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JAMBO RECORDS AND THE PROMOTION OF POPULAR MUSIC IN EAST AFRICA

The Story of Otto Larsen and East African Records Ltd. 1952-1963

At the turn of the century, when wind-up gramophones and records were introduced to East Africa, they were still too expensive except for the European settlers. Furthermore, the records available at the time were all imports made exclusively for a "White" market, so it was only different types of music popular in Western Europe and North America that were being played in the beginning. But, rather than commercial companies, it was anthropologists and musicologists who made the first recordings of East African music. Especially the Germans were very active in their African colonies before World War I. In fact, the earliest field recordings carried out anywhere in sub-Saharan Africa, were made already in 1902 by Carl Meinhof in the then German East Africa (1).

The interest in collecting and in documenting traditional music has lasted ever since, and it also became a starting point for many of the first commercial companies recording in East Africa. However, records with traditional music have never found a great market, neither with Europeans, who thought it too monotonous, nor with those Africans who could afford them, who regarded the music as old fashioned. Even today when speaking of "African music", it is the urban styles, enjoying nation-wide popularity, rather than any particular type of "ethnic music", that are thought of first. But for such a music to develop and eventually be made on record, society would already have embarked on a process of radical social transformation.

During the first decades of the century, colonial exploitation forced a reorganization on East Africa, that changed the whole social and economic fabric of society and involved more and more people with cash economy. In the 1920's the first small groups of Indians and Africans emerged, for whom even luxorious articles like bicycles, sewing-machines, watches, gramophones, and records came within reach. Enjoyed for their practical purpose, they also became important symbols of prestige for a new middle class of shopkeepers, merchants, property owners, clarks, and teachers.

However, for the African population in general, the first encounter with "the talking machines" would more likely be at the shop of an Indian businessman. In the 1920's music from gramophones was used to attract customers to Indian shops in Kampala, but also wealthy Africans (2), Christian families, and teachers bought gramophones (3). All the records were still imports with popular music from India, Europe, and America (4). But for Christian families to listen to or even buy dance music would not be possible at the time. Instead they prefered to listen to religious music and Negro spirituals (5).

The first commercial company to take advantage of the growing demand for records among Africans was "His Master's Voice" (HMV). But it was the branch in Bombay, India, rather than the London head office that became the first to sign up with an artist from East Africa. One may only assume a sizeable market already existed for Indian records in East Africa, in order to explain the contract with Siti binti Saad from Zanzibar to go to Bombay in 1928 (6). In the years between the World Wars Siti binti Saad became the most celebrated singer on the whole Kiswahili speaking east coast of Africa, and her records were sold as far away as in the Belgian Congo, the Comoros, Somalia, and Southern Arabia. The success of Siti binti Saad eventually lead the local agents in Zanzibar of both HMV and Columbia to establish their own recording studios (7) and to have their records pressed in Great Britain.

The number of recordings made in Bombay is not known, but by the beginning of the 1950's Columbia had issued 382 (8) and HMV 97 (9) East African records. Odeon, another British owned company also to become part of EMI in 1931, started to record traditional music in Uganda in 1929 (10). The number of Odeon records have not been identified, but it seems as if EMI, although represented locally by competing labels and agents, held a virtual monopoly on East African music throughout the 1930's and most of the 1940's. The total number of records sold in East Africa for both the Columbia and Zonophone (?) labels has been reported as 202,500 in 1930 (11), in 1939 as 200,000 of which 80,000 were in the vernacular languages (12). But by the late 1930's the EMI labels were far from being the only ones to be found on the European market, and presumeably neither on the East African. However, the figures do indicate that European music still constituted a majority of the imported records, in addition to smaller quantities of records with Indian and Arabic music (13).

East African Sound Studios 1947-1951

The first totally independent company, to take up competition with the multinationals, was the East African Sound Studios Ltd. in Nairobi on the Jambo label. It was established around 1947 by the two Britons Dr. Guy Johnson and Eric Blackart, and was originally intended for both film production, sound recordings, and vernacular records. They had a small studio in the livingroom of a bungalow on Limuru Road ("A" route) in Nairobi, but also made recordings in the Minerva Cinema, the Avalon Theatre, and the Evangelical Church in Dar es Salaam, and in the Nsambya School Hall, Kampala.

A catalogue issued 1952 gives a comprehensive picture of what the East African music scene must have looked like already in the late 1940's (see for Appendix III). There are several records with traditional music as well as Christian hymns with school and cathedral choirs. There are marches with the Combined Band of the King's African Rifles, dance music with the Coast Social Orchestra, humorous stories with the talking comedian Ustad Omar; and many taarab numbers with for instance Maulidi, Musa Maruf, and Siti Ganduri & Party of Ras Maalim Revue, all

accompanied by a small group with the instrumental line-up still known today, such as violin, harmonium, udi, daff, and tabla.

However, the majority of the records are in the dansi style accompanied by accordion, or by one or more European stringed instruments (guitar, banjo, mandolin, or violin). The guitar seems to have been the most popular instrument already at this point, as the numbers are sung in all the major languages (Kiswahili, Kikuyu, Dholuo, Luluhya, Lusoga, and Luganda). Among the guitarists one finds Ally Sykes, Fundi Konde as well as Peter K. Bernard, Harry Samson, and Obondo Mugati (14).

The records of the East African Sound Studios were all released on the Jambo label in the EA series, and starting at no. 101 approximately 210 records were issued up to 1951 (15). Compared with the more extensive Columbia catalogue made a couple of years earlier, there are great similarities in repertoire, and even several artists appear on both labels. Although, a feature exclusive to the Columbia catalogue is the listing of both Siti binti Saad and The Rhino Boys. In comparison the HMV label is mainly concentrating on artists from the Kikuyu, Dholuo, and Luganda speaking areas with a predominance of "traditional" numbers. But a common feature of all three catalogues is the repeated mentioning of "waltz", "foxtrot", and "rumba" where style of music is given.

The East African Sound Studios started to release the Jambo label in 1948. The original tapes were sent to British Homophone in London, where the matrices were made. The records were then pressed, not by EMI for obvious reasons, but with their competitor even on the West African market, Decca. After a couple of years in business the company apparently ran into financial difficulties, because in 1950 it was taken over by the African Ground Cotton Co. (Afcot) (16). Eric Blackart remained in charge of recording and sales, while Guy Johnson stayed on in the board of directors for a couple of years and then left the company.

The way records had to be ordered from Britain was soon realized to be too complicated and expensive. Decca also proved a bottle-neck and could not always deliver the ordered quantities when required. Another problem was the time it took from ordering the records to have them delivered in Nairobi (about 1 month), which made a quick response to local demands very difficult. Miscalculations were inevitable and by the end of 1951 the company was left with more than 20,000 unsaleable records on its hands. But already earlier that year, a decision had been made to expand the company with a pressing-plant in Nairobi, and a plot on Kilmarnock Road in the Industrial Area (Makongeni), used by Afcot as a scrap yard, had been reseved for the purpose.

East African Records Ltd. 1952-1961

In 1952 the name of the company was altered to East African Records Ltd. and the studio was closed down. Instead it was the plan to have the plant re-press the best selling numbers from the already existing repertoire (17). Afcot had asked the Danish engineer J. A. Petersen to project the

building and supply the machinery. From Copenhagen he already knew Otto Larsen, who was a fitter by profession and a foreman of a pressing-plant installed in 1950. He asked Otto Larsen to give up his job and join him in Nairobi, at least for a 6-month probation period, which later could be extended with a 30-month permanent contract.

With Petersen, now back in Copenhagen to find dies, fittings, and hydraulic tubes, Otto Larsen left for Kenya by the end of May 1952. The cheapest way to travel at the time was via London, where they visited British Homophone in order to examine the matrices. Before the 3-day flight to Nairobi they also went to a metal yard Otto Larsen recalls as "totally bombed out", where they inspected 3 old Francis Shaw presses for 25 cm shellac records (18).

In Nairobi the construction of the building was completed in July, and by September the presses had arrived and were installed. A staff of African workers were hired by Afcot, while Blackart remained in charge of sales and repertoire. Finally on 3rd October 1952 Otto Larsen made the first 20 records pressed in East Africa, all with a special label to commemorate the day (19). By mid-October 400 records were made a day, and in November the plant was in full swing making a total of 11,900 records. In December 1952 and January 1953 production was running on two 5-hour shifts, but was then hampered by power cuts, and in February only 8,000 records were pressed due to a shortage of matrices. Again in March production was back at full capacity and a total of 13,000 records were made. However, the stock had now increased to more than 30,000 unsold records, so on 3rd April order was given to stop the presses (20). Instead the staff started to work on another of Petersen's projects, the instalment of machines for the manufacture of cardboard-pots (for cuttings from tea bushes), which would rot away when planted out. The machines were installed in a Nissen hut in a corner of the plot (21). But when they were just about ready in June, Petersen could not reach an agreement over his contract with Afcot and left Kenya.

By the middle of May one of the presses was started up again, and with the cardboard machines ready, full production was resumed in July. Sales was still very difficult to predict, but by the end of 1953 two more presses were installed, and in March 1954 sales had risen to 14,000 out of a monthly production of 20,000 records. Nothing ever came of the original intentions to make records for Europeans and Indians as well, and so the company kept on producing for the African market only.

