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**A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE LIFE OF SIBUSISIWE MAKANYA
AND HER WORK AS EDUCATOR AND SOCIAL WORKER
IN THE UMBUMBULU DISTRICT OF NATAL
1894-1971**

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ABSTRACT

This is a study of the life of Sibusisiwe Makanya and her work as an educator and social worker in Umbumbulu, a peri urban area on the south coast of Natal. In this construction of her life I have referred to the Makanya Papers, housed in the Killie Campbell Africana Library; the Rheinhardt Jones papers and the Bantu Youth League papers, housed in the South African Institute of Race Relations papers at the University of the Witwatersrand's Historical Papers Collection; the Forman Collection at the University of Cape Town; and the papers of the Second Annual Conference of the Zulu Society housed in the Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg. There are no direct kith or kin alive today who could be interviewed to provide detailed perspectives about the life of Sibusisiwe. However, three people, who had known her, have been interviewed for information that sheds more light on the life and times in which she lived.

Sibusisiwe Makanya's life demonstrates an interesting departure from what was generally perceived to be the status and role of women in African rural society in the early years of this century. To a considerable extent, she was among a vanguard--challenging an array of traditional and sexist array of forces blocking her path. Through this she created a space for other women to renegotiate or avoid the roles that their society had determined for them.

This thesis is divided into six chapters: Chapter One positions Sibusisiwe Makanya in her historical period and attempts to answer some issues relating to representation and the nature of biographical writing as it has arisen in South African Women's Studies and the concern relating to silences and lacunae in evidence regarding Sibusisiwe. Chapter Two deals with the life and work of Sibusisiwe before she left to study in the USA. Chapter Three discusses her sojourn in America and the educational and personal challenges she had to deal with. Chapter Four explores the nature of work she initiated as a social worker in a rural/peri urban area of South Africa. Chapter Five discusses her work as she became more firmly established and as she became a role model to other women, both for her dedicated community work and for her self actualisation. Chapter Six draws together the various themes discussed in the thesis and explains the relevance of Sibusisiwe's work for the new South Africa.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABM	American Board Mission
ANC	African National Congress
BYL	Bantu Youth League
ICU	Industrial and Commercial Workers Union
KCAL	Killie Campbell Africana Library
NEC	Native Economic Commission
NED	Natal Education Department
PSF	Phelps Stokes Fund
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
UCC	Umbumbulu Community Centre
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This project is a study of the life of Sibusisiwe Makanya (1894-1971) and her work as a social worker and educator in the Umbumbulu district of Natal. The main objectives of the project are to map out her life; explore the way her life throws light on the changing nature of gender relations in an African rural area of Natal and the extent to which she challenged established social norms and expectations; see how her perspectives on issues were modified by the socio-political concerns of her times; assess the impact of her work on her community and outside her community; and assess to what extent she provided a role model for young people, particularly young women. Finally, this dissertation challenges the perception held by some researchers that individuals such as Sibusisiwe Makanya remained static and iconographic examples of "types" of New Africans.

Sibusisiwe Makanya was an extraordinary woman whose life traversed key decades in modern South African history. The focus of her life work was directed towards community involvement. Sibusisiwe Makanya was the first Zulu woman to undertake academic study in the U.S.A. In her lifetime she became known as 'Leader of her People.'¹

She spent much of her adulthood teaching at Imbizana and Inanda Seminary from 1916 to 1927, was secretary of the Purity League in 1930 and established the Umbumbulu Community Centre and Sibusisiwe High School, which stands today (see appendix for map). She travelled through KwaZulu Natal and parts of Transvaal lecturing on hygiene, domestic crafts and the benefits of home vegetable gardens. She spent 20 years giving night lessons to herd boys, adult education classes, women's classes in sewing, knitting, cooking and gardening and summer classes for community workers. She presented papers at various inter-racial conferences and formed links with civic leaders, social workers, politicians and educators in Southern Africa and abroad. Her contacts included people such as Marguerite Malherbe, Mabel Palmer, Dr Carney-- Professor of Rural

Psychology and Sociology at Columbia University, New York-- A.W.G. Champion and Dr John L. Dube. Analysis of her work reveals that she was a far sighted and talented woman who transcended established gender boundaries as well as challenged racial oppression in a unique, usually non confrontational yet poignantly effective manner.

