or members of the solidarity movements to raise awareness of the cultural boycott and to inform the South African public about the boycott.

Apart from the active resistance against these musicians by those that propagated for the boycott, there was also another form of resistance to these musicians by state bodies of the South African government. For example, Eartha Kitt⁸⁶ (1972) was met with resistance when she wanted to perform in Bloemfontein. Despite multiple attempts by the promoters, the Bloemfontein City Council refused to allow Kitt to perform for white audiences at white venues, which sparked a

⁸⁰ D. Bikitsha: “Champion Jack’s show is called off,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 February 1981, p. 3.

⁸¹ *Ibid*; M. Moroke: “‘Ignore Lovelace’ call,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 3 March 1981, p. 1.

⁸² The group was formed in Canton, Ohio in 1958 and originally contained five members: Bill Isles, Bobby Massey, Eddie Levert, Walter Williams and William Powell. This group was formed while attending the Canton McKinley High School and were originally known as the Mascots. They sang in genres such as soul and disco.

⁸³ D. Bikitsha: “Margaret Singana to join O’Jays tour,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 26 March 1981, p. 1.

⁸⁴ *Ibid*; D. Segola: “US artiste under fire for SA visits,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 14 April 1971, p. 3.

⁸⁵ Staff Reporter: “Azapo calls off meeting,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 April 1981, p. 2.

⁸⁶ Eartha Mae Keith was born in a small town in North, South Carolina on 17 January 1927 and was a jazz singer and often performed in Broadway theatre.

debate of why she was allowed into South Africa in the first place.⁸⁷ There were also instances where musicians were refused permits to tour South Africa such as Percy Sledge in 1971 and Jimmy Smith in 1973.⁸⁸ And even by 1978, when musicians could perform in Bloemfontein, interest was lacking to the point where shows were not profitable if it were to occur. For example, Dobie Gray had scheduled performances in Bloemfontein, which caused the performances to collapse.⁸⁹

Breaking the Boycott

There were many reasons advocated by visiting Americans for breaking the cultural boycott such as profits, working, curiosity and philanthropic reasons. Several musicians' tours to South Africa during this period were largely as a response to a decline in their career and profits in America due to the change in consumer markets or personal reasons. These tours were also not only profitable for the promoters involved but also for the visiting musicians. This can be seen in the case of the Staple Singers (1976), mentioned earlier, and the O'Jays (1981). The O'Jays' tour was credited in the *Rand Daily Mail*, as a "one-and-a-half million-dollar show" and the equipment, as well as the security, was very expensive.⁹⁰ Wilson Pickett (1976) also stated explicitly in the *Rand Daily Mail* that he was here to make money, he stated, "I want money. I came a long way to lose money. These promoters don't have money."⁹¹

In 1982, to an enquiry of whether she knew about Soweto, Millie Jackson remarked that "Soweto – where's that? I'm here for the dollars. [...] And anyway, I'm not here for the dollars – I'm here for the rands."⁹² Subsequently, many of them claimed that they had little or no knowledge of the

⁸⁷ Staff Reporter: "It's next time for Eartha," *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 May 1972, p. 3; Author Unknown: "Eartha tour: motion defeated," *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 April 1972, p. 5; M. Venables: "A tidal wave called Eartha," *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 May 1972, p. 14; Author Unknown: "Ban on Blacks to be kept," *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 April 1972, p. 5; Author Unknown: "Eartha show wrangle to go to Cabinet," *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 April 1972, p. 14; Author Unknown: "'Octopus' stops Eartha show," *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 April 1972, p. 3; Municipal Reporter: "Eartha Kitt won't be discussed," *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 May 1972, p. 9.

⁸⁸ This will be discussed in Chapter five in more detail

⁸⁹ Author Unknown: "Dobie Gray show flops," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 9 June 1978, p. 8.

⁹⁰ D. Bikitsha: "An Easter full of Festivals," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 9 April 1981, p. 7; D. Bikitsha: "Margaret Singana to join O'Jays tour," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 26 March 1981, p. 1; P. Bell: "Oh, Oh, Oh, O'Jays," *Rand Daily Mail*, O'Jays special, 16 April 1981, p. 1.

⁹¹ Staff Reporter: "Angry Pickett storms from SA," *Rand Daily Mail*, Late Final Edition, 22 March 1976, p. 1.

⁹² S. Godson: "Millie got the 'sexy' bit in SA," *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 January 1982, p. 9.

cultural boycott that was enforced during this period. Gene Chandler,⁹³ for example, stated during his 1981 tour that although he “had heard something about it,” he was unaware that the United Nations was blacklisting musicians and that he would not have come to South Africa if he had been told in time.⁹⁴

In order to inflate their profit margins even more and benefit from South African audience’s fandom, various musicians recorded and released albums in South Africa, such as Percy Sledge (1970), West Montgomery (1974), Jimmy Smith (1978), Lamont Dozier (1978), Champion Jack Dupree (1981) and Brook Benton (1982). During one of Dupree’s concerts, he recorded an album at the Colosseum with songs titled “Soweto Blues” and “Jabulani Blues”.⁹⁵

Additionally, Dozier⁹⁶ came to South Africa for a non-performance tour.⁹⁷ According to reports he came to South Africa, “[l]ooking into his local record distribution as well as meeting ‘music’ people. He will also record tracks with local artists from his label that will be included in his next album.”⁹⁸ It is questionable if the cultural boycott had, in fact, any impact on their careers. As we will see in the following chapters, artists such as Brook Benton, Percy Sledge, and Isaac Hayes suffered very little consequences from their tours to South Africa. This will be explored further in the content chapters but could perhaps be ascribed to their already waning careers in America.

Additionally, several of these musicians such as Lovelace Watkins (1974), the O’Jays (1981), Gene Chandler (1981) and Millie Jackson cited in their tours that they believed that music and politics should not be connected and that they were merely doing their jobs as musicians. Watkins commented that he was an entertainer and that, “an entertainer must be prepared to entertain all people, whether they’re black, white, polka dot or green.”⁹⁹

⁹³ Eugene Drake Dixon (or better known by his stage name Gene Chandler) was born on 6 July 1937 in Chicago Illinois. He was a soul and disco musician.

⁹⁴ D. Bikitsha: “I’m a singer first – Gene,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 9 May 1981, p. 1; I. Motsapi: “Gene wasn’t ‘told’ about UN’s blacklist,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 May 1981, p. 11.

⁹⁵ Author Unknown: “Champion Jack coming,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 July 1982, p. 9; D. Bikitsha: “It’s the wedding blues for Champion Jack Dupree,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 July 1982, p. 2.

⁹⁶ Lamont Herbert Dozier was born 16 June 1941 in Detroit, Michigan. He was a funk and soul musician.

⁹⁷ Staff Reporter: “Top American singer and songwriter in SA,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 1 February 1978, p. 2; M. Mahlaba: “Hugh behind Dozier’s ‘roots’,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 3 February 1978, p. 10; Author Unknown: “Spirits Rejoice and rejoice and rejoice,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 9 March 1978, p. 14.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ L. Baum: “Lovelace’s SA mission,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 October 1974, p. 17; V. Prince: “I’ve got no SA hangups, says Lovelace,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 November 1974, p. 10.

On his tour in South Africa, Gene Chandler (1981) commented that:

I'm sympathetic to anybody wronged. As an entertainer, you cannot involve yourself deeper in any situation. Your stay is too short for that. You've got to be there to know about a place and that's why I'm happy to come here. [...] Could you image a world without music and dancing? How could I help in a situation by not going there? It would do me good to go! We can't all be politicians. Some have to be bakers and stick makers.¹⁰⁰

Musicians also appeared to have been curious about the conditions in South Africa particularly after the announcement of the Cultural Boycott. Curtis Mayfield¹⁰¹ remarked during his 1981 tour in the *Rand Daily Mail* that:

When the call to boycott this country went out, I had already committed myself to come here. But I think I would have come anyway because of a curiosity to see for myself what the conditions are like.¹⁰²

Other artists justified their concert tours by doing philanthropic work. There were musicians that believed that you could break the boycott but to do so you had to uplift the impoverished in some way. This can be seen in the tours of Eartha Kitt (1972), Timmy Thomas (1974, 1978), Lovelace Watkins (1975), OC Smith (1980) and Clarence Carter (1981), where they collected money or started a fund to help the oppressed majority's education, the construction of old age homes and special charity shows.¹⁰³ Eartha Kitt (1972), stated in the *Rand Daily Mail* that:

[V]isiting stars should not get into arguments. They should do something practical to help the black people of South Africa. The most important thing is for black people to have a better standard of education. Don't call them underprivileged. I was

¹⁰⁰ D. Bikitsha: "I'm a singer first – Gene," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 9 May 1981, p. 1.

¹⁰¹ Curtis Lee Mayfield was born on 3 June 1942 in Chicago Illinois. He grew up in multiple low-income housing projects. He sang in genres such as soul, funk and gospel.

¹⁰² Mail Reporter: "Soweto socks Mayfield," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 16 September 1981, p. 1.

¹⁰³ R. Daniel: "Warm, witty, erudite Eartha," *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 March 1972, p. 10; Staff Reporter: "New fund to help Blacks," *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 May 1972, p. 2; Author Unknown: Advertisement to meet Eartha Kitt and donate towards the Teach fund," *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 May 1972, p. 7; M. Mahlaba: "Timmy Thomas jets out with love," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 18 December 1974, p. 1; J. Keill: "Show smooth as Lovelace," *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 October 1975, p. 21; P. Irwin: "The magic of Mr Watkins," *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 October 1978, p. 15; D. Bikitsha: "Timmy says 'thank you'," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 15 December 1978, p. 17; D. Bikitsha: "Expo shuts in respect," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 15 December 1978, p. 1; D. Bikitsha: "I've come home says blind star Clarey Carter," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 30 July 1980, p. 12; Author Unknown: "Roberta Kelly to help aged of Soweto," *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 July 1980, p. 9; D. Bikitsha: "Village People on Reef visit," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 3 December 1981 p. 18; D. Bikitsha: "Music festival with an unusual name," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 12 December 1981, p. 20.

underprivileged myself as a kid: sometimes they wouldn't let me go to school because someone had to look after the cows.¹⁰⁴

Lovelace Watkins¹⁰⁵ stated that his second reasons for touring South Africa in 1974 to “alleviate the country’s isolation,” that by simply staying away from South Africa was not helping the local musicians grow musically.¹⁰⁶

Promoters

African American musicians were brought to South Africa by various promotion companies, such as Quibell Brothers, Fun Time Promotions, Together Promotions, MDALI, Ami Artzi, Victor Promotions and the Cohen brothers. The most well-renowned was the Quibell brothers,¹⁰⁷ doing a variety of tours during the 1970s and 1980s. Promotion companies had a big impact on how people were brought from America, how the tours were packaged for the South African markets, where they would be performing, the supporting musicians and equipment. These shows were very profitable, according to the New York Times, Sledge was set to obtain almost \$40 000 for his tour of South Africa in 1970.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, Mateu Nonyane was of the opinion that the promoters received approximately R160 000 for the Staple Singers¹⁰⁹ (1976) performances, with the group only receiving R27 000 in wages.¹¹⁰

As we have seen above, apartheid laws did not just have an impact on these international musicians and for who they could perform, but also for the promoters that brought them to South Africa. For example, white promoters could promote for both black and white audiences, but black promoters could only promote for black audiences. Although many of the black promoters were approached

¹⁰⁴ R. Daniel: “Warm, witty, erudite Eartha,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 March 1972, p. 10.

¹⁰⁵ Lovelace Watkins was born on 6 March 1938 in New Brunswick, New Jersey. He was a pop and soul musician.

¹⁰⁶ L. Baum: “Lovelace’s SA mission,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 October 1974, p. 17; V. Prince: “I’ve got no SA hangups, says Lovelace,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 November 1974, p. 10.

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter three for more information on the Quibell Brothers.

¹⁰⁸ Author Unknown: “South Africa Relaxes Curb on Percy Sledge Audiences,” *The New York Times*, 11 June 1970, p. 51; Author Unknown: “Apartheid blocks a show by Sledge,” *The New York Times*, 14 July 1970, <https://www.nytimes.com/1970/07/14/archives/apartheid-blocks-a-show-by-sledge.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

¹⁰⁹ They group was formed by Roebuck “Pops” Staples, along with his children Cleotha, Pervis and Mavis. Pervis was replaced by Yvonne when he was drafted into the U.S. Army and for a second time in 1970. They performed in genres such as soul, blues, funk and gospel.

¹¹⁰ M. Nonyane: “Payne puffed with pride takes double credit,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 24 January 1976, p. 8.

for white performances none of them undertook this venture. Brook Benton (1971) was, for example, approached for white performances during his first tour but his booking agent Ruth Bowen refused to perform strictly for white audiences.¹¹¹ Additionally, during Timmy Thomas' 1974 performance, the promoters were approached with the prospect of White performances but rejected the offer even after he was presented with R30 000 for only two White shows.¹¹²

On the surface, it also appeared that white promoters were more efficient in promoting African American talent. This could be understood within the apartheid context wherein white promoters had access to more money, better networks and government support, most of which was lacking for their black counterparts. For example, Aquarius promotions, a black promotions company, had to borrow money to Brook Benton to South Africa, and he was subject to mismanaged venues of poor quality facing struggles with a lack of basic equipment such as music stands.¹¹³ Similarly, Wilson Pickett was brought to tour South Africa in 1976 by a black promotions company, Together Promotions, but his performances suffered short notice change of venues and created financial losses, which ended his tour prematurely.¹¹⁴ In 1979 he returned with the Quibell Brothers and his tour was very successful.¹¹⁵

Throughout this period, several musicians such as Lovelace Watkins (1975), Wilson Pickett (1976) and the O'Jays (1981) struggled with badly organized tours by black promoters. Problems that emerged were insufficient advertisement, short or no notice that venues had been changed and

¹¹¹ For more information please refer to Chapter four. (M. Mahlaba: "US Negro stars will visit if . . .," *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 September 1971, p. 3.)

¹¹² M. Nonyane: "Whites fail in R30 000 bid for Timmy Thomas," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 9 December 1974, p. 1.

¹¹³ Staff Reporter: "Benton's R10 000 cheque stopped," *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 October 1971, p. 8.

¹¹⁴ M. Mahlaba: "Rock and pray on Pickett plane," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 19 March 1976, p. 1; K. Sibiyi: "One performance and Pickett packs up – 'gave me a raw deal'," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 22 March 1976, p. 1; Staff Reporter: "Angry Pickett storms from SA," *Rand Daily Mail*, Late Final Edition, 22 March 1976, p. 1.

¹¹⁵ Author Unknown: "Return visit for Wilson Pickett," *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 June 1979, p. 7; D. Bikitsha: "Soul king buries past," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 27 June 1979, p. 13; J. Mojapelo: "Last of the soul greats here soon," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 13 July 1979, p. 16; Staff Reporter: "Take-off drama delays 'Mr Soul'," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 30 July 1979, p. 1; Author Unknown: "Big welcome for American star," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 1 August 1979, p. 15; P. Lee: "Soul sounds still appeal," *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 August 1979, p. 8.

musicians footing their own bills due to promoter's financial problems.¹¹⁶ This is especially prevalent in Chapter Four and will be discussed further there.

Although white promoters experienced on the average more successes with their tours, from the late 1970s and early 1980s, they also started to face problems. For example, the tours of Dobie Gray (1978), as well as Clarence Carter and Shirley Brown (1981), suffered from sound problems.¹¹⁷ Doc Bikitsha stated that “[t]he Quibells have something good here but for goodness sake double-check those mike[s], monitors and sound gadgets.”¹¹⁸ Other musicians such as Jimmy Smith (1978) Rufus Thomas, Candi Staton and Jimmy ‘Bo’ Horne’s (1981) tours also suffered because of mediocre performances, sickness and a lack of repertoire.¹¹⁹

Supporting Musicians

There were several South African musicians that accompanied the touring American musicians during their South African tours. The list of supporting musicians and groups that accompanied African American musicians are extensive, and examples compiled from the *Rand Daily Mail* include: Abigail Khubeka (1981), Allan Kwela (1979), Allrounders (1982), Barney Rachabane (1981), Batsumi (1979), Ben ‘Satch’ Masinga (1978, 1979 & 1980), Blondie and Pappa (1978, 1981 & 1982), Bloodshed (1980), Bruce Millar (1976), Candy (1970), Chico Mokoena (1981), Chris Schilder (1971 & 1972), Count Wellington Judge (1971), Daisy and the Daisolets (1978), Darkie Slinger (1979), Dave Bestman (1970), David Ramogasi (1979), Drive (1979), Fantasy (1979), Flaming Souls (1979), Four Sounds (1970), Harari (1976), Hot Soul Singers (1981), Hotline (1982), Ivy Gase (1979), James MacDonald (1971), Jaws (1982), Jazz Ministers (1979), Jeanette Tsagane (1971), Joy (1978 & 1980), Juluka (1982), Linda Oliphant (1981), Mara Louw (1976 & 1982), Margaret Singana (1981), Mike Makgalemele (1979), Mike Rautau Makhalemele

¹¹⁶ M. Mahlaba: “Rock and pray on Pickett plane,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 19 March 1976, p. 1; K. Sibiyi: “One performance and Pickett packs up – ‘gave me a raw deal’,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 22 March 1976, p. 1; Staff Reporters: “Promoters call an end to the troubled O’Jays tour,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 April 1981, p. 6; Staff Reporters: “Bedevilled O’Jays tour is abandoned,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 23 April 1981, p. 1; Author Unknown: “Lovelace in action,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 31 October 1974, p. 32.

¹¹⁷ D. Bikitsha: “Dobie Gray has it all – and more,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 10 May 1978, p. 12; B. Hitchcock: “Mixed audiences will enliven the theatre,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 June 1978, p. 11.

¹¹⁸ D. Bikitsha: “Something good here,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 25 November 1980, p. 24.

¹¹⁹ S. Wilson: “Mediocre bill hit by illness,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 March 1981, p. 7.

(1981), Pat Matshikiza (1979), Phillip Mallela (1979), Richard Jon Smith (1972), Ronnie Madonsela (1971), Roy Petersen (1970), Sakhile (1982), Samy Hartman (1970), Shumi Ntutu (1979), Sidney Cane (1970), Spirits Rejoice (1978), Stompie Manana (1981), Sweet Chocolate (1979), Thandie Klassen (1971 & 1979), The Azanians (1971), The Cape Town Horn Section (1972), The Minerals (1972 & 1978), The Rockets (1981), Willie Nettie (1971) and Zulu Bidi (1979).¹²⁰

A number of these supporting musicians were outspoken anti-apartheid proponents and performing with these international musicians adds to the complicated process of unpacking and understanding the working of the cultural boycott in South Africa. Various local musicians supported the cultural boycott, such as Johnny Clegg, but did not believe it should be imposed on South African musicians.¹²¹ Drewett was of the opinion that, “few musicians agreed with the ban on South African groups from performing and releasing their music overseas, either because they were not sufficiently politically involved or because they were, and wanted their message to be heard by foreign audiences.”¹²² Mara Louw had a difference of opinion, she stated that:

I would have preferred if any artist who came over here, would come, go into the township and go teach, spend a month at a school and contribute somehow, but not come here and take the bucks and go like Millie Jackson, you know: ‘I’ve just come for the gold’.¹²³

Many South African musicians who performed with these American musicians did so to survive financially and received publicity both locally and internationally. They were cornered both from South African censorship, not being able to release the music they wanted locally, and the international boycott that restricted them from exposure beyond the boundaries of South Africa.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ To do further research on this list is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, this list could be engaged productively in future research projects. Questions that might be considered are how the musicians reconciled their political activity with performing against the boycott; was their careers impacted by their performances with these African American musicians; and how were they received by South African audiences.

¹²¹ M. Drewett: “The Cultural boycott against Apartheid South Africa: A case study of Defensible Censorship?” In *Popular Music Censorship in Africa* edited by M. Drewett & M. Cloonan (USA: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), p. 31.

¹²² M. Drewett: “The Cultural boycott against Apartheid South Africa: A case study of Defensible Censorship?” In *Popular Music Censorship in Africa* edited by M. Drewett & M. Cloonan (USA: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), p. 32.

¹²³ *Ibid*, p. 33.

¹²⁴ C. Hamm: “‘The Constant Companion of Man’: Separate Development, Radio Bantu and Music,” *Popular Music*, Volume 10(2), 1991, p. 172; C. Ballantine: “A Brief History of South African Popular Music,” *Popular Music*, Volume 8(3), 1989, p. 309.

Conclusion

During apartheid, strict racial laws were implemented to force races into separate social, cultural and economic spheres. However, these laws were not always implemented consistently and in some cases were relaxed to accommodate visiting stars. This flexible use of the apartheid governments laws coupled with the complexities of the implementation of the cultural boycott internationally as well as locally creates an intricate network difficult to untangle. The use of micro-history could be one way to unpack these issues as this dissertation will now attempt to do in the following chapters.

From this chapter, we see that the cultural boycott not only hindered musicians from coming to tour South Africa, but it also facilitated a change or relaxation of the strict apartheid laws. In order for these musicians to tour South Africa they had to be given “honorary status”, which allowed these black individuals the rights of the white South African minority, which went against South African law.¹²⁵ Moreover, towards the mid-1970s, these musicians did not come to tour South Africa unless they could perform for mixed audiences, which was also against the government’s separate policies.¹²⁶ This option was, however, also made available to these musicians, which indicated how flexible apartheid laws were if it benefitted the country as well.

The reception these musicians received is also quite astounding and can be likened to Beatlemania. The musicians were mobbed on sight no matter the location and it was so intense that these musicians received bodily harm during these encounters and had to be escorted by the police to safety.¹²⁷ This will also be seen in the coming chapters, but this is the most prominent in the tour of Isaac Hayes in 1979 where whites also mobbed the musician. However, the sentiment was not the same across the board with touring musicians, especially from the early 1980s, when AZAPO

¹²⁵ C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, p. 31.

¹²⁶ Author Unknown: “Dobie gets first blanket multiracial show permit,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 May 1978, p. 2; D. Bikitsha: “Dobie Gray has it all - and more,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 10 May 1978, p. 12.

¹²⁷ M. Nonyane: “Big Tim plays it cool in SA,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 10 December 1974, p. 32; Staff Reporter: “Funtime for Thomas,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 December 1974, p. 27; M. Mahlaba: “Timmy mobbed by local fans,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 13 December 1974, p. 35; S. Lerman: “The fans don’t mix at Orlando,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 December 1974, p. 17.

started influencing South African audiences. In some cases, AZAPO members stood outside of the venues to dissuade individuals from attending the shows.¹²⁸

The reasons ascribed to the tours of these musicians are varied, but regardless their tours were construed as aiding the apartheid government. Most of these musicians advocated for a separation of politics and music, which will be expanded on in Chapter Six. Despite this, they often got entangled in politics especially when they performed separately for white and black audiences. Criticism from the local press also sparked as soon as they landed in South Africa especially well-renowned musicians such as Percy Sledge, Isaac Hayes and Millie Jackson. However, the profitability of these tours cannot be dismissed as musicians in some cases undertook non-performance tours to create albums in the country.¹²⁹

Promoters played an important role in the tours of these musicians. As we can see from this chapter, the racial make-up of the promotions company also had an influence on the audiences they could attract, and the facilities they would be able to use. Despite this distinction, we see that all South African promoters were subject to bad advertisement, poor conditions of venues and musicians often having to foot their own bills.

Lastly, this chapter indicated that although many of the local supporting musicians to the tours were outspoken when it came to politics, they still performed with these musicians that came to tour South Africa. Within newspaper reports, they never mention the cultural boycott specifically or whether they also advocated for a separation of music and politics. What is clear, however, is that these musicians were struggling financially and their participation in these shows could be construed as a means to obtain an income.¹³⁰

The following four chapters, where the tours of four musicians are unpacked in more detail, will seek to explore these themes in more detail. These musicians have been chosen because they represent a multitude of the issues discussed in this chapter. It is hoped that this work will show

¹²⁸ M. Moroke: "Ray Charles show is cancelled," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 20 October 1980, p. 1; R. Walker: "Ray told to stop tour – or else!" *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 October 1980, p. 3.

¹²⁹ Staff Reporter: "Top American singer and songwriter in SA," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 1 February 1978, p. 2; M. Mahlaba: "Hugh behind Dozier's 'roots'," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 3 February 1978, p. 10; Author Unknown: "Spirits Rejoice and rejoice and rejoice," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 9 March 1978, p. 14.

¹³⁰ S. Wilson: "Slick latters straddle the great musical divide," *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 February 1980, p. 8.

the benefit of micro-histories and the impact that it can have on broader historical concerns in South Africa.

Chapter Three: “The Soulman”: Percy Sledge, 1970 and 1972

Introduction

Percy Sledge visited Southern Africa on two occasions during the 1970s. His first tour was scheduled in 1970, which took him all over South Africa and across the border into Eswatini (formerly known as Swaziland). Sledge’s second tour took place in 1972 where he took several South African musicians to perform in several Southern African countries. Because he was denied access to the republic, this poses many questions around his first tour.

Even before Sledge set foot on South African soil, he was considered as one of the biggest soul singers of his time and his records were sought after in South Africa. According to Charles Hamm, an American musicologist, “Sledge had been labelled ‘The King of Soul’ by the South African press in 1967, and sales of his recordings there topped those of any other black American in the late 1960s and 1970s.”¹ Similarly, the South African magazine *Drum* reported in 1969 that:

At 25, he’s the best-selling soul artist in this country. Two years ago, his “When a Man Loves a Woman” turned into a smash seller within a few days of release and catapulted him into the front rank. Since then his popularity has grown, his appeal widened, and no one would dream of omitting a Sledge record from his list of party musts.²

This chapter looks at Percy Sledge’s tours in South Africa (1970) and Southern African countries (1972). It first looks at Percy Sledge’s background before turning to his first tour in South Africa. Within this section, his arrival, the venues he performed at, his promotion company and the reception of his shows are addressed. Secondly, attention is given to his second tour of Southern Africa. A brief history of the countries Sledge visited pertaining to the tour will be provided. The supporting musicians accompanying Sledge, his promoters, as well as the reception he received during this tour, will also be analysed. This chapter will reflect on Sledge’s tours in the context of the cultural boycott of the 1970s.

¹ W. Greens: “King and Queen of Soul,” *Drum*, January 1969, p. 28.

² *Ibid.*

Sledge's Rise to Fame

Percy Tyrone Sledge was born on 25 November 1940 into a small rural community of Leighton, Alabama. Sledge's father, Robert Lee died when he was still a child.³ At the age of ten, Sledge worked alongside his mother Fanluceille Sledge picking cotton and dreamt of becoming a professional baseball player.⁴ According to Greene, "It was in those cotton fields where Sledge started humming a melody that would circle in his head for years."⁵ From this humming, a song was fleshed out called "Why did you leave me, baby?" This song would later become known as "When a Man Loves a Woman".

Similar to other amateur musicians, Sledge's singing career started at his local church Galilee Missionary Baptists Church.⁶ He also performed in other churches as part of the choirs and as a soloist.⁷ Some of his earliest influences were country and rock and roll music from artists such as Jim Reeves, Hank Williams and Elvis Presley, artists frequently played on the radio.⁸

As a result of becoming a husband and a father when he was still a teenager, Sledge needed steady work and consequently became a nurse and orderly at the Colbert County Hospital in Sheffield,

³ Author Unknown: "Percy Sledge: US soul singer who hit the big time with his first single, 1941-2015," *Sunday Times*, 19 April 2015, <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sunday-times-1107/20150419/282342563375906> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

⁴ P. B. Olsen: "Percy Sledge," <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2537> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); A. Greene: "TRIBUTE: Percy Sledge, 1940-2015," *Rolling Stone*, (1234), 2015, p. 15; J. Coscarelli: "Percy Sledge, Smooth Wailer in 'When a Man Loves a Woman,' Is Dead at 74," *The New York Times*, 14 April 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/15/arts/music/percy-sledge-who-sang-when-a-man-loves-a-woman-dies-at-74.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

⁵ A. Greene: "TRIBUTE: Percy Sledge, 1940-2015," *Rolling Stone*, (1234), 2015, p. 15; Author Unknown: "Not Fade Away: Percy Sledge," *Uncut*, (218), 2015, p. 117.

⁶ P. B. Olsen: "Percy Sledge," <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2537> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); A. Greene: "TRIBUTE: Percy Sledge, 1940-2015," *Rolling Stone*, (1234), 2015, p. 15; J. Coscarelli: "Percy Sledge, Smooth Wailer in 'When a Man Loves a Woman,' Is Dead at 74," *The New York Times*, 14 April 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/15/arts/music/percy-sledge-who-sang-when-a-man-loves-a-woman-dies-at-74.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

⁷ B. Dahl: "Percy Sledge: Balladeer Returns with New Album, Rock Hall Induction," *Goldmine*, Volume 31(6), 2005, p. 15.

⁸ Author Unknown: "Percy Sledge obituary; Soul singer best known for his million-selling hit When a Man Loves a Woman," *Guardian*, 15 April 2015. Academic OneFile, <http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A409800044/AONE?u=27uos&sid=AONE&xid=f91c94c2> (Accessed 13 Dec. 2018); P. B. Olsen: "Percy Sledge," <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2537> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); Author Unknown: "Percy Sledge: US soul singer who hit the big time with his first single, 1941-2015," *Sunday Times*, 19 April 2015, <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sunday-times-1107/20150419/282342563375906> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

Alabama.⁹ His dream of becoming a professional baseball player during his labouring jobs was over.¹⁰ However, Sledge kept on singing and during his time working at the hospital Sledge started a Rhythm and Blues group called the Esquires Combos.¹¹ According to the London based newspaper *The Guardian*, Sledge's big break came in 1965, when Esquire Combos played a gig at a University of Mississippi frat house, with Quin Ivy, the record producer, in the audience.¹² He was impressed by the song called "Why did you leave me baby?" and asked Sledge to come to his studio if he ever thought of making that song into a hit.¹³

Sledge subsequently met with Quin Ivy and Marlin Greene in 1966.¹⁴ Sledge along with the musicians Dewey "Spooner" Oldham, Roger Hawkins, Albert "Junior" Lowe and David Hood

⁹ This hospital has been renamed as the Helen Keller Hospital. (P. B. Olsen: "Percy Sledge," <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2537> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); J. Coscarelli: "Percy Sledge, Smooth Wailer in 'When a Man Loves a Woman,' Is Dead at 74," *The New York Times*, 14 April 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/15/arts/music/percy-sledge-who-sang-when-a-man-loves-a-woman-dies-at-74.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); Author Unknown: "Percy Sledge obituary; Soul singer best known for his million-selling hit When a Man Loves a Woman," *Guardian*, 15 April 2015. Academic OneFile, <http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A409800044/AONE?u=27uos&sid=AONE&xid=f91c94c2> (Accessed 13 Dec. 2018); Author Unknown: "Percy Sledge: US soul singer who hit the big time with his first single, 1941-2015," *Sunday Times*, 19 April 2015, <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sunday-times-1107/20150419/282342563375906> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); Author Unknown: "Percy Sledge: Soul singer who hit No. 1 with When a Man Loves a Woman," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 April 2015, <https://amp.smh.com.au/national/percy-sledge-soul-singer-who-hit-no-1-with-when-a-man-loves-a-woman-20150417-1mn7za.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019))

¹⁰ Author Unknown: "Percy Sledge obituary; Soul singer best known for his million-selling hit When a Man Loves a Woman," *Guardian*, 15 April 2015. Academic OneFile, <http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A409800044/AONE?u=27uos&sid=AONE&xid=f91c94c2> (Accessed 13 Dec. 2018); Author Unknown: "American singer whose first single, When a Man Loves a Woman, became a soul classic; OBITUARY Percy Sledge," *Sunday Times*, 19 April 2015, p. 10; Author Unknown: "Percy Sledge: US soul singer who hit the big time with his first single, 1941-2015," *Sunday Times*, 19 April 2015, <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sunday-times-1107/20150419/282342563375906> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

¹¹ Sledge was asked by James Richard to fill in for a sick vocalist in the Esquires Combos because he was doing a private party that Christmas Eve. (B. Dahl: "Percy Sledge: Balladeer Returns with New Album, Rock Hall Induction," *Goldmine*, Volume 31(6), 2005, p. 15; A. Greene: "TRIBUTE: Percy Sledge, 1940-2015," *Rolling Stone*, (1234), 2015, p. 15; Author Unknown: "Obituaries," *Goldmine*, Volume 41(7), 2015, p. 29; P. B. Olsen: "Percy Sledge," <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2537> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019))

¹² Author Unknown: "Percy Sledge obituary; Soul singer best known for his million-selling hit When a Man Loves a Woman," *Guardian*, 15 April 2015. Academic OneFile, <http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A409800044/AONE?u=27uos&sid=AONE&xid=f91c94c2> (Accessed 13 Dec. 2018); A. Greene: "TRIBUTE: Percy Sledge, 1940-2015," *Rolling Stone*, (1234), 2015, p. 15.

¹³ P. B. Olsen: "Percy Sledge," <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2537> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); A. Greene: "TRIBUTE: Percy Sledge, 1940-2015," *Rolling Stone*, (1234), 2015, p. 15; Author Unknown: "Percy Sledge obituary; Soul singer best known for his million-selling hit When a Man Loves a Woman," *Guardian*, 15 April 2015. Academic OneFile, <http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A409800044/AONE?u=27uos&sid=AONE&xid=f91c94c2> (Accessed 13 Dec. 2018)

¹⁴ P. B. Olsen: "Percy Sledge," <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2537> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); J. Coscarelli: "Percy Sledge, Smooth Wailer in 'When a Man Loves a Woman,' Is Dead at 74," *The New York Times*,

who played the organ, drums, bass and trombone respectively created the hit song that would later become known as “When a Man Loves a Woman”.¹⁵

This became the first song that Sledge recorded for Atlantic Records’ on the album *When a Man Loves a Woman* published in 1966.¹⁶ Sledge stated that “[i]t was about how my girlfriend had left me. I liked this girl all through high school. After we graduated, we got together for a while, but she left me for another man.”¹⁷ Sledge, however, by way of thanks gave all the songwriting credits to Esquire Combos’ bassist Calvin Lewis and organist Andrew Wright, who helped him write the song. He later deeply regretted this move after the song went on to become an international hit, with Atlantic Records selling more than a million copies without Sledge receiving any royalties.¹⁸ According to Sledge, in an interview with the *New York Times*, he stated that it was, “[the] worst

14 April 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/15/arts/music/percy-sledge-who-sang-when-a-man-loves-a-woman-dies-at-74.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

¹⁵ Author Unknown: “Percy Sledge obituary; Soul singer best known for his million-selling hit When a Man Loves a Woman,” *Guardian*, 15 April 2015. Academic OneFile,

<http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A409800044/AONE?u=27uos&sid=AONE&xid=f91c94c2> (Accessed 13 Dec. 2018); A. Greene: “TRIBUTE: Percy Sledge, 1940-2015,” *Rolling Stone*, (1234), 2015, p. 15; B. Dahl: “Percy Sledge: Balladeer Returns with New Album, Rock Hall Induction,” *Goldmine*, Volume 31(6), 2005, p. 15; P. B. Olsen: “Percy Sledge,” <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2537> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

¹⁶ C. Morris: “Sledge looks for comeback with Virgin’s ‘Blue Night,’” *Billboard*, Volume, 107(16), 1995, p. 11; T. Neely: “Percy Sledge U. S. Discovery,” *Goldmine*, Volume 31(6), 2005, p. 17; Author Unknown: “Percy Sledge: US soul singer who hit the big time with his first single, 1941-2015,” *Sunday Times*, 19 April 2015, <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sunday-times-1107/20150419/282342563375906> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

¹⁷ J. Coscarelli: “Percy Sledge, Soul Crooner, Dies at 74,” *The New York Times*, 15 April 2015, p. 16; Author Unknown: “Not Fade Away: Percy Sledge,” *Uncut*, (218), 2015, p. 117; T. Neely: “Percy Sledge U. S. Discovery,” *Goldmine*, Volume 31(6), 2005, p. 17; J. Coscarelli: “Percy Sledge, Smooth Wailer in ‘When a Man Loves a Woman,’ Is Dead at 74,” *The New York Times*, 14 April 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/15/arts/music/percy-sledge-who-sang-when-a-man-loves-a-woman-dies-at-74.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); Author Unknown: “Percy Sledge: US soul singer who hit the big time with his first single, 1941-2015,” *Sunday Times*, 19 April 2015, <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sunday-times-1107/20150419/282342563375906> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); E. Ward: “When a Rock Historian Loves Soul Singer Percy Sledge,” <https://www.npr.org/2011/03/16/134172710/when-a-rock-historian-loves-soul-singer-percy-sledge> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

¹⁸ B. Dahl: “Percy Sledge: Balladeer Returns with New Album, Rock Hall Induction,” *Goldmine*, Volume 31(6), 2005, p. 14; A. Greene: “TRIBUTE: Percy Sledge, 1940-2015,” *Rolling Stone*, (1234), 2015, p. 15; Author Unknown: “Not Fade Away: Percy Sledge,” *Uncut*, (218), 2015, p. 117; J. Shriver: “Percy Sledge led with his heart,” *USA Today*, 15 April 2015, p. 1; J. Coscarelli: “Percy Sledge, Smooth Wailer in ‘When a Man Loves a Woman,’ Is Dead at 74,” *The New York Times*, 14 April 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/15/arts/music/percy-sledge-who-sang-when-a-man-loves-a-woman-dies-at-74.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); Author Unknown: “Percy Sledge: US soul singer who hit the big time with his first single, 1941-2015,” *Sunday Times*, 19 April 2015, <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sunday-times-1107/20150419/282342563375906> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); R. Santana: “Percy Sledge: Soul singer who hit No. 1 with When a Man Loves a Woman,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 April 2015, <https://www.smh.com.au/entertainment/music/soul-singer-percy-sledge-dead-aged-73-20150415-1ml6sk.html> (Accessed 7 Jul. 2109); G. Hirshey: *Nowhere to run: The Story of Soul Music*, p. 325.

decision I ever made. But I am not at all bitter. It was God's will for me to give it to them. But if I had my time again, I wouldn't do it. Because of my children."¹⁹

The exact nature of how Sledge rose to fame is still contentious. Another version of how Sledge received a recording contract, according to *The New York Times*, is that Sledge was discovered through an introduction by a former patient and mutual friend of Sledge to the record producer Quin Ivy.²⁰ An audition followed, and Sledge was signed to a recording contract. During the sessions, Ivy and Marlin Greene wanted his "unique soulful voice" for a series of ballads produced by them.²¹ In yet another version, *The Sydney Morning Herald* reported that Sledge received this opportunity through an introduction by his choirmaster.²² While there are different versions of how Sledge's professional music career started, no one contests his rise to stardom as the "king of soul".²³

Sledge reached the height of his career in the late 1960s and the early 1970s with a series of emotional soul ballads namely "Love Me Tender" (1960), "Warm and Tender Love" (1965), "It Tears Me Up" (1966), "Cover Me" (1967) and "Take Time to Know Her" (1968).²⁴

¹⁹ J. Coscarelli: "Percy Sledge, Smooth Wailer in 'When a Man Loves a Woman,' Is Dead at 74," *The New York Times*, 14 April 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/15/arts/music/percy-sledge-who-sang-when-a-man-loves-a-woman-dies-at-74.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

²⁰ *Ibid*; Author Unknown: "Percy Sledge obituary; Soul singer best known for his million-selling hit When a Man Loves a Woman," *Guardian*, 15 April 2015. Academic OneFile, <http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A409800044/AONE?u=27uos&sid=AONE&xid=f91c94c2> (Accessed 13 Dec. 2018)

²¹ Author Unknown: "Not Fade Away: Percy Sledge," *Uncut*, (218), 2015, p. 117; B. Dahl: "Percy Sledge: Balladeer Returns with New Album, Rock Hall Induction," *Goldmine*, Volume 31(6), 2005, p. 16; Author Unknown: "Obituaries," *Goldmine*, Volume 41(7), 2015, p. 29; J. Coscarelli: "Percy Sledge, Soul Crooner, Dies at 74," *The New York Times*, 15 April 2015, p. 16; Author Unknown: "Quincy Sound the Natural Transition," *Billboard*, Volume 82(49), 1970, p. 48.

²² R. Santana: "Percy Sledge: Soul singer who hit No. 1 with When a Man Loves a Woman," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 April 2015, <https://www.smh.com.au/entertainment/music/soul-singer-percy-sledge-dead-aged-73-20150415-1ml6sk.html> (Accessed 7 Jul. 2109)

²³ W. Greens: "King and Queen of Soul," *Drum*, January 1969, p. 28.

²⁴ Author Unknown: "Soul singer Percy Sledge dies aged 73; Famous for When a Man Loves a Woman, the southern soul singer died in Louisiana on Tuesday," *Guardian*, 15 April 2015. Academic OneFile, <http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A409799920/AONE?u=27uos&sid=AONE&xid=73ff7c14> (Accessed 13 Dec. 2018); Author Unknown: "The JB Cult- or Sledge?," *Drum*, November 1970, p. 43; C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, p. 30.

After the 1970s, Percy Sledge started disappearing from the top charts. Between 1971 and 1973, Sledge recorded sporadically and was only able to release four vinyl discs.²⁵ Sledge admitted to *Billboard* that, “[t]his stemmed from the near-simultaneous retirement of producers Quin Ivy and Marlin Greene.”²⁶ These individuals were pivotal in the recording of Sledge’s hits during the peak in his career and most famously “When a Man Loves a Woman.”²⁷ Sledge further commented that:

When they retired, I didn’t want to do anything, I didn’t even want to go into the studio. A lot of producers had been wantin’ to produce me, I didn’t feel like they did. I just wasn’t comfortable with some of the things they wanted to do ... It was just so hard to find somebody.²⁸

While this dip in Sledge’s career can be attributed to the loss of his producers, it could also be argued that this arose because of the change in consumer taste in America as other styles of music such as funk became popular during the 1970s, leading to the decline in popularity of soul ballads.²⁹ It is during this period that Sledge first came to South Africa. Sledge, however, enjoyed a renaissance in the 1980s when his hit song “When a Man Loves a Woman” re-entered the UK Singles Chart after Levi used it in a jeans commercial.³⁰ Sledge himself only came into the public eye again in 1987 when producer Barry Goldberg approached him to record a soundtrack for the comedy *Adventures in Babysitting*.³¹ Sledge was of the opinion that, “I think [Goldberg] wanted

²⁵ Singles are released in various formats such as vinyl discs, shellac discs, cassettes, digital compact cassettes, and DVD. (P. Nickols: “Quin Ivy And His Norala And Quinvy Studios, Part 11 – 1971-1973 The final years of Quinvy, <http://www.sirshambling.com/articles/quinvy/quinvy1.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019))

²⁶ C. Morris: “Sledge looks for comeback with Virgin's 'Blue Night',” *Billboard*, Volume, 107(16), 1995, p. 11.

²⁷ A. Greene: “TRIBUTE: Percy Sledge, 1940-2015,” *Rolling Stone*, (1234), 2015, p. 15; Author Unknown: “Not Fade Away: Percy Sledge,” *Uncut*, (218), 2015, p. 117; B. Dahl: “Percy Sledge: Balladeer Returns with New Album, Rock Hall Induction,” *Goldmine*, Volume 31(6), 2005, pp. 14-17; C. Morris: “Sledge looks for comeback with Virgin's 'Blue Night',” *Billboard*, Volume, 107(16), 1995, p. 11; Author Unknown: “Obituaries,” *Goldmine*, Volume 41(7), 2015, p. 29; Author Unknown: “Percy Sledge: Soul singer who hit No. 1 with When a Man Loves a Woman,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 April 2015, <https://amp.smh.com.au/national/percy-sledge-soul-singer-who-hit-no-1-with-when-a-man-loves-a-woman-20150417-1mn7za.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

²⁸ C. Morris: “Sledge looks for comeback with Virgin's 'Blue Night',” *Billboard*, Volume, 107(16), 1995, p. 11.

²⁹ R. Santana: “Percy Sledge: Soul singer who hit No. 1 with When a Man Loves a Woman,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 April 2015, <https://www.smh.com.au/entertainment/music/soul-singer-percy-sledge-dead-aged-73-20150415-1ml6sk.html> (Accessed 7 Jul. 2109)

³⁰ Author Unknown: “Not Fade Away: Percy Sledge,” *Uncut*, (218), 2015, p. 117; Author Unknown: “Percy Sledge obituary; Soul singer best known for his million-selling hit When a Man Loves a Woman,” *Guardian*, 15 April 2015. Academic OneFile,

<http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A409800044/AONE?u=27uos&sid=AONE&xid=f91c94c2> (Accessed 13 Dec. 2018); Author Unknown: “Percy Sledge: US soul singer who hit the big time with his first single, 1941-2015,” *Sunday Times*, 19 April 2015, <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sunday-times-1107/20150419/282342563375906> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

³¹ C. Morris: “Sledge looks for comeback with Virgin's 'Blue Night',” *Billboard*, Volume, 107(16), 1995, p. 11; B. Dahl: “Percy Sledge: Balladeer Returns with New Album, Rock Hall Induction,” *Goldmine*, Volume 31(6), 2005, p.

to hear my voice, and how strong my voice was.”³² This could also reflect Sledge’s need to support his career and earn an income. Furthermore, Sledge’s song “When a Man Loves a Woman” was brought back into the public eye by Michael Bolton’s cover version in 1991.³³

In 1994, Sledge made a comeback on an album produced by Saul Davis and Barry Goldberg called *Blue Night* for both the Philippe Le Bras’ Sky Ranch label and Virgin Records, which featured artists such as Mike Taylor, Steve Cropper and Bobby Womack.³⁴ Sledge stated in an interview for *Billboard* that, “I don’t think no label would take me. Music has changed so, rap stuff was comin’ in so powerful ... it was a miracle.”³⁵ This album went on to receive a Grammy nomination for the Best Contemporary Blues Album, Vocal or Instrumental and won the W. C. Handy Award for best soul or blues album. Sledge was however prevented from touring Europe to promote this album due to a tax evasion charge by the Internal Revenue Service. In an article in *the New York Times*, Nadine Brozan reported that “Mr Sledge pleaded guilty in April to tax evasion for failing to report more than \$260 000 in income.”³⁶ Sledge was given five years’ probation, had to undergo addiction therapy and was ordered to pay back taxes of more than \$95 000.³⁷

16; Author Unknown: “Percy Sledge: US soul singer who hit the big time with his first single, 1941-2015,” *Sunday Times*, 19 April 2015, <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sunday-times-1107/20150419/282342563375906> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

³² C. Morris: “Sledge looks for comeback with Virgin’s ‘Blue Night’,” *Billboard*, Volume, 107(16), 1995, p. 11.

³³ Author Unknown: “Percy Sledge obituary; Soul singer best known for his million-selling hit When a Man Loves a Woman,” *Guardian*, 15 April 2015. Academic OneFile,

<http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A409800044/AONE?u=27uos&sid=AONE&xid=f91c94c2> (Accessed 13 Dec.

2018); C. Morris: “Sledge looks for comeback with Virgin’s ‘Blue Night’,” *Billboard*, Volume, 107(16), 1995, p. 11;

J. Coscarelli: “Percy Sledge, Smooth Wailer in ‘When a Man Loves a Woman,’ Is Dead at 74,” *The New York Times*, 14 April 2015, <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/15/arts/music/percy-sledge-who-sang-when-a-man-loves-a-woman-dies-at-74.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); Author Unknown: “Percy Sledge obituary; Soul singer best

known for his million-selling hit When a Man Loves a Woman,” *Guardian*, 15 April 2015. Academic OneFile,

<http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A409800044/AONE?u=27uos&sid=AONE&xid=f91c94c2> (Accessed 13 Dec.

2018)

³⁴ B. Dahl: “Percy Sledge: Balladeer Returns with New Album, Rock Hall Induction,” *Goldmine*, Volume 31(6),

2005, p. 16; C. Morris: “Sledge looks for comeback with Virgin’s ‘Blue Night’,” *Billboard*, Volume, 107(16), 1995,

p. 11; Author Unknown: “Not Fade Away: Percy Sledge,” *Uncut*, (218), 2015, p. 117.

³⁵ C. Morris: “Sledge looks for comeback with Virgin’s ‘Blue Night’,” *Billboard*, Volume, 107(16), 1995, p. 11.

³⁶ N. Brozan: “Chronicle,” *The New York Times*, 2 July 1994, <https://www.nytimes.com/1994/07/02/style/chronicle-015636.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

³⁷ *Ibid*; Author Unknown: “Percy Sledge: US soul singer who hit the big time with his first single, 1941-2015,”

Sunday Times, 19 April 2015, [https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sunday-times-](https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sunday-times-1107/20150419/282342563375906)

[1107/20150419/282342563375906](https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sunday-times-1107/20150419/282342563375906) (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); Author Unknown: “Percy Sledge: Soul singer who hit

No. 1 with When a Man Loves a Woman,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 April 2015,

[https://amp.smh.com.au/national/percy-sledge-soul-singer-who-hit-no-1-with-when-a-man-loves-a-woman-](https://amp.smh.com.au/national/percy-sledge-soul-singer-who-hit-no-1-with-when-a-man-loves-a-woman-20150417-1mn7za.html)

[20150417-1mn7za.html](https://amp.smh.com.au/national/percy-sledge-soul-singer-who-hit-no-1-with-when-a-man-loves-a-woman-20150417-1mn7za.html) (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); R. Santana: “Percy Sledge: Soul singer who hit No. 1 with When a Man Loves a Woman,” *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 April 2015,

Saul Davis and Barry Goldberg also produced Sledge's *Shining through the Rain* album just before Sledge was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 2005.³⁸ He was additionally inducted into the Alabama Music Hall of Fame (1993), The Carolina Beach Music Hall of Fame (2004) and The Louisiana Music Hall of Fame (2007).³⁹

Percy Sledge was an international concert favourite throughout the world. He was considered not simply an entertainer but according to Raeford Daniel a reporter from the *Rand Daily Mail*, "[a] dynamo of boundless energy and inexhaustible vocal power."⁴⁰ He played at US military bases in Germany, as well as to Swiss and German audiences at nightclubs and ski resorts. Sledge was especially popular in the Netherlands and visited South Africa in 1970, 1984⁴¹ and 2013,⁴² as well as touring southern Africa in 1972.

Percy Sledge's 1970 tour of South Africa

Percy Sledge's first recorded visit to South Africa was in 1970. According to the *Rand Daily Mail* of April 1970, "Percy Sledge, one of the world's top soul singers, has been offered a South African tour – to sing for Non-whites only."⁴³ Based on the success of this tour, other African-American singers such as Aretha Franklin, the Supremes and Jimmy Smith would also be approached.⁴⁴

<https://www.smh.com.au/entertainment/music/soul-singer-percy-sledge-dead-aged-73-20150415-1ml6sk.html>

(Accessed 7 Jul. 2109)

³⁸ Author Unknown: "Obituaries," *Goldmine*, Volume 41(7), 2015, p. 29; A. Greene: "TRIBUTE: Percy Sledge, 1940-2015," *Rolling Stone*, (1234), 2015, p. 15; B. Dahl: "Percy Sledge: Balladeer Returns with New Album, Rock Hall Induction," *Goldmine*, Volume 31(6), 2005, p. 41; Author Unknown: "Not Fade Away: Percy Sledge," *Uncut*, (218), 2015, p. 117; P. B. Olsen: "Percy Sledge," <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2537> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); Author Unknown: "Percy Sledge: US soul singer who hit the big time with his first single, 1941-2015," *Sunday Times*, 19 April 2015, <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sunday-times-1107/20150419/282342563375906> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

³⁹ *Ibid*; P. B. Olsen: "Percy Sledge," <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-2537> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

⁴⁰ R. Daniel: "Sledge is a lilac dynamo," *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 July 1970, p. 8.

⁴¹ In 1984, Sledge came to tour South Africa backed by only South African musicians with the Rockets leading this tour. When questioned about whether this tour would result in him being blacklisted, Sledge stated that he came "to sing the good, nice, sweet and warm songs." (Staff Reporter: "Percy Sledge jets in for tour of SA," *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 May 1984, p. 2.)