> Otto Larsen: *"By European standards it wasn't that many records we made. But then again, the Africans didn't have that much money in those days. I remember, when I arrived in 1952 a houseboy who did the cleaning and could cook as well had Shs 100, and a gardenboy Shs 60 a month. The men at the factory had Shs 200 a month, but then they to have tea two times a day with lots of sugar. One thing I introduced from the start, was to give each of them a free record of their own choice every month. But on the other hand, they didn't really have any great obligations then, e.g. they didn't pay tax, and the company provided them with free lodging in the locations. Anyway, if they went to buy a record, even that was a kind of money.*
> *When I arrived they were glad and such fun to deal with. That changed when Uhuru came. Not that I had any problems with them. But they do have their own ways, a mentality you have to make yourself acquainted with. We started at 8 o'clock in the morning, and they began by laying the material out on the hot-table before making the biscuits. You see, we were situated in the Industrial Area, and the railway line to Mombasa ran close by. One morning when Sebi had just laid his material out, the train to Mombasa passed. I sat in my office and saw how he began to put it all back on the shelf again. I rushed out and asked: 'What is the problem? Isn't there any heating on the table?' 'Well yes, but I have to leave now!'*
> *And there was nothing to do about it. Now that he had seen the train, he had to go away. You just had to accept those kind of things, and so I did. Anyhow, he left and I got another trained for the job. Half a year passed and then one morning, there was Sebi again! He had pushed the other man away from the machine, because now he was going to press again. There was nothing to do. Well, we had it made that Jafeth, who had arrived in the meantime, had something else to do.*
> *There was another funny thing. You see, there were many kinds of wind-up gramophones. But it had to be "His Master's Voice", the green model* (22). *The same thing happened when I went to buy bicycles for my men. I had been into Nairobi and had found some really good Japanese bicycles. Then I came back and explained so and so, and how much they had to pay on the instalment each month. Well, that was all right. 'But what kind of bicycle is it then?' 'Yes, it is a Japanese bicycle.' 'No!' That it couldn't be. It had to be a Raleigh! There was nothing to do about it, so the only thing for me was to go back and say goodbye and thank you. Of course it's understandable with all the advertising there had been. Still, in that way they were very conservative."*

Until the middle of 1955 the company had managed on re-pressing the already existing repertoire (23). But when Otto Larsen came back to Nairobi after his first homeleave in July, he found the cardboard machines flooted by water and totally ruined. It was then decided, on the initiative of Blackart, to have the machines removed and turn the Nissen hut into a studio, so recording could be resumed again. With one microphone and a tape recorder the studio was soon in operation and artists were called in.

But there was still one particular record from the old repertoire that attracted special attention. Shortly after Otto Larsen had arrived in Kenya, the fear over Mau Mau reached its peak within the European community. In late October 1952, a state of emergency was declared and Jomo Kenyatta arrested as the alleged leader of the rebellion. More than ever the subsequent trail made Kenyatta known by all Europeans as the leader of the nationalist movement, and so they started to ask for the record he had made. Unfortunately it had been among the unsold stock pressed in Britain, and had already been grinded down and reused in the material for new records (24).

But Kenyatta had been briefly involved with the record business even earlier on, while he was staying in Britain during World War II. When the war broke out the Colonial Office got worried over the vernacular records that were made for the colonies. The record companies in London were asked if they really knew what the lyrics were about, if they could possibly be subversive songs. Subsequently a number of censors, who knew the languages, were hired to examine the records. One of them happened to be a man by the name of Jomo Kenyatta (25).

Recording and auditions

When East African Records resumed recording in the middle of 1955, it was just about time, as the re-releases soon would have exhausted the existing repertoire. To begin with it was Eric Blackart who asked the artists to come, among them the guitarist and singer Fadhili William, who gradually became his assistant. But instead of going out to find the artists, it was soo afterwards

publicized on posters, that anyone who had something of interest could come themselves for the weekly audition held each Tuesday.

Otto Larsen: *"In the beginning it was Blackart and Fadhili who arranged all that. I started to help with the recordings, but it was when Blackart left in 1956 I really took over. The auditions were held each Tuesday. How many came actually differed a lot. I remember one time going over twelve artists. At other times it wasn't more than two or three. In the beginning it could be about eight. That was when all the riffraff came in. Then gradually, when they realized they couldn't be recorded, it calmed down a bit.*

Mostly it was guitar numbers. Those who came for the auditions were ordinary people who could play a bit on the guitar and had a nice tune. But Fadhili he was good. He could take them in just like that, look at them, and then let them try something out on the guitar. Then he soon heard if there was something to it. Most of them were from around Nairobi, but some also came from far away. If they came down all the way, for instance from Nyeri, we made the recording the same day if we could use it. Otherwise we just made a test, and then told them whether or not to come back for recording another day during the week.

The decisions were made by Fadhili and myself, but it was really him who had the final word, until gradually I came to know the music. Blackart he spoke Kiswahili fluently and knew all the artists. So right from the beginning Fadhili wasn't the only one. Fundi Konde who also made records for HMV's "Blue Label" came too. Charles Songo from Uganda and all the others came and recorded for us. That was no problem. But I should say, most of the numbers were in Kiswahili. Those in Dholuo didn't sell, but some Kikuyu ones did.

I remember one Tuesday morning in the studio when a small bashful fellow from Dar es Salaam came with a flute. His name was John Ondolo. He wanted to record a couple of numbers, so I asked Fadhili: 'Couldn't you listen to what it is he wants to do?' So, he started to play his flute and to sing, and I asked Fadhili: 'What do you think of that, do you like it?' 'Well, that one is quite nice.' I asked what it was called. 'Safari ya Kilimanjaro.' 'Oh! Well let's make two recordings then.' When that record came out it sold 50,000 copies. A simple flute tune and a little singing (26). *Together with 'Malaika', which Fadhili recorded a couple of years later, it became the greatest hit we had. Normally a record wouldn't sell more than 10,000-12,000 copies at the most.*

One time I also went to Kampala. I had been told they had a really good Congolese band up there called Kampala Six. So I made a couple of test recordings, and one number was also very good. But the performance had too many errors. It was made very fast and too little feeling was put into it. So I didn't release it when I got back to Nairobi, and I never went up there again.

I was also in Dar es Salaam. That's where I first recorded Frank Humplick and some others, but basically it was him we went for. Later he came to Nairobi where we could do it more properly. Frank was very happy to be in Nairobi, so he stayed on and started to work with Fadhili.

Most of what we recorded was just guitarists and single artists. If I had to record a bigger group it was imposible to have them all in the studio. Then I had to find a hall or some other place large enough. It was difficult and we had to carry the equipment around. So nothing much ever came of it. The proprietor of the Equator Club in Nairobi, Ron Partridge, once asked if we could come and record Kiko Kids. We made 10 numbers, but the quality of the recording wasn't up to what it should have been. In the beginning everything was very primitive. I only had one microphone and a tape-recorder to work with.

Like I said, they recorded for other labels as well as for us. There was nothing like contracts or anything like that. It was all arranged by mouth. When we had agreed on a recording (2 titles), they were paid Shs 300 per record. I remember starting at Shs 250, but over the years it didn't change much. I know, because it was me who kept that account and gave them the money (27).

Now, when the recording was made, the tape was sent to British Homophone in London. They made the matrices which then came down by air-freight (28). *We continued to use the JR matrix numbers, because if we sent a telegram to London requesting matrices of any particular record, they wouldn't know it. So instead we used matrix numbers. Also, if a number didn't sell any longer, we just wrote British Homophone and had the tape back."*

More producers - new labels

Until the middle of the 1950's the wind-up gramophone had been the only way to reproduce music mechanically, as the countryside and the locations around the urban centres not generally were electrified. This changed when the first cheap transistor radios, run on batteries, started to come, and the effect was felt immediately. By the end of 1955 record sales dropped from a monthly average around 14,000-16,000 to less than 5,000. On top of this came temporary problems with the material, as the continued recycling of unsold records for scraps had generated a hardness with the material, which at its worst only allowed for 2 plays (normally 10) before the needle had to be replaced. For months the plant ran at a loss.

When sales began to recover again a year later, it was the result of a number of coinciding circumstances that kept East African Records afloat. For one, the new recordings were starting to affect sales. But more significant were the orders, the many new record producers began to place with the company. Assanand & Sons in Mombasa had started to record on their own and to release on the Mzuri label already in 1949 (29). Now they started to have their records made in Kenya instead of abroad. Many of the other Indian owned record shops followed suite in the mid-1950's, and started to record and to release on their own; e.g. African Gramophone Stores on the AGS label, Parkar's Music Store (label not known), Radjabali Valimohomed in Kampala on the Rubina and Rafiki labels, Uganda Records Company (label not known), and Uganda Music Emporium on the Munange label. Even the Tanganyika Broadcasting Service in Dar es Salaam started to release a small series on their own Twiga label.

At least by 1952 Gallo, South Africa, had established a branch office in Nairobi, in order to distribute their own Gallotone, Tropic, and Treck labels (30). Other imports from South Africa included Philips and the HIT label, as well as the Columbia YE and HMV JP series. Among the local labels not pressed by East African Records were Arrow and V.O.M. (producers not known), CMS of Capitol Music Stores; and ASL of Associated Sound Ltd., which also became the first company to release Congolese groups such as Kabasselle & African Jazz and O.K. Jazz in the late 1950's. Also the HMV "Blue Label", pressed in Britain, was revitalized in 1956. This new A.M.C. series, distributed by The African Mercantile Company, was made under management of Peter Colmore (31). In December 1957 the number of labels issued by local companies had risen to more than 40, out of a total of 49 labels found in the Kenyan market (32).

The record store on which East African Records mostly relied for selling its own Jambo label was Aggawal, who not released anything themselves. Their main store was in River Road located in a downtown part of Nairobi designated Indian traders. Among the other stores that made River Road the most important place for African records already in the 1950, one finds Capital Music Stores and Uganda Music Emporium. Like e.g. Assanand & Sons on Government Road, all were Indian owned stores specializing in selling gramophones and records. Many even had branches in the major towns throughout East Africa. But records could also be found in many other Indian owned

shops with an assorted supply of tools, hardware, electrical appliances, table-ware, furniture, foodstuffs, etc.

The promotion of Jambo records was done by advertising in magazines, and at some occasions they were also sold from a stand at the annual Nairobi Show in the then Mitchel Park. A short-lived attempt had also been made back in 1953, to have a van tour the markets of the major towns in Western Kenya. But chiefly the company relied on orders to come in from the different stores, and to stimulate interest in new releases, sample copies were given away free of charge.

In the beginning of 1957 sales had recovered again at a monthly average of 15,000-20,000 records. However, with about 40-50% now manufactured for other companies, the concern over prices and delivery increased (see for Appendix I). In 1956 a German, Dr. von Opel, had opened a new pressing-plant in Kampala, undercutting the price of outside pressings at Shs 2.75 per record by 10 cents. Competition also came from records made in W. Germany. They could be landed in Nairobi at Shs 2.35 per record, although this not was regarded as a serious threat, as delivery at least took 3 weeks after the order had been made. The same applied for a repressing, which altogether greatly stalled a flexible response to local demand.

A more serious concern arose from the ups and downs in monthly production and sales. If sales fell below 15,000 records the plant was running at a loss (see for Appendix II). The wholesale price for "special dealers" was Shs 3.10 per record, so in order to increase profits, the following calculation was proposed, based on the manner in which The African Mercantile Company was selling their HMV "Blue Label". The only difference was the retail price of "Blue Label", which was not Shs 5.50 but Shs 6.00.

