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WHERE HAVE ALL THE FLOWERS GONE?: THE
SHIFTING POSITION OF FOLK MUSIC WITHIN
WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN POPULAR MUSIC
CULTURE FROM 1960 TO THE PRESENT

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LIST OF ACRONYMS USED

AFL	American Federation of Labour Unions.
BOSS	Bureau of State Security.
CNN	Cable News Network.
DFC	Durban Folk Club.
ECC	End Conscription Campaign.
FACMA	Folk And Acoustic Music Association.
FWFC	Four Winds Folk Club.
HUAC	House Un-American Activities Committee.
ILAM	International Library of African Music.
LSD	Lysergic acid diethylamide.
NAFMA	Natal Folk Music Association.
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation.
UDF	United Democratic Front.
WWI	Industrial Workers of the World.
YIPPIE	Youth International Party.

PRESRIPT

From the late 50's to mid 60's an urban form of 'folk music' that had originated in the American 'left' labor movement of the early twentieth century, became a highly visible commercialized genre in mass-mediated global popular music (Dunson: 1965, Denisoff: 1971, Vassal: 1976, Hampton: 1986). Concomitant with this rise in popularity was the transformation of folk music from its regional sub-cultural position as a style on the 'periphery' of popular thought, into a 'centre'-situated transnational mass-mediated mainstream music. During this, a process occurred that Wallis and Malm identify as 'mediaization' (1984: 168-171). This is the inevitable dilution that is brought to bear on a genre or style, when technology intercepts and absorbs it into mainstream popular culture. It is through this filter of compromise that the music of folk singers like Peter Paul and Mary, The Kingston Trio, and Joan Baez (amongst many) was received and particularized by young mostly white middle-class 'liberals' the world over in what became known as the 'folk revival' (Denisoff, 1971: 164-197). South Africa was not excluded from this process (Andersson, 1981: 115).

Out of this mass-mediation emerged 'folk clubs', and what became known as 'singer/songwriters', quickly galvanizing into a global community of people whose commonality was a concern for the perceived injustices in life. Thus in becoming a voice of resistance for people in many parts of the globe, folk music became synonymous with protest. Whether influenced by the surreal introspection of Bob Dylan or the vocal eloquence of Joan Baez, the stereotypical 'folkie' as species, male and female alike, could be found in dingy coffee bars singing self-penned incisive lyrics over a mandatory guitar and harmonica accompaniment. The situation in South Africa was no different.

In this paper I look to interpret how this once mass-mediated mainstream genre has seemingly disappeared from the DNA of South African popular music. Irrespective of the fact that folk clubs presently flourish country-wide, there exists today, to say the least, a general unconsciousness in the minds of artists, the industry, and the public at large about

folk music in South Africa. The lack of folk artists currently signed to any record label confirms this invisibility. Were there such a thing as a 'boxed' white South African popular music, the list of 'contents' would undoubtedly exclude folk as one of the ingredients in its making. However what contradicts this invisibility and is of interest here, are the two ways in which folk music continues to significantly feature in the facilitation and stylistic development of white South African popular music.

The first is that many of the current artists in South African mainstream music use stylistic elements they appropriate directly from the folk genre. Bands like Just Jinger, Karoo, and Scooters Union to name a few, all use folk instrumentation, form, and harmony in their music, yet would neither admit to, nor want to be perceived as, being folk musicians. In the minds of everyone they are considered mainstream rock bands. Therefore the question of why musicians view an association with folk music as something derogatory after making use of its musical properties becomes interesting in that it resonates out of the *bricolage* of impulses that is building their identity. An understanding of what white South African musicians consciously and unconsciously use in the assemblage of their music gives a more balanced reading of that identity in relation to the Utopian hysteria of the new multicultural South Africa.

The second observation is the frequency with which rock bands use the folk club venue as a platform for expression. This is definitely the case at folk clubs around the country that stage weekly events, such as Durban, Johannesburg, Cape Town, East London, and Port Elizabeth amongst others. Apart from being enticed to these venues by the receptive audiences they provide, rock bands are attracted to folk clubs on two fundamental levels. Firstly, young inexperienced bands make use of folk clubs as a springboard from which to launch their careers. It is a place to develop their music; to acquire the necessary performing skills for the pursuance of their craft. Because access to rock venues depends on status, popularity and connections, it is invariably the only free space available to bands starting out. Folk clubs therefore provide an invaluable 'space' where young fledgling South African rock musicians gain access to their first audience.

On the other hand established bands like Squeal make use of folk clubs primarily as an additional source of income, regardless of how small that might be. Rob Boake (1994) outlines the many constraints that impinge on South African rock bands attempting to earn a living. One such constraint is a scarcity of venues. It is this reality that compels rock bands to view playing at folk clubs as just another possibility in the business of staying alive. Therefore in both economic and infrastructural terms, and despite its invisibility, folk music and folk clubs in particular, contribute (in whatever small measure) to the career building and livelihood of certain South African bands.

From another level, the paper looks beyond an interest in folk as a 'genre in crisis' and enters the complex inner sanctity of the folk club fraternity itself. Here the discovery of a diversity of opinions, objectives and expectations amongst members, points to the internal dynamics that politicize and charge the setting with a subterranean tension not at first noted in its congenial façade. Certain issues that continually emerge in extremely polarized viewpoints are as old as the 'folk revival' itself and never seem to get resolved.

These include the age-old debates of traditional anonymity vs. singer/songwriter fame; amateur vs. professional; folk purism vs. eclecticism; pro-rock vs. anti-rock; progressive vision vs. regressive stasis; all issues that lie beneath the discernable surface patterns offered by those involved. Clearly, then, in setting off so many contestable issues the folk fraternity becomes of interest to academia as a site where observation can be made of the negotiations that establish interrelationships and allegiances; in a sense what resiliently constitutes and politicizes the movement's perpetuation over time.

What now follow are the methodological and theoretical principles that inform what is unquestionably my own subjective interpretive view of the folk fraternity. In management of this task I divide my paper into three chapters; 'Folk Terrain', 'Folk Safari' and 'Folk Process'; concluded by a postscript. I view my involvement as a folk performer in South Africa since 1970 as a strength that renders manageable the generally politicized issues that surround ethnographic representation of the 'other' (Barrett, 1996: 151-154). Because of this historical connection I am the 'other'; my credentials are

established. Through this overall emic perspective I am able to command prominence in the text and contribute to the polyvocality that postmodern readings look to achieve. Therefore I construe my ethnography as a fictionalized account of what I have experienced from 'within'; open to whatever allegorical interpretation my reader might arrive at. Here I side with Clifford:

If we are condemned to tell stories we cannot control, may we not, at least, tell stories we believe to be true. (Clifford, 1986: 121)

Because my dissertation is a popular culture analysis, I follow what Mukerji and Schudson suggest is prerequisite to such a task in my use of a lateral interdisciplinary approach to interpretation (1986: 47-48). The width of this consultative terrain is as expansive as is deemed necessary; taking note and making use of issues and concepts that cross historical, political, economic, sociological, anthropological, philosophical, musicological and mass-media territory. In this respect my stance is unashamedly postmodern in that I offer no grand theoretical model to explain the complexities I encounter (Barrett, 1996: 153), but merely look to illuminate them as indicators of a 'social dialectics' in progress. Therefore the folk fraternity as a social structure is viewed as:

a network of intercommunication between variables, which are products and producers of social force (Coplan quoting Wallace, 1985: 230).

In *Folk Terrain* I establish the territorial dimensions of the paper by arriving at a working definition for the term 'folk' as I see it applicable in South Africa. That South African folk music is a particularized synthesis of American and Anglo-Celtic folk roots, necessitates that it be read against the historical developments that occurred in both of these areas of the world. Their bilateral influence also extends to ideals and practices found in the infrastructures that govern the existence of folk music in South Africa.

To this end the chapter is divided into three sub-sections. The first deals with the development of urban folk music in America from its early twentieth century emergence in the communist left wing labor movement, through to its mass-dissemination by 1965.

Tracing the collective Utopian ideal and protest ethic that emanated from Joe Hill and the Industrial Workers of the World (the Wobblies), I proceed to the work of Woody Guthrie and Pete Seeger. Thereafter I note the rise in folk popularity of the late '50's, through the mass-mediation of artists like the Weavers, the Kingston Trio and Peter Paul and Mary, to its association with student unrest, civil rights and anti-war demonstrations, to its eventual absorption into mainstream culture.

Secondly, I take cognizance of the English folk scene and developments that emerged in its formation over time. Here I commence with the advent of the village community singer out of whom grew the tradition of folk song preservation in the British Isles, tracing that history up to the 'folk revival' that emerged in the UK in response to the American movement mentioned above. Through changes brought about by the industrial revolution and with the arrival of folk song collectors like Cecil Sharp, the transformation of the institutionalized village singer from communal songster to professional star was inevitable (Woods, 1979: 30-32). The resultant conflict between the purists wishing to preserve the anonymity of rural village folk song and those wanting to move with change was immediate. As Woods laments:

The function of the traditional singer is no longer to hold and transmit a core of songs in his own community, but to broadcast them at large, to strangers (1979:33).

Therefore an understanding of the English experience informs this study by raising issues that still fan much debate within South African folk circles. After years as a professional folk singer in England, British-born singer Miriam Erasmus (1997) confirms that this class structure today still permeates the ranks of the folk fraternity in that country. I can attest from my own experience that this is echoed in South Africa.

The final sub-section looks at events and issues surrounding the convergence of folk and rock music in the middle 60's: a *rendezvous* that irreversibly changed the course of popular music forever. I trace Bob Dylan's role in this development, from his 1961 arrival in New York, through his rapid rise to that of reluctant spokesperson for an entire generation, to his infamous 1965 appearance at the 'Newport Folk Festival' playing an

electric guitar. His confrontation with those who sought to perpetuate the perception of him as grand guru of the 'collective' folk movement also opened the gate to popular music transformation. Therefore the folk/rock amalgamation needs to be contextualized against the aspirations and expectations of not only Dylan and the other emerging introspective singer/songwriters like him, but also those of a transnational industry imbued with all of the expansive vision associated with late capital.

Additionally, I note the role that the 60's drug culture played in dismantling borders on all fronts. The collective 'we' that had driven the folk movement since its urban inception, was now being replaced with the individual 'I' of the singer/songwriter, neatly mirroring the psychological and sociological transformation that was happening in the youth at the time through their use of mind-expansion drugs, especially LSD. Influential people like Timothy Leary were advocating that people turn inward with LSD and discover their true selves. His famous slogan "turn on, tune in and drop out" (Whitcomb, 1983: 259) was taken seriously by millions of young people everywhere. People changed. So did music. Therefore as a means of locating continuity and patterns of occurrence over time that might be useful in understanding the South African scenario, I identify certain traits or characteristics in this chapter that are axiomatic to folk music.

In 'Folk Safari' the focus shifts from a global folk perspective to the South African context. In management of this I employ a metaphorical wave hypothesis that chronologically correlates periods of history with the importation (or imposition) of certain musical stylistics or practices. I cite Alvin Toffler's *The Third Wave* (1980) as the impetus from which this idea sprang. His use of the wave metaphor to interpret the sociological ramifications of the agricultural, industrial and computer revolutions (1980: 19-20), dovetails with my reasoning in respect of the changes that have occurred in South African folk music with the arrival of certain mediated influences. I identify four different waves in my chronology.

The First Wave (1960-1965) emanated from the arrival of the initial diluted mass-mediated folk music made popular by Peter Paul and Mary *et al.* Here I am interested in whether or not artists made use of the influential position that they held at the time. As part of the worldwide mass-mediated popular folk movement, did they use that position as an opportunity to speak out against what was going on in South Africa? It is imperative that the posture taken up in this country by white folk musicians be assessed in the light of the protest ethic that spearheaded folk in the first place.

The Second Wave (1966-1976) coincided with the merger between folk and rock already referred to, and the influence that the drug and hippie culture had on South African folk music. Of interest in this wave is the musical eclecticism that abounded and the growth that occurred in the folk movement. Folk clubs and associations sprung up in all the major centers as did annual folk festivals. Additionally, I am interested in the effect that the cultural boycott had on the musicians inside South Africa: how they perceived it and dealt with its constraints.

In the Third Wave (1977-1989) I focus on the South African musicians who appropriated and particularized the mass-mediation of punk in the late '70's; applying its angst to the local context. Issues dealt with include the role of folk protest in the music of the alternative Afrikaans movement that galvanized around the efforts of the End Conscription Campaign in particular, and the United Democratic Front in general. Additionally, the influence that Paul Simon's controversial *Graceland* (1986) had on South African music is of interest to me. *Graceland's* multi-layered interpretations (Meintjies, 1990: 37-67) resonate with all of the fragmentation of postmodernity. The 'inward' glance at black music styles that many white South African bands like Savuka, Bright Blue and Mango Groove (to name a few) made in their search for an identity, tells us much about the political, psychological, sociological and mass-mediated conditions of the time.

The Fourth Wave commences from 1990 onwards with the release of Nelson Mandela. What effect the dismantling of Apartheid has had on South African music is

of interest here. Issues discussed include; music traffic both in and out of the country since the cessation of the cultural boycott. The return of the multinationals and subsequent renewed interest from locally based record companies in white South African music is of interest to me. Particularly of interest is the response of white South African artists to the reality of once again being part of the global arena; what musical response is being made to this reality, and how this informs their search for an identity as whites in Africa.

Theoretically I approach both 'Folk Terrain' and 'Folk Safari' with the view that global and local transformations to folk music are seen as social and stylistic developments brought about by people operating as free agents. In this I depart from a neo-Marxist stance. The retention of ritual patterns and ideological connections beyond the borders of time and space are viewed as an imagined reality, the 'false consciousness' that Althusser identified and focused on (Mukerji and Schudson, 1986: 59). I choose to perceive the revolutionary changes that have taken place in folk music as indicative of the individual's ability to react back against hegemonic confinement that Gramsci conceptualized (Mukerji and Schudson, 1986: 59). Transformation is thus seen as a demonstration of the power of free agency; the 'relative autonomy' and ability of the superstructure to react against its base (Wolff, 1981: 80-86).

Therefore both my wave hypothesis and Dylan's influence on popular music are construed as manifestations of (dialectical) choice, and not respectively seen as events in an orderly unilinear procession through time (Barrett, 1996: 48), as may be purported by 'diffussionism' (Barrett, 1996: 54). Rather, by eclectically adopting certain Boasian analytical considerations such as an emphasis on subjectivity, emic participation, and an interest in relativism and absence of any grand theoretical explanation, I am merely appropriating what is of use to me in an exercise consistent with current trends in postmodernity (Barrett, 1996: 59).

My noting of folk's historical developments thus enables a synecdochic dialogue to be set up between what is discovered on the particular level ('part') with what is known

of the empirical 'whole'. Here folk music and all of its determinants are viewed as a social 'performance'; a negotiated practice not reflective of underlying patterns, but one 'in which meanings are generated, manipulated, even ironised, within certain limitations' (Stokes, 1994: 4).

Although concerned with black South African music, David Coplan's view that performance communication provides an understanding of people's existence within urban social fields (Coplan, 1985: 246), is here taken as pertinent to white South African music as well. Consequently by turning to the many perceptions, attitudes and deliberations that constitute the folk fraternity performance, I look to illuminate in 'Folk Process' what interpretive anthropologists Marcus and Fischer see as a 'negotiation of meanings' (Barrett, 1996: 157). I therefore bring my own fragmented ethnography to this polyvocality; a partial view of totality that speaks from its own unique 'shifting vantage point' (Erlmann, 1996: 11)

My last chapter, the 'Folk Process', focuses on two broad areas of social performance. The first concerns an analysis of the 'folk club' as an institutional entity that perpetuates over time. Here I use the Durban Folk Club (DFC) as a model, fashioning an account of the drama that lurks beneath its surface. My methodological approach to gathering information included circulating a questionnaire amongst the audience at the club's weekly meetings; perusing documentary evidence of performance such as programs, posters and newspaper advertisements and critiques; interviewing most of the principal people involved in both performance and organizational capacities; and forming an opinion from my many years of emic experience as a performer in folk clubs all over South Africa. In addition to this, I draw on my insight as a past committee member of the now defunct Natal Folk Music Association (NAFMA) from 1973-1976, and as the vice-chairman in 1990 of its present incarnation, the DFC.