⁴² Almost three decades later, Sledge returned to perform in South Africa in 2013 with the last performance that the country would see of him until his death in 2015. (W. Martin: "Date added to Sledge's SA show," *Cape Argus*, 15 May 2013, <https://www.iol.co.za/capeargus/date-added-to-sledges-sa-show-1516375> (Accessed 3 May 2019).

⁴³ Staff Reporter: "Top Negro 'soul' man may come to S.A.," *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 April 1970, p. 6.

⁴⁴ Aretha Franklin did not tour South Africa, the Supremes came in 1975 but by that time Diana Ross already left and Jimmy Smith only came in 1978. (Author Unknown: "Theatres and Entertainment," *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 October 1975, p. 14; Author Unknown: "Jimmy Smith is on the way," *Drum*, December 1978, p. 80.)

Sledge toured South Africa in 1970 at the height of apartheid, where laws that established a distinction between white and blacks such as the Group Areas Act (1950), Population Registration Act (1950), the Immorality Act (1950) and the Separate Amenities Act (1952) were strictly enforced.⁴⁵ These acts assigned racial groups to different residential areas, imposed separate amenities and prohibited the mixing of races.⁴⁶ Sledge was, however, after receiving “honorary white” status, allowed to stay at an unspecified all-white hotel where regulations had been relaxed to accommodate him.⁴⁷ Even though permission was granted by the South African government for Sledge’s 1970 tour, fears that his tour would be cancelled drove the promoters to only alert the press two hours before his arrival in South Africa.⁴⁸

Percy Sledge was brought to South Africa for a six-month contract by Ronnie Quibell.⁴⁹ According to Bill Nasson, Ronnie Quibell was, “[a] man who combined in his immaculately dressed person the role of grand entrepreneur, open door liberal and bringer of goodies to humble lower Wynberg.”⁵⁰ Quibell became known as an individual, who could manoeuvre around the restrictions of the apartheid laws to get permits for his artists from abroad and local musicians, to perform in South Africa.⁵¹ Essentially, the Quibell brothers had better connections than other local promoters.

Ronnie Quibell and his brother were also known for building the Princess Bioscope, the Luxurama and the Three Arts Theatre, in Cape Town in the 1960s on land they owned. These theatres were opened by the Quibell’s against the apartheid era’s racially divided theatres to allow audiences of

⁴⁵ P. E. Louw: *The Rise, Fall, and Legacy of Apartheid*, pp. 55-84.

⁴⁶ F. Ballim: “The Un-making of the Group Areas Act: Local Resistance and Commercial Power in the Small Town of Mokopane,” *South African Historical Journal*, Volume 69(4), 2017, p. 576; S. Dubow: *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, p. 37.

⁴⁷ O. Coombs: “Should a Black Singer Sing in South Africa? Sledge in South Africa,” *The New York Times*, 27 June 1971, <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/06/27/archives/should-a-black-singer-sing-in-south-africa-sledge-in-south-africa.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, p. 31.

⁴⁸ P. Tucker: *Just the ticket! : My 50 years in show business*, p. 271; P. Feldman: Sledge: “Will govt relent?,” *The Star*, 3 September 1982, p. 3.

⁴⁹ B. Edgson: “Percy Sledge Drama Dies down,” *The Star*, 10 July 1970, p. 15.

⁵⁰ B. Nasson: *History Matters: Selected Writings, 1970–2016*, p. 188.

⁵¹ P. Tucker: *Just the ticket! : My 50 years in show business*, pp. 186 & 271; G. Prins: “Ronnie Quibell het groot en moedig gelewe, soos sy teaters,” *Rapport*, 8 January 2012, p. 6.

mixed races to see performances from international and national stars.⁵² These spaces became important performance venues and will be discussed in more detail below.

Ronnie Quibell was not only interested in Percy Sledge but also bringing other African-American artists to South Africa.⁵³ Tanya Farber, a reporter for the *Cape Times* stated that “Quibell and his family members had controversial spats with the then minister of interior, Connie Mulder when trying to bring in artists like Percy Sledge, Eartha Kitt and reggae singer Prince Far I.”⁵⁴ In spite of this, they managed to bring Percy Sledge (1970).

The Cape Town leg of the tour , 1970

Sledge’s first performance was at the Luxurama Theatre in Cape Town on 30 May 1970. The Luxurama was built by Ronnie Quibell in 1963 and opened in 1964 with the performance of *Cinderella* by Jerry Nicholls and Sybil Summers.⁵⁵

Nasson described the Luxurama theatre:

At one level the Lux interior was all a great big visual joke. Wide steps, running steeply skywards, deposited patrons onto padded black linoleum flooring and into velvety red seats. Around them were spirals of black metal railings, several little seat boxes of galleries, walls plastered in a gold brocade style and gently curving aisleways. At another level, the Lux was intimate, its gentle seating gradient and low-level lighting enabling virtually anyone in the theatre of several hundred people to spot and wave at virtually anyone else.⁵⁶

From its establishment until it closed in 2015, the Luxurama hosted individuals such as Percy Sledge, Connie Francis, Jose Feliciano, Dobie Gray, Tina Turner, Dusty Springfield, The Temptations, Petula Clark, Engelbert Humperdink, Peaches and Herb, Tom Jones, Spike Milligan, Joe Dolan and Lovelace Watkins as well as local stars such as Taliep Petersen, Zayn Adams, Robbie Jansen, Jonathan Butler, Lionel Pietersen, Ricardo, Richard Jon Smith and Ronnie Joyce.⁵⁷

⁵² T. Farber: “Final curtain for innovative impresario Quibell,” *Cape Times*, 30 December 2011, p. 3.

⁵³ Staff Reporter: “Top Negro ‘soul’ man may come to S.A.,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 April 1970, p. 6.

⁵⁴ T. Farber: “Final curtain for innovative impresario Quibell,” *Cape Times*, 30 December 2011, p. 3.

⁵⁵ G. Prins: “Ronnie Quibell het groot en moedig gelewe, soos sy teaters,” *Rapport*, 8 January 2012, p. 6; V. Layne: “A history of Dance and Jazz Band performance in the Western Cape in the post-1945 era.” Master thesis, University of Cape Town, 1995, p. 123.

⁵⁶ B. Nasson: *History Matters: Selected Writings, 1970–2016*, p. 188.

⁵⁷ Author Unknown: “Grand old Luxurama sold as educational centre,” *Cape Times*, 26 February 2015, http://www.iolproperty.co.za/roller/news/entry/grand_old_luxurama_sold_as (Accessed 12 Dec. 2018); H. Bamford:

There were also bands that performed at the theatre such as the Bats, the Rockets, Rabbit and Ballyhoo amongst others.⁵⁸ The Luxurama became a pivotal cultural hub in Cape Town.⁵⁹

During the Luxurama's early years in the 1960s, it was one of the only venues, regardless of the restrictions from the government, to host multiracial music activities until the South African Government tightened the Group Areas legislation.⁶⁰ This forced Quibell to convert the theatre in the late 1960s to only cater for coloureds.⁶¹ Before it was converted, the space served as a measure to rebel against the government's policies by allowing musicians of varying races to perform for diverse audiences often consisting of multiple races, despite the government's attempt at separated entertainment.

For his Cape Town performances, Sledge was accompanied by Stella Starr.⁶² She was born in South Africa and as a child was reallocated to Soweto along with her family during the forced removals of the time.⁶³ She later moved to London where her career took off playing at night clubs and hotels throughout the United Kingdom and the United States of America.⁶⁴ She returned briefly to South Africa to co-star with Percy Sledge during his 1970 tour.⁶⁵

"Tear down Three Arts Theatre – residents," *Cape Argus*, 7 September 2015, <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/tear-down-three-arts-theatre-residents-1911811> (Accessed 12 Dec. 2018); A. Februarie: Big-name show pays tribute to the Lux," *People's Post*, 11 November 2015. <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Local/Peoples-Post/big-name-show-pays-tribute-to-the-lux-20151111> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*; G. Prins: "Ronnie Quibell het groot en moedig gelewe, soos sy teaters," *Rapport*, 8 January 2012, p. 6; V. Layne: "A history of Dance and Jazz Band performance in the Western Cape in the post-1945 era, Master thesis, University of Cape Town, 1995, p. 123.

⁶⁰ V. Layne: "A history of Dance and Jazz Band performance in the Western Cape in the post-1945 era, Master thesis, University of Cape Town, 1995, p. 123.

⁶¹ G. Prins: "Ronnie Quibell het groot en moedig gelewe, soos sy teaters," *Rapport*, 8 January 2012, p. 6; V. Layne: "A history of Dance and Jazz Band performance in the Western Cape in the post-1945 era, Master thesis, University of Cape Town, 1995, pp. 92 & 123.

⁶² Her real name was Stella Thomas. (Author Unknown: Picture of Percy Sledge and Stella Starr, *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 June 1970, p. 3; Z. B. Molefe: *A Common Hunger to Sing: A Tribute to South Africa's Black Women of Song*, p. 76.)

⁶³ Z. B. Molefe: *A Common Hunger to Sing: A Tribute to South Africa's Black Women of Song*, p. 76; Author Unknown: "A quite Sophiatown girl's now Starr the show," *Drum*, July 1970, p. 50; Author Unknown: "My crazy life by Stella Starr," *Drum*, October 1970, p. 30; Staff Reporter: "Township girl back – wows Whites," *The Star*, 23 July 1970, p. 3; M. Andersson: *Music in the Mix: The Story of South African popular music*, p. 122.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*; Author Unknown: "A quite Sophiatown girl's now Starr the show," *Drum*, July 1970, p. 50; Author Unknown: "My crazy life by Stella Starr," *Drum*, October 1970, p. 30; Staff Reporter: "Township girl back – wows Whites," *The Star*, 23 July 1970, p. 3; M. Andersson: *Music in the Mix: The Story of South African popular music*, p. 122.

⁶⁵ <http://www.stellastarrmontecarlo.com/topic1/index.html> (Accessed 13 Dec. 2018); Author Unknown: "Stella Starr to perform live at the W Doha Hotel & Residences," *Albawaba News*, 16 November 2010,

Starr was warmly received by South African audiences. There were a number of newspaper reports on her family in South Africa, none of which mentioned that she was in fact not a South African resident and staying in hotels reserved for whites.⁶⁶ Moreover, she was performing with someone that was perceived by some to be selling out the rights of black people in South Africa.⁶⁷ Starr's performance with Sledge raises a couple of questions especially the fact that she was given honorary white status as a black South African who would have been fully aware of the implications of performing against the cultural boycott.

The Cape Town tour had been scheduled for two weeks but the demand for Percy Sledge performances was so immense that they opted to stay for two months.⁶⁸ Sledge attracted over 110 000 individuals to his various shows in the Cape.⁶⁹ In Beryl Crosher-Seger's autobiography, she commented on the first night of Sledge performance at the Luxurama theatre:

In May 1970, we waited among screaming fans for Percy Sledge to walk onto the stage, dressed in tight pants and platform shoes. The audience erupted and when the band struck up with the opening song, My Special Prayer, I was in awe. It was one thing to listen to a record, but it was a wonderful experience to see the person live on stage. Everyone cheered, screamed, and clapped for the King of Soul as he was known to us. Many could not believe that he was right there in South Africa, and at the end of the show, we joined the audience shouting, 'Don't go back Percy, stay here in South Africa.'⁷⁰

This quote reflects, on the one hand, the popularity of Sledge, and on the other, the appreciation of the entertainment value of his show above the political implications of his performance. Furthermore, Sledge is not depicted as a sell-out. This sentiment extends to other racial groups. On one occasion whites tried to enter a show scheduled only for coloureds. According to the *Rand Daily Mail*:

<https://www.albawaba.com/news/stella-starr-perform-live-w-doha-hotel-residences> (Accessed 13 Dec. 2018); Author Unknown: "A quiet Sophiatown girl's now Starr the show," *Drum*, July 1970, p. 50; Author Unknown: "My crazy life by Stella Starr," *Drum*, October 1970, p. 30; Staff Reporter: "Township girl back – wows Whites," *The Star*, 23 July 1970, p. 3; M. Andersson: *Music in the Mix: The Story of South African popular music*, p. 122.

⁶⁶ Author Unknown: "A quiet Sophiatown's girl now Starr the show," *Drum*, July 1970, p. 50; Author Unknown: "My crazy life by Stella Starr," *Drum*, October 1970, p. 30; Staff Reporter: "Township girl back – wows Whites," *The Star*, 23 July 1970, p. 3.

⁶⁷ American Committee on Africa: "Cultural Boycott of racist South Africa Broken: Percy Sledge sells soul," *American Committee on Africa*, 16 July 1970, <http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.acoa000341a> (Accessed 9 Sep. 2018)

⁶⁸ P. Tucker: *Just the ticket! : My 50 years in show business*, p. 271.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*; Author Unknown: "Permit teen Percy Sledge," *Rapport*, 29 February 1982, p. 7.

⁷⁰ B. Crosher-Segers: *A Darker Shade of Pale*, p. 95.

There was a disturbance outside the Luxurama Theatre, Cape Town, on Saturday night when more than 200 whites, milling around the front of the theatre, where the American Negro Percy Sledge, is appearing for Non-whites only tried to gain admission.⁷¹

Extra doormen were deployed as these individuals demanded to see the manager in order to gain access to see this performance.⁷² Tickets were in such great demand that the price rose from R3 to R25 per person, similar to a rise in the price of from 3 loaves of bread to 26 in 1970.⁷³

In a creative feat of ingenuity, whites who had failed to enter the premises disguised themselves as Moslems in an attempt to trick the doormen.⁷⁴ They had darkly tanned faces with men wearing *taqiyah*⁷⁵ and veiled women with *saris*.⁷⁶ Those whose disguises failed to give them access had to either go home or sell their tickets to blacks.⁷⁷ On the inside, the crowd was so wild that four shirts were ripped off Sledge's back during his performance.⁷⁸

Temporarily this performance ruptured the political power of the day, shifting the power into the hands of a black audience. In an ironic twist of fate, the law that separated races, in this instance, prohibited whites from attending an event performed by black musicians for black audiences. Hamm remarked, "[i]n a situation almost without precedent in South Africa, blacks had access to something desirable to whites, and the latter were prohibited from sharing it."⁷⁹ This performance

⁷¹ Staff Reporter: "Whites try to 'crash' show," *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 June 1970, p. 1; Author Unknown: "Permit teen Percy Sledge," *Rapport*, 29 February 1982, p. 7.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*; Staff Reporter: "Bread price may have to be raised," *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 April 1970, p. 5.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*; Author Unknown: "South Africa Relaxes Curb on Percy Sledge Audiences," *The New York Times*, 11 June 1970, p. 51.

⁷⁵ A *taqiyah* is the cap-like headwear that Muslim men wear.

⁷⁶ Staff Reporter: "Whites try to 'crash' show," *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 June 1970, p. 1; Author Unknown: Picture of Percy Sledge and Stella Starr, *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 June 1970, p. 3; Author Unknown: "Sledge Show – 200 whites turned away," *The Star*, 1 June 1970, p. 5; Author Unknown: "Permit teen Percy Sledge," *Rapport*, 29 February 1982, p. 7; Author Unknown: "South Africa Relaxes Curb on Percy Sledge Audiences," *The New York Times*, 11 June 1970, p. 51; O. Coombs: "Should a Black Singer Sing in South Africa? Sledge in South Africa," *The New York Times*, 27 June 1971, <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/06/27/archives/should-a-black-singer-sing-in-south-africa-sledge-in-south-africa.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); Author Unknown: "Soul Sauce," *Billboard*, Volume 82(26), 1970, p. 40; C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, p. 31.

⁷⁷ Staff Reporter: "Whites try to 'crash' show," *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 June 1970, p. 1

⁷⁸ B. Edgson: "Percy Sledge Drama Dies down," *The Star*, 10 July 1970, p. 15; R. Daniel: "Sledge is a lilac dynamo," *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 July 1970, p. 8.

⁷⁹ C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, p. 31.

also reflects the span of Sledge's popularity in South Africa across white and black audiences. Overcoming the racial divide was a sentiment also shared by Sledge.

During his performances in Cape Town, Sledge made it public that he did not want to only perform for black audiences in South Africa but also to white audiences. According to Sledge's manager, "[he] was keen to perform to everybody – white and non-white."⁸⁰ After the whites attempted to enter the show, Sledge's tour promoter Ronnie Quibell released a statement that they were going to apply to the Department of Interior and the Department of Community Development for permission to play for white audiences.⁸¹ This, in turn, sparked criticism from the American Committee on Africa against this application but Sledge's application was eventually granted by the South African government.⁸² In response to the criticism of his South African tour by the American Committee on Africa, Sledge stated that "[i]'ve come to South Africa to work – it's as simple as that. It does not matter who I am working for as long as I'm working."⁸³

Sledge was eventually granted permission to perform for white audiences in strictly segregated concerts. This allowed his revenue to more than double, and *The New York Times* reported that "[o]n his non-white-only circuit it was estimated that Mr Sledge would earn about \$19 000. Now the estimates are doubled."⁸⁴ For other urban spaces, special provisions were going to be made for performances for white audiences at the Empire theatre and for black audiences at the Eyethu Cinema in Johannesburg. It was also reported that there will be an attempt of booking a series of shows for coloured audiences in Coronationville in Johannesburg, it is however unclear whether

⁸⁰ American Committee on Africa: "Cultural Boycott of racist South Africa Broken: Percy Sledge sells soul," *American Committee on Africa*, 16 July 1970, <http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.acoa000341a> (Accessed 9 Sep. 2018)

⁸¹ Author Unknown: Picture of Percy Sledge and Stella Starr, *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 June 1970, p. 3; Author Unknown: "Soul Sauce," *Billboard*, Volume 82(26), 1970, p. 40.

⁸² Author Unknown: "Percy could still sing to Whites," *The Star*, 2 June 1970, p. 3; Author Unknown: "South Africa Relaxes Curb on Percy Sledge Audiences," *The New York Times*, 11 June 1970, p. 51; American Committee on Africa: "Cultural Boycott of racist South Africa Broken: Percy Sledge sells soul," *American Committee on Africa*, 16 July 1970, <http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.acoa000341a> (Accessed 9 Sep. 2018)

⁸³ Author Unknown: "Do you Dig me? He asked – They did," *The Star*, 14 August 1970, p. 17; American Committee on Africa: "Cultural Boycott of racist South Africa Broken: Percy Sledge sells soul," *American Committee on Africa*, 16 July 1970, <http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.acoa000341a> (Accessed 9 Sep. 2018); A. English: "'Man, I dig your country'," *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 July 1970, p. 1.

⁸⁴ Author Unknown: "South Africa Relaxes Curb on Percy Sledge Audiences," *The New York Times*, 11 June 1970, p. 51; Author Unknown: "Apartheid blocks a show by Sledge," *The New York Times*, 14 July 1970, <https://www.nytimes.com/1970/07/14/archives/apartheid-blocks-a-show-by-sledge.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

this materialised.⁸⁵ The impact of the Group Areas Act can clearly be viewed in the allocation of spaces where musicians could perform as well as the different audiences that could attend at these venues.

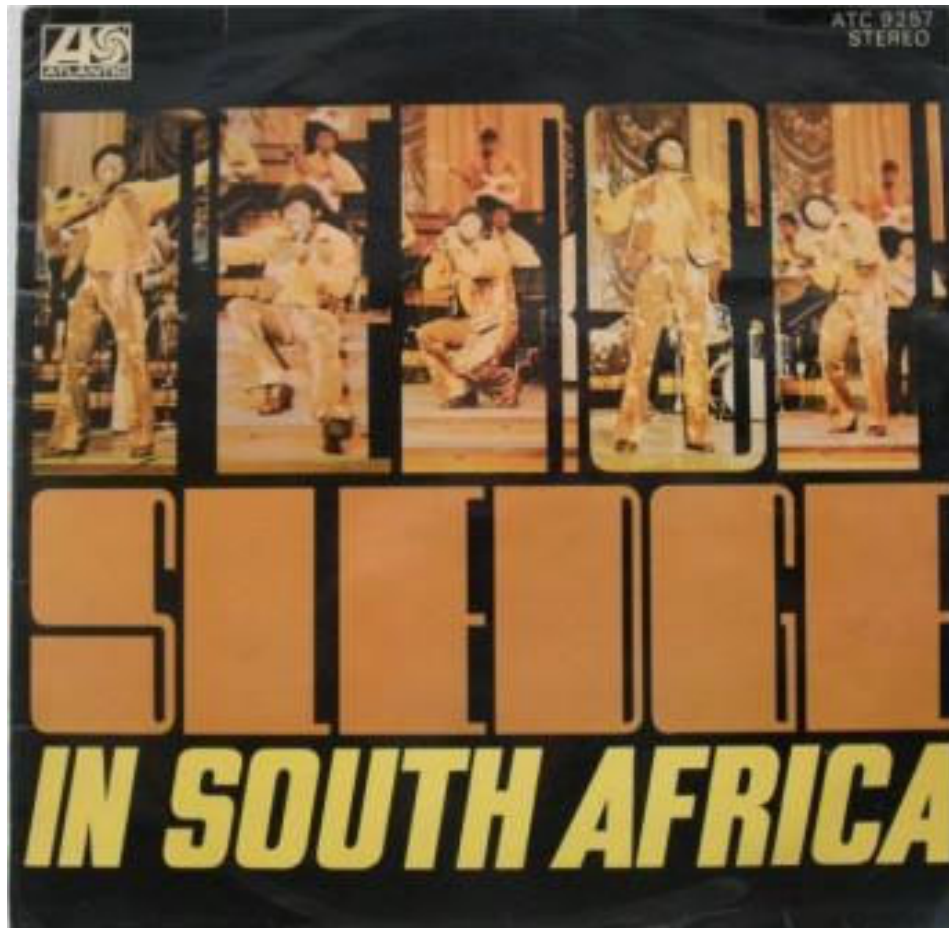


Figure 2: Percy Sledge Album - *Percy Sledge in South Africa* (1970).⁸⁶

Additionally, Sledge recorded an album titled *Percy Sledge in South Africa* that was released in South Africa (as seen above). There is some contention over the exact location of the recording, the album claims to have been recorded live at the Luxurama theatre in Cape Town. There are suggestions that this album “was not really live but a collection of Sledge’s songs with dubbed in crowd participation and ‘live’ announcements by Percy Sledge.”⁸⁷

⁸⁵ B. Edgson: “Percy Sledge Drama Dies down,” *The Star*, 10 July 1970, p. 15; Author Unknown: “Percy is all soul, man,” *The Star*, 25 July 1970, p. 9.

⁸⁶ <https://soulsafari.wordpress.com/2009/11/20/percy-sledge-live-in-south-africa/> (Accessed 24 Aug. 2019)

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

This album consisted of Sledge's most well-known songs namely, "My special prayer", "Cover me", "Heart of a child", "Takes time to know her", "Warm and tender love", "I gotta get a message to you", "Silent Night", "Come softly to me", "What am I living for" and "When a man loves a woman".⁸⁸ These were all love songs of the man's perspective of loving a woman and all the difficulties that arise from this.⁸⁹ Despite all of these contentious issues, it is evident that the 1970 tour reignited Percy Sledge's career slump during the early 1970s, as mentioned in the above-mentioned section "Sledge's rise to fame". This poses pertinent questions about the efficacy of the cultural boycott.

The Johannesburg leg of the tour, 1970

Sledge travelled to Johannesburg during the second half of July and stayed at the Hillbrow Hotel suite.⁹⁰ In contrast to the Cape Town leg of the tour, Johannesburg fans eagerly anticipated his arrival. Adrian English reported in the *Rand Daily Mail* that, "[h]e was hustled at the airport surrounded by yelling fans and his welcoming banner fell on his head."⁹¹ Despite his promoters' late announcement of Sledge's tour in Cape Town and the lacklustre reception he received upon arrival, in Johannesburg fans heavily mobbed the musician at the Johannesburg airport.⁹² This might be an indication of the successful Cape Town leg of the tour.

He was originally booked for a single week at the Empire Theatre, from 20 to 26 July but due to excessive demand for seats, the Quibell brothers extended Sledge's shows for two extra weeks until 8 August.⁹³ By this time Sledge had been touring South Africa for 17 weeks and Sledge

⁸⁸ <https://soulsafari.wordpress.com/2009/11/20/percy-sledge-live-in-south-africa/> (Accessed 24 Aug. 2019)

⁸⁹ P. Lester: "Percy Sledge: his five best songs," *The Guardian*, 14 April 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2015/apr/14/percy-sledge-five-best-songs> (Accessed on 7 Jul. 2019); T. Erlewine: "Percy Sledge: 10 Essential Tracks," <https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-lists/percy-sledge-10-essential-tracks-174759/> (Accessed 7 Jul. 2019)

⁹⁰ Author Unknown: "Just great – that's life to Percy," *The Star*, 20 July 1970, p. 3; A. English: "'Man, I dig your country'," *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 July 1970, p. 1.

⁹¹ A. English: "'Man, I dig your country'," *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 July 1970, p. 1.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Author Unknown: "Theatres and Entertainment," *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 July 1970, p. 10; Author Unknown: "Theatres and Entertainment," *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 July 1970, p. 12; Author Unknown: "Theatres and Entertainment," *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 July 1970, p. 8; Author Unknown: "From Percy Sledge to you," *Drum*, September 1970, pp. 41-45; C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, p. 30.

commented in the Rand Daily Mail that, “I hope to extend it to six months.”⁹⁴ Clearly, Sledge was also feeling the success of this tour.

Sledge’s first show at the Empire Theatre on 20 September was met with cheerful screams and squeals to every song he delivered. He did not waste time with small talk but, according to Raeford Daniel, delivered hit after hit such as, “Cover Me”, “Got to Get a Message to You”, “My Special Prayer”, “Takes Time to Know Her”, “What am I living for” and the renowned “When a Man Loves a Woman”.⁹⁵

These songs reflect soul music’s appeal, as described in Chapter One.⁹⁶ Sledge’s songs performed, and those recorded on his South African album, all describe a love romance of women breaking men’s hearts and created a different reality than the audience found themselves in. This allowed audiences to dance, sing along and have fun at these events before having to return to the realities of apartheid.

Stella Starr again performed with Percy Sledge at The Empire Theatre along with numerous other musicians. Raeford Daniel commented on the Four Sounds Band:

The Four Sounds Big Band sets the pace with some lush brassy tone colour – when these boys blow it’s for real – curiously but effectively augmented by nice-played electronic phrasing, spectacular drum break and piano pyrotechnics.⁹⁷

The other supporting musicians were Sidney Cane the jazz musician, bass-baritone Eddie Watts, the organist Roy Petersen and Samy Hartman. Daniel again noted that “Roy joins the brilliant young Say Hartman in a two-piano, concert-style duet that nearly stops the show.”⁹⁸ Included in the line-up was also Dave Bestman who sang covers by Elvis Presley, and Candy who performed backed by Hartman on piano.⁹⁹ And lastly, part of the two international musicians on the roster, along with Stella Starr, American Andy Gardner played cool jazz on a harmonica while sharing

⁹⁴ A. English: “‘Man, I dig your country’,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 July 1970, p. 1.

⁹⁵ R. Daniel: “Sledge is a lilac dynamo,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 July 1970, p. 8.

⁹⁶ P. Lester: “Percy Sledge: his five best songs,” *The Guardian*, 14 April 2015, <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2015/apr/14/percy-sledge-five-best-songs> (Accessed 7 Jul. 2019); S. T. Erlewine: “Percy Sledge: 10 Essential Tracks,” <https://www.rollingstone.com/music/music-lists/percy-sledge-10-essential-tracks-174759/> (Accessed 7 Jul. 2019)

⁹⁷ R. Daniel: “Sledge is a lilac dynamo,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 July 1970, p. 8.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

the stage with fellow members from the orchestra.¹⁰⁰ The South African musicians were part of the Full Variety Corporation and contained a variety of performers that performed a range of cover music, with Stella Starr as the star soul musician. The supporting members formed part of the Quibell's policy to expose South African talent by accompanying these well-known international musicians during their shows.¹⁰¹ Sledge's performance was also described by Raeford Daniel in the *Rand Daily Mail*:

Sledge is no mere entertainer. He is a dynamo of boundless energy and inexhaustible vocal power. He generates warmth, humour and emotional intensity. His impact has the wallop of the hammer that shares his name. To resist him, you'll have to be less than square.¹⁰²

During the Johannesburg leg of the tour the supporting musicians, both local and international, as well as Percy Sledge, are hailed by the media. This is in stark contrast to the general public's reception of these concerts, which will be discussed in more detail below.

Additionally, to their performance in the urban centre at the Empire Theatre, Sledge also performed at the Eyethu Cinema in the township of Soweto, outside of Johannesburg. These shows were advertised to all employers to give their African staff, "[a] once-in-a-lifetime treat and buy them a ticket to see Percy Sledge."¹⁰³ These promoters were trying to persuade employers to buy their black staff tickets to watch Percy Sledge.

Bogatsu stated in his Master thesis that Eyethu Cinema was started by Ephraim Tshabalala. He notes that:

Tshabalala was a prominent businessman in Soweto who was reputed to be Soweto's only millionaire. He was also the mayor around the early 1960s. It was around that time that he used his power and money to build the Eyethu Cinema.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ R. Daniel: "Sledge is a lilac dynamo," *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 July 1970, p. 8; Author Unknown: "From Percy Sledge to you," *Drum*, September 1970, pp. 41-45; B. Edgson: "Percy does his own thing," *The Star*, 21 July 1970, p. 18.

¹⁰¹ D. Bikitsha: "Daddy of superstars here," *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 November 1978, p. 17.

¹⁰² R. Daniel: "Sledge is a lilac dynamo," *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 July 1970, p. 8.

¹⁰³ Author Unknown: "Theatres and Entertainment," *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 August 1970, p. 10; Author Unknown: "Cinemas," *The Star*, 13 August 1970, p. 32.

¹⁰⁴ The word Eyethu means ours or our own in Zulu. (K. Bogatsu: "Jarateng: Making Social-Ends Meet by Embracing Public Living." Master thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2013, p. 99.)

During apartheid, this theatre drew big crowds from in and around Soweto as it was the only cinema in the area for blacks. Bogatsu stated that:

To the residents of Soweto, this building was the first of its kind to be built in Soweto, a building that symbolized the pride of Sowetans. [...] People would travel from Dube, Dobsonville, Pimville, Diepkloof etc. some by foot to go and watch a film at the Eyethu cinema in Mofolo.”¹⁰⁵

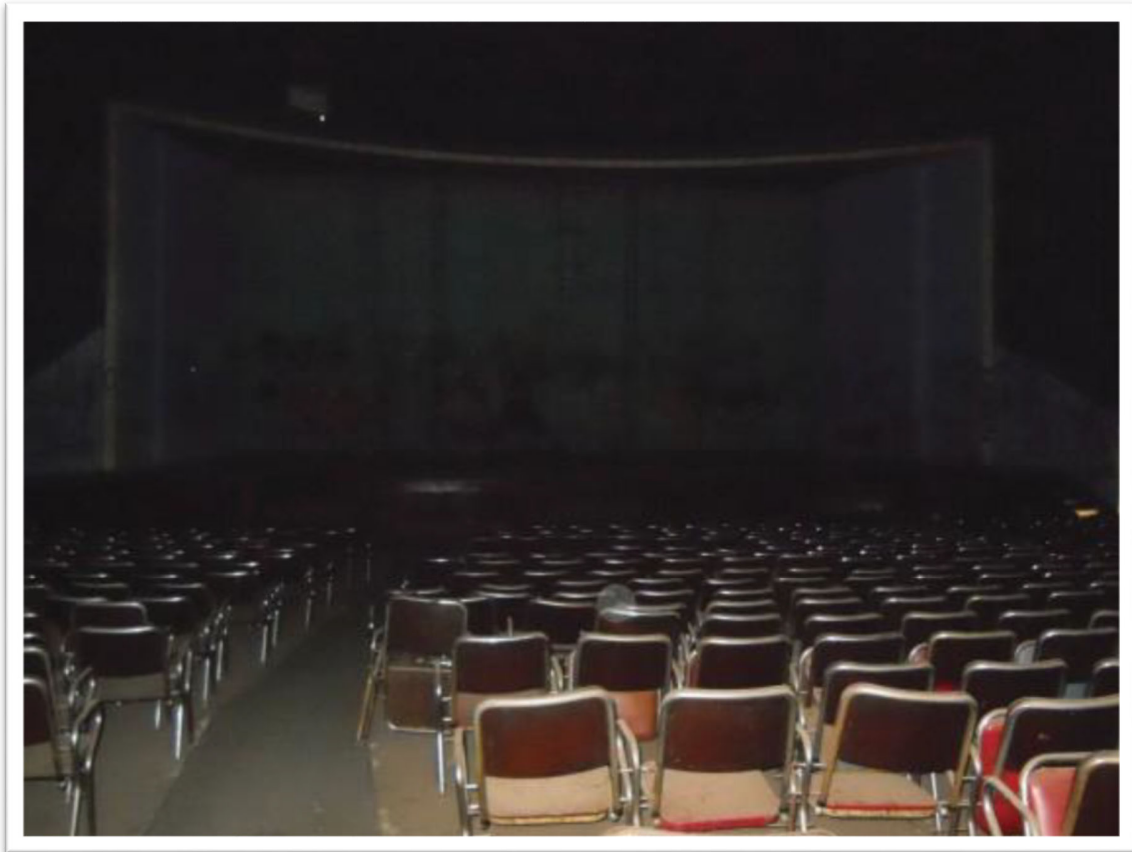


Figure 3: Auditorium of Eyethu Cinema – Photograph taken by Katlego Bogatsu (2012).¹⁰⁶

This theatre, as shown above, was used to host several popular movies as well as concerts by national artists such as Sipho “Hotstix” Mabuse and international artists, such as the gospel singer

¹⁰⁵ K. Bogatsu: “Jarateng: Making Social-Ends Meet by Embracing Public Living.” Master thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2013, p. 99; B. Khumalo: “The dust settles and a new Soweto rises,” *Sunday Times*, <https://www.eprop.co.za/profiles/property-companies/item/8842-The-dust-settles-and-a-new-Soweto-rises.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

Andrew Crouch.¹⁰⁷ It lost its popularity in the late eighties and closed its doors in the early nineties when blacks were able to watch movies in the city.¹⁰⁸ Bogatsu was of the opinion that, “[t]he idea of watching a film in the city was seen as more prestigious than watching a film in the township.”¹⁰⁹ This marked a shift in urban spaces of South Africa where people gained more agency to make choices in some cases as to where they wanted to go for entertainment. Moreover, from this photograph, we can see that the venue looks like a school hall and one that was not preserved properly.

Sledge’s performance at the Eyethu Cinema was received quite differently than his performances in Cape Town. The crowd at the Eyethu Cinema had the opposite reaction according to *The Star* reports that “Percy did his thing frantically, but nobody wanted to rip his shirt off.”¹¹⁰ The reporter further points out that, “[t]he performance struck both a formal and informal cord due to the audience’s behaviour.”¹¹¹ Black audiences that attended Sledge’s show were all formally dressed, the men wore jackets and ties.¹¹² However, some of the audience members attended the show with their babies and the audience members were sitting everywhere. *The Star* reported that:

They came and stood at the back and sat on the floor in the aisles and even brought orange boxes to sit on... It was really more like a big family show, all terribly polite.¹¹³

From the reports, it appeared that there were different classes of black communities coming to watch this performance. This is contrary to what some authors believed, for example, Muff Anderson was of the opinion that “these shows were only attended by middle-class blacks, who identified with the black consciousness movement that was on the rise in Southern Africa.”¹¹⁴ This accounts for the contradictory reception that Sledge received from the South African black communities.

¹⁰⁷ K. Bogatsu: “Jarateng: Making Social-Ends Meet by Embracing Public Living.” Master thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2013, p. 99.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-100.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹¹⁰ Author Unknown: “Do you Dig me? He asked – They did,” *The Star*, 14 August 1970, p. 17.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ M. Andersson: *Music in the Mix: The Story of South African popular music*, p. 50.

Due to large demand, the Quibell brothers put on another two weeks of shows at the Empire Theatre starting from 24 August until 5 September.¹¹⁵ According to *Drum* magazine, “[i]t seems his white fans are a little scared to really let rip – perhaps because of rumours that policemen have been stationed in the audience at every show.”¹¹⁶ The police’s presence at these shows can be attributed to their attempt to gauge whether these international musicians were speaking out against the regime.¹¹⁷

Even though Percy Sledge had been granted permission to perform for whites in Cape Town and Johannesburg, there was still resistance in some sectors of the government. Promoters had applied for Sledge to perform at the Bloemfontein City Hall, but this request was rejected.¹¹⁸ *The New York Times* reported that “[t]he City Council regulations expressly forbade the presence of non-whites in the City Hall unless they were working or cleaning up there.”¹¹⁹ This refusal sheds light on the complicated workings of white society during apartheid, divided between the conservative government policies and applications thereof, and a white public who would go as far as crash a venue classified as coloured to be able to attend a concert.¹²⁰ The historical background of Bloemfontein meant that this area was more conservative.¹²¹

¹¹⁵ Author Unknown: “Theatres and Entertainment,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 August 1970, p. 10; Author Unknown: “Theatres and Entertainment,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 August 1970, p. 12.

¹¹⁶ Author Unknown: “Do Percy’s ‘uptight’ fans fear the cops,” *Drum*, September 1970, p. 46. This was a regular practice during apartheid. For example, Roger Lucey, a South African musician performing in the 1970s and 1980s was regularly subjected to censorship by policemen. On one occasion while he was performing at Mangles, a Johannesburg nightclub, the police put teargas into the ventilation system to stop the musician’s show as he was known to speak out against the government (M. Drewett: “‘Stop this filth’: The censorship of Roger Lucey’s music in Apartheid South Africa,” *South African Journal of Musicology*, Volume 25(1), 2005, p. 58).

¹¹⁷ M. Drewett: “‘Stop this filth’: The censorship of Roger Lucey’s music in Apartheid South Africa,” *South African Journal of Musicology*, Volume 25(1), 2005, p. 58.

¹¹⁸ Author Unknown: “Percy Sledge,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 August 1970, p. 3; Author Unknown: “No Sledge,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 August 1970, p. 3; Author Unknown: “Apartheid blocks a show by Sledge,” *The New York Times*, 14 July 1970, <https://www.nytimes.com/1970/07/14/archives/apartheid-blocks-a-show-by-sledge.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

¹¹⁹ American Committee on Africa: “Cultural Boycott of racist South Africa Broken: Percy Sledge sells soul,” *American Committee on Africa*, 16 July 1970, <http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.acoa000341a> (Accessed 9 Sep. 2018); Author Unknown: “Apartheid blocks a show by Sledge,” *The New York Times*, 14 July 1970, <https://www.nytimes.com/1970/07/14/archives/apartheid-blocks-a-show-by-sledge.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

¹²⁰ P. E. Louw: *The Rise, Fall, and Legacy of Apartheid*, p. 37.

¹²¹ For more information please consult T. J. Jukes: *Opposition in South Africa: the leadership of Z. K. Matthews, Nelson Mandela, and Stephen Biko*, pp. 112-115; S. Dubow: *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, p. 37; T. R. H. Davenport: *The Birth of a new South Africa*, p. 5.

Reception of the 1970 tour in South Africa

Apart from official policy, there was clearly a divergent reception of Sledge in South Africa. A variety of newspaper extracts point to the ways in which Sledge was viewed by the general public during his tour. In these articles, a dichotomy is clear between black audience members supporting his performances and those taking a political stand to boycott his performances and criticising him for coming to perform in South Africa.¹²² In Cape Town, for example, Sledge's appearance nearly caused a riot at a boutique on Bree Street, when fans gathered shattering the shop windows to see Percy Sledge.¹²³

In a letter from the *Rand Daily Mail*, with the pseudonym Albion commented on Sledge in South Africa:

'Ah dig this country, man.' If he was a South African Black, he might well be doing that – as a member of some council's road repair gang on semi-starvation wages. Instead of flaking out in the plush comfort of a Hillbrow hotel he would be flaked out in a tin shanty in Soweto.¹²⁴

To this another reader, with the pseudonym Albionot, responded in the *Rand Daily Mail*:

If 'ALBION' doesn't 'dig' Percy Sledge, why doesn't he just close his eyes (and ears) to him and perhaps open them to the giant leap forward that South Africa has taken in applauding an all-black show? This entertainment has created a tremendous amount of good-feeling among White people. For those who abhor apartheid, it has been a reward to witness such polished talent. And for the others who support our Government's policies, maybe it has made them a little more aware of the fact that colour does not affect the abilities of all people. Hats off to Percy Sledge, not only for providing such a warm-spirited performance but also for consenting to perform in a country that needs exposure to the realities of the 20th century.¹²⁵

In a report by the American Committee on Africa, a resident from Cape Town commented on Percy Sledge's performances in the country:

Mr Sledge should not have come here in the first instance. One feels that there has been a collusion between Mr Sledge and his promoter to appease the apartheid

¹²² B. Crosher-Segers: *A Darker Shade of Pale*, p. 94; Albion: "He don't dig Percy," *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 August 1970, p. 11; American Committee on Africa: "Cultural Boycott of racist South Africa Broken: Percy Sledge sells soul," *American Committee on Africa*, 16 July 1970,

<http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.acoa000341a> (Accessed 9 Sep. 2018)

¹²³ Staff Reporter: "Chaos as Percy opens shop," *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 September 1970, p. 6.

¹²⁴ Albion: "He don't dig Percy," *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 August 1970, p. 11.

¹²⁵ Albionot: "Hats off to Percy," *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 August 1970, p. 10.

government through the backdoor. However, I feel that the U. S. A. should be informed of his duplicity. We would prefer a total cultural boycott of South Africa.¹²⁶

In Crosher-Seger's autobiography, she mentioned that her father asked her before she went to go watch Sledge's performance:

Why are you going to see someone who is selling out the right of black people? This is not right. He should be banned for agreeing to perform to a segregated audience.¹²⁷

To this, she replied:

I am not going to miss the chance to see Percy Sledge. He may never come again and then I would have missed it.¹²⁸

In Hlonipha Mokoena's biography, he also recalled that:

I [knew] my uncle [had] defied my grandfather by going to a Percy Sledge concert. But when my family tells this story, the cultural boycott and the controversies around Sledge's visit are never mentioned.¹²⁹

Crosher-Segers and Mokoena's uncle's actions illustrate one of the complicated aspects of music and politics in South Africa, where boycotting the show of a famous musician was not as easy as it was boycotting the apartheid regime. Daniel R. Magaziner added to this discussion:

The poet James Matthews also declared Sledge a little better than a clown – the purportedly 'big black cat from America' who in truth wanted nothing more than to be 'a pseudo-white.'¹³⁰

It was clear that some of the Cape Town residents felt that it was deceitful on the part of Percy Sledge, not only that he was performing in South Africa but also that he was staying at a white hotel where no South African black person would have been allowed to stay. As discussed in Chapter One, this fluidity in the application of the seemingly strict laws of apartheid, points to the

¹²⁶ American Committee on Africa: "Cultural Boycott of racist South Africa Broken: Percy Sledge sells soul," *American Committee on Africa*, 16 July 1970, <http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.acoa000341a> (Accessed 9 Sep. 2018)

¹²⁷ B. Crosher-Segers: *A Darker Shade of Pale*, p. 94.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ H. Mokoena: "Kwaito: The revolution was not televised; it announced itself in song," In *Assuming Boycott: Resistance, Agency, and Cultural Production* edited by K. Estefan, C. Kuoni & L. Raicovich (New York & London: OR Books, 2017), p. 46.

¹³⁰ D. R. Magaziner: *The law and the prophets: Black consciousness in South Africa, 1968-1977*, p. 144.

government's use of international black performers to promote their separate development policies.¹³¹

However, there appears to be an appreciation of Sledge's performances in South Africa by the general public, as seen in the various newspaper reports. Community leaders too appreciated his efforts and thanked and awarded him.¹³² A copper plaque was hand-made by a Johannesburg artist to commemorate Sledge's visit to South Africa.¹³³ It was a plaque of a Masai warrior, which was handed over by Edward Tenehi.¹³⁴ After his performances at the Eyethu Cinema, Sledge was made an honorary Zulu warrior, which he followed by an impromptu Zulu War dance.¹³⁵ He was given a Zulu shield by a representative of a Zululand chief.¹³⁶ Clearly, for this section of black society, Sledge was anything but a traitor to the black cause. Despite the negative reviews by some South African residents, newspaper reports and the American Committee on America, it is clear from these awards and honours, that Sledge was revered in some black and white communities, albeit with different political implications.¹³⁷

This led to a very complicated situation: there was a formal boycott in place, which asked musicians to boycott South Africa, and those that went were threatened to be blacklisted and have their concerts and music boycotted. On the other hand, the experiences Sledge was receiving in South Africa was very different, he went sightseeing and even went shopping at boutiques.¹³⁸ Despite some individuals complaining about his presence in South Africa, there were still fans that went to his performances to the point where his Cape Town leg was extended for four extra months.¹³⁹

Sledge's tour to South Africa was perceived as an act supporting the system of economic exploitation and sabotaging the struggle that was being waged by the African Liberation

¹³¹ P. E. Louw: *The Rise, Fall, and Legacy of Apartheid*, p. 29.

¹³² Staff Reporter: "Chaos as Percy opens shop," *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 September 1970, p. 6.

¹³³ Author Unknown: Picture of Percy Sledge with a plaque, *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 August 1970, p. 5.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ Author Unknown: Percy Sledge holding a traditional shield in his hand, *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 August 1970, p. 5.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ Staff Reporter: "Sledge Withdraws," *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 August 1970, p. 4.

¹³⁸ Staff Reporter: "Chaos as Percy opens shop," *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 September 1970, p. 6.

¹³⁹ A. English: "'Man, I dig your country'," *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 July 1970, p. 1.

Movement.¹⁴⁰ In spite of this, however, Sledge still drew large crowds during his performances in South Africa and no doubt furthered his own dwindling career.

Percy Sledge's 1972 tour of Southern Africa

The first time Sledge performed in another southern African state, was actually in October 1970 as an extension of his South African tour of 1970. He travelled to Mbabane in Eswatini to take part in a "Soul Africa" festival. This would mark Sledge's first performance in the southern African region. This festival took place from the 2nd to the 4th of October and featured top singers such as Abigail Kubheka, the jazz player Winston "Mankunku" Ngozi and the veteran Count Wellington Judge who served as supporting artists for Sledge.¹⁴¹

During this period Sledge also performed at the Somhlolo National Stadium in Lobamba, Eswatini where he invited King Sobhwa to attend. Numerous South Africans were also expected to attend this show.¹⁴² As mentioned in Chapter One, this was a way to circumvent the cultural boycott. Many of these musicians that refused to play in South Africa, supporting the boycott, performed in neighbouring countries and attracted South African fans.¹⁴³ This was because South African or American citizens did not need a visa to enter the country.¹⁴⁴ After this festival Sledge disappeared

¹⁴⁰ American Committee on Africa: "Cultural Boycott of racist South Africa Broken: Percy Sledge sells soul," *American Committee on Africa*, 16 July 1970; <http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.acoa000341a> (Accessed 9 Sep. 2018) O. Coombs: "Should a Black Singer Sing in South Africa? Sledge in South Africa," *The New York Times*, 27 June 1971, <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/06/27/archives/should-a-black-singer-sing-in-south-africa-sledge-in-south-africa.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); M. Drewett: "The Cultural boycott against Apartheid South Africa: A case study of Defensible Censorship?," In *Popular Music Censorship in Africa* edited by M. Drewett & M. Cloonan (USA: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), p. 31; G. Morlan & P. Irish: "Report of N.G.O. Actions in the U.S. for the Cultural Boycott of South Africa to the International NGO Action Conference held in Geneva July 4, 1980," <http://kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/50/304/32-130-CA5-84-al.sff.document.acoa000571.pdf> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); Committee of Concerned Blacks: "Should African Black tour South African to entertain Africans? Sledge in South Africa," <http://kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/50/304/32-130-1533-84-GMH%20CCBEntertainers.pdf> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); D. R. Magaziner: *The law and the prophets: Black consciousness in South Africa, 1968-1977*, p. 144; J. Hoagland: *South Africa: Civilizations in Conflict*, pp. 107-108; M. Andersson: *Music in the Mix: The Story of South African popular music*, p. 50.

¹⁴¹ Author Unknown: Picture of Percy Sledge singing, *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 October 1970, p. 5; C. Devroop & C. Walton: *Unsung: South African Jazz Musicians under Apartheid*, p. 19.

¹⁴² Author Unknown: "The King and I – by Sledge," *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 October 1970, p. 5.

¹⁴³ G. Morlan & P. Irish: "Report of N.G.O. Actions in the U.S. for the Cultural Boycott of South Africa to the International NGO Action Conference held in Geneva July 4, 1980," <http://kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/50/304/32-130-CA5-84-al.sff.document.acoa000571.pdf> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); Committee of Concerned Blacks: "Should African Black tour South African to entertain Africans?," <http://kora.matrix.msu.edu/files/50/304/32-130-1533-84-GMH%20CCBEntertainers.pdf> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

¹⁴⁴ <https://www.swazi.travel/travel-info/swaziland-visa-requirements> (Accessed 28 Sept. 2019)

from the South African headlines, only reappearing again in 1971 when he applied to come on the second tour of South Africa.¹⁴⁵

The only indication of Sledge's motivation for coming to South Africa for a second time can be seen in an interview in 1971, by Orde Coombs, a reporter for *The New York Times*, about his tour to South Africa in 1970. Sledge commented that "I didn't know anything about apartheid. I had heard about it, but I didn't know anything."¹⁴⁶ Sledge claimed that he was aware of the apartheid system in South Africa but that he did not know the policies within the system.¹⁴⁷ He claims in the same article that, "I'm just an entertainer. You should keep politics and entertainment separate."¹⁴⁸ As stated previously, Sledge was struggling to release music in the early 1970s and his records weren't selling well.¹⁴⁹ Touring to South Africa proved to be a huge success and Sledge was glorified by his audiences. Despite his popularity in South Africa, Sledge's application to perform in South Africa in 1971 was denied by the government.¹⁵⁰ It is unclear why Sledge was refused. Additionally, Sledge's motivations to tour South Africa again, after he had visited the country and been informed about apartheid during an interview, meant that he could not plead ignorance to the political situation in South Africa and risk knowingly breaking the boycott again.¹⁵¹ One should not forget that during his first tour he also recorded an album and reignited his career.

Sledge's manager at the time Phil Walden, also claimed that the South African tour was too profitable to not accept.¹⁵² It is clear that Sledge's American managers were in it for the money

¹⁴⁵ Staff Reporter: "An eventful year for music and theatre," *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 December 1970, p. 5; Author Unknown: "No to Sledge," *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 August 1971, p. 2; M. C. Beaubien: "The Cultural Boycott of South Africa," *Africa Today*, Volume 29(4), 1982, pp. 5-16.

¹⁴⁶ O. Coombs: "Should a Black Singer Sing in South Africa? Sledge in South Africa." *The New York Times*, 27 June 1971, <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/06/27/archives/should-a-black-singer-sing-in-south-africa-sledge-in-south-africa.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); S. Booker: "Ticker Tape U.S.A.," *Jet*, Volume 40(17), 1971, p. 11.

¹⁴⁷ S. Booker: "Ticker Tape U.S.A.," *Jet*, Volume 40(17), 1971, p. 11.

¹⁴⁸ O. Coombs: "Should a Black Singer Sing in South Africa? Sledge in South Africa." *The New York Times*, 27 June 1971, <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/06/27/archives/should-a-black-singer-sing-in-south-africa-sledge-in-south-africa.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

¹⁴⁹ R. Santana: "Percy Sledge: Soul singer who hit No. 1 with When a Man Loves a Woman," *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 18 April 2015, <https://www.smh.com.au/entertainment/music/soul-singer-percy-sledge-dead-aged-73-20150415-1ml6sk.html> (Accessed 7 Jul. 2109)

¹⁵⁰ Author Unknown: "No to Sledge," *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 August 1971, p. 2.