	Shs Cts
Retail price	5.50
Less 30% retail profit	1.65
Net wholesale price ordinary dealer	3.85
Less "special dealers" discount	0.40
Net wholesale price "special dealers"	3.45

Jukeboxes

East African Records also tried new ideas in order to promote its records and increase profits. When Otto Larsen went home on his second homeleave in 1958, he was asked to visit a jukebox agent in Copenhagen. Already 5 jukeboxes had been installed in African bars in the locations around Nairobi. Now more were ordered, and by 1961 the company was running more than 60 throughout East Africa, most of them in the Nairobi area.

> Otto Larsen: *"I installed the first jukebox in Kenya in Memorial Hall, Pumwani Location, 1st April 1958, and ended up looking after 36. Most of them were installed in bars in the locations around Nairobi. They were all for 78 r.p.m. records, and, of course, here we used our own records. After the first had caught on, the company wanted to be in Nairobi itself, so for a start two for 45 r.p.m. records were ordered from Denmark. Later 4 more came down. They were primarily installed in restaurants and bars where mostly the Europeans came. But we also had four for 78 r.p.m. in River Road. Others were in African bars in the city, but as I said, most of them were in locations like Pumwani, Bahati, and Jerusalem. We also had some just outside Nairobi in Athi River, Thika, and Kiambu. Once we even had one installed in the prison in Nairobi. And then I also used to send new records for the jukeboxes in Mombasa, Kampala, and Dar es Salaam, that were attended to by Afcot's local representatives.*
> *Every fortnight I went around Nairobi to collect money, change records, and check if anything needed service. The price was 50 cents a play, and the owner of the bar had 25% of the turnover. 45% is another figure I remember. But it was somewhat of a strange experience to me to get into such an African bar. It wasn't larger than two livingrooms. And then to empty the box with the 50 cent pieces on a table with 15 or 20 people sitting around! There weren't any adjoining rooms, so I just sat there and counted. Usually there would be around Shs 600-700. But nothing ever happened, and I never got hurt doing it.*
> *It was a common thing to meet at the bars. My men at the plant, for instance, didn't have their wives in Nairobi. They sat somewhere up-country and looked after the shamba. So they met in the evening at the bar to have a beer, or if someone had a wind-up gramophone they gathered there to listen records. A location was only some terrace-like houses with a row of small rooms. In a way it was very communal. Also if someone had a bicycle and another one didn't, when they were going to the locations, he just got up and sat on the cross-bar and that was it.*
> *It happened occasionally I was notified if something broke down. An evening I had been to Bahati to repair a jukebox, I got arrested by a British policeman and brought into the station. There were still a lot of restrictions because of Mau Mau, so I sat there for 2 or 3 hours. But actually I was not allowed in there, so I was brought to court. It was very funny. There the truely British judge sat with his wig and everything, and I was sitting in the dock. 'You have been accused of having been in Bahati Location during curfew. What business did you have in there?' 'Well your Honour, I went to repair a musicbox', I said. He looked totally confused and didn't know what to say. Then he asked the officers down below: 'What's that?' 'Yes your Honour' I replied. 'It is something you put money into and get music out of.' 'Dismissed!' he said. Well, the police was happy about the jukeboxes, because they knew where to find people if they met in the bars. So nothing more came of it."*

Otto Larsen did not need to worry, and even before he had arrived in Kenya, he had been adviced on the official British attitude towards records and popular music. When a director of the East African Sound Studios had discussed the planned pressing-plant with a senior civil servant in the colonial government, the idea had been highly welcomed. Records were much wanted, he was told. In time this would make the natives speak English, and the authorities wouldn't have all the trouble with the many different languages nobody understood anyway! The records could be very useful for this teaching process.

Amateurs and professionals

When recording was resumed in 1955 and amateur musicians and singers were asked to come for the weekly auditions, the chief motive was to provide East African Records with a new repertoire. Soon, however, the selection of numbers should have yet another effect. When numbers were chosen for recording, it also implied a selection among the different artists. From being basically auditions for amateurs, the process over the next couple of years would gradually make a small group of musicians stand out as more talented and successful. Often, when amateurs came with their numbers, the more talented musicians would be asked to sit in on the recording, in order to

strengthen the arrangement and hereby increase its commercial potentials. Fadhili Wiliam, for instance, would add a second part on his new electric guitar to the singer-composer's own accompaniment. On the other hand, while working on his own, he would only play with other established musicians like Frank Humplick, just as the Latin influenced singer Sheila totally relied on a quartet of semi-professionals for her recordings.

The artistic challenge to persue a higher professional standard and the interests of the company met. And from being primarily recordings of the live music of the locations, the studio would increasingly provide the most gifted artists with a new outlet for their talents. In spite of the fact, that the groups at the mainly European clubs in Nairobi, e.g. Nairobi City Five at Ngong Tavern, Kiko Kids at Equator Club, or Six Caballeros at Taverne Royale, all played a light Europeanized swing and Latin repertoire, the clubs nevertheless offered another possibility for a small group of artists to depend on a regular income from a full-time job.

Except for taarab music on the coast, there has never been a strong tradition in East Africa for "social music" for parties as in S.W. Nigeria, or a thriving live music scene centred on African bars as in Congo and Zaïre. The African music scene that existed in the urban centres in Kenya in the 1940's was greatly halted by the emergency laws, which were introduced in 1952 and enacted long after Mau Mau had been suppressed. Throughout the 1950's, Peter "Mzungu Mwaakrika" Colmore nevertheless stands out as a tireless organizer of variety shows and tours made primarily for an African audience. As an army officer in East Africa during World War II, he was given charge of a unit entertaining the troops, and after the war he continued to run a dance band in Nairobi and to organize shows with singers, musicians, mimics, and comedians (33). In 1952, when he was made director of the African programmes of the broadcasting service in Kenya, he, in addition, formed an entertainment unit to tour the country. The unit particularly went to the areas affected by Mau Mau, where it played to a total audience of more than 100,000 (34).

When he became the local representative of HMV's "Blue Label" in 1956, he continued to stage variety shows, only now sponsored by companies with interests in the African consumer market. E.g. in a printed programme for a variety show at the Kenya National Theatre, Nairobi, in October 1957, the guitarist and singer Fundi Konde is advertising for Bata shoes, the comedian Kipanga for Eveready batteries and Allsopp's White Cap lager, the singer Ester Nicholas for Clipper cigarettes, and the comedian Suleman "Mzee Pembe" Omari for Pfaff sewing-machines. Other advertisers included Brook Bond (tea), City Lager, Tusker (beer), Pepsi Cola, Palmolive (soap), Tilley (paraffin lamps), Melabon (pain deadeners), Hercules (bicycles), HMV (wind-up gramophones), and Pye (transistor radios) (35).

In 1958 an amateur talent contest sponsored by a soft drink company was touring the Nairobi area. The winner was found by using an applause meter, and to draw the crowds the main attraction was Peter Colmore's latest discovery, the Congolese singer and guitarist Edouard Masengo. A Sunday Post reporter gave the following account of the concert held in Pumwani:

> *"The Pumwani Location, just outside Nairobi, is a very dreary place in the evening. It presents a cheerless vista of ill-kept roads, poor-looking houses, bad street lighting, in fact a complete lack of inspiration in living. To a large extend the fault lies in the inhabitants themselves. Their gardens and the appearence of the houses could, with a minimum of effort, be improved. (...)*
> *Outside Pumwani Hall 200 jostling people scrambled to reach the locked doors. 250 were already inside. Imploringly, through the barred gate, hands thrust tickets for the show, but, as the doorman explained, those tickets had already been used once and passed out through the window. Inside the hall the tightly packed audience groaned and shrieked at the curtain-raiser "Tarzan" film.*
> *Then Tarzan beat his chest for the last time, the lights came on and, almost visibly, a sense of pleasurable anticipation descended upon the throng. Mr. Peter Colmore, who is probably the only European capable of intentionally making Africans laugh, opened the proceedings by describing in his fluent, colloquial Swahili, just what the whole business was all about. (...)*
> *There was no doubt about it, the Shoeshine Boys had them rolling in the aisles. The applause was deafening; the applause meter rocketed up to 8 and they were clear winners. (...) Now came the big moment - the man all these amateurs hope to emulate. Masengo Edouard, a 26-year-old African from the Belgian Congo. Masengo sings to his own guitar accompaniment. It was wonderful to watch the way in which he carried his audience with the skill and assurance of a veteran; just the right amount of good-humoured patter and then the songs which he has made famous on records. The only difficulty came when Masengo wanted to finish. The audience who had joined in his songs, laughed at his jokes and thoroughly enjoyed themselves demanded "More" in very emphatic tones. This brought the genius of Peter Colmore into play. In a matter of moments this man who, during the Emergency was described as being worth a batallion of troops because of the African laughter-making shows he produced, had the audience merrily doing the Conga with a puffing Bwana Peter in their midst.*
> *The soft drink firm is putting on these shows throughout the African locations with the grand finals at the African Stadium on July 12. (...) There are seven more shows before the finals at which the three main prizes of Shs 500, Shs 300 and Shs 200 will be presented. In the preliminaries winners receive Shs 100 and all contestants Shs 10 each."* (36)

Also for the artists working in the studio of East African Records, a development towards professionalism was evident towards the end of the 1950's. The company relied more than ever before on their skills for its recordings, and in February 1959 the Jambo Boys was formed with Fadhili Wiliam as the leader (see for Photo 8). Each of the originally four members were offered an exclusive contract with the company and a monthly salary of Shs 500 (37). In order to promote the group and the sale of their records, the company also began to act as their manager and to arrange bookings for live performances (38). Furthermore, a new yellow label was introduced to mark the start of the group, and a brochure with the Jambo Boys' first releases was made (39).

"Malaika"

Otto Larsen recalls how Fadhili Wiliam came with a number he particularly wanted to record himself. The title of the song was "Malaika", and eventually became one of the best selling records the company ever had. Over the years there has been much controversy as to who actually composed this song. It has been generally accepted Fadhili Wiliam wrote "Malaika", and should be credited royalties for the international cover versions (40). Kavyu, however, claims it was composed by Lucas Tutu from Mombasa (41), a position even supported by Kubik (42).

But Jambo Boys, in fact, recorded two versions of "Malaika nakupenda" on the yellow label in early 1959. One with Fadhili Wiliam and another where Peter Grant did the vocal part (43). Otto

Larsen distinctly recalls having recorded "Malaika" at two different occasions with Fadhili Wiliam, once on the Jambo label and later again on the Equator Sound label, the latter being a re-recording of the previous hit. The re-recording, released ca. 1963, is the version best known today (44), and the one that caught the interest of Pete Seeger, Miriam Makeba and others (45).

