

The Examiner and the Evangelist: Authorities of Music and Empire, c.1894

Scholarly engagements with music in the context of empire often invoke a myriad of overlapping questions about aesthetic values and cultural authorities: Who is imperial musical knowledge created for? How do empires create these forms of knowledge? How is musical knowledge reified and/or challenged by the identities of the individual (colonial or otherwise) vs the empire? And what of the role of the colonial consumer vs the imperial institution; the colonizer vs the colonized? Through these shifting definitions, where does the elusive musical act emerge? How do imperial and colonial musical practices create or resist authoritative constructions of knowledge—and how can these constructions be usefully interpreted?¹

These are flagrantly broad—if not impossible—questions. Yet in approaching a cultural history of how the British empire constructed, perpetuated, and challenged notions of cultural authority through music, they are relevant to our understanding of how imperial and colonial musical cultures have negotiated the complexities of empire. Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan have recently challenged musicology to acknowledge the potential of making room for an engagement with the senses within imperial history, although, as they acknowledge, the risk of abstraction runs high:

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¹ Recent scholarly engagements with music and empire include, but are not limited to, Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and Music: Britain, 1876-1953* (Manchester, 2001); Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (eds.), *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music* (Berkeley and London, 2000); Bob van der Linden, *Music and Empire in Britain and India: Identity, Internationalism, and Cross-Cultural Communication* (New York, 2013); Martin Clayton and Bennett Zon (eds.), *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire, 1780-1940s: Portrayal of the East* (London, 2017); Rachel Cowgill and Julian Rushton (eds.), *Europe, Empire and Spectacle in Nineteenth-Century British Music* (London, 2017); and Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan (eds.) *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique*, edited by Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan (Durham, 2016).

To propose now that empire be understood within the sensory realm of the auditory might seem to risk perpetuating an already problematic tendency. For if the concept of empire has become too abstract in its excessive usage, it would now appear, as a referent of the sonorous, to draw further into the ether, aligning with immaterial forms and bringing imperial action and history into that what we cannot touch, feel, or see.²

My starting point is the act of bringing those musical experiences that we cannot ‘touch, feel or see’ into dialogue with imperial and colonial archival sources, c.1894. In narrowing my research focus to two musical individuals who traveled between Britain and South Africa in the 1890s, this article presents a case study of the often-conflicting authorities of musical knowledge that were created as a result of imperial systems. By exploring the overlapping themes of empire and authority through music, I thus provide two contrasting narratives of ‘unsettled imperial boundaries’ that examine how new hierarchical spaces for music-making, such as the graded exam and the colonial hymn, could form powerful sites for negotiating imperial and colonial experiences.³ While the narratives here concern relatively ‘minor’ historical figures who (likely) never met, the networks reflected in their reception are indicative of the shifting constructions of musical authority across the British empire; systems deeply intertwined with conflicting modes of imperial authority and aesthetic value that were also played out at the level of the individual.

London, 16 July 1894: The Examiner

His name was Franklin Taylor.

² Radano and Olaniyan, ‘Introduction: Imperial Listening’, in *Audible Empire: Music, Global Politics, Critique*, edited by Ronald Radano and Tejumola Olaniyan (Durham, 2016), 1-2.

³ I use the phrase ‘unsettled imperial boundaries’ here in direct reference to Durba Ghosh and Dane Kennedy’s claim that: ‘[p]erhaps the most striking contribution that recent [historical] scholarship has made to our understanding of imperialism and colonialism’ is the ‘unsettling of the boundaries conventionally drawn between imperial metropole and colonial periphery, between one colony and another, even between particular groups within individual colonies’. Durba Ghosh and Dane Kennedy, ‘Introduction’, in *Decentring Empire: Britian, India and the Transcolonial World*, ed. Durba Ghosh and Dane Kennedy (Sangam, 2006), 1.

On a midsummer's evening in July 1894, the first examiner to travel abroad on behalf of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM) was toasted at the Board's Fifth Annual Dinner. Sir George Grove, President, rose to invite the departing examiner to speak, 'so that we shall have an opportunity of hearing [the] farewell accents from the chair which he is going for a few months to forsake us in favour of the black men'.⁴ The examiner's destination was the Cape Colony. The location of the farewell dinner was the lavish Whitehall Rooms of the Hotel Metropole in London's West End. These richly carpeted rooms may still be reserved for formal events today in what is now the Corinthia Hotel in Whitehall Place.⁵ This site was located at the beating heart of the Empire, only 300 yards south of Trafalgar Square; the Towers of the Palace of Westminster loomed nearby, and Big Ben penetrated the dinner's soundscape with its regular affirmations of Greenwich Mean Time.

In the summer of 1894 London was brimming with patriotic gestures to imperial and economic expansion; movements closely mirrored by institutional developments in the history of British music. Less than two months previously, the sidewalks of Prince Consort Road, South Kensington had been decorated with wreaths and festive lights for the grand opening of the new building of the Royal College of Music (RCM). A few months later, John Stainer would deliver an address to the twenty-first annual meeting of the Musical Association (now the Royal Musical Association) on the success of Britain's growing musical life.⁶ Beyond musical spheres, July 1894 also marked a period of international and technological developments that simultaneously hailed the expansion of London as a centre of international trade. Global commerce was growing through increased cargo and passenger routes to and from London. The Merchant Shipping Act of 1894 had provided new legislation regulating the registration of ships in the United Kingdom

⁴ ABRSM Archives; *Minutes of the Annual Dinners*, 1894, 11-12; 18.

⁵ The address of this hotel is: Corinthia Hotel, 10 Whitehall Place, London SW1A 2BD. It first opened in 1885. See Franziska Bollerey, 'Beyond the Lobby: Setting the Stage for Modernity—the Cosmos of the Hotel', *Hotel Lobbies and Lounges: The Architecture of Professional Hospitality*, ed. Tom Avermaete and Anne Massey, 3-48 (London, 2013), 41.

⁶ John Stainer, 'Inaugural Address to the Twenty-First Session', *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 21 (1984), xii-xvi.

and across the empire.⁷ Within the urban metropolis, traffic patterns were altered on a grand scale when, two miles east of the Hotel Metropole, London's iconic Tower Bridge was opened for the first time on 30 June, facilitating greater access between the north and south banks of the Thames.⁸

International diplomatic news was also in the air. Earlier on the same day as the ABRSM dinner, in nearby government buildings, the First Earl of Kimberley, John Wodehouse had signed the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with Japan's representative, Aoki Shūzō. This was a landmark example of the heralding of extraterritoriality in Japan, and a signal of continuing British diplomacy in the globalising of trade.⁹ In musical spheres, Japan was also of interest to the east London offices of the Curwen Press, a publishing house with contacts such as tonic sol-fa evangelist Emily Patton (b.1831), who was appointed in 1894 to teach tonic sol-fa at the Tokyo Academy of Music.¹⁰ In addition, the Curwen Press was mass-producing tonic sol-fa hymns and 'moralising' secular songs to be sent to Southern Africa, Japan, Burma, China, the United States, and the Indian subcontinent.¹¹ As the departing examiner, Franklin Taylor (1843-1919), rose to address the ABRSM dinner in London, the transnational networks circulating through the metropole outside perhaps reinforced the international validity of the ABRSM's enterprise.

Lovedale, South Africa, 16 July 1894: The Evangelist

His name was John Knox Bokwe.

⁷ Graeme Bowtle, *The Law of Ship Mortgages* (Abingdon, 2015), 35. See also James Dundas White, *The Merchant Shipping Act, 1894, with Notes, Appendices, and Index* (London, 1894), British Library General Reference Collection 6376.ee.8. For further reading, see Jonathan Schneer, *London 1900: The Imperial Metropolis* (New Haven, 1999).

⁸ On the opening of the Tower Bridge, see Richard Dennis, *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840-1930* (Cambridge, 2008), 12-14.

⁹ Ian Ruxton, 'The Ending of Extraterritoriality in Japan', *Turning Points in Japanese History*, ed. Bert Edström (Abingdon, 2002), 98.

¹⁰ See Robin Stevens, 'Emily Patton: An Australian Pioneer of Tonic Sol-fa in Japan', *Research Studies in Music Education* 14 (2000), 40-9.

¹¹ As Bernarr Rainbow's history of the spread of the tonic sol-fa movement has noted, 'Apart from the British colonies, the system flourished in the mission field in outposts as remote as Fiji, Japan, Burma and China. And now the remarkable sight-singing of elementary schoolchildren in Britain had begun to attract the notice of educationists in other European countries'. Bernarr Rainbow, *John Curwen: A Short Critical Biography* (Sevenoaks, 1980), 51.

As toasts were being raised in London, a Xhosa composer residing in the modest accommodations of the rural mission station of Lovedale, close to the town of Alice near South Africa's Eastern Cape, was preparing to publish the second edition of a set of Xhosa hymns in tonic sol-fa notation. Ten days later he would be lauded by a local Xhosa newspaper as the creator of the first indigenous compositions by a black musician.¹² This composer did not know the ABRSM Annual Dinner attendees, and it was unlikely that any of them would hear of him until his hymns crept into British hymnals, but his name would later be familiar throughout the world of Victorian hymn writing.

South Africa in 1894 was considered a precarious colonial outpost. In the unstable years between the end of the First Boer War (1880-1881) and the commencement of the Second Boer War in 1899, the Cape Colony was not technically under British dominion until the military victory of 1902. By 1894, however, a British military presence was swiftly growing, with tensions once again mounting between the British and the Dutch.¹³ Grassroots social justice movements for non-white colonial subjects were also developing: in August 1894, Mahatma Gandhi founded the Natal Indian Congress and in September became the first South African of Indian ethnicity to be named an Advocate of the Supreme Court of Natal.¹⁴ British interest in Africa as a continent worthy of future investment would find robust expression in the First Pan-African Conference in London in 1900, the seeds of which were sown when Henry Sylvester Williams founded the African Association in London in 1897.¹⁵ And in musical spheres, tonic sol-fa hymnody had been introduced so successfully to the Cape Colony by missionaries that the exchange began to work

¹² See *Zabantsundu* (25 July, 1894), translated and cited in Christine Lucia, *The World of South African Music: A Reader* (Newcastle, 2005), 318.

¹³ For further reading on the history of the British in nineteenth-century South Africa, see Thomas Packenham, *The Boer War* (London, 1892); Jean Comaroff, *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance: The Culture and History of a South African People* (Chicago, 1985), especially chapter 2, 'From Event to Structure: The Precolonial Sociocultural Other', 42-77. For a broad overview, see T. R. H. Davenport, *South Africa: A Modern History* (London, 1991); Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth-Century South Africa and Britain* (London, 2001); and Richard Price, *Making Empire: Colonial Encounters and the Creation of Imperial Rule in Nineteenth-Century South Africa* (Cambridge, 2008).

¹⁴ See Rajmohan Gandhi, *Gandhi: The Man, His People and the Empire* (London, 2007), 73.

¹⁵ See Marika Sherwood, *Origins of Pan-Africanism: Henry Sylvester Williams, Africa and the African Diaspora* (London, 2011); and James Ralph Hooker, *Henry Sylvester Williams: Imperial Pan-Africanist* (London, 1975).

both ways, as Xhosa hymns in tonic sol-fa from Lovedale would travel in the 1890s, along with their composer, John Knox Bokwe (1855-1922), all the way back to London, and even as far north as Scotland.¹⁶

Taylor's Submission; Bokwe's Authority? Negotiating Colonial Musical Knowledge

A close engagement with these two musical figures—the white examiner from London who tours to South Africa, and the black journalist and minister of the Scottish Free Church from the Lovedale Mission Station who later travels through London, and as far north as Scotland—constitutes an example of the powerful yet often porous modes of musical authority that resulted from imperial contact.

My starting point is to ask *how* the networks of aesthetic value that both Bokwe and Taylor encountered were implicitly imbued with imperial and racial ideologies. I take as a wider framework the concept of 'Transnationalism', adopting Bob van der Linden's idea that to investigate 'musical parallels, networks, and interactions within "webs of empire" that were independent and mutually constitutive in metropolis and colony' will create novel contributions to transnational musical understanding,¹⁷ and Ghosh and Kennedy's contention that expanding our assessments of traditional binaries between metropole and colony will 'extend our analytical focus to the multiple networks of exchange that arose from the imperial experience'.¹⁸ In this way, Taylor and Bokwe's musical lives are far from binary opposites, despite the superficial appeal of placing them into the categories of 'colonizer and colonized'.¹⁹ Rather, the 'webs' of their experience are suggestive of how musical experience can reappropriate imperial hierarchies at the

¹⁶ Bokwe's hymns were taken to Scotland by A.N. Somerville, and became popular enough to be published (although adapted) in 1893 in *Hymns and Melodies, For School and Family Use* (Gall & Inglis, 1893). See also Lucia, *South African Music*, 346, endnote 328; and Austin C. Okigbo, 'Musical Enculturation, Theological Transformation, and the Construction of Black Nationalism in Early South African Choral Music Tradition', *Africa Today* 57 (2010), 43-65.

