Writer/philosopher Can Themba, 1952. Photo by Jürgen Schadeberg, www.jurgenshadeberg.com. Themba studied at Fort Hare University and then moved to the Johannesburg suburb of Sophiatown. He joined the staff of *Drum* magazine after winning a short-story competition and quickly became the most admired of all *Drum* writers.

The Drum office, 1954. Photo by Jürgen Schadeberg, www.jurgenshadeberg.com.
The overcrowded Johannesburg office housed most of *Drum*'s journalists and photographers.
Schadeberg took the picture while Anthony Sampson directed it, showing (from left to right)
Henry Nxumalo, Casey Motsitsi, Ezekiel Mphalele, Can Themba, Jerry Ntsipe, Arthur
Maimane (wearing hat, drooping cigerette), Kenneth Mtetwa (on floor), Victor Xashimba,
Dan Chocho (with hat), Benson Dyanti (with stick) and Robert Gosani (right with camera).
Todd Matshikiza was away.

Echoes of an African Drum: The Lost Literary Journalism of 1950s South Africa

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Abstract: In post-apartheid South Africa, the 1950s era has been romanticized through posters, photographs, a feature film, and television commercials. Much of the visual iconography and the stories come from the pages of *Drum*, a black readership magazine that became the largest circulation publication in South Africa, and reached readers in many other parts of the continent. Despite the visibility of the magazine as a cultural icon and an extensive scholarly literature on *Drum* of the 1950s, the lively journalism of the magazine's writers is unfamiliar to most South Africans. Writers rather than journalists, the early *Drum* generation employed writing strategies and literary tactics that drew from popular fiction rather than from reporterly or literary essay styles. The writing was confined to small and more ephemeral pieces, and the writers did not explicitly set out to break journalistic conventions or locate themselves in a literary political black press tradition. But the body of writing produced by the *Drum* writers of the 1950s had an emphasis on social context that is implicitly, but powerfully, political. A close analysis of the articles shows that novelistic devices such as scene-by-scene description, first-person point of view, the use of local lingo, the personal voice, and what Tom Wolfe called "status-life details" allowed the journalists to write township life into existence. This contributed to an "improvisation" of identity for urban black South Africans in the first decade of apartheid, and a new kind of literary journalism for the society.

The Johannesburg magazine *Drum* is widely considered to have been crucial to the development of black South African literature in the 1950s and 1960s, and to have created new imaginaries for black South Africans. "The *Drum* boys,"[1] a group of young writers employed in a rather ad hoc fashion by the magazine in its early years, began writing for an emerging urban black readership in the first decade of apartheid. Their lively articles

and chronicles of township adventures made them popular characters, as well as contributing to *Drum*'s commercial success. The magazine grew to be the largest circulation publication for black readers in South Africa, and expanded to include other regions in Africa.[2] It still exists today, under different owners, as a celebrity focused, human interest magazine for black readers, with one of the highest readership rates for a South African magazine at 2.3 million readers weekly.[3]

In post-apartheid South Africa, the "*Drum* era" of the 1950s has been romanticized as "the fabulous decade" through posters, photographs, a feature film,[4] exhibitions, and even television commercials. There is an instantly recognizable visual iconography associated with the era, which finds its way into fashion (T-shirts printed with *Drum* covers, for example), posters, advertisements, and even the South African version of the television format *Strictly Come Dancing*. The recent return and reburial of the remains of Nat Nakasa, a *Drum* writer who died in exile in New York,[5] and an exhibition event for Bloke Modisane,[6] who died in exile in Germany, has continued a project of memorializing *Drum* writers, their exploits and their often tragic lives. Many *Drum* journalists wrote fiction and autobiography after their stints at the magazine, writing that has found its way into scholarly discussion and the study of South African literature.[7]

Despite nostalgia for the era, the actual journalism of these writers is unfamiliar to most South Africans.[8] This is not unusual: as Richard Keeble notes, journalism "retains a precarious position within literary culture and academe,"[9] occupying a "lower sphere" than fiction and essays. The journalism of established writers is marginalized even as their work in other genres is acclaimed.[10] Journalistic work is also closely tied to the events of the day, which can render it irrelevant—or incomprehensible—to contemporary readers.

However, as Keeble argues, journalism is a crucial cultural field in which writers "self-consciously construct their public identities."[11] Journalism is also a place for the construction of collective identities. Magazines, Tim Holmes notes, are deeply implicated in the construction of identities because of their intense focus on readers and reader communities.[12] Such journalism, despite its lightweight appearance, tells us stories about culture that are "complex to read."[13] Magazines also provide a space for literary and creative forms of journalism, and for a focus on culture.

Much of the scholarship on *Drum* (as discussed below) has focused on the ways in which the magazine and its writers were engaged in an ongoing construction of a cosmopolitan urbanity for Johannesburg city dwellers, and the implications for literary and political culture. This was not a coherent project, but a mishmash of different approaches, undertaken through a

process of trial and error. Michael Titlestad has called this process "improvisation," arguing that local identity was constructed in the 1950s through improvisation in local jazz and in the writing about jazz in *Drum*.

> Through constructing relational pathways of meaning (often by weaving together the narrative "licks" of African American jazz narrative and the contingencies of apartheid experience), South Africans assembled identities that, in certain respects at least, eluded both the definitions and the panoptical technologies of the apartheid ideologues.[14]

These narrative improvisations have been described as an engagement with modernity, a kind of self-fashioning of identities and lifestyles in relation to a rapidly changing global environment.[15] Writing was not simply a mode of self-expression, but was a process through which Africans established themselves as modern subjects.[16]

Another area of discussion has been *Drum*'s relationship to the politics of the day. The *Drum* writers were criticized for a lack of seriousness and political engagement, and *Drum* was accused of not confronting the white establishment and the apartheid state.[17] Later assessments have pointed to the ways in which the writing served as social commentary, undermining apartheid and colonial narratives about black South Africans.

This essay turns the focus on *Drum* as literary journalism. It employs a close analysis to identify the narrative techniques the writers used to detail an emerging class of city dwellers. It examines the novelistic devices—such as scene-by-scene description, first-person point-of-view, the use of local lingo, the personal voice, and what Tom Wolfe called "status-life details"—that were favoured by the *Drum* writers, and considers the ways in which the specific workings of the writing contributed to *Drum*'s cultural impact. I argue that the writerly approach of the *Drum* journalists lent itself to the "improvisation" of black identity in the first decade of apartheid, and inaugurated a new kind of creative journalism for South Africa.

