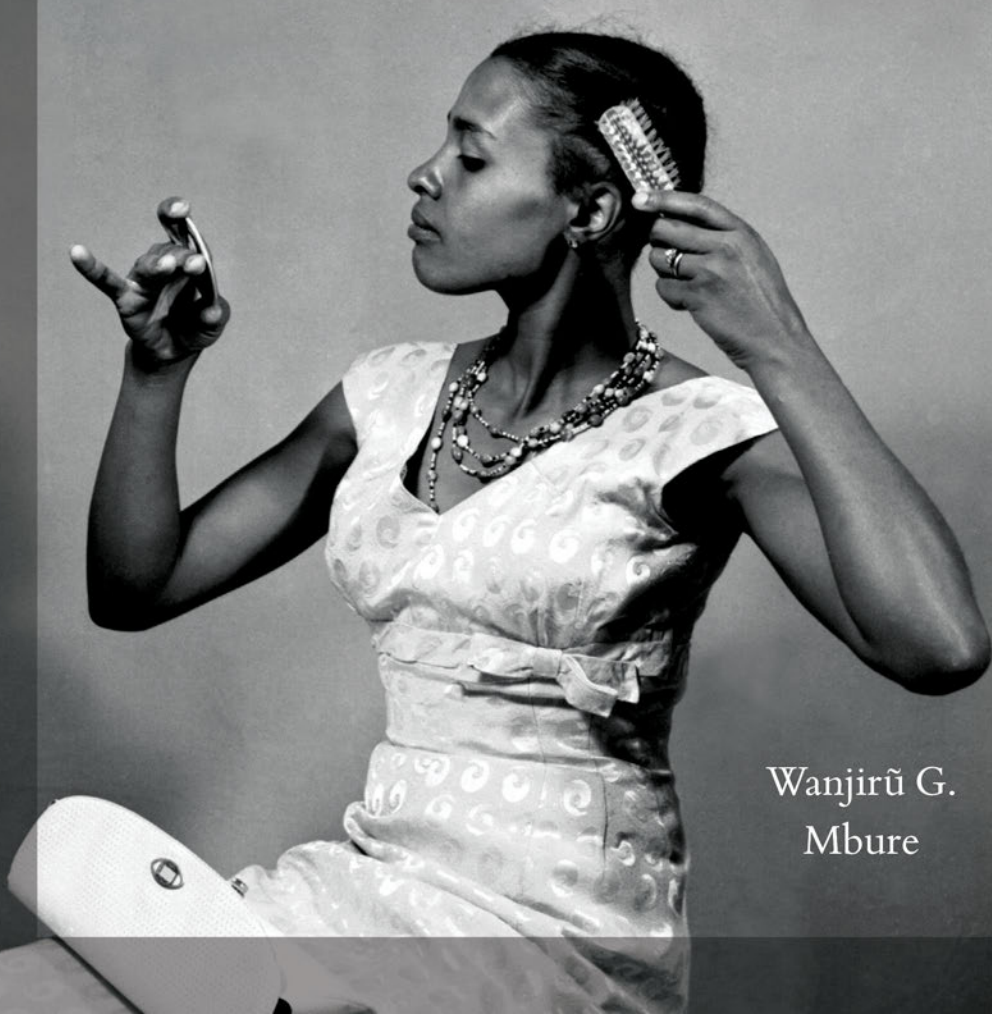


Out for Glamour in Africa

A HISTORY OF BLACK URBAN
FEMININITIES IN *DRUM* MAGAZINE



Wanjirũ G.
Mbure

OUT FOR GLAMOUR IN AFRICA



AFRICAN PERSPECTIVES

Kelly Askew, Laura Fair, and Pamela Gupta
Series Editors



*Out for Glamour in Africa: A History of Black Urban
Femininities in Drum Magazine*
Wanjirũ G. Mbure

*Exit of a Hero: Photography and the Visual Culture
of Commemoration in Southern Nigeria*
Okechukwu Nwafor

The Post-Global City: Theorizing Technology Cultures in Urban Africa
Katrien Pype, Omolade Adunbi, and Michael M. J. Fischer, Editors

*The Institutionalization of Islam in Southern Senegal:
Intermarriage, Qur'anic Education, and Jihād*
Aly Dramé

*The Education Alibi: Tracing Education's Entanglements
Across Contemporary Africa*
Elizabeth Cooper, Erdmute Alber, and Wandia Njoya, Editors

*The Homeowner Ideology:
Economic (F)Utility of Real Property Rights in Four African Cities*
Singumbe Muyeba

Typologies of Humor in African Literatures
Adwoa A. Opoku-Agyemang

*Between HIV Prevention and LGBTI Rights:
The Political Economy of Queer Activism in Ghana*
Ellie Gore

*Protest Arts, Gender, and Social Change: Fiction, Popular Songs,
and the Media in Hausa Society across Borders*
Ousseina D. Alidou

The Imaginative Vision of Abdilatif Abdalla's Voice of Agony
Abdilatif Abdalla, edited by Annmarie Drury

A complete list of titles in the series can be found at www.press.umich.edu

Out for Glamour in Africa

A History of Black Urban Femininities
in *Drum* Magazine

Wanjirũ G. Mbure

University of Michigan Press
Ann Arbor

Copyright © 2026 by Wanjirũ G. Mbure
Some rights reserved

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial (CC BY-NC) 4.0 International License. To view a copy of this license, visit <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>

For questions or permissions, please contact um.press.perms@umich.edu

Published in the United States of America by the
University of Michigan Press
First published August 2026

A CIP catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2026006148
LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2026006148>

ISBN 978-0-472-07810-3 (hardcover : alk. paper)
ISBN 978-0-472-05810-5 (paper : alk. paper)
ISBN 978-0-472-90588-1 (open access ebook)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.13107428>

Publication of this volume has been partially funded by the African Studies Center, University of Michigan.

The University of Michigan Press's broader open access publishing program is made possible thanks to additional funding from the University of Michigan Office of the Provost and the generous support of contributing libraries.

Cover photograph: "Township Beauty, Priscillia Mtimkulu, South Africa," 1952.
© Jürgen Schadeberg. Used by permission.

The authorized representative in the EU for product safety and compliance is Easy Access System Europe, Mustamäe tee 50, 10621 Tallinn, Estonia, gpsr.requests@easproject.com

CONTENTS

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	vii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	ix
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1	
Architects of <i>Femme UrbAfricana</i>	37
CHAPTER 2	
African “Sirens”	65
CHAPTER 3	
Commodity Queens	97
CHAPTER 4	
Globalizing <i>Femme UrbAfricana</i>	133
CHAPTER 5	
Freedom Beauties	163
CONCLUSION	195
<i>Notes</i>	203
<i>Bibliography</i>	239
<i>Index</i>	251

Digital materials related to this title can be found on the Fulcrum platform via the following citable URL:
<https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.13107428>

ILLUSTRATIONS

1	Grace “the Superwoman” Njoki (<i>Drum</i> , August 1966)	2
2	Grace Njoki, pictured in Nairobi (1966)	3
3	Circulation of popular, Black-targeted magazines in South Africa (1949–56)	19
4	<i>Femme urbAfricana</i> : transnational dialogic arteries	27
5	Drum office staff, Johannesburg (1954)	41
6	Johannesburg (1951)	55
7	Ruth Mofolo (<i>Drum</i> , May 1954)	77
8	Miss South Africa Nomangesi Radebe (1959)	78
9	Contestants vie to be the next Sari Queen (1960)	81
10	Soccer Queens	83
11	“The Elegant Miss Class” (<i>Drum</i> , June 1965)	90
12	Nairobi’s first beauty queen (<i>Drum</i> , July 1959)	94
13	Ambi advertisement in Swahili (<i>Drum</i> , April 1958)	106
14	Ambi advertisement in English (<i>Drum</i> , April 1958)	107
15	Hazel Futa in an advertisement for Black Velvet lipstick (<i>Drum</i> , August 1958)	112
16	Lux advertisement (<i>Drum</i> , April 1958)	114
17	Lux advertisement featuring Ola Edu (<i>Drum</i> , October 1967)	116
18	Drum-Bu-Tone beauty contest with cover girl Lynette Kolati	119
19	Miriam Makeba in Coca-Cola ad (<i>Drum</i> , May 1959)	123
20	Coca-Cola Calendar Girl Contest, Central Africa	124
21	Dorothy Masuka in a Glyco-Lemon advertisement (<i>Drum</i> , August 1957)	127
22	Eat More Fish Beauty Competition (<i>Drum</i> , October 1958)	129
23	Klim milk beauty drink (<i>Drum</i> , April 1958)	130

24	“Another Helen!” (<i>Drum</i> , November 1967)	158
25	Proposed structure of the Public Health Standards Board provision of the Food, Drug, and Chemical Substances Bill 1965	174
26	Miss Uhuru (<i>Drum</i> , May 1964)	181
27	Gladys Nguyo, African cosmetology and makeup pioneer	188
28	February 2022 cover of <i>British Vogue</i>	201

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book is dedicated to *Drum* magazine's generation of global women from the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. You are our great-grandmothers, grandmothers, mothers, and aunts. You are our teachers and heroes. It has been an inspiring honor to immerse myself in your mediated histories. Your stories have yet to be fully told.

Nindacokia ngatho nũndũ wa kĩrathimo kia ũhoti wa kũrĩkia ibũkũ rĩrĩ.

Without the support of many generous individuals and nurturing academic communities, this book would not have been possible. At Stonehill College, I am grateful for the support of Fr. John Denning, C.S.C., and Maria Curtin for funding to assist with copyright and travel costs. My thanks go also to Bonnie Troupe, Stephanie DesRosiers, Peter Ubertaccio, Tim Watts, and colleagues in the Department of Communication. My very special thanks are due to Anne Mattina, Wendy Peek, Beth Pearson, Laura Scales, Bronwyn Bleakley, Andrea Opitz, Amra Brooks, Jungyun Gill, Uma Hiremath, Bala Sundaram, Teresa Villa-Ignacio, Jenn Segawa, Shani Turner, and Callie Watkins Liu. At William & Mary, I would like to thank Emily Wilcox, Chinua Thelwell, Jody Allen, Iyabo Osiapem, Mary Oberlies, Amy Detwiler, the Dean's Office, and colleagues in English and Film & Media Studies. I am also especially grateful to Adrienne Petty and Arthur Knight for their time and counsel. Over the last few years, I have received valuable feedback from colleagues of the International Association of Media and Communication Research, to whom I am grateful, as well as the encouragement from colleagues of the African Studies Association and the Association for the Study of the Worldwide African Diaspora. To my mentors Mandi Chikombero, Risa Whitson, Ben Bates, Evan Mwangi, Jennifer Aubrey, Tola Olu Pearce, Cyndi Frisby, Nancy Muturi, Lissa Behm-Morawitz, Loreen Olson, Eddah Mutua, George King'ara, and Chika Anyanwu, thank you for your care and for watering the seeds of intellectual curiosity and excellence. Mrs. Maina and Mrs. Huthu, I thank you.

Bongi Maswanganyi's invaluable insights and patience made my research visit to Bailey's African History Archive (BAHA) fruitful and rewarding. I would also like to thank the staff at the Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History at Duke University and the various research sites in Virginia, Washington, DC, and New York. I am thankful for the financial support I received from the National Endowment for the Humanities that made it possible to complete extensive archival research at Duke and BAHA. A special thanks to my aunt Wangari Muoria-Sal, Salim Amin (Camerapix), Sam Dhillon of Africapix Media, Rafael Pavarotti, and Claudia Schadeberg. I am in your debt for your generosity.

Ni ngatho kūrī andũ ya nyũmba iitũ nĩũndũ wa wendo wanyu, kũnyĩtirira na kũnjikira hinya. Wangai, C. Buyu, Nthemba, Ken, Donz, Cikũ, Wanjira, and Captain Van, *asantenĩ sana* for your energizing enthusiasm and support.

There are those whose names are not here but whose offerings in word, deed, or prayer set me on the road to success or moved me ever closer to finishing this book. Many thanks to you all.

Finally, I would like to thank the team at the University of Michigan Press for your care and stewardship at every step of the process and the anonymous reviewers for your indispensable feedback. To my wonderful editor, Marcella Landri, thank you for your counsel, enthusiasm, care, and support of this project. I am grateful to Delilah McCrea, Danielle Coty-Fattal, and Kevin Rennells for their thorough guidance, and to Anne Taylor, who copyedited this manuscript. I also extend my appreciation to the African Perspectives series editors, Kelly Askew, Laura Fair, and Pamila Gupta.

Out for Glamour in Africa: A History of Black Urban Femininities in "Drum" Magazine has been made possible in part by a summer stipend grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Any views, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed in this book do not necessarily represent those of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Introduction

Grace Njoki was revealed as “Miss Nairobi” in the August 1966 issue of *Drum* magazine, earning her the alias “superwoman.” In line with its usual practice, the magazine provided her bust-waist-hip ratio, or “vital statistics” (v-statistics), as “a full 48-46-65.” In the feature photo (see figure 1), Grace is pictured as she tightly grips a barbell over her head. Two male athletes—clad in patterned posing trunks—stand at a safe distance behind her. *Drum* told readers that Grace had outperformed Kenya’s “he-men,” even managing a “large bell” “like a piece of firewood.” There was no doubt after this feat that Grace, “all 293 pounds of her,” had rightly earned her title as “Nairobi’s Answer to Tarzan, James Bond and all the other pint size heroes.”¹ The weightlifters were reportedly “so surprised they found their tongues were muscle bound.” The article continued, “With a groan of envy, they call her Miss Nairobi and gave her a cup!”²

The feature of Grace includes no biographical information, leaving curious readers to imagine her connections to Nairobi, the city over which she purportedly reigned. Dorothy Driver, a leading scholar of *Drum* magazine, has observed that during the magazine’s first decade (1951–59), contextual information about its cover girls “quickly disappeared” from the magazine’s pages.³ Similarly, Grace’s feature is one of many instances in which the magazine neglected similar details of women featured beyond its front page. In its feature of Grace, *Drum*, however, cues readers to a rural origin, connection, or upbringing with the reference to managing a barbell like a “piece of firewood”—a cue that beckons images of tribal women, or in Grace’s case, a Gikūyū woman, gathering firewood. Nevertheless, *Drum* invites the readers to observe Grace, who embodies the title of Nairobi’s beauty queen. The title and the “Miss Nairobi 1966” sash displaced over her left shoulder signal *Drum*’s long-standing and purposeful use of beauty pageants and pageantry

NAIROBI'S ANSWER TO TARZAN, JAMES BOND AND ALL THE OTHER PINT SIZE HEROES:

GRACE
THE
SUPERWOMAN



Nairobi's strong arm boys were so muscle bound they could scarcely move their tongues. There they were, with biceps as big as bullocks legs and calves like cucumbers, when into the limelight walked Grace Njoki—all 293 pounds of her—measuring a full 48-46-45. She watched the Kenya gymnasts at play. Seeing one of the he-men showing off with a large dumb bell, Grace casually picked up one even larger and handed it to him, like she was handling a piece of firewood. They were so surprised they found their tongues were muscle bound. With a groan of envy, they called her Miss Nairobi and gave her a cup!

Fig. 1. Grace "the Superwoman" Njoki, appearing in *Drum* (August 1966)

(Reprinted by permission of Drum Magazine / BAHA / african.pictures.)



Fig. 2. Grace Njoki, pictured in Nairobi in 1966

(Photograph by Mohamed Amin, courtesy of the Mohamed Amin Collection.)

artifacts. Using these items also suggests that readers are familiar with symbols of pageantry culture upon which the pastiche in the featurette rests.

IN THE EARLY MONTHS of 2021, amid the COVID-19 pandemic, Grace Njoki's only child, Ruth Nuna, died in London at the age of ninety-three.⁴ It was shortly after Nuna's passing that my cousin Eric Wangai, who is based in London, sent me an image of Grace via text message.⁵ The photo (see figure 2) bore a striking resemblance to the one in *Drum*. It showed Grace holding a barely visible winner's trophy and wearing her "Miss Nairobi 1966" sash. It is likely that the family preserved the image in their North London home for over half a century.

Grace's signature disarming smile is present in both photos; the backdrops, however, are strikingly different. Three curious onlookers peek in from the edge of the frame in the *Drum* photo. Their presence implies that a public park was the location of the picture's capture.⁶ In the photo from the family archive, Grace poses against the unglamorous concrete wall outside of her home. Both images were taken in Nairobi—Grace's native city. Grace's mother, Pricilla Nuna Gikiro, arrived in the city around 1917.⁷ Pricilla belonged to the generation of African women pioneers in Nairobi, a city that provided limited opportunities for economic independence.

In the 1920s and 1930s, African women in Nairobi enhanced their economic conditions as beer brewers, property owners, and landlords. Some also earned a living from sex work. Women's unlikely success in joining the ranks of the city's "embryonic urban African petty bourgeoisie" under colonial rule was facilitated by two factors identified by scholar Janet Bujra. First, sex workers experienced a high demand for their services, and second, a weakened administrative response arose "because institutions of male control over women could not develop effectively in this situation."⁸ From their varied social positions and occupations, scholars Anders Ese and Kristin Ese assert, these pioneering women "held important roles in developing the urban fabric of early Nairobi."⁹ Another important reason for the success of pioneering women was their intent to create an enduring urban existence from the outset. Among urban migrants, African women, unlike their male counterparts, were more likely to "migrate permanently," observes historian Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch.¹⁰ These factors led to the rise of an early viable community and community leaders as they made strides in a hostile urban landscape. Despite its affirming offerings for newcomers, the city was overwhelmingly associated with sex work or prostitution by colonial administrators and traditional leaders, and it came to represent the epicenter of moral regression. Unsurprisingly, "the urban woman was the most vilified and regulated" by colonial administrators, religious leaders, and community leaders.¹¹ As a result of these unrelenting associations with sex work and unauthorized breweries in colonial African cities, notions of the "unsociability of the urban Black female body" also took root.

Under colonialism, historian Tabitha Kanogo notes, a "fragmentation of women as a social category" occurred in Kenya as new opportunities for women in education, employment, and property ownership birthed new subjectivities: "educated mission girls and women, the uncircumcised, prostitute, landlady, urban trader and entrepreneur, or the professional—nurse, teacher,

or secretary.”¹² In the context of African urban girls, historian Abosede George adds that the “problem girl” in Lagos was defined by her consumer habits that focused on physical appearance and patronage of city nightspots and lodges.¹³ Increased opportunities for urban women in Nairobi boosted their mobility as the city became a highly desirable destination for newcomers and a steady anchor for early female pioneers. In turn, women’s amplified visibility brought them “into the closer surveillance of colonial state and indigenous patriarchs.”¹⁴ My grandmother Judith Nyamurwa Muoria, a Kahuhia-trained teacher, was one of those who bore the wrath of the colonial state when she was arrested in Nairobi in 1952 while trying to continue the publication of *Mūmenyereri*, a biweekly Gikūyū-language newspaper founded by her husband Henry Muoria in 1945.¹⁵ Urban success for future generations of women would be more challenging to attain as the colonial apparatus coalesced. On the legal front, British colonizers introduced a series of retrogressive laws intended to curtail African gains in Nairobi.¹⁶ They also sought to limit women’s success with tight control and by “criminalization of women’s movement [that] attained obsessional proportions” from the early 1900s to 1950.¹⁷ The colonial government’s efforts resulted in the erosion of the social capital that previous generations of Nairobi women had accumulated. As the “central focus of colonial administration”¹⁸ during this period, women “undertook multiple engagements with diverse institutions and authority figures” for the sake of their urban survival.¹⁹ Despite evolving colonial measures, Nairobi’s African community nonetheless remained “distinctly urban.”²⁰

Grace was a lifelong resident of the Majengo settlement in Pumwani, “the core of African Nairobi,” located as far as possible from whatever glamorous urban existence Africans could access in the city.²¹ Grace inherited the family home in Pumwani after the elderly Pricilla chose to leave Nairobi and set up fresh rural roots in Wangige, Kiambu County. In Nairobi, Grace transformed her economic prospects by working various jobs, including as a domestic worker for colonial families. Unlike Pricilla, who had supplemented her own income selling *mūratina* (Gikūyū traditional brew), Grace retailed “bottled beer in her sitting room,” likely to a more decorous clientele than that of her mother before her.²² Grace owned several properties in the city, and as the family matriarch, she raised and educated her daughter, Nuna, as well as four granddaughters left in her care following Nuna’s departure for England in 1954. Grace rejected the notion of a rural location to ground her urban residency; not even the destruction of the home by a fire could convince her to reconsider. Grace carved out a space of defiant urban citizenship and pride

and earned her place in the city as a property owner and influential community leader. To this date, a large extended family continues to thrive in Pumwani and other areas of Nairobi in the shadow of Pricilla's pioneering spirit and Grace's urban triumph. Pricilla's and Grace's narratives demonstrate that the city represented a sanctuary for African women seeking to escape the various repressive forces of the time, as well as those intent on protecting hard-earned urban citizenship and generational wealth.

In 1966, when *Drum* introduced Grace to readers, the magazine's project to elevate African women from symbolic invisibility to hypervisibility, which had begun with the magazine's inception in 1951, had peaked. For Nairobi's women, the midpoint of this visibility occurred in 1959 at the tail end of Kenya's state of emergency when the magazine introduced the city's inaugural beauty queen with a rare solo-subject multipage feature.²³ The *Drum* picture of Grace as "Miss Nairobi 1966" signals both an acceptance and a social parody of a mature and recognizable pageantry culture complete with the requisite sashes, titles, and trophies. The magazine turned to pageant culture for several reasons. First, it sought to establish itself as an authority and ally of urban Africans and urban African women against an inhospitable urban environment and a tense political and economic period. Second, the magazine sought to carve out a new visual space for women's "seemingly liberating migrations across old boundaries."²⁴ Last, *Drum* utilized pageant culture as a means of locating and maintaining Black women's urban sociability. In the context of the struggles faced by urban African women in Nairobi in the first six decades of the city's existence, Grace's image and parody pageantry can be seen as a triumph. *Drum*, however, was a magazine intent on attaining a vast readership that covered the majority of Anglophone Africa. The magazine's efforts to elevate African women, the main topic of this book, marked a departure from previous literary imaginations of African women.

EARLY POPULAR IMAGES OF AFRICAN WOMEN

Regrettably, among the earliest images of African women's bodies in popular and global contexts is the unconscionable live and posthumous exhibition of Sarah "Saartje" Bartmann in London, Paris, and other European centers in the early years of the nineteenth century. Bartmann's treatment, unlike any other, epitomized colonial obsession, exploitative curiosity, and "long-standing European manipulation of black women's bodies."²⁵ The voyeuristic

urban citizens and environments that contributed to Bartmann's dehumanization elevated Black women's physical features and bodies as capable of representing them. Gender scholar and sociologist Josephine Beoku-Betts notes that nineteenth-century Western writings of African women focused on the "contrasting physical and social characteristics in terms of beauty, facial markings, hairstyle, clothing, etc."²⁶ One explorer from this period provided an appraisal of the African woman as wholly lacking in every attribute except for her competence as a seductress: "The negress has beauty—beauty in spite of her black skin—which might create a furore in our demimonde, and for which fools might fling their fortunes to the dogs. And she is gentle, and faithful, and loving in her own poor way. But where is the coy glance, the tender sigh, the timid blush? [W]here is the *intellect*, which is the light within the crystal lamp, the genius within the clay? No, no, the negress is not a woman; she is a parody of a woman; she is a pretty toy, an affectionate brute—that is all."²⁷ Nineteenth-century imaginations of African women, Beoku-Betts concludes, "represented something of a demarcation line between being human and animal."²⁸

The formalization of Europe's territorial claims in Africa at the Berlin Conference of 1884 ushered in the decade of the "Scramble for Africa" (1890–1900) and the start of the ugly and costly business of colonization. During this period, popular accounts of the Africans suggested a people immune to the "bounties" of modernity; their simplicity was analogized against the complex needs of "sons of civilization."²⁹ These images emphasized the civilizing function of white domination and exploitation.

In the early twentieth century, the increased mass circulation of accounts of encounters between African natives and outsiders eroded only some of these earlier notions. The rise of the film industry, for instance, froze images of Africans as primitive and naive. One example is D. W. Griffith's 1908 film, *The Zulu's Heart*. The plot of the film describes how the personal loss of a Zulu chief inspires him to save a Boer mother and child from the wrath of his fellow tribesmen. As noted by historian and filmmaker Peter Davis, Griffith's film delineated the early cinematic possibilities of Africans (represented in the film by white actors in body paint and blackface). From this cinematic entrance onward, African natives "were defined as either good or bad by their actions towards whites, which determined whether they were the Faithful Servant or the Savage Other."³⁰ Alongside their male counterparts, African women were relegated to the bottommost ranks of racial and gender hierarchies. Scholarly inquiry overlooked women's individual contributions or

attributes and instead viewed women primarily through familial relationships (i.e., fathers, brothers, sons, or husbands) or their roles as mothers and wives.

Early twentieth-century female scholars shifted these prevailing perceptions by highlighting leadership exemplars and inequitable labor, “gender relations of production and consumption,” and by moving away from the ubiquitous category of “African women.”³¹ The shift was further aided by scholarly accounts of African women’s participation in trade, an opportunity that allowed them freedom to travel beyond their local villages and, where permitted by prevailing ethnic property rights or practices, to gain variable degrees of financial success. And yet, even in the mid-twentieth century, African women’s agency in the visual realm continued to be as elusive as it had been in previous periods.

In a seminal study of *The Bantu World* newspaper, historian Lynn Thomas deconstructs images of African women in the 1930s in South Africa through the lens of the “modern girl heuristic,” originated with other colleagues of the Modern Girl Around the World Research Group at the University of Washington. The study by Thomas documents some of the earliest print media images of African women. This important analysis unearths a “Black modern girl,” also referenced as an “African modern girl,” imaginary, which emerged from the newspaper’s inaugural beauty contest and related debate dominated by male authors about the use of modern cosmetics among African women.³² While the announcement of the 1932 contest itself was simply titled “Competition” and directed to “All African Ladies,” an editorial framed it as a rare opportunity and hailed it as a first in “the brief history of Bantu Journalism” and in a “Bantu newspaper.”³³

In her discussion of the “All African Ladies” contest in 1932, Thomas notes that the editor of *The Bantu World*, who went by the moniker “The Son of Africa,” also framed the competition as an opportunity for African women to follow in the footsteps of white women and “to emulate” them in “all that is noble and good.” Thomas asserts that the magazine did so as part of its adherence to “a moderate political agenda.”³⁴ An important aspect that Thomas overlooks in this reference has been a hallmark of African feminist thought. That is to say, while acknowledging the existence of patriarchal systems of power, *both* African women and men simultaneously confront oppressive forces. The full quote urges African women to “get into the open and face the world with your men, unashamed, undaunted, determined to emulate your white sisters in all that is noble and good.”³⁵ From Thomas’s important study of 1930s representations, the hallmarks of the “African

modern girl” that emerge are similar to those of other global versions of the “modern girl” with their presentation of “a cosmopolitan look,” evident in the winning beauty crowned “Miss Africa” in 1932. Another characteristic is the pursuit of “racial respectability” through adherence to a consumerist diet of “modern girl commodities,” which includes modern cosmetics.³⁶ Thomas’s analysis also locates advertisements by Black-owned cosmetic manufacturers that were some of the earliest efforts to target African women as viable consumers. In addition to *The Bantu World* as a site for the emergence of a modern aesthetic for African women, one additional study offers insight into popular imaginations of African women during this period. In his study of 1940s–1970s images of African women in the archive of *Life* magazine photographer Eliot Elisofon, scholar Raoul Granqvist notes that the women in Elisofon’s photos fail to emerge “as individuals in their own right.” Instead, they appear as cultural stand-ins under various diminutive categories: “They are women, emblems, attributes, specimens, bodies, breasts.”³⁷ A lack of individuality and an obsession with physical attributes define African women’s representations in this period.

With this background in mind, is it little wonder that, in *Drum*, Grace’s biographical details and urban achievements recede into the background as her physicality takes center stage? *Drum* wrote of the outmatched weightlifters, “There they were, with biceps as big as bullocks[,] legs and calves like cucumbers, when into the limelight walked Grace Njoki.”³⁸ This may be read as an effort to shift the objectifying gaze by referencing the men’s calves and biceps. And yet, *Drum* resorts to its “v-statistics” stencil (bust-waist-hip ratio) to focus on Grace’s figure. Two questions arise regarding African women’s images in *Drum*: How did women come to be a staple in the magazine? Further, how did *Drum*’s representations of African women align with, challenge, extend, or even supersede the dismal legacy of previous colonial and male gazes? It is to these questions we turn in the next section.

A SHORT HISTORY OF *DRUM* AND ITS EMBRACE OF AFRICAN WOMEN

Drum magazine’s founder, Robert James Crisp, was no stranger to Africa. Born to British civil servants in British India, the “large,” slightly “overweight and red-faced” Crisp spent his formative years in Rhodesia.³⁹ In early 1941, Crisp was among the members of the 3rd Royal Tank Regiment and the 1st

Armoured Brigade who traveled from Cape Town to Alexandria to lend themselves to the Allied cause in North Africa and Greece. Before going into the desert, he wrote of an unsuccessful attempt at a “Zulu war dance” while aboard a cruiser at Alexandria. His decorated military career ended after an injury at Normandy.⁴⁰

After the war, Crisp went on to England for a short stint in journalism, from which he garnered ample self-assurance to return to South Africa with plans to launch a transcontinental magazine he christened *The African Drum*. Crisp, however, lacked the means to launch his grand magazine and approached Robin Stratford, a Scot and a Queen’s Counselor, for financial support. Stratford fixed the capital at £5,000, putting up £4,000 himself, and in turn approached Jim Bailey, a former Royal Air Force pilot and the son of gold millionaire Sir Abe Bailey and Lady Mary Bailey, the first woman to fly across the African continent. Although he believed the magazine was a “noble vision,” Bailey wrote, “I knew nothing whatever about publishing” and put up £1,000, a sizable fraction of the capital.⁴¹ The magazine’s first photographer, Jürgen Schadeberg, shared that Bailey was an admirer of American newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst, who coincidentally died in 1951 and may have sowed in Bailey aspirations for a vast Anglophone print media empire.⁴² Bailey’s other print ventures included a weekly paper, *Golden City Post*, launched in 1955,⁴³ and *Africa!*, a family-friendly monthly magazine that promised to “be the gayest, friendliest magazine in Africa! It’s the magazine for the family—for Mummy, Daddy, *and* the kids! Watch out for Africa!”⁴⁴ Bailey wrote that he preferred to make his home in Africa on account of his repulsion to England’s climate and the shallow “verbal agility” of its aristocrats. For Bailey, the “black world in Africa” offered him an unknown world. He believed he owed a debt to God for his safe return from the war and saw his investment in the magazine as a benevolent gesture: “Helping the African genie out of the bottle in which it was imprisoned seemed to be that good turn, a requital for the wonderful future of my life.”⁴⁵

The spirit of *The African Drum*’s inaugural issue in March 1951 was captured in the magazine’s maxim, “A Magazine of Africa for Africa.” The first op-ed expounded, “In that phrase, we recognise the existence of more than 150,000,000 Bantu and Negro inhabitants of this continent whom we will attempt to reach for the first time in history with words that will express their thoughts, their impulses, their endeavours and ultimately, their souls.”⁴⁶ The magazine was driven to offer “a means of expression and encouragement for all Africans,” to include “writers, poets, painters, sculptors, creators.”⁴⁷ For its

European readers, *The African Drum* offered “the excitement and richness of new literacy and artistic discovery and greater reward still, more intimate and sympathetic knowledge of the great African world all about them.” From the outset, the magazine declared itself to be strictly apolitical: “You will look in vain within the covers of this magazine for any attempt to mould your thoughts politically or for any expression or denial of a political creed.”⁴⁸

In keeping with Crisp’s instructional vision, the debut issue featured a series of informative articles: “Know Yourself,” “African Earth,” “African Folk Lore,” “African Art,” “African Athlete,” and “Fashion for Women.” Aside from a few pieces, including “Message from an African,” a serialization of Alan Paton’s 1948 novel *Cry, the Beloved Country*, and “Heritage,” a poem by Harlem Renaissance poet Countee Cullen, many of the debut articles were written by non-Africans. The “Know Yourself” article was penned by eminent African anthropologist Dr. Isaac Schapera. An article on African music offered radio repair services and advice by the magazine’s first music editor, Don Barrigo, a British tenor saxophonist who played for, among others, Nat Gonella’s Georgians.⁴⁹ In “A Message from an African,” an illiterate “sturdy old African peasant” known as “Mr. Masangu of Basutoland” offered a transcribed endorsement of the magazine: “Perhaps now, for the first time, there is a wish to be able to read—to read some of the wisdom that is here. It is too late for me, but I am glad that my children and my children’s children and, indeed, their children after them, will find meaning in these words. And I would be made happy to know that they could be able to write in such a book.”⁵⁰

From the debut edition, *Drum* sought to provide a respectable window into the everyday urban existence of Africans and offered photographs in the section “Social and Personal” depicting notable nuptials, social gatherings, and community initiatives. The pitch to advertisers asserted that “the African will buy more readily from the advertiser in his own magazine than from elsewhere.” Prospective advertisers had a “tremendous advantage” by placing ads in the only magazine capable of reaching the vast Pan-African market. Prospective advertisers were presented with a strong growth projection: a doubling in circulation from forty thousand inaugural copies to eighty thousand. Even at this size, the magazine claimed it had “only scraped the surface of our potential.”⁵¹ According to Bailey, the magazine had launched with a more modest twenty-four thousand copies.⁵²

To tackle the obvious paradox of an all-white management for the defiantly African magazine, a notice was included in the inaugural issue indicat-

ing an exigent effort to gather “eminent African men of letters and leaders of thought” for a so-called African Advisory Board to ensure the magazine maintained “close touch with Africa and the Africans.”⁵³ The status of the advisory board was still irresolute in July 1951 when an op-ed referenced letters from two readers who charged that “if the magazine wishes to represent African thought truthfully it must be political and that because *The African Drum* does not permit political comment, it cannot, ipso facto, represent African thought.” The editor’s response was paternal in tone: “But are Africans quite certain that the only way to advancement is by political agitation and destructive propaganda?” Perhaps as a clue to the politically precarious position the magazine found itself in, the editor continued, “In freeing itself from the very marked dangers of political comment, *The African Drum* does not set itself any particular political purpose.”⁵⁴ A few months after the launch, Stratford returned to England, leaving Bailey as sole proprietor. It appears Bailey may have expected a larger role in the magazine from the beginning. Within a month of the launch, he had sent a telegram to his former Oxford classmate and drinking companion, twenty-five-year-old Anthony Sampson, in England, offering him a position with a “NEW NEGRO PERIODICAL.”⁵⁵ Sampson agreed to join the staff “on condition of not wanting to be mixed up in politics.” He arrived in Cape Town in May 1951 with “an excuse and a passport to know Africans, not as a teacher, but as a pupil.”⁵⁶

By the end of 1951, *The African Drum* operations moved from Cape Town to Johannesburg, a “fast, tough, rich, vulgar, new and proud of it” city that also boasted a majority native African community.⁵⁷ Crisp’s tenure as founder and chief editor ended abruptly after a disagreement with Bailey shortly after the move to Johannesburg. Following Crisp’s exit, Sampson was promptly appointed chief editor in November. Bailey abandoned much of Crisp’s editorial approach but kept his dream of turning the magazine into a continental success.

DRUM: AFRICA’S LEADING MAGAZINE

An aggressive and ambitious plan to expand the magazine’s footprint across Anglophone Africa began with Bailey’s declaration that there would be no more of the “*African Drum*, Bob Crisp missionary magazine.” The prior magazine, in Bailey’s opinion, was “condescending and paternalistic.” It all had to go, including “the tribalism and African culture nonsense.” The magazine’s

rebirth was marked with a new name and motto: *Drum: Africa's Leading Magazine*. Bailey's vision was to bring a sense of modernity to the magazine: "Johannesburg is a modern city, and our readers are modern Africans."⁵⁸ To solidify this new direction, the magazine embarked on audience research projects. To discover readers' preferences for cover images, for instance, *Drum* published an invitation to readers to rank their favorite cover photos for a small cash award.⁵⁹

Bailey also proposed that the staff discover from "the gangsters," "black intellectuals," and "the man in the street" the mysteries of "what the average African in the street really wanted to read in a paper."⁶⁰ Acquiring such knowledge required a variation of the originally envisioned African Advisory Board, accessible only through immersion in township life. And so, the staff found and interviewed desirous shebeen savants over inexpensive libations and the occasional top-shelf incentive of "Chateau Brandy."⁶¹ The street research revealed a low appetite for the city's criminal underworld—"no more crime in your Drum, Mr. Bailey"—but a high appetite for political figures, prominent athletes, and beauties.⁶² During the first year, the "Social and Personal" pages evolved to become "Our Social Page," and in addition to weddings, the page provided brief profiles of prominent Africans and pictures of African women on vacations and at work. Profiles of beauty contest winners from cities in South Africa also became more prominent. For instance, in November 1951, readers met "Charming Miss Cape Town . . . 'Miss Ann Gxasheka.'"⁶³

One tenet of the magazine's transformation was to broaden its appeal to urban female readers. The "Women's Pages" section appeared in November 1951, and by the year's end the section had expanded to include a wide set of domestic instructions: recipes, cleaning tips, advertisements for baby products, and sewing projects, among them, "Make a hankie for your husband."⁶⁴ Any reader keen to receive advice on romantic relationships was invited to "send your own query to DRUM'S expert on love and marriage."⁶⁵ The "Women's Pages" section was renamed "Home Pages" in December 1951 and was edited by the eminent (Regina) Gelana Twala. Schadeberg described how, during a shebeen research trip, Bailey directed him to "get us some smashing cover girls!"⁶⁶ What Bailey had in mind were "lively, swinging, well-dressed, successful African women."⁶⁷ Women's migration to urban areas in South Africa—Johannesburg and, to a lesser extent, Cape Town and Durban—would offer a surplus of African women seeking urban success. Some of their journeys would be told in the pages of *Drum*.

URBAN AFRICAN WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA AS A VISUAL FRONTIER IN *DRUM*

Women's migration to urban areas in South Africa had taken off firmly in the 1920s, leading to a "142 per cent" increase in their participation in the urban economy between 1921 and 1936.⁶⁸ Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, African women in South Africa had actively resisted labor exploitation by forming trade unions.⁶⁹ In the two decades since the apartheid government took power in 1948, its twin strategies to neutralize both African political movements and trade unions sought to produce "a permanent solution to the problem of the urbanized African population."⁷⁰ Another government inhibitory strategy for African success in urban areas was a subdued issuance of trade permits to Black urban traders, thereby curtailing their prospects of profiting from the boosted purchasing power among Black South African communities.⁷¹

In the 1950s and 1960s, women's activism in South Africa escalated as each successive law limited freedoms. The Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act, introduced in 1952, for instance, consolidated restrictions on men and required women to carry registration passes, or "pass books." In a decade-long battle, women across the Union of South Africa organized to have the prohibitive law overturned. South African women's activism and the nascent cultural uprising in Black townships received prominent coverage in the magazine.

Drum documented the struggle by celebrating women's spirited fight under the editorial leadership of Sylvester Stein and Tom Hopkinson, the magazine's third and fourth editors, respectively. The magazine humanized women's struggles with iconic street protest images from photographers Schadeberg, Peter Magubane, and Alfred Khumalo. However, although *Drum's* coverage of the movement was substantial, it was also paradoxical. Readers were introduced to the movement's leaders—prominent leaders of key organizations, such as the African National Congress Women's League and the Federation of South African Women—with a tone of seriousness and respect. But the magazine also offered a tabloidized version of the matter with suggestive pictures of bikini-clad native models with pass books displayed over their hips. The magazine's coverage of women would continue to evolve over the next two decades.

Drum staff were energized by the prospect of taking some of the earliest magazine photographs of urban African women. Schadeberg, for instance,

took photos of several models outside the Johannesburg Library to pioneer “the first set of fashion pictures with African models produced in the Union of South Africa.”⁷² Before his arrival in Johannesburg, Schadeberg had worked for the German Press Agency in postwar Hamburg under the empathetic supervision of photographer and Leica camera ambassador Walter Benser. In Johannesburg, Schadeberg entered this new environment armed with a Leica and “a restless, fearless spirit.”⁷³ Schadeberg also had a reputation to “pull off the difficult”⁷⁴ and organized auditions to discover these *Drum*-worthy cover girls by “trying out as many of the young girls as possible in front of the camera.”⁷⁵

For Anthony Sampson, the African woman was a new photographic frontier: “The dusky beauty of Africa was an almost untouched field of photographs; with her wide brown eyes and flashing white teeth against her smooth bronzed face, she was an exciting subject; and there was opportunity to set a new style of beauty.” This “new style of beauty,” according to Sampson, arose from *Drum* as the primary outlet for “beauty queens and glamour girls, posed in exotic costumes against canvas clouds, while messenger boys wolf-whistled.”⁷⁶ The reference here suggests that those doing the catcalling were African men from among the lowest-paid positions at the outfit. Sampson states that women “invaded” the magazine’s office, suggesting that they sought their rare chance at fame without provocation.⁷⁷ *Drum* purposely set out to appeal to female and male readers with infinite beauty contests. Its encouragement for the women to visit its offices was anything but subtle. The *Drum* office was a resource for African visitors in ways that were not visible to its white management.⁷⁸ Sylvester Stein, who succeeded Sampson as editor, wrote, “Where before had Africa found the opportunity to goggle at its own loveliness? Never in print, though one must concede that in the backveld a million tribal girls roamed around naturally naked and nubile.”⁷⁹ These colonial and male gazes shaped the magazine’s early interest in and representations of African women.

In its early years, *Drum* sourced images of African beauties from royalty, beauty’s natural catalyst. *Drum* readers met a “Beauty from Barotseland—this pretty face was snapped when women of the Royal Household danced the ‘Limba’ at the visit of Mr. James Griffiths,” former British secretary of state for the colonies.⁸⁰ The colonial gaze and anthropological tone of the encounter between nameless African beauties performing for a colonial officer is an example of the kind of vision and portrayal of Africans that Bailey sought to discard with his new vision of *Drum*. His solution was to direct the staff to

“organise a beauty competition,” a mission that was realized with an inaugural contest in 1952.⁸¹

DRUM’S EXPANSION

In neighboring Rhodesia, Bailey detailed his successful distribution efforts from Salisbury (Harare) within a few months of the magazine’s launch—a task he undertook after spending the workday managing the family’s business interests. Bailey’s English connections and missionary networks ensured distribution of the South African edition in West Africa (Ghana, Nigeria) and East Africa (Kenya and then Tanganyika) within the magazine’s first year.⁸² Positive regional audience reception led to the launch of editions in West Africa (1954), East Africa (1958), and Central Africa (1963). Bailey’s friendships with leading nationalists (Tom Mboya and Julius Nyerere) and Kenyan journalists were pivotal to the successful setup of an office in Nairobi and subsequent launch of the East African edition.⁸³ Bailey tapped Oxford alumnus Anthony Smith to oversee *Drum*’s West African operations, where he found Willie Cooke and Jhali Abibi. After Cyprian Ekwensi, whom, like Mboya, Bailey had befriended in London, turned down an invitation to take up the position of *Drum* editor in Nigeria, the position went to Dapo Fatogun and later to Bob Nwangoro. The magazine’s offices in Lagos were on Wesley Street. In Accra, Ghana, a couple of rooms on Adjabeng Road made up the magazine’s headquarters. After Henry Ofori’s departure, Christian Gbabgo was joined by Cameroon Doudu, who served as editor from 1960 to 1965. Together with Henry Thompson and Joe Mensah, Bailey wrote, this team sustained the *Drum* Ghana operations.⁸⁴ Distribution networks in *Drum*’s regional markets were made up of numerous male and female agents. Editors of regional issues of *Drum* provided in-depth op-eds on issues relevant to readers in their countries.⁸⁵

The magazine shifted print operations to London in 1960 after the prior arrangement “became unacceptable to independent Africa,” Bailey wrote. Specifically, the East Africa and West Africa editions were shuffled from the London-based *Illustrated London News* later to the *Liverpool Post and Echo*. An edition of the magazine with the notation “North America & West Indies” also presumably shipped from London.⁸⁶ This arrangement was susceptible to Britain’s trade union walkouts and proved unsustainable. Bailey worked to set up localized printing “Goss press” operations in Dar es Salaam, Lusaka,

Kampala, and Nairobi.⁸⁷ Centralized printing occasionally put local editors in perilous situations when current events overtook the two-month delay between publication and distribution.⁸⁸ Bailey maintained strong connections to political actors across the magazine's markets, and his intervention saved the magazine after a ban in Nkrumah's Ghana.

Each *Drum* edition adapted to the shifting political landscape and independence spirit in the immediate context, which proved to be a successful formula to woo African urban citizens. Tyler Fleming and Toyin Falola, for instance, point out that the approach taken in Ghana and Nigeria was more "diffuse" than that adopted in South Africa. In these two nations, which anchored the magazine's westward expansion, sales representatives could be found in major first-tier capitals such as Accra or populous, lively Lagos, as well as in smaller cities like Ibadan, Kano, Enugu, Takoradi, and Kumasi.⁸⁹ In East Africa, operations were based in Nairobi, where *Drum* offices were located in Alvi House on Victoria Street (later, Tom Mboya Street). The magazine's East African operations had been pioneered by G. R. Naidoo before Alan Rake, another Oxford contemporary of Bailey's, was offered the position in 1957. Rake personally traveled to Kampala and Dar es Salaam and acknowledged that a different formula distinct from the South African edition was required for success.⁹⁰ He wrote, "Sex, crime and campaigns against social injustice were all good standbys but what the African readership in Kenya wanted was a magazine which identified itself with the African political struggle for independence."⁹¹ The launch of the East Africa edition at the end of Kenya's state of emergency also influenced the approach executed by Rake. Country-specific considerations such as the focus on politics in the East African version, however, did not exclude the widespread use of images of Black women across the magazine's various editions. *Drum*, in a synergistic effort, pursued an allegorically hospitable urban backdrop for African women's aspirations and bodies. Other magazines were also seeking to embrace the urban lives of African women.

DRUM IN CONTEXT

Between 1949 and 1956, the popularity of Black-targeted magazines in South Africa had exploded (see figure 3), as *Drum*'s growth trajectory demonstrates. By its third anniversary, the magazine reported that circulation was sixty thousand copies with distribution across Anglophone Africa. And, to cele-

brate its fifth anniversary, a detailed account of the magazine's stunning journey was outlined in "How Drum Beat Them All!"⁹² The "*Drum* decade" was characterized by efforts to reconcile two realities: Johannesburg and its Black townships—the levy of affluence imposed on Africans. The task fell to *Drum*'s growing roster of Black staff, who revealed the authenticity of township life to readers. Juby Mayet, the magazine's equivalent of Randolph Hearst's "sob sister," offered a humanistic urban female take on life in the Union of South Africa. Henry Nxumalo, the magazine's first full-time African employee, became known to readers as Mr. Drum. His pivotal role in illuminating the urban experiences of Africans and African women was cemented with the fourth reiteration of the magazine's social page in April 1953, when it was christened "Mr. Drum's Social Diary!" The page featured weddings and other social events of local beauties and prominent Africans.

As *Drum* evolved into a Black African magazine, its readers noticed, and it enjoyed considerable growth. These successes were shared with readers, who received periodic updates from Nxumalo as Mr. Drum. In October 1953, for instance, he told readers, "I've got something important to tell you: according to the latest audited figures, DRUM has by far the biggest non-white sale in Africa. That's thanks to you! That's all . . . *Mr. Drum*."⁹³ In the magazine, readers discovered that *Drum* had now established itself as "the authentic voice of non-Europeans in Africa."⁹⁴ A second editorial note in May 1956 announced, "Drum now largest sale in Africa!"⁹⁵

Journalist A. P. Mda makes several observations about the rise of African-targeted magazines in the mid-1950s when such outlets were limited to *Drum*, *Africa!*, *Zonk!*, and *Hi-Note*. Mda points to several benefits of this growing print output, including boosted popular literacy and the creation of a feeling of "importance of Africans in their own right."⁹⁶ At the same time, Mda critiques the magazines for a lack of clarity in vision and content that offered readers "shallow, effeminate, ephemeral, barren and sterile" gratification. In other words, for Mda, African magazines offered no more than low-taste content for readers. They were also disconnected from their objectives for cultural and political self-determination.

The appeal of African-targeted magazines soon caught the disapproving attention of the apartheid government, which shared some of Mda's reservations. The government launched the Conje Commission on Undesirable Publications in 1957 to investigate the content, appeal, and potential threats of print publications in the Union of South Africa. The commission noted that the bulk of the content in the "Bantu-targeted magazines," including lit-

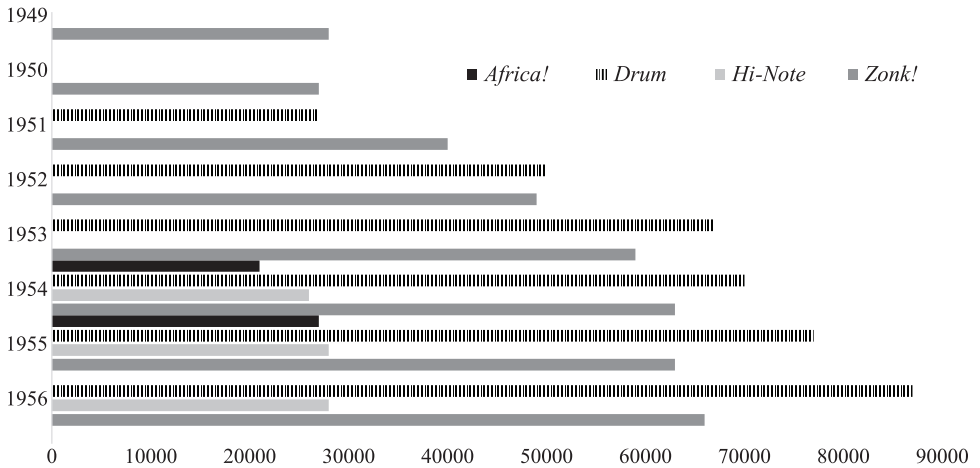


Fig. 3. Circulation of popular, Black-targeted magazines in South Africa, 1949–56

erature, “still flows from the pen of Europeans.” The report’s commentary on Africans’ literary output was altogether negative on account of a scarcity in authenticity: “What he does produce, often has little or no bearing on his daily life and is also not sketched against his own cultural background. How can his lively narrative style be applied to his own style of writing? How can he be himself in his own literature?”⁹⁷ The commission was equally concerned about the magazines’ use of “foreign” content that severely lacked taste (a standard defined by European readers’ criteria of objectionability) to appeal to African readers. Such content, the commission opined, would alienate the “semi-developed and sometimes culturally confused Bantu” through “stimulation of the Bantu’s urge to become Westernized.” The commission concluded that the appeal of “such inferior things in the way of life and thought of the Europeans as jazz, jive, slang” was detrimental to Africans’ well-being. More crucially for the apartheid agenda, the content threatened “peaceful race relations” in the Union of South Africa.⁹⁸

The commission examined the content of four Black-targeted magazines: *Africa!*, *Drum*, *Hi-Note*, and *Zonk!* The two magazines owned by Bailey, *Africa!* and *Drum*, were ranked first (52.8 percent) and second (41.2 percent), respectively, in the amount of undesirable content. By comparison, the undesirable content in the other two was found to be considerably lower: *Hi-Note* had 11.8 percent, and *Zonk!* had 7.5 percent. The magazines’ use of offensive “photographs of Bantu women in scanty modern attire or in undesirable

poses,” including “pin-up girls,” “film stars,” and “beauties,” was a major issue according to the commissioners.⁹⁹

Most of the images that were analyzed (107 in total) featured white women, and over half of these were found to be undesirable. Hollywood, the primary source of undesirable images, had fueled a surplus supply with discounted stock of “photographs of film stars.”¹⁰⁰ The report noted that magazines had taken up indiscriminate use of these photographs in general and gossip articles and further accused magazines of exploiting the pictures of Hollywood “glamour girls” for the purpose of “useful provocative material.”¹⁰¹ To understand the full extent of the danger posed by the publications, the commission deemed that in addition to a content analysis of magazines, there was a need to venture into “the homes or rooms of Bantus in Pretoria” to determine the kinds of decorative pictures present therein. Of the seven images found in Africans’ family homes, all were passable, whereas of the four images found in the single residences, there was found an offending illustration of “a picture of non-European women in a provocative and suggestive pose.”¹⁰²

The mid-sixties saw the arrival of two white-owned, Black-targeted women’s magazines, *The Townships Housewife* and *Grace*, which, scholar Nicolette Ferreira advances, worked to “signify the emergence of black women’s voices in the South African print media.”¹⁰³ By the 1960s, South Africa’s postwar economy had experienced incredible growth. This development broadened African women’s economic prospects, but “racial domination” meant that the women existed “near or at the bottom of the pyramid.”¹⁰⁴ For instance, government crackdowns on female-owned or female-dominated businesses in beer brewing and sex work austere condensed previous financial gains. In sum, urban women paid an exorbitant “social price” for cultivating success in inhospitable urban settings, including Johannesburg.¹⁰⁵ Ferreira demonstrates that *The Townships Housewife* was “clearly aimed at producing the consumerist African woman” and was offered to readers at no cost in exchange for excessive encouragement to purchase products from its advertisers.¹⁰⁶ Like *Drum*, *Grace* and *The Townships Housewife* both featured numerous beauty contests. Ferreira asserts that the magazines produced complex discourses on beauty, upholding an “ideal” grounded in “western white femininity” while also providing “validating competitions” where “black women held out a form of citizenship and status that they were denied under apartheid.”¹⁰⁷

The representation of African women through the golden age of Black-targeted magazines sought to reflect urban realities and mainstream consumerist values and to carve out a space in unwelcoming urban areas. *Drum*,

however, with its unparalleled ambition to reach a vast Anglophone African market, stood out.

WOMEN IN *DRUM*

Drum's influence in Anglophone Africa during the 1950s–1970s has attracted a sustained record of scholarly attention.¹⁰⁸ Several books chronicle the magazine's 1950s golden era and influence. They include Michael Chapman's *The Drum Decade: Stories from the 1950s*; the series *From the Pages of Drum Magazine*, which chronicles the magazine's impact in documenting the triumphs and travails of independence movements in Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Kenya, and Ghana; Angela Caccia's edited volume, *The Beat of Drum: The Rise of Africa*; and Raison Naidoo's *The Indian in Drum Magazine in the 1950s*. Ruth Feldstein's discussion of Miriam Makeba in *How It Feels to Be Free: Black Women Entertainers and the Civil Rights Movement* contextualizes *Drum's* influence in the 1950s on a global scale. In addition to these book-length projects, Meg Samuelson's 2008 seminal essay "The Urban Palimpsest: Re-Presenting Sophiatown" anchors the urban tenor both in *Drum* and African-majority films during the "*Drum* decade." Various scholarly articles explore the magazine's overall representation of gender,¹⁰⁹ women,¹¹⁰ and men.¹¹¹ Other scholars have drawn attention to the interplay between race and gender in *Drum*.¹¹²

Several themes arise from the scholarly investigations of women and gender in *Drum*. First, African women emerge as victims, possessing little voice, agency, or power to influence non-affirming portrayals. The lack of authority and power is summarized by Ferreira, who asserts that "women have no speaking voice in *Drum*."¹¹³ Scholar Dorothy Driver indicts the magazine's paternalistic treatment of women: "If town had become heaven, *Drum* was now God-the-father who took the place of customary patriarchal structures."¹¹⁴ *Drum*, therefore, emerges as an oppressive operative in the urban environment that anchors its very mission of Black urban uplift. Second, women in *Drum* are objectified primarily with sexualized images on the cover but also through narrowly defined roles and the absence of biographical details. This latter strategy renders their visibility solely as objects of male desire. Fleming and Falola describe the magazine's large-scale supply of "healthy doses of sexy cover girls."¹¹⁵ Third, the confinement of women to domestic roles is also evident. Lindsay Clowes's analysis of the depiction of Black men in *Drum* demonstrates that ideas about gender shifted between the 1950s and the 1960s,

with the representation of men's roles as fathers declining in prominence over the two decades. Relatedly, children increasingly appeared alongside women pictured in domestic roles as "home-bound mothers."¹¹⁶ Raison Naidoo notes that *Drum's* representation of Indian women in the 1950s is generally positive, emphasizing, for instance, career achievements and agency in marital unions.¹¹⁷ Aside from such outliers, the scholarly record suggests that *Drum* offered few positive images of women.

I concur with Driver's inference that the magazine's approach produced narrowly circumscribed roles for the African urban women it claimed to elevate as part of its Africanist intonation. A weakness of Driver's additional critique of *Drum*, however, is the comparison of *Drum's* influence with the power of previous entities, which derived their authority, in part, from the predictability of rural localities and associated gender roles. Urban women, unlike their rural counterparts, however, encountered new and increased repressive institutions.¹¹⁸ That is, in the urban environment, the forces that undermined their freedom and progress were multiplied, not replaced, as Driver implies in the *Drum* "God-the-father" claim. *Drum* functions instead as one of several forces that shape women's urban experiences in complex ways.

The scholarly analysis of the magazine's objectification of women has rarely captured instances of resistance by *Drum* staff. One exception is Margaret Daymond and colleagues, who point to columnist Marion Morel's stance against harassment of pageant contestants.¹¹⁹ Even among *Drum's* male staff and contributors, there is evidence of opposition to the objectifying depictions of women. Writing elsewhere, A. P. Mda confesses a reverence for African women; they are to him "the flower and glory of the African race."¹²⁰ Unsurprisingly repulsed by negative representations of African women in Black-targeted magazines, Mda poses the question: "What is really edifying or creative, for instance, in the spectacle of otherwise decent women, exposing their naked bodies[,] their big breasts, and bulky thighs?"¹²¹ For Mda, such images produced an inadvertent erosion of women's dignity and respect.

Drum's women creators and their contributions to the magazine's success are likewise understudied. In Caccia's *The Beat of Drum: The Rise of Africa*, for instance, women's contributions to the magazine are only noted in a brief article that discusses the contributions of Dolly Hassim, the editor of "Woman's Drum," the magazine's debut dedicated section for its female readers.¹²² *Drum's* female columnists receive modest attention¹²³ compared to their male counterparts.¹²⁴ The scant scholarly account of *Drum's* women contributors is harmful to the extent that it suggests that women were peripheral actors in

the urban world uncovered by the magazine. They were, of course, anything but peripheral. While celebrated for documenting the political and cultural transformations of the 1950s–1970s, the magazine’s efforts to showcase African women’s roles in this important historical period are less understood.

Drum’s relationship with its female readers and subjects is more complex than has been previously suggested. At the heart of this complex relationship is the magazine’s synergistic effort to pursue an allegorically hospitable urban backdrop for African women’s aspirations and bodies. *Drum*, propelled by its ambitious efforts to capture the urban “heart of Africa,”¹²⁵ birthed a novel model of Black femininity.

FEMME URBAFRICANA: THEORIZING REPRESENTATIONAL POSSIBILITIES OF BLACK WOMEN IN *DRUM*

In the two decades between 1951 and 1971, African urban women, via the pages of *Drum*, broke out of previous negative visual regimes. During this twenty-year period, they rose to become first-generation film stars, pioneering professionals, cover girls, beauty queens and influencers, political heavyweights, and urban global citizens. *Out for Glamour in Africa: Black Femininities in Drum Magazine, 1951–1971* seeks to tell the story of these representational possibilities by analyzing two decades of the magazine’s content (advertisements, features, photographs, columns, and contests), the autobiographical writings of financier Jim Bailey and key staff, and extensive archival materials from Bailey’s African History Archives in Johannesburg and the magazine’s major American advertisers. I argue that the magazine’s exploration of representational possibilities of African women produced a novel model of Black femininity, which I term *femme urbAfricana*, the hallmark of which was a sociable depiction of urban African and Afro-descended women. The use of *femme* is intended to focus on femininities and the blending of urban and Africana in *urbAfricana*, the urban context within which Black transnational femininities emerge. By inserting women into the urban landscape, a novel, distinctive Afro-descended women-as-city trope arises: vibrant, young, energetic, unstable, emerging, and precarious. Working alongside the well-documented masculinist tone of the magazine, *femme urbAfricana* played a role in establishing *Drum* as a success across its vast readership in South Africa, West Africa, and East and Central Africa.

Even as each *Drum* edition put out its own set of characters and features,

taken together, the magazine's content was unified by its positive affirmation and interpretation of African and Black urban citizenship and a focus on (glamorous) Black female corporeality. Furthermore, *Drum's femme urbAf-ricana* relied on a wide assortment of images and content about and periodically by Black women situated in geographically diverse urban contexts (i.e., colonial cities, postcolonial cities, imperial metropolises), making it paradoxically *Afrocentric*, *appearance focused*, incessantly *transnational*, and *urban*.

The globalization of American and European beauty standards, including those of women of color, has been well-documented by various scholars who add much to the historical and societal impact of these standards in Africa.¹²⁶ Collectively, this body of work provides important insights into the visual regimes of empire, the invention of modernity, the resurgence of imperialism, postcolonial resistance, and, more recently, the rise and expansion of global beauty conglomerates. *Drum's femme urbAf-ricana's* focus on appearance builds upon this previous work with a renewed focus on the men and women who created, facilitated, or challenged dominant beauty ideals. Among other notable projects that have also centered the individual actors are Denise Sutton's work on the professional lives of the female copywriters of the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency and Lynn Thomas's previously discussed study of *The Bantu World*. Another excellent effort is the work undertaken by the Modern Girl Around the World Research Group, an interdisciplinary collaborative composed of scholars Alys Eve Weinbaum, Lynn M. Thomas, Priti Ramamurthy, Uta G. Poiger, Madeleine Yue Dong, and Tani E. Barlow that seeks to locate the rise of the Modern Girl across cosmetic advertisements in various unique geographic settings, namely, China, Germany, India, South Africa, and the United States.¹²⁷

Appearance dominates *femme urbAf-ricana* in its focus on beauty, beauty culture, commodification, objectification of women's bodies, glamour, and fashion. Attractiveness in *femme urbAf-ricana* is in flux and hybrid, not strictly adherent to a Eurocentric or Afrocentric ideal, and is specifically put to work as a *catalyst* for the symbolic transformation of Black women's bodies into ones that possess urban sociability, respectability, and achievement in various urban sites: local, national, transnational, and so on.

Scholar Kenda Mutongi remarks that *Drum* "popularized the social life of Africans—especially that of the new urbanites."¹²⁸ As a magazine seeking to plant roots against political efforts to uproot and exterminate Black urban citizenship, *Drum* and other print contemporaries had to do more. Corinne Sandwith, for instance, has written about the Cape Town newspaper *The*

Torch (1946–58) and its impact on carving out an “oppositional stance” to dominant white-power ideologies and policies.¹²⁹ I suggest that *Drum* also *innovated* aspects of African lives in urban centers. Unlike any other magazine of its time, *Drum* offers a diverse array of actors who played critical roles in shaping conceptions of urban Black femininity between 1951 and 1971. *Femme urbAfricana*, therefore, is grounded in the *urban* through its assertion of Black women’s complex presence in African towns, townships, colonial and postcolonial urban hubs, and capitals; in American and European cities; and in imperial metropolises. While these varied urban contexts are not created equal, even the smallest of urban entities offers insights into ordinary lives and is related to greater identity stakes. Bennett and Rosberg, for instance, describe the importance of early Kenyan urban electorates in Nakuru, Mombasa, and Nairobi and declare that “towns are normally a forcing ground of nationalism.”¹³⁰ *Drum*, similarly, endorsed the *idea* of an urban ideal and took an egalitarian approach in its embrace of various urban realities, frequently connecting towns of all sizes and cities to the aspirational and material pursuit of African urban sociability.

Afrocentrism in *Drum’s femme urbAfricana* is demonstrated by the affirmation and celebration of Black bodies, lives, and dreams occurring through *Drum’s* writers, photographers, features, editorials, columns, and, less frequently, advertisements. These varied sources offer a broad interpretation of Afrocentrism to include, for instance, Molefi Asante’s triad of perception, place, and viewpoint.¹³¹ Further, *Afrocentrism* in *Drum’s femme urbAfricana* also attends to a critique of Afrocentric theory advanced by Leith Mullings by illuminating the social, political, and economic forces that produce the magazine’s offerings of Afrocentricity.¹³² Consequently, the affirmation of Black experiences in *Drum* is paradoxical because it rests on the magazine’s silence regarding the prevalent anti-Black rhetoric most prominently espoused by the magazine’s unswerving reproduction of advertisements for products seeking to expunge phenotypic Black features. Such advertisements included numerous skin lightener brands and products to “banish” natural black hair.

Femme urbAfricana’s political stance occurs through a constellation of disparate and evolving instances where *Drum* recognizes and sometimes embraces women’s anti-colonial, anti-apartheid, nationalist, anti-imperial, Pan-Africanist, and feminist activities and advocacy and pioneering work in professional spaces. Eminent civil rights scholar and activist Angela Davis, who appeared on the cover of *Jet* in 1972,¹³³ writes about the circulation of images from her trial and the danger of “revolutionary glamor,”¹³⁴ which

occurs when iconic images of Blacks are dispersed in ways that render their “historical memory . . . ahistorical and apolitical.”¹³⁵ The wide circulation of her “militant” Afro image in the FBI wanted poster, which “defined” Davis “as armed and dangerous,” induced in her a sense of terror. To distance herself from it, she resorted to the use of various “props,” including “a wig with straight black hair, long false lashes, and more eyeshadow, liner, and blush than I had ever before imagined wearing in public.”¹³⁶ Davis continues, “Glamor was the only look that might annul the likelihood of being perceived as a revolutionary.”¹³⁷ Further, in considering the relationship between Davis’s images as a global representation of Black militancy and acts of resistance against their intended impact, Ruth Simms Hamilton and colleagues of the African Diaspora Research Project convincingly advance that manifestation of resistance is a hallmark of the African diaspora engaged in an active “quest for human dignity and collective self-actualization.”¹³⁸ *Femme urbAfricana* emphasizes the revolutionary and counterrevolutionary affordances of glamour and beauty to various actors and related efforts to carve out affirming visual imaginations of the Afro-descended women featured in *Drum*.

Coquery-Vidrovitch reminds us about the connected nature of urban spaces; she writes, “Cities do not go it alone. . . . A single city is part of a network of cities, and this involves exchanges between the city and the countryside.”¹³⁹ By the same vein, *femme UrbAfricana*’s incessant *transnationalism* in *Drum* generates a city-to-city transnational model of seven dialogic arteries (see figure 4) through which realities and imaginaries “travel.” The pathways of exchange and distribution of representations become most evident through the establishment of diverse discourses across urban landscapes in four geographical centers: the Caribbean, Africa, the United States, and Europe. The dotted lines in arteries A, B, and G emphasize the symbolic pathways of images and stories, whereas C, D, E, and F focus on the material experiences of the women as they traverse urban hubs in the four geographical locales. The model reveals the pathways by which the magazine achieves “symbolic sustenance to urban identities.”¹⁴⁰

African American women form the magazine’s primary symbolic source of Black urban female ambition, achievement, and glamour. African American women are symbolically transported in artery A from the United States to Africa and in artery B from European cities to the pages of *Drum*. African American expatriates in Africa in artery C further enhance their central role in sustaining *femme UrbAfricana*’s incessant transnationalism. In arteries D and E, African women travel to Europe and the United States, respectively.

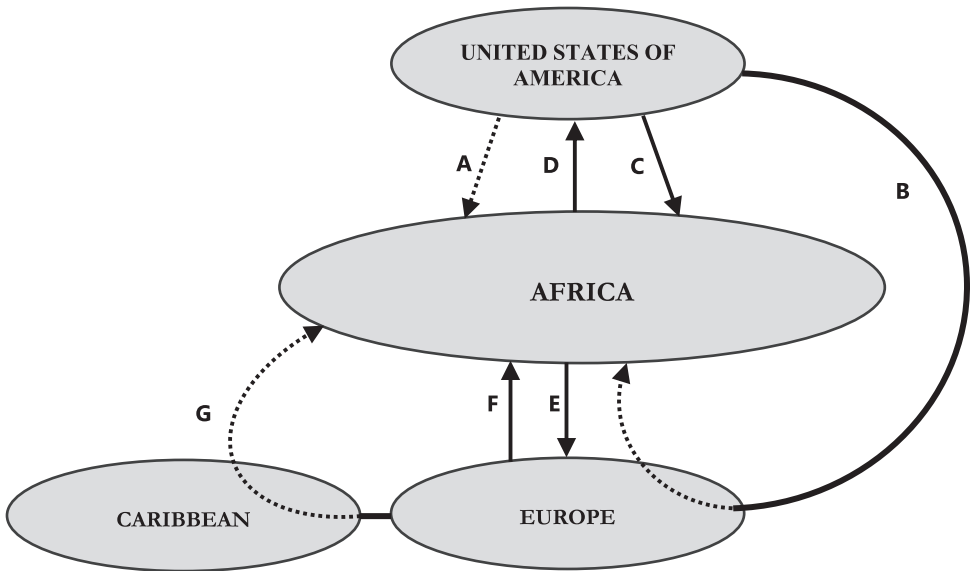


Fig. 4. *Femme urbAfricana*: transnational dialogic arteries

In artery F, Black Caribbean women in Europe travel to Africa, whereas in artery G a symbolic transportation of Black Caribbean women occurs through *Drum*'s magnification of their Caribbean heritage. As only a handful of accounts of Black Caribbean women traveling to the United States appear in *Drum*, they are excluded from the model of *femme urbAfricana*'s incessant transnationalism.

The foundations of African American presence as symbolic beacons for African women's pursuit of glamour (artery A) are identified by Lynn Thomas in her study of *The Bantu World* newspaper. Thomas also identifies an important newspaper account of an African woman traveling to both Europe (England) and the United States (arteries D and E). Thomas describes that in 1935, readers of *The Bantu World* learned all about African American beauty secrets from a South African woman, Rilda Marta, who had the rare distinction of earning her credentials from an American "beauty college." The visual evidence of this feat and of the total influence of her American trip was a photo displaying her resultant transformation as a "sophisticated lady."¹⁴¹ Marta herself contends that the trip had a more pronounced effect on her sense of femininity than on her African heritage: "I was always proud to call myself an African, although some of them [Americans] still think that Africa is a dark continent. What really

made me feel strange [was] nearly every girl and woman has long hair and I among them looked like a boy dressed in girl's clothes."¹⁴²

Together, local and diaspora Black women formed, in the words of scholar Rob Nixon, "the ballast of this cosmopolitan dream" in *Drum*. While Nixon argues that the raw material "came from abroad, above all, from the Americas of Harlem and Hollywood,"¹⁴³ the proposed model of transnationalism in *femme urbAfricana* recognizes African native women as coinventors of the magazine's urban vision. Further, the proposed model adds African and European urban centers and Caribbean cities and the Afro-descended women associated with them as meaningful networked sites and sources of Black achievement and glamour in *Drum*. In considering how these networked sites function, Kim Butler's concept of "diaspora capitals" is a generative pathway to understand the complex and overlapping layers in urban areas where multiple diaspora communities coexist and mingle.¹⁴⁴ Cultural anthropologist and filmmaker Sheila Walker views the global African diaspora as "a patchwork quilt, a Sidi *kawandi*, of cultural phenomena scattered around the earth and re-assembled in diverse ways in different parts of the Diaspora to form new cultural forms that are sometimes surprisingly similar."¹⁴⁵ *Drum* functions as a powerful site of visual and literary reassemblage; the resultant efforts produce *femme urbAfricana*.