¹⁷ Bob van der Linden, *Music and Empire in Britain and India: Identity, Internationalism, and Cross-Cultural Communication* (New York, 2013), 1-2.

¹⁸ Ghosh and Kennedy, 'Introduction', 1.

¹⁹ I use the phrase 'colonizer and colonized' in reference to the influential text by Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, trans. Howard Greenfield (London, 1974).

level of the individual rather than the state: Taylor, the Imperialist, was still 'submissive' to the higher authorities of the ABRSM's global aims; Bokwe, the Colonial Subject, is remembered today for writing some of the first choral music of South Africa's black resistance.

Thus, the juxtaposition of these two transnational musical careers is deeply suggestive of the complexities of legitimising sonic knowledge as an authoritative presence. Music, here, is a particularly compelling place to start precisely because of its cultural permeability. As Georgina Born has asked, '[i]s there something especially complex about music as an object in the world, and as an object of study [which requires] an expanded analytics of the social, cultural and material in music'?²⁰ If the answer to this question is, indeed, yes, then the transnational accounts that follow may stand as a reflection of the complex identities of music and authority found within the cultural networks between South Africa and Britain towards the end of the nineteenth century. The synchronised presentation of these narratives in this article therefore attempts a transnational comparison where the pairing of two musical careers that might appear superficially opposite highlights corresponding negotiations of musical knowledge and value. This juxtaposition opens the door to future readings of power structures played out across and against boundaries of institution, class and race.

Imperialism, unavoidably, is found at the core of late nineteenth-century acts of musical exchange between Britain and South Africa. The growing empire had set in motion a fundamental need for new international definitions of music, race and authority in Britain and its colonies across the decade of the 1890s. On a surface level, this was used as a primary justification for the promotion of standardised music exams abroad: for example, only three years after Taylor was sent to South Africa, it was noted at the 1897 Eighth Annual ABRSM Dinner that their international exams were 'producing a result which is most useful to the dispersal of musical education not only over all England, but over the Colonies, which *may be said to represent the whole world*'.²¹

²⁰ Georgina Born, 'For a Relational Musicology: Music and Interdisciplinarity, Beyond the Practice Turn', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135 (2010), 205.

²¹ ABRSM Archives; Minutes of the Annual Dinners, 1897, 12. Emphasis mine.

The rhetorical convention of defining institutional success in London with reference to the colonies (effectively, ‘the world’) was particularly the case insofar as national projects for cultural education were concerned—musical or otherwise.²² As discussed below, institutional definitions of musical success in late nineteenth-century London relied ever more heavily on the justification of institutional growth in the colonies. Taylor’s travels to South Africa, for example, functioned for the ABRSM as an essential cog in its examining machinery. Likewise, colonial musical compositions recorded in the coloniser’s notation (whether staff or sol-fa) existed within a musical and theoretical vocabulary that was closely related to imperial evangelising and examining projects.

South Africa in the 1890s was the first international outpost for the ABRSM examinations, and was at the same time one of the largest locations for the spread of tonic sol-fa outside of Britain.²³ There was also a precedent for South Africa as an examining outpost: Trinity College of Music, their main competitor, had already been examining there since 1881.²⁴ Thus, the press in London had ample opportunity to report about musical activities in the Cape. Preference, perhaps unsurprisingly, was often given to musical individuals who had connections with Britain: the eager recognition given to both Taylor and Bokwe by newspapers and publishing

²² A large study of how musical systems worked within the British empire was undertaken by Richards, *Imperialism and Music*.

²³ Cape Town’s strategic location for international trade made the imperial scramble to settle and gain control over South Africa very acute, which enabled a large European population to cultivate an interest in importing Western music, as well as being a large base for mission stations. See Charles H. Feinstein, *An Economic History of South Africa: Conquest, Discrimination, and Development* (Cambridge, 2005).

²⁴ Literature on the history of the Trinity College of Music examinations is notably scant (with the exception of Banfield, below), and a comparison with the history of the ABRSM is certainly deserving of further study, especially as they were the first British examining presence in the colonies. The music examinations of Trinity College London had been operating in South Africa for a decade, since 1881, and Trinity had been the first examinations system set up in Britain. In contrast to the ABRSM, their origins were liturgical and in association with Trinity College, rather than with the British Crown and schools of music that were patented as ‘Royal’. The Trinity College exams were thus a competitor to the ABRSM, but the ABRSM by its title alone arguably aligned itself with a more explicitly imperial project. On the Trinity College examinations in South Africa, see Stephen Banfield, ‘Towards a History of Music in the British Empire: Three Export Studies’, *Britishness Abroad: Transnational Movements and Imperial Cultures*, ed. Kate Darian-Smith, Patricia Grimshaw, and Stuart Macintyre, (Melbourne, 2007), 63-89; and David Wright, *The Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music: A Social and Cultural History* (London, 2013), 42-50. I am aware that there are currently historical archives relating to the growth of the Trinity exams held at the Trinity College London Examinations headquarters that have not yet entered the public domain, and are certainly worth exploring for future research.

companies in Britain and South Africa, for example, would not have been possible had they not both been well-educated, fairly well-connected men, even though neither had originally come from a particularly elite background.²⁵ Yet their names commonly arose in the public press and in publishing advertisements in the 1890s in part because both made relatively high-profile international trips; as the *Musical News* noted the week after the ABRSM July 1894 dinner, for instance, ‘Mr. Franklin Taylor’s mission ... will be watched with much interest’,²⁶ a comment which rang true when the press reported on the South Africa examining tours for years to come.²⁷

Still, neither man was first and foremost a composer of ‘great musical works’, and, perhaps because of this, neither Taylor nor Bokwe were particularly canonised within musicology after their lifetimes. Several explanations for this might be traced to social tiers based on race and class, and the inescapability of the social positioning of educated lower-middle class men who could rise only so far in their respective musical industries (especially if, like Bokwe, they had dark skin).²⁸ That said, their ability to traverse international boundaries to some extent challenged these social preconceptions.

Franklin Taylor, Examiner

It was a career marked by ever-increasing circuits of travel. Pianist Franklin Taylor had progressed in his early career from an organist in Birmingham to the prestigious Leipzig Conservatory.²⁹ Following his years in Leipzig under Moscheles (1859-1861),

²⁵ For a comprehensive study of class, race and gender in Victorian South Africa, see Vivian Bickford-Smith, *Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Victorian Cape Town: Group Identity and Social Practice, 1875-1902* (Cambridge, 1995).

²⁶ *Musical News* (July, 1894), 49.

²⁷ This is explored below, particularly with regard to the *Musical Times* interview with Taylor in 1899.

²⁸ Contemporary ideas of race, class and skin color were deeply entrenched in South Africa during the 1890s. For example, see publications such as George W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa* (London, 1905); and George McCall Theal, *The Yellow and Dark-Skinned People of South Africa South of the Zambesi* (London, 1910). Regarding the permeation of these ideas within Britain, see Zine Magubane, *Bringing the Empire Home: Race, Class, and Gender in Britain and Colonial South Africa* (Chicago, 2004).

²⁹ Not much is known about Taylor’s early life before Leipzig, aside from the fact that at the age of 13 he became organist at the Old Meeting Place, Birmingham, after having studied with the organist at Litchfield Cathedral. See George Grove and Jean Mary Allen, ‘Franklin Taylor’, *Oxford Music Online*; *Grove Music Online* <https://doi-org.ezphost.dur.ac.uk/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.27588>

Taylor later studied with Clara Schumann in Paris, before settling down into a permanent post at London's RCM under George Grove, where he became one of the founding members of the ABRSM.³⁰ This was a move that eventually enabled his travels to the peripheries of the empire to examine junior candidates in music.

The examining tours to South Africa were, to a degree, a career step. A loyal member of staff at the RCM, Taylor had still mostly served as a junior colleague to the Board's President George Grove.³¹ Consequently, and perhaps precisely because he never rose to the top-tier levels of administrative management as had his colleagues Grove and Sullivan, Taylor was placed in the position of travelling as the ABRSM's first international examiner.³² These tours were tiring, financially draining, and took examiners away from their families for months at a time.³³ In climates unknown to him, Taylor would have stayed at local hotels of widely varying standards, enduring, as many colonial examiners were to complain, hours of examining on pianos in humid climates that were notoriously in bad condition.³⁴

When he arrived in South Africa, Taylor was thus simultaneously the sole representative of British musical prestige and a highly-visible employee (one might even posit, ambassador) of the ABRSM.³⁵ His presence on the one hand resembled a benevolent construction of the spread of 'good' music, while on the other hand it

(Accessed 14 March 2018). See also Percy Scholes, *The Mirror of Music 1844-1944: A Century of Life of Musical Britain as Reflected in the Pages of the Musical Times* (London, 1947).

³⁰ See Leonard M. Phillips, 'The Leipzig Conservatory, 1843-1881' (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1979), especially sections 'Music Education in Nineteenth-Century Germany', 26-34, and 'The Students of the Leipzig Conservatory in the Nineteenth Century', 203-5.

³¹ See *Minute Books of the Royal College of Music 1882-1889*. RCM Archives.

³² Wright, *Associated Board*, 51-5.

³³ See Zoë Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections, 1815-45: Patronage, the Information Revolution and Colonial Government* (Manchester, 2005).

³⁴ Examiner Percival Kirby was to remember that most of the pianos he encountered while traveling through South Africa were poor in quality and out of tune: see Percival Kirby, *Wits End: An Unconventional Biography* (Cape Town, 1967), 86. Similarly, when Herbert Howells undertook a similar examining tour of South Africa in 1921, he reported that he had a typically miserable and uncomfortable experience of both accommodation and examining facilities in the Cape Colony, preferring instead a later examining tour of Canada in 1923. See 'Herbert Howells' Visit to South Africa in 1921; His Views on Music and Musicians', *South African Journal of Musicology* 18 (1998), 47-60. Such examining conditions were usually bleak, as the diaries of the ABRSM examiners who travelled and examined for the Board during the Second World War are quick to reveal. See: *Diaries of Colin Taylor*, Colin Taylor Collections, UNISA, Cape Town.

³⁵ The Victorian legacies of the ongoing hierarchical structures of the ABRSM have been analysed from a postcolonial perspective more recently by Roe-Min Kok, 'Music for a Postcolonial Child: Theorizing Malaysian Memories', in *Musical Childhoods and the Cultures of Youth*, ed. Susan Boynton and Roe-Min Kok, 89-104 (Middletown, 2006).

deeply reinforced commodifiable imperial hierarchies. As Tim Keegan notes with regard to the growth of colonial administration and systematized bureaucracy in South Africa, '[i]t is ironic that the triumph of liberal economic and social values in the nineteenth-century European world should have coincided with the intensification and spread of race consciousness and theories of racial supremacy'.³⁶ Adding music—a 'liberal' subject—to this hierarchical system further complicates a postcolonial critique, for, in the Victorian mindset, the spread of British music abroad carried inherently philanthropic, rather than specifically authoritarian, connotations.³⁷

What did it signify, then, to export musical 'value'—in the form of certification—abroad? Taylor had not often challenged the authorities of musical education that he had been exposed to. Having been trained by the most esteemed German teachers at the Leipzig Conservatory, he had returned to Britain able to promote himself with the most prestigious of musical accreditations (for musical authority, prior to the founding of the RCM, did not belong to Britain).³⁸ At the same time, a job at the RCM also provided financial security, and when it came to the extra remuneration of examining for the Associated Board, Taylor was, at its inception, classed as a senior professor in their two-tier system of wages, earning £7 10s for a six-hour day, exclusive of travel and hotel expenses.³⁹

The uprooting of Taylor to the colonial context is symbolic of larger cultural associations with knowledge constructions of aesthetic value. In Taylor's case, his social standing as a music examiner during his two-month trip to South Africa would

³⁶ Tim Keegan, *Colonial South Africa and the Origins of the Racial Order* (London, 1996), 282.