Fadhili Wiliam's disputed claim to be the original composer of "Malaika" might have been of less relevance, had it been a traditional number, or if the composer not could be identified. One of the 1959 versions with Jambo Boys could then have substantiated his claim to hold the copyright, as he would have been the first to record the song. But Fadhili Wiliam's claim was challenged again during his visit to Dar es Salaam in 1986. In the Tanzanian press Adam Salim maintained, he had composed "Malaika" when he worked in Nairobi in the 1940's and led a trio. In an article in New African, Adam Salim further explained what led him to compose the song in 1945-46, and the woman who was the original inspiration behind the song was presented. It was only later, when the Adam Salim Trio was playing "Malaika" in dance halls and bars, they met Fadhili Wiliam. *"Wiliam was really only a kid at the time. He joined my band briefly to play the mandolin."* (46) Adam Salim also told the reporter, a recording of the song had been made by the trio for Columbia Records (47).

Among Otto Larsen's tapes of records released around 1950 there, in fact, is a version of "Malaika" in a light calypso beat with two voices, a solo mandolin, and an accompanying accustic guitar. This version clearly resembles the style of the 1940's, rather than being similar to Fadhili Wiliam's recordings with the Jambo Boys in 1959, featuring an electric guitar, double bass, jazz drums, and trumpet.

Without question, it was Fadhili Wiliam's recordings in the late 1950's and early 1960's that led a number of international artists to discover and eventually record "Malaika". This happened at a time when nobody really cared about international copyright laws, and a song was accredited whoever recorded it. From this point of view it is only fair to say, Fadhili Wiliam "made" the song "Malaika". But whether he actually composed it or recorded it first, is still a question that calls for further research in the record archives to be finally answered.

Commercial broadcasting

In October 1959 a new broadcasting system with commercial programmes began in Kenya. The first station had been opened up in Nairobi already in 1927 by the East African Broadcasting Company. In 1931 it was taken over by the Cable and Wireless Company on a 25-year licence. With radio receivers totally depending on installed electricity, the service was primarily made for the European listeners in the first many years. Still at the outbreak of Mau Mau in the beginning of the 1950's, there were only a few programmes in the afternoon in Kiswahili, Kikuyu, Arabic, and Hindustani. Very few Africans owned a radio, and it was soon realized by the colonial government, the programmes only reached a small part of the African population. So in 1952 83 community receivers were installed at government expense in the main African locations

throughout Kenya. Even mobile vans with loudspeakers were used to take the programmes further afield, and the periods devoted to vernacular programmes were quickly expanded with a network of regional transmitters (48).

When Cable and Wireless' licence expired a unified broadcasting system was proposed. 1st October 1959 the Kenya Broadcasting Service (KBS) started to operate with three national services, a European, an Asian, and an African, that would "marry" at certain times and points. The number of broadcasting-hours were expanded on all services, and to co-finance the new KBS system, an element of commercial programmes and "spot" advertising was introduced (49).

It was left with the advertisers to arrange with the studios for the production of "spots" and sponsored programmes. For East African Records this meant more business, and the challenge was met by a restoration of the Nissen hut studio. Two more Ferrograph tape-recorders and new microphones were acquired, as well as a machine for cutting lacquer records for "spots". With national services in both Kiswahili, English, and Hindustani, each in need of sponsored programmes, the studio soon became a very profitable business in itself (50).

The artists were also offered new possibilities by the KBS system to earn money and live from their showmanship and music. Several artists had their own weekly show, e.g. the Coca-Cola Show with Edouard Masengo, the Aspro Show starring Jean Bosco Mwenda, who stayed in Nairobi 1959-60, or the East African Railways & Harbours' (EAR&H) Showboat with the Jambo Boys, Masengo, Kipanga, and Isabella Muthiga from EAR&H's welfare department. The KBS itself also devoted more time to popular music with new types of programmes on its African service like, The Jukebox Parade, New Records, KBS Mailbag, the Ace of Spades Show (presented by Daniel Katuga and his band with Halima, Hadija, and Kantogalos), or Morning Star with artists like John Mwale, or Stephen B. Ngumbao and Party.

The cutting machine for "spots" also made East African Records venture a business with personal recordings, where Europeans could record greetings to their family overseas. Another effect of the commercial broadcasts was the production of a number of records, with songs exactly 3 minutes long, for Clipper cigarettes and Allsopp's White Cap and Pale Ale beers.

> Otto Larsen: *"We had the studio made sound proof, and a good friend of mine from Forces Radio constructed an amplifier so we could mix music with speech for the sponsored programmes. The first programme I made was for Berec batteries. Then a Mr. Ollington came with his French wife to make a programme called Continental Cocktail for Renault's Dauphine cars. They brought their own records with Parisian music along. We played them on a gramophone in the control-room and sent the music out through a loudspeaker in the studio, so I had to adjust the controls each time they spoke. Anyway, it was well received, but very primitively made.*
> *Later I had some better equipment when we made ½-hour programmes in English for Shell and Aspro. I also had some really good Europeans to help me like Allan Bobbe, Freddie Cole, and Peter Colmore. Shell came with a ready-made manuscript, so we just ran it over before it was recorded. When it was cut and spliced we just sent it to KBS. Shell was our biggest customer and had programmes for both Africans, Indians, and Europeans.*
> *Many of the artists we had recorded earlier on came too and took part in the sponsored programmes, where they would play some music and sometimes make a sketch. At one point our new director A. R. Richards asked the Italian harmonica player Valentino to come. He had heard him in a bar in Nairobi, and wanted to add some more pep to the music.*

Valentino was very good at instructing the artists. He also tried to teach them to read notes, but it didn't work. They all played by ear, but that they were also really good at."

One of the most popular sponsored programmes was Showboat, produced by Peter Colmore for the welfare department of EAR&H. In 1960 after having been on the air for only half a year, it was made into a proper stage performance with music and sketches, and staged at EAR&H's assembley-hall in Nairobi. Besides the now 6-piece Jambo Band, Edouard Masengo, Frank Humplick, Kipanga, Isabella Muthiga, Peter Colmore, and EAR&H's welfare officer Malcom Archer, the show also featured a kwela group, a vocal quintet, and a 30-piece choir. The show was one of most successful at the time, and EAR&H ended up bringing all the professional artists to Dar es Salaam for the Tanganyika National Exhibition and Trade Show in August 1960.

Equator Sound Studio 1961-1963

During the 1950's East African Records, from being solely a manufacturer of its own records, had developed into producing for other companies, running a studio doing recordings for both records and commercial broadcasts, as well as producing "spots" and personal recordings. The Jambo Band had also developed into a section of its business of its own, with studio sessions and live appearences at Showboat, the City Hall and Stanley Hotel in Nairobi. The threat from the transistor radio had been overcomed, but in the near future a change to vinyl 45 r.p.m. records had to be anticipated. It was nevertheless the studio that stood at the core of the many diversified activities, and when KBS started to make complaints over the technical quality, both Otto Larsen and Richards realized improvements had to be made if they were not to loose business. It was therefore proposed to the board of Afcot directors to give up the Nissen hut, to buy Ampex tape-recorders, and have a new studio made in the centre of Nairobi.

The financial calculations for a new studio based on commercial broadcasts seemed a sound business proposition in itself. The interest of the board was nevertheless directed more towards the plans to start commercial television in Kenya, however, when all the activities of East African Records were considered, the studio and Jambo Band now made up for the previous losses on the record production.

But it could not have passed unnoticed by the board, how von Opel's pressing-plant in Kampala had been forced to close a year earlier. The plant was started in 1956, and later extended with a battery factory, but an effective Buganda trade ban in late 1959 brought production almost to a standstill, and it was decided to close down and withdraw from Uganda (51). In June 1960 East African Records itself had also faced serious problems caused by a drop in production to less than 10,000 records. A company "spokesman" told a newspaper reporter how they already had laid off 16 workers. And in the same article the labour leader Tom Mboya strongly condemned the Indian record dealers in Nairobi, who had their records manufactured in South Africa. He intended to hold talks with the dealers, and if the negotiations failed, he would call on Africans to boycott South African made records, he had announced (52).

A modern and very competitive recording studio had also been opened in Nairobi in January 1961 by Peter Colmore (53), so in the end it was decided by the Afcot board to try and sell the company. Negotiations were opened with Charles Worrod, who had previously worked for Gallo in South Africa, and his business partner, a Mr. Katzler; and 1st June 1961 the pressing-plant and the studio were sold to Katzler & Co. Otto Larsen stayed on with the new owners, who soon renamed the studio Equator Sound Studio. The name of the label was also altered to New Jambo and issued in a new V series, with matrix numbers also running in a new series, with the initials CW for Charles Worrod (54). Later when 45 r.p.m. vinyl records were introduced, the label was given a new design and renamed Equator Sound, running in a EU series with CW matrix numbers.

Otto Larsen: *"When Worrod and Katzler took over, they believed me to know everything about the pressing-plant, so they wanted to take me on. Katzler was a businessman from Nairobi, and it was the idea he should run the plant together with me. But he didn't do much, so it was our foreman Ali and Lucas from the Seychelles who mostly took charge of the daily running. Worrod ran the studio, but he was used to Ampex recorders in South Africa, and didn't know how to operate our old equipment. So I soon ended up spending more time helping out in the studio, than being in the plant. But later Worrod bought Ampex recorders and Neuman microphones, which definitely improved the sound.*

We continued to take some outside artists in for recording, and he was very good at finding numbers together with Fadhili. It was Worrod who started to record in Congolese style with bass and trumpet, like we used to have in Jambo Band. He even tried some sort of rock music, and one also went well, but still it was mostly guitar numbers in Kiswahili and a couple of Kikuyu records we made. Then he also began to re-record several of the old hits and improve them with more instruments. That was when "Malaika" was recorded again by Fadhili.

But there was one thing. We didn't really work that well together. One Saturday he had asked me to meet him at the plant, because now he knew how to get a cutting-machine to work, so it would transfer tapes to lacquer discs. He told me he had received a revelation from God in a dream about how to replace a certain relay. Now, if this had to get mingled into it, then I had had enough! So I quit. Or rather, I told Afcot and they asked me to come back to a workshop for metalock. And that was the end of it."