A useful construct to understand the intersection of the transnational and appearance attributes of *femme urbAfricana* is Hudita Mustafa's "sartorial ecumene," which refers to the "linkages between local and transnational circulations of images, objects, events, and discourses of dress and adornment."¹⁴⁶ Consequently, *femme urbAfricana* theorizes Black femininity as a novel and evolving product of mediated networks between localized, regional, and transnational urban female realities.

Drum's "Dear Dolly" column, attributed to Dolly Hassim, the magazine's "woman's editor" and "love doctor," was a rare source of advice on sex and romantic relationships for the magazine's younger readers.¹⁴⁷ Conversely, Kenda Mutongi reveals that through "Dear Dolly," the magazine maintained a heteronormative stance with its adverse replies to letters from readers in same-sex relationships.¹⁴⁸ This stance extends to conformist romantic heterosexual love and desire, which are central to *femme urbAfricana*'s *heteronormativity*. Scholar Dhianaraj Chetty illuminates one of the rare queer narratives present in *Drum* (and also published in *Golden City Post*) from an excerpt of the life story of "lesbian gangster" Gertie Williams.¹⁴⁹ The city of Cape Town features heavily in Williams's story as a site of respite against

recurrent efforts by her family and the authorities to send her off to rural labor farms. *Drum's* heteronormativity was in line with magazines like *Jet*, which also only occasionally included queer and nonbinary persons in their coverage.¹⁵⁰ In summary, *femme urbAfricana* has six interlinked traits: It is urban, political, appearance focused, paradoxically Afrocentric, heteronormative, and transnational.

Femme urbAfricana builds upon the important foundations of scholarship on African urban studies and gender.¹⁵¹ For instance, Jen Katshunga proposes the “Black African Girl Approach” as an analytical framework with four requisite areas of inquiry: gender/class, race, age, and transnationalism, all aspects illuminated in *femme urbAfricana*.¹⁵² Filomena Steady similarly advances an analysis of the realities of Black women across national boundaries.¹⁵³ A related and important pillar upon which *femme urbAfricana's* transnational dialogic model rests is scholarship on representations of women's bodies across transnational landscapes. For instance, Su Lin Lewis convincingly demonstrates that the Modern Girl in 1930s Penang, Malaysia, arose from the fodder of film stars and advertising and, via debates and pageant discourses in the English newspaper, *Straits Echo*, shifted toward a localized version, the Modern Chinese Girl.¹⁵⁴ *Femme urbAfricana's* transnational dialogic arteries may prove useful to theorize the implied transnational tributaries from which localized versions of the Modern Girl emerge. Further, Lynn Thomas's analysis of the Modern Girl suggests a fluid “performative style” anchored by three markers: “a cosmopolitan look, their explicit eroticism and their use of specific commodities.”¹⁵⁵ These markers emerge in *femme urbAfricana's* appearance and heteronormative traits. *Femme urbAfricana* locates a novel form of Black femininity that, although influenced by some of the same forces as the “modern girl” or “African modern girl,” such as advertising or politics, also exists outside them. A second distinctive aspect addressed in *femme urbAfricana* is the broad reading of respectability suggested in the Modern Girl; that is, it can “be interpreted as anything from disreputable to respectable.”¹⁵⁶ Since *femme urbAfricana* is grounded in urban success, its “preferred reading” is one of urban sociability, which emphasizes lively, even political or activist participation in the public sphere, leisure and enjoyment, respectability, and achievement.¹⁵⁷ Socioeconomic class is invariably relevant to *femme urbAfricana* in three ways: its embrace of ordinary citizens as models and authorities of Black urban life; its consumption ethos of services, products, and experiences aligned to glamour, sociability, and so forth in the urban setting; and its surplus narratives of urban upward mobility.

Femme urbAfricana encompasses femininities of Afro-descended women as they are expressed in symbolic spaces regardless of age, gender, class, sexual orientation, ability, and other intersectional identities. Age is especially important for *femme urbAfricana* in the presence of numerous instances of problematic blurred distinctions between juvenile and adult Black females in *Drum*. Attempting to determine the age of the girls and women in *Drum* echoes challenges identified by Aria Halliday and others in locating age when researching Black girls. Marissa Fuentes urges persistence: "One must persist for years in this 'mortuary' of records to bring otherwise invisible lives to historical representation in a way that challenges the reproduction of invisibility and commodification."¹⁵⁸ Similarly, Halliday encourages scholars to realize ways to amplify their experiences and historical studies of African girlhood; for instance, Kelly Duke Bryant's study of liberated girls under *tutelle* in 1900s Saint Louis, Senegal,¹⁵⁹ and Abosede George's study of girls in Lagos are exemplary for their ability to overcome the absence of girls in the archival record and for their insights on how African girls navigated legal frameworks that sought to recognize and protect them.¹⁶⁰ Ato Quayson's extensive study of Accra is another testament to triumph over a deficiency of records of the African urban space.¹⁶¹

Relatedly, *Drum* integrates multiple generations into *femme UrbAfricana*, invoking, for instance, grandparents, parents, and descendants within the global Black diaspora experience. This invocation activates a "temporal-historical dimension" of diaspora communities, which Butler advances, offering a recognition of two generations.¹⁶² The heuristic potential of *femme UrbAfricana* to analyze and understand the intersecting dimensions of portrayals of Afro-descended women extends beyond the magazine's limited embrace of, for instance, trans and lesbian women's stories. Similarly, although *Drum* flattens or overlooks some of the biographical and genealogical particulars (e.g., mixed-race ancestral roots) of its models to produce a shared or collective representation of Black women, *femme UrbAfricana* encompasses Afro-descended women from all ethnic identities. For instance, although she is less visible in *Drum*, the *femme urbAfricana* transnational dialogic model has the potential to examine the Afro-descended urban woman, for instance, in the South Pacific, the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, South Asia, and Latin America and the visual regimes that govern her visibility across respective transnationally oriented media spaces.

As a new theoretical framework for theorizing Black transnational urban bodies, *femme urbAfricana* pursues four goals. First, *femme urbAfricana*

seeks to contextualize the representational record of *Drum* and anchors itself in Africa to elevate the continent's marginal status as an actor in discourses of globalization of beauty ideals. Second, *femme urbAfricana* expands the dominant North-to-South influence artery of media influence with its attention to important localized, regional, and transnational processes and contexts where beauty ideals are adopted, innovated, and contested. Third, *femme urbAfricana* elevates important and understudied Black-qua-Black discourses of beauty and the Black body by underscoring the implications when media actors seek to converge and diffuse a global vision of Black femininity. Finally, *femme urbAfricana* builds upon and expands the existing scholarship on African girlhood and African urban studies focused on Black women and African girlhood (Halliday, George, Quayson, Bryant, Genova, and Katshunga, among others).

CULTURAL STUDIES IN A TRANSNATIONAL MAGAZINE

This project is guided by the commitments of a cultural studies approach¹⁶³ to media analysis that focuses on the political economy of media, a critical analysis of the meanings that emerge from texts (e.g., critique of ideologies and discourses), and the utilization and reception of media texts by audiences.¹⁶⁴ Interrogating urban Black women in *Drum*—their representations, contributions, supporters, and cynics—foregrounds the magazine's discourses about gender, race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, and so on. In addition, I was interested in the forces that shaped Black women's presence or silences: advertising, national political systems, colonialism, apartheid, capitalism, Pan-Africanism, pro-independence movements, and so forth. These concerns attend to political economy with a focus on the range of national and transnational contexts of *Drum*'s production, the networks of distribution across English-speaking African markets, the forces that shape them, and their impact on the magazine's content. In the book's capacity as a historical media study, an attempt to attend to the impact of *Drum*, its use by audiences, and its reception leaves only undesirable options: either a reliance on the presence of an active audience via a textual analysis of carefully selected letters to the editor or a retrospective study of audience members' memory of the magazine.

Beginning with the political economy analysis of *Drum*, I started at the Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History in the David

M. Rubenstein Library at Duke University. I sought to locate information about American agencies operating in South Africa and other markets where *Drum* was present. I found numerous management documents revealing the challenges of American-led agencies operating in apartheid-era South Africa. This archival work allowed me to narrow down the glamour industries that contributed to new urban femininities across the continent, as discussed in chapter 3. I also unearthed various audience studies that allowed agencies to effectively market to Black urban consumers. Michel-Rolph Trouillot reminds us that “any historical narrative is a particular bundle of silences” and appeals to researchers to attend to the distinctive contexts from which silences arise in their efforts to correct them.¹⁶⁵ The audience studies did not reveal the silences I was hoping to amplify; the lives and dreams of urban Africans were summed up in population projections from the seat of power in Johannesburg and surveys summing up the appeal of cosmopolitan amenities. In her book *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive*, Marissa Fuentes discusses “archival violence” to foreground the reductionist narratives that exist in official documents of enslaved women. Reading studies of Black urban lives and futures under the violence of apartheid was an especially difficult experience.

With numerous offices (Jim Bailey tallies over twenty offices, including Europe at the peak of the magazine’s success) and several editions of *Drum*, the task of capturing as wide a representative selection of women in the magazine seemed insurmountable.

From previous research, I was aware that copies of *Drum* were available at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, a research wing of the New York Public Library, as well as in online editions of the magazine available through the Chicago-based Center for Research Libraries, an unrivaled global collective of academic and research libraries, both of which I consulted afresh for this book. At the Kenya National Archives, which I have occasionally visited, I knew that available copies of *Drum* were of mixed quality; some were in tatters, but issues from the 1970s were in better shape. I determined that the cost-benefit analysis of attempting to locate *Drum* copies from the national archives of *Drum*’s various national markets was not in my favor and planned to travel to the city from where *Drum* catapulted to the rest of Africa: Johannesburg. I arrived at Bailey’s African History Archives (BAHA), with high hopes to uncover the hidden narratives and formidable forces of *Drum*. After I slipped on a well-worn pair of white cotton gloves, the gracious archivist, Bongi Maswanganyi, directed me to the far corner of the one-room

site where the most glamorous moments in black-and-white of hundreds of women sat in a four-shelf metal cabinet. The top shelf was labeled “Beauties: 1950’s—1960’s & 1970’s Personalities”; the second, “Beauties: Miscellaneous”; the third, “Beauties: Africa”; and the last, simply “Beauties.” The challenge of this rich and robust archive of multiracial urban glamour shots was that many images carefully preserved in brown manila folders did not contain their associated *Drum* entries. Numerous photos did not make it to the magazine, as subsequent chapters will show. Some were unsolicited; others were sent to the *Drum* office on behalf of advertising agencies or for manufacturer promotions.

The choice to foreground first the narratives of women in the glamour archive that I could locate in *Drum* emphasizes the magazine’s role, almost acting as a dam, in curating *femme urbAfricana*. The glamour archive revealed this function, for instance, in documentary evidence of the editorial decisions of selections made from various negatives. Additionally, draft story copy showed handwritten edits—for instance, the downplaying of ethnic identity in a story about beauty professionals in the East African edition. This information inched me closer to feeling like I could “narrate from a place of silence.”¹⁶⁶ After patiently completing a review of the contents of the glamour mini-archive, I moved on to examine available copies of *Drum*. Here, in addition to women whose original photos I had found in the archive, I located many more whose photos live outside the official archive but are forever memorialized on the pages of *Drum*. Archival materials reviewed at BAHA also included secondary sources and photos of *Drum* staff.

While the task of including every copy of *Drum* ever published for this book was impractical, I made every effort to include as many issues as possible (including regional versions). In addition to those reviewed at BAHA, I also accessed additional copies from the Schomburg Center and the Warren M. Robbins Library at the Smithsonian National Museum of African Art. At BAHA, I also reviewed a separate set of documents in folders containing information on stories of women from across various African countries. They revealed the fortunes in glamour, prominence, triumph, or disgrace of, among others, Tanzania’s Bibi Titi Mohammed, Uganda’s Princess Toro, and Guinea’s new resident Miriam Makeba. National issues relating to women, such as Tanzania’s miniskirt ban, “Operation Vijana,” were also preserved. The BAHA glamour archive manifests what Trouillot terms as vital aspects of history, “the process and conditions of production” upon which history rests.¹⁶⁷ The archive, while evidence of *Drum*’s outsized and relentless ambi-

tion to be the continental and transnational voice of urban Africa, still holds silences. I had the good fortune of meeting Jürgen Schadeberg in July 2019, and during my time in Johannesburg, I sought to interview Peter Magubane. I was advised he was ill and not taking visitors. I left Johannesburg with a heavy heart. To locate the voices that I sought to find in Johannesburg, I have included, wherever available, biographies and autobiographical writings (e.g., Opral Benson, Miriam Makeba, Juby Mayet, Peter Magubane, and Robert Crisp) to locate firsthand accounts of the *Drum* staff wherever they may be found and to name the women of *Drum* discussed here whenever possible as an invitation to their descendants, loved ones, memory keepers, and future researchers to elevate the voices and lives of the women in this book. I have also sought to balance the number of *Drum* reprints and photos used in the illustrations.

Among its various markets, *Drum* maintained a single regional version for East Africa, creating a super issue that sought to capture the varied fortunes of African women in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika (later, Tanzania). The edition later incorporated Malawi and Zambia after these countries attained independence. The political economy concerns surrounding the East African edition are highlighted with an analysis of the Kenya National Assembly records (Hansard) relating to a parliamentary debate on cosmetic use among African women. This debate is the first of a set of prohibitive efforts in East Africa to curb freedoms represented by *femme urbAfricana*. The debate featured prominently in *Drum* with reflections from women leaders in East Africa. No analysis of *Drum* would be complete without attending to its intertextuality, that is, its existence within a broader arena where discourses of Black femininity are contested, its relationship to other relevant texts in this arena, and its own positioning alongside these texts and its unique contributions.¹⁶⁸ *Drum* contemporaries consulted for this book include the digital archives of *Jet*, *Ebony*, and *Transition*; microfilm collections of the *East African Journal* available at Virginia Commonwealth University; and copies of *Ebony Africa* from George Mason University and the Smithsonian National Museum of African Art.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

To help readers understand the establishment and evolution of *femme urbAfricana* in *Drum*'s Anglophone African markets, the book is organized in five

chapters. Chapter 1 focuses on the magazine's writers and photographers as cocreators of *femme urbAfricana*. I argue that the magazine created a porous visual and literary boundary that made this novel form of Black femininity possible and allowed the magazine's content creators to sustain *femme urbAfricana* through shifting social, political, and economic landscapes between 1951 and 1971. This porous space is demonstrated by an analysis of the mix of principal and shifting bands of talented creators enlisted by the magazine and the varied structural and topical affordances they created, such as features, dedicated women's spaces, op-eds, and picture galleries. The elevation of photographers as discoverers and humanizers of urban beauties is also discussed. The porousness of *Drum*'s efforts is most evident in the existence of a small cohort of female staff who are transformed from ordinary women to become authorities of gendered urban life.

In chapter 2, I argue that *Drum* established *femme urbAfricana* through an embrace of Black urban women's bodies, achievements, and aspirations directed toward a ground-up urban beauty- and appearance-obsessed culture. This chapter provides the foundation for subsequent chapters by outlining the practices that made the expansion of *femme urbAfricana* across various urban and national borders (i.e., township, city, nation, continent, diaspora). From a close textual analysis of the magazine's content, I describe the strategies *Drum* uses to facilitate these urban border crossings by female artists and entertainers, beauty contestants, cover girls, and fashion models—that is, the women who embody *femme urbAfricana*.

To keen advertisers in Africa, *Drum*'s aspiration to become a continental advertising game changer offered an extraordinary opportunity. Chapter 3 begins with a brief review of Western advertisers' approaches to success in Anglophone Africa in the 1950s and 1960s to reveal how their assumptions about and marketing efforts to African consumers contributed to the rise of *femme urbAfricana*. I argue that *Drum* and its advertisers cemented this novel model of Black femininity into a marketing staple by transforming existing actors (i.e., pageant winners and film and jazz stars) and innovating new ones from ordinary urban citizens into admired product endorsers vis-à-vis ideal consumer models. Grounded by an analysis of the magazine's content, advertisements, and archival research of agencies of the magazine's major Western advertisers, the chapter contextualizes the "Modern Girl Commodities" identified by scholar Alys Eve Weinbaum and colleagues.¹⁶⁹

As *femme urbAfricana*'s transnational dialogic arteries suggest (see figure 4), *Drum* sought to amalgamate new sources of *femme urbAfricana* over the

two decades between 1951 and 1971. That is, *Drum* brought together African-descended women from the United States, African migrants in Europe and America, and West Indian women in the imperial capitals of London and Paris and other European cities to form what historian Nicholas Grant refers to as “transnational black solidarities.”¹⁷⁰ These communities are the focus of chapter 4. I argue that *Drum* draws from these sources to globalize *femme urbAfricana* through narratives of cross-national urban upward socioeconomic mobilities. In this transnational effort, the magazine relies on narratives and visual evidence of the social and economic progress of the women and their transgressive encroachment on male- and white-dominated spaces. *Drum* also takes in community-affirming practices among urban Black diaspora clusters.

In the context of Joseph Harris’s characterization of the post-independence African horizon as “a consciousness of new nations, symbols, names, and ideologies,”¹⁷¹ the final chapter explores *Drum*’s incorporation of new models of *femme urbAfricana*: prominent female politicians, wives of prominent male nationalists, inaugural first ladies, national beauty queens, and pioneering professional women in newly or soon-to-be independent nation-states. I argue that with these new actors, *Drum* transforms *femme urbAfricana* from a commodified female body into a stand-in for the emergent modern African nation, its proud capital, and urban centers of less prominence. Magazine content and archival material relating to influential women and prominent nationalists, among them Tanzania’s Bibi Titi Mohammed and Kenya’s Margaret Kenyatta, are analyzed to examine how the magazine produces new reiterations of *femme urbAfricana*: ideal African female models who stand in for the contested concepts of country, nation, or continent. The purposeful use of fashion, as scholar Tanisha Ford has observed in the case of Sekou Touré and other African male pro-independence nationalists, was expended “to express their independence from Western Europe.”¹⁷² Similarly, among women leaders, glamour and fashion became a part of the performative characteristic of the independence era. Going back to Grace Njoki’s featurette in *Drum*, for instance, we can see how this glamour repertoire appeared in unexpected yet recognizable ways during the post-independence era. Chapter 5 best demonstrates *femme urbAfricana*’s political, urban, and heteronormative traits as women’s appearance in *Drum* takes stronger political importance in novel ways and as the magazine’s tone is legibly more anti-colonial and celebratory of African women’s arrival on the global stage.

CHAPTER 1

Architects of *Femme UrbAfricana*

Drum's place in Black South African literary production is undisputed. Compared to other publications of the period, the magazine "dwarfed all others as an influence on the style of the period."¹ One of the era's prominent writers and a *Drum* staffer, Es'kia "Zeke" Mphahlele (see figure 5 and figure 19), declares that the literary output characteristic of the *Drum* decade was driven by "a sense of triumph" as the community of creatives at the magazine believed they "had found a language."² Mphahlele attributes the decisive shift in Black writing prominently seen in the 1950s *Drum* to the "arrival of a people at a certain stage of articulation."³ This arrival is propelled by twin forces, first by "a certain kind of urban sophistication" and second by the "urgency about it which is characteristic of our urban experience."⁴ Rob Nixon has observed that *Drum* "amplified the voices of a defiantly impure cosmopolitanism, projecting an urban look and ethos, and confirming the professional classes in their attachment to the city."⁵ The magazine's efforts to plant roots in the African urban environment first took hold in the South African township, and a small cadre of actors made it possible.

As *Drum* magazine's chief reporter, Henry Nxumalo held the key to unlocking the appeal to the African urban audience. The firstborn in a family of eight, Nxumalo had started life in Zululand during the Great War in 1917. He pursued poetry as a hobby and held several jobs, including working at a "boilermaker's shop," as a "kitchen boy," and as a gold mine laborer. By the time he started working at *The Bantu World* as a messenger, the newspaper had published several of his compositions, and in no time, he was promoted to sports editor.⁶ Nxumalo, "a dapper little man with a fine African head—deep brow, high cheekbones, and a strong mouth," served in World War II, where his literacy and typing skills earned him a promotion to sergeant "after three days."⁷ After the war, he spent a year in England working as a clerk

and a reporter for the Information Department before a stretch in Cairo. He resumed his prewar position at *The Bantu World* and wrote a regular column for *The Pittsburg Courier*. Nxumalo called Orlando West Township home. Founded in 1932, the township earned the nickname “Dark City” because the Johannesburg City Council had not bothered to connect it to the grid located a stone’s throw away.⁸ *Drum* relied on the exposé humanized by Nxumalo as “Mr. Drum” to appeal to its urban and Pan-African audience. Without Mr. Drum, Anthony Sampson asserted, the magazine would have been “incomplete and meaningless.”⁹

Like Nxumalo, other prominent African writers at *Drum* (see figure 5), including Can Themba and Casey Motsisi, also anchored their writing in urban identity and revealed strategies of persistence and adventure often told in frank, witty humor. Scholar Martin Trump suggests that this characteristic comicality of Black literary output in this era is expressive of “a community confidently en route to liberation.”¹⁰ That is, the writing is infused with the optimistic outlook and vigor of a better future. Trump further elevates the power of shared stories as an “activity that brings comfort and certainty” among the urban-dwelling characters present, for example, in the work of Can Themba.¹¹ Themba was a *Drum* editor, a Sophiatown resident, a former teacher, and the winner of the magazine’s first short story contest. The implication is that the writers are drawing from life-giving practices against their everyday material struggles. Mphahlele has advanced that the political and “social struggle” of the era urged even “the university graduates” like Themba toward “a writing a style which was accessible to most people.”¹² Juby Mayet’s articles similarly gave readers insights into urban life and her journey as a journalist. When describing her day collecting donations for a charity, she called out the irony of poverty in Johannesburg: “Why are charitable organizations necessary in a city of gold?”¹³

South African women’s literary writing from the same era, according to reflections offered by Margaret Daymond and colleagues Dorothy Driver, Sheila Meintjes, Lebola Molema, Chiedza Musengezi, Margie Orford, and Nobantu Rasebotsa, generated “a female consciousness that wanted to have nothing to do with the West . . . self-confident, even joyous, women’s protest against demeaning treatment and representation.” Daymond and colleagues’ characterization of women’s writing is appropriate, but less convincing is the contention that a hallmark of their writing was the absolute rejection of the ubiquitous “West.” This claim overlooks the embrace of the global Black diaspora (including those situated in the Global North) among female writers in

Drum and elsewhere. The authors point out that *Drum* delivered a “fraught, ambiguous, and hostile context” for female writers and its subjection of women to disempowering narratives and images. The authors suggest that the overwhelmingly antisocial set of the magazine’s narratives for women originated with its “black male journalists,” who were in the habit of “speaking for women.” In other words, the authors advance that during the magazine’s golden era, or “*Drum* decade,” white owners, white editors, and Black staff produced a twin oppression of African women. As a result, Daymond and colleagues conclude, women emerge as victims from their exposure by *Drum* “to European models of beauty and to a code of ethics dependent on the ideology of domesticity, the nuclear family, and romantic love.”¹⁴ This understanding constitutes the prevailing understanding of the gender ideology of *Drum*. In *femme urbAfricana*, however, a broader range of roles challenges this dominant understanding.

In general, women writers, especially in the years following the “*Drum* decade,” persisted because they “drew on the cultural strengths maintained in their communities.”¹⁵ For Mayet, interactions with other urban citizens illuminated gendered expectations and generational differences. At her fund-raising assignment, Mayet wrote about encountering an elderly woman who requested that she “do a pirouette so she could see whether my hair was my own” and added that she “was propositioned by three different men.”¹⁶ Mayet’s articles also revealed the challenges of working as a journalist. She wrote, “Many times I wish I had chosen an easier way of earning my daily bread, and then some unfathomable magic takes place when I sit down at the typewriter. And I know that for all the house arrests, banishments and banning orders this side of China, I could never be anything but a journalist (or hack, when I’m feeling cynical and browned-off).” She drew strength in knowing that “people sometimes read the stuff I churn out. What’s more, I have a letter to prove it.”¹⁷ Mayet’s reflection suggests that the magazine’s writers were acutely aware of the risks they were taking in the physical urban world and the symbolic environment as cocreators of *femme urbAfricana* in *Drum*. Regarding the work environment she experienced at *Drum*, Mayet wrote about supportive relationships with the magazine’s male staff. She also adds, “*Drum* was my home-from-home.”¹⁸ Having already worked as a journalist at *Golden City Post*, Mayet describes *Drum*, which she estimates became a permanent position in 1962, as the place “where I really found my wings.”¹⁹ Mayet also offered short introductions for the magazine’s international fashion show spreads.²⁰

Despite these harmful tropes and images, Daymond and colleagues, how-

ever, point to the possibility of an “occasional alternative model of femininity” that produces instances of resistance to harmful tropes. One example of resistance identified by the authors is an article by Marion Morel, whose work is discussed in greater detail later in the chapter. Morel, according to the authors, “puts *Drum*’s beauty contest in perspective by focusing on the violence and abusiveness of male behavior towards the competitors, and by referring also to the poverty and degradation of apartheid that these women were striving to escape.”²¹

Drum’s ambitious efforts in Anglophone Africa were paralleled by its well-established contemporaries in Francophone regions of the continent: *Awa: La revue de la femme noire*, *Bingo*, *Faiza*, *Jeune Afrique*, and *Leila*. Ruth Bush’s seminal essay on *Awa* emphasizes that the magazine advanced women’s literary contributions, foregrounding dialogue across gender, class, and so forth, and offered a multifaceted version of femininity for African women in the post-independent era.²² In agreement with observations made by Bush, Silvia Riva notes the magazine’s embrace of a communal and global orientation to its audience and adds that *Awa* is brazenly political and cosmopolitan in nature, all characteristics that align with those of *Drum*.²³ With respect to the magazine’s contributors, Claire Ducournau’s study of *Awa*’s diversified letter writers in “The Letter Box” reveals a “boîte à lettres poreuse” (a porous mailbox) that produces a similar obscuring of professional and novice contributors seen in *Drum*.²⁴ Ducournau attributes this pattern to the shortage of professional staff, a low advertising footprint, and limited backing provisioned by Abdoulaye Diop, the magazine’s proprietor.

These concerns do not carry over to *Drum*, which extends the porous boundary of participation by constantly deputizing real and fictional female authors as *authoritative* urban interlocutors of *femme urbAfricana*. Tsitsi Jaji observes in *Bingo* that narratives of women breaking the glass ceiling dominated its pages in the 1950s and 1960s.²⁵ Jaji advances that *Bingo* offered readers “performances of tradition and modernity and collate[d] their own collages of such possibilities.”²⁶ In this regard, *Drum* and *Bingo* were similar in their celebration of the upward mobility of urban women.

The editors, columnists, writers, and photographers of *Drum*’s creative engine and cocreators of *femme urbAfricana* are the focus of this chapter. Ruth Simms Hamilton describes these diverse actors as “cultural workers” who determine the frontiers of sophistication and glamour.²⁷ I argue that *Drum*, through the mobilization of a fluid constellation of professional and lay creators, operates as a generative, porous, and popular dialogic space from



Fig. 5. Drum office staff, Johannesburg, 1954. (*Left to right*): Henry Nxumalo, Casey Motsisi, Ezekiel Mphahlele, Can Themba, Jerry Ntsipe, Arthur Maimane (*wearing hat, with cigarette*), Kenneth Mtetwa (*on floor*), Victor Xashimba, Dan Chocho (*with hat*), Benson Dyantyi (*with stick*), and Robert Gosani (*on right with camera*). (Not pictured, Todd Matshikiza.) (Photograph © Jürgen Schadeberg.)

which this novel form of Black femininity is established, and its relevance is maintained through shifting social, political, and economic milieus between 1951 and 1971. To demonstrate this process, the chapter will delve into a review and analysis of selected works of the magazine's dedicated women's sections, women editors and journalists, and features by male journalists and photographers.

PHOTOGRAPHERS

The magazine's most effective beauty and glamour hunters were its named and unnamed photographers. Photos played a vital role in the establishment of *femme urbAfricana*. They humanized the lives of urban women and allowed readers to see them navigating various urban offerings. Scholar Hudita Mustafa has stressed that "photographs of well-dressed persons, rather than simply instancing 'colonial domination' or the 'postcolonial crisis,' represent agents who deliberately engage with practices of wealth, transnationalism, and charisma."²⁸ To this point, among the urban offerings explored by *Drum* photographers was urban leisure, staged or actual. The practice or suggestion of urban leisure in *Drum* photographs of women is especially important in segregated cities, where the existence or expression of Black enjoyment was unwelcome or highly restricted. *Drum* photographers crafted a visual landscape of female urban citizenship that was safe, enjoyable, and glamorous. Mustafa further identifies African portraits as a means of separation from the colonial gaze and conformity, and advancing "photography reinvigorated long-standing contests for prestige and respectability."²⁹ *Drum* photographers, therefore, played an important role in maintaining urban sociability and pride. The following discussion is focused on the Africa-based photographers who were always on the lookout for glamorous African women. One of the magazine's photographers in London was Len Woodland, and at least one cover image was attributed to him.³⁰

Drum proudly presented those women who "caught our photographer's eye" in its pages.³¹ Reported interactions between photographers and female subjects offer insight into the challenges and triumphs of urban life for African women. After the magazine's third editor, Sylvester Stein, approved a cover feature of Miriam Makeba for the June 1957 issue, Jürgen Schadeberg and Makeba made their way to the shoot in his car, a "little Beetle with windows down." As the two were stopped at a stoplight, "a booming voice belled . . . —'Kaffirboetie!'" For the rest of the ride, Makeba "looked terrified and was crouching down in her seat trying to make herself invisible to the people passing by."³² Makeba's experience suggests that African women in Johannesburg and elsewhere negotiated their sense of safety constantly. A similar encounter between Schadeberg and film star Dolly Rathebe is discussed in the next chapter. African women's interactions and associations with white professionals rarely offered reprieve from societal aggression or disapproval.

Peter Magubane's photos brought readers closer to the glamorous events of the Miss South Africa pageant in 1961. The magazine billed the event as "the year's sexiest weekend for P.E. (Port Elizabeth you squares!)." The photo feature informed readers of "couples and unescorted groups of women" who, according to the report, "jammed the gates of the Feather Market Hall long before opening time on Saturday night."³³ Pictures of contests popularized the practice and acknowledged African social gatherings as integral aspects of urban life. On rare occasions, behind-the-scenes details of photoshoots were shared with readers, as was the case when *Drum* photographer Aziz Islam-shah took pictures of Tanzanian-born model Anna Lema.³⁴

Christian Gbabgo, the magazine's first photographer in Ghana, was almost always at the beach hunting for a beauty. Among the numerous "pleasant surprises" he found was cover girl Charity de Souza, a *Drum* reader and social worker who was pictured on Labadi Pleasure Beach.³⁵ The scouting process was described as follows in one feature of Ghanaian beauties: "When our cameraman went strolling around the main streets of Ghana . . . he took a few pictures, to give readers a chance to judge for themselves. That's democracy. When our Beauty Editor saw the pictures, he nearly fell off his secretary's lap. 'Clear two pages for the girls of Ghana,' he shouted. And what the beauty editor says around these parts goes. So here they are, some of the lovely girls of West Africa."³⁶ The implication of a fictional male beauty editor adds to the magazine's image as a gatekeeper for glamour. In the early 1970s, this format of urban leisure on beaches across the United States also appears in *Jet* magazine's pictures of college students³⁷ and working women enjoying the outdoors.³⁸

Photographer G. R. Naidoo introduced readers to Durban-based entertainers, including rising star "Ivy (Congo Girl) Williams," who was reported to have "danced herself into Durban's nite life all the way from East London."³⁹ The racialized border crossing suggested here from Durban to East London, a Johannesburg township, points to the potency of photos to map out urban possibilities under apartheid. Naidoo and the magazine's other photographers provided complimentary details of their encounters with cover girls. In one profile, Naidoo described his assignment as follows: "The few minutes I spent taking her pictures are worth a month's holiday in Paradise."⁴⁰ Nigeria's glamorous women and cover girls were photographed by *Drum* cameraman Matthew Faji, who was purportedly "minding his own business one dull Sunday morning at the Bar Beach, Victoria Island, when along comes this really irresistible chick by the name of Enis Chichi."⁴¹ In another interaction, read-

ers discovered that one beauty desired “to be a model without any strings attached,” and when he “saw her he forgot about string pulling and concentrated on the photos.”⁴² Faji was recognized in *Ebony Africa* after winning bronze in the Kodak International Color Competition; a glamour shot was one of his winning entries.⁴³

Drum staff described their encounters photographing beautiful women as if in conversation with each other, a form of “bro talk.” In one exchange Magubane told Motsisi, “Casey, I tell you this girl is one of the most photogenic girls I’ve ever had the pleasure of stinging my lens on.”⁴⁴ Interactions between photographers and models also made for clever poetry: “Lagos is full of feminine flowers and Rosemary Bola Adedoyin is a rose among them. Lagos is full of beautiful birds and Rosemary is a chick. Lagos is full of talent but it took Bola to bowl our cameraman over.”⁴⁵

Conversations between models and *Drum* photographers suggested friendly encounters. In one photo feature, a timid beauty confessed, “She does not know why she is such a great attraction. ‘What is special about me?’ she asks ‘Am I in any way provocative?’ Our photographer Matthew Faji answered with a big ‘YES’ and here are his pictures to prove it.”⁴⁶ An encounter between Christian Gbabgo and a model was reported as follows: The photographer “was walking lonely by Accra’s Labadi beach wondering where all the girls had gone. The afternoon was hot and as she stared into the white plumed seas he saw her rise before him.” The beauty “half goddess, half girl, he thought she was a mammy water and as he fumbled with his focusing, she came dancing through the surf. Then she spoke, not with the voice of the deep but in plain English.” According to the magazine, the model was “more than a mermaid, a *Drum* cover-girl.”⁴⁷ Aside from the implication that they enjoyed their work, photographers suggested that the women were good company and, by extension, also made them objects of male romantic desire. Photographers in *Drum* magazine also offered professional shots of women enjoying life in the urban environs across its markets, a hallmark of *femme urbAfricana*. These images also promoted urban life as hospitable and sociable and the magazine’s photographers as the biggest fans of urban women.

During *Drum* magazine’s initial years, “Home Pages,” “Woman’s Page,” and “Home and Beauty” made up the magazine’s dedicated sections for female readers. A discussion of the development of these components in *Drum* follows.

WOMEN'S VOICES IN *DRUM**"Home and Beauty"*

In the magazine's first year, December 1951, the magazine credited (Regina) Gelana Twala as the editor of "Home Pages." Based on a notice seeking Twala's replacement, which appeared the following year, her tenure as editor was brief. The vacancy notice also included an invitation to readers to shape the future of the new column by ranking a list of proposed topics. Among the topic options were "Readers Queries," "Cookery Recipes," "Gardening," "Household Hints," as well as "Baby Care," "Beauty Hints," "Fashion," "Health," "Knitting Corner," and "Things to Make."⁴⁸ The focus on topics that related to the home or those that anchor women's activities to crafters, homemakers, and parents underscores Clowes's critique about domesticity in *Drum*. However, *Drum* also signaled an early interest in style, fashion, and beauty when it renamed the section "Home and Beauty" in May 1952. This change marked an African-focused turn toward beauty. A subsection titled "Beauty Hints" offered assorted beauty tips. Among the earliest suggestions for readers was proper face care and hydration.⁴⁹ "Home and Beauty" offered advice about cosmetics and perfumes⁵⁰ without promotion of specific brands. Beauty photo features bolstered general beauty advice. For instance, a photo feature included the following testimonial: "Pretty Constance Maonda believes in a brisk rub down with a towel after her bath to improve circulation."⁵¹

"Home and Beauty" also supplied bulletins of female entertainers' performances and life events in a subsection titled "Women in the News" that was dominated by African American female celebrities and ordinary women.⁵² For instance, one "Home and Beauty" article featured a "brown baby with the sparkling eyes and smile . . . Alice Darr from Cumberland, U.S.A. She wears off-the-shoulder dresses and her shoulders get the special beauty treatment she gives her face—a beautiful brown colour."⁵³ The subsection also gave modest attention to local artists. After surviving a serious stabbing attack, readers discovered, "Miss Dolly Rathebe, lovely star of stage, screen, radio, and records, has now recovered completely and will soon be working again."⁵⁴ Readers also heard news of another star, "Miss Emily Kwenane, talented blues singer, who toured with the Manhattan Brothers," who had taken a medical leave.⁵⁵ Such features served to cement *femme urbAfricana* as an urban permanence despite serious risks from within African communities or government restrictions on Black urban life.

Accomplished businesswomen were also featured in the “Home and Beauty” subsection titled “Fashion Flash!” For example, “Miss Leana Downer, who runs a fashion house in Jamaica, is the lovely lady wearing a white broderie anglaise jacket.” *Drum* readers were encouraged to “try making one for yourself. They are very fashionable and so cool and smart in the summer.”⁵⁶ “Home and Beauty” provided updates for aspiring models. In a strategy like that used in coverage of lesser-known African American beauties, *Drum* played up the connections of up-and-coming local women with popular female celebrities such as Dolly Rathebe. One profile of rising star Elsie Marokoane noted that “golden throated Dolly Rathebe is one of her best pals. Don’t let the tough look fool you—she is as tender as a kitten!”⁵⁷ Featurettes in “Home and Beauty” enhanced the magazine’s beauty contests and gave contestants extended opportunities for visibility. One contest finalist, Helen Lance, was featured as a fashion model: “In hot weather when she wears this pique, strapless dress she dabs her favourite perfume on her bare shoulders and the fragrance spreads a lingering sweetness around her.”⁵⁸ By emphasizing personal beauty habits of women in the column, the magazine normalized beauty trends and cosmetic use.

Gradually the prominence of “Home and Beauty” was overshadowed by a new section, “Women’s Pages.” The section was reportedly popular among both white and non-white populations, and the magazine offered one interaction as confirmation: “The other day a European professional model came into our offices and told us that she classed our magazine, especially the women’s page, with the famous fashion magazine VOGUE.”⁵⁹ The reference to *Vogue* is especially powerful and suggests that *Drum*’s determination to be perceived as a destination for cosmopolitan Afro-descended women was somewhat successful or, at the very least, noticed by keen fans. In addition to the nod from the visitor to its offices, *Drum* also acknowledged it received mailed-in accolades from as far as West Africa, much to the delight of the editor, who wrote, “This is encouraging. Thanks a million.”⁶⁰ *Drum*’s women’s sections also enabled women writers to share their opinions alongside other contributors to the magazine. One main avenue for such opinion editorials was the section “Woman’s Drum.”

“Woman’s Drum”

The general layout of “Woman’s Drum” included a lead op-ed article almost always attributed to the editor herself and provided an assortment of fashion reviews or op-eds on topics relevant to women. Adjacent subsections included

a love advice column and recipes, which ran on a regular schedule. Pinups, beauty advertorials, a fashion gallery, and profiles of an accomplished Afro-descended woman were included with varying regularity. In the mid-1960s, “Women’s Pages,” now rebranded as “Woman’s Drum,” ventured into advice on urban sociability and etiquette. For instance, staffer Sally Wheeler, recognizing the high likelihood that an education gap might pose a social challenge for many African heterosexual couples of this era, offered women advice on small talk at parties. Wheeler warned women to be on the lookout for poor social etiquette from their “educated husband,” who was “not as clever as he thinks because party conversation should never be a way of showing off your knowledge.” In an empowering tone, Wheeler further told female readers, “He is wrong to think that you cannot manage through a lack of education. You need a few social tips.” The bulk of Wheeler’s suggestions focused on interactions between women because women should not “hope that your husband will stick by your side all evening.”⁶¹ Suggestions for talking to married counterparts included asking them about their children, and if they were nonparents, asking about their occupations or places they had lived. Another social etiquette article, “What’s That Woman’s Name?,” described suggestions for recalling names and social introduction protocols.⁶²

“Woman’s Drum” also pivoted to coverage of pioneer professional women and their achievements.⁶³ Women writers for “Woman’s Drum” shared their opinions with strong conviction. Wheeler, for example, described holding “no sympathy for the man who throws out his wife for the sake of his career” to affirm experiences of female partners who had perhaps been discarded for a lack of education. She challenged women to take seriously their responsibility to be prepared for social situations, “but neither have I any sympathy for the wife who is silly enough not to realise that you do not have to have a secondary education to be a success at parties.”⁶⁴ An important function of the opinions of the editors of “Woman’s Drum” was that it sought to offer neoliberal personal solutions for women to navigate systemic and patriarchal beliefs. In so doing, some women writers, in some commentaries, contributed to the strengthening of *Drum*’s domestic and patriarchal tone that has been noted by past scholars of *Drum*’s gender ideology.

Wheeler’s “Woman’s Drum” demonstrates a commitment to contextualizing the advice given to women readers. For instance, one article offered suggestions to slender-bodied women who could best use style choices to their advantage “to cover the bones with flesh or disguise them,” a task not without its merit, “especially in Africa, where the old plump curse still pleases

our men.”⁶⁵ Sally Wheeler also explored other topics, including short articles of domestic interest and recipes.⁶⁶

In a series of articles published under the “Woman’s Drum” banner, the magazine directed readers’ attention to notable fashion designers and beauty trends. At the time that former Miss Africa, Abigail Ikechi Ekwonna, attained success as a Lagos-based fashion designer, an article recorded her views of the existing trends. Ekwonna asserted that “teenage girls all over Africa dress in a weird and terrifying way. They think they are sexy when they wear their skirts too short and their belts too broad. Or skirts so tight they split the material across their bottoms.” The magazine provided photographs of some of her designs and suggested, “How much more genuinely attractive they would look if they chose the simple stylish dresses shown below.”⁶⁷ “Woman’s Drum” elevated women’s voices by providing space for fashion trendsetters to share their opinions about fast-changing trends.

In 1969, when the “pant-dress,” or romper, arrived in vibrant African prints, the magazine declared it a game changer: “Talk about women’s dresses being indecent should be over now,” adding “maximum coverage makes the pants-dresses the bridge between indecency and smartness.” This transformative fashion, the magazine urged, should be the aspiration of every woman, “even if you cannot afford to buy or make them,” because “they point the way ahead.”⁶⁸ “Woman’s Drum” documented the changing fortunes of Africa’s fashion output. The growing popularity of local fabrics such as “kitenge and khanga” was noted as a pivotal development that expanded style options for women “from office wear to an elegant evening outfit.”⁶⁹ By 1970, “Woman’s Drum” was celebrating the critical moment of *femme urbAfricana*’s hard-earned elevated visibility by way of fashion: “An African woman is no longer out of place in the world fashion parade.”⁷⁰

“Woman’s Drum” provided female readers with the skills necessary to succeed as urban citizens. On the one hand, it did so within a traditional imagination of women’s roles, such as wives whose spouses occupied a higher social status on account of their education. However, the magazine also prioritized success in social situations and conversations between women, signaling the value of female friendships and relationships. “Woman’s Drum” normalized *femme urbAfricana* values through the personal opinions of editors and responses to readers’ letters, but it also elevated the home, cooking, and subservient roles of women in urban settings. Many of the latter values were far outnumbered by articles supposedly written by female authorities

who embodied more progressive urban citizenship in *Drum*. Two of these authorities, Anne Placido and Marion Morel, are discussed in the subsequent sections.

WOMEN WRITERS IN *DRUM*

"Beauty Box" by Anne Placido

Southern Rhodesia-born (Zimbabwe) journalist and model Anne Placido made her debut in *Drum* as a cover girl in 1969 and later became a regular columnist of "Beauty Box," which covered "beauty, home, and fashion."⁷¹ Placido offered beauty advice in "Beauty Box" and shared social observations in "Woman to Woman." She also wrote various features. In one article she noted she had seen a woman in public who "had on loads of make-up, masses of powder (wrong shade) and blood red lips." She cautioned readers against embracing beauty on the terms of others: "Like many of us this girl had been led to believe that the white woman's ideal of beauty was the conventional one. But time has shown that most of it is not applicable to black faces and that it has never been imitated successfully."⁷²

In addition to the "Beauty Box" column, Placido wrote special features for "Woman's Drum" and in-depth features of fashion trends. A self-professed ardent supporter of African fashion, she was pictured in a kanga dress and Afro on her magazine cover. Her author bio was cropped from the same image. Placido embodied African pride, a fact that *Drum* emphasized: "Anne loves to model African styles and prints—anything that is African." Anne shared with *Drum* her frustrations about the matter: "But it's quite a disappointment since I have not yet met a designer who has ideals like mine: to bring what is African into the fashion scene."⁷³ Six months after her debut column, the "Africana" trend took over the world. Placido reflected on the style's acceptance at home and celebrated the fact that African women had emerged with a unique sense of hybrid fashion taste, "some clever combinations of part-African, part Western styles."⁷⁴

Like Wheeler, Placido's advice for women covered social etiquette and affirmations: "Once at the party, carry yourself with confidence, but forget your appearance and take interest in everyone around. Last but not least, carry on smiling and you will be the belle of the night."⁷⁵ Placido's articles, however, were also noticeably different. They offered more detailed instructions on

hair and makeup: “Don’t be tempted to wear a too stunning lipstick—choose a colour that suits you, and don’t forget to match it with your fingernails.”⁷⁶ Additionally, unlike Wheeler, whose byline author photo was the only visual connection to readers, Placido appeared in at least one article modeling various party outfits she recommended to readers.

Placido introduced readers to successful beauty entrepreneurs, including one who managed “a slimline clinic, and a hairdressing salon.”⁷⁷ The beauty experts profiled by Placido revealed to readers that they provided “women’s organizations” with consulting services on “beauty, hairdressing, and the correct use of make-up.”⁷⁸ Placido’s features also underscored the barriers that aspiring beauticians had to contend with to achieve success in their chosen glamorous careers. While weight loss was a minor concern in the magazine and in Placido’s column, advice on body toning was present, and readers were advised that the best results could be achieved through swimming. Perhaps knowing all too well that pools were inaccessible to most readers, an alternative route was provided: “You have got a fine pair of legs and, if you forget how to use them, you might end up with one of those shapeless, less attractive figures. So get going!”⁷⁹ Placido’s beauty features allowed readers to familiarize themselves with growing opportunities in the sector. Additionally, in-depth coverage of beauty professionals normalized the uptick in interest in beauty professionals, products, and advice at a crossroads moment for many readers who looked to *Drum* for advice on changing fashions and beauty.

Placido’s path from *Drum* cover girl to columnist, while uncommon, is evidence of the permeability of the magazine’s dialogic space as ordinary women find their voice and embody *femme urbAfricana*. Both Woman’s Drum and the magazine’s women columnists’ work included direct engagement with readers. Letters from readers became the springboard into both serious and trivial topics and, less frequently, an opportunity for female writers to share their opinion about “hot” topics. In one article, for example, Placido responded to a reader’s query who wanted to know whether the long nails seen on the hands of *Drum* cover girls posed a challenge to their eating. “Last but not least—to return to the letter appearing in DRUM—I have a notion that Mr. Jakagwa might be caught in the misconception that girls with long fingernails eat with their fingers. Useful utensils like the fork, knife and spoon have been invented.”⁸⁰ Placido’s response and column normalized beauty trends and diverted unnecessary critique of *femme urbAfricana*’s appearance-focused value. *Drum* also turned to Marion Morel, who, like Placido, anchored her writing in the experiences of women in urban cities.

“Girl About Town” by Marion Morel

In 1959, *Drum* launched a new column, “Girl About Town,” credited in-line to biracial dance teacher and Cape Town resident Marion Morel. The column explored fashion, nightlife, the city’s gay scene, and other themes, with details of her unapologetic enjoyment of white-dominated spaces in Cape Town: “I was astonished to find myself the only non-white woman in the First Night audience at the opening of ‘King Kong’ in Cape Town.”⁸¹ Given the prominence of the arts in *Drum* as a means of securing a sense of urban dignity among Africans, Morel’s experience as the only woman of color at the show’s debut in Cape Town prods the impact of apartheid in that city and complicates the magazine’s own positioning of women’s prospects for upward mobility. Morel also reported about Cape Town’s exclusive beauty salons, “Have you ever wondered what it would be like to visit one of those lush, plush, white beauty parlours? Marion went this month. She tells you about the glorious feeling it gave her.”⁸² After she divulged the details of her visit, Morel reportedly received “dozens of letters from girls wanting to know more details and asking for advice on make-up.”⁸³

Morel’s insights into Cape Town’s white-dominated beauty culture demystified the city’s beauty and pageantry scenes for African and other women of color. The multitude of letters, whether real or exaggerated, suggests that one of the successes of the porousness of *Drum* that allowed the establishment of *femme urbAfricana* is in the symbolic dismantling of racial barriers in the city. Specifically, Morel’s status as a mixed-race woman allows other marginalized women to peek behind the privileged spaces and subsequently cements her authority as an urban-rooted beauty authority. The hostility of Cape Town to Black women was not lost on Morel, and she used her column to defend African women who found themselves in jeopardy for challenging the city’s intolerance.

Through Morel’s reporting, readers peeked into city glamour studios such as “South Africa’s first Charm School for non-white girls,” where patrons could learn a range of skills, including “dress sense, hair-style, make-up, deportment.”⁸⁴ Among the important lessons for students was “that make-up is more than just putting cosmetics on. For it has to be taken off properly too!”⁸⁵ Morel’s endorsements of retailers such as Big City Stores and their latest clothing lines elevated her trendsetter status.⁸⁶ Critiques of fashion trends also allowed readers to stay on top of popular developments. In one article, “It Makes Me Feel an Awful Fool,” Morel protested the “latest craze” trend to

wear jewelry backward around the neck: “Well, blow me down, are there no lengths to which we girls won’t go in order to attract attention?”⁸⁷

Historian Rachel Johnson notes that heterosexual desire was a central theme in Morel’s column. Regarding the termination of the column’s four-year run upon Morel’s marriage, Johnson concludes that the column “was only a brief foray out into the urban city with a young woman as the reader’s guide.”⁸⁸ The column, however, did more: It offered readers subaltern experiences and insights on how to navigate the duality of racial hostility and urban belonging under apartheid. In one exchange, for instance, Morel objected to a reader’s request for a recommendation for a skin-lightening cream: “Heck, honey! Didn’t I go out of my way to explain that us Coloured girls should make the most of our lovely brown skins?”⁸⁹ While mixed-race women appear to be the primary intended audience of Morel’s writing from this specific reference, she only identified with this in-group in some of her writing. Paradoxically, as a prominent socialite, Morel also appeared in advertisements for Karroo Creams. Her endorsement read as follows: “As a journalist, I have to go about a lot and we all know that the bright African sunlight, we all love so much, does darken the skin. Karroo Matt Cream has a special formula to stop this.”⁹⁰

Morel’s connections to beauty contests, several of which she served as a judge for, revealed intimate backstage stories of women contestants. When she reported on her social encounters with showbiz stars such as Irene Batchelor, a singer, dancer, and *Drum* cover girl who won a beauty contest in Cape Town before relocating to Johannesburg to join the show *Africa Jazz and Variety*, it brought the world of African celebrity closer to readers. Morel dished out tips on beauty, makeup, and new fashion trends. In one column, Morel offered tips on different types of lipstick based on her reading of a beauty brochure titled “How to Make a Mouth.” She told readers, “Me, I still think there’s nothing to beat one’s natural, honest shape. I just use one tone, pale pink, and leave disguises to clowns. The newest names for one range of lipstick put out by a popular manufacturer are: Raspberry Icing; Toffee Sherbert; Coral Vanilla, and Grape Icing. Sounds delicious. Nice for your sweetheart if he has a sweet tooth.”⁹¹ The Revlon lipstick shades suggest efforts by the magazine to offer advertorials through its women writers. It is not clear if writers were compensated for their promotional work.

In 1962, the magazine introduced a new column, “Our Beauty Bar,” written by Morel and “strictly for the girls.” The column provided tips on skin-care and occasional product reviews: “There is an excellent and economical make-up remover that’s used in the theatre. It is made by an internationally

famous American firm and for 85 cents (8s 6d) you get a generous tube that lasts for at least six months.” The column promised “more beauty hints and other girlie matters next month, ladies.”⁹² While there are no known or available records of the advertising and marketing transactions at *Drum*, the creation of a separate promotional space authored by Morel may indicate that a change occurred in the advertising procedures at the magazine that may have included formal agreements with cosmetic manufacturers.

The “Girl About Town” column crafted an interstitial space for *femme urbAfricana* through the unification of the unique beauty cultures of Johannesburg and Cape Town even as *Drum* hyped an alleged fashion and beauty “rivalry” of the two cities. Morel’s column added to this sense of rivalry through recurring descriptions of Johannesburg ladies’ reactions to fashion choices made by women in Cape Town and vice versa. Morel pondered, “I often wonder why we girls are so intensely interested in Beauty Queens and mannequins” and surmised that “it is a form of envy really because in our hearts we would all like to be beautiful.”⁹³ Despite the alleged rivalry, Morel, by attending to the interests and experiences of women readers in these “dueling” cities, elevated the permanence of *femme urbAfricana* as a striving urban citizen.

Among the archival materials related to *Drum* staff was a label for Morel’s folder, which included an annotation for “Morel, Marion” followed by “Colomnist [*sic*] for Drum (written by Jacky Heyns).”⁹⁴ The folder includes images of Heyns, described by Sampson as “a wisecracking half-Chinese columnist” exhibiting a lively personality.⁹⁵ In one he is pictured on all fours, his back doubling as a stool for a fashionably dressed woman, and in another he is toasting with two women.⁹⁶ Driver has suggested that other female-targeted sections of the magazine, including “Dolly Drum,” simply reflected “a contrapuntal ‘feminine’ voice, a voice produced partially or even largely by male journalists.”⁹⁷ Assuming Heyns wrote most if not all of the articles attributed to Morel, the magazine’s overt attempt to strengthen its novel form of Black femininity by tethering it to Cape Town via the “Girl About Town” column is remarkable. Specifically impressive is *Drum*’s drive to translate the experiences of a mixed-race male author to relatable triumphs of urban sociability for the magazine’s mixed-race and African women readers. There is the probability that Morel and Heyns experienced some of the reported events together. In any case, the question of Heyns’s authorship may undermine the legitimacy of Morel’s standing as one of the few who actively resisted or protested the magazine’s objectification of women.

Female writers Placido and Morel and the presence of dedicated women's sections allowed *Drum* to convene a diverse array of authorities on urban female experiences. These experiences became the fodder for the establishment of *femme urbAfricana* as the appropriate behaviors, knowledge, and skills of urban sociability were shared with readers. In-depth features of select cover girls by *Drum* staff allowed readers to learn directly from women who had attained and embodied *femme urbAfricana* through urban sociability.

WRITING BEAUTY: NXUMALO, MOTSISI, MAGUBANE, AND MATSHIKIZA

As early as November 1952, *Drum*'s use of extended cover girl profiles was underway and leveraged the magazine's majority-male journalists to offer readers close-up accounts of accomplished beauties.⁹⁸ Contrary to the observation by Driver, who notes the magazine's elision⁹⁹ of contextual information for its cover girls, the magazine's male writers still showed interest in the lives and journeys of urban women a decade after the initial cover girl features first appeared. One feature, "Our Own M.M.?", was a collaboration between photographers and writers in a quest to find a "Dark Marilyn Monroe." In the article, Nat Nakasa, G. R. Naidoo, and Frank Barton presented mini-profiles of three beauties and concluded, "The search continues. Our talent scouts have only started. They are looking for 'new' faces and figures."¹⁰⁰

The general plot of the cover girl features began with a discussion of their modest childhoods; a decision to leave their cities, towns, or villages of origin; and present status as workers in the professional, domestic, or entertainment industries in the city. Features often included multiple photos of the women at home and in various locations in the city. As Mr. Drum, Henry Nxumalo was among those who took on the task of elevating *femme urbAfricana*. Among his less serious assignments was his series "Mr. Drum's Search for Beauty," in which he spent time around Johannesburg (see figure 6) interviewing successful and glamorous African women. A similar series followed in 1953 and focused on the beautiful women of Cape Town. It was aptly titled "Mr. Drum Looks at Cape Beauty."¹⁰¹ The profiles portray jovial and non-judgmental interactions between Nxumalo and his celebrity interviewees. He wrote that when he visited with actress Peggy Pango, it was "a chat over a cup of tea and a cigarette." In addition to Peggy, a photo procession of familiar beauties accompanied the feature: Virginia Ngwenya, Babsy Palmer, Rose



Fig. 6. Johannesburg, 1951
(Photograph © Jürgen Schadeberg.)

Kabane, and media personality Margaret Mibenge, among others. Readers were informed that these were the “African brunettes” that Mr. Drum found after he had “thoroughly combed” various locations—“hospitals, factories and private homes.” To be sure that readers understood the seriousness of the assignment, *Drum* shared that Mr. Drum’s investment in the story stretched “two days looking round in Johannesburg” to “many Reef towns, from Randfontein to Springs.” The immersive nature of the story awakened a new appreciation of “the difficulties that face anyone trying to find a real beauty” and led to Nxumalo resorting to “merely looking for out-of-the-way charm in the women he met.”¹⁰² Another in-depth profile in which Nxumalo caught up with a cover girl “over tea, at popular Michael’s restaurant in Delfers Street, Johannesburg,” also included photos of the star window-shopping in the

city.¹⁰³ Reported interactions between male journalists and cover girls reveal relational stakes as peers and friends. These stories also create a sense of physical safety in the urban locales, where these interactions reportedly took place without incident.

Some of the extended cover girl profiles were written by the magazine's Black writers and revolved around life milestones such as weddings, births, and major career accomplishments. For example, in "Drum Pin-Up Gets Pinned!" Casey Motsisi apprised readers of the details of former pinup Priscilla Zibi's domestic life.¹⁰⁴ The story featured pictures of the now married beauty queen at home, and readers discovered she was "still a Beauty: Even while doing her household chores she still looks like 'Miss Fifty Sex.'" ¹⁰⁵ The feature provided details of her partner: "tall and lanky and 27, he is too, went and 'I-does' her on a bright sunny day in the March of last year." To provide readers with insights on the realities of married life, the feature included pictures of the happy couple negotiating household chores. "Housewife Now: But Pricilla makes Marshall help. Cooking: Marshall does not help here. No Sirree!" ¹⁰⁶ With features that followed glamour girls through life events, the magazine sustained the relevance of *femme urbAfricana* over a twenty-year period.

Motsisi partnered with "shutterbug" Peter Magubane to provide readers with a candid update of the continued successes of "Real High-Life Dolls," or former beauty queens Hazel Futa (Miss South Africa), Mumsie Mthombeni (Miss Johannesburg), and entertainers Dottie Tiyo and Patience Gcwabe. The feature presented the entertainers as close sisters in showbiz, compared their success to "Hollywood model-girl and stage star standards," and also noted their unique paths to success and divergent fortunes. Motsisi described having "a wonderful time getting around with these beautiful girls." If readers wondered if the women had been working hard to keep up their good looks, Motsisi noted that the stars were "proud of their figures!" The women's motivation for keeping fit was endorsed by Motsisi: "And I can't blame them. Their slick figures are what land them the fat, well-paid advertising jobs." The feature revealed a close relationship between the stars and the magazine's staff. Motsisi admitted that "now and then" Dottie "pops in at the office to use the phone. Saves herself a cupful of tickes."¹⁰⁷ This interaction suggests that the *Drum* office was also a porous physical space, which some African women felt welcome to occasionally visit and to access otherwise expensive and unavailable privileges such as phone use.

Motsisi and Magubane's feature gave the stars an opportunity to address prevailing allegations against them, giving them a *voice* and a sense of agency

to define their successes on their own terms. For instance, Motsisi asked Tiyo about allegations that she was a “man-snatcher.” She replied, “They’ve got me all wrong. I’m just a shoshiable shorrt of a girl.” While their lives were “not spectacular,” Motsisi told readers the women were “far from being the ‘girl-next-door’ types.”¹⁰⁸ The stars shared challenges they faced in their public-facing careers, including threats of physical violence from rejected or obsessed love interests: “They do get their teeth rammed down their throat by boys who can’t take ‘No’ for an answer—ask Patience. They get threats of kidnapping—ask Mumsie.” The upward mobility plot was evident for all the women highlighted. Readers learned that Futa and Tiyo had moved on up from the township and now lived in the suburbs. The showbiz triumphs of “salted Jo’burgers” Mumsie and Patience had not changed their circumstances much, and both still lived in “the townships with their parents.”¹⁰⁹ Motsisi reports that he deflected queries from Futa about how much she would be paid for the multipage feature and photos.

Drum’s pursuit of urban credibility drew upon social life in the township, most prominently the stars, ardent fans, and performance venues of South African jazz. After the postwar period, taking influences and inspiration from American jazz, the genre developed into an “ebullient sound more intuitive than any outside the United States.”¹¹⁰ Among its most keen ambassadors were South African schoolteachers¹¹¹ and local missionaries, including Father Huddleston, an Anglican vicar in Sophiatown and *Drum* supporter who had introduced several talented young men to the magazine. *Drum* provided a review of the country’s African music scene in “Playtime 1952,” which offered a survey of solo and group acts from across the country. The township’s vibrant soundtrack was captured by Bob Gosani and *Drum* music editor Todd Matshikiza in a special feature, “Township Jazz.”¹¹² A former teacher, Matshikiza spent two years in Johannesburg establishing himself as “a composer of jazz and choral music” before Nxumalo introduced him to *Drum*.¹¹³ He was also a member of the band Harlem Swingsters. Matshikiza was a talented writer, and the *Drum* staff dubbed his unique writing style “Matshikese.” Sampson wrote, “He seemed to hit the typewriter as he hit the piano, making words sing and dance and shout as if they too were jiving on the dance floor.”¹¹⁴ Matshikiza shared with readers his discovery of “a jazz baby” who “was digging solid jazz drums and looking at me with eyes that made me feel like I was made of glass. She saw right into my heart, and I confessed.”¹¹⁵ Matshikiza also profiled artists, including Thako Thomo: “Gunshots can’t stop her—she’s a bullet herself.”¹¹⁶ Matshikiza’s review of music frequently highlighted Doro-

thy Masuka, and the magazine also included pictures of the “singing ‘queen’ of Rhodesia.”¹¹⁷ Matshikiza’s elevation of the glamour ambassadors is also evident in microfeatures of female artists under the titles “What They Say About Thandi” or “What They Say About Dolly.”¹¹⁸ Matshikiza’s featurettes and long-form profiles of female stars raised the urban presence and prominence of female musicians and focused on their professional accomplishments.

Through its embrace of jazz, the magazine further opened the space for *femme urbAfricana* via the urban success stories of female singers. Readers were invited to come along as “Mr. Drum listens to Jazz” to experience the deep musical talent demonstrated by, among others, the “Topper Girls dancing team,” composer Maybel Magada, and singers Thandi Mpambani (Klaasen), Rathebe, and Masuka.¹¹⁹ Another regular section, “Masterpiece in Bronze,” similarly highlighted local female musicians, including Emily Motsieloa.¹²⁰

African cover girl and celebrity features were also credited to female authors. For instance, Berylle (Beryl) Karikari was noted as the author of a short feature that also included a cooking lesson from Ghanaian cover girl Elizabeth Twum.¹²¹ Karikari was a descendant of Asante king Kofi Karikari and spouse of Cameron Duodu, editor of the Ghanaian edition of *Drum*.¹²² Karikari’s authorship suggests that a broader network of female authors may have been connected to the magazine’s male writers. Another feature by Zainab Reddy shared the experiences of Indian women celebrities Sharmila Tagore, Asha Parekh, and Sadhana, “three of the screen’s most glamorous leading ladies.”¹²³

Although most features by *Drum* writers were limited to persons conforming to the gender binary, one profile of trans women written by Juby Mayet and Alfred Khumalo appeared in the magazine in 1966. The writers presented “Joan” and “Sonia” and observed that “they are misfits in ordinary society, mocked at, maligned.” Their trans identity was introduced to readers as “men who feel, think, act, dress like women,” and the profile noted they received little social acceptance “and so are insulted, ridiculed.” The profile magnified the women’s petition for social acceptance. “Please,” they simply say. “We can’t help the way we feel. Blame, God, who made us, if you must.”¹²⁴ In-depth profiles of African women written by male and female journalists amplified shared experiences of women in urban settings and further sustained the relevance of *femme urbAfricana* with follow-up stories as their careers advanced.

CAPTURING AFRICA'S CHANGING FASHIONS

Under titles such as “Fashion Extra” and “Fashion & Beauty Extra,” profiles of local fashion houses enhanced the magazine’s coverage of beauty and glamour, anchoring *femme urbAfricana*’s appearance focus. One magazine story was of a fashion show put on by fashion revolutionaries Aziz and Gamiet of the House of Mizelle. The brothers were reportedly “known to remove an offending pair of earrings or necklet from a client.” Readers discovered that the design house motto was “there’s no compromise with beauty.”¹²⁵ Marion Morel and Farida Dollie, winner of the 1959 Miss South Africa contest, both modeled for the fashion show.

Throughout the late 1960s and early 1970s, the magazine documented the continent’s shifting fashion and hair trends. Regarding the growing popularity of wigs, a *Drum* reporter suggested, “For those young girls who really want to get ahead—in the Lagos social whirlpool that is—a wig is a must. By getting a wig you can take hold of Paris fashion complete out of the smartest Paris salon straight into Ikoyi or Ijebu Ode.” The feature included pictures of two “Ernest Dionne wigs” popular among urban dwellers in Nigeria. The report observed that “seven out of every ten educated Lagos girls” had taken to wearing wigs. The magazine reliably sought to connect the trend to prevailing patriarchal gender norms: “Some are blonde, some striped like animals’ furs. Some are just plain shocking but there are others which your wife might wear without even being noticed. Or would she?”¹²⁶ Another trend captured by the magazine late in this period was the revival of traditional hairstyles that also marked the recognition and professionalization of traditional African beauty services. One story for Ghana *Drum* featured pictures taken by Christian Gbabgo and celebrated the “ODUKU” hairstyle. A picture of “beautician” Alberta Addy, who owned a beauty salon in the Accra suburb of Mamprobi, was also included.¹²⁷

The appeal of extravagant wigs among African women at a time when many African American women wore their hair natural and went as far as to protest Black stars who promoted synthetic Afro wigs was not lost on the magazine.¹²⁸ *Drum* noted that “Africa has gone the opposite way, and straightened hair or wigs are the fashion of the time.” The wigs, the magazine reported, were “so extraordinarily large that they frighten and repel the men instead of attracting them.”¹²⁹ When the appeal caught up, the magazine, capitalizing on the popularity, featured advertisements for an “Afro-American wig” to

achieve a “Natural effect only” that was “worn by the most glamorous girls and film stars.”¹³⁰ The presence of these advertisements in *Drum* suggests the Afro in Africa followed a popularity pattern similar to that observed in the United States,¹³¹ when it waned in popularity after only a short period.¹³²

When the miniskirt revolution arrived in the late 1960s, *Drum* reported that “girls of East Africa are following international fashion and shortening their skirts. First the knees came into view and now, prompted by even more extreme styles from Europe, an extra six or seven inches of leg!”¹³³ The article contextualized this local trend as part of a global movement led by “London fashion designers” and one that was vehemently opposed by authorities in Zanzibar.¹³⁴ In its usual dose of humor, the magazine suggested that miniskirts were “a menace not without advantages,” adding that “with skirts this short there is no danger of muddy hems during rainy season.”¹³⁵ Similarly, when the pants came knocking in Ghana, *Drum* noted the change: “It’s crazy—and we dig it! Four lovely girls currently starring in the swinging, never-more-appealing fashion show that’s part of the fashion revolution in Accra 1969. Who says that girls can’t wear the pants—and look good?”¹³⁶

Features highlighting East Africa’s rising fashion scene were also popular in this period. For instance, Uganda’s taste for fashionable clothes highlighted its liberal attitudes on dress, or “freedom of dress,” as *Drum* put it in a June 1969 article, enhancing the range of women’s fashion interest. “Probably nowhere in Africa has there been so little criticism of mini-skirts or similar Western trends.” The country boasted an abundance of local fabrics from two major fabric producers: Mulco and Nyanza. The “first design to be produced” at Mulco was reportedly a patriotic “print incorporating a portrait of President Obote.” The magazine reported that the implementation of lower tax rates to boost sales of locally made outfits had little effect on public confidence and quickly plateaued. Retailers, however, remained optimistic and banked on the “inherent good taste of Uganda’s well-dressed people.” The magazine also noted that, unlike Kenya, Uganda’s fashion productivity was not exclusively dependent on its capital city. Adding to the optimistic outlook for Uganda’s fashion future was the rise of “new talent . . . from the Fine Arts students at Makerere College.”¹³⁷ *Drum* highlighted the achievements of Ugandan fashion brand “Phillippe of Uganda” and reported that the outfit was led by Phillippe Todd, whose partner, Scottish native Cecil Todd, had a teaching appointment at Makerere.¹³⁸ As East Africa developed its own “distinct style,” the magazine celebrated this achievement with a 1971 fashion spread.¹³⁹

Drum writers also highlighted budding fashion designers. One young woman, Jane, who, with the support of her employer, had crocheted her life

back together after a series of personal losses, had her shawl collection available for purchase at the exclusive Studio Arts '68.¹⁴⁰ Fashion writer Jaine Porter, who first appeared in *Drum* in 1972, introduced the region's "little thriving fashion industry" built upon the "K fabrics—khanga, kikoi, and kitenge."¹⁴¹ *Drum* writers publicized trends in the jewelry sector. One feature highlighted the resurgence of gold jewelry and included a model adorned in gold earrings, noting the continent's long history with the precious metal: "We in Africa all know about gold, which has been used by women for personal ornaments for centuries. Gold is now high fashion, and if you can't afford it then you wear imitation gold."¹⁴²

Drum photographers celebrated African female fashion pioneers. For instance, Gbabgo photographed a fashion show put on by designer Chez Julie in Accra. The magazine summarized the designer's contributions to the country's fashion scene as follows: "If Ghana's girls are fashion-conscious—and they are—it is thanks to top designers like Chez Julie."¹⁴³ Less prominent fashion shows were covered by Matthew Faji, who "went along to see what was new at the Shandy Boutique. And the girls obliged by putting on a fashion show especially for Matthew's benefit—and ours. Nice, don't you think?"¹⁴⁴ This reference elevates the photographer's role in the interaction by suggesting that the show was put on simply for his pleasure and grounds the objectifying nature of some of the magazine's representations of women.

Another designer, Esther Ede, received a nod in a photo feature when "Model May," an aspiring model dressed in one of her creations, "submitted herself for special treatment of our top photographer Matthew Faji at one of the beautiful gardens in Lagos."¹⁴⁵ *Drum's* fashion focus exemplified the participation of the creative talent at the magazine—professional designers and models—and kept up with the shifting political, economic, and social stakes revealed by changing fashion trends. These features were central to augmenting *femme urbAfricana's* novelty as also arising from internal or African innovations in fashion. The final feature type that characterized *Drum's* generative, porous, and popular dialogic space consisted of articles that directly commented on African beauty.

BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL

Despite embracing the beauty theme from the early months of its existence, *Drum* ran only a few features specifically tackling the political implications of beauty ideals. They included a report titled "What Is Beauty?" reportedly

written by Penny More in 1967.¹⁴⁶ Another feature spotlighting the practice of skin lightening, titled “Blame It on Cleo!,” appeared in *Drum* in 1969. It is worth a reminder here that skin-lightening advertisements had regularly appeared in the magazine since the first few years. With the tone of an op-ed, the feature gave only one clue to the identity of its unnamed author: a reference to “Here in Tanzania.” The article set the record straight about the prevalence of skin lightening among African women: “It would be a pity if all African women wanted to make their skin light and straighten their hair; but they don’t.” The magazine noted that among African women there are those who elected “to follow the styles adopted by Miriam Makeba, whose meteoric rise in the entertainment world has done a great deal to draw attention to the pure natural beauty of the African woman.” Of the three photos accompanying the “Blame It on Cleo!” feature, one was of Miriam Makeba, showing her in short hair as an exemplar of “the ‘*au naturel*’ look.” The article added that Makeba “is a highly talented performer who projects a good image of the African woman, unencumbered by superficialities and unspoiled by unnatural beauty aids.” More further observed that African women used a broader range of skin care products, and skin lighteners were “not the only, nor even the most important make-up African women use.” These other products included “tonics, creams and powders which, if used wisely, help to condition the skin so that it is neither too dry nor too oily and has just the right tone, say the cosmetics people.”¹⁴⁷

One of the other two feature photos in the “Blame It on Cleo!” article showed “French hair stylist Jean Yves Frolet” pictured outdoors with “two modern misses,” seemingly as he touched up the straight hair of one of the Black women. The other photo was an image of a makeup artist applying makeup to a client, the caption adding, “A touch of mascara on her lashes adds glamour to this girl’s eyes.” The article went on to describe the flavor of the debate: “There are arguments here both for and against the devices and potions and the [skin-lightening] lotions which some people want to see banned.” Unsupportive of prohibitory measures against cosmetics, the article concluded that the best way forward was to help African women transfer “the knowledge of proper techniques on the art of make-up to those who are otherwise bound to imitate superficially and spoil their natural beauty due to ignorance.” The article ended on a provocative note: “For let’s face it, we men benefit in the end.”¹⁴⁸

The magazine’s photographers were vital to the magazine’s celebration of African women’s natural skin tone. In “Black Is Beautiful,” a black-and-

white article and picture parade of Ghanaian beauties, the magazine declared, “Drum salutes all African girls who are black, and proud of it. Ace cameraman Matthew Faji in Lagos went to town to prove black is beautiful.”¹⁴⁹ The magazine stated its position on the rise in skin lightening: “Many girls have started to regret that they bleached their skins. They feel sorry for themselves at one stage or another when they realise that no-one can cheat nature. The complexion they get in the end is beyond description. Let us just call it rainbow.” To affirm Black beauty, the article included quotes from several proud Black beauties: “I am black and proud. I will never try to change my beautiful black complexion. It is a sign of ingratitude to my creator.” Another contributor noted, “I am in love with all things that are natural. Beauty, real beauty, is not and cannot be artificial.”¹⁵⁰

Another feature in the “Black is beautiful” theme titled “Black Pride: What Is It?” was credited to Philomena Chelagat, who also spotlighted the practice of skin lightening. At the time of the article’s publication, Chelagat was about twenty-one. The University of Nairobi graduate would go on to become the youngest person to be elected as a member of parliament in Kenya.¹⁵¹ Chelagat’s article included the following account of a film advertisement for Ambi, a skin lightener. Chelagat recounted,

I had the most unpleasant experience recently when I attended a film at one of the theatres in town with a friend. An advertisement depicting ‘the new Africans’ flashed up on the screen before the start of the main film. You’ve seen them yourself: a couple of girls and a couple of men, all beautifully dressed, all good looking and light skinned, all successful—that is if success means looking as white as you possibly can with a black skin! Four white people who were sitting in front of us, also two girls and two men, laughed very loudly when they saw the advertisement. “And they talk of equality,” they said scornfully. You can imagine how embarrassed and ashamed we were.¹⁵²

Chelagat’s encounter brings to bear urban physical and symbolic spaces where Blackness and Black presence were contested. The reference to an unsegregated movie theater (in Nairobi) as an ideal target audience for the Ambi reel also suggests a well-resourced marketing effort, a topic discussed in greater detail in chapter 3.

Chelagat’s article does not mention the film that they had hoped to enjoy before the group was drenched in shame from exposure to disaffirming images of Africans in the Ambi ad. In Kenya, the very experience of Africans

enjoying films in desegregated theaters was a triumph. The opportunity of being featured in positive ways in film, however, was a decades-old struggle across the continent. South Africa would lead the way and establish some of the earliest images of African women in feature films. This development would propel a small cohort of African female celebrities to popularity, along with *Drum's femme urbAfricana*.

CHAPTER 2

African “Sirens”

Drum's broad appeal to urban readers in South Africa established the initial boundaries of its vision of African urban culture and life presented in pictorials such as the “Drum Portrait Gallery,” which featured ordinary and accomplished urban citizens and occasional socialites. These initial boundaries, however, did not last long and were redrawn as the magazine diversified its staff and sought to plant its roots in Johannesburg's township culture. *Femme urbAfricana* emerges in the context of an African media landscape that offered limited affirming visibility of African women as urban citizens and evolves as the magazine expands from Johannesburg to markets in Anglophone Africa. At the core of the rise of this novel form of African femininity is an embrace of Black urban women's bodies, achievements, and aspirations directed toward promoting a ground-up urban beauty and appearance-focused culture.

In this regard, *Drum*'s efforts on the continent, alongside those of its competitor *Zonk!*, were novel. Meanwhile, in the United States, the Black-targeted monthly magazine *Ebony* had amplified Black women since its first issue in November 1945. The magazine's “Film Parade” column featured female actors such as Dorothy Dandridge, Lena Horne, and Anne Brown on set. The column also featured up-and-coming screen stars.¹ Such images affirmed the women's career choices and gave readers an opportunity to see them in action.² *Ebony* sought to humanize the celebrity class with candid “at-home” pictures and features. Lena Horne, who appeared in a cover profile³ in 1946, was pictured at home cooking,⁴ and Broadway star Carmen Alexander was shown washing dishes, trying on outfits, and even reading *Ebony* at home.⁵ *Drum* profiles were similar in tone for its most famous African stars. The rising popularity of Black films was credited to the talents of actors such as Francine Everett and Lena Horne.⁶ Breakout stars such as Pearl Bailey and Hilda Sims were also amplified in popularity with profiles in *Ebony*.⁷ *Ebony*'s

early celebration of Black women also included Caribbean-born stars like the distinguished Trinidad-born star Hazel Scott.⁸ *Ebony* chronicled the nascent African film industry in East Africa with a 1946 feature of *Men of Two Worlds* and the continent's first African female film star, Eseza Makumbi of Uganda.⁹

When *Ebony's* weekly sister magazine, *Jet*, launched in November 1951, it continued the *Ebony* tradition of celebrating Black women entertainers but also expanded the range of images beyond entertainment into politics, sports, and celebrity personality news.¹⁰ *Jet's* "Society" page featured news from cities such as Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Memphis, and New York, which received special attention in "New York Beat." The magazine also featured events of interest in the Caribbean world, and the "African Affairs," later "African Roundup," section featured news relevant to Black commercial and political developments. *Jet* celebrated the many firsts for African American women in the entertainment industry, including Janet Collins's barrier-breaking appearance as the first Black female dancer at the Metropolitan Opera House.¹¹ Stories of Black women at formerly all-white social events also populated the magazine.¹² *Jet*, like *Drum*, played up a rivalry between two glamour capitals, Hollywood and Harlem, for the winner of "the most beautiful Negro girls."¹³ Like *Ebony* and *Drum*, *Jet* extended its celebration of Black women entertainers outside the United States to include, for instance, Afro-Brazilian women¹⁴ and Black Caribbean women entertainers.¹⁵ Following the lead of *Ebony*, *Jet*, and *Zonk!*, *Drum* took its initial fodder for African urban women's glamorous accomplishments from South Africa's film industry.¹⁶

FEMALE CELEBRITIES AND GLAMOUR

"It Is Dolly": Mining African Stardom

During the late 1920s–1930s, Hollywood films provided a steady supply of "imperishable glamour," setting new standards for beauty and catapulting many a formerly ordinary woman into icon status.¹⁷ The Hollywood glamour well also transformed everyday products into desirable consumer wants. The reservoir of glamour in Africa similarly sprang up with the appearance of African artists, singers, and film stars, or "African sirens," between 1949 and 1954. Drawing inspiration from Homer's *Odyssey*, references to attractive women as "sirens" took on new life in the second decade of Hollywood's film industry. Initially used in the phrases "screen sirens" or "cinema sirens," the word "siren" showed up in various production titles, among them *The Siren*,

The Siren of Seville, and *The Heart of a Siren*. The women who starred in these and other films in the early decades of the industry cemented the archetype of the "Hollywood siren." My use of the phrase "African sirens" here borrows from this repertoire and from a similar use of "sirens" by Schadeberg and Bob Gosani.¹⁸ Much like Hollywood, the South African film industry was the first medium to produce some of the earliest female African celebrities. This chapter chronicles the transformation of these stars, singers, and performers into beauty stars and anchors of *femme urbAfricana*.

Beginning in the early 1910s, Hollywood producers tackled the African subject in, among other films, *The Kaffir's Gratitude*, *A Zulu's Devotion*, *Symbol of Sacrifice*, *Desert Nights*, *Round-Up Time in Texas*, and *King Solomon's Mines*. These productions featured a recurring plot in which Black natives protected the white protagonist in his pursuit of wealth.¹⁹ In South Africa, film distributors hyped Hollywood films that featured white gangsters, and these productions proved especially popular among Africans. For "all the crooks in South Africa," a special admiration developed for Humphrey Bogart and Edward G. Robinson. Bogart had established a long résumé of gangster or bad boy roles in *Dead End*, *Casablanca*, *Sahara*, *Dead Reckoning*, *The Enforcer*, *The African Queen*, and *The Desperate Hours*. An impressive roster of villain roles for Robinson included *Outside the Law*, *Little Caesar*, *The Last Gangster*, *Double Indemnity*, *Key Largo*, *Illegal*, and *Hell on Frisco Bay*. From these images, aspiring township criminals picked up gangster style and mannerisms.²⁰

As the local film industry expanded, the Union of South Africa government sought to engage the propaganda and advertising potential of the genre and entered a partnership with local outfit African Film Productions, owned by Isadore W. Schlesinger, a Jewish American immigrant. By the 1920s, films that showcased the country's industries, including coal mining, metal fabrication, and sugar industries, were in production. Another purpose of the films, of course, was to claim South Africa's kinship to the world's most advanced nations; promoters therefore pursued global circulation of the films in international "industrial exhibitions in Great Britain and on the [European] continent" and "to all parts of the civilized world."²¹

Alongside Hollywood's fictionalized narratives of white fortune seekers (and deserving benefactors of African benevolence), the films advanced racialized notions of progress, which excluded Africans and other nonwhite minorities. Jointly, commercial and promotional film production in South Africa up to the late 1940s "celebrated its white inhabitants."²² After three

decades of vibrant film production, negative stereotypes of Africans, not much unlike those produced by Hollywood of African American stereotypes, were established. Unlike Hollywood, however, which, despite its harmful tropes, could boast a few Black stars and even a Black female Oscar winner (Hattie McDaniel for her 1939 supporting role as Mammy in *Gone with the Wind*), the South African film industry had failed to produce a single African star.

In South Africa, opportunities for African actors changed, however, when three foreigners, Donald Swanson and Eric Rutherford and his spouse, Gloria Green, attempted “an anti-Hollywood crusade” with *Jim Comes to Jo’burg* (also known as *African Jim*), the first South African film to feature an all-Black cast. The film’s upward mobility plot featured an African man who leaves his rural home for the big city and falls in love with an attractive nightclub singer. For the female lead, Swanson “favored a light-skinned woman whose manner was altogether too sophisticated for the role. Rutherford wanted someone more authentically African.”²³ In the end it was Dan Twala, the filmmakers’ “mentor in the townships,” who recruited nineteen-year-old singer Dolly Rathebe to audition for the part. Rutherford confessed that, at first, he was not impressed by the “nice-looking girl” until “her turn came to sing, she got in front of a camera, and it was like something out of a movie. . . . Suddenly this woman took on a whole new personality, her eyes sparkled, her face broke into a smile, she had a sort of swing to her body, I mean she was just absolutely wonderful.”²⁴ The filmmakers faced challenges securing national distribution from Schlesinger’s firm, but in the townships the film was so well received that locals were said to have adopted the greeting “It is Dolly,” meaning it is well.²⁵ Samuelson has observed that “fashion and film” function as “central technologies of self-stylization” in the *Drum* decade.²⁶ That is, the interplay between *Drum* and the film output cements the urban setting as a site of innovative and contested African subjectivities.

One afternoon in March 1952, Dolly found herself in the back of a paddy wagon en route to a police station in northern Johannesburg. Hidden under a “loose flowery dress” was a bikini, the public appearance of which had caused police to terminate a photo shoot with Schadeberg at one of Johannesburg’s mine dumps. Not long after Dolly and Schadeberg noticed the intolerant reservations of “an elderly couple, the man, in a straw hat and carrying a walking stick, and his partner, in a tweed costume, and a short lady with thick make-up,” did they spot two eager policemen “slipping and stumbling clumsily” in the tailings toward them. Seeking to prove the pair’s immorality, one officer demanded to see Dolly’s underpants. Dolly raised her dress to where

"you could just see her bikini bottom."²⁷ Satisfied they had found inculpatory evidence against them, the officers whisked the pair past the disapproving couple and transported them separately to Marshall Police Station.

Four years after the arrest, the magazine reported its publication success to readers and described Dolly as "the sweet thing who answers your Heart-break problems." The nod also included a picture of Dolly's felonious sand mine image, captioned "Legs on Bail," and reminded readers that "when this picture of Dolly Rathebe was taken the cops questioned our photographer."²⁸ The photo continued to invite controversy in the early years. After a *Drum* report noted that "Dolly Rathebe's picture is the topic of conversation everywhere, favourable and unfavourable," it turned to Can Themba to adjudicate: "See how they like it? Those arguing against the picture are merely afraid that the public might stop raving about everyone's favourite pin-up girl?"²⁹ Themba wrote that Rathebe, who launched her singing career on the dimly lit stage of a Sophiatown shebeen known as Mabeni's, had "once sang the blues" to him.³⁰ (A 2013 video of a performance by Rathebe and the African Inkspots is available on YouTube.³¹)

Drum's consistent visibility of African female celebrities was achieved through its coverage of their life milestones, only increasing readers' investments in their success. For instance, *Drum's* coverage of Rathebe extended to her marriage and the birth of her first child. *Zonk!*, too, maximized Rathebe's celebrity status. In one issue, the magazine featured a brief article announcing her first hair permanent, or "perm," in 1953.³² After Dolly survived a stabbing, a *Drum* reader wrote, "I felt a little heart-broken to read that the famous Dolly, the African filmstar, is suffering from a stab on her back. May the wound heal quickly so she may engage her stage socials as usual. I hope the assailant is caught and punished. Long live Dolly!"³³ Ruth Feldstein's critique of *Drum* for overlooking violence against women is too sweeping; the magazine did report select instances.³⁴ In her study of Dolly Rathebe's representation in *Drum* and *Zonk!*, Thobile Ndimande fittingly notes that the celebrity "becomes the focal point of multiple, even incongruous claims of femininity." Ndimande offers that Rathebe's varying and oppositional femininities point to "plurality and multiplicity" as two unique traits of "urban Black translucent femininity."³⁵ Rathebe and other female celebrities and socialites were ideal anchors of *Drum's* *femme urbAfricana*.

Another female film star from this period was Ribbon Dhlamini, who played the role of Gertrude in the 1951 eponymous adaptation of Alan Paton's *Cry, the Beloved Country*.³⁶ Dhlamini was particularly influential as a fash-

ion model in *Drum*: “Ribbon Dhlamini, elegant actress of ‘Cry the Beloved Country,’ wears a simple and very smart pearl choker with her black evening sweater.”³⁷ Clothing retailers capitalized on this growing celebrity class and recruited them as endorsers. For instance, Dhlamini told potential consumers of the department store Temples that “it is so easy to be beautifully dressed, as I deal with TEMPLES and take advantage of their Easy Payment Plan.”³⁸ An increase in the number of all-African films produced further provided more sources of glamour for the magazine’s beauty culture. Among them was Maybel Magada (*Song of Africa*, 1952).³⁹

All-Black cast film premieres provided another opportunity to capture African celebrities in their moments of artistic accomplishments and to demonstrate the magazine’s support of these historic milestones.⁴⁰ The magazine also sourced rising film stars outside Africa to deepen its glamour reservoir. Angela Nanor of Ghana, who in 1952 appeared in *The Boy Kumasenu*, was featured in the “Glamour of the World” series. Nanor’s profile, titled “Time Off from Fame!,” provided details of her already extensive travel résumé earned during her training as a dressmaker “in Paris, the home of fashion, and Switzerland.”⁴¹ An important connection between *Ebony* and *Drum* is the linked discourses occurring in these Black-targeted media spaces of this rising celebrity class. *Ebony*, for instance, suggested solidarity between urban women in Africa and African American women, declaring, “African glamor girls look much like American cousins” and pointing out the range of cosmetics used by African women. The magazine pointed to hair-straightening choices of Rathebe and Nanor as examples of shifting African beauty ideals.⁴²

A *Drum* feature proclaimed in 1959 that movies “seek their beauties everywhere. The whole world’s not wide enough for the film-makers to find the faces they are looking—faces beautiful, enchanting, provocative, mysterious.”⁴³ In its profile of Kenya’s film industry, the magazine noted that the “growing band of part time film stars” desired “to make film acting a full-time career” but were curtailed by a lack of consistent casting opportunities.⁴⁴ Similar stories of aspiring creatives in African cities juggling multiple jobs peppered the magazine.⁴⁵ The most appealing type of film content, the magazine noted, was “good animal ‘footage,’” highly sought after in advertising.⁴⁶ During the magazine’s second decade, there were fewer standout film stars and feature-length articles were less common. However, interest in film continued as the magazine marked the continent’s film milestones. An example was a 1969 feature of *Mrembo*, “Africa’s first full-length Swahili film.”⁴⁷

Artists/Dancers/Singers

Another category of African sirens had emerged out of the music scene in Sophiatown, a township located one train stop away from Johannesburg's downtown.⁴⁸ The female vocalists who emerged from Sophiatown, as historian David Coplan notes, stood out and were "more popular than most male vocal quartets."⁴⁹ The 237-acre township property was named for the wife of its former owner, H. Tobiansky, who also installed the names of the couple's five children upon several of the town's streets. Tobiansky's vision to build a "European suburb in the west" of Johannesburg changed after he discovered his property was surrounded by land previously designated in 1918 by Johannesburg City Council as part of the Western Native Township.⁵⁰ Without the restriction to sell to individuals of any race, Tobiansky sold freehold parcels to Africans, Asians, and Europeans. Sophiatown's population grew exponentially between 1928 and 1937 and stood at just under thirty thousand at the end of the decade.

For its diverse residents, the township offered a scarce advantage of permanence; there was no doubt "squalor and overcrowding," but there was also "a certain style to its social life. Vigorous and vulgar, Sophiatown had soul."⁵¹ Another popular Sophiatown singer and "siren" was Thandi Klaasen, "a lively young woman with a slim figure and a sparkling energy about her."⁵² The daughter of a domestic worker and cobbler,⁵³ Klaasen had a reputation as a free-spirited entertainer; in 1947, when Donaldson Hall in Orlando East Township opened, "Thandie brought down the house down hepcatting."⁵⁴ Twenty-two years later, *Drum* celebrated Klaasen's success with a glowing report of a tour in Cape Town.⁵⁵ Among the ranks of the jazz queens, however, Dorothy Masuka reigned supreme. A native of Southern Rhodesia (present-day Zimbabwe), Masuka was born in the city of Bulawayo. After arriving in Johannesburg, she escaped the allure of showbiz as a student at St. Thomas's Convent until a Troubador Records scout spotted her at the age of sixteen. Upon being discovered, she was reunited with her estranged father so he could oversee her record contract with Troubador. A representative was also sent to Bulawayo to sign a contract with her mother.⁵⁶ Masuka's hit 1953 single, "Hamba Nontsokolo," propelled her to instant stardom. These female vocalists "specialized in African cover versions of American jazz favorites."⁵⁷ Klaasen's version of "Cow Cow Boogie" was alleged to have gained "legendary" status among her fans.⁵⁸

Although Masuka was her junior by three years, Miriam Makeba entered show business with a doting admiration for the singer and regarded her as “one of my idols.”⁵⁹ Makeba’s vocal confidence had developed from “seven years in the School chorus,” and after moving to Johannesburg from Pretoria to escape an abusive marriage, she accepted an invitation to join the Cuban Brothers, a band led by her second nephew, Zweli Kunene. In 1953, she made her showbiz debut on the Donaldson stage. Not long after her debut, she was poached by the Manhattan Brothers and was replaced in her previous role as a “female Cuban Brother” by Klaasen.⁶⁰

In 1956, *Drum* described “a thrill called Miriam Makeba” in its feature of the Manhattan Brothers. Although it described the singer as “the amazing Miriam ‘Nightingale’ Makeba,” a slight cautionary tone was also present: “Over her head hangs the legacy of past female singing stars who have dwindled into obscurity because they have been dazzled by bright lights. Will she be able to guard her voice and personality against the stain? Can she beat the curse?”⁶¹

Alongside their male counterparts, female jazz musicians were brought together by white promoters in various productions that were heavily promoted or featured in *Drum*. Among them was the *African Jazz and Variety*, a traveling production that featured three dozen majority Black artists, including Miriam Makeba, trumpeter Hugh Masekela, and several Asian and biracial artists. Masuka had “top billing” in the production as its lead female star. The stars of another prominent musical, *Drums of Africa*, were also profiled.⁶²

Female artists, most notably Makeba, Rathebe, and Masuka, were featured as product endorsers for assorted advertisements in *Drum* (discussed in greater detail in the next chapter). With their growing popularity, however, Johannesburg’s female celebrities often came face-to-face with some of the city’s violent criminals: Makeba was besieged by gang members during performances; Rathebe was forced to relocate to Port Elizabeth after surviving a stabbing, a fact reported in *Drum*.⁶³ Klaasen suffered a ghastly acid attack from a jealous rival in the late 1970s.⁶⁴ Gang members were also known to pursue singers as romantic partners.

In 1954, twenty years after the township was first marked for destruction, the bulldozers rolled into Sophiatown to reclaim land for the establishment of Triomf, a white-only suburb. Opposition against the demolitions—undertaken with little compassion for the disruption it brought to residents—was prominently covered in *Drum*. Peter Magubane, *Drum*’s second African photographer, and Marshall Lee reported that during the demolitions a Sophiatown mother returned home from her domestic job to find her child and a teenage

babysitter missing.⁶⁵ The media attention and advocacy, however, failed to ignite fury beyond Johannesburg. Father Huddleston summarized the city council's apathetic appraisal: "To Johannesburg, Sophiatown is a slum: a native slum at that. How could it possibly have any human dignity about it?"⁶⁶

Can Themba described Sophiatown as uninhabitable to boredom: "You have the right to listen to the latest jazz records at Ah Sing's over the road. You can walk a colored girl for an evening down to the Odin Cinema, and no questions asked. You can try out Rhugubar's curry with your bare fingers without embarrassment. All this with no sense of heresy." Sophiatown "was not all just shebeeny, smutty, illegal stuff. Some places it was as dreams are made on."⁶⁷ Klaasen's song "Sophiatown" was a heartbreaking elegy for the demise of an ideal: "I had no chance to say goodbye to romance. / I had no time to leave it all behind. / It was a place I knew. / Where my dreams came true. / Until they broke it down—Sophiatown."⁶⁸

In planting *Drum's* roots in township culture, its African staff spearheaded support for self-help projects such as the building of a swimming pool in Orlando Township.⁶⁹ Pictured in one *Drum* issue was renowned boxer Dan Twala, whose contribution of five pounds kickstarted the pool fundraiser.⁷⁰ The magazine also used township beauties to support such efforts. For instance, to accompany the fundraising announcement for the swimming pool, Beauty Mokwena was pictured in a Sophiatown pool relishing "A COOL SWIM rare for Reef non-whites" as she urged readers to "come in and join" her.⁷¹ Readers also experienced "the real Christmas Spirit" in a generous picture feature of Orlando's annual carnival event for the magazine's Christmas issue.⁷² Jazz stars also came together to support social causes. Before Father Huddleston's departure from South Africa in 1956, a glamorous farewell featuring singers Ursula Bergman, Dorothy Masuka, Thoko Thomo, Tandi Mpambani, and Dolly Rathebe was held in his honor. The singers, the magazine reported, performed "for all the things they lived for. For the freedom of an artist's expression and for the right to be paid for it."⁷³

Drum attended to African artists' successes in Johannesburg's entertainment and music scene as well as the growing presence of township entertainment culture exemplified by Sophiatown. In September 1952, readers were introduced to Peter Rezant, "leader of Johannesburg's popular Merry Blackbirds dance."⁷⁴ Similarly, successful all-male bands, especially in Nairobi, were featured in the magazine and boosted interest among fans. The magazine reported that Nairobi-based band "the Equator Boys have one real wish—they want an African girl singer to join them. . . . So far we haven't

been able to find a Kenyan girl good enough to sing with us. . . . But if we do, we'll change our name from the Equator Boys just for her!"⁷⁵

As part of *Drum's* transformation into an urban magazine, Jim Bailey had hired the talented musician and composer Todd Matshikiza as music editor. Matshikiza, a "happy, chatty . . . full of laughter" fellow, brought the township beat to *Drum* and introduced talented township stars, including Dolly Rathebe, to the magazine.⁷⁶ The magazine also highlighted challenges faced by artists as opportunities shrunk in the late 1950s with increased competition and regulation. Among the deterrents to African artists' success was, as noted in an article by reporter Benson Dyantyi, Radio Bantu, "which pushes tripe music down our throats from 5:30 a.m. to 9:30 p.m." Dyantyi continued, "Could the artistes please stop condescending to the record companies, and rather work for the good of our show business?"⁷⁷ Nightlife profiles gave insights into the glamorous entertainment wear,⁷⁸ as did guides to city nightlife spotlighting popular venues and entertainers.⁷⁹

An important cradle of native glamour was the Ritz Palace de Dance, dubbed the "best dancing floor for non-Europeans in South Africa."⁸⁰ When *Drum* profiled the establishment's last show before it burned down in 1951, the profile provided the magazine's first spread of all-African glamour pictures. The photos showed not only popular singers taking center stage but also images of the vested appreciation of performers by a multiracial audience dazzlingly dressed for a fun night out. Among them, a "glamorous beauty in a polka dotted two-piece was leaning over the beautiful stage of the Ritz to listen at close quarters to her favourite instrumentalist."⁸¹ A similar farewell profile appeared in *Jet* following the closure of Sugar Hill Club in Harlem.⁸² Profiles of "Creative Era" stars continued in the magazine as it approached its decennial. In Tanganyika, readers were informed of Masuka's success at a club known as the "Aquarium," which had seen a threefold increase in attendance since her arrival, and "even cabinet ministers have taken in her song and dance routine."⁸³

The magazine enhanced its supply of *femme urbAfricana's* glamour with profiles of dancers, for instance, Babsy Palmer, a "sensational South African dancer,"⁸⁴ and Irene Batchelor.⁸⁵ *Drum's* approach in this regard is similar to *Jet's* celebration of African American dancers Katherine Dunham,⁸⁶ Rose Hardaway,⁸⁷ and Irene "Baby" Scruggs.⁸⁸

Artists in *Drum* were presented as transnational successes. Sierra Leonean singer Rose Small, for instance, had captivated fans in "Liberia and the Ivory Coast—and Ghana audiences in particular have taken Rose to their hearts."⁸⁹

Readers also met "Zambia Bombshell" Peggy Molefe, a vocalist for the Baba Gaston Combo band.⁹⁰ Performers at African city clubs made for popular cover girls for the magazine. Among them was a "sultry-eyed" beauty named Patricia Thomas from Lagos.⁹¹ In Kampala, readers met Hadijah Namale, a performer at Florida Night Club who *Drum* predicted "will doubtless go down in the annals of Ugandan music as one of the 20th Century's mostest female popsters."⁹²

BEAUTY CONTESTS

"Africa '52"

Drum's most chasmal source of *femme urbAfricana* was the beauty contest. The magazine's debut beauty contest, dubbed "Africa '52," was announced in the first issue of its second year. In a tone similar to that of the historic contest originated two decades earlier by *The Bantu World*, which urged African women to "be up and doing, daughters of Africa: You have nothing to be ashamed of," *Drum* declared a grand goal for its own competition: "To find the ideal of African Womanhood."⁹³ The magazine emphasized the expansive nature of the contest and promoted it as the "Great All-African Beauty Contest" and as a "transnational competition" "open to all readers" and "from every part of Africa." Aspiring continental beauty champions for the "biggest ever" contest were required to submit a photograph, their age, a signature, and their address.⁹⁴ The magazine relied on socialites and rising models to promote the contest.⁹⁵ The top prize in the "Africa '52" contest was "a free air trip to the main centers of Southern Africa."⁹⁶ Beauty contests sponsored by *Zonk!* and *Drum* also appeared in *Jet*⁹⁷ and *Ebony*.⁹⁸

In keeping with the magazine's structural paradoxical Afrocentrism, adjacent to the announcement for the "Africa '52" was an advertisement for the insipidly named "gro-strate" hair straightener, which consumers could turn to in order to "banish that kinky-ness from your hair."⁹⁹ Periodic updates to the "Africa '52" beauty contest were furnished to sustain interest. In one update, readers were informed that "the Editor's office is looking very glamorous with all your photographs readers."¹⁰⁰ The popularity of the "Africa '52" contest forced an extension of the initial deadline from July to the end of the year. By this point, the editors had resigned themselves to opening the contest to men and babies.¹⁰¹ After a year of anticipation, the "Africa '52" contest finalists were revealed to readers in December. Among

the final six female frontrunners were a Natal native and three Johannesburg residents. Nigeria and Ghana produced the other two finalists to round off the set. In the male contest, only one South African made it to the final round, as two Nigerians and one contender each from Ghana, Uganda, and Southern Rhodesia were drawn.¹⁰²

When “Beautiful Miss Africa” was revealed, readers found out that twenty-year-old “easy-going, soft-spoken” Norah Mosiakoko’s journey to become “Queen of Africa” had begun modestly “in a little farming town of Potchefstroom.” Her present occupation as a domestic worker in a Johannesburg suburb was equally humble. For the “girl with a love of fine clothes and an outdoor life,” the misfortune of losing “a tooth in a minor accident” had not shaken her claim atop African belles: “It hasn’t spoilt her beauty it just gives her a rather saucy look!”¹⁰³ Mosiakoko’s picture also appeared in *Ebony*.¹⁰⁴ In the baby category of the magazine’s debut beauty contest, the “Baby Africa” award and accompanying prize money of ten pounds were awarded to eleven-month-old Irene Lydia Smith of Kimberley.¹⁰⁵ The honor of being the inaugural holder of the title “Handsome Man in Africa” was bestowed upon Francis Gordon, the son of a prominent clergyman from Lagos, Nigeria, who was said to have his sights set on London to pursue an education. The magazine declared him “the most eligible man in Africa because—he’s not married yet!”¹⁰⁶ All three winners of the “Africa ’52” contest became prominent product endorers.

The magazine marked its second anniversary issue with the newly crowned “Miss Africa” as its cover girl. A generous *Drum* spread showed Mosiakoko on the airstairs before boarding her free flight to Durban and making stops at various social venues, including the Avalon Cinema.¹⁰⁷ With the city-to-city tour, the contest allowed readers to connect distinct urban realities in South Africa. Travel restrictions against Africans aside, the South African cities stood as a stand-in for the promised regional tour of “main centers of Southern Africa”¹⁰⁸ for its continental queen. Stories of beauty queens in *Drum* provided details of their private lives, including personal relationships. Mosiakoko and her partner provided readers with “a story in pictures which tell youth’s own velvety messages of a love that throbs with dreams and hopes.”¹⁰⁹

Beauty queen profiles also brought readers closer to township and city life but with a touch of glamour. A profile of Ruth Mofolo, “Her Majesty the Queen of Africa” (a title bestowed on the winner of a commodity beauty contest discussed in further detail in chapter 3), pictured her “waiting at a Sophiatown bus-stop for her husband, her dazzling smile and personality made her



Fig. 7. Ruth Mofolo, appearing in *Drum* (May 1954)
(© BAHA Bob Gosani.)

outstanding in a dull crowd.”¹¹⁰ In addition to the glamour shot at the bus stop (see figure 7), Mofolo was also pictured at home and at the zoo. A picture of the couple’s wedding day was also included.

Miss South Africa 1.0

The inaugural Miss South Africa contest was held in 1955, at the conclusion of which Hazel Futa, “a former teacher” who also had a role in the musical *King Kong*, was crowned the winner.¹¹¹ The contest’s first ten winners (1955–64) included five African women—Futa (’55), Dixie Kwankwa (’57), Dorothy ‘Dottie’ Tiyo (’58), and sisters Eileen Nomangesi Radebe (’59) (see figure 8) and Shirley Radebe (’61)—and five mixed-race or Indian winners—Isabella



Fig. 8. Miss South Africa Nomangesi Radebe, 1959
(© BAHA Drum Photographer.)

Pretorius ('56), "Miemie" Edwards ('60), Rosemarie Simon ('62), Chrissie Davis ('63), and Maureen Koorbanally ('64). Simon appears to be the contest's first winner of Indian heritage.

Attendance at local beauty contests varied, but national contests were well attended. A *Drum* story with photographs taken by Peter Magubane reported that "four thousand" had gathered in Cape Town to witness half a dozen judges declare Dottie Tiyo, a "slim, shy 18-year-old" from Port Elizabeth, "the fairest of them all" in the Miss South Africa contest.¹¹² Announcements of local town shows also provided opportunities to enhance the magazine's claim to glamour.¹¹³

In addition to local pageants, the magazine faithfully delivered continen-

tal and international parades of "slim loveliness."¹¹⁴ Beauty pageants put on by African diaspora communities, for instance, in London, enhanced the global outlook of *Drum's* beauty and glamour culture.¹¹⁵ *Drum* also prided itself in unearthing previously unknown African beauties; among them was "19-year-old Virginia Gwenya . . . *Drum's* latest discovery—A Girl of Many Moods!"¹¹⁶ In its reporting of pageant and beauty news, humor and glamour were served in equal measure to stir up wholesome doses of feminine envy. When the magazine reported on a new beauty school in Kampala, it added the following caption: "Kampala beauty Covia Namusoke undergoes the treatment—though by the look of her in these pictures she's much less in need of it than some girls we know!"¹¹⁷

In keeping with its sustained interest to keep appearance and urban mobilities at the forefront of *femme urbAfricana*, the magazine supplied updates of its beauty ambassadors. Three years after Dottie Tiyo's triumph as Miss South Africa, *Drum* writer Casey Motsisi and photographer Peter Magubane pulled off a two-page feature of her success: "She's a girl who knows what she wants in life and doesn't hesitate to go out and get it—even if it means treading on other people's corns in the process. That's Dottie, snake dancer with Alf Herbert's 'Drums of Africa,' a peppy musical going the rounds in Johannesburg."¹¹⁸ After serving her six-month prison term for a conviction secured under the Immorality Act, Tiyo made her comeback in *Drum*, not only as its cover girl in April 1962 but also as its newest columnist writing about "that old, old subject—love."¹¹⁹

Tethering prominent contest winners with other major contests targeted to other audiences worked as an excellent marketing tool. A Miss South Africa contestant, Ursula Veldsman, appeared in the magazine holding the trophy for another Johannesburg-based contest, "SPORTSMAN OF THE YEAR," with a warning: "Sorry, Sportsmen, but the girl does not go with the Cup!"¹²⁰ Another successful strategy was to emphasize narratives of upward mobility. These stories followed a familiar plot: Success in one city was marked by winning the citywide beauty contest, which led to more success in an even bigger city.¹²¹ These urban-to-urban social mobilities were demonstrated creatively as models moved from city to city to find work. The story of one model went like this: "Strange isn't it, that some years back when Andrina hit this man's burg from Natal, guys used to pass her as if she was just one of those girls meant to pass their entire lives scrubbing floors? But today it's different—they actually bump into each other because they simply can't take their eyes off her when she waltzes down the street. This change came immediately after

she had won a Miss Johannesburg competition. From there she never looked back. Today she is very much in demand as a dress, advertising and cover model.¹²² Urban-to-urban migrations elevated Johannesburg's appeal as a destination for aspiring models and artists.

BEAUTY PROVINCES

Provincial contests in Cape Town and Durban also received some attention in the magazine. *Drum's* efforts to provide readers with a constant supply of glamorous beauties and urban success stories extended to special features and reports of women from Cape Town.¹²³ Readers were introduced to "Miss Cape Province Title" Veronica Edwards and Maureen Edwards, also known as the "Heavenly Sisters."¹²⁴ The Edwards sisters placed first and second, respectively, in the Miss Cape Peninsula contest and were two of Cape Town's most popular beauty queens. Several pictures provided a taste of the contest: "The stage was set as for a garden party, and the girls—complete with partners—came under watchful eyes as they chatted and strolled to soft music, or sat sipping their drinks under gay beach umbrellas."¹²⁵

Durban was another beauty province. The lucky winner of the "Banana Queen contest, named for the city's status as the "Capital of the banana province," was Miriam Meyiwa. Her award included a tour of Johannesburg, which the magazine noted she "definitely liked" after the city honored her with a warm welcome "at the Moroka Community Centre," "packed by a cheering crowd."¹²⁶ Meyiwa's feature had many similarities to Mosiakoko's tour of Durban in 1953, both women serving as intracountry ambassadors and uniting the magazine's diverse readers from both cities. Another important Durban contest was the Sari Queen contest (see figure 9) held at Durban City Hall and sponsored by the Durban Indian Surf Lifesavers. The magazine billed it as the "biggest sari contest in the country." Details were offered of the contest's winner: "Fathima is a typist from Maritzburg, where they have long recognised her away-from-the-keyboard talents. She won the Maritzburg City F.C. 'Queen' contest in 1962."¹²⁷

Across South Africa, prominent sports organizers of beauty pageants included soccer clubs such as the Eastern Brothers Football Club, the Griqualand West Weight-Lifting and Body-Building Association, the Southern African Soccer League (SASL), and the Southern District Football League.¹²⁸ The SASL held contests at Orient Hall in Durban, where soccer team beau-



Fig. 9. Contestants vie to be the next Sari Queen (1960)

(© BAHA Ranjith Kally.)

ties, namely, Miss Berea, Miss Avalon Athletic, Miss Hearts, Miss Moroka Swallows, Miss Maritzburg United, Miss Coastals, Miss Blackpool, Miss Sea Robbers, Miss Orlando Pirates, Miss Athlone Athletic, Miss Cape Ramblers, and Miss Aces United, competed for the floating trophy (see figure 10). *Drum* provided consistent coverage of the floating trophy contest. Beauty queens from Port Elizabeth also had their opportunity to glow in glamour. "P.E.'s cutest cutey Pie," teenager Ruby Deane, a two-time winner of the "Miss Body Beautiful" contest, was among them. The reporter, Dan Chocho, told readers that Deane was "heading for the planets" and promised to inform them "when she's there."¹²⁹

In her study of Black beauty contests, sociologist Maxine Craig notes that the paradox of Black beauty pageants occurring before the civil rights era was that they "challenged white supremacy but served to reinforce the privileged position of light-skinned women."¹³⁰ This was also true for *Drum's* beauty contests in the 1950s–1960s. Although African beauty contests featured in *Drum* had the potential to celebrate African beauty of all shades, they still upheld white standards; the pageants selected many winners who fit within Eurocentric beauty standards, favoring those with lighter skin. Contests were also controversial in their involvement of white women as judges and coaches, known as "mannequin" trainers.¹³¹ Further, the chronic endorsement of skin

lighteners by beauty queens amounted to a relentless assault on Blackness in *Drum* and other publications.

Craig views Black pageants as “community institutions” that “were neither fully autonomous nor fully dominated; they incorporated but altered prevailing discourses of race, gender, and class.”¹³² The complexity of the beauty contest during apartheid is further enhanced by the magazine’s coverage of contestants’ efforts to break the color line by participating in white-only contests. One teen cover girl who found herself in this very situation described the experience as “really nerve-wracking.”¹³³ Craig notes that *Ebony*’s coverage of similar efforts by African American women was framed “as an action in the larger struggle for racial equality.”¹³⁴ Beauty pageant winners were a staple in both *Ebony* and *Jet* magazines. Winners of Black beauty contests such as “Miss Brownskin America” and “Miss Sepia Philadelphia” were feted in *Jet*.¹³⁵ The magazine also reported on race-based discrimination in a state qualifying pageant for “Miss America,” which excluded “Indian co-eds.”¹³⁶ Similarly, in *Ebony*, a story of the first Black contestant in the Miss Universe pageant, Jamaican native Evelyn Andrade, appeared in 1954.¹³⁷ Two years later, the magazine updated readers on Andrade’s marriage and pregnancy.¹³⁸ As Black women started to take podium spots in national and international contests, *Ebony* offered an in-depth feature to celebrate their triumph.¹³⁹

Drum similarly saw these efforts as part of the activist struggle in South Africa. For African Americans, Craig notes that two motivations drove the “integrationist strategy” toward white contests. First was the belief that participation in the contest would translate into a real-world change in the circumstances of Blacks, and second was the idea that Black women’s participation would alter “the image of black women in the collective imagination of the nation.”¹⁴⁰ One contest reported in *Drum* would test the reality of similar aspirations for South Africa, or, rather, “Africa South.”

BEAUTY CONFRONTS APARTHEID, COLONIALISM, AND RACISM

In 1970, Pearl Jansen was sent to the Miss World pageant in London as South Africa’s second representative (carrying the title Miss Africa South) after a decision by “white South Africa” to send a white beauty. The magazine reported that the contest’s organizers had conceded to “two entrants from South Africa” in order to “prevent an African boycott.”¹⁴¹ Craig demonstrates that in the 1950s, the American Black press shifted its coverage away from



Fig. 10. Soccer Queens
(©BAHA Ranjith Kally.)

Black pageants to focus on Black contestants' participation and triumphs in competitions dominated by white women.¹⁴² While such efforts were supported by civil rights and community groups and celebrated in the Black print media "as accomplishments for the race," there is some evidence that *Drum* provided the equivalent community support to African women seeking similar recognition.¹⁴³ The magazine reported its role in influencing the progressive turn of the Miss World controversy: "When she was chosen as Miss Africa South, our Natal editor (Ranjith Kally) and his wife went over with her the type of problems she was likely to encounter in London. They particularly drilled her on how to handle newsmen and the sort of questions she was likely to be asked. And Pearl was grateful enough to tell us after the contest that the briefing we gave her helped her through the difficult ordeal."¹⁴⁴ Jansen's placement in the contest, according to the magazine, produced "a stinging slap in the face to South Africa's racist rulers who rejected Pearl as a possible entry by virtue of her colour."¹⁴⁵

Patricia Davis observes that an important commitment of "black feminist scholars" has been to highlight "the ways in which clothing, hair, comportment, and other bodily symbols are less oppressive when they are used as

tools for subverting white racist assumptions.”¹⁴⁶ When news spread that a beauty contest to celebrate the Union of South Africa’s fiftieth anniversary celebrations in 1960 would only be open to white contestants, *Drum*’s sister publication, *Golden City Post*, responded by announcing that the winner of its previously publicized beauty competition, the Carnival Queen contest, “can well be an unofficial challenger to the White Beauty Queen.”¹⁴⁷ The newspaper secured sponsorship from an Italian luxury cruise liner, which offered various prizes (i.e., a wristwatch and assorted pieces of clothing and underwear) and the grand prize of “a dream voyage from Cape Town to Lourenco Marques.”¹⁴⁸ Hopeful Carnival Queens were asked to provide pictures, vital statistics, weight, complexion, hair, and eye color and to agree to make all required public appearances, including hosting the weeklong Cape Coon Festival. This contest was one of the rare occasions when prospective beauties were asked to provide phenotypical information. *Golden City Post* offered to have its own photographers take pictures free of charge for any contestant in need of an entry photo. This was the first time that the Cape Coon Festival included a beauty contest. The event was less prominently featured in *Drum*, perhaps because the contest was tied to Cape Town instead of Johannesburg. Across the border in Zimbabwe, protests were also taking place against racial segregation of beauty pageants, including Miss World in 1962.

Drum reported about the efforts of the “bearded Lovemore Chimonyo,” an anti-racist and anti-colonial activist from Zimbabwe. Chimonyo grabbed headlines for his work to ensure that “the Miss Central Africa Competition,” a qualifying competition for the Miss World pageant, was “thrown open to all races in the Rhodesias.”¹⁴⁹ The magazine reported that the contest’s white organizer, Anne Douglas, had “gracefully” embraced the change.¹⁵⁰ Things took an interesting turn, however, when the contest took place at Stodart Hall in Harare (then Salisbury).¹⁵¹ Only one white contestant, Suzanne Atwil, was present, forcing a split along racial lines.

Drum reported that more trouble followed when opposition was lodged against the winner, “Beautiful Thandie Mafuna, singer and a former Miss Orlando” on account that she was South African and therefore had no right to represent Zimbabwe. In defense of her candidacy, the magazine reported that Thandie “shrugged lovely shoulders and pointed out that her parents were Rhodesian, though she was born in South Africa.”¹⁵² After the drama of the Salisbury contest settled, Douglas’s tone was more enthusiastic about racially integrating the contest: “We are all very pleased by such an overwhelming response, and it only shows that African women are eager to take

their rightful places in society. I will do all in my power to help them and make the September competition the best in the history of the continent."¹⁵³

Douglas outlined the arrangements for the winner regardless of her race: "She will be chaperoned for ten days there. Before she leaves for London, we have to let the hotel know what she likes to eat and with which other beauty queen she would like to share a room. I will have to teach her how to walk, prepare her for television and see that she is properly groomed."¹⁵⁴ For Chimonyo, the development was no small victory: "If one of the African girls wins and goes to London, I shall be the proudest man in Central Africa. I will have achieved one of the objects of my life—to put African women on the world map."¹⁵⁵ Shortly after *Drum* published the record of his protest, the government sent Chimonyo "to a hut in his tribal area" as part of a crackdown on the Zimbabwe African People's Union, an operation that also led to Robert Mugabe's house arrest.¹⁵⁶

TRANSNATIONAL BEAUTIES

The magazine's earliest transnational efforts to adjoin African femininity with global beauty and glamour were evident in "Drum Drops In on the World" and "Glamour of the World." In the former, the magazine provided updates of its now established beauty ambassadors, rising stars, and transnational beauties. This was a key strategy to allow the expansion of the magazine's cadre of *femme urbAfricana* models. Among the familiar local artists featured in the series was Dorothy Masuka, whom Todd Matshikiza introduced as follows: "Here's Dotty. The laughing naughty eyes of your dream girl complete in nylon slips and a munificent dress. Cheeky. Perky. Smart and sophisticated."¹⁵⁷ The magazine deepened its efforts to globalize *femme urbAfricana* with profiles of global beauties. Readers, for instance, were introduced to "Tokyo's Nichigeki Music Hall" audience-favorite burlesque star, Rose Temple.¹⁵⁸ As an opportunity to introduce new beauties with a transnational flavor, "Drum Drops In on the World" also featured African American women. Mimi Lynch was introduced as the "cutest little New York thing who won't accept even the choicest modelling offers that any mother's daughter could ever hope to get."¹⁵⁹ The magazine's transnational commitments were evident in its coverage of African American pageants, big and small. For instance, the magazine featured "Teenage Thriller Moneta Peters," the winner of an obscure "Typical Teenager" contest.¹⁶⁰

Drum's most visible effort to enrich the magazine with world beauty was a recurring yearlong pin-up titled "Glamour of the World," headlined by often suggestive pictures of beauties from faraway lands. Throughout its tenure, "Drum's world tour of beauty!" brought readers beauties from, among other locations, the Philippines (including that country's first national beauty queen, Teresita Sanchez);¹⁶¹ the West Indies,¹⁶² which was erroneously stated as the birthplace of Ohio-born actor and singer Dorothy Dandridge; and Miami, Florida.¹⁶³ Others included Lena Horne¹⁶⁴ and "India's shapely beauty" performer Shari Lissome.¹⁶⁵ French actor Kerima was introduced to readers as a "coloured girl from Algeria, now Hollywood rage and Covergirl."¹⁶⁶ Aside from the pin-up, *Drum* offered a second option of portable glamour for readers' homes with a set of portraits in the series "A Picture to Decorate Your Home." The first images were of two royals: Princess Margaret and Sir Edward Mutesa II, Kabaka of Buganda.¹⁶⁷

Reports of experiences of African women in international contests expanded the beauty and glamour tributaries of *femme urbAfrica*. Readers discovered that in 1963, when former *Drum* cover girl Theresa Gina Oneyjiaka entered the Miss World contest without the backing of her country, she "turned up unexpectedly in London with a single air ticket." She found her way back to Nigeria on the goodwill of "an anonymous Englishman who heard of her plight." Oneyjiaka was denied the backing of her nation after "Nigerian beauty judges refused to sponsor her on the grounds that she was 'too ugly' to represent the nation." Similar to the Pearl Jansen controversy, *Drum* was proud to claim a part of this transgressive development: "Two years ago *Drum* 'discovered' bikini bombshell Theresa Gina Oneyjiaka of Eastern Nigeria . . . and we predicted that soon she would be making big headlines. We turned out to be right."¹⁶⁸

Regional editions of *Drum* featured images of township beauty queens, but they also propagated beauty culture in their own unique ways. Occasionally local beauties were featured on the cover with brief bios of their discovery by the magazine's photographers and regional "scouts."¹⁶⁹ Regional beauties dominated the magazine's review of beauties in the early 1960s. They were captured by the magazine's regional photographers. In Ghana, readers were assured that the country had more girls than it could publish "for the next umpteen years."¹⁷⁰ Glamour profiles also invoked African associations with Paris and France. "To have genuine quality, sisters. You've got to be French—which is what the Dahomean beauties are. They are French African—which gives them the best of two worlds beautywise."¹⁷¹ Reader suggestions for the

magazine to print specific beauty queens were often met with a clever reply. On one occasion, however, the magazine did act on what it called "one of the boldest claims possible" from a reader in Zambia, who alleged that "Bemba women are the most beautiful in Africa and wants to know why *Drum* doesn't publish pictures of them."¹⁷² That is how a photo of Emily Bwalya, a pageant winner from the Zambian city of Kitwe, ended up in *Drum*.¹⁷³

More than any other African woman during this time, Princess Elizabeth of Toro commanded significant power as a beauty trendsetter of international acclaim. *Drum* noted that Elizabeth "hogged the spotlight where Ugandan women are concerned."¹⁷⁴ With the distinction of being the continent's first African supermodel, Toro was alongside Jackie Lee Kennedy Onassis and Princess Margaret, Countess of Snowdon, when she entered the charity Commonwealth runway show in 1967. Four years later, Toro returned to Idi Amin's Uganda to take up politics, cutting short her celebrated tenure in fashion and modeling.

COVER GIRLS

The use of cover girls expanded after the magazine's first year when those profiled included university students in South Africa.¹⁷⁵ Cover girls became a staple just before the magazine's third anniversary in February 1953, and by November 1955, the magazine integrated previews of the next month, including upcoming cover girls, to heighten sales, a practice it sustained well into the 1970s.¹⁷⁶ Beauty contests of diverse repute provided a rich supply of cover girls, and the magazine frequently featured more than one girl on its cover. *Drum's* regional editions differed in their use of cover girls. The Central and East African edition covers, however, were dominated by nationalists: Nkomo, Kenyatta, Kaunda, and Banda. In 1972, *Drum* started previewing cover girls from sister magazine *Trust*.

In its early years, *Drum* drew cover girls from the ranks of township beauty queens and socialites. The cover of the February 1952 issue, for instance, was graced by Rose Kobane, "a bathing beauty" and singer from Orlando.¹⁷⁷ Although some were masked as natives of Johannesburg, the biographical details of townships were included for most. For instance, West Native Township's very own Gladys Shandu was pictured on the April 1953 cover as a "Pistol-Packing-Momma."¹⁷⁸

Township cover girls were often linked with various hobbies, and profiles

suggested that swimming was a popular township pastime. One “magnetic-smiled” cover girl from Alexandra, readers discovered, did not “need a bathing suit to make you stare: all she has to do is smile—and you’ve got IT!”¹⁷⁹ Cover girls from Durban and other coastal cities were often pictured enjoying lazy days at the beach.¹⁸⁰ Some cover girl images attracted strong reader objections. The magazine printed a letter from a reader of the East African edition of *Drum* who objected to the magazine’s suggestive cover pictures. The editor defended the magazine: “Drum has never shown a girl wearing less than one can see on any beach. And most have been more than modestly dressed. But if our readers want less girl for their money, we’ll have a cover-up on covers. Let us know by writing now!—Editor.”¹⁸¹

The magazine broke new ground in 1954 when it featured Priscilla Moodley, the product of trying “for years now to get pictures of an Indian pin-up girl.” The “21-year-old Indian girl who works in a Durban factory as a machinist” became the “First Indian Pin-Up Ever!”¹⁸² Moodley encouraged others to follow in her footsteps: “I can’t for the life of me see why Indian girls should be afraid to model for magazines. We are living in modern times. Those age-old customs of our forefathers should be put aside.” Moodley was celebrated for her progressive bravery, “appearing in a bathing costume on the beach, and to model for DRUM.”¹⁸³ Another Indian beauty profiled in the magazine was swimming enthusiast Yvonne Parna, who told readers that there was “nothing like swimming to keep the figure trim and attractive.”¹⁸⁴

As it had done for artists and beauty queens, the magazine insisted on the upward mobility of its cover girls. In a two-page turner of June Buthelezi for the October 1963 issue, readers learned of her rise to success from humble beginnings in Natal, where her father opposed further education past sixth grade in favor of marriage, to her move to Johannesburg, where she held multiple low-paying jobs. Fortunes had since changed for June, who readers were informed “commands top money as an actress and fashion model.”¹⁸⁵ For the purposes of heterosexual spectacle, readers could reliably establish a cover model’s level of interest in marriage from the magazine’s brief bios. When one model stated that “her only ambition is to be happily married to a polite, elegantly dressed youth,” the magazine told the men, “Hold on boys before you all reach for the writing paper; a girl like her has already got more admirers than she can cope with.”¹⁸⁶

When it featured married women as cover girls, the magazine made sure to quell male readers’ desires. In one instance, after “Nairobi Beauty Queen, Isabella Muthiga” appeared on the cover in 1959, the magazine warned, “Got

bad news, however, for the Romeos straining at the leash, smooth talk trembling on their tongues: Isabella is a three-kid Mrs."¹⁸⁷ The magazine also emphasized marriage and romantic love through in-depth features of prominent and glamorous weddings, including that of Salimah Aga Khan (née Sarah Frances Croker Poole), the "former model girl Lady James Crichton-Stuart," to Prince Karim Aga Khan in 1969.¹⁸⁸

Although most cover girls were aspiring models or actors, deviations were noted. One was said to be a "beauty contest winner with a difference" who hoped to take on social work after completing her education.¹⁸⁹ Grounding cover girls to their place of origin was another strategy used by the magazine to fuse glamour with African beauty: "They call her Gigi Joseph and she's got much of that French schweppervessence and a lot more besides. Her legs are longer, her skin is darker, her eyes are larger and she's as permanent a part of the Kenya scenery as Mount Kenya itself."¹⁹⁰ Teenage females featured heavily in the magazine's profiles in beauty, and among them were some of Somalia's beauties discovered in the special "Who Are Africa's Loveliest Women?"¹⁹¹ Schadeberg writes that some of the magazine's models were as young as in "their early teens."¹⁹² This unsettling fact illuminates concerns about girls' consent, safety, and agency. Further, it also points to the economic and social factors that underpin the appeal of the exposure offered by *Drum* and other magazines as a ladder for professional advancement.¹⁹³

The magazine's coverage of cover girls was uneven. While covers for regional issues occasionally differed from those in the South Africa edition, the same cover girl often appeared in multiple editions, accompanied by the country-specific headline and edition logo or notation. Cover girl features in regional issues profiled the fortunes and misfortunes of celebrities that local readers could identify with.¹⁹⁴ Women in regional pin-ups were also hyper-local¹⁹⁵ and at times included relatives of prominent regional political figures (see figure 11).¹⁹⁶ The uneven coverage extended to biographical entries, with some having limited details while others had more extended features. Shifts in Black beauty and fashion, however, provided an opportunity for the magazine's cover girls to express their opinions. In terms of hairstyles, for instance, the magazine featured a diverse array of styles, including natural and straightened hair, which at the time could be achieved through hot combs or chemical relaxers. One Afro-donning cover model from Kumasi declared in 1971 "that the modern African girl needs no wigs, no extras to show just how glamorous she is. And she can prove it!"¹⁹⁷

Despite its subdued presence on the cover of *Drum*, the Afro found favor

The Elegant Miss Class



Ronke is tall, beautiful and moves with the grace of a gazelle. She's intelligent, highly educated and the daughter of Sir Adetokunbo Ademola, Chief Justice of the Federation. But her high class background has not spoiled her. With genuine candour she says "I want people to like me for what I am, not because of my father." She only buys clothes which suit her and many of them are straight off the peg. Exercise helps that fabulous figure, but what really counts is her impeccable taste. What could be more lovely than the elegant dress for evening wear and the simple, washable everyday dress for work?

Fig. 11. "The Elegant Miss Class" (*Drum*, June 1965)
(Photo credit: Drum Magazine / BAHA / african.pictures.)

among the magazine's Caribbean cover girls. In the April 1969 issue of the magazine, Jamaican-born cover girl and Playboy bunny Rema Nelson told readers that she observed the esteem of the Afro in the United States: "When I arrived in America, practically all the best-looking girls were choosing the natural look, and wigs were out!"¹⁹⁸ The Afro's popularity in the United States, however, was short-lived and died off soon after it attained "peak popularity in the early 1970s."¹⁹⁹ To celebrate the end of the *Drum* decade and the 1960s, the magazine provided a recap of its most popular half-dozen cover girls.²⁰⁰ From South African townships and cities, the beauty culture migrated to other regions in Africa, most visibly through the magazine's cover. Reserved for beauty queens, models, and stars who had attained national prominence, cover images were taken by photographers Bob Gosani, Alf Khumalo, Schadeberg, and Ranjith Kally, who also worked as *Drum's* operations manager in Durban.

"SIRENS" AND MODELS AS FASHION TRENDSETTERS

Women's fashions are closely linked to both beauty culture and resistance movements. Historian Tanisha Ford retraces the political undercurrent of women's fashion choices across the global African diaspora. What emerges out of this novel analysis is a retelling of women's political participation outside the traditional confines of civic engagement to include the everyday practices of showing up in full in one's authentic Blackness. In *Drum's* early years, women's fashion was a minor preoccupation, and early pages focused on affordable children's wear.²⁰¹ Confident seamstresses could make their own dresses from various pattern offers in the magazine. *Drum* also extended fashion advice to ethnic wear such as the sari.²⁰² During this early period, fashion retailers used lesser-known township socialites as well to promote their lines. For instance, 20th Century Fashions put forward a "Fashion Flash" ad featuring Orlando resident Virginia Ngwenya "wearing a grey 'Lynn Dare' costume."²⁰³

By 1952, the magazine's focus on fashion was more intentional with the use of well-known African celebrities in the new section of the women's pages titled "Fashion Note." After announcing Rathebe's latest film triumph (*The Magic Garden*), *Drum* wrote that she "poses for us in her newest dress—gathering into graceful draping at the hips, the skirt softly flared, and the newest 'off-the-shoulder' line to show off her pearls."²⁰⁴ Babsy Palmer was "equally attractive in

a sophisticated evening dress as you can see in our picture.”²⁰⁵ Columnist Marion Morel endorsed the newest clothing line from retailer Big City Stores.²⁰⁶ By amplifying fashion choices of female celebrities, the magazine managed to produce in *femme urbAfricana* a local jointure of the two glamour cousins: beauty and fashion. Bob Gosani’s candid shots of women on the street integrated urban African fashion as a key aspect of *Drum’s femme urbAfricana*. The celebration of township women’s style expanded their claim to the city as urban workers navigating professional lives and enjoying city life.²⁰⁷

Fashion features included reviews of the latest teen fashions. The trend toward jeans was chronicled in “Janes Like Jeans.”²⁰⁸ City rivalries continued in fashion; Cape Town’s women were said to be “ahead of Continental fashion,” fortifying their eminence as the country’s foremost fashion trendsetters.²⁰⁹ Fashion shows across the continent provided a consistent supply of glamorous women and forward-thinking designers. One show, dubbed “The Lagos exhibition, the first of its kind in Africa, was not staged to urge African women to revert to wearing the kind of dresses their ancestors wore. It was meant to prove that in the realm of fashion, as in all other spheres of human activity, Africa is not without a proud, historical past.”²¹⁰

Models gained fresh prominence as fashion houses promoted their creations to a new economic class in post-independent nations, and “Women’s Drum” was a major outlet for these developments. Model Joyce Obong showcased creations by various fashion houses, including Danasil Fashion House, and it was “truly an Africa line! The fully fashioned ladies who once borrowed the ideas of Paris, Rome, or London are discovering that Nigeria has some exciting fashion ideas of its own.”²¹¹

Glamour shots of models in makeup normalized cosmetic use. One model, Viola, christened “undoubted princess of the big city’s painted faces,” was pictured adorned in “under five brands of make-up and slash of lipstick.”²¹² With increased visibility of models, hierarchies of popularity and eminence also sprung up: “Question: Who do you think is Nigeria’s top fashion model? The answer to this has for some time been Joyce Obong.”²¹³ Regional shows such as that held by Ugandan designer Sulti Karim in Kampala and Nairobi allowed readers to see the growing influence of professional designers and fashion models; for example, with “the delectable Miss Uganda, Joy Lehai, as star model, and Miss Kenya, Josephine Moikobu, as guest model, heading a team of seven lovely girls and one handsome man, there was plenty to keep everybody attentively alert.”²¹⁴

As distinctive African and African-inspired fashions took hold, the mag-

azine sought to encourage fashion innovation among its readers. *Drum*, for example, challenged other regions to step up their fashion game: "East Africa also needs a fashion style of its own. In future issues *Drum* will see if our womenfolk have started down the high road of fashion."²¹⁵ Reports of fashion shows in the United States featuring African communities enhanced the magazine's global fashion outlook. One major show was organized by spouses of African diplomats in New York and Washington, DC.²¹⁶

By the 1970s, advertisements for local fabrics were featured in the magazine. For instance, an advertisement for Uganda's Nytil brand noted, "Colours are gayer. Patterns are newer," and "It's fashion for Africa—out of Africa!"²¹⁷ Tanzania's National Textile Industries Corporation Limited also placed advertisements in *Drum* for its locally produced "Brilliant colours Vibrant designs Original styles."²¹⁸ Advertisers took notice and capitalized on ongoing controversies in fashion. One insurance company's PR effort featured a model wearing miniskirts, the dominant contested fashion of the day.²¹⁹

CITIES WORTHY OF QUEENS

With increased modernization, the African city emerged as a new territory deserving of its own reigning beauty queen. The result was the extension of the beauty culture beyond the segregated township into emerging African cities outside South Africa. In Kenya, as social life in Nairobi was slowly resuming after the state of emergency was lifted in 1959, *Drum* profiled twenty-four-year-old Isabella Muthiga (see figure 12). Days earlier, Muthiga had been "minding my three totos and honeying my husband" before she was declared Miss Nairobi in the city's first-ever beauty competition. A children's welfare assistant with Kenya Railways, Muthiga knew about the contest but harbored no intent to participate. She changed her mind on the morning of the contest after she spotted an antelope standing on the railway tracks. "I am not superstitious, but my Kikuyu people say an antelope brings good luck. . . . I sort of imagined I heard a voice say to me: 'Hi there, Miss Nairobi!' That decided me." Armed with her "vital statistics 36-26-37," she secured a "good-luck pat" from her husband and entered the contest. That evening Muthiga took home a check for fifty pounds and a pair of shoes that fit so well she "felt like a 20th Century Cinderella."²²⁰

The Miss Nairobi profile in *Drum* suggests that at the city level, beauty culture in East Africa sought to replicate the South African successes by relying



NAIROBI'S FIRST BEAUTY QUEEN RECEIVES HER CROWN

This was my moment of glory. I was crowned Miss Nairobi by Dr. G. Kiano. Among the many delightful presents I received was a cheque for £50. Why, even the shoes fitted me like a glove. I felt like a 20th Century Cinderella. I wasn't too keen to enter for the competition at first. But now I'm happy that I decided to.



How I became Nairobi's first

BEAUTY QUEEN

Photographed by Alon Rake and Peter Larsen

A FEW weeks gone I was just an ordinary gal, a day-to-day housewife, Mrs. Isabella Muthiga, 24. There I was, minding my three totos and honeying my husband. But now, every time I walk down the streets to my place of work people point at me and say: "There goes Miss Nairobi!" I feel like I've been lifted right out of myself, being the winner of Nairobi's first beauty competition.

Oddly, when I first heard about the competition I was not the least interested. Then one fine morning, as I was teaching my class all about embroidery, I saw an antelope. I am not superstitious, but my Kikuyu people say an antelope brings good luck. And when I saw it standing there behind the railway yards on the very morning of the competition I sort of imagined I heard a voice say to me: "Hi there, Miss Nairobi!" That decided me.

So, armed with my vital statistics of 36-26-37, and my husband's good-luck pat on the shoulder, I smiled and wriggled my way into the competition.

As the judging went on, I found myself in the last 20 and ultimately in the final six. I still didn't think I would win. Then it happened. I was chosen the first beauty queen in Nairobi! How does one capture in words the joy of that wonderful moment! I was crowned, loaded with presents and, joy of joys, presented with a cheque of £50. Why even the prize-shoes fitted! I felt like a 20th Century Cinderella.



SPENDING THE PRIZE MONEY

I bought my sister a new dress with some of the prize money. For myself I got a new radio, and for the children some little toys.

MY FRIENDS CONGRATULATE ME

My friends all dropped in to congratulate me. Of course, some wanted to borrow some money from me. I also made lots of new pals.

Fig. 12. Nairobi's first beauty queen (*Drum*, July 1959)

(© BAH A Drum Photographer.)

on localized narratives of domesticity for beauty queens. These city-themed contests reimagined a unified African city, one without the color bar, where a Black beauty queen could reign supreme. By participating in beauty contests named after cities, which offered them limited opportunities to belong, African women, and nonwhite women in general, carved out colonies within the "geography of female beauty."²²¹ This process occurred through the reimagination of an egalitarian urban space or city where citizens could exercise their limited economic power on investments for self-transformation from within.

In *The Right to the City*, philosopher Henri Lefebvre summarizes what is at stake: "The right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit. The right to the oeuvre, participation and appropriation (clearly distinct from the right to property) are implied in the right to the city."²²² In its quest for authoritative urbanity, the magazine in its second decade continued to supply reports of beauty queens across African cities. No city was too small to claim a beauty of its own. "Bathurst, the capital city of tiny Gambia," with no more than half a million residents at the time, was proudly represented in the magazine's African beauty parade by Sainabou Sarr, "the cuddliest of flotsam ever washed up the white breakers of the Atlantic."²²³ The magazine attempted to project an authentic representation of Anglophone African beauty through spotlights of national winners of beauty contests, for instance, in a 1958 article on Miss Nigeria.²²⁴ Continental representation was also deliberate, as in the case of an article featuring a "picture parade of the women who add torrid magic to the character of our continent," which included beauties from Accra, Durban, Johannesburg, and other cities and regions in Kenya and Nigeria.²²⁵

But even as *Drum* anchored its beauty culture within emerging African cities, it exploited images of beauties from rural areas of South Africa, neighboring states, and other African countries. Rural women were pictured dressed in traditional attire, aptly captioned by their tribe: Ndebele, Zulu, Sotho, and Xhosa. These images provided the necessary contrast between women's precolonial past and their future as modern African beauties. A "Girls of Ghana" feature offered photos of "tribal girls, career women, sophisticated girls: West Africa has them all."²²⁶ This rural/urban dichotomy was also explored by *Drum*'s Black staff. Can Themba, in one op-ed titled "This Modern African Miss," offered witty comparisons of women from different cities and backgrounds. A photo spread traced the transformation of African women from "the sweetheart of our great-grandfathers" to "the Modern Miss, well-trimmed sophisticated with poise and an umbrella."²²⁷

CONCLUSION

The explosion of beauty contests throughout the *Drum* decade gave rise to a mature participatory beauty culture that extended from South African townships to other African countries and featured a rich diversity of women from all races and classes. This participation of African women in beauty contests under apartheid and colonial rule can be read as a form of a tactical repertoire destabilizing what scholar María Lugones calls the “non-socializable.”²²⁸ This is achieved by placing the Black body in pride-laden and efficacious social spaces within the Black urban experience, even as political subjugation actively undermines Black bodily agency. I have argued that *Drum* established *femme urbAfricana* through an embrace of Black urban women’s bodies, achievements, and aspirations directed toward promoting a ground-up urban beauty- and appearance-obsessed culture. Through *Drum*’s contests, focus on female celebrities, and cultivation of native, local, and international glamour sources, the magazine’s message was that women’s bodies belonged in the urban environments they lived in, especially if they were beautiful, glamorous, active, vivacious, and lively. Their bodies also belonged if they were breaking barriers in various domains, like Grace Njoki or Pearl Jansen; they too fit into the urban landscape as women with exceptional abilities to challenge or unsettle binaries, for example, women as weak, men as strong, or Black women as outside the domain of beauty, whereas for white women, it was natural.

Women’s achievements in film, music, fashion, and entertainment anchored the magazine’s upward mobility for *femme urbAfricana*. From *Drum*’s coverage, women’s aspirations to achieve local, national, and international success established the urban space as an ideal. *Drum*’s beauty culture encompassed a collective worldview of socially constructed notions of attractiveness or what constitutes beauty; its place in the past, present, and future, in everyday norms and rituals; and its importance to society based on shared vocabulary, symbols, knowledge, products, and practices. Together, these aspects demonstrate *femme urbAfricana*’s transnational and appearance focus.

CHAPTER 3

Commodity Queens

Documents related to *Drum*'s advertising unit are limited. However, several references give credence to historian Lindsay Clowes's observation that much of the advertising in *Drum* was largely "drawn up and placed by white men."¹ First, writing of his time at *Drum*, photographer Jürgen Schadeberg references "an experienced advertising manager" by the last name of Fairbanks, with whom he collaborated to secure buy-in from Johannesburg's clothing retailers to "photograph and publish photos of their latest fashion ranges using African models."² The mention of an advertising manager position suggests the existence of a stand-alone advertising unit, although the duration of its existence is unknown. Second, when the Sharpeville Massacre occurred on March 21, 1960, Bailey wrote that he was away in New York meeting with advertising officials.³ This incident confirms an attempt to directly engage or negotiate terms with American advertisers. Last, a reference by Bailey regarding the magazine's staff compensation model offers more evidence of a coordinated advertising unit at the magazine. Bailey describes that the salaries of Black staff at *Drum* were benchmarked to "a competitive rate for a black journalist" and were based on "the annual advertising result."⁴ Contrastingly, wages for white staff were determined by prevailing "white newspaper rates."⁵ This policy resulted in a race-based wage gap. Schadeberg noted that the magazine's advertising unit was alienated from the rest of the operations, a managerial approach that may have made it especially difficult for the Black staff to challenge pay inequity or the status quo.⁶

According to Bailey, however, *Drum* was hardly successful in securing advertising revenue, assessing it as "remarkably little because advertisers in South Africa all advertised to the white public and wouldn't advertise to the black public."⁷ While it is difficult to estimate the revenue obtained from the advertisements present in the magazine, the print record confirms that the

magazine had secured agreements with advertisers. Dunlop tires, Kurlex (a hair straightener), Brooklyn House Furnishers, Commando Cigarettes, and India Bicycle tires were among the earliest ads seen by *Drum* readers in 1951. These early advertisements imagined the African masses in clever slogans to promote sales, as one ad claimed, “100,000 Africans can’t be wrong! Beauty is always reflected in the Skin!”⁸ The invocation of an African identity for product promotion worked to associate unfamiliar products with African-ness. One imported hair straightener brand claimed it was “the African’s own original hair fixer and straightener.”⁹

The plentiful presence of advertisements in the magazine and its various editions suggests that, at the very least, some reliable advertising revenue was produced. Aside from Bailey’s purported hiring of Fairbanks as the advertising manager and the trip to New York, the magazine also secured the services of global agents. In Europe, *Drum* was represented by Publicitas; in Japan and the Far East by International Media Representatives Ltd.; and in North America (the United States and Canada) by Jersey City-based firm Perennial Press Inc.