³⁷ The association of philanthropy and music has been traced by Charles McGuire, *Music and Victorian Philanthropy: The Tonic Sol-fa Movement* (Cambridge, 2009). On music and Victorian liberalism, see Phyllis Weliver, *Mary Gladstone and the Victorian Salon: Music, Literature, Liberalism* (Cambridge, 2017). Further essays on music and liberalism are soon to be published in *Liberalism and Victorian Musical Culture*, ed. Sarah Collins (Forthcoming: Cambridge).

³⁸ The weight of German influence on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British music is discussed by Philip Rupprecht, *British Musical Modernism: The Manchester Group and their Contemporaries* (Cambridge, 2015), 52; 92-116. That Taylor's contemporaries mostly focused on pedagogical reform in music back in London after graduating from Leipzig is discussed by David Wright, 'The South Kensington Music Schools and the Development of the British Conservatoire in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130 (2005), 240-2. See also, by the same author, 'Grove's Role in the Founding of the RCM', in *George Grove, Music and Victorian Culture*, ed. Michael Musgrave (New York, 2003), 219-44.

³⁹ Those classed as junior professors at the ABRSM, by contrast earned 5 guineas per hour. Information contained in: Wright, *Associated Board*, 67.

have placed him in a position of racial and intellectual authority that he had not previously known. At the same time, his authority as examiner was based on his ability to administer the certifications of auditory surveillance put in place by his superiors at the ABRSM.⁴⁰ In practice this meant that he was, institutionally speaking, interchangeable with any other examiner they might have sent in his stead. Although he was in a new position of power when examining colonial children in South Africa, Taylor was still operating as a representative of the ABRSM's authority, abiding by its rules and expectations. His background in choral societies and lack of a general formal education outside of musical spheres (notably in the classical languages, which were still held as the benchmark of elite status) would forever place him on a slightly lower social footing than his superiors.⁴¹ Moreover, despite many attempts to do so, he was unsuccessful at gaining promotions within the RCM: in 1894 he had applied and was short-listed for the position of Director of the RCM, as Grove's health declined, but the council unanimously chose Parry, given Grove's emphatic recommendation that it be someone whom he thought suited in intellect to the job.⁴²

Taylor's position therefore embodies the paradox of the colonial music examiner: he found himself in a place of unprecedented colonial authority only because he was unable to gain greater authority within his institution at home.⁴³ Indeed, the intellectual snobbery of some of his institutional superiors in London is implied by throwaway comments made within these social circles. For example, Grove was to recall with annoyance that, while once going on holiday to the Isle of Wight with Taylor and his wife Minna, he had been 'annoyed that the Taylors were

⁴⁰ See Olwage's interpretation of music's disciplinary apparatus, in 'Discipline and Choralism: The Birth of Musical Colonialism', *Music, Power, and Politics*, ed. Annie J. Randall, 25-46 (New York, 2005).

⁴¹ This kind of social 'improvement' for lower middle-class Britons abroad in places like South Africa happened across British social 'clubs' and colonial societies, particularly as far as soldiers there to fight the Boer War were concerned. This has been traced by Richard Price, *An Imperial War and the British Working Class: Working-Class Attitudes and Reactions to the Boer War, 1899-1902* (London: Routledge, 2013).

⁴² For a description of this event, see Percy M. Young, *George Grove, 1820-1900: A Biography* (London, 1980), 241.

⁴³ This was a common theme in the experience of those working within British examination systems, as education historian Robert Montgomery has noted; for example, in the case of the imperial spread of the Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, Montgomery notes that 'one allied oneself to a feudal overlord for employment and protection'. Robert Montgomery, *A New Examination of Examinations* (London, 1978), 1.

intellectually inadequate, unaccustomed to reading and conscious only of superficialities'; in irritation, Grove had sullenly retreated from them to immerse himself in 'Longfellow and Wordsworth'.⁴⁴

Taylor's ultimate legacy of musical knowledge in Britain lay within his pupils, many of whom became examiners themselves.⁴⁵ Thus, perhaps musical examining as self-promotion was for Taylor not only about his impact in South Africa, but also aided his status on his home turf. At the 1894 Annual Dinner, Grove had bestowed warm public praise upon Taylor, referring to him as an 'intimate and dear friend' of many years who had been his most 'valued colleague at the Royal College of Music since the very beginning', and concluding, 'I know no man on whose ability, on whose knowledge, and more than both, on whose judgment I more confidently rely. I cannot think it a more happy circumstance and an excellent omen that he should have been chosen to be our first apostle to distant regions'.⁴⁶ And once the first examining tour was deemed successful, this status could remain: Taylor would visit the Cape Colony again on a second trip which followed in 1896, when ABRSM examinations were already being proposed for South Africa, Malta, Tasmania, New Zealand, British Columbia and Gibraltar.⁴⁷

In making his farewell toast in London in July 1894, Taylor was now placed in a new position. Having been so constructed as an apostle of musical truth to the colonies, he rose to speak to the room of dignitaries and musicians. Taylor thanked the Board for the opportunity to represent them, and concluded that he would be careful at all times to represent the Board's standards rather than to insert his own individual opinions regarding the expected South African candidates.⁴⁸ He reiterated his understanding of the Board's international superiority (not to mention the necessity of the examinations board, above and beyond business objectives) by

⁴⁴ Young, *George Grove*, 182-3.

⁴⁵ See the excellent archival research done in this area, which mentions Franklin Taylor, his connections, and the examining careers of many of his future students, especially within South Africa, by Heinrich van der Mescht, 'South African Students and Other South African Connections at the Royal College of Music in London Between the End of the Anglo-Boer War and the Formation of the Union of South Africa, 1902-1910', *Muziki: Journal of Music Research in Africa* 2 (2005), 26-47; and his 'South African Students at the Conservatory of Music in Leipzig, 1893-1914', 79-88.

⁴⁶ ABRSM Archives; *Minutes of the Annual Dinners*, 1894, 11-12; 18.

⁴⁷ ABRSM Archives; *Minutes of the Annual Dinners*, 1897, 5.

⁴⁸ ABRSM Archives; *Minutes of the Annual Dinners*, 1894, 11-12; 18.

supposing that the standards in South Africa would probably not be very high, and that although he would take that into consideration, the ABRSM standards were not to be compromised:

I can only say I shall do my very best on my visit to make the name of the Associated Board respected in that land. I shall not be over harsh I hope in my judgment, because I do not think it right to expect too much. Were I to do so I might be disappointed. I hear from the Cape that there are something like 400 candidates to be examined, so I think I shall have my hands full'.⁴⁹

Taylor's projections of the low quality of the musical candidates in the colonies were challenged by the results at the end of September; of his 346 colonial candidates, 77% received a pass, which was notably higher than the average pass rates of music examinations within Britain, which averaged around 50%.⁵⁰ What can be surmised is that his journey placed him, in race, social standing and gender, at a higher level of musical authority than he could attain within London, where he would always be one examiner among many. In one sense, then, empire worked for him, at least as defined by the Associated Board's work abroad, as it had worked for generations of East India Company men and the colonial functionaries of the Raj.⁵¹ Yet there was also the danger that empire might work against him, as the 1894 departure was unprecedented, and perhaps the necessity or relevance of a musical examiner in the Colonies was not taken for granted in South Africa itself—not to mention the mounting tensions of another Boer War, and the risk of a lack of relevance of the ABRSM exams to the daily life of South African residents. As historian T. C. McCaskie notes, the apprehensiveness of colonial encounter risks complex misunderstandings of authority:

Encounters between cultures are complex, ambiguous, and unstable transactions, simultaneously events in time and works of the imagination. Their leitmotif is a

⁴⁹ ABRSM Archives; *Minutes of the Annual Dinners*, 1894, 11-12; 18.

⁵⁰ See Wright, 'South Kensington Music Schools', 260.

⁵¹ See H. V. Bowen, *The Business of Empire; The East India Company and Imperial Britain, 1756-1833* (Cambridge, 2005).

tangled knot of realities and representations. This is difficult to untie, for it clothes issues of cause and effect in projections and fantasies. Motive and purpose then become hard to tease out of an already complex factual record that reveals the process of encounter between cultures as a constantly shifting kaleidoscope of give and take. Tension is implicit in this quotidian incommensurability between cultures. Thus, imperatives to imposition and acculturation by one side invoke strategies of negotiation and acculturation by the other. The historical result is an ever evolving cultural hybrid in which the imagined, willed, and contingent acts are densely interwoven.⁵²

Applying McCaskie's notion of a 'constantly shifting kaleidoscope of give and take' to an anecdote of Taylor's second examining trip to South Africa two years later in 1896 opens the door to a historiographic reimagining of the many variables of gender, race, class, smell, subjectivity, perceptual abilities, personal boundaries and new soundscapes in the colonial examining process. During his first trip in 1894 he had examined primarily in and around Cape Town, affiliated with the University of the Cape of Good Hope, although he also went to Paarl, Stellenbosch, Wynberg, George, Kimberley and Burgersdorp.⁵³ During his second examination tour, Taylor covered fifteen centres around the southern Cape, after which he reported to the Board that there was growing 'keen interest' in the exams, 'not only by the candidates themselves, but by the teachers, who are unanimous in earnestly desiring that means may be found to render the scheme a permanent one, and that similar examinations might be held year by year'.⁵⁴

One might well imagine that, just as within Britain, the rarity and prestigious appeal of the examination certificate—musical success reified on paper with the seal of London's approval—was a nerve-inducing factor for both candidate and examiner. Published three years later in interviews for the *Musical Times* (mediated by the space of time and memory), the following is an example of the lengths to which a colonial examinee might go to participate in the British examinations. Summarising

⁵² T. C. McCaskie, 'Cultural Encounters: Britain and Africa in the Nineteenth Century', *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Vol III: The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1999), 166.

⁵³ ABRSM Archives; *Minutes of the Annual Dinners*, 1896, 14-15.

⁵⁴ ABRSM Archives; *Minutes of the Annual Dinners*, 1895, 14-15.

an interview with Taylor, the journal reported that he dictated the following story from 1897:

At Uitenhage, a place two hours' railway journey from Port Elizabeth, a young lady candidate was inadvertently absent from the examination, at the conclusion of which Mr. Taylor returned to Port Elizabeth. He was seated in the smoking-room of his hotel when two ladies entered the apartment—the younger was the absentee examinee, the other, her governess. They had travelled the two hours' journey by rail to lay siege to the examiner. They knew not his visage, except by description, nor did they know his whereabouts. They had visited all the hotels, looked in at various windows, and at last, about 9 p.m., they tracked the examiner down. All three then made their way to an upper verandah, at one end of which there was an old upright pianoforte. The other occupants of the apartment discreetly moved to a respectful distance, and the examination proceeded. The candidate and her chaperone then started upon their two hours' railway journey home again, which they would reach somewhere about midnight. 'There is enthusiasm for you', [the *Musical Times* asked] Mr. Taylor, 'But did she pass?' 'Yes; she did', he laughingly replies.⁵⁵

This episode is indicative of Taylor's evident status and cultural cache within the heart of the Cape Colony—or, at least, how he wished to (re)present this story back to a wide London readership. The fact that he later relayed it in an interview with the *Musical Times* would suggest his pleasure in remembering the fevered pursuit of this young girl and her governess for his examining attentions, all the way from rural Uitenhage to his intimate smoking room in Port Elizabeth.⁵⁶ The dynamic of prestige, not to mention the nerves and uncertainty as to the unstated reason of why their journey was delayed (as the quote reveals, it had been anticipated that the examination would take place in Uitenhage, not the larger Port Elizabeth), display the lengths to which the candidate in question was willing to go in the name of musical accreditation from London. Although Uitenhage is relatively close to Port Elizabeth by the standards of modern travel (around 35 miles), at the time roads

⁵⁵ *Musical Times* (1899), 798.

⁵⁶ See Introduction to *Uitenhage, Past and Present: Souvenir of the Centenary, 1804-1904* (Uitenhage, 1904).

were unreliable and this would have been a two-hour journey by slow train. Given that the candidate and her governess were unaccompanied females, they probably lacked the ability to travel by road.⁵⁷

The tone of the *Musical Times* with regard to this anecdote is largely sympathetic to the lost pair, except inasmuch as they are said to have wanted to ‘lay siege’ to the examiner—perhaps a joking turn of phrase but conceivably also a disparaging one, with a nod to the visible strain brought on after a day of being nervous and lost, asking stranger after stranger for directions. The experience of hastily walking as a woman and a girl along the large streets of Port Elizabeth, led only by a ‘visage ... by description’ of the examiner brought the vulnerable pair into an urban environment much larger than their home town.⁵⁸ For the young examinee, even being a white adolescent in nineteenth-century Port Elizabeth would not necessarily have put her on the highest social standing to be entering a hotel in the dark of night with only a female chaperone.