¹⁵¹ Author Unknown: "Apartheid blocks a show by Sledge," *The New York Times*, 14 July 1970, <https://www.nytimes.com/1970/07/14/archives/apartheid-blocks-a-show-by-sledge.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

¹⁵² O. Coombs: "Should a Black Singer Sing in South Africa? Sledge in South Africa." *The New York Times*, 27 June 1971, <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/06/27/archives/should-a-black-singer-sing-in-south-africa-sledge-in-south-africa.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

and they made no excuses for it. Sledge, however, stated that “I went to entertain all those people who buy my records, the people who keep me in bread.”¹⁵³

After being refused permission to tour South Africa, Sledge arranged an ambitious tour to visit five southern African countries in September 1972.¹⁵⁴ The countries he planned to visit included Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia and Angola.¹⁵⁵ Along with the impact of South Africa’s apartheid regime on these neighbouring countries, these places were going through their own internal and external turmoil be it civil disobedience, riots and war with other nations or itself.¹⁵⁶ These countries can also contribute to the discussion about circumventing the cultural boycott given their close proximity to South Africa.

These southern African countries toured by Sledge were going through their own internal strife.¹⁵⁷ Essentially the Southern African tour poses questions about the difficulties of transport in unsettled territories, equipment shortages and transportation of equipment as well as cultural differences. Moreover, questions around the difficulties around promoters and supporting acts are also evident within this tour.

Unlike the 1970 tour, promoted by the renowned Quibell Brothers, the 1972 tour was promoted by the newly established Sagittarius Management Company owned by Clive Calder and Ralph Simons.¹⁵⁸ Percy Sledge, was reported by David Marks, to have been “acquired through Cape Town impresario, Selwyn Miller’s LA-based Agency.”¹⁵⁹ Peter Kafka and Brett Pulley commented on Clive Calder’s upbringing:

¹⁵³ O. Coombs: “Should a Black Singer Sing in South Africa? Sledge in South Africa.” *The New York Times*, 27 June 1971, <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/06/27/archives/should-a-black-singer-sing-in-south-africa-sledge-in-south-africa.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

¹⁵⁴ Author Unknown: “No to Sledge,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 August 1971, p. 2.

¹⁵⁵ Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University (hereafter Hidden Years). Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.

¹⁵⁶ These places politics will be discussed chronologically as Sledge visited them.

¹⁵⁷ C. Gabay: “The Radical and Reactionary Politics of Malawi’s Hastings Banda: Roots, Fruit and Legacy,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 43(6), 2017, p. 1126.

¹⁵⁸ D. Marks: *Hidden Years Story (Part 1): Percy Sledge SAfrican Safari 1972-Intro*, 2015, www.3rdear.com/img3rd/apr15img/percy-sledge.pdf (Accessed 7 Jan. 2019)

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

Raised in a middle-class neighbourhood in Johannesburg, South Africa, Calder never attended college but headed straight into the music business, playing bass guitar in local bands and working as a scout for EMI records.¹⁶⁰

In 1971, along with Ralph Simons, who was a keyboard player, the pair of 24-year old South African musicians established business partnerships in record production and promotion, music publishing, artist management, and concert promotion, later amalgamated in their company called Sagittarius Management Company.¹⁶¹ David Gresham, a prominent record producer stated that “in South Africa, you couldn’t do just one thing. It was too small. This is not a country where you have a million-seller. A no.1 record is a 10 000-unit seller. That only pays the rent for a month or two.”¹⁶² They, therefore, believed that only being a company handling music publishing or concert promotion was not financially viable in South Africa during the 1970s, and the Sledge tour would have been a profitable venture. It is in this economically vulnerable climate that the company undertakes this tour.

The tour, scheduled for September 1972, was conducted with two rudimentary modes of transport.¹⁶³ Firstly, a reconfigured plane was used, the seats had been removed on the one side to make space for the sound equipment, and the musicians travelled on the other side of the plane. David Marks, who worked as the sound engineer for the tour, stated that:

All seats from the one side of the Dak had been removed to accommodate my 3rd Ear music/ Hanley Sound system... the Woodstock Bins as they had affectionately become known in township jazz and soul festivals since we did the Brook Benton tour in early in 1971.¹⁶⁴

Secondly, the rest of the equipment had to be trucked up from Johannesburg along with the crew that handled the sound, lights, etc.¹⁶⁵ Both the musicians and the sound equipment were too heavy

¹⁶⁰ P. Kafka. & B. Pulley: “Jive Talking: Syrupy-pop Svengali Clive Calder gave us Britney Spears, the Backstreet Boys and ‘N Sync. Soon he may get down to really serious business,” *Forbes*, 19 March 2001, p. 139.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*; A. White, & D. Coetzer: “Zomba Seed Sown in South Africa: Musicians Clive Calder, Ralph Simon started Company 30 Years Ago.” *Billboard*, Volume 113(18), 2001, p. 98; A. White, M. Newman & D. Coetzer: “The untold saga of the Zomba Group,” *Billboard*, Volume 113(18), 2001, p. 1; M. Andersson: *Music in the Mix: The Story of South African popular music*, p. 119.

¹⁶² A. White, & D. Coetzer: “Zomba Seed Sown in South Africa: Musicians Clive Calder, Ralph Simon started Company 30 Years Ago.” *Billboard*, Volume 113(18), 2001, p. 98.

¹⁶³ D. Marks: *Hidden Years Story (Part 1): Percy Sledge SAfrican Safari 1972-Intro*, 2015, www.3rdear.com/img3rd/apr15img/percy-sledge.pdf (Accessed 7 Jan. 2019)

¹⁶⁴ This equipment included the Hanley Sound system, costumes, amps, guitars and lights. (*Ibid.*)

¹⁶⁵ This included the colossal 6x6x4 foot 500lb JBL and Altec loaded Woodstock Bass Bins and some of the Crown and Macintosh power amps. (Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch)

for the plane to carry.¹⁶⁶ According to Marks, “[t]he weights far exceeded the legal limit for any plane to fly, let alone an ancient Dakota DC3.”¹⁶⁷ Moreover, some of the power amps had to be off-loaded from the plane before they departed to Mozambique as it was too heavy for the plane. And for some equipment, it was too late to be trucked up to Mozambique since the truck had left beforehand.¹⁶⁸

The tour was conducted in an unmarked Eswatini registered Dakota DC3-100, a World War Two non-pressurized paratrooper plane that was built either in 1942 or 1943 with outside toilets and a roof-jack.¹⁶⁹ The plane that this promoter chose, its age and probably condition, points to the promoters trying to save money, especially if one considers that Sledge did not like flying. Marks noted that “Percy Sledge hated flying, and he used to bring up in a bag every time.”¹⁷⁰

The plane was flown by a pilot, Mr Lewis, referred to by the musicians as Captain Dare. Marks remembers Mr Lewis as “a 60 something years-old World War Two veteran that flew these planes during the war [...] he had a handlebar moustache and was very British.”¹⁷¹ Marks also pointed out that there was “a co-pilot who could drink and smoke with the best of us after gigs - until all hours of the morning just before the real crack-of-dawn lift off.”¹⁷² There was also one air hostess, Miss Dellar, who every musician had a crush on.¹⁷³

This tour had to be conducted while simultaneously avoiding detection from anti-apartheid anti-aircraft fire. For example, Zambia was hesitant to allow other countries’ aircraft from entering

University (hereafter Hidden Years). Note, Box 316, List of Equipment to be used on the “Percy Sledge” tour of southern Africa.)

¹⁶⁶ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.

¹⁶⁷ D. Marks: *Hidden Years Story (Part 1): Percy Sledge SAfrican Safari 1972-Intro*, 2015, www.3rdear.com/img3rd/apr15img/percy-sledge.pdf (Accessed 7 Jan. 2019)

¹⁶⁸ The sound crew, which included David Marks, had to drive from Johannesburg to Mozambique. (Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie; D. Marks: *Hidden Years Story (Part 1): Percy Sledge SAfrican Safari 1972-Intro*, 2015, www.3rdear.com/img3rd/apr15img/percy-sledge.pdf (Accessed 7 Jan. 2019))

¹⁶⁹ D. Marks: *Hidden Years Story (Part 1): Percy Sledge SAfrican Safari 1972-Intro*, 2015, www.3rdear.com/img3rd/apr15img/percy-sledge.pdf (Accessed 7 Jan. 2019)

¹⁷⁰ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*; Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 14, 2015, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Marc Röntsch; Hidden Years, Note, Box 316. List of individuals in the Percy Sledge group.

their airspace where, according to McKay, it was reported that, “[h]igh flying military aircraft reportedly from South Africa [...] have undertaken photographic missions over Zambian territory.”¹⁷⁴ The tour, therefore, had to cross over borders with the nations remaining unaware that this plane was in the air. In order to stay undetected, Marks noted that “[f]or some parts of the journey we had to fly just above tree-top level – about 50 meters off the ground.”¹⁷⁵ This was also due to the Border War that occurred during this period. Unlike the previous tour of South Africa in 1970, this tour proved to be a more challenging expedition in terms of planning, organisation and logistics.

Several South African musicians along with Clive Calder and Ralph Simons were aboard this plane headed for their neighbouring nations with Percy Sledge. They were armed with white suits, platform heels, bell-bottoms and Afro-styled hair.¹⁷⁶ The supporting artists comprised of The Miracles, a seven-piece Soul outfit from Newlands in Johannesburg, and Chris Schilder with the Cape Town Horn Section.¹⁷⁷ Richard Jon Smith, a local chart-topper, who was discovered by Clive Calder and Ralph Simons, was also included in the line-up.¹⁷⁸

Another member that sang on this tour was Peter Vee and his group the Outlet, who was also the tour manager.¹⁷⁹ Lastly, Cocky Tlhotlhemaje was the master of ceremonies for all the performances on this tour.¹⁸⁰ Tlhotlhemaje was a popular figure in South Africa and featured in many international shows as the master of ceremony. The multi-racial line-up featured mostly soul

¹⁷⁴ V. McKay: “The Propaganda Battle for Zambia,” *Africa Today*, Volume 18(2), 1971, p. 18.

¹⁷⁵ D. Marks: *Hidden Years Story (Part 1): Percy Sledge SAfrican Safari 1972-Intro*, 2015, www.3rdear.com/img3rd/apr15img/percy-sledge.pdf (Accessed 7 Jan. 2019); Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 14, 2015, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Marc Röntsch.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ They were also known as the Mitchells Plain vegetarians but were butchers. (D. Marks: *Hidden Years Story (Part 1): Percy Sledge SAfrican Safari 1972-Intro*, 2015, www.3rdear.com/img3rd/apr15img/percy-sledge.pdf (Accessed 7 Jan. 2019); Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.)

¹⁷⁸ Sledge initially worked as a hospital porter at the Groote Schuur Hospital in Cape Town. (D. Marks: *Hidden Years Story (Part 1): Percy Sledge SAfrican Safari 1972-Intro*, 2015, www.3rdear.com/img3rd/apr15img/percy-sledge.pdf (Accessed 7 Jan. 2019); H. Sewlall: “Cape Town, its Musical Spatiality and Apartheid: The Case of Zayn Adam, Richard Jon Smith and Jonathan Butler,” *Journal of Literary Studies*, Volume 33(2), 2007, p. 9; S. Galane: *Beyond Memory: Recording the History, Moments and Memories of South African Music*, p. 67.)

¹⁷⁹ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 14, 2015, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Marc Röntsch.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

musicians; a genre popular across southern Africa at the time. The tour, therefore, allowed the promoters to feature some of South Africa's most popular soul musicians irrespective of their race. Comparable to Sledge's first promotion company, the Quibell brothers, Sagittarius Management was just as innovative in organizing venues and shows for these musicians to perform at. However, the Quibells had better connections, due to their long career in promoting musicians. Additionally, this allowed them access to better infrastructure and equipment for these musicians. They were also more efficient in planning his tours than Sagittarius would be in their 1972 tour.

Performances in southern Africa

Sledge and his tour group departed from Waterkloof Military Air force Base outside of Pretoria in early September.¹⁸¹ Sledge was denied a visa to perform in South Africa by the Ministry of Interior but he was allowed to enter South Africa. The plane arrived in Maputo (previously known as Lourenco Marques), the capital of Mozambique, on 3 September 1972.¹⁸²

In 1972, Mozambique was still under siege from Frente de Libertação de Moçambique or the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO), a nationalist party that wanted independence from Mozambique's Portuguese colonial rulers since the 1960s.¹⁸³ During this period guerrilla attacks were a regular occurrence in northern Mozambique, while Maputo, in the South closer to Eswatini, was safer to visit.¹⁸⁴ Even though these musicians were not near the conflict zones, the tensions between the African majority and the Portuguese minority were widespread.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸¹ For a comprehensive schedule of the performances in these Southern African countries please consult the Itinerary of Percy Sledge Tour 1972 in the appendix. This account of events is based on an interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.

¹⁸¹ These places' politics will be discussed chronologically as Sledge visited them.

¹⁸¹ David Marks, who was part of the sound crew for the Percy Sledge tour. He documented this tour in a written piece and more information was later obtained through an interview. (D. Marks: *Hidden Years Story (Part 1): Percy Sledge African Safari 1972-Intro*, 2015, www.3rdear.com/img3rd/apr15img/percy-sledge.pdf (Accessed 7 Jan. 2019); M. Drewett: "The Cultural boycott against Apartheid South Africa: A case study of Defensible Censorship?," In *Popular Music Censorship in Africa* edited by M. Drewett & M. Cloonan (USA: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), p. 31.)

¹⁸² Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.

¹⁸³ S. Funada-Classen: *The Origins of War in Mozambique: A history of Unity and Division*, p. 229; M. Newitt: *A short history of Mozambique*, p. 195.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p. 330.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p. 156.

Upon their arrival in Maputo, the musicians rehearsed from the 4th to 6th of September.¹⁸⁶ Three shows were given on the 7th of September at the San Miguel Theatre, and the musicians stayed at the Polana Hotel until the 9th of September.¹⁸⁷ According to Marks, “Clive Calder and Selwyn Miller were having a good time as they had doubled their money in the first week of the tour.”¹⁸⁸

After their stay in Maputo, the group left for Bulawayo on 10th of September to perform at White City Stadium. According to Michael Evans, Zimbabwe (formerly known as Rhodesia) during the middle 20th century was a, “racially exclusive and deeply conservative, landlocked society” with much internal conflict between warring ethnic groups against the then ruling Rhodesian Front.¹⁸⁹ David Marks similarly remarked that “[t]he riots, the people pushing, the cops chasing, 1972 Zimbabwe was boiling like South Africa was in the 1980s. A lot of civil disobedience and a lot of people were not happy with foreign musicians going to Salisbury.”¹⁹⁰ In Zimbabwe, the concerts were to take place in Bulawayo and Harare (formerly known as Salisbury).

At White City Stadium, a stadium located in a high-density area of Bulawayo, Sledge was met with a crowd of 7 000, which was, according to the local newspaper, the *Chronicle*, “predominately African.”¹⁹¹ The *Chronicle* reported on Sledge’s reception:

When Sledge arrived in the stadium, on the shoulders of enthusiastic fans, hundreds of admirers broke through a fence and swarmed on to a big open patch at the foot of the stage. After several attempts to move them back, the police gave up.¹⁹²

Due to faulty sound equipment the show began 45 minutes late, however, this did not diminish the audience’s enthusiasm and they waited until the show started.¹⁹³ According to reports, Sledge

¹⁸⁶ Hidden Years, Note, Box 316, Schedule for the Percy Sledge Show.

¹⁸⁷ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.

¹⁸⁸ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 14, 2015, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Marc Röntsch.

¹⁸⁹ M. Evans: “The Wretched of the Empire: Politics, Ideology and Counterinsurgency in Rhodesia, 1965–80,” *Small Wars and Amp*, Volume 18(2), 2007, p. 177. See also J. Mtisi, M. Nyakudya. & T. Barnea: “War in Rhodesia, 1965 – 1980,” In *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial period to 2008* edited by B. Raftopoulos & A. S. Mlambo (South Africa: Weaver Press. 2009), pp. 141-150; A. S. Mlambo: *A History of Zimbabwe*, p. 160.

¹⁹⁰ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 14, 2015, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Marc Röntsch; Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.

¹⁹¹ Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Newspaper Collection, Box 1. Publisher 2. Author Unknown: “7 000 turn up to hear Sledge,” *Chronicle*. Date Unknown.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

performed all his hit songs “[s]hirtless and sweating in the afternoon heat.”¹⁹⁴ Sledge repeatedly called out “Do you dig me?” which was met with screams of “Yeah!”. At the end of the show, Sledge managed to slip quietly from the back, however, the *Chronicle* reported that “[he] was spotted by scores of fans who pursued him to the safety of a waiting car.”¹⁹⁵ Again one notices the popularity of Percy Sledge in the southern African state.

The sound equipment malfunctioned during the concert because it was damaged during the drive from Mozambique to Zimbabwe.¹⁹⁶ Marks stated that “it was the way that it was packed in the moving vans.”¹⁹⁷ The damaged equipment created a big problem for the upcoming show, and new equipment had to be found. This indicated how different and challenging it was to tour in these countries, compared to South Africa, as equipment had to be trucked for large distances. After arriving in Harare on the 11th of September, the agent for JBL¹⁹⁸ in Harare, Barry Taylor, was able to provide sound equipment for the tour.¹⁹⁹ The promoters had to pay R3000,²⁰⁰ to replace the damaged equipment.²⁰¹

They travelled to Harare and performed on the 12th of September for their second performance in Zimbabwe at the Glamis Stadium.²⁰² The *Rhodesian Herald* reported that a “crowd of more than 12 000 screamed for more of what must have been the best visiting pop show to appear in Salisbury.”²⁰³

¹⁹⁴ Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Newspaper Collection, Box 1. Publisher 2. Author Unknown: “7 000 turn up to hear Sledge,” *Chronicle*. Date Unknown.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 14, 2015, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Marc Röntsch.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ International sound equipment brand.

¹⁹⁹ JBL is an American audio electronics company founded in 1946 by James Bullough Lansing. Their primary products are loudspeakers and associated electronics. (Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 14, 2015, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Marc Röntsch.)

²⁰⁰ This is the equivalent of R194 074 today. This was determined by using <https://www.inflationtool.com/south-african-rand/1971-to-present-value?amount=3000> (Accessed 7 Oct. 2019)

²⁰¹ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 14, 2015, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Marc Röntsch; Author Unknown: Advertisement for TREVENNA, *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 September 1971, p. 9.

²⁰² Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.

²⁰³ Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Newspaper Collection, Box 1. Publisher 4. Herald Reporter: “2 000 ‘slayed’ by Sledge at Glamis,” *Rhodesian Herald*. Date Unknown.

During the first performance of the supporting group, The Miracles, they were, according to the *Rhodesian Herald*, “[s]truggling to enliven the cold and unresponsive audience” due to the “husky squeaks and static” of the electrical equipment.²⁰⁴ Cocky Tlhotlhalemaje, however, turned the show around with a song called “Mbube” followed by Peter Vee, who sang several well-known songs.²⁰⁵ Next on the list was Richard Jon Smith, the *Rhodesian Herald* reported that:

Then came a man who nearly stole the show [...] a Cape Town soul singer, whose energy seemed endless. He bounced all over the stage dancing like a cat on hot bricks.²⁰⁶

Lastly, Sledge took the stage, according to newspaper reports:

[T]he stars and undoubtedly the King of Soul, Percy Sledge, really caught on. His “My Special Prayer” made his act the ‘funkiest.’ And the enjoyment spread throughout the crowd. During his third song, the microphone went dead for about a minute. Only the band could be heard. But he sang on, as though nothing had happened. When the mains plug, which had been accidentally kicked out, was replaced he came on as strong as ever.²⁰⁷

Despite all of these technical glitches and the threat of Sledge being out-staged by South African performers, Sledge commented on the resounding reception he received during his performance:

It was unbelievable. I have just never had a reception like that, and I have been all over the world. Some of them must really have gotten carried away. After the show, I just beat it, with all those girls after me. Man, what a show.²⁰⁸

The *Rhodesian Herald* reported that “[s]everal hundred gate crashers broke through a side gate, smashing the padlock and chain. Police turned them back, but not before they stormed on to the field.”²⁰⁹ This type of reception, especially since he claimed it was the best reception he received, would certainly bolster anyone’s confidence particularly after Sledge had been rejected by the South African government for his visa application in 1971.

²⁰⁴ Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Newspaper Collection, Box 1. Publisher 4. Herald Reporter: “2 000 ‘slayed’” by Sledge at Glamis,” *Rhodesian Herald*. Date Unknown.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Newspaper Collection, Box 1. Publisher 4. Herald Reporter: “2 000 ‘slayed’” by Sledge at Glamis,” *Rhodesian Herald*. Date Unknown.

²⁰⁸ Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Newspaper Collection, Box 1. Publisher 4. Author Unknown: Title Unknown, *Rhodesian Herald*, 13 September 1972, Page Unknown.

²⁰⁹ Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Newspaper Collection, Box 1. Publisher 4. Herald Reporter: “2 000 ‘slayed’” by Sledge at Glamis,” *Rhodesian Herald*. Date Unknown.

In the evening on the 12th of September, the supporting artists went to Sound City Night Club to set up a performance for those that could not attend during the day.²¹⁰ Only Richard Jon Smith and The Miracles performed at this venue, it is unknown why Percy Sledge chose not to participate. However, Eddie Glaude remarked that “[t]he liberation forces felt Percy did not show his ‘love’ for their nation when he toured Bulawayo. Sledge was puzzled as to why the concert promoters were seeking to keep him away from Africans.”²¹¹ What is reflected here is the animosity between the tribally defined ethnic cleavages between the ZAPU, supported by the Ndebele, and ZANU, supported by the Shona, forces in the country,²¹² and how Sledge’s tour is located within this broader conflict. The liberation forces in these countries, similar to South Africa’s liberation forces, felt that Sledge was not supporting the African people by performing in the country.²¹³ This could also account for why Sledge did not make an appearance at night clubs since they contained less security. In South Africa, we had urban differences based on racial sentiment while in these countries national sentiments based on ethnic identities also played a role.

At this exclusive venue, the white and black members of the crew experienced some racial tension. For example, drunk individuals were being belligerent towards Marks, the sound engineer.²¹⁴ This was not uncommon due to the ethnic tensions against between Africans and the minorities during this period.

The next day they drove to Rufaro Stadium where a big festival was to be held on Wednesday the 13th of September.²¹⁵ According to a Herald reporter, the audience of about 20 000 was just as

²¹⁰ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.

²¹¹ G. Home: “Reflecting Black: Zimbabwe and U. S. Black Nationalism,” In *Is It Nation Time?: Contemporary Essays on Black Power and Black Nationalism* edited by E. S. Glaude, Jr. (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 97.

²¹² See J. Mtisi, M. Nyakudya, & T. Barnea: “War in Rhodesia, 1965 – 1980,” In *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from the Pre-colonial period to 2008* edited by B. Raftopoulos, & A. S. Mlambo (South Africa: Weaver Press, 2009), pp. 141-150; A. S. Mlambo: *A History of Zimbabwe*, p. 160.

²¹³ G. Home: “Reflecting Black: Zimbabwe and U. S. Black Nationalism,” In *Is It Nation Time?: Contemporary Essays on Black Power and Black Nationalism* edited by E. S. Glaude, Jr. (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 97.

²¹⁴ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.

²¹⁵ P. Nickols: “Quin Ivy And His Norala And Quinvy Studios, Part 11 – 1971-1973 The final years of Quinvy,” <http://www.sirshambling.com/articles/quinvy/quinvy1.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 14, 2015, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Marc Röntsch.

unruly as the previous night at the Sound City Night Club, Sledge reported afterwards that the fans were “fantastic”.²¹⁶ During the evening the crew set out with Richard Jon Smith and The Miracles to play at another night club called the Cockadore Night Club.²¹⁷ This depicted how these promoters wanted to promote the supporting musicians, similar to the mission of the Quibell brothers in South Africa. They stayed at the Jameson Hotel during this period in Harare.²¹⁸

They left for Malawi on 14 September.²¹⁹ Marks stated that “[they] had to wait in the plane until the sun came up because, we didn’t know if the pilot landed at the wrong place, or somewhere, but he had to get fuel.”²²⁰ Various issues confronted the tour when they arrived. Marks recalled that the minister of culture initially did not want them to perform in the country because the crew members, with their long hair and extravagant clothing, went against the grain of conservative Malawian culture.²²¹ In 1970, Hastings Banda was declared President for Life of Malawi and enforced allegiance to him at every level.²²² Among the laws Banda enforced, it was illegal for women to wear see-through clothes, pants of any kind or skirts which showed any part of the knee.²²³

They could also not play at night because there were no lights and there was a curfew in Malawi due to a state of emergency declared by President Banda.²²⁴ According to Marks, “[b]efore we landed the ladies were told, and there were very few ladies in the cast, the air hostess, one lady,

²¹⁶ Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Newspaper Collection, Box 1. Publisher 2. Author Unknown: “7 000 turn up to hear Sledge,” Chronicle. Date Unknown.

²¹⁷ P. Nickols: “Quin Ivy And His Norala And Quinvy Studios, Part 11 – 1971-1973 The final years of Quinvy,” <http://www.sirshambling.com/articles/quinvy/quinvy1.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 14, 2015, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Marc Röntsch.

²¹⁸ Hidden Years, Brochure, Box 316. Brochure for the Jameson Hotel.

²¹⁹ From one of these towns they visited was called Zomba, and this is where Calder obtained the name for his label, Zomba Jive Records. (Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 14, 2015, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Marc Röntsch; P. Nickols: “Quin Ivy And His Norala And Quinvy Studios, Part 11 – 1971-1973 The final years of Quinvy,” <http://www.sirshambling.com/articles/quinvy/quinvy1.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019))

²²⁰ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² C. Gabay: “The Radical and Reactionary Politics of Malawi’s Hastings Banda: Roots, Fruit and Legacy,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 43(6), 2017, p. 1126.

²²³ *Ibid.*; Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.

²²⁴ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.

they had to change their pants and dresses and put on long skirts.”²²⁵ Another law enforced was that men were not allowed to have hair below the collar. Men who arrived in the country with long hair was given a haircut before they could leave the airport.²²⁶ Percy Sledge had long hair, Richard John Smith was known for his afro and Clive Calder had hair to his shoulders.²²⁷ According to Marks, it was decided that Clive Calder would go into town and negotiate with the Minister of Culture because Banda was apparently not going to allow the tour to go ahead. Before Calder left the airport, Marks recounted that Calder sat down on the pavement and got one of those black barbers to cut his hair off.²²⁸ Calder successfully negotiated with the government and the tour was allowed to take place at the Blantyre Stadium on the 15th of September. Unlike the previous case where ethnic tensions had an impact on the tour, here a conservative and dictatorial political landscape had an impact on the unfolding events of the tour.

The following day they received a permit to perform at the Kamuzu Stadium, which caused a lot of trouble afterwards.²²⁹ According to Marks:

Percy Sledge drove into the Malawi stadium and it was completely packed, there were something like, again the newspaper counts will be fifty to sixty thousand people. And he was so chuffed, and Clive had arranged a convertible, and he sat on the back and he waved to the crowd, and that was mistake Number 1. Nobody but the president is allowed to travel and wave to the crowd, and that nearly got them booted out of Malawi, and I think in fact, if I’m not mistaken, we left early because of those political problems.²³⁰

Sledge almost took on a godlike presence with the venue packed with 60 000 fans, while the president only attracted audiences of only 15 000 individuals.²³¹ They left for Harare in part to

²²⁵ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 14, 2015, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Marc Röntsch; P. Sturges: “The political economy of information: Malawi under Kamuzu Banda, 1964-1994,” *International and Library Review*, Volume 30, 1998, pp. 193-194.

²²⁶ C. Gabay: “The Radical and Reactionary Politics of Malawi’s Hastings Banda: Roots, Fruit and Legacy,” *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 43(6), 2017, p. 1126.

²²⁷ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.

²²⁸ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 14, 2015, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Marc Röntsch.

²²⁹ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie; Hidden Years, Official document, Box 316. Censorship and control Entertainment act, 1968 permit.

²³⁰ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.

²³¹ *Ibid.*

escape the trouble after the show in Malawi as Sledge was perceived to be mocking the president.²³² After the tour Sledge hastily left Malawi, they flew past Zambia. They couldn't fly over Zambia because Kenneth Kaunda, premier at the time, wouldn't allow a plane into their airspace from the southern countries of South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and the Eswatini-registered plane did not fool the authorities.²³³

The tour had another show on Sunday morning, 17th September 1972, in Bulawayo. They left that same evening for Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe. They performed there the following day as well as the 19th of September while staying at the prestigious Victoria Falls Hotel.²³⁴

On the 20th of September, the musicians arrived in Luanda, Angola.²³⁵ Here their first performance was on the 22nd of September at Avis Cinema. They did not perform with the big speakers at this venue. It was difficult to truck up the equipment due to conflict around them, and so the speakers were left in Zimbabwe. There were ethnic tensions in Angola. Thomas Collelo points out that this tension was mainly fuelled by the "small, multiracial class of educated and semi-educated town inhabitants and the rural, uneducated black peasantry."²³⁶ Three nationalist movements emerged from these groups, namely the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA), and the National Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).²³⁷ After multiple African countries started gaining their

²³² Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie. According to Sturges, "[t]he 1965 Public Security Regulations made it an offence, punishable by five years' imprisonment to publish anything likely 'to undermine the authority of, or public confidence in, the government'" – which Sledge was perceived to do. (P. Sturges: "The political economy of information: Malawi under Kamuzu Banda, 1964-1994," *International and Library Review*, Volume 30, 1998, p. 186.)

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 14, 2015, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Marc Röntsch; Hidden Years, Brochure, Box 316. Brochure for the Victoria Falls Hotel.

²³⁵ During this period Cocky Tlhotlhamaje, the MC, had a daughter and named her Luwanda after the place in Angola. The places the musicians travelled in clearly had an impact on them as Cocky Twobulls for example named his daughter, who was born during his time in Angola, Luanda. And the same with Calder that named his company after a town in Malawi.

²³⁶ R. Warner: "Historical Setting," In *Angola: A country study* edited by T. Collelo (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1989), p. 24.

²³⁷ UNITA was also supported by South African troops during this period and in response to this Cuba also sent troops in defence of the government. R. Warner: "Historical Setting," In *Angola: A country study* edited by T. Collelo (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1989), pp. 24 & 38.

independence in 1959, anti-colonial tension intensified in Portuguese colonies, and Angola was no different from the various factions starting to fight among themselves.²³⁸

Moreover, despite the internal battle, during this period the South African border was already being waged between the South African Defence Force (SADF) and Angola through the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), which was an armed wing of the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO). The Border War resulted in some of the largest battles in Africa since World War II and was one of the biggest influencers to the Angolan Civil War.²³⁹

Although most of the heavy losses occurred between 1975 and 1988 when the SADF raided PLAN's operating bases in Angola and Zambia, tension had already been building since 1966, which could account for why South Africans were not welcomed in these countries.²⁴⁰

The Sledge tour gave a performance in Luanda that featured upbeat and love songs.²⁴¹ The musicians engaged with the crowd and Tlhothlalemaje, for example, spoke Portuguese before he started performing.²⁴² The Outlet, a cover band produced by Clive Calder, joined the tour and performed with Peter Vee.²⁴³ It was very well received by the crowd, who were shouting out what songs to play next while the musicians obliged.²⁴⁴ The racial diversity of the crowd is clearly visible in photographs of the concert.²⁴⁵ Sadly, their performance on the 23rd of September at a sporting club in Nova Lisboa had to be cancelled due to renewed fighting due to the civil war.²⁴⁶

²³⁸ R. Warner: "Historical Setting," In *Angola: A country study* edited by T. Collelo (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1989), p. 28.

²³⁹ W. Van Rensburg: *SWA/Namibian border war: major military & political incidents: 1959-1989*, pp. 103-149.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid*; L. Scholtz: *Die SAW in die Grensoorlog, 1966-1989*, p. 7.

²⁴¹ *Percy Sledge Show Luanda 1972 Miracles, Peter Vee, Cocky Tlhothlalemange & Richard Jon Smith*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C2DQajZUrBw&t=223s> (Accessed 23 Mar. 2019)

²⁴² *Ibid*.

²⁴³ *Ibid*.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*.

²⁴⁵ This is clearly seen in a video clip compilation of photographs of the concert, *Percy Sledge Show Luanda 1972 Miracles, Peter Vee, Cocky Tlhothlalemange & Richard Jon Smith*, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C2DQajZUrBw&t=223s> (Accessed 23 Mar. 2019)

²⁴⁶ L. L. M. Pedro: "The Ministry of Reconciliation. A Comparative study of the role of the churches in promoting reconciliation in South Africa and Angola." PhD thesis, University of Pretoria, 2007, p. 94; Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.

Instead, the tour opted to perform at the open-air Flamenco Theatre in Lobito Bay where the musicians had a magnificent view of pink flamingos grazing in the wild as they performed.²⁴⁷ In stark contrast to some of the South African venues such as the Eyethu Cinema in Soweto, they performed in a beautiful space fitting the love songs performed by Sledge. Their last show on the 26th of September in Nova Lisboa was also cancelled.²⁴⁸ The group thus returned to Luanda on the 25th of September and organised another performance at the Luanda Cinema. They left Angola the following day.²⁴⁹

Rather than going to Lusaka, Zambia for their scheduled performances, the crew returned to Zimbabwe. All the shows from the 25th of September had been scheduled for Lusaka, Zambia but because it was too dangerous for any plane to land there, it was cancelled.²⁵⁰ Moreover, as they travelled they had to avoid flying over the country because of threats that they would be shot down.²⁵¹ In Zimbabwe, the musicians performed at the Rainbow Cinema on 27 September and the following day at Sakafuma Stadium, which were both in Mutare (formerly known as Umtali).²⁵² Ironically, in even closer proximity to civil war in neighbouring Mozambique.

They left Mutare on the 29th to return to South Africa and arrived at O.R. Tambo Airport (formerly known as Jan Smuts Airport) on the 2nd of October.

Conclusion

The reception of Sledge's concerts in South Africa was varied. On the one hand, Sledge broke the cultural boycott by performing in South Africa and was criticised by bodies such as the American Committee on Africa and others of "appeas[ing] the apartheid government through the

²⁴⁷ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁹ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 14, 2015, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Marc Röntsch.

²⁵⁰ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² *Ibid.*

backdoor.”²⁵³ He was blamed for “selling out the rights of black people” by performing to segregated audiences.²⁵⁴ Sledge was granted “honorary white” status, which meant that he could make use of facilities that were designated for whites only, such as the hotels he stayed at during his tour.²⁵⁵ His actions, such as accepting “honorary white” status and performing to segregated audiences were seen as a betrayal by some, as acts sabotaging the struggle that was being waged by the African Liberation Movement.

Sledge, however, insisted that he came to South Africa to perform to his fans and was not here to engage in politics. Percy Sledge’s comments could be understood against the background of the apartheid government’s allowances for international black musicians to tour South Africa as long as they did not make any overt political statements or spoke out against apartheid South Africa or its policies. Otherwise, they would not be granted visas and permits to perform as we will see later in this dissertation. The musicians that did come to perform in South Africa during the cultural boycott advocated for a separation of music and politics and saw their performances as work and simultaneously as not forming part of a broader struggle against the apartheid system.²⁵⁶

Sledge also represented swagger, and style, and fun. He was a big international star and his music was loved across the racial divides. In Cape Town where his initial concerts were scheduled only for coloured and black audiences, white members of the public tried to storm his concerts to get in and even tried to dress up as coloured, Indians and blacks to gain entry.²⁵⁷ In an ironic twist, whites dressed up as the ‘oppressed races’ in defiance of the very apartheid laws that normally restricted the movements of other races. Whereas some members of white society were excited to see the concert, others still sought to see the concert cancelled, evident in the fear of the promoters to

²⁵³ American Committee on Africa: “Cultural Boycott of racist South Africa Broken: Percy Sledge sells soul,” *American Committee on Africa*, 16 July 1970, <http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.acoa000341a> (Accessed 9 Sep. 2018)

²⁵⁴ B. Crosher-Segers: *A Darker Shade of Pale*, p. 94.

²⁵⁵ O. Coombs: “Should a Black Singer Sing in South Africa? Sledge in South Africa.” *The New York Times*, 27 June 1971, <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/06/27/archives/should-a-black-singer-sing-in-south-africa-sledge-in-south-africa.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019); C. Hamm: *Afro-American Music, South Africa and Apartheid: I. S. A. M. Monographs: Number 28*, p. 31.

²⁵⁶ American Committee on Africa: “Cultural Boycott of racist South Africa Broken: Percy Sledge sells soul,” *American Committee on Africa*, 16 July 1970, <http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.acoa000341a> (Accessed 9 Sep. 2018)

²⁵⁷ Staff Reporter: “Whites try to ‘crash’ show,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 June 1970, p. 1; Author Unknown: Picture of Percy Sledge and Stella Starr, *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 June 1970, p. 3; Author Unknown: “Sledge Show – 200 whites turned away,” *The Star*, 1 June 1970, p. 5.

announce his arrival as well as the refusal of permits to perform before a white audience, as seen in Bloemfontein.

Despite some contention over Sledge's 1970 tour in South Africa, evidence suggests that Sledge was mobbed during his performances, at the airport and even in Bree Street (Cape Town) with people ripping his shirt off and breaking windows to be able to see him, speaking to a kind of frenzy reminiscent of Beatlemania. Sledge was also awarded a copper plaque and even given the title as an honorary Zulu warrior.²⁵⁸ This speaks to Sledge's undying popularity in the country and certainly led to the rejuvenation of his dwindling career in the States of the 1970s.

Additionally, the profitability of a tour in South Africa during the cultural boycott was cited, by Sledge's promoter during an interview in 1971, as an opportunity that could not be ignored.²⁵⁹ In addition to this, Sledge, despite being informed of the cultural boycott and the situation in South Africa still applied to tour there in 1971 but was rejected. Thus, claims of ignorance for his first tour could possibly have been accepted, but the fact that he applied again suggests that Sledge was touring for financial gain. Moreover, during this period Sledge was not releasing music and his popularity was waning in America. The prospect of another tour in South Africa, which was both financially and personally stimulating, as he was celebrated by the South African audiences, must have been alluring.

After Sledge was rejected, he opted to tour southern African countries,²⁶⁰ countries that were rife with internal conflicts. Despite the danger associated not only with the logistics of the tours - flying over essentially all of southern Africa (see appendix A), but also the actual performances amidst warring factions, Sledge still went to these countries to perform. Sledge's performances mostly consisted out of his hit songs about women, heartbreak and love with very little political content.

²⁵⁸ Author Unknown: Picture of Percy Sledge with a plaque, *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 August 1970, p. 5; Author Unknown: Percy Sledge holding a traditional shield in his hand, *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 August 1970, p. 5.

²⁵⁹ O. Coombs: "Should a Black Singer Sing in South Africa? Sledge in South Africa." *The New York Times*, 27 June 1971, <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/06/27/archives/should-a-black-singer-sing-in-south-africa-sledge-in-south-africa.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

²⁶⁰ D. Marks: *Hidden Years Story (Part 1): Percy Sledge SAfrican Safari 1972-Intro*, 2015, www.3rdarmusic.com/img3rd/apr15img/percy-sledge.pdf (Accessed 7 Jan. 2019)

This was well received by the various audiences and the performances were so intense that it oftentimes resulted in riots.²⁶¹

In stark contrast to the significant difficulties faced by this tour for relatively small financial gains, the difficulties Sledge encountered in South Africa were quite small and the benefits were large. However, Sledge's tours to South Africa and southern Africa were beneficial to his career, and contrary to what one might have expected, he was not boycotted upon his return to America because of the cultural boycott.

What the work on Sledge highlight, is that even though Sledge was criticised for not supporting the cultural boycott, he represented a black success story and American culture to a black middle class in South Africa. His music was loved by both black and white audiences. Moreover, there appears to be a cycle of individuals having an influence on Sledge's career. When Quin Ivy and Marlin Greene retired in the late 1960s, he struggled to create a hit. Furthermore, it is interesting to consider whether his revival was attached to the great reception he received in South Africa since he attempted to return in 1971.

This revival is in stark contrast to the intended outcome of the cultural boycott. According to the American Committee on Africa, international musicians who returned from South Africa should have been boycotted, and their careers should have been impacted negatively. As one can see in Sledge's biography, however, if anything his South African tour gave him the impetus to record again and revived his waning career.

²⁶¹ Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 14, 2015, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Marc Röntsch; Hidden Years, Oral History Project, Interview L. Lambrechts with D. Marks, August 17, 2011, Melville Kwazulu-Natal, Transcribed by Ashrudeen Waggie.

Chapter Four: “Soul Santa”: Brook Benton 1971 and 1982

Introduction

In September 1971, Aquarius Promotions scheduled a South African tour for the American singer/songwriter and soul sensation, Brook Benton. This tour was initially scheduled to take place in the East Rand in Johannesburg, as all the promoters were based there, but after negotiations, it was extended to other parts of South Africa and Zimbabwe.¹ This reflects one of the motivations of the promoters for organising and scheduling the tours.

Similar to Percy Sledge, Brook Benton had been popular in South Africa before he visited in 1971 and he appeared to have been unaware of his wide appeal among South African fans. Benton stated in *Jet* magazine that, “[t]here was one occasion in South Africa when I found two of my gold records hanging from a wall of a record company, meaning that they had gone gold in South Africa.”²

Benton sang ballads that featured both themes of love and politics.³ According to *Ebony* magazine:

Brook Benton’s rise occurred during a period when Rock ‘n’ roll dominated popular music in America, but he never made any concessions to what he diffidently described as the excesses and poor musical taste of that style.⁴

Benton, for example, remarked that “I prefer the ballad form because you can tell a better story in a relaxed way with a ballad than you can with an up-tempo song.”⁵ Additionally, Bill Bronk remarked in the *Goldmine* that, “[f]or Benton [...] of most importance is that a song has a message, a story to tell... and it is more than a vehicle to deliver a great melody line.”⁶

Bronk further commented in the *Goldmine* that:

Brook Benton poured himself into his music. One of the hallmarks of Benton’s singing is that it’s from the heart. It’s personal, sincere. You feel what he’s singing.

¹ This tour was initially centred there because all of the promoters were from the East Rand. Staff Reporter: “Rehearsals Are Under Way for Brook’s Big Blast,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 September 1971, p. 5.

² D. Smallwood: “Rainy Years in America Sent Benton to Europe,” *Jet*, Volume 53(16), 1978, p. 62; Author Unknown: “Brook Benton Cancels First S. African Tour,” *Billboard*, Volume 83(45), 1971, p. 52.

³ Author Unknown: “Brook Benton: Although Balladeer is already star, his popularity continues to climb,” *Ebony*, Volume 18(7), 1963, p. 44.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 45.

⁵ *Ibid*.

⁶ B. Bronk: “Brook Benton: Let Me Sing And I’m Happy,” *Goldmine*, 27 September 2016, <https://www.goldminemag.com/articles/brook-benton-let-sing-im-happy> (Accessed 3 Apr. 2019)

If he's happy, you're happy; if he's sad, you're sad, as though it's happening to you. His deep baritone/bass voice, like a fine musical instrument, magically rumbles up from the depths of his being, teasing us, flirting with the apex of his range and smoothly swoops down, only to rise up again, swirling, then plunging lower, taking us on a thrilling emotional ride...to as low as he could possibly go on the musical scale.⁷

Furthermore, Benton was also known for his mastery of multiple genres, Bronk remarked that:

There was no musical mountain he could not climb...whether it be pop or rock and roll, Broadway classics, the blues, standards, country and western, R&B or gospel. He could do it all...and he did it in his own unique style, making any song a Brook Benton song.⁸

This chapter discusses Brook Benton's tours in South Africa (1971, 1980 and 1982), and what his performances and the eventual fallout with the tour promoters, later labelled the 'Benton fiasco', could tell us about the cultural boycott at the time. It first looks at Brook Benton's rise to stardom before turning to his first tour in South Africa. Within this chapter, the promoters who brought him to South Africa, the supporting musicians, the reception he received in South Africa and the eventual departure is addressed. Secondly, the chapter briefly looks at his failed 1980 tour before moving on to Benton's second tour to South Africa in 1982.

Benton's Rise to Fame

Brook Benton was born as Benjamin Franklin Peay, the fourth of seven children to parents, William and Mattie Peay, on 19th September 1931 in Camden, South Carolina.⁹ Peay started out as a gospel singer at a young age at his local church in the Union Choir of the Ephesus A.M.E, where his father was the choirmaster.¹⁰ According to Billy Vera, "[i]n addition to coaching him as a vocalist, the elder Mr Peay taught his son the patience and professionalism that would keep him

⁷ B. Bronk: "Brook Benton: Let Me Sing And I'm Happy," *Goldmine*, 27 September 2016, <https://www.goldminemag.com/articles/brook-benton-let-sing-im-happy> (Accessed 3 Apr. 2019)

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 21.

¹⁰ Author Unknown: "Brook Benton: On the comeback trail," *Ebony*, Volume 33(7), 1978, p. 168; H. W. French: "Brook Benton, Singer of Hit Tunes Known for His Ballads, Dies at 56," *The New York Times*, 10 April 1988, p. 36; H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 22; B. Bronk: "Brook Benton: Let Me Sing And I'm Happy," *Goldmine*, 27 September 2016, <https://www.goldminemag.com/articles/brook-benton-let-sing-im-happy> (Accessed 3 Apr. 2019)

going during his long, slow journey to the big time.”¹¹ Benjamin Peay’s first performance for the church failed to materialise. In a biography on Brook Benton, Herwig Gradischnig writes that “Brook got the jitters and none of the fourteen choir members could manage to persuade him to sing.”¹²

At the age of twelve, he delivered milk as a part-time job for Camden Dairy to help support his family.¹³ During these milk deliveries, Gradischnig added that Peay was “attacked by dogs more than one hundred times [...] – which he could evidence by five scars on his legs.”¹⁴ Along with Peay, his siblings also had part-time jobs to support the family.¹⁵ This, it is further argued, was common in large families at the time where children had to supplement the family income.¹⁶

At the age of thirteen, Peay formed the Camden Jubilee Singers that sang spirituals, hymns and popular songs at church socials and parties. They even received airplay on the local radio stations.¹⁷ Peay recalled that:

At the time, there were hardly any recreational activities for young people in Camden and the surrounding area. The choir and attendance at church on Sunday were a welcome change. Going to church also offered a chance to meet up with a girl that may have taken one’s fancy.¹⁸

In 1947, at the age of seventeen, Peay moved to New York to pursue his career as a singer.¹⁹ After having failed to get a break in New York, he moved back to South Carolina where he spent some time as a dishwasher and truck driver to earn a living.²⁰

¹¹ Billy Vera was an American singer, songwriter and music historian. B. Vera: “Endlessly: The Best of Brook Benton,” <http://www.shewins.com/liner.htm> (Accessed 23 Feb. 2019)

¹² H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 21.

¹³ T. Simon: Brook Benton Biography, <http://www.shewins.com/bio.htm> (Accessed 23 Feb. 2019); H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 23.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23-24.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Author Unknown: “Brook Benton: On the comeback trail,” *Ebony*, Volume 33(7), 1978, p. 168; H. W. French: “Brook Benton, Singer of Hit Tunes Known for His Ballads, Dies at 56,” *The New York Times*, 10 April 1988, p. 36; B. Bronk: “Brook Benton: Let Me Sing And I’m Happy,” *Goldmine*, 27 September 2016,

<https://www.goldminemag.com/articles/brook-benton-let-sing-im-happy> (Accessed 3 Apr. 2019); H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 24.

¹⁸ H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 24.

¹⁹ Author Unknown: “Brook Benton: On the comeback trail,” *Ebony*, Volume 33(7), 1978, p. 168; H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 24.

²⁰ Author Unknown: “Brook Benton: On the comeback trail,” *Ebony*, Volume 33(7), 1978, p. 166; Author Unknown: “Benjamin Franklin Peay,” <https://historygreatest.com/benjamin-franklin-peay> (Accessed 3 Apr. 2019)

Peay returned to New York in 1948 where he joined various gospel groups, including Bill Langford's Quartet with whom he toured for three years while they recorded for Columbia Records.²¹ In 1951, Peay also joined the Jerusalem Stars and later the Harlemaires, but went back to record with Bill Langford's Quartet in 1953.²² Bill Cook, a songwriter and promoter, helped him secure a record deal at Epic Records, where he met singer Roy Hamilton.²³ Through an introduction by his sister Ruth Springer, Peay joined the Sandmen that consisted of Adriel McDonald (bass), Walton Springer (tenor) and Furman Hanes (baritone).²⁴

The Sandman initially released music on the Epic Records label, but Columbia Records decided to rather release their recordings on the Okeh Records label because the material was considered to fall within the Rhythm and Blues genre.²⁵ In 1955, Peay started to record at this label singing ballads under his own name.²⁶ Okeh Records, by suggestion of the label executive Marv Halsman, changed the singer's name from Benjamin Peay to Brook Benton.²⁷ Later he signed with RCA Victor and enjoyed his first minor hit "A Million Miles from Nowhere" in 1957.²⁸

²¹ T. Simon: "Brook Benton Biography," <http://www.shewins.com/bio.htm> (Accessed 23 Feb. 2019); <http://soulwalking.co.uk/Brook%20Benton.html> (Accessed 23 Feb. 2019); Author Unknown: "Benjamin Franklin Peay," <https://historygreatest.com/benjamin-franklin-peay> (Accessed 3 Apr. 2019); B. Bronk: "Brook Benton: Let Me Sing And I'm Happy," *Goldmine*, 27 September 2016, <https://www.goldminemag.com/articles/brook-benton-let-sing-im-happy> (Accessed 3 Apr. 2019); H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, pp. 25-26.

²² *Ibid*; H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 215.

²³ Songs written for Roy Hamilton: "The Same One", "I'll Take Care of You", "It's Just A Matter Of Time" and "Will You Tell Him" for MGM and Columbia. He also composed for Clyde McPhatter's "A Lover's Question" and Nat 'King' Cole's "Looking Back". B. Vera: "Endlessly: The Best of Brook Benton," <http://www.shewins.com/liner.htm> (Accessed 23 Feb. 2019); H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 29.

²⁴ H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, pp. 30-31.

²⁵ Bill Cook also managed Roy Hamilton, who recorded for Epic a subsidiary of Columbia Records. (B. Vera: "Endlessly: The Best of Brook Benton," <http://www.shewins.com/liner.htm> (Accessed 23 Feb. 2019); H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, pp. 30-31.)

²⁶ Okeh records was also known to have made music known as race records, music intended strictly for African American audiences and was later replaced by Rhythm and Blues (R & B). (Author Unknown: "Team effort of Benton and Otis spawns string of hits," *Ebony*, Volume 18(7), 1963, p. 46; Author Unknown: "Brook Benton: On the comeback trail," *Ebony*, Volume 33(7), 1978, p. 166; B. Bronk: "Brook Benton: Let Me Sing And I'm Happy," *Goldmine*, 27 September 2016, <https://www.goldminemag.com/articles/brook-benton-let-sing-im-happy> (Accessed 3 Apr. 2019); H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 31; R. Dale: *The World of Jazz*, p. 135; G. P. Ramsey: African American music, In *Grove Music Online*, 2012, <https://doi-org.ez.sun.ac.za/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2226838> (Accessed 23 Sept. 2019))

²⁷ Okeh record company was a subsidiary of Columbia Records since 1926. Another reason was that people were pronouncing his surname wrong. Peay was pronounced as P-AY but people were calling him Pee. (<http://soulwalking.co.uk/Brook%20Benton.html> (Accessed 23 Feb. 2019))

²⁸ Epic Records was created by Columbia Records in 1953 to market the music that did not fit into the mainstream Columbia Records label. (Author Unknown: "Brook Benton Dead of Spinal Meningitis," *Billboard*, Volume 100(17), 1988, p. 28; H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, pp. 32-34, 222.)

According to *Ebony magazine*, “Benton’s career received its greatest impetus in 1957 when he met Clyde Otis, an established writer of hit tunes.”²⁹ Otis was a songwriter and producer and reached his first big success when his song “That’s All There is to That”, performed by Nat “King” Cole, reached the Billboard Top 20 in 1956.³⁰ According to the Billboard, Otis was “[t]he first African-American A&R³¹ executive of a major record label – Mercury Records” and would play a pivotal role in Benton’s success as a musician.³² This was similar to Sledge, who was influenced by Quin Ivy during his career. After Benton moved to Mercury Records in 1958 with Clyde Otis and Belford Hendricks, Benton achieved his biggest commercial success in the form of two major songs, “It’s Just a Matter of Time” and “Endlessly”.³³

Benton followed these successes with hits such as “Hotel Happiness,” “Kiddio,” “Think Twice,” “So Many Ways,” “The Boll Weevil Song” and “Thank You Pretty Baby” as well as his four duets with Dinah Washington. Two of their duets rose to the Top 10 in 1960 namely “Baby (You’ve Got What It Takes)” and “A Rockin’ Good Way (To Mess Around And Fall In Love)”.³⁴ Benton also started touring in America during this period and headlined at the Apollo Theatre in New York

²⁹ In 1957, Benton also appeared in the movie *Mister Rock and Roll*. (Author Unknown: “Team effort of Benton and Otis spawns string of hits,” *Ebony*, Volume 18(7), 1963, p. 46.)