Whereas attracting and retaining major advertisers and expanding readership were important factors in *Drum*’s success, the magazine’s various units operated in such a way that the majority Black staff were uninvolved in decisions about advertising.¹⁰ White advertisers, however, were interested in the opinions of what amounted to a readily available focus group of forward-thinking urban citizens in the *Drum* office, where some sought out the magazine’s staff for “information about African buying habits.”¹¹ The marketers, however, appeared unprepared to engage appropriately with their cosmopolitan interviewees. Anthony Sampson wrote that they “questioned our editors in baby language.” An interaction between writer Arthur Maimane and a toothbrush manufacturer is especially poignant. One representative, “wagging his fingers in front of his clenched teeth,” approached Maimane and asked, “You use toothbrush? Eh? Clean teeth? Eh? Like this?”—the implication being that the interviewer did not expect Maimane to speak in English or to understand the concept of brushing without the demonstrative gestures. Sampson reports Maimane’s eloquent clapback: “Yes, I use your make of toothbrush. . . . They’re cheaper and better than the others, but I find the bristles too long.”¹² Aside from the inexperienced sort of advertisers, Sampson describes another type: those who wanted to advertise to Africans but hoped to escape any contact with Africans. One who attempted to make his arrangements by phone complained that he could “not get past this barrage of natives.”¹³

Advertising agencies competed strongly to establish African markets in some of advertising's highest spenders: cosmetics and toiletries and food and beverages. Among them were two American frontrunners: J. Walter Thompson Company and Grant Advertising Inc. Both were major advertisers in *Drum*, and their promotional efforts in cosmetics, toiletries, food, and beverages would cement *Drum's femme urbAfricana* into a marketing staple by incorporating new actors and transforming existing ones (i.e., beauty contests, cover girls, and fashion models) from charitable beauties into glamorous and admired product endorsers vis-à-vis models of capitalist consumerism.

AMERICAN CAPITALIST DREAMS IN AFRICA

Within a decade of the end of World War I, American manufacturers found their way to Africa to challenge European domination in the consumer goods market. Specifically, Danish, Slovakian, German, and Japanese firms had found success and dominated advertising to native Africans. The landscape shifted during the interwar period as American firms established continental roots in South Africa, from where they pursued other coastal and inland markets. To support the success of Western exporters, government and manufacturer associations compiled profiles of prospective consumers. The earliest research focused on white settler populations. Although a far cry from the complexity of modern psychographics, practical advice on advertising on the continent offered valuable information. For instance, a 1922 report by the American consulate in South Africa detailed that the white customers in the Transvaal Province preferred "a concise, detailed account of the article and a fixed price," whereas the lot in the Cape Province were "more conservative" and even "thrifty." Cape Town's status as "the center of whatever art there is in South Africa" made "artistic advertising" the most appropriate method in the province. Settlers in the Union of South Africa were perceived to have little awareness of many products "in common use in European countries and the United States," making them an ideal audience for informative advertising campaigns.¹⁴

Between the two wars, African natives in British East Africa had "invaded both the luxury and commodity markets to a surprising extent." This development had come under the combined influences of increased mobility, atrophy of traditional institutions, missionary-sponsored native education, and colonial labor laws. In South Africa, the rise of a consumer market had been

driven by a surge of rural-to-urban migration after World War I. In Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika, the native consumer market was said to comprise “a black population upwards of fifty million potential customers who are tasting the fruits of Western civilization.”¹⁵

Advertising efforts for these emerging markets also received attention. For instance, a 1928 advertisement by J. Walter Thompson Company (JWT) for General Motors (GM) declared, “Even Zulu chiefs are blasé motorists,” and featured a picture of a chief as he sat proudly in front of a GM car in the wilderness of the vast African Savannah.¹⁶ Early advertising efforts directed at Africans remained invisible to outsiders even as the consumer market emerged beyond the settler populations, leading one journalist to credulously state that “before 1945 there was virtually no advertising by European or U.S. firms designed for Africans.”¹⁷

JWT had been “thrust into that dark and emancipated continent” in 1928 when it set up an office in the coastal town of Port Elizabeth, South Africa, as part of a worldwide deal to support GM’s global expansion.¹⁸ From Port Elizabeth, the agency handled GM advertising in four African markets that overlapped with *Drum*’s Anglophone readership: South Africa, Rhodesia, East Africa, and Southwest Africa. Besides GM, the agency handled African marketing for iconic American brands such as Cream of Wheat, Odorono Company, and British cosmetic maker Pond’s Extract Company. In 1929, the client list grew to include Lever Brothers, B. F. Goodrich Tires, Standard Brands (makers of Royal Baking Powder), and Frigidaire. British-owned Barclays Bank became a JWT–South Africa client in 1932. JWT also served several local companies, including A. J. North, Billings, and Head’s Grand Hotel.

Grant Advertising Inc., founded in 1935 by Will C. Grant, “a short, ruddy Dallas-born ad man and internationalist,” was a tardy but impetuous competitor in the international advertising arena.¹⁹ The agency abandoned the typical route taken by peers to launch global networks of first going to Canada or London, which offered familiar conditions.²⁰ Grant was the first American agency to open an office in the Middle East. Grant’s South African operations began in 1948 with the subsidiary Grant Advertising Limited (Johannesburg). Grant’s clients included three major American cosmetic manufacturers: Max Factor, Chesebrough-Pond’s, and Revlon; in Southern Rhodesia, the company handled American A-listers Quaker Oats, Shell, and Warner Pharmaceuticals; British-owned tobacco company Rothman of Pall Mall; and local beer maker Rhodesian Breweries. Despite being a latecomer to the continent, Grant succeeded in African locations where JWT struggled. In 1954, two

years into the state of emergency in Kenya, JWT–South Africa dispatched London-trained adman Michael Brierley to open a branch in Nairobi. The East African branch, however, would be closed four short years later, only four months shy of the repeal of the state of emergency. JWT–South cited the reasons for closure as “serious administrative and staff problems and doubtful future prospects arising from the uncertain political situation.”²¹ Three years after JWT’s East African exit, Grant began operations in Kenya.²² The firm employed over a hundred people in its Nairobi office under the leadership of Morgan Shraeder and boasted an enviable list of clients, including Coca-Cola, Colgate-Palmolive, Chesebrough-Pond’s, Goodyear, and Sabena Belgium Airlines.

JWT and Grant distinguished themselves as global pioneers by setting up shop in Africa and the Middle East, territories that were inaccessible or yet offered much appeal to industry peers. American advertising agencies’ global expansion was a direct consequence of the outward orientation of manufacturers in industry sectors that had survived and even thrived at home in the period between the Great Depression and World War II. Among them were manufacturers of soaps, detergents, personal care products, and cosmetics. Across South Africa, Kenya, and other African markets, Grant and JWT sought to secure market dominance for soaps for their respective clients, Colgate-Palmolive and Lever Brothers (later, Unilever). The agencies also spurred on cosmetics, soap’s cousin sector, and each sought to reach *Drum*’s readers with concerted promotional efforts. These industries dominated *Drum*’s advertising footprint as an aspiring advertising game changer and became a major influence in the establishment of *femme urbAfricana*.

In the case of JWT, the winners of *Drum*’s debut beauty Africa ’52 contest were turned into enthusiastic celebrity product endorsers, most prominently for Vaseline (Lever). Within a month of Norah Mosiakoko’s ascent as the contest’s debut female winner, she testified in *Drum*, “I always use ‘Vaseline’ brand BLUE SEAL Petroleum Jelly to keep my skin soft and smooth,” says lovely Miss Nora[h] Mosiakoko of Alexandra-Miss Africa 1952.” In addition to touting its therapeutic and moisturizing characteristics, the testimonial continued, “If you want to have the kind of skin men admire, take my advice and see that you always get ‘Vaseline’ BLUE SEAL with the blue lid.” The advertisement included Norah’s authentic handwritten signature, collected from her original beauty contest entry form.²³ Mosiakoko’s endorsements in *Drum* for other products, including cooking stove brand Apex, suggest a non-exclusive partnership with JWT.²⁴ Vaseline also earned the enthusi-

astic endorsement of Francis Gordon, “Handsome Mr. Africa,” who attested that “any man who wants to look smart and feel well should use ‘Vaseline’ brand Blue Seal Petroleum Jelly.”²⁵ Similarly, “Baby Africa’s” mother, one L. M. Smith, told readers, “One reason why my baby is so well and happy is that I always use ‘Vaseline’ brand BLUE SEAL Petroleum Jelly for his skin.” The advertisement also included an improbable statement from the mother: “And I feed it to him if he has a cold or sore throat. But it must be the real BLUE SEAL—I would never give my baby any imitation.”²⁶ JWT advertisements for Lever Brothers also amplified African American achievement and images of idyllic Black families in its African advertisements for Vaseline. *Drum* readers were introduced to “Dorothy,” a medical student “at world-famous Columbia University in America” who used the product daily not just “to keep her skin smooth and soft” but also to keep her “baby sister’s tender skin free from soreness and rashes.”²⁷ The brand also used African athletes, including featherweight boxing champion Jake Tuli.

AFRICAN MARKET PROSPECTS FOR PERSONAL CARE PRODUCTS

In the decade following World War II, the rapid modernization of the continent’s interior gave rise to native demand for consumer goods: “kerosene, tinned foodstuffs . . . cloth, tools, cosmetics, furniture, bicycles, cars.”²⁸ This period also saw the crystallization of market research for urban African consumers. In Nairobi, JWT determined that Africans constituted 54.7 percent of the four racial groups that made up the city’s nearly 120,000 residents (117,663), according to the 1948 census. In 1955 only a third of Kenya’s half a million (558,000) employed Africans worked in the country’s “nine main townships.”²⁹ The lack of disaggregated data makes it difficult to estimate the number of women employed in urban areas. However, for comparison, South Rhodesia, which had a comparable number of African employees (610,000), only had 45,000 women in formal employment.³⁰

National advertisers fared well in African newspapers, of which a single copy was purported to circulate to as many as five individuals.³¹ Since the mid-1950s, “the popularity of well-illustrated magazines for Africans” had risen “amazingly fast” and made them an attractive advertising alternative.³² JWT identified *Drum* and competitor *Zonk!* as notable outlets for manufacturers seeking to reach urban dwellers in the Southern Africa region. In 1954, the agency estimated that each magazine distributed about three thousand

copies in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe).³³ A typical African consumer in Southern Rhodesia was said to be “a careful, shrewd judge of quality and makes a more exacting purchaser than the European,” especially when it came to familiar items like “blankets, clothing, [and] saucepans.”³⁴ Apart from buying essentials like food, clothing, and kitchenware, higher-status consumers were said to purchase “gramophones and records, sewing machines, electric irons, pressure stoves, linoleum, and for a growing number, radio sets, bed sheets and decent furniture.”³⁵ Influential leaders also advanced the adoption of modern products; a JWT market report on British East Africa noted the “profound” influence of His Highness the Aga Khan on market prospects of the Shia Imami Ismaili Muslim community following a “general directive to his people to adjust their habits—particularly in food and dress—to European standards.”³⁶

ADMEN OUT FOR GLAMOUR IN AFRICA

Cosmetics

Rapid shifts in native African religious and social practices reverberated across native communities in colonial Africa, hastening the demise of long-standing native fashions and beauty practices and the previously reliable revenue from trade of associated items for native artisans.

In Anglophone Africa, South Africa was the epicenter of the shift from native to modern cosmetics and, of course, where historian Lynn Thomas documented the rise of an “African modern girl” via beauty contests and the print cosmetic advertisements targeted to Blacks in the 1930s newspaper *The Bantu World*.³⁷ In South Africa and beyond, the range of products identified by Weinbaum and colleagues was linked to the “expression of modern femininity” across varying global environments in the early decades of the twentieth century. Among them were “lipstick, nail polish, face creams and powders, skin lighteners, tanning lotions, shampoos, hair styling products, fancy soaps, perfumes, [and] deodorants” targeted primarily at female consumers.³⁸ With the exception of South Africa, however, during the 1930s and 1940s, makers of many colognes, rouges, lipsticks, talcum powders, and toilet soaps marketed them almost exclusively to European populations in Africa.

Propelled by limited local production capacity in Africa, cosmetic manufacturer interests shifted toward a growing native consumer market and increased the competition between British and American companies during

the postwar period. For instance, in Nigeria, a traditional plant-based nail stain made from kola nuts was produced locally; the indelible nail polish possessed “satisfactory color and wearing qualities, but no gloss.”³⁹ In the late 1940s, African women in Nigeria were reported to limit their use of modern cosmetics to “small amounts of bright red imported nail polish” and “cheap, heavy-scented perfume, as well as highly perfumed, white talcum powder.”⁴⁰ Such conditions paved the way for an African mass market for Western fashion and cosmetics to emerge between the 1930s and 1960s as manufacturers sought to earn the “profitable privilege” of transforming Africans’ appearance.⁴¹

However, because they had largely neglected the Black domestic consumer market at home,⁴² mainstream American cosmetic manufacturers lacked, and could not therefore rely on, past expertise “gained in selling to the Negro public in the United States” to succeed in Africa, as one market analyst advised.⁴³ An additional hurdle for American manufacturers was low brand unfamiliarity and popularity. The antidote to both hurdles was heavy advertising, which, coupled with an abundant cache of marketing practices such as direct sales and advertising in Black-targeted publications, suggested a roadmap for success in Africa. American cosmetic companies’ chances of success abroad were aided first by a profit surge throughout the early 1940s, which culminated into a boom by the 1950s and positioned them for international expansion.⁴⁴ Second, established Black cosmetic manufacturers like Poro, Madam C. J. Walker Company, Overton Hygienics Manufacturing Company, and S. B. Fuller faced significant strains during the Great Depression, leading to the elimination of Black-owned competitors, with many of them defunct by the end of World War II.⁴⁵ Noting the exponential jump in retail volume of cosmetics from \$77.8 million to \$1.66 billion between 1949 and 1959, one journalist summed up the sustained appeal of cosmetics to American women: “The American woman, with the memory of depression, prohibition, [and] World War II still in her mind was receptive to appeals that promised to make her—and possibly her life—lovelier.”⁴⁶

Industry experts reveled in their season of triumph: “Far from being expendable we as an industry, are as staple as soap serving basic human desires.”⁴⁷ At the core of the success of the cosmetic and soap industries was a decades-old enjoyment of the persuasive dividends of “United States movies, newspapers and magazines.”⁴⁸ Hollywood was especially a powerful source of influence in the conversion of unfamiliar products into necessities.⁴⁹ After they had conquered the domestic market, the industry was ready to take on

new markets: “teenagers, foreign, and men.” One journalist characterized the foreign market as “virtually a new world, still unexplored, and uncultivated.”⁵⁰ Traditional expansionist destinations included North America, Latin America, Europe, and Asia. However, Europe and Japan, at the time the largest foreign cosmetic markets, were suffering economic slowdowns, which created a shortage of foreign exchange and forced governments to limit imports of luxury goods, such as cosmetics.

In British East Africa, several American cosmetic manufacturers registered their intent to trade in the region in the late 1940s and the late 1950s—for instance, Coty and Max Factor in 1947 and Avon and French-owned L’Oréal eleven years later, in 1958. An early entrant to the South African market was Hazel Bishop, which listed that country among its foreign markets in 1954. Chesebrough-Pond’s and Revlon established themselves as global frontrunners in the cosmetic industry. Through JWT (and later Grant), Chesebrough-Pond’s extended its cold cream market to Africans. The company also sold Hi-Lite, a skin-lightening product available as both a face cream and a body lotion. Grant managed marketing for Richard Hudnut, Revlon, and Max Factor and took on smaller cosmetic companies, including the maker of skin lightener Ambi, a competitor to Hi-Lite. Advertisements for both skin-lightener brands appeared numerous times in *Drum* (see figures 13 and 14).

Skin Lighteners

Throughout the *Drum* decade, it was rare to see local beauties in East, Central, and West African editions endorse skin lighteners. During this period, the most prominent endorsers of skin lighteners in advertisements appearing in *Drum* were purported or real South African city and township beauty pageant winners. Many of the advertisements for skin lighteners emphasized their American origins. By the 1960s, the American and Western orientation of African consumers was widely accepted. Reports observed that African consumers possessed a veneration of “anything new from America,”⁵¹ and those from Southern Africa were similarly said to be “oriented toward the West, so any Western advertiser starts with an initial advantage.”⁵² The eminence of American and Western products was especially strong for products targeting women. One skin-lightener brand made its debut in *Drum* with an advertisement featuring the image of a white doctor in a lab coat holding test tubes captioned, “Doctors had developed Arta in one of America’s most modern laboratories.”⁵³

Among the various skin-lightener brands, Ambi, Karroo, and Super

AMBI Extra
yenye nguvu zaidi

kwa kutakasa ngozi kwa siku 4 tu!

AMBI Extra hurembesha ngozi, humaliza vipete na madoadao na hufanya ngozi yako kuwa nyororo zaidi.

Na hili ndilo thibitisho:

"Ngozi yangu iliyokuwa haing'ai hata kidogo, kavu yenye kunyanzi, ilifanya nisivutie hata, mpaka nilipoanza kutumia AMBI Extra Mpya."

Joseph Othman KUSUMU

"Nilikuwa naona aibu sana kwa ajili ya vipete na madoadao usoni mpaka nilipoanza mpango wa siku nne wa kujanzilishia AMBI Extra Mpya."

Anne Wambui NAIROBI

cream bora kutakasa ngozi!

AMBI Special hutakasa na hurembesha ngozi kwa siku 7 tu.

Ni AMBI pekee iliyo na sehemu zinazofanya kazi tatu, pamoja na synergist na catalyst.

Fig. 13. Ambi advertisement in Swahili (*Drum*, April 1958)
(© BAHA Drum Photographer.)

NEW AMBI Extra

**Double Strength
for Fastest
4 day Action**



NEW AMBI Extra ...
makes your skin lighter in only 4 days.
Double Strength and Fastest Action gives
you a clear and smoother complexion,
free of pimples and blemishes.

Buy **NEW AMBI Extra** today and
be smarter in only 4 days!

**Successful
people use**

NEW AMBI Extra



NEW AMBI Special
brings you a softer
and lovelier complexion
in only 7 days.

AMBI
-acclaimed the best skin lightening creams in the world.
Only AMBI contains 3 active ingredients plus synergist
and catalyst.

Fig. 14. Ambi advertisement in English (*Drum*, April 1958)
(© BAHA Drum Photographer.)

Rose advertisements appeared in high frequency. Super Rose advertisements were popular on the cover of *Drum Post*, the version of the magazine that appeared as an insert to *Golden City Post*. Karroo used winners from regional city beauty contests, including Miss Durban, Miss Germiston, Miss Krugersdorp, and Miss Port Elizabeth. Advertisements for Karroo provided readers with important information about city pageants by revealing dates, locations, venues (e.g., Bantu Men's Social Center), and the number of entrants.⁵⁴ With an increased number of pageants, the variety and professed glamour of beauties in Karroo advertisements intensified.⁵⁵ Karroo advertisements sought to appeal to South African beauties and those abroad by dividing the region into four; for instance, "Miss Boksburg" and "Miss Benoni" were said to originate from the "Golden Reef."⁵⁶ Another Karroo region was "Golden West," represented by beauties from "Miss Potchefstroom" and "Miss Klerksdorp."⁵⁷

Karroo advertisements hyped the celebrity status of little-known city beauty queens to emphasize their glamour. One advertisement featuring Miss Durban, Phyllis Radebe, noted that she "appeared on the cover of a famous magazine." Advertisements featuring beauty queen endorsers attributed their success to the use of skin-lightening creams. Radebe, for instance, was quoted as saying, "I am so pleased I've got a light complexion thanks to TWO Karroo Creams."⁵⁸ Karroo advertisements featuring endorsements of two "Golden City Lovelies" included "Miss Johannesburg" and "Miss Johannesburg Beauty Competition." These advertisements provided few additional details about the location or date of the contests in which the endorsers had triumphed.⁵⁹ Double features of well-known beauty queens Alice Smith, "The Golden Girl for 1955!," and Hazel Futa, "Miss South Africa!," also appeared in Karroo advertisements.⁶⁰ Karroo advertisements also featured winners of a sponsor-supported Miss South Africa and Miss Africa. These two pageants transcended the limitations of township, city, and provincial South African contests; they also anchored the magazine's advertising aspirations and further propelled the appearance focus of *femme urbAfricana*.

Along with accompanying features such as "Cover Girl's Day Off!"⁶¹ cover girls and celebrities were also increasingly integrated into advertising.⁶² Feluna Pills had contributed to Dolly Rathebe's "film and stage work."⁶³ Skin-lightener endorsers included well-known stars, among them Jeanie Rahube, "vocalist of the Manhattan Stars."⁶⁴ One ad included the following testimonial from Dolly Rathebe: "One of the attractions that has helped to make Dolly famous is her clear, light skin. But let Dolly tell you her secret; it's so simple!"⁶⁵

In a different Karroo advertisement, the “Famous African Singer” “Miss Dorothy Masuka is well-known to thousands of fans by her records. She was a big hit at the Bulawayo Exhibition, where she won many prizes. Dorothy is 19 years old, charming and vivacious.”⁶⁶ Another vanishing cream and skin lightener advertisement (see figure 21) quoted Masuka: “Give yourself a glamour treat, says Dorothy Masuka,” the “glamorous singing star.”⁶⁷

Skin lighteners, however, were one of a range of cosmetic products sold to the African urban market using beauty pageants or other means. For instance, between 1938 and 1946, the total value of “Perfumery, Cosmetics, and Toilet Preparations” imported in British East Africa amounted to \$103,449.⁶⁸ *Femme urbAfricana* was also propelled by the growing prominence of hair preparations, perfumes, and soaps. At the heart of the advertising campaigns for each was the invention of African beauty and the elevation of African women’s glamour.

Hair Care Products

JWT research identified personal care products, “especially haircream,” as popular among African consumers.⁶⁹ Traditional use of tallow and plant-based oils for hairdressing continued among Africans living outside urban centers, whereas British-made brilliantine continued to have powerful appeal with “Westernized Africans.”⁷⁰

In a seminal study tracing the role in Africa of Lebanese personal care product traders in the 1920s and 1930s, scholars Caroline Faria and Hilary Jones analyze the pioneering efforts of these trade forerunners and read them alongside the expansionist goals of hair-extension powerhouse Darling® Ltd. and its leadership in Kampala, Uganda. Faria and Jones demonstrate that colonial stereotypes of African workers and their inventiveness are still present in the contemporary setting. Significantly, the authors show that practices of resistance emerge from the activation and access to local, regional, and transnational “diasporic circuits of Blackness.”⁷¹ This finding suggests that global consumption pathways such as those sought by JWT, Lebanese traders, and others also make possible networks of resistance within the global Black diaspora.

Among urban communities in South Africa, market analysts encouraged prospective American manufacturers to consider selling “a preparation for straightening kinky hair” and inexpensive “pomades, brilliantines, face powder, [and] heavy perfumes” for their Ghanaian counterparts. In Nigeria,

where British brands dominated the market, “cheap, thick, heavily perfumed pomades” and hair dye were in great demand.⁷² Market analysts noted that the popularity of American cosmetics was low among native Africans and Asians in British East Africa and recommended heavy advertising over cut-throat pricing to enhance product popularity.

In line with JWT’s analysis, the most popular personal care product in the region, according to one market report, was brilliantine, a hairdressing pomade for men also popular among Indian women. Product distribution occurred in urban centers at pharmacies, department stores, beauty salons, and “dukas,” general stores often run by Indian merchants and found in both urban and rural areas. Many such sites appeared in the advertisements in *Drum*. Ebonaire and Posner’s hair preparations, for example, used by “Attractive Julia Ojiambo Nairobi Home Economist,”⁷³ could be found at Chhani’s Pharmacy.⁷⁴

Perfumes

French perfumes enjoyed high popularity and market dominance among European women in Kenya. Indian women, on the other hand, preferred locally made perfumes to those of European origin.⁷⁵ Advertisements for perfumes in *Drum* appeared less frequently than, for instance, those selling skin lighteners or hair products. The growth of African consumers in this sector was impacted by the criminalization of the sale of fragrance formulations containing alcohol to nonwhite populations. Unlicensed sale of perfumes containing “more than 2 per cent alcohol” to natives (including all Africans, Swahilis, and Somalis) was outlawed in the 1918 East Africa Perfumes Ordinance.⁷⁶ Approved perfume retailers included doctors and pharmacists, with sales permitted firmly for “*bona fide* medical or toilet purposes.”⁷⁷ A similar regulation was in effect in South Africa, where natives were prevented from making similar purchases containing more than 3 percent alcohol.⁷⁸

When South African perfume maker Southern Perfumery Company launched Bint El Sudan in *Drum*, it did so with an illustrated testimonial by African American singer Rose Petersen. Readers, if they dared, might render themselves “irresistible” with “a few drops of wonderful Bint-el-Sudan.”⁷⁹ In 1956, *Drum* featured “Miriam ‘Nightingale’ Makeba” as a product endorser for a perfume: “When it comes to perfume my choice is . . . Evening in Paris Perfume by Bourjois. It is the essence of Paris after dark.”⁸⁰ Despite Black urban life’s legal and social limitations, both advertisements offered aspirational realities for Black female bodies in their respective urban backdrops.

Makeup

African manufacturing of makeup was limited, except for Ghana, where a local manufacturer produced monthly “about 1,000 cases of face powder” to meet demand for local women.⁸¹ By 1954, advertising for makeup specifically targeted to African women was present in *Drum*. One advertisement for Thandana Beauty Products promised to “bring great happiness to African women.” The brand offered “new shades of powder specially made for people with dark features on American lines. New shade of lipstick and eyebrow pencil to match your powder.” A postal order sent to a postal box in the coastal town of The Strand (Cape Province) would secure a pamphlet for interested African women.⁸² Richard Hudnut launched Cloudsilk Fluid Make Up (a toner and lightener blend) in *Drum* in 1958 with the pitch “That lighter smoother skin that men admire.”⁸³ A March 1958 advertisement in *Drum* featuring Hazel Futa (see figure 15) was a rare occurrence of an African beauty queen pictured in a magazine advertisement for lipstick.⁸⁴

Beauty and the Toilet Soap

In the late 1940s, industry analysts projected a poor market outlook for imported toilet soaps among Africa’s nonwhite populations due to market saturation by cheaper, locally produced soaps and consumer substitution of laundry bars for personal use. Undeterred, American and British soap manufacturers continued to operate local branches in South Africa to meet slow-growing continental demand. Local soap manufacturing was dominated by Indian-owned factories said to produce second-rate brands of toilet soap for nonwhite markets, whereas Europeans preferred American brands. If the market for soap was dismal, it was even more dire for cosmetics. Whereas soap producers faced stiff competition from local manufacturers, cosmetic manufacturers faced the more uphill task of breaking down ancient barricades of cosmetic practices and readily available traditional products. Despite the unique challenges, American firms in both industries had accrued their success at home from drawing from the common well of glamour. If a local source of glamour existed, it was *Drum*’s novice form of Black femininity, *femme urbAfricana*.

JWT’s advertisements for Chesebrough-Pond’s products in *Drum* featured various royals among them: “Her Royal Highness Princess Murat”⁸⁵ and the “Duchess of Argyll”⁸⁶ appeared in the magazine. JWT had decades of experience perfecting beauty-themed advertising. The credit for the suc-

No wonder it's on everybody's lips!

**IT'S NEW! IT'S DIFFERENT!
IT'S GLAMOROUS!**

Black Velvet

a big new Black lipstick hit—hot from the States to give your lips the lovely "New Look."
It's here! The lipstick designed to put all other lipsticks in the shade—"BLACK VELVET"—the miracle new lipstick with the magic black shade. It's so completely new, so different, so exciting—you won't believe any lipstick could make your lips so lovely! No wonder it's fast becoming a nation-wide favourite. Try it. You'll be delighted with the difference!



Black Velvet

NEW FASCINATING "BLACK VELVET" IS MADE FROM THE WORLD'S FINEST INGREDIENTS!

"BLACK VELVET" is a product of exactly the same fine quality ingredients as other expensive world-famous lipsticks. Yet it's a shade better—makes your lips so kissable, so lastingly lovely.

"BLACK VELVET" blends perfectly with any colouring, any dress too.

Try "BLACK VELVET" once—and you'll always buy it. It does such wonderful things for your looks!

CLIP AND POST THIS COUPON NOW!

To: "GLAMOUR MAN", c/o The Beauty Centre,

P.O. Box 5246, Johannesburg

Please send me a tube of "BLACK VELVET" new black shade lipstick. Enclosed find 12/6 for lipstick. Postage free.

NAME _____

(PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY)

ADDRESS _____

ENCLOSED POSTAL ORDER _____ OR CHEQUE _____
CHEQUES MUST INCLUDE EXCHANGE.
POSITIVELY NO C.O.D.'S. ALL GOODS DESPATCHED WITHIN
14 DAYS OF RECEIPT OF ORDER.

ONLY

12/6
EACH

THE LIPSTICK THAT'S
A SHADE BETTER



Fig. 15. Hazel Futa in an advertisement for Black Velvet lipstick (*Drum*, August 1958)
(© BAHA Drum Photographer.)

cess can be traced to the efforts of New York-based Daniel “Danny” Danker, a “blue-eyed,” brown-haired, 5’11” JWT executive.⁸⁷ In 1927, JWT sought to launch a national campaign for Lux soap on the theme of glamorous beauty. The task required extraordinary effort and ingenuity: If at all it could be done, there was only one place in 1927 where an advertising man could ascertain the viability of this approach, “a film colony”⁸⁸ known as Hollywood, which Danny was dispatched to investigate in 1928.⁸⁹ He set up shop at the swanky, brand-new Roosevelt Hotel, from where he hoped to line up, in plenitude, beauties willing to endorse Lux.⁹⁰ After realizing that his Roosevelt headquarters was a world away from the film stars he wanted to tether to his world of soap, he relocated to Los Angeles, the epicenter of female glamour. Danny’s feat was an effort to break new ground in film and advertising—soap had never been endorsed by a single major motion picture, and rarely did actresses rave about a product as basic and essential as soap. Danny won over industry skeptics and became a beloved confidant to the stars.⁹¹ In 1928, at no cost to Lever Brothers, Danny originated the immortal slogan “9 out of 10 Screen Stars use Lux Toilet Soap.”

From its Hollywood branch, JWT extended the glamorous beauty theme beyond Lux Toilet Soap to other Lever products. Lux Flakes, previously marketed for its gentleness on fine fabrics such as silk and baby clothes, acquired ratification from beauty experts, who attested that with Lux Flakes “you can have more pretty clothes . . . without spending a cent more!” Similarly, when using Lux Liquid, a dishwashing soap launched in 1929, a woman could take on the task of scrubbing and rinsing heaps of dishes while also enjoying “Beauty Care right in your own dishpan.”⁹² Through Danny’s exclusive contracts with the stars, there was “hardly an important film personality” who had not endorsed Lux by 1940. He even held the world record “for contracting more motion picture stars and name talent” in radio.⁹³ With their endorsement of Lux, Hollywood stars turned Hollywood glamour into a global export.

In South Africa, where JWT launched Lux soap in 1948, an early local model for a magazine advertisement was a bust shot of a nondescript African woman in a light-colored dress and headscarf. She appeared strikingly devoid of glamour. In 1956, Lux added a little glamour to its African model by featuring another nameless woman with a flower pinned to her head.⁹⁴ These images only slightly improved (by the absence of a headscarf) in future advertisements (see figure 16). The best that a 1957 advertisement offered, for example, was a general testimony: “Beautiful women in this country and in

SUPAK by far the best British Beret

For the discriminating
buyer who must have the
best, this new SUPAK
beret is the perfect
choice. In a wide range
of lovely colours.

Buy a SUPAK today. You'll
never be without one again!



your Guarantee
of Quality

H. L. HOMPES & CO. (PTY.) LTD.

CAPE TOWN • DURBAN • EAST LONDON

JOHANNESBURG • PORT ELIZABETH

Made in the factories of

SUPAK LTD., AINTREE ROAD, PERIVALE, MIDDLESEX.



Tokalon Vanishing Cream really works fast

Who would believe that, four days
ago, this lovely girl was desperate
about her skin. Harsh sunlight and
dry winds had left it parched and
wrinkled. Then she started using
Tokalon Vanishing Cream and you
can see the difference. No wrinkles
now — just a clear, supple, lovely
complexion. Tokalon Vanishing
Cream used night and morning
brightens your skin, leaving it clear,
and matt and petal-soft. Use Tokalon

Vanishing Cream and you'll soon
notice the difference.

TOKALON VANISHING CREAM ... 2/6

TOKALON ROSE SKINFOOD ... 2/9

A companion beauty product to
Tokalon Vanishing Cream. The little
wrinkles that appear on your forehead
and around your mouth and eyes mean
that your beauty is disappearing! Pre-
vent this by using Tokalon Rose Skin-
food (with Blouse) every night.



Tokalon
BEAUTY PRODUCTS



Everyone loves the girl with the LUX complexion

Lux, the favourite toilet soap of beautiful
women all over the world, now comes to
you fresher and sweeter-smelling than ever
before—because it's packed in a lovely,
shining gold wrapper to protect it.
Everyone loves the girl with the LUX com-
plexion! Start using sweet-smelling Lux
Toilet Soap in the new Gold Wrapper today
—and see how lovely your skin can be!



LUX TOILET SOAP in the NEW gold wrapper

Used by beautiful women all over the world

A LEVER PRODUCT

LTS-22-9284

MAKE YOUR **DRUM** YOUR HABIT!

This is how to get a copy every month—

Fill in the coupon below and send it with the money to:
B.N.A., P.O. Box 50, Industria, Johannesburg.

Please send me DRUM for months regularly.

Rates:	6 mths.	12 mths.
Union . . .	3/3	6/6
A.P.U. . . .	3/6	7/0
Elsewhere . .	5/0	10/0
		\$1.40

NAME

ADDRESS

Fig. 16. Lux advertisement in *Drum* (April 1958)

(© BAHA Drum Photographer.)

countries all over the world use Lux Toilet Soap to keep their skin smooth and soft and looking young. They have been using it for many years, because they know it is the best soap they can buy.”⁹⁵ Ten years later, Lux found the veteran broadcaster “Ola Edu, beautiful Star of TV and Radio,” as the ideal model for glamour among “Nigeria’s Loveliest Women”⁹⁶ (see figure 17).

Another soap brand managed by JWT on behalf of Lever Brothers was Lifebuoy. During the golden era of *Drum*’s commodity beauty contests, Lifebuoy sought to offer “the biggest selection of cash prizes offered to Africans. Every man and woman can enter this competition.” Marketers tried a different beauty strategy by putting together a list of nine women and asking readers to select and rank them based on “the type of beauty you most admire.”⁹⁷ After ranking the women, readers were given additional instructions to “write down the reason why you like Lifebuoy Health Soap. Try washing with a tablet and after you have considered all the good things about the soap, pick out the best point and write it down.”⁹⁸ In Lifebuoy’s All-African contest, the three top winners were all from South Africa.⁹⁹ The lucky contest winner, Marlene, a “Dream Girl” and “South Africa’s Sweetheart,” told readers, “I am a Nurse and I trust Lifebuoy because I know that its rich lather washes away harmful germs. Lifebuoy makes you clean and fresh—keeps your skin clear and healthy.”¹⁰⁰ Lifebuoy’s second All-African contest abandoned the beauty theme and asked readers instead to match various persons with a list of professions: doctor, nurse, schoolteacher, singer, factory worker, truck driver, bricklayer, and cook.¹⁰¹

Unlike its efforts in the United States, JWT did not immediately seek to identify glamour ambassadors in Africa. Instead, the magazine relied on beauty pageants to maintain the glamour and beauty association of Lux. The quick pivot away from the beauty theme for Lifebuoy’s strategy and heightened efforts for Lux suggests the saturation of *femme urbAfricana* across the broader advertising landscape for African urban women.

AFRICAN COMMODITY BEAUTY QUEENS

Miss Africa

After proving the success of its first beauty contest, *Drum* partnered with facial cosmetics maker Bu-Tone to organize the Drum-Bu-Tone beauty contest of 1953 but restricted it to “women only from all parts of Africa.”¹⁰² Readers were invited to “Join Drum’s gallery of African Beauty.”¹⁰³ Readers also

What
lovely
women
say
about
LUX



"Like me, you will find

LUX keeps your skin soft and lovely"

says Ola Edu, beautiful Star of TV and Radio

Because LUX is so pure and mild, lovely women like Ola Edu depend on it for their daily skin care. Only LUX Toilet soap can be trusted to keep their skin soft and smooth and clear day after day. That's because LUX contains the purest oils delicately blended to care for the tenderest skins. And its delightful perfume makes LUX such a joy to use. Ola Edu says, "Take care of your skin with LUX as I do—it's so pure and mild."



WHITE and 4 lovely colours:
PINK • GREEN
BLUE • YELLOW

Nigeria's loveliest women use LUX

©/LUX LUX 1965

Fig. 17. Lux advertisement in *Drum* featuring Ola Edu (October 1967)

(Photo credit: Drum Magazine / BAHA / african.pictures.)

requested more pictures of Miriam Dhlamini, who frequently appeared as a Bu-Tone endorser and pin-up.¹⁰⁴ The magazine promoted the contest with a flood of photos of beauties from various towns and cities in South Africa¹⁰⁵ and abroad, including one of “exotic beauty Giselle,” who was pictured wearing a couture dress by French designer Germaine Lecomte.¹⁰⁶ The Drum-Bu-Tone contest received significantly more space in the magazine and used pictures of cover girls and other female celebrities in its solicitation of hopefuls: “Here is Francina Monareng, our lovely Cover Girl. ‘Roll up, roll up,’ she cries, ‘and send your pictures to the Beauty Contest!’”¹⁰⁷ In another issue that also included a picture of Eartha Kitt with a soldier, the magazine posed the question to readers: “Are you as beautiful as Eartha Kitt, Negro blues singer, who’s been called ‘the most beautiful woman in the world’ by actor-director Orson Welles? You might even be better! So send in your photograph to the Butone Beauty Contest and know the truth about your face.”¹⁰⁸ Urban centers dominated the supply of beauty queen hopefuls. The Drum-Bu-Tone contest, for instance, asked readers to ponder, “Which city has the prettiest girls?” in a parade of close-ups of contestants from Durban, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Lagos, Salisbury, Springs, and Teyateyaneng.¹⁰⁹ However, among the contest’s semifinalists, all except one, from Salisbury, were from South African towns and cities.¹¹⁰

To celebrate its third anniversary, the magazine presented readers with a “lovely present from DRUM,” the winner of the Drum-Bu-Tone contest, “your new queen: Miss Africa! Miss Africa to you and me.” Alexandra Township native Ruth Mofolo, a domestic laborer (see fig. 7), won the contest with “more than 100” votes more than “her nearest rival.” The magazine noted that Mofolo’s husband was “11 years her senior.” This fact drew comparisons to Hollywood stars, “so it looks like she’s got the same idea as some Hollywood belles who’ve been lately telling the world that young men—at least men their age are not so exciting as those a wee bit older.”¹¹¹

Subsequent Miss Africa contest winners became the flagship endorsers for Bu-Tone skin lightener, which, in line with the shift in beauty culture in the late 1950s, had moved away from selling “complexion care” to beauty care. Selina Kolae, who won the title in 1957, told readers that the “secret of her radiant beauty” was “the Bu-Tone Beauty Treatment which she followed regularly to become ‘Miss Africa.’”¹¹² Kolae helped the brand launch its newest cream, “Bu-Tone No. 3 complexion cream.”¹¹³ Beauty queens from outside South Africa also endorsed Bu-Tone. Among them was “Gladys Masuku elected ‘Queen of Beauty’ of the Central African Federation.”¹¹⁴ Bu-Tone

queens such as Yvonne Medope were featured in *Zonk!* magazine.¹¹⁵ After the inaugural Drum-Bu-Tone contest, the brand continued its beauty appeal with a new series¹¹⁶ of Bu-Tone pin-up girls.¹¹⁷

Drum and Bu-Tone commenced their search for the next beauty queen with two questions. The first asked, "Would you like to be Queen of Africa?" The second offered a more prurient invitation for women: Would they like to become "the envy of other women and the toast of a pack of howling wolves?"¹¹⁸ The magazine exaggerated competition between women readers, emphasized heterosexual romantic desire as it sought a new queen, and pushed a wider range of contest incentives.

Drum promised readers that the 1956 contest would be "the dreamiest, the slickest and the most beauty-full show to date."¹¹⁹ To enter the contest, readers were asked to provide a photo "looking your smartest, dressed in a bathing costume."¹²⁰ The winner would be revealed "at the swankiest cinderella ball of the year, and sung to by the top African stars." In keeping with the participatory nature of the contests, readers were informed that "it's your job to choose the winners! For this difficult task of selecting the most beautiful girl in each province, there'll be £10 in it for some lucky reader."¹²¹

With each new contest seeking to outdo the last, Bu-Tone marketers attempted to raise the stakes and legitimize their claim to "the biggest contest ever" by suggesting that it had extended appearance offers to past winners. Specifically, "Miss Africa of three years back, former Miss South Africa Miss Johannesburg, Miss Beautiful and many other famous beauty queens of the past have been invited to enter."¹²² To further entice the interest of hopeful winners, a picture of the inaugural Miss Africa winner, Norah Mosiakoko, was included in the announcement.¹²³ The magazine continued to hype up the competition with staged photoshoots of its own. One of the images (see figure 18) that supplemented the Bu-Tone contest is of Lynnette Kolati, a native of Western Township. Kolati stood atop a table in the *Drum* office as some of the magazine's Black male staff surrounded her with various measurement instruments seeking to establish her "vital statistics." Lynn Thomas references the image as an example of the magazine's objectification of women.¹²⁴

The image caption reads, "The Cover girl illustrates the DRUM-BU-TONE beauty competition."¹²⁵ The image is important because it demonstrates the collaborative aspect of the establishment of *femme urbAfricana*. *Drum* staff were an important partner in the creation of novel ways of expressing African femininity. The magazine, in other words, also originated its own images, further establishing in readers' minds the ideal urban African woman. *Drum*



Fig. 18. Drum-Bu-Tone beauty contest: cover girl Lynette Kolati. *Drum* staff in the photo are Ezekiel Mphahlele (*bottom left*) and Bloke Modisane (*standing top right*) (Photograph ©Jürgen Schadeberg.)

also emphasized the esteem of the 1956 contest with pin-up images of, among others, “Priscilla Zibi, the face from Orlando,” and Dorothy Masuka, whose picture included a modest caption as the “song-bird from Benoni.”¹²⁶ In the August 1956 issue, readers were invited to mail in their selections of the four women who deserved a spot in the contest’s finalist dozen.¹²⁷ All twelve of the contest’s finalists were selected from South Africa. Of the three from Johannesburg, one was identified as hailing from Orlando Township.¹²⁸

JWT and Grant Duel at Miss South Africa 2.0

After securing her inaugural crown as Miss South Africa, Hazel Futa commenced her obligatory endorsements of, among other products, Karroo.¹²⁹ Miss South Africa winners were also featured in advertisements for Welco

Ladies Shoes: "I get longer wear from every pair, says Dixie Kwankwa, Miss South Africa 1957."¹³⁰ Although it had started as a humble contest, Miss South Africa was transformed into a sponsorship mega-attraction in 1961. Major advertisers for the contest included Vicks, Singer, Omega Watches, Coca-Cola, Lux Toilet Soap (Lever Brothers), and retailer Sales House.¹³¹ Sales House sponsored the trophy for the Miss South Africa contest, known as the "Sales House Floating Trophy."¹³² Among the contest's African promoters were Dale A. Quaker, the contest's "National Organizing Secretary," Victor Mkize, Bushy Mogoai, and Peter Rezant of the Merry Blackbirds band.¹³³ Lever Brothers and Colgate-Palmolive, through their respective ad agencies, JWT and Grant, escalated their battle when they both stepped forward as sponsors of the Miss South Africa contest in 1961.

Two revisions to the original Lux advertising were evident at the height of the beauty contest mania: notably, a slight change to its slogan, making it more personal, "Use Lux Toilet Soap and be beautiful,"¹³⁴ and a reaffirmation of its cosmetic dividend with an updated tagline, "Lux Toilet Soap is a real beauty soap."¹³⁵

In the final round of the contest, the regional winners were photographed taking a tour of the Lever Brothers factory to bring much-needed glamour to the world of soap manufacturing. The queens were photographed strategically with Rinso, one of Lever's main detergent brands, prominently featured in the background. Lever had a good reason to add a flair of beauty to its factory after Colgate-Palmolive arrived in 1961 with a "spanking new \$5 million plant outside Johannesburg" and took a generous 35 percent bite out of Lever's detergent market share.¹³⁶

The magazine provided a generous twenty-page supplement of the Miss South Africa 1961 contest, complete with full-frame images and vital statistics of finalists and the coveted advertiser hampers.¹³⁷ The pageant was held at Johannesburg City Hall. Other events to commemorate the contest extended over three days and included "a glittering Queen's Ball at the Bantu Men's Social Center," "a magnificent lunch provided by the South African Railways," "a musical festival," and a "Thanksgiving Service" unclaimed by any one denomination.¹³⁸

The following year, the contest prizes were a level up. Most notably, the winner would enjoy a "wonderful holiday in London" courtesy of Londun Line Hair Straightener. The location of the pageant had also moved from Johannesburg to Cape Town and attracted more mega-advertisers, including Colgate-Palmolive¹³⁹ and Gallo Records, which in the previous year collabo-

rated with Sales House to offer the winner a portable record player.¹⁴⁰ JWT declared in *Drum* that the makers of “LUX TOILET SOAP, the beauty soap with the romantic perfume,” were taking “pleasure in announcing that they will be presenting the following wonderful prizes to the winners and finalists of the 1962 Miss South Africa Contest.” Lever offered, among other gifts, a “large plastic bowl” that would be “beautifully decorated with ribbon.” The bowl featured three sizes of Lux Toilet Soap, several large tins of Lux Talcum Powder, and packets of the Lux Flakes detergent. The prize offerings from “Colgate-Palmolive, makers of Colgate Dental Cream,” included a generous supply of the toothpaste and other undisclosed quantities of “Colgate-Palmolive products” for all finalists.¹⁴¹

Aspiring hopefuls in the 1963 contest were informed that they would be “judged on beauty, intelligence, deportment and speech.” In the latter category, candidates would “be asked to speak to the judges and read a short passage to them.”¹⁴² A notable addition to the organizers of the 1963 Miss South Africa beauty contest was the National Council of African Women.¹⁴³ The involvement of the council suggests an acceptance of the social relevance and organizing potency of the national beauty contest.

In *Drum*, JWT extended the cosmetic dividends to other Lever products. Vaseline, for instance, beckoned, “Ladies your skin will look beautiful if you use Vaseline Blue Seal petroleum jelly.”¹⁴⁴ Another ad for Vaseline featured singer, model, former beauty queen, and actress Irene Batchelor. She “told” readers, “Being in ‘show biz,’ it is vital to look my best at all times. I have always relied on Vaseline Blue Seal Petroleum Jelly to keep my skin smooth and lovely . . . my hair soft and glamorous. I always keep a jar handy at home, or in my dressing room backstage.”¹⁴⁵

In 1963, the brand launched its own beauty contest and offered readers an opportunity to “win R250 in the Vaseline Blue Seal Petroleum Jelly Body Beautiful Competition.”¹⁴⁶ The contest was open to men and women and required participants to send a picture of themselves in a swimming costume. Seven years after the Miss South Africa contest was first introduced, it persisted in relevance with a steady parade of the contest’s winners in *Drum*. The magazine framed the contest as a mega effort “to find who is the most beautiful woman,” accompanied by a twist on the familiar axiom of vanity, “Mirror, mirror, tell me true, who is the most beautiful one of you?”¹⁴⁷

The beauty contest advertising theme continued in the magazine through the 1970s. British soap maker Cussons & Sons, for instance, sought to find the Cussons ‘Girl of the Year’ from among the beauties in four nations: Kenya,

Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia.¹⁴⁸ The regional focus of Cussons mirrored an earlier effort by Grant Advertising that originated its own spin-off contest with a regional beauty contest to promote Coca-Cola.

Coca-Cola's Calendar Girl Contest

While still a struggling singer traveling the South African region in the mid- or late 1950s with her band, Miriam Makeba came upon a curious site. While traveling on a tarmacked Rhodesian highway in the splendid company of "herds of giraffes and springboks, . . . elephants and gazelles," she noticed an imposing artifact of her rising celebrity. As their vehicle passed the "thickest" part of the forest where "the monkeys are noisiest," it stunned Makeba to see herself projected "ten feet high, smiling from a great billboard with a bottle of Coca-Cola in my hand." Makeba described the towering advertisement as a familiar sight in her native South Africa. "But here?" Makeba wrote. "The advertising men never told me it would go this far." Months earlier, while she was "at the recording company," Coca-Cola's admen had approached Makeba to request the use of her image. They offered her £150. In Makeba's assessment, the one-time fee was substantial; she "was not going to turn down that much money."¹⁴⁹ Makeba's telling of the encounter with presumably Grant Advertising representatives, which happened at a recording studio in Johannesburg, suggests that advertisers were aware of the locations where they could directly enlist rising stars. The absence of *Drum* in the deal with ad agency representatives is curious given the role that the magazine had played to establish Makeba's rising status as a bona fide African star.

Coca-Cola continued to rely on its relationship with Makeba in subsequent years (see figure 19). When the company launched its own search for a beauty queen in 1961 with the Calendar Girl contest, it promoted the contest as a chance for the winner to become a showbiz star: "As the 1962 Calendar Girl of South Africa and a possible place in the new musical show, there is every chance for the winner to emulate Miriam Makeba, who sprang from the 'King Kong' cast to become a highly-paid artist in New York, Las Vegas and other American cities."¹⁵⁰

The story of Makeba's commissioning for Coca-Cola, and those of African celebrity endorsers that followed, is one of ordinary everyday lives catapulted to hypervisibility as economic, political, and social fortunes across Africa were changing in the 1950s and 1960s. With a new regional contest (see figure 20), Coca-Cola sought to extend the chance of fame and fortune to a new generation of African women. The contest was open to "all African

**Be smart—
choose
Coca-Cola!**



"Coca-Cola" and "Coke" are the registered trade marks of The Coca-Cola Company

Show business is fun, but it's hard work too! So glamorous Miriam Makeba, star of "King Kong", takes time out to relax with ice-cold Coca-Cola.

Miriam says, "Treat yourself to the best, have a Coke! There's no refreshment in the world like it." Do as the stars do—enjoy delicious, ice-cold Coca-Cola.



GO FOR COKE!

© 1959 Coca-Cola Co.

Fig. 19. Miriam Makeba in Coca-Cola ad (*Drum*, May 1959)
(© BAHA Drum Photographer.)



Fig. 20. Coca-Cola Calendar Girl Contest, Central Africa
(© BAHA Drum Photographer.)

girls in South Africa between the ages of 17–25 years old, singles or married.” The contest promised them an opportunity “to become a famous Calendar Girl.”¹⁵¹ Unlike previous sponsored contests in *Drum*, the Coca-Cola Calendar Girl contest was unique in its broad geographical reach, mirroring the magazine’s markets as it hoped to gather a cohort of “beautiful girls” from the continent’s East, West, Central, and Southern regions to “adorn the Calendar for 1962.”¹⁵² The contest was promoted in the magazine’s Ghana, Nigeria, East Africa, and Central African Federation editions. Hopeful beauties

were required to submit two photographs: a bust shot (in formal or afternoon dress) and another photo in a “bathing costume.” Contestants were also asked to provide their name, age, address, birthplace and date of birth. Additionally, “v-statistics” and marital status were required.¹⁵³

Awaiting the lucky winner was a cash prize of £100, a wardrobe worth £50, and a professional photo shoot to supplement “the fame that will come to this African girl who is elected” as the contest’s winner. In addition to this generous package, there was more if the lucky winner showed exceptional ability. Specifically, the winner, “if apart from her figure and face, she has talent,” was promised a “chance for her in the new big show planned by Union Artists, who made the famous ‘King Kong’ musical, now playing in London.”¹⁵⁴ The contest call implied a chance for a big break for the lucky winner, suggesting perhaps that they may even find themselves enjoying the rare opportunity to travel abroad.

As the organizers categorized entrants, unsuccessful hopefuls received personalized rejection letters printed on company letterhead from Coca-Cola’s regional advertising manager along with the two required photo submissions:

We enclose herewith the pictures which you have submitted for our Calendar Girl Contest in Drum Magazine. While you were not one of the lucky winners, we would like to thank you very much for submitting your entry. The standard of entries submitted was very high and we hope that you will not be discouraged from entering similar contests in the future.

Yours sincerely,

(*signed*)

R.E. RENAUD

Advertising Manager: S.A. Region¹⁵⁵

Among the submissions, one stood out, as it appeared to have been submitted by a male reader with or without the knowledge of the contender. The reader, “Aron Chilukutu” from “Monze, N. R.” (Northern Rhodesia, present-day Zimbabwe), wrote, “Dear Sir, Roda is Loved by boys. Contest Girl by Drum.”¹⁵⁶ This suggests that some entrants may have been submitted on behalf of women. Another entrant mailing, from “Mofolo village” (Soweto),

suggests that readers took the prizes and opportunities the contest presented very seriously. She wrote:

Dear Sir:

I would very much like to hear from you about the king kong cast. Sir, I am very anxious to joint them when they come back; now I do not know how to join or what to do; I would like to hear from you soon please; my age is 25, Bust 36, Hips 40, waist 28 if you want my snap I will sent it soon, hoping you to reply me soon.¹⁵⁷

Archival material suggests that readers' participation in the Coca-Cola Calendar Girl contest was complex. To some readers, the contests presented a reasonable on-ramp to economic success. It also situated the magazine and the contest's organizers as trustworthy brokers and catalysts of urban economic success.

Scholar Nicholas Grant identifies a similar role for *Zonk!* and writes that the magazine's "consumerist focus . . . also represented an important site where white supremacist beliefs could be contested and transnational black connections could be forged."¹⁵⁸ In the case of *Drum*, the national focus of the commodity pageants such as Miss Africa and Miss South Africa negates the exploration or formation of influences beyond the South African national boundaries. Coca-Cola's Calendar Girl contest, however, suggests an effort to achieve cross-border possibilities that Grant contends are possible.

The involvement of American firms in *Drum's* beauty culture propelled modern African beauty contests into the national and continental consciousness across the magazine's markets, making them a powerful symbol of the expansion of *femme urbAfrica* through African women's admission into a new age of glamour and independence. The explosion of beauty contests throughout the *Drum* decade gave rise to a mature participatory beauty culture that extended from South African townships to other African countries and featured a rich diversity of women from all races and classes.

The Beauty and The Fish

Processed food manufacturers capitalized on the popularity of *femme urbAfrica*'s appearance and beauty focus. Glenryck Pilchard's advertisement started with an indiscriminate connection between fish and glamour: "Fish is the food for Health and Beauty."¹⁵⁹ The brand also targeted men with the

THE FAMOUS BENNETT COLLEGE can train your mind to SUCCESS

WHAT CAREER DO YOU WANT?

Architecture
Building
Carpentry
Commercial Art
Draftsmanship
Diesel Engines
Electrical Engineering
Locomotive Eng.
Mechanical Eng.
Motor Engineering
Radio Engineering
Road Making
Surveying
Telecommunications

Book-keeping
English
General Education
Languages
Mathematics
Police Subjects
Telecommunications
Short Story Writing
and many others

Tuition for these Examinations

GENERAL CERT. OF EDUC.

OVERSEA SCHOOL CERT.

A.M.I.C.E. A.A.C.C.A.

A.M.I. Mech. E. A.C.W.A.

A.S.I.A. A.C.I.L.

A.M.I. Survey E. A.C.C.C.

A.M.I. Mech. E. A.S.I.C.

A.M.S.E. A.A.I.

TO THE BENNETT COLLEGE (Dept. 3307), SHEFFIELD, England

Please send me, free by Air Mail, your prospectus on:

SUBJECT:

NAME:

ADDRESS:

OCCUPATION:

AND AGE:

SEND THIS
COUPON
NOW!
We will reply
by Air Mail

THROUGH PERSONAL POSTAL TUITION

The famous Bennett College has helped thousands of ambitious men and women. See how it can help you. Write today for the College Prospectus on the Course you need to succeed. We will reply by Air Mail telling you how you can qualify for a fine career with higher pay and good social standing. Don't hesitate. For a few shillings a month you can enjoy an English College education in your own home by Personal Postal Tuition.



The best ball point pen
in the world

For the least money

with
two-button control
and IMAC ink —
non-smear, washable



BIC
RETRACTABLE
ONLY 1/9

BIC Crystal in blue, red or green 1/3

Give yourself a Glamour Treat says Dorothy Masuka
Keep your skin Lighter, Lovelier . . . all day
with



VANISHING CREAM



Take a tip from Dorothy Masuka, glamorous singing star. She says "You can have Complexion Glamour right away with Glyco-Lemon Vanishing Cream. It does 2 wonderful things for you—tones up your skin . . . restores its Youthful Glow. And, it keeps your skin Lighter, Lovelier, Petal-Smooth. Make-up stays fresh all day, too". Try Glyco-Lemon Vanishing Cream Today—Look Lovelier right away . . .



BUDGET
PRICES

TRIAL SIZE



MEDIUM SIZE



LARGE SIZE



Brings back beauty to dull, tired skin!

LUCKY SEROOM

THE REAL
LUCK BRINGER

Thousands of fortunate possessors of the "Lucky Seroom" testify to its remarkable luck-bringing powers. You should wear it or carry it with you always. Supplied in beautifully finished REAL ENAMEL and Gill. Send British Postal Order 6/3. Air mail post 1/3 extra.

S.A. Devereux Longman Press Ltd., Box 3, 1 Liverpool Terrace, Worthing, Sussex, England.

HIGH
ABOVE
THEM
ALL



QUINAMON
REGISTERED
TRADE MARK

COLDS, FLU, GO!

IN ONE DAY

FAST! SAFE!! SURE!!!

QUINAMON—Family Remedy for
Colds, Flu, Headaches and
Body Pains.

OBTAINABLE EVERYWHERE.

Fig. 21. Dorothy Masuka in a Glyco-Lemon advertisement (*Drum*, August 1957)
(© BAHA Drum Photographer.)

appeal “Fish is the food for strength.”¹⁶⁰ Another food beauty-themed promotion that appeared in *Drum* was the “Eat More Fish Beauty Competition” by manufacturer Irvin and Johnson (see figure 22). The competition was an attempt to popularize canned fish, a notoriously unpopular product among Africans. From a list of twelve finalists, readers were invited to “pick out who they think are the most beautiful of the women and put them in the order of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd.” The top three winners would take home cash prizes of £75, £25, and £15, respectively. The remaining finalists were promised a consolation award of £5 each. The following year, the company put aside £375 in prize money for a similar contest and opened the contest to men. After the initial contest, succeeding advertisements featured a picture of Miss Caroline Motsmai, the winner of the debut competition, and urged readers, “For beauty like hers, EAT MORE FISH.”¹⁶¹

Two makers of canned milk products used similar appeals: Klim milk powder exploited the beauty contest mania, as did Gold Cross, a condensed milk producer, which launched the Gold Cross Queen beauty contest in 1960.¹⁶² Successful professional ballroom dancers added to the glamour of products; for instance, the Gold Cross brand featured multiple award-winning ballroom dance winners Reginald Gumede and Dalphine Theys, who were quoted as saying that the brand “puts the swing in our step.”¹⁶³ Klim’s advertisement (see figure 23) featured a fictional malnourished teenage girl whose milk consumption helped her to “put on weight, her skin was smooth and firm. She was a laughing, happy girl. Her friends persuaded her to enter a beauty contest. And Sally was crowned the Beauty Queen.”¹⁶⁴ The makers of Ceylon tea turned to “South Africa’s Golden Girl of 1955 Alice Smith,” who shared with readers, “I find TEA so refreshing.”¹⁶⁵ Food manufacturers benefited from the beauty theme, which pushed *femme urbAfricana* forward as an ideal model of African beauty and consumer behavior. Advertisements also elevated various products that distinguished African urban consumers as permanent citizens who embraced, for example, modern processed foods, canned milk products, canned fish, and other urban conveniences.

When considering *Drum*’s long roster of sponsored beauty pageants, it is important to also underscore the financial incentives for readers and contestants. The magazine pictured one lucky beauty queen whose luck quickly dried up after she lost £50 in winnings before her promoter could collect his 30 percent cut. Archival material offered insights on the contested nature of pageants. One incident involved five men displeased with the outcome of one regional contest who decided to demonstrate outside of the workplace



PICK THE WINNERS OF THE 'EAT MORE FISH' BEAUTY COMPETITION,

AND WIN £75



All you have to do to stand a chance of winning £75 is to pick out the three beauties you like best from the twelve photographs on this page. These are the finalists from the hundreds of entries in the "Eat More Fish" Beauty Competition. Just write in the space on the photographs the order in which you like them best—1st, 2nd and 3rd. Then cut out this page and send it, with your name and address, to Winner, Box 927, Cape Town. The first correct list opened in our offices giving the first three beauties in the correct order will win the £75! There will also be a £20 prize for the reader who sends in the second best answer. (Remember, the beauties you pick will also receive BIG PRIZES, so both you and the lucky entry will stand to win big money). Closing date for your entries, 21st October

The possession of this page is not a condition of entry. You may trace the squares on any piece of paper and mark in them your choice of the first three. Any number of entries may be submitted.

FOR HEALTH AND STRENGTH

EAT MORE FISH

— THE CHEAPEST, TASTIEST FOOD YOU CAN BUY!

Fig. 22. Eat More Fish Beauty Competition (*Drum*, October 1958)
(© BAH Drum Photographer.)



As a young girl, Sally was thin and often too tired even to play with the other children. This made her unpopular.



Her mother was worried. Then she discovered Klim and decided to give Sally lots of KLIM to drink.



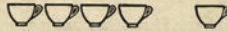
What a change in Sally! She put on weight, her skin was smooth and firm. She was a laughing, happy girl. Her friends persuaded her to enter for a beauty contest. And Sally was crowned the Beauty Queen.



KLIM IS SALLY'S DAILY BEAUTY DRINK

Milk is such a wonderful food that it makes skin and hair beautiful. It makes strong bones and teeth, too. So, wise mothers give their families the best milk they can buy — KLIM, dry milk kept safe in its tin. KLIM POWDER WILL NEVER GO BAD. You can always have fresh, creamy milk for drinking, on porridge, for cooking and baking — when you keep KLIM in the house.

Each one-pound tin of KLIM makes over 64 bottles of pure... safe... creamy MILK



To make KLIM powder into MILK you do this:—

1. Use four times as much cold water as KLIM POWDER. That means that if you use four cups of cold water, you will need one cup of KLIM. And if you use only two cups of water then you need only one half cup of KLIM POWDER. See how easy it is?

2. Put the water into a jug or basin and put the right amount of KLIM POWDER on top of the water. Now use a fork and stir the KLIM powder and water together until they are completely mixed. See how creamy and good it looks, how it foams like milk straight from the cow. Taste it — KLIM is the nicest, strongest milk you ever tasted.



Estate the Borden Cow

THE DOCTOR CAN TELL YOU THAT KLIM IS PURE MILK THAT IS GOOD FOR YOU!

Fig. 23. Klim milk beauty drink advertisement from *Drum* (April 1958)
(© BAHBA Drum Photographer.)

of the winner. The men were arrested and charged with public disturbance. They pled guilty and were ordered to pay a one-pound fine or face a seven-day detention.¹⁶⁶ The major sponsored partnerships offered generous promotional hampers and once-in-a-lifetime experiences or chances. Overall, most contests offered at least a cash prize. Cosmetic maker Richard Hudnut offered £100 in the “Three Flowers Cloudsilk Beauty Competition.”¹⁶⁷ Readers could win up to £50 for placing the final six finalists in order of their level of attractiveness or beauty. A month later, the magazine announced that Orlando East resident Gladys Gushu had won the £50 prize.¹⁶⁸ The Drum-Bu-Tone competition offered “£400 in crisp crackling cash” to the reader who could find the correct missing vital statistics of six swimsuit-clad “beauties we paraded for your inspection.”¹⁶⁹ Winner prizes at live local beauty contests, however, fetched modest cash winnings, some as low as £3.¹⁷⁰

Beauty contests of all sizes augment *femme urbAfricana*’s focus on appearance and paradoxical Afrocentrism. Even with smaller pageants, advertisers sought to elevate their status. For instance, one advertisement for Mum deodorant transformed a town beauty (Miss Pretoria) into a continental one by claiming that she was “Africa’s Own Beauty Queen” and was supportive of the brand’s marketing efforts.¹⁷¹

CONCLUSION

By the close of the *Drum* decade, advertising advice demonstrated a more sophisticated understanding of the African urban consumer. The prospect of advertising fortunes also necessitated the demand for sound industry knowledge. Across the continent, South Africa took the top position as the biggest advertising spender. In 1960, advertising expenditures were estimated at £8.86 million for newspapers, £1.49 million for consumer magazines, £1.03 million for trade and tech magazines, and £1.27 million for radio. South Africa’s advertising revenues in 1962 rose to “a record level under the impetus of improved economic conditions.”¹⁷² A recognition of these developments was reflected in industry guidebooks in the mid-1960s. Marketers in South Africa, for instance, were cautioned to be aware of “the differences between the tribal natives on the one hand and the discriminating and urban populace on the other.”¹⁷³ With growing opportunities to use African models in advertising copy, another recommendation was to use native models except when showing an African as possessing “technical know-how” would be disingen-

uous. In this case, marketers were advised to use a foreigner and a national.¹⁷⁴ Advertisers were encouraged to lean on the use of local “vernaculars,” to adapt a “local slant” for imported campaigns, and to be aware of township signage restrictions by the apartheid government.¹⁷⁵ Similar to the emergence of a trickle of African American marketing experts¹⁷⁶ in the United States, African marketing experts also provided insights on the urban African consumer.

Nimrod Mkele, a “tall and cynical” psychologist and winner of *Drum*’s fourth short story award, was among those who established a strong reputation as an expert on African consumer behavior and became a central figure in African advertising research during the mid-1950s and 1960s.¹⁷⁷ As the popularity of beauty contests soared, Mkele suggested that African beauty had reached a new level of recognition. “The proliferation of ‘Misses’—Miss Africa, Miss South Africa, Miss Butone, Miss Palmolive, and I see that a Miss Nivea is also on the way—shows that the glamour of the American Negro has superseded the glamour of the African beauty queen.”¹⁷⁸ Mkele’s assertion suggests that African American women had enjoyed a strong position since the magazine’s debut. Dale Quaker, who during the 1950s played a major role as a pageant organizer, proffered in a 1966 feature in the *Golden City Post*, “Beauty contests are a modern innovation and therefore follow closely modern trends. We hope that someday our girls will compete in the ‘Miss Universe’ or ‘Miss World’ contests. How can a typically tribal African girl have hope against lissome world beauties? So we must work hard until one day we find a South African Venus.”¹⁷⁹ The article went on to summarize the nature of the nearly fifteen years of pageant culture since *Drum*’s debut: “So far as the promoters are concerned any girl with an acceptable figure and the right looks to satisfy the face cream manufacturers will do.”¹⁸⁰ Cosmetic manufacturers, personal care product giants Lever Brothers and Colgate-Palmolive, and beverage company Coca-Cola played a significant role in propelling the commodification of *femme urbAfricana*. The magazine’s second decade would test its endurance as *Drum* incorporated an expansive global outlook.

CHAPTER 4

Globalizing *Femme UrbAfricana*

In addition to the sources provided by advertising, *Drum* sought to amalgamate new sources of *femme urbAfricana*: Afro-descended women from the United States, African migrants in Europe and America, and Black Caribbean women in the imperial capitals of London and Paris and other European cities.¹ In this chapter, I argue that *Drum* draws from these three sources to globalize *femme urbAfricana* through cross-national urban upward socioeconomic mobilities. The magazine relies on narratives and images of the social and economic progress of the women, amplifying both their transgressive invasion of white-dominated cultural, political, and economic domains and the affirming practices relied upon by Afro-descended immigrant communities in foreign urban centers.

The effects of this globalizing process are twofold. First, the magazine succeeds in creating from the plurality a gendered version of what historian Nicholas Grant has termed “transnational black solidarities.”² That is, *Drum* seeks to enjoin the pursuit of these favorable interpretations of Black urban existence by doing the work of (optimistically) connecting disparate urban experiences for readers. Second, *Drum* expands the signifying affordances of Afro-descended women to realize Cecile Sandten’s generative definition of transnationalism “as a system of multiple coding within a society that is perceived as plural.”³ In other words, Afro-descended women in the magazine enter new spaces of visibility that further ground and legitimize their claim to efficacious urban identities, ambition, and respectability. *Femme urbAfricana*’s incessant *transnationalism* in *Drum* generates a transnational model of seven dialogic arteries (see figure 4). The use of “travel” is intended as a double meaning, symbolic and literal, successful and attempted. Beginning in the early years of the magazine, African American women in the United States and Europe take on the bulk of the symbolic burden to achieve these

outcomes. These patterns are represented in arteries A and C of *femme urbA-fricana's* transnational dialogic model. Expatriate African American women continue to fulfill this role in artery B. When a critical mass of African women can be found in Europe, or at least to have accrued European credentials or influence, and the United States, they are visible in arteries D and E, respectively. Toward the latter years of the period under study (1951–71), the influence of Black Caribbean women in arteries F and G outmatches that of African American or African women in *Drum*.

AFRICAN AMERICANS IN *DRUM*

African Americans were featured heavily in African-targeted magazines emerging in the *Drum* era. In his study of *Drum's* primary rival, *Zonk!*, Nicholas Grant has argued that African American celebrities in the magazine debunked many myths upon which white supremacy ideology rested, for instance, the myth “that African Americans—and by extension black South Africans—could achieve success in a number of white-dominated arenas.”⁴ Grant is right that the focus on the achievements of the few advanced tokenism in both *Drum* and *Zonk!* and undermined the recognition of African Americans, and, by extension, Africans, as members of oppressed communities whose odds of collective achievement were hindered by systemic subjugation. *Drum*, however, focused on African American achievements in sport and music, domains aligned with prevailing attitudes about the “natural” place or so-called innate talents of Blacks. This alignment posed little threat to white power in any meaningful way, given the tightly controlled, nonexistent, or under-resourced status of these domains in the majority of colonized or new African nation-states.

Grant compares the achievements of *Ebony* (1945–69) with those of *Zonk!* (1949–60), with each publication providing for its readers a reliable source of “imagery of racial uplift from abroad.” *Zonk!* relied on photographs and features of successful African American celebrities, “respectable, urban, and modern black identities that could be used to question the ideologies and policies of the apartheid government.” Grant surmises that “heroism, bravery, success, and triumph against the odds” summed up the narratives of African Americans in *Zonk!* These images, Grant ventures, “allowed readers to adopt a diasporic black identity that questioned and occasionally transcended domestic racial hierarchies.” As such, the images provided more than escape,

Grant argues; they provided an opportunity for readers “to question the immediate realities of life under apartheid.”⁵

African Americans featured in *Zonk!*, Grant asserts, represented an “embodied sense of racial possibility” and allowed South African readers to “claim their identity as consumer citizens.”⁶ In this regard, *Drum* and *Zonk!* were similar. *Drum*, however, went beyond the African American urban citizen exemplar. While I disagree with Grant’s optimistic reading of *Zonk!*, a government-backed publication, as extending to Africans an opportunity to challenge the material hardships of apartheid, I concur with him about the role of African Americans as models of racial triumph and urban success and as key players without whom a transnational sense of Black alliance was impossible.