Taylor’s memory of this enactment of imperial and gendered authority, mediated by time, space, and the presence of the journalist for the *Musical Times*, requires a process of re-imagining imperial musical authority that tantalisingly leaves much to the imagination for the reader both in 1899 and today. We do not know whether the event was inappropriate, amusing, or even simply tedious. Perhaps Taylor told her that she passed there and then; perhaps she waited to receive her report in due course. Whatever did occur on that evening, there on the verandah the young white girl, her governess, and the middle-aged Englishman enacted a musical examination governed by power structures that the candidate, along with many readers back in London in 1899, could potentially barely articulate. The Bach invention or Czerny exercise on her ABRSM syllabus, a gold standard of truth and

⁵⁷ See Edna Bradlow, ‘Women and Education in Nineteenth-Century South Africa: The Attitudes and Experiences of Middle-Class English-Speaking Females at the Cape’, *South African Historical Journal* 28 (1993), 119-50; and Jennifer Verbeek, *Victorian and Edwardian Natal* (Pietermaritzburg, 1982).

⁵⁸ At this time, Uitenhage was home to the largest rail transit centre in the southeastern part of South Africa. See *Uitenhage, Past and Present*, 10, and sections on Port Elizabeth in *Africa’s Transport Infrastructure: Mainstreaming Maintenance and Management* (London, 2011), 487-95.

authority, had appeared before her in the physical form of Taylor as Examiner. His final ruling on her mark would forever remain undisputed.⁵⁹

Like all of the historically-imagined details of this examining encounter on the dimly-lit verandah, the extent to which the nameless girl took this certification as gospel truth is impossible to know: the archive is silent about this, and the realm of speculation must lie open to alternative possibilities. However, from the anecdotal tone of the *Musical Times* report, we might wonder if the article was, through the telling of this story, partially questioning the veracity of foreign elite musical accreditation. After all, this periodical, as might be remembered from its full title at the time, *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* (it was not shortened to the *Musical Times* until 1903), functioned as a public voice interested in just that: the musical times of the ‘singing class’ that John Curwen’s tonic sol-fa movement—in many respects, the antithesis of the ABRSM mindset—would have represented. The tone of the journal intentionally framed its musical debates in reference to a social class more receptive to the background of the rural musical candidate than to that of her examiner, even though he too had originally come from humbler origins. However, earlier in the 1899 *Musical Times* article working-class sympathy had also been elicited for the examiner when it was noted that Taylor ‘cannot boast of a musical ancestry’, and had been raised on informal music lessons from his mother before becoming heavily involved with the working class, patriotic choral performances in Birmingham that were part of the Hullah singing class movement.⁶⁰

The interpretive possibilities behind this anecdote—emphasising the boundaries between what might be imagined as inappropriate, humorous, or excessive—are indeed emblematic of a larger movement in the public press at the

⁵⁹ The lists of examination pieces primarily by Bach, Czerny and Liszt (with a noticeable lack of British composers) on the ABRSM Colonial Syllabi during this decade are found in *Examinations – Including Licentiate and Inspections: New Zealand, India, Ceylon, Gibraltar, Malta, Jamaica, &c (New Zealand and Colonial Centres) Syllabi 1897-1833* (London: Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, 1897-1933), British Library General Reference Collection Ac.5169/7.

⁶⁰ *Musical Times* (1899), 798. According to Ritterman, this article was written by Thomas Dunhill. Janet Ritterman, ‘The Royal College of Music, 1883-1899: Pianists and Their Contribution to the Forming of a National Conservatory’, *Musical Education in Europe (1770-1914), Compositional, Institutional and Political Challenges*, ed. Michael Fend and Michel Noiray (Berlin, 2005), 362. On the Hullah singing class movement, see Dave Russell, ‘Control: Music and the Battle for the Working-Class Mind’, *Popular Music in England, 1840-1914: A Social History* (Manchester, 1987), 23-72.

time to challenge the imperial authority that a standardised musical examination represented. Only five years earlier, for example, the *Musical Times* had complained that Britain was becoming ‘the most examined nation on earth’⁶¹ and had self-consciously downplayed the objectivity of all examining boards. Moreover, as it was a vehicle of the singing classes, the elite routes to musical education that the journal marketed as simply the first step *en route* to staff notation, coupled with the growing financial burden of music examinations, were conceivably at the back of many readers’ minds. Accordingly, this journal, and others like it, often allied its journalistic tone with the point of view of the working classes, rather than that of the top tier of musical examiners.

On the other hand, the length and detail of this five-page 1899 interview demonstrates that both Taylor and the *Musical Times* saw something to gain from this mutual attention, and the journal does work to make Taylor relatable to its ‘singing classes’. Recalling that, in Birmingham, the thirteen-year old Taylor had composed for a Hullah-style choral society a part-song entitled ‘Hurrah for England’,⁶² the article goes on to link this patriotic song to current events in South Africa: ‘Only the other day this juvenile composition was recalled to Mr. Taylor’s memory when he read in the newspapers of the departure of troops to the Transvaal to the strains of “Hurrah for England”’.⁶³ The *Musical Times*, in short, re-presents Taylor as a man not only rooted in communal music-making in Birmingham, but also patriotically linked to the project of authority-formation around commodifiable imperial standards.

By contrast, the *Musical News*, a publication sponsored by the Curwen Press,⁶⁴ the largest tonic sol-fa publishing company at the time, was more willing to criticise standardised music examinations as a commercial scam, noting that for examinations given abroad, ‘the scheme is pretty extensive, and we observe that the

⁶¹ *Musical Times* (1889), 1.

⁶² On the social differences between the Hullah and Curwen musical educational practices, see Bernarr Rainbow, ‘The Age of Rival Systems’, *Music in Educational Thought and Practice: A Survey from 800 BC* (Woodbridge, 2006), 198-222.

⁶³ *Musical Times* (1899), 798. The text and music for Taylor’s ‘Hurrah for England’ appears to be lost, although many songs of similar titles were emerging around 1899 in relation to the Second Boer War.

⁶⁴ The *Musical News* is confirmed as a Curwen Press journal by McGuire, *Music and Victorian Philanthropy*, 116.

fee set down is two guineas, so it cannot be said that the examination is a cheap one, nor is the standard one which can easily be passed'; concluding that all of this amounted to yet 'another instance of the estimation in which music is held by the far-away subjects of our vast empire'.⁶⁵ When Taylor retired from the ABRSM in 1917, the *Musical News* however commented on his importance within the ABRSM's history, noting that: 'Mr. Taylor was an original member, and one of the most assiduous workers they ever had. He was largely instrumental in shaping their work and policy, especially in connection with the examinations in South Africa, while his position as an examiner, teacher, and authority was well known'.⁶⁶ Thus, although the authority of an unknown examiner might have been suspicious for many readers of the *Musical News*, Taylor's authoritative position was later suggested to be unquestionable.

How Taylor himself remembered the way musical authority was constructed as part of these examination tours is left up to conjecture. It is not recorded what his attitudes might have been to black South Africans in general—such as the Xhosa people known in colonial parlance as 'kaffirs', who would have been around him constantly as servants and drivers even if they were not taking the examinations. His willingness to enact musical parodies of race was to all intents and purposes in line with conventional white middle-class Victorian attitudes. This is revealed in a memory regarding his time in Leipzig mentioned by the same *Musical Times* interview from 1899, where it is noted that, in his youth, he had joined forces with fellow Conservatoire students Domenico Dragonetti Barnett (a grandson of Robert Lindley, and son of John Barnett), Arthur Sullivan, and the young Leonidas Polk Wheat from Tennessee, to form an informal Blackface Christy Minstrel Troupe.⁶⁷ Taylor later recalled in the very same interview for the *Musical Times* in which he gave the Uitenhage anecdote that, for their student fun and games,

⁶⁵ *Musical News* (1895), 109.

⁶⁶ *Musical News*, 'The Associated Board', (1917), 36.

⁶⁷ Little is known about Leonidas Polk Wheat, which is somewhat surprising given the extraordinary circumstance of a young man who, born in rural Tennessee in 1841, was able to sit out the Civil War while being musically educated in Leipzig. He is not discussed in Phillips' study of the Leipzig Conservatory (Phillips, 'Leipzig Conservatory'). The biographical information contained in this footnote was found in Mary Brawley Hill, *On Foreign Soil: American Gardeners Abroad* (New York, 2005), 26. Wheat died in 1915 in Virginia.

We had proper nigger wigs (although Sullivan, with his immense shock of black hair, hardly needed any addition to his pericranium), paste-board standing shirt collars of a very pronounced Gladstonian type, and we made our faces *very* black. Oh! the agony of washing it off! Barnett played the bones, Sullivan the tambourine, Wheat the violin, and, as there was not such a thing as the banjo to be had in Germany, I extemporized that indispensable Ethiopian instrument by playing the part upon a viola, *pizzicato*! We sang four-part songs. Sullivan sang 'Uncle Ned', while I contributed 'Oh! Suzannah'; and we played in fine style the 'Yankee Doodle Gallop'.⁶⁸

This is a provocative example of the pervasiveness of blackface minstrelsy in nineteenth-century British and American culture,⁶⁹ and of Taylor's use of music as an excuse for the darkening of his own skin, which he did not give up entirely after returning to Britain, as he and Sullivan are later referred to as raucously dressing up as the 'niggers of Leipzig' when they visited Grove's south London home.⁷⁰ While the 'agony of washing it off' might simply have referred to the physical difficulty of scrubbing off the burnt cork, this throwaway statement might also be taken as a broad metaphor for the complexity and intensity of conceptions of racial difference

⁶⁸ *Musical Times* (1899), 799; emphasis original.

⁶⁹ There is considerable academic literature on the spread of blackface minstrelsy in the nineteenth-century. For an overview of recent scholarship in this area, see Michael Pickering, *Blackface Minstrelsy in Britain* (Aldershot, 2008); Tracy C. Davis, 'I Long for My Home in Kentucky': Christy's Minstrels in Mid-19th-Century Britain', *The Drama Review* 57 (2013), 38-65; Derek B. Scott, 'Blackface Minstrels, Black Minstrels, and Their European Reception', *Sounds of the Metropolis: The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London, New York, Paris, and Vienna* (New York and Oxford, 2008), 144-70; Elisa Tamarkin, 'Black Anglophilia; or, The Sociability of Antislavery', *American Literary History* 14 (2002), 444-78; and Hazel Waters, 'Putting on "Uncle Tom" on the Victorian Stage', *Race Class* 42 (2001), 29-48. On the spread of blackface minstrelsy across the British empire, and specifically to the Cape Colony, see Chinua Thelwell, '"The Young Men Must Blacken Their Faces": The Blackface Minstrel Show in Preindustrial South Africa', *The Drama Review* 57 (2013), 66-85.

⁷⁰ '[Taylor] and Sullivan stayed with the Groves at Lower Sydenham for weeks at a time. On one occasion the two "niggers" of Leipzig set up such an extraordinary hullabalooing at Sydenham that not only was the old wooden house mightily shaken, but the neighborhood became so disturbed that (according to tradition) policemen came running all the way from Greenwich!' *Musical Times* (1899), 800. The fact that the police were involved in this incident is noteworthy when considering the presence of blackface minstrelsy in Victorian police entertainments, and speaks to the fact that blackface itself was in no way viewed as a criminal activity at large. As Rachel Cowgill has shown, organisations such as the Metropolitan Police Minstrels were well established in London by the end of the nineteenth century: see Rachel Cowgill, 'On the Beat: The Victorian Policeman as Musician', *Music and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London, 2016), 221-245.

based on widely-held attitudes towards the complexities of skin colour, music and entertainment outside of the conservatoire and the examination board.