What is hoped to be achieved by this, is to determine the different 'vantage points' correlative to what Erlmann speaks of in his metaphorical reference to dance steps and the multiplicity of readings they elicit (1996: 11). The questionnaire informed me quantitatively on the extent of disagreement that circulates amongst folk followers

regarding many diverse issues. These range from the continued use of the term 'folk' as a name for this music, to the issue of rock music encroachment. Everyone has a different story to tell. Similarly the interviews and my committee duties cast light on how charged the folk fraternity is with political power struggles; how a type of folk class structure governs much of what goes on. This can be witnessed in people looking to be elected as committee members. Musicians often seek election in a bid to consolidate their own musical positions by involving themselves in the club's decision-making process. Non-musicians who seek office have another agenda. Everyone's part in the performance is different.

The other performance I visit is the 'folk festival', the normally annual event that has traditionally been a part of folk music since its early beginnings. Here I focus on the 'Splashy Fen Music Festival' that takes place in the Drakensberg Mountains during the first weekend in May every year. Having played at every one since the first in 1990, I am able to comment on the issues that politicize what for many is the highlight of their year. Through interviewing musicians, organizers, the media and the public, a plethora of concerns is articulated.

One of these is the expectation that artists have regarding remuneration. In the last four years the festival has attracted 8000 or more people paying R125 each to enter, showing a big profit for the organizers. Musicians who feel that they are largely responsible for this success have begun putting pressure to have more money filter down to them. Naturally the organizers differ in their view of what they regard as fair payment for essentially no more than 30 minutes on stage (Fokkens, 1997). Besides, if established artists wish to complain, there is always an ocean of young eager musicians willing to play at the festival for free. Steve Newman and Tony Cox, arguably two of the best guitarists in the country have not played at Splashy Fen since 1991/2 respectively, because the organizers refuse to budge on their salary demands. Other issues that surround Splashy Fen include the musical direction it seems to be taking for some people, and the role it should be playing in documenting and preserving local music by releasing compilation recordings of each festival (Marks, 1997).

On another level I look to interpret certain axiomatic folk procedures and characteristics as symbolically enacted out 'performances'; what Giddens refers to as the result of:

the phantasmagoric separation of space from place, as places become thoroughly penetrated by and shaped in terms of social influences quite distant from them.
(Stokes, 1994: 3)

Seen thus, these procedures and characteristics suggest that white folk music could have a lot in common with the black 'new social orders' that George Lipsitz (1994) shows are challenging the hegemonic oppression of dominant ideology through their intrinsic diasporic connection with each other.

This allows for South African folk music to be interpreted in light of its response to challenging the hegemony of dominant apartheid ideology. In other words, was the inherent protest ethic in folk music conveyed to South Africa along with the mediation of the songs themselves, and if so, who used it in the performance? In the 'Postscript' I reflect back over the paper to the issues raised here in the 'Prescript.'

Before proceeding, I feel it necessary to re-emphasize my position in the story. Unable to interview myself, by commanding centre-stage in the text I am able to deal with two fundamental problems. The first is to ensure that as a long-standing member of the folk community my voice is heard. I therefore use the space to ensure that right is articulated. The second concerns 'what' I have to say as an individual. My longevity in the business and association with most of the people connected to South African folk music gives me a unique overview of the situation, and therefore must be welcomed as an additional dynamic able to be brought to the analysis. What I am attempting here is concomitant with certain current ethnographic texts that are experimenting with different approaches to representation (Erlmann, 1996: 12-28), and goes towards substantiating the postmodern credentials I posted at the outset.

FOLK TERRAIN

The concept of folk music is difficult to define precisely, and the lines between it and other types of music such as art, popular, religious and tribal music are blurred (Nettl, 1986: 315).

Bruno Nettl's statement directly informs of the problematic nature to the classification of 'folk music'. Because it constantly oscillates back and forth across genre boundaries in the course of its assemblage (subject to all of the dynamics that accompanies the movement of people and ideas), 'folk music' is difficult to pin down as a genre. It is music 'in transit', constrained and assisted by all that goes with 'transculturation' (Wallis/Malm, 1984). The resultant diverse connotations to the word dramatically charge the task of interpreting its meaning. Although much of the argument can be subjugated into pure semantics, the word 'folk' clearly invokes different emotions in most people. Therefore my principal objective in this chapter is to arrive at a workable definition for the term 'folk' as befits my needs in this paper. Through my definition I will arrive at musical, ethical and ideological characteristics that I believe emerged and became axiomatic to 'folk music'.

For my purposes here, this paper will assume that the genre under discussion is not the romanticized antiquated concept of 'folk music' as rural 'primitive' music that permeated early musicology. Rather, I am concerned with the urban manifestation that appeared in America during the early twentieth century, before going on to be mediated world wide in the 'folk revival' of the early 60's (Dunson: 1965, Denisoff: 1971, Sarlin: 1973, Vassal: 1976, Hampton: 1986). Due to the folk fraternity in South Africa being predominantly English speaking with historic ties and affiliations to England, I am also interested in developments that went on there. Both of these 'folk strains' converged in the creation of South African folk music. What follows is a brief historical overview of events and prominent people who brought about this manifestation and contributed to its global popularity.

America

The Wobblies

My definition of 'folk' departs from the early twentieth century left-wing labour movements, and their use of folk song as a tool for effecting change. Although folk music had begun to play a role in social and labour matters as early as the nineteenth century (Nettl, 1986: 318), my focus is with the socialistic left wing movements that came later. The most significant of these movements was the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), formed in 1905 by a coalition of renegade dissidents and anarchists from the conservative American Federation of Labour Union (AFL), and popularly known as the Wobblies. Their chief concern was the liberation of all workers through the humanization of the work place, and to this end, they marched and took to the streets in a political stance that was essentially nonviolent (Hampton, 1986: 61-62).

An essential component of their strategy was the revolutionary song; what Denisoff calls the 'song of persuasion' (1971: 5-6). In the service of spreading these songs to the workers on the ground, the organization published what became known as 'The Little Red Book' from 1909 onwards. This was a pocketsize collection of songs, poems and stories that would become the Wobbly bible, easily transportable to Union meetings, strikes, demonstrations and even jail (Hampton, 1986: 69).

Joe Hill

Certainly, the most celebrated Wobbly composer and exponent of these songs was Swedish immigrant Joseph Hillstrom, better known as Joe Hill. From 1910 when he joined the movement until his execution in 1915, Hill contributed significantly to the movement and especially the 'Red Book' in both quantity and quality. Often humorous in their depicting of events in labour and social history, his topical songs became the benchmark for most of the protest songwriters who were to follow him. Although he composed some original melodies, the majority of Hill's songs used melodies borrowed from Salvation Army hymns and popular tunes of the day (Hampton, 1986: 71).

The significance of this was that the people on the ground were familiar with these tunes, and were therefore able to participate in the collective singing that much more easily. The Salvation Army and the Wobblies constantly clashed with each other on the street in competition for the worker's attentions (Hampton, 1986 68-69), and this could suggest that Hill used Salvation Army melodies as a passive form of resistance to the challenge they were making on the IWW. Why is really irrelevant in the light of how these songs unified the people. The Wobbly rank and file, comprised of 'unemployed immigrants, itinerant workers, hoboes, and homeless drifters' (Hampton, 1986: 61), displayed this egalitarian unity by keeping the songs alive through their travels.

Joe Hill's songs of social and political injustice thus contributed to the collective ideal that the Wobblies expounded. In using a Jean-Paul Sartre concept, Hampton refers to this ideal as the notion of 'totalization'; the process through which the ideal of a totality in Utopian consciousness is supported, promoted and pursued (1986: 42-43). Thus through his songs, Hill was transformed into a 'totalizing agent':

a public personage with a heroic image, who, in effect, humanizes the totalization process by providing a human referent for collective symbols and ideals.

(Hampton, 1986: 44)

After his arrest for murder and subsequent execution in 1915, the Hill ethos was extended to almost mythical proportions by what transpired at his death. Proclaiming his innocence till the end, Hill was led out and shot. Before this happened though, he made one final defiant gesture to the world by commanding the firing squad proceedings himself. This dignified death and resultant martyr's burial at which thousands mourned, ensured the perpetuation of Joe Hill the myth. The publicity that surrounded Hill's execution also gave the IWW a much-needed profile boost during a time when their popularity was starting to diminish (Hampton, 1986: 84-88). With the arrival of World War 1, Wobbly pacifism found itself at odds with the patriotic fervour that was sweeping America, and the organization was targeted as undesirable and its leaders imprisoned. By 1923 this repression had all but reduced the IWW to a force of little consequence.

I am able to extract certain axiomatic features of folk music from what has just been told. Firstly, that folk music was employed in the totalizing process of uniting a group of people around a common Utopian ideology. Therefore folk music can be a powerful ideological tool used in the mobilization of agency. Secondly, in pursuit of this Utopian ideal, the American hobo fantasy was born. This characteristic, which Alan Lomax proposes is an offshoot of Celtic mythology (1964: 131), is important to note, due to the frequency with which it crops up throughout folk history. Thirdly, because of its egalitarian tenet, folk music was underpinned by a philosophy of anonymity that fueled a need for the songs to be preserved in the public domain. That heroes are established in, and are necessary to the totalization process, contradicts this tenet and remains one of folk's eternal dichotomies (Hampton, 1986: 210). Fourthly, folk music is synonymous with the topical song of persuasion. It is therefore music that conveys commentary; that recounts a story or event. In this, songs are most often confrontational and challenging, although it must be noted that humour is equally as effective in the task of persuasion. It is these four basic characteristics in folk music (Utopian ideology, hobo fantasy, anonymity and topical song) that we must take cognizance of.

Woody

After the silencing of the Wobblies and other outspoken organizations, the American left lay dormant until the late 30's when a new 'proletarian renaissance' emerged. This period drew folk music away from the picket line and into the arena of private functions and social gatherings, held mostly by radical elements initially in New York (Denisoff, 1971: 68). The up-shot to this was a division that materialized in the folk performing community which drew a distinction between those playing genuine folk music, called 'people's troubadours, and the urban intellectual folk singers known as people's artists or folk entrepreneurs' (Denisoff, 1971: 74). The most celebrated of these was Woodrow Wilson Guthrie, who became known simply as 'Woody'.

To put Woody's contribution into perspective, we need to go back to the great Depression of 1929, and more specifically, to the early 30's when severe dust storms and droughts plagued many areas in America, particularly Oklahoma; the state that Woody

came from. Like many other families at the time, the Guthries lost their farm and everything else they owned in this natural catastrophe. In response, Woody took to the road in 1931, joining the thousands of hoboes and railroad ramblers migrating west in search of a better life (Vassal, 1976: 69-70). Songs that best reflect this time are Woody's 'dust bowl ballads' like 'Do RE MI', 'Hard Travelin'', 'Dust Pneumonia Blues', 'I Ain't Got No Home', 'Talkin' Hard Luck Blues', 'So Long It's Been Good To Know You' and especially 'This Land Is Your Land' (all Guthrie, 1982). This last song became the 'unofficial anthem of America' (Crosby, 1982).

After getting involved with the Communist Party in 1938, Woody got very active in the movement's activities, singing at many rallies and events. Additionally he contributed a daily column called 'Woody sez' to the communist worker's publications *People's World* and the *Daily Worker* (Klein, 1980: 119-131). In 1939 he was 'discovered' by folklorist Alan Lomax who initiated recordings of Woody for the Library of Congress in the same year. By 1943 Woody's reputation was such that E.P Dutton published his autobiography *Bound For Glory* (Vassal, 1976: 73). At this point it will be convenient to bring in another important contributor to folk history: Pete Seeger.

Pete Seeger

Pete Seeger had harbored an interest in folk music ever since attending a hillbilly music festival with his father Charles Seeger the folklorist/ethnomusicologist in 1935. Unable to play an instrument, he desperately wanted to be involved with the movement, yet was unsure in what direction that involvement lay. After meeting Woody Guthrie at Alan Lomax's house in 1939 he knew exactly what he wanted to do (Klein, 1980: 152). Immediately infatuated with Woody, he teamed up with him and the two 'hitchhiked across the country appearing before assorted trade unions and political action groups' (Denisoff, 1971: 81). By 1940 Seeger was back in New York, and together with another radical named Lee Hays, formed the Almanac Singers. Woody joined in 1941, and collectively as a group, they toured the country expounding their working class manifesto wherever they could, until the group disbanded in 1942 (Denisoff, 1971: 77-105).

Of interest here, is that both Woody and Seeger, individually, together and with the Almanacs, embraced and passionately expounded the Utopian ideology that started with the Wobblies. The Carnegie Hall 'hootenannies' that were such powerful gatherings for left wing propaganda, began in the basement of a house that the Almanacs shared in New York, as a weekly exercise to raise the rent (Hampton, 1986: 114). In their relentless travels across the country, they were able to contribute to the totalization process that fostered left wing collectivity. There were other elements to the process, including magazines like *Sing Out!* and *Broadside*, both of which carried printed songs, articles and revolutionary text. Additionally, Seeger formed *People's Songs Inc.*, an organization that mobilized trade unionists with songs, and taught classes on the art of writing those songs (Denisoff, 1971: 106).

Essentially though, it was the totalizing power of the human hero aspect to Woody and Seeger that ensured the movements perpetuation. Woody's endless 'hobo rambling' perfectly personified the Utopian ideal of longing that had come across to America with the immigrants. His songs, with their inherent humour, and down-home simplicity, were a common sonic impulse in the folk totalization process. His basic philosophical premise that everybody had the right, and indeed obligation, to sing out against injustice whenever it was encountered, echoes the Wobbly sentiment (Hampton, 1986: 119). In the 50's, Woody became progressively ill with the disease Huntington's chorea, until he was hospitalized in New York where he died in 1967. He was the proletarian revolutionary straight out of Steinbeck's *Grapes Of Wrath* (1939).

Throughout the 40's, Seeger eked out an existence through sheer perseverance, both with his group The Weavers, and as a solo performer. During the McCarthy era he was subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), and subsequently blacklisted because of his defiant reluctance to comply (Hampton, 1986: 143). After the commercial success of The Weavers in 1950, Seeger's left wing ideal of 'equality for all', became the driving force behind the civil rights movement of the late 50's and early 60's. The spirit of Joe Hill was being rekindled in the consciousness of a new emerging Utopian movement, the 'folk revival'.

The Folk Revival

Having come about through, and been prepared by, the totalizing socialistic efforts of Guthrie and Seeger in the previous decades, the 'folk revival' presented a problem for many involved in the movement. Because the rise in popularity of folk music came concomitant with the trappings of success, it cut across the grain of folk ideology's propensity for proletarian anonymity and egalitarian 'oneness'. *Sing Out!* magazine and other spirited communist mouthpieces, voiced strong disapproval of the success that Seeger and The Weavers had in 1950 with, amongst others, the South African song 'Wimoweh' (Silber, 1997).

This criticism intensified after The Kingston Trio's song 'Tom Dooley' sold 2,600,000 units on release in 1957 (Vassal, 1976: 107). By the time Joan Baez arrived in 1959, and Peter, Paul and Mary released their first album in 1962 that spawned the hits 'If I had a Hammer' and 'Where have all the flowers gone'?, a wide division between the 'left' and the 'centre' had been established in the folk movement. Those on the sectarian left were shouting 'foul!' in criticism of how success destabilizes and fragments the movement, while those being mediated in the centre, were following the reality of the market place, and the need to stay alive. The reaction from *Sing Out!* was that folk music had sold out (Denisoff, 1971: 170). In essence, through the increased pull of commercialism, folk performers were drawn away from their role as totalizing agents in the process of building the collective ideal of Utopian folk consciousness, and enticed into the role of industry-created 'star'. The most significant of these was Bob Dylan.