For its part, *Drum*, from the very beginning, sought to uncover for readers the experience of African Americans, or “the great Negro communities of America.”⁷ In “Negro Notes from USA,” the magazine supplied news stories of African American accomplishments in notable Black-majority US cities such as Philadelphia, Richmond, and Detroit. In keeping with the vision to provide affirming stories of the Black experience, the debut issue shared details of an award ceremony held in New York City to honor African American artists Josephine Baker and Sidney Poitier and others for their contributions to the arts by the “Committee for the Negro in the Arts.”⁸ Unlike the path taken by competitor *Zonk!*, *Drum* noted the complex realities of the Black experience in America and provided in horrifying detail accounts of lynching and other forms of violence against African Americans from across the United States. One feature written by Peter Lehola sought to uncover the experiences of urban violence: “Must America’s city ghettos erupt again into their shameful summer pattern of violence and killing, looting and burning?”⁹ Prominent centers of African American culture, including HBCUs, and, more generally, contests celebrating African American beauty produced an additional source of glamour for the magazine. When five dozen African American “girls made their entry into society” at a “Debutantes” ball in Harlem, *Drum* readers were informed of details of this “ultra-fashionable ball.”¹⁰

In many respects, *Drum*’s inclusion of African Americans aligns with that of *Zonk!* It is heavy on Black celebrity and achievement. However, there are several distinctions. First, *Drum* extends African Americans’ representation in the magazine beyond the celebrity exemplar noted by historians Rob Nixon and Grant primarily by its focus on African American expatriates across Africa. Second, *Drum*’s inclusion of Jim Crow-era violence acknowl-

edges the role of state-sanctioned violence against Black bodies both abroad, as in its coverage of the Sharpeville Massacre and other violent crackdowns, and at home. Third, *Drum* centers African American women as urban exemplars. It was African American women in the United States who, in its early years, played a major role in establishing the possibilities of urban success for African women and, by extension, for Black Caribbean women in Europe and Africa. The next section is focused on the first of *femme urbAfricana's* seven dialogic arteries: African American women in *Drum*.

African American Women in Drum (Artery A)

As early as 1954, African American women in *Drum* were the proud Harlem-based ambassadors of Black style, as told in an article titled "Negro Fashions."¹¹ The reference to Harlem in *Drum's* fashion parade is not incidental. Gender and critical studies scholar Maria Balshaw describes the New York borough as the site "that has held pride of place as the urban locus for an African American national imaginary."¹² While Harlem featured prominently in the magazine's courtship of African American expression, *Drum's* reporting of African American women did not shy from illuminating how segregation and racism impacted their ambitions and lives in less affirming geographic locations. In a recurring column titled "Drum Drops In on the World," *Drum* reported about the hostile reception or "mounting hatred" that Autherine Lucy, the first African American student at "Alabama University" received "to show how much they resented her decision to stay on." The magazine captioned the featurette "Weep Down South!"¹³ The magazine also noted when African American female artists shattered racial lines. In a blurb about Dorothy Dandridge, the first African American woman to be nominated for an Oscar for Best Actress, the magazine wrote, "She is one of the few Negro singers to perform at the famous 'Mocambo,' a night-club frequented by famous movie stars."¹⁴

Successful African American female entertainers had a strong presence from the early days of the magazine and provided a prime source of Black glamour and beauty. For example, African American beauty pageants, big and small, were included in the magazine.¹⁵ The magazine reported a victory for "gorgeous Eloise Curry" after she had been "judged to be the most beautiful Negress by the beauty experts of Miami, Florida."¹⁶ When the magazine reported on ancillary all-Black pageants in the United States, it elevated their status, adjoining them to well-known local stars. The same effect was achieved when winners of minor contests augmented local beauty contests

in the magazine. The Drum-Bu-Tone contest in 1953, for instance, featured “Olive Walker,” who was pictured receiving “first prize for ‘Miss Beach’ beauty contest” next to an invitation to hopeful pageant queens: “Why not try and win our contest by sending your picture?”¹⁷

One way that African American entertainers made their way to the pages of *Drum* was in the column “Have You Heard?,” in which readers learned of news of local and international recording artists from “African Swingsters” to “Ella Fitzgerald,” and in the magazine’s music album review.¹⁸ South Carolina native Eartha Kitt was among the magazine’s most popular fixtures. In 1951, *Drum* featured Kitt in the magazine’s music review, and readers devoured a picture of the “famous colored singer of ‘Barbaric Songs,’ . . . discovered by American Star Orson Welles, who has been a sensation of night-clubs in Britain and the continent on her recent tour.”¹⁹ *Drum* intentionally compared African American artists to up-and-coming African performers. This practice exaggerated local artists’ proximity and claim to stardom and glamour and situated both cohorts of women within a global diasporic outlook of Black beauty and success. For example, when the magazine profiled Kenyan model Gigi Joseph, readers discovered that “she enjoys the act she puts on—the temptress, the dark, sleek, feline animal; the true sister of Eartha Kitt, Dorothy Dandridge and all the others.”²⁰ Kitt and Dandridge, whom *Jet* declared “Negro America’s No. 1 glamour girl,” had earned their glamour honors in the Black American press.²¹ *Drum* also emphasized the intergenerational successes of African American women entertainers. In a profile of Nina Simone, the magazine introduced readers to the singer’s four-year-old daughter, Lisa, who “had a remarkable sense of the harmonics.”²²

Drum’s focus on African American jazz artists also included male masters. Louis Armstrong was arguably the magazine’s favorite, with a serialized feature that provided “a legit sustained exploration of the man, his music, his life.”²³ Similar to African American female artists and entertainers, *Drum* connected African American male artists to emerging African stars. Music records of African American male artists, the magazine noted, were alleged to be the favorite music of choice for local beauty queen, models, cover girls, and entertainers. Dancer Irene Batchelor was reported to purchase “every Miles Davis disc she can afford.”²⁴ Model Joyce Obong’s love of African American music was discovered “when DRUM called on her, [and] Joyce was swinging along with the blues—sung by Ray Charles.”²⁵

The focus on African American women, and especially Eartha Kitt’s coverage, allowed *Drum* to recognize African American female artists’ global

contributions to fashion. In one instance, the magazine included a picture of Kitt dressed in one of her own creations, “a skirt called the ‘Peek-a-Boo-Hip.’ She wears it with a low-cut evening blouse known as a ‘harem vest’ and it looks as if it wouldn’t be warm enough even for an African winter.”²⁶ A couple of years before *Drum*, *Jet* featured the same skirt creation by Kitt but without commentary on its appropriateness for the African climate.²⁷ Kitt maintained a sustained presence in the magazine with typical objectifying photo captions accompanying many of her images and those of other female artists. African American dancer and scholar Katherine Dunham was presented to readers as “the girl with a kick like a million volts—here she is doing the Cakewalk.”²⁸ *Drum* wrote that “sultry, American Eartha Kitt certainly looks sophisticated in a black lace petticoat, and with these legs she can afford to be photographed in it.”²⁹ This and other reports of Kitt’s performances and associated eccentricities humanized the glamour of performance in America and Europe.³⁰ Of note here is the magazine’s strategy to emphasize Kitt’s *Americanness*, tapping into the myth of the American Dream for all. Eartha Kitt’s popularity in the magazine was only enhanced by readers’ supposed requests for more pictures of the star: “Dusky Dynamite! Lots of people have asked about Eartha Kitt since we printed her picture, so here’s some more!”³¹

Another space of African American women’s inclusion in *Drum* was a section of “Home & Beauty” titled “Women in the News,” which was dominated by African American artists, including Lena Horne, who, according to *Drum*, set the gold standard of ideal African American beauty.³² When “The Glamour of the World” made its final appearance with the new headliner “Women of the World!” it featured several African American beauties: “Veronica,” a “Negro Dancer and Singer [who] is the sensation of the London Night Club,” Josephine Baker, and Adelaide Hall.³³ The great African American opera singer Marian Anderson,³⁴ who appeared in *Jet* two years earlier,³⁵ and “long-legged net queen” Althea Gibson³⁶ were profiled in the series “Mastertpiece in Bronze.”

The magazine’s courtship of African American entertainers included keen attention to Black Hollywood, and announcements of new film releases provided a flourishing supply of glamorous African American film stars.³⁷ The magazine sought to paint the connection with Black Hollywood as reciprocal, with personal quotes and pictures of African American actors reading *Drum*. Readers were informed that “Hollywood Reads *Drum*” and were provided a photo of “the well-known Negro actor Francois Andre” as she “relaxes with a copy of *Drum* in the studio between takes of RKO’s new film ‘Blackbeard

Pirate.”³⁸ The magazine made efforts to bridge the distance between the United States and Africa with personalized greetings from the stars. In a special Christmas issue, readers received personalized Season’s Greetings from “Hollywood’s Tan Stars.” Katherine Dunham, reimagined by the magazine as a “Voodoo Dancer,” was said to have sent “her best wishes” to readers.³⁹

Affirming images of African American film stars in *Drum* countered the surplus of negative portrayals of Blacks in film and filled a gap created by the strong restriction of powerful cinematic stories of African Americans through film bans from the Board of Censors. The magazine protested these bans in a feature in 1954 and questioned the criteria used to determine which films were permissible for native audiences. *Drum* reserved “special protest” for “the appearance that some films are banned merely because they depict the advancement of black men.” *Drum* identified some of the films in this category: “The Joe Louis Story,” “The Jackie Robinson Story,” and “Carmen Jones,” which featured Harry Belafonte and Dorothy Dandridge. Pictured in the feature was psychologist and marketing expert Nimrod Mkele at the ticketing counter of a theater where he was denied a chance to view *Vera Cruz* (1954), a film permitted for “White children over 12 and non-Africans.”⁴⁰ *Drum* found this restriction unacceptable and encouraged the government to consider implementing a decades-old proposal put forward by missionary and scholar Rev. Ray Phillips to expand the board’s membership to include people of color.

African American women in the United States played a critical role in establishing *femme urbAfricana* in *Drum*. They opened the prospect of Black female urban success and achievement as entertainers, athletes, and fashion trendsetters. The stories of their success in *Drum* elevated local artists’ status as glamour icons and legitimized their professional aspirations as entertainers. African American women in Europe sustained the contributions of their counterparts in the United States. The next section examines their unique contributions to the formation of *femme urbAfricana* in *Drum*.

African Americans in Europe (Artery B)

Drum’s interest in African American women extended to their achievements in Europe. Unsurprisingly, this roster included Eartha Kitt, Lena Horne, and Katherine Dunham. Together, African American women based or performing in the United States and Europe in *Drum* expanded the magazine’s coverage beyond the urban male-centric focus that Nixon has critiqued. The magazine’s coverage emphasized a warm reception by eager fans in Europe for artists who

performed “to full houses all over Europe and America.”⁴¹ When Lena Horne embarked on a “tour of the capitals of Europe,” the magazine wrote that she “received wide acclaim.”⁴² To elevate local artists’ esteem, *Drum* connected them to the success experienced by African American stars. For instance, Dunham’s success was enjoined to that of local dancing talent Victor Mcunu, who had found his way from Durban to the United States after joining Dunham’s company in London. Regarding Horne, the magazine wrote, “South African movie-goers adored her when she appeared in films, ‘Cabin in the Sky,’ ‘Stormy Weather,’ ‘Thousands Cheer’ and many others.”⁴³ The magazine relied on a generalized framing of Horne’s local support. It is not clear that Africans in South Africa would have been permitted to see any of the films she starred in, given restrictive laws limiting their access to films and theaters. The access of foreign films, however, was not limited to formal outlets.

The magazine also featured lesser-known African American singers like Ilene Day. Day, the magazine reported, “was doing very nicely in America, but when she decided to ship her curves to Europe, she became an immediate sensation. She has been hailed as a combination of Sophie Turner and Venus de Milo.”⁴⁴ *Drum* cover girl Isabelle Cooley, whom the magazine declared as Lena Horne’s successor in the “unofficial title” of “Most Beautiful Coloured Girl,” had attained success in Europe “acting in Britain for the Coronation season with the Negro Theatre Guild.”⁴⁵

Stories of African American women breaking racial barriers and standing up to racial discrimination are in line with Grant’s assessment of *Zonk!* That is, *Drum* readers took these narratives as inspiration for the idea that overcoming localized racial hostilities under apartheid and colonization was possible. Their appeal to white-majority fans in Europe elevated and globalized their grit, talents, and professional success. These female celebrities and their magnified successes nourish the nascent African celebrity class. African American expatriates, found across *Drum*’s urban markets, further enhanced African American influence in *Drum*. Their role is discussed in the next section.

African Americans in Africa (Artery C)

Despite international success in Europe and at home, there were rarely reports of African American female jazz musicians who visited the continent. One reason for this absence was the fact that most influential stars did not find their way to the continent until the early 1970s, when the magazine’s Pan-African influence had waned and faced stiff competition. For instance, a report in *Jet* revealed that Eartha Kitt’s permit to perform at a South African venue was revoked after authorities discovered the singer was Black.⁴⁶ In ear-

lier years, however, *Drum* featured the few male African American musicians it could find. When George “Buddy” Guy performed in Nairobi in 1969, the magazine reported the fanatical behavior of local enthusiasts: “The audience, especially the young girls went mad over his music. They rushed on stage and nearly ripped Buddy’s clothes off. They clung to him, kissed him and refused to let go. Police had to be called to the rescue.”⁴⁷ *Drum* also reliably played up the nostalgia for Africa among African American stars. In the feature about Guy’s visit, *Drum* framed his previous European successes as insufficient to quench his desire to visit “home.”⁴⁸ For *Drum*, there were only a few African American celebrities living in South Africa to draw from. Educator and political activist Madie Hall Xuma was among them. Scholar Iris Berger had documented Xuma’s immense influence in South Africa through her Zenzele Clubs for young women. Hall was pictured in *Drum* “on her return from America where she has been spending a holiday.”⁴⁹ Xuma was also featured in the “Drum Debates” feature about women’s roles.⁵⁰ In addition to entertainers, the magazine turned its attention to accomplished professional African American expatriates.

Drum’s advertisers, including one who offered readers “American styled clothes on easy terms,” enhanced the United States as a desirable source of fashion excellence.⁵¹ But it was the magazine’s incorporation of successful African American expatriates that strengthened the reputation of the United States as the leader in innovative style and fashion trends. This process was aided by an acceleration in the professionalization of fashion as designers and models took center stage in urban fashion shows and enhanced the glamour of emerging cities that made up *Drum*’s major markets.

An influential African American expatriate creator was Kenyan-based designer and former fashion model Bill Grant. *Drum* writer Peggy Moore described him as a man with “great belief in Kenya’s fashion potential.”⁵² Grant arrived in Nairobi in January 1966 courtesy of the African-American Labor Center. The center was established in 1965 and had “interests in the fields of vocational training, development of co-operatives, training of trade-union leaders, health, and housing.”⁵³ Headquartered in New York, the organization’s operations were supported by eighteen full-time staff in thirty-two African countries. With the center’s support, Grant established the Institute of Tailoring and Cutting in Nairobi and was celebrated by *Drum* as a “brilliant Afro-American New York designer” who “taught the fine arts of professional couture for both men and women.”⁵⁴ *Drum* reported that the institute was set up “with the help of finance and technical assistance from the Labour movement in the United States of America.”⁵⁵ African American creative expatri-

ates often dabbled in other local art interests. Grant explored his interest in theater, appearing in a play and the film *The Last Safari*.⁵⁶ His international reputation also came to good use when he dressed Miss World 1969, Eva Rueber-Staier, in a safari suit for an African “goodwill visit” sponsored by Grant Advertising client Sabena Airlines.⁵⁷

After mentoring and cultivating the next generation of Kenya’s fashion designers for nearly four years, Grant left the country in 1970. *Drum* noted that the institute he had founded faced an uncertain financial future due to a lack of local support from “fashion salons and dress shops,” which preferred to stock their shelves with foreign products. The institute was kept afloat by tourists and wholesale orders for uniforms for local schools.⁵⁸ Despite its uncertain future at the time of Grant’s departure, the institute sustained its influence on the local fashion scene through the early 1970s. After Grant’s tenure, African American designer and supporter of African fashion Claudette King, who the magazine noted had “also designed clothes for the American film star Barbara Streisand,” took over the reins. In 1972, she and her students put on a fashion show at Nairobi’s iconic Inter-Continental Hotel that showcased garments made from locally sourced suede and leather materials.⁵⁹ *Ebony Africa* also profiled Maida Springer, who set up a tailoring school with support from American garment trade union associations.⁶⁰

Aside from African American designers, another notable American, Dorothy Udall, who led Maridadi Fabrics, had a strong influence on Kenya’s glamorous fashions. The former Colorado State University veterinary medicine professor, like Grant, arrived in Kenya in 1965. Udall’s art experience helped her establish Maridadi.⁶¹ Set up in Pumwani as an outreach to its “destitute women,” Maridadi products retailed at the prestigious Studio Arts ’68. It was the women workers of Maridadi who imprinted “Kenya” on the towels carried by members of the country’s Olympic delegation to Mexico City in 1968, a high honor that *Drum* described as “official recognition” for their work.⁶²

Drum also profiled former Broadway performer and ballet dancer Jane Craddock, who provided dance lessons to youth at Eastleigh Community Center, located in a low-income neighborhood in Nairobi.⁶³ Lesser-known expatriate African American women also added to the magazine’s coverage of Black diasporic beauty. The magazine reported of a “dazzling girl on our cover”; the girl in question was “Beverly Franks, an Afro-American girl who brought her elegant good looks to Lagos—and now lives there.”⁶⁴

The magazine sought to diversify its global beauty outlook with profiles of American biracial women, such as film star Suzie Wong⁶⁵ and Linda Fon-

tanetta.⁶⁶ The magazine also included prominent white celebrities. “Elizabeth Taylor, the famous movie actress, was one of the many celebrities who saw Patterson regain his world heavyweight title.”⁶⁷ Another regular American celebrity was Marilyn Monroe. In one report, *Drum* featured pictures of three women from various regions in South Africa with their vital statistics and beauty title resumes: “The hunt is still on for girls in our own hometowns who have something of Marilyn Monroe’s qualities. . . . Do you think these girls measure up?”⁶⁸ But vital for *femme urbAfricana*’s origination in *Drum* was the emergence of African American expatriate women in Africa as authorities on Black beauty practices and style to enhance the magazine’s beauty culture’s claim to Black transnational unity.

In *Drum*, this authority was evident in the magazine’s elevation of the fashion icon status of African American women. Among them were spouses of African politicians and emerging nationalists. In advice columns and opinion editorials, prominent African American women in Africa carved out a unique sphere of influence on *Drum* readers. One such influencer, Glenda Wina, first appeared in the magazine’s Central African edition. Her column, “Glenda Looks at Life,” was introduced as “a lively, new column giving a woman’s view on matters that affect women—and men, too.” The columnist was introduced as the “glamorous Glenda Wina, Negro wife of Mr. Sekota Wina, UNIP leader and Parliamentary Secretary to Dr. Kaunda’s Ministry of Local Government in Northern Rhodesia.”⁶⁹

In her debut column, Glenda took on the “controversy still raging about the beauty of the African woman,” a “controversy” ignited by comments made by her politician husband and over which he was “bombarded from all sides.” Glenda sought to clear the air and come to her husband’s defense. Glenda wrote, “African women who straighten their hair have clawed him, thinking he was attacking them in general.” Glenda also remarked that “a white woman who organises beauty contests has criticised him for saying white beauties should no longer represent our country at international contest.” This marks a rare moment in the magazine’s history when the power that white females held over Black-dominated beauty contests was unmasked. After clarifying her husband’s position on both matters, Glenda cautioned women who wanted to straighten their hair, “If it can’t be done properly, DON’T DO IT!” She continued, “Whoever imports a Negro hairdresser will make a mint of money. That I can guarantee.”⁷⁰ In fact, in 1960, *Jet* profiled African American expatriate hairstylist Edgar Mitchell, who left Los Angeles for Accra to set up a “\$50,000 Beauty Culture Center” to offer “new hair-dos and make-up,”

which he said would “revolutionize African beauty culture.”⁷¹ Glenda’s suggestion situates African American hair stylists’ professional skills as desperately needed in Africa and superior, further cementing African Americans as the undisputed leaders of Black beauty practices.

Connections to Black America were accentuated in encounters between the magazine’s staff and African American personalities. One report provided details of *Drum* writer Marion Morel, who played a pivotal role in chaperoning Black naval officers in Cape Town. Morel was tasked with gathering “a few girls” for “second-rate entertainment” for a dance reception in honor of the African American sailors. The white sailors, Morel reported, received a separate “Mayoral reception.”⁷²

Nixon has suggested that *Drum* elevated accomplishments of African Americans and “images of upward mobility” primarily by celebrity exemplars.⁷³ This was certainly true of African Americans living in the United States. African American expatriates featured in *Drum*, however, expanded the celebrity angle to include ordinary individuals from diverse professions, backgrounds, and experiences. Although stories of ordinary expatriates were less common in *Ebony* and *Jet*, the latter magazine did feature stories of returnees to Africa⁷⁴ and African American missionaries on the continent.⁷⁵

At the same time, the examples in this section demonstrate that many African American expatriates in *Drum* were accomplished individuals and professionals who added to the celebrity vision of African American urban economic progress. The African American expatriates featured in *Drum* strengthened the place of African Americans as exemplars for African urban aspirations and legitimized African participation in urban landscapes. However, it was the magazine’s rags-to-riches stories of African women artists who moved from one urban area to another (see chapter 2) that added merit to the African American stream of *Drum*’s Black upward mobility narrative. The stories of African women and African American expatriates took place in continental urban backdrops and often featured an optimistic tenor of Black urban existence.

AFRICAN WOMEN

African Women in America (Artery D)

Miriam Makeba was among the most recognizable African women in the United States in the early 1960s. We have already seen how advertisers (see

chapter 2) capitalized on Makeba's American connection after her arrival in the country in 1959.⁷⁶ Makeba was introduced to *Jet* readers as "Africa's first jazz import to America,"⁷⁷ and Harry Belafonte, who "discovered her in London," was credited with her success in America.⁷⁸ *Jet* also included Makeba's and Belafonte's television appearances in the weekly media lineup.⁷⁹ *Ebony* covered Makeba's transition to the United States with pictures of her with Belafonte and Odetta.⁸⁰ *Drum*, too, was enthusiastic to draw upon Makeba's American success. A four-and-a-half-page story in April 1960, only months after she arrived in the United States, was its most in-depth.⁸¹

Makeba's rise coincided with an interest in African cultural and fashion exports. *Drum*, for instance, included pictures of local artists when it wrote about the symbolic influence of "'Skokiaan'—the African hit that got to America and topped the international hit parade."⁸² Contributions to fashion via reports of fashion shows in the United States that featured African communities offered an obvious means to bring African glamour to the magazine's pages. One notable event dubbed "Old Africa's" "fling in the world of fashion" was organized by spouses of African diplomats in New York and Washington, DC, with positive press reviews of the "African gowns" on display.⁸³ The same event was also covered in *Ebony Africa*.⁸⁴

Makeba's symbolic status in *Drum* mirrored that of African American stars in the United States and Europe. *Jet's* and *Ebony's* coverage of the star placed her alongside African royalty⁸⁵ and heralded her as an African heroine.⁸⁶ Makeba also appeared on the cover of *Ebony Africa*, sharing her conviction to uproot apartheid.⁸⁷ The publicity also revealed cracks in the Pan-African cloak with which her accomplishments were celebrated. In 1968, the icon sought to establish a "dress boutique" in the Bahamas, where she had performed at the inauguration ceremony for Prime Minister Lynden Pindling.⁸⁸ Following media reports of her engagement to Stokely Carmichael,⁸⁹ Makeba writes that she was summoned by Pindling, who told her, "You must get out of the Bahamas."⁹⁰ Pindling characterized Carmichael as an "American revolutionary" who was "banned" from "the British Commonwealth," of which the island nation was a member. Although shaken and brought to tears, Makeba describes her resolve: "But there is one thing I can do: I can leave this horrible place right away. I pack my bags—the entire inventory of the shop. . . . I cannot believe that a black-ruled country would do this to me. They used me. They used my name, and they had me sing at the inauguration. I get on the plane to New York, and I say I will never go back to the Bahamas ever again." In setting up her business, Makeba had sought to capitalize

on “the country’s efforts to attract black businesses” and had identified an unnamed source for garments to design and stock her store, “a very talented lady from Trinidad who designed beautiful clothes in the local style.”⁹¹

In keeping with its focus on Black women’s beauty and appearance, the magazine reported the triumphs of African women as beauty queens and models in the United States. A former “Miss Durban” was reported to have taken part in a “Battle of Beauty against American sweeties” at a “Miss Civic Queen” contest in Long Island, where she finished in second place. The magazine noted that she was married to an American naval officer and that since her arrival in 1956, she had “been housewifing in snazzy Long Island.”⁹²

Experiences of African women in America included both prominent and ordinary persons. The importance of the visibility of women in the latter category is underscored by cultural studies scholar Patricia Davis. Davis observes the resistance strategy taken up by Black female Civil War reenactors who view the popularity of “Harriet Tubman or Sojourner Truth” as proof of “white male attempts to maintain the status quo by defining black women.”⁹³ The reenactors challenge this practice by intentionally representing stories of less distinguished Black women.

The magazine’s feature of Opral Benson, the Liberian-born wife of a Nigerian cabinet minister (discussed in greater detail in the next chapter), emphasized that she had earned “degrees from two famous American universities.”⁹⁴ Opral’s undergraduate and graduate degrees were both from Atlanta’s Morris Brown College, a historically Black college founded in 1881. She also attended a four-month leadership management development course at the University of Pittsburg in 1962.⁹⁵ In its profile of a cohort of Nairobi’s professional women, reflections of African Americans were offered by a Kenyan who had recently spent a couple of months vacationing in Chicago. The magazine reported that African Americans “call each other brothers and sisters.” Agnes (no last name provided) went on to note, “They are lovely and friendly, too.” She reported that the African Americans she encountered “claimed that their ancestors” had contact with Kenya before being forcibly taken to enslavement in the United States. She concluded, “They loved Kenyans because they regarded them as their brothers and sisters historically.”⁹⁶ While African women in the United States were few, their experiences were important in order to make accessible the land from which *Drum* had mined Black glamour and urban success.

Drum’s efforts to report on African women in the United States had similar goals to those undertaken by *Ebony* and *Jet*: the celebration and elevation of the accomplishments of Africans and the cultivation of a sense of affinity

with the continent and advocacy for action against ongoing injustices like apartheid and European colonial subjugation. *Ebony's* focus on Makeba and prominent African leaders achieves many of these goals. *Jet*, on the other hand, even appears to celebrate ordinary African American and African couples with its inclusion of a story of a wedding between an African American bride and her Nigerian husband.⁹⁷ A nod is given to African acts appearing on American television⁹⁸ and in venues around the country,⁹⁹ and reviews in the magazine also feature African-filmed movies; in addition, African tribal warrior skills that enhanced awareness of African culture also appear in *Jet*.¹⁰⁰ Prominent African ambassadors stationed in New York appeared in *Ebony Africa's* section "Favorite American Food," where younger family members introduced their families to beef burgers¹⁰¹ and fried chicken.¹⁰²

Jet focuses on the distinct experiences of African women, for instance, advancing the idea that American movies have changed African women's romantic expectations.¹⁰³ Examples of cooperative development efforts between African Americans and Africans were pronounced in *Ebony* and *Ebony Africa*. The National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) reappears as a key supporter of African women's pioneering efforts in politics, medicine, and so forth. For instance, the magazine featured photos of Dr. Elizabeth Abimbola Awoliyi, the lead obstetric gynecologist at Lagos Hospital, with NCNW leaders of the organization's Washington, DC, branch.¹⁰⁴ In the political sphere, the magazine elevated a few exemplars. Lucy Lameck of Tanganyika was one. Lameck's "coast-to-coast tour of U.S. Negro communities" was made possible with support from Delta Sigma Theta. A member of Julius Nyerere's Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), Lameck had political ambitions, readers learned, as a prospective parliamentary candidate in the country's first election.¹⁰⁵ Such stories emphasized that the many firsts of *femme UrbAfricana* were also a result of transnational cooperation and global Black sisterhood.

Africans in Europe (Artery E)

Drum's most prominent discussion of Africans in Europe occurred during the 1953 coronation of Queen Elizabeth II. In the July issue, the magazine featured a coronation delegate and deputized *Drum* correspondent, Wendy Mpshane from Krugersdorp. In the following month's issue, readers discovered she had attended the ceremony as a delegate of the "Transvaal Girls' Clubs."¹⁰⁶ Coronation reporting also included a short feature and pictures detailing the pre-coronation visit of various African royals at Buckingham

Palace.¹⁰⁷ An in-depth feature examining the experiences of African immigrants in Britain was included in the August 1953 issue. The bulk of *Drum* stories of African immigrant women in Europe, however, occurred during the mid- to late 1960s.

Europe was a top destination for up-and-coming African female artists. Among them was Sierra Leone's Rose Small and her group, the Heartbeat Band, who were bound for a tour of "West Germany and other European countries."¹⁰⁸ Features emphasized a longing for home and strategies used by African female artists to maintain aspects of their identities while living in Europe. With few exceptions, much of *Drum's* coverage of the lives of African and Black Caribbean women in Europe was confined to London. Historian Marc Matera emphasizes that the city played a principal role in "organizing people of African descent into a transnational force in the making of a world after empire."¹⁰⁹ Based on an analysis of life in Black London between 1919 and 1949, Matera asserts that "intellectual production, and political organizing" were vital activities of African and Caribbean migrant communities while they negotiated life in the city.¹¹⁰

As a whole, members of Africa-descended migrant communities in Britain "pooled together their experiences, mentored each other, and collectively grappled with the tumultuous political climate of the late twentieth century."¹¹¹ As the Pan-Africanist movement took root in Britain, however, the "exclusion of women and girls within Pan-African discourse" became more pronounced. Women turned to adaptive strategies like those used by pioneers in African colonial cities—the establishment of gender-segregated social organizations—as a way to ensure successful urban citizenship and participation. The women also infiltrated male-dominated social groups (e.g., the West African Students Union), and some even rose to prominent leadership roles. Women leaders also responded by forming their own associations, intent on helping to "safeguard the position of women in the movement."¹¹² For example, the Nigerian Women's League focused their efforts on supporting women's progress in London and their home countries. As such, Black women's organizing in London was transnational and transcended "barriers of class, ethnicity, and colony."¹¹³

Despite the evident import of Black women's political work in London and in their native countries, Matera rightly points out that scholars have persisted in the "elision of black feminists' activities," instead calling to prominence the activities of their male counterparts. (Recent academic efforts, such as historian Joel Cabrita's book, *Written Out: The Silencing of Regina Gelana*

Twala, offer a long overdue and welcome attention to Black women's political contributions.) Incontrovertibly, the erasure of Black women's contributions occurred too in the very political contexts they sought to transform, and much to the heartbreak of some, including *Twala*, "their disappearing from the annals of anticolonial pan-Africanism began during their lifetimes." One consequence of women's expunction, Matera adds, is the invisibility of the internal workings of "gender and sexual politics of black anticolonialism" privileging "masculinist expressions and forms of political struggles" as the principal expressions of Black resistance.¹¹⁴

Matera notes that African and Black Caribbean women's activities in interwar London "reveal oblique intersections of women-qua-women politics and black internationalism."¹¹⁵ *Drum*, however, provided limited visibility to women's political work, choosing instead to situate women's efforts as supplemental to those of Black male nationalists. Further, *Drum*'s propinquity to Black London produces only a narrow view of Black women's activities in the imperial capital. Although the magazine's reporting detaches from the organized political work of Black women highlighted by Matera's study, *Drum* offers readers a surface-level framing of the London life of African and Black Caribbean women. Most of the women possess modest aspirations of success as entertainers or models. These benign ambitions are constructed for readers to align with traditional gender expectations of heterosexual love, marriage, and parenthood. Through the symbolic exclusion of these gendered political identities and related activities, *Drum* establishes an acceptable appropriate transnational urban credibility with its readers. That is, by ignoring the political climate and racial discrimination in London, *Drum* sustains a similar approach for diaspora women as it does for their counterparts on the continent: It deemphasizes their political identities even as it seeks to capture the political pulse of Black audiences in Africa and across the African diaspora. The magazine presented its own preferred narrative of African and Black Caribbean women in London.

The magazine demystified London with references to various locations around the city—Washington Hotel, Saville Theatre, Knightsbridge—painting for readers a lively and exciting backdrop for African women's aspirations. *Drum* also sought to offer readers an honest look at the broader experience of Africans in the city. In 1967, *Drum* featured an interracial couple (a black man and a white woman) at what appears to be a royal event on the cover for what the magazine described as "the most comprehensive report *Drum* has ever published on what it is like to be Black in Britain." One of the feature

pictures was that of a “Nigerian wedding,” with the newlyweds and several attendees posing at the church entrance. Several white teen onlookers were also pictured. The magazine acknowledged the inquisitive tension of a group of white boys peeking at the couple as their relatives waited for them inside the church. The magazine summarized the diverse paths that led migrants to Britain: “Some come to revel in the last flowering of a decaying empire; some stay because they have to; some come to study; some to take refuge.”¹¹⁶

Drum’s features of African women in London were colorful and energetic, indicating successful urban lives. On occasion, the magazine also commented on African women’s interactions with white women. One Ghanaian native who was ardently “tasting the spice of London life” was pictured allegedly conversing with “a British housewife about the eternal problems of women kind, shopping, washing, babies, and men!”¹¹⁷ African women in London provided a distinct flavor of both exotic and familiar glamour. Readers were told that “London life is full of action” for Gambian-born teen cover girl Anne-Marie N’Dure.¹¹⁸ When Marie Hallowi from Nigeria, born to a Fulani mother and a Lebanese father, appeared on the *Drum* cover, the magazine noted that she “thrives on London life, but hopes to return sometime to her Northern Nigerian home.”¹¹⁹ Nostalgic longings for home invoked a sense of pride and connection with readers on the continent. Despite N’Dure’s exciting London life, the magazine shared with readers, “‘But oh,’ she adds a little wistfully, ‘I do miss home very much.’”¹²⁰

In addition to nostalgia, experiences of African-born models emphasized their origins and hypervisibility in white-majority spaces. In the N’Dure feature, the magazine remarked that “her dark skin and exotic appearance is already getting her television parts—she has now been cast in one of the most popular British secret agent series—*The Avengers*—followed by millions of viewers every Friday night.”¹²¹ *The Avengers* was a popular television series between 1961 and 1969. The magazine went on to highlight Hallowi’s token status: “She has also been photographed for women’s magazines who like to contrast her dark hair and eyes against the blonde models from Britain.”¹²² A Rhodesian nurse-turned-model who had “slipped out of Mr. [Ian] Smith’s beleaguered country” earned the distinction of being “the only African model in Britain” in 1968.¹²³ For *Drum* readers, reports of African models in London provided a sense of what life in the city offered a young Black woman. For instance, Hallowi, readers discovered, “lives in a plushy flat a stone’s throw away from Chelsea’s famous Kings Road where the girls in their minis bring the traffic to a halt. And Marie can out mini them all.”¹²⁴

As the host city of the Miss World beauty competition, London was also referenced several times as a destination for hopeful beauty queens. The successes of former African beauty queens in Europe strengthened *Drum's* *femme urbAfricana* focus on beauty and appearance. One story about cover girl and former Miss Sierra Leone Charlotte Greene revealed that she was a highly sought-after model who had found success in "London and Paris, and recently paid a flying trip to New York."¹²⁵ Miss Tanzania was also pictured in London in 1968.¹²⁶

In its generous profile of Ugandan-born model, singer, and *Drum* cover girl Constance Mulondo, the magazine reported that she was "being coached in London and is in great demand at balls and other functions, where she gives the guests a taste of genuine African rhythm."¹²⁷ Stories of African-born women were augmented by successes of London-born beauties of African heritage. Singer Shirley Bassey, the daughter of West African and British parents, was among them.¹²⁸ These narratives of London successes suggested Black women were thriving in the city's modeling and performance industries by virtue of their good looks and tenacity.

Narratives of African women's successes in London highlighted their pioneering efforts in professional spaces that were nonexistent in their native countries. For instance, standout Actor's Workshop alumna and *Drum* cover girl Cilla Salama from Meru, Kenya, told readers, "At home they just don't encourage girls to become actresses; in fact some people think acting is immoral!"¹²⁹ Another aspiring actor was Nigerian-born Minah "Bird" Uko, who had a part in the film *The Magic Christian* (1969).¹³⁰ Pioneering speech therapist and Kumasi native Elizabeth Adare was one of the women featured in the BBC radio program *Break for Women*, which explored opportunities and career resources for women.¹³¹ The magazine reported about Catharine Mboya, deputy leader of Maendeleo ya Wanawake, an organization founded in the 1950s by white female British colonial government officers to promote the welfare of African females,¹³² who regularly represented the organization at affiliated meetings in Europe.¹³³ *Drum* also wrote of cover girl and future contributor Anne Placido's experience in Europe, where she had traveled "as a journalist and photographic and fashion model."¹³⁴

Drum continued to sustain the male gaze by emphasizing the romantic availability of African women in Europe to heterosexual male readers: "A busy and talented girl—and still single, fellas!"¹³⁵ Further, as stand-ins for their proud native nations, beautiful women were frequently objectified. In one instance, the magazine introduced its cover girl, Zambian teenage beauty

Marguerite Boulware, as follows: "Although it must be pleased about its copper exports, one product Zambia must surely be sad to see the back of is our June cover."¹³⁶ *Drum's* featurette described Marguerite's departure from Zambia to Italy and her success as an aspiring musician and Majorca-based model. Another way that *Drum* highlighted the African-European connection was with stories of African women who had spent time in London training as models, actors, and fashion designers before returning to their native countries.¹³⁷ After successful modeling careers in Europe, some models expressed a desire to return and contribute to the fashion industries in their native countries.¹³⁸ The influential Ghanaian designer Chez Julie was one such example. *Drum* reliably emphasized her training in Paris, thus elevating the pedigree of her professional credentials.¹³⁹

African women in Europe were overrepresented as cover girls who had attained or were still hoping to attain professional success as models, actors, or entertainers. This focus emphasized beauty, appearance, tokenization, and success in white-dominated spaces. *Drum* emphasized the native heritage of African women in Europe, but to a lesser extent than it did for Black Caribbean women in Europe.

Black Caribbean Women in Europe via the Caribbean (Arteries F and G)

Trinidadian-born performer and scholar Pearl Primus, who appeared in the January 1952 issue, was among the earliest Black Caribbean women to appear in *Drum*.¹⁴⁰ The presence of Black Caribbean women, however, remained low during the *Drum* decade, and it was not until the mid-1960s that they appear frequently as cover girls, marking a visible increase in representation. Similar to African women in Europe, for Black Caribbean women in Europe, the tapestry of their urban success was woven from opportunities in London, where the women could gain access to European jobs.¹⁴¹ *Drum* highlighted several stories of Black Caribbean women who had taken their success beyond Britain. One Jamaican-born entertainer whom readers discovered was now "permanently in England, or so she is when she is not flitting across Europe with her latest night club act."¹⁴² Similar to the appeal it had among African women, Europe earned its place as the favored destination for aspiring Black Caribbean models because "over there the coloured girl is something new. There is too much competition in London. But over there you are a novelty. They always ask you to come back."¹⁴³ The reference to "too much competition" points to the limited opportunities for Black women converging in London in the mid-1960s and early 1970s.

Black Caribbean women featured in *Drum* were often young and included both recent arrivals and those with well-established urban roots.¹⁴⁴ Brief allusions to the women's native island nations signaled their West Indian heritage as they amalgamated into *Drum's femme urbAfricana*. The lion's share of *Drum's* coverage of Black Caribbean women went to those with Jamaican heritage. The women opened readers' eyes to island living. One model, Nikki, from the capital, Kingston, told readers, "Jamaica is really fantastic. There's so much to do: water-skiing, surfing, swimming, or just lazing in the sun. I really love the life!" And Nikki's eyes shine at the thought of returning to Jamaica, maybe to work in television, in the not-too-distant future."¹⁴⁵ Nikki's longing for home and desire to return is a rare instance of Black Caribbean women's nostalgia for and intent to return to their native island nations.

Although many Black Caribbean women had arrived in Britain as adolescents, *Drum* sought to present them to readers as independent adults. For example, the magazine remarked that travel-loving 1967 cover girl and "swinging West Indian model Christine Bradley" was "a girl who enjoys the fast pace of modern life." She was pictured wearing "easy-on-the-eye trouser suits," which *Drum* added were "her favorite leisure wear around her parents' home."¹⁴⁶ Notwithstanding the intimation that Bradley still lived at home with her parents, *Drum* reliably delved into her romantic interests: "Boy friends?" Another Black Caribbean beauty who arrived as a teenager was "a pretty girl with a mind on far-away places—that's DRUM's Miss October, 21-year-old Faith Kerr." The magazine added that "Faith was born in Jamaica and spent most of her young years in Kingston before joining her family in the United Kingdom four years ago!"¹⁴⁷ Other women arrived in Britain in their early twenties, some leaving behind admirable professional careers in their native countries. As geographer Tariq Jazeel observes, women who emigrated from British colonies to the imperial capital did so because of "affluence, upward mobility and colonized respectable status" factors incurred from their social standing in their countries of origin.¹⁴⁸ The magazine observed the change in fortunes for Annette Dee, a former math teacher from Trinidad, who would shock her former students "if they saw teacher at work today, for DRUM's Miss November has put away her exercise books for a livelier occupation—that of a soul singer!"¹⁴⁹ Guyanese native and *Drum* cover girl Veronica Pieters told the magazine that she pursued a career in modeling after her father objected to her ambition to become an actress.¹⁵⁰

Features of Black Caribbean women provided rhapsodic appraisals of life in London. "Fresh from sun soaked Jamaica when she was only thirteen,"

Drum reported, model and actress Rosemarie Thompson had “taken a chunk out of London life and has made it her very own.” On her opinion of life in London, she said, “I like just everything. I’m just happy.”¹⁵¹ Aside from talent and grit, success for Black Caribbean women in London, such as actress and singer Marjorie Michelle, was attributed to good looks: “Since she arrived in Britain from Jamaica in 1963, Marjorie’s vivacious good looks have earned her appearances on stage and television.”¹⁵² *Drum*’s cover girls described various strategies for adjusting to London life (and weather). Among them was the enjoyment of a hearty helping of home-cooked “rice and peas.” According to Barbadian-born cover girl Cecilia Boxill, the comfort food was necessary to “keep out the cold of the English winter.”¹⁵³ Except in a few instances, the broader context of limited economic opportunities, racism, discrimination, or stagnant urban mobility was lacking in many of *Drum*’s features of Afro-descended women in Europe, and specifically for Black Caribbean women in London. The few deviations hinted at the economic precarity of new migrants with details such as the multiple jobs aspiring Black Caribbean women entertainers took on in order to make a living.¹⁵⁴

The journey of one Jamaican-born cover girl and aspiring actor went like this: She “came to Britain to study nursing, but now combines her studies with a job—she works for London Transport on bus route No. 246.”¹⁵⁵ One model expressed the difficulty in accessing appropriate skin-care products for success in modeling or acting. Jamaican-born Rema Nelson told the magazine that the sole challenge she faced in London was “only cosmetics, for in England there are a few suitable powder and lipstick shades for coloured girls, and the American cosmetics available are very expensive.”¹⁵⁶

Stories of outstanding professional achievements of Black Caribbean women in London provided exemplars for readers. One of London’s Black Caribbean stars was Jamaican-born actress, singer, and designer Beryl Cunningham. Beryl and Sylvana Henriques (who later appeared in two James Bond films) were introduced to readers in a double cover feature as the “two girls who help keep London’s fashion world spinning on its axis.” Cunningham owned and operated Botega 85, a boutique catering to high-society African clients including “Juliet Sarkodee Adoo, daughter of the Chief Justice of Ghana,” and “Miss Almaz Hazan niece of the Emperor of Ethiopia.” Following in the pioneering path of other professional African women, Beryl found her stride as a fashion designer, “when she came to the conclusion that African and West Indian girls were not enough aware of modern trends.”¹⁵⁷

Such stories of professional success added to London’s hospitality to

Black women in three ways. First, they recognized entrepreneurship as a path for Black women. Cunningham and Henriques had both found success as models and actresses before venturing into fashion. Many aspiring beauty queens, models, and entertainers may have read these stories as validation of their own dreams. Second, the magazine, by profiling a successful business that was meeting the needs of Black women in urban areas, legitimized them as consumers. Third, the emphasis on career success dissociated Black women's bodies from professions, such as sex work, that lowered their status in London or their native countries.

Nurses were also among the magazine's London-based career women and cover girls. In his study of African and Caribbean women in Paris in the three decades after World War I, African diaspora scholar Félix Germain observes that Caribbean women in Paris endured harmful stereotypes that cast them as "sensuous" "Jezebels" and were treated by administrators as "black colonial subjects."¹⁵⁸ The women's economic opportunities, Germain further notes, were limited to low-wage positions as domestic workers and health aides (not nurses as many had hoped), hardly sturdy ladders toward social mobility. One *Drum* beauty, "glamorous Geneva Robinson," a native of Jamaica per the magazine's characteristic rooting in native identity, was a trained nurse with grand ambitions "to make it to the top of the modelling world."¹⁵⁹

Germain observes that the exploitation of Caribbean women abroad became political fodder for eager male Caribbean nationalists who used it as a platform to agitate for self-governance. Germain demonstrates that nationalists took participation of women in prostitution to represent "the continuation of colonialism, albeit with colonial subjects now living in the metropole."¹⁶⁰ Black migrant women in Paris, according to Germain, resisted and surpassed these negative stereotypes by "working hard, and especially by constructing new identities."¹⁶¹ In their ability to supersede negative urban citizenry and nurture women's upward mobility prospects beyond the limiting material confines of the imperial metropolis, career success stories of Black women in *Drum* opened up symbolic novel inspirational individualities. In his analysis of images of successful African Americans in *Zonk!* Grant argues that they served a larger purpose for readers "to imagine new individual and collective identities that destabilized the racist logic of the apartheid state."¹⁶² In *Drum*, *femme urbAfricana* as embodied by professional Black Caribbean women enlists them, too, in this subversive purpose.

Amid the preponderance of stories of career success in urban environments, however, Black Caribbean women featured in *Drum* were unsurpris-

ingly cast in domesticity and gender-typed roles. One Jamaican-born nurse and model assured readers that a successful marriage and career were possible: “You’ve got to have a considerate husband,” she says, “but given this, there is no reason why the modern girl should not follow her own career, with her husband’s help and support.”¹⁶³ When *Drum* interviewed “a golden girl from a golden island—23-year-old June Wright, from Barbados,” who had aspirations to “live comfortably, with a nice house and a nice car,” she appears to have successfully rebuffed questions about marriage. “And maybe a nice husband as well, DRUM suggested. But June isn’t saying!”¹⁶⁴

Drum maintained publication releases for its Britain-based cover models. In a humbly titled “Approval of Publication,” the magazine collected brief autobiographical information that included date of arrival to England, family composition, native city and country of birth, hobbies, and favorite music, food, and drinks. The London life of one aspiring cover girl from Jamaica was summarized as follows:

Born Montego Bay, Jamaica [DD.MM].50.

Came to England [DD.MM].67, to join parents in England. Two brothers still in Jamaica.

Likes clothes. Has six trouser suits.

Goes dancing occasionally. Wants to be a model and singer. Has singing lesson every week. Digs the soul scene. Favourite singers Lulu, Johnny Nash

Food: beef curry. Drink: sweet Martini.¹⁶⁵

The consent form comprised twenty-six words: “I [signature line] agree to the publication of my colour photograph on the cover of DRUM throughout Africa, and further agree to the inclusive fee of five guineas.”¹⁶⁶ Original copies of releases include handwritten signatures of models. No archival evidence was present to indicate that cover girls from *Drum*’s various African markets were compensated for the use of their images. Most African women, as has been discussed elsewhere, provided their images for a chance to become sought-after beauty queens, performers, or advertising models.

With Black Caribbean women, *Drum* sustained its celebration of and claim to discoveries of Black beauties from the diasporic frontier. For instance, *Drum* proudly informed readers of its latest find, Trinidadian beauty Helen de Coteau (see figure 24), who inspired comparison to “Helen of Troy,” adding, “Now we have discovered another Helen and put her on Drum cover for all our readers to see.”¹⁶⁷ The physical presence of beauties at the maga-

zine's offices in London maintained the magazine's legitimacy as an affirming space for women. A report of a visit by Jamaican-born cover girl Rosemarie Thompson described her as "an old friend of *Drum*. . . . One of those girls who keep popping back to make the office messenger miss a heartbeat and to distract your editor's concentration."¹⁶⁸ Apart from Thompson's visit, the magazine admitted, however, that unlike its Johannesburg office, its London outpost had endured fewer "invasions" from glamorous beauties.

Many Black Caribbean women featured in *Drum* also held "a string of beauty titles,"¹⁶⁹ including several winners of pageants organized by the West Indian National Association (WINA), an organization founded by Black Caribbean women in the north London neighborhood of St. Ann's. The organization "helped newly arriving West Indians to find a place to live and work, and gave them appropriate clothing." The organization also purchased a permanent home, from where it organized "wide-reaching community projects" for various age groups.¹⁷⁰ Similar to experiences of African and Black Caribbean women, South Asian women, according to scholar Tariq Jazeel, benefited from the important role of self-organized groups such as the Sri Lankan Women's Association in the UK in supporting women's transition and success in London. In conceptualizing postcolonial migrations of these South Asian women to Britain, Jazeel uses the phrase "gendered postcolonial geographies of privilege" to describe the emergent tensions of women negotiating colonial subjectivities and postcolonial diasporic identities in a racialized and gendered urban context.

St. Ann's, according to sociologist Lisa Mckenzie, "began life as the place where the poorest—and, usually, those who were considered the most distasteful—of the city's population resided."¹⁷¹ In the late 1900s, it was populated by Irish, Scottish, and Welsh immigrant communities in great need of the cheap and informal housing alternatives it offered. Like the postwar influx of Africans to urban areas on the African continent, St. Ann's saw an influx of predominantly Jamaican migrants from the West Indies in the 1950s and 1960s. Another London neighborhood, The Meadows, was home to migrants from "Barbados, Dominica, Trinidad, [and] St Lucia."¹⁷² The migration of West Indians to London followed the gendered patterns observed in African cities, with men arriving first and women following later. After 1968, immigration by Caribbean migrants sharply declined following the passage of the Immigration Act.

Claudia Tomlinson contends that in the 1950s and 1960s, a "predominant racialised anti-Blackness culture in Britain" created a harsh reality for West



Helen of Troy had a face that launched a thousand ships. Her beauty was such that writers are still inspired by her even today. Now we have discovered another Helen and put her on Drum cover for all our readers to see. Helen de Coteau is a whisp of feminine grace from Port of Spain, Trinidad. James Barrow first saw her through his camera lens at the "West Indian Students Union" beauty contest, held in London. Though she was but one

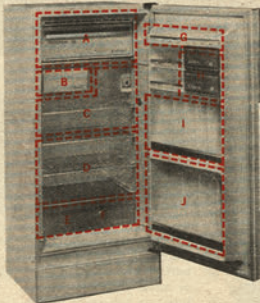
of a bevy of beauty we knew from the start that she would be the winner.

The contest was compered with enthusiastic professionalism by Miss Sandra Benjamin. As the delicate talent tripped onto the dais to the applause of the male students, it became increasingly clear that the young 17-year-old Helen would win the title. And so she did. From there it was but a small step to the Drum cover.

Another Helen!



How does Westinghouse keep these foods happy?



Here's how.

We've designed this refrigerator so that each type of food has a special section. And each section has the correct temperature and humidity to keep food sweet and wholesome. The way your family likes it.

For instance, meat stays in butcher-shop condition for seven full days in the meat keeper. The vegetable crisper has a moist-cold which keeps celery crackling.

And butter stays spreadable and fruit salad stays edible.

So cheer up your foods. Put them in a Westinghouse refrigerator.

Westinghouse International, N. Y.

You can be sure if it's Westinghouse 



Fig. 24. "Another Helen!" (Drum, November 1967)
(Photo credit: Drum Magazine / BAHA / african.pictures.)

Indians that resulted in “barriers in employment, housing, social and leisure facilities and being subject to overt attacks.”¹⁷³ Black men in St. Ann’s faced race-based job discrimination and endured hostilities from “the white Teddy Boys from Nottingham” on account of their interest, actual or alleged, in dating white women.¹⁷⁴ Against this hostile backdrop, residents of St. Ann’s created an affirming community with “food stores selling West Indian produce, their own churches, and the illegal and notorious shebeens (illegal gambling, drinking and dancing parties, later known as blues clubs).”¹⁷⁵ As “the only organisation in Nottingham apart from the local Labour Party who were willing to give assistance to black people,” WINA became a lifeline for many new immigrants.¹⁷⁶ Following a 1958 bloody fracas between the Caribbean migrant and Nottingham communities, a decades-long collaborative initiative by leaders and members of both communities to restore an enduring peaceful coexistence culminated in the transformation in 1968 of WINA to the Afro-Caribbean National Artistic Center, “a social club in St Ann’s where the black community could socialize and engage in education and training.”¹⁷⁷ Like residents of Sophiatown a decade earlier, residents of St. Ann’s faced the loss of their beloved neighborhood, and their earnest efforts to save it were futile. Except for the beauties *Drum* popularized on its pages, the connection between the St. Ann’s community and the former residents of Sophiatown was invisible in the magazine.

In *Drum*’s coverage of Black Caribbean women, however, candid connections to Africa were very much present. In familiar fashion to the connection between Africa and the African and African American diaspora communities, *Drum* activated the nostalgia for the continent among Black Caribbean women by stressing the positive affinity and longing they felt for the continent. Readers discovered that one of them, Thelma Sparks, a Clarendon, Jamaica, native, “would like to visit Africa one day—Ghana especially.”¹⁷⁸ The mention of Ghana is unsurprising; Joseph McLaren observes the “default” status of the West African country as the continent’s “African American site of reconnection.”¹⁷⁹ *Drum*’s *femme urbAfricana* reveals the expansive Afrocentrism as readers appreciate Ghana’s significance for other Black diaspora communities. Sparks revealed that Ghana was her dream destination in Africa on account of the influence of “a friend from Accra” who had convinced her it was a “lovely” place.¹⁸⁰ Lynette Stevenson, another Jamaican-born beauty who kicked off the start of the 1970s as a cover girl, told readers, “I have quite a few African friends and I’d love to go to Nigeria.” Stevenson continued, “And maybe America as well: I’d like to see people and places all

over the world.”¹⁸¹ These examples underscore the importance of friendships and interactions between Africans and Black Caribbeans, revealing the interpersonal cement that anchored both communities in London. It also reveals *Drum*’s interest in amplifying connections between Black Caribbean women in London and its readers in Kenya, Ghana, and Nigeria. Singer Millie Small, a “girl of the month” introduced to *Drum* readers as the “twinkle eyed Jamaican singer,” was among the few Black Caribbean women to realize their desire to visit the continent when she set out on “a great West African tour.”¹⁸²

Black Caribbean cover girls’ longing for Africa was also a product of professional contact with Africans in Europe. For instance, *Drum* shared with readers that “vivacious” Jamaican-born Barbara Barrett was the “one girl who sighs when the big jets take off from London Airport, Africa-bound.” Barrett, according to the magazine, “always had an ambition to visit Africa—and she has worked at two African High Commissions in London to prove it!”¹⁸³ However fallacious or sincere, the inclusion of such yearnings for Africa allowed *Drum* to produce a complex matrix of African nostalgia, which enhanced the collective sense of solidarity, kinship, and affinity among the Afro-descended women it brought together on its pages, that is, *femme urbAfricana*.

CONCLUSION

An analysis of *Drum*’s effort to globalize *femme urbAfricana* demonstrates the magazine’s strategies to establish a network of urban realities across national borders. The urban accomplishments of the women discussed in this chapter sustained an urban-bound upward socioeconomic mobility. The connective tissue of these disparate diasporic realities is a longing for Africa as a lost home, distant home, or prospective new home for Afro-descended women. *Drum* sustained these interlinked narratives by activating the lived experiences of Black women in the United States, the United Kingdom, the Caribbean nations, and Europe. Ruth Feldstein’s analysis of Black female entertainers during the civil rights era convincingly demonstrates a public recognition of the activist efforts of Miriam Makeba, Nina Simone, and others; and yet, a profound absence of African and Black Caribbean women’s political labors in *Drum* remained.¹⁸⁴

The magazine also magnified African women’s experiences across the United States, the United Kingdom, and Europe; these efforts are seen to a lesser extent in *Jet* and *Ebony*. *Drum*’s success lies in its innovation of African

glamour by aligning and augmenting it with the precedent set by African American women in these magazines. Additionally, as the archival record shows, *Drum*'s intentional curation of Black Caribbean women's experiences and emphasis on nostalgia among them for the continent is unique. Further, *Drum* cultivates notions of Black women's friendships in the diaspora outside of formal organizations such as the Black sororities. The presence of a *Drum* edition for the North American and West Indies markets, as well as the establishment of *Ebony Africa* in March 1964, further strengthens the *femme urbAfricana* transnational dialogic model, potentially adding new arteries to examine how visual regimes operate in these new spaces. *Ebony Africa* was sold in France and in eleven African regions or countries: Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Nigeria, Nyasaland (Malawi), Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Sierra Leone, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar. As the political landscape shifted toward African independence from former colonial powers, and as it faced competition in the post-independence era, *Drum* sought to foreground the accomplishments of Black urban women within national boundaries. The magazine achieved this by making *femme urbAfricana* relevant through new models: the proud citizens of newly independent nations and their proud urban centers.

CHAPTER 5

Freedom Beauties

As African nations attained hard-won independence, new models of *femme urbAfricana* emerged. They represented the growing presence of African women in urban, public, and political life as well as the achievements and aspirations that would arise from new economic and professional opportunities after independence. *Drum* sought to tell the story of this new chapter of Black urban femininity, or *femme urbAfricana*, with profiles and images of prominent female politicians, wives of prominent male nationalists, inaugural first ladies, national beauty queens, and pioneering professional women. I argue that with these new actors, *Drum* transforms *femme urbAfricana* from a commodified female body into a commodified stand-in for the independent or soon-to-be independent modern nation, its proud capital, and orbiter urban centers. Analysis of the magazine's content reveals that during this period, prominent female nationalists, among them Tanzania's Bibi Titi Mohamed and Kenya's Margaret Kenyatta, shared space, albeit inequitably, with their male counterparts to reinforce the message that women, in their domestic roles to the nation, were at the forefront of the Pan-African and pro-independence agenda. On the magazine's pages, however, the ingress of independence was on a collision course with the in-your-face indulgence of performativity and the spectacle of beauty of *Drum's femme urbAfricana*. What resulted was an effort to ensure that African independence brought with it the hard-earned glamour of Black beauty from past years to take into the freedom era of the mid- to late 1960s. As the magazine sought to galvanize anti-colonial resistance, signal African countries' progress toward development, and highlight the African women's arrival on the global stage, *femme urbAfricana's* political, urban, and heteronormative traits as women's appearance took on stronger importance.

Drum's Anglophone markets marched into independence during the magazine's second decade of existence, and its coverage of the states' political maturity during this period is well-documented. Ghana led the way in 1957, and other countries followed not far behind, with Nigeria, Uganda, Kenya, Malawi, Tanzania, and Zambia all gaining independence before 1965. During this time, the magazine continued its focus on African urban womanhood; only now this focus was enhanced by the prevailing Pan-Africanist sensibility. Features in regional versions spoke to shifting gender roles. When discussing developments in Northern Nigeria, *Drum* included a picture of three women at a pool in swimwear, labeling them the "Tradition Breakers" in the otherwise conservative part of the country.¹ Among its various markets, the magazine had maintained a single regional version for East Africa, creating a super issue that sought to capture the varied fortunes of African women in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika (later, Tanzania). An analysis of this issue presents an opportunity to examine the magazine's pivot in post-independence African nations.

DRUM CELEBRATES AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE

Drum congratulated newly independent states with a Season's Greetings message in 1963: "To the free countries of our Continent, may the New Year bring new prosperity." *Drum* also sent a message to those still fighting for self-governance: "To those who are oppressed, may 1964 bring hope." The messages were accompanied by photos taken by Christian Gbabgo of "Miss Victoria Yamak, of Accra, who is half Asante and half Lebanese. Let the Spirit of Christmas, 1963, be just as radiant!"² *Drum* marked the independence of "three new independent giants," Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika, with "plans to build a bigger and better" "new East Africa *Drum*."³ Two years later, following Malawi's and Zambia's independence, the East African *Drum* became the main issue for both East and Central Africa.

With this new edition, the magazine indicated it could "now play a great part in bringing together Africans from East and Central Africa while allowing the same amount of space to Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania as they always had." Beyond uniting readers from the two regions, *Drum* reiterated its longstanding progressive and pro-democratic stance: "Our policy will remain unchanged, supporting good and democratic government based on one man one vote, and racial equality everywhere."⁴ *Drum* celebrated rising male

nationalist leaders and government officials, including Kenyan politician Ronald Ngala, in its picture portrait series called “A Picture to Decorate Your Home.”⁵ Another noticeable change in this period was the shift around 1964 in language referring to African Americans from “Negro” to “Afro-American.” Like it had done during its early years, *Drum’s femme urbAfricana* relied on the sound of the emerging African city to anchor its vibrant yet paradoxically Afrocentric outlook. When Miriam Makeba visited Nairobi during a charity trip principally arranged by Labor Minister Tom Mboya, the magazine offered generous coverage of the star. Among Makeba’s welcoming party was the “lovely” Pamela Mboya. “And there was a familiar face, too, Rhodesia’s famous Dorothy Masuka, currently hitting it high at Nairobi’s swank Equator night club.”⁶ To emphasize urban success, stories of aspiring entertainers in African cities peppered the magazine.⁷ In one profile, *Drum* reported on a contest put on by the Kenya National Union of Musicians in which various groups competed for the Phonogram Challenge Trophy. Held at the Kenya Polytechnic, it was the country’s biggest band competition, with contenders such as Super Mambo Jazz, City Brothers Band, Super Hodi Boys, Sombrero Band, African Orbit Band, Cavaliers Band, Hi-Five “B” Band, Hodi Boys, the Golden Five Band, Air Fiesta Band, Bamboo Band, and Hi-Five Proper.⁸

The magazine’s endorsement of Pan-Africanism was two-pronged. On the one hand, *Drum* celebrated the prominent male nationalists’ political activism and popularity, often including images of rallies and meetings. On the other hand, the magazine celebrated prominent women as state beauties who symbolized the nation and the aspirations of newly independent citizens. *Drum’s* attention to women’s issues in East Africa showed a marked increase in this period. One contributing factor may be the arrival of new journals such as *Transition* and the *East Africa Journal (EAJ)*.

Both the *EAJ* and *Transition* included content that covered a broad range of topics of interest to broad audiences; their commitment to the East African region, however, was unmistakable. The *EAJ*, edited by Bethwell Ogot, originated with the East African Institute of Social and Cultural Affairs. The *EAJ* was similar to *Drum* in its role as a pioneer of literary space in East Africa. The journal achieved this with literary contests open only to citizens of the region, publication of creative works of young artists including pupils and university students,⁹ and most formally its biannual literary edition, *Ghala*. Another similarity to *Drum* was in its focus on political discourse across the region. The *EAJ* noted important developments, or lack thereof, of East African women’s political organizing. The magazine applauded the creation

of the Uganda Association of Women's Organisations, bringing together the interests of ten formerly distinct entities. Meanwhile, efforts across the border received a reproving commentary: "While Kenyans debate—and not too seriously—about the time when women may even aspire to sit in Parliament, the Ugandan females are moving forward."¹⁰

As a creative outlet for female authors, the *EAJ* featured numerous female writers' contributions to its mission to offer "a forum for the discussion of issues and problems affecting the whole of East Africa."¹¹ The journal's female authors included pioneers who embodied *femme urbAfricana's* professional success, such as Josephine Namboze, the region's first female physician, who appeared in the debut issue in 1964.¹² Women authors were credited for numerous book reviews,¹³ and their own works were frequently the subject of critique.¹⁴

Women were also acknowledged as members of the journal's esteemed board of governors and included Bibi Titi Mohamed, then serving as a deputy minister for "Community Development and National Culture"¹⁵ and later also identified as the president of Umoja wa Wanawake, a national organization formed in the early 1960s to advance women's progress in Tanzania and that aligned itself with the country's ruling parties, TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) and later CCM (Chama Cha Mapinduzi). The magazine's literary issue, *Ghala*, was peppered with creative works by female-identified authors. Their brief biographies recognized rising stars, including Grace Ogot, expatriate contributors, partners of prominent partners, and novices. One regular contributor, Marjorie Oludhe-Macgoye, the journal noted, was "a spirited contributor to local magazines" and "prefers to be known as a housewife."¹⁶ Oludhe-Macgoye went on to serve as manager of the "University Bookshop in Dar es Salaam."¹⁷ When East African women gathered outside Nairobi for the East African Women's Seminar, delegate Pam Mboya shared with the journal's readers details of matters and solutions discussed at the weeklong event.¹⁸ An article by political pioneer Pumla E. Kisosonkole detailed the journey of African women to the international stage via global organizations such as the United Nations.¹⁹ Influential leaders, including Grace Ogot, wrote about family planning²⁰ and also about the rise of African writers and the challenges they faced.²¹ The journal also published profiles of prominent female leaders²² and reviews of academic studies and scholarly opinions of East African women.²³ Eminent female contributors on topics ranging from African women's progress to politics included Miria Obote.²⁴

The *East Africa Journal* also offered an opportunity for women to be

in conversation with each other. Oludhe-Macgoye, for instance, replied to Ogot's article on family planning, revealing her own experience with various contraception methods while also advancing the public discussion of menopause, elective sterilization, and shifting attitudes, including women's choice to pass on motherhood.²⁵ Literary works also imagined African women's dilemmas, including the pressure to conform to colorist attitudes and Eurocentric beauty ideals.²⁶ Among African women, the "city types" became a fixation of emerging African writers in the post-independence period, a subject explored with an in-depth analysis of the works of Ogot, Soyinka, p'Bitek, Ngũgi, and Nwapa, among others.²⁷ Modernity was another theme of interest in the journal's discourse on African literature.²⁸

Transition declared its purpose was to "provide an intelligent and creative backdrop to the East African scene."²⁹ The journal included many creative and nonfiction contributions from former *Drum* staffers: editors Tom Hopkinson and Alan Rake and writers Ezekiel Mphahlele and Arthur Maimane (both exiled in East Africa); Bloke Modisane in London; and Lewis Nkosi in the United States.³⁰ From their scattered adopted homes, the authors spoke to the dynamic challenges of urban Africans, the importance of magazines and other mass media, and the triumphs of African artists, for instance, Miriam Makeba, across the diaspora.³¹

The works of exiled women writers Bessie Head,³² Frene Ginwala,³³ Eve Hall,³⁴ Nadine Gordimer,³⁵ and Hilda Bernstein³⁶ also appeared prominently in the journal. Against all odds, *Transition* also published Marion Kaplan's profound images from Rhodesia and other African locales.³⁷ Female fiction writers Grace Ogot³⁸ and Rebbeca Njau³⁹ were among those featured in the journal. *Transition* advertisements for items such as vacuums, laundry soap,⁴⁰ and house paint⁴¹ featured black-and-white illustrations of women in modern housing embracing notions of freedom and success and a can-do attitude that echoed the consumerist values of *femme urbAfricana*. The magazine also recognized the role of women in expanding the literary space, as evidenced by *Transition* editor Rajat Neogy's spirited defense of Frene Ginwala following her deportation from Tanganyika.⁴²

Similarly oriented toward America like *Drum*, *Transition* featured "Letter from America," in which authors offered commentary on, among other topics, Jim Crow laws in the South.⁴³ American expatriates also offered related analysis, including the long search for justice for murder victims in the South.⁴⁴ *Transition* also included works by Langston Hughes⁴⁵ and interviews⁴⁶ with James Baldwin.⁴⁷ An important review of six books from white

and Black authors showcased the range of American literary imaginations of Africa and underscored the difficulty in uprooting negative stereotypes about the continent.⁴⁸

Drum, perhaps in response to the increasing discursive arenas in East Africa or to correct its own history of underreporting women's contributions to newly independent states, actively amplified East African women's voices and affirmed their modern identities. To capture the literary moment on the East African scene nurtured in the *East Africa Journal* and *Transition*, *Drum* published a colorful feature in 1969 that emphasized Grace Ogot's status as a pioneering female author.⁴⁹ The article still emphasized Ogot as a wife while also highlighting her business venture. In a nod to pioneering women, the magazine noted, "Now we are beginning to hear of the women who aren't to be outdone when it comes to taking over new and challenging careers." The magazine highlighted the two "Modern misses" Bernice Wanjiku, "chief ground hostess" for "East African Airways," and radio broadcasting pioneer Muthoni Likimani.⁵⁰

The magazine assertively challenged the exclusion of women from policies and development agendas in post-independent societies. In one opinion editorial by Anne Placido, the magazine took on the Kenya African National Union (KANU) for its complete exclusion of women from its party manifesto and branded the move a "mistake." Placido was also sympathetic to aspiring female politicians' efforts to claim space in Kenya's political piazza. Placido highlighted the experience of Grace Onyango, who in 1969 won a historical election as Kenya's first elected female parliamentarian. Placido objected to the sexist treatment dished out to Onyango: "It has been depressing to listen to some of the commentaries on the election." Placido referenced the attitude of a former male coworker of Onyango during her tenure as the mayor of Kisumu that "she was so skilled and efficient that he did not think of her as a woman. He stressed that she was an exception." Placido underscored that this remark generated the stereotype "that women are not usually expected to be efficient and active outside the traditional four walls of their home." Placido concluded, "Equality still has a long way to go."⁵¹

Cover girls whose anchoring presence had persisted since the magazine's debut entered new lacunas of visibility in the post-independent era. During this period, cover girls provided fresh perspectives regarding the shifting gender role expectations surrounding motherhood and homemaking. In one featurette, the magazine appeared to note the new distinguished women gracing its cover with the title "She's a Deep Girl, Marie!" An honest summary of

the emerging opportunities for and demands on African women was likewise included: "There is tremendous pressure on women in Africa from the men to stick to more traditional fields of study. They love to see you taking up catering, baby care, or nursing when many of these women have the brains and will power and the background training to take up studies in fields which compete directly with men."⁵²

STATE BEAUTIES

In keeping with its two-pronged endorsement of Pan-Africanism and nationalist fervor, the magazine turned its gaze to prominent women in the post-independent era, submitting them to readers as exemplars of Black modern femininity. In one featurette, Matthew Faji introduced readers to a cohort of fashionably dressed Dahomey women, "the most gorgeous of the gorgeous local beauties as they were mincing their way to a £3000 State Banquet given by the President of Dahomey." The magazine singled out the most distinguished among them, "The President's Daughter," whose outfit, a "shimmering elegance," was "a gift that only Paris can bestow."⁵³ Such reports of women's sophisticated (and expensive) fashion tastes and high-society state-sponsored parties in *Drum* created the impression of gendered opulence in post-independent societies. Similarly, a feature of Congo's Independence Day celebrations included photos of women attired in traditional dress pertinently captioned, "Congolese beauties decorate one of the many state banquets."⁵⁴

POLITICAL WOMEN/PROMINENT NATIONALISTS

Drum's stories of African women involved in politics also enhanced *femme urbAfricana's* political element. Among the female political movers and shakers were three female Mau Mau operatives who allegedly used their beauty and charm to secure "a Bren gun" from a King's African Rifles officer in the town of Embu and another trio who had executed the same crime in the town of Nanyuki.⁵⁵ From Northern Rhodesia (modern-day Zambia), *Drum* readers met Mama Julia Chikamoneka, a tenacious freedom and voting rights activist with "magnificent self-confidence." Chikamoneka was "chugging away the miles on her new bicycle to arouse people to register." Glenda Wina celebrated Chikamoneka's efforts: "She symbolises the dedication and hard work

that will be required for success.”⁵⁶ *Femme urbAfricana*’s political element was infused with references to women’s appearance. In a separate feature about Chikamoneka, the magazine underscored her role as a grandmother, referring to her as “Granny Chikamoneka,” and illuminated her embodied activism. As “a big, big girl,” Chikamoneka had “for nine years . . . put her considerable weight behind the nationalist cause in the believe that deeds do more than words.”⁵⁷ A concise reference to Zambia’s pioneer female politician Gwendoline Konie provides an additional example of this paradoxical representation when Wina christens her the “glamour girl of nationalist politics.”⁵⁸

In the East and Central African editions of the magazine, Pamela Mboya emerged as one of the region’s most glamorous political women. The magazine reported that it was the “hyper-critical Kenya public” that “first noticed Pamela’s decidedly good taste in clothes.” *Drum* noted that Pamela’s “ability to dress well and with casual elegance is inherent in her personality” but attributed her polished style sense to contact with America, specifically, Mboya’s time in “Ohio, where she mixed with the higher strata of American socialites.”⁵⁹ Mboya had studied at the Catholic Western College for Women (presently, Western College of Women) in the town of Oxford. The college, according to gender studies scholar Brenda Weber, sought to distinguish itself as the destination for students from middle-class families and advertised itself to families “as a place where their daughters could expect a strict though edifying refinement into the conventional middle-class norms of white womanhood.”⁶⁰ *Drum* wrote that Mboya was “one of Kenya’s leading women, charming, intelligent, and attractive.” Mboya was portrayed as a superwoman who ran not just a household but “a four-bedroomed house.” Mboya also saw to “her over-busy husband” and daughter and “many of her country’s most deserving and most charitable organisations.”⁶¹ Jane Kiano, the wife of cabinet minister Julius Gikonyo Kiano and, at the time, a former deputy leader of Maendeleo ya Wanawake, was another prominent woman profiled in the magazine. Kiano, “one of Nairobi’s top hostesses,” confirmed to *Drum* her extroverted nature. “Frankly, I like people and I enjoy entertaining because this enables me to meet and exchange ideas with a wide group of people from all the walks of life.”⁶²

Increased visibility of female politicians and politicians’ wives elevated public interest in their personal tastes and fashion decisions. *Drum* covered this growing cohort of fashion trendsetters, and Nigerian women were particularly influential. Described as “The Top Set,” the wives of the country’s ministers were “leading a fashion revolution,” and alongside Nigerian

designer Shade Thomas, “the high priestess of the new revolution,” they made their mark in fashion and popularized local fabrics.⁶³ Among Nigeria’s prominent political women, Liberian native Opral Benson was among the most celebrated. A descendant of Americo-Liberians from South Carolina, Benson was married to Nigerian politician and minister Theophilus Benson. As the de facto leader of “The Top Set,” Benson was credited with expanding the fashion palates of the group to include “the classic lines of European and Oriental design.” The women, the magazine reported, were “showing how Nigerian girls have the best of all worlds when they dress to kill.”⁶⁴ The magazine emphasized that Benson stood out from the rest: “Of all the Ministers’ wives, she is youngest, most lively, most charming, most fashionable, most sociable, and most educated.”⁶⁵ Benson went on to establish her own successful beauty school in 1985.⁶⁶ In a poetic tone, the magazine paid tribute to Benson’s glamour and fashion sense: “Mrs. Benson . . . she loves limelight. Her Paris fashions are stunning. And when she smiles, she dazzles the night.”⁶⁷

In contrast to profiles of glamorous political women, *Drum*’s profile of Bibi Titi Mohamed portrayed her as a defiantly simple woman: “She rigorously denies herself make-up, and dresses simply in ordinary khangas—one piece tied round her waist with a loose blouse falling over it and the other khanga hanging over her right shoulder. She wears her hair neatly cut short without any hairpins or imitation jewelled combs.”⁶⁸ The magazine listed the unrivaled accomplishments of this “self-made woman,” among them “Member of Parliament,” “administrative secretary of TANU women’s section,” “chairman of the territorial branch of Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanganyika and member of Central TANU Committee.”⁶⁹ This dichotomy between glamorous female politicians and those who opposed glamorous self-adornment continued in a report from Zimbabwe. When a group of women from Salisbury “set off to tramp all the way to Rusape (110 miles) in support of Joshua Nkomo and his companions,” the magazine highlighted political “famous wives” who went along. *Drum* distinguished one as South African native “Mrs. Ruth Chinamano, the educationist’s [Josiah Mushore Chinamano] wife,” and added that she “was glaring determinedly with her hair fiercely back-combed in [Kenneth] Kaunda style.”⁷⁰

Opinion editorials written by women leaders explored the transition to a post-independent society, and the shifting roles of women appeared in the magazine during this period. One article, by Ugandan politician Joyce Masembe, challenged women to rise to the challenge of the post-independent moment: “They must see what they can do, without waiting for the men.”⁷¹

Masembe continued to note the exemplars in this arena: Bibi Titi, Mukami Kimathi (wife of the slain Mau Mau leader Dedan Kimathi), and Margaret Kenyatta. These leaders had gone against the grain even as “on the whole the women of East Africa have not taken an active part in politics.”⁷² As it sought to amplify women’s voices, however, *Drum* persisted in emphasizing their appearance. In one feature, the magazine described “attractive Miss Mary Koinange” as the “acting supervisor in the Women, Children, and Family Welfare Section of Nairobi City Council’s Department of Social Services and Housing.”⁷³

African women’s organizing efforts were also an important topic for *Drum* in the post-independence era. For instance, the magazine featured pictures of Julius Nyerere and female delegates of the decennial celebration of the All Africa Women’s Conference in Dar es Salaam in 1972 and offered a nod to the organization’s diverse founders.⁷⁴

THE “CLEANEST LADIES IN THE COUNTRY”

On March 30, 1965, the Kenyan parliament set out to create the country’s first legal framework to regulate cosmetics in the “C-Section” of the Food, Drugs, and Chemical Substances Bill. The bill was designed to protect consumers from tainted “food, drugs, cosmetics, medical appliances and scheduled chemical substances.” One provision of the bill sought to establish an oversight statutory board (see figure 25) to represent both industry and government interests.⁷⁵ The task of tabling the bill belonged to the minister of health and housing and MP for Vihinga, Joseph Daniel “JD” Otiende.