It is doubtful that Taylor actually examined a non-white candidate—although of course he would have been surrounded by black Africans during his journeys between examining venues. Evidence for the rarity of non-‘British’ candidates from the nineteenth-century music examinations in South Africa is revealed in a comment by Walter Parratt, who, examining for the ABRSM in South Africa a few years after Taylor’s first tour, later recalled in a ‘Reminiscence’ printed in the *Royal College of Music Magazine* that although children of Dutch ethnicity were very common among his candidates, only two black students had enrolled for the examinations, and they were not up to the standard of the white children: ‘among my candidates I had numbers of Smuts, Jouberts, de Wets, and once I examined two Kaffirs and tried hard to pass them, but without success’.⁷¹

This scarcity of black examinees meant that Taylor may well not have directly encountered in the musical African a rebuke to his youthful cross-racial dressing for domestic performances of minstrelsy—or that, if he did, his silence about it is powerful too. What was talked about in the press with regard to music examinations was the musical progress of the white candidate, even if, incongruously, black South Africans were feared by British missionaries as being more innately musical in their biological evolution.⁷² In other words, examined musical accreditation could be the sole province of white candidates in the ‘dark continent’ only so long as it was regulated by examination practices that effectively eliminated the non-white body.⁷³

⁷¹ Walter Parratt, ‘Reminiscences of South Africa’, *The Royal College of Music Magazine* 1 (1904), 7. Parratt’s article is very observant of the variety of races found in his South African examining tour, and especially of servants: for example, he precedes the above quote with the observation that ‘The servants in South Africa are very varied. In one town a Kaffir brought me my cup of tea before breakfast, Indians waited in the dining-room, and Zulus dragged your rickshaw when you went out’. Parratt, ‘Reminiscences’, 7.

⁷² See Grant Olwage, ‘Black Musicality in Colonial South Africa: A Discourse of Alterities’, *Gender and Sexuality in Music*, ed. Chris Walton and Stephanus Muller (Stellenbosch, 2005), 1-9. Significantly, Olwage stresses here that there was a perceptual difference in the white Victorian mindset between black ‘musicality’ and black ‘music’, which was seen as inferior to white music, even if blacks’ ability to make music itself was greater. Olwage, ‘Black Musicality’, 2.

⁷³ Grant Olwage, ‘The Class and Colour of Tone: An Essay on the Social History of Vocal Timbre’, *Ethnomusicology Forum* 13 (2004), 203-26.

This construction of Victorian musical progress as necessitating ostensibly raceless and objective ‘standards’ of performance norms that were nonetheless practiced within the pedagogical culture of colonial whiteness, was at the core of Taylor’s personal pedagogical ideology. Systematisations of instrumental music became Taylor’s justification for moving away from the choral movements he grew up with, in part because adhering to new standardised systems and to the project of German instrumental music had enabled him to rise as far in terms of institutional prestige as he could possibly go.⁷⁴ Yet perhaps it was essential for the utopian façade of the art music project by the end of the nineteenth century to associate standards in instrumental music with the authority of educated white men, whose bodies, while written out of the curriculum, were still physically required in the examination room as a means of hierarchical reinforcement. The largest educational alternative in music for a white Briton travelling to South Africa—tonic sol-fa notation—might have rendered familiar to Taylor what the ABRSM’s project was trying to avoid: the black convert, musically literate via an alternative and perhaps more permeable means of imperial education.

John Knox Bokwe, Evangelist

The second strand of this article is the story of a black man whose hymns in tonic sol-fa notation eventually made their way to Britain. He did not undergo musical examinations, for the form of colonial music-making to which he had been introduced was based on contrasting, if thoroughly contemporaneous, hierarchical principles: those of tonic sol-fa notation, a system associated with nonconformist mission, rather than with European performance standards.⁷⁵

John Knox Bokwe was named after the Scottish Protestant Reformer John Knox by his parents, who became converts to Christianity at the Lovedale Mission

⁷⁴ Franklin Taylor, ‘Preface’, *Technique and Expression in Pianoforte Playing* (London, 1897), i.

⁷⁵ The most extensive study of the spread of tonic sol-fa outside of Britain, principally to Madagascar, has been undertaken by McGuire, *Music and Victorian Philanthropy*. See also Robin Stevens, ‘Missionaries, Music and Method: Dissemination of Tonic Sol-fa in Asia-Pacific Countries During the Nineteenth Century’, *APSMER 2005: 5th Asia Pacific Symposium on Music Education Research Proceedings* (Seattle, 2005), 1-19.

Station, founded in 1824 by the Glasgow Mission Society.⁷⁶ He was born a member of the Xhosa-speaking Ngqika Mbamba clan based at Ntselamanzi, near Lovedale. Bokwe was one of the first to adapt John Curwen's tonic sol-fa system to Xhosa music.⁷⁷ His earliest tonic sol-fa transcriptions of the songs of the famous Xhosa convert and poet Ntsikana were published in 1878. Bokwe went through many stages of education and, through his upbringing at the Lovedale Mission Station, first learned to read and then to arrange and write music in tonic sol-fa. He then worked for many years in the 1870s as an editor for the *Kaffir Express*, after which he became the editor of the first Xhosa language newspaper, *Imvo Zabantsundu*.⁷⁸ Bokwe first travelled to Scotland in 1892, where he disseminated many of his popular hymns. When he returned to South Africa, Bokwe nursed further ambitions to return to Scotland and, like Taylor, made his own second voyage, becoming ordained as a Presbyterian minister in Scotland in 1906.⁷⁹ Like many nonconformist evangelicals at the time, Bokwe saw tonic sol-fa music and the accessibility of the visual symbols as a key tool for evangelisation.

In July 1894, during the same month that the ABRSM dinner had toasted the departure of Franklin Taylor, *Imvo Zabantsundu* noted that he was preparing the publication of tonic sol-fa hymns, entitled *Lovedale Music*:

So far as we know, this is the most complete collection of music pieces, composed by a South African Native, that has yet to be published. From the songs, and the music, one is able to discern more clearly the prevailing qualities of Native music. Every nation has its own peculiar way of expressing its joys and its sorrows, its

⁷⁶ See Robert H. W. Shepherd, *Lovedale, South Africa: The Story of a Century 1841-1941* (Lovedale, 1941), vi.

⁷⁷ The first tonic sol-fa publication in South Africa was by Christopher Birkett, *Ingoma, or Penult Psalm-Tunes, Compiled for the Use of the Native Churches in Southern Africa* (London, 1871).

⁷⁸ The Xhosa-language newspaper *Imvo Zabantsundu* was published consistently from 1884-1921. Secondary literature on the context of this newspaper can be found in Leonard Diniso Ngcongco, 'Imvo Zabantsundu and Cape "Native" Policy, 1884-1902' (Ph.D. dissertation, University of South Africa, 1974); D. T. Davidson, *The Life of John Tengo Jabavu, Editor of Imvo Zabantsundu, 1884-1921* (Lovedale, 1922); and P. G. Dickson, *The Ideas and Influence of J. Tengo-Jabavu, Editor of Imvo Zabantsundu (1884-1921)* (Cape Town, 1964). The journal is also used as a primary source by William Beinart, *Hidden Struggles in Rural South Africa: Politics & Popular Movements in the Transkei & Eastern Cape 1890-1930* (London, 1987).

⁷⁹ For a thorough discussion of Bokwe's life, see Grant Olwage, 'John Knox Bokwe, Colonial Composer: Tales about Race and Music', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 131 (2006), 1-37.

aspirations and its defeats in the music of song, and the South African Natives are no exceptions to this general rule.⁸⁰

This book was one of the many publications by the Lovedale Press, which was the public voice of the mission station.⁸¹ Bokwe had been notating hymns in tonic sol-fa since around 1875.⁸² Percival Kirby, one of South Africa's first musicologists and himself a product of the elite examinations system, undertook much of the initial research on Bokwe in the early twentieth century. Born in Scotland in 1887, Kirby was among the first students at the RCM, and moved to South Africa in 1914 as Music Organiser for the Natal Education Department, later becoming one of the most famous pioneering scholars of black South African music, although most of his work was not completed until the 1930s.⁸³ Kirby's writings around the time of his death display an interest in indigenous South African music that is partly marred by what he perceived as the taint of European influence on the black composer—a common process of reifying music of pre-European contact as unchanging, prevalent in musicology of the time.⁸⁴ This was also the concern of the British press during the tours of the South African Choir (a group consisting all-black male and female singers, directly modeled on the African American Fisk Jubilee Singers) to Britain in the early 1890s. Like the absence of black candidates from ABRSM certification, the choir was somewhat ambiguously welcomed into the musical world of Britain.⁸⁵ The

⁸⁰ *Imvo Zabantsundu* (25 July, 1894), translated and cited in Lucia, *South African Music*, 318.

⁸¹ The success of the Lovedale Press continued well into the twentieth century and continues today; there are, for example, over a hundred publications listed in *A Catalogue of Books Published by The Lovedale Press* (Lovedale, 1956).

⁸² This is according to Percival J. Kirby, in 'The Use of European Musical Techniques by the Non-European Peoples of Southern Africa', *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 11 (1959), 38.

⁸³ Percival Kirby's remarkable cultural transition from his RCM education to South Africa, where he had to encounter much black tonic sol-fa music is discussed in Christina Lucia, 'Travesty or Prophecy? Views of South African Black Choral Composition', in *Music and Identity: Transformation and Negotiation*, ed. Eric Ayisi Akrofi, Maria Smit, and Stig-Magnus Thorsén (Stellenbosch, 2007), 161-80.

⁸⁴ On the history of racial determinism and the objectification of authenticity that was prevalent for musicologists such as Kirby, see Philip V. Bohlman, 'Traditional Music and Cultural Identity: Persistent Paradigm in the History of Ethnomusicology', *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 20 (1988), 26-42; and Bruno Nettl, *Nettl's Elephant: On the History of Ethnomusicology* (Urbana, 2010). These concerns also correlate with those of folksong collectors such as Cecil Sharp, who worried about the contamination of British rural traditions by allegedly corrupt cosmopolitan and commercial influences. See Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions* (Taunton, 1907).

⁸⁵ On the South African choir in Britain, see Veit Erlmann, 'Africa Civilised, Africa Uncivilised': Local Culture, World System and South African Music', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20 (1994), 165-179.

hymn-teaching of (largely Scottish) missionaries was the main exception to this attitude, and had thus constituted Bokwe's musical education.⁸⁶

However, owing to the hybrid nature of his writing, Bokwe received criticism from institutionally-trained British musicians, because his music could not be perceived or classified as either African or British. 'He was entirely self-taught', noted Kirby, but 'an intensive study of a number of his compositions reveals the fact that while he had obtained a fair grasp of the basic principles of simple European harmony, his musical grammar was frequently at fault, which was to be expected from one who learned it from studying models which were not always impeccable'.⁸⁷ This is in part a critique of the educational methods of the tonic sol-fa movement that had been taught at Lovedale, which Kirby, with his RCM training, thought inferior.⁸⁸ Bokwe would find little official approval from white musicians educated in South Kensington. Thus, even from the perspective of early musicologists like Kirby, any sense of African authenticity in Bokwe's writings was undermined by the professor's complaint that, when he did write European hymns, they did not conform to the more sophisticated harmonic rules taught by the RCM or the ABRSM.⁸⁹

Other aspects of Bokwe's colonial mission station life may be pieced together from records of the Lovedale Mission Station, where he lived and learned the tonic sol-fa method. His father Jacob Bokwe was a pupil there, having been admitted on the opening day in 1841.⁹⁰ Named the Lovedale Missionary Institution at its inception, it was founded as a mission settlement through the work of John Love (1758-1825), Secretary to the Glasgow Mission Society, and admitted around 600 students per year.⁹¹ It bore the reputation of a mission station that became 'an interpreter and mouthpiece of the Non-European people of South Africa' through

⁸⁶ Of relevance here is John M. MacKenzie, *The Scots in South Africa: Ethnicity, Identity, Gender and Race, 1772-1914* (Manchester, 2007).

⁸⁷ Kirby, 'Use of European Musical Techniques', 38.

⁸⁸ Kirby's opinion that tonic sol-fa was an inferior method is revealed in his autobiography, *Wits End*, 85-90.

⁸⁹ Olwage, 'Tales About Race and Music', 4.

⁹⁰ Shepherd, *Lovedale, South Africa*, 194.

⁹¹ Keith Snedeger, *Mission, Science, and Race in South Africa: A. W. Roberts of Lovedale, 1883-1938* (Lanham, 2015), 19.

the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁹² Music was an integral agent of evangelisation: hymn singing was a daily occurrence, as well as a secular musical activity in the form of a mission station brass band. The college president James Stewart had noted in 1894 that ‘as all Africans are musical’, music was one way to further racial integration: ‘Black and white mingle in the [mission station] band, as they do elsewhere and in the classes, though they sit at separate tables and have separate rooms’.⁹³

However, more recent histories of Lovedale suggests that there was disgruntlement and resistance to mission education by this time, which Bokwe himself noted; he wondered if mission education had begun to reach its limits.⁹⁴ In 1885, when Bokwe was composing hymns and beginning to think about his theological studies in earnest, a Joint Theological Faculty between Presbyterians and Congregationalists was inaugurated at Lovedale.⁹⁵ The index *Lovedale: Past and Present* was published in 1886, listing the names of people associated with the mission; it remembers Bokwe as Secretary to the President, Dr. James Stewart, and ‘later an honoured musician and minister among his people’.⁹⁶

Bokwe first emerged as an internationally-renowned composer during the 1891 tour of the South African Choir to England. Although he did not participate in the tour, the choir sang his hymns in England, gaining Bokwe fame as a black musician. This was noted with some trepidation at Lovedale, although with a certain, reserved pride in Bokwe’s abilities as a reflection of the progress of mission education. Rev. W. J. B. Moir, editor of the *Christian Express* and acting principal of Lovedale on several occasions between 1872 and 1893, was opposed to the choir tour because he believed that the ‘South African Bantu lacked characteristic music’,

⁹² Shepherd, *Lovedale, South Africa*, vi.