Dylan

After reading Woody's *Bound For Glory* at the age of ten, Dylan ran away from home for the first time. His all consuming fixation with Guthrie's life and exploits resulted in his running away a further six times before he was eighteen years old. At nineteen he finally did start his travels, hitching his way through Illinois, Dakota, New Mexico, Kansas and California (Vassal, 1976: 119). Finding out through an article in *Sing Out!* that Woody was hospitalized in New York, Dylan set off in 1960 to visit him. Dylan was to lose this hero-worship very soon after meeting Woody (Vassal, 1976: 120).

Once in New York, Dylan began playing at the coffee bars in Greenwich Village like 'Gerde's Folk City'. Through his visits to Woody he met Bob Gleason who subsequently introduced him to Pete Seeger, Ramblin' Jack Elliot and the other members of the New York folk aristocracy. Things moved very quickly for Dylan at this time. In September of 1961, he received a favourable review from Robert Shelton in *The New York Times*, resulting in producer John Hammond signing him to Columbia Records in November. Subsequently an album entitled *Bob Dylan* (1962) was released, that sold a modest five thousand copies (Hampton, 1986: 153). Because the company were not too comfortable with Dylan's political stance, most of the songs on the album were mainly either blues or traditional songs like 'House of the Rising Sun'.

This situation dramatically changed in 1962, after Peter, Paul and Mary had major success with a Dylan song called 'Blowin' in the Wind'. Their recording of it sold over a million copies, immediately prompting Columbia to remove his creative restrictions. His second album, *The Freewheelin' Bob Dylan* (1963), therefore contained more contentious songs such as 'Masters of War', 'Oxford Town', 'A Hard Rains A-Gonna Fall' and 'Blowing in the Wind' (Vassal, 1976: 123-124). Dylan had arrived. So had the adulation, and the criticism. By 1964, criticism of his having sold out to commercialism was regularly appearing in the columns of *Sing Out!* (Hampton, 1986: 169).

The issue surrounding this mounting criticism concerned Dylan's abandonment of political rhetoric in favour of transcendental introspection. As adulation towards him increased with the success that came in 1963, so his response was to withdraw 'from the pressures of the popular prophet mystique' (Hampton, 1986: 166). Dylan quite simply had no desire to be anybody's leader. He possessed a social conscience, to be sure, but unlike Woody, Dylan had no strong ideological commitment to the folk ideal (Denisoff, 1971: 181). In turning away from topical protest songs, he was directly informing those most affected by his actions, the 'old guard' radical left wing folk purist who needed his totalizing presence in the movement, that he had no intentions of taking the job. By 1965, this issue became confrontational.

Newport

Ever since the 1964 recording of 'House of the Rising sun' by British group The Animals, Dylan had been excited with the possibilities of fusing folk and rock music. After Californian band The Byrds had a smash hit with his composition 'Mr. Tambourine Man', Dylan was sold on the idea. By March 1965 and the release of his seminal *Bringing It All Back Home*, he was experimenting with electric instrumentation. This was the mood that he brought to the Newport Folk Festival in July of the same year.

Accompanied by the Paul Butterfield Blues Band, Dylan walked out on stage at this holiest of folk shrines, plugged in his electric guitar and immediately broke into 'Maggie's Farm' (Sarlin 1973: 55). His fans were horrified at what they heard. Pete Seeger was so incensed at Dylan's performance, that he grabbed an axe and threatened to 'cut the electric cable, if this sacrilege doesn't stop' (Whitcomb 1983: 182). The criticism that had been growing in the left towards Dylan's lack of political posture now came face to face with his new eclecticism. The reaction was hostile, and immediate. After only three songs Dylan and the band were booed off the stage. Returning by himself with an acoustic guitar, he did a poignant rendition of 'It's All Over Now Baby Blue', and walked off and out of the folk movement forever (Hampton, 1986: 177-178).

In view of the developments that transpired in popular music as a result of what Dylan achieved at Newport, it seems ludicrous that there was such hostility shown towards him at all. By single-handedly dismantling the boundary between folk and rock, Dylan's action was the catalyst that many were waiting for. Almost immediately, bands like Jefferson Airplane, Big Brother and the Holding Co., Quicksilver Messenger Service and The Grateful Dead to name a few, appeared using a similar stylistic fusion. In his confrontation with the folk movement over essentially an issue of responsibility and leadership, Dylan inadvertently acquired the role of 'leader' by pushing the envelope in the creation of 'folk/rock'. His contribution extends to the fact that every rock song ever written since then that has an incisive lyric owes something to Dylan. Prior to Dylan, rock 'n roll lyrics were decidedly trite and non-threatening. His actions at Newport opened the way for the 'singer/songwriter'. The collective 'we' became the singular 'I'.

The Drug Culture

Another significant development in the history under view here, is the impact that drugs had on shaping the consciousness of young America to begin with, and the wider world soon thereafter. The most important of these drugs was lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD), or simply 'acid' on the streets. Since its synthesis in 1938 by Dr. Albert Hoffman at the Sandoz Laboratory in Basle, Switzerland (Laurie, 1967: 102), the drug found its way into the social arena via the academic world. This happened as a result of experiments on the effects of the drug that were conducted on paid volunteers at several American universities in the late 50's. At Harvard University Dr. Timothy Leary conducted these experiments. Through the advocacy of his famous 'tune in...' call, and the word from volunteers relating their powerful experiences while under the drug's influence, LSD became a sub-cultural street commodity as early as 1963/64. It was to remain a legal substance until October 1966 when the American authorities realized what was going on (Whitcomb, 1983: 259).

The drug's most striking and appealing feature is its ability to greatly transform the individual's perceptive powers. Colours and sounds are dramatically vivid and intense, as a deep feeling of euphoria and love seems to permeate everything around. It is, to say the least, a profound, personal, yet highly communal experience. These revolutionary features soon ensured that LSD superseded marijuana as the drug most preferred on the street at the time. Its effective way of forcing confrontation between the individual and his innermost feelings ensured the drug a perfect breeding ground in the middle 60's. Both the socio-political changes that were brewing in connection with civil rights and anti-war issues, and the crises that Dylan was experiencing with the folk movement, were informed by the presence of LSD. Dylan's turn from topical song to surreal introspection is evidence of his having taken the drug himself (Hampton, 1986: 145). His message of

be yourself, even in the face of criticism...filtered down through the youth culture to produce the flower children, the hippies and the Yippies, student riots, LSD experimentation, yoga, meditation, communalism, free love, and the entire counterculture package (Hampton, 1986: 183-184).

Subsequent notable events that centred around the use of L.S.D, include the 1965 psychedelic trip that *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest* author Ken Kesey, and his Merry Pranksters undertook across middle-America in their 'Day-Glo' School Bus. The escapade was eloquently chronicled by Tom Wolfe in his book *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1968). The Prankster routine was basically to stop in a small town, invite the town's folk to a free concert staged by the group in the local hall, give them a free LSD-laced fruit drink, then lock the doors to the hall and film the subsequent proceedings. The band that travelled with the Pranksters was an ex-hillbilly outfit called The Grateful Dead, and the driver of the bus was Neal Cassady, former travelling companion to Jack Kerouac. Contrast this to Wobbly non-violence.

By 1966, the district of Haight -Ashbury in San Francisco had become the centre of gravitation for thousands of young Americans who got swept up in the ensuing counterculture. San Francisco had been the home of the 'Beat Poets' a decade earlier. Now it was again opening its doors to the wayward; this time the hippies. The Utopian vision that was now compelling many young people to radically change their lives, had its roots in the same longing that had driven William Burroughs, Alan Ginsberg, and especially Jack Keruoac. His book *On The Road* (1957) personified not only the ideals of the 'Beat Generation', but those of the hippies as well. The Beat philosophy of embracing life in the immediate present, was a cornerstone of Hippie idealism (Whitcomb, 1983: 254-255).

Another important event was the free Human Be-In concert held in January 1967 in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park. Also known as the 'Gathering of The Tribes', the event featured many of the groups who had followed Dylan into folk/rock. These included Quicksilver Messenger Service, Big Brother and the Holding Co., the Loading Zone, Sir Douglas Quintet, Jefferson Airplane and The Grateful Dead (Taylor, 1987: 182). As a concert, it was a significant moment in popular culture. It both heralded in 'the summer of love' of 1967, and provided impetus for the massive migration of youth who were soon to gather at other musical 'happenings' like the Monterey Pop Festival in

June 1967 and Woodstock in August 1969. Undoubtedly drugs were the common denominator contributing to the changes going on both socially and musically at the time.

The Folk Facelift

Certain issues arise from what has been offered in this chapter. Firstly, there are threads that run throughout the history of American folk music that bind the different epochs together over time. These include the Utopian totalization process that is traceable from the early Wobbly insurrections in search of better working conditions, to the work of both Guthrie and Seeger as totalizing agents at a time when left wing sentiment was severely under attack. Both were driven by a need; a longing. This sense of Utopia is further witnessed in the hippie movement. Their drug/Beat-influenced sensibility was a clear example of the galvanizing power in Utopian consciousness.

Therefore I deduce that, in the definition of folk music used here, folk consciousness has always been underpinned with a sense of Utopia. In the pursuit of this ideal, the proponents of this music have adopted a confrontational stance. This has ranged from passive protest (the Wobbly nonviolent profile) to active confrontation as seen in the running battles between anti-war demonstrators and riot police particularly throughout the latter part of the 60's. After 1968, the protest became exceedingly violent with the advent of the 'Youth International Party' (Yippies). Started by activists Jerry Ruben and Abbie Hoffman, the Yippies stood for total anarchy as an answer to problems. Hoffman's book *Do It!* (1970) was the new political manifesto. I will now identify the strains that have emerged in what Lomax calls 'a hybrid of hybrids' (1964: 14). These have occurred as a result of the constraints and innovations in its often-chequered history.

The protest singer of mainly topical songs (songs of persuasion) as personified by Joe Hill, Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger and Dylan's early period; 1961-1964.

The humorist as totalizing agent, as in Joe Hill, Woody Guthrie and early Dylan.

The Rambler as personified in the hobo ethic of Woody Guthrie, Bob Dylan, Ramblin' Jack Elliot, Phil Ochs, The Grateful Dead and the hippies.

The hootenannie theatrical tradition as in the Kingston Trio, The Dillards, bluegrass, jugband music and settings that employ skits, sketches and humour.
The singer/songwriter, surreal and introspective, as embodied in post-1964 Dylan.

England

Where the telling divisions that occurred in American folk music were as a result of ideological difference and media intervention, the English movement in contrast, has always been divided along the lines of class. I will attempt to clarify this in what will be a brief overview that follows. That both movements share certain common characteristics allows for me to avoid the tediousness of repeating information that has already been gleaned at the American level. Therefore I will comparatively move between the two as a means of expediting what lies ahead.

Much of early British folk music history centres on the work done by folklorists and song collectors like Sabine Baring-Gould, The Broadwoods and above all, Cecil Sharp. From the end of the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth centuries, this work involved collecting and documenting songs of the working-class people whose lives were being irreversibly changed by the Industrial Revolution. Much of this fieldwork was done in the patronizing spirit of wanting to preserve these cultural products before they disappeared forever. That change itself created new songs mostly escaped these early collectors. Instead they drew bold demarcation lines as to what they (as the middle class gentry) considered being 'traditional', and therefore worthy of preservation. Consequently many songs were ignored, and those that were collected were published in drawing-room arrangements, often with the 'frank bawdry of folksong...discreetly rewritten for delicate ears' (Woods, 1979: 14). Therefore the division arose between what or what not was considered traditional folk music. After Sharp's death in 1924, collecting lapsed until the early 50's (Woods, 1979: 17).

The next division that must be noted also emanated from the work of the collectors. This was the division between the amateur and the so-called 'professional' singer that came about with the rural village singer's role changing with mediation. From singing for love and beer to small groups of people whom he was familiar with in his own community, the village singer was now singing for money to huge impersonal crowds from concert platforms often very far from his home. The similarity between this and the

American left reaction to the initial success of The Weavers is interesting. Although in both countries the reaction was towards the effect of mediation encroachment, the similarity ends there. In England the reaction was towards the perceived class difference between amateur/traditional (working class), and professional/star (middle-class) status. British-born Mirium Erasmus, who spent the 60's and 70's performing throughout England under her maiden name Backhouse, assures me that she experienced this reaction from members of her folk club ('The Brighthouse Folk Club') in Halifax, Yorkshire when she turned professional in 1969.

I was stunned. After serving on their committee for over five years and helping to organize fund-raisers and other charity stuff, this is how they treated me. Because I'd turned pro, got signed to a company and released an album, I was unwelcome. You'd think it would be the other way 'round, and they'd be proud of me!

(Erasmus, 1997)

In America, on the other hand, the left wing reaction to folk success came because it threatened the solidarity of the topical song movement. Success was criticized for being a dangerous capitalist trapping, to be avoided if one was to remain faithful to the ideals already covered in this chapter. When Dylan and others transcended the folk world and became mainstream pop artists, the criticism leveled at them from the left was essentially to bemoan their loss to the party as totalizing agents. In Utopian consciousness, there was no room for individual enrichment. The Wobbly ideal could never remain in the same bed with mainstream popular culture. In this sense the reaction was ideologically and politically based, and not class-conscious as in England.

After the 50's, the British 'revival' was given impetus by a series of BBC sponsored documentaries that Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger (half-sister to Pete) prepared (Woods, 1979: 55-56). These sparked an interest once more in traditional folk song. Together with the skiffle craze that Lonnie Donegan almost single handedly engineered in 1956, and the growing interest in the American folk revival, the British equivalent simply took off. In 1958 there were less than twenty clubs in Britain. By 1966 there were three hundred, and by 1979, over one-thousand-seven-hundred folk clubs in a country that size-wise fits into Kwa-Zulu Natal (Woods, 1979: 58).

With this rise in popularity and growth in venues, the professional folk singer became a reality in England. The short distances and excellent transport facilities make traversing the country rather a simple task. Professional folk artists in England usually have an agent and a manager very similar to their pop counterparts (Erasmus, 1997). There is an entire network of clubs, coffee bars and student campus facilities that book professional folk singers, and provide the infrastructural support that they need to survive. Small independent record companies like Hannibal Records, Tradition Records, Topic Records, Greentrax Recordings amongst many, constantly release both new and past re-issues of folk music. Additionally there are countless Festivals that take place, mainly in the summer months all across the British Isles. These include the celebrated Cambridge Folk Festival, the Stonehaven Folk Festival, the Beverley Folk Festival and Sidmouth Festival of Folk Arts to name a very few. These factors provide the means that enable professional folk music to flourish in England.

From what has just been said, it seems that there is a relationship that still remains between the professional and the amateur sectors of British folk, even though the tensions pertaining to their division remain intact. If this were not true, then none of the professional folk artists working in England would be able to survive. Folk clubs are mainly run by amateurs, therefore there must be a tolerance in place that allows this perpetuation to continue. That general class-consciousness has for long been a part of the British psyche, could partly explain why this seems to not be too bothersome a problem. Another point to this is that because amateurs run the folk clubs, and because there is a need on the part of the professional to make use of these folk clubs, there is an institutional power that comes into play. The British folk club is run by an elected Committee, charged with the political undercurrents that exist in all such positions of power. By virtue of his position on the club Committee, the amateur is thus able to determine precisely how the professional is treated. This could extend to whether he gets a booking in the first place, to whether his sound is satisfactory while he's on stage playing. The point is that the power accrued to the amateur in this instance, would, in the mind-set of a class-conscious society, afford him a certain class position equal to that of the professional.

The British also had their disagreements over what Dylan did at Newport. Fourteen years after the event, music journalist Fred Woods was still asking:

does the electrification of folk songs have any valid justification, and is it more than a merely temporary gimmick? (Woods, 1979: 101)

Some clubs are so against the idea of electrified folk music, that artists playing electric instruments are not even permitted to take the stage (Erasmus, 1997). Granted, this kind of reaction mainly takes place in staunch traditional folk enclaves. However it did take all of four years before folk/rock was heard at the Cambridge Folk Festival in 1969 (Laing/Newman, 1994: 30-34). Bands that emerged out of the folk/rock synthesis, were Fairport Convention, Pentangle, Steeleye Span, Lindisfarne, Planxty and The Incredible String Band to name a few, all achieving a certain measure of international success. Other significant English players include Martin Carthy, Martin Simpson, Ralph McTell, Donovan, Maddy Prior, Sandy Denny, Al Stewart, John Martyn, Richard Thompson, Bert Jansch and John Renbourn amongst others.