It is a century since the birth of Sibusisiwe Makanya. She was born on 4 October 1894 in Umbumbulu and she died almost a quarter of a century ago in Umbumbulu on the 23 September 1971. Yet the prominence and distinction of her life's work has not been duly recognised nor accorded a place amongst the multifarious attempts, analogous to spotlights, which continually enlighten, inform and broaden our knowledge of Natal's history. The only published record of the life of Sibusisiwe Makanya is contained in Shula Marks's edited volume Not Either an Experimental Doll.² This book explores the relationship of three women in Natal through letters written between 1949 and 1951. One of the correspondents was Sibusisiwe but the focus of the book is not on Sibusisiwe Makanya or her life. A biography of Sibusisiwe Makanya by Myrtle Trowbridge exists in manuscript form within the Makanya Papers in the Killie Campbell Library. Trowbridge's unpublished biography, which is the only written source available on Sibusisiwe's early life, however, stops in 1956. Despite the evidence available within the Makanya Papers there still exists enormous gaps and silences in knowledge regarding Sibusisiwe's life, her thoughts and her plans of action with regard to her work and interests in her field of social work.

REPRESENTATIONS

This project then, is a life history of a powerful - and perhaps unique - black South African woman. A project of this nature must address at the outset the process of cross cultural research and writing and address issues arising from the debate around representation as it has arisen in feminist theoretical writing, anthropology and sociology, historical studies and crucially in South African work on women and gender. The project also has to explore the nature of biographical writing itself. Central to South African Women's Studies today is the debate concerning representation. For

example, a burning issue hinges on the question: can a white woman research the life of a black woman subject, where "black women" is used as a political category including Coloured, Indian and African women. This is a highly emotional debate and the battle line was drawn, it seems, at the Conference on Women and Gender in Southern Africa at the University of Natal, Durban Campus in 1991. Major dichotomies were evident between some black and white women, and between women who saw themselves as activists and academics. Despite there being a wide spectrum of opinions voiced, very strong criticism and anger was levelled in some quarters at what was perceived as "a racist tone" in the Conference.³ Outside of universities in South Africa, this debate has created new literatures: in "womanism", black feminism and in women - centered analysis of colonial and post colonial societies. However, in contemporary South Africa the debate is taking on new forms at a moment of shifting political and social options. In the book Women in Southern Africa, Dabi Nkululeko asserts that Azanian women must produce knowledge required for their own emancipation and must "do so through research which takes their experience into account" and that the "non-native researcher who wants to study people outside her/his own cultural and historical experience has an almost impossible task." ⁴ Letlaka-Rennert writes that "white women's" impressions and comprehensions of black women's oppressions is one - sided and one removed, not first hand experience." ⁵ Implicit in both views is a reaffirmation of what Patricia Hill Collins states: that "black women's political and economic status provides them with a distinctive set of experiences that offer a different view of material reality than that available to other groups" ⁶ and as a result of colonialism, imperialism, slavery, apartheid and other systems of racial domination, blacks share a common experience of oppression."⁷ She goes on to explain that "black women may more closely resemble black men on some issues while on others they may resemble white women, and on still others, black women may stand apart from both groups." ⁸ Deborah King in a similar discussion explains that black women have a "multiple consciousness." ⁹ There is an assumption that black academics, because they are black, will automatically and unproblematically be sensitive to and understand all struggles of black women. No consideration is given to the power play of difference and identity within the category of race. Difference and identity is discussed

more comprehensively later in this introduction. For example, the cutting edge of racism may be made blunt or less conspicuous if an individual belonged to a moneyed class where there were greater opportunities present for education, social mobility and life choices. Similarly, the assumption that there is an "automatic sisterhood among black women based on a common experience of oppression under apartheid, is no less fallacious than the now discredited notion that sisterhood is global."¹⁰

The challenge of Nkululeko's and Letlaka-Rennert's insistence on the experiential aspect of research has not gone unchallenged. Hassim and Walker explain that in the first instance it claims that there can only be one understanding of social reality/history and that this is the view from below. In a world of competing truths this essentialist view is unacceptable. Hassim and Walker go on to explain that Nkululeko and Letlaka-Rennert's privileging of experience "as the sole arbiter of knowledge... invalidates the entire research process."¹¹ They argue that the experiential aspect of research cannot guarantee insights as to how the phenomenon may fit into larger social relations. Walker goes on to argue that this insistence on like writing about like relegates all research into a solipsistic cage where the result can only be autobiography: "the subjective experience of a condition or situation does not guarantee the ability to reflect critically and analytically upon it."¹² The very outsider status of the non-native researcher which is supposed to handicap him/her can be an important and necessary skill for good research. "A skilled researcher from outside the researched community /subject may mobilise fresh insights precisely as a result of her/his outside status: relationships and process which are shrouded in familiarity for the insider may be arrestingly transparent to the outsider."¹³ This project will attempt to take these issues as central concerns and wherever possible will explain conclusions reached or suggestions made in terms of the debate referred to above.