⁹³ James Stewart, *Lovedale South Africa: Illustrated by Fifty Views from Photographs* (Edinburgh, 1894), 80. This book, published in Edinburgh with a photograph of black and white mission activity on every other page, was intended as a souvenir for the Scottish Free Church-goer rather than as a book that would have been read by black South Africans.

⁹⁴ Graham A. Duncan, *Lovedale, Coercive Agency: Power and Resistance in Mission Education* (Pietermaritzburg, 2003), 200-1.

⁹⁵ Shepherd, *Lovedale, South Africa*, 512.

⁹⁶ James Stewart, *Lovedale, Past and Present: A Register of Two Thousand Names* (Lovedale, 1887), 22-4.

and had no real tunes of their own, excepting Ntsikana's hymn (see below) and 'John Knox Bokwe's music'.⁹⁷

Bokwe himself expressed concern that he was almost entirely self-taught as a hymn-writer. Concerning the first, shorter edition of *Lovedale Music* (1885), he worried that 'the harmonising is from ear' so 'not likely to be a scientifically ... got-up affair', and that he did not consider himself 'much of a judge of correct harmony'.⁹⁸ However, since he grew up singing from Scottish Free Church hymnals, advocated by strict Lovedale founder James Stewart (1831-1905), he would have internalised the structures, meters and harmonic language of Victorian hymns, which the missionaries encouraged the black converts to use as replacements for indigenous forms of music-making.⁹⁹

The unusual phrase structures of Bokwe's most well-known piece, a transcription of *Ntsikana* (named after an early black convert to Christianity) has been studied by Janet Hodgson and Dave Dargie, drawing out the fact that Bokwe was interested in declamatory repetitions of the phrase structure from Xhosa oral poetry although, theoretically, he was only trained in the language of Western hymns.¹⁰⁰ Ntsikana was an early black convert to Christianity, whom Hodgson dates as living from 1780 to 1821 and being 'revered by many Africans as a prophet and a saint'.¹⁰¹ It was Bokwe who first transcribed, translated and published this hymn, thereby expressing his interest in rendering the Xhosa conversion experience in music accessible to a Western audience. To this end, Bokwe undertook extensive research. As Hodgson notes, 'Bowke collected his information from the old people',

⁹⁷ Shepherd, *Lovedale, South Africa*, 241.

⁹⁸ Olwage, 'Tales About Race and Music', 4, citing John Knox Bokwe, Letter to Mr. Shaw, 14 July 1885, 'Letterbooks', vol. 1, National Library of South Africa (Cape Town), MS B59,1(1); letter to R. Kawa, 10 May 1886.

⁹⁹ For example, Brietenbach describes how at Lovedale, the missionaries instituted the abandonment of African forms of dancing and music, and urged their converts to 'adopt a European work ethic', which included 'introducing them to different forms of cultivation and gardening, layout of settlements, and ways of building, the introduction of artisanal training, and the application of European technologies'. Esther Breitenbach, 'Scottish Encounters with Africa in the Nineteenth Century', *Africa in Scotland, Scotland in Africa: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Hybridities*, ed. Afe Adogame and Andrew Lawrence (Boston, 2014), 35.

¹⁰⁰ Janet Hodgson, *Ntsikana's 'Great Hymn': A Xhosa Expression of Christianity in the Early 19th Century Eastern Cape* (Rondebosch, 1980); and Dave Dargie, 'The Music of Ntsikana', *South African Journal of Musicology* 2 (1982), 7-28.

¹⁰¹ Preface to Hodgson, *Ntsikana's 'Great Hymn'*, 1.

including his grandparents, 'who had been disciples of Ntsikana. He transcribed the music in Western style using tonic sol-fa notation, and this arrangement was included when he incorporated the hymn in his collection of Lovedale songs, *Amaculo asaLovedale*, in 1885'.¹⁰² One way to view the popularity of Bokwe's transcription of Ntsikana's hymn among the first Xhosa converts, then, is to take into account the fact that it was included in the earliest Xhosa hymn books, along with the missionaries' own compositions.¹⁰³

Bokwe's own hymns, such as 'Saviour of Sinners', 'The Saviour Died', and 'Thy Will be Done', were far more orthodox in their phrase structures, using fewer 'call and response' forms. He was also praised by Robert Young, author of *Trophies of African Heathenism*, for being 'an intelligent native' by virtue of his musical abilities,¹⁰⁴ something that enabled him to be taken more seriously as a composer within England, and as someone who, like Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, a biracial student at the RCM around this time, was debatably seen to almost transcend his race (although never fully) through his appropriately-'Victorian' musical success.¹⁰⁵ For example, an 1892 British publication by Robert Young entitled *Trophies from African Heathenism* describes Bokwe as a prime example of an African with good 'mental capabilities', who, at a meeting of the Lovedale Literary Society, came across as 'an intelligent native'.¹⁰⁶ Bokwe was also classified as a member of the Xhosa Intellectuals of the 1880s, a generation of African intellectuals engaged with European modernity.¹⁰⁷ Historian Ntongela Masilela comments that Bokwe, writing in his old age, often referred to the role that indigenous language newspapers played

¹⁰² Hodgson, *Ntsikana's 'Great Hymn'*, 19.

¹⁰³ Hodgson, *Ntsikana's 'Great Hymn'*, 16. Hodgson does, however, conclude after much analysis (74), that all transcriptions of the hymn show European influence.

¹⁰⁴ Robert Young, *Trophies from African Heathenism* (London, 1892), 215.

¹⁰⁵ Coleridge-Taylor, of course, had the benefit of 'elite' British musical education in staff notation, which Bokwe had never had, and so was placed on a higher rung of the social ladder than the colonial composer. See Jeffrey P. Green, 'Perceptions of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor on his Death (September 1912)', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 12 (1985), 321-52; and Jeffrey P. Green, 'Reexamining the Early Years of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, Composer', *Black Victorians / Black Victoriana*, ed. Gretchen Holbrook Gerzina (New Brunswick, 2003), 39-51.

¹⁰⁶ Robert Young, *Trophies from African Heathenism* (London, 1892), 215.

¹⁰⁷ See Ntongela Masilela, 'African Intellectual and Literary Responses to Colonial Modernity in South Africa', in *Grappling with the Beast: Indigenous Southern African Responses to Colonialism, 1840-1930*, ed. Peter Limb, Norman Etherington, and Peter Midgley (Leiden; Boston, 2010), 246.

in making it possible for black South Africans to negotiate a transition from tradition to modernity.¹⁰⁸

The migration patterns of black South African hymnody were notoriously difficult to contain, spreading quickly across the empire and back. Imperial hymnody is thus far more difficult to ‘map’—or to ‘classify’ in a hierarchical system of knowledge—than the spread of standardised graded exams, which only moved in one direction (from London outwards), and which were meticulously maintained by the prevailing institution. In terms of imperial music that affected concert life in both colony and imperial metropole, however, it was arguably hymnody that had the greater impact. In its permeability and omnipresence in worship services, the hymn was in the colonial context a more accessible and porous genre than works of Western art music that, in the context of the concert or music exam, retained associations of financial privilege. The hymn, therefore, perhaps spoke the language of empire more fluently than the musical genres Franklin Taylor came to South Africa to pursue. In recalling Heather Sharkey’s notion that encounters of imperial mission can be ‘intensely local, global, and transnational at once’,¹⁰⁹ one might say that the accessibility of the hymn, in both its ubiquity across religious services but also in the simplicity and malleability of its musical style, was a genre that itself could be ‘intensely local, global, and transnational’, a musical genre that, more than any other, allowed for migration from imperial centre to colony and back.

Bokwe’s South Africa in the 1890s was a context in which the hymn could play the double function of conforming to imperial mission ideology while also reframing indigenous-language religious songs as sites of black pride. The seed for this had already been planted by the South African tours of the African American gospel Fisk Jubilee Singers.¹¹⁰ The South African Choir, specifically modeled on the Fisk Jubilee Singers, performed many of Bokwe’s hymns on their tours, and had

¹⁰⁸ For example, see Masilela, ‘Intellectual and Literary Responses’, 250.

¹⁰⁹ Heather J. Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt: Missionary Encounters in an Age of Empire* (Princeton, 2008), 2.

¹¹⁰ The influence of the world tours of the African-American Fisk Jubilee Singers upon nineteenth-century black South African touring singing groups is traced in Zine Magube, ‘The Boundaries of Blackness: African-American Culture and the Making of a Black Public Sphere in Colonial South Africa’, in *Empires and Boundaries: Rethinking Race, Class and Gender in Colonial Settings*, ed. Tarald Fischer-Tiné and Susanne Gehrmann, (New York and London, 2009) 212-32.

undertaken successful tours to Britain in 1891 and 1893. In 1892 Bokwe first travelled to Edinburgh, where he reputedly performed several of his songs at social gatherings, ostensibly both as a means of promoting his own music and as a possible step towards integration.¹¹¹ The members of the South African Choir themselves functioned as what Veit Erlmann has called ‘emissaries to the imperial consciousness, musical reminders of “England’s duty”’.¹¹² Often during the choir’s tour, the British press was disappointed at the choir members’ adoption of sober Victorian dress and the fact that they did not move as much as was expected onstage.¹¹³ When this choir toured London it sang Bokwe’s arrangement of Ntsikana’s *Ulo Thixo omkhulu, Singamawele*, and the ‘Kaffir Wedding Song’, pieces that closely resembled Victorian hymns in musical construction.¹¹⁴ Yet British audiences had perhaps been primed by the spectacle of ‘native villages’ at International Exhibitions, and ethnographic displays such as the ‘Stanley and African’ exhibition of 1890: they in one sense expected dramatic performances of the ‘exotic’ or ‘indigenous’ and missed those elements of the choir’s promotion of Christian mission education.¹¹⁵

What is also noteworthy is that by 1894, when Taylor was beginning to launch the ABRSM examinations in South Africa, Bokwe’s second edition of *Lovedale Music* was published, not only for black South Africans, but also as a souvenir for the audience members of the South African Choir in Britain.¹¹⁶ This booklet, entirely in tonic sol-fa, contains 37 songs. 25 of these hymns are in Xhosa, and 12 are in English, specifically provided for those ‘who may not be able to sing the Kaffir’.¹¹⁷ Written in

¹¹¹ See John Knox Bokwe, ‘Notes of a Visit to Scotland’, *Imvo*, (3 May 1893). Grant Olwage claims that Bokwe almost certainly did not tour with the choir, although he considered doing so and at one point asked for leave from Lovedale for this purpose. However, Olwage notes that as Bokwe was such a consistent record-keeper, his accompanying the choir would have been noted. By late 1892, when Bokwe finally got to Scotland, the choir’s tour had also come to an end, so it is probable that he did not cross paths with them in Britain. Olwage, ‘Tales About Race and Music’, 22. On this point, see also Lucia, *South African Music*, 347, footnote 339.

¹¹² Erlmann, ‘Africa Civilised’, 167.

¹¹³ Erlmann, ‘Africa Civilised’, 170.

¹¹⁴ ‘Although all of these titles were unmistakably South African, none could in fact be described as ‘native’ in any sense. Rather, these songs were classics of a repertoire called *makwaya* (choir songs), a genre that was largely based upon the Western Baroque hymn’. Erlmann, ‘Africa Civilised’, 171.

¹¹⁵ See *Musical Herald* (1891) 216, and *Musical Times* (1891), 483.

¹¹⁶ John Knox Bokwe, *Amaculo Ase Lovedale: Lovedale Music*, Second Edition (Lovedale, 1894).