It is left to say that the English folk movement has never been driven by an Utopian consciousness in the way that the American movement was. British collectivity rather, has centred around the issue of authenticity in traditional music, and the ideal of its preservation. It is therefore more of a cultural heritage question to the British, as opposed to the political strategy it was for the Americans.

FOLK SAFARI

Our first pop songs were immigrants. Those brave little ships that billowed into Table Bay on their way to and from Holland carried more than precious spices; they carried music (Trehwela, 1980: 11).

As sweeping as this statement is, it tells me two things. Firstly, that white South Africans have been receiving and particularizing musical influences ever since this country's viability as a colony became apparent in the seventeenth century. In other words, the process that Wallis and Malm call 'transculturation' in which music of the periphery interacts with the international music industry through the actions of the mass-media (1984: 177) is not a new phenomenon. Technology might have added to the speed with which this happens, but (whether in person or over the Internet) the process itself has been going on since time immemorial. It is rooted in the reality of people connecting with each other either willingly or unwillingly. Albeit cynically, I choose to view the initial mediation of folk music to South Africa as an exercise undertaken by the transnational music industry in pursuit of a different type of colonization: control of the global market place (Dannen, 1990; Burnett, 1996)

The second thought that emanates from the above statement is the amount and standard of whatever written material there is available on the subject of white South African folk music. Trehwela's book is a point in question. His entire book is as nonsensically written as this:

The folk wave would inevitably have rippled this way, but it arrived all the sooner because a schoolboy in Britain had a pair of old Royal Air Force headphones.
(Trehwela, 1980: 71)

Muff Andersson's book (1981), although better than Trehwela in terms of literary merit, suffers in the way her text is imbued with an elitist, politically biased viewpoint. But then it was her story. Chilvers and Jasiukowicz (1994) on the other hand offer a book that is factually both incorrect and deficient. Apart from these three publications, I take note of theses on South African music by Boake (1994) and Van der Meulen (1995). While neither deals with folk music, both are informative on local pertinent issues.

In *The Third Wave* (1980), Alvin Toffler argues that societies were irreversibly transformed in history by successive, colliding waves of revolution, the Agricultural, the Industrial and the Technological. His use of the wave metaphor to explain change in society is a pragmatic decision. As he says:

The wave idea is not only a tool for organizing vast masses of highly diverse information. It also helps us see beneath the raging surface of change. When we apply the wave metaphor, much that was confusing becomes clear.

(Toffler, 1980: 19-20)

Continuing, Toffler attests to the shift in his perception after he started conceptualizing change in terms of waves that collide and overlap causing tension and conflict.

In every field from education and health to technology, from personal life to politics, it became possible to distinguish those innovations that are merely cosmetic or just extensions of the industrial past, from those that are truly revolutionary (Toffler, 1980: 20).

After reading this it seemed quite plausible that a similar paradigm might suffice in attempting to organize the chronology of South African folk music. By determining the entry points of imported stylistic influences that brought about serious changes to the folk genre, and chronologically dividing the time span according to relevant correlative continuums, I am able to arrive at the following hypothesis:

The First Wave (1960 – 1966), encompassed of the initial mediated ‘folk revival’.

The Second Wave (1967 – 1976), part of the hippie movement that mobilized youth.

The Third Wave (1977 – 1989), propelled by the angst of British punk.

The Fourth Wave (the ‘90’s), as participant once more on the world stage.

In turning to the task of illuminating these four periods, it is necessary to mention that due to the confines of this paper, I am restricted to this being a wide and descriptive story rather than detailed and analytical. It will not be possible to delve deeply into every nuance of contestation or allegiance that I uncover, although I will linger long enough at times where possible (or where deemed essential) to bring whatever depth I can to the experience of my reader.

1960 – 1966

The initial impetus to the growth of folk music in South Africa can be traced back to the 1959 arrival of English-born Jeremy Taylor. His talent, showmanship and socially-perceptive songs, was the living embodiment of what was being mediated from abroad. His 1960 debut at the 'Cul de Sac' coffee bar in Hillbrow, Johannesburg (Taylor, 1992: 3–5) acted as a catalyst towards establishing folk's increasing popularity. Others around at this time include the Tracey brothers (Andrew and Paul), and a young Des Lindberg and Dawn Silver who both got drawn into music through attending the 'Cul de Sac' evenings (Trehwela, 1980: 71-72).

From these early beginnings, Des and Dawn Lindberg, and Keith Blundell started the first 'folksinging club in Johannesburg' in July 1964 at the 'Troubadour' (Andersson, 1981: 114). The popularity of this, and other venues, saw the folk movement grow very rapidly, with the 'First National Folk Festival' materializing in May 1965 at the Wits Great Hall which spawned an album called 'National Folk Song Festival '65' from recordings of the event (Andersson, 1981: 114). This popularity is evidenced when note is taken that all of the main players at this time had recording contracts with major record labels. This was true of the Lindbergs (CBS), Nick Taylor (RCA), Jeremy Taylor (Gallo), Mel Mel and Julian (CBS), the Blundells (Transatlantic), Cornelia (RCA), Jill Kirkland, Ian and Ritchie and Clem Tholet (all Renown) (Chilvers / Jasiukowicz, 1994).

To digress and rush slightly ahead, it is interesting to note that at no other time was white English music so centrally represented within the mainstream music industry in this country, than during the First Wave. There is a widely held belief amongst South Africans (including musicians) that legitimacy comes when a band (or individual) secures a recording contract and begins being heard on the radio. This is called 'cracking it.' Therefore because they enjoyed such mainstream access and support, artists in the First Wave will mostly be perceived as having 'cracked it.' Apart from a mainstream industry interest in certain music of the current Fourth Wave, none of the other waves enjoyed this privilege.

As was mentioned in the Prescript, the arrival of the genre from America brought musical stylistics and rituals that were locally adopted and imitated. These include instrumentation, the *locale* of the coffee bar and interpretation of the overseas repertoire. Additionally (as was noted in the previous chapter), the importation, through its link to protest in the American labour and civil rights struggles, also came with the translated responsibility of its very essence; namely as a voice against injustice. In this we have also noted that the mediated folk music that spread to South Africa had already been contaminated and diluted by its collusion with technology and late capital before it set off 'on safari'. In other words, did the folk link to protest manage to escape the production level manipulation that Wallis and Malm inform on (1984), and embark on the journey as well? Therefore one of the central issues of interest to me here is the confrontational posture taken up by South African folk musicians during this time. How did they translate the responsibility just discussed?

Andersson suggests that the cult 'existed mainly among the children of the richer families' (1981: 115). This is confirmed by Oxford educated Jeremy Taylor himself (1992:20). Andrew and Paul Tracey, Des Lindberg, Dawn Silver, Mel Millar, Mel Green, Nick Taylor and Clem Tholet were all from a class that seldom has to deal with social injustice or deprivation. This odd fact dovetails with the situation in America. Dylan himself is the product of middle-class America (Sarlin, 1973: 42), as was Pete Seeger and the majority of college students flocking to the movement at this time. But that's where the similarity ends.

The songs being written and sung in America were about issues pertinent to that country. South Africans on the other hand, chose not to compose their own music about their own issues. They imported the American issues along with the songs as well (Marks, 1994). Some white folk musicians followed the example of black jazz artists in the 20's and 30's who transformed popular American tunes into localized renditions sung in the vernacular (Coplan, 1985: 135). When Des Lindberg changed the words of Pete Seeger's 'Big Rock Candy Mountain' into the Afrikaans parody 'Die Gazoem van die Bye' (the buzzing of the bees) he was walking down the same road that the Manhattan

Brothers had been down in their use of the Mills Brothers music. The difference is that they were looking to make sense of their oppressed world by appropriating Afro-American influences.

Des on the other hand, as a signed artist with obligations to his backers, was looking for a bigger audience in sales by 'crossing over' to the Afrikaans market. In substantiation I need only mention that the song sold 30,000 units and earned Des a gold disc in the process (Andersson, 1981: 114). What ensured these figures was the infamous 1966 *Folk On Trek* tour that Des and Dawn ostensibly embarked on in response to the 'call of the road' that had accompanied the 'hobo' ethic of early folk travels. Andersson is very critical of Des Lindberg who she feels should not have accepted the 1965 Sari Award for 'Best Male Vocalist' if his political standing as a liberal was sound. In voicing that criticism she lets Des speak for himself:

we're all middle class people, living easy lives, so in a way its strange singing about suffering and oppression (Andersson, 1981: 115).

Nick Taylor is equally reprimanded for his singing of the theme tune to the weekly Springbok Radio actuality show 'Thursday Night' (Andersson, 1981: 112). I must confess to carrying the same sentiment concerning David Marks' acceptance of a 'Song of the Year' Sari award in 1968 for 'Master Jack' (Chilvers/Jasiujowicz, 1994: 83). Given that the SABC was a state-funded organization, the question remains how was it possible to accept these awards from a system that was financially assisted by such a brutal regime? Particularly since these were 'folkies' supposedly reared on protest?

Another baffling issue is the absence at the time of any white folk protest against the government's inhuman display of aggression at Sharpeville (Pampallis, 1991: 211)? American folklorist and founder editor of *Sing Out* magazine Irwin Silber informs me that he published an article in the magazine protesting against the event within weeks of it happening (1997). That there was silence in South Africa is not surprising if we recount what Des just told us. The protest was on the other side of the world. South African First Wave folk musicians did not challenge the hegemony. Instead they accepted the awards (indirectly) from a totalitarian *regime* that spared no thought in

clamping down on all opposition with the clinical precision that resulted in the Rivonia trial of 1963 (Readers Digest 1994: 369). In taking those awards they inadvertently shook hands with the very people who were banning Pete Seeger's song 'We Shall Overcome' because of its connection with the Civil Rights Movement in the United States (Andersson 1981: 112). The only person who Andersson feels did not compromise in any way, and subsequently suffered for that, was Jeremy Taylor (1981: 115). His vernacular satirical commentaries on life like 'Ag Pleez Deddy' (1962) set him apart from those around him. It also resulted in him being barred from returning to South Africa in 1970 after a period overseas (Taylor, 1992: 74). While concerned with Taylor, this would be a good opportunity to discuss the show that featured his song; the Leon Gluckman produced *Wait a Minim* (1961).

Gluckman, who was also responsible for creating the black musical *King Kong* (1959), assembled a host of folk talent for *Wait a Minim*. Apart from Jeremy Taylor, the cast featured the Tracey brothers, Kendrew Lascelles, Michel Martel, Jeanette James, Zelide Jeppe and Marina Christelis. It was extremely successful, traveling the world for over seven years after completing its initial South African run (Andersson, 1981: 20). Two aspects to this show interest me. What axiomatic folk characteristics are present and/or transformed in the piece? Was the mainstream position that accompanied *Wait a Minim*'s success used as a platform to effect a voice of protest? Concerning the first question, we can note that apart from the presence of folk instrumentation, the show is modelled on the 'hootenannies' discussed in the last chapter in Gluckman's use of the song/skit stage setup. There is the folk penchant for humour (Trks. 3, 6 Side1; 1,6 Side 2). Woody's 'talking blues' form is used in 'Joburg talking blues' (Trk. 3, Side 1). Because of the Tracey/Taylor connection with Oxford University (Taylor, 1992: 2), there is an abundance of influence from English/Celtic sources.

An answer to the second question requires listening to the soundtrack. Every conceivable country is stylistically visited (including South Africa) without the slightest hint of confrontation, or display of protest what so ever. Even the famous chorus to 'The Ballad of the Southern Suburbs' ('Ag Pleez Deddy', Trk. 1, Side 2), as mediated then as

'Simunye' is today, could not effect the 'collective' singing that was so prominent in the recordings of early 'hootenannies' at Carnegie Hall. In retrospect *Wait a Minim* totally failed in any role as a vehicle for social commentary. The 'we' of folk collectivity was set aside in the interest of the individual 'I'. Andrew Tracey bemoans what a torrid time he had coping with this experience (Andersson, 1981: 20).

All of this suggests that the South African folk artists of the First Wave, bar the few exceptions, did not pick up the socio-political responsibility that came with importing the genre. The issues that mobilized youth in America and elsewhere, were not translated to the South African context. Artists here were little more than facilitators of American popular song, attracted to the genre by the informality of the coffee bar platform, and its ability to accept 'outspoken' voices, even if they were emanating from people who were basically pseudo, and only there to escape their middle class realities.

Perhaps the biggest tragedy about the First Wave is that opportunities were at their most abundant with regards to mainstream media attention for this music, yet nothing was significantly done about using that power to confront serious issues in South Africa. The protest ethic that supposedly departed from America with folk music's mediation somehow got lost in transit. It never arrived on the first folk expedition, and if it did, it managed to slip by the folk fraternity customs officials without being noticed.

In the face of hegemonic oppression and hostile State action, South African First Wave folk artists chose not to make a stand. The choice came down to what they stood to lose and not what they were prepared to give up. Before leaving this, it would be worth evaluating what has just been said against the stand that Dylan made by not appearing on the 'Ed Sullivan Show' on May 12 1963 after CBS censored his song 'Talking John Birch' (Hampton, 1986: 165). That this show launched the careers of both Elvis and the Beatles, shows exactly what Dylan (as a young artist starting his life in the business) was prepared to give up in pursuit of a social consciousness that Hampton says (at the time) was of 'heroic proportions' (1986: 165). There's the difference.

1967 - 1976

Second Wave groups who pursued the acid-based musical eclecticism that was noted in *Folk Terrain* were Freedoms Children, Abstract Truth, South Country Band, Leemen Ltd. and Hawk amongst others. All combined the power of rock with the honesty and introspection of folk lyrics. Compare these groups to others of the time like The Bats and Four Jacks and a Jill *et al*, and one can agree that the rock side of the picture has definitely altered. The interest is in what developments have taken place on the folk side as a result of the folk/rock convergence precipitated by Dylan at Newport in '65', and what effects the Haight-Ashbury drug culture had on those developments.?

When I joined NAFMA in 1970 it boasted well over five hundred paid-up members testifying to the popularity of folk music at the time. Similar popularity was evident in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town and Rhodes University on a smaller scale. Fuelling this popularity were the weekly concerts that each of the centres staged, offering a platform where artists could be as innovative and original as they pleased. The five years since Newport had seen the emergence and establishment of the singer/songwriter, or what Sarlin calls the 'song poets' (1973).

On first hearing early Second Wave players like Mike Dickman and Colin Shamley, one is struck by two distinct differences to the First Wave. Firstly, the lyrical content and musical stylistics are now extremely diverse. Secondly, that the technical execution of those ideas has also radically changed. These guys can play. The amateurish First Wave facilitator of imported song is replaced with the musically skilled poet employing a multitude of influences. With the arrival of Edi Nederlander, Paul Clingman, Brian Finch, Brian Gibson, Colin Shapiro, Caroline and Julie Blundell, John Van Nierop, David Tarr, John Oakley-Smith, Jannie Hofmeyr, the Kitchen Brothers (all 1970), Tony Bird, Alan Jeffries and Johnny Clegg all in 1972, the transformation of South African Folk was wholly substantiated. This level of proficiency is taken to the limits with the arrival in '76 of Steve Newman, Tony Cox, Pete van Heerden and others.

Sadly it is beyond the scope of this paper to go into the histories and stylistic influences of all the players mentioned. However it would be pertinent to mention that besides the undoubted public support for the music and regardless of the unquestionable talent of the artists in the Second Wave, this music was never recorded. Many journalists joined musicians around the country in calling for something to be done about this. *The Natal Witness* had this to say on the 25 July 1975, in a review of NAFMA's 'Folk '75':

For many years, top music critics and artists have deplored the apathy towards contemporary acoustic music, and for too long now SA folk has languished in coffee bars and poorly sponsored clubs. Record companies look upon folk music as a non-viable area of profit, maintaining that such records will not sell. 'Folk '75' was an exhibition of tremendous local talent and it will be a pity if most of these artists migrate overseas and leave South Africa the poorer .