Drum, Sophiatown and "The Fabulous Decade"

Drum magazine began life at the start of the 1950s, a time of great contradictions in South Africa.[18] On one hand, countries throughout Africa were looking toward independence, a move that promised new possibilities for South Africa's people; on the other, the National Party had been elected in 1948, bringing with it the ideology of apartheid. "The impact of racial discrimination in South Africa changed both quantitatively and qualitatively after the coming to power in 1948 of Dr. Malan's Nationalist Party," Michael Chapman writes.[19] The slate of laws that were rolled out after the elections were draconian; they criminalized sex and marriage across races (1949),

categorized people into different race groups (1950), made it mandatory for different race groups to live in separate residential areas (1950), brought all black schools together under a state curriculum (1953), and made it illegal for race groups to share a wide range of public resources, like parks, swimming pools, benches, et cetera.[20] These laws were designed to control the movement of black South Africans and confine them to an unskilled underclass.

Despite the elections, the political mood at the outset of the 1950s was optimistic, with the African National Congress (ANC) spearheading a broad movement for change through protest action and civic disobedience. Es'kia Mphahlele noted that "people could say what they wanted to say and there were more political rallies than there had ever been before. People felt that freedom was just around the corner."[21] This promise was not realized. The killing of dozens at a peaceful protest in Sharpeville in 1960 marked the end of the decade, signalling that the apartheid system was to be viciously policed. The ANC and other political organizations were banned shortly after that and their leaders imprisoned. The 1950s, Lewis Nkosi notes, thus "spelled out the end of one kind of South Africa and foreshadowed the beginning of another."[22]

Another major feature of the 1950s was industrialization and increased migration to the cities. According to Rabkin, the "African" population of Johannesburg was about 136,000 in 1927,[23] and increased rapidly during the Second World War, due to a growth in manufacturing and related industries. A new urban black class was emerging, in Johannesburg and the range of linked towns of the Witwatersrand, where gold had been mined since 1886. Some black migrants retained strong connections to rural areas, but many settled down more or less permanently. This led to a demand for housing and the growth of shantytowns.

The city of Johannesburg was thus an outgrowth of migration, mining, and industrialization, a place described as rough and dangerous, and a hard environment for black people.[24] Nkosi, who came to it from Durban, described it variously as a city "conquered by big business and by Boer philistines, run by a gun-crazy police force and knife-happy African thugs, a city immune to all the graces of African tribal life and to the contemplative pleasures of European cultural life"; "dense, rhythmic . . . swaggering, wasteful, totally without an inner life"; and "a cruel unthinking environment."[25]

Africans could not own property, but were able to obtain freehold rights in certain parts of Johannesburg. In 1921, the area of Sophiatown—which was relatively close to the city center—was made available for freehold tenure for Africans. From the 1930s, there was rapid population growth in the area, which became overcrowded, and, according to Gready, was both a multi-

class and multiethnic community and a slum.[26] "By 1950 Sophiatown had a population of 40,000 people and a history which extended back almost fifty years."[27] Around it, Johannesburg's white residential suburbs were also growing, and Sophiatown was constantly under threat of removal to make way for development.[28]

In contrast to white Johannesburg, Sophiatown was a place where races could mingle, parties were held, and its shebeens, music, celebrities, and gangsters were the source of many of the *Drum* writers' stories. Rabkin calls it the birthplace of a new urban society,[29] and Gready compares it to St. Petersburg of nineteenth-century Russia, with its "gnarled" and "surreal" modernism.[30] Sophiatown, Gready argues, was strongly associated with the potential for the emergence of a black urban culture, and operated mythically in the black literary writings of the day as a symbol of cosmopolitan possibility.[31] Sophiatown has also been compared to the Harlem Renaissance and to Elizabethan England.[32] "Sophiatown in the Fifties offered unprecedented possibilities for blacks to choose and invent their society from the novel distractions of urban life."[33]

Most black publications in South Africa before the Second World War were owned by educated Africans, and expressed the political aspirations of African elites. The pioneers of the independent black press—John Tengo Jabavu, John Dube, Sol Plaatje, and R.V. Selope Thema—were also eminent figures in politics, and linked to the founding of the African National Congress.[34] In the 1930s, the growing black urban population appeared to offer a new market for South African business, and, drawn by the lure of advertising revenue, white commercial interests bought up these publications and developed new products aimed at black consumers.[35] The entry of white capital into black media in the 1930s was "cataclysmic"[36] for the sector, making the black press a "captive press." The white owners placed political restrictions on their black newspapers[37] and the economic conditions of the period shaped the type of journalism that black papers produced in particular ways.[38] However, commercialization also expanded the reach of the publications; "white chain ownership and corporate control transformed the black press into a mass medium of communication."[39] This era also saw the increased monopolization of the sector by a few companies.

By the early 1950s, a number of publications competed for black readers in Johannesburg. The weekly newspaper *Bantu World* was a didactic paper aimed at an educated elite, while the tabloid magazine *Zonk* had a mix of entertainment, sport, and crime. These publications succeeded in attracting significant readership and advertising revenue.[40] *Zonk* had been launched in 1949 by the director of a popular musical show of the same name. It was the

first black readership publication to make consistent profits over an extended period and, according to Manoim, the "first successful mass-circulation black magazine aimed at urban audiences."[41]

The *African Drum* was launched into this environment in 1951 by a former Springbok cricketer, Bob Crisp, who became partners with Jim Bailey, the son of a mining magnate.[42] The magazine aimed to serve a black readership with stories of tribal culture, religion, great leaders, worthy homilies, and intellectual essays, but it didn't do well.[43] After four issues, the magazine had a circulation of 20,000 and was losing money. At this point, Bailey brought an Oxford University friend from England, Anthony Sampson, to edit the magazine, and did some rudimentary focus group research among black residents of Johannesburg. They were told that black readers wanted sport, jazz, celebrities, and "hot dames."[44] "Tell us what's happening right here, man, on the Reef!" one man told them. A local businessman told them the problem was "the white hand": "*Drum*'s what white men want Africans to be, not what they are."[45]

The publisher and editor accordingly put a black editorial board in place, employed black writers, and changed the style and content of the magazine.[46] Sampson, in a memoir, wrote that they wanted *Drum* to have an African style "to capture some of the vigour of African speech."[47] Local jazz, popular in the townships at that stage, was an influence on the "African style" they were trying to develop for the magazine.[48]

The first black writer hired by *Drum* was Henry Nxumalo, an ex-serviceman with some experience as a journalist, who had been employed early on by Crisp.[49] He would prove highly influential in developing *Drum*'s style. The other *Drum* writers had not worked in journalism, and came with diverse backgrounds and skills. Todd Matshikiza, a friend of Nxumalo's and a musician, wrote music reviews.[50] Can Themba, a teacher, was employed after he won a fiction contest held by the magazine in 1952.[51] Arthur Maimane was a schoolboy from St. Peters Secondary School in Sophiatown (the school would produce a number of reporters for *Drum*) with a passion for American crime writing.[52] A young German photographer, Jürgen Schadeberg, took pictures for the magazine, and later trained Bob Gosani and Peter Mugabane as photographers. As the magazine's circulation grew, Casey Motsisi, Bloke Modisane, Es'kia Mphahlele, and others were employed. Lewis Nkosi and Nat Nakasa were relatively late additions, joining in 1957.