Where do I, a Muslim "Indian women" student, married with children and teaching history at secondary school (order of this list is insignificant) researching the life a Christian Zulu woman who by choice remained unmarried and childless, position myself? Firstly, I am black according to the political definition of the Black Consciousness Movement; I have been

disenfranchised (before April 1994); been lumped with "the oppressed" and have identified with "the struggle". Yet my lived experience of racism is and must necessarily be different from my African/Zulu counterpart for example. There is much that is different in the space between my subjectivity and my historical enquiry into Makanya's subjectivity, language, religion, cultural and traditional customs, educational opportunities and so on. Can I represent a Zulu woman, can I write a life study of a Zulu woman, is "Zulu woman" itself a category? A crucial event shaping the relationship between Indian and Zulu people in the region occurred in Sibusisiwe Makanya's lifetime and before mine. The 1949 race riots in Durban affecting only the Indian and Zulu people was a tragic and violent episode in history of race relations in Durban. Bill Freund explains that it began with:

a trivial assault on a young African employee by a store keeper in the centre of town, continuing through a phase of almost good-natured looting exclusively aimed at Indian property, the violence escalated over a horrible weekend into an anti-Indian pogrom on the part of Africans in residential areas...Indian workers were assaulted on the job and Indian-owned factories were attacked. State authorities were very slow to take action although, once they did act they caused many of the deaths of Africans recorded.¹⁴

The Riots have been analysed by some who saw it as part of the urbanisation process where Africans moved into Durban and had to create space for themselves.¹⁵ Members of the Indian community who lived through the riots perceive it as a conspiracy by whites who felt threatened by Indian enterprise and improved socio-economic status. They maintain that the "doctors' pact" between Xuma, Dadoo and Naicker of the African National Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Congress threatened the policies of Malanite politicians in 1949 and that in order to break this new found united front between African and Indians, the white government instigated the Riots. They recall that:

it was a gloomy day, as though a storm was coming, there was tension in the air that morning...when the riots broke out they suddenly pulled out pangas and knobkerries.¹⁶

Some recall that those Africans who had Indian friends hid them from the rioting African mobs and had themselves endured a beating.¹⁷ Some recalled:

Some whites pointed to Africans where Indians were hiding...they set their dogs on a few.some joined the Africans and had polish on their faces so that they would not be recognised... people knew who they were...some raided many grocery stores with others in Clairwood.¹⁸

It is clear that the 1949 Durban Race Riots must be investigated more comprehensively before any conclusions can be reached. What is certain though, is that the aftermath of the Riots was a legacy of racial tension, suspicion and fear amongst some Indian people. Returning to the debate concerning representation in South African Women's Studies, according to Nkululeko I would be an outsider and therefore my work will be flawed, that is, flawed because of the "trappings of (my) own history, values, culture and ideology."¹⁹

Related to the "not negotiable" stance by Nkululeko and Letlaka-Rennert concerning the impossibility of cross cultural research is the notion of a person's socialisation into the group of his/her origin. Socialisation refers to the process whereby a person learns the social relations in the society into which s/he is born. The agents for this socialisation will be the home, the peer group, the school, church/temple/mosque/synagogue, media and so on. Socialisation is not always total: there are countless exceptions to the rule, many people have resisted their socialisation because "by definition people are reflexive beings capable of opposing this deterministic process."²⁰ This reflexivity allows researchers (black/white, male/female) to cross boundaries and investigate others. Feminist politics, too, is dynamic and reflexive by nature because it constantly adapts to external (internal) stimuli. For example, apart from gender, attention is also given to other power relations, viz race, class, ethnicity, age, sexual preferences, place of origin.