Writing on May 24 1975 in the *Weekend Post Parade*, journalist Andre Erasmus, a long-time supporter of folk music in Port Elizabeth, had this to say in a post-festival appraisal of 'Folk '75' in that city:

The recent, popular Folk Music Festival in Port Elizabeth featured South African musicians who are able to rank with the world's best country, folk and acoustic musicians. Yet most of these artists will never receive the fame and wealth of their overseas counterparts. Why? Because they are continually ignored by local recording companies.

Save for recordings made by Dave Marks and released under the auspices of SAFMA such as 'Folk '72' (Durban) and 'Folk '73, '74, '75 and '76 (Port Elizabeth) this music was never recorded by an industry that chose to ignore it, cultural boycott or not.

In looking at the Second Wave for signs of protest posture, we discover that the shift is now (as happened in America) to speaking out on environmental and introspective issues. Artists now were singing about nature, love, mysticism and universality, rather than about regional or local issues. Looking back on the South Africa of the time, it seems amazing now that this was possible. The government's Draconian measures like the introduction of harsh drug laws in 1972 and the infiltration of student campus life by BOSS agents throughout the 70's seem to have passed by unchallenged in the Second Wave. By regulating precisely the images and songs it beamed out, the Apartheid

government was able to control and disarm the liberal English student, the singer/songwriters and the whole country.

Which brings me to the movie *Woodstock* (1970). Why did the government even allow it to be shown here at all? Particularly in view of what was just said about its clampdown measures. Could it be perhaps, that by allowing it to be shown (censored nude scenes aside), the government managed to appease the young English kids who were at the time wholeheartedly taking to the hippie search for identity?. Permitting the showing of a movie depicting brotherly love might go towards giving them a sense of contentment and false illusion. Anything to avoid them making any militant waves like their American counterparts were doing in protest against that country's involvement in the Vietnam war.

Interestingly the government was excused the task of censoring the graphic television footage emanating from America of students at Kent University (Ohio) being gunned down by police in 1970. The turbulent riots in that country over war issues and in many other parts of the world as youths rebelled totally escaped South Africa due to television not being a reality at the time. It would be nigh impossible for the government to exercise the same control in the CNN situation of today

Woodstock also gave the artists here the feeling that, like Ritchie Havens, John Sebastian, Country Joe MacDonald, Arlo Guthrie and Crosby, Stills, and Nash, they too could transcend the folk club arena and reach a wider world. It never occurred to them that the doors were firmly shut on that score. The government did such a good job in painting the sort of propaganda picture that suggested otherwise.

In retrospect, the Second Wave belief that artistic expression could outgrow the constraints placed on it was admittedly *naïve*. The effectiveness of the cultural boycott in externally isolating South Africa was profound (Braam/Geerlings, 1989: 170-181). In conspiring to undermine and contain the artists of this country the government effectively applied that isolation internally through its ideological manipulation.

After the Government's fiasco in Angola in 1975 and the Soweto Riots in 1976 (Pampallis, 1991: 249, 256) a new generation of folk musician was preparing to deal with these issues in a truly local way.

1977 – 1989

As the Second Wave differed from the First (particularly where musicality, politics, platform, and opportunity is concerned), so the Third Wave contrasts sharply with its predecessors. Here we find, for the first time, an outspoken voice against issues that are local; issues that are reflective of the environment from which these voices emanate. Here we find a government unable to any longer contain (through media manipulation) the frustrations of a population burdened with the callous implementation of state opinion. For black students the issue was education and the enforced use of Afrikaans as medium for instruction. For white kids it was their reluctance to serve in the army.

In response the government proceeded with extreme displays of control and manipulation to systematically neutralize all opposition. The mass arrests that government made following its banning of seventeen organizations in 1977 resulted in widespread condemnation after political activist Steve Biko died in detention (Readers Digest, 1994: 443). This brutal oppression and the mysterious deaths of political activists like Rick Turner, highlight the brutal nature of that attempt at neutralization. After 1976 there was a wholesale recruitment of all eligible white males to assist with, not only driving back the communists in Angola, but also for deployment in the townships, where unrest was becoming normative for black youth. This landscape of madness and oppression became the melting pot for the Third Wave folk artist. Worth recounting was the clampdown on the Wits University 'Free Peoples Concerts' in 1976 (Andersson. 1981: 114).

By 1977/8 NAFMA was dead. From the heyday of 1970 to the closure of its doors, the pattern was the same in Johannesburg (SAFMA closed in 1976/77) and Grahamstown (1979). It seemed that an era had ended. With hindsight it is possible to note that the demise came about, not only through the changing political climate alluded to above, but also because of an external force that was making itself felt the world over; namely the influence of punk music. In the way that hippie ideology had impacted a decade earlier, punk now asserted itself, only this time from the epicentre of London and not San

Francisco. There was no love in the punk message of anarchy and revolt. Not only the disgruntled left wing English varsity student particularized this message in South Africa. Interestingly, Afrikaans kids picked it up as well. This is not really so surprising in view of the horror that young men of all origin were experiencing in the 'killing fields' of Angola. In that experience young Afrikaans men were not excluded. The emergence of punk signaled to the world that the hippie 'Summer of Love' was indeed over.

Initially sprung from the frustrations of economic impotency in the British youth, punk energy was now appropriated to serve the anti-war sentiments being expressed by young English and Afrikaans South Africans alike in their support of the End Conscription Campaign (Pampallis, 1991: 276). Here is the big difference between this wave and the first two. Youth now mobilized behind a common sentiment in a bilingual outpouring of anti-government criticism. Therefore measures like the State of Emergency proclaimed in 1985/6 to curtail freedom, now helped to fuel and facilitate the birth of a collective white counter-consciousness. After its formation in 1983, these artists threw their efforts behind the United Democratic Front in its broad-based push to be rid of P. W. Botha and his *regime*. (Readers Digest, 1994: 442-443).

One of the most outspoken and militant of these artists was Roger Lucey. His album *The Road Is Much Longer* (1979) was extremely confrontational in facing the issues of the day. Four of the tracks were found so objectionable by the Director of Publications that the album was banned outright; even the owning of it prohibited (Lucey, 1996). In an article full of 'oh gosh I'm sorry' sentiment published in the 7 July 1995 edition of the *Mail and Gaurdian*, former police 'dirty trickster' Paul Erasmus reveals how the government consciously went after Roger to ensure that his music was silenced. The scary thing is that they succeeded. Roger was eventually forced to abandon music in search of employment that could feed his kids (Lucey, 1996). Regardless of this oppression, Lucey's particularization of elements that came straight out of the 'yippie' sub-culture of the late 1960's, is evidence of his challenging the hegemonic stranglehold of artistic life and expression in South Africa. In doing this he prompted others into following him.

Other important players at this time include Dog Detachment, Bernoldus Niemand (James Phillips who tragically died on July 31, 1995), Tribe after Tribe, The Gents, Elemental, Happy Ships, The Kalahari Surfers, The Usuals, E-Void, Mike Green and Neil Solomon's group the Uptown Rhythm Dogs amongst others.

Another player worthy of mention is David Kramer, who, although today embodies a slick marketable synthesis of the theatricality and humour of early 'hootenanie', emerged at this time in the folk scene. I played on the same evening that he did at the 1981 'Port Elizabeth Folk Festival', and laughed so much at this funny little guy that tears were running down my face. In contrast to Roger Lucey, Kramer has played the system with great success. His catchy tunes in the vernacular have allowed him to work within the hegemony in a certain sort of style. By employing humour, he has been able to gain access to mainstream culture, and at the same time, carry on a folk tradition that Hill, Guthrie, Dylan and Jeremy Taylor all used.

From the mid 1980's onwards, others like The Kerels, The Cherry Faced Lurchers, Tananas, Syd Kitchen and The Utensils, The Genuines, The Believers, Bright Blue, Mango Groove, Larry Amos, Jennifer Ferguson, Bill Knight, the Gereformeerde Blues Band, Koos Kombuis, and Johannes Kerkorrel were all counter voices in their respective ways.

Another difference between this wave and its predecessors (particularly the Second Wave) is that this music was recorded. The documentation was made possible through the emergence of small independent record companies like Mountain Records in Cape Town, Hairy Guava Records in Durban, and especially Shifty Records in Johannesburg. Although much was banned outright by the SABC, a few subterranean disc jockeys like Chris Prior (Radio 5) and Neil Johnson (702) amongst others flew in the face of broadcast hegemony and supported South African musicians by playing their music whenever they could. Shifty Records in particular must be singled out for mention. They went beyond the passive gesture (however noble) of merely facilitating a recording process that documents, to a stance of open challenge with their 1989 *Voelvry* tour. This

infamous, controversial and thoroughly drunken meander through the South African hinterland featured Shifty artists The Gereformeerde Blues Band (The Reformation Blues Band), Bernoldus Niemand en die Swart Gevaar (Bernard Nobody and the Black Danger), and Andre Letoit(real name).

The controversy that surrounded the emergence of an Afrikaans counter-voice in the 1980's was doomed to follow every step of the tour's itinerary. Named after a 1988 Shifty compilation album, this controversy was flamed by an article in *The Weekly Mail and Gaurdian* on February 24, 1989, publicizing the SABC-banning of three songs off the album. Taking in many little towns off the beaten track, the tour met hostility wherever it went, from the authorities, the clergy and the institutions where many concerts were scheduled. On the banning of many of these concerts, the press reported widely. An article that appeared in *The Pretoria News* on April 4, 1989, reports on the banning of the concert at Potchefstroom University. The controversial Cape leg of the tour was widely covered in *The Cape Times*. They reported on the cancellation of the Verwoerdburg concert in their June 13, 1989 edition, and on the pro and anti-tour demonstrations at Stellenbosch University respectively in their May 10 and May 11 1989 editions.

However these measures did little to silence the music. On the contrary, as Peter Feldman reported in *The Star* on 15 May 1989, record sales of Shifty artists associated with the tour did brisk business. That some of those on the tour like Johannes Kerkorrel went on to be absorbed into the diluted mainstream does not diminish the role that was played by this group of artists in confronting the ridiculousness of their reality. In appropriating the angst of British punk and applying it in service of local issues, Third Wave musicians articulated a voice in a time when everyone was being silenced. As former Shifty "Tour Manager" Hannalie Coetzee remembers:

Ag it was amazing. You just knew that something was happening that was bigger than you. Even with all the kak we got and the guys being such reprobates you just knew you were part of history being made. It was lekker.

(Coetzee, 1997)

The 1986 'collaboration' between American Paul Simon and certain black South African musicians in the recording of his album *Graceland*, is another quite different yet equally solidifying issue of interest. As punk had provided the means for certain people to speak out, so Simon's album provided the means for certain white musicians to look at African music differently. As Louis Meintjies points out, the album carried diverse meanings for South Africans of all persuasions (1990: 37-71). Dealing with these meanings she shows how Simon's postmodern fusion of culture contributed to white South African identity:

All positive white South African commentary on *Graceland* indicates that white South Africans share one reason for their favouring of *Graceland*. Irrespective of their political persuasions, they have embraced *Graceland* because of the link it offers them to indigenous black traditions. By expressing a claim on these traditions, they are able to legitimate their own identity as local and to construct a history for this local identity (Meintjies, 1990: 57)

Meintjies' observation is right on target considering the amount of white bands and artists that started fusing African elements into their music in the post-*Graceland* period. The 1987 'Concert in the Park' at Ellis Park rugby stadium attracted 80,000 screaming fans all there to listen to only South African bands. The popularity of this Afro-Euro sound did not escape the industry either. Major companies started signing certain bands that fitted their search for the local *Graceland* sound. These include Bright Blue who signed to EMI, Jennifer Ferguson who signed to Shifty and Mango Groove who signed to Tusk.

Turning to the platform that the Third Wave worked off, we see that by the mid-1980's, folk clubs have once again mushroomed in many centres around South Africa providing once again a springboard for much of this talent. Many of the musicians at this time use the folk club arena for their expression. These include Roger Lucey, James Phillips, Anton Goosen and Jennifer Ferguson amongst others. The tendency of punk performers to place importance on the energy they generate and not the performance *per se*, highlights another comparison between this and the first two waves; that of performance standard. Many of the bands at this time are amateurish in their performance (as were most British punk bands) reminiscent of First Wave standards.

In concluding this segment we can note that the Third Wave, conscientized by military issues, mirrored some of the feelings that were aired in America in 1967 – 70. These feelings, localized by the conditions of restraint and frustration felt by the artists trapped in this maze, were further stimulated by the realities of the cultural boycott finally hitting home to everyone here. Add to this the subculture of white consciousness towards the black situation here that started to grow from 1976 onwards, and the fabric of Third Wave reasoning becomes a little clearer. It becomes easy to locate the cohesive internal spark that history will eventually note greatly assisted with the democratization of this country. A spark born of internal combative impulses that was beamed out via the external angst of punk.

1990 onwards

Since Nelson Mandela's release in 1990 the international stage is once again open to South African artists resulting in a number of interesting developments. One of these is the return of the multinationals. With business once again possible between South Africa and the greater world, major overseas record companies who were previously denied direct involvement here because of restrictions imposed by the cultural boycott have now started returning. This has resulted in them taking back the licensing options that local companies exercised on their behalf during their absence in the Apartheid years. The significance of this move, is that after many years of sitting back and collecting royalties for managing overseas product, the local companies are now rushing around signing most of the young emerging talent. This is particularly true of the bands. However in response to this a number of artists are looking to emulate overseas music in a hope to transcend South Africa and go international. This is nullifying the positive local impetus set up by the Third Wave's search for identity.

Players of note in the early 90's were Tim Parr, Plagal Cadence, Mark Harris, Nibs van der Spuy, Highway Jam, Dave Goldblum and Dave Leadbetter, amongst others. Those signed to record companies include amongst others Squeal (Tusk), Arapaho (Polygram), Urban Creep (Shifty) and Famous Curtain Trick (EMI). In the period since 1993 other bands that have surfaced are (to name a few) Blind, Just Jinger, Henry Ate, The Usual (not the Third Wave band already mentioned), Amersham, Springbok Nude Girls, Karoo, Wonderboom, Pressure Cookies, Scooters Union, Turquoise and the Blues Brothers. Many of these bands are using musical elements that they take directly from the grunge genre that surfaced in the American city of Seattle in 1987 (Charlton, 1990: 287). Others like Squeal use a decidedly British influence. While there is a wealth of original talent around, the gazing overseas for impulse is a telling indication that we still have a way to go in establishing our own sound. The fact that there are now artists as diverse as Mirium Erasmus and her First Wave folk, to Bill Knight and his Third Wave Kaapse Blues concurrent in the same wave, indicates how much these Four Waves have

overlapped each other. Another thing is that none of the bands seem discontented enough to be writing anything resembling protest.

That most of the bands just mentioned are recorded and 'out there' testifies to the interest in and support for local music at the moment. Rob Boake's thesis (1994) illuminates the gap in communication and expectation that separates the industry and the musician. Considering the industry's dismal record in supporting local music, the fact that these bands are getting signed at all is reason to rejoice. However, compare the over \$300,000 that RCA spent on unknown singer Whitney Houston's 1984 debut album *Whitney Houston* (Dannen, 1990: 250-251) to the meager R50,000 'tops' budget that is allocated for an album in South Africa, and one gets an idea of why there are no South African artists on the international charts. They just cannot compete. If South African artists had access to the sort of budget just mentioned, there is no doubt that they very soon would be.

Many of the artists I interviewed feel that something radical needs to take place. Ken Henson says that South African music needs the same business and public support that sport is currently enjoying (1997). Money needs to come into the equation on a serious basis. Artists (like myself) who are compelled to release their music through independent means are severely disadvantaged. Currently this manner of doing it is the fastest growing way that local bands are getting their music to the market. Joe Theron the publisher of *Hustler* magazine in South Africa has just got involved in the financing and marketing of the band Flying Circus' first CD. Quoted in the September 30, 1997 edition of the *The Daily News*, Theron says that:

In this country the budgets record companies set for establishing bands are far too small. You've got to invest, at the very minimum, two million into a band before you can even think of cracking them overseas.