³⁰ Clyde Otis was also the first African American producer to win a Country Music Award, recording for musicians such as Aretha Franklin, Johnny Mathis, Patti Page and Elvis Presley. (Author Unknown: “In Memoriam: Clyde Otis,” *Billboard*, Volume 120(51), 2008, p. 177.)

³¹ A&R stand for Artists and Repertoire. This is an individual usually employed at a record company, who is in charge of scouting for new talent and the development of the recording artist.

³² Author Unknown: “In Memoriam: Clyde Otis,” *Billboard*, Volume 120(51), 2008, p. 177; K. Tunzi: “Milepost,” *Billboard*, Volume 120(9), 2008, p. 55; H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 38.

³³ Belford Hendricks was a pianist, arranger, composer and conductor and including Benton recorded for musicians such as Dina Washington, Sarah Vaughan and Patti Page. (N. Musiker & R. Musiker: *Conductors and Composers of Popular Orchestral Music: A Biographical and Discographical Sourcebook*, p. 123; Author Unknown: “Brook Benton Dead of Spinal Meningitis,” *Billboard*, Volume 100(17), 1988, p. 28; Author Unknown: “Brook Benton: On the comeback trail,” *Ebony*, Volume 33(7), 1978, p. 165; <http://soulwalking.co.uk/Brook%20Benton.html> (Accessed 23 Feb. 2019); P. Keepnews: “Clyde Otis, 83, executive and songwriter, dies.” *New York Times*, 18 January 2008, p. 10, Academic OneFile,

<http://link.galegroup.com/apps/doc/A173546236/AONE?u=27uos&sid=AONE&xid=ca0a4b13> (Accessed 23 Feb. 2019); S. Holden: “Pop: Songs by Brook Benton,” *The New York Times*, 28 September 1986,

<https://www.nytimes.com/1986/09/28/arts/pop-songs-by-brook-benton.html> (Accessed 3 Apr. 2019); B. Bronk: “Brook Benton: Let Me Sing And I’m Happy,” *Goldmine*, 27 September 2016,

<https://www.goldminemag.com/articles/brook-benton-let-sing-im-happy> (Accessed 3 Apr. 2019))

³⁴ Author Unknown: “‘Rainy Night in Georgia’ Singer Brook Benton Dies,” *Jet*, Volume 74(4), 1978, p. 51; Author Unknown: “Brook Benton Dead of Spinal Meningitis,” *Billboard*, Volume 100(17), 1988, p. 28; H. W. French: “Brook Benton, singer of hit tunes known for his ballads, dies at 56,” *The New York Times*, 10 April 1988, p. 36; Author Unknown: “Benjamin Franklin Peay,” <https://historygreatest.com/benjamin-franklin-peay> (Accessed 3 Apr. 2019); B. Bronk: “Brook Benton: Let Me Sing And I’m Happy,” *Goldmine*, 27 September 2016, <https://www.goldminemag.com/articles/brook-benton-let-sing-im-happy> (Accessed 3 Apr. 2019); H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 36.

(1958), Washington DC (1959), Los Angeles (1960), Las Vegas (1962), Chicago and Oklahoma (1963).³⁵

According to the *Ebony* magazine, “[t]he Benton-Otis partnership dissolved in 1961 amid lingering bitterness shortly after the releases of their highly successful ‘The Boll Weevil Song’.”³⁶ The estranged collaborators continued to receive royalties for their cooperative efforts,³⁷ and Benton was still able to reach the top charts with records such as “I Got What I Wanted”, “Two Tickets to Paradise” and “Going Gone” for the Mercury label.³⁸

In 1963, Benton was given the “Voice of the year” honour, even though his wife Mary Benton, pointed out that Benton never received any vocal training. She noted that

His voice was simply a gift from God. [...] Naturally, Brook practised singing at home, for which he used a tape recorder.³⁹

Gradischnig described Benton’s voice as:

Soft, velvety, silky, mellifluous, syrupy, but also husky and guttural are the attributes most commonly associated with Brook Benton’s voice.⁴⁰

Between 1959 and 1965, Benton had 38 songs in the Billboard Top 100 charts.⁴¹ Gradischnig described it as, “[Benton’s] golden years.”⁴² Even though Benton was at the height of his career, various problems started to surface during the early 1960s.

In Missouri in 1963, Benton was brutally beaten after a performance at the Riviera Club.⁴³ The *Ebony* magazine reported that “a vicious beating administered to him by four men in the basement of a St. Louis night club last Friday resulted in a punctured eardrum.”⁴⁴ After this performance,

³⁵ H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, pp. 121-124.

³⁶ Author Unknown: “Brook Benton: On the comeback trail,” *Ebony*, Volume 33(7), 1978, p. 166; H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 42.

³⁷ D. Smallwood: “Rainy Years in America Sent Benton to Europe,” *Jet*, Volume 53(16), 1978, p. 61; Author Unknown: “Brook Benton: On the comeback trail,” *Ebony*, Volume 33(7), 1978, p. 166.

³⁸ Author Unknown: “Brook Benton: On the comeback trail,” *Ebony*, Volume 33(7), 1978, p. 166.

³⁹ H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 28.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 115.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 371.

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 41.

⁴³ For a more in-depth description of this assault please consult H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, pp. 125-126; Author Unknown: “Brook Benton: On the comeback trail,” *Ebony*, Volume 33(7), 1978, p. 165.

⁴⁴ There are reports that there may have been two attackers. (Author Unknown: “Team effort of Benton and Otis spawns string of hits,” *Ebony*, Volume 18(7), 1963, p. 46; H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 125.)

Benton refused to perform again at the club. This decision was not only taken because of the incident but also because Benton, according to Gradischnig, “did not want to sing any more with the band, who were unable to read music. [...] He was also critical of the microphones.”⁴⁵ Benton remarked that “[t]he people kept screaming they couldn’t hear me. [...] and I could not do my act because incompetent musicians couldn’t do their job.”⁴⁶ This would not be the only time that Benton expressed contempt at the incompetency’s of the musicians he was performing with as will be seen in this chapter during his tour to South Africa.

During the second half of the 1960s, Benton struggled to find consistent income and moved from label to label, recording for RCA Records and then Reprise Records in 1967, and two years later for Cotillion Records.⁴⁷ He made the Top 10 one last time in 1970 with a version of Tony Joe White’s “Rainy Night in Georgia”.⁴⁸ Benton’s disappearance from the charts was attributed to several reasons cited by the *Ebony* magazine, including “personal difficulties and even structural problems, which made it impossible for Benton to record for three years.”⁴⁹ Benton was also caught on the wrong side of the law and charged with tax evasion. Gradischnig noted that:

Benton refused to give in to extortion, [which] resulted in him being charged with tax evasion. The IRS intervened, and overnight Brook and his family lost their house in St Albans and all their possessions, including irreplaceable personal items such as all the recordings Brook had of himself, his gold records, etc.⁵⁰

Following this occurrence, Benton spent most of the early 1970s on European tours performing at nightclubs.⁵¹ Towards the end of 1973, while he was still at Cotillion Records, Benton also created

⁴⁵ Author Unknown: “Brook Benton: On the comeback trail,” *Ebony*, Volume 33(7), 1978, p. 166; H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 125.

⁴⁶ H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 125.

⁴⁷ Cotillion Records was a subsidiary of Atlantic Records from 1968 but then became part of the Warner Music Group (WEA) in 1971. (T. Simon: “Brook Benton Biography,” <http://www.shewins.com/bio.htm> (Accessed 23 Feb. 2019); H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, pp. 85-86.)

⁴⁸ Author Unknown: “‘Rainy Night in Georgia’ Singer Brook Benton Dies,” *Jet*, Volume 74(4), 1978, p. 51; A. English: “Garfunkel single tops list,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 March 1971, p. 9; T. Aswell: *Louisiana Rocks!: The True Genesis of Rock and Roll*, pp. 316-317; S. Holden: “Pop: Songs by Brook Benton,” *The New York Times*, 28 September 1986, <https://www.nytimes.com/1986/09/28/arts/pop-songs-by-brook-benton.html> (Accessed 3 Apr. 2019); H. W. French: “Brook Benton, singer of hit tunes known for his ballads, dies at 56,” *The New York Times*, 10 April 1988, p. 36.

⁴⁹ Author Unknown: “Brook Benton: On the comeback trail,” *Ebony*, Volume 33(7), 1978, p. 165.

⁵⁰ H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 138.

⁵¹ D. Smallwood: “Rainy Years in America Sent Benton to Europe,” *Jet*, Volume 53(16), 1978, p. 61; Author Unknown: “Brook Benton: On the comeback trail,” *Ebony*, Volume 33(7), 1978, p. 164.

some recordings for MGM.⁵² Moreover, as an additional source of income, Benton participated in various beer commercials throughout his music career, recording “If You’ve Got The Time” for the MGM label. These songs were used to create various beer commercials in 1971 but were never produced for broadcasting.⁵³ According to Gradischnig when Benton:

[W]as travelling with some other people in an elevator a woman thought she recognized him but wasn’t sure. She nudged her male companion, who squinted at the tall, dark figure and showed a glimmer of recognition. ‘Brook Benton,’ someone informed the inquisitive couple. ‘Right!’ the woman exclaimed, looking closely at the singer. ‘I thought I knew your face... you’re in the beer commercials!’⁵⁴

This comment points to Benton’s dwindling music popularity, individuals were starting to recognise Benton for his beer commercials and not the music that he was creating.⁵⁵ Moreover, consumer taste and recording labels were changing towards different forms of music, and Benton’s ballad style of singing was starting to fall out of favour.⁵⁶

Benton struggled to keep his career afloat. Shortly after the end of Benton’s engagement with MGM in 1973, he signed with Brut, who according to Gradischnig, “wanted to get involved in the record business.”⁵⁷ However, shortly after the production was finished Brut abandoned the project and withdrew from the music industry.⁵⁸ Moreover, there was a possible recording contract for Benton at the Stax label, arranged by Clyde Otis in 1974.⁵⁹ However, Benton signed to the label during the period that Stax was starting to face financial difficulties.⁶⁰ Benton was, however, released from his contract before the label was declared bankrupt.

Benton resurfaced in 1975 at the All Platinum label, which was owned by Sylvia Robinson, where he released two albums in 1976 and 1977 and had a minor hit called “Mr Bartender”.⁶¹ In 1977, he was signed to the record company Olde World Records where he began producing music with

⁵² <http://soulwalking.co.uk/Brook%20Benton.html> (Accessed 23 Feb. 2019)

⁵³ H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 100.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 101.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*.

⁵⁶ Author Unknown: “Benjamin Franklin Peay,” <https://historygreatest.com/benjamin-franklin-peay> (Accessed 3 Apr. 2019)

⁵⁷ Brut was the men’s fragrance division of the perfume and cosmetics giant Fabergé. (<http://soulwalking.co.uk/Brook%20Benton.html> (Accessed 23 Feb. 2019); H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 102.)

⁵⁸ H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 102.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 104; <http://soulwalking.co.uk/Brook%20Benton.html> (Accessed 23 Feb. 2019)

⁶⁰ *Ibid*.

⁶¹ <http://soulwalking.co.uk/Brook%20Benton.html> (Accessed 23 Feb. 2019); N. Talevski: *Rock Obituaries: Knocking On Heaven’s Door*, p. 554; H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 105.

Clyde Otis again.⁶² In collaboration with Tony Joe White and Clyde Otis, Benton released a minor hit called “Making Love Is Good for You,” in 1977.⁶³ A number of recordings were made for Olde World Records, but a lack of promotion and distribution hampered their success.⁶⁴ This constant juggling from label to label, undertaking other ventures shows how hard he had to work to earn a living in the music industry.

Despite Benton’s erratic music career, he remained popular as an entertainer. Gradischnig notes that his, “[l]ive concerts were of a very high standard from the outset, and he was a top star within black popular music from the beginning of his career to the end.”⁶⁵ Benton toured all across America as well as other places such as the United Kingdom (1963, 1976 and 1984), Surinam (1963), the Bahamas (1963), Australia (1964), Japan (the late 1960s) and South Africa (1971 and 1982). Unlike Percy Sledge, we see a much more robust career with Brook Benton. However, there are various similarities between the upbringing and career development of Sledge and Benton.

Brook Benton’s 1971 tour of South Africa

Benton’s desire to go to Africa, according to Gradischnig, can be traced back to a party on his 32nd birthday in 1963. According to reports, Benton loved talking about “Mother Africa.”⁶⁶ He stated that:

I have the burning desire to go to Africa and I’m going there soon. There comes a time in everyone’s life when he wants to return home. And for me, there’s no better time than now.⁶⁷

This wish was finally realised in 1971 when Benton was booked to do a series of concerts in South Africa. Benton’s motivation to tour South Africa could be understood within the context of his longing to go back to “one’s roots” as expressed by many African Americans.⁶⁸ Unlike Sledge,

⁶² Author Unknown: “Brook Benton: On the comeback trail,” *Ebony*, Volume 33(7), 1978, p. 168.

⁶³ D. Smallwood: “Rainy Years in America Sent Benton to Europe,” *Jet*, Volume 53(16), 1978, p. 61; Author Unknown: “Brook Benton: On the comeback trail,” *Ebony*, Volume 33(7), 1978, p. 165.

⁶⁴ H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 110.

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 119.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 135.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*.

⁶⁸ R. C. Smith: *Encyclopedia of African American Politics: back to Africa movements*, p. 25; D. Fick: *Africa: Continent of Economic Opportunity*, p. 49.

Benton made a clear statement of his life-long dream to go to Africa. However, the profitability of a South African tour would also have played a decisive role, especially considering that Benton was struggling financially during this period.⁶⁹ The *Billboard* reported that Benton “ha[d] been guaranteed a minimum gross of \$2 500 000 for a month-long tour of South Africa beginning 17th September.”⁷⁰ This statement was, however, denied by the promoters claiming that “no one could pay that much money for a musician.”⁷¹ Clearly, there was some controversy around remuneration for this tour between the various parties. This is not to suggest that the tour was not lucrative.

As discussed in chapter one, the 1970s was a very profitable period for black musicians.⁷² The *Jet* magazine, for example, reported that the fee for Aretha Franklin to perform in South Africa for three weeks was estimated at \$45 000.⁷³ Similarly, Sledge made a fortune during his South African tour, as reportedly did The Supremes, Millie Jackson and Eartha Kitt, amongst others.⁷⁴

Benton’s 1971 tour was organised by Jackson Morley, a director of Aquarius Promotions and Ruth Bowen, president of the Queen Booking Corporation.⁷⁵ Locally, Morley partnered with Tshabalala Promotions, a boxing promotions group, in order to have enough capital to cover the expenses of this tour.⁷⁶ This is in stark contrast to the promotions company involved in Sledge’s 1970s tour. Ruth Bowen was described by Aretha Franklin in *Ebony* magazine as a unique person who cares

⁶⁹ J. R. Freeman: “Sun City and the Sounds of Liberation: Cultural Resistance for Social Justice in Apartheid South Africa.” Master’s thesis, University of California, 2014, p. 33.

⁷⁰ Author Unknown: “Benton Next to South Africa,” *Billboard*, Volume 83(36), 1971, p. 8.

⁷¹ Staff Reporter: “Benton’s band starts to rehearse,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 August 1971, p. 5; M. Mahlaba: “Non-Whites only for Benton,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 September 1971, p. 5.

⁷² J. R. Freeman: “Sun City and the Sounds of Liberation: Cultural Resistance for Social Justice in Apartheid South Africa.” Master’s thesis, University of California, 2014, p. 33.

⁷³ Author Unknown: “Denies White Agent Booked Ali’s \$300,000 South African Tour,” *Jet*, Volume 40(22), 1971, p. 56.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Author Unknown: “Benton Next to South Africa,” *Billboard*, Volume 83(36), 1971, p. 8.

⁷⁶ M. Mahlaba: “Jazz fans set for a soulful September,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 July 1971, p. 5. This company was founded as QBC in 1959 by Mrs Ruth Bowen and changed to Queen’s Booking Corp in 1964 after the death of Dinah Washington in 1963. This changed again in 1974 to Renaissance Talents and then the Bowen Agency Ltd. (M. Mahlaba: “Jazz fans set for a soulful September,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 July 1971, p. 5; Author Unknown: “First Lady of Talent Booking: Ruth Bowen beats odds to gain success in competitive world of show biz careers and contracts,” *Ebony*, Volume 29(8), 1974, pp. 73-74; Author Unknown: “Ruth Bowen, first black female booking agent and first black female to establish a theatrical booking agency, dies,” *Minority News*, 25 February 2019, <https://www.blackradionetwork.com/ruth-bowen-first-black-female-booking-agent-and-first-black-female-to-establish-a-theatrical-booking-agency-dies> (Accessed 25 Feb. 2019))

about the musicians she booked, “[s]he tells you straight when she thinks you’ve gone crooked – on or off stage.”⁷⁷ According to *Ebony* magazine:

No woman has held as exalted a position in the entertainment industry as she does as founder and now president of Queen Booking Corp., one of America’s major talent/booking agencies. Prior to Ruth Bowen, the only black women seen in the halls of such competitors as the William Morris Agency and Creative Management Associates dealt in mops and pails rather than careers and contracts.⁷⁸

In the *Rand Daily Mail*, Bowen stated that “I have hundreds of big names in my books who want to appear in Africa, and all of them are willing to sing before other blacks or integrated audiences, but not before an enforced white audience.”⁷⁹ Contrary to the Sledge’s performances and booking agents, Bowen had very strong feelings towards racial injustices. She advocated that the musicians she promoted would only perform for black – or mixed audiences otherwise there would be no performances.⁸⁰

In charge of organising the tour were Phillip Tshabalala, Simon Tewane, Simon Tshabalala, H. J. Langa and Conich Morgan Sithole respectively from Benoni and Daveyton.⁸¹ After the Brook Benton tour, these promoters were also planning to bring other African American musicians such as Lea Roberts, Aretha Franklin and Timothy Wilson to South Africa.⁸² These tours promised to be lucrative ventures for the promoters and the musicians.⁸³

Like Percy Sledge, Benton had a large following amongst black and white South African audiences with two of his albums reaching gold status before he toured the country. However, Benton was

⁷⁷ Author Unknown: “First Lady of Talent Booking: Ruth Bowen beats odds to gain success in competitive world of show biz careers and contracts,” *Ebony*, Volume 29(8), 1974, p. 73.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ M. Mahlaba: “US Negro stars will visit if ...” *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 September 1971, p. 3.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ Staff Reporter: “Rehearsals Are Under Way for Brook’s Big Blast,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 September 1971, p. 5; L. Mayekiso: “Golden Oldies,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 September 1971, p. 5.

⁸² Tours of these stars were lucrative not only for the promoters but for the musicians as well, as we can see later by those musicians, who performed at the Sun City Resort. Richard Schroeder stated that, “Frank Sinatra [...] broke the cultural boycott with nine concerts at Sun City in 1981, for which he was paid \$1 790 000.” M. Mahlaba: “Jazz fans set for a soulful September,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 July 1971, p. 5; Author Unknown: “Denies White Agent Booked Ali’s \$300,000 South African Tour,” *Jet*, Volume 40(22), 1971, p. 56.

⁸³ R. A. Schroeder: *Africa After Apartheid: South Africa, Race, and Nation in Tanzania*, p. 168; J. R. Freeman: “Sun City and the Sounds of Liberation: Cultural Resistance for Social Justice in Apartheid South Africa.” Master’s thesis, University of California, 2014, p. 5-7.

only scheduled to perform for black audiences when he came to tour South Africa in September 1971, even after the promoters were approached for white shows.⁸⁴

Morley, a director of Aquarius Promotions, stated in the *Rand Daily Mail* that:

We have been approached for white shows, but we cannot promote for whites and therefore we never thought about it. [...] We have decided that we will not have a night for whites since we have already drawn up a full programme throughout the Reef, Pretoria and Vereeniging.⁸⁵

This stands in stark contrast to what we see with Percy Sledge's 1970 tour and the white promotions company, the Quibell Brothers. With the Benton tour, black promoters were unable to promote for white audiences by law, whereas the white promotions company could promote for all races.⁸⁶

In a press conference before his tour, Benton was questioned about his stance on performing in apartheid South Africa before separated audiences. He declared that he "came to sing and entertain but would not be able to do so if he were to take a stance regarding such contentious issues."⁸⁷ This was in line with the policy of the apartheid's state where performers were to refrain from making political statements while performing in the country. However, one does get a sense that Benton was aware of the political context of South Africa. The *Rand Daily Mail* reported Benton saying that, "I know I have fans, both black and white, and it's not me who said I wanted to sing to black people only."⁸⁸ Benton thus attempted to deflect from the racial issues, stating that "[h]e was not a politician – having come to South Africa solely to entertain."⁸⁹

According to Gradischnig, Benton considered himself a moderate when questioned about race. He notes that

Brook was in no way militant; rather, he was restrained and balanced. [...] Brook never called for violence; on the contrary, he personally preferred to use other means to support his race. [...] His background had not made it easy for him to advance in

⁸⁴ M. Mahlaba: "Non-Whites only for Benton," *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 September 1971, p. 5.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ G. Ansell: *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music and Politics in South Africa*, p. 113.

⁸⁷ H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 136.

⁸⁸ Staff Reporter: "My fans are Black and White – US star," *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 September 1971, p. 5.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

show business, but he was always proud of his race. He also appreciated his white audience and their opinion of him.⁹⁰

This may be the case in South Africa, but Benton has a history of being politically involved in America. For example, Benton's music such as "I'm A Man" (1964) was used in Dr Martin Luther King's anthology and "Oh Lord, Why Lord" (1969), commented on the abuses and discrimination suffered by blacks in America and rights of his race.⁹¹

Despite all of these issues, Benton arrives in South Africa on the 14th of September 1971 at O.R. Tambo Airport with a group of nine people, including Miss Ruth Bowen, his booking agent, Betty Petty, Ruth Bowen's private secretary, Charles Payne, Benton's road manager, Robert Greene, a saxophonist in Benton's band, Ray Clay, Judy Clay's brother and road manager and Fred Norman, conductor and manager of Benton's South African show.⁹²

A staff reporter from the *Rand Daily Mail* described Benton's reception at the airport:

Fans pounced on him, pulling him about, with everyone trying to draw his attention. The passageway from the customs hall to the entrance hall of the airport was blocked making it difficult for him and his party to go through. Frantic airport officials rushed him back to the customs hall, pushing his admirers aside. Benton was shaken and was breathing heavily as he stood in the customs hall with his rescuers. The airport officials took him and his party to a private lounge, while arrangements were made to get him safely out of the airport.⁹³

Benton was able to successfully sneak out of the airport by using cars that stood at the end of the tarmac, without his fans noticing him.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 184.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, p. 187. For the lyrics consult, B. Benton: Oh Lord, Why Lord. Atlantic Records. 1967. ATS 524.

⁹² Staff Reporter: "Benton is mobbed at airport," *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 September 1971, p. 5; K. Daum: "Obituaries: Robert S. Greene '43, '58 Arts," *Jazz Musician*, <https://www.college.columbia.edu/cct/archive/winter13/obituaries19> (Accessed 25 Feb. 2019); H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 135.

⁹³ Staff Reporter: "Benton is mobbed at airport," *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 September 1971, p. 5.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*.



Figure 4: Benton mobbed upon arrival at O.R. Tambo Airport 1971.⁹⁵

The reception that Benton received, as shown above, reflects how popular he was as an artist in South Africa.⁹⁶ Benton remarked in the *Rand Daily Mail* that, “[i]t was great. I have never seen anything like it before. I have been mobbed in other parts of the world, but not so much.”⁹⁷ This shows his popularity in South Africa far superseded his popularity in other countries, it could also be argued that this frenzy reflected the isolation experienced by South Africans to international artists during this period.

⁹⁵ Staff Reporter: “Benton is mobbed at airport,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 September 1971, p. 5.

⁹⁶ H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 135.

⁹⁷ Staff Reporter: “Benton is mobbed at airport,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 September 1971, p. 5; Author Unknown: “Why I quit the show by Brook Benton,” *Drum*, November 1971, p. 14.

Like Sledge before him, Benton was given “Honorary White” status and allowed to use amenities designated for South African whites only.⁹⁸ A spokesman for Aquarius Promotions stated in the *Rand Daily Mail* that, “Brook Benton and his group will stay at a white hotel during his Reef engagement and other white hotels will be booked in the Cape and Natal.”⁹⁹ This is quite ironic as this went against Bowen’s black empowerment initiative. She, however, never commented on their use of these facilities. Clearly, for the tour to take place, Bowen had to make certain ideological sacrifices.

On 20 August 1971, Benton’s itinerary for South Africa was published in the *Rand Daily Mail* (see Appendix B).¹⁰⁰ In total there would have been 34 performances from Benton, with two shows a day for 24 days of the tour.¹⁰¹ According to *Billboard* magazine, “[t]he tour [was] geared for outdoor areas with seating capacities ranging from 10 000 to 60 000.”¹⁰² However, the facilities that were available for the promotions company to book, could only facilitate a maximum of 10 000 people.

In contrast to the enthusiastic welcome Benton received at the airport, the reception of his first performance was lukewarm. The opening performance was plagued by various difficulties. Mayekiso, reported in the *Rand Daily Mail* that, “[t]rouble with the Benton show started on the opening night when the band failed to make the grade.”¹⁰³ There were three major problems that plagued the opening night on 17th September at Eyethu Cinema in Soweto. Firstly, during the show the band could not agree on what key they had to play in because there were musicians who could not read notation.¹⁰⁴ Members who could read tried to match key with those who could not, while some tried to get into key by playing the same as a member next to them.¹⁰⁵ Secondly,

⁹⁸ Author Unknown: “Why I quit the show by Brook Benton,” *Drum*, November 1971, p. 14.

⁹⁹ Brook Benton along with his entourage stayed at the Langham Hotel in Johannesburg. (Staff Reporter: “Rehearsals Are Under Way for Brook’s Big Blast,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 September 1971, p. 5.)

¹⁰⁰ Staff Reporter: “Benton Will Sing Mostly on East Rand,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 August 1971, p. 3.

¹⁰¹ For a comprehensive schedule of the performances in these Southern African countries please consult the Itinerary of Brook Benton Tour 1971 in the appendix. (Staff Reporter: “Benton Will Sing Mostly on East Rand,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 August 1971, p. 3; Author Unknown: “Benton Next to South Africa,” *Billboard*, Volume 83(36), 1971, p. 8.)

¹⁰² Author Unknown: “Benton Next to South Africa,” *Billboard*, Volume 83(36), 1971, p. 8.

¹⁰³ L. Mayekiso: “Golden Oldies,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 September 1971, p. 5; D. Bikitsha: “Light in Black theatre,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 March 1976, p. 14.

¹⁰⁴ M. Mahlaba: “Musical Meanings,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 June 1975, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

Mayekiso reported that “[s]ome of the songs Benton sang also did not appeal to his audience,”¹⁰⁶ with Benton singing new songs and not the big hits that his South African audience would have been familiar with. Thirdly, the promoters were charging between R5 and R7 for admission, a price too high for the black audiences the concerts were marketed to. The ticket price was the equivalent of buying between five and eight loaves of bread. The price, combined with the quality of the show marred by the under-rehearsed band, left audiences unsatisfied.¹⁰⁷

Benton was met with a lot of empty seats during his next performance, which prompted the promoters to plead to the press to publish a statement that the musicians were practising and that the fee for the show was lowered to between R3 and R1, 50 a person.¹⁰⁸ Mayekiso commented in the *Rand Daily Mail* that, “Mr Morley’s sudden friendliness with the Press was a surprise, considering his hostility ever since the arrival of the Americans last Tuesday.”¹⁰⁹ Benton, for example, was not allowed to be interviewed or give interviews himself by orders of Morley.¹¹⁰ Even when Benton agreed to an interview beforehand, Morley cancelled the interview regardless of Benton’s approval thereof.¹¹¹ One can only speculate that the promoters were perhaps afraid that Benton would speak out against the apartheid government, which would have led to his permit being revoked and the tour is cancelled.

In the week following his concert, Benton’s first performance was criticised in the press. In response to the complaints about the band, Benton claimed that “[t]hey had two days of practice, he was unaware they needed more practice.”¹¹² Tlhotlhalemaje blamed the promoters, and observed that:

The local boys never had enough time to rehearse properly with Brook Benton. Anybody in charge of the Benton show should have seen to this. Because they were not ready on the opening night at Eyethu most of the musicians were still fumbling. It was painful to watch and listen. Any rookie in showbiz should know that the opening night is the night. That’s the night that makes or breaks a show.¹¹³

¹⁰⁶ L. Mayekiso: “Golden Oldies,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 September 1971, p. 5.

¹⁰⁷ Author Unknown: Advertisement for TREVENNA, *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 September 1971, p. 9.

¹⁰⁸ L. Mayekiso: “Golden Oldies,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 September 1971, p. 5.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ Author Unknown: “Why I quit the show by Brook Benton,” *Drum*, November 1971, p. 16.

There is clear disunity and conflict between the various promoters involved in organising and staging the tour. Furthermore, one can see that blame gets shifted from organisational efficiency to the musicians involved. This occurs on two levels. On the one hand, Morley, blamed Benton for the band's failure, as according to him, Benton did not sufficiently practice with them.¹¹⁴ Morley claimed in the *Drum* magazine that:

As a musician of international status, he should have been more dedicated to his job than he was. I had arranged with Bobby Green and Fred Norman to be here two weeks before the show started but they didn't.¹¹⁵

Even though Benton, assisted by his two American colleagues Fred Norman and the saxophonist Robert Green, subsequently practised with the band,¹¹⁶ difficulty with the band persisted. Reporting on subsequent concerts, Mahlaba noted in the *Rand Daily Mail* that, "Benton and Clay were often seen struggling to help the band get the right beat and tempo."¹¹⁷ On the other hand, Dollar Brand, later known as Abdullah Ibrahim, blamed the South Africa musicians commenting that, "[t]he trouble with our musicians is that they never give themselves time to know their instruments properly. The only time they play is when there is a show on."¹¹⁸

According to Sonny Boy in the *Rand Daily Mail*:

Our guys never give themselves time to study and know their horns. If they are not involved with a certain project in music, they are at the house around the corner.¹¹⁹

As we noted earlier, Benton does have a history of criticising his supporting musicians when concerts are not well received. However, in this case, there is the added reality of the everyday challenges of many of the local musicians he was surrounded by. Although various musicians chose to play and learn music by ear, in South Africa there was the added political dimension whereby very few opportunities were available for black South Africans. Pops Mohamed, a noted South African multi-instrumentalist, remarked in Gwen Ansell's book *Soweto Blues* that, "[i]t was even hard for us to go to music schools – we couldn't afford it and there were no proper music

¹¹⁴ Author Unknown: "Why I quit the show by Brook Benton," *Drum*, November 1971, p. 15.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ L. Mayekiso: "Golden Oldies," *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 September 1971, p. 5.

¹¹⁷ M. Mahlaba: "Musical Meanings," *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 June 1975, p. 5.

¹¹⁸ Staff Reporter: "'Bands must read music'," *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 September 1971, p. 5.

¹¹⁹ Author Unknown: "Sonny Boy's Jazz Column," *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 October 1971, p. 5.

schools for black South Africans.”¹²⁰ Regardless of the unfolding blame game between local and international artists, for the audiences a large portion of their discontent was centred around the unfamiliarity of Benton’s latest releases.

In response to this critique, Benton commented that

He wanted to give his fans an insight into his latest renditions. [...] If my fans want my old songs, which are popular among them, I am prepared to please them – provided the band can cope with me.¹²¹

According to Gradischnig, these fans wanted to hear songs such as “Lie to Me,” which Benton did not include in his concert programmes anymore because it was an old song.¹²² This was later added to the programme.¹²³ Benton interpreted the popularity of this song in South Africa as pointing to the fact that, “[t]hey were accustomed to being lied to and sensed this same feeling in the song ‘Lie To Me’, but were able to turn their negative feelings into happiness by rocking to it.”¹²⁴ This song was, in fact, a love song based on a woman that was cheating on a man and because of how much he loved her, she should rather tell him a lie than the truth about it. It is revealing that Benton would reinvent the initial meaning attached to this song, a love song, to one that has political connotations.

Apart from misjudging the concert programme, the promoters also misjudged the ticket prices, especially if compared to the incomes of the audiences it was scheduled for. Busi Tshabalala, a Jabavu shop-assistant in White City commented that:

For a girl like me who earns R5 a week paying R7 for the opening night would have been very silly. I very much wanted to go, but it would mean a week’s wages just for a few hours of entertainment. These people who run shows must think about us too when they start setting prices. [...] If they want to make shows for us let them do so but if the shows are only for ‘ty-tys’¹²⁵ well we will stick to our radiograms or go to the movies to see Brook Benton, not for a fortune, aikona.¹²⁶

¹²⁰ G. Ansell: *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music and Politics in South Africa*, p. 159.

¹²¹ L. Mayekiso: “Golden Oldies,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 September 1971, p. 5.

¹²² H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 137.

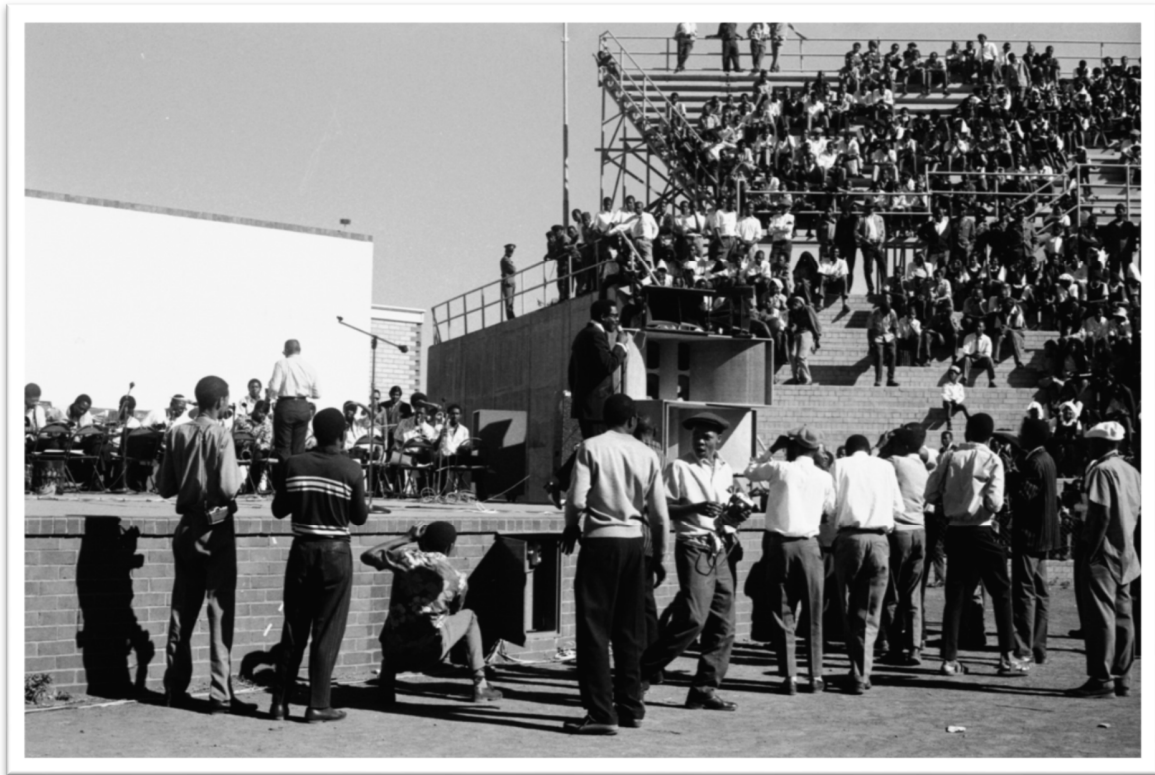
¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ People who have money.

¹²⁶ Author Unknown: “Why I quit the show by Brook Benton,” *Drum*, November 1971, p. 16.

After their unsuccessful first performance at Eyethu, the musicians performed on 20th September at Jabulani Amphitheatre with a greatly improved show since their opening night.¹²⁷ The Jabulani Amphitheatre (as shown below) was the venue of great significance during the apartheid years. In 1952 it was built by the West Rand Administration Board to host cultural and sporting events.¹²⁸ It hosted events such as Jazz Festivals, which would later be known as the Soweto National Jazz Festival in the 1960s and held Maskandi and other traditional music concerts and festivals in the 1980s.¹²⁹ Local bands such as the Beaters later renamed Harare, Blondie Makhene, the Black Hawks, Dollar Brand (Abdullah Ibrahim) and other African-American musicians, as mentioned in Chapter Two, such as Dobbie Gray (1976, 1978 and 1980) and the Staple Singers (1976) performed at this venue.¹³⁰



¹²⁷ Author Unknown: "Benton Show Packed," *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 September 1971, p. 10.

¹²⁸ Author Unknown: "Jabulani Amphitheatre Heritage Project: Bringing the iconic amphitheatre back to life," 7 September 2017, <https://www.spotongmag.co.za/articles/jabulani-amphitheatre-heritage-project-6157.html> (Accessed 28 Feb. 2019)

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

Figure 5: Brook Benton performing at Jabulani Amphitheatre in 1971 – Photograph taken by David Marks.¹³¹

Quite unlike Bill Nasson's description of the Luxurama theatre in Cape Town, one can see that the Jabulani Amphitheatre was much more rudimentary. However, it was a significant venue for a variety of events and gatherings in Soweto. It was built to host sporting events such as boxing matches and served as a space for bodybuilding training. It was also used by various churches to pray for the sick and for peace in the country.¹³² Political rallies were staged here by various organisations and funerals for political activists were also held here. Most famously this was the venue where Zinzi Mandela in 1985, on behalf of her imprisoned father, Nelson Mandela, read out a letter where he refused PW Botha's offer of a conditional release from prison if he stayed away from violence.¹³³

¹³¹ Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Photographs, Box 191. Photograph of Brook Benton performing at Jabulani Amphitheatre in 1971 – Photograph taken by David Marks.

¹³² Author Unknown: "Jabulani Amphitheatre Heritage Project: Bringing the iconic amphitheatre back to life," 7 September 2017, <https://www.spotongmag.co.za/articles/jabulani-amphitheatre-heritage-project-6157.html> (Accessed 28 Feb. 2019)

¹³³ *Ibid*; Author Unknown: "R150m Soweto Theatre packs entertainment punch, *The Star*, 22 May 2012, <https://www.iol.co.za/the-star/r150m-soweto-theatre-packs-entertainment-punch-1301530> (Accessed 28 Feb. 2019); "Joburg's Jabulani Amphitheatre set for a cultural revamp," 3 July 2014, http://www.iolproperty.co.za/roller/news/entry/joburg_s_jabulani_amphitheatre_set (Accessed 28 Feb. 2019)



Figure 6: Audience of school children at the Brook Benton performance, Jabulani Amphitheatre 1971.¹³⁴

Benton's concert at the Jabulani Amphitheatre was specially staged for school children (as seen above).¹³⁵ The concert included performances by Cocky Tlhotlhemaje, Judy Clay, Ronnie Madonsela and Count Wellington Judge.¹³⁶ A lot of similar supporting musicians were used by many South African promoters, and usually accompanied African American talent that came to tour South Africa during this period. Promoters often tried to promote local musicians alongside international stars when they came to tour South Africa to enable these local musicians to get some national and international exposure. Promoters then tried to sign these musicians on their rosters

¹³⁴ Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Photographs, Box 191. Photograph of school children at Jabulani Amphitheatre 1971 – Photograph taken by David Marks.

¹³⁵ Staff Reporter: "Girl is stabbed after show," *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 September 1971, p. 5.

¹³⁶ Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Photographs, Box 191. Photograph of Judy Clay, Ronnie Madonsela and Count Wellington on stage – Photograph taken by David Marks; Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Photographs, Box 191. Photograph of Cocky Tlhotlhemaje and Brook Benton – Photograph taken by David Marks.

after they became popular for example when the Quibell brothers signed Richard Jon Smith after he accompanied Percy Sledge on his tour in 1972.¹³⁷

Arlene Smith and The Chantels along with Judy Clay, Bobby Green, and Michael Silva performed with Benton during his tour, while a band of twenty musicians conducted by Fred Norman was booked to accompany the musicians.¹³⁸ This band included musicians from a jazz group called the Azanians, the jazz ballad singer Jeanette Tsagane, Count Wellington Judge, Ronnie Madonsela as well as jazz singer Thandie Klassen (otherwise known as Thandi Klaasen).¹³⁹ Additionally from the Cape, Chris Schilder, James MacDonald and Willie Nettie joined the band.¹⁴⁰ The *Rand Daily Mail* reported that “Mr Cocky Tlhotlhalemaje, of Sponono fame, also a vocalist, will compare the shows.”¹⁴¹ This was an impressive group of performers, including musicians working at the forefront of South African music during this period despite the restrictions imposed on them.¹⁴²

The band that backed Benton, shown below, had to use chairs for music stands, clearly indicating the differences between amenities in white and black performance spaces.

¹³⁷ H. Sewllall: “Cape Town, its Musical Spatiality and Apartheid: The Case of Zayn Adam, Richard Jon Smith and Jonathan Butler,” *Journal of Literary Studies*, Volume 33(2), pp. 9-11.

¹³⁸ M. Mahlaba: “Jazz fans set for a soulful September,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 July 1971, p. 5; Staff Reporter: “Benton’s band starts to rehearse,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 August 1971, p. 5; P. Feldman: “Johannesburg,” *Billboard*, Volume 83(42), 1971, p. 53.

¹³⁹ Thandi Klaasen came from Sophiatown and worked as a tea girl in a shop in Johannesburg. (M. Andersson: *Music in the Mix The Story of South African popular music*, p. 49; M. Mahlaba: “Saturdays are busy,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 March 1973, p. 12; Author Unknown: “Leonard Whiting sings blues,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 November 1972, p. 12; T. Maqubela: “Thandie Klaasen out of hospital – into battle for recovery,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 November 1973, p. 27; Author Unknown: “Jazzman of Year prize,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 November 1974, p. 29; Author Unknown: “Leonard Whiting sings blues,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 November 1972, p. 12; Z. B. Molefe: *A Common Hunger to Sing: A Tribute to South Africa’s Black Women of Song*, p. 80; M. Rörich: “Shebeens, Slumyards and Sophiatown. Black Women, Music and Cultural Change in Urban South Africa c 1920 – 1960,” *The World of Music*, Volume 31(1), 1989, pp. 95-96.)

¹⁴⁰ Staff Reporter: “Benton’s band starts to rehearse,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 August 1971, p. 5; M. Mahlaba: “Non-Whites only for Benton,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 September 1971, p. 5; Staff Reporter: “A big welcome awaits Brook Benton,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 September 1971, p. 5; Staff Reporter: “Jazzmen stuck – no transport,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 November 1969, p. 5; M. Mahlaba: “Non-Whites only for Benton,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 September 1971, p. 5.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² G. Ansell: *Soweto Blues: Jazz, Popular Music and Politics in South Africa*, pp. 67, 70, 102, 131, 147 & 170.



Figure 7: Brook Benton supporting orchestra at Jabulani Amphitheatre 1971.¹⁴³

Although the concert proceeded without incident, media reporting reflected negatively on Benton. This was based on a tragic event at the end of the Jabulani concert for school children. According to the *Rand Daily Mail*:

A standard eight pupil from Sekanontaone High School in Soweto was fatally stabbed this week when returning from a Brook Benton show specially staged for school children at the Jabulani Amphitheatre.¹⁴⁴

She was taken to Baragwanath Hospital in Johannesburg for surgery but died on the operating table.¹⁴⁵ The *Rand Daily Mail* reported that “Brook Benton, the visiting American singer, disappointed staff and patients at Baragwanath Hospital when he failed to turn up on a visit scheduled for Tuesday morning.”¹⁴⁶ This newspaper report painted Benton in a negative light as

¹⁴³ Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Photographs, Box 191. Orchestra at Jabulani Amphitheatre 1971 – Photograph taken by David Marks.

¹⁴⁴ Staff Reporter: “Girl is stabbed after show,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 September 1971, p. 5.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Staff Reporter: “A hospital waits in vain for singer,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 September 1971, p. 5.

someone not caring about his fans. The promoters made it public that they had informed Benton where to be and shifts the blame onto him.¹⁴⁷ This incident reflects on the daily lived experiences of people in Soweto. It also highlights the various ways in which Benton was depicted in the media, but more importantly, it is yet another indication of the tensions rife between the organisers and the musicians – Benton in particular.

It is in this context that Benton decided after his fourth concert to quit South Africa and return to America.¹⁴⁸ The *Rand Daily Mail* reported that Benton “abruptly walked out of a show at the Mamelodi cinema and refused to appear at another show on the next day.”¹⁴⁹ Before Benton left, he remarked in the *Drum* magazine that:

I hope [my fans] understand why I had to quit. You just don’t go singing to empty chairs. It’s ridiculous. It can drive you crazy. It took years of hard work and sweat to reach the top and I’ve got a reputation.¹⁵⁰

Unlike Sledge, Benton was concerned with his public image because he had more of an international career at that stage of his life. Benton left South Africa on the 4th of October even though he was still contractually bound to give thirty more shows for South African audiences.¹⁵¹ From initial reports, it seemed that the promoters did not object to Benton’s departure, but Morley blamed Benton for ending his tour prematurely resulting in massive financial losses.¹⁵²

Benton’s tour was costly. According to the *Rand Daily Mail*, Jackson Morley paid Benton about R800 a show, R500 for the hiring of venues as well as covering the hotel expenses of Benton and his party.¹⁵³ The artists were not paid on time and had to borrow money to return home.¹⁵⁴ After Benton left, Morley also tried to stop a cheque for R10 000 to Benton, which he apparently borrowed from someone else.¹⁵⁵ The promotion company was on the brink of financial collapse.

¹⁴⁷ Staff Reporter: “A hospital waits in vain for singer,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 September 1971, p. 5.

¹⁴⁸ Author Unknown: “Brook Benton Cancels First S. African Tour,” *Billboard*, Volume 83(45), 1971, p. 52.

¹⁴⁹ Staff Reporter: “Benton promoter closes offices,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 October 1971, p. 5; <http://www.3rdear music.com/hyarchive/hiddenyearsstory/pasafari.html> (Accessed 20 Sept. 2018); Author Unknown: “Brook Benton Cancels First S. African Tour,” *Billboard*, Volume 83(45), 1971, p. 52.

¹⁵⁰ Author Unknown: “Why I quit the show by Brook Benton,” *Drum*, November 1971, p. 15.

¹⁵¹ Staff Reporter: “Fans shocked as US star calls off tour,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 October 1971, p. 4.

¹⁵² Staff Reporter: “Benton bows out to no applause,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 October 1971, p. 3; Staff Reporter: “Fans shocked as US star calls off tour,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 October 1971, p. 4.

¹⁵³ Staff Reporter: “Fans shocked as US star calls off tour,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 October 1971, p. 4; Staff Reporter: “SA fans shocked as Brook Benton cuts tour short,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 October 1971, p. 5.

¹⁵⁴ Staff Reporter: “Benton promoter closes offices,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 October 1971, p. 5.

¹⁵⁵ Staff Reporter: “Benton’s R10 000 cheque stopped,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 October 1971, p. 8.

Benton kept contact with his personal manager, Alfred Rosenstein, while he was in South Africa updating him on the tour, complaining that the supporting band was not up to standard.¹⁵⁶ Furthermore, Benton complained that he had to invest his own personal finances into the endeavour.¹⁵⁷ Benton stated in the *Drum* magazine that:

You see I spent 25 000 dollars of my own money while here. It's not the dough I'm bothered about, but the way things were run. I also had to pay hotel bills for myself and the other members of my cast before we could be allowed to be bailed out of the Langham.¹⁵⁸

Benton also commented on how disorganised the shows were with the promoters changing venues at the last minute.

People would be told that I'm performing at some place then all of a sudden, we end up at another. One time when I nearly blew my top was when we had to cancel a matinee show. Can you guess the reason why? The people who were installing the elaborate sound system were not on time. Can you imagine such irresponsibility?¹⁵⁹

Rosenstein commented that “[h]andlers of other musicians are concerned over what happened to Benton. We all feel that we should be careful in future when dealing with South Africans.”¹⁶⁰ In the aftermath of the disastrous Benton tour, Ruth Bowen stated that the “Aretha Franklin, Ray Charles, Wilson Pickett and Isley Brothers contracts were cancelled with Aquarius Promotions but the tours would go on under a different promoter.”¹⁶¹ In this instance, the inadequacies of the promotion company not only had an impact on Benton’s tour but had a lasting impact on touring in South Africa.

Brook Benton sued the directors of Aquarius Promotions for R95 million in damages in January 1972.¹⁶² In this lawsuit, Benton claimed firstly, that the South African band provided by the promoters was not up to standard.¹⁶³ Secondly, these musicians could not read music at all.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁶ Staff Reporter: “Benton bows out to no applause,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 October 1971, p. 3.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ Author Unknown: “Why I quit the show by Brook Benton,” *Drum*, November 1971, p. 14.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁶⁰ Staff Reporter: “Benton bows out to no applause,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 October 1971, p. 3.

¹⁶¹ Author Unknown: “All promoters welcome bar one,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 October 1971, p. 5.

¹⁶² Staff Reporter: “Benton action to be defended,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 January 1972, p. 5.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*; Staff Reporter: “‘Bands must read music’,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 September 1971, p. 5.

Thirdly, that the promoters failed to hold the shows at the same venue daily,¹⁶⁵ and lastly, Benton alleged that the shows were not well advertised.¹⁶⁶

Morley flew out to New York to defend against this lawsuit.¹⁶⁷ The promoters claimed that Benton was upset over terms that was not stipulated in their contract and that it was Benton that in fact failed to comply with the terms of the contract.¹⁶⁸ The directors of Aquarius Promotions were targeted in the suit except for H. J. Langa.¹⁶⁹

In the *Rand Daily Mail*, Leon Seligson, Aquarius Promotions' lawyer reported that:

There was to have been another consultation later but Morley did not turn up again he is now back here in Johannesburg. [...] The time has now expired for filing papers opposing the action against them.”¹⁷⁰

It is, however, unclear what happened to the case afterwards as no information can be found about this case and the promotion company also vanished from the scene.¹⁷¹

Brook Benton's 1980 tour of South Africa

Clearly unperturbed by the conditions of the 1971 tour, Brook Benton, along with The Platters,¹⁷² was scheduled to tour South Africa with a new promotions company, the Quibell brothers from 31st January until 12th of March 1980.¹⁷³ The local group Harari was also set to support Benton on this tour and American comedians Bob Andra and Pat Gallo.¹⁷⁴ According to reports, leading

¹⁶⁵ Author Unknown: “Why I quit the show by Brook Benton,” *Drum*, November 1971, p. 15.

¹⁶⁶ Staff Reporter: “Benton action to be defended,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 January 1972, p. 5.

¹⁶⁷ Staff Reporter: “Morley Leaves To Defend R95m Claim By Benton,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 January 1972, p. 9.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ Staff Reporter: “Benton action to be defended,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 January 1972, p. 5.

¹⁷⁰ Staff Reporter: “New plea in Benton claim,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 February 1972, p. 5.

¹⁷¹ Staff Reporter: “Benton promoter closes offices,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 October 1971, p. 5

¹⁷² At this point this group consisted of Eugene Williams, Felicia Hernandez, Otis Hembre, LaBouy Blake and David Bacarr. (D. Bikitsha: “Platters arrive, without Brook,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 January 1980, p. 6.)