¹¹⁷ Preface to Bokwe, *Lovedale Music*, i.

both iXhosa (transliterated using a system developed by British missionaries) and English, Bokwe's Preface notes that the Second Edition is expanded from the first, which was also only in tonic sol-fa notation. He also articulates a need for the publication of an edition of *Lovedale Music* in staff notation to broaden the market for the book; however, the reason that he did not and could not make this happen, he specifies, is the lack of the expensive technology needed for staff notation printing—reinforcing, perhaps, the growing association of staff notation in nineteenth-century South Africa with privileged (white) elitism, and tonic sol-fa with nonconformist (increasingly, black) mission stations.¹¹⁸ Indeed, the link in the Victorian mindset between tonic sol-fa notation as a less-evolved form of self-education extended to the idea that colonial converts could only compose a less-evolved form of music.¹¹⁹ That Bokwe was only taught tonic sol-fa in the context of the mission station rather than through professional music training is often used as an explanation for the lack of harmonic sophistication in his works. For example, Scottish vocalist David Kennedy, who traveled widely in through the Cape, recounts that:

John Knox Bokwe presented us with an original manuscript duet—'Giving'—the penmanship of which was irreproachable. He writes and harmonises melodies for the Kaffir psalms, that language requiring a special adaptation of tune. The harmonies are not faultless in all cases; but John Knox Bokwe's knowledge of music has been self-acquired, and his chords are written by ear. His compositions are printed in Tonic-Solfa at the Institution.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Preface to Bokwe, *Lovedale Music*, i.

¹¹⁹ The link between Victorian ideas of evolution, music pedagogy and tonic sol-fa notation is discussed by Bennett Zon, *Evolution and Victorian Musical Culture* (Cambridge: 2017), 163-175.

¹²⁰ See David Kennedy, *Kennedy at the Cape: A Professional Tour Through Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, the Diamond Fields, & Natal; A Section of 'Singing Round the World'* (Edinburgh, 1879). This particular quote here is given as replicated in Bokwe, *Lovedale Music*, Back Cover. Another testimonial to the Lovedale hymn collection appeared when the Rev. A. N. Somerville, D.D., during his evangelistic tour of South Africa in 1883, heard the hymn *Msindisi Waboni*, obtained a copy, and introduced it in Scotland metrically translated into English by his daughter, Mrs. G. H. Knight Bearsden of Glasgow. The words and music (in staff notation) appeared in the *Free Church Monthly* in 1892. It was noted that 'Messrs Gall and Inglis, publishers, Edinburgh, sought and obtained on 1st June 1892, permission to use the music of *Msindisi Waboni* for their publication—'Hymns and Melodies'—which they issued, August, 1893'. Bokwe, *Lovedale Music*, Back Cover.

Bokwe's own stated compositional objective was in one sense wholly reflective of imperial mission, in that he wanted his hymns to lead other black converts to Christianity. As he states in the Preface to *Lovedale Music*, 'It is needless to add that this little book is sent to the music-loving African, in the hope that it may prove acceptable to all who may use its pages ... and so help to spread the joyful news of Jesus Christ'.¹²¹ Nonetheless, Bokwe's commercial and evangelical interests had implications for the white, English-speaking, staff-notation-reading public in Britain. He indeed attempted to market the book in this direction, relying on 'friends in Scotland' to send him the correct typeface, providing an English translation of the preface, and publishing one-third of *Lovedale Music* in English.

Bokwe, like Taylor, was therefore constantly negotiating how to use the authorities associated with imperial music-making for commercial and personal promotion within the racial and social categories within which he worked. Like Taylor, he made careful choices about promoting his musical career as an extension of his own beliefs in nationalism, education and moral progress, which would then be picked up, out of his control, by the British musical press. For example, in reacting to the 1894 edition of *Lovedale Music* in Britain, the *Musical Herald* remarked that '[w]e have received (with the author's portrait), a book of tunes in four-part harmony, composed by John Knox Bokwe. The record of his life shows how even an African newly emerged from barbarism may be tamed by the strains of music'.¹²² Bokwe's social burden, then, of composing hymns that not only pushed a missionising project for the Xhosa residents of Lovedale but also advertised the success of the missions in Britain, reveals a transnational juncture where colonial musical publishing reinforces an imperial agenda. At the same time, however, it also created a space for the performative power of black song, clothed as it was in the notation of the working and colonial classes.

Olwage has suggested that the many of Bokwe's hymns possess a self-conscious voice, and that, 'more than any other of Bokwe's songs, his 'Plea for Africa' performed the work of exhibiting'.¹²³ Unlike most of the songs in *Lovedale*

¹²¹ Preface to Bokwe, *Lovedale Music*, i.

¹²² *Musical Herald* (1895), 95.

¹²³ Olwage, 'Tales About Race and Music', 22.

Music, it did not contain any iXhosa translation. The original publication of the song advertises itself as ‘A Plea for Africa, Umtandazo Nge-Africa, Sung During a Tour in Scotland, 1892’, with ‘words by a Glasgow lady’.¹²⁴ One way to interpret the hymn further might be to suggest that in text, this is a hymn of British imperialism, but that, in musical material, although following a fairly standard harmonic progression for hymns at the time, the mournfulness of the melody perhaps represents the ambiguity in Bokwe’s musical process.¹²⁵

Given that the text was written by a ‘Glasgow lady’ for the South African Choir to sing on their tours within England and Scotland, Bokwe’s musical negotiation of this text raises several questions of transnational distancing, as the collective ‘we’ in Bokwe’s transcription (and in the performances of the hymn by the South African Choir) alters from that of ‘we, as white Britons, should give a thought to Africa’, to a more abstruse performance of the black African choir imploring white audiences to bestow paternalistic sympathy for the missionising project: indeed, fundraising for black Christian education was the primary rationale for the choir tours in the first place. Sung from their ‘swarthy lips’, their ‘voices crying now’ became embodied by black voices performing the hymn to audiences of curious British concert-goers, who might be moved to make donations.¹²⁶ The concluding line of the second verse, ‘loyal to our King’, then also brings to mind not only God, but any male successors to Queen Victoria:

Give a thought to Africa
 ‘neath the burning sun
 there are hosts of weary hearts
 Waiting to be won.

Many lives have pass’d away;
 But on swamps and sod,
 There are voices crying now

¹²⁴ Bokwe, *Lovedale Music*, 80.

¹²⁵ A full transcription into staff notation of this song has been undertaken by Olwage in ‘Tales About Race and Music’, 23-24.

¹²⁶ See press reviews and photographs in Erlmann, ‘Africa Civilised’, 170.

For the living God.

Chorus:

Tell the love of Jesus,
By her hills and waters
God bless Africa, and her sons and daughters.

2. Breathe a prayer for Africa!

God the Father's love
Can reach down and bless the tribes
From his heav'n above.
Swarthy lips when mov'd by grace
Ever time is past
In our Father's home above
Loyal to our King.

3. Give your love to Africa!

They are brothers all
Who by sin and slavery
Long were held in thrall.
Let the white man love the black;
And, when time is past,
In our father's home above
All shall meet at last.

4. Give support for Africa!

Has not British gold
Been the gain of tears and blood,
When the slaves were sold?
Let us send the Gospel back,
Since for all their need.
Those whom Jesus Christ makes free,
Shall be free indeed.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ Bokwe, *Lovedale Music*, 81-84.

On the level of the hymn's melody, it is revealing to view this piece within the mindset of tonic sol-fa missionary pedagogy. The highly accessible sol-fa method was based on the idea of sight-singing in parts from alphabetical letters representing solfege scale degrees (rather than learning to read noteheads on a staff), and the importance given to scale-degree pitch rather than harmony in scores of tonic sol-fa instruction books corroborates this fact.¹²⁸ Solfege taught in this pictorial way would have deeply affected a musician who had been taught to conceive of music in terms of the visual associations of scale degrees and their relation to one another. Thus, although by ear Bokwe, with little knowledge of harmonic progressions, could notate straightforward standard triads, the recurrence of the melodic lingering on the 'lah', or sixth scale degree, in the semibreves in the main verse melody retains visual associations of the limp hand in the tonic sol-fa system (see Figure 1). This was the attitude towards the character of the 'lah' within the tonic sol-fa singing school mindset, even if the Lovedale Mission Station only used the hand signals sporadically.¹²⁹

How did Bokwe compose colonial authority? Although the underlying harmony beneath the 'lah' in the melody is the resonance of a major IV chord, the

¹²⁸ For example, although the Curwen Press, due to the public demand for self-improvement through learning elite notation, published various manuals for tonic sol-fa students 'en route' to staff notation, they always specified that knowledge of staff notation was more meaningful and concrete following a thorough knowledge and internalisation of the solfege method. As John Spencer Curwen was to ascertain, prior knowledge of tonic sol-fa should eventually help the understanding of staff notation at a deeper level than if learning the (artificial) latter system first: 'Tonic Sol-fasists, it may be thought, will be completely at sea with a notation so different from their own. All the time they have spent in learning the new notation will, it may be supposed, be thrown away when they come to study the Staff. On the contrary, experience shows that all the knowledge they have gained will be of use; it will render their progress quicker, and make them more certain readers of Staff Notation'. John Spencer Curwen, *A Staff Notation Primer for Tonic Sol-fa Pupils* (London, 1884), 2. See also the publication of his father, John Curwen, *How to Observe Harmony, so as to Sing More Correctly, Consistently, and Pleasantly* (London, 1861), which had several new editions published throughout the 1890s.

¹²⁹ In the tonic sol-fa method, as taught to missionaries, this conception of the 'lah' note pictured as drooping was internalised from the first level of introductory singing for children through to advanced lessons, regardless of whether the posters of hand signs were available. See, for example, John Curwen, *Choir Training: An Elementary Course on the Tonic Sol-fa Method* (London, 1878); *The Art of Teaching, and the Teaching of Music: Being the Teacher's Manual of the Tonic Sol-fa Method* (London: 1875); and John Spencer Curwen, *Intermediate Training for Choirs, upon the Tonic Sol-fa Method* (London, 1884). On the use and applicability of this system today, see A. C. McClung, 'Sight-Singing Scores of High School Choristers with Extensive Training in Movable Solfege Syllables and Curwen Hand Signs', *Journal of Research in Music Education*, 56 (2008), 255-266.

extended lingering on the 'lah' brings a certain minor mode poignancy. If the black singers and composer had learned only tonic sol-fa and the meanings behind the solfege syllables, their understanding of the hymn was perhaps more melodically than harmonically driven, and the melodic emphasis on 'lah' referred them to the sixth scale degree, represented on the tonic sol-fa 'modulator' as a weak note,¹³⁰ rendering it both nostalgic and problematically clothed within a strangely compromised major sonority. As can be seen in Figure 1, which sets the recurring melodic patterns of '[extended] lah – so, so – me – re – do' against the visual signs, the 'so', as the second strongest note in the scale to the major tonic visually 'opens' the melody up, setting the weeping 'lah' back on its course again. The stable, flat hand signal of 'me' reaffirms the major third of the tonic triad; the 're' reaches optimistically upwards; and the iron fist of 'doh' grounds the melody back in its major tonicity.

This is also a musical illustration of how the tonic sol-fa pedagogical methods reflected Curwen's avoidance of the minor mode, as it was not a convincing move within a tonic sol-fa setting, given the limp appearance of the note 'lah' within the visualised hand symbols that accompanied the solfege. This is yet another factor that set the tonic sol-fa movement apart compositionally from the increasing important role of the minor mode in late nineteenth-century Romantic instrumental music.¹³¹ Does Bokwe's hymn tune attempt a minor nostalgia without the theoretical language to engage with it? Or, as a people who, according to contemporary British attitudes, were said by Victorians to have 'no music' of their own (owing to their skin colour and alleged lack of sophisticated musical intelligence) until songs were brought to them by the British,¹³² were the members of the South African Choir reduced to resisting Victorian voice-leading even while employing it on the surface?

¹³⁰ Tonic sol-fa 'Modulators', ranging in size from pocket-sized leaflets to six-foot posters, were published in the millions by the Curwen Press over the course of the nineteenth century as instructional aides to teaching music theory.

¹³¹ For example, see Leonard B. Meyer, *Style and Music: Theory, History and Ideology* (Chicago, 1989), especially section 'Direct Contrasts of Mode', 291-296.

¹³² 'The Kaffirs do not appear to have any airs of their own', noted the *Kaffir Express* in 1874. This is cited in Grant Olwage, 'Singing in the Victorian World: Tonic Sol-fa and Discourses of Religion, Science and Empire in the Cape Colony', *Muziki: Journal of Music Research in Africa* 7 (2010), 208.

Was Bokwe, as an evangelist for Christian mission, also constructing a musical site of colonial agency?