Without any particular philosophy for their writing, the *Drum* writers began chronicling everyday life in the black townships of Johannesburg. At first, the mix was tabloid and apolitical.[53] However, in the first year of publication, circulation was slow to pick up despite the bright covers, jazz, girls,

and crime stories. Sampson felt at the time that there was a "fog of suspicion" between *Drum* and its readers because it was a "white man's paper."[54] They needed to demonstrate a commitment to the readers, and the opportunity came when Henry Nxumalo pitched a story about the abuse of contract labourers in the farms of Bethal. Nxumalo and photographer Schadeberg posed as a visiting journalist and his servant in order to gain access to the farms. The magazine published an eight-page article outlining the abuses, and Nxumalo's account of what he had seen was bylined "Mr Drum." The edition sold out, and public response reached Parliament and local and international media. [55]

After this, *Drum* carried regular investigations, mostly driven by Nxumalo, who went to extraordinary lengths to put himself into situations that he could report on first-hand. These included courting arrest so that he could write about prison conditions and getting himself a job at the farm where a worker had been killed. Where possible, one of the photographers would record the situations Nxumalo had got himself into. "Mr Drum" became a celebrity in the townships, and his feats of investigative journalism—which mostly involved putting himself in harm's way in order to get a story—have rarely been outmatched in South African journalism. Despite this, his legacy is limited, possibly because of his early death, the banning of *Drum* in the 1960s, and because he did not leave a collection for publication in the same way as his peers. Although he had a plain, "reporterly" style, his exploits are remembered among older journalists, even if they haven't read the actual articles.

The magazines published in the 1950s, to a contemporary eye, seem a hodgepodge of advertising, letters to readers (appearing to be slightly self-conscious), coverage of American celebrities, excerpts from the work of established writers, profiles of eminent persons, short stories, picture stories, and pieces of journalism.[56] In this lumpy mix, the writing of "the *Drum* boys" stands out for its energy and sophistication.

Covering local music and its musicians and "songbirds" was a staple of the magazine. Todd Matshikiza developed an inventive style to write about jazz, so distinctive that it was given a name: "Matshikese."[57] Matshikiza was described as using his typewriter like a musical instrument, writing in a similar fashion to the way a musician would make music.[58] Michael Titlestad points out that the metaphor of Matshikiza's writing as spontaneous creative eruption overlooks the complexity such a style would have demanded from the writer.[59] As South African jazz took a global form from across the Atlantic and improvised it to create local forms, Matshikiza absorbed American lingo and referenced American jazz musicians in his writing to make a style all his own.[60]

Nxumalo and Matshikiza, as the earliest writers on *Drum*, were influential in opening up the potential for inventiveness in both reporting and writing. The ad hoc nature of the enterprise, due to the lack of media experience of the publisher and editor and a developing readership, allowed the publication to chart new territory. As other writers came into the magazine, there was the space for them to bring their particular styles to the stories. Maimane wrote serialized fiction in the mode of American hard-boiled detective stories, using local characters, events, and language. Other writers recounted their adventures in the shebeens[61] and clubs of Sophiatown, writing first-person stories on behalf of the characters they interviewed or offering their own opinions on an event or issue. The playfulness and variability of styles of the early *Drum* can be seen by an experiment the magazine took: having Matshikiza write about a boxing match and his sports writer colleague Maimane taking on Matshikiza's music beat.[62]

Drum sales rose from 20,710 in 1951 to 73,657 in 1955, making it the largest circulation magazine in Africa in any language.[63] Chapman attributes this success to the rise in the literacy rate of an urban black working class, the commercial nature of the publication, and the exposés and stories of the Sophiatown writers.[64] *Drum* was considered to be an authority on the lives of black South Africans and became a port of call for international visitors.[65] *Drum* also expanded into other African regions.[66]

The devil-may-care spirit of the *Drum* writers, however, became increasingly difficult to sustain as the apartheid structures bore down on South Africa and they confronted increasingly traumatic events. By 1956, the Sophiatown much chronicled by the *Drum* writers was dying, as the state started to remove residents to the dormitory townships set aside for them.[67] And in December 1956, Henry Nxumalo was murdered, apparently by an abortionist he was investigating.[68] His body was found near Newclare township, on the side of the road. He had been stabbed many times. Can Themba, who was called to the scene, described him as "lying on the green grass, one shoe off, one arm twisted behind, the head pressed against the ground, the eyes glazed in sightless death."[69] The crime scene told of a struggle, Nxumalo's bloody footprints marking the ground as he had apparently tried to escape.

In 1956, 156 leaders of the Congress Alliance were arrested for treason for holding the Congress of the People, at which they drew up the Freedom Charter, a document that spelled out rights for all South Africans. The trial dragged on for several years before the accused were acquitted. In 1960, police fired on unarmed protesters at Sharpeville, killing sixty-nine and injuring about 200. The National Party government declared a state of emergency for several months after Sharpeville. In this environment, *Drum* staff were con-

stantly harassed by police.

    Drum saw a number of personnel changes over the decade. Anthony Sampson, *Drum's* first editor, returned to England in 1955, making way for Sylvester Stein. Stein left in 1957, and Tom Hopkinson took over in 1958. In 1957, Lewis Nkosi, who was working for a Zulu newspaper, joined *Drum*, as did Nat Nakasa. Can Themba was binge drinking and had become unreliable. Es'kia Mphalele went into exile in Nigeria in 1955. Others left—Maimane in 1958, Modisane in 1959, Matshikiza in 1960, and Nkosi in 1961—also going into exile. Nat Nakasa left on an exit visa in 1964 for the United States, where, homesick and lonely, he committed suicide. *Drum* was banned by the state in 1965, along with many of the writers it had published. It reemerged in 1968, but was eventually sold to a media conglomerate linked to the ruling National Party.

Drum in Global Scholarship

In the 1980s, many of the *Drum* writers of the 1950s were unbanned, releasing their writing back into South Africa's public domain.[70] Nicol describes the impact of this moment as history shifting beneath one's feet, revealing a "lost country."[71] There was a resurgence of interest in the *Drum* writers, most of whom were dead or in exile, but had managed to leave a significant body of work.[72] Since then, *Drum* has generated a large body of scholarship, emerging in such terrain as literature, journalism, cultural studies, African studies, history, politics, and gender.[73] "The magazine's impact on South African journalism, literature, gender configurations, African resistance, and urban South African culture has been documented and often lauded by various scholars."[74] This essay does not intend to review the many studies of *Drum*, but briefly outlines some key themes that have been raised in the scholarship.