An excerpt from the debate is relevant for the current discussion of *femme urbAfricana*’s political stakes. During the debate, J. D. Kali, MP for Nairobi East, Nairobi’s colonial-era African nucleus, was formerly represented by Tom Mboya. Kali made the following remarks:

This question of bleaching hair and bleaching skin and what not, originated from a country where a section of the people happen to be black and they are so frustrated after so many years of segregation, discrimination, socially and economically and some people have used this situation to make money, by that I mean the United States of America. . . . Some white people know that by sort of exploiting that situation and using their scientific knowledge they could make up some chemicals which would bleach the hair or skin of the

community, particularly the Negro girls and therefore they try to get as much money as possible.⁷⁶

Kali's identification of beauty practices, especially skin lightening in African American experiences in the United States, reframed and linked the debate to one about the long history of Black subjugation and capitalist exploitation. His identification of African American women, "Negro girls," signals solidarity with African women now facing a similar choice in Kenya. Kali goes on to outline the path that these practices took to Kenya: "Now, this thing has spread. First it started in South Africa and now has spread all over Africa." While he does not offer specifics about the proliferation path of the practice, there is a recognition of the similarities between segregation, discrimination, and racism in the United States targeted at African Americans and the treatment of Africans by the apartheid state in South Africa. Kali recommends that the government act through "the Minister for Health and Housing to issue directives through our matron, through our beautiful girls not to try and spoil their natural beauty."⁷⁷

Kali continues to share his encounter at a festivity where a "good number of African girls and men" had gathered in London. He describes "a friend" asking him a question: "Why is it that the African girls' hair differ from men?" Kali describes that he "was so embarrassed I could not answer" and offers that "the difference is that our girls have allowed themselves to be victims of the money mongers. They just go to the shop and buy chemicals which bleach their hair and some even look like rain-soaked rag, if you look at them. Mr. Deputy Speaker, I do not think our girls are ugly." To this assertion, another parliamentarian responded, "They are beautiful."⁷⁸

Over a one-month period, MPs engaged in a fervent debate regarding the compatibility of cosmetics with "African" culture; some proposed prohibition of all cosmetics, and others highlighted the safety of cosmetics available in the market. An important point of contention was the composition of the proposed regulatory board.

Displeased with the membership of the planned board, the MP for Gichugu, Kimamu Njiru Gichoya, proposed two amendments. First, Gichoya proposed the inclusion of a male member to "associate the Members of the Parliament with the health conditions of the country" in place of a representative from the chamber of commerce. The second proposed change was the appointment of a female member. Gichoya outlined the qualifications of the kind of woman he felt would most adeptly represent women's interests on the

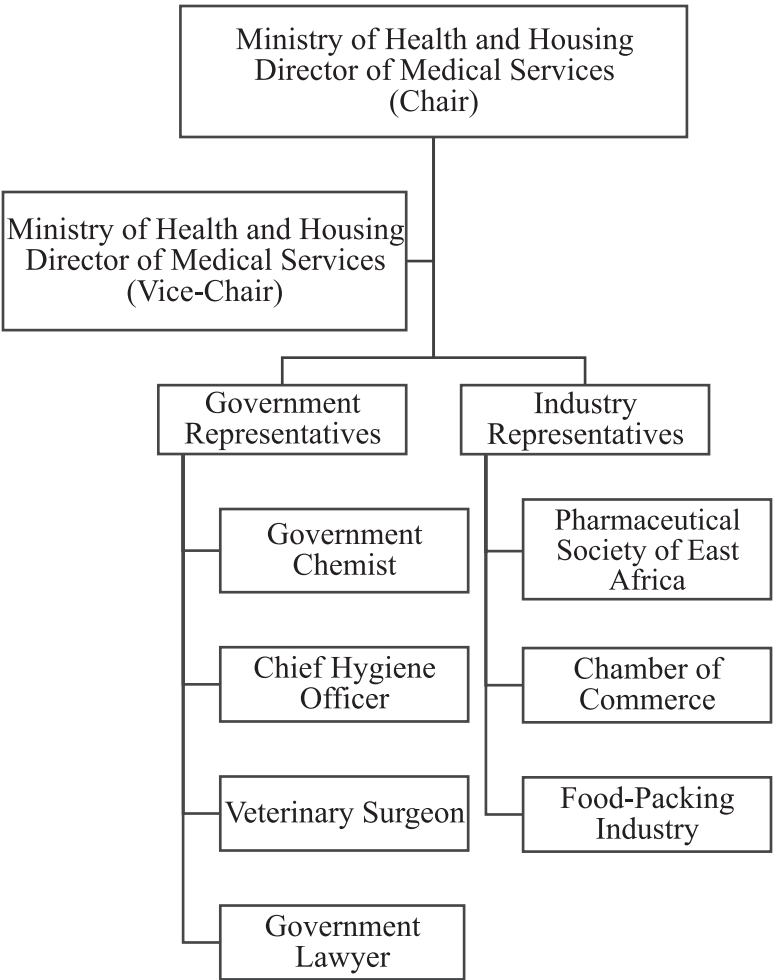


Fig. 25. Proposed structure of the Public Health Standards Board provision of the Food, Drug, and Chemical Substances Bill 1965

board. Such a woman, Gichoya posited, would exemplify the necessary background in health and hygiene: “She is expected to be one of the cleanest ladies in the country,” and from her the requisite awareness of cosmetics would flow to “our girls.”⁷⁹ Gichoya advanced that the “Matron of the Kenyatta National Hospital” would be the exemplar choice for the female member: “Someone who holds a position of that kind on the board and we feel that she would

be capable of holding that position by virtue of her ability and integrity.” Gichoya insisted that such a woman was qualified to “be a worthy member of the panel of judges who are able to decide about our health conditions, the food we eat, the drugs used in our country and the chemical substances.”⁸⁰

Otiende supported Gichoya’s proposed changes but sought to distance the matron position as the most qualified to serve as the board’s female member. He proposed instead that the position be open to “a Member of this House or of the public.” Otiende argued, “We would have what my hon. friend wants, a lady, but an official lady, without mentioning her title.”⁸¹ Gichoya objected and requested assurances that the position of the matron “will always be within the board.” If the matron position was unacceptable, Gichoya wanted to know “whether the leader of ‘Maendeleo Ya Wanawake’ . . . should be the person to replace the matron.”⁸² If the “Maendeleo lady” was not an option, Gichoya insisted that the position should be filled by a member of the National Assembly. Gichoya took issue with members’ opposition to the matron as a sign that “the feeling seems to be that you do not need a lady. It is very unfortunate, because they are the people who really do things for us.” Sensing he was outnumbered, Gichoya conceded; at the very least, he would settle for an MP on the board, based on the belief that this representation would “amount to guaranteeing that this Member must also have a very close link with [this] house who are dealing with health arrangements, whether it is the *Maendeleo Ya Wanawake* movement or some other body.”⁸³ Gichoya’s closing comments attempted to connect the political process with women’s health concerns and, by extension, women’s movements. In theory, however, the final provision regarding membership did make it theoretically possible for a female representative to join the board.

Following the bill’s passage on April 1, 1965, the government gazette (December 1965) listed the members of the inaugural Public Health Standards Board. They included the Honorable Ngala-Abok, an MP for Homa Bay who had advocated that the bill include safeguards against deceptive advertisements; Samuel Mutua Kivuitu (crown counsel, Attorney General’s Chambers); William Pratt (veterinary surgeon); Leslie Wix (government chemist); Hariprasad Rambhai Amin (chief chemist and stores superintendent); Dr. Jayantilal Nemchand Shah (food-packing industry representative, formerly of Pure Food Products); and John Padfield (pharmacist). The sole African woman on the board was a name familiar to *Drum* readers: Grace Onyango, the country’s first female mayor. At the time of Onyango’s appointment, she governed Kisumu, Kenya’s fourth most populous city.⁸⁴

The cosmetics debate attracted *Drum's* attention: "Kenya Members of Parliament have been getting hot under the collar about women's fashions and cosmetics." The magazine summarized its position on the matter: "We think girls should be able to make up their own minds." It also questioned the real motivation behind the opposition to cosmetics and changing fashions: "It seems the men of Kenya are worried about women wearing tight dresses, straightening their hair and using eyebrow pencils artistically. Could it be that what really worries them is the growing independence of women who consider it their right to make themselves look attractive?" In the same feature, the magazine included pictures of ideal modern adaptations of a khangas and kitenge and also spotlighted fashion designer Dolly Khaki as an example of progressive acceptable fashion: "The Dar-es-Salaam dress designer shows how neat and respectable a Kitenge modern dress can be."⁸⁵

In *Drum's* report about the cosmetic debate, Miriam Makeba and Pamela Mboya emerged as ideal African urban women on account of their natural hairstyles: "Straightened hair sometimes looks good but two of the smartest women I have seen, Mrs. Mboya and Miriam Makeba, leave their hair untortured to frame their attractive faces."⁸⁶ As the cosmetics debate came to a close, the magazine sought the perspectives of prominent female leaders. Margaret Kenyatta regarded the issue as having little national importance and asserted that the MPs "need a woman in Parliament to tell them that the question of women's dresses and make-up is a waste of time when there are so many more important issues to be discussed."⁸⁷ Although the women quoted in *Drum* agreed that increasing the number of female politicians in parliament was of utmost importance, they disagreed on how to bring about this change.⁸⁸ The magazine took the opportunity to state its support of women's rights: "Drum is a progressive magazine, and as such has always been in favour of absolute equality for women."⁸⁹ Women's political opinions in *Drum* augmented *femme urbAfricana's* political element. The magazine's choice to include the debate amplified women's voices and centered them as authorities and invested stakeholders of African urban womanhood in the post-independent African nation. The magazine's efforts earned Margaret Kenyatta's high praise as "the only magazine which befriended the Kenya struggle."⁹⁰

FIRST LADIES AND FIRST DAUGHTERS

Among the prominent female leaders represented in *Drum*, first ladies and first daughters emerged as national style icons and were the ultimate symbols of post-independent hope and beauty. Glenda Wina praised Zambia's

Beatrice Kaunda for her efforts in the freedom struggle: "So far as self-sacrifice is concerned, Mrs. Kenneth Kaunda knows what it is." Noting Kaunda's swift transition from political repudiation to soon-to-be first lady, the magazine remarked, "A seemingly glamorous life is often a terribly rushed and responsible one."⁹¹ Dele Akintola, daughter of the former premier of Western Nigeria, Samuel Akintola, was another freedom beauty. *Drum* summarized Akintola's high influence in the country's western region as the "West's most powerful woman."⁹²

A *Drum* profile of Tanzania's First Lady Maria Nyerere by Rehana Sadikot described a "simple black dress with golden accessories" as an elegant choice of outfit when she sat down for an interview with the magazine. Nyerere, Sadikot continued, "impressed me as a calm, serene and unsophisticated woman . . . more a symbol of African mother and womanhood than a regal figure."⁹³ Readers looking for insights into Nyerere's style influences discovered that she enjoyed "pretty clothes but she would want them to serve her not her to serve them—to have an important but not a consuming part in her life."⁹⁴ Nyerere, that is, only entertained a minimum interest in fashion. Her wardrobe collection included "dresses made loosely out of Khanga material or linen" and dresses made from "brocades, heavy silk or some synthetic material for formal evening wear" to form a balanced mix of comfort and ceremonial wear. Readers also discovered that Nyerere "rarely wore make-up."⁹⁵ The future first lady appeared in a profile in *Ebony Africa* in 1965 while at a leadership training conference in Corning, New York.⁹⁶ *Drum's* coverage of first ladies established gender expectations for African women. Dorothy Driver has described the "nuclear family" as the ideal presented in *Drum*, and some prominent women endorsed this vision.⁹⁷ In the ideal "African family unit," proffered Nyerere, "the husband is the sole authority, and though a woman has every right to discuss a certain problem with her husband the ultimate decision rests with him and the wife must abide by it."⁹⁸

When *Drum* ventured "inside the President's Palace," they were welcomed "graciously" by the "young, full of a quiet charm and eager to learn" Kenyan First Lady Mama Ngina Kenyatta. The magazine noted that she was "fast becoming a well-loved and much admired personality in her own right, both at home and abroad," and was reverently "known to all Kenyans [as]—'Mama Taifa' or 'Mother of the Nation.'"⁹⁹ According to *Drum*, Mama Ngina was in a class of her own: "In a world where so many women choose to enter the many masculine domains of politics and business, Mrs. Kenyatta, wife of the President of Kenya, remains refreshingly feminine." Her "feminine charm," the magazine noted, was especially endearing to the public: "People love her natural charm and grace and her smiling approach to the hundreds of Kenyans

she meets.”¹⁰⁰ A woman of “elegant beauty,” Mama Ngina demonstrated “the poise that influences women in East Africa,” and as “an accomplished and stylish figure in her own right,” the magazine bestowed upon her the role of a style icon.¹⁰¹ In discussing the role of the Kenyan woman, Kenyatta proffered that the “Kenya woman’s single greatest asset” was that “she is a homemaker and a nation builder.”¹⁰²

While Mama Ngina came across in *Drum*’s profile as disinterested in the political sphere, Zimbabwe’s Sarah Francesca Mugabe was navigating an entirely different political landscape. While not a first lady at the time of her appearance in the magazine, she emerged as defiantly political. Mugabe told *Drum*, “I’m a politician—a house-wife politician.” She went on to explain, “That mean I’ve got to look after a husband and a home and my politics. But I won’t change. There should be more women in politics.” *Drum* emphasized her marriage to “radical Robert Mugabe, the former Southern Rhodesian Political party ZAPU’s iron man and publicity chief, who met her in Ghana” and noted that the party was under a ban. On her transition from her native Ghana to Zimbabwe, *Drum* reported, “With her new husband and her gay new Ghanaian clothes, Sarah blew into Rhodesia and soon blossomed like an orchid in the field of mealies. She was, as you gentleman say, a sputnik.” *Drum* described Mugabe’s interactions with the Rhodesian public and protests, which frequently attracted government prosecution. At the time of the feature, Mugabe was intent on appealing her most recent two-year prison term, of which she would have to serve at least nine months handed down for “saying positively nasty things about the Queen.” *Drum* took the opportunity to notify readers, “We found the girl who could become Africa’s cutest convict at home in her kitchen. Interviewing Mrs. Mugabe is like eating hot curry, and twice as spicy.” On the fight for self-governance and freedom in Rhodesia, Mugabe challenged the magazine, “What do you think yourself? Do you think people are happy here?” She went on to declare optimistically, “But one day it will be all right.” Underscoring her conviction with a somber declaration, “I’m willing to die for that day. Don’t smile, I mean it.” The “pouting, eyelash-fluttering Sarah Mugabe,” *Drum* declared, is “the girl who put glamour into politics.”¹⁰³

INDEPENDENCE MISSES

Alongside first ladies and prominent politicians’ wives, newly independent nations celebrated their post-independence wins with government-endorsed

or -sponsored beauty pageants. Such events were a justifiable expense in this era of *femme urbAfricana*'s fusion with the emerging political and economic gains across independent African nations. National and city beauty queens and professional urban women who participated in these freedom pageants constituted a new cohort of national beauty icons and facilitated the continuance of *Drum's femme urbAfricana* in the post-independence era.

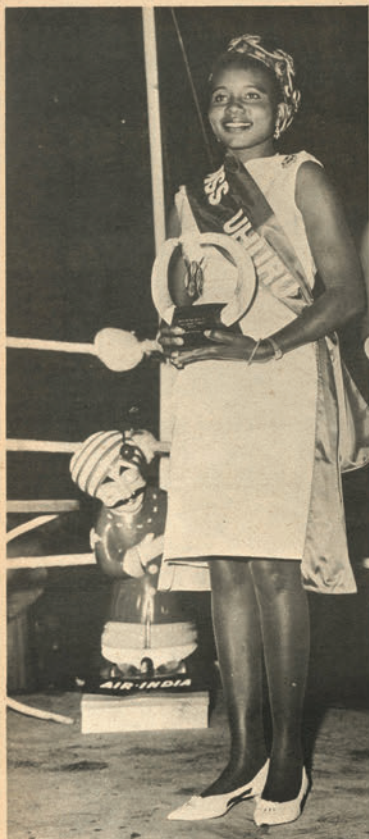
After declaring independence from Belgium in 1960, Katanga crowned its own beauty queen, "a sophisticated collection of curves squeezed into a white bikini and going by the name of Marie-Louise Mwanke." *Drum* reported that the crowning had taken place in "embattled Elizabethville" after the city's "jittery citizens" set aside "their jitters for a night and turned out in force to see an attractive girl crowned Miss Katanga." So invested were the attendees that a discontented faction, believing "some political motive behind her victory, howled death to the jury and drove away in a lorry." According to *Drum*, the victor remained unruffled and "pinned her winner's rosette to the bikini below her navel and wiggled down the aisle, happily dodging pawing admirers all the way." Mwanke's winnings included "the promise of a trip to Italy with the eleven husky members of Katanga's football team."¹⁰⁴

At the dawn of independence in Nyasaland (present-day Malawi), *Drum* reported that tiny Blantyre was host to a contest to crown Miss Malawi. Three finalists, chosen from smaller contests across the nation, anxiously awaited their fate in a two-and-a-half-hour judging gridlock that reportedly ended with a verdict at 2:30 in the morning. The coveted title went to a teenage high school student, Esme Nalikati, from the village of Mlanje, who beat out Miss Blantyre and Miss Rumpi to take the crown.¹⁰⁵ Esme's reward was a vacation at a Lake Nyasa resort. In neighboring Zambia, where independence was also only a few months away, Glenda Wina proposed several ideas for the upcoming historic celebrations. One was to hold a "Miss Zambia contest" strategically timed to happen "a few months before Independence Day." To democratize the opportunity for all interested beauties, Wina suggested "competitions starting at the town level and progressing to the provincial level, with winners here going to the national contest." To adequately prepare the girls for the requisite "poise and presence of mind to parade before the huge Independence Day crowds," Wina recommended a two-week training on "make-up and deportment" in the capital, Lusaka. Concerned about the perceived fairness and credibility of the contest, Wina suggested that objectivity could be infused in the process if "each girl in the final judging would wear western clothes and would be known to the judges only by a number." The national beauty, according to Wina, played a vital role in unifying the

nation. Specifically, Miss Zambia “would wear a specially-designed Zambia national dress, thus symbolizing that she represented the entire nation, not her home province.” Wina’s suggestions of a national pageant and dress contest would have been very familiar to *Drum* readers because similar actions had appeared in reports from East Africa. Wina challenged Zambians to “take our cue from Kenya on this. A beauty contest always adds special excitement and glamour to merry-making. If the judging is wise, no sectional feelings will be bruised.”¹⁰⁶

Trendsetting Nairobi crowned its beauty queen in 1959 at the conclusion of the state of emergency, but Kenya lacked a unifying national beauty until 1964. Not long after earning its independence from Britain, Kenya chose “24-year-old Elizabeth Mumbi, a clerk in a Nairobi bank,” as the country’s inaugural independence beauty queen, or “Miss Uhuru.”¹⁰⁷ Mumbi, according to *Drum*, “was feted everywhere she went. Newspapers in a dozen different languages called her ‘a model of African glamour’ and ‘the beauty from the new, free land of Kenya.’”¹⁰⁸ In the generous photo feature (see fig. 26), the magazine invited readers to come along when Miss Uhuru embarked on her grand eighteen-day “globetrotting” adventure, “an Arabian Nights tour of the East—India, Hong Kong and Japan.”¹⁰⁹ Among the dignitaries Mumbi encountered were “the Mayor of Hong Kong and the Vice-Governor of Tokyo.”¹¹⁰ According to Grace Njoki’s granddaughter, my aunt Wangari Muoria-Sal, Grace and her friends had paid to attend a Miss Nairobi pageant in 1966. The event did not happen. The family version goes that Grace, representing the collective disappointment of attendees, went to the front of the hall and demanded a refund. The organizers seized the opportunity and awarded Grace the Miss Nairobi title, trophy, and sash in hand. A *Daily Nation* story confirms the event was unsuccessful but shaves off nearly a decade to Grace’s age.¹¹¹ The picture of Grace was taken some time after the event by famed photojournalist Mohamed (Mo) Amin. He was one of the journalists who sought out Grace for a photo after she was declared Miss Nairobi.¹¹²

Pageants to mark African independence extended beyond the continent. In New York, the city’s mayor hosted a contest to crown “Miss Africa” from among fifteen beauty queen hopefuls judged on their “beauty, poise, elegance, intelligence and talent.”¹¹³ The contest’s winner, Abigail Ikechi Ekwonna of Nigeria, was featured in a *Drum* profile. Its public opposition to glamour notwithstanding, Tanzania sent its own national beauty ambassador to London in 1968. The “lovely Teresa Shayo” was pictured wearing a hyper-modest “ankle length national dress” next to a mini-skirt-clad white London secretary. *Drum* dubbed the juxtaposition the “long and short of it!”¹¹⁴



It started when Elizabeth Mumbi won Uhuru competition



Her prize was a world tour and in Tokyo, she met Miss Alaska, Queen of frozen North

Miss Uhuru goes globe-trotting

IT was every girl's dream . . . and for lovely, 24-year-old Elizabeth Mumbi, a clerk in a Nairobi bank, it was a dream come true. For when she won the Uhuru beauty competition her prize was an Arabian Nights tour of the East—India, Hong Kong and Japan. "It's wonderful, never-to-be-forgotten days to talk about for the rest of her life."

"I still think that some-

body will pinch me and I'll wake up and find it was all a dream!" starry-eyed Elizabeth told DRUM on her return. "But I know it was real and wonderful."

ELIZABETH — Liz to her scores of friends in Nairobi — was feted wherever she went. Newspapers in a dozen different languages called her every-

thing from "a model of African glamour" to "the beauty from the new, free land of Kenya." Everywhere she went she was overwhelmed with hospitality and everyone voted her the best ambassador Kenya could have sent them.

Among the VIP'S Liz met were the Mayor of Hong Kong and the Vice-Governor of Tokyo. In

PLEASE TURN OVER

Fig. 26. Miss Uhuru. *Drum*, May 1964

(© BAHA Drum Photographer.)

Kenya's trade unions were not left behind in the freedom beauty contest mania. Under their umbrella body, the Central Organization of Trade Unions (COTU), they sought to crown Miss Labour Day at Jericho Social Hall in Nairobi. The diverse aspirants—"tall beauties, short beauties, slim beauties, heavy beauties"—dressed in a rich assortment of fashions: "Kitenge," "Western-style," "bui bui," and even a "traditional goat-skin cloak." The beauties paraded themselves in front of an eminent panel of judges that included "Mrs. Ruth Habwe (President of Maendeleo Ya Wanawake), Mrs. K. Mwendwa (wife of Kenya's Chief Justice), Giles Wright of the Management and Advisory Training Centre, Mr. Philly Karashani of the *Daily Nation*, Miss Lily Kaguamba (YMCA), and COTU's deputy Secretary-General, Mr. James Chegge." In the end, it was Margaret Malavu, "the daughter of Mr. Christopher Malavu, President of the Federation of Kenya Employers," who received the victor's sash from recently elected Nairobi Mayor Margaret Kenyatta. *Drum* noted that the contest "was one of those rare events when the workers and employers are in complete accord!"¹¹⁵

PIONEERING PROFESSIONAL WOMEN

In its coverage of the emerging African nation-state, *Drum* explored the shifting role of African women with stories focused on self-help, expansion of professional opportunities, and women pioneers who broke the glass ceiling. These professional women represented a progressive and prosocial outlook for *femme urbAfrica*na. Early in its coverage, the magazine wrote about African women learning professional and home skills from white women. In pre-independence Tanzania, for example, dressmaking expertise was taught to "wives of Tanganyika policemen" by their white counterparts as a way for them to supplement their household income.¹¹⁶ The magazine sustained its objectification even as it celebrated pioneering career women. In one instance, the magazine alleged that Esther Nanda, "Northern Rhodesia's first African woman librarian," had caused "our roving reporter Elias Rusike severe heartburn and hiccups." The reporter alleged that "he meant only to choose a book, but one look at the librarian and he chose her instead." The reporter continued, "An interview with Esther is like a date in a lone place with romantic scenery around." *Drum's* perspective on the whole matter was comical: "Then he went into a daze and that's all we got from him for some time."¹¹⁷ Aside from her disarming beauty, the "Lovely Plus" had caused a statistically significant increase in the library's visitors.

Drum introduced up-and-coming female professionals in its “Back-Page Beauties” section. In one feature, the magazine introduced two “beautiful and talented women of East Africa”: Mrs. Phoebe Asiyo, the “superintendent of women’s prisons in Kenya,” and Charity Waciuma, French teacher-in-training, “busy young housewife,” “ardent KANU supporter,” and author of “My Mau Mau Childhood.”¹¹⁸ Professional women delivered a new supply of glamour, with pictures of models sometimes taken at their place of work. Secretaries were an especially popular category for *Drum*; one of them, Sophie Onyeabo, who worked at Nigeria’s Railway Corporation, told readers, “At work, a girl must always look attractive.”¹¹⁹

Successes of professional women, including Grace Onyango, Ruth Habwe, and Grace Ogot, made visible the deficiency of similar opportunities for rural-dwelling women. In the article “When Will Our Women Get Real Equality?” the magazine’s women’s editor not only celebrated the women who achieved success but also criticized the growing disparities: “We cannot have one set of rules for the emancipated women of the towns and another for the women of the country.”¹²⁰

After independence, the discussion of women’s role in enhancing their nation’s pride through the adoption of a national dress took center stage in *Drum*. In East Africa, the realization of this vision was hampered by the Eurocentric preferences of its youth, “who can make or break any national dress—the rising young men and women with a bit of money in their pockets—seem content to stay ‘European’ in their clothes.”¹²¹ To correct the situation, Maendeleo ya Wanawake organized a competition for Kenya’s national dress. As a national body, Maendeleo had the goal of assisting “women to improve their standard of living, but also makes them conscious of their traditional handicrafts.” As of 1970, according to a *Drum* profile, membership stood at ninety thousand women strong. The profile avowed that the group was defiantly apolitical: “The organization is a completely social welfare organisation and has no interest whatsoever in politics.” The organization worked in alliance with other women’s organizations abroad and, through local clubs, supported the export of women’s handiworks. With the diverse range of products, “baskets, mats, and bead necklaces, members make dresses, pottery, stools, gourds, colourful belts, jugs and bowls”; the women “won the hearts of people outside and inside the country. Their work is proving to be a great asset in preserving the old traditional African craftsmanship.”¹²² At Maendeleo’s national-dress contest, a dress designed by novelist Grace Ogot took top prize.¹²³ *Drum* noted that Ogot was not opposed to makeup but rather advised women against “wearing too much.”

She further chastised husbands who were “very mean with their wives” by “not letting them use any cosmetics or hair straighteners and insisting that they use soap and water on their faces.”¹²⁴

Breaking out of the molds of motherhood and marriage was a feature of the magazine’s coverage of professional women’s success. Using hyperbolic statements, the magazine set up a dichotomous world of gender-based oppression versus a world of freedom that could be attained through professional success. In one feature, *Drum* wrote, “In Africa to be a woman is to be cut off from all creative activities in life, apart from childbearing and kitchen-craft.” Against this constraining backdrop, the magazine provided a counter-narrative of success in Tanzanian Hilda Mamlay, who had “broken the rule.” Mamlay, “still single,” had “managed to combine elegance with efficiency” at the helm of a monthly government press magazine, *Nchi Yetu*, to become the country’s “most glamorous editor.”¹²⁵ Mamlay encouraged aspiring media women and challenged prevailing antisocial notions about women’s professional ambitions. “The problem with our girls is that they think that journalism is a man’s profession,” she said. “A woman can do as much as a man or even better. I do most of my final work on the magazine with men, and I do not feel that they treat me specially as a woman.”¹²⁶ Mamlay’s (later, Kundyia) success earned a rare double feature in the magazine.¹²⁷

Professional women were also pictured keeping up with office fashion trends, including the mini, “elegant and eye-catching—that’s this office miss.”¹²⁸ In the same vein, advice for career women included recommendations on how to solve “the big problem” of dressing for career success. The magazine suggested avoiding “far-out fashions—ultra mini-skirts or trouser suits—around the office.” Noting the gender dynamics that may influence workplace wear, the magazine warned, “Even if the boss approves it, his VIP visitors may not.” Instead, female workers were encouraged to consider “cool, crisp dresses which make you look as efficient as you undoubtedly are.”¹²⁹ Advice to working girls noted that they “must learn to avoid mixing work with love. But above all, women will have to learn that hairdos, cosmetics, and lipsticks are not everything.”¹³⁰

As more women entered the formal workforce, professional women also made for appealing cover girls. Among the few from East Africa, one “slick chick is 20-year-old Christine Wasunna, who really does work in a bank in Nairobi, Kenya.” Reliably insisting on the women’s heterosexuality, the magazine noted, “Among her assets is the ability to deal with accounts as expertly as with the many requests she gets for dates. Our January cover girl has a flat

and a mind of her own with strict standards for her boy friends. Beauty and brains—they add up to a pretty total.”¹³¹

Pictures of attractive barmaids, or the “bevvy of beer-bearing beauty,” were featured in the magazine’s lineup of glamorous professional women. The dedication of print space and recognition of barmaids as a legitimate urban occupation speak to the magazine’s interest in showcasing the diverse urban careers for women. Historian Elliot Skinner notes that in 1950s Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso’s capital, “a certain onus” came to be associated with the profession of a barmaid. Skinner notes that some of the women who started as barmaids, however, would go on to find more stable positions in eateries of high repute.¹³² The magazine’s feature of barmaids also introduced readers to “Miss K.A.N.U.,” Rebecca Kimanthi.¹³³ KANU, or the Kenya African National Union, led by Jomo Kenyatta, was formed in 1960 and became Kenya’s ruling party after independence in 1963. With the inclusion of Miss KANU and barmaids, the magazine offered a broad definition of barrier-breaking professional women in the city. A few features of female pioneers, however, departed from the urban focus. For instance, distinctions in agriculture by female farmers also received some attention. One tractor-driving farmer, Mary Wanjiro Mzee, ran a highly successful thirty-acre maize farm in Kitale, a feat that earned her a generous profile in *Drum*.¹³⁴

Drum presented professional women as city “charmers,” portraying the city as a safe and warm urban space in which to work and live. They turned on their charm when “DRUM’S photographer spent a couple of happy hours capturing them on film. His comments? The nicest assignment for months.” The magazine concluded that the women were “the smart young things that help make Nairobi such a pleasant place to live—always busy, always smiling and always up with the latest fashion trends.”¹³⁵ Career success stories of high-profile women signaled what was possible for African women in post-independent societies. United Nations General Assembly president and Liberian native Angie Brooks asserted that her election was “the epitome of many of the more hopeful signs in Africa today.”¹³⁶

Sports

Outside of the office, *Drum* celebrated women’s achievements in sports with striking profiles of female athletes. In 1951, the magazine introduced readers to Pimville resident Mary Mafokeng, who earned the distinction of being South Africa’s “first and only African woman golfer.”¹³⁷ Adjacent to Mary’s profile was a note about Jackie Robinson’s recent most valuable player recognition

by the National Baseball League. African women's participation in sports was also expanded by the magazine's coverage of standout stars, including "Winnie Maboea, the ambidextrous Transvaal tennis star," flatteringly introduced to readers as "the pleasant smile behind the racket."¹³⁸ Softball, "the Cinderella of sport in South Africa," attracted *Drum's* attention. The magazine featured a profile of the Cape Town-based "Thunderbolts" and baptized the team's capable captain with a "full title" as "Gorgeous Gertie Arendse." Another athlete, "Queen of S.A. softball, Carol Barendilla, Province captain and a top beauty," was also profiled in the magazine.¹³⁹ Sports features, to some extent, expanded women's visibility outside of domestic roles, but not without insisting on an objectified imagination of their accomplishments. For instance, athletes pictured in sports uniforms, including high-waisted softball pants, were a refreshing deviation from the insistent femininity espoused by many dress-loving women who appeared in the magazine. *Drum* declared that the athletes were "no Cinderellas" and continued, "If they get out of bed before 12 it's because they like to keep fit, not because there aren't guys who want to keep them out."¹⁴⁰ Outstanding sportswomen from outside South Africa were also granted recognition in the magazine. Among them was Theresia Dismass, the 1965 winner of Tanzania's Sportsman of the Year trophy, a first for a woman in her country.¹⁴¹ The magazine used the profile to elevate Dismass as a role model for "all the other girls of Tanzania" who now had the support of the government to pursue their dreams.¹⁴²

Beauty Professionals

As glamour professionals, makeup artists also began to establish themselves after independence. *Drum* spotlighted "Kenya's Queen of cosmetics—Gladys Nguyo."¹⁴³ A former contestant in the Miss Uhuru independence pageant, Gladys had traveled to Israel and the Middle East and approached her craft "with the skill of an artist to bring beauty into women's lives."¹⁴⁴ Archival material reveals that the magazine attempted to depoliticize its coverage of professional women's success. Editor's notes on Nguyo's story, for instance, show references to a potentially contentious cohort of Nguyo's clients, "a group of wives of King's African Rifles officers," crossed off. The submitted article noted that "with the British going back home and their husbands being promoted they are going to face a round of social functions for which they are almost totally unprepared. Their husbands sent them along to Kenya's only African beautician, Miss Gladys Nguyo, consultant for a cosmetics firm [Outdoor Girl]¹⁴⁵ which has put out a line especially for African women."¹⁴⁶ The magazine's feature excluded these details, as it did with advice directed

to African women seeking to select the appropriate lipstick and nail polish color. *Drum* also only included pictures of Gladys applying cosmetics on the faces of two white women—one included a caption, “Skin colour presents no problems”—and the nails of an Asian woman.¹⁴⁷ A photo from the *Drum* archive suggests the original story was intended to be broader in scope to include Nguyo’s diverse clientele and broad expertise (see figure 27). Nguyo’s success as Kenya’s undisputed top cosmetics expert was still highly regarded in 1967, two years after her initial appearance in *Drum*. She was quoted defending makeup-donning Kenyan women against the male parliamentarians who saw the practice as anti-African and accused women of being incompetent makeup users. Gladys labeled the legislators’ comments as “a bit unfair.” She noted that the incorrect use of cosmetics was not a challenge solely experienced by African women. Instead, she stressed that the lack of appropriate shades of makeup products produced an additional tax for African women, who had to formulate a matching shade from “as many as five different powders.”¹⁴⁸ Nguyo’s products included Outdoor Girl’s “Ebony Rose” and “Purple Twilight” lipstick brands.¹⁴⁹

Other up-and-coming beauticians featured in the magazine included Ghanaian-born Josephine Sosa, who owned a hair salon in Nairobi.¹⁵⁰ Some beauty pioneers had unconventional career pathways. One woman had chosen a career as a men’s hairdresser after “a heated argument with a group of men in a barber’s shop.”¹⁵¹ The magazine profiled training opportunities for aspiring hairdressers and beauticians. At the L’Oréal-sponsored Kenya School of Hairdressing, students acquired skills in teamwork, customer service, “methods of shampooing and setting, salon maintenance and etiquette, the latest styles, perms, tinting and rinsing, bleaching and highlights.” With these skills, graduates could “rustle capably around a hair salon in your pretty, starched overall and turn ugly ducklings into swans with the magic of your fingertips.”¹⁵² The magazine reported on the recent opening of the Kampala Beauty Center, owned by the muscle-spotting Chimanbhani Patel. The center had opened up opportunities for services that had been previously limited to “luxury hotels and an occasional beauty salon where a steam bath has been annexed to the facilities for hair care.” The center, *Drum* declared, stood “in the vanguard of the health and beauty cult” and was “capitalising on the aches that come with affluence.”¹⁵³

Fashion Pioneers

Fashion models emerged as important sources of glamour for the magazine during its first decade, but its focus on professional fashion designers in the



Fig. 27. Gladys Nguyo, African cosmetology and makeup pioneer
(Photograph by Mohinder Dhillon. © Mohinder Dhillon/Africapix Media.)

late sixties was more focused on their accomplishments as professionals in the era of African independence. Among the magazine's repeat stars was influential Paris-trained Ghanaian designer Chez Julie. The magazine provided pictures of some of her designs, ranging from "the classic-styled Drappe to the amusing slacks-suit which Julie calls the Joromi," and invited readers to consider, "Which is YOUR favorite?"¹⁵⁴ At the close of the decade, there was acknowledgment of the continent's "fashion revolution." Nairobi emerged as one of the most influential capitals in Africa because, as the magazine pointed out, the city "boasts more with-it dress shops than any other town in East Africa and even well beyond into Zambia, Ethiopia, Somalia."¹⁵⁵ Two "with-it" shops were Jax and Elaine's Boutique, and each offered its own lines made from locally sourced fabrics.¹⁵⁶ Nigerian fashion's influence on East Africa garnered considerable attention in *Drum*. Sherri Hunt, the proprietor of Studio '68, was among those who brought West African influences to Kenya through a fashion show that included high-profile models, among them "spe-

cial guest model, Kenya's London-based top fashion Irene Mugambi."¹⁵⁷ With an abundance of fashion-forward influences in the city and forward-looking boutiques, the magazine remarked that Nairobi was "rapidly entering into the fashion landscape, and 'Made in Kenya' labels could provide fair competition in the future."¹⁵⁸

Drum followed the rise of Paris-trained Ugandan designer Sulti Karim as she put her country on the East African fashion map with her fashion show debut in Kampala. A show at the Inter-Continental in Nairobi followed soon after. It was attended by, among other high-profile guests, First Lady Mama Ngina Kenyatta. The magazine celebrated the "sensational collection blending tradition with modern sophistication." Karim espoused an unbridled belief in the future of African fashion: "Her firm conviction is that Africa can take its place on the fashion map by giving a sophisticated, contemporary look to traditional modes of dress." According to *Drum*, Karim was swiftly developing a sizeable fanbase: "Those who are lucky enough to see her work will quickly share Sulti's convictions." Karim had a noble fashion mission: "to make African women fully aware that they need not look to European countries for fashion guidance. They are built to wear feminine, elegant clothes. . . . They can wear fabulous things. And it is my job to convince them that they can."¹⁵⁹

Regional fashion pioneers received a nod as they altered traditional local styles to make them more accessible to urban women. For instance, *Drum's* Nigerian edition featured Lagos's Morin Falaye's self-modeled collection of ready-made headwraps: "African Unity," "Kyau," and "Oyoyo."¹⁶⁰ *Drum's* commentary on Tanzania's fashion industry noted its growing cotton industry and the increasing sophistication in fashion tastes of its women: "Women have taken this opportunity in hand and have turned out many a palatable fashion dress, and, as they reveal in the pictures, from beach-wear to bell bottoms, the newly styled kitenge cloth is there to dazzle."¹⁶¹ The sole impediment to rocket-speed growth, according to *Drum*, was a lack of local designers.¹⁶² Meanwhile, the importance of the growing local market was evident when British hosiery brand Aristoc opened a factory in East Africa.¹⁶³ Anne Placido celebrated the historic achievements of African designers when she remarked, "There was a time when our best-dressed women shopped in London, Paris, or New York; when African dress sense was considered a joke abroad. But now we are getting our own back. African designers have developed their own styles comparable to anything produced in the Western capitals."¹⁶⁴ Evidence of Africa's moment on the global fashion page was best demonstrated, she noted, by the global popularity of the "Chic Afrique" look.¹⁶⁵

Legal Pioneers

Pioneers in the legal and medical fields were among the barrier-breaking women featured in *Drum*. The women in these fields, however, did not escape the magazine's objectifying stance, as the magazine's spotlight on female city dwellers presented them in relationship to their work. One profile of an aspiring lawyer described her as "Miss Legs" and went on to explain that she had the "type of legs that would assure the owner a fortune in Hollywood—a pair of legs that would send a film producer reaching for his contract forms."¹⁶⁶ In a profile of pioneering Ugandan lawyer Mary Ilero-Uchong, the magazine took a different approach, defending her unshaken femininity: "But in spite of her heavy studying and chosen career," the "second Uganda Girl to become a lawyer" had "remained abundantly, if quietly, feminine." *Drum* went on to proclaim Mary's clement feminist activism: "She is no ardent crusader for women's rights, just very deliberate and intelligent."¹⁶⁷ Paradoxically, the magazine concluded, "For her this is a real career, not just an enjoyable diversion."¹⁶⁸ Eusebia Tabita, Tanzania's first female magistrate, wife, and mother of one, was introduced to readers as "a girl with plenty of brains." The magazine went on to declare, "And at the same time her stunning good looks are a delight to the eye."¹⁶⁹ Similar to its profile of Ilero-Uchong, the magazine insisted on Tabita's femininity: "But although she is occupying a position in what was until she came along a strictly male perverse, Eusebia is very much a woman." Her commitment to marriage and motherhood was also unshaken: "She is also devoted to her husband and her baby daughter Eugenia Tabita, and always makes sure, no matter how busy she is, not to forget her most important role—that of a mother."¹⁷⁰

Medicine/Nursing

As they had been since the magazine's early years, nurses were particularly popular, and several were photographed at work or elsewhere in their uniforms. One, a "second year probationer nurse at Johannesburg Non-European Hospital," was pictured at a bus stop with a "thick bundle of books." The student nurse could allegedly "swot inside the bus, in a restaurant, in fact, anywhere."¹⁷¹ As discussed in chapter 3, nurses also made popular endorsers of the skin lightener brand Karroo.¹⁷² One featured nurse cover girl, Beauty Blossom Mokwena, worked in the pediatric unit at "Bellevue, Johannesburg." Beauty, the magazine reported, "walked into DRUM's Offices and offered to be a model. DRUM liked her, and she liked DRUM—and the result is

DRUM's cover this month!"¹⁷³ Another nurse, "big-smiled and slacks wearing Patience[,] looks after patients in Durban's King Edward's Hospital."¹⁷⁴

Flight Attendants

The global outlook of national carriers made flight attendants visible, contested, and yet carefully assembled symbols of national pride. In the United States, the exclusion of Black women from employment as flight attendants had galvanized advocacy that led to "an agreement made in 1956 between the [New York State] commission and eighteen airlines."¹⁷⁵ The airline companies, however, had resisted following through on the agreement, a move that resurrected advocacy efforts during the civil rights era. As African nations sought to establish their own national carriers, beauty took center stage. For instance, a 1956 report titled "Beauties of the Airways!" informed *Drum* readers of the training offered by British Overseas Airways Corporation for "eight Chinese cuties" in England and provided pictures of the glamorous soon-to-be proud stewardesses.¹⁷⁶ A profile in the magazine outlining the qualifications to enter the coveted profession revealed that aspiring stewardesses "should be single, between 21–28, between 5ft. 4 ins. And 5 ft. 8 ins, in height, between 120 and 135 lbs." Additionally, they were required to have completed some high school education and to be multilingual. Similar to other professional women who wore uniforms, flight attendants supplied glamour with a focus on their workwear. When East African Airways (later, Kenya Airways) launched a new uniform, the magazine reported that the airline "had a dress revolution," catapulting the flight attendants' status "from uniformed officials to leaders of a very high-flying fashion."¹⁷⁷ Advertisements for East African Airways and Ghana Airways in *Transition* and the *East Africa Journal* also featured female flight attendants.¹⁷⁸ The carrier's fashion revolution included a "graceful sari from the East," now "given official recognition as part of the East African Airways image. No attempt was made to change this beautiful golden sari of the Asian stewardesses."¹⁷⁹ The importance of this fashion move was not lost on *Drum*, which wrote that the trendsetting stewardesses "will encourage us all to throw away the flowered prints so dear to the hearts of Victorian missionaries."¹⁸⁰ To celebrate the abundance of beauty in their chosen career, flight attendants from the region's leading air carriers (East African Airways, Pan Am, Zambian Airways, Air India, Air Madagascar, and African Airways) took part in a beauty contest for a chance to be crowned "Hostess Inter-Continental." The top award was given to an employee of Ethiopian Airlines.¹⁸¹ Tsitsi Jaji notes that flight attendants were among *Bingo*

magazine's prized reader groups and air travel was its preferred conduit to discuss "gender, mobility, and uplift."¹⁸² In addition to being subjects of magazine features, therefore, flight attendants represented a desirable audience for female-targeted magazines of this era across Africa.

CONCLUSION

In its coverage of professional women, *Drum* encountered the political climate surrounding the transformation and heightened relevance of *femme urbAfricana* as the ideal model of African womanhood and femininity. Among the visible markers of the success of this model was the dissolution of a prominent marriage. Without giving too many details, Jim Bailey reported that Krobo Edusei, "Kwame Nkrumah's Minister of the Interior and troubleshooter in Ashanti," had "divorced his wife to marry a *Drum* cover girl."¹⁸³ The magazine also covered nationalist opposition to emerging beauty culture with a satirical juxtaposition of two starkly different images. The first was of a glamorous girl: "Eunice gets the stares but not the political praise"; the other was of a young female looking scared and surrounded by men: "The girl on the left used lipstick and slick western dress. But ardent nationalists soon changed that. Now she's a true daughter of Zimbabwe, though not a happy one."¹⁸⁴ The spirited opposition to cosmetics and modern-leaning fashion trends by Kenyan nationalist Martin Shikuku was noted in *Drum*, which reported that "his main objection to these is that they destroy African identity."¹⁸⁵

When male politicians increasingly encroached on women's dress and adornment choices, the magazine challenged them head-on. After Operation Vijana, Tanzania's legal blockade against the negative effect of Western fashion, specifically mini-skirts, went into effect in 1968, and numerous women were arrested and put in utamaduni (culture) cells for being "indecently dressed in public space."¹⁸⁶ Public outcry birthed a hastily formulated "definition of a mini": If it is "a dress that starts anywhere above the knee, it is against the operation. But if it reaches the knee or below, it is what we want."¹⁸⁷ The magazine opposed the double standard exemplified by the male mini-skirt objectors in Tanzania and elsewhere by calling them out on their ridiculous love of Western-styled clothes. *Drum* did so by pointing out, for example, that many an African man was "sweltering in his English three-piece suit, still-collared shirt and constricting tie." And yet the men were "doing their

utmost to keep their women cocooned in cloth.”¹⁸⁸ *Drum* volunteered the historical legacies of contested modesty and reminded readers that women had continued to face undeserved criticism for their choices: “before missionaries and administrators condemned them as naughtily naked and insisted on the wearing of sack-like garments in monotonous floral prints and three-cornered cloths tied bandage-like to cover the hair!”¹⁸⁹

Drum’s vocal opposition to the mini-skirt ban had little material effect. Two years later, the law’s zealous sponsor, Mustapha Songambele, insisted that “there was no going back” and announced that efforts would be directed at a new group of offenders: “mini-skirt wearing office girls, who he says, seem to think that the cultural revolution and the ban on minis is aimed only at street girls.”¹⁹⁰ From one *Drum* account in 1971, most offenders received fines, and some brave fashionistas offered spirited defenses of their choice of dress. One was so effective, it even led to an acquittal: “This is the most decent dress I can think of. What should I wear—a bui bui or a mgolole? My boy friend will tolerate nothing but what I was wearing that night.”¹⁹¹

Drum’s efforts to incorporate the new and emerging female urban citizens saw a shift in the magazine’s political and pro-female stance. The magazine also included updates on the changed fortunes of independence heroines, reporting, for instance, on Bibi Titi’s treason trial, life imprisonment, and subsequent presidential pardon granted by Nyerere.¹⁹² In the East African context, *Drum* vocalized its opposition to retrogressive rules and the exclusion of women in new nation-states. While it remained silent on its own decade-old role in mainstreaming skin-lightening practices, the magazine recognized the political and legal stakes for women with features, including the parliamentary debate and Philomena Chelagat’s feature on the practice.¹⁹³ The magazine’s amplification of the continent’s women professional pioneers caused a move away, if only marginally, from the objectified representations that *Drum* relied on in its first decade. Another expansion of women’s roles in *Drum* came about from profiles of women political heavyweights and their vast impact in setting fashion trends for ordinary women.

Conclusion

Over the five chapters of this book, I have set out to demonstrate the development of *femme urbAfricana*, a novel model of Black femininity that emerged from *Drum*'s commitment to unmask the experiences of Black women across various urban milieus between 1951 and 1971. The South African township acts as a situational genesis for *femme urbAfricana* in its nascent form. The co-optation of the model by advertisers seems almost immediate and provides the launchpad for regional and national recognition and subsequently a transnational outlook.

From its initial engagement, *Drum* elevated a nearly nonexistent African celebrity class by aligning it with external sources of highly esteemed female glamour, the film industry, and the trendsetting imperial capitals of London and Paris. These associations took on a new form as African cities emerged with their own sources of glamour: local women from varying social and economic backgrounds. In fact, the contextual information that escaped Grace Njoki's profile is resurrected in subsequent efforts as *femme urbAfricana* emerges from diverse transitional locations, experiences, and creators. Without the various sections dedicated to female writers, *Drum*'s efforts to reach them would have been unsuccessful. As a porous dialogic space, *Drum* embraces the creative output of its female writers and journalists, male journalists, and photographers to keep *femme urbAfricana* as a viable model of Black femininity. The magazine's advertising, led by American corporations, emerges as a pathway for *femme urbAfricana* via commodity queens. *Drum* congregates various locations of Black urban journeys to establish various routes for *femme urbAfricana* to derive from and reflect experiences across the Black diaspora. Finally, having achieved a critical mass of women on the African continent who exemplify the values of *femme urbAfricana*, *Drum* turns to women in independent African nations to show readers the possibilities and risks of urban sociability.

The periods of women's migration to cities across Africa differed across regions, as historian Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch notes. In South Africa and Mozambique, the interwar and post-World War II periods are most fruitful, whereas in East Africa, a marked increase occurs in the early to late 1970s. And yet, *femme urbAfricana* remains steadfast across divergent demographic trends, insisting, as we have seen, on an equally matched urban absence from tiny Bathurst, Gambia, to imperial capitals London or Paris. The sustained relevance also illuminates the shifting expressions of *femme urbAfricana* as women populate and innovate in increased numbers in urban cities.¹ The picture of my step-great-grandmother Grace Njoki harkens to the idea of a rural past, as discussed in the introduction with the reference to firewood. In the post-*Drum* era, a maturation of *femme urbAfricana* is once again propelled from the bounds of the nation to a broader transnational and urban context.

BLACK MODERN FEMININITIES IN THE POST-*DRUM* ERA

Femme urbAfricana offers a generative framework through which scholars can interrogate the complexities of women's representation across global and transnational media landscapes. *Drum's* transnational aspirations foreground the globalization of identities evident in *femme urbAfricana* and can prove useful for analysis of various media products that seek to appeal to audiences beyond local and national consumption contexts.

The establishment of a new visual space for Afro-descended women followed a process of maturation as the model expanded through various urban geographical boundaries. Advertising, for instance, offers an example that demonstrates the maturation in development.² Unilever's late 1970s ad for Lux features "Susie Martins," a fictional embodiment of *femme urbAfricana* who the ad unsurprisingly reveals is a "lovely International television star." Prospective consumers also learn from the ad that Martins is a busy lady: "I travel a lot—Paris, Lagos, London, New York . . . it's a busy life but I love every moment of it." The ad features an image of Martins posing in front of a studio set and an inset picture that signals her allegiance to Africa by way of a hair wrap or towel and an African print top. Susie Martins was portrayed by American actor and singer Marcia McBroom-Small.³ The advertisement, according to McBroom-Small's personal site, was shot in London⁴ and was intended for the Nigerian consumer market.⁵ Lux's Susie Martins is the ultimate representation of *femme urbAfricana*: a Black woman who possesses

an unmistakably ambiguous Black identity and is deeply urban rooted. The transnational juxtaposition of Paris, Lagos, London, and New York works to reconcile disparate metropolitan realities into a converging ideal of cosmopolitan sensibility and sociability. The choice of Lagos is a nod to the city's women citizens and their unrivaled contributions to African fashion.

In the material lives of African women in post-independence nations, evidence of a maturation of *femme urbAfricana* is observed by Hudita Mustafa's concept of "civilisé." This crystallization is observed in a study of contemporary Senegalese women's portraits, in which she asserts that "the epitome of civilisé is the elegant, fashionable woman with her carefully tended and adorned body." The efficacy of civilisé, Mustafa advances, is attained when "the dress and conduct of the civilisé must be recognized in collective efforts such as social events, visual records, and gossip."⁶ In the context of the main argument of the book, the locality of such images is comparable to the rise of "localized rivals," for instance, by clapbacks exchanged in the battle for fashion supremacy between the women of Cape Town versus Johannesburg. In the post-*Drum* era, the Lux ad adds to Mustafa's concept of collective affirmation first by situating Martins across three global metropolises and asserting that "everyone who works with her will agree. Susie has true glamour." The "true glamour" is coded through appearance, transnationalism, and Afrocentricity. Second, the ad also introduces a new aspect related to Mustafa's collective affirmation—implied peer approval—and suggests that new aspects emerge as the model of femininity engages with changes in the 1970s and beyond.

Drum's exploration of representational possibilities of Black women produced a novel model of Black femininity, *femme urbAfricana*, the hallmark of which was a sociable depiction of Africa-descended urban women. *Drum's* innovative streak occurs from its placement of women into the urban landscape. Its pivot to include Black women from the global African diaspora brings forth a distinctive beauty culture and allows an analysis of important and understudied Black qua Black discourses of beauty and the body. African American women, Caribbean women, and African women engage in discourses on fashion, urban respectability, and economic, social, and political aspirations within urban spaces, which infrequently embrace them.

A purpose of this book is to center Black modern femininities, which have historically been imagined from the margins, by proposing a new model through which such femininities are made visible. The experiences of Black women in the 1950s through the 1970s were simultaneously shaped by imag-

inaries of essentialist pasts, colonizing presents, or independent futures and emerged as sites of innovative constructions of femininity that are distinct from those of white women. By uncovering *femme urbAfricana*, I have provided examples of the limited but diverse opportunities for the expression of women's voices in *Drum* to challenge the existing scholarship that casts Black women in the magazine as voiceless victims of an oppressive representational domain in *Drum*. As a tool of anti-colonial critique, *femme urbAfricana* offers possibilities of interrogating the politics of visible Black bodies in urban landscapes. First, *femme urbAfricana* destabilizes whiteness (and Western-centric media) as the primary mechanism through which scholars theorize Afro-descended female bodies, beauty practices, and culture by uncovering the localized, regional, national, and transnational discourses among Black women and within African diasporic communities. Second, *femme urbAfricana* points our attention to the intersection of gender and whiteness. (To the latter concern, historian Lynn Thomas provides an exceptional history of skin lighteners in and beyond media spaces with in-depth discussion of the South African leading African-targeted magazines *Drum* and *Zonk!*.) For instance, what are the implications of the choice of heteronormative women as the anchors of Black urban identity across the urban milieus from which *Drum* extracts its urban and Afrocentric legitimacy? The hypervisibility of Black women in cities may function to mitigate the threat that affirming and emphatic representations of Black men in *Drum* would invite during apartheid, colonialism, and even contemporary white power movements.

BLACK BODIES IN THE AGE OF MEDIA GLOBALIZATION

Femme urbAfricana has the potential to address James Genova's concern about a lack of attention to the "interrogation of the African role in mediating the development of the colonial city and interpreting its function and design in ways that suggest post-colonial possibilities." Genova advocates that researchers can attend to this deficiency with studies that demonstrate "greater attentiveness to the cultural production associated with urbanization in Africa, specifically with regard to the place of the urban in African imaginings of the city."⁷ Ato Quayson's extensive study of Accra is one example of how researchers, in spite of a paucity of records, can credibly uncover and center experiences of African urban citizens and their relationship to a

precarious habitation.⁸ Genova's charge is also relevant in understanding the impact of globalization.

By uncovering *femme urbAfricana*, this book has offered new insights into how bodies, specifically Black female bodies, were negotiated, displayed, and imagined in various places of habitancy (i.e., township, nation-state, regional, diaspora) with the goal of expanding the current understanding of Black urban femininities as they emerge from the representational regimes of *Drum* and the political and commercial interests that shaped the magazine between 1951 and 1971. Existing understandings of movements and moments in this era—Pan-Africanism, African nationalism, and the struggle for independence—as male driven and unconcerned by aesthetics are reconsidered from the perspective of female actors in *Drum's femme urbAfricana*. For instance, women's participation in the economy is visible through features of beauty and fashion entrepreneurs, as is the importance of the cosmetics and fashion industries to emerging urban populations. *Drum* elevates women's political participation through opinion pieces and authorship opportunities for women writers and directly speaks back against efforts to limit women's aesthetic and political expression.

Femme urbAfricana offers a means to understand how vastly different political landscapes (i.e., colonialism, segregation, apartheid) are implicated in shifting notions of Black femininity. Further, *femme urbAfricana* allows scholars to establish connections between media strategies across different historical periods, such as those in the first two decades of *Drum*, and related developments in subsequent eras that seek to expand representations of bodies of Afro-descended women. One such effort is the "Face of Africa" beauty contest, which was launched in 1997 on M-Net, a subscription channel owned by MultiChoice South Africa, and which coincided with the age of media liberalization across the continent. This contemporary effort to find the ideal representation of African beauty echoes many of the print efforts that appeared in *Drum* and other publications beginning in the 1930s.

Gender and media studies scholar Sarah Banet-Weiser, in her seminal analysis of the representation of Black women's bodies in the Miss America pageant, asserts that "the appearance of the black body corresponds not with a morality and respectability considered appropriate to a Miss America contestant, but rather serves as a signal for the unknown, the threatening, and the chaotic."⁹ As a mechanism birthed from *Drum's* effort to insert Black women's bodies into white-dominated urban landscapes and futures, *femme urbAfri-*

cana, likewise, invokes not the progressive or futuristic aspects of the urban metropolis but a precarious, even conditional, sociability and respectability of Black women. For instance, how might media scholars engage with the recent examples of Afro-descended national beauty queens in Belgium and France or in global pageants such as the Miss World contest? Media scholars seek to understand the complex ways that current global challenges (i.e., globalization, white power movements, and anti-Black racism) intersect with enduring notions of Afro-descended female bodies. Based on a postcolonial critique of lifestyle magazine advertisements in Kenya and the United Kingdom during the periods 1955–75 and 2000–2010, coauthor Jennifer Aubrey and I demonstrated that colonial-era effects on media representations of the Black body reemerge and can trounce local beauty ideals in favor of a globalized, Eurocentric skin-tone ideal. This effect, which we termed the “globalization effect on skin tone,”¹⁰ occurs due to globalization and media conglomeration, which increase the desire for clear visual demarcations of “representational models” of racial categories that are relevant in a multicultural world.

This global and historical understanding of representational patterns of Black bodies is useful, for instance, in considering how *Africanness* was defined from the extreme on the February 2022 cover of *British Vogue* (see figure 28). The cover featured nine hyperpigmented supermodels of African descent: Adut Akech, Amar Akway, Majesty Amare, Akon Changkou, Maty Fall, Janet Jumbo, Abény Nhial, Nyagua Ruea, and Anok Yai. The author of the accompanying feature, Funmi Fetto, declared that the cover photo marked a moment of Black triumph: “Fashion is at last embracing what it is to be truly global.” Photographer Rafael Pavarotti declared the image “a celebration of women, of matriarchy, and of the beauty of Black women.” Meanwhile, the magazine’s editor defended the images, noting the arrival of “the African wave,” which represented “a variety of aesthetics from across that vast continent.”¹¹ In sum, the photo was ultimately “about the elevation of a continent.”¹²

The analysis of the coming-of-age narrative told via the pages of *Drum* suggests that African women have been on the global stage before and in ways that were more authentically expansive than the achievement claimed by the *Vogue* creatives. *Femme urbAfricana* traces the genesis of this journey and evolution. For instance, *femme urbAfricana* anticipates a form of paradoxical Afrocentrism evident in the curious absence of natural hair on any of the *Vogue* cover models despite a range of other photographic diverse techniques and artistic choices. In an exchange with CNN writer Stephanie



Fig. 28. February 2022 cover of *British Vogue*

(Reprinted by permission. © Rafael Pavarotti / Art + Commerce and *Vogue* © Condé Nast.)

Busari, the South Sudanese activist and stand-up comedian Akau Jambo protested *British Vogue's* representation of Black female bodies: "We don't want you to make us the Black you want. We want us as us."¹³

In her article, Busari denounces the lack of affirmation and the dehumanizing skin tone hues of the models. The implications of Jambo's invitation to the media are twofold: first, to allow space for Black women to break out of the historical and contemporary legacies that confine them to narrow and disaffirming roles, and second, to destabilize the colonial gaze by foregrounding that Black women are seeking spaces that affirm their full identities. In speaking to this concern, I suggest that *femme urbAfricana* offers a way for scholars to theorize and interrogate the complexities of African women's so-called arrival as themselves for themselves. In the case of *Drum*, the process of "arrival" occurs through Afro-descended women's positioning in an imagined and real world of urban sociability, achievement, beauty, and glamour.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Grace Njoki was my maternal step-great-grandmother. The third wife of my grandfather Henry Muoria was her daughter Nuna, my step-grandmother. Gikũyũ language has no equivalent of step-relations, and I dare not use it here.
2. "Nairobi's Answer to Tarzan, James Bond and All the Other Pint Size Heroes: Grace the Superwoman," *Drum*, August 1966.
3. Driver, "*Drum Magazine (1951–9)*," 234.
4. John Kamau, "Celebrating the Story and Legacy of Pioneer Radio Girl Ruth Muoria," *Nation*, January 17, 2021, <https://nation.africa/kenya/news/celebrating-the-story-and-legacy-of-pioneer-radio-girl-ruth-muoria-3259612>
5. Eric's father, Walter Kinyanjui, was the last-born son of Henry Muoria and his second wife, Judith Nyamurwa Muoria. Along with a daughter—Rosabell Mbure, my mother—Nyamurwa and Muoria also had a second son, Charles Mwaniki.
6. The shoot location is probably Jeevanjee Gardens, located a short walk from *Drum's* Nairobi office.
7. Frederiksen, "The Muorias in Kenya," 59.
8. Burja, "Women 'Entrepreneurs' of Early Nairobi," 234.
9. Anders and Ese, *The City Makers*, 71.
10. Coquery-Vidrovitch, *African Women*, 82.
11. Kanogo, *African Womanhood*, 241.
12. Kanogo, *African Womanhood*, 241.
13. George, *Making Modern Girls*.
14. Kanogo, *African Womanhood*, 241.
15. Wa Wanjau, *Mwandiki*, 9.
16. Otiso, "Colonial Urbanization," 73.
17. Kanogo, *African Womanhood*, 243.
18. Kanogo, *African Womanhood*, 240.
19. Kanogo, *African Womanhood*, 4.
20. Anders and Ese, *The City Makers*, 86.

21. Frederiksen, "The Muorias in Kenya," 69.
22. Frederiksen, "The Muorias in Kenya," 79.
23. "How I Became Nairobi's First Beauty Queen," *Drum*, July 1959, 14.
24. Kanogo, *African Womanhood*, 4.
25. Mitchell, "Another Means," 32.
26. Beoku-Betts, "African Women in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries," 92.
27. Reade, *Savage Africa*, 249–50.
28. Beoku-Betts, "African Women," 110.
29. Kerr, *The Far Interior*, 2.
30. Davis, *In Darkest Hollywood*, 9.
31. Cornwall, "Introduction," 2–3.
32. Thomas, "Racial Respectability in 1930s South Africa," 487–89.
33. "Competition," The Women's Activities, *Bantu World*, October 22, 1932, 10.
34. Thomas, "Racial Respectability in 1930s South Africa," 480.
35. "Competition," The Women's Activities, 10.
36. Thomas, "Racial Respectability in 1930s South Africa," 487–89.
37. Granqvist, *Photography and American Coloniality*, 47–68.
38. "Nairobi's Answer to Tarzan, James Bond and All the Other Pint Size Heroes: Grace the Superwoman," *Drum*, August 1966.
39. Schadeberg, *The Way I See It*, 109.
40. Robert Crisp, *The Gods Were Neutral*, 15.
41. Chapman, *The Drum Decade*, xi.
42. Interview with *Drum* photographer Jürgen Schadeberg, July 2019, Gandia, Spain.
43. *Drum*, September 1956.
44. "Watch Out for News About Africa!" *Drum*, February 1954, 55.
45. Chapman, *The Drum Decade*, xi.
46. "Opinion," *The African Drum*, March 1951, 1.
47. "Opinion," *The African Drum*, March 1951, 1.
48. "Opinion," *The African Drum*, March 1951, 1.
49. Simons, "Black British Swing," 35.
50. "Message from an Africa," *The African Drum*, March 1951, 2.
51. "Important Notice: To All Manufacturers and Distributors," *The African Drum*, March 1951.
52. Bailey, "Letting the Genie out the Bottle," 124.
53. "Important Notice: To All Manufacturers and Distributors," *The African Drum*, March 1951, 1.
54. "Opinion," *The African Drum*, July 1951.
55. Sampson, *Drum: The Newspaper*, 13.
56. Sampson, *Drum: The Newspaper*, 36.
57. Sampson, *Drum: The Newspaper*, 17.