But before Otto Larsen left Equator Sound Studio in 1963, the pressing-plant had already been sold off. Either for lack of interest in record production, or because the presses now were very old and worn and needed replacement, Worrod contacted his former employers at Gallo in South Africa and offered them to buy East African Records. When Gallo took over the old machinery was discarded, and instead they constructed a whole new plant in another part of Nairobi primarily for 45 r.p.m. vinyl records. The new plant started production in October 1963 and also had a few pressing-machines for 78 r.p.m. records (55). The new vinyl records soon came to dominate the market, but it should take to the end of the 1960's before e.g. Assanand & Sons totally gave up issuing 78 r.p.m. records on the Mzuri label (56). Originally it had also been the plan Worrod should take over the jukeboxes. But the financial problems that caused the pressing-plant to be sold off never made this happen, and instead they were sold to an Indian businessman. Some years later, however, the Kenyan government made complaints over the jukeboxes and threatened to have them closed down, as people was spending too much money. Nevertheless, the jukeboxes have stayed on and have become an important part of the way in which popular music is being communicated and consumed in Kenya (57).

Conclusion

Besides a thriving live music scene and the gradual spread of gramophones and radios to all corners of society, the establishment of a locally based record industry has been crucial to the development of popular music everywhere in Africa. This process, however, displays a great many differences from one country to another, as the number of record producers and pressing-plants, if any, largely have been depending on the political, economical as well as social conditions both before and after independence. In the case of East Africa, Kenya has always had the most comprehensive industrial sector. It was here the necessary venture capital existed to establish a pressing-plant and also the by far greatest number of record companies.

The new styles of urban centred popular music had already developed before they were made on records. But with the record companies acting as mediators, popular music was given new possibilities to reach a mass-audience, far beyond the places where it was performed live. The companies on their part became important cultural agencies as distributors of a new kind of musical expressions enjoying nation-wide popularity. But at the same time they were also business enterprises producing commodities for mass-consumption, and as such developed reasons of their own for their commitments.

As the case of East African Records demonstrates, these decisions were far from always founded on straightforward rational calculations. Beyond an overall interest in making a profit, the start of the Nissen hut studio, for instance, was brought about accidentially because of some flooded cardboard-machines. Nor were the two best-selling records on the Jambo label in the 1950's, "Safari ya Kilimanjaro" and "Malaika", planned in any way. Like the first six months of production in 1952-53, coincidence like power cuts and a shortage of matrices only curtailed the working up of an even greater unsold stock. To a large extent records were produced by trial and error, by holding as much back on expenses as possible and working with high profit margins, which would first pay off when sales went high.

Where the Indian record producers might fall back on other business activities in order to cover up for their losses, East African Records was already part of a major corporation involved with many different types of production. Instead it persued a diversification of its activities within the record business itself, with jukeboxes, outside pressings for other companies, and by utilizing the possibilities for its studio that followed the introduction of commercial broadcasts.

Besides live performances and later radio programmes, the growth of the record industry also opened up new possibilities for a group of artists to establish themselves as professionals. The interest of the companies in presenting experienced musicians and singers, to vary and modernize the sound by adding more and new instruments, here coincided with the interests of the artists, but also meant a tendency towards a 'star system'. On the other hand, the many small record producers, that have existed, especially in Kenya, since the 1950's, have always allowed for a large number of artists and groups, even from Uganda, Zanzibar, and Tanganyika, to be released on record.

A conservative estimate of the number of 78 r.p.m. records, issued in East Africa after 1945, amounts to somewhere between 3,000-4,000. Around 1960 Assanand & Sons alone had issued approximately 500 records on the Mzuri label in the AM series. A catalogue from Capitol Music Stores, issued ca. 1962, indicates 420 records had been made in the CMS and HB series (58), and a catalogue from Associated Sound, ca. 1964, indicated a total of 160 releases in the USA and OKE series (59). As one of the major labels, approximately 1,000 records were issued in the different Jambo series. But East African Records only held a part of the total manufacturing market for locally recorded music, with 120,000-150,000 records sold yearly on the wholesale level. With additional imports manufactured in Great Britain, W. Germany, Uganda, and South Africa, the number of 78 r.p.m. records with East African music alone, sold after 1945, amounts to several millions. On top of this comes records with music from other parts of Africa, Asia, Europe and America.

The many vernacular records that have been distributed since from the late 1920's, have increasingly made the new styles of urban centred popular music dominate the East African scene. Without comparison, they had reached the position as the most widespread and commonly enjoyed cultural expression of the East African societies already in the 1950's, even before the transistor radio and a new broadcasting service, as in the case of Kenya, opened up new prospects for a yet wider diffusion.

Notes:

(1) Duran 1984, p. 28.

(2) Kubik 1981, pp. 90-91.

(3) Kavyu 1978, p. 113.

(4) Kubik ibid.

(5) Kavyu ibid.

(6) Suleiman 1969, p. 87.

(7) Suleiman 1969, p. 88.

(8) Columbia 1950. The 382 records are made up as follows: 98 in the W/WE series, 216 in the EO 250 series, and 68 in the EO 2000/2100 series. The W/WE and EO 250 series are running in interrupted numerical order. EO 2000-2006 are followed by 2107-2157.

(9) "His Master's Voice" 1951. The 97 records are all in the MA series on a crimson label, but running in interrupted numerical order. It has not been possible to identify the HMV "Blue Label" N or OMC series as mentioned by Kubik 1981, p. 92.

(10) Kubik 1981, p. 91.

(11) Collins 1985 b, p. 149.

(12) Collins 1985 a, p. 115.

(13) Suleiman 1969, p. 87.

(14) Jambo Records 1952. The catalogue is not a complete list of all records issued up to the year of publication, as in the case of Columbia and HMV, rather what was intended for release or available in 1952.

(15) The first Jambo label was dark red, with the head of an African man on a white background in the top half. A circle running along the edge, "Jambo", and further information was in gold. The lowest number in the catalogue is EA 103, but artists and

titles of EA 101 and 102 are printed on the standard paper bag. The highest number in the catalogue is EA 308. The matrix numbers runs in the JR series, presumably also starting at no. 101. There is no direct connexion between the numerical order of the EA and the JR series.

(16) MacCarthy 1960, p. 28. At the time Afcot was a major corporation controlled by the Orme family, with a share capital of £ 2.500.000. Besides grown cotton companies in Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda, it was involved with construction, a brick-works, production of steel frames for windows, office furniture, sisal, and canned pine-apple juice.

(17) The original plan was to press 100 sets of matrices (stampers) in 1000 copies each.

(18) The 3-day flight from London to Nairobi is a fascinating piece of aircraft history almost forgotten today. It also gives a vivid picture of distances in the early 1950's in the days before the jet carriers. The flight was made with a Vickers "Viking" for 27 passengers from Hunting Air Travel. They started 29th May from Bovington Airport outside London, went down for lunch and refuelling in Nice, before reaching Malta where the first night was spent. The next morning they left for El Adem in Libya, they then touched down in Wadi Halfa for another refuelling, before reaching Khartoum for a second night in a hotel. The third day they were woken up at 3 a.m. for an early breakfast and take-off. They went down in Juba for ½ hour and finally reached Eastliegh Airport in Nairobi, after having spent a total of 25 hours on the plane.

(19) The label has not been identified.

(20) For a start material was imported ready-made from Sweden. By mid-December the plant's own machines for grinding, mixing, and rolling the ingredients (25% shellac, 4% copal, 18% kaolin, 20% diatomite, 33% scraps, and some carbon black) supplied all the material. Unsold records pressed in Britain made up most of the scraps, giving a reduction of the stock at approximately 10,500 records by April 1953. An estimated 67,000 records were pressed in the 6-month period October 1952 - March 1953, with an average monthly sale around 7,850 records.

(21) The Nissen hut was a mass-produced barrelshaped barrack approximately 6 x 14 meters with brick gables and covered with corrugated iron.

(22) In 1957 HMV's wind-up gramophones were sold in Kenya at Shs 226 for the 88 A model, Shs 330 for the black 102 model, and Shs 342 for the red, blue, or green 102 model ("His Master's Voice" A.M.C. "Blue Label" 1957, p. 29).

(23) The re-pressings were made on a white label with a circle running along the edge, the head of an African man, and "Jambo" in orange-red. Additional information was in black (see for Photo 7). The design was similar to that of the first records pressed in Britain. The re-pressings were given a new and higher number in the EA series. The extent of re-pressings is not known. Some information indicates that altogether 600 titles in the JR series were deposited with British Homophone in London. A label of a similar design as the dark red and orange-red has been identified in a black and white photo, the only difference being "Jambo", that stands out with bright letters in a dark crescent.

(24) The record in question might in fact be Jambo EA 128 with the titles "Mache" and "Korachi (1)" by "Kamau & Kanyata", accompanied by accordion and ngengere, and sung in Kikuyu (see for Appendix III). If so, it must have slipped Otto Larsen's attention that "Korachi (2)" on Jambo EA 389 was among the records made between 1952-1955 from the old repertoire of the East African Sound Studios (see for Photo 7).

(25) Leonard Pretts (former chief archivist with EMI, Hayes, London), personal communication.

(26) John Ondolo went to work in South Africa. His hit with flute-parts wearing in and out bears strong resemblance to kwela. He later lost an arm while working in South Africa and now lives in Dar es Salaam near destitute. "Rugu" S. Rugumisa, personal communication.

(27) In spite of several inquiries to this point, I personally doubt the figures. Perhaps they are from the early 1960's. F.H.

(28) A matrix would normally wear off after 1,000 copies. In London the tape was first cut on a lacquer "mother" matrix (a positive similar to the final record). Next a negative impression was made in coppar and nickle-plated before the matrix (stamper) was ready for use.

(29) Werner Graebner, personal communication.

(30) African Music Transcription Library 1952. At least 577 records were available in Nairobi in 1952 in the Gallotone GB and the Treck DC series (recorded by Hugh Tracey and mostly with traditional music).

(31) "His Master's Voice" A.M.C. "Blue Label" 1957, p. 3.

(32) Mitchell 1957, p. (?)

(33) Russell 1970, p. 30.

(34) Hutton 1961, p. (?)

(35) "His Master's Voice" A.M.C. "Blue Label" 1957, pp. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 15, 18, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 30 & 31. The price of the Pye "Princess" transistor radio was Shs 205.

(36) Anonymous (Sunday Post Reporter) 1958, pp. 14 & (?)

(37) Fadhili was given Shs 600 as the leader of the group. Other benefits included 8 cents on each record sold, and 10% of what the group was paid at all public appearences.