    The *Drum* writers were first taken up by literature scholars, who have argued that *Drum* was pivotal to the development of black writing in South Africa.[75] David Rabkin, in a doctorate at the University of Leeds in the mid-1970s, argued that *Drum* played a significant part in both "recording the formation of the new urban culture" and providing a platform for aspiring black writers.[76] The magazine provided one of the few spaces for black writers, not only by employing them to write for the magazine, as in the case of Can Themba, but also by publishing fiction writers, such as James Matthews and Peter Clarke.[77] Chapman, in the 1980s, argued that "the stories in *Drum* mark the substantial beginning, in South Africa, of the modern black short story."[78] The adoption of the *Drum* journalists by literature scholars speaks to the extent to which their work was constructed like fiction, rather than conventional journalism.

Despite the popularity of the publication, the *Drum* writers of the 1950s have been criticized over the years by black intellectuals for being shallow. Lewis Nkosi, in an obituary on his fellow writer, Can Themba, regretted the short-lived potential of the *Drum* generation. He wrote that Nat Nakasa's work was a light "breakfast column," apart from some flashes of brilliance. "Can Themba's actual achievements are more disappointing because his learning and reading were more substantial and his talent proven; but he chose to confine his brilliance to journalism of an insubstantial kind."[79]

Es'kia Mphahlele felt that *Drum* did not deal seriously with social issues, and that it was not in proprietor Bailey's interest to produce substantial content because of his investment in white South African business, especially the mines.[80] It is notable that *Drum* never did a story on conditions in the mines. Mphahlele resigned in anger when Bailey insisted on cutting the fiction section, which had been a standard feature of *Drum* for years, and, in Mphahlele's opinion, an important contribution to black cultural life. *Drum* has also been criticized as not taking a more militant stand against the apartheid state.

On the other hand, Chapman argues that "*Drum* was part of the socializing process of the '50s: it helped to record and create the voices, images and values of a black urban culture at the precise moment that Minister of Native Affairs [Hendrik] Verwoerd was setting out to render untenable any permanent African presence in the so-called 'white' cities."[81] He also notes that *Drum* recorded many of the political events of the decade, including the Defiance Campaign, the adoption of the Freedom Charter by the Congress Alliance at Kliptown in 1955, the trial of Alliance leaders for treason in 1956, bus boycotts, the rise of the Pan Africanist Congress, and the shooting by police of unarmed protesters at Sharpeville in 1960.[82]

Many scholars have subsequently taken the position that the *Drum* writers, in detailing everyday experience, showed quite powerfully the violent impact of the apartheid system on black South Africans. As Nkosi noted, "No newspaper report on Sharpeville could ever convey significantly the deep sense of entrapment that the black people experience under apartheid rule. It is difficult to imagine a mode of expression that would adequately describe this sense of malaise."[83] Gready has argued that it was in their journalism, rather than their fiction, that the *Drum* writers offered a compelling critique of apartheid.[84]

In the postcolonial moment, *Drum* has been characterized as offering alternative ways for black South Africans to imagine themselves. As Fanon has argued, colonialism and its successor forms locked black people into categories from which they could not escape, as their blackness immediately

identified them to white culture as different, as lesser. The impact of the Western gaze on African intellectuals confronted them with a painful self-consciousness that forced them to ask: "Who am I?"[85] The work of the *Drum* writers explored this dilemma; indeed, Gready notes that Bloke Modisane's autobiography is preoccupied with "the problems of identity and impression management necessary in the 'handling' of whites."[86]

Michael Titlestad has argued that the reportage in *Drum* "suggested and elaborated alternative versions of black modernity" and promoted "new possibilities for black self-representation," and that jazz was integral to that process.[87] If South African jazz, as it has been argued, was a hybrid cultural form that mediated the impact of industrial modernity on black people, then writing about jazz was a parallel process, which appropriated jazz in its own construction of urban identity, but also showcased it as a creative "fabulous" form of social life. (Significantly, Fanon refers to the emergence of bebop and other new forms of jazz in the United States as an example of the construction of authentic culture out of the context of black experience, rather than a resort to reified traditions or adopted Western culture.[88])

Drum also allowed its readers to imaginatively connect to black communities across the world, on the one hand, in Africa, on the other, in America. Even before it began circulating satellite editions in East, West, and Central Africa, *Drum* ran stories from across the continent and had correspondents in many territories, in pursuit of what publisher Bailey called a "Pan-African common market."[89] As Odhiambo notes, "Historically *Drum* is the first transnational popular publication in English to be published and widely circulated in Anglophone Africa in both colonial and postcolonial eras."[90]

> *Drum* provided a literary space through which an African imaginary of its place in a contemporary multiracial/racially segregated South Africa/Africa/ the world, of its place in the post-World War geo-politics and global cultures and of Africa's troubled colonial 'present' and possible future independence could be articulated and dramatized.[91]

Odhiambo notes that *Drum*, in its African editions, allowed for a kind of "self-writing" by inviting letters, articles, and fiction from its readers, contributing to practices of reading and writing across the continent.

Studies of *Drum* have also noted transatlantic connections. *Drum* journalists were influenced by black American fiction, in particularly James Baldwin, Langston Hughes, Ralph Ellison, and Richard Wright, who evoked the life of Harlem.[92] Henry Nxumalo wrote to Hughes in 1953, asking him to be a judge in *Drum*'s first fiction contest.[93] This inaugurated a correspondence between Hughes and a number of the writers, especially Todd Matshikiza, Eskia Mphahlele, and Bloke Modisane, as well as Peter Clark, a regular contrib-

utor of fiction to the magazine.[94] Graham and Walters suggest that Hughes's "blues vernacular" style of writing—and his use of street language—was a forerunner to Matshikese.[95] "The notion of a genealogy of influence linking African-American literature and the *Drum* generation seems very plausible when we consider how many South Africans have claimed the Harlem Renaissance as inspiration and as a literary model."[96] The magazine also carried stories of American celebrities and showcased black American style in both stories and advertisements. Other areas of scholarship have concerned themselves with issues of representation, in particular, gender studies,[97] and visual and photographic representation.

Even though *Drum* is the most written about publication to come out of South Africa, its contribution to South African journalism is difficult to quantify. *Drum* stopped publishing for four years after being banned, and many of its pioneering journalists left the field. The increasing repression in the 1960s by the apartheid state destroyed the journalists of the "Drum school."[98] *Drum* became a memory of a bygone time, memorialized in the many anecdotal accounts of the magazine by its former editors, publisher, and journalists.[99] The physical disappearance of the writers, their work, and the magazine meant that the reporting and writing culture of 1950s *Drum* was not passed on to successive generations of black journalists, who worked for white-owned media conglomerates, in newsrooms restricted by white editorial directors. Their exploits were remembered, but not their actual journalism.