Whether Theron will spend that kind of money remains to be seen. What is encouraging is that someone in the business world has come out and put money on the table. South African music needs the expertise and finance that exists in the corporate world if it is ever to compete. The question of identity that I have kept in mind throughout this paper is definable not just in the cultural appropriation that is made in

pursuit of that identity, but also in the confidence that builds and grows with accompanying support and affirmation. By this I mean that South African musicians need to feel through the unqualified support of an industry and a public that they are world class and worthy of backing. The rest is just money. We also need to rekindle those specific 'inward' impulses that filled rugby stadiums with support back in the 1980's.

In concluding this chapter, it can be said that the First Wave was enacted during a time when industry support was at its most forthcoming. Further, that the Second Wave was played out beneath an ideological umbrella of state-manipulated fantasy. The Third Wave, by rattling the cage bars, secured for itself a unique place in the history of South African music. Although too early to tell, it seems that the Fourth Wave will continue to glance overseas for its stimulus, not just in the interests of appropriating a style for the sake of change, but to appease an industry interdependently connected to wider world trends.

My use of the term 'folk' when referring to South African white English popular music in its broadest sense is qualified by an indisputable fact. The bulk of artists mentioned throughout this chapter has performed, or still do perform, or have interaction with the broad folk process as it is. Therefore, my position is that in a country like South Africa the opportunities are far too limited; we're too small a population with too large a need in infrastructure to avoid the interbreeding of musical styles. This is the fundamental underlying nexus that musically binds us together as whites. In the following chapter I shift the focus to the microcosm of the folk process itself where evidence is locatable of how fluid the boundaries between musicians in this country really are.

FOLK PROCESS

Jazz, Rock, Classical, Traditional music and musicians all have their specific outlets: concert halls, clubs, cabaret, stadiums and media....the record companies and the SABC....where do the songwriters go? (Marks, 1996: 4)

To answer the question that folk legend David Marks poses, this chapter sets itself the central task of revealing and illuminating precisely where songwriters in South Africa have been going for the past 40 years. The inference in the question is that songwriters have traditionally been marginally catered for in the broader matrix of cultural networking and infrastructural support. Marks is right on that score. Songwriters and musicians in South Africa have been internally constrained by the blindness of an industry unwilling to invest in local talent, and an audience that is unconditionally judgmental in its view of local music. The dearth of established white South African artists able to fully sustain their livelihoods out of music attests to this (Boake, 1994).

Additionally, there have been external constraints, such as the cultural boycott and international isolation up until the early 90's. Now that the wider world is more accessible, local songwriters wishing to escape the internal impasse just mentioned are finding themselves constrained by the market-related demand for their music to conform to international trends. In answer to the opening question then, this chapter focuses on where South African songwriters and musicians have been going since 1960 in a bid to overcome these constraints. It is therefore about the 'network' that has enabled and facilitated the hearing of their voices during a time when very few options were open to them. As such, it takes note of the people, places and events (past and present) that constitutes that network. It is about the 'folk process'.

For our purposes here, the first task is to extract an understanding of what the 'folk process' actually is. Because it is interpreted differently, it will be beneficial to hear what others say regarding its meaning.

In the following quote, folklorist Sarah Lifton presents an English view of the 'process'. Attempting to answer the question of what folk music is, she says:

Nineteenth-century scholars identified it as the songs and tunes of largely isolated, rural populations. The music was transmitted through oral tradition, it was unauthored, and it changed over time and distance as succeeding generations and neighboring communities adapted it to fit their needs, through what has come to be called the 'folk process' (Lifton, 1983: 1).

My deduction from the above, is that Lifton's definition of what constitutes 'process', is linked to the transformation to the music through change as it moves through society. In this sense she's displaying the concerns that were noted about the English folk movement prior in this paper; namely concern over classification and cultural heritage.

On the other hand, the American use of the word 'process' contrasts with this. Speaking of the role that *Sing Out!* magazine played in the 'revival', Josh Dunson says:

It was the only folk-song magazine with national distribution and it commanded the respect of the growing numbers who were finding pleasure and self-expression through playing the guitar, banjo or autoharp, and writing their thoughts on everything from love to the bomb. In the 1950's, the principle outlet for new songs by unknown young writers was a section in *Sing Out!* called the 'Folk Process'. Only parodies of well-known folk and pop tunes could be printed, because of the lack of musical notation (Dunson, 1965: 44-45).

This tells me that the American use of 'process' went towards encouraging transformation, rather than being perturbed by its occurrence. That *Sing Out!* Editor-in-chief Irwin Silber was a communist (Denisoff, 1971: 193-197), suggests to me that the column in *Sing Out!* provided a space from-which the movement's proletarian foot soldier could add his individual voice to the collective Utopian struggle. Restricting submissions to parodies of known songs was itself a statement of protest. This had been an early Wobbly strategy. Therefore 'process' in this instance, formed part and parcel of the movement's broader totalization process. The similarity between the two is that both were used in the maintenance of their respective ideologies. With the British it is in their concern with maintaining tradition in the face of change. With the American left-wing folk movement, it is in the concern with solidarity; with maintaining the momentum of the collective socialist ideal.

For the purpose here, 'process' will encompass the entire 'performance' of folk sub-cultural activity. I view the folk fraternity as an entity perpetually interacting within itself and with the wider world at large. This definition accounts for all infrastructural or support institutions that contribute to the perpetuation of folk music, including artists, clubs, media and the music industry. Therefore, in the context of this paper, 'folk process' relates to the network that perpetuates the folk movement in South Africa. Neither the English nor the American use of the term applies here. In South Africa there is no 'folk heritage' to preserve. The collective ideological voice that needs to be bolstered has yet to be discerned in this recent post-apartheid time. The peculiarities and tensions caused by 30 years of political repression and international isolation are only discernable when the focus shifts from the general to the particular.

The Folk Club

Since the early days of folk music in Johannesburg recounted in the previous chapter, the movement quickly spread to all of the major cities in South Africa. What follows is a brief mention of the main clubs (past and present) that have been a part of folk history in this country.

South African Folk Music Association (SAFMA)

Formed in 1964 by Des and Dawn Lindberg, Keith Blundell and others (Andersson, 1981: 114, Trehwela, 1980: 72), SAFMA became the governing body for all of the clubs that followed. Speaking in the middle 60's, chairman Ben Segal had this to say:

The South African Folk Music Association is a non-commercial organisation devoted to the fostering of Folk Music in Southern Africa. Its aims are to establish and maintain a grant for research into South African folk music; to establish a library for the collection of folk music; to promote National Folk Festivals annually and to promote general public interest in folk music and folklore (Segal, 1966: Liner Notes).

Additionally, it operated several venues in Johannesburg, most notably *The Troubadour*, *Night Beat* and later *The Chelsea* in Hillbrow. Apart from running these venues, SAFMA also conducted fortnightly workshops in music tuition, songwriting and stage performance. This strong desire to preserve and teach is substantiated by the Association's 1967 release of an album of songs collected by British folklorist Brian Bebbington. The recording of SAFMA's first festival that was mentioned in the last chapter was one of numerous compilation albums they released. These include 'SAFMA 3' (1968), 'SAFMA 6' (1971) and the recording of the first 'Free Peoples Concert' at Wits University, SAFMA 7 (1972). Other notable festivals in SAFMA history, were the '8th National Folk Festival' which took place from 7 to 17 December 1972 on a farm at Rivonia outside Johannesburg, and the '9th National Folk Festival' from 13 to 22 September 1973, held at the Oxford Hotel in Johannesburg. By 1976, the combined effect of the disco craze and a lack of public and Committee interest forced SAFMA to cease operation.

Natal Folk Music Association (NAFMA)

At the instigation of David Marks, NAFMA was formed in 1966 at a meeting held in Durban's Astra Hotel. Present were David Marks, John Dennen, Andy Dillon and 'Ginger' Seipp (Marks, 1997). The club's constitution, objectives and system of operation were adopted from the SAFMA parent body. These included weekly evening concerts, an annual festival, workshop activities and open charity work. The first festival took place at the old Y.M.C.A. hall (now the Royal Hotel parking garage) in 1968. Apart from this, NAFMA devised many 'shows' that were produced between 1970 and 1973. These included 'Folkways' (1969), 'Seven Good Reasons' (1970), 'Folk With Friends' (1971) and 'Country Folk' (1973). These shows all featured sketches, skits and songs, some solo, some group, very similar to the 'hootenannies' already noted. Famous NAFMA club venues include The Twelve Gods (late 60's), Cock-a-tiel (1970/71), Mr, Dinty's (1972), The Fairhaven Hotel (1973-4) and the best of all, the Westville 'Garage' (1975-6) where British group Magna Carta played during their 1975 tour of South Africa.

Besides these club activities, NAFMA contributed an annual donation to the International Library of African Music in Roodepoort that Dr. Hugh Tracey ran at the time. From my recollections as a NAFMA Committee member, this amounted to R250 annually; quite a sizeable sum back in those days. Additionally, NAFMA made annual donations of three music bursaries to students at universities in Natal. Two were given each year to the University of Natal, Durban, and one to the University of Durban-Westville. As an article by Owen Coetzer in the Daily News on 19 July 1973 attests, raising funds to meet these two objectives was a high profile club activity. Sadly, as was the case in Johannesburg, NAFMA was forced to dissolve. The combined influence of Committee miss-management, lack of public support, and the advent of punk rock, saw to the closing of the club in 1978/79.

The Four Winds Folk Club

Formed in Port Elizabeth in 1970, the Four Winds club likewise became affiliated to SAFMA, adopting its methods of operation. According to music journalist and former Four Winds member Richard Haslop (1997), the British influence was even more

pronounced here than in Durban. Besides adopting the structural characteristics like Committees and constitution, members of Four Winds were more likely to be found interpreting English traditional music at weekly gatherings, than the music of the American 'revival'. The most famous and fondly remembered venue in Four Winds' history was undoubtedly 'The Barn'. Situated on someone's farm in the Kraggakamma area of Port Elizabeth, the venue operated from 1972 to 1975 and enjoyed the reputation of being a venue that was spoken of all over the country (Haslop, 1997). The annual festivals were initially held in the Humeral Hall in Humewood from 1973 to the late 80's during the month of May, since which they have been held in early January of each year at the Manville open-air theatre in St. George's Park. It is now the longest established folk club in South Africa, and continues to function and flourish.

Cape Town

The original Cape Town Folk Club that existed in the late 60's had faded by 1975, and in its place, the Barley Corn Folk Club was formed in 1977. As with Port Elizabeth, the emphasis was on British folk music, and this is not surprising, as many of the people who set the new club up had migrated to Cape Town from Port Elizabeth in the early 70's. Institutionally, the club followed the British model in its use of administrative procedures. By the late 80's, certain debates within the club surrounding the issue of the word 'folk', forced the Committee to reconsider its use in the club's name. Basically, people felt that the growing musical eclecticism evident at club evenings warranted considering a change. This was adopted, and the club was renamed The BarleyCorn Music Club. The club presently holds its weekly concerts on Monday evenings at the Constantia Nek Hotel, while its annual festival is held in March at the open-air Shakespearean theatre in Maynardville. The Barley Corn Folk Club continues to remain a strong force in South African folk music

East London

The folk scene in East London has always been governed by availability of both administrative people and musicians. The original East London Folk Club folded in the 70's, due to the exodus of key club personnel who migrated to Cape Town and Port

Elizabeth. Since the 80's there has been a resurgence of interest, resulting in the formation of The String and Whistle Folk Club in 1990. They meet weekly, but have yet to hold a festival. It is a very strong, well-supported club at the moment, with a healthy band of local musicians who play regularly. Additionally, there is the movement of musicians passing through East London from other centres who stop to play at the club.

Buskers Folk Club

The club was started in Randburg, Johannesburg in 1986, soon growing to a sizable concern. It has sent representatives to all of the major festivals since then, and also encouraged the re-emergence of former folk artists like Colin Shamley, who joined their Committee in 1993. The club has held several festivals, including the October 1987 open-air festival that featured Jeremy Taylor. Since then, the club has splintered into two factions; the more conservative element leaving to form a new club called T.J.'s Folk Club, which meets every Thursday evening at the Sans Souci Hotel in Johannesburg. The remaining faction has changed the name of the club to Buskers Original Music Club. It now accepts no membership and has dispensed with the formality of a rigid constitution. Gail Mortisson (1997), the club's main organizer, tells me the change was to accommodate the different styles of music that was coming through the door. The club operates every Monday evening out of 'Wings' rock club in Braamfontein.

Folk And Acoustic Music Association (FACMA)

The original Maritzburg Folk Club that had started in Pietermaritburg in 1982 was dissolved in the formation of FACMA. Once again the issue of name was the reason. From its early days at the Polo Pony Tavern, the club has moved several times. It currently meets weekly on a Monday at the Plaka Tavern. During the late 80's, FACMA co-produced a few festivals with the Durban Folk Club up at the Valley of a Thousand Hills Hotel. They also perform a vital function at the annual 'Splashy Fen Festival', by running the on-stage activities and sound of the Amphitheatre stage.

Currently, there are a number of new small independent clubs that are springing up in many parts of the country. Examples of this are T.J.'s, already mentioned, The

Boksburg Folk Club which meets at the Ramblers, and Charlie's Folk Club at Warner Beach, Natal south coast. Charlie's is indicative of the style being adopted by these clubs. The owner, Vernon Malyon, models his evening structure on the pattern used in the established clubs, such as in Durban, except he has no Committee, no constitution, and therefore none of the constraints of an elected official. He does offer membership, the benefit of which is cheaper access to the venue and price of alcohol.

In addition to the above, The Pretoria Guitar Club, which formed in 1965 and closed in the 70's was a strong force in early folk history. The Rhodes Folk Music Society in Grahamstown that was in operation from 1965 to 1979 also deserves a mention. As does the Mandini Folk Club, that ran for a few years in the early 70's in .

The Durban Folk Club (DFC)

The DFC was started in 1986 through the efforts of British-born folk musician Miriam Erasmus, who had abandoned a professional career in England to come out to South Africa and get married. After meeting musician Fiona Tozer, the two of them set about forming a club where they could essentially play. Consequently, the Durban Folk Club was officially inaugurated with a newly drafted constitution, at the home of Miriam and John Erasmus, on 19 February 1986 (Tozer, 1996).

The Blue Waters Hotel on north beach was the first venue of the DFC. It consisted of a function room that had its fair share of acoustical problems. Subsequently, the club moved across town in 1988, to the intimate 'Churchill Room' at the Hotel Winston in Glenwood. This was a superb little room, with the most amazing natural acoustics. Soon the venue got too small. The club was growing rapidly, riding on the interest that the public seemed to be expressing towards acoustic music, after the emergence of Tracey Chapman, Tanita Tikarim and Susan Vega, to name a few.

The inevitable move was to the le Plaza Hotel in the city centre, co-owned by NAFMA stalwart Ian Lindsay. The club first used the downstairs bar that opened up on

to the street, before moving upstairs to the first floor in the early 90's. The DFC presently holds the Monday night concerts at the Bat Centre, on the Victoria Embankment. However, because of certain restrictions now being imposed on parking at the venue, there is an argument that the club should move. Gill Thomson, the present chairperson, assures me that the real reason behind the argument to move, is that the majority of the Committee believe a smaller venue will deter the present spate of rock band use of the folk club (Thomson, 1997).

In the task that follows, I outline how the folk club contributes to the 'folk process', focusing on its governing structures, its activities, and its members. By means of structured interviews and a preset questionnaire, I take note of what musicians and members perceive the function of the DFC to be. With respect to the questionnaire, I acknowledge having adapted the model that Robert Walser devised for part of his seminal study of heavy metal, *Running With The Devil: Power, Gender, and Madness in Heavy Metal Music* (1993). His excellent assessment of this often-misunderstood genre was highly useful in determining how I would approach my particular task.

Club Governance

The Constitution of the DFC is a curious document that says very little about music. In fact the word music only appears once, in clause two, when the club's aims are stated. Otherwise, the innocuous document could apply to any amateur non-profit organization. Apart from stating that the club's objective is to promote the appreciation and performance of folk music in its broadest sense, the document is a five-page example of how to carry on passive administration. Granted, if there is the need is for a constitution, spelling out what the duties of office bearers are, what financial system will be used and what plans will eventuate should the club dissolve, are aspects that are important, and should be included. However, to mention music only once, suggests to me that the DFC constitution is deficient on two fundamental counts.