¹⁷³ D. Bikitsha: “Coming shows: Music in sun at Tembisa,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 November 1979, p. 18; D. Bikitsha: “With us again,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 January 1980, p. 10; Showbiz Reporter: “Brook ‘second time’ around,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 17 January 1980, p. 13; Author Unknown: “Still on the road,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 January 1980, p. 6.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*; D. Bikitsha: “Brook and his crowd here in two days,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 25 January 1980, p. 14.

up to Benton's tour, his music was being played all over the township in order to "revive memories and sharpen appetites for his debut."¹⁷⁵

However, when The Platters landed at O.R. Tambo Airport, Benton was nowhere to be found. According to John Michell, "Benton [...] underwent a gallstone operation in the hospital of his hometown New Orleans last week."¹⁷⁶ This could account for his absence at this time as he was recovering. Richard Walker, the *Rand Daily Mail's* foreign correspondent, also received word from Benton's promoter, Sal Michaels that he had not heard from Benton since before his operation.¹⁷⁷ In order to lure Benton to South Africa, the Quibell brothers even went so far as to provide an extra fee of \$20 000 on top of his \$42 000 fees.¹⁷⁸

As the attempt to trace Benton's whereabouts failed, the Quibells announced that the tour would continue "with or without Benton."¹⁷⁹ He added that tickets would be refunded to individuals that specifically wanted to see Benton.¹⁸⁰ This was in response to there not being enough time to organise another comparable African American musician.¹⁸¹ Furthermore, arrangements were made for other South African acts to appear such as Ben Masingo and Alain D. Woolf.¹⁸²

The shows now topped by The Platters resulted in a resounding success. Simon Wilson was of the opinion that, "it is hard to imagine Benton adding anything to the pace, skill and excitement of a thoroughly professional display by The Platters and Harari."¹⁸³ Wilson further reported that the South African group Harari, "bludgeon music from their instruments with breath-taking dexterity, and make a glorious sound with such diverse sounds as tribal drums and an ARP synthesizer."¹⁸⁴ In contrast to the previous fiasco, the supporting musicians were as appreciated as the international.

¹⁷⁵ Showbiz Reporter: "Showbiz miracle in for great reception," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 18 January 1980, p. 15.

¹⁷⁶ J. Michell: "Brook Benton can't be found," *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 January 1980, p. 1; J. Michell: "Where is Brook Benton?," *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 January 1980, p. 6.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ Reports varied on this amount between \$34 000 to \$42 000. (J. Michell: "Where is Brook Benton?," *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 January 1980, p. 6. See also J. Michell: "Where is Brook Benton?," *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 January 1980, p. 6; J. Michell: "Brook Benton can't be found," *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 January 1980, p. 1.)

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ J. Michell: "Brook Benton can't be found," *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 January 1980, p. 1.

¹⁸¹ J. Michell: "Where is Brook Benton?," *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 January 1980, p. 6.

¹⁸² J. Michell: "Brook Benton can't be found," *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 January 1980, p. 1; J. Michell: "Where is Brook Benton?," *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 January 1980, p. 6.

¹⁸³ S. Wilson: "Slick latters straddle the great musical divide," *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 February 1980, p. 8.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

However, some local musicians were still reported as displaying unprofessional behaviour. Oupa Segwai, a member of the group Harari, noted that he was expecting to be paid R3000, but instead only received R1000.¹⁸⁵ Segwai also noted added that he was upset that the promoters were still charging the same admission fee despite Brook Benton not performing on the bill.¹⁸⁶ The group's leader, Siphso Mabuse, however, remarked that they had no alternative but to fire Oupa as his behaviour was unprofessional on stage and despite promises to change this, "he failed to do so."¹⁸⁷ This is indicative of the manner in which local artists were being treated by organising committees in South Africa and the vast disparity in remuneration.

Despite the initial successes of the tour, by the 19th of February, the Quibell brothers decide to cancel the tour. It is in this context that Benton finds himself with one abortive tour in 1971 and a no-show tour in 1980. This did not deter the Quibell Brothers from trying to lure Benton back for another six-week tour of South Africa in 1982.

Brook Benton's 1982 tour of South Africa

Accompanying Benton on this tour were South African groups Sakhile and Juluka.¹⁸⁸ Sakhile was a six-man band that consisted of Khaya Mahlangu, Themba Mkhize, Siphso Gumede, Gabriel Thobenjane, Menyatso Matole and Madoda Mathenjwa.¹⁸⁹ Benton was scheduled to perform in the country from 22nd of February until 11th of April.¹⁹⁰ Upon arrival he was awarded two gold discs for the album *Nothing Can Take the Place of You* and *Gospel Truth* for achieving record sales in South Africa.¹⁹¹ Clearly his popularity had not dwindled in South Africa. He stated in the *Rand Daily Mail* that, "I feel that I owe my public something. And I think it'll be a great show."¹⁹²

¹⁸⁵ S. Wilson: "Slick latters straddle the great musical divide," *Rand Daily Mail*, 1 February 1980, p. 8.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁸ D. Bikitsha: "Tomorrow night he'll be more than just a smiling face....," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 15 February 1982, p. 1; Author Unknown: "Benton ready to begin SA tour," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 17 February 1982, p. 1; Author Unknown: Advertisement of Brook Benton's tour in South Africa, *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 February 1982, p. 7.

¹⁸⁹ Author Unknown: Advertisement of Brook Benton's tour in South Africa, *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 March 1982, p. 7.

¹⁹⁰ D. Bikitsha: "Tomorrow night he'll be more than just a smiling face....," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 15 February 1982, p. 1; S. Godson: "Third time lucky for Brook benton," *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 February 1982, p. 8.

¹⁹¹ Author Unknown: "Gold discs for Brook," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 19 February 1982, p. 17.

¹⁹² S. Godson: "Third time lucky for Brook benton," *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 February 1982, p. 8.

During this tour, Benton reiterated his apolitical stance as he had done during his 1971 tour. He remarked in the *Rand Daily Mail* that:

I didn't come to mix in the racial thing. I didn't come to hurt anybody or help anybody; I came to do my job. If I could help them some way, I would. I got my own problems; you know what I mean. You and me, we can't change what's happened. I could have been white. It wouldn't make any difference to what's in me. When this body is buried, what's in this body has no colour.¹⁹³

Similarly, to his 1971 tour, Benton believed that politics and music should be separate, that it was merely a job that he was doing.¹⁹⁴ Ironically, in spite of this dichotomy, this tour gives rise to more political critique and involvement form in relation to the cultural boycott, as opposed to any of the previous tours in the 1970s.

Derrick Luthayi reported on the performances of the supporting groups in the Colosseum.¹⁹⁵ He stated that "Shakile's music kept the audience spellbound. The audiences went wild as they poured out "Isillio," a song dedicated to those who died in the 1976 riots."¹⁹⁶ Additionally he remarked that the mixed-race group, "Juluka, masters of Zulu and dance, were a delight [...] they always raise a storm."¹⁹⁷

The tour received mixed responses from the press. Similarly, to his 1971 tour, his hit song "Lie to Me" proved very popular, with one reporter Luthayi noting that "the audience could not contain its joy. They went berserk under the magic spell of Benton."¹⁹⁸ On the other hand, the concert was criticised yet again for the lack of cohesion in the supporting band.¹⁹⁹ There was also controversy over one of Benton's performance on the 21st of March. This concert fell on Sharpeville day as coined by AZA, which is discussed by Drewett and Nixon.²⁰⁰ They labelled his performance on this day as "an insult to the oppressed and exploited in the country."²⁰¹ Ishmael Mkhabela, AZAPO's publicity secretary was of the opinion that, "March 21 was one of those days considered

¹⁹³ S. Godson: "Third time lucky for Brook benton," *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 February 1982, p. 8.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ For more information about the Colosseum, please see chapter five.

¹⁹⁶ D. Luthayi: "Magic night with Benton and Sakhile," *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 March 1982, p. 9.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ R. Nixon: *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*, pp. 157-159; M. Drewett: "An Analysis of the Censorship of Popular Music within the Context of Cultural Struggle in South Africa during the 1980s." PhD thesis, Rhodes University, South Africa, 2004, p. 185.

²⁰¹ D. Bikitsha: "Brook show change," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 17 Mach 1982, p. 15.

important in the struggle of the black people of South Africa.”²⁰² Reports criticize Benton for scheduling a show on that day and portrayed “a complete disregard of and indifference to the plight of black people.”²⁰³ Lastly, this group was of the opinion that, “the arrogance displayed in performing in the country in general and in Sebokeng in particular, can only be interpreted as an insult to the black man’s struggle.”²⁰⁴

Benton’s concert clearly aggravated AZAPO, a formal anti-apartheid group. In addition, this tour also insulted the apartheid government’s restrictions for performing music and festivities on a Sunday. Benton had performed gospel songs several Sundays in a row, and subsequently attracted the attention of the Minister of Internal Affairs, Chris Heunis. Ronnie Quibell stated that “[t]hey must have seen from advertisements that Brook Benton had performed three Sundays in Johannesburg’s Colosseum Theatre and once in Durban.”²⁰⁵

The promoters were baffled at this as several other recreations also took place such as cricket, performances at the State Opera House and concerts by the SABC Symphony Orchestra. According to Quibell, “[t]hey allow football and things but don’t want a man to sing light music on a Sunday. I cannot understand the sense and logic of it all.”²⁰⁶ According to reports, Benton was threatened with deportation and the cancellation of his tour.²⁰⁷ Benton, on the other hand, claimed that he never received any such threats. He commented in the *Rand Daily Mail* that:

I don’t know where all those reports came from. I am leaving tomorrow because my contract with the promoters, the Quibell Brothers had expired. I also happen to have a family I have not seen for six weeks.²⁰⁸

Benton denied that the government had threatened to evict him if he performed on Sundays.²⁰⁹ Benton still left the country the first week of April 1982, a week before his tour contract expired.

²⁰² D. Bikitsha: “Brook show change,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 17 March 1982, p. 15.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ D. Bikitsha: “Quibell: Benton was threatened,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 April 1982, p. 5.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*; Mail Correspondence: “Angry Quibell cancels shows,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 April 1982, p. 6.

²⁰⁷ Mail Correspondence: “Angry Quibell cancels shows,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 April 1982, p. 6; D. Bikitsha:

“Benton: No threat over Sunday shows,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 April 1982, p. 2; D. Bikitsha: “Quibell: Benton was threatened,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 April 1982, p. 5.

²⁰⁸ D. Bikitsha: “Benton: No threat over Sunday shows,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 April 1982, p. 2.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

After leaving the country, Benton was blacklisted along with a number of other international artists, for performing in South Africa including Ray Charles, Frank Sinatra, and Rod Stewart.²¹⁰ In the face of a worldwide boycott of his concerts and music, Benton pledged not to perform in South Africa as long as apartheid was still enforced.²¹¹

Conclusion

The Benton tours brought to the foreground some of the complexities that played out when African American musicians came to perform against the cultural boycott in apartheid South Africa. A complicated exchange between politics, money and music played out in the concert arenas of Benton's tours. Whereas Benton was inspired by a vision to return to his African roots on the African continent, which ties into the black power and nationalism of the time,²¹² his 1971 tour also appeared to be motivated by the financial gain that seemed evident from a South African tour at the time. In order to evaluate whether this was true at the time further research needs to be conducted. Brown also remarked in *Jet* magazine that, "[w]e were contacted by black promoters who informed us that black American performers were big seller in the country's most rigidly segregated country," which could account for her decision to choose a black promotion company not only to promote Benton but also other big names.²¹³

However, to tour South Africa, musicians had to remain apolitical and could not criticise the apartheid government, which Benton did on both occasions he set foot on South African soil. Benton himself noted that he was not a politician and would entertain whoever was in the audience. During his first tour, his booking agent, Ruth Brown, however, insisted that Benton will not perform for segregated audiences and would only perform for black audiences.²¹⁴ However, Brown and the other international individuals who joined Benton on his tour had no trouble accepting "Honorary White" status and making use of facilities and amenities only reserved for whites.

²¹⁰ H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 137.

²¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 197; United Nations Centre against Apartheid: "Register of Entertainers, Actors And Others Who Have Performed in Apartheid South Africa," *United Nations*, October 1983, http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.nuun1983_20 (Accessed 20 Sept. 2018)

²¹² H. Gradischnig & H. Maitner: *There Goes That Song Again*, p. 135.

²¹³ Such as James Brown, Lea Roberts, Judy Clay, the Isley Brothers and Timothy Wilson. (Author Unknown: "Denies White Agent Booked Ali's \$300,000 South African Tour," *Jet*, Volume 40(22), 1971, p. 56.)

²¹⁴ *Ibid*.

The refusal to play before white audiences also had financial implications and might be part of the reason the tour ended with a financial loss. Furthermore, there were also the practical realities of using a black promotion company to organise his South African tour. Whereas one might speculate that this was done to support local black enterprises, the repercussions of the apartheid laws meant that a black-owned company could not market shows for a white audience and perform at white theatres which most likely led to a lower profit margin. For example, after white shows were added to the itinerary of Percy Sledge's tour in 1970, the promoter's and musician's profits more than doubled.²¹⁵

However, Benton's 1982 tour was promoted by the Quibell brothers, who were more experienced and efficient in promoting these international musicians in South Africa, evidenced by Percy Sledge the previous year, because of the benefits their race allowed. But despite this they were still criticized by the South African government for performing on Sundays, which depicted the religiously conservative nature of the country.²¹⁶ Despite the presence of these musicians in South Africa being beneficial to a positive international image of South Africa, if these musicians spoke out against apartheid or went against the conservativeness of the country, they were reprimanded. This is depicted with Benton being threatened and Millie Jackson being dragged off during his first tour in 1978 for the use of foul language.²¹⁷

Sonny Boy also noted that South African promoters knew "nothing about the game except making an easy rand."²¹⁸ As Muff Andersson points out, this invariably led to bad shows with "poor sound, dreadful lighting [and] excessively priced."²¹⁹ To this one might add that Benton's first tour also highlighted some of the realities of black-owned companies functioning during apartheid. Aquarius promoters were clearly inexperienced and did not have similar institutional support or capital as the white-owned companies and had to collaborate with other companies and borrow money to finance the tour.

²¹⁵ Author Unknown: "South Africa Relaxes Curb on Percy Sledge Audiences," *The New York Times*, 11 June 1970, p. 51.

²¹⁶ D. Bikitsha: "Benton: No threat over Sunday shows," *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 April 1982, p. 2; Mail Correspondence: "Angry Quibell cancels shows," *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 April 1982, p. 6; D. Bikitsha: "Benton: No threat over Sunday shows," *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 April 1982, p. 2; D. Bikitsha: "Quibell: Benton was threatened," *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 April 1982, p. 5; P. E. Louw: *The Rise, Fall, and Legacy of Apartheid*, p. 37.

²¹⁷ <https://mg.co.za/article/1997-04-04-those-were-the-days> (Accessed 26 Sept. 2019)

²¹⁸ Author Unknown: "Sonny Boy's Jazz Column," *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 October 1971, p. 5.

²¹⁹ M. Andersson: *Music in the Mix: The Story of South African popular music*, p. 49.

The musicians they booked for the concerts were also under-rehearsed and had in some instances to perform using chairs as music stands. Additionally, one can surmise that these musicians were desperate not only for exposure but to make money. For example, in Benton's 1982 tour, one of the members of Harari deemed the performances not profitable enough. This portrayed how these local musicians were struggling to make a living in South Africa during this period.

In addition to the practical realities of using a black promotion company in South Africa restricted by the racial laws of the time, Ruth Brown insisted that Benton not perform for segregated white audiences. This ideology fell into step with resistance rhetoric of the time, as seen for example in the publications by the American Committee on Africa, yet they still broke the cultural boycott to come and perform in South Africa. Acknowledging that there can be no politics spoken or performed.

The disorganisation surrounding the tour led to dissenting views around the character of Benton. The promoters claimed that "[r]ight from the start Benton was difficult. He was responsible for the whole thing being a failure."²²⁰ However, Vera remarked that:

Brook was a real pro, one who conducted himself as a gentleman. By all accounts, it was never any trouble to get him into a studio and no problem getting a satisfactory performance out of him. He was the kind of artist who showed up, suited up, and did his job without giving anybody grief.²²¹

Benton's frustration can thus be attributed to the lack of experience of his South African promotion company. After he decided to quit the tour, Benton remarked in the *Drum* magazine that, "[h]e had Morley in [his] suite trying to help him, teach him the tricks of showbiz."²²² However, it seemed that the obstacles for the promoters to overcome were too high.

Whereas Sledge went back to America after a successful concert that gave his career new impetus and drive, Benton left on a low note, humiliated by the poor audience turn out and the state of the venues. Sledge's ego was stroked with whites crashing his show to see him perform, while Benton had to sing to empty chairs. This could be due to insufficient advertising or the fact that Benton's shows were only promoted for black audiences. Benton's subsequent tours in the 1980s could have

²²⁰ Author Unknown: "Why I quit the show by Brook Benton," *Drum*, November 1971, p. 16.

²²¹ B: Vera: "Endlessly: The Best of Brook Benton," <http://www.shewins.com/liner.htm> (Accessed 23 Feb. 2019)

²²² Author Unknown: "Why I quit the show by Brook Benton," *Drum*, November 1971, p. 14.

been an attempt by the musician to redeem himself as it was highly successful until the tour received the attention of the apartheid government.

Benton was revered as a musician in South Africa and in America, celebrated for his achievements as a black man and the career he built. Benton saw his music and songs as a vehicle to convey a message,²²³ and his audiences were hoping to hear the songs that they were familiar with and associated with his success in South Africa. To South African audiences, the song “Lie to Me” was a significant political marker that they could also dance to and be inspired by.

The disorganisation of the tours, the standard of the venues available to the promoters, under-rehearsed musicians who could never quite get back on track after the first concert, and inappropriate advertisement led to an unsuccessful tour and financial losses. Benton’s 1971 tour clearly illustrated the financial, political and cultural dynamics that were at stake in South Africa at the time and the disadvantages plaguing a black promotion company, as well as the complex interplay between political standpoint and financial gain.

Moreover, both his scheduled tour in 1980 and 1982 were problematic and added to his negative image since his first appearance in 1971. Firstly, he did not arrive in 1980, which despite allowing these supporting musicians to top the bill were cancelled as there was no musician of comparable popularity. Secondly, despite singing gospel music on Sundays, Benton was still threatened for performing on Sunday to the point where he left South Africa early. This shows that despite these musicians furthering the goal of the Apartheid government, they were only tolerated in the country if they adhered to the countries conservative policies.²²⁴

During his 1982 tour, Benton was also faced with an anti-apartheid movement that was much more prominent than in the 1970s. Another artist that straddles this 1970s and 80s eras is Jimmy Smith who toured South Africa in 1978 and 1982.

²²³ B. Bronk: “Brook Benton: Let Me Sing And I’m Happy,” *Goldmine*, 27 September 2016, <https://www.goldminemag.com/articles/brook-benton-let-sing-im-happy> (Accessed 3 Apr. 2019)

²²⁴ P. E. Louw: *The Rise, Fall, and Legacy of Apartheid*, p. 37.

Chapter Five: “Got My Mojo Workin’”: Jimmy Smith 1978 and 1982

Introduction

In 1978, a tour of South Africa was scheduled for Jimmy Smith, world-renowned soul and jazz organist, from 27th of November until 9th of December in Johannesburg.¹ There was a possibility that the tour would be extended and include visits to the rest of the country depending on Smith’s popularity.² A spokesman for the unnamed promotion company that brought Smith to South Africa, remarked that Smith’s “countrywide tour will depend on the popularity of his shows in Johannesburg. If people receive him well, as we expect, we will book him for shows in other cities.”³

Jazz was very popular during the early 20th century not only in South Africa but globally and one of the pioneering figures, especially in the use of the Hammond organ in jazz ensembles, was Jimmy Smith.⁴ Smith’s acclaim is reflected by, Bikitsha’s enthusiastic description of Smith as, “[u]niversally acknowledged as the world’s greatest jazz organist.”⁵ For Bikitsha, “[t]here is no other musician today who has held a title without a threat for an entire 20-year career.”⁶

In this chapter, Jimmy Smith’s tours to South Africa (1978 and 1982) will be explored by looking at his performances to mixed audiences and the absence of supporting musicians. The chapter looks at Jimmy Smith’s rise to stardom before turning to his first tour in South Africa in 1978. This section looks at where he performed and the reception he received in South Africa. Secondly, Jimmy Smith’s 1982 tour is addressed. This section looks at the two tours of Smith with Clarence Carter and then Stanley Turrentine.

¹ D. Bikitsha: “Organ king Jim play in Jo’burg,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 October 1978, p. 17; Author Unknown: “Jimmy Smith is on the way,” *Drum*, December 1978, p. 80; D. Bikitsha: “Living legend Jimmy arrives on Friday,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 November 1978, p. 19; Staff Reporter: “Jazzman Smith breezes in,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 November 1978, p. 1; L. Meintjies: *Sound of Africa! Making Music Zulu in a South African Studio*, p. 135.

² *Ibid.*

³ Author Unknown: “Jimmy Smith is on the way,” *Drum*, December 1978, p. 80.

⁴ D. Bikitsha: “Organ king Jim play in Jo’burg,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 October 1978, p. 17; Author Unknown: “Jimmy Smith is on the way,” *Drum*, December 1978, p. 80.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

Smith's rise to Stardom

James Oscar Smith was born on the 8th of December 1928 in Norristown, Pennsylvania.⁷ His father worked as a plaster man during the day and played the piano at the local clubs at night.⁸ At the age of six, Smith started working alongside his father in his song-and-dance routine in clubs.⁹ Tim Dean-Lewis stated that “Smith’s parents were both pianists and encouraged him from an early age.”¹⁰ Along with lessons from his parents, Smith started teaching himself to play the piano and won a Philadelphia radio talent contest as a pianist at the age of nine.¹¹

Smith left school when he was in grade seven as a result of his father injuring his knee and did odd jobs in order to support his family.¹² When Smith turned fifteen, he joined the Navy. After Smith was discharged in 1947, he used money provided by the GI Bill for veterans, to study double bass at the Royal Hamilton College of Music. In 1949, Smith switched to piano and continued his

⁷ Where his father played the piano and he tap danced or some other dance. There is some contention over his state of birth. Some sources claim that he was born in the year 1925. (J. Thurber: “Jimmy Smith, 76; Broke New Ground in Jazz With the Hammond Organ,” *Los Angeles Times*, 1 February 2005, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2005-feb-10-me-smith10-story.html> (Accessed 9 Apr. 2019); R. Palmer: “Pop Jazz; Jimmy Smith, Artist of The Jazz Organ, Plays Fat Tuesday’s,” *The New York Times*, 11 September 1981, <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/11/arts/pop-jazz-jimmy-smith-artist-of-the-jazz-organ-plays-fat-tuesday-s.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019))

⁸ R. Scott: “Farewell to organist Jimmy Smith and Ossie Davis,” *The New York Amsterdam News*, 17-23 February 2005, p. 39; Author Unknown: “Jimmy Smith is on the way,” *Drum*, December 1978, p. 80.

⁹ T. Dean-Lewis: “Treading the Board – A Pedal Play: The Artistry of Jimmy Smith in Performance,” *Annual Review of Jazz Studies*, 1999, p. 195; R. Cook: “Organ donor,” *New Statesman*, Volume 129(4427), 1999, p. 36; B. Ratliff: “Jimmy Smith, Jazz Organist and Pioneer, Is Dead at 76,” *The New York Times*, 10 February 2005, <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/02/10/arts/music/jimmy-smith-jazz-organist-and-pioneer-is-dead-at-76.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019); B. Ratliff: “Jimmy Smith, Jazz Organist and Pioneer, Is Dead at 76,” *The New York Times*, 10 February 2005, <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/02/10/arts/music/jimmy-smith-jazz-organist-and-pioneer-is-dead-at-76.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019); C. Wolff: “Grapevine: Jimmy Smith 192? – 2005,” *Goldmine*, Volume 31(9), 2005, p. 10.

¹⁰ R. Scott: “Farewell to organist Jimmy Smith and Ossie Davis,” *The New York Amsterdam News*, 17-23 February 2005, p. 25; T. Dean-Lewis: “Treading the Board – A Pedal Play: The Artistry of Jimmy Smith in Performance,” *Annual Review of Jazz Studies*, 1999, p. 195; B. Ratliff: “Jimmy Smith, Jazz Organist and Pioneer, Is Dead at 76,” *The New York Times*, 10 February 2005, <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/02/10/arts/music/jimmy-smith-jazz-organist-and-pioneer-is-dead-at-76.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019); C. Wolff: “Grapevine: Jimmy Smith 192? – 2005,” *Goldmine*, Volume 31(9), 2005, p. 10.

¹¹ J. Fordham: “50 great moments in jazz: Jimmy Smith and the Hammond organ,” <https://www.theguardian.com/music/musicblog/2010/jun/02/jimmy-smith-hammond-organ> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); Author Unknown: “Jimmy Smith is on the way,” *Drum*, December 1978, p. 80.

¹² Such as working construction for Pennsylvania Railroad. <https://www.allmusic.com/artist/jimmy-smith-mn0000781172/biography> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); R. Scott: “Farewell to organist Jimmy Smith and Ossie Davis,” *The New York Amsterdam News*, 17-23 February 2005, p. 25; C. Wolff: “Grapevine: Jimmy Smith 192? – 2005,” *Goldmine*, Volume 31(9), 2005, p. 10; A. N. Henderson: <http://www.notablebiographies.com/newsmakers2/2006-Ra-Z/Smith-Jimmy.html#ixzz5AYQygg3e> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); J. Holley: “Jazz Musician Jimmy Smith, Master Organist, Dies at 76,” *Washington Post*, 1 February 2005, p. 8.

studies at the Leo Ornstein School of Music in Philadelphia.¹³ Throughout his formative years as a pianist and a student, Smith refused to read notation since he felt it would change his “natural” way of playing.¹⁴ Unlike Benton in the previous chapter, Smith does not consider not being able to read an inhibiting factor to his practice, but in fact, sees it as something that enhances his musicianship.

At the beginning of the 1950s, Smith experimented with the organ while playing the piano for Don Gardner and his Sonotones.¹⁵ He switched to the organ permanently in 1954 after regular interaction with Wild Bill Davis’ performances at Club Harlem in Atlantic City, who was very popular between 1950 and 1954.¹⁶ The *Boston Globe* recalled that Jimmy Smith “heard Wild Bill Davis playing the organ at the Club Harlem City and said, ‘To hell with the piano. I’m going to play this sucker’.”¹⁷ John Thurber recalled Smith’s fascination with the organ, in a previous interview for *Down Beat*:

The Hammond has body. It's got depth and resonance. It's got clarity and quality. And you can feel it. It's not so much that you can hear it. It's the feeling that's important. You see, it's like a drummer. You don't want to hear him. You want to feel him. You can have the best drummer in the world, but if he's too loud, he's out of place. With the Hammond, you feel it in your bones.¹⁸

This reference to the body reflects some of the observations made by Barry Kernfeld in relation to Soul Jazz, referenced in Chapter One, especially its references to the body and speech inflections

¹³ Tim Dean-Lewis claims that Smith also studied harmony and theory at Halsey Music School. (T. Dean-Lewis: “Treading the Board – A Pedal Play: The Artistry of Jimmy Smith in Performance,” *Annual Review of Jazz Studies*, 1999, p. 195; R. Scott: “Farewell to organist Jimmy Smith and Ossie Davis,” *The New York Amsterdam News*, 17-23 February 2005, pp. 25 & 39; R. Palmer: “Pop Jazz; Jimmy Smith, Artist of The Jazz Organ, Plays Fat Tuesday’s,” *The New York Times*, 11 September 1981, <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/11/arts/pop-jazz-jimmy-smith-artist-of-the-jazz-organ-plays-fat-tuesday-s.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019); C. Wolff: “Grapevine: Jimmy Smith 192? – 2005,” *Goldmine*, Volume 31(9), 2005, p. 10.)

¹⁴ D. Bikitsha: “Organ king Jim play in Jo’burg,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 October 1978, p. 17; Author Unknown: “Jimmy Smith is on the way,” *Drum*, December 1978, p. 80; J. Michell: “Dog bit jazz cat,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 November 1978, p. 10.

¹⁵ J. Fordham: “50 great moments in jazz: Jimmy Smith and the Hammond organ,” <https://www.theguardian.com/music/musicblog/2010/jun/02/jimmy-smith-hammond-organ> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); R. Scott: “Farewell to organist Jimmy Smith and Ossie Davis,” *The New York Amsterdam News*, 17-23 February 2005, p. 25.

¹⁶ J. Holley: “Jazz Musician Jimmy Smith, Master Organist, Dies at 76,” *Washington Post*, 1 February 2005, p. 8.

¹⁷ A. Spiegelman: “Jimmy Smith, 79; organist expanded jazz's boundaries,” *The Boston Globe*, 10 February 2005, http://archive.boston.com/news/globe/obituaries/articles/2005/02/10/jimmy_smith_79_organist_expanded_jazzs_boundaries/ (Accessed 8 Apr. 2019)

¹⁸ J. Thurber: “Jimmy Smith, 76; Broke New Ground in Jazz With the Hammond Organ,” *Los Angeles Times*, 1 February 2005, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2005-feb-10-me-smith10-story.html> (9 Apr. 2019)

of black preachers. The Hammond organ was also cheaper with more reliable tuning. It also enabled individuals that were financially struggling to still be able to create jazz without having to spend a lot of money on a piano.¹⁹ Smith claimed that he switched to the organ as a result of his frustrations with badly out-of-tune pianos in jazz clubs during this period, and the organ was lighter to transport.²⁰

In contrast to the piano, the Hammond organ required the player to also learn how to use the foot pedals. Even though Wild Bill Davis warned Smith that it would take him “between 4 and 15 years to learn how to use [them]”,²¹ this motivated Smith to learn by using a chart that he put in front of him so that he did not have to look down at his feet.²² Whitely stated that this technique, coupled with his training in string bass and his flexibility of using both his toe and heel, since he was previously a tap dancer, may have led to an accelerated path in learning the pedals.²³

Smith purchased his first Hammond organ in 1954. According to Smith:

I got my organ from a loan shark and had it shipped to the warehouse. I stayed in that warehouse, I would say, six months to a year. I would do just like the guys do – take my lunch, then I'd go and sit down at this beast. Nobody showed me anything, man, so I had to fiddle around with my stops.²⁴

During the day, he practised the basics of his style in the Philadelphia warehouse where he and his father were working and played at various clubs during the night.²⁵ Due to his rigorous training

¹⁹ J. Fordham: “50 great moments in jazz: Jimmy Smith and the Hammond organ,” <https://www.theguardian.com/music/musicblog/2010/jun/02/jimmy-smith-hammond-organ> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019)

²⁰ N. Hitchison: “Hammond B3 Organ Trios and Soul Jazz 1955-1965.” Master’s Thesis, University of California, Santa Cruz, 2017, p. 14; D. Bikitsha: “Organ king Jim play in Jo’burg,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 October 1978, p. 17.

²¹ A. Spiegelman: “Jimmy Smith, 79; organist expanded jazz's boundaries,” *The Boston Globe*, 10 February 2005, http://archive.boston.com/news/globe/obituaries/articles/2005/02/10/jimmy_smith_79_organist_expanded_jazzs_boundaries/ (Accessed 8 Apr. 2019)

²² J. Whiteley: “Hammond Technique and Methods: Music Written for the Hammond Organ.” Master’s Thesis, York University, Ontario, 2013, p. 31.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ M. Sabbatini: “Jimmy SMITH: Master of the Hammond B-3,” <https://www.allaboutjazz.com/jimmy-smith-master-of-the-hammond-b-3-jimmy-smith-by-mark-sabbatini.php> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019)

²⁵ A. N. Henderson: <http://www.notablebiographies.com/newsmakers2/2006-Ra-Z/Smith-Jimmy.html#ixzz5AYOygg3e> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); J. Thurber: “Jimmy Smith, 76; Broke New Ground in Jazz With the Hammond Organ,” *Los Angeles Times*, 1 February 2005, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2005-feb-10-me-smith10-story.html> (9 Apr. 2019); Author Unknown: “Prelude: Jimmy Smith,” *JAZZIZ*, Volume 22(4), 2005, p. 19; R. Schwartz: “Organ Jazz.” Master’s thesis, Rutgers State University of New Jersey, New Jersey, 2012, p. 3.

routine, Smith was able to learn how to play the instrument in just four months, a commendable feat.²⁶ Smith's musical prowess can even be seen in some unlikely places. He noted that the:

[L]oan shark [would] show up every Saturday night at my gigs to collect his payments. He always carried a gun, and one night he got so excited that he got up on a table, yelled 'Go, Jimmy' and started waving his gun around. The whole club cleared out. I told him that he'd better start sitting quietly in a corner if he expected me to keep working.²⁷

This portrayed the type of performer Smith was as he was able to have the audience spellbound even though his loan shark was sitting in the club with a weapon. Smith initially only performed in Philadelphia with a drummer, but after he added a guitarist to the group, he took his band and started performing in the clubs of New York.²⁸

Shortly after Smith's performance at Small's Paradise in Harlem, New York City, from the 1950s with his trio including Thornel Schwartz and Donald Bailey, the Blue Note's founders Alfred Lion and Francis Wolff signed him to the label.²⁹ When Alfred Lion was interviewed by the *Boston Globe* in 2005, he recalled that night:

I first heard Jimmy at Small's Paradise in January of 1956. It was his first gig in New York. He was a stunning sight. A man in convulsions, face contorted, crouched over in apparent agony, his fingers flying, his foot dancing over the pedals. The air was filled with waves of sound I had never heard before. The noise was shattering. A few people sat around, puzzled, but impressed. He came off the stand, smiling, the sweat dripping all over him. 'So, what do you think?' 'Yeah!' I said. That's all I could say.³⁰

²⁶ D. Bikitsha: "Organ king Jim play in Jo'burg," *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 October 1978, p. 17.

²⁷ A. Spiegelman: "Jimmy Smith, 79; organist expanded jazz's boundaries," *The Boston Globe*, 10 February 2005, http://archive.boston.com/news/globe/obituaries/articles/2005/02/10/jimmy_smith_79_organist_expanded_jazzs_boundaries/ (Accessed 8 Apr. 2019); C. Wolff: "Grapevine: Jimmy Smith 192? – 2005," *Goldmine*, Volume 31(9), 2005, p. 10.

²⁸ N. Hitchison: "Hammond B3 Organ Trios and Soul Jazz 1955-1965." Master's Thesis, University of California, Santa Cruz, 2017, p. 14.

²⁹ R. Schwartz: "Organ Jazz." Master's thesis, Rutgers State University of New Jersey, New Jersey, 2012, p. 3; D. Bikitsha: "Organ king Jim play in Jo'burg," *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 October 1978, p. 17.

³⁰ R. Scott: "Farewell to organist Jimmy Smith and Ossie Davis," *The New York Amsterdam News*, 17-23 February 2005, p. 25; R. Cook: "Organ donor," *New Statesman*, Volume 129(4427), 1999, p. 36; N. Hitchison: "Hammond B3 Organ Trios and Soul Jazz 1955-1965." Master's Thesis, University of California, Santa Cruz, 2017, p. 15; A. Spiegelman: "Jimmy Smith, 79; organist expanded jazz's boundaries," *The Boston Globe*, 10 February 2005, http://archive.boston.com/news/globe/obituaries/articles/2005/02/10/jimmy_smith_79_organist_expanded_jazzs_boundaries/ (Accessed 8 Apr. 2019); J. Holley: "Jazz Musician Jimmy Smith, Master Organist, Dies at 76," *Washington Post*, 1 February 2005, p. 8; C. Wolff: "Grapevine: Jimmy Smith 192? – 2005," *Goldmine*, Volume 31(9), 2005, p. 10.

Smith's approach to playing the organ veered away from the playing styles of Fats Waller, Count Basie, Wild Bill Davis, who used the organ in their music in a more choral and orchestral style. Smith had a different approach.³¹ Bob Porter, an American record producer, pointed out that:

Jimmy Smith introduced a new approach to the instrument by incorporating Earl Bud Powell and Charles Christopher Parker, which popularised the electric organ as a jazz and blues instrument.³²

Richard Cook similarly pointed out that Smith's approach to the Hammond organ was lighter than other performers. He notes that:

The problem with the organ was its weight, its blowsy sound, and its fixed, cloddish attack. Smith made it seem light on its feet. He used the foot pedals to play a roving, nimble bass line. His left hand-blocked in the chords, with the notes coming out in what seemed like a growling baritone. His right hand was the decorative top line, the language of bebop thickened by a churchy, testifying undertow. Though there was plenty of subtlety in Smith's playing, it was its churning excitement that people responded to. If bop could be a music of isolating brilliance, Smith gave it a ringside exuberance and panache.³³

Moreover, Smith stated that he did not listen to keyboard players, he rather received his inspiration from horn players such as Arnett Cobb, Coleman Hawkins and Don Byas.³⁴ Smith wrote in a small piece for *The Hammond Times* in 1964 that, “[w]hile others think of the organ as a full orchestra,

³¹ R. D. Lankford, Jr: “Jimmy Smith,” <https://www.encyclopedia.com/people/literature-and-arts/music-popular-and-jazz-biographies/jimmy-smith> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); N. Hitchison: “Hammond B3 Organ Trios and Soul Jazz 1955-1965.” Master’s Thesis, University of California, Santa Cruz, 2017, pp. 14 & 21; B. Milkowski: “Return of the killer B-3’s,” *Billboard*, Volume 105(27), 1993, p. 4.

³² <http://www.bluenote.com/artists/jimmy-smith> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); R. Scott: “Farewell to organist Jimmy Smith and Ossie Davis,” *The New York Amsterdam News*, 17-23 February 2005, p. 25; A. Spiegelman: “Jimmy Smith, 79; organist expanded jazz's boundaries,” *The Boston Globe*, 10 February 2005, http://archive.boston.com/news/globe/obituaries/articles/2005/02/10/jimmy_smith_79_organist_expanded_jazzs_boundaries/ (Accessed 8 Apr. 2019); B. Milkowski: “Return of the killer B-3’s,” *Billboard*, Volume 105(27), 1993, p. 4; Author Unknown: “Rock & Roll: Changes – Jazz Organ Great Jimmy Smith, 1928 – 2005,” *Rolling Stone*, 2005, p. 46; J. Holley: “Jazz Musician Jimmy Smith, Master Organist, Dies at 76,” *Washington Post*, 1 February 2005, p. 8; R. Palmer: “Pop Jazz; Jimmy Smith, Artist of The Jazz Organ, Plays Fat Tuesday’s,” *The New York Times*, 11 September 1981, <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/11/arts/pop-jazz-jimmy-smith-artist-of-the-jazz-organ-plays-fat-tuesday-s.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019); <http://www.alljazzradio.co.za/2006/06/27/the-development-of-jazz-in-south-africa/> (Accessed 11 Apr. 2019)

³³ R. Cook: “Organ donor,” *New Statesman*, Volume 129(4427), 1999, p. 36.

³⁴ R. D. Lankford, Jr: “Jimmy Smith,” <https://www.encyclopedia.com/people/literature-and-arts/music-popular-and-jazz-biographies/jimmy-smith> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); <https://www.allmusic.com/artist/jimmy-smith-mn0000781172/biography> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); R. Scott: “Farewell to organist Jimmy Smith and Ossie Davis,” *The New York Amsterdam News*, 17-23 February 2005, p. 25.

I think of it as a horn.”³⁵ Smith’s new approach to playing the organ was not the only reason he became so popular during this period. Dean-Lewis believed:

Since 1933, and the end of prohibition, small nightclubs had sprung up again all over the U.S.A. From the point of view of many club owners, the organ trio format showed one principal economic advantage over larger groups: in many states, a jazz venue was allowed a maximum of three musicians playing if it wanted to avoid paying for an expensive music license. The organ trio was a complete "made-to-measure" band for this situation. The drums would supply the rhythm, while a guitar (or saxophone) played the melody.³⁶

Smith’s trio was, therefore, a perfect fit for jazz clubs that wanted to save money on an expensive music licence.³⁷ Smith also seems to have been able to read his audiences very well. Palmer recalled that Smith “first ensnared his audience by digging into the blues.”³⁸ Smith stated in an interview for the *New York Times* that, “[y]ou have to make the people feel what you're doing; once they find out that you're enjoying what you're doing, then they can enjoy it with you.”³⁹

While at the Blue Notes label, Smith produced between thirty to forty albums.⁴⁰ During the eight years he spent at the label, Smith produced so much music that some of the records had to be placed in a safe because not all of his music could be released at the same time.⁴¹ The label also created a special division for the genre that Smith was developing.⁴² Commenting on his sound,

³⁵ B. Ratliff: “Jimmy Smith, Jazz Organist and Pioneer, Is Dead at 76,” *The New York Times*, 10 February 2005, <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/02/10/arts/music/jimmy-smith-jazz-organist-and-pioneer-is-dead-at-76.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019)

³⁶ T. Dean-Lewis: “Treading the Board – A Pedal Play: The Artistry of Jimmy Smith in Performance,” *Annual Review of Jazz Studies*, 1999, p. 195; E. Rideout: “Intro: Departures - Jimmy Smith 1920 – 2005,” *Keyboard*, Volume 31(4), 2005, p. 18.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ R. Palmer: “Pop Jazz; Jimmy Smith, Artist of The Jazz Organ, Plays Fat Tuesday's,” *The New York Times*, 11 September 1981, <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/11/arts/pop-jazz-jimmy-smith-artist-of-the-jazz-organ-plays-fat-tuesday-s.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019)

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ A. N. Henderson: <http://www.notablebiographies.com/newsmakers2/2006-Ra-Z/Smith-Jimmy.html#ixzz5AYOygg3e> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); J. Cohen: “Jimmy Smith Dies,” *Billboard*, Volume 117(8), 2005, p. 8; N. Hitchison: “Hammond B3 Organ Trios and Soul Jazz 1955-1965.” Master’s Thesis, University of California, Santa Cruz, 2017, p. 28; J. Holley: “Jazz Musician Jimmy Smith, Master Organist, Dies at 76,” *Washington Post*, 1 February 2005, p. 8; R. Palmer: “Pop Jazz; Jimmy Smith, Artist of The Jazz Organ, Plays Fat Tuesday's,” *The New York Times*, 11 September 1981, <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/11/arts/pop-jazz-jimmy-smith-artist-of-the-jazz-organ-plays-fat-tuesday-s.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019)

⁴¹ <http://www.orinji.force9.co.uk/JimmySmith/guide.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019); J. Thurber: “Jimmy Smith, 76; Broke New Ground in Jazz With the Hammond Organ,” *Los Angeles Times*, 1 February 2005, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2005-feb-10-me-smith10-story.html> (Accessed 9 Apr. 2019)

⁴² M. Sabbatini: “Jimmy SMITH: Master of the Hammond B-3,” <https://www.allaboutjazz.com/jimmy-smith-master-of-the-hammond-b-3-jimmy-smith-by-mark-sabbatini.php> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019)

Arthur Spiegelman Reuters stated that at Blue Note, “Smith blended jazz, blues, rhythm and blues, bebop, and even gospel into an exciting stew that became known as ‘soul jazz’.”⁴³ This style is prevalent on albums such as *The Sermon!* (1957) and *Back at the Chicken Shack* (1960).⁴⁴

These productions were released sporadically over the years after he left the label in the early 1960s.⁴⁵ The albums Smith created at Blue Note, one of the most established jazz record labels at the time, and his appearance at the Newport Jazz Festival in 1957, pushed Smith to the forefront of jazz during the late 1950s.⁴⁶

During this time, Smith performed alongside famous musicians such as Ike Quebec, Tina Brooks, Lee Morgan, Kenny Burrell, George Benson, Grant Green, Lou Donaldson, Jackie McLean, Grady Tate, Donald Bailey, and Stanley Turrentine amongst others.⁴⁷ Additionally, Scott remarked that “[h]is Blue Note recordings were so successful they helped provide the label with the resources to explore more progressive styles and develop emerging artists.”⁴⁸

⁴³ E. Rideout: “Intro: Departures - Jimmy Smith 1920 – 2005,” *Keyboard*, Volume 31(4), 2005, p. 18; A. Spiegelman: “Jimmy Smith, 79; organist expanded jazz's boundaries,” *The Boston Globe*, 10 February 2005, http://archive.boston.com/news/globe/obituaries/articles/2005/02/10/jimmy_smith_79_organist_expanded_jazzs_boundaries/ (Accessed 8 Apr. 2019); J. Holley: “Jazz Musician Jimmy Smith, Master Organist, Dies at 76,” *Washington Post*, 1 February 2005, p. 8; <http://www.orinji.force9.co.uk/JimmySmith/guide.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019); C. Wolff: “Grapevine: Jimmy Smith 192? – 2005,” *Goldmine*, Volume 31(9), 2005, p. 10; Author Unknown: “Shirley Horn, Jimmy Smith, Kenny Burrell and Slide Hampton Named among America’s Jazz Master,” *Jet*, Volume 107(3), 2005, p. 60.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*; Author Unknown: “Jimmy Smith, 79, Pioneering Jazz Organist, Succumbs,” *Jet*, Volume 107(9), 2005, p. 58. <http://www.orinji.force9.co.uk/JimmySmith/guide.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019)

⁴⁵ R. D. Lankford, Jr: “Jimmy Smith,” <https://www.encyclopedia.com/people/literature-and-arts/music-popular-and-jazz-biographies/jimmy-smith> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); <https://www.allmusic.com/artist/jimmy-smith-mn0000781172/biography> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); J. Fordham: “50 great moments in jazz: Jimmy Smith and the Hammond organ,” <https://www.theguardian.com/music/musicblog/2010/jun/02/jimmy-smith-hammond-organ> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); <http://www.rirocks.net/Band%20Articles/Newport%20Jazz%20Festival%201957.htm> (Accessed 9 Apr. 2019); C. Wolff: “Grapevine: Jimmy Smith 192? – 2005,” *Goldmine*, Volume 31(9), 2005, p. 10; Author Unknown: “Jimmy Smith, 79, Pioneering Jazz Organist, Succumbs,” *Jet*, Volume 107(9), 2005, p. 58; Author Unknown: “Shirley Horn, Jimmy Smith, Kenny Burrell and Slide Hampton Named among America’s Jazz Master,” *Jet*, Volume 107(3), 2005, p. 60.

⁴⁷ R. Scott: “Farewell to organist Jimmy Smith and Ossie Davis,” *The New York Amsterdam News*, 17-23 February 2005, p. 25; T. Dean-Lewis: “Treading the Board – A Pedal Play: The Artistry of Jimmy Smith in Performance,” *Annual Review of Jazz Studies*, 1999, p. 195; A. Spiegelman: “Jimmy Smith, 79; organist expanded jazz's boundaries,” *The Boston Globe*, 10 February 2005, http://archive.boston.com/news/globe/obituaries/articles/2005/02/10/jimmy_smith_79_organist_expanded_jazzs_boundaries/ (Accessed 8 Apr. 2019); R. Palmer: “Pop Jazz; Jimmy Smith, Artist of The Jazz Organ, Plays Fat Tuesday's,” *The New York Times*, 11 September 1981, <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/11/arts/pop-jazz-jimmy-smith-artist-of-the-jazz-organ-plays-fat-tuesday-s.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019); C. Wolff: “Grapevine: Jimmy Smith 192? – 2005,” *Goldmine*, Volume 31(9), 2005, p. 10.

⁴⁸ R. Scott: “Farewell to organist Jimmy Smith and Ossie Davis,” *The New York Amsterdam News*, 17-23 February 2005, p. 25.

Smith's albums during the early 1960s included releases such as *Home Cookin'* (1960), *Midnight Special* (1961) and *Prayer Meeting* (1964).⁴⁹ Many of the albums Smith produced invoked the Hammond organ's gospel and church music lineage, evident in songs such as *The Sermon* and *Prayer Meeting*. During the 1960s, Smith regularly featured on the Billboard album charts with some of his most popular songs such as "Organ Grinder Swing" (1965) and "Hobo Flats" (1963).⁵⁰ On his album *Got My Mojo Workin* released in 1965, Smith also recorded a few vocal songs for the first time.⁵¹ Even though these were some of the first recordings of Smith singing, Doc Bikitsha commented that his voice was always present in his performances:

His gravelly voice often heard mumbling, growling and shouting beneath his organ lines on recordings, is even more animated away from the microphone as he does impersonations of other famous musicians, delivers discourses on modern musical directions, rumbles expressively through long anecdotes and fast one-liners, and explodes in frame-shaking laughter, all in rapid sequence.⁵²

Smith signed to the Verve label in 1962 and remained with the label for ten years.⁵³ During this period Smith performed with jazz guitarist Wes Montgomery and in big bands that were either conducted or arranged by Oliver Nelson.⁵⁴ Most famously Smith worked on Oliver Nelson's arrangement of "Walk on the Wild Side" in 1965.⁵⁵ In spite of his success, Smith remarked that "[t]he big bands were a lot of fun but I [had] more freedom with a trio."⁵⁶ While performing with

⁴⁹ A. Spiegelman: "Jimmy Smith, 79; organist expanded jazz's boundaries," *The Boston Globe*, 10 February 2005, http://archive.boston.com/news/globe/obituaries/articles/2005/02/10/jimmy_smith_79_organist_expanded_jazzs_boundaries/ (Accessed 8 Apr. 2019); R. Palmer: "Pop Jazz; Jimmy Smith, Artist of The Jazz Organ, Plays Fat Tuesday's," *The New York Times*, 11 September 1981, <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/11/arts/pop-jazz-jimmy-smith-artist-of-the-jazz-organ-plays-fat-tuesday-s.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019); Author Unknown: "Jimmy Smith, 79, Pioneering Jazz Organist, Succumbs," *Jet*, Volume 107(9), 2005, p. 58.

⁵⁰ J. Cohen: "Jimmy Smith Dies," *Billboard*, Volume 117(8), 2005, p. 8; Author Unknown: "Billboard Hot 100," *Billboard*, Volume 75(19), 1963, p. 24.

⁵¹ <http://www.orinji.force9.co.uk/JimmySmith/guide.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019)

⁵² D. Bikitsha: "Living legend Jimmy arrives on Friday," *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 November 1978, p. 19.

⁵³ <https://www.allmusic.com/artist/jimmy-smith-mn0000781172/biography> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); J. Fordham: "50 great moments in jazz: Jimmy Smith and the Hammond organ,"

<https://www.theguardian.com/music/musicblog/2010/jun/02/jimmy-smith-hammond-organ> (Accessed 19 Mar.

2019); J. Maher: "Blue Note Brings on Jazz Reserves to Stay Potent," *Billboard*, Vol. 75(19), 1963, pp. 15 & 50.

⁵⁴ A. Spiegelman: "Jimmy Smith, 79; organist expanded jazz's boundaries," *The Boston Globe*, 10 February 2005, http://archive.boston.com/news/globe/obituaries/articles/2005/02/10/jimmy_smith_79_organist_expanded_jazzs_boundaries/ (Accessed 8 Apr. 2019)

⁵⁵ R. Scott: "Farewell to organist Jimmy Smith and Ossie Davis," *The New York Amsterdam News*, 17-23 February 2005, p. 25; R. Cook: "Organ donor," *New Statesman*, Volume 129(4427), 1999, p. 36.