I do not believe that it is impossible or unethical to study other people. As Jansen explains:

to deny categorically the right to study other people, as some critics of ethnocentrism do, would be to deny the rationale not only of anthropology, but also of medicine, linguistics and history. Historians in particular would be then considered very unethical: unlike anthropologists and others, they cannot ask permission from people they study.²¹

Nor do I subscribe to the view that only women can study women, only blacks can study blacks, only Zulu people can study Zulu people and so on. Just being different with the ability to draw comparisons and to distance oneself from the norms, practises and constraints of the society under study, are, as explained by Hassim and Walker, all distinct advantages of cross cultural research, despite their drawbacks. I do think, on the other hand, that it is unethical if one does not try to avoid ethnocentrism; that is, where the researcher sees the subject as "other" or where the subject is fossilised into a particular type or category that is fixed and unchanging; or acknowledges being aware of it in the course of both research and writing up and if one ignores the problems of power.

Drawing from Said's Orientalism, Jansen explains further that the "problem of ethnocentrism lies less in the difference between researcher and researched than in the power hierarchy that this difference creates, both on the personal and social level."²² In order to redress this hierarchy, Pityana advocates that more blacks study blacks (and whites), more women study women (and men); those with more power should support those with fewer opportunities to do research in real affirmative action, not just tokenism.²³ Mention has been made of the advantages of the non-native researcher. The native researcher (I use Nkululeko's terminology here) has his/her own distinct advantages, too: that is intimate knowledge of language, thoughts and practices. The ideal situation would be to combine these resources or advantages in a complementary working relationship:

Such a coalition science presupposes a continuing critical reflection of both the cross cultural and the

inter cultural researcher, and a willingness to discuss and change one's own culture bound view points.²⁴

It is accepted now that all researchers are influenced by their own socio-cultural backgrounds and this realisation that no one can be absolutely free of ethnocentrism is the best step to reduce ethnocentrism.

The issue of whether a white woman can investigate the life of a black woman is part of a long standing debate in the philosophy of social science, namely the notion of incommensurability, that is, can one body of thought understand another. It is of course difficult to conduct calm debate on feminisms in South Africa, there seems to be a polarisation into camps, "an angry divide."²⁵ Nonetheless, the issue of representation must be debated further. The way forward, it would seem, is for feminists to grasp and expand and work creatively with the concept of difference.

DIFFERENCE AND IDENTITY

One such example can be drawn from the work of Cathy Campbell who explains that :

references to difference tend to occur along three intersecting planes. The first is within the identity of a person as s/he moves from one social context to another, the second is within the category of women across categories such as class, race, sexual orientation, age and thirdly, differences in identities of women and men. ²⁶

Far from categories of "difference and identity" remaining fixed, they shift over time and space. Different race-class locations therefore will "present gendered subjects with different life demands and challenges"²⁷ and shifting fragmented identities.²⁸ By extension then, membership of a group does not necessarily imply identity with the group. Finding Campbell's exegesis convincing, it seems the calls by Nkululeko and Letlaka-Rennert--for like to write about like because of the privileged insider status and the sharing of similar identities--are flawed. They take no cognisance of the fluidity of human experiences of difference and identity. Furthermore, arguments can be made "in terms of middle class African/Asian scholars producing scholarship on or about their rural or working class sisters which assumes

their own middle class culture as norm, and codifies working class histories and cultures as Other."²⁹

BIOGRAPHY AND LIFE STUDIES

On the same continuum as the representation debate is the debate around the process of biographical writing and modern biography. "Biography began in Western culture to satisfy the curiosity about an individual who stood out among **his** contemporaries, and to try and understand **him**, to determine what made **him** exceptional."³⁰ Liz Stanley in her critique of modern biography and the biographical process, states that the biographer's central concern is "the reconstruction on paper of the essential fundamental person."³¹ She argues that it is impossible to reconstruct a biographical subject because we cannot recover the past nor understand or experience it as the people who lived it. In contrast, questions should be asked: the past from whose point of view?, why this point of view and no other? The past like the present, argues Stanley, is the result of competing negotiated versions of what happened. She goes on that biographers can not claim expertise - they are socially located persons, sexed/gendered, raced, classed, aged - and therefore their view is a "necessarily partial one."³² Stanley disagrees with the claims of greatness and uniqueness that biographers make of biographees - this does not show them as equals among equals but rather as "giants among pygmies."³³