(38) The price on weekdays and Sundays was Shs 200 for a four hour performance from 8 p.m. to 12 p.m., and Shs 75 for each additional hour after midnight. For Saturdays the price on the same conditions was Shs 300 and Shs 100 respectively. Beyond a radius of ten miles off the Nairobi Central Post Office 1 shilling per mile was charged for transport. The group arranged their own transportation. Shs 100 had to be deposited in advance.

(39) From 1955 to 1959 the label was green in the top half, with "Jambo" and a note standing out in white. Just below the whole ran a thin white horizontal line. The bottom half was red with words in black. The yellow label introduced in 1959 was of the same design, with the colours green (or red?) in the top half, yellow in the bottom half with words in black. Later the green was replaced by a dark blue in the top half. Approximately 600 records were issued on the green and red label between 1955 and 1959. The records were issued in continuation of the re-pressings 1952-1955 in the EA series and using JR matrix numbers. When the yellow label was introduced in 1959 the serial letters were changed accordingly to WS. The matrix numbers remained JR, but now ran in a new series from 3000 onwards.

(40) Wallis and Malm 1984, pp. 182-187.

(41) Kavyu 1978, p. 14.

(42) Kubik 1981, p. 93.

(43) The brochure "The Jambo Boys on Jambo Yellow Label" (1959) lists the groups "first releases" in the WS series (nos. 107, 108, 111, 112, 114, & 115): "WS 108 "Malaika nakupenda"/"Peter ni alama" (Kiswahili), vocal Peter Grant. WS 111 "Malaika nakupenda"/ "Mpenzi fanya haraka" (Kiswahili), vocal Fadhili." The composers are not mentioned.

(44) Fadhili Wiliam and the Black Shadows: "Hakuna mwingine (There is no other)"/"Malaika (My angel)", Equator Records EU 7-130, 45 r.p.m. Matrix number CW 585 and 586 respectively. No composers are given. Released ca. 1963. This version is also found on the sampler LP "The Nairobi Sound", Original Music (Brooklyn, N.Y.), OMA 101, side B, track 3.

(45) Wallis and Malm 1984, pp. 182-184.

(46) Namata 1987, p. 44.

(47) Columbia 1950. The catalogue lists 9 records issued with the "Adem Salim Trio" up to 31st August 1950, however "Malaika" is not among the titles. A possible Columbia version must have been issued after this date.

(48) Haley 1957, pp. 1245-1246. Broadcasting stations were established in Dar es Salaam and in Zanzibar in 1951, and in Kampala in 1953.

(49) Clay 1959, pp. 9 & 12.

(50) 14 months after the first sponsored programme was made, the profit on the studio alone was Shs 160,016, out of a total investment in studio facilities at Shs 30,520 (end of

September 1960). The only serious competitor at the time was Andrew Crawford Productions' studio led by Jean Hayes.

(51) Anonymous ("Standard" Correspondent, Kampala), p. (?). The reason for the trade ban was not revealed in the Kenyan press.

(52) Anonymous (Sunday Post Reporter) 1960, p. (?)

(53) Hutton 1961, p. (?)

(54) The design was similar to that of the Yellow Label, the only difference being "New" which replaced the note in the dark blue top half. The bottom half was yellow with words in black. Approximately 100 78 r.p.m. records were made with CW matrix numbers before all records were issued on vinyl for 45 r.p.m.

(55) Wright 1963, p. 10. East African Records Ltd. is still the only pressing-plant in East Africa. It is today owned by Polygram.

(56) Werner Graebner, personal communication.

(57) Mwangi 1976, pp. 118-127.

(58) Capitol Music Stores n.d.

(59) Associated Sound n.d.

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Appendix I

RECORD SALES IN THE FISCAL YEAR APRIL 1956 - MARCH 1957, AND A SPECIFICATION ON THE PRODUCTION FOR INDIVIDUAL COMPANIES JANUARY AND MARCH 1957.

Total sales fiscal year 1956-57

1956	April	8,414
	May	11,830
	June	19,405
	July	8,793
	August	6,107
	September	6,663
	October	11,190
	November	8,893
	December	14,094
1957	January	20,662
	February	14,694
	March	19,500
	Total	150,245 records

Specification for January 1957

"JAMBO"	12,967
African Gramophone Stores	5,591
Parkar's Music Stores	1,072
Uganda Records Company	360
"TWIGA"	672
Total	20,662 records

Specification for March 1957

"JAMBO"	9,741
African Gramophone Stores	4,158
Uganda Records Company	1,449
Assanand & Sons	3,813
Uganda Music Emporium	249
"TWIGA"	90
Total	19,500 records

Appendix II

MANUFACTURING COSTS IN SHILLINGS, COMPARED WITH WHOLESALE PRICE AT SHS 3.10 FOR "SPECIAL DEALERS", AND PRICE OF OUTSIDE PRESSINGS AT SHS 2.75, SHOWING A LOSS IN NOVEMBER 1956 AND A PROFIT IN JANUARY 1957.

	November 1956		January 1957	
	Cost per record		Cost per record	
Direct expenses				
Recording	.41	4,355.00	.28	5,795.00
Material	.80	8,428.16	.74	15,536.80
Pressing	.09	900.00	.05	1,080.00
Label & Bags	.22	2,321.63	.18	3,804.31
Packing & Despatch	.08	878.90	.06	1,345.10
Power & Oils	.22	2,245.26	.11	2,347.67
Plant & Machinery maintenance	.14	1,482.86	.09	1,927.80
Factory salaries	.23	2,450.00	.12	2,450.00
Factory general expenses	.14	1,453.84	.06	1,348.83
Transport running	.07	744.23	.05	1,031.16
Depreciation	.47	4,907.80	.23	4,907.80
Factory rent	.05	500.00	.03	500.00
Royalties	.11	1,136.32	.11	2,347.63
	3.03	31,804.00	2.11	44,421.36
Indirect expenses				
Administrative salaries	.37	3,850.00	.18	3,850.00
Secretarial fees	.08	800.00	.04	800.00
Postage, cables & telephone	.01	104.95	-	88.90
Bank charges	-	5.87	.01	105.70
Advertising	.09	936.14	.04	936.14
Insurance	.05	500.00	.03	500.00
Staff housing	.07	760.00	.03	700.00
Printing & Stationary	-	27.40	.01	220.00
Providend Fund contributions	.01	160.00	.01	160.00
Passages	.06	632.00	-	--
	.74	7,776.36	.35	7,360.74
Total manufacturing costs	3.77	39,580.36	2.46	51,782.10
Records produced	10,495 records		21,035 records	

Appendix III

Jambo Records. *Sahani kwa waafrika. Catalogue no. 4.* Nairobi: East African Records Ltd. n.d., (ca. 1952).

MUSIC FROM THE "JAMBO" FILM
NYIMBO ZA "KI-SASA"

EA 244:	Pene Langu Nakupenda	Ally Sykes and his Band
EA 245:	Ai Empologoma Mapenzi ya Kwetu Sisi	-Ditto- Fundi Konde & his Guitar
EA 246:	Wangu Rucky Mapenzi Teckla	Ally Sykes & his Band Ally Sykes & Peter Bernard (Guitar Duct)

KINGS AFRICAN RIFLES
COMBINED BAND

EA 121:	Ngoma (H. McLeven) Amparito Roca (Texidor)	

SWAHILI

EA 122:	Fungua uso wako Bombay Safari (Recorded in Minerva Cinema, Dar es Salaam)	Musa Maruf (Acc: Harmonium, Tabla & Daff)
EA 123:	Mpenzi Zarina (Recorded in Minerva Cinema, Dar es Salaam)	-Ditto-
EA 205:	Mohammed Sote tu lo uzuriya	-Ditto-
EA 262:	Kama Hutari Nambia Kala Shahiri	-Ditto-
EA 263:	Subira Ngoja Moyo Wango	-Ditto-

EA 184:	Tuko Mdakani Simba Tukotane	Ibinaa-el-watani & Party (Soloist: Uba binti Sudi)

EA 254:	Shati Mutakonda Bunduki Zabusha	-Ditto- (Soloist: Asha Binti Sudi)
EA 255:	Simba Yuwaliya Yugo	-Ditto- (Soloist: Mohammed Athman)
EA 256:	Yuwaliya Ngombe Rumba	-Ditto- (Soloist: Uba Binti Sudi)
EA 257:	Wache Warongo Waseme Ibinaa Rumba	-Ditto-
EA 258:	Taire Kumbo	-Ditto-

EA 182:	Yomi Nimechoka Dunia	Siti Ganduri & Party of Ras Maalim Revue (Acc: Violin, Tabla & Drums)
EA 190:	Umerusha Ndege wako *(Rhumba)* Kitabu Nimekifungua *(Arabian Conga)*	-Ditto-
EA 209:	Chukua Maziwa Binadamu Havumi	-Ditto-

EA 183:	Wangu wa Anasa Ladha ya Mauwa	Siti Mayasa & Party (Acc: Violin, Tabla & Drums)
EA 204:	Ibinaa Imefurahiwa Nida Penseli	-Ditto-

EA 232:	Black Market (Part I) Black Market (Part II)	Ustad Omar (Talking Comedian)
EA 233:	Vunja Taa (Part I) Vunja Taa (Part II)	-Ditto-
EA 234:	Ngongi Uswahilini (Part I) Ngongi Uswahilini (Part II)	-Ditto-

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EA 105:	Tanganyika Tanganyika Shairi Langu	Francis Ruhinda (Acc: Spanish Guitar) Peter K. Bernard (Acc: Spanish Guitar)
EA 106:	Nakupenda Rucky Tabu	Ally Sykes (Acc: Spanish Guitar)

EA 107:	Mazoea *(Rhumba)* (with Peter Bernard, Guitar) Dawa ni wewe *(Fox-Trot)* (with Ally Sykes, Guitar)	Nicholas Charles Trio
EA 116:	Shangilio la Harusi Hayo Mapenzi	Harry Samson (Acc: Spanish Guitar)
EA 119:	Wangu Rucky Pene Langu	Ally Sykes & Peter K. Bernard (Hawaiian Spanish Guitar duet)
EA 127:	Jamba Rekodi Tezameni Sociali	Coast Social Orchestra
EA 168:	Regeza Mkono (Part I & Part II)	Stadhi Miraji Jahazi (Acc: Dumbak & Rika)
EA 131:	Nimekwenda Shela Ugeni Mbaya (Recorded in Avalon Theatre, Dar es Salaam)	Maulidi (Acc: Harmonium & Tabla)
EA 140:	Fanyeni Shime Naliada Naliada	N. W. Hill (Acc: Guitar)
EA 185:	Noona Dharuba Nazitoa Swifa (Besame Mucho)	Charlie Club (Acc: Violin, Drums & Banjo)
EA 186:	Nakupa Batani Tangu Kuedukana	Badi Rindon (Acc: Violin, Banjo & Drums)
EA 188:	Rahima Inuwaguo Jumala Yamaasniki	Siti Habu (Acc: Violini, Drums & Tabla)
EA 189:	Harusi Choni Watoto Piga Ngoma	Anna Thami & Party (Acc: Homi, Drum & Tabla)