58. Schadeberg, *The Way I See It*, 145.
59. “£5 Cover Contest!” *Drum*, September 1952, 21.
60. Schadeberg, *The Way I See It*, 145.
61. Schadeberg, *The Way I See It*, 142.
62. Schadeberg, *The Way I See It*, 154.
63. “Our Social Page,” *Drum*, November 1951, 23.
64. “Women’s Pages,” *Drum*, November 1951, 30.
65. “Women’s Pages,” *Drum*, November 1951, 30.
66. Schadeberg, *The Way I See It*, 145.
67. Schadeberg, *The Way I See It*, 145, 212.
68. Guma, “Women, Wage Labour,” 275.
69. Magubane and Lazar, *Women of South Africa*.
70. Nzimande, “Class, National Oppression,” 178.
71. Nzimande, “Class, National Oppression,” 165–210.
72. Schadeberg, *The Way I See It*, 214.
73. Sampson, *Drum: The Newspaper*, 30.
74. Schadeberg and Gosani, *The Fifties People of South Africa*, 4.
75. Schadeberg, *The Way I See It*, 142.
76. Sampson, *Drum: The Newspaper*, 31.
77. Sampson, *Drum: The Newspaper*, 31.
78. “Real High-Life Dolls,” *Drum*, August 1960, 46. Can Themba describes Dolly’s use of the office phone.
79. Stein, *Who Killed Mr. Drum?*
80. “Women’s Pages,” *Drum*, November 1951, 30.
81. Schadeberg, *The Way I See It*, 142.
82. Bailey, “Letting the Genie out the Bottle,” 125.
83. Bailey, “Foreword,” iii–iv.
84. Bailey, “Letting the Genie out the Bottle,” 142.
85. Nelson Ota, “The Mockery of December 30,” *Drum*, March 1965, 25–28 (Nigeria edition).
86. *Drum*, July 1966, “North America & West Indies,” Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. (See *Drum—Home Post*, July–Dec. 1966, Sc Ser.-N .D7845.)
87. Bailey, “Letting the Genie out the Bottle,” 145–46.
88. Doudu reports that he had to contend with an unserious and objectifying profile of a female cabinet minister after she was promoted to full minister. Doudu, “The ‘African Drum’ Man,” 49–50.
89. A. Smith, “West African Roll,” 34.
90. Rake, “A Drum Boy in Africa,” 8–14.
91. Rake, “Grass Roots in East Africa,” 56.
92. “How Drum Beat Them All!” *Drum*, May 1956, 25–31.
93. “Dear Readers,” *Drum*, October 1953, 5.

94. "Dear Readers," *Drum*, November 1953, 5.
95. "Drum Now Largest Sale in Africa!," *Drum*, May 1956, 5.
96. Mda, Edgar, and ka Msumza, *Africa's Cause Must Triumph*, 327–28.
97. South Africa, "Commission of Enquiry," 264.
98. South Africa, "Commission of Enquiry," 264.
99. South Africa, "Commission of Enquiry," 61.
100. South Africa, "Commission of Enquiry," 54.
101. South Africa, "Commission of Enquiry," 54.
102. South Africa, "Commission of Enquiry," 62–63.
103. Ferreira, "'Grace' and The Townships Housewife," 67.
104. Guma, "Women, Wage Labour," 275.
105. Kanogo, *African Womanhood*, 4.
106. Ferreira, "'Grace' and The Townships Housewife," 62.
107. Ferreira, "'Grace' and The Townships Housewife," 64.
108. An important contribution that advanced the scholarship of *Drum* magazine is Dorothy Woodson's *Tapping Drum – Drum: An Index to 'Africa's Leading Magazine, 1951–1965* (1988). Additionally, "Johannesburg Lunch-Hour 1951–1963: The Emergence and Development of the Humanist Photographic Essay in Drum Magazine" (Newbury, 2008) and "Imagining and Appreciating 'the Long Eye of History': Race, Form and Representation in Drum Magazine's Serialisation of Wild Conquest" (Peterson, 2019) have expanded the understanding of the magazine's format. Notable works on representation include "The Sophiatown Writers of the Fifties: The Unreal Reality of Their World" (Gready, 1990), which interrogates the magazine's commentary of township life, and *The Indian in Drum Magazine in the 1950s* (Naidoo and Durban Art Gallery, 2008).
109. See "Drum Magazine (1951–9) and the Spatial Configurations of Gender" (Driver, 1996) and "Portrayals of Men and Women in Drum Magazine (South Africa) Advertisements" (Jere, 2014) for a comprehensive discussion of gender.
110. "Too Late for Tears, Dear Sister: Constructing Victims and Perpetrators of Rape in the Advice Column Dear Dolly from 1984 to 2004" (Krige and Oostendorp, 2015) offers a critical and robust analysis of the construction of agency in the column.
111. During the "*Drum* decade," masculinity and fatherhood emerge as main themes in articles by Lindsay Clowes: "Are You Going to Be MISS (or MR) Africa? Contesting Masculinity in Drum Magazine 1951–1953" (2001); "To Be a Man: Changing Constructions of Manhood in Drum Magazine, 1951–1965" (2005); and "Men and Children: Changing Constructions of Fatherhood in Drum Magazine 1951–1965" (2006). Clowes further interrogates the evolution of Black masculinity in "Masculinity, Matrimony and Generation: Reconfiguring Patriarchy in Drum 1951–1983" (2008). See "'Tough Guy, Eh?': The Gangster-Figure in Drum" (Fenwick, 1996) for a discussion of gangster tropes in the magazine.
112. "So-Fire-Town: The Representations of a Translucent Urban Black Femininity in the Black Press Through the Signatures of Dolly Rathebe in the 1950s" (Ndimande,

2022) offers a comparison of Dolly Rathebe's representation in *Zonk!* and *Drum*. See "Whitewashing *Drum* Magazine (–1959): Advertising Race and Gender" (Rauwerda, 2007) for an analysis of the magazine's advertisements and racial assumptions that influenced them.

113. Ferreira, "Grace' and The Townships Housewife," 66.

114. Driver, "*Drum* Magazine (1951–9)," 235.

115. Fleming and Falola, "Drum's Expansion to Nigeria," 160.

116. Clowes, "Constructions of Fatherhood in *Drum* Magazine," 116.

117. Naidoo and Durban Art Gallery, *The Indian in Drum*.

118. Kanogo, *African Womanhood*, 241.

119. Daymond, *Women Writing Africa*.

120. Mda, Edgar, and ka Msumza, *Africa's Cause Must Triumph*, 318.

121. Mda, Edgar, and ka Msumza, *Africa's Cause Must Triumph*, 328.

122. Bailey, "Letting the Genie out the Bottle," 130.

123. See Rachel Johnson, "'The Girl About Town': Discussions of Modernity and Female Youth in *Drum* Magazine, 1951–1970" (2009) for a discussion of Marion Morel, and Kenda Mutongi, "'Dear Dolly's' Advice: Representations of Youth, Courtship, and Sexualities in Africa" (2000) for an analysis of Dear Dolly.

124. For examples of analyses of male columnists' contributions, see Michael Chapman, "Gender-Based Violence, the Sophiatown Shebeens, and Presentism in Can Themba's Stories Beyond 'The Suit'" (2023); Ryan Brown, "Life on the Fringe: The Early Writings of Lewis Nkosi and Nat Nakasa" (2012); Colette Guldemann, "Against the Law: Arthur Maimane's Pioneering Hard-Boiled Black Detective Fiction in *Drum* Magazine" (2019); Phil Ndlela, "Do Not Let Him Die: Celebrating the Legacy of Es' kia Mphahlele" (2017); Lindy Stiebel and Elizabeth Gunner, *Still Beating the Drum: Critical Perspectives on Lewis Nkosi* (2005); Michael Titlestad, "Jazz Discourse and Black South African Modernity, with Special Reference to 'Matshikese'" (2005); and Xiaoran Hu, "Writing Against Innocence: Entangled Temporality, Black Subjectivity, and Drum Writers Revisited" (2020).

125. Sampson, *Drum: The Newspaper*.

126. Denise Sutton's *Globalizing Ideal Beauty: How Female Copywriters of the J. Walter Thompson Advertising Agency Redefined Beauty for the Twentieth Century* (2009), which guided my own analysis of the impact of U.S. advertising agencies and Geoffrey Jones's examination of cosmetic conglomerates in *Beauty Imagined: A History of the Global Beauty Industry*, underscored the importance of Afro-descended women's experiences. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (McClintock, 1995); *Globalizing Beauty: Consumerism and Body Aesthetics in the Twentieth Century* (Berghoff and Kühne, 2013); *Bodies Without Borders* (Casanova and Jafar, 2013); and *Beneath the Surface: A Transnational History of Skin Lighteners* (Thomas, 2020) have been invaluable in considering the transnational and historical aspects of *Drum's* influence.

127. Barlow et al., "The Modern Girl Around the World," 245–94.

128. Mutongi, “Dear Dolly’s Advice,” 1–23.
129. Sandwith, “The Importance of Being Educated,” 178.
130. Bennett and Rosenberg, *The Kenyatta Election*, 174.
131. Asante, “Afrocentricity, Race, and Reason,” 195–203.
132. Mullings, “Reclaiming Culture: The Dialectics of Identity,” 210–15.
133. “Angela Davis Talks About Her Future and Her Freedom,” *Jet*, July 27, 1972, 1.
134. A. Davis, “Afro Images,” 39.
135. A. Davis, “Afro Images,” 38.
136. A. Davis, “Afro Images,” 41.
137. A. Davis, “Afro Images,” 41.
138. Hamilton et al., “Rethinking the African Diaspora,” 31.
139. Coquery-Vidrovitch, “Introduction: African Urban Spaces: History and Culture,” xxxii.
140. Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood*, 30.
141. Thomas, “Racial Respectability in 1930s South Africa,” 487.
142. Rilda Marta, “Miss Rilda Marta’s Trip to the United States Full of Excitement,” *Bantu World*, June 29, 1935, 12.
143. Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood*, 41.
144. Butler, “Defining Diaspora,” 211.
145. Walker, “Milestones and Arrows,” 518.
146. Mustafa, “Portraits of Modernity,” 178.
147. Bailey, “Letting the Genie out the Bottle,” 123–39.
148. Mutongi, “Dear Dolly’s Advice,” 1–23.
149. Chetty, “Lesbian Gangster: The Gertie Williams Story,” 128–33.
150. “Male or Female?,” *Jet*, December 13, 1951, 35.
151. Oyèwùmí, *African Gender Studies*, 2005.
152. Katshunga, “Contesting Black Girlhood,” 69–70.
153. Steady, “An Investigative Framework for Gender,” 313–32.
154. Lewis, “Cosmopolitanism and the Modern Girl,” 1385–1419.
155. Thomas, “Racial Respectability in 1930s South Africa,” 489.
156. Thomas, “Racial Respectability in 1930s South Africa,” 464.
157. Hall, *Essential Essays*, 322.
158. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*, 147.
159. Bryant, “Runaways, Dutiful Daughters, and Brides,” 37–55.
160. George, *Making Modern Girls*.
161. In *Oxford Street, Accra: City Life and the Itineraries of Transnationalism*, Quayson (2014) argues that the urban African street can be read as an archive, extending the analysis to the corporate messages splashed on its billboards.
162. Butler, “Defining Diaspora,” 192.
163. Kellner, *Media Culture*.
164. Hall, *Essential Essays*.

165. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 27.
166. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*, 147.
167. Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, 25.
168. Culler, "Presupposition and Intertextuality," 1380–96.
169. Weinbaum et al., *The Modern Girl Around the World*, 18.
170. Grant, *Winning Our Freedoms Together*, 94.
171. Harris, "Historicizing the African Diaspora," 85–92.
172. Ford, *Liberated Threads*, 21.

1. ARCHITECTS OF FEMME URBAFRICANA

1. Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood*, 25.
2. Mphahlele, "Interviews with Es'kia Mphahlele," 136.
3. Mphahlele, "Interviews with Es'kia Mphahlele," 124.
4. Mphahlele, "Interviews with Es'kia Mphahlele," 124.
5. Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood*, 28.
6. Schadeberg and Gosani, *The Fifties People*, 17.
7. Sampson, *Drum: The Newspaper*, 18.
8. Sampson, *Drum: The Newspaper*, 52.
9. Sampson, *Drum: The Newspaper*, 52.
10. Trump, "Black Writing and the Liberation Movement," 173.
11. Trump, "Black Writing and the Liberation Movement," 166.
12. Mphahlele, "Interviews with Es'kia Mphahlele," 124.
13. Juby Mayet, "Charity's O.K.—but Bad for the Feet," *Drum Home Post*, December 3, 1967, 3.
14. Daymond, *Women Writing Africa*, 37–38.
15. Daymond, *Women Writing Africa*, 41.
16. Mayet, "Charity's O.K.—but Bad for the Feet," 3.
17. Mayet, "Charity's O.K.—but Bad for the Feet," 3.
18. Mayet, *Freedom Writer*, 31.
19. Mayet, *Freedom Writer*, 33.
20. Juby Mayet, "Way-Out Frilly and Fun," *Drum Home Post*, October 15, 1967, 3.
21. Daymond, *Women Writing Africa*, 37–38.
22. Bush, "Early Francophone African Women's Magazines," 213–36.
23. Riva, "Féminines En Afrique Francophone."
24. Ducournau, "Femmes dans Awa," 51.
25. Jaji, "Bingo Magazine," 110–23.
26. Jaji, "Francophone African Women," 112.
27. Hamilton, "Transnational Politics," 219–38.
28. Mustafa, "Portraits of Modernity," 175.
29. Mustafa, "Portraits of Modernity," 178.

30. See, for instance, “Rosemarie, Our Cover This Month,” *Drum*, October 1968 (East Africa).

31. *Drum*, May 1952.

32. Schadeberg, *The Way I See It*, 277.

33. “When Miss South Africa Won the Title for 1961,” *Drum*, December 1960, 32–33 (pictures by Peter Magubane).

34. “Putting Anna on the Cover,” *Drum*, July 1966 (East Africa) (Pictures by Aziz Islamshah).

35. “Brains and Beauty on the Beach,” *Drum*, September 1967.

36. “Hey! Take a Look at This!,” *Drum*, August 1959, 43 (Pictures by Christian Gbabgo).

37. “Psychic,” *Jet*, August 3, 1972, 35.

38. “Free,” *Jet*, August 10, 1972, 35.

39. G. R. Naidoo, “Lady of the Flaming Feet!” *Drum*, January 1956, 61.

40. “Durban’s Darling!” *Drum*, December 1955, 42.

41. “Lovely Enis Is No Stranger on the Shore,” *Drum*, August 1970 (East Africa).

42. “One Man’s Rose,” *Drum*, April 1968 (East Africa).

43. “Prize Winning Photographers,” *Ebony Africa*, no. 5 (July 1964): 47–50.

44. “Our Cover Dish,” *Drum*, September 1962, 11.

45. “One Man’s Rose.”

46. “We Bring You Two Beauties from West Africa with Love: Eyeful of Edith” (Pictures by Matthew Faji), *Drum*, January 1967 (East Africa).

47. “A Nymph Who Came in from a Swim,” *Drum*, April 1967.

48. Home Pages, *Drum*, April 1952, 33.

49. *Drum*, May 1952.

50. Home and Beauty, *Drum*, June 1952, 19.

51. *Drum*, May 1952.

52. “Women in the News,” Home and Beauty, *Drum*, July 1952, 39.

53. “Darr’s Plenty Oomph Here!” *Drum*, May 1953, 26.

54. “Women in the News,” *Drum*, July 1952, 39.

55. “Women in the News,” *Drum*, July 1952, 39.

56. Home and Beauty, *Drum*, October 1952, 43.

57. “A Gay Gal!” *Drum*, February 1953, 43.

58. “Lingering Sweetness,” *Drum*, March 1953, 44.

59. “Dolly Gets About,” *Drum*, November 1952, 45.

60. “Dolly Gets About,” 45.

61. Sally Wheeler, “Are You a Party Mouse?” Woman’s *Drum*, *Drum*, April 1966 (East Africa).

62. “What’s That Woman’s Name?” *Drum*, June 1966 (East Africa).

63. Sally Wheeler, “Ours a Man’s World? Don’t You Believe It!” Woman’s *Drum*, *Drum*, October 1966.

64. Wheeler, "Ours a Man's World?"
65. Sally Wheeler, "Battle of the Bones," *Woman's Drum, Drum*, August 1966.
66. Sally Wheeler, "Two Ways of Giving a New Tang to the Old Cabbage," *Woman's Drum, Drum*, June 1966 (East Africa).
67. "Miss Africa Wants a Complete Change," *Woman's Drum, Drum*, September 1965.
68. "Fashion-Wise," *Woman's Drum, Drum*, August 1969 (East Africa).
69. "Woman's Drum," *Drum*, August 1970 (East Africa).
70. "Woman's Drum," August 1970.
71. Anne Placido, "Beauty Box: The Eyes Have It!" *Drum*, September 1969 (East Africa).
72. Placido, "Beauty Box: The Eyes Have It!"
73. "Anne Is So Ambitious!" *Drum*, September 1969 (East Africa).
74. "Wearing the Best of Both Worlds . . .," *Drum*, March 1970 (East Africa).
75. Anne Placido, "Want to Be the Belle of the Ball? Here's the Secret!" *Drum*, April 1970 (East Africa).
76. Placido, "Want to Be the Belle of the Ball?"
77. "Lively Lynette Looks Ahead," *Drum*, January 1970 (East Africa).
78. "A Career in Beauty," *Drum*, January 1970 (East Africa).
79. Anne Placido, "Taking Steps to a Slim Cut Figure," *Drum*, April 1970 (East Africa).
80. Anne Placido, "A Girl's Long Nails—Flattery or Cutlery?" *Drum*, May 1970 (East Africa).
81. Morel, "Girl About Town," *Drum*, June 1959, 19.
82. Morel, "Girl About Town," *Drum*, March 1960, 17.
83. Morel, "Girl About Town," *Drum*, April 1960, 17.
84. "Polishing Up Our Lovelies," *Drum*, February 1961, 56–58.
85. "Polishing Up Our Lovelies," 57.
86. "Marion Morel *Drum's* Popular Girl About Town," *Drum*, September 1961, 72.
87. "It Makes Me Feel an Awful Fool!" *Drum*, September 1961, 89.
88. Johnson, "The Girl About Town," 43.
89. Morel, "Girl About Town," *Drum*, April 19, 17.
90. *Drum*, May 1960.
91. Morel, "Girl About Town," *Drum*, July 1959, 17.
92. "Our Beauty Bar," *Drum*, April 1962, 83.
93. Morel, "Girl About Town," *Drum*, December 1960, 17.
94. BAH, Morel, Marion, Columnist for *Drum* (written by Jacky Heyns).
95. "18 Days: A South African Journal," *New York Times*, March 18, 1990, East Coast Late Edition.
96. BAH, Heyns, Jacky, Columnist for *Drum* and *Post*, 1960s.
97. Driver, "*Drum Magazine* (1951–9)," 235.

98. "Cover Girl Story," *Drum*, November 1952, 32.
99. Driver, "Drum Magazine (1951–9)," 234.
100. "Our Own M.M.," *Drum*, October 1962, 51.
101. "Mr. Drum Looks at Cape Beauty," *Drum*, November 1953.
102. "Mr. Drum's Search for Beauty," *Drum*, June 1952, 36–37.
103. "Cover Girl's Day Off!," *Drum*, August 1953, 1.
104. Moses Casey Motsisi, "Drum Pin-Up Gets Pinned!," *Drum*, April 1956, 42.
105. Motsisi, "Drum Pin-Up Gets Pinned!," 42.
106. Motsisi, "Drum Pin-Up Gets Pinned!," 43.
107. "Real High-Life Dolls," *Drum*, August 1960, 44, 47, 46.
108. "Real High-Life Dolls," 47.
109. "Real High-Life Dolls," 47.
110. Lewis Nkosi, "Jazz in Exile," *Transition*, no. 24 (1966): 34, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2934513>
111. Coplan, *In Township Tonight!*
112. Todd Matshikiza, "Shantytown in City Hall," *Drum*, July 1956, 17–21 (Pictures by Bob Gosani).
113. Matshikiza and Matshikiza, *With the Lid Off*, book jacket.
114. Matshikiza and Matshikiza, *With the Lid Off*, 10.
115. Todd Matshikiza, "Hot Drums!," *Drum*, April 1954, 12.
116. Todd Matshikiza, "Two Years of Thoko Shukuma," *Drum*, October 1956, 39.
117. "Don't Break 'Em at Christmas!," *Drum*, January 1954, 48.
118. *Drum*, September 1954.
119. "Playtime '52," *Drum*, July 1952, 12–19.
120. "Masterpiece in Bronze—Emily Motsieloa," *Drum*, May 1956, 22.
121. "Stop for the Girl with the Mostest," *Drum*, December 1963, 41.
122. Cameron Duodu, "Obituary: Beryl Duodu," *The Guardian*, March 5, 2007. <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2007/mar/05/obituaries.mainsection>
123. "Zainab Reddy Meets Sharmila Tagore," *Drum*, December 1966.
124. Juby Mayet and Alfred Khumalo, "Are We Men or Are We Women?" *Drum*, January 1966.
125. "Yvonne Sees a Fashion Revolt Begin," *Drum*, November 1961, 39.
126. "In Lagos Society . . . If You Want to Get Ahead Get a Wig!," *Drum*, April 1964.
127. BABA Beauties, "The Beauti-Ful Revolution," *Ghana Drum*, August 1972.
128. *Jet* reported of a group of Black women protesting against actress Leslie Uggams's investment in an Afro-wig manufacturer. "The Week's Best Photos: Silent Protest," *Jet*, October 31, 1968, 37.
129. "Drum Beauty Extra. Wigs," *Drum*, November 1969 (East Africa).
130. "Glamorous Afro-Wigs," *Drum*, October 1970 (East Africa).
131. Advertisements for similar products appeared in *Jet*. See, for example, "A Wig You Can Dig from Star-Glow," *Jet*, July 13, 1972, 40.

132. Craig, *Ain't I a Beauty Queen?*
133. "The Knees Have the Eyes," *Drum*, August 1967 (East Africa).
134. "The Knees Have the Eyes."
135. "The Knees Have the Eyes."
136. "Oh Dig the Crazy Fashion," *Drum*, November 1969 (East Africa).
137. "Women on the Crest of a Wave," *Drum*, June 1969 (East Africa).
138. Sanyal and Kasule, "Modernism and Cultural Politics on East Africa," 50–94.
139. "Fashion Fantastic," *Drum*, June 1971 (East Africa).
140. "Jane—Career Girl," *Drum*, August 1969 (East Africa).
141. "Fashion by Jaine Porter," *Drum*, January 1972 (East Africa).
142. "Gold (Imitation) Is All the Rage," *Drum*, July 1967.
143. "Chez Julie's Fashion Show," *Drum*, February 1970 (East Africa). Chez Julie's full name was Juliana Norteye.
144. "Fashion Show," *Drum*, November 1970 (East Africa).
145. "Model May," *Drum*, January 1971 (East Africa).
146. Penny More, "What Is Beauty?" *Drum*, July 1967.
147. "Blame It on Cleo!," *Drum*, June 1969 (East Africa).
148. "Blame It on Cleo!"
149. "Drum Salutes Black Is Beautiful," *Drum*, October 1970 (East Africa).
150. "Drum Salutes Black Is Beautiful."
151. Lanoi Maloiy, "Tracing Kenyan Women's Involvement," 24–49.
152. Philomena Chelagat, "Black Pride: What Is It?," *Drum*, July 1971 (East Africa).

2. AFRICAN "SIRENS"

1. "Film Parade," *Ebony Magazine Archive* 1, no. 3 (January 1, 1946): 30.
2. "Film Parade," *Ebony Magazine Archive* 1, no. 1 (November 1, 1945): 42.
3. "A Day in Hollywood with Lena Horne," *Ebony Magazine Archive* 1, no. 5 (March 1, 1946): 2.
4. Freda DeKnight, "Lena Horne's Valentine Party," *Ebony Magazine Archive*, February 1, 1947: 17–18.
5. "A Day at Home with a Chorus Girl," *Ebony Magazine Archive* 1, no. 4 (February 1, 1946): 18–23.
6. "Negro Movies Hit Pay Dirt," *Ebony Magazine Archive* 1, no. 10 (September 1, 1946): 42–44.
7. "Hollywood Debut for Pearl Bailey," *Ebony Magazine Archive* 2, no. 6 (April 1, 1947): 38–39; "A DATE WITH ANNA: A Tale of a Two-City Triumph by a Love-Hungry Girl from Harlem," *Ebony Magazine Archive* 1, no. 2 (December 1, 1945): 17–24.
8. "BYE-BYE BOOGIE: Hazel Scott Leaves Night Clubs and Moves to Concert Stage," *Ebony Magazine Archive* 1, no. 1 (November 1, 1945): 34.
9. "MOVIE MAKING IN AFRICA: New British Film Portrays Conflict of Old and New on Dark Continent," *Ebony Magazine Archive* 1, no. 3 (January 1, 1946): 48–50.

10. John H. Johnson, "Why Jet?" *Jet*, November 1, 1951.
11. "First Negro Opens with Met Opera," Entertainment, *Jet*, November 22, 1951, 54.
12. "Negroes Admitted to Met Opera Sherry's Bar," Entertainment, *Jet*, November 29, 1951, 61.
13. "Harlem Versus Hollywood," *Jet*, June 5, 1952, 32–38.
14. "Mardi Gras Time in Rio," *Jet*, February 14, 1952, 14–19.
15. "Thrills German Audiences," *Jet*, March 27, 1952, 13.
16. The August 1949 inaugural cover of *Zonk!* featured Dolly Rathebe.
17. Douglas W. Churchill, "Hollywood Peers into Its Magic Looking-Glass," *New York Times*, July 25, 1937, 133.
18. Schadeberg, and Gosani, *The Fifties People*, 4.
19. Davis, *In Darkest Hollywood*, 9.
20. Schadeberg, *The Way I See It*, 164.
21. "Advertising South Africa," 833.
22. Davis, *In Darkest Hollywood*, 9.
23. Davis, *In Darkest Hollywood*, 25.
24. Davis, *In Darkest Hollywood*, 25.
25. Davis, *In Darkest Hollywood*, 25.
26. Samuelson, "Re-Presenting Sophiatown," 71.
27. Schadeberg, *The Way I See It*, 182.
28. "How Drum Beat Them All! Legs on Bail," *Drum*, May 1956, 31.
29. "Talk o' the Rand," *Drum*, May 1954, 23.
30. Themba, "A Requiem for Sophiatown," 12.
31. Schadeberg, "Dolly Rathebe and the African Inkspots."
32. "DOLLY Straightens Her Hair," *Zonk!: African People's Pictorial*, December 1953.
33. "Poor Dolly," *Drum*, July 1952, 40.
34. Feldstein, *How It Feels to Be Free*, 58.
35. Ndimande, "So-Fire-Town," 4.
36. "Cry the Beloved Country," *Drum*, January 1952, 31.
37. "We Don't Have to Be Rich," *Drum*, April 1952, 31.
38. "Temples," *Drum*, March 1952, 17.
39. "Song of Africa All-African Musical Film," *Drum*, April 1952, 15.
40. "Our Social Page," *Drum*, April 1952, 35.
41. "Glamour of the World," *Drum*, June 1953, 37.
42. "AFRICAN BEAUTIES: Black Skin Instead of White Sets Standard of What Is Beauty on Continent Where Darker Shades Predominate in Pulchritude," *Ebony Magazine Archive* 9, no. 6 (April 1, 1954): 32–36.
43. "Continental Combination Is a New Screen Beauty!" *Drum*, June 1959 (East Africa edition, July 1959), 79.

44. "Could Hollywood Come to Kenya?" *Drum*, November 1967 (East Africa and Zambia editions).
45. "Fabulous Francisca," *Drum*, June 1968 (East Africa).
46. "Could Hollywood Come to Kenya?"
47. "Mrembo," *Drum*, March 1969 (East Africa).
48. Schadeberg and Gosani, *The Fifties People*, 4.
49. Coplan, *In Township Tonight!*, 146.
50. Huddleston, *Naught for Your Comfort*, 120.
51. Magubane and Lee, *Soweto*, 18.
52. Schadeberg, *The Way I See It*, 212.
53. "Thandi Klaasen," South African History Online, updated October 7, 2022, <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/thandi-klaasen>
54. Schadeberg, and Gosani, *The Fifties People*, 58.
55. "Trouper Tandi Rocks Table Mountain," *Drum*, January 1969, 26–27.
56. Lara Allen, "Commerce, Politics, and Musical Hybridity: Vocalizing Urban Black South African Identity During the 1950s," *Ethnomusicology* 47, no. 2 (Spring–Summer 2003): 228–49. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3113919>
57. David B. Coplan, *In Township Tonight!*, 146.
58. Schadeberg, *The Way I See It*, 218.
59. Makeba and Hall, *Makeba: My Story*, 63.
60. Makeba and Hall, *Makeba: My Story*, 47
61. William Modisane, "Manhattan Brothers Mellow," *Drum*, January 1956, 37–39.
62. "A Lazy Day for a Lovely Dog," *Drum*, April 1961, 68–69.
63. "Poor Dolly," *Drum*, July 1952, 40.
64. Schadeberg, and Gosani, *The Fifties People*, 58.
65. Magubane and Lee, *Soweto*.
66. Huddleston, *Naught for Your Comfort*, 130.
67. Themba, "Requiem for Sophiatown," 14, 12.
68. "Sophiatown," featuring Hugh Masekela (track 5 on Thandi Klaasen, *Together as One*, HKM Records, 1996).
69. "A Swim for Orlando!" *Drum*, October 1953, 12–13.
70. "A Swim for Orlando!," 13.
71. "A Swim for Orlando!," 13.
72. "Christmas Carnival!" *Drum*, December 1951, 17.
73. Todd Matshikiza, "Fr. Huddleston Entertained by the Girls Who Said Good-bye," *Drum*, February 1956, 33.
74. "Drum Debates," *Drum*, September 1952, 10.
75. "Swinging! The Equator Boys," *Drum*, August 1968 (East Africa).
76. Matshikiza and Matshikiza, *With the Lid Off*, 10.
77. Benson Dyantyi, "What Happened to Showbiz," *Drum*, September 1960, 30.
78. "When Nairobi Takes the Night Out," *Drum*, December 1965.

79. "Drum Guide to the Gay Time," *Drum*, March 1968 (East Africa) (Pictures by Nick Russell).
80. "Last of the Ritz," *Drum*, February 1952, 25–26.
81. "Last of the Ritz," 25–26.
82. Entertainment, *Jet*, January 3, 1952, 54.
83. "Should the Masuka Strip?" *Drum*, February 1962, 46–47.
84. "Babsy, Dancing Star," *Drum*, March 1952, 14.
85. "Meet a Rising Star," *Drum*, June 1958, 2.
86. "How Negro Beauties Charm Europe's Men," *Jet*, November 8, 1951, 61–65.
87. "Most Beautiful Legs on Broadway," *Jet*, January 31, 1952, 34.
88. "Baltimore Dancer Clicks in London," *Jet*, May 8, 1952, 34–35.
89. "Heart Beat Rose," *Drum*, January 1969 (East Africa).
90. "Peggy Molefe, the Bomb Shell," *Drum*, March 1965.
91. "Miss April Drum Personality Plus . . .," *Drum*, April 1970 (East Africa).
92. "Uganda's Lady of Song!" *Drum*, August 1971 (East Africa).
93. "Miss Africa 1952," *Drum*, January 1952, 24.
94. "Miss Africa 1952," 24.
95. "£100 in Prizes!" *Drum*, March 1952, 17.
96. "Africa 1952," *Drum*, April 1952, 11.
97. "African Beauty," *Jet*, April 24, 1952, 16–20.
98. "AFRICAN BEAUTIES," 35.
99. "Gro-Strate," *Drum*, January 1952, 25.
100. "Africa 1952," *Drum*, May 1952, 28.
101. "Africa 1952," *Drum*, June 1952, 19.
102. "Africa 1952! Parade of Finalists," *Drum*, November 1952, 32–33.
103. "Queen of Africa," *Drum*, February 1953, 6–7.
104. "AFRICAN BEAUTIES," 35.
105. "Winning Baby!" *Drum*, February 1953, 45.
106. "Mr. Africa," *Drum*, March 1953, 43.
107. "Miss Africa flies to DURBAN!" *Drum*, March 1953, 22–23.
108. "Africa 1952," *Drum*, April 1952, 11.
109. "The Joy of Love," *Drum*, November 1955, 40.
110. Todd Matshikiza, "A Day with Africa's Queen," *Drum*, May 1954, 10–11.
111. "Who Will Be Miss Africa?" *Drum*, October 1956, 65.
112. *Drum*, December 1958/January 1959.
113. "Girliest Girl Show," *Drum*, July 1962, 65.
114. "Cover Lovelies," *Drum*, December 1968 (East Africa).
115. "Another Helen!" *Drum*, December 1967 (East Africa and Zambia).
116. "Discovery Girl," *Drum*, April 1952, 22.
117. "In Pursuit of Beauty," *Drum*, June 1967.
118. Casey Motsisi, "Delicious Dottie: The Zsa Zsa Gabor of the Reffe (Pictures by Peter Magubane)," *Drum*, May 1961, 24–25.

119. Dotty Tiyo, "Dotty on Love," *Drum*, April 1962, 13.
120. *Drum*, November 1961.
121. "Breakfast with Beulah" (Pictures by Alfred Khumalo), *Drum*, November 1966.
122. "Our Cover Dish," *Drum*, September 1962, 11.
123. "Mr. Drum Looks at Cape Beauty," *Drum*, November 1953, 37.
124. "Who Won the Prize?" *Drum*, February 1954, 28.
125. "Heavenly Sisters," *Drum*, December 1961, 48.
126. "Banana Queen!" *Drum*, June 1954, 22.
127. G. R. Naidoo, "How a Girl Wiggles Her Way into a Crown . . .," *Drum*, March 1965.
128. *Golden City Post*, October 18, 1959.
129. "P.E.'s Cutest Cutey Pie," *Drum*, August 1956, 55.
130. Craig, *Ain't I a Beauty Queen?*, 77.
131. "Choosing Miss Jo-Burg," *Drum*, June 1959, 31.
132. Craig, *Ain't I a Beauty Queen?*, 63–64.
133. "Miss November Drum," *Drum*, November 1971 (East Africa).
134. Craig, *Ain't I a Beauty Queen?*, 65.
135. Foreign News, *Jet*, November 15, 1951, 15.
136. "National Report," *Jet*, May 22, 1952, 5.
137. "WEST INDIES BEAUTY QUEEN: Jamaican Girl Is First Negro to Enter Top Beauty Contest," *Ebony Magazine Archive* 9, no. 12 (October 1, 1954): 79–84.
138. "MRS. BEAUTIFUL: Glamor Girl of Caribbean Now Leads Quiet, Happy Life as Devoted Wife," *Ebony Magazine Archive* 12, no. 1 (November 1, 1956): 33–36.
139. "NEW TREND TOWARD BLACK BEAUTIES: Darker Girls Are Winning in Bids for Titles," *Ebony Magazine Archive* 23, no. 2 (December 1, 1967): 164–70.
140. Craig, *Ain't I a Beauty Queen?*, 71–72.
141. "Africa's Most Beautiful Girl," *Drum*, March 1971 (East Africa).
142. Craig, *Ain't I a Beauty Queen?*, 59.
143. Craig, *Ain't I a Beauty Queen?*, 66.
144. "Africa's Most Beautiful Girl."
145. "Africa's Most Beautiful Girl."
146. Davis, "The Other Southern Belles," 327.
147. BAHA Beauties, "Who Will Be the Carnival Queen?" *Golden City Post*, November 15, 1959.
148. BAHA Beauties, "Who Will Be the Carnival Queen?"
149. Noel Mukono, "Our Chance for a Miss World Win," *Drum*, February 1962, 19.
150. Mukono, "Our Chance for a Miss World Win," 19.
151. Noel Mukono, "First Beauty Is Chosen, then a Row," *Drum*, March 1962, 57–58.
152. Mukono, "First Beauty Is Chosen, then a Row," 57–58.
153. Mukono, "First Beauty Is Chosen, then a Row," 58.
154. Mukono, "Our Chance for a Miss World Win," 21.
155. Mukono, "Our Chance for a Miss World Win," 21.

156. "... and He Beautified His Beard," *Drum*, January 1963.
157. "Drum Drops in on the World," *Drum*, January 1956, 22.
158. "Drum Drops in on the World," *Drum*, January 1956, 22.
159. "Drum Drops in on the World," *Drum*, February 1956, 27.
160. "Teen-age Curves Hit the Jack-pot," *Drum*, November 1955, 2, 22.
161. "Glamour of the World!" *Drum*, September 1952, 3.
162. "Glamour of the World!" *Drum*, November 1952, 45.
163. "Glamour of the World," *Drum*, January 1953, 4.
164. "Glamour of the World," *Drum*, October 1952, 21.
165. "Glamour of the World!" *Drum*, May 1953, 13.
166. "Butone Beauty Contest!" *Drum*, November 1953, 25.
167. "The Kabaka Entertains," *Drum*, October 1965.
168. "Theresa Takes on the World," *African Drum*, February 1964.
169. "East Africa Beauty CoverGirl," *Drum*, September 1957, 43.
170. "Velvet Voiced: But No Vamp," *Drum*, November 1960, 44–45.
171. "The Girls Are Lovely . . . in West Africa," *Drum*, June 1962, 40.
172. "Emily's Tops!" *Drum*, September 1963, 96.
173. "Emily's Tops!" 96.
174. "Uganda's Lady of Law," *Drum*, July 1968 (East Africa).
175. "Drum Cover," *Drum*, November 1951, 3.
176. "Next Month in DRUM," *Drum*, April 1970 (East Africa).
177. "Drum Cover," *Drum*, February 1952, 3.
178. "Cover Girl," *Drum*, April 1953, 4.
179. "Umbrella Girl!," *Drum*, December 1953, 12.
180. "A Day on Durban Beach," *Drum*, February 1952, 34.
181. "Cover Girls Like This?" *Drum*, May 1969 (East Africa).
182. "First Indian Pin-Up Ever!," *Drum*, October 1955, 42.
183. "First Indian Pin-Up Ever!," 42.
184. "It's Swimsuits for Saris Now," *Drum*, May 1961, 75.
185. "Glenda Looks at Life," *Drum*, October 1963, 50–51.
186. "Gorgeous! Glorious! Gambienne," *Drum*, December 1968 (East Africa) (Photographs by N. Sheraly).
187. "This Month's Cover Girl," *Drum*, July 1959 (East Africa, August 1959), 9.
188. "The Aga Khan Marries in Paris," *Drum*, December 1969 (East Africa).
189. "Drum's Miss May," *Drum*, May 1969 (East Africa).
190. "East Africa's Own Cover Girl—the Fabulous Gigi," *Drum*, September 1964.
191. "Who Are Africa's Loveliest Women?" *Drum*, January 1961, 34–35.
192. Schadeberg, *The Way I See It*, 214.
193. *Ebony's* coverage of African beauty queens noted with shock that the winner was seventeen. *Ebony Magazine Archive* 9, no. 6 (April 1, 1954): 35.
194. "Why Did Alake Ole Die?" *Drum*, October 1965, 16–17 (Nigeria edition).

195. "Rose the Rose," *Drum*, April 1966, 35 (Nigeria edition).
196. "The Elegant Miss Class," *Drum*, June 1965, 20 (Nigeria edition).
197. "Miss January Drum, Eva—Aiming for the Top!" *Drum*, January 1971 (East Africa) (Photographs by Christian Gbabgo).
198. "Rema—au Naturel!" *Drum*, April 1969 (East Africa) (Photographs by Andrew Cockrill).
199. Craig, *Ain't I a Beauty Queen?*, 106.
200. "1969 A Very Good Year for Girls!" *Drum*, December 1969 (East Africa).
201. "Fashions by Angelina Ann," *Drum*, October 1951, 30.
202. "The Secret of the Saree!," *Drum*, November 1952, 45.
203. "Drum Portrait Gallery," *Drum*, March 1952, 22.
204. "Fashion Note," *Drum*, February 1952, 19.
205. "Babsy, Dancing Star," *Drum*, March 1952, 14.
206. "Marion Morel *Drum's* Popular Girl About Town," *Drum*, September 1961, 72.
207. Nat Nakasa, "Wow! These Gals Sure Can Dress," *Drum*, June 1958, 31–33.
208. "Janes Like Jeans," *Drum*, July 1956, 17.
209. "Fashion for Spring . . . It's Off the Shoulder Off the Knee," *Drum*, September 1960, 38–39.
210. "Old Africa Puts on the Style," *Drum*, April 1965.
211. "Joyce's Choice," *Drum*, April 1965.
212. "Miss Fancy Face," *Drum*, May 1965.
213. "The Girls of 1966," *Drum*, January 1967.
214. "Fashion Fantastic and Not a Mini-Skirt to Be Seen!," *Drum*, December 1969 (East Africa).
215. "Joyce's Choice."
216. "Old Africa Puts on the Style."
217. "Life's Brighter with Nytil," *Drum*, October 1970 (East Africa).
218. "Fun-Fashions from Tanzania," *Drum*, July 1971 (East Africa).
219. "Win Cash Money or a Worthwhile Prize in the Minets Easy Road Safety Quiz," *Drum*, June 1971 (East Africa).
220. "How I Became Nairobi's First Beauty Queen," *Drum*, July 1959, 14.
221. Peiss, *Hope in a Jar*, 220.
222. Lefebvre, *Le droit à la ville* [The Right to the City], 108.
223. "Gorgeous! Glorious! Gambienne."
224. "Speak Up Man," *Drum*, September 1958, 9 (East Africa, October 1958). A full-page feature of Miss Nigeria also appears in the October 1958 Nigeria edition.
225. "The Magic of Africa's Women," *Drum*, August 1957, 36–39.
226. "Girls of Ghana," *Drum*, December 1957, 39.
227. "This Modern African Miss," *Drum*, March 1958, 28.
228. Lugones, "Gender and Universality in Colonial Methodology," 33.

3. COMMODITY QUEENS

1. Clowes, "To Be a Man," 89–108.
2. Schadeberg, *The Way I See It*, 212.
3. Bailey, "Letting the Genie out the Bottle," 123.
4. Dyson, *Nigeria: The Birth of Africa's Greatest Country*, 354.
5. Dyson, *Nigeria*, 354.
6. Jürgen Schadeberg (photographer, *Drum*), interview by author, February 2019.
7. Dyson, *Nigeria*, 354.
8. "1,000,000 Africans Can't Be Wrong," *Drum*, October 1951, 39.
9. "Kurlex," *Drum*, October 1951, 30.
10. Jürgen Schadeberg (photographer, *Drum*), interview by author, February 2019.
11. Sampson, *Drum: The Newspaper*, 60.
12. Sampson, *Drum: The Newspaper*, 60.
13. Sampson, *Drum: The Newspaper*, 61.
14. "Advertising in South Africa," 442.
15. Hichens, "African Markets and Native Languages," 970, 972.
16. Watson, "Markets Are People—Not Places," 22.
17. "Admen in Africa," *Time*, May 23, 1960, 91.
18. Donald Armour, biographical report, box MN1c.1, J. Walter Thompson Company. Biographical Information, 1916–1998 Collection, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.
19. Philip H. Dougherty, "Advertising: Grant Goes Where Other Agencies Don't," *New York Times*, April 14, 1968, F16.
20. Dougherty, "Advertising," F16.
21. J. Walter Thompson South Africa, "Report of the Directors for the Year Ended 30th June 1960," box IO10 c1, J. Walter Thompson Company Publications Collection 1887–2005, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.
22. Kenya Gazette Notice No. 868, March 19, 1964, 224.
23. "Vaseline," *Drum*, March 1953, 36.
24. "Apex Stoves," *Drum*, July 1953, 19.
25. "Vaseline," *Drum*, April 1953, 31.
26. "Vaseline," *Drum*, June 1953, 19.
27. "Vaseline," *Drum*, November 1957 (East Africa edition).
28. Ward, "Some Observations on Religious Cults in Ashanti," 47–61.
29. J. Walter Thompson Company, booklet, "Markets to the North, British East Africa" (Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda), JWT-South Africa, 1957, 15, box IO10 c.1, J. Walter Thompson Company, Publications collection, 1887–2005, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.
30. J. Walter Thompson Company, booklet, "Markets to the North, British East Africa" (Kenya-Tanganyika-Uganda), June 1958, 17, box IO10 c.1, J. Walter Thompson Company, Publications collection, 1887–2005, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

31. Publicity Department, "Southern Africa."
32. Publicity Department, "Southern Africa," 555.
33. J. Walter Thompson, "Markets to the North, 1954," 111.
34. J. Walter Thompson, "Markets to the North, British East Africa," 1958, 17.
35. J. Walter Thompson Company, booklet, "Markets to the North, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland," June 1958, 18, box IO10 c.1, J. Walter Thompson Company, Publications collection, 1887–2005, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.
36. J. Walter Thompson, "Markets to the North, British East Africa," 1957, 9.
37. Thomas, "Racial Respectability in 1930s South Africa," 480.
38. Weinbaum et al., *The Modern Girl Around the World*, 18.
39. United States Department of Commerce, *World Trade in Commodities: Drugs & Toiletries*, June 1948, 5.
40. United States Department of Commerce, *World Trade in Commodities*, June 1948, 5.
41. T. A. Wise, "Beauty Battle," *Wall Street Journal*, July 16, 1954, 1.
42. Davis, "Research on the Black Consumer Market," 471–93.
43. United States Department of Commerce, *World Trade*, June 1948, 6.
44. Lyon, "The Cosmetics Industry," 25.
45. Peiss, *Hope in a Jar*.
46. Lyon, "The Cosmetic Industry," 25.
47. *Barron's*, October 14, 1957.
48. "Boom for Cosmetics Industry Also Extends to Foreign Lands," *New York Times*, April 18, 1965.
49. Douglas W. Churchill, "Hollywood Peers into Its Magic Looking-Glass," *New York Times*, July 25, 1937, 133.
50. Lyon, "The Cosmetic Industry," 31.
51. "World Business, Advertising: That Local Touch," *Time*, September 20, 1963.
52. Publicity Department, "Southern Africa," 559.
53. "New Artra," *Drum*, October 1959, 72.
54. "Miss Johannesburg Beauty Competition Winners Use TWO Karroo Creams!" *Drum*, August 1957, iv.
55. "Bu-Tone," *Drum*, October 1955, 16–17.
56. "Karoo," *Drum*, March 1956, 80.
57. "Karoo," *Drum*, April 1956, 80.
58. "Beauty Queens Know the 2 Karroo Creams Give You a Lovelier, Lighter, Smoother Complexion" *Drum*, October 1957, iv.
59. "Karoo," *Drum*, September 1956, 88.
60. "Karoo," *Drum*, December 1955, 84.
61. "Cover Girl's Day Off!" *Drum*, August 1953, 1.
62. "Karoo Matt," *Drum*, July 1953, 48.
63. "Feluna Pills," *Drum*, September 1953, 24.

64. "Karoo," *Drum*, July 1954, 80.
65. "Karoo Matt," *Drum*, September 1953, 52.
66. "Karoo," *Drum*, January 1954, 60.
67. "Glyco-Lemon," *Drum*, August 1957, 56.
68. United States Department of Commerce, *World Trade in Commodities*, June 1948, 1.
69. J. Walter Thompson, "Markets to the North, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland," 18.
70. United States Department of Commerce, *World Trade in Commodities*, June 1948, 5.
71. Faria and Jones, "Race, Care, and the Imperial Debris of Synthetic Hair," 85.
72. United States Department of Commerce, *World Trade in Commodities*, June 1948, 5.
73. "Posner's," *Drum*, December 1965.
74. This is the infamous pharmacy located on Moi Avenue (formerly Government Road) outside which Tom Mboya was assassinated on July 5, 1969.
75. United States Department of Commerce, *World Trade in Commodities*, June 1948, 2.
76. "Ordinance to Regulate the Sale of Perfumes," Supplement, *Official Gazette East Africa Protectorate*, 20, no. 10 (October 23, 1918): 2.
77. "Ordinance," 2.
78. United States Department of Commerce, *World Trade: Drugs & Toiletries*, September 1948, 1.
79. *Drum*, September 1958, 52.
80. "Evening in Paris," *Drum*, October 1956, 62.
81. United States Department of Commerce, *World Trade in Commodities*, June 1948, 4.
82. *Africa*, July 1954 (International Edition).
83. "Cloud Silk," *Drum*, December 1958.
84. "Black Velvet," *Drum*, March 1958, 34.
85. "Pond's," *Drum*, December 1953, 37.
86. "Pond's," *Drum*, March 1954, 51.
87. *Broadcasting*, "We Pay Our Respects To," 97.
88. "Hollywood Film Colony Mourns," 10.
89. *Broadcasting*, "We Pay Our Respects To," 83.
90. *Broadcasting*, "We Pay Our Respects To," 97.
91. *Broadcasting*, "We Pay Our Respects To," 83.
92. J. Walter Thompson, advertising copy, *Lux* for Dishes, Lever Brothers. J. Walter Thompson Company, Account Files, 1885–2012 and undated, bulk 1920–2006 Collection, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.
93. *Broadcasting*, "We Pay Our Respects To," 83.

94. "Lux," *Drum*, July 1956, 26.
95. "Lux," *Drum*, September 1957, 71.
96. "Lux," *Drum*, June 1965, 24 (Nigeria edition).
97. "Great All-African Lifebuoy Competition!," *Drum*, September 1953, 26.
98. "Great All-African," 26.
99. "Lifebuoy Competition," *Drum*, December 1953, 16.
100. "Lifebuoy," *Drum*, January 1954, 18.
101. *Drum*, December 1953.
102. "Butone Beauty Contest," *Drum*, February 1953, 23.
103. "Butone Beauty Contest!," *Drum*, November 1953, 25.
104. "Butone Beauty Contest!," *Drum*, February 1953, 23.
105. "More Lovelies for DRUM-BU-TONE Beauty Contest," *Drum*, June 1956, 73.
106. "Butone Beauty Contest!," *Drum*, December 1953, 22.
107. "Butone Beauty Contest!," *Drum*, March 1953, 37.
108. "Butone Beauty Contest!," *Drum*, April 1953, 47.
109. "Butone Beauty Contest!," *Drum*, July 1953, 43.
110. "Butone Beauty Contest!," *Drum*, January 1954, 20–21.
111. "Africa's Queen!," *Drum*, March 1954, 19–20.
112. "The Secrets of Miss Africa," *Drum*, August 1957, 40.
113. "Bu-Tone," *Drum*, March 1956, 16–17.
114. "Bu-Tone, Pin-Up Girl No. 7," *Drum*, October 1956, 3.
115. "Bu-Tone," *Drum*, April 1954, 18.
116. "Bu-Tone Pin-Up Girl No. 1," *Drum*, February 1956, 2.
117. "Bu-Tone Pin-Up Girl No. 2," *Drum*, April 1956, 2.
118. "Who'll Be Queen of Africa," *Drum*, March 1956, 19.
119. "£200 for Beauty!," *Drum*, April 1956, 49.
120. "Who'll Be Queen of Africa," 19.
121. "Who'll Be Queen of Africa," 19.
122. "Who'll Be Queen of Africa," 19.
123. "Who'll Be Queen of Africa," 19.
124. Thomas, *Beneath the Surface*.
125. "Drum-Bu-Tone Beauty Contest," *Drum*, May 1956, 15.
126. "Drum-Bu-Tone Beauty Contest," *Drum*, July 1956, 66.
127. "Drum Beauty Contest," *Drum*, August 1956, 72.
128. "Who Will Be DRUM-BU-TONE'S Queen?," *Drum*, September 1956, 68.
129. "Karoo," *Drum*, November 1955, 80.
130. "Welco Ladies Shoes," *Drum*, August 1958, 89.
131. "South African United Non-European Cultural Syndicate," *Drum*, September 1961, 7.
132. "Beauty's Biggest Day . . .," *Drum*, 1961, Special Miss South Africa Supplement, 49.

133. "Drum Debates," *Drum*, September 1952, 10.
134. "Lux," *Drum*, March 1956, 19.
135. "Lux," *Drum*, September 1956, 62.
136. "Unilever: World Trader in a Shrinking World," *Forbes*, November 1, 1962, 22.
137. "Beauty's Biggest Day . . .," 49–68 (i–xx).
138. "Beauty's Biggest Day . . .," 49 (i).
139. "Fabulous Prizes for the 1962 Miss South Africa Competition!" *Drum*, October 1962, 29.
140. "Beauty's Biggest Day . . .," 51 (iii).
141. "Fabulous Prizes," 29.
142. "Miss South Africa Contest," *Drum*, November 1962, 73.
143. "Miss South Africa Beauty Contest," *Drum*, September 1963, 48.
144. "Vaseline Ad," *Drum*, July 1952, 37.
145. "People at the Top Know," *Drum*, May 1962, 35.
146. "Win R250," *Drum*, June 1963, 60.
147. "All Winners—Which Do You Like Best?" *Drum*, August 1962, 46–47.
148. "Cussons 'Girl of the Year' Contest," *Drum*, July 1970 (East Africa).
149. Makeba and Hall, *Makeba: My Story*, 56.
150. "Pound 150 for You, If You're a 'Cal Gal,'" *Drum*, June 1961, 74.
151. "Search Continues for Calendar Girl," *Drum*, May 1961, 62.
152. "Search Continues," 62.
153. "Search Continues," 62.
154. "Search Continues," 62.
155. BAHA Beauties, Calendar Girl Contest Entries, Calendar Contest. The Coca-Cola Export Corporation, 2 October 1961.
156. BAHA Beauties, Calendar Girl Contest Entries, Calendar Contest, Aron Chilukutu, July 1, 1961.
157. BAHA Beauties, Calendar Girl Contest Entries, Calendar Contest, Betty Maleka.
158. Grant, *Winning Our Freedoms Together*, 111.
159. "Glenryck Pilchards," *Drum*, September 1956, 18.
160. "Glenryck Pilchards," *Drum*, October 1956, 3.
161. "Fish Improves Your Health and Your Looks!," *Drum*, February 1958, 53.
162. BAHA Beauties, Beauty Profile: Elizabeth Miller.
163. "Gold Cross," *Drum*, December 1955, 53.
164. "Klim Is Sally's Daily Beauty Drink," *Drum*, April 1958, 14.
165. "Ceylon Tea," *Drum*, October 1955, 54.
166. BAHA Beauty Dorothy Montagne, November 29, 1959.
167. "The Three Flowers Cloudsilk Beauty Competition," *Drum*, April 1959.
168. "Here Is the Cloudsilk Beauty Queen," *Drum*, July 1959.
169. "Drum-BuTone Beauty Competition," *Drum*, October 1957, 61.

170. Marion Morel, "Girl About Town," *Drum*, June 1959, 21.
171. "Mum," *Drum*, July 1953, 2.
172. Dunn, *International Handbook of Advertising*, 762.
173. Publicity Department, "Southern Africa," 559–60.
174. Adebajo, "West Africa," 545.
175. Publicity Department, "Southern Africa," 557.
176. Davis, "Research on the Black Consumer Market," 471–93.
177. "Reef's Ten Most Sociable Africans," *Africa!*, December 1954, 51.
178. Mkele, "Advertising to the Bantu," 128.
179. *Golden City Post*, January 2, 1966, 13.
180. *Golden City Post*, January 2, 1966, 13.

4. GLOBALIZING FEMME URBAFRICANA

1. I use the term "Black Caribbean," as the alternative "African Caribbean" is one that some of the generation of women from the 1950s–1970s have rejected because it inaccurately represents their West Indian heritage. *Drum's* preferred term was "West Indian."

2. Grant, *Winning Our Freedoms Together*, 94.
3. Sandten, "Transnational Decolonial Aesthetics," 64.
4. Grant, *Winning Our Freedoms Together*, 108.
5. Grant, *Winning Our Freedoms Together*, 98, 99, 101.
6. Grant, *Winning Our Freedoms Together*, 111, 113.
7. "Negro Notes from USA," *Drum*, October 1951, 10.
8. "Negro Notes from USA," 10.
9. "Black Power," *Drum*, December 1968 (East Africa).
10. "High Life in Harlem," *Drum*, June 1952, 16.
11. "Negro Fashions," *Drum*, September 1954.
12. Balshaw, *Looking for Harlem*, 1.
13. "Drum Drops in on the World," *Drum*, April 1956, 22.
14. "Glamour of the World!," *Drum*, November 1952, 45.
15. "Teen-age Curves Hit the Jack-pot," *Drum*, November 1955, 2, 22.
16. "Glamour of the World," *Drum*, January 1953, 4.
17. "Butone Beauty Contest," *Drum*, September 1953, 21.
18. "Have You Heard?," *Drum*, July 1952, 39.
19. "'Barbaric' Singer," *Drum*, November 1951, 29.
20. "East Africa's Own Cover Girl—the Fabulous Gigi," *Drum*, September 1964.
21. "Forecast," *Jet*, February 7, 1952, 10.
22. "Nina: High Priestess of Soul," *Drum*, November 1969, 36.
23. "Continuing the Louis Armstrong Story," *Drum*, July 1956, 69–73.
24. "The Girl Who Took Over from Dotty," *Drum*, October 1961, 60–63.

25. "Slimming Along with the Blues," *Drum*, August 1965.
26. *Drum*, July 1952, 45.
27. Front cover, *Jet*, March 20, 1952.
28. "Men Only!," *Drum*, January 1953, 44.
29. Home and Beauty, *Drum*, October 1952, 43.
30. Home and Beauty, *Drum*, October 1952, 43.
31. "Dusky Dynamite!," *Drum*, January 1953, 28–29.
32. "Glamour of the World," *Drum*, January 1953, 4.
33. "Women of the World!," *Drum*, September 1953, 19.
34. "Marian Anderson," Masterpiece in Bronze, *Drum*, March 1954, 37.
35. "The Week's Best Photos," *Jet*, May 1, 1952, 21.
36. Ezekiel Mphahlele, "Long-Legged Net Queen: Althea Gibson," *Drum*, October 1956, 35.
37. Gloria Johnson, "News from Hollywood," *Drum*, January 1953, 6–7.
38. Johnson, "News from Hollywood," 6–7.
39. "Hollywood's Tan Stars Greet You, Drum Reader!" *Drum*, January 1954, 24.
40. "Films Banned to Africans," *Drum*, October 1955, 57.
41. "Hollywood's Tan Stars Greet You," 24.
42. "Hollywood's Tan Stars Greet You," 24.
43. "Women in the News," Home and Beauty, *Drum*, July 1952, 39.
44. "Brown Venus," *Drum*, October 1959, 45.
45. "Most Beautiful Coloured Girl," *Drum*, July 1953, 39.
46. "Entertainment: Eartha Kitt Is Barred from South Africa Show," May 4, 1972, 56.
47. "Buddy—Just Great!," *Drum*, October 1969 (East Africa).
48. "Buddy—Just Great!"
49. "Our Social Page," *Drum*, January 1952, 8.
50. "Drum Debates," September 1952, 10.
51. "Dice," *Drum*, December 1951, 38.
52. Peggy Moore, "Mr. Fashion Cuts a Fine Figure," *Drum*, February 1968 (East Africa).
53. "African-American Labor Center," 156.
54. "Kenyan Prints Are Setting a New Trend in the World of Dress Design," *Drum*, July 1970 (East Africa).
55. "Kenyan Prints Are Setting a New Trend."
56. Moore, "Mr. Fashion Cuts a Fine Figure."
57. "Bill Grant—Fashion Fundi," *Drum*, August 1970 (East Africa).
58. "Kenyan Prints Are Setting a New Trend."
59. "Drum Fashion Extra: Suede: The 'In' Skin on the Fashion Scene," *Drum*, September 1972 (East Africa).
60. "Kenya Tailoring School: Nairobi Institute First of Its Kind in East Africa,"

Ebony Africa 1, no. 6 (August 1964): 26–30. For further reading on Springer, see Maida Springer: *Pan Africanist and International Labor Leader* (Richards, 2000).

61. Udall, "Fort Collins."
62. "Boom Time for Modest Maridadi," *Drum*, June 1969 (East Africa).
63. "They're Jumping with Jane!," *Drum*, August 1964.
64. *Drum*, April 1964.
65. "Continental Combination Is a New Screen Beauty!," *Drum*, June 1959, 79.
66. "Just a Homely Sort of Girl," *Drum*, October 1959, 73.
67. "How Patterson Put Ingo on Ice," *Drum*, August 1960, 32.
68. "Marilyns?," *Drum*, January 1963.
69. "Glenda Looks at Life," *Drum*, October 1963, 50 (Central Africa edition).
70. "Glenda Looks at Life," 50–51.
71. "Foreign: African Hair Stylist," *Jet*, November 3, 1960, 21.
72. Marion Morel, "All the Nice Girls Loved Those U.S. Boys!," *Drum*, May 1961.
73. Nixon, *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood*, 16.
74. "Foreign News," *Jet*, May 15, 1952, 14.
75. "Methodist Missionaries," *Jet*, May 15, 1952, 16–18.
76. Makeba and Hall, *Makeba: My Story*.
77. "Entertainment: African Jazz Singer Another Bill Holiday?," *Jet*, December 17, 1959, 62.
78. "People Are Talking About," *Jet*, February 4, 1960, 42.
79. "Radio-TV," *Jet*, April 26, 1962, 66; "Radio-TV," *Jet*, July 12, 1962, 66.
80. "BELAFONTE'S PROTÉGÉE: African in Coast-to-Coast Debut," *Ebony Magazine Archive* 15, no. 4 (February 1, 1960): 109–12.
81. "Miriam in New York: Her Life Story Begins," *Drum*, April 1960, 26–31.
82. Todd Matshikiza, "Shantytown in City Hall," *Drum*, July 1956, 17–21 (Pictures by Bob Gosani).
83. "Old Africa Puts on the Style," *Drum*, April 1965.
84. "National Fashions of Africa: Garments of Many Nations Are Applauded," *Ebony Africa* 1, no. 6, August 1964, 32–38.
85. Allan Morrison, "SELASSIE'S MESSAGE TO THE NEGRO: Ethiopia's Emperor Applauds Current Freedom Fight, Links It to Africa's War on Colonialism," *Ebony Magazine Archive* 19, no. 2 (December 1, 1963): 29–38.
86. "MIRIAM MAKEBA: Unable to Go Home, Vocalist Takes Substitute Trip to Kenya," *Ebony Magazine Archive* 18, no. 6 (April 1, 1963): 74–78.
87. Miriam Makeba and Allan Morrison, "Why I Fight Apartheid," *Ebony Africa* 1, no. 5, July 1964, 20–27.
88. For photo coverage of this event, see Lerone Bennett Jr., "BLACK VOTE REVOLT IN THE BAHAMAS: Lynden Oscar Pindling Leads Party to Victory on Islands Just 50 Miles from Florida," *Ebony Magazine Archive* 22, no. 8 (June 1, 1967): 68–79.
89. *Jet* reported the romance and engagement and plans for "Makeba's Hut" in the March 28, 1968, issue christening Carmichael "America's number one militant" (44–45).

90. Makeba and Hall, *Makeba: My Story*, 157.
91. Makeba and Hall, *Makeba: My Story*, 157–58.
92. BAHA Beauties, “New Faces on the Road to Fame,” *Drum*, October 1958.
93. Davis, “The Other Southern Belles,” 329.
94. “The Beauty and Mr. Benson,” *Drum*, April 1964.
95. Opene, *An African Queen of Hearts*.
96. “Nairobi Charmers,” *Drum*, February 1972 (East Africa).
97. “Mr. & Mrs. Groom Wears Wedding Gown,” *Jet*, July 17, 1952, 26.
98. “Television,” *Jet*, August 31, 1972, 66.
99. “Les Ballets Africain,” *Jet*, September 17, 1970, 60–61.
100. “Black Spearman,” *Jet*, August 21, 1952, 16–20.
101. Favorite American Food, “Daughter of Uganda Ambassador to UN Introduces Family to Beef Burgers, Her Favorite Food,” *Ebony Africa* 1, no. 5, July 1964, 65–66.
102. Favorite American Food, “Oven Fried Chicken, Hot Biscuits Are Choice of Liberian UN Ambassador Barnes,” *Ebony Africa* 1, no. 5, August 1964, 45–46.
103. “Love in Africa,” *Jet*, July 31, 1952, 16–19.
104. Woman Doctor Discovers Success, *Ebony Africa* 1, no. 6, August 1964, 11–14.
105. “National Report,” *Jet*, February 4, 1960, 4. Lameck won the election and in 1962 became the first woman to hold a ministerial position in Tanganyika.
106. “Africans in London,” *Drum*, August 1953, 11.
107. “Queen Elizabeth Entertains African Chiefs,” *Drum*, July 1953, 11.
108. “Heart Beat Rose,” *Drum*, January 1969 (East Africa).
109. Matera, *Black London*, 2.
110. Matera, *Black London*, 4.
111. Francis, “A Luta Continua,” 123.
112. Francis, “A Luta Continua,” 123.
113. Matera, *Black London*, 104.
114. Matera, *Black London*, 143.
115. Matera, *Black London*, 144.
116. Peter Lehola, “What It Is Like to Be Black in Britain,” *Drum*, October 1967 (East Africa and Zambia). Pictures by Wolfgang Kunz.
117. “Drum’s Girl of the Month,” *Drum*, August 1966.
118. “Cover Girl Abbe-Marie,” *Drum*, December 1968 (East Africa).
119. “A Desert Flower Blooms in London,” *Drum*, June 1966 (East Africa).
120. “Cover Girl Abbe-Marie.”
121. “A Desert Flower Blooms in London.”
122. “A Desert Flower Blooms in London.”
123. “Kubi,” *Drum*, July 1968 (East Africa) (Cover and picture by Anwar Hussein). Ian Smith was prime minister of Southern Rhodesia (1964–79).
124. “Marie the Magnificent,” *Drum*, March 1968 (East Africa).
125. “Charlotte the Charmer,” *Drum*, May 1970 (East Africa).

126. "Miss Tanzania in London," *Drum*, September 1968 (East Africa).
127. "Cool Constance Is Aiming for the High Notes," *Drum*, August 1967 (East Africa).
128. "Velvet Voiced: But No Vamp," *Drum*, November 1960, 44–45.
129. "Cilla with Stars in Her Eyes," *Drum*, March 1969 (East Africa).
130. "Miss April Drum," *Drum*, April 1971 (East Africa).
131. "Elizabeth—Star of the Future!" *Drum*, September 1970 (East Africa).
132. Whipper, "Maendeleo ya Wanawake," 99–120.
133. "Maendeleo ya Wanawake Taking Traditional Skills to the World!" *Drum*, December 1970 (East Africa).
134. "Anne Is So Ambitious!" *Drum*, September 1969 (East Africa).
135. "Charlotte the Charmer," *Drum*, May 1970 (East Africa).
136. "Miss June Drum," *Drum*, June 1971 (East Africa).
137. "We Bring You Two Beauties from West Africa with Love: Busy Rosemary . . .," *Drum*, January 1967 (Pictures by Taro Joseph).
138. "Just Julie," *Drum*, February 1969 (East Africa).
139. Felicity Green, "Fashion-Chez Julie," *Drum*, February 1968 (East Africa).
140. "Pearl of the M.A.," *Drum*, January 1952, 33.
141. Anwar Hussein, "On the Steps of Stardom," *Drum*, July 1967.
142. "Princess Tamara," *Drum*, August 1968 (East Africa) (Pictures by Andrew Cockrill).
143. "Rosemarie, Our Cover This Month," *Drum*, October 1968 (East Africa).
144. "The Lady Wears the Trousers," *Drum*, November 1967 (East Africa and Zambia).
145. "Globetrotter Nikki Just Loves Those Sun-Kissed Beaches," *Drum*, July 1969 (East Africa).
146. "The Lady Wears the Trousers."
147. "Miss October Drum," *Drum*, October 1971 (East Africa).
148. Jazeel, "Postcolonial Geographies of Privilege," 19–33.
149. "Figure This One Out!" *Drum*, November 1970 (East Africa).
150. "Miss September Drum," *Drum*, September 1971 (East Africa).
151. "Tropical Bundle," *Drum*, June 1967.
152. "The Many Moods of Marjorie Mishelle," *Drum*, June 1969 (East Africa).
153. "Sunny Cecilia Likes That Home Cooking," *Drum*, March 1967.
154. "Golden Girl Selby," *Drum*, May 1968 (East Africa).
155. "Golden Girl Selby."
156. "Judo Girl Rema Is Wading Ahead," *Drum*, December 1966.
157. "London's Been-tos Get the Way Out Fashion," *Drum*, August 1966.
158. Germain, *Decolonizing the Republic*, 92.
159. "Miss Drum December, Glamorous Geneva," *Drum*, December 1971 (East Africa and Nigeria editions).

160. Germain, *Decolonizing the Republic*, 76.
161. Germain, *Decolonizing the Republic*, 76.
162. Grant, *Winning Our Freedoms Together*, 93–94.
163. “Drum’s Miss December: All You Need Is Love!” *Drum*, December 1969 (East Africa).
164. “Drum’s Miss February Golden Girl!” *Drum*, February 1970 (East Africa).
165. BAHA Beauties “Monica Jones.” Exact dates and months omitted by author.
166. BAHA “Approval of Publication,” 1970.
167. “Another Helen!” *Drum*, December 1967 (East Africa and Zambia editions).
168. “Rosemarie, Our Cover This Month,” *Drum*, October 1968 (East Africa).
169. “Presenting Pauline,” *Drum*, June 1971 (East Africa).
170. Mckenzie, *Getting By*, 3.
171. Mckenzie, *Getting By*, 31.
172. Mckenzie, *Getting By*, 31.
173. Tomlinson, “How West Indian Students and Migrants,” 128.
174. Mckenzie, *Getting By*, 33.
175. Mckenzie, *Getting By*, 32.
176. Mckenzie, *Getting By*, 32.
177. Mckenzie, *Getting By*, 34.
178. “Drum’s Miss December.”
179. McLaren, “Alice Walker,” 527.
180. “Drum’s Miss December.”
181. “Lively Lynette Looks Ahead,” *Drum*, January 1970 (East Africa).
182. “Miss Lollipop Hits the West Coast,” *Drum*, November 1966.
183. “Barbara—Girl with a Dream!,” *Drum*, March 1970 (East Africa).
184. Feldstein, *How It Feels to Be Free*, 58.

5. FREEDOM BEAUTIES

1. “Inside the New North: Where the Modern Age Has Made Its Mark,” *Drum*, June 1965, 17 (Nigeria edition).
2. “Greetings,” *Drum*, December 1963.
3. “Your New East Africa Drum,” *Drum*, December 1963, 22.
4. “Welcome to Our New Readers from Central Africa,” *Drum*, July 1965.
5. “A Picture to Decorate Your Home,” *Drum*, December 1965.
6. “Miriam Comes Back to Africa,” *Drum*, January 1963, 11.
7. “Fabulous Francisca,” *Drum*, June 1968 (East Africa).
8. “Air Fiesta Set the Fans Jumping,” *Drum*, December 1970 (East Africa).
9. Caroline Argwings-Kodhek, “Contributors,” *East Africa Journal*, January 1972,
2.
 10. “Uganda Women, Shaking Tradition,” *East Africa Journal*, April 1966, 35, microfilm.