The Uses of Fiction in Journalism

Literary journalism often defines itself in opposition to conventional journalism.[100] Although both are involved in producing "stories," conventional reporting prizes information and factual accuracy, while literary journalism turns toward culture and the rich details of experience.[101] In 1973, Tom Wolfe argued that "the New Journalism" was a major departure from regular feature articles in journalism, because of its use of certain fictional devices to construct its stories. He also argued that the body of nonfiction these strategies were producing was overtaking the novel as "literature's main event."[102]

The *Drum* writers, on the other hand, did not define themselves in relation to journalism and to fiction as, for them, there was not a major divide between the two. Almost everyone on *Drum*—from owner Bailey and editor Sampson—was a publishing amateur with no experience in media. Most *Drum* writers found their way into journalism due to the social conditions of the time, which limited opportunities for educated black South Africans. With the exception of Nxumalo, none were professional journalists, and so had never been socialized in newsrooms and taken on journalistic profes-

sional identities. As John Matshikiza, son of Todd, points out in the preface to a collection of 1950s *Drum* articles: "The startling thing is that there is no real dividing line between the two styles of writing: the journalistic and the fictional."[103] Indeed, the writers showcased in the collection have stories in both modes, and there is no indication whether the story is fiction or nonfiction.

The *Drum* writers thus had no desire to expand the categories of journalism, reinvigorate nonfiction or to compete with novelists. Rather, their identities were governed by the society in which they lived, both the constraints of the state and the lively possibilities offered by communities such as Sophiatown. The writers' work, therefore, was to decide on the kinds of stories that should be told, and to tell them with as much verve and panache as possible. They did that in the mode of fiction. Just as Wolfe identified a certain fictional devices as defining the New Journalists of the 1960s and 1970s, a range of writerly strategies can be discerned in the writing of 1950s *Drum*.

Wolfe has listed four literary devices he says account for the immediacy and power of the New Journalism: scene-by-scene construction, natural dialogue, third-person point-of-view, and the use of status-life details.[104] Scene-by-scene construction is a way of telling the story by allowing it to unfold in scenes, like a movie. The use of colloquial (even irrelevant) dialogue in the scenes was good for authenticity and vital to characterization. Describing scenes from the writer's viewpoint and including dialogue is not far from traditional feature journalism. However, the New Journalism writers would sometimes write from the perspective of a character in the story, like fiction writers, in what Wolfe called "third person point-of-view." The fourth device—which Wolfe called status-life details—is descriptive detail that indicates something of the characters' "status" in society: "the entire pattern of behaviour and possessions through which people express their position in the world or what they think it is or what they hope it to be."[105] In addition to these four devices, Wolfe argued that the writers' voice in New Journalism was often lively, inventive, and colloquial, a marked departure from the reporterly style of serious journalism. [106]

Wolfe argued that the use of fictional devices in journalism required the writer to be close to the story, and spend a lot of time with the subject. The writer had to be present in order to describe scenes and dialogue and status-life detail, and sometimes this meant becoming a part of the story. Journalists use the first person and become characters in their own stories or write in the third person from the point of view of the characters. This mode meant that the writer could not take the explicitly impartial distant approach of the news journalist.

Here is Casey Motsisi writing about weekend-long parties that were held as money-making schemes in the townships, in a story centered on a character called Kid Hangover.

> A busty young girl in jeans slides a disc on the battered gramophone and some rockagers begin to dance while the Elvis of Presley accuses each and every one of being "nothing but a hound dog."

> Kid Hangover walks in and pats me on the back, then asks if I have been attended to. I put on my best midnite party manners and howl, "Waddya mean attended to? You crazy? Shake a leg boy, an give me half a dozen beers. I'm thirsty." I pay him thirty-six bob of hard-earned pennies. As it is I don't need all these beers, but there are janes around and a guy's got to make an impression.[107]

Motsisi goes on to lose his pay packet after yielding to the temptation to buy "hooch," and ruefully confesses that he allows Kid Hangover to borrow money from him at the next payday.

The extract demonstrates how the story unfolds by way of scenes, and how those scenes include descriptive details (busty young girl in jeans; battered gramophone), status-life details (the Elvis of Presley), and colloquial dialogue (shake a leg, boy). It is told in the first person, using a voice that is a mix of American slang, local English and township idiom, and making the writer into a character in the story. Motsisi is a participant in the story and in township life.

Many of the *Drum* writers' stories about urban life were of the same order. As Esme Matshikiza (wife of Todd) put it, "Of course there was resentment and bitterness and hatred at the circumstances under which we had to live, but at the same time, we had our lives to lead, which were very interesting lives, and it was fun."

Her husband, Todd, showed the life and the passions of the music culture in the writing style he developed, *Matshikese*.

> Attention please . . . attention!

> Folks, I present to you Johannesburg's brand-new Singing Sensation of the Year. Sizzling with Song. Full of beans and bounce. Dazzling with love songs and leaping with dream tunes. Ah! Every gal's dream boy and every man's "Wish-I-Waz-U."

> Folks . . . meet Mr SONGSATION—Gene Williams, if you like. But I give him to you now and forever more:

> Mister Songsation Fifty four.[108]

However, he could also make use of scene:

The hall was chock-full of people. The hall was chock-full of music. It was good music from Peter Rezant and his famous Merry Blackbirds. I said to the fellow next to me, "What do you think of this fellow, Peter Rezant?" The fellow next to me said: "Man, firs' class."[109]

The "*Drum* boys" also used fictional devices to good effect in stories of dysfunction in the system. In a piece on violence on the trains used by black residents to commute to and from work, Can Themba uses scene-by-scene description and third-person point-of-view.

Isaac had his pay packet in his inside coat pocket. Once on the train, he would press his right arm against the pocket every now and then to make sure the money was still there. But he would do it in such a way that nobody would notice anything, he hoped.

Then he plunged into that throng. For him, there was no safety in numbers. He knew that in this crowd were pickpockets, gangsters, hard-boiled thugs, beat-up men and even downright killers. Of course, most of the people were just potential victims, but Lord, who's who?[110]

Can Themba often used third-person point-of-view in his stories, making characters out of his interviewees, as he does here, with Isaac. But he also moves from the story of Isaac to tell of his own experiences, putting himself into the story as a participant.

We chanced a Dube train. It was packed, jammed like putty. On all sides, humans were pressing against us. In the passage, between seats, on seat-backs—humans. Four on three-man seats, three on two-men seats. Crammed. One women screamed for help because somebody pressed against her hard and her purse seemed to be sliding out of her pocket.