⁵⁶ R. Palmer: "Pop Jazz; Jimmy Smith, Artist of The Jazz Organ, Plays Fat Tuesday's," *The New York Times*, 11 September 1981, <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/11/arts/pop-jazz-jimmy-smith-artist-of-the-jazz-organ-plays-fat-tuesday-s.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019)

his trio Robert Palmer commented that Smith would take “advantage of that freedom by improvising intense, substantial solos that last[ed] as long as 10 or 15 minutes.”⁵⁷

After his contract expired in 1972, Smith recorded for a lot of different labels such as Pride (1974), Kiva (1974), and Buckingham Records (1975). Smith also created his own label called Mojo in 1974, where he released an album called *Paid in Full*.⁵⁸ The demise in record contracts during the 1970s of the musicians discussed in the dissertation thus far is striking. Similar to the careers of Sledge and Benton, Smith’s recording career was impacted when record companies started moving away from soul and jazz in favour of genres such as rock’n’roll and R&B.⁵⁹

In 1975, Jimmy Smith and his wife moved to Los Angeles, where he opened a jazz bar called Jimmy Smith’s Jazz Supper Club.⁶⁰ Palmer noted that after opening the Supper Club, Smith “went into what he calls ‘semiretirement’.”⁶¹ Smith regularly performed at the club and toured but not as rigorously as before.⁶² One of these tours was to South Africa in 1978. The club was successful at first but closed in 1979.⁶³

⁵⁷ M. Sabbatini: “Jimmy SMITH: Master of the Hammond B-3,” <https://www.allaboutjazz.com/jimmy-smith-master-of-the-hammond-b-3-jimmy-smith-by-mark-sabbatini.php> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); R. Palmer: “Pop Jazz; Jimmy Smith, Artist of The Jazz Organ, Plays Fat Tuesday’s,” *The New York Times*, 11 September 1981, <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/11/arts/pop-jazz-jimmy-smith-artist-of-the-jazz-organ-plays-fat-tuesday-s.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019)

⁵⁸ <http://www.orinji.force9.co.uk/JimmySmith/guide.html> (Accessed 4 April 2019); R. Palmer: “Pop Jazz; Jimmy Smith, Artist of The Jazz Organ, Plays Fat Tuesday’s,” *The New York Times*, 11 September 1981, <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/11/arts/pop-jazz-jimmy-smith-artist-of-the-jazz-organ-plays-fat-tuesday-s.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019)

⁵⁹ R. D. Lankford, Jr: “Jimmy Smith,” <https://www.encyclopedia.com/people/literature-and-arts/music-popular-and-jazz-biographies/jimmy-smith> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019)

⁶⁰ M. Sabbatini: “Jimmy SMITH: Master of the Hammond B-3,” <https://www.allaboutjazz.com/jimmy-smith-master-of-the-hammond-b-3-jimmy-smith-by-mark-sabbatini.php> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); A. N. Henderson: <http://www.notablebiographies.com/newsmakers2/2006-Ra-Z/Smith-Jimmy.html#ixzz5AYQygg3e> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); <https://www.allmusic.com/artist/jimmy-smith-mn0000781172/biography> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); R. Scott: “Farewell to organist Jimmy Smith and Ossie Davis,” *The New York Amsterdam News*, 17-23 February 2005, p. 25.

⁶¹ R. Palmer: “Pop Jazz; Jimmy Smith, Artist of The Jazz Organ, Plays Fat Tuesday’s,” *The New York Times*, 11 September 1981, <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/11/arts/pop-jazz-jimmy-smith-artist-of-the-jazz-organ-plays-fat-tuesday-s.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019)

⁶² M. Sabbatini: “Jimmy SMITH: Master of the Hammond B-3,” <https://www.allaboutjazz.com/jimmy-smith-master-of-the-hammond-b-3-jimmy-smith-by-mark-sabbatini.php> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); <http://www.bluenote.com/artists/jimmy-smith> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019)

⁶³ R. Palmer: “Pop Jazz; Jimmy Smith, Artist of The Jazz Organ, Plays Fat Tuesday’s,” *The New York Times*, 11 September 1981, <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/11/arts/pop-jazz-jimmy-smith-artist-of-the-jazz-organ-plays-fat-tuesday-s.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019); D. Bikitsha: “Organ king Jim play in Jo’burg,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 October 1978, p. 17.

At the start of the 1980s, Smith declared his “semiretirement” over and returned to record and release music on various labels, including Blue Note (1980-1981), Vap (1981), Accord (1982), Elektra Musician (1982-1983) and Paddle Wheel (1984).⁶⁴ Smith’s career, however, experienced a revival within the acid-jazz scene that became popular in the late 1980s. Murph remarked that:

Once the nascent acid-jazz scene took off in London in 1987, Smith experienced a major renaissance. His older music from the 50s and 60s were being heavily sampled by DJ’s and rappers.⁶⁵

Smith also had a strong influence on other organists such as Jack McDuff, Jimmy McGriff, Larry Young, Shirley Scott, Joey DeFrancesco and Dr Lonnie Smith.⁶⁶ John Fordham remarked that “[t]he Hammond organ wasn’t originally designed for jazz clubs but for churches that couldn’t afford a full-blown pipe organ.”⁶⁷ This instrument was thus not made for big stage performances but rather for more intimate church spaces, and Smith used this aspect of the organ to create his unique sound.⁶⁸ Joey DeFrancesco pointed out that:

Before Jimmy, everyone approached the organ like a big band, with big block chords, but Jimmy did things that never were done before. [...] He had a spirit and a sound that come across, and there was nothing like it. He was full of fire and soul, just the complete musician.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ R. Palmer: “Pop Jazz; Jimmy Smith, Artist of The Jazz Organ, Plays Fat Tuesday’s,” *The New York Times*, 11 September 1981, <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/11/arts/pop-jazz-jimmy-smith-artist-of-the-jazz-organ-plays-fat-tuesday-s.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019)

⁶⁵ <https://newyorkjazzworkshop.com/jimmy-smith/> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); J. Murph: “Jazz pioneer Jimmy Smith dies,” http://www.nbcnews.com/id/6941860/ns/us_news-life/t/jazz-pioneer-jimmy-smith-dies/#.XJCzGcvV6Uk (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019)

⁶⁶ M. Sabbatini: “Jimmy SMITH: Master of the Hammond B-3,” <https://www.allaboutjazz.com/jimmy-smith-master-of-the-hammond-b-3-jimmy-smith-by-mark-sabbatini.php> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); R. Scott: “Farewell to organist Jimmy Smith and Ossie Davis,” *The New York Amsterdam News*, 17-23 February 2005, pp. 25 & 39; B. Ratliff: “Jimmy Smith, Jazz Organist and Pioneer, Is Dead at 76,” *The New York Times*, 10 February 2005, <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/02/10/arts/music/jimmy-smith-jazz-organist-and-pioneer-is-dead-at-76.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019)

⁶⁷ J. Fordham: “50 great moments in jazz: Jimmy Smith and the Hammond organ,” <https://www.theguardian.com/music/musicblog/2010/jun/02/jimmy-smith-hammond-organ> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019)

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ <http://thejazzvnu.com/jimmy-smith-classic-jazz/> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); B. Ratliff: “Arts, Briefly; Honors in Jazz,” *The New York Times*, 5 November 2004, <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/11/05/arts/movies/arts-briefly-honors-in-jazz.html> (Accessed 4 Apr. 2019)

Smith toured various countries during the 1970s including Israel (1974), Europe (1975) and South Africa (1978 and 1982).⁷⁰ During his South African tour in 1978, like Percy Sledge, Smith recorded an album *Jimmy Smith Plays for The People*, which was published and released only in South Africa.⁷¹

Jimmy Smith's 1978 tour of South Africa

Smith wanted to come to South Africa in 1973 but the Department of Interior refused to grant him a visa.⁷² In 1973 the American and British Musician's Unions' increased their pressure on musicians to reject invitations to tour South Africa.⁷³ Ralph Simon, director of Sagittarius Management stated that:

His organisation had been negotiating with Mungo Jerry, Paul McCartney, Tom Jones and Black Sabbath and the Hollies. All refused invitations. [...] They just do not consider it worthwhile coming here for a few weeks and then being boycotted at home.⁷⁴

Musicians were hesitant to tour South Africa as the American and British musician's unions' made public that if their musicians toured South Africa they would be blacklisted.⁷⁵ In 1974 the following year, Smith was asked to tour South Africa along with Timmy Thomas, a noted American singer. Smith, however, refused the invitation due to the increased pressure by these international bodies.⁷⁶ According to Beaubien, by 1974, the United Nations General Assembly was more active in not only convincing governments to prohibit cultural contacts with the racist regime but had turned to individuals as well.⁷⁷ In spite of the intensified cultural boycott, Smith agreed to

⁷⁰ M. Sabbatini: "Jimmy SMITH: Master of the Hammond B-3," <https://www.allaboutjazz.com/jimmy-smith-master-of-the-hammond-b-3-jimmy-smith-by-mark-sabbatini.php> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); <http://www.bluenote.com/artists/jimmy-smith> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); <https://www.allmusic.com/artist/jimmy-smith-mn0000781172/biography> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019); R. Scott: "Farewell to organist Jimmy Smith and Ossie Davis," *The New York Amsterdam News*, 17-23 February 2005, p. 39; J. Holley: "Jazz Musician Jimmy Smith, Master Organist, Dies at 76," *Washington Post*, 1 February 2005, p. 8.

⁷¹ <https://discogs.com/Jimmy-Smith-Trio-Jimmy-Smith-Plays-For-The-People-Featuring-Holly-Maxwell/release/12628932> (Accessed 12 Apr. 2019)

⁷² Author Unknown: "Boycott threat scares singers," *Rand Daily Mail*, 12 January 1973, p. 3.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*; M. Andersson: *Music in the Mix: The Story of South African popular music*, p. 50.

⁷⁶ Author Unknown: "What's on – in brief: Timmy Thomas," *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 December 1974, p. 39; M. C. Beaubien: "The Cultural Boycott of South Africa," *Africa Today*, Volume 29(4), 1982, p. 16.

⁷⁷ M. C. Beaubien: "The Cultural Boycott of South Africa," *Africa Today*, Volume 29(4), 1982, pp. 7 & 16.

perform in South Africa in 1978 as government restrictions were loosening. The motivation behind his tour is difficult to gauge, especially if one considers that a tour to South Africa during the late 1970s was significantly more hazardous for a musician's career due to the intensification of the cultural boycott after the Soweto uprisings in 1976.⁷⁸ These uprisings were in opposition to the use of the Afrikaans language as an education medium and the Bantu education enforced by the apartheid government.⁷⁹ Internationally, the Soweto uprising sparked concern from the international community that reached through television sets across the world.⁸⁰ Moreover, Dubow stated that this period was characterised by worker stay-at-homes and consumer boycotts, looting and larceny by tsotsies.⁸¹

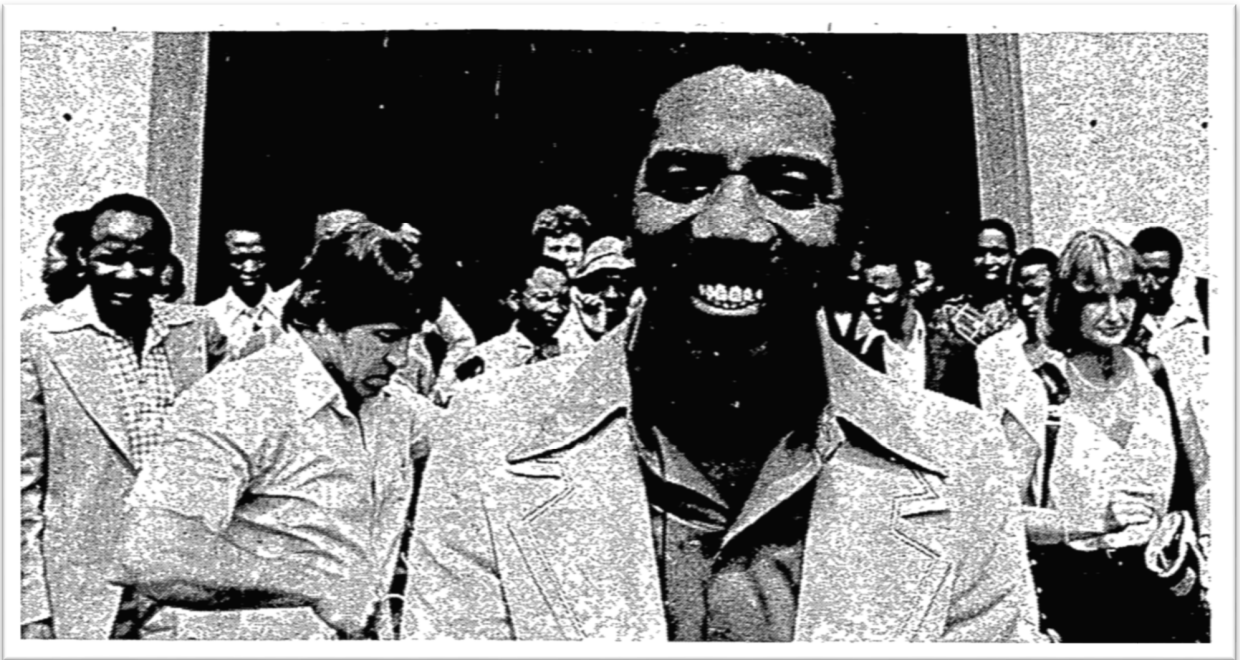


Figure 8: Jimmy Smith with fans behind him at O.R. Tambo Airport in 1978.⁸²

⁷⁸ M. Drewett: "An Analysis of the Censorship of Popular Music within the Context of Cultural Struggle in South Africa during the 1980s." PhD thesis, Rhodes University, South Africa, 2004, p. 185; M. Andersson: *Music in the Mix: The Story of South African popular music*, p. 50; T. R. H. Davenport: *The Birth of a new South Africa*, p. 5.

⁷⁹ J. Jukes: *Opposition in South Africa: the leadership of Z. K. Matthews, Nelson Mandela, and Stephen Biko*, p. 148.

⁸⁰ R. Nixon: *Homelands, Harlem and Hollywood*, p. 77.

⁸¹ S. Dubow: *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, p. 181; T. R. H. Davenport: *The Birth of a new South Africa*, p. 3; T. J. Jukes: *Opposition in South Africa: the leadership of Z. K. Matthews, Nelson Mandela, and Stephen Biko*, p. 148.

⁸² Staff Reporter: "Jazzman Smith breezes in," *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 November 1978, p. 1.

Jimmy Smith arrived at O.R. Tambo Airport on the 24th of November, and similar to the arrivals of Percy Sledge and Brook Benton, Smith was mobbed by a crowd of eager fans.⁸³ He arrived along with his wife Lola and fellow musicians Kenny Dixon (drums), Ray Crawford (guitar) and Holly Maxwell (vocals).⁸⁴

Unlike the previous artists, Smith, along with his personal drummer, guitarist and vocalist, was brought to South Africa by a group of Johannesburg businessmen and not a promotions company.⁸⁵ Reports never reveal specifically who brought Smith to tour South Africa and kept referring to the promoters as a “consortium of businessmen”.⁸⁶ This anonymity could point to the promoters being wary of being targeted by the American Committee on Africa and others supporting the cultural boycott like the American and British Musician’s Unions’.⁸⁷

During his tour in South Africa, Smith did not perform with any local supporting musicians, but only with his own musicians that came along from America.⁸⁸ Smith usually only performed with a vocalist for big audiences, whereas with more intimate audiences Smith usually played with the traditional trio format. Martin Thabethe stated that in order “[t]o give fans their money worth, Jimmy’s group will not have local bands opening the show for them.”⁸⁹ The decision to stage Smith and his band as the only act for the concerts were different from the other concerts described in this dissertation wherein international acts were paired with local musicians. This was against the well-established practice used to introduce young talent to a broader audience or to use a popular local act to draw their fans to the concert, as well as augmenting the concerts with more musicians to give audience members their money’s worth.

⁸³ Staff Reporter: “Jazzman Smith breezes in,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 November 1978, p. 1.

⁸⁴ D. Bikitsha: “Organ king Jim play in Jo’burg,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 October 1978, p. 17; D. Bikitsha: “Living legend Jimmy arrives on Friday,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 November 1978, p. 19; P. Sidley: “Jazz goes al fresco,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 December 1978, p. 11; Staff Reporter: “Jazzman Smith breezes in,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 November 1978, p. 1; Author Unknown: Picture of Jimmy Smith with crowd behind him, *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 November 1978, p. 3.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid*; D. Bikitsha: “Living legend Jimmy arrives on Friday,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 November 1978, p. 19.

⁸⁷ American Committee on Africa: “Cultural Boycott of racist South Africa Broken: Percy Sledge sells soul,” *American Committee on Africa*, 16 July 1970, <http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.acoa000341a> (Accessed 9 Sep. 2018)

⁸⁸ Author Unknown: “It’s non-stop jazz from Jimmy,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 November 1978, p. 16.

⁸⁹ M. Thabethe: “Mojo Jimmy jets in to electrify jazz fanatics,” *The Star*, Late Extra, 23 November 1978, p. 17.

Smith was scheduled to perform from the 27th of November to 6th of December at the Colosseum Theatre.⁹⁰ The Colosseum, in Johannesburg, was built in 1933 along with a number of other theatres constructed to accommodate the increasing number of tour companies to South Africa.⁹¹ This was due to the lack of theatres in South Africa at the beginning of the 1930s. This theatre could accommodate 2279 audience members. Its construction was financed by African Consolidated Theatres, headed by Isadore W. Schlesinger and Harry Stodel.⁹² After a fierce rivalry with Kinemas S.A., another trust company that distributed films and constructed theatres in South Africa, the two merged in 1931 and formed both African Consolidated Films and African Consolidated Theatres to separate their film and theatre interests.⁹³

As mentioned in Chapter Two in relation to the tour of American musician, Betty Wright, apartheid regulations were beginning to relax in 1975 and mixed audiences were allowed in certain theatres such as the Colosseum. As the cultural boycott increased, and the government had to negotiate these pressures, both local and international, even more, concessions had to be made. It is in this context, that certain forms of mixed audiences were allowed during Smith's 1978 tour.⁹⁴

Smith's concerts at the Colosseum were advertised as multi-racial concerts where all races were welcome to come and see the "world's greatest jazzman direct from U.S.A" (see below).⁹⁵

⁹⁰ D. Bikitsha: "Living legend Jimmy arrives on Friday," *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 November 1978, p. 19; P. Sidley: "Jazz goes al fresco," *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 December 1978, p. 11; M. Thabethe: "Mojo Jimmy jets in to electrify jazz fanatics," *The Star*, Late Extra, 23 November 1978, p. 17.

⁹¹ G. Herbert & M. Donchin: *The Collaborators: Interactions in the Architectural Design Process*, p. 157; M. Latilla: *Johannesburg Then and Now*, p. 26; <http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/12569> (Accessed 13 Dec. 2018); <http://www.theheritageportal.co.za/article/colosseum-cinema-fantasy-thirties-modern-apartment-living-johannesburg> (Accessed 19 Mar. 2019)

⁹² G. Herbert & M. Donchin: *The Collaborators: Interactions in the Architectural Design Process*, p. 157; M. Latilla: *Johannesburg Then and Now*, p. 26; D. Rubin: "South Africa," In *The World Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theatre: Volume 3: Africa* edited by D. Rubin (New York: Routledge, 1997), p. 271.

⁹³ L. Bischoff: *Africa's Lost Classics: New Histories of African Cinema*, p. 37.

⁹⁴ United Nations Centre against Apartheid: "Artists and Entertainers against Apartheid: An Update," April 1991, United Nations Centre Against Apartheid, Notes and Documents, pp. 1-14, http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.nuun1991_05 (Accessed 7 Jul. 2019); T. R. H. Davenport: *The Birth of a new South Africa*, p. 5.

⁹⁵ Author Unknown: Theatres and Entertainment, *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 November 1978, p. 13.

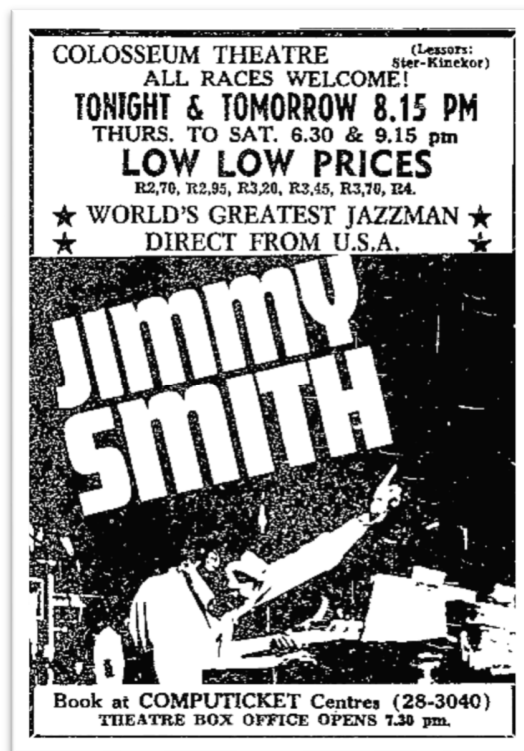


Figure 9: Advertisement for Jimmy Smith's performance at the Colosseum Theatre 1978.⁹⁶

Jimmy Smith's first performance at the Colosseum received contrasting reviews by the critics. John Michell remarked that "[t]he Jimmy Smith show is one for purists – an evening of no-nonsense jazz for the connoisseur."⁹⁷ Michell further remarked on Smith as a performer, noting that:

His liquid arrangements cascade languidly in and out of familiar melodies and for the fundi, provide rare insight to musical interpretation. One does not listen to Jimmy Smith – one experiences him.⁹⁸

Bikitsha also commented on the opening performance as well as the accompanying musicians:

No excuses from me, this is the kind of jazz I cannot describe, only listen to in absolute fascination and wonder. [...] When Jimmy said that they'd come to play and needed no sidemen or anybody to assist in the bill, he meant it. From their combined efforts to solo efforts the fluid artistry in them is evident.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Author Unknown: Advertisement of Jimmy Smith show, *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 November 1978, p. 11.

⁹⁷ J. Michell: "Jazz in the grand tradition," *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 November 1978, p. 12.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*; M. Thabethe: "Smith Overshadowed," *The Star*, Late Extra, 29 November 1978, p. 17.

⁹⁹ D. Bikitsha: "Listen in wonder to Jimmy's pure jazz," *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 November 1978, p. 18.

This alludes to why Smith declined to play with Clarence Carter, as we will see in this chapter, as well as resistance to playing with supporting acts, in contrast to the other musicians we come across. Despite the positive reviews about the performance, there were also those that had a differing opinion. Thabethe claimed that:

The show failed to reach the expected height. Reactions from sceptics were that the world's greatest Jazz organist did not want to give his best on the first night. [...] They had reason to believe that Smith allowed himself to be overshadowed by his sidekicks.¹⁰⁰

Bikitsha similarly wrote that "I got the impression that Jimmy was selling the talents and virtuoso of Kenny Dixon and particularly guitarist, Ray Crawford."¹⁰¹ This also stands in contrast to the other musicians discussed as Smith is the first musician, who is questioned about the quality of his performance.

Although there were mixed reviews on Jimmy Smith's performance, the supporting musicians individually all received positive reviews. Michell commented on the American musician's performances:

Ray Crawford plays his guitar as though it were a Stradivarius. Certainly, the most expert an expressive jazz guitarist I have heard. He manipulates the strings to produce chords and sequences that are almost implausible.¹⁰²

He goes on:

The speed and coordination of Kenny Dixon's drumming are astounding – but the precision percussionist's mastery of his instruments goes beyond that to an acute perception and understanding. The last time I saw an audience go mad for a drummer was when Neil Cloud pulled his shirt off.¹⁰³

Concluding, he described Holly Maxwell's:

She glows, smoulders, flames and erupts like a volcano – then cools her voice till it ripples and wobbles like a sensuous jelly.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ M. Thabethe: "Smith Overshadowed," *The Star*, Late Extra, 29 November 1978, p. 17.

¹⁰¹ D. Bikitsha: "Listen in wonder to Jimmy's pure jazz," *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 November 1978, p. 18.

¹⁰² J. Michell: "Jazz in the grand tradition," *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 November 1978, p. 12; M. Thabethe: "Smith Overshadowed," *The Star*, Late Extra, 29 November 1978, p. 17.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

Similar to Sledge and many other foreign musicians, Smith also recorded an album to be sold in South Africa titled *Jimmy Smith Plays for the People – Featuring Holly Maxwell* at the Colosseum during his tour (as seen below).¹⁰⁵ The title of the album may be seen to encapsulate many of the positive attributes of Smith as reflected in this chapter.



Figure 10: Jimmy Smith Album - Jimmy Smith Trio - Jimmy Smith Plays for the People Featuring Holly Maxwell (1978).¹⁰⁶

This album contains some of his most renowned songs such as “My little red top”, “Back at the chicken shack”, “This Masquerade”, “More”, “I’m a woman”, “Dr Feelgood”, “The Sermon”, “Blues for Charlie”, “On a clear day (you can see forever)” and “Groovy people”.¹⁰⁷

Smith did not just perform in theatres, but also set up an event in a record store in Korte Street, Johannesburg to meet his fans and sign albums and other paraphernalia.¹⁰⁸ Similar to the other musicians discussed in this dissertation, Smith was mobbed by an excited crowd. A company executive, Dave Porter reported in the *Star* that:

[The fans] surged through the door of a record store [...] and broke two thick plate glass windows. Everyone was shouting. ‘You’ve got my motor going.’ When Jimmy Smith left, the fans chased his minibus up Market Street.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ <https://www.discogs.com/Jimmy-Smith-Trio-Jimmy-Smith-Plays-For-The-People-Featuring-Holly-Maxwell/release/12628932> (Accessed 28 Sept. 2019)

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ M. Thabethe: “Mojo Jimmy jets in to electrify jazz fanatics,” *The Star*, Late Extra, 23 November 1978, p. 17.

¹⁰⁹ Author Unknown: “Shattering welcome for star,” *The Star*, 27 November 1978, p. 1.

In addition to his multi-racial performances at the Colosseum, Smith also performed for a mixed crowd at a picnic in Honeydew, Johannesburg.¹¹⁰ On the 9th of December, the Johannesburg Jazz Club advertised that “Jimmy Smith will be playing with ‘every top jazz musician, black and white’ at their jazz picnic tomorrow.”¹¹¹ Pat Sidley reported that “[t]he day was a roaring success. The Jazz Club succeeded in holding an easy relaxed multiracial affair, very un-South African.”¹¹² Jimmy Smith left South Africa in December 1978, only to return in 1982 to a landscape already significantly different.

Jimmy Smith’s 1982 tour of South Africa

Smith was scheduled to perform alongside Clarence Carter to tour South Africa from the 25th of October until the 19th of December 1982 under the management of the Quibell brothers.¹¹³ Initially, Smith cancelled the tour with Carter but later reconsidered.¹¹⁴ This group was accompanied by a local reggae band called Give.¹¹⁵ After their Johannesburg circuit, the tour was set to go to cities such as Durban, Pietermaritzburg, East London, Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth.¹¹⁶

Before this tour with Jimmy Smith, Carter had toured South Africa on two occasions in 1980 and 1981. Bikitsha was of the opinion that, “[w]hen Clarence Carter appears on stage at the Colosseum Theatre [...], his fans – the ladies – will no doubt give him a resounding welcome.”¹¹⁷ This popularity stemmed from his previous two tours that he undertook in South Africa.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁰ Author Unknown: “Jimmy and the jazz club,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 December 1978, p. 10.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² P. Sidley: “Jazz goes al fresco,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 December 1978, p. 11.

¹¹³ D. Bikitsha: “Carter, Smith in town soon,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 6 October 1982, p. 17; Author Unknown: Photograph of Jimmy Smith, *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 October 1982, p. 9; Showbiz Reporter: “Jimmy Smith – putting the organ on the map,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 29 October 1982, p. 22.

¹¹⁴ D. Bikitsha: “Jimmy Smith have own tour,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 8 October 1982, p. 17; D.

Bikitsha: “Smith will be in town after all,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 13 October 1982, p. 13.

¹¹⁵ D. Bikitsha: “Disco dance contest eliminations hot up for December finals,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 22 October 1982, p. 18.

¹¹⁶ D. Bikitsha: “Tembisa in for entertainment spectacular,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 4 November 1982, p. 21.

¹¹⁷ D. Bikitsha: “Carter, Smith in town soon,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 6 October 1982, p. 17.

¹¹⁸ Author Unknown: Advertisement for Clarence Carter and Dobie Gray Show, *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 July 1980, p. 8; D. Bikitsha: “Village People on Reef visit,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 3 December 1981 p. 18; D. Bikitsha: “Music festival with an unusual name,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 12 December 1981, p. 20.

Carter was blind since birth and made use of spoken word introductions during his song. Carter commented in the *New York Times* that, “[l]ong before they had what they call a rap, me and Isaac Hayes and Barry White were doing the same thing.”¹¹⁹ ‘Raps’ will be discussed further in Chapter Six.

Comparable to Millie Jackson’s tours in 1979 and 1982, these shows were also scheduled for adults only.¹²⁰ This was because “four exotic strip-tease dancers” joined Clarence Carter’s act.¹²¹ Auditions were held in South Africa to locate these dancers and according to Bikitsha, “[t]hose who wish to audition may wear nothing but a G-string and perfume. Just to tip these ladies, their dancing must be on the Millie Jackson lines.”¹²² What one can see, is that unlike the censorship that accompanied Jackson’s tour in 1976 because of her explicit lyrics, in this context of less rigid application of the law, more risky shows were staged in order to attract larger audiences.

Newspaper reports on this tour are quite limited. The duo’s performance on the 27th of October received opposing reviews from the South African press. Carter was criticised for his limited repertoire. According to Bikitsha, there was, “nothing new but a lack-lustre song dedicated to a Soweto lass, ‘Where Did the Girl from Soweto Go?’ It lacks body and meaning.”¹²³ This points to one of the few occasions where one of the touring musicians discussed in this chapter, adapted a song to speak to local contexts. Moreover, the advertised striptease only consisted of four girls performing modern dance, much to the distaste of the audience.¹²⁴

However, this show was revived by Jimmy Smith and his quartet, with their popular songs such as “Midnight Special,” “Back at the Chicken Shack” and “I Got my Mojo Working.”¹²⁵ Bikitsha

¹¹⁹ N. Strauss: “The Pop Life; Clarence Carter On Persevering,” *New York Times*, 12 February 1998, <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A150229417/AONE?u=27uos&sid=AONE&xid=c6865b59> (Accessed 27 Aug. 2019)

¹²⁰ Author Unknown: Advertisement for Clarence Carter and Jimmy Smith, *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 October 1982, p. 7.

¹²¹ Author Unknown: Photograph of Jimmy Smith, *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 October 1982, p. 9.

¹²² *Ibid*; Author Unknown: Photograph of Clarence Carter with women, *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 October 1982, p. 2; L. Meintjies: *Sound of Africa!: Making Music Zulu in a South African Studio*, p. 135; E. Jayiya: “Super show planned for jazz with Smith and Carter both on the beat,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 8 October 1982, p. 13; D. Bikitsha: “Disco dance contest eliminations hot up for December finals,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 October 1982, p. 15; Author Unknown: Picture of Jimmy Smith at the airport, *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 October 1982, p. 9; Author Unknown: Theatres and Entertainment, *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 October 1982, p. 22; Author Unknown: Theatres and Entertainment, *Rand Daily Mail*, 30 October 1982, p. 6; D. Bikitsha: “Thembisa in for entertainment spectacular,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 November 1982, p. 21; Author Unknown: Theatres and Entertainment, *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 November 1982, p. 9.

¹²³ D. Bikitsha: “Jimmy saves the show,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 October 1982, p. 15.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*.

remarked that “[a]s Jimmy Smith does not read music, he plays with feeling and intense expression. He is a total professional and master of his craft.”¹²⁶ In contrast to his tour in 1978, Smith was willing to share the stage with his co-American musician, Carter. While these shows were of great importance, what makes Jimmy Smith’s tour unique is his philanthropic endeavours. Smith advocated for a talent programme in Soweto. He stated in the *Rand Daily Mail* that, “I was surprised by the talent which is being wasted in Soweto and something must be done about this before it is too late.”¹²⁷ Smith was of the opinion that in the United States, jazz musicians could do tertiary studies to develop their talent, which was not available in South Africa at the time.¹²⁸ After his tour had ended with Carter, Smith extended his stay in South Africa for his second set of performances.¹²⁹

During the second part of the tour, musicians Stanley Turrentine, Jimmy Smith as well as South African Mara Louw and the All Rounders¹³⁰ were scheduled to tour South Africa as a group. The Quibell brothers expressed interest to add Clarence Carter to the tour.¹³¹ The concerts were scheduled for mixed audiences at the Colosseum Theatre from the 25th of November until the 11th of December (see below).¹³² Interestingly, this part of the tour received sponsorship from companies such as South African Airways, whose slogan was, “where no one’s a stranger”.¹³³ After the performances in Cape Town, the show was to move on to cities such as Port Elizabeth, Durban and Pietermaritzburg.¹³⁴

¹²⁶ D. Bikitsha: “Jimmy saves the show,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 29 October 1982, p. 15.

¹²⁷ E. Jayiya: “Jazz talent in Soweto is wasted, says Smith,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 November 1982, p. 14.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ Showbiz Reporter: “A good way to end the year,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 18 November 1982, p. 21.

¹³⁰ The All Rounders consisted of Thami Sobekwa, Kenny Siphoyo, Percy Keswa, Oupa Mokhele, Robert Moloji, Tsietsi Masabatho, Sana Zulu, Blackie Sibisi and Anthony Mthembu. (D. Bikitsha: “Disco dance contest eliminations hot up for December finals,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 22 October 1982, p. 18.)

¹³¹ D. Bikitsha: “Colosseum musical explosion,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 2 December 1982, p. 17; P. Sidley: “Stan, Jimmy do go together,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 December 1982, p. 6.

¹³² Showbiz reporter: “A good way to end the year,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 November 1982, p. 21; D. Bikitsha: “‘Woza Albert’ back in town,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 25 November 1982, p. 2; Author Unknown: Theatres and Entertainment, *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 November 1982, p. 6; D. Bikitsha: “Colosseum musical explosion,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 December 1982; P. Sidley: “Stan, Jimmy do go together,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 December 1982, p. 6; Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Programmes, Box 60. Programme of Jimmy Smith’s performance in 1982.

¹³³ Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Programmes, Box 60. Programme of Jimmy Smith’s performance in 1982.

¹³⁴ D. Bikitsha: “‘Woza Albert’ back in town,” *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 25 November 1982, p. 2.

Our sincere thanks to the venue and
 apartment of the
 Press and Radio for publicity given
 to the show

GIBBELL BROS. PROUDLY PRESENT
STANLEY TURRENTINE
 AND
JIMMY SMITH

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 JOHNNY MILLE
 MANAGER

GREGORY SCAFF
 JOHN HART
 RICHARD CARPENTER
 GUITAR
 DRUMS
 SAXOPHONE
 MANAGER

MARA LOUW
 AND THE
ALLROUNDERS
 WITH
JIMMY SMITH

THAMI SOBEKWA — VOCALS & PERCUSSION
 KENNY SIPHOYO — LEAD VOCALS
 PERCY KESWA — LEAD VOCALS
 OUPA MOKHELE — LEAD GUITAR
 ROBERT MOLLOI — DRUMS
 TSETSE MASABATHO — KEYBOARDS
 SAVA ZULU — BASS GUITAR
 BLACKIE SIBISI — RHYTHM GUITAR
 ANTHONY MTHEMBU — KEYBOARDS

GOLD ENTERPRISES TOURING STAFF
 Brian O'Neil — National Director
 Chris O'Neil — Touring Manager
 Peter O'Neil — Stage Manager
 Peter Smith — Stage Manager
 David Smith — Stage Manager
 Andrew Krogger — Stage Manager
 Louis Venter — Reception

JOHANNESBURG
 For the Commodore Theatre
 Denis & Louise — Reception
 Len & Corrine — Reception
 Ph. 0445205

CAPETOWN
 For the Theatre
 Dave Verwey — Theatre Manager
 G. E. Evans — Reception

DURBAN
 For the City Hall
 Eric Sauer — Reception
 K. Farnell & W. Donaldson — Reception
 L. Egan — Reception

EAST LONDON
 For the City Hall
 Mervyn Kitchner — Reception
 G. E. Evans — Reception

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The use of cameras and any
 type of recording equipment is
 strictly prohibited

Figure 11: Programme of Jimmy Smith's performance in 1982.

Turrentine came from a musical family and dropped out of high school and began his career at 17 years old.¹³⁵ Turrentine commented in the *Rand Daily Mail* that, “I came from a musical family – my brother, sister, mother and father – we were always playing music. That was our way of entertaining ourselves. We didn’t have any money to do anything else.”¹³⁶ As a teenager, he toured with a band directed by the pianist Ray Charles.¹³⁷ By the 1950s, he joined a Cleveland ensemble and by the 1960s had joined the Blue Note label where he recorded, with Jimmy Smith, the song “Midnight Special”.¹³⁸

In contrast, Smith’s first successful solo tour of 1978 and his contribution to saving the first leg of the 1982 tour with Carter, the second tour with Turrentine was considered to be expensive and of poor quality. Mangalane Mashabane wrote to the *Rand Daily Mail* that the Jimmy Smith/Stanley Turrentine Supper Jazz Show, which was held at Attridgeville Arena, “turned out to be a non-event.” He continued by pointing out that:

I felt robbed of my hard-earned R5 after a supposedly international show that lasted approximately one-and-a-half hours. [...] For Instance, when [Jimmy Smith] took the stage we gave him a standing ovation but he reacted by ignoring us. He could not even thank us when applauded for the few songs he rendered.¹³⁹

Comparably, Benton’s concerts were similarly criticised by his fans and he accused his promoters Aquarius of bad administration and insufficient advertising, which led to a poor audience attendance at the concerts. Smith’s 1982 tour also experienced problems despite being promoted by a white-owned company, the Quibell Brothers, adequate advertising and promotions (as seen in the advertisement above) as well as adequate outside sponsorship from companies such as South African Airways.

¹³⁵ Author Unknown: “Jazz Saxophonist Stanley Turrentine Succumbs to a Stroke in New York City,” *Jet*, Volume 98(17), 2000, p. 18; Showbiz reporter: “A good way to end the year,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 November 1982, p. 21.

¹³⁶ Showbiz reporter: “A good way to end the year,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 November 1982, p. 21; Author Unknown: “Jazz Saxophonist Stanley Turrentine Succumbs to a Stroke in New York City,” *Jet*, Volume 98(17), 2000, p. 18.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ M. Mashabane: “Letters from public: I was ‘robbed’ of R5 for a too-short show,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 December 1982, p. 6.

Similar to the conflict seen with Benton and his promotion company, Smith and Turrentine became embroiled in conflict with their South African promoters after an unplanned concert was scheduled in Pretoria. Pat Sidley stated in the *Rand Daily Mail* that:

Both Mr Smith and Mr Turrentine were apparently told the break in their contracts centred around the length of their performance at a concert in Pretoria on Sunday night – but their managers say the Pretoria venue was not in their original contracts.¹⁴⁰

Subsequently, they were released from their contracts.¹⁴¹ This dismissal resulted in a debate between these musician's lawyers and the promoter's on money's owed, as well as services by the promoters, which ranged from R9000 to R20000.¹⁴² Sidley additionally reported that:

Both artists say their stay has been embarrassing and humiliating, with small audiences, constant changes to the programmes, 'dirty venues' and the constant evasiveness of the promoters when they asked for money, they believed they were owed.¹⁴³

While this could be considered as a strategy to justify wrongful dismissal, this narrative is reminiscent of the Brook Benton tour to South Africa in 1971. Like Benton, Smith also left South Africa without completing his contract and became embroiled in a legal battle. However, the characteristics of Smith, especially his adaptability, his charisma, and his philanthropic work, strongly suggests that he might have had a slightly different and more amenable approach to touring South Africa than Benton.

Conclusion

There are a few issues that come to the fore during the two tours of Jimmy Smith. One of the biggest is that musicians were allowed to perform for mixed audiences. This specifically occurred at the Colosseum theatre as restrictions had been relaxed since 1975 to accommodate African

¹⁴⁰ P. Sidley: US jazz artists axed from SA stage show," *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 December 1982, p. 6.

¹⁴¹ P. Sidley: "Stan, Jimmy do go together," *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 December 1982, p. 6; P. Sidley: US jazz artists axed from SA stage show," *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 December 1982, p. 6; D. Bikitsha: "Black artists get the show on the road," *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 December 1982, p. 17.

¹⁴² P. Sidley: US jazz artists axed from SA stage show," *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 December 1982, p. 6.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

American musicians who wanted to perform for mixed audiences. During apartheid, audiences were separated, however, in the case of the Smith tours, this was not necessary as they could attend and listen to him in the same venue. Moreover, as they performed in black venues, such as the Jabulani Amphitheatre, they were also subject to poor conditions within these spaces. While in white designated facilities, such as the Colosseum, it was much better equipped to handle these musicians. Moreover, in Smith's second tour we see the first instances of musicians touring other areas such as Port Elizabeth and Durban.

Secondly, the choice of the promoters to remain anonymous is quite unusual during this period. Promoters attached their name on every promotional document possible as it granted them exposure and advertisement in a country that was largely media restrictive. For example, the Quibell brothers ascribed their name to every international performer that came to tour South Africa, which advertised that they were not only able to bring these stars to South Africa but that they were able to promote for big names such as Percy Sledge (1970), Eartha Kitt (1972) and many more. Therefore, the promoter's decision to remove their name from their 1978 tour is very puzzling since they are in fact eliminating the possibility to bring in more international musicians but also eliminating the possibility to be held accountable for this tour.

Moreover, Smith's tour of 1982 showcases that mismanagement was not only in the hands of black South African promoters. Since they promoted for black musicians, they had to in some cases promote at black designated facilities, which also subjected them to poor conditions with small audiences.¹⁴⁴ Despite this, the musicians also accused the promoters of constant changes to the programme and the evasiveness of promoters when it came to being paid.¹⁴⁵

According to newspaper reports, Smith's show was not going to be a variety show, he was only going to be accompanied by his own American musicians, be it his own decision or his promoters.¹⁴⁶ This is quite an important statement as it could point to various things. Even though Smith could play in a bigger band such as the format of Benton's 1971 tour, he preferred this trio

¹⁴⁴ P. Sidley: US jazz artists axed from SA stage show," *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 December 1982, p. 6.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ Author Unknown: "It's non-stop jazz from Jimmy," *Rand Daily Mail*, 23 November 1978, p. 16; M. Thabethe: "Mojo Jimmy jets in to electrify jazz fanatics," *The Star*, Late Extra, 23 November 1978, p. 17.

format with a vocalist for the tour, which could account for the limited amount of musicians.¹⁴⁷ However, this format was also more profitable for the promoters as they had fewer musicians to pay once the tour concluded. Despite his world-renowned success generated from his career, what his first tour indicated was that even these highly revered individuals could also produce bad performances. But Smith's personality also had a role to play as he never performed live with musicians, he did not have previous recording experience as can be seen by the American musicians he brought along during both tours. This issue comes forth during his 1982 tour, where it is reported that he did not want to play with Clarence Carter, which possibly lead to his dismissal by the Quibell brothers.

This indicated a kind of pride within his craft as he did not want supporting members he could not rely on. Moreover, Smith's adaptability during his early years is quite astounding especially since he was an instrumentalist. His efforts were so immense that he pioneered his own style, Soul Jazz, to the point where a special division was created for Smith at the highly acclaimed Blue Note label. This style was greatly received by the South African public during his second tour and portrayed how talented these musicians were and why South African residents looked up to these individuals. Lastly, it is unclear whether his career was reinvigorated because of his tours to South Africa. During his first tour in 1978 he was still in semi-retirement and as soon as he went back to America his club folded. Moreover, his revival coincided with the emergence of acid-jazz in Britain in the late 1980s and is hard to determine if this was due to his performances in South Africa.

¹⁴⁷ R. Palmer: "Pop Jazz; Jimmy Smith, Artist of The Jazz Organ, Plays Fat Tuesday's," *The New York Times*, 11 September 1981, <https://www.nytimes.com/1981/09/11/arts/pop-jazz-jimmy-smith-artist-of-the-jazz-organ-plays-fat-tuesday-s.html> Accessed 4 Apr. 2019)

Chapter Six: “Hot Buttered Soul”: Isaac Hayes 1978

Introduction

Isaac Hayes was scheduled to perform in South Africa from the 14th of November until the 9th of December 1978.¹ Johannesburg would initially only host four concerts for November on the 14th, 15th, 17th and 18th at the Colosseum Theatre.² This could be extended, depending on how these concerts would be received.³

Hayes was very popular in South Africa and known as “Black Moses”, a title he was given by Chester Higgins Sr, editor for *Jet* magazine.⁴ Higgins believed that Hayes was “leading music lovers into exciting, uncharted areas; a Moses who is expanding the form and possibilities of music that warms the soul.”⁵ Like Smith, Hayes eventually went on to tour various cities outside of the main metropolises of Cape Town and Johannesburg, such as Durban, and East London. He performed to large crowds and similar to the previous experiences of other artists mentioned in this dissertation, chaos regularly erupted.⁶

This chapter looks at the Isaac Hayes tour to South Africa in 1978. Hayes’ declarations around music and politics as well as his moniker of “Black Moses” will be unpacked through exploring the reception of his concerts. It first looks at Isaac Hayes’ rise to stardom before turning to his first tour in South Africa. This chapter looks at the reception of Hayes in South Africa, his promoters and supporting musicians as well as his performances in South Africa.

¹ D. Bikitsha: “Flamboyant super star was too poor for lessons,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 October 1978, p. 7.

² D. Bikitsha: “Daddy of superstars here,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 November 1978, p. 17; Author Unknown: “Live Theatre Entertainment,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 November 1978, p. 11; Author Unknown: “Live Theatre Entertainment,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 November 1978, p. 7.

³ D. Bikitsha: “Flamboyant super star was too poor for lessons,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 October 1978, p. 7.

⁴ L. McGregor: “Hot Buttered frenzy greets ‘Black Moses’,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 November 1978, p. 3.

⁵ C. Higgins: “Black Moses of black music,” *Jet*, Volume 39(19), 1971, p. 56.

⁶ L. McGregor: “Hot Buttered frenzy greets ‘Black Moses’,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 November 1978, p. 3; Author Unknown: “‘Black Moses’ here for concert tour,” *The Star*, Late Extra, 13 November 1978, p. 3.

Hayes' Rise to Fame

Isaac Lee Hayes Junior was born on the 20th of August 1942 in Covington, Tennessee in Tipton County.⁷ He was raised by his maternal grandparents after his mother had died young in a psychiatric institution and his father, Isaac Hayes Senior, had abandoned his family.⁸ Hayes moved from rural Tennessee to Memphis at the age of six or seven and settled down at countless “raggedly” places.⁹ When he was eight, Hayes spent half his time at school and the other time picking cotton.¹⁰ Hayes stated in the *Ebony* magazine that:

I was so young and green that I thought it was the normal thing to do, but by the time I got to fourth grade, I began to realize that there was a difference between the kids who went out to pick cotton and those who didn't have to go.¹¹

From a young age, Hayes was made aware of how different the world was experienced by those living in poverty. Hayes grew up working many jobs not suitable for a young child. Mason claimed in the *Ebony* magazine that:

He hauled wood, sold scrap iron, passed out leaflets, delivered groceries, cooked at a white restaurant and picked cotton the season around. For a while, [Hayes and his grandparents] shared two rooms in the back of a furniture room and ate what their neighbours could spare.¹²

⁷ G. Susman, C. Nashawaty & M. Watson: “Hayes, Isaac. 1942-2008,” *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32; B. Sisario: “Isaac Hayes, a Creator of ‘70s Soul Style, Dies at 65,” *The New York Times*, 11 August 2008, p. 6; T. Baker: “Hayes, Isaac,” In *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music* edited by B. C. Malone (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2014), p. 246.

⁸ G. Susman, C. Nashawaty & M. Watson: “HAYES, Isaac. 1942-2008,” *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32; B. Hiatt: “Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar,” *Rolling Stone*, Volume 18(1060), 2008, p. 18; B. Sisario: “Isaac Hayes, a Creator of ‘70s Soul Style, Dies at 65,” *The New York Times*, 11 August 2008, p. 6; G. Thomson: “Isaac Hayes: Black Moses,” *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 18; P. Garland: “Isaac Hayes: Hot Buttered Soul,” *Ebony*, Volume 25(5), 1970, p. 87; B. J. Mason: “Isaac Hayes: New Wife, New Image, New Career,” *Ebony*, Volume 28(12), 1973, p. 174; Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes’ most emotional time,” *The Star*, 30 November 1978, p. 30.

⁹ B. Hiatt: “Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar,” *Rolling Stone*, Volume 18(1060), 2008, p. 18; P. Garland: “Isaac Hayes: Hot Buttered Soul,” *Ebony*, Volume 25(5), 1970, p. 84; Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes obituary,” *The Telegraph*, 11 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/2540119/Isaac-Hayes-obituary.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019)

¹⁰ P. Garland: “Isaac Hayes: Hot Buttered Soul,” *Ebony*, Volume 25(5), 1970, p. 87.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² B. J. Mason: “Isaac Hayes: New Wife, New Image, New Career,” *Ebony*, Volume 28(12), 1973, p. 174; G. Susman, C. Nashawaty & M. Watson: “HAYES, Isaac. 1942-2008,” *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32; P. Garland: “Isaac Hayes: Hot Buttered Soul,” *Ebony*, Volume 25(5), 1970, p. 88; C. Elsworth: “Isaac Hayes, soul sensation and voice of ‘South Park’ character Chef, dead at 65,” *The Telegraph*, 10 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/celebritynews/2536713/Isaac-Hayes-soul-sensation-and-The-Voice-Of-South-Park-Character-Chef-dead-at-65.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019); Author Unknown: “Big sound of Hayes,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 November 1978, p. 10.

Hayes, like Sledge, Benton and Smith before him grew up having to work in order to help support their families. Similarly, to their experiences, he also sang at the local church and started to teach himself how to play the flute, saxophone, piano and the Hammond organ.¹³ Hayes recalled, “[m]usic was the only thing that kept me going. I couldn’t play like normal children because I had to hustle.”¹⁴

Hayes dropped out of high school when he was in ninth grade, recalling that, “I was getting very girl-conscious and here I was a little raggedy cat while the other guys, they was dressin’ slick.”¹⁵ Hayes went back to school and became well known throughout Manassas High School as a result of a talent contest where he sang Nat ‘King’ Cole’s 1958 “Looking Back”.¹⁶ Initially, Hayes wanted to become a doctor, but after he won the school contest, he became more interested in music.¹⁷ Tobie Baker noted that he joined “the school band as a saxophonist and played in the various short-lived gospel, doo-wop, and jazz bands on the Memphis club circuit.”¹⁸

Hayes was offered seven scholarships when he was a senior at his school but as a result of marital obligations and a child on the way, Hayes had to turn them down and support his family by working

¹³ G. Susman, C. Nashawaty & M. Watson: “HAYES, Isaac. 1942-2008,” *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32; Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes, in Concert, Shows Command of Self and Audience,” *The New York Times*, 30 July 1973, p. 21; J. Fusilli: “Music: Isaac Hayes: Much More than ‘Shaft’,” *Wall Street Journal*, 12 August 2008, p. 7; Anonymous: “Stroke is suspected in soul man Hayes’ death,” *Goldmine*, Volume 34(19), p. 8; C. Waldron: “Stars, Friends and fans remember ‘Black Moses’ Isaac Hayes,” *Jet*, Volume 114(7), p. 39; C. Elsworth: “Isaac Hayes, soul sensation and voice of ‘South Park’ character Chef, dead at 65,” *The Telegraph*, 10 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/celebritynews/2536713/Isaac-Hayes-soul-sensation-and-The-Voice-Of-South-Park-Character-Chef-dead-at-65.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019); Staff Reporter: “‘Being the best’ is Black Moses’ motto for success,” *The Star*, Late Extra, 13 November 1978, p. 1; E. Shuenyane: “Black Moses comes to town,” *Drum*, December 1978, p. 76; I. Hayes: *I Stand Accused*. Stax. 1970. ENA-9017.

¹⁴ P. Garland: “Isaac Hayes: Hot Buttered Soul,” *Ebony*, Volume 25(5), 1970, p. 87.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 88; B. J. Mason: “Isaac Hayes: New Wife, New Image, New Career,” *Ebony*, Volume 28(12), 1973, p. 174; Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes obituary,” *The Telegraph*, 11 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/2540119/Isaac-Hayes-obituary.html> (Accessed on 9 May 2019)

¹⁶ P. Garland: “Isaac Hayes: Hot Buttered Soul,” *Ebony*, Volume 25(5), 1970, p. 88; T. Baker: “Hayes, Isaac,” In *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music* edited by B. C. Malone (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2014), p. 245; T. Baker: “Hayes, Isaac,” In *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music* edited by B. C. Malone (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2014), p. 246.