Kathleen Barry argues that "biography requires that we be true to our subject, that we not only create the phenomenology of daily life to uncover the subjectivity of the self, but that we locate our subject in her own historical context and that requires historical reperiodization."³⁴ She explains that biography as history calls for a new reading of history. "The emerging genre of women's biography must be based on a search for women's subjectivity, where the subject becomes known to us through her actions and her history...women's biography cannot be concerned with 'placing women in history' - as though history is an already formed reality and all we need to do is make a slot in it for women."³⁵ In response to Stanley's stance on the close links between the experiences/lives of biographers and the written biographies they produce/construct, Barry emphasises that biography is not a case of appropriating the biographees

experience: "if, as the biographer of Susan B. Anthony, I identified with her, and found my life in her biography, I would have falsely equated us."³⁶ It is evidently not possible for two people across the chasm of time to experience life identically. Central to Barry's argument is the importance of women's biography as a genre towards an understanding of history. The location of the subject in her own historical context opens up for analysis different forces and nuances at play in moulding and redefining the actions of the subject. The boon for historians then will be a clarity in the ways that historical forces shape individual response and vice versa.

Women's biography as a genre, however, becomes problematic. Carolyn Heilbrun maintains that there is little "organised sense of what a woman's biography should look like."³⁷ Traditional biography assumed that only one narrative was acceptable for women, that is, romantic love leading to conventional marriage. There exists very little on how to write the life of an unmarried woman who, consciously or not, has avoided marriage. Heilbrun argues that convention, romance, literature and drama have not given us insights into the lives of single women, of women friends, of middle age or active old age.

How do I posit myself after taking cognisance of the above concerns in the process of biographical writing? It should be stated right at the outset that this project is not a biography. It is not intended to be nor resemble a historical novel, drama, short story or any other literary genre. This is a study of the life and work of Sibusisiwe Makanya culled out from evidence and sources available to me and this project has been undertaken, inter alia, as part fulfilment for an M.A. degree. I have no illusions of being able to reconstruct the day to day living experiences of Sibusisiwe Makanya, nor is that an objective of this study. The overarching concerns gleaned from my survey of literature on women and biography are not to categorise Sibusisiwe Makanya as an example of a "typical" woman of her time and not to represent her as an icon of a Zulu woman or a *kholwa*, forever fossilised in memory with the attending implications and stock perceptions of accepted labels. Instead, the aim of this project is to represent her as a person who worked creatively with resources and avenues available to her in the

environment in which she found herself and who left a lasting imprint on her society as a result.

In my study of the life of Sibusisiwe Makanya, the sources for my framework are the Makanya Papers housed at the Killie Campbell Africana Library. The method I have employed in my writing up of her life is historical, that is, I have charted the social changes that were taking place in Sibusisiwe's lifetime as represented in literature on Natal's history. I have relied extensively on the myriad of correspondence between Sibusisiwe and various people locally and in the United States of America. Sibusisiwe had bequeathed all her papers to Marguerite Malherbe in January 1970. I am constantly aware of attempts at representation, wittingly or unwittingly, as far as this important body of primary source is concerned. Sibusisiwe kept letters and documents and in her living years also discarded much material. She perhaps unwittingly and unconsciously was saving for posterity a representation of herself. Marguerite Malherbe, a white middle class English-speaking close friend of Sibusisiwe, collected and sorted out the Makanya Papers. These sources and the Rheinhardt Jones the Bantu Youth League collection housed with the South African Institute of Race Relations papers, are in themselves representations of Sibusisiwe Makanya.

As a researcher of Sibusisiwe Makanya's life I am grateful for the various attempts made by Marguerite Malherbe to secure evidence and material for future research. After Sibusisiwe's death she was anxious that all possible memories be collected on Sibusisiwe. To this end Malherbe donated a sum of R200 in the late 1970s to initiate an interviewing programme where memories of Sibusisiwe could be collected. She approached the University of Zululand in 1975 in her attempt to get Sibusisiwe's "educational peers among the Zulus" to collect memories but was thoroughly discouraged at the response because the University felt that the people of Umbumbulu should do that.³⁸ At least one interview was undertaken with Hamilton Makanya, whose father was a cousin of Sibusisiwe. This is an important representation of Sibusisiwe because unlike other "favourable" testimonies, Hamilton Makanya is at times scathing in his criticisms.

Furthermore, my reading of the sources necessarily entails further mapping and selection of information for presentation. There are many gaps in the sources available for study. For example, most of the papers housed as the Makanya Papers at Killie Campbell Africana Library are correspondences received by Sibusisiwe. Apart from a few items there are silences as to what Sibusisiwe was saying on various issues. The search for this kind of material must be part of a larger project. Potential archival material in the USA has not been consulted for this project because they are evidently filed with various other collections.³⁹ There are no direct kith or kin alive today who could be interviewed to flesh out the picture that has been created by the existing evidence. Interviews have been conducted with three people who knew Sibusisiwe when she was established as a community leader in Umbumbulu.