At Phefeni Station, many people got off and we had some relief. As the train moved off, in a sparkling flash, I saw a man poised on the platform like a baseball pitcher. Then he flung a missile. Crash! It struck a window. We all ducked. It looked like somebody doing it just out of hatred. Maybe he had tried to rob people in an earlier train and failed.[111]

Nat Nakasa wrote an article on train overcrowding some years later, also as a participant:

It seemed the end had come when we reached the fourth station from Dube. Those who were seated were simply picked up by other passengers and had to stand on their seats so as to make room for more people. When the train jerked unexpectedly, those standing on the seats swayed and fell on each other like mielie bags from a badly loaded lorry.

"Fudwa!" (move!) cried a woman. "This is no time for romance, you," shouted the inevitable humorist.

"Friends," yelled another clown, "this is a hint for those who are starting new jobs today. If the boss says take the scooter and go to Durban Street, he doesn't mean you must ride home to Natal. He expects you to come back in ten minutes."

For a moment smiles replaced the grim expressions on our faces.[112]

In both pieces, the experience of taking a train is described, whether through first or third person.

The magazine often used first-person stories (sometimes confessional) from interesting characters, in this case, from a *tsotsi* (young criminal or gangster).

The first time I got drunk, my friend and I decided to go and steal something. We went over to the Inanda Club. It was a Sunday afternoon and all the white people were watching the game they play with horses. We each had a six-inch knife.

I saw some Africans working near the club house and said: "Hey folks, I'm looking for a job."

They told me to come back the next morning and see the boss.

As I talked to them, I looked in the door of the secretary's office and saw a lady's handbag and a grey sports jacket lying on a chair. I went in and took them.[113]

Although purporting to be a simple record of the interviewee's story, these first-person accounts seem structured in ways similar to other *Drum* stories. In this extract, a scene is laid out, with dialogue and descriptive details. Through the interview questions, translation (from vernacular into English), and writing up of the interview information, the interviews are constructed into small stories.

Henry Nxumalo, "Mr Drum," did not use the stylistic flourishes and lively language of his colleagues, but he also relied on fictional devices in his investigative features. Getting himself employed at a farm where a worker had been killed, he described his experiences in the first person, through scene and dialogue.

After the supper, most of the labourers went away on bicycles. They said they were going to see their girls, or gamble. One, Mnguni, who was called Slow Coach, stayed behind with me. He showed me the compound, with small pot windows and iron bars like a gaol. I recognized it as the same place we had offloaded manure earlier in the day.

I asked Slow Coach where the light was and he said there wasn't a light. I asked him about blankets and he said there weren't any. "You sleep on sacks here and cover yourself with sacks," he said. "Go next door to the store room and get some. But be careful—there's a ghost there. That was where Mapikwa was killed. One night Picannin, who cooks our food, was coming back to the compound from the village. He saw Mpikwa's ghost sitting on the box in the shanty where we have our food. He dropped everything and ran back."[114]

The story unfolds chronologically—and with careful detail—through his four days of work, a beating by the farmer, and his night-time escape from the farm, barefoot and without his pass. All Nxumalo's investigations recorded such abuses, and—letting the stories speak through their details—showed the ways in which the system exploited and assaulted black South Africans.

In some of the articles, the literary devices came together to create work of great emotional power. In the following piece about Christmas, Bloke Modisane combined a chronological progression of scenes with an attention to detail and a distant first-person narrator to sketch the day.

Christmas Eve, which is also pay day, I come home laden with gifts, but before I reach home I meet a group of people in comic dress singing jazz or pop songs they have made up for the season. Women's bodies bulge disturbingly in men's attire, and men with painted faces and lips, wearing short dresses, walk with an awkward sway. I follow them aimlessly, lured by their song and frolic. I follow them along dirty twisting streets and through smelling back yards, walking into pools of stagnant water. But because I have lived all my life surrounded by this filth, I don't mind it much.[115]

The uneasiness of the imagery develops into scenes of nightmare:

Cars speed wildly along the narrow streets, forcing us into the gutters. The stench from the gutter is laughed off as a woman pulls her foot out of the filth, and shakes off the mud by stamping her foot on the ground. Sometimes she swears at the driver. Somewhere along the way we find a little girl's body on the side of the gutter. She was unlucky. . . .

We go up one street and witness a fight. Four hoodlums are stabbing one man. He tries to break away from them and run for it, but they stay with him, their blades sinking into his body until he falls. One of the four "heroes" kicks the fallen man in the face, and they walk off brandishing their blades and threatening to stab anybody who gets in their way. The sight of a man dying always fills me with horror. I get our group to walk off.[116]

After the laconic account of the day, his ending—on a dream that he will wake to another kind of Christmas one day—is unexpectedly poignant.

Conclusion

Lewis Nkosi has called the work of the *Drum* journalists "a writing scrupulous in the observation and description of the ugly facts of life in racist South Africa, a writing equally rigorous in the exclusion of self-pity, the crudely sentimental or maudlin in the presentation of the Self."[117] The grim stories of state brutality and societal violence were presented "in a cool sober prose in which they permitted themselves the luxury of a laugh."[118] The cool, ironic, playful prose of the *Drum* writers offered readers an attitude to take, an identity to occupy, a language they could use to describe their world, for more than a decade. And then it was gone.

In recent years, nonfiction has surged in popularity in South Africa.[119] Books of memoir, meditation, biography, popular scholarship, and journalism regularly outsell fiction, and writers as disparate as Antjie Krog, Jacob Dlamini, Rian Malan, Jonny Steinberg, and Mark Gevisser are valued for literary nonfiction. Some scholars have argued that the scholarship of the Wits History workshop, which used oral interviews to produce social histories (called history from below) has provided a precedent on which these writers can draw.[120] But it is noteworthy that all these writers practised journalism, and that some have drawn on material from their reporting to produce their books.[121] However, media in South Africa provide little space for this kind of writing, due to space and resource constraints, and practices of journalism that still privilege conventional reporting over literary journalism.

The intersection of a range of factors—the world of Sophiatown, urbanization, apartheid, the nature of *Drum* as a magazine, the constraints of the small black press sector, and the fictional tactics of the *Drum* writers—produced the *Drum* literary phenomenon and contributed to its impact. Successive eras of the black press in South Africa turned to activist modes of journalism. From the Black Consciousness–aligned reporters of the *World* newspaper of the 1970s, to the nation-building ethos of its successor paper, *Sowetan*, to the explicitly ANC-aligned, anti-apartheid newspaper *New Nation*, all made quite different contributions to black public life.

Creative forms of journalism do appear in South African journalism, but these are dispersed across a range of South African publications, and have never attained the critical mass of the journalism of *Drum*. Twidle points to the still divided cultural worlds of South Africans, and asks whether literary nonfiction has the potential to bring these worlds together.[122] Literary journalism, as part of the media, could play an even greater role. The *Drum* writers exist now as characters in stories of the past. But their writing and reporting skills have much to teach a new generation of post-apartheid journalists.