¹⁷ Anonymous: “Stroke is suspected in soul man Hayes’ death,” *Goldmine*, Volume 34(19), p. 8; C. Elsworth: “Isaac Hayes, soul sensation and voice of ‘South Park’ character Chef, dead at 65,” *The Telegraph*, 10 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/celebritynews/2536713/Isaac-Hayes-soul-sensation-and-The-Voice-Of-South-Park-Character-Chef-dead-at-65.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019)

¹⁸ T. Baker: “Hayes, Isaac,” In *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music* edited by B. C. Malone (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2014), p. 245.

a series of small jobs.¹⁹ He continued to pick cotton and he worked at a slaughterhouse in Memphis while simultaneously playing at nightclubs in the evenings to earn money.²⁰

Hayes began his professional career in the 1960s, as a session musician and songwriter for various musicians and groups at Stax Records, a Memphis label that was home to Otis Redding, Booker T. Jones, Al Jackson, Duck Dunn and Steve Cooper, known as the M.G.'s.²¹ He initially joined, according to Brian Hiatt: “[a]s a replacement for Booker T. and the MG’s keyboardist Booker T. Jones, who headed off to college.”²² Along with his songwriter partner David Porter, Hayes contributed to the Stax sound made famous during this period.²³ David Porter recalled in *Uncut* magazine that:

He had a beautiful tone, and I knew he was talented. We talked, we were comfortable, and we decided to form a writing-producing relationship. I wanted us to have our own niche. Motown was effective but light, so we talked about creating songs with a heavy

¹⁹ J. Fusilli: “Music: Isaac Hayes: Much More than ‘Shaft’,” *Wall Street Journal*, 12 August 2008, p. 7; P. Garland: “Isaac Hayes: Hot Buttered Soul,” *Ebony*, Volume 25(5), 1970, p. 88; B. J. Mason: “Isaac Hayes: New Wife, New Image, New Career,” *Ebony*, Volume 28(12), 1973, p. 176; Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes obituary,” *The Telegraph*, 11 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/2540119/Isaac-Hayes-obituary.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019); T. Baker: “Hayes, Isaac,” In *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music* edited by B. C. Malone (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2014), p. 246.

²⁰ B. Hiatt: “Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar,” *Rolling Stone*, Volume 18(1060), 2008, p. 18; B. Sisario: “Isaac Hayes, a Creator of ‘70s Soul Style, Dies at 65,” *The New York Times*, 11 August 2008, p. 6; G. Thomson: “Isaac Hayes: Black Moses,” *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 18; P. Garland: “Isaac Hayes: Hot Buttered Soul,” *Ebony*, Volume 25(5), 1970, p. 88; T. Baker: “Hayes, Isaac,” In *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music* edited by B. C. Malone (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2014), p. 246.

²¹ G. Susman, C. Nashawaty & M. Watson: “Hayes, Isaac. 1942-2008,” *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32; B. Hiatt: “Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar,” *Rolling Stone*, Volume 18(1060), 2008, p. 18; Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes obituary,” *The Telegraph*, 11 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/2540119/Isaac-Hayes-obituary.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019); J. Fusilli: “Music: Isaac Hayes: Much More than ‘Shaft’,” *Wall Street Journal*, 12 August 2008, p. 7; Anonymous: “Stroke is suspected in soul man Hayes’ death,” *Goldmine*, Volume 34(19), p. 8; C. Waldron: “Stars, Friends and fans remember ‘Black Moses’ Isaac Hayes,” *Jet*, Volume 114(7), p. 39; C. Elsworth: “Isaac Hayes, soul sensation and voice of ‘South Park’ character Chef, dead at 65,” *The Telegraph*, 10 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/celebritynews/2536713/Isaac-Hayes-soul-sensation-and-The-Voice-Of-South-Park-Character-Chef-dead-at-65.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019); Author Unknown: “Big sound of Hayes,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 November 1978, p. 10.

²² B. Hiatt: “Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar,” *Rolling Stone*, Volume 18(1060), 2008, p. 18; C. Waldron: “Stars, Friends and fans remember ‘Black Moses’ Isaac Hayes,” *Jet*, Volume 114(7), p. 39.

²³ G. Susman, C. Nashawaty & M. Watson: “Hayes, Isaac. 1942-2008,” *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32; B. Hiatt: “Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar,” *Rolling Stone*, Volume 18(1060), 2008, p. 18; B. Sisario: “Isaac Hayes, a Creator of ‘70s Soul Style, Dies at 65,” *The New York Times*, 11 August 2008, p. 6; Anonymous: “Stroke is suspected in soul man Hayes’ death,” *Goldmine*, Volume 34(19), p. 8; S. Healy: “The Soulful styles of Isaac Hayes,” *Keyboard*, Volume 34(11), 2008, p. 52; G. Thomson: “Isaac Hayes: Black Moses,” *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 18; C. Elsworth: “Isaac Hayes, soul sensation and voice of ‘South Park’ character Chef, dead at 65,” *The Telegraph*, 10 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/celebritynews/2536713/Isaac-Hayes-soul-sensation-and-The-Voice-Of-South-Park-Character-Chef-dead-at-65.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019); Author Unknown: “Big sound of Hayes,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 November 1978, p. 10.

emphasis on the low-end and the church vibe. We stayed true to that. There was a method in the madness! Initially, I'd say his greatest strength was music, and mine was telling the stories, but we both came up with musical and lyrical thoughts. The chemistry was unbelievable.²⁴

Following their collaboration they created a number of hits most notably "Soul Man" and "Hold On, I'm Coming" for Sam and Dave and the song "B-A-B-Y" for Carla Thomas, which were largely considered as soul music.²⁵ MG's guitarist Steve Cropper was of the opinion that, "[h]e was able to throw in jazz-type chords and make them funky."²⁶ Hayes and David Porter have been estimated to have created about 200 songs during the label's peak period.²⁷ This portrayed the hard-working nature of Isaac Hayes during this time.

Graeme Thomson, a reporter for *Uncut* magazine, reported that "[h]is metamorphosis into a recording artist happened by chance."²⁸ Not only did Stax lose its biggest artist, Otis Redding, in a plane crash in 1967 but the loss of their distribution deal with Atlantic Records dealt the label a heavy financial blow as they had little music to publish. Hiatt commented on Stax's problem during this period:

In early 1969, after Stax lost its back catalogue when Warner Bros. bought its distributor, Atlantic Records, Stax's president ordered the rush production of 28 new albums.²⁹

²⁴ G. Thomson: "Isaac Hayes: Black Moses," *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 18.

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 20; Anonymous: "Stroke is suspected in soul man Hayes' death," *Goldmine*, Volume 34(19), p. 8; P. Garland: "Isaac Hayes: Hot Buttered Soul," *Ebony*, Volume 25(5), 1970, pp. 84, 90; C. Elsworth: "Isaac Hayes, soul sensation and voice of 'South Park' character Chef, dead at 65," *The Telegraph*, 10 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/celebritynews/2536713/Isaac-Hayes-soul-sensation-and-The-Voice-Of-South-Park-Character-Chef-dead-at-65.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019); D. Heckman: "Rapping with 'Black Moses'," *The New York Times*, 23 April 1972, p. 23; T. Baker: "Hayes, Isaac," In *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music* edited by B. C. Malone (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2014), p. 246.

²⁶ B. Hiatt: "Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar," *Rolling Stone*, Volume 18(1060), 2008, p. 18.

²⁷ G. Susman, C. Nashawaty & M. Watson: "HAYES, Isaac. 1942-2008," *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32; B. Hiatt: "Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar," *Rolling Stone*, Volume 18(1060), 2008, p. 18; B. Sisario: "Isaac Hayes, a Creator of '70s Soul Style, Dies at 65," *The New York Times*, 11 August 2008, p. 6; T. Baker: "Hayes, Isaac," In *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music* edited by B. C. Malone (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2014), p. 246.

²⁸ G. Thomson: "Isaac Hayes: Black Moses," *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 20.

²⁹ G. Susman, C. Nashawaty & M. Watson: "HAYES, Isaac. 1942-2008," *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32; S. Howe: "Meet the Musicians who gave Isaac Hayes his groove," *The New York Times*, 15 November 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/15/arts/music/isaac-hayes-band-bar-kays.html?searchResultPosition=2> (Accessed 18 Apr. 2019); P. Gallo: "Hayes gave soul to 'Shaft, Chef,'" *Variety*, Volume 412(1), p. 35.

Apart from having to create a new catalogue, Al Bell, president of Stax during this period, noted that “I wanted to show the world we’re still here and we’re a major label.”³⁰ This provided an opportunity for Hayes to record his first album. However, his recording career was not a priority for the label and one could cast doubt on the quality of his singing voice. In addition, Porter noted that “[h]e and Hayes never talked about making their own records.”³¹ Supporting this statement, Sam Moore, an American vocalist part, of the Sam and Dave group, stated that:

I never thought that [Isaac Hayes] would become an artist. He wasn’t looking for no deal. He was a producer. He could play sax and organ, but vocally he was no Brook Benton. Come on! His voice, I could take or leave. He could sound as if he was going out of key.³²

In 1968, Isaac Hayes released his debut album titled, *Presenting Isaac Hayes*, which was commercially unsuccessful according to Thomson. This was mostly ascribed to the label and the fact that Hayes’s recording career was not a priority for them.³³ David Porter stated that:

It wasn’t a big record. Al [Bell] was just trying to get some music done. After all, Al wanted another record, and Isaac’s attitude was, ‘If I’m going to do another one, let me do it the way I want to do it.’³⁴

This album was re-released three years later by Atlantic Records, and due to the growth in Hayes’s popularity, its record sales were significantly higher than his debut album.³⁵

Hayes also created a personal style and brand by starting to shave his head in the early 1960s. This made him stand out as everyone was wearing afro-style hair.³⁶ Bell, remarked that “Isaac would

³⁰ G. Thomson: “Isaac Hayes: Black Moses,” *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 20.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ L. Alterman: “Pop,” *The New York Times*, 18 April 1971, p. 30; G. Thomson: “Isaac Hayes: Black Moses,” *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 20; B. Hiatt: “Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar,” *Rolling Stone*, Volume 18(1060), 2008, p. 18; Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes obituary,” *The Telegraph*, 11 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/2540119/Isaac-Hayes-obituary.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019); D. Heckman: “Rapping with ‘Black Moses’,” *The New York Times*, 23 April 1972, p. 23; Author Unknown: “Big sound of Hayes,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 November 1978, p. 10; L. McGregor: “Hot Buttered frenzy greets ‘Black Moses’,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 November 1978, p. 3; T. Baker: “Hayes, Isaac,” In *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music* edited by B. C. Malone (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2014), p. 245.

³⁴ G. Thomson: “Isaac Hayes: Black Moses,” *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 20.

³⁵ L. Alterman: “Pop,” *The New York Times*, 18 April 1971, p. 30.

³⁶ J. Fusilli: “Music: Isaac Hayes: Much More than ‘Shaft’,” *Wall Street Journal*, 12 August 2008, p. 7.

come in with a purple shirt on, some pink pants, yellow socks and blue shoes.”³⁷ Bell was also struck by Hayes’ spoken word intros and the reaction the elements received from musicians. Bell recalled that “[a]ll he was really doing was hitting on the girls. He’d get their attention, and some young lady would leave with him.”³⁸

The next album Hayes recorded was called *Hot Buttered Soul* (1969).³⁹ This album contained four lengthy songs that diverted from the standard three minute-single.⁴⁰ Lorraine Alterman stated that “[i]gnoring the usual three-minute limit of most R’n’B cuts, Hayes extended his selections as a jazz musician does.”⁴¹ Furthermore, Bell wanted to release as many albums as he could to fill his quota of 28 new albums.⁴² Bell remarked that “I wanted them as long as possible because he only had two songs and I had to get me an album.”⁴³ Due to this confluence of practical and logistical requirements, for example, having to fill up time on a recording, and Hayes’ flirting with the audience in long lengthy spoken-word passages, Hayes expanded his music into a unique musical style. For example, Hayes ended up with 18 minutes of the song “By the Time I Get to Phoenix” and a 12 minutes song of “Walk on By”.⁴⁴ The blues songs “Hyperbolicysyllabicsesquedalymistic” and “One Woman” was added to make up 43 minutes, which gave Bell an album.⁴⁵ Robbie Gennet

³⁷ B. Hiatt: “Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar,” *Rolling Stone*, Volume 18(1060), 2008, p. 18; B. Sisario: “Isaac Hayes, a Creator of ‘70s Soul Style, Dies at 65,” *The New York Times*, 11 August 2008, p. 6; G. Thomson: “Isaac Hayes: Black Moses,” *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 20.

³⁸ *Ibid*; D. Brackett. 2014. Soul music. In *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2257344> (Accessed 23 Sept. 2019)

³⁹ G. Susman, C. Nashawaty & M. Watson: “HAYES, Isaac. 1942-2008,” *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32; Anonymous: “Stroke is suspected in soul man Hayes’ death,” *Goldmine*, Volume 34(19), p. 8; Anonymous: “Stroke is suspected in soul man Hayes’ death,” *Goldmine*, Volume 34(19), p. 8; G. Thomson: “Isaac Hayes: Black Moses,” *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 20; S. Healy: “The Soulful styles of Isaac Hayes,” *Keyboard*, Volume 34(11), 2008, p. 52; L. McGregor: “Hot Buttered frenzy greets ‘Black Moses’,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 November 1978, p. 3.

⁴⁰ B. Hiatt: “Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar,” *Rolling Stone*, Volume 18(1060), 2008, p. 18; Anonymous: “Stroke is suspected in soul man Hayes’ death,” *Goldmine*, Volume 34(19), p. 8; D. Bikitsha: “Flamboyant super star was too poor for lessons,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 October 1978, p. 7.

⁴¹ L. Alterman: “Pop,” *The New York Times*, 18 April 1971, p. 30; Anonymous: “Stroke is suspected in soul man Hayes’ death,” *Goldmine*, Volume 34(19), p. 8.

⁴² G. Susman, C. Nashawaty & M. Watson: “Hayes, Isaac. 1942-2008,” *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32; S. Howe: “Meet the Musicians who gave Isaac Hayes his groove,” *The New York Times*, 15 November 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/15/arts/music/isaac-hayes-band-bar-kays.html?searchResultPosition=2> (Accessed 18 Apr. 2019); P. Gallo: “Hayes gave soul to ‘Shaft, Chef,” *Variety*, Volume 412(1), p. 35.

⁴³ G. Thomson: “Isaac Hayes: Black Moses,” *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 20.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*; P. Garland: “Isaac Hayes: Hot Buttered Soul,” *Ebony*, Volume 25(5), 1970, p. 84.

⁴⁵ G. Thomson: “Isaac Hayes: Black Moses,” *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 20; Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes obituary,” *The Telegraph*, 11 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/2540119/Isaac-Hayes-obituary.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019)

reviewed the song “By the Time I Get to Phoenix” from the album *Hot Buttered Soul*, pointing out that the Keyboardist Ronnie Gordon:

[H]olds perhaps the longest organ note in history, waiting over eight and a half minutes for Hayes to speak the title line before the whole band kicks in smoothly to begin the actual song itself. The organ creates an underlying tension beneath the full orchestration and Hayes's sorrowful pleas, while subtle piano fills echo the horn and string arrangements, building throughout the rest of the song into a powerful crescendo of swelling organ and orchestra. About two and a half minutes before the end comes the first of two dynamic drops that bring the song to its dramatic finale. The song drops – to just piano, organ, bass, and drums, and remains so for one last build, with some tremendous organ slides – before dropping again to almost nothing, except Gordon's one final Hammond swell.⁴⁶

As noted above, Hayes created a form of speaking that preceded his songs, which he called “raps.”⁴⁷ According to John Shepard, Hayes’s raps along with various other traditions including black preaching and jazz vocalese can be viewed as the precursors to rapping.⁴⁸ There were also individuals such as Clarence Carter and Millie Jackson, who also made use of these “raps.”

Hayes commented in *The New York Times* that, “[t]here is nothing fictional in my raps. I might elongate or extend an idea or something like that, but the basic thing that comes through is from experiences that I’ve had.”⁴⁹ For example, in his song “I Stand Accused”, Hayes attempts to appeal to his crowd and more specifically the mature people when he speaks about how, even though he was poor growing up, he still went to church and even sang in the choir.⁵⁰ Hayes elaborated further on the meaning of this rap saying that

The older generation of blacks—my mother and grandmother — were strictly brought up in the church and they were taught a kind of spiritual discipline. And that rap

⁴⁶ R. Gennet: “Key Tracks: Isaac Hayes “Hot Buttered Soul” (Stax),” *Keyboard*, Volume 25(6), 1999, p. 26.

⁴⁷ D. Heckman: “Rapping with ‘Black Moses’,” *The New York Times*, 23 April 1972, p. 23.

⁴⁸ The full list drawn up by John Shepard includes “the dozens and toasting traditions from Jamaica and the United States; children’s games like ‘Pattin’ Juba, ‘black girls’ cheerleading and double-dutch chants, black preaching; jazz vocalese; radio Djs’ verbal patter; jive scat; courting rituals; [and] lovers’ raps [by musicians such as] Isaac Hayes, Barr White [and] Millie Jackson.” (J. Shepherd: “Rapping,” In *Continuum Encyclopedia of Popular Music of the World: Volume II: Performance and Production* edited by J. Shepherd, et al (New York & London: Wicke Continuum, 2003), p. 150; D. Toop, C. Cheney and L. Kajikawa: “Rap,” In *Grove Music Online*, 2012, <https://doi-org.ez.sun.ac.za/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2225387> (Accessed 29 Sept. 2019))

⁴⁹ D. Heckman: “Rapping with ‘Black Moses’,” *The New York Times*, 23 April 1972, p. 23.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*; I. Hayes: *I Stand Accused*. Stax. 1970. ENA-9017.

represented to them a kind of rejuvenation of all the old ideas they believed in, vis-a-vis the church.⁵¹

Hayes always appealed to his audiences in his songs as can be heard in his song “By the Time I Get to Phoenix” for example. During one of his first performances of this song at a Memphis club, Hayes recalled that “I started telling them about a situation that a black man could interpret in the song.”⁵² This made people fall in love with his music and Hayes was aware of the effect that his “raps” had. In the *New York Times*, Hayes commented that,

I knew that what was making it work was that I was illustrating and accenting the words with the music. People go through the same experiences, no matter who they are, and that’s what they want to hear about.⁵³

Hayes’s raps played an important role in his music, not just as messages to his audiences, but also as musical elements. In his song, “Our Day Will Come”, Hayes talks about a couple going through some bad changes, and explains the rap in more detail:

The rap thing in front tries to paint a picture. It starts with the sound of crickets. If you hear the sound of crickets and hear someone talking soft, the first thing you think about is a rendezvous — a sneak thing outdoors somewhere. I begin the rap like I'm this guy who is meeting this chick and her parent's object, but I've got to split to go away to the war, but I'll be back and, in the meantime, I love you and don't be discouraged about negative attitudes from others in our direction.⁵⁴

The title for Hayes’ second album was given to it by the president of Stax record, Al Bell after he saw an advertisement in a Jamaican in-flight magazine for “Hot Buttered Rum.”⁵⁵ Sisario stated that on the cover of this album, Hayes was captured in “customary style: shaved head, dark shades, gold chains, bare chest.”⁵⁶ Hayes’ appearance alone made him stand out, which diverted from the

⁵¹ D. Heckman: “Rapping with ‘Black Moses’,” *The New York Times*, 23 April 1972, p. 23; G. Wald: “Soul’s Revival: White Soul, Nostalgia, and the Culturally Constructed Past,” In *Soul: Black Power, Politics, and Pleasure* edited by M. Guillory and R. C. Green (New York and London: New York University Press, 1998), pp. 147-148.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ G. Thomson: “Isaac Hayes: Black Moses,” *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 21.

⁵⁶ B. Sisario: “Isaac Hayes, a Creator of ‘70s Soul Style, Dies at 65,” *The New York Times*, 11 August 2008, p. 6; C. Elsworth: “Isaac Hayes, soul sensation and voice of ‘South Park’ character Chef, dead at 65,” *The Telegraph*, 10 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/celebritynews/2536713/Isaac-Hayes-soul-sensation-and-The-Voice-Of-South-Park-Character-Chef-dead-at-65.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019); Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes obituary,” *The Telegraph*, 11 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/2540119/Isaac-Hayes-obituary.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019)

suited afro-haired soul singers during this period. This look contributed to his sex-appeal as discussed further on in this chapter.

Phil Gallo, a reporter for *Variety*, commented that “[t]he album received airplay in Detroit and was so popular that record shops in the Motor City were burglarized and the only thing missing would be copies of ‘Hot Buttered Soul’.”⁵⁷ Out of all the 28 albums requested by Al Bell, *Hot Buttered Soul* sold the best.⁵⁸ In the following year, Hayes released two more albums, namely *The Isaac Hayes Movement* and *To Be Continued* (1970), which almost sold just as well as his former album.⁵⁹

Similar to the structure of Hayes’ earlier album, *Hot buttered Soul* (1969), *The Isaac Hayes Movement* and *To Be Continued* (1970) also contained long tracks. *The Isaac Hayes Movement* (1970) also contained longer songs namely “I Stand Accused”, “One Big Unhappy Family”, “I Just Don’t Know What To Do With Myself” and “Something” and featured his band called the Isaac Hayes Movement.⁶⁰ Along with *Hot buttered Soul*, *To be Continued* also obtained gold status with more than 500 000 copies sold.⁶¹

In early 1971, Hayes was asked to compose music for the soundtrack of Gordon Park’s film *Shaft*.⁶² Authors such as Brian Hiatt and Robbie Gennet argued that “Hot Buttered Soul’s massive critical and commercial success led to the opportunity of composing the music for *Shaft*, the definitive

⁵⁷ G. Susman, C. Nashawaty & M. Watson: “HAYES, Isaac. 1942-2008,” *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32; G. Thomson: “Isaac Hayes: Black Moses,” *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 21; Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes Hits 1 Million ‘Hot Buttered Sales’,” *Jet*, Volume 39(9), 1969, p. 62; Author Unknown: “Big sound of Hayes,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 November 1978, p. 10.

⁵⁸ B. Hiatt: “Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar,” *Rolling Stone*, Volume 18(1060), 2008, p. 18; Anonymous: “Stroke is suspected in soul man Hayes’ death,” *Goldmine*, Volume 34(19), p. 8.

⁵⁹ L. Alterman: “Pop,” *The New York Times*, 18 April 1971, p. 30; B. J. Mason: “Isaac Hayes: New Wife, New Image, New Career,” *Ebony*, Volume 28(12), 1973, p. 176; Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes’ ‘Shaft’ LP Tops \$2 Million in Sales,” *Jet*, Volume 41(8), 1971, p. 64.

⁶⁰ <https://www.discogs.com/Isaac-Hayes-The-Isaac-Hayes-Movement/release/2607034> (Accessed 20 Aug. 2019)

⁶¹ C. Higgins: “Black Moses of black music,” *Jet*, Volume 39(19), 1971, p. 56.

⁶² Anonymous: “Stroke is suspected in soul man Hayes’ death,” *Goldmine*, Volume 34(19), p. 8; G. Thomson: “Isaac Hayes: Black Moses,” *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 20; G. Thomson: “Isaac Hayes: Black Moses,” *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 20; Author Unknown: “IN BRIEF: Soul icon Isaac Hayes found dead at Memphis home,” *Music Week*, 23 August 2008, p. 4; D. Rys: “Unlocking Isaac Hayes’ vault; more than 200 unreleased recordings from the soul icon’s archive—including many from his ’60s and 70s creative peak—are on the way,” *Billboard*, Volume 127(34), 2015, p. 13; K. Demastersaug: “JERSEY FOOTLIGHTS; Isaac Hayes Really Cooks,” *The New York Times*, 5 August 2001, <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/08/05/nyregion/jersey-footlights-isaac-hayes-really-cooks.html?searchResultPosition=1> (Accessed 18 Apr. 2019); B. Hiatt: “Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar,” *Rolling Stone*, Volume 18(1060), 2008, p. 18; J. Tortelli: “Reviews: Isaac Hayes – ‘Black Moses’,” *Goldmine*, Volume 35(10), 2009, p. 44.

Blaxploitation film, as discussed in Chapter One.”⁶³ The track was so successful that Hayes won an Oscar for “Theme from Shaft” for Best Original Song. Hayes also won a Golden Globe, a Grammy and a Bafta for the score in 1971.⁶⁴ According to Brad L. Stoddard:

Shaft appeared after the civil rights era and the 1960s Black Power movement when black American activists worked for desegregation and equal standing before the law. *Shaft* and other Blaxploitation films represent one attempt for black Americans to embrace their new social standing within a still-racist America by highlighting black men and women as independent and free.

Stoddard, additionally, stated that there very contrasting opinions on the depiction of black masculinity in *Shaft*. He believed:

Some scholars embrace Shaft as a strong uncompromising black man who defies previous cinematic stereotypes portraying black men as weak and subservient to whites. Other scholars have argued that *Shaft* embodies a stereotype of black masculinity as hypersexualized and prone to violence and that it depicts the culture of black men displaying their historically new freedoms while oppressing black women. Scholars have also criticized the portrayal of black feminity in *Shaft*, which depicts women as passive, victims, and sex objects.⁶⁵

Hiatt observed that, “[a]long the way Hayes became an icon of proud black masculinity.”⁶⁶ Winning the Oscar was seen as a victory and achievement for all black Americans.⁶⁷ This is mostly

⁶³ Hayes was also featured in another two Blaxploitation films *Three Tough Guys* and *Truck Turner* and recorded soundtracks for both in 1974. (C. Waldron: “Stars, Friends and fans remember ‘Black Moses’ Isaac Hayes,” *Jet*, Volume 114(7), p. 39; G. Susman, C. Nashawaty & M. Watson: “HAYES, Isaac. 1942-2008,” *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32; B. Hiatt: “Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar,” *Rolling Stone*, Volume 18(1060), 2008, p. 18; J. Fusilli: “Music: Isaac Hayes: Much More than ‘Shaft’,” *Wall Street Journal*, 12 August 2008, p. 7; R. Gennet: “Key Tracks: Isaac Hayes ‘Hot Buttered Soul’ (Stax),” *Keyboard*, Volume 25(6), 1999, p. 26; Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes Hits 1 Million ‘Hot Buttered Sales’,” *Jet*, Volume 39(9), 1969, p. 62.)

⁶⁴ G. Thomson: “Isaac Hayes: Black Moses,” *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 22; B. J. Mason: “Isaac Hayes: New Wife, New Image, New Career,” *Ebony*, Volume 28(12), 1973, p. 174; C. Elsworth: “Isaac Hayes, soul sensation and voice of ‘South Park’ character Chef, dead at 65,” *The Telegraph*, 10 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/celebritynews/2536713/Isaac-Hayes-soul-sensation-and-The-Voice-Of-South-Park-Character-Chef-dead-at-65.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019); Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes obituary,” *The Telegraph*, 11 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/2540119/Isaac-Hayes-obituary.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019); Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes’ most emotional time,” *The Star*, 30 November 1978, p. 30; Author Unknown: “Big sound of Hayes,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 November 1978, p. 10; L. McGregor: “Hot Buttered frenzy greets ‘Black Moses’,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 November 1978, p. 3; P. Feldman: “Music has no barriers, ‘Black Moses’,” *The Star*, Late Extra, 13 November 1978, p. 5; E. Shuenyane: “Black Moses comes to town,” *Drum*, December 1978, p. 76.

⁶⁵ B. L. Stoddard: “Shaft,” In *Multicultural America: A Multimedia Encyclopedia* edited by C. S. Cortés (London: SAGE Publications, 2013), p. 1925.

⁶⁶ B. Hiatt: “Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar,” *Rolling Stone*, (1060), 2008, p. 18.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

attributed to the highly sexualised nature of his song “Theme from Shaft” and the portrayal of masculinity in the film itself. See for example the lyrics from the theme song:

Who’s the black private dick that’s a sex
machine to all chicks?

(Shaft)

Ya damn right

Who is the man that would risk his neck for his
brother man?

(Shaft)

Can you dig it?

Who’s the cat that won’t cop out when there’s
danger all about?

(Shaft)

Right on⁶⁸

In this song Shaft is portrayed as a highly sexualised black man, a man that every woman wants, a man that fights for his fellow blacks, and, one that is not afraid of danger.

In 1971, Hayes released an album entitled *Black Moses*.⁶⁹ The album featured Hayes in a long robe on a cover that folded out into the shape of a cross.⁷⁰ Rickey Vincent remarked that “wearing the

⁶⁸ I. Hayes: Theme from Shaft. Stax. 1971. 2025-069.

⁶⁹ J. Fusilli: “Music: Isaac Hayes: Much More than ‘Shaft’,” *Wall Street Journal*, 12 August 2008, p. 7; Anonymous: “Stroke is suspected in soul man Hayes’ death,” *Goldmine*, Volume 34(19), p. 8; T. Baker: “Hayes, Isaac,” In *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music* edited by B. C. Malone (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2014), p. 245; Various Mojo Magazine: *The Mojo Collection: 4th Edition*, p. 268.

⁷⁰ R. Vincent. 2013. Party Music: *The Inside Story of the Black Panthers’ Band and How Black Power Transformed Soul Music*, p. 213.

robe of Moses, and with his tall frame and bald head, Isaac Hayes became an icon of racial pride without having to sing a note.”⁷¹

Hayes recorded this album after his first wife had left him.⁷² According to Hayes:

I went into the worst time of my life. I got stupid, I got irrational. I thought of running away, giving it all up. I thought hard about committing suicide. Other women didn't help me. I was lost. [...] I ended up in the recording studio and out of all the sorrow came the 'Black Moses' album. Every song on it is a message to that girl at that time.⁷³

However, Hayes never saw himself as an important figure, he stated that “[s]ome people may call me a liberator of my Black Moses title but I see it in the musical sense.”⁷⁴

While some of the songs on the album are reminiscent of “Theme of Shaft”, most of the album tracks featured progressive soul ballads with songs such as “A Brand New Me”, “Part-Time Love” and “I’ll Never Fall in Love Again”.⁷⁵ Initially, Hayes was reluctant to call his album *Black Moses*, “uncomfortable with the religious implications. Hayes initially refused to take on the role of Black Moses, ‘I had nothing to do with it’.”⁷⁶ Hayes recalled that:

I was kicking and screaming all the way. But when I saw the relevance and effect it had on people; it wasn't a negative thing. It was a healing thing; it was an inspiring thing. It raised the level of black consciousness in the States. People were proud to be black. Black men could finally stand up and be men because here's Black Moses, he's the epitome of black masculinity. Chains that once represented bondage and slavery now can be a sign of power and strength and virility.⁷⁷

Like Sledge, Hayes' music in America spoke to the growing awareness and drive of black consciousness. Additionally, Hayes' persona was constructed out of a duality: on the one hand, Black Moses, enshrined in religious symbolism, depicted a saviour of sorts leading his people to the promised land, and on the other a hyper-masculine man and sexually desirable.

⁷¹ R. Vincent. 2013. Party Music: *The Inside Story of the Black Panthers' Band and How Black Power Transformed Soul Music*, p. 213

⁷² Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Newspaper Collection: Box 1. Publisher 1. D. Gordon: “Memory of 16-year-old girl haunts Isaac Hayes,” Newspaper Unknown. Date Unknown.

⁷³ *Ibid*; Various Mojo Magazine: *The Mojo Collection: 4th Edition*, p. 268.

⁷⁴ Staff Reporter: “‘Being the best’ is Black Moses’ motto for success,” *The Star*, Late Extra, 13 November 1978, p. 1.

⁷⁵ J. Tortelli: “Reviews: Isaac Hayes – ‘Black Moses’,” *Goldmine*, Volume 35(10), 2009, p. 44.

⁷⁶ C. Higgins: “Black Moses of black music,” *Jet*, Volume 39(19), 1971, p. 56.

⁷⁷ R. Vincent: *Party Music: The Inside Story of the Black Panthers' Band and How Black Power Transformed Soul Music*, p. 213.

In the mid-1970s, Hayes's albums sales started dwindling along with his popularity.⁷⁸ According to Alterman, whereas Hayes had a "fresh approach to soul music" on his first two albums, "Hayes has fallen into the trap of perpetuating the same sound on record after record."⁷⁹ Terry Manning similarly commented that Hayes' music "became formulaic. I would have liked to have seen a little more direct creativity."⁸⁰ Additionally, the debts Hayes' had accumulated over the years were all up for collection and Hayes' recent albums were not able to cover this debt.⁸¹ Graeme Thomson commented that "[t]he huge debts he had accrued over the past five years would shortly lead to bankruptcy, the loss of his home and all future royalties on his back catalogue."⁸² Hayes commented on his loss of money:

I trusted a lot of people I shouldn't have trusted. I put too much trust in people. I trusted people to take care of business and I didn't question them. Being a creative person. I didn't like to get bogged down in a lot of administrative things. Rather, I hired people who were supposed to be top-notch. All these people who were supposed to be advising me were all experienced. Investments didn't pan out as they should have.⁸³

Hayes's losses were immense, and he admitted that this was because of trusting the wrong people. Robert Gordon blamed the Stax label because he lost his copyrights. He stated that:

⁷⁸ B. Hiatt: "Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar," *Rolling Stone*, Volume 18(1060), 2008, p. 18; G. Thomson: "Isaac Hayes: Black Moses," *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 22; J. Fusilli: "Music: Isaac Hayes: Much More than 'Shaft'," *Wall Street Journal*, 12 August 2008, p. 7; Author Unknown: "Isaac Hayes Talks About His Third Comeback," *Jet*, Volume 71(24), 1987, p. 22.

⁷⁹ J. Fusilli: "Music: Isaac Hayes: Much More than 'Shaft'," *Wall Street Journal*, 12 August 2008, p. 7; Anonymous: "Stroke is suspected in soul man Hayes' death," *Goldmine*, Volume 34(19), p. 8; L. Alterman: "Pop," *The New York Times*, 18 April 1971, p. 30; T. Baker: "Hayes, Isaac," In *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music* edited by B. C. Malone (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2014), p. 244.

⁸⁰ G. Thomson: "Isaac Hayes: Black Moses," *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 22.

⁸¹ *Ibid*; Author Unknown: "Isaac Hayes obituary," *The Telegraph*, 11 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/2540119/Isaac-Hayes-obituary.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019); T. Baker: "Hayes, Isaac," In *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music* edited by B. C. Malone (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2014), p. 246; R. Gordon: *Respect Yourself: Stax Records and the Soul Explosion*, p. 368.

⁸² B. Sisario: "Isaac Hayes, a Creator of '70s Soul Style, Dies at 65," *The New York Times*, 11 August 2008, p. 6; G. Thomson: "Isaac Hayes: Black Moses," *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 22; B. Hiatt: "Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar," *Rolling Stone*, Volume 18(1060), 2008, p. 18; Author Unknown: "Isaac Hayes gives his side of the bankruptcy story," *Jet*, Volume 51(19), 19, p. 23; R. Kisner: "The money of the problem stars," *Ebony*, Volume 31(7), 1977, p. 142; Author Unknown: "Bankruptcy Wipes Out Most of Singer Isaac Hayes' Wealth," *Jet*, Volume 51(8), 1977, p. 52; D. Smallwood: "Hayes' Rings, Minks Net \$84,000 on Auction Block," *Jet*, Volume 53(23), 1978, p. 20; R. Gordon: *Respect Yourself: Stax Records and the Soul Explosion*, p. 368; G. Hirshey: *Nowhere to run: The Story of Soul Music*, pp. 356-357.

⁸³ Author Unknown: "Isaac Hayes gives his side of the bankruptcy story," *Jet*, Volume 51(19), 19, p. 23; R. Kisner: "The money of the problem stars," *Ebony*, Volume 31(7), 1977, pp. 142-143; Author Unknown: "Isaac Hayes Tells how he made it big and Lost it all," *Jet*, Volume 68(3), 1985, pp. 15-16.

They were supposed to have given him all his copyrights and master tapes, but they hadn't nor had they distributed to him his BMI and ASCAP money – funds the company had received for his radio airplay.⁸⁴

In 1974, Hayes subsequently sued the Stax label for back royalties.⁸⁵ According to Fusilli, a reporter for the *Wall Street Journal*: “In debt to a regional bank, Hayes sued Stax for back royalties; unable to comply, the label released him from his contract, and he paid his debt with future royalties and income.”⁸⁶ In 1976, due to the loss of money, the label also filed for bankruptcy.⁸⁷ Kisner, a reporter for *Ebony* magazine, remarked that “Stax became involved in various litigations of its complicated business deals by the Internal Revenue Service and other agencies. One by one, Hayes and other top acts left the company.”⁸⁸

During this time, in 1974, Hayes also turned to acting, starring in *Three Tough Guys* and *Truck Turner*. Apart from acting in these films, Hayes also created their soundtracks, and he had a recurring role in *The Rockford files* during this period.⁸⁹

After the bankruptcy of Stax records Hayes, he went back to ABC Records, the company that “created the Hot Buttered Soul label for him.”⁹⁰ His first album on this label *Chocolate Chip* (1975) sold well but albums following this failed to deliver financially.⁹¹

⁸⁴ R. Gordon: *Respect Yourself: Stax Records and the Soul Explosion*, p. 368.

⁸⁵ Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes Files \$150Gs Lawsuit Against Stax,” *Jet*, Volume 49(6), 1975, p. 58; Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes gives his side of the bankruptcy story,” *Jet*, Volume 51(19), 19, p. 23; Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes obituary,” *The Telegraph*, 11 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/2540119/Isaac-Hayes-obituary.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019)

⁸⁶ J. Fusilli: “Music: Isaac Hayes: Much More than ‘Shaft’,” *Wall Street Journal*, 12 August 2008, p. 7; G.

Thomson: “Isaac Hayes: Black Moses,” *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 22; Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes gives his side of the bankruptcy story,” *Jet*, Volume 51(19), 1977, p. 23.

⁸⁷ G. Thomson: “Isaac Hayes: Black Moses,” *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 22; R. Kisner: “The money of the problem stars,” *Ebony*, Volume 31(7), 1977, p. 142.

⁸⁸ This included artists such as the Emotions, Johnny Taylor, the Staple Singers, Carla Thomas, Rufus Thomas and the Bar-Kays. (R. Kisner: “The money of the problem stars,” *Ebony*, Volume 31(7), 1977, p. 143.)

⁸⁹ G. Susman, C. Nashawaty & M. Watson: “HAYES, Isaac. 1942-2008,” *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32.

⁹⁰ P. Gallo: “Hayes gave soul to ‘Shaft, Chef,” *Variety*, Volume 412(1), p. 35; G. Susman, C. Nashawaty & M. Watson: “HAYES, Isaac. 1942-2008,” *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32; T. Baker: “Hayes, Isaac,” In *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music* edited by B. C. Malone (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2014), p. 245; Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes’ Wife Sues For Divorce Then Drops Action,” *Jet*, Volume 49(20), p. 46.

⁹¹ D. Edwards, P. Eyries & M. Callahan: “HBS (Hot Buttered Soul) Album Discography,” 10 April 2002, <https://www.bsnpubs.com/abc/hbs.html> (Accessed 8 May 2019); T. Baker: “Hayes, Isaac,” In *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music* edited by B. C. Malone (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2014), p. 246.

Also, during this period Hayes was held in contempt according to *Jet* magazine, “for failure to pay \$3,166.67 alimony and child support payments on time.”⁹² This case was dismissed after Hayes settled outside of court with his second wife Emily Ruth Hayes the second time in the same year.⁹³ Hayes was also threatened with divorce by his third wife, Mignon Cynthia Marley Hayes, who demanded their “Memphis mansion, alimony and child support for their two children.”⁹⁴ This threat was swiftly resolved and Mignon Hayes made a statement that “[i]t was done out of anger. I have withstood the pressures this long and I think I can continue. I love Isaac.”⁹⁵

In the following year, Hayes undertook a tour alongside Dionne Warwick, an American singer, which sold very well and simultaneously depicted a very different side to Hayes’ personality and style.⁹⁶ During this tour instead of his usual chain attire, Hayes was dressed in different suits for every show.⁹⁷ Hayes commented on this change of appearance in the *Jet* magazine that, “[p]eople have to continue to grow. I’m growing musically and I decided to hang up my chains for now.”⁹⁸ For Hayes, his chains had no real significance to him anymore and he commented that:

They took on symbolism to other people. Some took it as a sex thing, others as a liberated Black man making a mockery of what chains once represented. To me, it was just an individual style of stage attire.⁹⁹

In 1977, Hayes left ABC Records and was signed to Polydor Records but none of his records proved to be as popular as the music he created at Stax, until the release of his gold album in 1979, titled *Don’t Let Go*, a year after his tour to South Africa.¹⁰⁰ This would be his last album which had chart success during the 1970s. From the period 1980 until 1987, Hayes produced very few records and released three albums, two on the Polydor label (1980 and 1981) and one on CBS

⁹² Author Unknown: “Alimony Suit Against Hayes Dismissed,” *Jet*, Volume 49(20), 1976, pp. 46-47.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ C. Waldron: “Stars, Friends and fans remember ‘Black Moses’ Isaac Hayes,” *Jet*, Volume 114(7), p. 36; D. Smallwood: “Hayes’ Rings, Minks Net \$84,000 on Auction Block,” *Jet*, Volume 53(23), 1978, p. 24; A. A. Burgess: “Dionne And Isaac Sizzle on stage with sexy songs,” *Jet*, Volume 49(25), 1976, p. 59; T. Baker: “Hayes, Isaac,” In *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music* edited by B. C. Malone (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2014), p. 246.

⁹⁷ A. A. Burgess: “Dionne And Isaac Sizzle on stage with sexy songs,” *Jet*, Volume 49(25), 1976, p. 59.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ G. Thomson: “Isaac Hayes: Black Moses,” *Uncut*, (205), 2014, p. 22; G. Brown: “Hayes Vs. White In Battle for the Top,” *Jet*, Volume 55(13), 1978, p. 75.

(1986). He also created one track with Millie Jackson on Spring Records (1986). Most of his time was spent on acting and in 1981, Hayes starred in the movie *Escape from New York*.¹⁰¹

In 1988, Hayes attempted his third comeback, through Columbia Records, by launching an album called *Love Attack*.¹⁰² He collaborated with numerous artists during the late 1980s and starred in the Blaxploitation movie *I'm Gonna Git You Sucka* (1988) but still struggled to obtain financial security.¹⁰³ When Hayes attempted to obtain a solo deal, he encountered problems.¹⁰⁴ Hayes stated that "I couldn't get a record deal. I didn't feel comfortable having Artist & Repertoire (A&R) executives ask me, 'What have you done lately?'"¹⁰⁵

In 1989, Hayes was jailed for not paying alimony.¹⁰⁶ The *Jet* magazine stated that:

Hayes [...] categorised his jailing as 'harassment' and told the judge he was financially strapped and had not been able to schedule enough performances to make the amount of money needed to meet the \$2,500 monthly, court-ordered payments.¹⁰⁷

Additionally, Hayes was ordered to repay the money lent to him by Doris Hall between 1979 and 1992.¹⁰⁸ According to *Jet* magazine Hall "didn't pursue it because she believed the singer didn't have the means to pay."¹⁰⁹

Although Hayes was struggling financially, he remained popular. For example, during his tour to Ghana in 1992, Hayes was "given a royal name Nene Katey Ocansey I," and honoured with the title of "King of Development".¹¹⁰ According to Robert Gordon, Hayes was granted this honour

¹⁰¹ G. Susman, C. Nashawaty & M. Watson: "HAYES, Isaac. 1942-2008," *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32; B. Hiatt: "Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar," *Rolling Stone*, Volume 18(1060), 2008, p. 18.

¹⁰² P. Gallo: "Hayes gave soul to 'Shaft, Chef,'" *Variety*, Volume 412(1), p. 35.

¹⁰³ D. Rys: "Unlocking Isaac Hayes' vault; more than 200 unreleased recordings from the soul icon's archive--including many from his '60s and 70s creative peak--are on the way," *Billboard*, Volume 127(34), 2015, p. 13; D. Nathan: "Hayes makes 'hot buttered' return," *Billboard*, Volume 107(12), 1995, p. 23; Author Unknown: "Isaac Hayes Talks About His Third Comeback," *Jet*, Volume 71(24), 1987, p. 22.

¹⁰⁴ D. Nathan: "Hayes makes 'hot buttered' return," *Billboard*, Volume 107(12), 1995, p. 23.

¹⁰⁵ G. Susman, C. Nashawaty. & M. Watson: "HAYES, Isaac. 1942-2008," *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32; D. Nathan: "Hayes makes 'hot buttered' return," *Billboard*, Volume 107(12), 1995, p. 23; D. Rys: "Unlocking Isaac Hayes' vault; more than 200 unreleased recordings from the soul icon's archive--including many from his '60s and 70s creative peak--are on the way," *Billboard*, Volume 127(34), 2015, p. 13.

¹⁰⁶ Author Unknown: "Isaac Hayes Jailed for Failing to Pay Alimony," *Jet*, Volume 75(23), 1989, p. 8.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ Author Unknown: "Isaac Hayes Ordered to Repay \$88,000 Loan and Interest to Georgia Woman," *Jet*, Volume 94(8), 1998, p. 58.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ Author Unknown: "Isaac Hayes obituary," *The Telegraph*, 11 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/2540119/Isaac-Hayes-obituary.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019); E. Shuenyane: "Black Moses comes to town," *Drum*, December 1978, p. 76; T. Baker: "Hayes, Isaac," In *The New*

“in recognition of his efforts to advance civil rights, black literacy and to honour the African tradition of African Americans.”¹¹¹ Hayes also met his fourth wife, Adjowa, during his tour in Ghana.¹¹²

In an interview for *Entertainment Weekly* in 1995, Hayes recalled that “I thought to myself, just turn on the radio and listen to some of your hip-hop stuff—that’s what I’ve done lately!”¹¹³ His recording absence ended when he met the president of the Virgin Records label, John Wooler. Hayes recalled that:

John was the first person I’d met who made sense and knew my musical history. When he said, ‘I don’t have to tell you how to record . . . just be true to yourself,’ I knew we could do business.¹¹⁴

In May 1995, Hayes launched another comeback on the Point-blank/Virgin label with two albums. The first album *Branded* (1995), was characterised with the same style that made him an icon during the 1970s, and the second album, *Raw and Refined* (1995), was a keyboard instrumental album accompanied by the Isaac Hayes Movement band.¹¹⁵ The band included the keyboardists Lester Snell and Sidney Kirk, trumpeters Ben Cauley and Mickey Gregory and guitarists James Alexander and Charles Pitts.¹¹⁶

Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music edited by B. C. Malone (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2014), p. 246; R. Gordon: *Respect Yourself: Stax Records and the Soul Explosion*, p. 369; D. Fick: *Africa: Continent of Economic Opportunity*, p. 49; J. K. Dagnini: “Afrocentrism through Afro-American Music: from the 1960s until the early 2000’s,” www.revue-sociologique.org/sites/default/files/2_Kroubo_Afrocentricism.pdf (Accessed 20 Jul. 2019)

¹¹¹ R. Gordon: *Respect Yourself: Stax Records and the Soul Explosion*, p. 369; D. Fick: *Africa: Continent of Economic Opportunity*, p. 49.

¹¹² *Ibid*; Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes & family,” *Jet*, Volume 109(22), 2006, p. 32.

¹¹³ The musicians who sampled Hayes’ music are Alessia Cara, Jay Z, Snoop Dogg and the Wu-Tang Clan. (G. Susman, C. Nashawaty & M. Watson: “HAYES, Isaac. 1942-2008,” *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32; T. Coates: “The death of Isaac Hayes,” *The Atlantic*, 11 August 2008, <https://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2008/08/the-death-of-isaac-hayes/5624/> (Accessed 9 May 2019))

¹¹⁴ D. Nathan: “Hayes makes ‘hot buttered’ return,” *Billboard*, Volume 107(12), 1995, p. 23.

¹¹⁵ This group was previously known as the Bar-Kays. (J. Fusilli: “Music: Isaac Hayes: Much More than ‘Shaft,’” *Wall Street Journal*, 12 August 2008, p. 7; D. Nathan: “Hayes makes ‘hot buttered’ return,” *Billboard*, Volume 107(12), 1995, p. 23; S. Howe: “Meet the Musicians who gave Isaac Hayes his groove,” *The New York Times*, 15 November 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/15/arts/music/isaac-hayes-band-bar-kays.html?searchResultPosition=2> (Accessed 18 Apr. 2019))

¹¹⁶ S. Howe: “Meet the Musicians who gave Isaac Hayes his groove,” *The New York Times*, 15 November 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/15/arts/music/isaac-hayes-band-bar-kays.html?searchResultPosition=2> (Accessed 18 Apr. 2019)

One of the major catalysts for Hayes' music revival was when he was cast as the voice of Chef on the Comedy Central animated television series *South Park* in 1997.¹¹⁷ Fusilli stated that Hayes character was a "licentious grad-school cook".¹¹⁸ He continuous to note that although "Chef is reliable and stalwart in contrast to other *South Park* adults, he often seemed to parody Hayes' on-record reputation for simmering romance."¹¹⁹

Hayes quit the show in 2006 due to his growing interest in Scientology.¹²⁰ In the 1990s, Hayes took his first Scientology course and became interested in the religion.¹²¹ Shaila Dewan, a reporter for the *New York Times*, stated that "Hayes was also involved in literacy programs in Memphis schools, and in 1997, he and Lisa Marie Presley started the Church of Scientology Mission of Memphis."¹²² Hayes also published a cookbook in 2000, *Cooking with Heart and Soul*, a selection

¹¹⁷ G. Susman, C. Nashawaty & M. Watson: "HAYES, Isaac. 1942-2008," *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32; B. Hiatt: "Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar," *Rolling Stone*, Volume 18(1060), 2008, p. 18; J. Fusilli: "Music: Isaac Hayes: Much More than 'Shaft'," *Wall Street Journal*, 12 August 2008, p. 7; Author Unknown: "Soul Icon Isaac Hayes, A voice of 'South Park,' dies," *The New York Times*, 10 August 2008, <https://mediadecoder.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/08/10/soul-icon-isaac-hayes-a-voice-of-south-park-dies/?searchResultPosition=3> (Accessed 18 Apr. 2019); B. Sisario: "Isaac Hayes, a Creator of '70s Soul Style, Dies at 65," *The New York Times*, 11 August 2008, p. 6; R. Gennet: "Key Tracks: Isaac Hayes 'Hot Buttered Soul' (Stax)," *Keyboard*, Volume 25(6), 1999, p. 26; S. Healy: "The Soulful styles of Isaac Hayes," *Keyboard*, Volume 34(11), 2008, p. 52; C. Waldron: "Stars, Friends and fans remember 'Black Moses' Isaac Hayes," *Jet*, Volume 114(7), p. 40; Author Unknown: "Isaac Hayes Leaves 'South Park'; Cites Religious Reasons," *Jet*, Volume 109(13), 2006, pp. 34-35; C. Elsworth: "Isaac Hayes, soul sensation and voice of 'South Park' character Chef, dead at 65," *The Telegraph*, 10 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/celebritynews/2536713/Isaac-Hayes-soul-sensation-and-The-Voice-Of-South-Park-Character-Chef-dead-at-65.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019); Author Unknown: "Isaac Hayes obituary," *The Telegraph*, 11 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/2540119/Isaac-Hayes-obituary.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019)

¹¹⁸ J. Fusilli: "Music: Isaac Hayes: Much More than 'Shaft'," *Wall Street Journal*, 12 August 2008, p. 7.

¹¹⁹ G. Susman, C. Nashawaty & M. Watson: "HAYES, Isaac. 1942-2008," *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32; J. Fusilli: "Music: Isaac Hayes: Much More than 'Shaft'," *Wall Street Journal*, 12 August 2008, p. 7.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*; B. Sisario: "Isaac Hayes, a Creator of '70s Soul Style, Dies at 65," *The New York Times*, 11 August 2008, p. 6; J. Fusilli: "Music: Isaac Hayes: Much More than 'Shaft'," *Wall Street Journal*, 12 August 2008, p. 7; Author Unknown: "Soul Icon Isaac Hayes, A voice of 'South Park,' dies," *The New York Times*, 10 August 2008, <https://mediadecoder.blogs.nytimes.com/2008/08/10/soul-icon-isaac-hayes-a-voice-of-south-park-dies/?searchResultPosition=3> (Accessed 18 Apr. 2019); Anonymous: "Stroke is suspected in soul man Hayes' death," *Goldmine*, Volume 34(19), p. 13; Author Unknown: "Isaac Hayes Leaves 'South Park'; Cites Religious Reasons," *Jet*, Volume 109(13), 2006, pp. 34-35; T. Baker: "Hayes, Isaac," In *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music* edited by B. C. Malone (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2014), p. 246.