Firstly, the document makes no provision for what the club's musical functions will be. The aims of the club are not clearly defined. There is therefore no obligation on the part of the Committee to do anything but let the club tick over. Secondly, there is no mention of making an active effort to fulfill the club's mandate. By active I mean that documenting, preserving, and even commercially promoting folk music should be considered as strategies in ensuring the music's perpetuation.

The Committee consists of a Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer and office bearers. These are volunteers, duly elected each year at the club's Annual General Meeting. The DFC Committee for 1997 is Gill Thomson (Chairman), Hope Terblanche (Secretary), Tracy Willmers (Treasurer), Colin Hull (Rosters), Bruce Johnson (Talent Scout), Carol Brown (Memberships), Fiona Tozer (Publicity), Mozzy De Fleuriot (Sound), Bernard Allen-Brown (P.R.O.) and Tammi Harding (Newsletter). Each of these portfolios has a different workload and responsibility, therefore a different tension. By this, it is meant that each role carries a separate significance, and with it, a separate sense of power.

I have a few observations that emanate out of my experiences serving on folk club Committees, including the DFC. The first is that, due to the disparity in size of workload between portfolios, a polarization always materializes between those who perceive they

are doing too much and those who are perceived to not be doing enough. I am assured that this is true of the current Committee as well (Thomson, 1997). Secondly, that the voluntary nature of Committee work encourages this situation. People are not accountable, therefore are not committed. They are on the Committee for ulterior motives. Thirdly, that this voluntary aspect is constantly thrown up as an excuse, when either people are accused of not playing their part satisfactorily, or if a new suggestion is made that requires additional time or input from a member over and above what is already being given. Finally, that this situation is constantly sidelined and avoided because of the voluntary nature of the folk club Committee. People would rather defer the problem to those who will be elected next year. So the problem remains, and the Constitutional mandate moves no further than the edge of the page. I must confess to a metaphorical view of the DFC organizational structure, as akin to a bus that changes drivers every year, yet never moves beyond the stationary idling stage. It just never goes anywhere.

Club Activities

Monday nights at the Bat Centre are structured in a similar way to most folk clubs around the country. There is a guest 'feature artist' who plays for approximately an hour, usually just after the intermission. The standard of this musician will range from Steve Newman passing through, to one of the club members or groups deemed worthy by the Committee of a feature, to straight-ahead rock bands. The Committee, who books artists weeks in advance, undertakes this process of 'feature artist' selection. The 'feature artist' is paid half of the door takings. Prior to the main guest, there is usually an assortment of non-established local musicians who take the proceedings to the interval. Some of these have talent and show potential. They normally play three or four songs each, and are not paid. After intermission the presentation of a bottle of alcohol takes place to the lucky ticket number drawn from a hat, after which the 'feature artist' plays. Once the main attraction is finished, the stage is given over to those musicians who arrived too late to get their name on to the evenings play list. Alternatively, a 'jam' session develops. The club Committee member assigned to MC duty oversees the entire proceedings

I make several observations from the DFC evenings. Firstly, that the function of the club as a platform for emerging talent is greatly stifled by the rigidity of its working system. Young musicians cannot just arrive and play. Granted, there is a window period early in the evening when people not scheduled may put their names forward to play, but it is never widely advertised. The weekly press submission to the newspapers never requests that new talent wanting to play should arrive before any given time. Therefore, although setting strict rules regarding the playing roster might expedite the workload of Committee members (in that it allows them to work once every six weeks in setting the schedule), it is not conducive to encouraging people to come forward.

The same applies in connection to visiting 'professionals', only more so. Artists like Steve Newman or Tony Cox have to book themselves in to the DFC roster well in advance. It could be argued that this is the way things operate across the board in the professional world; from rock clubs to stadiums, artists are booked well in advance. I have no argument with this. What is strange though, is how often inflexibility surfaces

when someone arrives unexpectedly. This is not a DFC problem alone. It has happened to me at Buskers, at FACMA and at the DFC. The reaction is, 'we'll have to ask so and so whether they'll allow you to take their slot'. In this, the rigidity impedes, rather than encourages. It does not allow for the spontaneity that used to be so inherent in folk.

Secondly, the problem of noise that keeps dividing people. Ever since the renaissance of the folk scene in the 80's, the one major difference between what emerged and what used to be, is the noise that the audience makes while musicians are playing. At NAFMA evenings, it was possible to hear a pin drop whenever anyone was on stage. In those days, there were three factors that contributed to this. The first is that there was no amplification at some of the venues, and very little at the rest. No-one used the state-of-the-art pick-ups that are fitted to guitars today. No-one had invented them. The second factor is the commitment of the audience to the club. The crowds at NAFMA evenings were predominantly paid-up club members. This is not the case with the DFC (Thomson, 1997). Their cash flow statement for 1995/96 shows the difference. Total door takings for 1995 amounted to R3, 276 for members, and R21, 275.60 for non-members. Similarly, in 1996, R5, 161.50 was taken from members, and R22, 668 from non-members. Clearly, non-members make up the majority of the DFC audience. The third factor to noise is the club location. Traditionally this was the intimacy of the coffee bar. Today the venues are pubs and the like, where the *rationale* is alcohol consumption and its concomitant noise level.

What results from this, is that certain club and Committee members eternally hark after the good old days, and, as in the present Funky's debate, look to push the club in that direction. This is true of Ian Lindsay, who says that he would hate to see the club 'just grow for growth's sake' (1997). On the other hand, others like Colin Hull believe that the club should continue to grow irrespective of what kind of music is precipitating that growth. He views rock bands at the folk club as a positive thing (Hull, 1997). Both of these views circulate freely amongst the folk fraternity. The reason that Buskers, Barleycorn and FACMA each made alterations to their respective club names, is that the opinion of the pro-change faction triumphed over that of the conservative element

Workshops, social and charity events are other long-time activities that folk clubs undertake. The DFC is extremely active in all three, but more so regarding the last two. With regard to workshops, they are normally held when there is an available person to conduct one, as happens when Steve Newman comes to Durban. Additionally, they are held out of necessity, such as towards improving members' performance techniques on stage, or to recruit and train people as learner sound technicians for use at club activities. They are not normally well attended. Charity functions on the other hand, perform the two-fold service of contributing to the community, and publicizing the DFC. A hard core of regular members usually plays at these events, including the group Bona Fide, Fiona Tozer, Roz Thomson and Jason Tonkin amongst others. Social events are held every month at one of the members' homes, and usually consist of a braai. These are never well attended, mainly because they are 'member' activities, and with only ninety-seven members in 1996, the DFC does not have very many (Thomson, 1997). This is particularly interesting in relation to the role that the DFC plays, and the amount of people who pass through its doors.

Before proceeding to the views of the people who were interviewed and who completed the questionnaire, I will shift the study's focus to the festival arena. Issues pertaining to both the 'folk club' and the 'folk festival' overlapped in my conversations with many who were interviewed, therefore it seems logical to take note of this activity prior to hearing what they think.

The Folk Festival

My study will focus on the 'Splashy Fen Music Festival' for two main reasons. The first is that I have been a feature artist at every one since its inception, therefore feel suitably comfortable commenting on the event. Secondly, although there are other festivals in the country that are equally as successful and influential as 'Splashy Fen', and therefore worthy of serious comment, 'Splashy Fen' remains the premier event on the South African folk calendar, and therefore a suitable choice. Festivals like the 'Opikopi Festival of Rock' that takes place on a farm just north of Sun City each year in August are now extremely popular with both bands and audiences. Another one is 'The Rustler's Valley Music Festival' that takes place in March each year on a farm in the Ficksburg area. Yet another is the annual July 'Grahamstown Arts Festival'. All three are significant events.

Splashy Fen Music Festival

Bart Fokkens, a former conservationist with the Natal Parks Board, and Peter Ferraz, a former British journalist living with his wife in the Underberg area, started the festival in 1990 on the Ferraz farm 'Splashy Fen'. From the outset, they enlisted the services of David Marks to do the sound, and also, from the second event in May 1991 onwards, to book the artists and put the program together as well. After a crowd of eight hundred in 1990, the festival grew steadily for the first three years, before it started to take off in 1993 as people in Durban and surrounds realized that it had come to stay. By then, Fokkens and Ferraz were making some serious money.

In the format and way the festival proceeds, David Marks has adapted numerous ideas from both the 'Newport Folk Festival' in America, and the 'Cambridge Folk Festival' in England. These include the 'Newport' policy adopted at its inception in 1959, of featuring indigenous music alongside everything else on the program (Vassal, 1976: 38). David has been doing this ever since the early 'Free People's Concerts' at Wits. At 'Splashy' he always juxtaposes traditional African music with white music. Maskanda guitarist Madala Kunene's appearance at the 1997 event, sandwiched on the bill, between

singer/songwriter Gavin Weeks, and blues exponent Richard Haslop, attests to this tendency. The other characteristic of Newport (and most other festivals around the world now) that David has always used is the presence of stalls that sell food, alcohol, clothing, crafts and anything else of interest. At 'Splashy Fen' the stalls keep over eight thousand people fed and content. The event is the highlight of the year for many people in the area who run these stalls, as well as artists who travel to the festival to sell their wares. From 'Cambridge', David has adopted the concept of a multi-stage arrangement. Apart from the main marquee that operates in the evenings and caters for rock bands, there is the Amphitheater stage in the valley that is used during the day by the more laid-back acts. Additionally, since 1995, a 'free stage' has been included, which caters for anyone who wants to play. Each stage is operated by a different set of personnel. Some are professional, as in the Sound Co. that runs the marquee, while the rest are drawn from the different folk clubs. This is another 'Cambridge' feature (Laing/Newman, 1994: 155).

Turning to the performers and what their deal entails, it should be noted that David negotiates with everyone on an individual basis. Each entertainer is required to sign a contract before the event. My salary for twenty-five minutes' work this year was R800 plus travel costs. I was offered accommodation should I need it, plus my partner was given free entry as well. Performers are given a cheque that is post-dated to the Wednesday following the concert. Travel costs are paid in cash after the performance. Concerning what some people earn in a whole month, it is a reasonable deal. Performers, who have merchandise such as CD's and T-shirts for sale, are requested to leave them with the 'Festival Site Tent' where the items are sold on their behalf.

Since 1994 there has been a small international presence at each 'Splashy Fen'. This resulted from a sponsorship deal that was struck between the festival organizers and First National Bank, Washburn Guitars and Out and About (camping gear) amongst others, that stipulated an international act as part of the deal. In 1994 it was Shawn Phillips, in 1995 The River Detectives, in 1996 Slider McGee & The Mouth Modules and in 1977, Brice Wassy from Cameroon and The Global Trucking Co. from Canada. Some of these sponsors have since pulled out of the agreement (Fokkens, 1997).

The Folk Forum

In my conclusion to this chapter, I am concerned with what the people who interact in the 'folk process' and keep it alive have to say. Their views are sought on a number of issues that have been raised thus far, and in the interests of extracting their opinions, a dialogue follows between what has been said here, and what these views are. The issues I isolate are the perception of the broad 'folk process' as it functions, the opinion of the direction that the 'process' is taking, and the thoughts on the position of 'folk music' in the context that has been expressed here.

How's it doing?

Most people spoken to believe that there is a need for a folk club in the community. They merely differ on what sort of folk club that should be. Roger Lucey, who has never served on any folk club committees during his years in the business, believes that they are 'absolutely necessary to the struggling singer/songwriter' (1996). He continues:

My early days at NAFMA, playing at the Fairhaven and the Garage, gave me the experience that I needed as a performer. Even though most of the people seemed so straight and conservative, playing to an audience was important (Lucey, 1996).

Similarly Ken Henson, who has been a folk/rocker since the 60's, first with Freedom's Children and Abstract Truth, and later in the 70's with Brian Finch, believes that the folk scene is important. So he should, considering what he's gained from it.

I got into Dylan when I was about fourteen years old. Much later I met Dave (Marks) at the 'Totum' club in Durban where Brian (Gibson) and Brian (Finch) were playing. He introduced me to Mike Dickman, and other folk people. He also got Brian and me the deal with WEA (Henson, 1997).

Indeed, Paul Clingman (1997), Mike Green (1997), Edi Nederlander (1997), Pete Van Heerden (1996) and Keith Cattell (1996) all expressed similar views that folk clubs and what they do are vital to the development of the songwriter. All of them were reasonably satisfied with the way things are. Pete Van Heerden serves on the Barleycorn Committee, so is still actively involved with the topic from an internal level. It is a middle-ground view.

Another view is that the club is not doing enough. David Marks explains:

The DFC hasn't got the right to call itself a 'folk club'. What are they doing about documenting the music? At least Gail Mortisson [Buskers] is trying to do something up there. They [the DFC] should just change their name to The Durban Music Club, and leave the word 'folk' alone. They're just keeping the door open (Marks, 1997).

Although I don't fully endorse Marks' folklorist point of view, I do agree with him on the last point. The DFC, in my opinion, is a social club that serves the egos of certain people. There is no real effort to truly promote folk music. The club members are content to sit back and give the idling engine a little petrol every now and then, but that is the extent of it.

In answer to these criticisms are a number of voices who see things very differently. Ex-Chairman Vic Shultze believes that 'the club mustn't function as an agent that runs after musicians' (1997). Ian Lindsay is 'quite happy with keeping things as they are', although he 'is a bit concerned about certain things at present, like the rock bands' (1997). Fiona Tozer also throws her weight behind the DFC. She would like to see more unity between the clubs 'so as to further promote folk music' (Tozer, 1997), but seemed not to do much about that when she was chairman.

The issues surrounding 'Splashy Fen' are equally as polarized. Musicians like Ken Henson, Mirium Erasmus, Rhys Johnstone and Chris Letcher (all 1997) feel that the money they earn is not in proportion to what is being generated at the gate and beyond. On the other hand, Bart Fokkens has another view. He says that 'if musicians don't like it, they know what they can do' (Fokkens, 1997). That there are legions of young bands and musicians wanting to play there at any cost strengthens his position. The Cox and Newman saga is proof of that position. Madala Kunene invariably complains about having to firstly get paid by cheque, and secondly having to wait for the money. Naturally most of the complaining is coming from the professional contingent in the folk fraternity. The amateur folk club player is quite content with what he is earning. Another professional gripe, is the merchandising rule. Most want to be able to sell their CD's anywhere on the farm. This might appear trivial, but its preferred to have the

product available when there is maximum interest in you (as you walk off stage), and not have to tell people who request your CD that they need to walk a kilometer to buy one.

Another perception of 'Splashy Fen' is that not much is being done with respect to documenting the event. David Marks is critical of this (1997). When thoughts turn to Newport, and the profit that started to accrue there, we learn that the 'Newport Folk Foundation's' first task 'was to re-invest these considerable sums in projects that would be profitable to folk music in general' (Vassal, 1976: 105). Not profiteer off the musicians who are responsible for the people being there in the first place. Clearly, Bart Fokkens and Peter Ferraz are perceived as not really putting anything back.

Where's it going?

The biggest division here is between those wanting to see folk music as a more acceptable genre in the public eye, and those terrified of change. While jazz is still regarded by many people as being a sub-cultural, dangerous music, much has been done to improve its profile and standing in the music business. It has radio shows, TV shows, is featured on the Grahamstown Festival; in short, is established in the minds of both public and sponsors alike. Many of us ask why this does not happen in folk music. Once again, those asking happen to be the professionals, looking for something more than what is provided for.

The conservative counter-argument is always that the club's function is not to provide musicians with a livelihood (Schultze, 1997). My question then is what 'is' the club's function? Is there not a connection between the preservation of folk songs and the preservation of folk singers that is being overlooked? In the context of urban folk music as applicable to this paper, is there not a moral responsibility on the part of the movement (given its heritage) to provide for its proletarian foot soldier? Those who always resist any mention of this are the amateurs, who suppose that their middle-ground world will drastically alter with the advent of the slightest hint of professionalism. The difference between South Africa, America and England with respect to this amateur/professional division is interesting. In reacting to commercialism in the late 50's, the American left

adopted an eventual middle ground to protect its sovereignty against a rightly perceived threat to its influence. In England, the division occurred because the sanctity of the village was transgressed by commercial influences from without that caused people to assume new class identities. By turning professional, the village singer became an instant 'outsider' because of the perception that a class distinction had been challenged. Therefore in England, the defense of the middle ground was in maintenance of tradition and identity. In South Africa, the defense of the middle ground is to ensure the *status quo*. The threat to power and position is the motivating force that maintains the division.