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Notes

1. See reference to "the *Drum* boys" in Can Themba, *The Will to Die* (London: Heinemann, 1972), 97. According to Nicol, "the *Drum* boys" originally comprised Henry Nxumalo, Can Themba, Bloke Modisane, Todd Matshikiza, Arthur Maimane, and Casey Motsisi. Mike Nicol, *A Good-looking Corpse: The World of Drum—Jazz and Gangsters, Hope and Defiance in the Townships of South Africa* (London: Minerva, 1991), 7–15.

2. See, for example, Tyler Fleming and Toyin Falola, "Africa's Media Empire: *Drum*'s Expansion to Nigeria," *History in Africa* 32 (2005): 133–164.

3. Mlenga Jere, "Portrayals of Men and Women in *Drum* magazine (South Africa) Advertisements," *Acta Commercii* 14, no. 1 (July 2014): 3, http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/ac.v14i1.231.

4. Tom Odhiambo, "Inventing Africa in the Twentieth Century: Cultural Imagination, Politics and Transnationalism in *Drum* Magazine," *African Studies* 65, no. 2 (2006): 160.

5. See J. Brooks Spector, "Fifty Years Later, Time for Nat Nakasa to Return Home," *Daily Maverick*, May 27, 2014, http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2014-05-27-fifty-years-later-time-for-nat-nakasa-to-return-home/#.VVoMtlLD8VQ.

6. South Africa's Department of Arts and Culture in 2012 received Bloke Modisane's papers from Germany, where he had lived in exile, and placed them in the National Archives. In 2014 it held an exhibition and cultural event for him at the Sophiatown Heritage and Cultural Centre in Johannesburg.

7. The *Drum* writers produced the following books: Todd Matshikiza, *Chocolates for My Wife* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1961); Bloke Modisane, *Blame Me on History* (Johannesburg: Ad Donker, 1986); Casey Motsisi, *Casey & Co.: Selected Writings of Casey "Kid" Motsisi* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1978);

Es'kia Mphahlele, *Down Second Avenue* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971); Es'kia Mphahlele, *In Corner B* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House,1967); Lewis Nkosi, *Home and Exile* (London: Longman, 1983), Can Themba, *The Will to Die* (Johannesburg: Heinemann, 1972); and Nat Nakasa's work was collected posthumously in Essop Patel, ed., *The World of Nat Nakasa* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1975).

8. A number of articles from the magazine were anthologized in *The Drum Decade: Stories from the 1950s* (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1989), ed. Michael Chapman, but they are a mix of fiction and journalism, and no distinction is made between them in the collection.

9. Richard Keeble, "On Journalism, Creativity and the Imagination," in *The Journalistic Imagination: Literary Journalists from Defoe to Capote and Carter,* eds. Richard Keeble and Sharon Wheeler (New York: Routledge, 2007), 2.

10. Ibid., 2.

11. Ibid., 3.

12. Tim Holmes, ed., *Mapping the Magazine: Comparative Studies in Magazine Journalism* (New York: Routledge, 2008), viii.

13. Ibid., ix.

14. Michael Titlestad, "Jazz Discourse and Black South African Modernity, with Special Reference to 'Matshikese,'" *American Ethnologist* 32, no. 2 (2005): 213.

15. Odhiambo, "Inventing Africa," 170.

16. Ibid.

17. See, for example, R.N. Choonoo, "The Sophiatown Generation: Black Literary Journalism in the 1950s," in *South Africa's Alternative Press: Voices of Protest and Resistance 1880s–1960s*, ed. Les Switzer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

18. For descriptions of South African experience of the 1950s, see Nkosi, *Home and Exile*; Nicol, *A Good-looking Corpse*, 1–6; and Modisane, *Blame Me on History*.

19. Michael Chapman, "More than Telling a Story: *Drum* and its Significance in Black South African Writing," in Chapman, ed., *Drum Decade*, 184.

20. Nicol, *A Good-looking Corpse*, 5.

21. Mphahlele quoted in Nicol, *A Good-looking Corpse*, 2.

22. Nkosi, *Home and Exile*, 6.

23. David Rabkin, *Drum Magazine (1951–1961): And the works of Black South African Writers Associated with It* (PhD diss., University of Leeds, 1975), 5.

24. Studies of Johannesburg and its townships can be found in Belinda Bozzoli, ed., *Labour, Township, and Protest: Studies in the Social History of the Witwatersrand* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1979).

25. Nkosi, *Home and Exile*, 12–13.

26. Paul Gready, "The Sophiatown Writers of the Fifties: The Unreal Reality of Their World," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 16, no. 1 (March 1990): 141.

27. Ibid.,140.

28. Ibid.,141.

29. Rabkin, *Drum Magazine (1951–1961)*, 3.

30. Gready, "Sophiatown Writers," 140.

31. Ibid.

32. See, for example, Titlestad, "Jazz Discourse and Black South African Modernity"; and Shane Graham and John Walters, eds., *Langston Hughes and the South African Drum Generation* (New York: Palgrave, 2010).

33. Gready, "Sophiatown Writers," 139.

34. See Tim Couzens, "A Short History of '*The World'* (and Other Black South African Newspapers) (paper, African Studies Seminar, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1976).

35. Irwin Manoim, "The Black Press 1945–1963: The Growth of the Black Mass Media and Their Role as Ideological Disseminators" (master's thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1983).

36. Shaun Johnson, "An Historical Overview of the Black Press," in *The Alternative Press in South Africa,* eds. Keyan Tomaselli and P. E. Louw (Johannesburg: Anthropos, 1991), 15–32.

37. Couzens, "A Short History of '*The World,'*" 12; Les Switzer and Donna Switzer, *The Black Press in South Africa and Lesotho* (Boston: Hall, 1979), 10.

38. Manoim, *Black Press*, 5.

39. Switzer and Switzer, *Black Press in South Africa*, 8.

40. See Manoim, *Black Press*.

41. Ibid., 63.

42. Accounts of the origins of *Drum* can be found in Anthony Sampson, *Drum: The Making of a Magazine* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2005); Nicol, *A Good-looking Corpse*; Rabkin, *Drum Magazine (1951–1961)*; and Patel, *The World of Nat Nakasa.*

43. Sampson, *Drum,* 7.

44. Ibid., 7.

45. Ibid., 8.

46. Ibid., 10–21.

47. Ibid., 13.

48. Ibid., 13.

49. Ibid., 6.

50. Ibid., 13.

51. Ibid., 49.

52. Ibid., 16.

53. Ibid., 104.

54. Ibid., 22.

55. Ibid., 22–37.

56. This observation is drawn from the collected 1954 editions of *Drum*, held in the Cullen Library, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