EA 199:	Mpenzi Wangu Masikini	Siti Kiburi (Acc: Ud, Tabla, Violin & Daff)
EA 210:	Dali Yawadudi Nnauwa Langu	Juma Suleman (Acc: Ud, Tabla, Violin & Daff)
EA 259:	Huba Zako Bora Ewe Teusi	Harry Silas & Party (Acc: Guitars & Violin)
EA 264:	Mazuri Wa Sifa Mpenzi Ya Urembo	John Jeseph & Party (Acc: Mandoline & Guitar)
EA 268:	Kwetu Kisauni Namtaka Mama	Dennis Leopold & his Guitar Dennis & Sidney Leopold & their Guitars
EA 269:	Wacha Wee Usinione Kukonda	-Ditto-
EA 272:	Upenzi Wa Landova Twaomba Sitara Njema	Landova Lela-Mama Band (Acc: Trumpet & Mbiu)
EA 273:	Bwana Ubwa Hailodi	-Ditto-
EA 275:	Fakhari Ya Banusaada Jajiwetu Twakutuma	Banusaada Lele-Mama Band (Acc: Trumpet & Mbiu)
EA 278:	Aamama Rereya Tunausikiya Mzinga Waiya	-Ditto-
EA 284:	Majengo Siendi Tena Dume Langu	Funde Konde & his Guitar
EA 124:	Upendo wa Mungu Wetu (a) Kwa nini wataka kungoja (b) Atakapoguja Tena (Recorded in the Church at Dar es Salaam)	Waimbaji wa Evangelical Church

KINYAMWEZI AND KISARAMU

EA 198:	Mukima Challe	Juma Sleman (Acc: Tabla, Violin & Daff)

KIKUYU

EA 128:	Mache Korachi (1)	Kamau & Kanyata (Acc: Accordion & Ngengere)
EA 137:	Ndumo Gitiro	Wanjiko
EA 169:	Ui Ui Ui Ndimuthinu Ngoro	Wamburu Mungai (Acc: Guitar)
EA 191:	Chachoho Chuha Noyu Gishoto Walaya	John Assa (Acc: Accordion)
EA 193:	Kitiro (Part I & Part II)	Wamando (with Chorus)
EA 194:	Iruwa (Part I & Part II)	-Ditto-
EA 196:	Ningugura Ngita Wanjiru Niuthinagia	Fred Kubai & Party (Acc: Mandoline, Guitar & Banjo)
EA 197:	Ndire Gikuyu Mutigecokie	-Ditto-
EA 214:	Jahera Benet	Kerero Salimu (Acc: Accordion)
EA 215:	Junda-wa-Wairongo Kagundu	Sahabu (Acc: Accordion)

EA 217:	Ngwihoka Ngamukora Iguru Hingo Njega ya Kuhoya	Tumutumu Choir
EA 224:	Njohi Wainaga	Manji
EA 225:	Jeki-ya-Kabete Iiro Kaiyaba	Manja Wanjiru (Acc: Accordion & Ngengere)
EA 226:	Mugambo-wa-Ngwa Wega-wa-Turendi	-Ditto-
EA 237:	Mtoto Kisongori	Shinda Gikombe (Acc: Accordion & Ngengere)
EA 238:	Machakos Kitui Koloss	-Ditto-
EA 239:	Murata Wui Wui Wui	Douglas Waihenya (Acc: Guitar)

LUGANDA

EA 143:	Mukuru Abuzibwa Akasolo Aka	Young Baganda Singers' Party (Acc: Piano)
EA 152:	Mugenyi Agenda Namudebere	-Ditto-
EA 145:	Buganda-ku-Nyanga Waswa	Kibirige & Budo Party (Vocal)
EA 146:	Eriso Ndikuwa	Nanyoga & Party (Acc: Guitar, Mandoline)
EA 177:	Nina Omwagalwa Abakasi	-Ditto-
EA 288:	Gurii Katusha	-Ditto-

EA 289:	Chana Kitoo Omto Mtono	-Ditto-
EA 290:	Mgazi Wange Nanyoga Rumba	-Ditto-
EA 150:	Akasozi Makerere Mwana Gwe	Semakula & Party (Acc: Guitar, Violin, Banjo)
EA 175:	Kagutema Ekyalema Nakato	-Ditto-
EA 173:	Zinalirawa Ogenda wa	Gayaza High School Choir, Kampala (Recorded in Nsambya School Hall, Kampala)
EA 154:	Nembonabona Yagenda Nababe	Namale Salama & Party (Soloist: Ngoma Namale)
EA 155:	Tuyozeyoze Kawolo	-Ditto-
EA 178:	Kuzala Ziuna	-Ditto-
EA 179:	Omunyea Obugumba-Kibi	-Ditto-
EA 291:	Abana-ba Bagenda Batabala Gyaligenda Alidda	-Ditto-
EA 292:	Gwenjagala Birawvli Gwoyagala Awerekedde Omunyoro	-Ditto- (Soloist: Namboze)
EA 293:	Omusajja Sserukera Abalemezi Balyannaka	Namale Salama & Party (Ngoma) (Soloist: Namusisi)
EA 307:	Sabasaja-tu-Mwagalanyo Mutimba Golo	Atiyeni ne Banee (Acc: Ndongo, Ndere, Biri, Ndingidi & Ngoma)
EA 308:	Kabaka Abamlabako Beyagala Wakadala	-Ditto-
EA 157:	Idi-Mambo Kitibwa-kya-Buganda	Kamulegeya & Party (Acc: Guitar & Banjo)

EA 158:	Yalambura Omupira-gwa-Uganda	Kanyerezi & Party (Acc: Ndongo & Ndingidi)
EA 159:	Yalambula Amasaza Omupira-gwa-Uganda	Erbafoss (Acc: Ndingidi)
EA 218:	Mulembe Omutesa Lunaku Lwa Dance	The Four Brothers: Daniel, Valentine, Nelson and Charles (Acc: Double Bass, two Violins & Guitar)
EA 219:	Twewombeke Fena Tusabire Kabaka	-Ditto-
EA 220:	Sanyu Lya Buvubuka Malira Oluyimba	-Ditto-
EA 141:	Obude Buzibye (Gracious Lord of all our Being) (a) Anthem - Nagaramira (Let my prayer come up) (b) Anthem - Mukama Olwobulungibwo	Namilembe Cathedral Choir
EA 142:	Olwazi Owedaneda (Rock of Ages) Oje Mwuyo Mtukuvu (Come Holy Ghost)	
EA 153:	Ebyokudamu ne Zabuli No. 111 (a) Mukama Wange (b) Ebyokudamu	
EA 167:	(a) Esala Z'Akawungezi (b) Bera ai Mukama Katonda Yagaba Egyy	
EA 166:	Adoro Te (Latin) Tutenda Maria (Luganda)	Rugaba Cathedral Choir
EA 147:	Ecce Sacerdos (Latin) Abajulizi Abaganda (Luganda)	

LUSOGA

EA 112:	Nsimbnkodu Atamuzala	Juma & Kereta (Acc: Ndongo)
EA 118:	Muzale Bagalakyabwe	-Ditto-

EA 294:	Mukwano-Gwange-Dezi Omuto Omulungi	John Mwire (Acc: Guitar)
EA 295:	Eda Munsi Basoga Nina Omukwano Gwange	-Ditto-
EA 298:	Senti Yomubi Kantono Owe	John Mwire & Party (Acc: Drums)
EA 296:	Waikaire Mwene Nerire Mwene	Nanywamu (Acc: Ndongo)
EA 297:	Sengatuka Muzare	-Ditto-
EA 299:	Ndyewayo Atamuzala	Muzari & Party (Acc: Budongo)
EA 300:	Karaja Nawayo	Jarbaberi Ngobi & Party (Acc: Ngoma)
EA 301:	Musai Gwabadki Abakazi Bakano	Huseni & Party (Acc: Budongo)
EA 302:	Magombe Akalo Kalimagada	Arika Baingire & Party (Acc: Ngoma & Kimasa)
EA 304:	Akantaiba Kilwali	-Ditto-
EA 303:	Enjala Egwile Yelwagile Ezilamuga	Augustini-Katimbo (Acc: Ndingidi)
EA 305:	Nataika Kawelele	Mulobo & Party (Acc: Magwala & Drum)
EA 306:	Owakalagala Owolulala	Erisa (Acc: Ndere & Ngoma)

LUHAYA

EA 172:	Empondu Tugende kushoma	Bahaya Party (Acc: Akadinedi Akahobano Ngoma)
EA 176:	Okuhumuliza omwana Ensonene	-Ditto-
EA 206:	Jbika Bingi Koi-lya	-Ditto-
EA 207:	Kilungo Kamilungo	-Ditto-
EA 208:	Mukaile Kiliniwi Abakazi Abato	-Ditto-

OLUNYORE

EA 103:	Lwimbn-lwe-Lidungu Lukhuyanza	Buhmu (Acc: Lidungu)

LULUHYA

EA 104:	Buyanzi bwa Jesu Kristo Ndakherwatse ko mwami wanje	D. M. Magana & Party (Acc: Guitar, Mandoline & Banjo)
EA 235:	Shyalo Shyefu Mwana Mukhana	D. M. Magana (Acc: Guitar)
EA 250:	Emeri Yakendanga Mulembe Abaluya Mwesi	Wakukha (Acc: Accordion, Guitar & Banjo)
EA 251:	Yakula Yingubo Yindai Peter Nyembanga Esende Yange	-Ditto-