¹²¹ J. Fusilli: "Music: Isaac Hayes: Much More than 'Shaft'," *Wall Street Journal*, 12 August 2008, p. 7; S. Dewan: "Hollywood joins Memphis for a farewell to Isaac Hayes," *The New York Times*, 19 August 2008, p. 12; C. Elsworth: "Isaac Hayes, soul sensation and voice of 'South Park' character Chef, dead at 65," *The Telegraph*, 10 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/celebritynews/2536713/Isaac-Hayes-soul-sensation-and-The-Voice-Of-South-Park-Character-Chef-dead-at-65.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019)

¹²² S. Dewan: "Hollywood joins Memphis for a farewell to Isaac Hayes," *The New York Times*, 19 August 2008, p. 12.

of his favourite recipes and family memories.¹²³ Clearly, there has been an evolution of the Hayes' musical styles, artistic expressions and projects. One of the biggest changes one can reflect on is his shift from Black Moses and sex object, to setting up the Church of Scientology in Memphis.

During his career, Hayes became known as a black icon and he was the first African-American composer to win the Best Original Song award, and the first African-American to win an Oscar winner.¹²⁴ In 2002, he was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame by Alicia Keys.¹²⁵

It is against this biographical background, especially the period of a metamorphosis of the 1970s, that Hayes tours South Africa in 1978.

Isaac Hayes' 1978 tour of South Africa

Isaac Hayes landed at O.R. Tambo Airport on 12 December 1978.¹²⁶ Glenda Simon, who worked for Showtime International, the publicity agency managing the tour, released a statement before Hayes' arrival noting that, "[a]ll fans are welcome to meet him at the airport and no tearing of clothes please."¹²⁷

However, this plea was to no avail and when Hayes arrived, he was mobbed by "hundreds of frenzied women of all races," according to newspaper reports, and a couple of men (as can be seen

¹²³ K. Demastersaug: "JERSY FOOTLIGHTS; Isaac Hayes Really Cooks," *The New York Times*, 5 August 2001, <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/08/05/nyregion/jersey-footlights-isaac-hayes-really-cooks.html?searchResultPosition=1> (Accessed 18 Apr. 2019); C. Waldron: "Stars, Friends and fans remember 'Black Moses' Isaac Hayes," *Jet*, Volume 114(7), p. 40; Author Unknown: "Isaac Hayes obituary," *The Telegraph*, 11 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/2540119/Isaac-Hayes-obituary.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019)

¹²⁴ G. Susman, C. Nashawaty & M. Watson: "HAYES, Isaac. 1942-2008," *Entertainment Weekly*, (1007), 2008, pp. 28-32; K. Demastersaug: "JERSY FOOTLIGHTS; Isaac Hayes Really Cooks," *The New York Times*, 5 August 2001, <https://www.nytimes.com/2001/08/05/nyregion/jersey-footlights-isaac-hayes-really-cooks.html?searchResultPosition=1> (Accessed 18 Apr. 2019); C. Waldron: "Stars, Friends and fans remember 'Black Moses' Isaac Hayes," *Jet*, Volume 114(7), p. 39; T. Baker: "Hayes, Isaac," In *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music* edited by B. C. Malone (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2014), p. 246.

¹²⁵ B. Hiatt: "Isaac Hayes, Soul Superstar," *Rolling Stone*, Volume 18(1060), 2008, p. 18; J. Fusilli: "Music: Isaac Hayes: Much More than 'Shaft'," *Wall Street Journal*, 12 August 2008, p. 7; P. Gallo: "Hayes gave soul to 'Shaft, Chef,'" *Variety*, Volume 412(1), p. 35; T. Baker: "Hayes, Isaac," In *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 12: Music* edited by B. C. Malone (United States of America: University of North Carolina Press Books, 2014), p. 246.

¹²⁶ D. Bikitsha: "Daddy of superstars here," *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 November 1978, p. 17.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

in the image below).¹²⁸ Hayes' sex appeal, similar to Sledge, clearly spoke to a wider feminine audience.

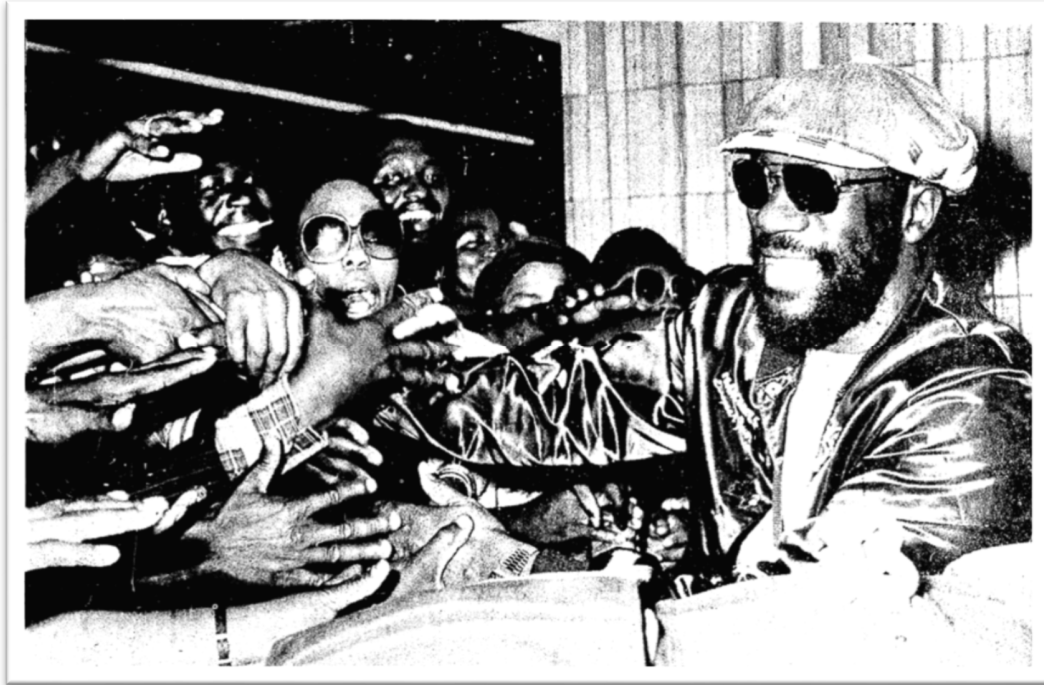


Figure 12: Photograph of Hayes and frenzied crowd at O.R. Tambo Airport 1978.¹²⁹

Bikitsha was of the opinion that, “Hayes [enjoyed] one of the biggest fan followings in this country – multiracial of course.”¹³⁰ McGregor commented that the, “[p]olice had to form a cordon around the star and escort him through the ecstatic crowd.”¹³¹ The crowd was trying to touch his clothing and one woman according to McGregor with tears streaming down her eyes shrieked, “I kissed him, I kissed him.”¹³² McGregor concluded that “[a]fter Hayes drove off in a black limousine a wave of fans surged after the car for a final glimpse of their hero.”¹³³ Contrary to earlier musicians in this tour, Hayes was markedly met with both white and black crowds upon his arrival.

¹²⁸ L. McGregor: “Hot Buttered frenzy greets ‘Black Moses’,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 November 1978, p. 3; Author Unknown: “‘Black Moses’ here for concert tour,” *The Star*, Late Extra, 13 November 1978, p. 3.

¹²⁹ Author Unknown: “‘Black Moses’ here for concert tour,” *The Star*, Late Extra, 13 November 1978, p. 3.

¹³⁰ D. Bikitsha: “Daddy of superstars here,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 November 1978, p. 17.

¹³¹ L. McGregor: “Hot Buttered frenzy greets ‘Black Moses’,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 November 1978, p. 3.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*

Before Hayes started touring, he held a press conference in South Africa and addressed questions such as why he came to tour apartheid South Africa and what his thoughts were about the political struggle.¹³⁴ According to Peter Feldman, Hayes advocated that “[m]usic had no barriers and repeatedly refused to get drawn into a game of politics.”¹³⁵ Like numerous musicians before, Hayes believed that music and politics could not be linked and that their tour should be considered as work. Hayes also commented on the political struggle. Feldman reported that Hayes:

Told the press conference that he knew all about political struggle. His grandmother was a slave and he had lived for most of his young life in poverty in a ghetto. [...] ‘I’ve had my fair share of racial injustice. I marched with Dr Luther King and stood for the struggle.’¹³⁶

According to *Ebony* magazine:

Even Isaac Hayes can be caught in a racial trap – usually triggered by phonies who treat him cold until they discover who he is, by slickers who foolishly regard him as just a dumb country nigger, by hotel managers who withhold their best suits, by promoters who attempt to lock out black entertainers, and by the subtle discrimination that black stars have to deal with in general.¹³⁷

He was a strong advocate for racial equality in America and, according to *Ebony* magazine, “[r]aised hell at Stax Records in a successful effort to achieve racial equality in employment.”¹³⁸ Hayes was also part of the Black Knights, who dealt with police brutality, unfair housing and problems in the slums.¹³⁹ Considering this background, this complicated the motivation behind Hayes tour to South Africa during apartheid, two years after the Soweto uprising of 1976.

Isaac Hayes was brought to tour South Africa by the Quibell Brothers in what was advertised as the “show of the decade.”¹⁴⁰ Moreover, many of the sources refer to him as Black Moses for example “Black Moses comes to town,” which indicated how they perceived Hayes in the country.

¹³⁴ P. Feldman: “Isaac cuts the fat cat image,” *The Star*, 13 November 1978, p. 17.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ B. J. Mason: “Isaac Hayes: New Wife, New Image, New Career,” *Ebony*, Volume 28(12), 1973, p. 178.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*; D. Bikitsha: “Flamboyant super star was too poor for lessons,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 October 1978, p. 7.

¹⁴⁰ Author Unknown: “Big sound of Hayes,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 November 1978, p. 10; D. Bikitsha: “Daddy of superstars here,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 November 1978, p. 17; E. Shuenyane: “Black Moses comes to town,” *Drum*, December 1978, p. 76; D. Bikitsha: “Flamboyant super star was too poor for lessons,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 October 1978, p. 7; D. Bikitsha: “Daddy of superstars here,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 November 1978, p. 17.

Apart from bringing Percy Sledge and Jimmy Smith to South Africa, the Quibell Brothers organised tours for many other artists as seen in Chapter Two.¹⁴¹

On the 2nd of November 1978, it was announced in the *Rand Daily Mail* that Hayes will be bringing fourteen musicians with him and that he will also be accompanied by ten South African musicians during his tour.¹⁴² This was a common practice with the Quibell Brothers, who wanted to showcase local black talent to South African public. Moreover, this appeared to have had an influence on how successful the tour would be. For example, Smith's tour did not generate the same amount of popularity and profitability as the Sledge tour in 1971, which had accompanying South African musicians.

Following a similar strategy to the Sledge tour, the promoters added a significant South African line-up. According to Bikitsha, the line-up included local musicians "Kori Moraba and the Minerals, Ben "Satch" Masinga, Allan Field and Daisy and the Daisolets."¹⁴³ The Daisolets was made up out of Daisy Dumakude, Thoko Dumakude and Lorraine Mahlangu from KwaMashu Township, about 25km from Durban.¹⁴⁴ The local musicians were also used by the promoters to attract audiences that followed these South African musicians. The American performers consisted of the Hot Buttered Soul Fingers that included members such as Kim Palumu and Travis Biggs.¹⁴⁵

Hayes' first performance in South Africa was scheduled for mixed audiences at the Colosseum Theatre on the 14th of November and was positively received.¹⁴⁶ As mentioned in the chapters

¹⁴¹ T. Farber: "Final curtain for innovative impresario Quibell," *Cape Times*, 30 December 2011, p. 3; Author Unknown: "Theatres and Entertainment," *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 March 1972, p. 8; B. Edgson: "Percy Sledge Drama Dies down," *The Star*, 10 July 1970, p. 15; Author Unknown: "Theatres and Entertainment," *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 October 1979, p. 10; Author Unknown: "Theatres and Entertainment," *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 October 1972, p. 12; Author Unknown: "Booking now open Quibell Bros present: 2 super shows," *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 November 1973, p. 18; Author Unknown: "Theatres and Entertainment," *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 June 1975, p. 12; M. Andersson: *Music in the Mix: The Story of South African popular music*, p. 49.

¹⁴² However, there is varied reports on how many supporting musicians he brought to South Africa and how many South African musicians performed with him. Please consult Author Unknown: "Big sound of Hayes," *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 November 1978, p. 10; D. Bikitsha: "Daddy of superstars here," *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 November 1978, p. 17.

¹⁴³ D. Bikitsha: "Daddy of superstars here," *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 November 1978, p. 17.

¹⁴⁴ D. Bikitsha: "Watch these girls!," *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 November 1978, p. 20.

¹⁴⁵ D. Bikitsha: "Stunning Hayes is masterful," *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 November 1978, p. 17; R. Minervini: "Un-believable!," *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 November 1978, p. 9; Staff Reporter: "'Being the best' is Black Moses' motto for success," *The Star*, Late Extra, 13 November 1978, p. 1.

¹⁴⁶ For a comprehensive schedule of the performances in these Southern African countries please consult the Itinerary of Isaac Hayes Tour 1978 in the appendix. Author Unknown: "Big sound of Hayes," *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 November 1978, p. 10; D. Bikitsha: "Daddy of superstars here," *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 November 1978, p. 17; P. Feldman: "Isaac cuts the fat cat image," *The Star*, 13 November 1978, p. 17; P. Feldman: "Music has no barriers,

before, the Colosseum was a very contentious space, and throughout the 1970s was used to lure international musicians to tour South Africa because the venue could cater for mixed audiences.¹⁴⁷ Bikitsha reported that the compere Alan Field, kept the audience laughing with his jokes, and before they could finish laughing he would make another.¹⁴⁸ The first half of the show consisted of a stand-up comedy performance by Alan Field, which contrasted with the other musicians who only focussed on music during their performances. Apart from the American musicians, the show featured South African groups Daisy and the Daisolets and the Minerals. This grouping according to Bikitsha, was “[a] good mix of hot and cool sounds from America and our continent.”¹⁴⁹ Bikitsha further remarked that:

Those Durbanites Daisy and the Daisolets with their varying ‘slow foot Jackson’ and disco dance shuffles have arrived. My! What rangy voices. I knew of Daisy’s talent, but the two lassies have it too.¹⁵⁰

Then the show turned to the main event, Isaac Hayes, who in true showman style “[w]as dressed in a rich, silk shirt, black boots, and slit leather coat.”¹⁵¹ In another performance in Atteridgeville Soweto, Hayes is dressed in his customary chains and leather pants (as shown below).

‘Black Moses’,” *The Star*, Late Extra, 13 November 1978, p. 5; E. Shuenyane: “Black Moses comes to town,” *Drum*, December 1978, p. 76.

¹⁴⁷ United Nations Centre against Apartheid: “Artists and Entertainers against Apartheid: An Update,” April 1991, *United Nations Centre Against Apartheid*, Notes and Documents, pp. 1-14, http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.nuun1991_05 (Accessed 7 Jul. 2019); T. R. H. Davenport: *The Birth of a new South Africa*, p. 5.

¹⁴⁸ D. Bikitsha: “Stunning Hayes is masterful,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 November 1978, p. 17.

¹⁴⁹ R. Minervini: “Un-be-live-able!,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 November 1978, p. 9.

¹⁵⁰ D. Bikitsha: “Stunning Hayes is masterful,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 November 1978, p. 17.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid*; D. Thema & M. Thabethe: “Hayes bursts on SA,” *The Star*, Late Extra, 15 November 1978, p. 1.



Figure 13: Isaac Hayes performing in Atteridgeville Soweto 1978.¹⁵²

This is reminiscent of Al Bell's comment on Hayes' fashion sense. For Hayes personally the chains had no real significance, it was merely a form of stage attire but it, however, appear to represent something else for his audiences.¹⁵³ Some linked this with sex appeal while others linked it with making a mockery of what chains once represented - slavery.¹⁵⁴

Minervini commented on Hayes' first performance at the Colosseum:

I don't know if I've ever heard musical artistry of this calibre on this old stage, for all the numbers of performers' great and small that have trod its boards. His act gets on track and rolls along, unstoppable but under absolute control, through disco, jazz, ballad and soul, and sometimes all of them wound up together: planned, modulated, perfect and devastatingly exciting.¹⁵⁵

Thema and Thabetha also reported that "[r]arely has the Colosseum broken into such spontaneous applause as they did when Hayes opened with his magic."¹⁵⁶ Hayes's reception stands in contrast with Benton, who struggled to connect with his audience as a result of his song choices.¹⁵⁷ Bikitsha also commented on Hayes' first performance noting that:

The country is in for a shock – Black Moses is beyond words. With very little of the gimmickry we are used to from imported artists, Isaac Hayes sang with such profound feeling that many had little time to cheer or applaud... Unlike others, he did not dilly-dally with "Hiyas" or "We are glad to be here soul brothers."¹⁵⁸

The newspaper reporters observed that the crowd was initially quiet in response to Hayes' performance but as he moved from song to song the crowd started interacting.¹⁵⁹ According to Thema and Thabetha, "[t]he songs included "By the time I get to Phoenix", "Never Say Goodbye", "I stand accused", "Joy" and medley's from his past and present recordings."¹⁶⁰ Bikitsha also

¹⁵² Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Photographs, Box 60. Isaac Hayes performing in Atteridgeville Soweto 1978 – Photograph taken by David Marks.

¹⁵³ B. Sisario: "Isaac Hayes, a Creator of '70s Soul Style, Dies at 65," *The New York Times*, 11 August 2008, p. 6; C. Elsworth: "Isaac Hayes, soul sensation and voice of 'South Park' character Chef, dead at 65," *The Telegraph*, 10 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/celebritynews/2536713/Isaac-Hayes-soul-sensation-and-The-Voice-Of-South-Park-Character-Chef-dead-at-65.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019); Author Unknown: "Isaac Hayes obituary," *The Telegraph*, 11 August 2008, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/2540119/Isaac-Hayes-obituary.html> (Accessed 9 May 2019); A. A. Burgess: "Dionne And Isaac Sizzle on stage with sexy songs," *Jet*, Volume 49(25), 1976, p. 59.

¹⁵⁴ A. A. Burgess: "Dionne And Isaac Sizzle on stage with sexy songs," *Jet*, Volume 49(25), 1976, p. 59.

¹⁵⁵ R. Minervini: "Un-be-live-able!," *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 November 1978, p. 9.

¹⁵⁶ D. Thema & M. Thabetha: "Hayes bursts on SA," *The Star*, Late Extra, 15 November 1978, p. 1.

¹⁵⁷ L. Mayekiso: "Golden Oldies," *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 September 1971, p. 5.

¹⁵⁸ D. Bikitsha: "Stunning Hayes is masterful," *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 November 1978, p. 17.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*; R. Minervini: "Un-be-live-able!," *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 November 1978, p. 9.

¹⁶⁰ D. Thema & M. Thabetha: "Hayes bursts on SA," *The Star*, Late Extra, 15 November 1978, p. 1.

commented that “[i]t was not so much the repertoire that mattered, but the warm and emotional way in which it was executed.”¹⁶¹ This portrayed the effects that Hayes’ persona and music performances, such as his raps, had on South African fans.

According to one fan, “[t]his man is a gospel preacher of love.”¹⁶² This comment is reminiscent of the figure of Hayes as the Black Moses, someone that preached to his followers. The accompanying musicians that performed also received glowing reviews in the newspapers.¹⁶³

Minervini reported that:

[T]o [not] credit the consummate musicians in his band would be unforgivable. Special mention to guitarist Kim Palumu [...] for the electronic glories of his early solo, and to Travis Biggs, who suddenly appears in a monk’s habit and does amazing things on an electric (green) fiddle. Showstoppers.¹⁶⁴

Hayes’ next performance captured in the headlines took place at Soweto’s Orlando Stadium on the 19th of November after his four days only performance at the Colosseum had ended.¹⁶⁵ David Marks, the sound engineer booked for the Hayes tour, suggested in a letter to the Quibell Brothers, that they perform only at Orlando Stadium instead of also at the Jabulani Amphitheatre.¹⁶⁶

According to Marks:

People in Soweto will only come to one or [the] other. [...] Orlando is definitely the most (has become) popular black venue in the country. Jabulani has not had one single musical success since the Pina-Cula festivals in 1974 and has been a disaster area since the [Soweto Uprising] in 1976.¹⁶⁷

It is unclear whether the promoters’ choice was influenced only by Marks’s letter, but they decided to schedule the tour performances only at Orlando Stadium. Radebe reported on the performance that, “[t]hey came in droves to see the ‘Black Moses.’ And their wish was fulfilled when Isaac

¹⁶¹ D. Bikitsha: “Stunning Hayes is masterful,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 November 1978, p. 17.

¹⁶² R. Minervini: “Un-be-live-able!,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 November 1978, p. 9.

¹⁶³ D. Bikitsha: “Stunning Hayes is masterful,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 November 1978, p. 17; R. Minervini: “Un-be-live-able!,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 November 1978, p. 9.

¹⁶⁴ R. Minervini: “Un-be-live-able!,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 15 November 1978, p. 9.

¹⁶⁵ V. Radebe: “Hayes – alive and black down in the ghetto,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 November 1978, p. 1; Author Unknown: “Live Theatre Entertainment,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 November 1978, p. 11; Author Unknown: “Live Theatre Entertainment,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 6 November 1978, p. 7; Author Unknown: “Special Show Tomorrow 1 pm,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 18 November 1978, p. 6.

¹⁶⁶ Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Correspondence, Box 308. Correspondence from David Marks to Ronnie Quibell titled Isaac Hayes Tour of South Africa. 19 October 1978.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

Hayes sent them wild and left giddy with joyous vibes.”¹⁶⁸ The Minerals, however, failed to deliver a good performance.¹⁶⁹ Radebe claimed that “[t]his was due to the fact that they were caught in a quagmire of imitations. Their music did not have that sense of originality, and this proved their undoing.”¹⁷⁰ As mentioned in Chapter One, local musicians often imitated the manner in which Americans performed, taking on their musical styles, dress codes and slang. Where this mostly counted in the favour of the musicians, their imitation, in this case, hampered them. Hayes, on the other hand, according to reports, delivered an exceptional performance. Radebe wrote that he:

Was on the lookout for the gimmickry that we have become used to from imported artists. But Isaac Hayes sang with such depth that many had little time to cheer or applaud. There was a spiritual communion between him and his piano and saxophone as he played, and it took time to sink in.¹⁷¹

Radebe further commented that “[n]o one should have missed him and I [have] no doubt that the audience was given [their] money’s worth.”¹⁷² Even though the concert at the Orlando Stadium was well-received, only 8000 people turned up, a number significantly lower than the 20 000 people expected by the promoters.¹⁷³ Despite the excellent performances by Hayes, the promoters were worried about the profitability of the shows, as attendance was low. Bringing big international acts to South Africa was costly and the musicians themselves expected to make big earnings, similarly to previous artists who came to visit South Africa as reflected on in Chapter One.

Consequently, another four shows were advertised by the Quibell brothers at the Colosseum in Johannesburg from the 21st until the 24th of November with a special finale event planned on the 26th of November at the Mamelodi Stadium.¹⁷⁴ In order to make up for the projected losses of the performance at Orlando Stadium, the promoters also organised two shows on the 25th of

¹⁶⁸ V. Radebe: “Hayes – alive and black down in the ghetto,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 November 1978, p. 1.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ D. Bikitsha: “Sorry fans the big’n. . . won’t be safe,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 November 1978, p. 1.

¹⁷⁴ Author Unknown: “Live Theatre Entertainment,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 November 1978, p. 11, Author Unknown: “Live Theatre Entertainment,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 November 1978, p. 10.

November.¹⁷⁵ However, the performance at Mamelodi Stadium did not materialise due to insufficient ticket sales,¹⁷⁶ and a “lack of security and proper facilities.”¹⁷⁷

During his performances in Johannesburg, Hayes was approached by Thobile Boltina, a showbiz promotor from the Transkei. According to *The Star*, “Thobile Boltina, tried to get Isaac Hayes to stage a show in Umtata but Hayes is fully booked in South Africa.”¹⁷⁸ The Bantustans, or black homelands, were therefore also eager to see these American musicians, but this did not materialise.

Hayes performed at the Three Arts Theatre in Cape Town on 8 December 1979.¹⁷⁹ Similar to his Johannesburg repertoire, Hayes sang the same songs in a medley format.¹⁸⁰ During the introduction of his one song, Hayes stated that:

A song is about the power of love. Tells you what love can do. You know it’s a true saying that love makes the world go around. But like everything else that is essential to life, you could have too much or you could have too little. And you can’t control love, love can make you do some funny unpredictable things. Love can make you laugh and love can make you cry. Can make you strong but love can make you so weak. Love can make you leave home, but love can also make you crawl back. This song is about a young man that was deeply affected by the power of love. He had problems with his lover. He left her seven times but of course seven times he came back. But you know in time, mountains crumble and rivers run dry. And the eight-time he left her, he left her for good, she didn’t believe him. But he left a note on the door as he was leaving. He really didn’t want to go but he had to it was around three-thirty in the morning and I could barely see the road with tears in his eyes. And he said by the time I get to Phoenix...¹⁸¹

This showcased how Hayes interacted with his audience and how he used the “raps” to preach to his fans, in this case about love. This reinforced this idea of a black “Moses” as his “raps” are portrayed as life lessons.

¹⁷⁵ D. Bikitsha: “Sorry fans the big’n. . . won’t be safe,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 November 1978, p. 1.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ Author Unknown: “Isaac Hayes’ most emotional time,” *The Star*, 30 November 1978, p. 30.

¹⁷⁹ Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Reels. HY 2649 - Isaac Hayes 3 Arts Cape - 08 Dec 1978.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ Transcribed by the author from a live recording preserved in the Hidden Years Music Archive. This live recording was made by David Marks from the mixing desk. (Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Reels. HY 2649 - Isaac Hayes 3 Arts Cape - 08 Dec 1978.)

Hayes returned to America on 12 December 1978 from O.R. Tambo Airport.¹⁸²

Conclusion

Hayes was very popular in South Africa, and due to the venues used for his concerts, could perform for both of his white and black fans in multi-racial concerts. A big part of his fan base was made up out of women, who for example, shrieked when they were able to steal a kiss from the American performer.¹⁸³ Hayes also had fans among the men who specifically connected with the Shaft image. Throughout his performances at the Three Arts, men kept screaming “Go for it, Shaft!”¹⁸⁴

Hayes’s persona was constructed within hyper masculinity based on two main tropes: that of the shepherd or leader of a flock, personified in the name ‘Black Moses’ and that of a highly sexualised black man. Firstly, this image is portrayed by how even though he was a black man in racist America he still did black activist work and empowered black individuals depicted in his rise to stardom, which created this idea of a saviour to the people. Hayes’ ‘Black Moses’ figure is depicted through the audiences’ comments on his South African performances as well as the music chosen for this tour and the reactions he received from the crowd.¹⁸⁵ During his shows he introduced each song by telling a story in the form of a rap. As such, Hayes recounted life lessons as part of his performances.¹⁸⁶ This is also done to play on the emotions of the audiences by recounting similar troubles that may be experienced by various individuals.¹⁸⁷

Secondly, this masculine image is reflected in the reception he received upon arrival in South Africa and the relating mob frenzy. Additionally, the attire that Hayes wore, on the one hand, sleek and silk outfits, and on the other bare-chested with chains and leather pants, both speak to this highly sexualised image. Despite the love stories that Hayes told throughout, audience members were calling the whole time for the theme from Shaft, portraying a highly sexualised black man that would fight for his fellow black man. This song, understood as such by his audience,

¹⁸² Author Unknown: “Reunion for organists,” *The Star*, 12 December 1978, p. 1; E. Shuenyane: “Black Moses comes to town,” *Drum*, December 1978, p. 76.

¹⁸³ L. McGregor: “Hot Buttered frenzy greets ‘Black Moses’,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 November 1978, p. 3.

¹⁸⁴ Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Reels. HY 2649 - Isaac Hayes 3 Arts Cape - 08 Dec 1978.

¹⁸⁵ D. Thema & M. Thabethe: “Hayes bursts on SA,” *The Star*, Late Extra, 15 November 1978, p. 1.

¹⁸⁶ D. Heckman: “Rapping with ‘Black Moses’,” *The New York Times*, 23 April 1972, p. 23.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

complicated Hayes' performances in South Africa if one considers that the government required performers to refrain from politics in order to be able to perform. However, in spite of how the audience interpreted his songs and performance, Hayes maintained during his tour in South Africa that music and politics should remain unconnected.

Throughout Hayes's tour, he always tried to promote his supporting musicians be they South African or American. This can be seen by the number of musicians that were scheduled to perform alongside him.¹⁸⁸ Additionally, throughout his performance he gave these musicians solo opportunities to perform for the audience, which was greatly received.¹⁸⁹

Hayes's tour to South Africa was not only very profitable but also boosted his career. Don Albert noted in *Billboard* Magazine that after Hayes had returned to America "his records sales were substantially boosted."¹⁹⁰ Similar to Sledge and Benton, Hayes's performances in South Africa did not have any impact on his career in the States. In fact, his tour to South Africa was ignored and he was not blacklisted or boycotted as proponents of the cultural boycott intended.

From the reception of his tours by South African newspapers, it is evident that Hayes was considered a "real and authentic performer" whose performances did not contain any fancy gimmicks.¹⁹¹ Despite this, and Hayes' popularity in South Africa, the attendance of his shows did not always match the expectations of the promoters, pointing to the political situation in South Africa. This resulted in the promoters scrambling to arrange more shows to make up profits.

¹⁸⁸ Author Unknown: "Big sound of Hayes," *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 November 1978, p. 10; D. Bikitsha: "Daddy of superstars here," *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 November 1978, p. 17.

¹⁸⁸ D. Bikitsha: "Daddy of superstars here," *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 November 1978, p. 17.

¹⁸⁹ Hidden Years Music Archive, Documentation Centre for Music, Stellenbosch University. Reels. HY 2649 - Isaac Hayes 3 Arts Cape - 08 Dec 1978.

¹⁹⁰ D. Albert: "South Africa," *Billboard*, 9 June 1979, pp. 26-28.

¹⁹¹ D. Bikitsha: "Stunning Hayes is masterful," *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 November 1978, p. 17; V. Radebe: "Hayes – alive and black down in the ghetto," *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 November 1978, p. 1.

Chapter Seven

This dissertation set out to unpack the complexities of performing in South Africa as an African American musician during the cultural boycott of the 1970s and early 1980s. This was done by exploring the reception the musicians received during their tours, the promotion companies that brought them to South Africa, the venues wherein they performed and the supporting musicians.

As discussed in Chapter One, various authors writing on the cultural boycott such as David Thoulson, Michael Beaubien, Rob Nixon, Michael Drewett and Charles Hamm have focussed on the musicians that came after the publication of the register in 1983. Their work largely centres on the successful implementation of the boycott in South Africa in the 1980s and how musicians who did come to perform were intimidated by a combination of anti-apartheid forces and international bodies. This dissertation has made a scholarly contribution to the discussion above and has expanded the discourse by illustrating in the detailed investigation that musicians were not necessarily boycotted internationally or in South Africa – in fact, questions can be asked about the positive impact of the South African tours on sometimes invigorating flailing musical careers such as the chapters on Percy Sledge and Brook Benton.

Most of the musicians discussed in this dissertation grew up in poor families, working from an early age, mostly as cotton pickers. Their music training was mostly received through singing or playing in church and they all had to overcome significant difficulties in order to become successful musicians. As such, they represented success stories that South Africans could aspire to. Similarly, South Africans could relate to their backgrounds as they struggled with similar socio-economic problems and political pressures.

As shown in Chapter One, American culture played an important role in South Africa especially amongst black communities who looked towards American culture and the successes of the Civil Rights Movement as a means to strengthen the fight against apartheid. An essential part of this was soul music, which various African American musicians had used to express their fears, wishes and dissatisfaction with their society.¹

¹ D. Brackett. 2014. Soul music. In *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2257344> (Accessed 23 Sept. 2019)

Soul music, performed by many of the musicians discussed, had a history of being used in the Civil Rights Movement to speak out against the oppression of blacks in America. Soul music, in South Africa, therefore had particular relevance to black audiences, both in speaking to their own oppression during the racist apartheid regime, as well as to positive images of black success. The four musicians discussed in this dissertation did not perform overtly political songs while in South Africa, instead performing songs about love, relationships and friendship.² These selections were in all likelihood influenced by the promoters, aware of the apartheid government's monitoring of concerts. Despite, following all of these rules, some musicians were still refused re-entry into South Africa, such as Percy Sledge in 1972.

In spite of soul music's waning popularity in America during the 1970s, the genre was still very popular in South and southern Africa. The combination of the popularity and fascination of local audiences across all races with American culture and soul music, and the charisma of the performers at times the performance itself meant that the touring musicians in most cases, enjoyed the popularity that in their own words they described as being bigger than anywhere else in the world. This popularity is evident in how all the musicians discussed were mobbed as soon as they arrived in South Africa. The successes of the tour, however, would be determined by the promoters and organisation, and would not necessarily be received with glowing reviews. In the case of Percy Sledge, reception in other southern African states seemed to have been even more overwhelming.

South African promoters were instrumental in persuading international stars to tour the country and the region, despite sometimes pressure from varying lobby groups. The Quibell brothers, for example, were well known and undoubtedly well connected. They brought numerous world-renowned musicians to tour South Africa, and in the case of African American musicians were skilled in persuading governmental bodies to be more lenient. These musicians were all given "honorary white" status in order for them to make use of "white" facilities.³ One could argue that this white-owned company was better positioned to successfully plan tours and concerts in comparison to less established companies such as Aquarius Promotions during the Brook Benton

² D. Brackett. 2014. Soul music. In *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2257344> (Accessed 23 Sept. 2019)

³ G. Prins: "Ronnie Quibell het groot en moedig gelewe, soos sy teaters," *Rapport*, 8 January 2012, p. 6.

tour of 1971. In this instance, poor management led to Benton fleeing the country, contravening the terms of his contract, resulting in a law battle coined the “Benton fiasco”.⁴ Benton’s tour also allows the reader to consider the constraints that some organisers placed on these tours, such as Ruth Brown’s philosophy that black musicians should only perform to black audiences. Ironically, these very same managers and organisers had no objections in taking up “honorary white” status in order to make use of amenities earmarked for whites. This was also detrimental to South African audiences across the racial divide, who wanted to attend these performances.

Despite the evidence suggesting that black promoters were ill-equipped to promote these musicians, who had to deal with venues in bad conditions, tours not being advertised properly and often having to pay for their own expenses on the tour, white promoters also mismanaged musicians. This can be seen, for example, during the tour of Jimmy Smith and Stanley Turrentine in 1982, where the musicians after being fired, criticised the promoters for similar problems that musicians experienced with black promoters.⁵

During the apartheid era, the government supported the tours of African American musicians in order to further their propaganda effort. Promoters were strategic in choosing musicians that had little or no political inclination. From the evidence and reviews in newspapers, it seems that most musicians obliged, even more political artists such as Isaac Hayes, who was a big supporter of black empowerment and donated a lot of time and money in supporting black development and empowerment in America. Hayes hailed as the “Black Moses,” remained apolitical during his tour, unless if one reads his return to wearing chains (something he moved away from in America), as making a symbolic statement about South Africans chained by the apartheid system.

Despite the laws imposed by the apartheid government such as the application of permits to enter areas designated for specific races and separate amenities, which meant that races could not mix freely, it seems that when it came to these touring musicians, a sizeable amount of leeway was granted. Even though musicians needed visas to come to South Africa, promoters seem to have

⁴ Author Unknown: “Brook Benton Cancels First S. African Tour,” *Billboard*, Volume 83(45), 1971, p. 52.

⁵ P. Sidley: “Stan, Jimmy do go together,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 4 December 1982, p. 6; P. Sidley: US jazz artists axed from SA stage show,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 December 1982, p. 6; D. Bikitsha: “Black artists get the show on the road,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 10 December 1982, p. 17.

had some freedom in terms of dates in itineraries. For example, Percy Sledge was scheduled to tour Cape Town for two weeks, but his tour was extended for two months as his popularity proved too good a chance to let up.⁶

Soul music was not just popular amongst black communities, but across the racial divide in South Africa. It was also well-loved by white and coloured audiences. However, with some of the touring musicians promoted by black promotion companies, whites did not get a chance to see the concerts as black companies could not promote shows to white audiences. Similar to other races, whites could not attend shows in venues zoned for a particular racial group. In an interesting twist of events during the Percy Sledge performance at the Luxurama theatre, whites even tried to gain entry by disguising themselves as Muslims.

What motivated African American musicians to tour South Africa varied. Firstly, various musicians pointed out that they did not know that there was a cultural boycott in place. Secondly, they sometimes made it explicit that politics and music should be separate and that touring in South Africa should be perceived as simply working. Thirdly, that they were touring South Africa to show their appreciation for fans buying their records,⁷ and fourthly musicians such as Benton, Sledge and Hayes saw it as returning to their motherland and place of origin. These observations provide an alternative explanation to that of Nixon and Drewett who argue that these musicians were duped to come to tour South Africa during this period.

Whatever the reasoning, these musicians all benefitted financially from these tours. Even after pressure increased in 1976 after the Soweto uprisings, various musicians such as Jimmy Smith and Isaac Hayes still came to tour South Africa.⁸ From the evidence presented in this dissertation it seems that most of these musicians, upon their return to America, faced no marked consequences for their actions. Even when they were blacklisted and their names publicised after their tours from

⁶ P. Tucker: *Just the ticket! : My 50 years in show business*, p. 271.

⁷ O. Coombs: "Should a Black Singer Sing in South Africa? Sledge in South Africa." *The New York Times*, 27 June 1971, <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/06/27/archives/should-a-black-singer-sing-in-south-africa-sledge-in-south-africa.html> (Accessed 8 Mar. 2019)

⁸ M. Drewett: "An Analysis of the Censorship of Popular Music within the Context of Cultural Struggle in South Africa during the 1980s." PhD thesis, Rhodes University, South Africa, 2004, p. 185.

⁸ United Nations Centre against Apartheid: "Artists and Entertainers against Apartheid: An Update," April 1991, *United Nations Centre Against Apartheid*, Notes and Documents, pp. 1-14, http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.nuun1991_05 (Accessed 7 Jul. 2019); T. R. H. Davenport: *The Birth of a new South Africa*, p. 5.

the 1980s onwards, they were still given a chance to have their name removed from the list if they pledged not to tour South Africa again.⁹

In addition, southern and South Africa proved popular touring destinations for soul musicians whose careers were in decline in America. What becomes clear is that during the period that soul music lost its popularity in America and many of the musicians discussed experienced declining careers, they undertook to tour in South Africa where they still maintained some level of popularity. The continued appreciation of soul music in South Africa can be ascribed to a variety of reasons. Whereas soul music's links to politics, mentioned above, could be considered, one could also take into consideration that because of apartheid censorship and ban on material available in South Africa, the majority of South African audiences were more attuned to older releases. With the tours of Brook Benton in 1971 and Della Reese in 1975, for example, audiences were not exposed to the musicians' newer songs and expressed their discontent in letters and interviews published in local newspapers which required artists in some cases to review their repertoire.

Despite the profitability of a tour in South Africa, some advocated that one could justify a tour if philanthropic efforts were undertaken. For example, Eartha Kitt was of the opinion that those who came to South Africa also needed to undertake a project to support the empowerment of the poor.¹⁰ Additionally, some like Ruth Bowen argued that African American musicians should only be performing in South Africa if they performed for black audiences. However, various musicians, heedless of the cultural boycott, toured South Africa on numerous occasions essentially supporting the apartheid state's separation of races.

Apart from the examples mentioned above, audience reception of the concerts was overwhelmingly positive, and crowds waited for musicians at airports and other venues to catch a glimpse of the stars. In the media, however, letters and opinion pieces of the time expressed varying opinions, some more critical of the musicians who performed in South Africa despite the cultural boycott. In spite of criticism expressed at their tour, some artists elected to tour South

⁹ United Nations Centre against Apartheid: "Register of Entertainers, Actors And Others Who Have Performed in Apartheid South Africa," *United Nations*, October 1983,

http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.nuun1983_20 (Accessed 20 Sept. 2018)

¹⁰ R. Daniel: "Warm, witty, erudite Eartha," *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 March 1972, p. 10.

Africa on numerous occasions. The musicians who first toured South Africa in the 1970s and who returned in the 1980s would, however, have been met with a cultural boycott and resistance on the ground that was a lot stronger than what they had encountered during their first tours.

While there are some examples of musicians who were boycotted in America after they returned from South Africa in the 1970s such as The Supremes (1975) it seems that it was only by the early 1980s that public opinion in South Africa was swayed significantly enough by anti-apartheid groups such as AZAPO to encourage boycotts of the tours and concerts of African American musicians in South Africa.

The boycott not only affected international musicians but was also felt by local musicians, who were restricted not only by the government's censorship regulations but also by the cultural boycott that impacted their exposure to international audiences. Many of the local supporting musicians were given exposure by the press when they toured with these international musicians and were often reported on in the South African press. This not only exposed them on a national level but also internationally as we see with artists such as Richard Jon Smith and Stella Starr. In spite of reasonable expectations that the cultural boycott would also have affected the supporting musicians who performed with these touring musicians, from the sources gathered for this dissertation, it does not seem as if their performances with African American artists had any lasting negative impact on their careers in South Africa.

Musicians and tours were also restricted by where they could perform. Shows were, for the most part, organised for segregated audiences and although restrictions around mixed gatherings were loosening by the 1980s, segregated performances still took place. Apart from the main metropolises of South Africa, tours were also scheduled in other urban areas and rural townships. In all these spaces musicians were received differently.

In Cape Town, the audiences were in general described as livelier and promoters often had to extend these musicians' tours or shows. Audiences were more prone to tear off the shirts of musicians and jumped on stage during performances. For example, during Wilson Pickett's tour in 1976, audiences broke through the barricades and jumped on stage and danced with the singer.¹¹ In the townships, musicians were subject to poorly maintained facilities and poor turnouts, which

¹¹ M. Mahlaba: "Wilson Pickett in the thick of it," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 18 March 1976, p. 1.

made the profitability of the tours in these areas problematic. This can be seen in all the case studies and promoters often had to arrange additional performances in the same areas in order to compensate for the financial loss.

However, in audiences wanting to attend the concerts, the promoters' drive for profit meant that the concerts were also divisive along class lines. Similar to Muff Anderson, this dissertation has shown that these shows were very expensive for the working class.¹² Financial gain and profit, therefore, excluded large segments of the South African urban population. Profit also caused havoc in tours in terms of personal relationships and often led to fallouts between the promoters and the musicians as we saw for example with Brook Benton and Jimmy Smith. In other urban spaces such as Bloemfontein, promoters struggled to get permission to perform in this spaces and even when they were allowed to perform here, shows were often cancelled due to a lack of interest, for example seen in Dobie Gray's tour of South Africa in 1978.¹³

Due to the government's agenda of allowing African American musicians to tour South Africa in order to promote their image to the international community, they had to relax restrictions on certain venues, especially where the musicians refused to perform to segregated audiences. This was allowed at certain venues such as the Colosseum, for example, through a special permit, that allowed mixed audiences to attend concerts at the same time.¹⁴ However, this was not always systematically and in some cases where musicians refused to perform to segregated audiences, black reporters and staff working at the venues were invited to attend in order to create the impression that the concerts were multi-racial. Vice versa, white reporters and staff were invited to attend shows mainly aimed at black audiences. This is especially prevalent with the tour of the Supremes in 1975, who negotiated for a 'No Barriers' agreement, which gave them the power to control the composition of their audience.¹⁵

¹² M. Andersson: *Music in the Mix: The Story of South African popular music*, p. 50.

¹³ Author Unknown: "Dobie Gray show flops," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 9 June 1978, p. 8.

¹⁴ United Nations Centre against Apartheid: "Artists and Entertainers against Apartheid: An Update," April 1991, *United Nations Centre Against Apartheid*, Notes and Documents, pp. 1-14, http://www.aluka.org/stable/10.5555/al.sff.document.nuun1991_05 (Accessed 7 Jul. 2019); T. R. H. Davenport: *The Birth of a new South Africa*, p. 5.

¹⁵ M. Nonyane: "Mixed feelings on mixed audiences," *Rand Daily Mail*, Township Edition, 10 October 1975, p. 1; Author Unknown: "No race bar in Supremes pop tour," *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 July 1975, p. 2.

This speaks to one of the questions unearthed by this study in relation to the complex workings of the cultural boycott in South Africa. Current literature suggests that the cultural boycott was known to have been an instrumental effort by various anti-apartheid organisations to challenge and put pressure on the racist regime. However, this study indicated that, during the early stages of the cultural boycott and well into the beginning of the 1980s, the implementation thereof was not linear and clear-cut, but instead complex and multi-layered. Initially, most of the pressure to enforce the boycott came from abroad, both from international organisations as well as from leaders and musicians from South Africans in exile. Local pressure in the 1970s was thus, relative to the 1980s, mild and these musicians attracted large crowds. This created a dichotomy between those who wanted to see the musicians and those who saw their performances as breaking the cultural boycott

This dissertation has shown that the implementation of the cultural boycott during the 1970s was more fluid in apartheid South Africa than what one might have expected. The boycott, first implemented in 1968, meant that musicians in the early 1970s might not have been as well informed about its existence and application. However, the American Committee on Africa was active in alerting individuals about the cultural boycott, and Percy Sledge was for example informed that he was breaking the boycott by the American Committee on Africa for his 1970s tour. However, there were no consequences for his decision and neither his concerts nor music was boycotted in America on his return. Similarly, in South Africa, large audiences attended his shows and although there was some criticism expressed about his performances, his shows were not boycotted. Touring South Africa was, however, not just up to the musicians or promoters, and permission had to be obtained from the government. Well-known musicians were indeed refused entry into the country such as Sledge who was refused a visa by the South African government in 1971. Similarly, in 1973 Jimmy Smith's application to tour South Africa was rejected.

While Sun City or the Bantustans offered musicians a way in which to bypass the cultural boycott implemented in South Africa in the late 1970s, this dissertation showed that prior to this, African American musicians who were denied entry into South Africa used venues in neighbouring countries, sometimes in the throes of conflict and in difficult circumstances, as ways to perform in the region without attracting attention during the cultural boycott. Sledge, for example, after being refused entry to South Africa, planned an extensive tour to countries including Angola, Malawi, Zimbabwe and Mozambique all experiencing varying levels of internal conflict. Nonetheless, he

was greatly moved by the reception he received, and his self-esteem was bolstered by his experiences.

In contrast, Smith was invited to tour South Africa the year after his visa application was denied, but due to increased pressure by the American and British Musicians Union's, he rejected this invitation. Ironically, Smith still decided to tour South Africa in 1978, two years after the Soweto uprising.

By the mid-1970s, proponents of the cultural boycott started to not only appeal to governments to boycott South Africa but also started appealing to individual artists not to travel to the country.¹⁶ Whereas their efforts were successful in deterring some artists, others still opted to tour South Africa such as Ray Charles (1980), Champion Jack Dupree (1981) and the O'Jays (1981). However, by the 1980s the South African public was more vocal in their resistance, largely due to the drive by organisations such as AZAPO, and their tours were boycotted, as we can see with the Brook Benton tour of 1982. These boycotts were effective measures to disrupt the tours and often resulted in the tours of visiting musicians being cut short.

Through microanalyses, this study has been able to argue that the cultural boycott during the period from its instigation in 1968 and the publication of the Register of Entertainers, Actors and Others in 1983, was not simply a boycott of musicians who came to perform in South Africa. Instead, this dissertation has shown how it was a complex interplay between various agents, promotion companies, motivations and institutions. These ranged from the apartheid government's propaganda efforts to invite and allow African American musicians to perform and audiences attending tours *en mass*, to internal and external pressures and resistance politics trying to deter musicians from touring and performing in the country. Despite all of these complex nuances, each of these musicians returned to America with rejuvenated confidence and career possibilities reflected in new hits and in some instances new career paths, perhaps in stark contrast to the initial intentions of the cultural boycott in South Africa.

¹⁶ M. C. Beaubien: "The Cultural Boycott of South Africa," *Africa Today*, Volume 29(4), 1982, pp. 7 & 16.

Appendix

This section contains three appendixes that refer to the tours of Percy Sledge (1972), Brook Benton (1971) and Isaac Hayes (1978). These are the longest tours discussed in this dissertation and range between one to three months. In order to provide an overview of these more comprehensive tours at a glance the appendixes list the dates and places of performances. The shorter tours discussed in this dissertation is not mapped in the appendix.

Appendix A: Itinerary of Percy Sledge Tour, 1972

ITINERARY OF PERCY SLEDGE TOUR 1972						
September 1972						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Lourenco Marques						
	Rehearse			San Miguel Theatre		
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Bulawayo, Zimbabwe	Salisbury, Zimbabwe			Malawi		
White City Stadium		Glamis Stadium; Sound City Night Club	Rufaro Stadium; Cockadore Night Club		Blantyre stadium, Malawi	Kamuzu stadium, Malawi
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Bulawayo, Zimbabwe	Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe		Luanda, Angola			Lobito Bay, Angola

					Avis Cinema	Flamenco Theatre
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
	Luanda, Angola		Umtali, Zimbabwe		Salisbury, Zimbabwe	
	Luanda Cinema		Rainbow Cinema	Sakafuma Stadium		

Appendix B: Itinerary of Brook Benton Tour, 1971

ITINERARY OF BROOK BENTON'S TOUR 1971						
September 1971						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
		Arrival in South Africa at Jan Smuts Airport			Eyethu Cinema, Soweto	Wattville Stadium, Benoni; Davey Social Centre, Benoni
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Daveyton Cinema	Jabulani Amphitheatre; Eyethu Cinema, Soweto	Eyethu Cinema, Soweto		Huntersfield Stadium, Natalspruit; Eyethu Cinema	Wattville Stadium, Benoni; Eyethu Cinema, Soweto	Sinaba Stadium; Springs Civic Centre; Pretoria
26	27	28	29	30		
Vereeniging	Davey Social Centre	Boksburg Hall, Reiger Park	D. H. Williams Hall			

October 1971						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
					1	2
					Coronationville Hall	Kwa Thema; Liberty Cinema
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Durban					
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Durban				Cape Town		
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Cape Town						
		Salisbury, Zimbabwe				
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
Salisbury, Zimbabwe						
Cape Town						
31						
Cape Town						

November 1971						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	1	2	3	4	5	6
			The Spa, Swaziland			Somhlolo Stadium, Swaziland ¹

¹ Staff Reporter: "Benton's band starts to rehearse," *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 August 1971, p. 5; Staff Reporter: "Benton Will Sing Mostly on East Rand," *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 August 1971, p. 3; Staff Reporter: "A big welcome awaits Brook Benton," *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 September 1971, p. 5.

Appendix C: Itinerary of Isaac Hayes Tour, 1978

ITINERARY OF ISAAC HAYES TOUR 1978						
September 1978						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
		14	15	16	17	18
		Colosseum, Johannesburg	Colosseum, Johannesburg		Colosseum, Johannesburg	Colosseum, Johannesburg
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
Orlando Stadium, Soweto		Colosseum, Johannesburg	Colosseum, Johannesburg	Colosseum, Johannesburg	Colosseum, Johannesburg	Unknown venue
26	27	28	29	30		
Mamelodi Stadium		Playhouse, Durban				

October 1978						
Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
					1	2

					Playhouse, Durban	East London
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
East London			Port Elizabeth	Arts Theatre, Cape Town ²		
10	11	12				
		Departure to America				

² D. Bikitsha: “Flamboyant super star was too poor for lessons,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 October 1978, p. 7; E. Shuenyane: “Black Moses comes to town,” *Drum*, December 1978, p. 76; Author Unknown: “Live Theatre Entertainment,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 20 November 1978, p. 11, Author Unknown: “Live Theatre Entertainment,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 21 November 1978, p. 10; D. Bikitsha: “Sorry fans the big’n. . . won’t be safe,” *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 November 1978, p. 1.

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