57. Sampson, *Drum*, 26.

58. Ibid.

59. Titlestad, "Jazz Discourse and Black South African Modernity," 217.

60. Ibid.

61. A shebeen is an informal bar or tavern.
62. Nicol, *A Good-looking Corpse*, 269–72.
63. Choono, "The Sophiatown Generation."
64. Chapman, *Drum Decade*.
65. Nkosi, *Home and Exile*, 21.
66. See Fleming and Falola, "Africa's Media Empire: *Drum*'s Expansion to Nigeria," for an account of *Drum*'s West African operation and Odhiambo.
67. Nicol, *A Good-looking Corpse*, 228.
68. Ibid*.,* 9.
69. Themba, *The Will to Die*, 97.
70. Nicol, *A Good-looking Corpse*, ix.
71. Ibid.
72. See note 7, above.
73. Fleming and Falola, "Africa's Media Empire: *Drum*'s Expansion to Nigeria," 133.
74. Ibid.
75. Black writing, in the context of these discussions, is an inclusive term that refers to the groups categorized by the apartheid system as African, coloured, and Indian.
76. Rabkin, *Drum Magazine (1951–1961),* 1.
77. Ibid.
78. Chapman, *Drum Decade*, 183
79. Lewis Nkosi, "An Obituary on Can Themba," in Can Themba, *The Will to Die*, x.
80. Nicol, *A Good-looking Corpse.*
81. Chapman, *Drum Decade*, iii.
82. Ibid.
83. Nkosi, *Home and Exile.*
84. Gready, "Sophiatown Writers," 150.
85. See Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 2007); and Frantz Fanon, "The Fact of Blackness," in *Theories of Race and Racism: A Reader,* eds*.* Les Back and John Solomos (London: Routledge, 2000).
86. Gready, "Sophiatown Writers," 144.
87. Titlestad, "Jazz Discourse and Black South African Modernity," 211.
88. Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, 176.
89. Odhiambo, "Inventing Africa," 158.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
92. Gready, "Sophiatown Writers," 144.
93. Graham and Walters, *Langston Hughes*, 7.
94. Ibid., 26.
95. Ibid., 17.
96. Ibid.
97. See, for example, Dorothy Driver, "*Drum* Magazine and the Spatial Con-

figurations of Gender," in *Text, Theory, Space,* eds. Kate Darian-Smith, Liz Gunner and Sarah Nuttall (London: Routledge, 2005); Lindsay Clowes, "Are You Going to Be MISS (or MR) Africa? Contesting Masculinity in *Drum* Magazine 1951–1953," *Gender and History* 13, no. 1 (April 2001):1–20; Kenda Mutongi, "'Dear Dolly's' Advice: Representations of Youth, Courtship and Sexualities in Africa, 1960–1980," *International Journal of African Historial Studies* 33, no. 1 (2000): 1–23; Mac Fenwick, "Tough Guy, Eh? The Gangster Figure in *Drum*," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 22, no. 4 (1996): 617–632; and Mlenga Jere, "Portrayals of Men and Women in *Drum* Magazine (South Africa) Advertisements," *Acta Commercii* 14, no. 1 (July 2014), http://dx.doi.org/10.4102/ac.v14i1.231.

98. Craig Charney, "Black Power, White Press: Literacy, Newspapers, and the Transformation of Township Political Culture" (paper, African Studies Seminar, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1993), 6.

99. As well as Sampson's account, *Drum: An African Adventure? And Afterwards* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1983), there is Sylvester Stein's *Who Killed Mr Drum?* (Bellville, South Africa: Mayibuye Books, 1999); Tom Hopkinson's *In the Fiery Continent* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1962); and Jim Bailey's four-volume history, *The Beat of Drum* (Braamfontein: Ravan Press, 1983). Photographer Jürgen Schadeberg, with Claudia Schadeberg and Jim Bailey, produced the film *Have You Seen Drum Recently?* (directed by Jürgen Schadeberg, 1989, Bailey's African Photo Archives: http://www.nytimes.com/movies/movie/191491/Have-You-Seen-Drum-Recently-/credits). See, also, Tom Hopkinson and Tim Couzens, eds., *Zimbabwe: The Search for Common Ground since 1890: From the Pages of Drum Magazine* (Lanseria, South Africa: Bailey's African Photo Archives, 1992).

100. John J. Pauly, "Literary Journalism and the Drama of Civic Life," *Literary Journalism Studies* 3, no. 2 (Fall 2011), 75.

101. Ibid., 77.

102. Tom Wolfe, *The New Journalism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 22.

103. John Matshikiza, preface, in Chapman*, Drum Decade,* xi.

104. Wolfe, *New Journalism*, 46.

105. Ibid.*,* 47.

106. Ibid., 46.

107. Casey Motsisi, "Kid Hangover," May 1955, reprinted in Nicol, *A Good-looking Corpse*, 216.

108. Todd Matshikiza, *Drum,* 1954.

109. Todd Matshiza, extract in Nicol, *A Good-looking Corpse*, 87.

110. Can Themba, "Terror in the Trains," October 1957, reprinted in Nicol, *A Good-looking Corpse*, 355.

111. Ibid., 357.

112. Nat Nakasa, "Must We Ride . . . to Disaster?" in Patel, *The World of Nat Nakasa*, 35.

113. "The Birth of a Tsotsi," November 1951, reprinted in Nicol, *A Good-looking Corpse*, 53.

114. Henry Nxumalo, "A Farm Called Harmonie," March 1955, reprinted in

Nicol, *A Good-looking Corpse*, 252.

    115. Bloke Modisane, "Xmas and me," December 1955, reprinted in Nicol, *A Good-looking Corpse*, 299.

    116. Ibid.," 300.

    117. Lewis Nkosi, "Bloke Modisane: Blame Me on History," *Southern African Review of Books* 13–14 (1990): 11–13.

    118. Ibid., 14.

    119. For discussion of recent literary nonfiction in South Africa, see Nick Mulgrew, "Tracing the Seam: Narrative Journalism and Imaginings in South African Literature," *Literary Journalism Studies* 6, no. 1 (Spring 2014): 9–30; Hedley Twidle, "In a Country Where You Couldn't Make This Shit up? Literary Non-Fiction in South Africa," *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies* 13, no. 1–2 (2012): 5–28; and Rob Nixon, "Non-fiction Booms, North and South: A Transatlantic Perspective," *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies* 13, no. 1–2 (2012): 29-49.

    120. Nixon, "Non-fiction Booms," 40.

    121. Krog covered the Truth and Reconciliation Commission as a journalist for the public broadcaster, Malan drew on some of his experiences as a reporter for his book *My Traitor's Heart*, and Mark Gevisser had developed a following for profile writing in the *Mail & Guardian* before writing his biography of Thabo Mbeki, South Africa's second democratic president.

    122. Twidle, "Literary Non-fiction in South Africa," 6.