DHOLUO

EA 111:	Mach Koranj	Omolo & Party (Acc: Accordion)
EA 117:	Lana Rumba	-Ditto-

EA 114:	Oswaga Odurur	Olowo Renja (Acc: Thumu Luo)
EA 134:	Jato mar Ugenya *(Waltz)* Mary ka karo apari *(Fox-Trot)*	Harry Samson & Patrick Oyende (Acc: Violin & Guitar)
EA 164:	Okiya Omolo Oduor Achungo	Okiya Omolo (Acc: Orembe)
EA 165:	Okoth Othil & Wamboi John Odundo & Dokka	Dindo & Obiero (Acc: Guitars)
EA 148:	Agwanda James Oriko	John Philips Nyangira (Acc: Accordion)
EA 161:	Elizabeth Awite NungoOrity	-Ditto-
EA 174:	Hongo Obongo Peter Omolo	-Ditto-
EA 229:	Mano ja Ulumbi Wan-Welo-e-Pinykani	Joseph Witts (Acc: Ukulele & Guitar)
EA 230:	Oh Chieng Juma Mos Otiendo Jatham Momew Man Gidalane Kod Jambe	-Ditto-
EA 231:	Onyulo Woud Otene Lactar Woud Mikanyi Obubho Weure Nyiembo Kod Kuoth	-Ditto-
EA 252:	Nikanor Openji *(Rhumba)* Harbert Magowi	Obondo Mugati (Acc: Guitar)
EA 253:	Alo Gi Oguto Olango Molowa *(Rhumba)*	-Ditto-
EA 267:	Maro Otho (a) Fuleka Mama (Bantu) (b) Ngoko Yange (Bantu)	Kisii School Choir (Winners of Nyanza Musical Festival Cup, 1947)

EA 279:	Ogenda Ohaga	Nelson Wanyang (Acc: Accordion)
GUSII		
EA 266:	Aya Ya Ya (a) Obori Baba (b) Enchoke Nyaburera	Kisii School Choir (Winners of Nyanza Musical Festival Cup, 1947)
SEYCHELLOIS		
EA 270:	L'Amour Crazy Song	Dennis Leopold & his Guitar Dennis & Sidney Leopold & their Guitars
MERU		
EA 221:	Ndege-Ende Kamanda	Meru & Party (Acc: Gishiri)
KIPSIGIS		
EA 223:	Arap-Siaila Jesasure	Kipsam (Acc: Khetuba)
NANDI		
EA 180:	Achaminn Tilienyun Abaibai Mary	Philip & Party (Acc: Guitar & Banjo)
ARABIC		
EA 200:	Shakautu Dhama Nahnu Shababb	Omar Awath Alban (Acc: Oud, Violin, Tabla & Daff)
EA 281:	Aluorb Sadat Gal Kindi	Abdul Rahman Bin Karman (Acc: Oud & Daff)

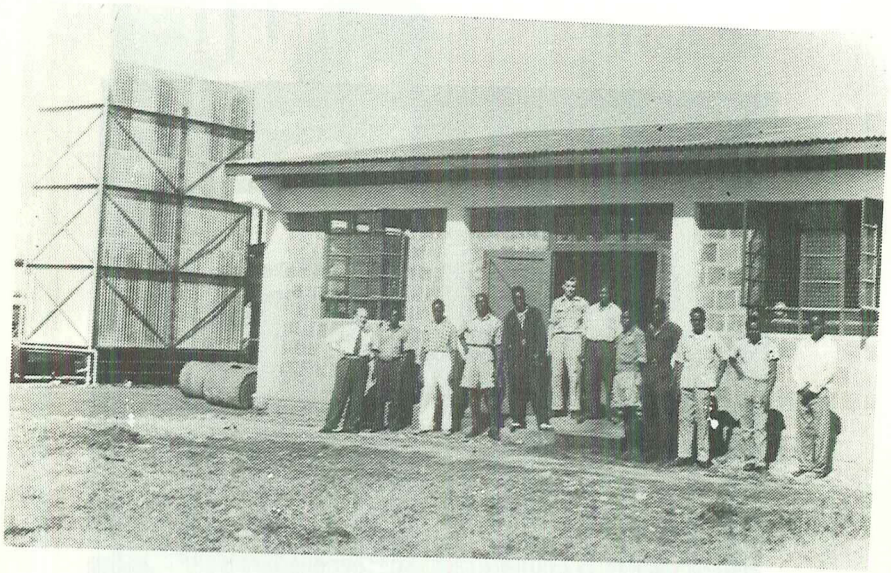

Photo 1. Otto Larsen with his staff 1st December 1952. Petersen far left.

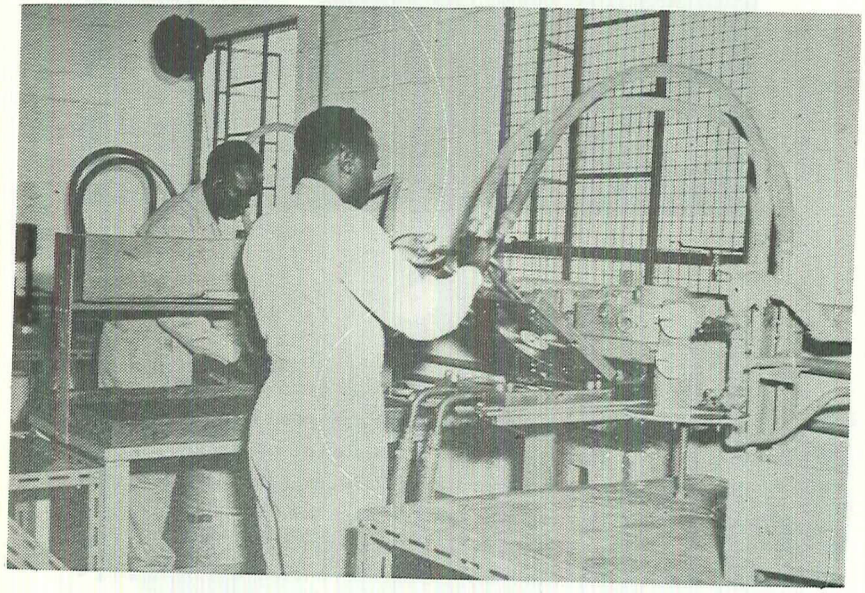

Photo 2. Francis Shaw steam-powered pressing machine. (1953)

Photo 3. The material is first cut into pieces of 191 g. ($6\,^{3}/_{4}$ oz.) and softned up on the hot-table. Next it is rolled into a biscuit, and then laid on the label and matrix mounted on the bottom die. The die with the top label and matrix is closed over the biscuit, the dies are shut into the machine, and hydraulic pressure is applied by a handle (75 kg per cm^2). After approximately 3 minutes the thermometer indicates ready, pressure is removed, and by turning a second handle the ready-made record is cooled down by water. (1953)

Photo 4. The dies are pulled out and opened. The ready made record is about to be removed. Note labels on the right side of the machine. (1953)

Photo 5. Last stage, the edge is polished and the record packed into a paper bag. (1953)

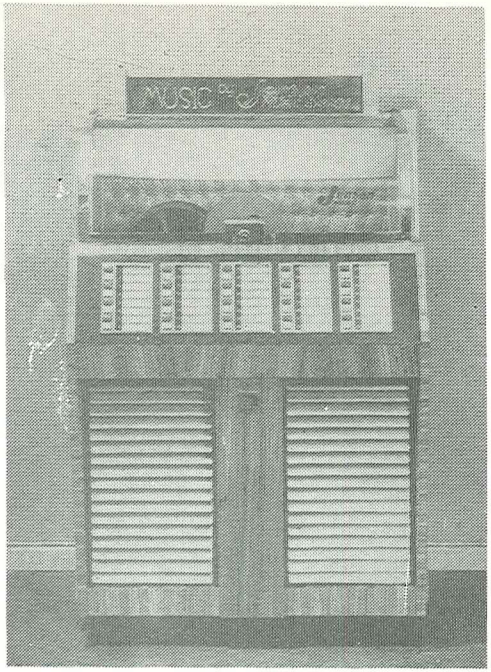

Photo 6. Jensen J-40 jukebox for 20 78 r.p.m. records. (1958)

Photo 7. Jambo orange-red label on white background, and words in black. Used for re-pressings 1952-1955.

Photo 8. Jambo Boys. From left to right: Fadhili William, Mohammed, Harrison, and Ismail. (February 1959)

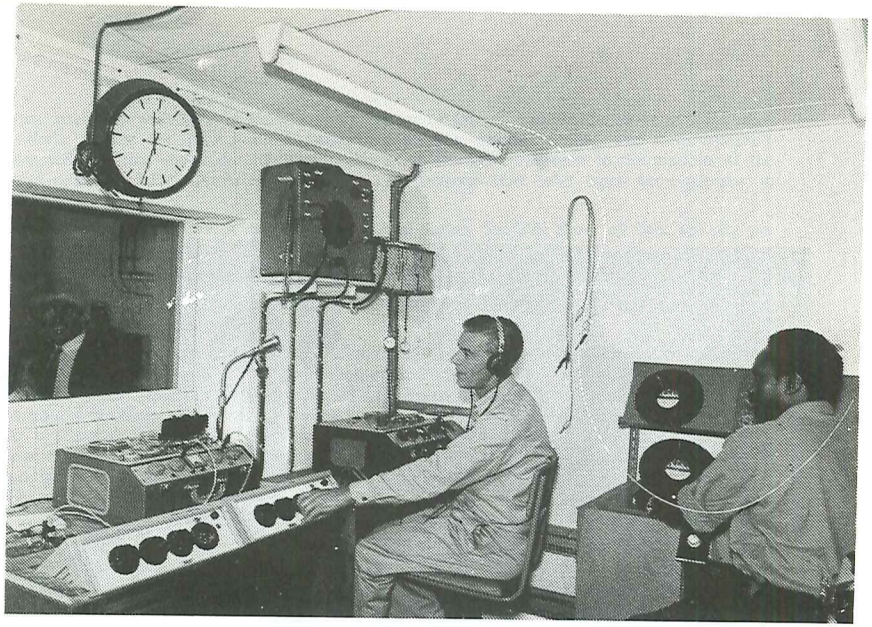

Photo 9. The Nissen hut control-room. Otto Larsen operating amplifiers and Ferrograph tape-recorders. (1960)

Photo 10. Recording sponsered programme "Showboat" for EAR&H. Left to right: Charles Songo, Masengo, Isabella, Valentino, Sammy (from Jambo Band), and Peter Colmore. (1960)

Photo 11. Edouard Masengo (left) and Frank Humplick (right) in "Showboat" stage performance. (1960)

Photo 12. Jambo Band with Kipanga and Isabella (left), Fadhili (centre), and Colmore and Archer (right) at "Showboat" stage performance. (1960)

Photo 13. "Showboat" audience. (1960)