On the surface, Bokwe was always a staunch spokesman for self-improvement through Western education. As he wrote in the *Christian Express* of 1891:

The point of view from which I regard the influence of the European races upon my fellow-countrymen (and all the native races of Africa I hold to be my fellow-countrymen), is this. The European races being professedly the dominant race, in power, in knowledge, and in character, what effect is their presence and power, and character having in moulding the character and stimulating the energies of the Native races? ... It is a strange and sad fact that the sons of Colonists, according to the native mind, swerve from the upright courses of their fathers.¹³³

In short, colonial (African or British) singers veering into the performative territory of this song needed to be reminded of the ‘upright courses of their fathers’, embracing the mission evangelism of the British while simultaneously singing for a sense of black nationalism. But perhaps this ambiguity gave the hymn its power; a sense that as a piece of music open to a ‘public examination’, (as opposed to—in the case of the ABRSM—a ‘private’, or, ‘privatised’ examination),¹³⁴ of music in the wider imperial world, it both transcended the idea of imperialism while at the same time being a product of it.

How did this ‘public examination’ of ‘Plea for Africa’ create room for forms of resistance to this disciplining? Shortly after his death, indeed, Bokwe was compared

¹³³ John Knox Bokwe, quoted in the *Christian Express* (1891), 150. Also cited in Olwage, ‘Tales About Race and Music’, 26.

¹³⁴ My use of the term ‘public examination’, of course, cannot be used without bringing to mind a Foucauldian approach to the set-up of the act of imperial examining as a discourse of power. I aim to shy away from a Foucauldian analysis of imperial musical knowledge construction in part, because I wish to create space for hearing acts of aesthetic agency on the part of the examinee—and, for that matter, the examiner (whether this concerns the individual or the imperial public). Nevertheless, ‘disciplining’, although through an aesthetic lens, was integral to the musical lives of both Taylor and Bokwe. See Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York, 1995). On Foucault and musical discipline more specifically, see Katherine Bergeron and Philip Bohlman, ‘Introduction’, in *Disciplining Music: Musicology and its Canons*, ed. Bergeron and Bohlman (Chicago, 1992), 1-9.

by a friend to Booker T. Washington.¹³⁵ Black colleagues consistently remembered him as someone who transcended his own race, with, for example, his acquaintance A. W. Roberts remembering in 1925 that ‘his neighbours in his presence forgot his colour: they took him for what he was, both in mind and heart and soul, a true man’.¹³⁶ Yet in the late twentieth century, the revered anti-Apartheid political leader Walter Sisulu, writing from prison, claimed back Bokwe’s ‘Plea for Africa’—for Africa alone.¹³⁷ One might wonder whether, despite his sympathies with British imperialism, a part of Bokwe may have approved.

Postlude

These musical narratives, as well as the ongoing debates about how British musical authority should really be defined and codified, did not end in the 1890s. Just as Taylor was only the first of many ABRSM examiners to travel to South Africa, Bokwe’s desire to seek Western education for black South Africans continued long into the twentieth century, and he was only one of many black South Africans who travelled to Britain around the turn of the century. His son, R. T. Bokwe, became a qualified doctor after training in Edinburgh; it is unclear whether he was taken there by his father or sent separately.¹³⁸ It is unknown whether his wife, who is never listed as more than ‘Mrs John Knox Bokwe’, travelled with him during his first trips, but after her husband’s death she was invited in 1938 by the women of the Church of Scotland to travel to Scotland for the centenary of the Church of Scotland Women’s Foreign Mission.¹³⁹ As the Lovedale records note, ‘[t]o her fell the honour of representing African womanhood’, and, among other delegates from India and China, she visited congregations all over Scotland, both rural and urban, where ‘often by just a few words she won the hearts of vast audiences’.¹⁴⁰ She also attended the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in Edinburgh in May, 1938,

¹³⁵ See Olwage, ‘Tales About Race and Music’, 28.

¹³⁶ See Olwage, ‘Tales About Race and Music’, 28.

¹³⁷ See Olwage, ‘Tales About Race and Music’, 28.

¹³⁸ Shepherd, *Lovedale, South Africa*, 358.

¹³⁹ Shepherd, *Lovedale, South Africa*, 481.

¹⁴⁰ Shepherd, *Lovedale, South Africa*, 481.

at which, reported eagerly by the *South African Outlook* back in her home country, it was noted that she was especially thanked by the Moderator.¹⁴¹

Within white South Africa, and for many of the white Europeans who, like Taylor, travelled there during the late nineteenth century, the superficial presumption was that black musicians would be grateful for opportunities for Western education, musical or otherwise, but that the spread of tonic sol-fa singing might go slightly too far if it encroached too greatly upon white South African musical practice. Only two months after Taylor's grand dinner in July 1894, an editorial in the *Musical News* entitled 'The Staff Notation versus the Tonic Sol-fa' was rife with racial and aesthetic repugnance for the prevalence of the 'new notation' (sol-fa) over the 'old' (staff), in the London School Board vocal competition in Royal Albert Hall on 18 July (the same week as Taylor's send-off dinner). Referring to staff notation as the 'universal', the editorial described tonic sol-fa as 'hieroglyphics' which were 'ugly and black' to look at, and ludicrous for advanced (or 'superior') pieces of music that required frequent accidentals and modulations.¹⁴²

These associations did not die out easily, nor did their vicissitudes become seen as any less hierarchical through the eyes of future agents of empire. In an article entitled 'Tonic Sol-fa at Durban', Mr. C. Hoby, a successful former student at the RCM and author of *The South African School Sight Singing Method, Tonic Sol-fa and Staff* (published, notably, not only in London but also in New York and Bombay),¹⁴³ wrote a letter to the *Tonic Sol-fa Record* in 1904 from Durban as follows:

I am in this far-away corner of the Empire busily at it all day and till late at night with Music. I have the Orchestral Society, the Municipal Choir, 150 strong, a Male Voice Choir of about 30, and the Organist and Choirmastership of the Parish Church here (surpliced choir mixed), and am Instructor in School Music to the Natal Government Education Department.

We have thousands of children in the schools here, and any amount of teachers who, till I was allowed by government to start the work with them, had no

¹⁴¹ *South African Outlook* (1938), 212.

¹⁴² Jacob Bradford, 'The Staff Notation versus the Tonic Sol-fa', *Musical News* (1894), 195-6.

¹⁴³ John Charles James Hoby, *South African School Sight Singing Method, Tonic Sol-fa and Staff* (London, New York and Bombay, 1904).

sol-fa at all, and indeed all over the colony, school singing was mostly in a wretched state. Now things are much improved. I was converted to Tonic Sol-fa by reading up all the Curwen publications. I have Tonic Sol-fa in my church choir; I have a preliminary choir *entirely* Tonic Sol-fa, a feeder for my Choral Society, and all my schools (5 large ones), now have it.¹⁴⁴

Hoby is a useful example of the next generation of musician educated at the RCM who also advocated for and even published in tonic sol-fa once he witnessed its utility for black colonial (or working-class white) students in schools and churches. The persistence of tonic sol-fa as the chief means of teaching musical notation to black students in South African schools even today, whereas it is largely non-existent as a form of musical notation in South African white schools, is indicative of how deeply this prejudice still runs.¹⁴⁵

A much stronger reaction was recorded later in the century by Kirby in his auspiciously-titled autobiography of musical life in London and South Africa, *Wits End: An Unconventional Biography*. He remembered first finding that ‘at mission stations, black children had long been taught to sing in 4-part harmony’, and that soon the spread of tonic sol-fa had become ubiquitous for singing in schools.¹⁴⁶ ‘I soon found that I should have to do what I could to change the outlook of both the Education Department and the school teachers’, Kirby noted, lamenting that ‘singing by means of Tonic Sol-fa notation was in full swing in all the primary schools in Natal’, which meant that white children were starting to sing it too. Kirby then commented that the teachers were not to blame, ‘for few of them had any serious training in music ... and they could hardly be expected to do very much’.¹⁴⁷ His solution was that singing should switch to a short practice period every morning rather than only once a week, and that staff notation should replace tonic sol-fa.

¹⁴⁴ ‘Tonic Sol-fa at Durban’, *Tonic Sol-fa Record* (1904), 19.

¹⁴⁵ On the persistence of tonic sol-fa as a means of black South African musical identity from the nineteenth century to the present day, see Robin Stevens, ‘Tonic Sol-fa: An Exogenous Aspect of South African Musical Identity’, in *Music and Identity: Transformation and Negotiation*, edited by Eric Akrofi, Maria Smit and Stig-Magnus Thorsén (Stellenbosch, 2007), 37-52.

¹⁴⁶ Kirby, *Wits End*, 85.

¹⁴⁷ Kirby, *Wits End*, 85.

Kirby must have met with success in this endeavour, for he remembers that ‘I was immediately put in a position of considerable power ... I could also guide their musical taste with comparatively little difficulty’.¹⁴⁸ On Kirby’s recommendation, each Natal school child was provided with a copy of *The National Song Book*, which contained 212 of Charles Villiers Stanford’s staff (and later, tonic sol-fa) notation arrangements of British songs that were specifically published for use in British schools.¹⁴⁹ Such an imposition of staff notation and a renewal of Britishness through national song in colonial schools is a testament to the deeply held notion that RCM alumni such as Hoby and Kirby brought to the colonial context: that students would receive educational betterment through learning staff notation as a means of re-identifying themselves as British. The ongoing persistence of tonic sol-fa in black South African communities today, however, leads to the question of how these students might have negotiated their own sense of colonial difference when singing from *The National Song Book*.

The lives of the Examiner and the Evangelist were both curated by imperial authorities of knowledge. Yet as each musician undertook substantial journeys between colony and metropole, the significance of music as an emblem of race, imperial authority, and personal self-promotion altered not only their own careers but also reflected the possibilities of music as a more reflexive mode of authority in the context of transnational encounter. The partiality—or, the strong risk of partiality—latent in the authority structures of an exhausted girl playing piano exercises on a verandah in the Eastern Cape; the utility of this ‘fevered pursuit’ for Taylor’s own professional reputation as published in the periodical press back in London; and the hesitant ‘plea’ from ‘swarthy lips’ for financial assistance for black education set to a mournful tonic sol-fa tune by Bokwe, raises questions of the possibilities for dormant musical resistance emerging even from a context of cultural appropriation.

¹⁴⁸ Kirby, *Wits End*, 86.

¹⁴⁹ Kirby, *Wits End*, 86, referring to Charles Villiers Stanford, *The National Song Book: A Complete Collection of the Folk-Songs, Carols and Rounds Suggested by the Board of Education, 1905; Edited and Arranged for the Use of Schools by C. V. Stanford* (London, 1906).

The modes of imperial knowledge construction affecting the contrasting musical experiences of empire here thus coalesce along deeper channels than their geographical proximities and chronological timelines set them apart: both agents made personal use of the ambiguity of late-Victorian imperial music-making—the art that was simultaneously used a symbol of the success of empire while at the same time requiring provocative control—as a means of negotiating their own personal and ideological standings when confronted with the ‘unsettled boundaries’ of imperial knowledge in the context of empire. The “‘webs of empire” that were independent and mutually constitutive in metropolis and colony’,¹⁵⁰ saw emerging musical networks of empire c.1894 that could encompass *both* the graded board exam and the black tonic sol-fa hymn. One might posit, however, that, of the two tales, it was Bokwe’s hymn rather than Taylor’s examination certificate which, in South Africa’s public memory, offered the more flexible navigation of music’s capacity negotiate and eventually reframe the aesthetic authorities of empire.

¹⁵⁰ van der Linden, *Music and Empire*, 1-2. This is a reference to the previous citation of this quote in footnote 17.

The figure displays a musical score and corresponding hand signals. At the top, a staff of music contains the notes: a half note on G (labeled 'l'), a whole note on G (labeled '-'), a quarter note on A (labeled 's'), a quarter note on A (labeled '.s'), a quarter note on B (labeled 'm'), a quarter note on C (labeled '.r'), and a half note on C (labeled 'd'). Below the staff, five hand signals are shown, each corresponding to a note: 'La' (hand bent at the wrist), 'So' (hand flat, palm up), 'Me' (hand flat, palm down), 'Re' (hand flat, palm up, fingers slightly curled), and 'Do' (hand flat, palm up, fingers curled).

Figure 1. Reduction of the recurring 'lah – so so – me – re – doh' motive in Bokwe's *Plea for Africa*, with tonic sol-fa hand signals underneath. The key of the excerpt is G Major.