11. "East African Institute of Social and Cultural Affairs," *East Africa Journal*, April 1964, ii, microfilm.
12. "The Authors," *East Africa Journal*, April 1964, iii, microfilm.
13. "Books," *East Africa Journal*, April 1964, 32–35, microfilm; "Filling the Gap," *East Africa Journal*, April 1964, 34, microfilm.
14. Munhamu Botsio Utete, review of *Power in Africa* by Ruth First, *East Africa Journal*, April 1972, 34–36, microfilm.
15. "The Board of Governors," *East Africa Journal*, April 1965, 1, microfilm.
16. Marjorie Oludhe Macgoye, "Contributors," *East Africa Journal*, January 1969, 61, microfilm.
17. Macgoye, "Contributors," *East Africa Journal*, January 1972, 2, microfilm.
18. Pamela Mboya, "Sideview of a Women's Seminar," *East Africa Journal*, July 1964, 15–16, microfilm.
19. Pumla E. Kisosonkole, "African Women in International Society," *East Africa Journal*, July 1967, 7–10, microfilm.
20. Grace Ogot, "Family Planning for African Women," *East Africa Journal*, July 1967, 19–23, microfilm.
21. Grace Ogot, "The African Writer," *East Africa Journal*, November 1968, 35–37, microfilm.
22. Henry Kimbugwe, "Grace Ogot: The African Lady," *East Africa Journal*, April 1969, 23, microfilm.
23. Agnes G. O. Orido, review of *Pinpricks, Not Prospects. Kenya Women Look Head*, by Celina Oloo and Virginia Cone, *East Africa Journal*, August 1966, 47, microfilm; Albert Maleche, "A New Status for Women in Kenya," *East Africa Journal*, June 1972, 28–31, microfilm.
24. Miria Obote, "Woman in a Changing Society," *East Africa Journal*, July 1967, 29–32.
25. Marjorie Oludhe-Macgoye (Mrs.), "Family Planning for African Women," Letters to the Editor, *East Africa Journal*, October 1967, 5, microfilm.
26. Asenath Odaga, "Modern Woman," *East Africa Journal*, January 1971, 15, microfilm.
27. G. C. M. Mutiso, "African Women in Literature," *East Africa Journal*, March 1971, 4–14, microfilm.
28. R. C. Nturu, "The Notion of Modernity in African Creative Writing," *East Africa Journal*, October 1971, 25–33, microfilm.
29. *Transition*, no. 1 (November 1961): 1.
30. See, *Transition* articles in, respectively: no. 14 (1964): 2; no. 3 (January 1962): 4; no. 3 (January 1962): 33; no. 5 (July 30–August 29, 1962): 5; no. 27 (1966): 2; and no. 24 (1966): 34–37.
31. Lewis Nkosi, "Jazz in Exile," *Transition*, no. 24 (1966): 34–37.
32. Bessie Head, "Letter from South Africa: For a Friend, 'D. B.,'" *Transition*, no. 11, November 1963, 40.

33. Frene Ginwala, "Heart Transplants, Notes in Transition," *Transition*, no. 35, February–March 1968, 36.
34. *Transition*, no. 16, 1964, 2.
35. *Transition*, no. 18, 1964, 2.
36. *Transition*, no. 23, 1965, 2.
37. Marion Kaplan, "Their Rhodesia," *Transition*, no. 23, 1965, 33–44.
38. *Transition*, no. 13, March–April 1964, 41.
39. *Transition*, no. 8, March 1963, 23–28.
40. *Transition*, no. 5, July 30–August 29, 1962, 5.
41. "Ghanakote," *Transition*, no. 38, June–July 1971, 29.
42. Rajat Neogy, "A Deportation," *Transition*, no. 9, June, 1963, 31.
43. Marianne Welter, "Letter from America: Trouble at 'Ole Miss,'" *Transition*, no. 8, 1963, 47–48.
44. Molly Mazrui, "The Murder of Viola Luizzo, Notes in Transition," *Transition*, no. 20, 1965, 34.
45. Langston Hughes, "200 Years of American Negro Poetry," *Transition*, no. 24, 1966, 49–51.
46. James Baldwin and François Bondy, "The Negro Problem," *Transition*, no. 12, 1964, 82–86.
47. John Hall and James Baldwin, "James Baldwin, a Transition Interview," *Transition*, no. 41, 1972, 21–24.
48. Sheldon Weeks, Review, "Six Americans in Search of Africa," *Transition*, no. 37, 1968, 54–58.
49. "The Book Revolution," *Drum*, April 1969 (East Africa).
50. "The Modern Miss," *Drum*, March 1964.
51. Anne Placido, "Election Comment," *Drum*, February 1970 (East Africa).
52. "Miss August DRUM, She's a Deep Girl, Marie!" *Drum*, August 1970 (East Africa).
53. "The Girls Are Lovely . . . in West Africa," *Drum*, June 1962, 40.
54. "Everyone Rejoices as a New State Is Born," *Drum*, August 1960, 24–25.
55. "General China Tells His Story," *Drum*, April 1966 (East Africa).
56. "Glenda Looks at Life," *Drum*, November 1963, 65.
57. "Fighting Granny Julia Is at It Again," *Drum*, June 1963, 63.
58. "Glenda Looks at Life," *Drum*, December 1963, 69 (Central Africa).
59. "Mboy's Pamela," *Drum*, July 1963, 35 (Central Africa).
60. Weber, "Identity at the Western Female Seminary," 180.
61. "Mboy's Pamela," 35 (Central Africa).
62. "Top Hostess Mrs. Jane Kiano Talks to DRUM," *Drum*, November 1970 (East Africa).
63. "The Best of Both Worlds," *Drum*, July 1964.
64. "The Best of Both Worlds."

65. "The Beauty and Mr. Benson," *Drum*, April 1964.
66. Opene, *An African Queen of Hearts*.
67. "The Sensational Opral Benson," *Drum*, April 1964.
68. "The Remarkable Bibi Titi," *Drum*, March 1964.
69. "The Remarkable Bibi Titi."
70. "'Revolt' of the Women," *Drum*, April 1963, 63.
71. "What Could We Do Without Men?," *Drum*, July 1964.
72. "What Could We Do Without Men?"
73. "These Men Are Drug Runners," *Drum*, February 1966.
74. "People in Pictures: Just Look Who's Man of the Moment," *Drum*, October 1972.
75. Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard), March 30, 1965, 949.
76. Kenya National Assembly, 960.
77. Kenya National Assembly, 960.
78. Kenya National Assembly, 960.
79. Kenya National Assembly, 1,032.
80. Kenya National Assembly, 1,032.
81. Kenya National Assembly, 1,032.
82. Kenya National Assembly, 1,032.
83. Kenya National Assembly, 1,032.
84. Morgan, "Urbanization in Kenya," 167–78.
85. "How Modern Should We Be . . . ?" *Drum*, July 1965.
86. "How Modern Should We Be?"
87. "Women: Too Much Talk Took Little Action," *Drum*, November 1966.
88. "Women: Too Much Talk Took Little Action."
89. "Women: Too Much Talk Took Little Action."
90. Kenyatta, "Preface," i.
91. "Glenda Looks at Life," *Drum*, November 1963, 65.
92. "The Incredible Dele Akintola," *African Drum*, February 1964.
93. Rehana Sadikot, "The Woman Behind Nyerere," *Drum*, February 1965.
94. Sadikot, "The Woman Behind Nyerere."
95. Sadikot, "The Woman Behind Nyerere."
96. "Corning Conference: Foundations Sponsor leadership training for Africans," *Ebony Africa* 1, no. 6, August 1964, 20–24.
97. Driver, "*Drum Magazine* (1951–9)," 233.
98. Sadikot, "The Woman Behind Nyerere."
99. E. de Silva, "Meet the Kenyattas," *Drum*, August 1965.
100. E. de Silva, "Meet the Kenyattas."
101. "Mama Ngina Sets the Style," *Drum*, November 1971 (East Africa).
102. E. de Silva, "Meet the Kenyattas."
103. "The Glamourous Politician and the Queen," *Drum*, March 1963, 19.

104. "New Slant of Katanga," *Drum*, February 1963.
105. "And This Girl Was Crowned Miss Malawi," *Drum*, February 1963.
106. "Glenda Looks at Life," *Drum*, December 1963, 69 (Central Africa).
107. "Miss Uhuru Goes Globe-Trotting," *Drum*, June 1964.
108. "Miss Uhuru Goes Globe-Trotting."
109. "Miss Uhuru Goes Globe-Trotting."
110. "Miss Uhuru Goes Globe-Trotting."
111. "Ready for All-Comers," *Daily Nation*, April 6, 1966, 20.
112. My aunt remembers a photo of Grace in *The Daily Mail* and also shared that Grace turned down numerous offers of cash to pose nude.
113. "The Fabulous Miss Africa," *Drum*, March 1964.
114. "Miss Tanzania in London," *Drum*, September 1968 (East Africa).
115. "Margaret—Miss Labour Day!" *Drum*, August 1970 (East Africa).
116. "Dressmaking in Dar Es Salaam," *Drum*, October 1951, 31.
117. Esther Nanda, "Rhodesia's First African Librarian makes Even Bookworms Turn," *Drum*, October 1963, 46.
118. "Back-Page Beauties," *Drum*, April 1964.
119. "Sweet Sophie's Busy," *Drum*, August 1964.
120. "When Will Our Women Get Real Equality?," *Drum*, September 1965.
121. "Have We Got a National Dress?," *Drum* July 1966 (East Africa).
122. "Maendeleo ya Wanawake Taking Traditional Skills to the World!," *Drum*, December 1970 (East Africa).
123. Penny More, "What Is Beauty?," *Drum*, July 1967.
124. More, "What Is Beauty?"
125. "The Editor Wears a Dress," *Drum*, January 1967.
126. "The Editor Wears a Dress."
127. "Meet Editor Hilda!," *Drum*, December 1970 (East Africa).
128. "The Knees Have the Eyes," *Drum*, August 1967 (East Africa).
129. "Right Round the Clock," *Drum*, April 1970 (East Africa).
130. "This Is War! And Tanzania's Women Are Winning," *Drum*, September 1968 (East Africa).
131. "Christine's a Girl to Bank On," *Drum*, January 1967.
132. Skinner, *African Urban Life*, 74.
133. Nick Russell, "Barmaids to Whet Your Thirst," *Drum*, January 1968 (East Africa).
134. "Mary the Farmer," *Drum*, July 1968 (East Africa).
135. "Nairobi Charmers," *Drum*, February 1972 (East Africa).
136. "Meet UN's President Angie!" *Drum*, December 1969 (East Africa).
137. "The Gen. . . . About All Sports," *Drum*, December 1951, 32.
138. "Sports Drum," *Drum*, January 1952, 35.
139. "Softball Queens," *Drum*, May 1961, 71.

140. "Softball Queens," 71.
141. Rehana Parkeh, "Girl with the Silver Smile," *Drum*, March 1966.
142. Parkeh, "Girl with the Silver Smile."
143. "Gladys Sets the Fashion," *Drum*, May 1965.
144. "Gladys Sets the Fashion."
145. *She*, "Brown Skin Gal," 68.
146. Africapix, "African Make-Up . . .," BAHA Archives, Beauties.
147. "Gladys Sets the Fashion."
148. More, "What Is Beauty?"
149. Africapix, "African Make-Up . . ."
150. "Straighten Yourself Out!" *Drum*, March 1967.
151. "Olugbenga the Barber Turns a Hair . . .," *Drum*, February 1964.
152. "An Exciting Career—as a Hair Stylist," *Drum*, November 1969 (East Africa).
153. "In Pursuit of Beauty," *Drum*, June 1967.
154. Felicity Green, "Fashion-Chez Julie," *Drum*, February 1968 (East Africa).
155. "The Clothes Revolution," *Drum*, June 1969 (East Africa).
156. "The Clothes Revolution."
157. Jaine Porter, "East Coast Meets West in Fashion Spectacular," *Drum*, June 1972 (East Africa).
158. "Kenyan Prints Are Setting a New Trend in the World of Dress Design," *Drum*, July 1970 (East Africa).
159. "Fashion Fantastic and Not a Mini-Skirt to Be Seen!," *Drum*, December 1969 (East Africa).
160. Woman's DRUM: "Old Heads on Young Shoulders," *Drum*, September 1965, 16–17 (Nigeria edition).
161. "Tanzanian Prints What the Eye of the Big Couturiers," *Drum*, October 1970 (East Africa).
162. "Tanzanian Prints."
163. "Aristoc Tights Now Locally Produced," *Drum*, September 1972 (East Africa).
164. Anne Placido, "Sew-It-Yourself Paris Fashion," *Drum*, August 1972 (East Africa).
165. Placido, "Sew-It-Yourself Paris Fashion."
166. "The Lovely Miss Legs," *Drum*, December 1964.
167. "Uganda's Lady of Law," *Drum*, July 1968 (East Africa).
168. "Uganda's Lady of Law."
169. "Well Done, Eusebia!" *Drum*, August 1970 (East Africa).
170. "Well Done, Eusebia!"
171. *Drum*, January 1952, 5.
172. "Karrroo!" *Drum*, January 1953, 48.
173. "Cover Girl's Day Off!" *Drum*, August 1953, 1.
174. "Butone Beauty Contest," *Drum*, September 1953, 29.

175. Craig, *Ain't I a Beauty Queen?*, 68.
176. "Drum Drops in on the World," *Drum*, April 1956, 22.
177. "High Flying Fashion," *Drum*, December 1965.
178. Ghana Airways, *Transition*, no. 40 December 1971, 4.
179. "Miss Skyway—Asia Preserves the Golden Sari," *Drum*, December 1965.
180. "High Flying Fashion."
181. "People in Pictures," *Drum*, December 1971 (East Africa).
182. Jaji, "Bingo Magazine in the Age of Pan-African Festivals," 120.
183. Bailey, "Letting the Genie out the Bottle," 145.
184. "Beautiful Traitor?," *Drum*, December 1963, 61.
185. More, "What Is Beauty?"
186. "But in Dar the Anti-Mini Battle Is Still Not Over," *Drum*, June 1971 (East Africa).
187. "But in Dar the Anti-Mini Battle Is Still Not Over."
188. "Kenyan Prints Are Setting a New Trend."
189. "Kenyan Prints Are Setting a New Trend."
190. "But in Dar the Anti-Mini Battle Is Still Not Over."
191. "But in Dar the Anti-Mini Battle Is Still Not Over."
192. "Uhuru for Bibi Titi," *Drum*, May 1972 (East Africa).
193. Philomena Chelagat, "Black Pride: What Is It?," *Drum*, July 1971 (East Africa).

CONCLUSION

1. Coquery-Vidrovitch, *African Women*.
2. A Lux advertisement appearing in the *Drum* Nigeria edition (March 1966) featured a model by the name of Lola Martins, described as a "leading fashion model," and may be an earlier attempt by the brand to create a unified image to embody *femme urbAfricana*.
3. "Marcia McBroom-Small," n.d., www.loreleimcbroom.com (accessed June 16, 2022, <http://www.loreleimcbroom.com/family-tree/marciamcbroomsmall>).
4. "Marcia McBroom-Small."
5. Tolu Ogunlesi, MON (@toluogunlesi), "So many wild Nigeria stories that you've never heard of," X photo, December 13, 2024, 5:39 p.m., <https://x.com/toluogunlesi/status/1867700882051117205>
6. Hudita, "Portraits of Modernity," 178, 179.
7. Genova, "Africanité and Urbanité," 270.
8. Quayson, *Oxford Street, Accra*.
9. Banet-Weiser, "Bodies of Difference," 130.
10. Mbure and Aubrey, "A Transnational Analysis of Skin Tone Ideals," 339–55.
11. Funmi Fetto, "British Vogue's Momentous All African February 2022 Cover Spotlights 9 Young Women 'Redefining What It Is to Be a Fashion Model,'" *British*

Vogue, January 13, 2022, https://www.vogue.co.uk/fashion/article/african-models-british-vogue-february-2022?utm_social-type=owned

12. Kai, “Out of Africa and Onto Vogue.”

13. Busari, “*British Vogue’s* Latest Cover,” CNN, January 21, 2022.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adebanjo, M. Taiwo. "West Africa." In *International Handbook of Advertising*, edited by Samuel Watson Dunn, 550–45. New York: McGraw Hill, 1964.
- "Advertising South Africa." *South African Journal of Industries* 3, no. 9 (September 1920): 833.
- "African-American Labor Center: Documentation Center at Lomé." *Africa* 43, no. 2 (1973): 156. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S000197200008699X>
- Allen, Lara. "Commerce, Politics, and Musical Hybridity: Vocalizing Urban Black South African Identity During the 1950s." *Ethnomusicology* 47, no. 2 (Spring–Summer 2003): 228–49. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3113919>
- Anders, Ese, and Kristin Ese. *The City Makers of Nairobi: An African Urban History*. London: Routledge, 2020.
- Asante, Molefi Kete. "Afrocentricity, Race, and Reason." In *Dispatches from the Ebony Tower: Intellectuals Confront the African American Experience*, edited by Manning Marable, 195–203. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.
- Bailey, Jim. "Foreword." In *Kenya, the National Epic: From the Pages of Drum Magazine*, edited by Jim Bailey and Garth Bunde. Nairobi: Kenway Publication, 1993.
- Bailey, Jim. "Letting the Genie out the Bottle: Part One." In *The Beat of Drum: The Rise of Africa*, edited by Angela Caccia, 123–39. Johannesburg: Raven Press, in association with *Drum Magazine*, 1982.
- Bailey, Jim. "Letting the Genie out the Bottle: Part Two." In *The Beat of Drum: The Rise of Africa*, edited by Angela Caccia, 140–68. Johannesburg: Raven Press, in association with *Drum Magazine*, 1982.
- Balshaw, Maria. *Looking for Harlem: Urban Aesthetics in African-American Literature*. Sterling, VA: Pluto Press, 2000.
- Banet-Weiser, Sarah. "Bodies of Difference: Race, Nation, and the Troubled Reign of Vanessa Williams." In *The Most Beautiful Girl in the World: Beauty Pageants and National Identity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999. <https://doi.org/10.2307/jj.2711598.10>

- Barlow, Tani E., Madeleine Yue Dong, Uta G. Poiger, Priti Ramamurthy, Lynn M. Thomas, and Alys Eve Weinbaum. "The Modern Girl Around the World: A Research Agenda and Preliminary Findings." *Gender & History* 17, no. 2 (2005): 245–94. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0953-5233.2006.00382.x>
- Bennett, George, and Carl Gustav Rosenberg. *The Kenyatta Election: Kenya 1960–1961*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Beoku-Betts, Josephine A. "Western Perceptions of African Women in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries." *Africana Research Bulletin* 6, no. 4 (1975): 83–113.
- Berger, Iris. "An African American 'Mother of the Nation': Madie Hall Xuma in South Africa, 1940–1963." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27, no. 3 (2001): 547–66. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/823315>
- Berghoff, Hartmut, and Thomas Kühne, eds. *Globalizing Beauty: Consumerism and Body Aesthetics in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Broadcasting. "We Pay Our Respects To—Daniel Joseph Danker Jr." August 1, 1940, 83, 97.
- Brown, Ryan. "Life on the Fringe: The Early Writings of Lewis Nkosi and Nat Nakasa." *English in Africa* 39, no. 3 (2012): 31–46.
- Bryant, Kelly M. Duke. "Runaways, Dutiful Daughters, and Brides: Family Strategies of Formerly Enslaved Girls in Senegal, 1895–1911." *Women, Gender, and Families of Color* 7, no. 1 (2019): 37–55. <https://doi.org/10.5406/womgenfamcol.7.1.0037>
- Bujra, Janet M. "Women 'Entrepreneurs' of Early Nairobi." *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne Des Études Africaines* 9, no. 2 (1975): 234. <https://doi.org/10.2307/484081>
- Busari, S. "Is British Vogue's Latest Cover the Best Way to Celebrate Black Beauty?" CNN, January 21, 2022. <https://edition.cnn.com/style/article/british-vogue-february-cover-african-models-lgs-intl/>
- Bush, Ruth. "Mesdames, Il Faut Lire! Material Contexts and Representational Strategies in Early Francophone African Women's Magazines." *Francosphères* 5, no. 2 (2016): 213–36. <https://doi.org/10.3828/franc.2016.15>
- Butler, Kim D. "Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse." *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 10, no. 2 (2001): 211. <https://doi.org/10.1353/dsp.2011.0014>
- Caccia, Angela, ed. *The Beat of Drum: The Rise of Africa*. Johannesburg: Raven Press, in association with *Drum Magazine*, 1982.
- Casanova, Erynn Masi de, and Afshan Jafar. *Bodies Without Borders*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Chapman, Michael. *The Drum Decade: Stories from the 1950s*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 2001.
- Chapman, Michael. "Gender-Based Violence, the Sophiatown Shebeens, and Presentism in Can Themba's Stories Beyond 'The Suit.'" *Current Writing: Text and Reception in Southern Africa* 35, no. 2 (2023): 156–67.
- Chetty, Dhianaraj. "Lesbian Gangster: The Gertie Williams Story." In *Defiant Desire*, edited by Cameron Edwin and Mark Gevisser, 128–33. New York: Routledge, 2013.

- Clowes, Lindsay. "Are You Going to Be MISS (or MR) Africa?' Contesting Masculinity in Drum Magazine 1951–1953." *Gender & History* 13, no. 1 (2001): 1–20.
- Clowes, Lindsay. "Masculinity, Matrimony and Generation: Reconfiguring Patriarchy in Drum 1951–1983." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 34, no. 1 (2008): 179–92.
- Clowes, Lindsay. "Men and Children: Changing Constructions of Fatherhood in Drum Magazine 1951–1965." In *Baba: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa*, edited by Linda Richter and Robert Morrell, 108–17. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council, 2006.
- Clowes, Lindsay. "To Be a Man: Changing Constructions of Manhood in Drum Magazine, 1951–1965." In *African Masculinities*, edited by Lahoucine Ouzgane and Robert Morrell, 89–108. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Coplan, David B. *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. New York: Longman, 1985.
- Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. *African Women: A Modern History*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1997.
- Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. "Introduction: African Urban Spaces: History And Culture." In *African Urban Spaces in Historical Perspective*, edited by Steven J. Salm and Toyin Falola, xv–xl. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005.
- Cornwall, Andrea. "Introduction: Perspectives on Gender in Africa." In *Readings in Gender in Africa*, ed. Andrea Cornwall. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005.
- Craig, Maxine Leeds. *Ain't I a Beauty Queen? Black Women, Beauty, and the Politics of Race*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Crisp, Robert. *The Gods Were Neutral*. London: F. Muller, 1960.
- Culler, Jonathan. "Presupposition and Intertextuality." *MLN* 91, no. 6 (1976): 1380–96. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2907142>
- Davis, Angela Y. "Afro Images: Politics, Fashion, and Nostalgia." *Critical Inquiry* 21, no. 1 (1994): 37–45. <https://doi.org/10.1086/448739>
- Davis, Judy Foster. "Realizing Marketplace Opportunity: How Research on the Black Consumer Market Influenced Mainstream Marketers, 1920–1970." *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing* 5, no. 4 (2013): 471–93. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JHRM-02-2013-0006>
- Davis, Patricia G. "The Other Southern Belles: Civil War Reenactment, African American Women, and the Performance of Idealized Femininity." *Text and Performance Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (2012): 308–31.
- Davis, Peter. *In Darkest Hollywood: Exploring the Jungles of Cinema's South Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1996.
- Daymond, Margaret J., ed. *Women Writing Africa: The Southern Region*. New York: Feminist Press at CUNY, 2003.
- Dougherty, Philip H. "Advertising: Grant Goes Where Other Agencies Don't." *New York Times*, April 14, 1968, F16.
- Driver, Dorothy. "Drum Magazine (1951–9) and the Spatial Configurations of Gender." In *Text, Theory, Space Land, Literature and History in South Africa and Australia*,

- edited by Kate Darian-Smith, Liz Gunner, and Sarah Nutall, 231–42. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Ducournau, C. “‘Boîte à lettres’ et signatures: l’auctorialité partagée des femmes dans Awa.” *Études littéraires africaines* 47 (2019): 43–60. <https://doi.org/10.7202/1064752ar>
- Dunn, Watson S., ed. *International Handbook of Advertising*. New York: McGraw Hill, 1964.
- Dyson, Sally, ed. *Nigeria: The Birth of Africa’s Greatest Country: From the Pages of Drum Magazine*. Ibadan, Nigeria: Spectrum Books, 1998.
- Ese, Anders, and Kristin Ese. *The City Makers of Nairobi: An African Urban History*. London: Routledge, 2020.
- Faria, Caroline V., and Hilary Jones. “A Darling* of the Beauty Trade: Race, Care, and the Imperial Debris of Synthetic Hair.” *Cultural Geographies* 27, no. 1 (2020): 85–99.
- Feldstein, Ruth. *How It Feels to Be Free: Black Women Entertainers and the Civil Rights Movement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Fenwick, Mac. “‘Tough Guy, Eh?’: The Gangster-Figure in Drum.” *Journal of Southern African Studies* 22, no. 4 (1996): 617–32.
- Ferreira, Nicolette. “‘Grace’ and The Townships Housewife: Excavating Black South African Women’s Magazines from the 1960s.” *Agenda: Empowering Women for Gender Equity* 25, no. 4 (2011): 59–68. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23287203>
- Fetto, Funmi. “British Vogue’s Momentous All African February 2022 Cover Spotlights 9 Young Women ‘Redefining What It Is to Be a Fashion Model.’” *British Vogue*, January 13, 2022. https://www.vogue.co.uk/fashion/article/african-models-british-vogue-february-2022?utm_social-type=owned
- Fleming, Tyler, and Toyin Falola. “Africa’s Media Empire: ‘Drum’s’ Expansion to Nigeria.” *History in Africa* 32 (2005): 133–64. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20065738>
- Forbes. “Unilever: World Trader in a Shrinking World.” *Forbes*, November 1, 1962, 22–26.
- Ford, Tanisha C. *Liberated Threads: Black Women, Style, and the Global Politics of Soul*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015.
- Francis, A. S. “A Luta Continua: The Political Journey of Manchester’s Black Women Activists, 1945–80.” In *Many Struggles: New Histories of African and Caribbean People in Britain*, edited by Hakim Adi, 107–26. London: Pluto Press, 2023.
- Frederiksen, Bodil Folke. “The Muorias in Kenya: ‘A Very Long Chain.’ An Essay in Family Biography.” In *Writing for Kenya: The Life and Works of Henry Muoria*, edited by Bodil Folke Frederiksen, 10:59–104. Leiden, Brill, 2009.
- Fuentes, Marisa J. *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.
- Genova, James E. “Africanité and Urbanité: The Place of the Urban in Imaginings of African Identity During the Late Colonial Period in French West Africa.” In *African Urban Spaces in Historical Perspective*, edited by Steven J. Salm and Toyin Falola, 266–86. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005.

- George, Abosede A. *Making Modern Girls: A History of Girlhood, Labor, and Social Development in Colonial Lagos*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014.
- Germain, Félix F. "Caribbean Women in Postwar France, 1946–1974." In *Decolonizing the Republic: African and Caribbean Migrants in Postwar Paris, 1946–1974*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2016.
- Granqvist, Raoul. *Photography and American Coloniality: Eliot Elisofon in Africa, 1942–1972*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2017.
- Grant, Nicholas. *Winning Our Freedoms Together: African Americans and Apartheid, 1945–1960*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017.
- Gready, Paul. "The Sophiatown Writers of the Fifties: The Unreal Reality of Their World." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 16, no. 1 (1990): 139–64.
- Guldimann, Colette. "Against the Law: Arthur Maimane's Pioneering Hard-Boiled Black Detective Fiction in *Drum* Magazine." *Safundi* 20 (2019): 259–76. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17533171.2019.1573456>
- Guma, Lindiwe. "Women, Wage Labour and National Liberation." In *Repression and Resistance: Insider Accounts of Apartheid*, edited by Muthien Cohen, Zegeye Abebe, Robin Cohen, and Yvonne G. Muthien, 272–84. New York: Hans Zell, 1990.
- Hall, Stuart. *Essential Essays, Volume 1: Foundations of Cultural Studies*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2019.
- Hamilton, Ruth Simms. "Transnational Politics: A Note on Black Americans and the Paris Peace Conference of 1919." In *Routes of Passage: Rethinking the African Diaspora: Volume 1, Part 1*, edited by Ruth Simms Hamilton, 219–38. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2007.
- Hamilton, Ruth Simms, Kimberly Eison Simmons, Raymond Familusi, and Michael Hanson. "Rethinking the African Diaspora: Global Dynamics." In *Routes of Passage: Rethinking the African Diaspora: Volume 1, Part 1*, edited by Ruth Simms Hamilton, 1–40. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2007.
- Harris, Joseph E. "Historicizing the African Diaspora." In *Routes of Passage: Rethinking the African Diaspora: Volume 1, Part 1*, edited by Ruth Simms Hamilton, 85–92. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2007.
- Hichens, William. "African Markets and Native Languages." *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 83, no. 4318 (August 23, 1935): 969–72. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41360533>
- "Hollywood Film Colony Mourns." *New York Times*, January 19, 1942, 10.
- Hu, Xiaoran. "Writing Against Innocence: Entangled Temporality, Black Subjectivity, and Drum Writers Revisited." *Journal of Commonwealth Literature* 55, no. 2 (2020): 277–93.
- Huddleston, Trevor. *Naught for Your Comfort*. New York: Doubleday, 1956.
- J. Walter Thompson Company. Account Files, 1885–2012, and undated, bulk 1920–2006 Collection. David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.
- J. Walter Thompson Company. Biographical Information, 1916–1998 Collection. David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.

- J. Walter Thompson Company. Publications Collection 1887–2005. David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University.
- Jaji, Tsitsi. “Bingo Magazine in the Age of Pan-African Festivals: A Feminist Archive of Global Black Consciousness.” *Nka: Journal of Contemporary African Art* 42–43 (November 2018): 110–23. <https://doi.org/10.1215/10757163-7185749>
- Jaji, Tsitsi. “Francophone African Women and the Rise of the Glossy Magazine.” In *Popular Culture in Africa: The Episteme of the Everyday*, edited by Stephanie Newell and Onookome Okome, 111–30. New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Jazeel, Tariq. “Postcolonial Geographies of Privilege: Diaspora Space, the Politics of Personhood and the ‘Sri Lankan Women’s Association in the UK.’” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 31, no. 1 (2006): 19–33.
- Jere, Mlenga. “Portrayals of Men and Women in *Drum* Magazine (South Africa) Advertisements.” *Acta Commercii* 14, no. 1 (2014): 1–8.
- Johnson, Rachel. “‘The Girl About Town’: Discussions of Modernity and Female Youth in *Drum* Magazine, 1951–1970.” *Social Dynamics* 35, no. 1 (February 2009): 43. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02533950802666899>
- Jones, Geoffrey. *Beauty Imagined: A History of the Global Beauty Industry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Kai, Maiysha. “Out of Africa and Onto Vogue: What’s the Story Behind British Vogue’s February Cover?” *The Grio*, January 15, 2022. <https://thegrio.com/2022/01/15/british-vogue-african-models/>
- Kanogo, Tabitha M. *African Womanhood in Colonial Kenya, 1900–50*. Oxford: James Currey, 2005.
- Katshunga, Jen. “Contesting Black Girlhood (s) Beyond Northern Borders: Exploring a Black African Girl Approach.” In *The Black Girlhood Studies Collection*, edited by Arria Halliday, 45–79. Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 2019.
- Kerr, Walter Montagu. *The Far Interior: A Narrative of Travel and Adventure from the Cape of Good Hope Across the Zambesi to the Lake Regions of Central Africa*. England: S. Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1886.
- Kellner, Douglas. *Media Culture: Cultural Studies, Identity, and Politics in the Contemporary Moment*. London: Routledge, 2020.
- Kenya Gazette Notice No. 868. March 19, 1964, 224.
- Kenya National Assembly Official Record (Hansard). March 30, 1965.
- Kenyatta, Margaret. “Preface.” In *Kenya, the National Epic: From the Pages of Drum Magazine*, edited by Jim Bailey and Garth Bunde. Nairobi: Kenway Publication, 1993.
- Kim Miller. “Xuma, Madie Hall.” In *Dictionary of African Biography*, edited by Henry Louis Gates, Emmanuel Akyeampong, and Steven J. Niven. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Krige, Jana, and Marcelyn Oostendorp. “Too Late for Tears, Dear Sister: Constructing Victims and Perpetrators of Rape in the Advice Column Dear Dolly from 1984 to 2004.” *Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus* 46, no. 1 (2015): 7–23.

- Lanoi Maloiy. "Tracing Kenyan Women's Involvement in Elections and Political Leadership from 1963–2002." In *Where Women Are Gender & the 2017 Kenyan Elections*, edited by Nanjala Nyabola and Marie-Emmanuelle Pommerolle, 24–49. Nairobi: Twaweza Communications, 2018.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *Le droit à la ville* [The Right to the City]. Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1968.
- Lewis, Su Lin. "Cosmopolitanism and the Modern Girl: A Cross-Cultural Discourse in 1930s Penang." *Modern Asian Studies* 43, no. 6 (2009): 1385–1419. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40285017>
- Lugones, María. "Gender and Universality in Colonial Methodology." *Critical Philosophy of Race* 8, no. 1–2 (2020): 33. <https://doi.org/10.5325/critphilrace.8.1-2.0025>
- Lyon, Ann. "The Cosmetics Industry: How New Products and New Markets Are Boosting Sales." *Printers' Ink* 280 (1962): 24–25.
- Magubane, Peter, and Carol Lazar. *Women of South Africa: Their Fight for Freedom*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1993.
- Magubane, Peter, and Marshall Lee. *Soweto*. 2nd ed. Cape Town: D. Nelson, 1983.
- Makeba, Miriam, and James Hall. *Makeba: My Story*. New York: New American Library, 1988.
- Matera, Marc. "Introduction: The Imperial and Atlantic Horizons of Black London." In *Black London: The Imperial Metropolis and Decolonization in the Twentieth Century*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2015.
- Matshikiza, Todd, and John Matshikiza. *With the Lid Off: South African Insights from Home and Abroad, 1959–2000*. Johannesburg: M&G Books, 2000.
- Mayet, Juby. *Freedom Writer: My Life and Times*. Auckland Park, South Africa: Jacana Media, 2022.
- Mbure, Wanjiru G., and Jennifer Stevens Aubrey. "A Transnational Analysis of Skin Tone Ideals in Cosmetic Advertisements in Women's Lifestyle Magazines." *Howard Journal of Communications* 28, no. 4 (October 2017): 339–55. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2017.1300964>
- McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Mckenzie, Lisa. *Getting By: Estates, Class and Culture in Austerity Britain*. Bristol: Policy Press, 2015.
- McLaren, Joseph. "Alice Walker and the Legacy of African American Discourse on Africa." In *The African Diaspora: African Origins and New World Identities*, edited by Isidore Okpewho, Carole Boyce Davies, and Ali A. Mazuri, 525–37. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Mda, A. P., Robert R. Edgar, and Luyanda ka Msumza. *Africa's Cause Must Triumph: The Collected Writings of A.P. Mda*. Cape Town, South Africa: Best Red, in association with African Lives, 2018.
- Mitchell, Robin. "Another Means of Understanding the Gaze: Sarah Bartmann in the

- Development of Nineteenth-Century French National Identity." In *Black Venus 2010: They Called Her "Hottentot,"* edited by Deborah Willis, 32–46. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010.
- Morgan, W. T. W. "Urbanization in Kenya: Origins and Trends." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, no. 46 (1969): 167–78. <https://doi.org/10.2307/621415>
- Mphahlele, E. "Looking in: Interviews with Es'kia Mphahlele." *English Academy Review* 4, no. 1 (1987): 115–41. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10131758785310091>
- Mullings, Leith. 2000. "Reclaiming Culture: The Dialectics of Identity." In *Dispatches from the Ebony Tower: Intellectuals Confront the African American Experience*, edited by Manning Marable, 210–15. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.
- Mustafa, Hudita Nura. "Portraits of Modernity: Fashioning Selves in Dakar's Popular Photography." In *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.
- Mutongi, Kenda. "'Dear Dolly's' Advice: Representations of Youth, Courtship, and Sexualities in Africa, 1960–1980." *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 33, no. 1 (2000): 1–23.
- Naidoo, Riason, and Durban Art Gallery. 2008. *The Indian in Drum Magazine in the 1950s*. Woodstock, Cape Town: Bell-Roberts.
- Ndimande, Thobile. "So-Fire-Town: The Representations of a Translucent Urban Black Femininity in the Black Press Through the Signatures of Dolly Rathebe in the 1950s." *Agenda (Durban)* 36, no. 4 (2022): 80–90.
- Ndlela, Phil. "Do Not Let Him Die: Celebrating the Legacy of Es'kia Mphahlele." *Literatur* 38, no. 1 (2017): 1–7.
- Newbury, Darren. "Johannesburg Lunch-Hour 1951–1963: The Emergence and Development of the Humanist Photographic Essay in Drum Magazine." In *Mapping the Magazine: Comparative Studies in Magazine Journalism*, edited by Tim Holmes, 63–73. New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Nimrod, Mkele. "Advertising to the Bantu." Second Convention on Advertising in South Africa, 1959.
- Nixon, Rob. *Homelands, Harlem, and Hollywood: South African Culture and the World Beyond*. New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Nzimande, Bonginkosi. "Class, National Oppression and the African Petty Bourgeoisie: The Case of the African Traders." In *Repression and Resistance: Insider Accounts of Apartheid*, edited by Muthien Cohen, Zegeye Abebe, Robin Cohen, and Yvonne G. Muthien, 165–210. New York: Hans Zell, 1990.
- Opene, Onyechi. *An African Queen of Hearts: The Biography of Opral Benson*. Lagos, Nigeria: Creative Consults, 2002.
- "Ordinance to Regulate the Sale of Perfumes." Supplement, *Official Gazette East Africa Protectorate* 20, no. 10 (October 23, 1918): 2–3.
- Otiso, Kefa M. "Colonial Urbanization and Urban Management in Kenya." In *African Urban Spaces in Historical Perspective*, edited by Steven J. Salm and Toyin Falola, 73–97. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005.

- Oyèwùmí, Oyèrónkẹ́. *African Gender Studies: Theoretical Questions and Conceptual Issues*. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005.
- Peiss, Kathy. *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.
- Peterson, Bhekizizwe. "Imagining and Appreciating 'the Long Eye of History': Race, Form and Representation in Drum Magazine's Serialisation of Wild Conquest." *Social Dynamics* 45, no. 1 (2019): 121–37.
- Publicity Department, Explosives and Chemical Industry Limited. "Southern Africa." In *International Handbook of Advertising*, edited by Samuel Watson Dunn, 553–59. New York: McGraw Hill, 1964.
- Quayson, Ato. *Oxford Street, Accra: City Life and the Itineraries of Transnationalism*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014.
- Rake, Alan. "A Drum Boy in Africa." *New African* 6 (1999): 8–14.
- Rake, Alan. "Grass Roots in East Africa." In *The Beat of Drum: The Rise of Africa*, edited by Angela Caccia, 53–62. Johannesburg: Raven Press, in association with *Drum Magazine*, 1982.
- Reade, William Winwood. *Savage Africa: Being the Narrative of a Tour in Equatorial, Southwestern, and Northwestern Africa* [. . .], vol. 1. New York: Harper, 1864.
- Rauwerda, Antje M. "Whitewashing *Drum Magazine* (–1959): Advertising Race and Gender." *Continuum* 21, no. 3 (2007): 393–404.
- Richards, Yvette. *Maida Springer: Pan Africanist and International Labor Leader*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000.
- Sampson, Anthony. *Drum: The Newspaper That Won the Heart of Africa*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957.
- Samuelson, Meg. "The Urban Palimpsest: Re-Presenting Sophiatown." *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 44, no. 1 (2008): 63–75. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17449850701820764>
- Sandten, Cecile. "'Transnational Decolonial Aesthetics': The 'Hottentot Venus' Re-Configured." *Transnational in Literary Studies*, no. 17 (2020): 56–75. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110688726-004>
- Sandwith, Corinne. "The Importance of Being Educated: Strategies of an Urban Petit-Bourgeois Elite, South Africa, 1935–50." In *African Urban Spaces in Historical Perspective*, edited by Steven J. Salm and Toyin Falola, 164–89. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005.
- Sanyal, Sunanda K., and Kizito Maria Kasule. "Modernism and Cultural Politics on East Africa: Cecil Todd's Drawings of the Uganda Martyrs. [With Commentary]." *African Arts* 39, no. 1 (2006): 50–59, 94. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20447751>
- Schadeberg, Jürgen. "Dolly Rathebe and the African Inkspots Impromptu Performance at Dolly's Shebeen Party." YouTube, December 6, 2013. <https://youtu.be/zWRv21mJGUU>
- Schadeberg, Jürgen. *The Way I See It: A Memoir*. Johannesburg: Picador Africa, 2017.
- Schadeberg, Jürgen, and Bob Gosani. *The Fifties People of South Africa*. Lanseria, South Africa: J. R. A. Bailey, 1987.

She. "Brown Skin Gal." April 1964.

Silvia Riva. "'Awa' et Autres Revues Féminines En Afrique Francophone: Par-Delà Les Lieux Communs." *Storia Delle Donne: Concepire, Generare, Nascere* 15, no. 15 (2020): 11–24. <https://doi.org/10.13128/sd-9036>

Simons, Andy. "Black British Swing: Part 1." *IAJRC Journal* 41, no. 3 (August 2008): 35–44.

Skinner, Elliott P. *African Urban Life: The Transformation of Ouagadougou*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974.

Smith, Anthony. "West African Roll." In *The Beat of Drum: The Rise of Africa*, edited by Angela Caccia, 32–34. Johannesburg: Raven Press, in association with *Drum Magazine*, 1982.

"Sophiatown." Featuring Hugh Masekela. Track 5 on Thandi Klaasen, *Together as One*. HKM Records, 1996.

South Africa. "Commission of Enquiry in Regard to Undesirable Publications." Report, U.G. No. 42/1957, 52.

South African History Online. "Thandi Klaasen." Updated October 7, 2022. <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/thandi-klaasen>

Steady, Filomena C. "An Investigative Framework for Gender Research in Africa in the New Millennium." In *African Gender Studies: A Reader*, edited by Oyèrónké Oyewùmí, 313–32. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

Stiebel, Lindy, and Elizabeth Gunner. *Still Beating the Drum: Critical Perspectives on Lewis Nkosi*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005.

Stein, Sylvester. *Who Killed Mr. Drum?* London: Nononsense Press, 2013. Kindle edition.

Sutton, Denise H. 2009. *Globalizing Ideal Beauty: How Female Copywriters of the J. Walter Thompson Advertising Agency Redefined Beauty for the Twentieth Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

Themba, Can. "Requiem for Sophiatown." In *An African Treasury: Articles, Essays, Stories, Poems*, edited by Langston Hughes, 21–25. New York: Crown, 1960.

Thomas, Lynn M. *Beneath the Surface: A Transnational History of Skin Lighteners*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2020.

Thomas, Lynn M. "The Modern Girl and Racial Respectability in 1930s South Africa." *Journal of African History* 47, no. 3 (2006): 487–89. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021853706002131>

Time. "Admen in Africa." May 23, 1960, 91.

Time. "World Business, Advertising: That Local Touch." September 20, 1963.

Titlestad, Michael. "Jazz Discourse and Black South African Modernity, with Special Reference to 'Matshikese.'" *American Ethnologist* 32, no. 2 (2005): 210–21.

Tomlinson, Claudia. "How West Indian Students and Migrants Cooperated in Fighting Racialised Injustices in Britain, 1950s–1960s." In *Many Struggles: New Histories of African and Caribbean People in Britain*, edited by Hakim Adi, 127–42. London: Pluto Press, 2023.

- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2015.
- Trump, Martin. "Black Writing and the Liberation Movement." In *Rendering Things Visible: Essays on South African Literary Culture*, edited by Martin Trump, 161–85. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1991.
- Udall, Dorothy. "Fort Collins History Connection." <https://history.fcgov.com/women/pdf/udall.pdf>
- Udall, Dorothy. Review of *African Dress: A Select and Annotated Bibliography of Sub-Saharan Countries; African Textiles: An Outline of Hand Crafted Subsaharan Fabrics*, by J. B. Eicher & C. Plumer. *Africa Today* 20, no. 3 (1973): 81. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4185331>
- United States Department of Commerce, Office of International Trade. *World Trade in Commodities: Drugs & Toiletries*. "Specified Toilet Preparations and Soap in British East Africa (Kenya and Uganda, and Tanganyika) and British West Africa (Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and The Gambia)." Vol. VI, Part 3, No. 21 (June 1948): 1–8.
- United States Department of Commerce, Office of International Trade. *World Trade in Commodities: Drugs & Toiletries*. "Specified Toilet Preparations and Soap, Union of South Africa." Vol. VI, Part 3, No. 38 (September 1948): 1–5.
- wa Wanjau, Gakaara. *Mwandiki wa Mau Mau ithaamirio-ini*. Nairobi: East African Publishers, 1983.
- Walker, Sheila S. "Milestones and Arrows: A Cultural Anthropologist Discovers the Global African Diaspora." *Journal of African American History* 100, no. 3 (2015): 518. <https://doi.org/10.5323/jafriamerhist.100.3.0494>
- Ward, Barbara E. "Some Observations on Religious Cults in Ashanti." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 26, no. 1 (January 1956): 47–61. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1156769>
- Watson, Clement. "Markets Are People—Not Places." *J. Walter Thompson News Bulletin Foreign Issue* 135 (July 1928): 22.
- Weber, Brenda R. "'I Will Get Domesticated After a While': Gendered Narratives of Origin and Identity at the Western Female Seminary." *Feminist Formations* 24, no. 1 (2012): 180. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ff.2012.0004>
- Weinbaum, Alys Eve, Lynn M. Thomas, Priti Ramamurthy, Uta G. Poiger, Madeleine Yue Dong, and Tani Barlow, eds. *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.
- Wipper, Audrey. "The Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization: The Co-Optation of Leadership." *African Studies Review* 18, no. 3 (1975): 99–120. <https://doi.org/10.2307/523724>
- Woodson, Dorothy C. *Tapping Drum – Drum: An Index to "Africa's Leading Magazine," 1951–1965*. Madison: University of Wisconsin–Madison, 1988.

INDEX

- Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act (South Africa), 14
- advertisements, 11, 20, 97–99; African Americans in, 141; by American companies, 99–105, 111; anti-Black rhetoric in, 25; beauty contests and, 108–9, 115, 117–22, 126, 128–32; for beverages, 122–26; for cosmetics and personal care products, 9, 52–53, 101–5, 111–13, 121; cover girls and, 108–9, 117–20; demographic research for, 102–3; for food, 126, 128–30; for hair care products, 109–10; for hair straighteners, 75, 98, 109, 120; for perfumes, 110; for skin-lightening creams, 52, 62–63, 105–9, 127; for toilet soap, 111, 113–16, 120–21, 196–97. *See also* Grant Advertising Inc.; J. Walter Thompson Company (JWT); product endorsements
- Africa!* (magazine), 18–20
- “Africa ’52” beauty contest, 75–76
- African Advisory Board (*Drum* magazine), 12–13
- African-American Labor Center, 141
- African Americans: in Africa, 140–44; in African magazines, 133–39; in Europe, 139–40; in *Transition* (magazine), 167–68; women in *Drum*, 136–39
- African Diaspora Research Project, 26
- African Drum, The* (magazine). *See Drum* (magazine)
- African fashion. *See* fashion, African
- African Film Productions, 67–68
- African National Congress Women’s League, 14
- African sirens/women entertainers: artists/dancers/singers, 71–75; film stars, 66–70
- Afrocentrism, 25
- Afro hairstyles, 59–60, 89, 91. *See also* hairstyles; wigs
- “All African Ladies” contest, 8
- apartheid, South African, 14, 18–19, 40, 51, 135, 145; archival research and, 32; beauty contests and, 81–83, 96
- appearance, 24. *See also* cosmetics and personal care products; hairstyles
- archival research, 31–34
- artists, female, 57–58
- Asante, Molefi, 25
- athletes, 185–86
- Aubrey, Jennifer, 200
- Awa* (magazine), 40
- Bahamas, the, 145–46
- Bailey, Jim, 10–13, 15–17, 97–98
- Bailey’s African History Archives (BAHA), 32–33
- Banet-Weiser, Sarah, 199
- Bantu World, The* (newspaper), 8, 24, 27, 37–38, 75, 103
- Barbados, 156–57

- Bartmann, Sarah "Saartje," 6–7
 Batchelor, Irene, 52, 121, 137
Beat of Drum, The (Caccia), 21–22
 "Beauty Box" column (Placido), 49–50
 beauty contests, 13, 15–16, 20, 52; advertisements and, 108–9, 115, 117–22, 126, 128–32; Africa '52, 75–76; African American, 136; African cities and, 93–95; Coca-Cola's Calendar Girl, 122, 124–26; cover girls and, 87–88; criticisms of, 40; Drum-Bu-Tone, 115, 117–19, 131, 137; Eat More Fish Beauty Competition, 128–29; Eurocentric beauty ideals in, 81–82; Face of Africa, 199; imagery of, 1–4, 6; independence and, 178–82; in Kenya, 93–95; in London, 151, 157; Miss South Africa 1.0, 77–80; Miss South Africa 2.0, 43, 119–22; modern, 199–200; prizes from, 129, 131; provincial, 80–82; Sari Queen, 80–81; segregation and, 82–84, 96; transnationalism and, 85–87; white women in, 143
 beauty ideals. *See* black is beautiful; Eurocentric beauty ideals
 beauty professionals, 50, 59, 186–87
 Belafonte, Harry, 139, 145
 Benson, Oprah, 146, 171
 Beoku-Betts, Josephine, 7
 Berger, Iris, 141
Bingo (magazine), 40
 Black Caribbean women, 152–57, 159–60, 225n1
 black is beautiful, 61–64
 Board of Censors (South Africa), 139
Boy Kumasenu, The (film), 70
 Britain. *See* England
British Vogue (magazine), 200–202
 Bryant, Kelly Duke, 30
 Bujra, Janet, 4
 Busari, Stephanie, 200, 202
 Bush, Ruth, 40
 businesswomen. *See* professional success of women
 Buthelezi, June, 88
 Butler, Kim, 28, 30
 Bu-Tone, 115, 117–19
 Caccia, Angela, 21–22
 Cape Town, South Africa, 28–29; beauty culture of, 51–53, 80, 92
 career success. *See* professional success of women
 Caribbean, the, 27–28, 133–34, 136, 145–46, 161, 197; Bahamas, the, 145; Barbados, 156–57; Black Caribbean Women in Europe via, 148, 152–57, 159–60; cover girls from, 91; entertainment industry and, 66; Guyana, 153; Jamaica, 46, 82, 91, 152–57, 159–60; Trinidad, 66, 146, 153, 157. *See also* transnationalism
Carmen Jones (film), 139
 Carmichael, Stokely, 145
 celebrities, 45–46, 52, 65–66, 69; African American, 140–44; agency and challenges of, 56–58; glamour and, 66–67, 70
 Central Africa edition of *Drum*, 16, 87
 Chapman, Michael, 21
 Chelagat, Philomena, 63
 Chetty, Dhianaraj, 28
 Chez Julie, 61, 152, 188
 Chimonyo, Lovemore, 84–85
 Chocho, Dan, 41, 81
 civilisé, 197
 Clowes, Lindsay, 21–22, 97, 206n111
 Coca-Cola, 120, 122–26, 132
 Colgate-Palmolive, 101, 120–21, 132
 colonial gaze, 15, 42, 202
 consumerism, 9, 20. *See also* advertisements; product endorsements
 Coplan, David, 71
 Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine, 4, 26
 cosmetics and personal care products, 45–46, 92; advertisements for, 9, 52–53, 101–5, 111–13, 121; advice about, 49–53, 62; Black-owned companies, 104; industry, 101; in Kenya, 172–76, 186–88
 cosmopolitanism, 9, 37, 196–97
 cover girls, 54–58, 76, 90; advertisements and, 108–9, 117–19; beauty contests

- and, 87–88; compensation of, 156;
gendered expectations and, 168–69; in
London, 150–52; photographers and,
43–44; professional women as, 184–85;
transnationalism and, 89, 91
- Craig, Maxine, 81–83
- Crisp, Robert James, 9–12
- Cry, the Beloved Country* (Paton), 11, 69
- cultural studies, 31
- cultural workers, 40–41
- Cunningham, Beryl, 154
- Dandridge, Dorothy, 65, 86, 136–37, 139
- Davis, Angela, 25–26
- Davis, Patricia, 83–84, 146
- Davis, Peter, 7
- Daymond, Margaret, 22, 38–40
- Dear Dolly column (*Drum* magazine), 28,
206n110, 207n123
- Dhlamini, Ribbon, 69–70
- diaspora, 79, 91, 134, 197; capitals, 28;
connections to Africa, 159–60; female
writers and, 38–39. *See also* African
Americans; Black Caribbean women;
Europe; fashion, African; transnation-
alism
- Dispossessed Lives* (Fuentes), 32
- domesticity, 22, 45, 156; cover girls and,
56, 168–69
- Doudu, Cameroon, 16, 205n88
- Douglas, Anne, 84–85
- Driver, Dorothy, 1, 21–22, 54, 177
- Drum* (magazine): African Advisory
Board, 12–13; as *The African Drum*,
9–12; as *Africa's Leading Magazine*,
12–13; apartheid government critiques
of, 18–20; archives of, 32–34; “Beauty
Box” column, 49–50; Central Africa
edition, 16, 87; Dear Dolly column, 28,
206n110, 207n123; East Africa edition,
16–17, 34, 87–88, 164–65; expansion
of, 16–18; first issue, 11–12; “Home and
Beauty,” 45–46; influence of, 21–23;
objectification of women in, 21–22, 24,
53, 118, 182; race-based wage gap, 97; re-
gional offices, 16–18; scholarship about,
21, 206n108; West Africa edition, 16;
“Woman’s Drum,” 46–49; working en-
vironment, 39. *See also* advertisements;
beauty contests; cover girls; *femme*
urbAfricana; journalists; writers
- Drum-Bu-Tone beauty contest, 115, 117–
19, 131, 137
- Drum Decade, The* (Chapman), 21
- Drums of Africa* (musical), 72
- Ducournau, Claire, 40
- Dunham, Katherine, 138–40
- Duodu, Cameron, 58, 205n88
- Durban, South Africa, 43, 80–81
- Dyantiyi, Benson, 41, 74
- East Africa: British, 105, 109–10; edition
of *Drum*, 16–17, 34, 87–88, 164–65;
fashion in, 59–60; women in politics
in, 164–72
- East Africa Journal (EAJ)*, 165–67
- Eat More Fish Beauty Competition,
128–29
- Ebony* (magazine), 134; beauty contests
and, 76–77, 82; celebrities in, 65–66, 70,
145; goals of, 146–47
- Ebony Africa* (magazine), 44, 142, 145, 147,
177; establishment of, 161
- Ekwensi, Cyprian, 16
- Ekwonna, Abigail Ikechi, 48, 180
- Elizabeth, Princess of Toro, 87
- Elizabeth II, queen of England, 147–48
- endorsements. *See* product endorsements
- England, 148–57, 159. *See also* London,
England
- Ese, Anders, 4
- Ese, Kristin, 4
- etiquette, 47–50
- Eurocentric beauty ideals, 51, 167; in
beauty contests, 81–82; critiques of, 49,
52, 63, 89; globalization effect on skin
tone, 200; post-independence, 183–84.
See also black is beautiful; fashion,
African; hair straightening; hairstyles;
skin lighteners

- Europe, 26–27; African Americans in, 139–40; Africans in, 147–52; Black Caribbean women in, 152–57, 159–60
- fabric, African, 48, 60–61, 93, 142, 171, 188
- “Face of Africa” beauty contest, 199
- Faji, Matthew, 43–44, 61, 169
- Falola, Toyin, 17, 21
- family planning, 166–67
- Faria, Caroline, 109
- fashion, African, 48–49; in advertisements, 196–97; African Americans and, 141–42, 145; in Kenya, 183–84; post-independence, 189; transnationalism and, 59–61, 91–93, 152
- fashion designers, 48, 59–61, 92–93; African American, 141–42; post-independence, 187–89
- fashion shows, 59–61, 188–89
- fashion trendsetting, 46–52, 91–92, 141; flight attendants and, 191–92. *See also* cosmetics and personal care products; hairstyles
- Federation of South African Women, 14
- Feldstein, Ruth, 69; *How It Feels to Be Free*, 21
- femininity, models of, 40, 197–98
- feminism, 8, 83–84. *See also* politics, women in
- femme urbAfricana*: Afrocentrism and, 25; age and, 30; appearance and, 24, 96; establishment and evolution overview, 34–36; goals of, 30–31; heteronormativity of, 28–29; introduction to term, 23–25; political stance and, 25–26; six interlinked traits, 25–29; transnationalism and, 26–31, 96; as urban, 24–25. *See also* *Drum* (magazine); heteronormativity; politics, women in; transnationalism
- Ferreira, Nicolette, 20–21
- film industry, 65–70, 139–40. *See also* Hollywood
- first ladies and first daughters, 176–78, 190
- Fleming, Tyler, 17, 21
- food, 126, 128–30
- Ford, Tanisha, 36, 91
- Francophone magazines, 40
- From the Pages of Drum Magazine*, 21
- Fuentes, Marissa, 30; *Dispossessed Lives*, 32
- Futa, Hazel, 56–57, 77, 108, 112, 119
- Gbabgo, Christian, 43–44, 59, 61
- Gcwabe, Patience, 56–57
- gender ideology, 39, 47, 177. *See also* heteronormativity; objectification of women in *Drum* (magazine)
- General Motors (GM), 100
- Genova, James, 198–99
- George, Abosede, 5, 30
- Germain, Félix, 155
- Ghala (East Africa Journal)*, 165–66
- Ghana, 16–17, 43, 109, 111; diaspora communities and, 159; fashion in, 59–61
- Gichoya, Kimamu Njiru, 173–75
- Gikiro, Pricilla Nuna, 4–5
- “Girl About Town” column (Morel), 51–53
- glamour archive, 32–33
- globalization, 31, 160–61; skin tone effect, 200; upward mobility and, 133–34
- Golden City Post* (newspaper), 39, 84
- Gordon, Francis, 76, 102
- Gosani, Robert “Bob,” 41, 57, 91–92
- Grace* (magazine), 20
- Granqvist, Raoul, 9
- Grant, Bill, 141–42
- Grant, Nicholas, 36, 126, 133–35, 140, 156
- Grant Advertising Inc., 99–101, 105, 120, 122, 142
- Griffith, D. W., 7
- Guyana, 153
- hair straightening, 59, 62, 89, 143, 176, 184; advertisements, 75, 98, 109, 120
- hairstyles, 59–60, 89, 91; debate about, 143–44; hair care product advertisements, 75, 109–10
- Halliday, Aria, 30

- Hamilton, Ruth Simms, 26, 40
 Harlem, New York, 11, 28, 66, 74, 135–36
 Harlem Swingsters (band), 57
 Harris, Joseph, 36
 Hassim, Dolly, 22, 28
 Henriques, Sylvana, 154–55
 heteronormativity, 28–30, 151–52, 156, 184–85, 198; male desire and, 88–89.
 See also objectification of women in *Drum* (magazine)
 Heyns, Jacky, 53
Hi-Note (magazine), 18–20
 Hollywood, 20, 28, 66–68, 104, 113, 117, 138–39
 Hopkinson, Tom, 14, 167
 Horne, Lena, 65, 86, 138–40
How It Feels to Be Free (Feldstein), 21

 Immorality Act (South Africa), 79
 independence, African, 17, 163–64; beauty contests and, 178–82; celebrations of, 164–65; fashion designers after, 187–89; professional success of women after, 182–84. *See also* Pan-Africanist movement; politicians, male; politics, women in
Indian in Drum Magazine in the 1950s, The (Naidoo), 21–22
 Indian women, 21–22, 58, 80–81, 88
 Institute of Tailoring and Cutting (Nairobi), 141–42

Jackie Robinson Story, The (film), 139
 Jaji, Tsitsi, 40, 191–92
 Jamaica, 46, 82, 91, 152–57, 159–60
 Jambo, Akau, 202
 Jansen, Pearl, 82–83, 86
 Jazeel, Tariq, 153, 157
 jazz, African American, 137
 jazz, South African, 57–58, 71–72
Jet (magazine), 25, 29, 43, 138; beauty contests and, 75, 82; celebrities in, 66, 145; goals of, 146–47; profiles in, 143–44
Jim Comes to Jo'burg (film), 68

Joe Louis Story, The (film), 139
 Johannesburg, South Africa, 12–15, 38, 53–56, 73, 79–80; archival research in, 32–34
 Johnson, Rachel, 52
 Jones, Hilary, 109
 journalists, 38–39, 54–56, 184. *See also* writers
 J. Walter Thompson Company (JWT), 99–105, 109–11, 113, 115, 120–21

 Kali, J. D., 172–73
 Kally, Ranjith, 83, 91
 Kanogo, Tabitha, 4
 Karikari, Berylle (Beryl), 58
 Karim, Sulti, 189
 Karroo Creams, 52, 105, 108–9, 119
 Katshunga, Jen, 29
 Kenya, 16–17, 63–64, 70, 73–74, 101–2; African fashion in, 183–84; beauty contests in, 93–95; cosmetics in, 34, 172–76, 186–88; fashion in, 92, 141–42, 176, 188–89; independence of, 164; women in politics in, 168, 170, 173–76. *See also* Nairobi, Kenya
 Kenya African National Union (KANU), 168, 183, 185
 Kenyatta, Mama Ngina, 177–78, 189
 Kenyatta, Margaret, 176
 Khumalo, Alfred, 14, 58, 91
 Kiano, Jane, 170
King Kong (musical), 51, 77, 122, 125–26
 Kitt, Eartha, 117, 137–40
 Klaasen, Thandi, 71–73
 Kolati, Lynnette, 118–19

 Lagos, Nigeria, 5, 44, 59, 196–97
 Lameck, Lucy, 147, 228n105
 Lefebvre, Henri, 95
 leisure, urban, 42–43
 Lever Brothers, 100–102, 113, 115, 120–21, 132
 Lewis, Su Lin, 29
Life (magazine), 9
 Lifebuoy soap, 115

- London, England, 3, 6, 76, 167; African women in, 148–52, 160, 173, 180, 196–97; beauty contests and, 79, 82–83, 85–86, 120, 125; Black Caribbean women in, 148–49, 152–57, 159–60; celebrities in, 138, 140, 145; *Drum* magazine operations in, 16; fashion and, 60, 92, 180, 189, 195; industry and, 100–101; photographers in, 42–43
- Lugones, María, 96
- Lux Toilet Soap, 113–15, 120–21, 196–97
- Maendeleo ya Wanawake, 151, 170, 175, 182–83
- Magubane, Peter, 14, 43–44, 56–57, 72, 78–79
- Maimane, Arthur, 41, 98, 167
- Makeba, Miriam, 21, 42, 62, 72, 176; in the Bahamas, 145–46; in Kenya, 165; product endorsements, 110, 122–23; in the United States, 144–45
- make-up. *See* cosmetics and personal care products
- Mamlay, Hilda, 184
- Manhattan Brothers (band), 45, 72
- “Martins, Susie,” 196–97
- Masembe, Joyce, 171–72
- Masuka, Dorothy, 71–72, 74, 85, 109, 119, 127, 165
- Matera, Marc, 148–49
- Matshikiza, Todd, 57–58, 74, 85
- Mau Mau, 169, 172, 183
- Mayet, Juby, 18, 38–39, 58
- Mboya, Pamela, 165–66, 170, 176
- Mboya, Tom, 16–17, 165, 172
- Mckenzie, Lisa, 157
- McLaren, Joseph, 159
- Mda, A. P., 18, 22
- Men of Two Worlds* (film), 66
- Meyiwa, Miriam, 80
- miniskirts, 60, 93, 180, 184; ban on, 33, 192–93
- Miss Africa, 115, 117–18; South, 82–84
- Miss Nairobi pageant: 1959, 93–94; 1966, 1–4, 6, 180
- Miss South Africa pageant: 1.0, 77–80; 2.0, 43, 119–22
- Miss Uhuru pageant, 180–81, 186
- Miss World pageant, 82–84, 86, 132, 142, 151, 200
- Mkele, Nimrod, 132, 139
- Modern Girl, 8–9, 24, 29
- Modisane, Bloke, 119, 167
- Mofolo, Ruth, 76–77, 117
- Mohamed, Bibi Titi, 166, 171, 193
- Monroe, Marilyn, 143; “Dark Marilyn Monroe,” 54
- Moore, Peggy, 141
- More, Penny, 61–62
- Morel, Marion, 22, 40, 53, 59, 92, 144; “Girl About Town” column, 51–53
- Mosiakoko, Norah, 76, 101, 118
- Motsisi, Casey, 38, 41, 44, 56–57, 79
- Mphahlele, Es’kia “Ezekiel/Zeke,” 37–38, 41, 119, 167
- Mpshane, Wendy, 147–48
- Mr. Drum. *See* Nxumalo, Henry
- Mrembo* (film), 70
- Mthombeni, Mumsie, 56–57
- Mugabe, Robert, 85, 178
- Mugabe, Sarah Francesca, 178
- Mullings, Leith, 25
- Mūmenyereri* (newspaper), 5
- Muoria, Henry, 5, 203n1, 203n5
- Muoria, Judith Nyamurwa, 5, 203n5
- Mustafa, Hudita, 28, 42, 197
- Mutongi, Kenda, 24, 28
- Naidoo, G. R., 43
- Naidoo, Raison, 21–22
- Nairobi, Kenya, 4–6, 73–74, 101, 165; fashion in, 141–42, 188–89; Miss Nairobi 1966, 1–4, 6, 180
- National Council of Negro Women (NCNW), 147
- Ndimande, Thobile, 69
- Nguyo, Gladys, 186–88
- Nigeria, 16–17, 43–44, 86, 104, 109–10; fashion in, 59, 92, 170–71
- Nixon, Rob, 28, 37, 135, 139, 144

- Njoki, Grace, 1–6, 9, 196, 203n1
 Nkosi, Lewis, 167
 nostalgia, 150, 153, 159–60
 Nuna, Ruth, 3, 5, 203n1
 Nxumalo, Henry, 18, 37–38, 41, 54–56
 Nyamurwa Muoria, Judith, 5, 203n5
 Nyerere, Maria, 177
- objectification of women in *Drum* (magazine), 21–22, 24, 53, 118, 182. *See also* gender ideology; heteronormativity
 Odetta, 145
 Ogot, Grace, 166–68, 183–84
 Oludhe-Macgoye, Marjorie, 166–67
 Oneyjiaka, Theresa Gina, 86
 Onyango, Grace, 168, 175
 Otiende, Joseph Daniel “JD,” 172, 175
- pageants. *See* beauty contests
 Pan-Africanist movement, 145, 148–49, 163–64, 169–71
 Paris, France, 6, 36, 110, 133, 150–55, 195–97; fashion and, 59, 70, 86, 92, 169–71; fashion designers and, 61, 152, 188–89
 Paton, Alan, 11, 69
 perfumes, 110
 photographers, 41–44
Pittsburg Courier, *The* (newspaper), 38
 Placido, Anne, 49–50, 151, 168, 189
 politicians, male, 164–65; wives and daughters of, 146, 176–78, 190; women’s dress and, 192–93
 politics, women in, 148–49, 169–71, 190, 199; *East Africa Journal* and, 165–66; in Kenya, 168, 175–76; in Zimbabwe, 178
 political economy, 31–32
 product endorsements, 70, 72; beauty contests and, 119–22; for Bu-Tone, 117–19; by Miriam Makeba, 110; of skin lighteners, 105, 108; for Vaseline, 101–2. *See also* advertisements
 professional success of women, 46, 102, 156, 168, 192–93; as athletes, 185–86; as beauty professionals, 50, 59, 186–87; in Europe, 154–55; as fashion designers, 187–89; as flight attendants, 191–92; as legal pioneers, 190; as nurses, 190–91; post-independence, 182–85. *See also* upward mobility
 Quayson, Ato, 30, 198–99
- Rake, Alan, 17, 167
 Rathebe, Dolly, 45–46, 68–69, 72, 91, 108
 revolutionary glamor, 25–26
 Riva, Silvia, 40
- Sadikot, Rehana, 177
 Sampson, Anthony, 12, 15, 38, 98
 Samuelson, Meg, 68; “The Urban Palimpsest,” 21
 Sandten, Cecile, 133
 Sandwith, Corinne, 24–25
 Sari Queen contest, 80–81
 Schadeberg, Jürgen, 10, 13–15, 34, 42, 91, 97; arrest of, 68–69
 shebeens, 13, 69, 159
 Shikuku, Martin, 192
 skin lighteners, 198; advertisements for, 52, 62–63, 105–9, 127; beauty contests and, 81–82; Bu-Tone, 117–18; criticism of, 62–63, 172–73; Karroo Creams, 52, 105, 108–9, 119
 Skinner, Elliot, 185
 soap, toilet, 111, 113–16, 120–21, 196–97
 sociability, urban, 29, 42, 47–54
Song of Africa (film), 70
 Sophiatown, South Africa, 21, 38, 57, 69, 71–73, 76, 159
 South Africa, 8, 14, 38; advertising in, 99–105, 113, 115, 131–32; Durban, 43, 80–81; film industry, 66–70, 139–40; jazz, 57–58, 71–72. *See also* apartheid, South African; Johannesburg, South Africa
 sports, 185–86; beauty pageants and, 80–81
 Steady, Filomena, 29
 Stein, Sylvester, 14–15, 42

- Tanganyika National African Union (TANU), 147, 166, 171
- Themba, Can, 38, 41, 69, 73, 95
- Thomas, Lynn, 8–9, 27, 118, 198; *Modern Girl* analysis, 29, 103
- Tiyo, Dorothy “Dottie”/“Dotty,” 56–57, 77–79
- Tomlinson, Claudia, 157, 159
- Townships Housewife, The* (magazine), 20
- Transition* (magazine), 165, 167
- transnationalism, 26–29, 36, 93, 133–34; beauty contests and, 85–87; definition of, 133; transnational urban bodies, 30–31. *See also* African Americans; Caribbean, the; Europe; fashion, African; United States, the
- trans women, 58
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph, 32–33
- Trump, Martin, 38
- Trust* (magazine), 87
- Twala, Dan, 68, 73
- Twala, (Regina) Gelana, 13, 45, 149
- Uganda, 60, 87, 92, 164–66
- United States, the: African women in, 144–47; transnational network and, 26–27. *See also* African Americans; Hollywood
- upward mobility, 40, 57, 79–80, 88, 144; in Europe, 153–55; transnationalism and, 133–34. *See also* professional success of women
- urban migration, 4, 6, 14
- “Urban Palimpsest, The” (Samuelson), 21
- Vaseline, 101–2, 121
- Vera Cruz* (film), 139
- vital statistics (v-statistics), 1, 9, 118–19, 125
- Vogue* (magazine), 46, 200–202
- wage gaps, race-based, 97
- Walker, Sheila, 28
- West Africa edition of *Drum*, 16
- West Indian National Association (WINA), 157, 159
- West Indian women. *See* Black Caribbean women
- Wheeler, Sally, 47–48
- white beauty ideals. *See* Eurocentric beauty ideals
- whiteness, 198
- white women, 8, 20, 81–83, 96, 150, 182, 187
- wigs, 59–60, 89, 91. *See also* hairstyles
- Wina, Glenda, 143, 169–70, 176–77, 179
- “Woman’s Drum” (*Drum* magazine), 46–49
- writers, 38–41, 49–54; in the *East Africa Journal*, 166; features by women, 58
- Xuma, Madie Hall, 141
- Zimbabwe, 84–85, 178; miniskirt ban, 192–93
- Zonk!* (magazine), 18–20, 69, 126, 155; African Americans in, 134–35
- Zulu’s Heart, The* (film), 7