Who goes there?

The folk audience has always been an odd bunch. David Marks says that the folk scene is a direct result of apartheid (Marks, 1994). Because of restrictions imposed by the government, people who would not normally have had anything in common gravitated to the only space available to them. My questionnaire reveals that the new folk audience is highly conservative, does not belong to the DFC, and is mainly white, male and over thirty-five years old. Most of the people who filled out my form do not read folk magazines, listen to much folk music outside of DFC activities, or even have an interest in playing an instrument. I deduced from all of the forms returned, that the DFC audience of today differs in two respects from the audiences that supported NAFMA. Firstly, NAFMA audiences were extremely well-informed about the folk movement, its aims, and its music. Secondly, they were committed enough to join the organization.

What's its name?

The Chairman of the DFC had this to say in 1990 about the term 'folk':

Many people are confused by the term 'folk' music, feeling that it relates only to the music of Bob Dylan, Joan Baez and the like. Anyone who has attended a club meeting of the Durban Folk Club will know that nothing could be further from the truth; and today's concert is aimed at creating an awareness that folk music is alive and well in Durban today, covering a wide range of musical styles and forms. 'Folk' music is, after all, the music of the folk, and that's you and me.
(Raftery, 1990)

What is of interest in the above statement is that the DFC supposedly embraces all kinds of music in its definition of 'folk'. Why there is such a resistance to the abolishment of the word remains then the mystery. If the club was truly so tolerant of other music, why defend the word so vehemently over so long a period? That folk clubs in Johannesburg, Cape Town and even little Pietermaritzburg have changed their name means that something is going on. The public wants a change. Potential sponsors want a change. Certainly Ken Henson is longing for change when he says that South African music, like sport, needs the intervention of big business to make it a world force (Henson, 1997). Folk needs to follow what has been done with cities, buildings and streets in South Africa since transformation, and rename itself something more in touch with the new millenium. In England at present, folk and the music now known as 'World' music (Graham, 1992: 13-14) are becoming increasingly inseparable and are known simply now as 'Roots' music. Maybe 'Big Bill Broonzy' was looking ahead and addressing the DFC when he said:

'I guess all songs is folk songs, leastways I never heard no horse sing 'em'.
(Greig, 1973)

POSTSCRIPT

This paper has shown that South African folk musicians have appropriated both American and British stylistic influences and folk institutional characteristics in their assembly of a folk identity. During the course of this, a network of affiliations has been established, that has resulted in the movement's perpetuation over time. The determining factor in this perpetuation is the negotiated dialectical relationship between the different participants as they interact with each other in the 'folk process'.

This paper has also shown that the minor status of folk music within South African popular music does not account for the consistent contribution that the 'folk process' plays in the lives of many musicians, both folk and other. That rock musicians, who also use the 'folk process' as a vehicle through which to speak, appropriate its musical properties, contradicts this view of 'folk' as inconsequential. Musicians like Steve Newman earn their livelihoods travelling the breadth of the country plugging into this 'process'. Therefore Steve Newman is compelled to maintain a dialogue with the many branches within this network of possibilities. Although he views himself as a 'world musician' (Newman, 1997), unfettered by allegiance to any one movement, Newman is still compelled to base his relationship with this 'process', on the premise of exchange. This exchange is beneficial to him in the business of staying alive. It is also important to the club, because as one of the country's leading guitarists, his presence not only gives credence to their organization, it also inspires their young musicians.

This suggests that the 'performance' enacted out between the many constituents in the 'process', is a negotiated, non-static relationship based on interdependence. South African musicians are constrained and liberated by this interdependence. Their talents become a commodity, something that is exchangeable in the market place. It matters not whether this is in the folk clubs of the country, or in their dealings with the music industry, South African musicians are bound by the market-place strategies that they find themselves in.

Simon Frith speaks of two models that are useful when looking at the relationship between the industry and the musician (Burnett, 1996: 125-129). He calls the first 'the rock'. This is a pyramid-based model in-which the musician enters on the ground level and works his way to the top of the business. A classic example of this would be the Rolling Stones. After entering the pyramid in the early 60's, they are now one of the world's most popular groups in terms of sales and concert tours. After the consolidation of the music industry in the late 80's into five principle players (Dannen, 1990; Grahm, 1992; Burnett, 1996), a new model emerged. Frith calls this 'the pool' (Burnett, 1996: 129). Essentially it is a view of the industry as a pool, with the emerging talent held at bay on the periphery until needed, when that talent is then immediately drawn into the centre through mediation. An example would be Del Los Rios and 'The Macarena'. In South Africa, we can see how this happened to Q Cumba Zoo.

The Q Cumba Zoo story starts at the Durban Folk Club in 1988, where a young Kevin Heydendrich used to sit and gaze at the musicians on the stage. He learnt to play the guitar and soon started playing at the club himself. In 1990 he went to Johannesburg, where he got involved with the Buskers club. He formed a folk trio with two young women in 1991 called Ocean Road which played at the 1992 'Splashy Fen' festival as part of the Buskers' contingent. Fast forward to 1995 and there is a big difference to Ocean Road. They have been signed to David Gresham Records, had their image changed from folk to the dance culture, and acquired a new name, Q Cumba Zoo. The result of this, was that the group's debut album was released in America, where the single 'The child inside' peaked at No. 1 on the American dance charts during the first week of February 1997 ('American Chart Show', TV 2: 1997). From folk club periphery to millionaire, Kevin Heydendrich jumped in the 'pool'.

What happened to Q Cumba Zoo is what every musician in South Africa dreams of. Most would want to do it with the music of their choice, but the reality is that the market place determines that choice. Arguably South Africa's biggest white music export Johnny Clegg is an example of the dilution process at work that Wallis and Malm (1984) speak of. After starting in the Johannesburg folk club playing maskanda Music in 1971,

Clegg found international success using music very different to what he started out with. His move more towards the centre was on condition that he lose most of the regional nuance that made his name in South Africa. For him it was a conscious choice, based on his expectations as an artist. Chris Letcher from Urban Creep definitely wants to 'crack it' (Letcher, 1997). Only he would like to do it with what he's doing now, and not have to go the Q Cumba Zoo route. It's a delicate balance that must be kept between artistic integrity and expectation. Chris Prior says that South African bands need to get more professional (Prior, 1997) before they can expect to compete internationally. Richard Haslop (more cynically) thinks that the international industry's demands for dilution as a means to increase profit, will always ensure that there never can be a South African music (Haslop, 1997). In other words Squeal will only make it internationally if they sound like an international Squeal. Which is exactly what they are trying to do.

Fredric Dannen speaks of the ambitious attitude that Dylan, James Taylor and Paul Simon each displayed in their relationship with the industry (1990: 62-63, 122-123). Each has risen from the folk ashes of the middle 60's to become an international wealthy pop star. In fact, the industry can only partly be blamed for the initial commercialization that took place in folk. The artists themselves were very intent on reaching as many people as possible. Ten minutes in *Woodstock* the movie did more for Ritchie Havens' career, than all of the coffee bar gigs combined that he ever played in Greenwich Village prior to the event. He's been living off that bit of mediation ever since.

South African musicians, whether folk or otherwise, are equally reliant on, and desperate for, the mediated connection that can transport them away from where they are. It is this perpetual yearn for distant gratification that has driven local musicians to appropriate from across the sea. The constraints and lack of support in South Africa, has led them to imagine that there is something better elsewhere. This has been their Utopian ideal. An Utopia that is fueled by the singular 'I', and not the collective 'we'. Which suggests that the original protest ethic that precipitated the American 'revival', either never registered with South African musicians, or never even reached these shores because of the dilution that accompanies mass-mediation.

The 'shifting position' of folk music in the popular music landscape can be noted as having begun when folk converged with rock music in the middle 60's. That this happened at a time when postmodernity surfaced to challenge and begin dismantling the grand narrative is highly significant in my estimation. It begins to explain how folk music has become a fragment in the kaleidoscopic options open to people as they assemble their reality across the world. Its use as a totalizing force in mobilizing the 'collective' ideal of the early 60's, has been supplanted with a new function in the postmodern supermarket of possibilities, where it now serves to 'totalize' the individual 'I'.

In this respect folk elements and characteristics become symbols that are appropriated by people in construction of their own assault on the hegemony that they live under. The particular ideal or Utopian consciousness that triggered the original manifestation, might, in all likelihood, be ignored in the appropriation that they make. Therefore, the South African folk movement can be seen to have always appropriated whatever it needs in the construction of the South African folk experience. It never undertook to carry on the fight for anyone.

English musicologist Phillip Tagg (1994) has suggested that the emergence of the rave culture is indication of the possible advent of a new collective post-individualistic society. His view is that for the first time since the renaissance, popular music is displaying a lack of 'foreground' in what is being created. What he is referring to, is that ever since the renaissance and the rise of humanism, the individual has been positioned prominently in the foreground of art to expressly reflect this rise in human importance. Whether it was humans highlighted against a background in a painting, or the individual soloist contrasting with the accompaniment in a chamber music ensemble, post-renaissance art sought to signify man's new-found perception of himself in the universe. What Tagg is saying, is that there is no central musical figure in rave that stands out. All of the musical participants are presented in an egalitarian way, with the 'collective' nature of the rave event taking precedence over individual importance. Of interest is how this echoes what is seen in the position of folk music in popular music. The way that

folk's influence was negated in its marriage to rock music, is now discernable in rock music's marriage to the computer. The anonymity in rave is seen as correlative to the anonymity in early folk.

Another way to view the disappearance of folk music from popular consciousness is to see it as a positive thing. In being used as a non-credited stylistic influence in the creation of popular music, folk becomes anonymous, the very quality that early radicals on both sides of the Atlantic advocated. In this sense, folk triumphs, its purpose is fulfilled. That traces of folk are found scattered throughout the songs that we now hear would be viewed as a good thing. Folk has entered the postmodern public domain.

I will end with two examples of how the folk totalization process has been transformed over time to serve a new role in the postmodern world. The first concerns Roger Lucey, and in particular, the uses made of his song 'Longeli' during a special television report on the 'Truth and Reconciliation Commission' (TRC, 'Special Report', 1997). Listening to Lucey's song, while images of police brutality were being shown, demonstrated that the protest ethic originally deemed threatening in his music, was now being put to service in focussing on the threat of others. In this, it shows that even the media itself appropriates and builds its own reality. Therefore Roger Lucey's topical protest song about a particular incident, is given over to make sense of an entire epoch.

The other example I would like to speak of took place at the Witswartisrand Botanical Gardens when a group of school children were filmed singing a parody to Pete Seeger's 'Where have all the Flowers gone'. They were expressing concern with the impending extinction of the leopard, should nothing be done about saving them.

This is what they sang to the melody of Pete Seeger's song:

Where have all the leopards gone
Long time passing
Where have all the leopards gone
Long time ago
Where have all the leopards gone
Gone to nowhere everyone
We need to save the world
We are responsible
(‘50/50’,TV2: 1997)

APPENDIX A

Due to space restriction, it was not possible to mention the following folk musicians within the main text of this document. Their position in the appendix in no way diminishes the role that they played. I beg forgiveness of those whom I've omitted through oversight.

NAFMA* DFC * FACMA

Dave King, Dave Coolbear, Tony Hay, Mike Ring, Roy Morris, The Scott Family, Shinnery, Jess Strain, The Kiddles, Don Lawson, Andy Dillon, Alex Carnegie, Isla Corrigan, Wendy Coleman, Hairy Legged Lentil Eaters, Eric Taylor, Christine Henderson, Lay Yesson, Andy Stevenson, Alan Rosenberg, Colin Lahana, Mally Bastion, Len Downing, Richard Walne, Eric Door, Gerry Dennen, Owen Coetzer, Rob Larson, Louis Ribiero, Rob Van Der Linde, Michael Gaza, Brian Benningfield, Steve Fataar, Paul Nijs, Elias Ngidi, Ilan Lax, Sandile Shange, Barnsley Brothers, Nina Geraghty, Goolum Jamal, Dave Smart, Moccasin Charlie's Bluegrass Band, Lee Jones, Sweet Chariot, Round the House, Mike Smith, Mark Harris, Bobby and the Dynamites, Jane Gainsford, Nibs vd Spuy, Fuzzy de Haas, Abo, Mike Mazzoni, Rich Ellis, Lee van den Berg.

SAFMA * Buskers

Theo Coetzee, Muff Shapiro, Virgil Ellis, Herbie and Spence, Nino Rivera, Gaby Lewin, Don Roberts, Gordon Silver, Humphrey, John Weddepohl, Kevin Hinds, Linda Dawson, Neil MacCullum, Leon Rabinowitz, Pete Le Roux, Rob Aitkenhead, Rocky and Yvonne Raath, Maureen England, Mike Sears, Suzie Sklair, Ray Perkel, Kate Jones, Di Williamson, Don Williamson, Sage, El Socarrats, Ronnie Domp, Stan Domp, Les Shill, Lannie Bear, Lynne Marshall, Tim Parr, Troika, Stan James, James Phillips, Dave Large, Waldorf String Band, Mathew van der Want, Uncle John's Band, Brian Litvin, Jonathan Hanley, Vusi Mahlasela, Pierre van Staden.

FWFC * Barleycorn * East London

Silver Creek Mountain Band, Glen Mews, Coastal Brew, Tristan McGee, Blacksmith, Neil Harvey, Keith Cattell, Terence Scarr, Dave Nissen, Dave Goldblum, Clive Davies, Anton Calitz, Alistair Gilles, Martyn Wyatt, Willem Fourie, The Roaches, Dave Leadbetter, Dorian Du Toit, Ed Johnson, Bomvu, James Fourie, Henry and Val Leemans, Paddy Booth-Jones, Dennis Shultz, Rod Dry, Volker Toemer, Bob Denton, Pete Montgomery, Rob Cushman, Roger Cummings, Matt Gibb, Don Temple, George Platt, Charlie Griffin, Stuart Loveday, Ian Sampson, Delene van Aarde, Jim Jamieson.

APPENDIX B

Folk Questionnaire

These questions will assist towards a thesis on the position of folk music within white South African popular music culture. Your help is appreciated.

1. How long have you been listening to folk music? _____ years

2. How many hours a day do you listen to folk? (circle one)

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 +

3. How many hours a day do you listen to music other than folk?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 +

4. Name your three favorite folk artists

Locally _____

Internationally _____

5. What other kind/s of music do you enjoy?

6. Are most of your friends into folk? Yes / No

7. What do you listen to more: Radio / Recordings / Live Music

8. Do you play any instrument/s? Yes / No

If Yes, what? _____

9. Do you sing along with folk songs? Yes / No

10. How important are these elements of folk music to you?

Musical technique	1	2	3	4	5
Lyrics	1	2	3	4	5
Vocals	1	2	3	4	5
Sing along chorus	1	2	3	4	5
Protest lyrics	1	2	3	4	5
Humour	1	2	3	4	5

Not important ⇒ Most important

11. Indicate who of the following artists you consider to be folk singers / groups ?

Fairport Convention	Van Morrison	James Taylor
Bob Dylan	David Kramer	Joni Mitchell
Matthew van der Want	Paul Simon	Crosby, Stills & Nash
Urban Creep	The Blarney Brothers	Ali Farka Toure
Tony Cox	Tananas	Alanis Morissette
Shaun Phillips	Jennifer Fergusen	Famous Curtain Trick

12. Do you ever read folk magazines like *Frets*, *Folkways*, *Sing Out* etc?

Never Occasionally Often

13. Do you attend any of the following music festivals? 'Splashy Fen' / 'Opikopi' / 'Rustler's Valley'

14. Are you a member of the Durban Folk Club? Yes / No

15. What is your age? _____

16. You are Male / Female



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