Despite these constraints, I intend my thesis to be an interpretation of the life of Sibusisiwe Makanya who lived in Umbumbulu on Natal's south coast. I can only present a public persona because there is not much about her personal thoughts. There is no diary/journal available that Sibusisiwe might have kept. But where should this thesis begin? With her birth, and the disappointment or happiness that she was not a boy, a son? Should I then follow a spot-light approach focusing on her childhood and apply Freudian analysis to her complex relationship with her mother and father? Should I then explain how she became a woman, a sex object and how she enthralled in romantic love and ended the chase by a conventional marriage? Since Sibusisiwe Makanya did not marry, should I judge her as having failed to entice a man into matrimony? As a gendered and raced (to name two) person, what do her choices mean to me, also a gendered and raced person? In the writing up of this thesis I am conscious that it is a "continuous, unfinalizable supplementation preventing closure", and that reading the Makanya Papers at another time may well render a somewhat modified thesis than the one presented here.⁴⁰ Modified, that is, in relation to concerns of what makes possible interpretations and understandings of phenomena, the underlying causalities, the attempts to make sense and create order with evidence or sources and the contemplation of silences in sources.

Footnotes to Chapter One

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33. Stanley, The Auto/biographical I, p. 9
34. Kathleen Barry, "Toward a theory of Women's Biography: From the life of Susan B. Anthony", in Iles, T. (ed.), All Sides of the Subject, p.45
35. Barry, "Toward a theory", p. 33 see also Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, "Placing women's history in history", New Left Review, Vol. CXXXIII, 1982
36. Barry, "Toward a theory", p. 28
37. Carolyn Heilbrun, Writing a Woman's life, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1988), p. 25
38. Makanya Papers, Green File, Malherbe to Tedder, letter dated 21/5/75
39. Due to Sibusisiwe Makanya's wide network of contacts her letters are to be found in the following collections, housed both in South Africa and America: Champion Papers, Loram Papers, S.A.I.R.R. papers, Dube Collection, A.B.M. papers in Boston, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Tuskegee Institute Archives, Moton Papers, Jesse Jones papers, Alumni Papers of Columbia University and International House.
40. R. Young, White Mythologies, Writing History and the West, (London: Routledge, 1990), p. vii

CHAPTER TWO

PUPIL AND TEACHER

"Sibusisiwe" means "Blessed of Heaven" in the Zulu language. The birth of Nkosazana on 4 October 1894 was indeed a joyous occasion for Nxele and Nomagqoka, proud parents of their first born child who was to become a pioneer in the field of rural sociology and education in southern Natal. In the last decades of the 19th century a girl child in Zulu society was valued for what she would add to the home: valuable work in the fields next to her mother and when she married, her *lobola* would add to her father's wealth which was measured in the number of cattle.¹ A definition of *lobola* is not a simple act given that it is a system that worked well in pre colonial times, endured till this day and is still a system that is strongly defended and practised in many sections of African society.

In traditional Zulu society a girl was also viewed as a "sort of ambassador for the family" because on marriage she would enter another household and "create blood relationships" and "social cultural linkage between two formerly strange families"- this also meant the "unification of two different ancestral colonies, as it were, a spiritual link."²

The childhood of little Sibusisiwe Makanya, although swaddled in tradition and family continuity, was also being encroached upon by the forces of colonial rule. Grandfather Shutele was a chief of the Makanya and claimed lineage to the royal Zulu household. This ancestor Makanya was a son of Simamane, a direct descendant of Malandela, father of Qwabe and Zulu. In his study of the region, Reader describes the the history of the Makanya clan thus:

The Makanya were one of the many tribal fragments who fled southwards from Zululand over the Tugela River into Natal. Their final migration, however, was not during Shaka's but during Dingane's time.³

Chief Shutele's six wives and their descendants were regarded as royalty in Umbumbulu.⁴ On hearing of the birth of his grand daughter, Shutele had an animal sacrificed as offering to the spirits in the ceremony called im-beleko.

A small bracelet was made with the skin of the slaughtered goat and placed around the baby's wrist while the rest of the skin was treated and fashioned into a cape and hood which the child wore when carried on her mother's back. This same bracelet and cape would be used for the other children who would to follow.⁵

Nxele and Nomagqoka were distinct from many other Zulu parents in Umbumbulu in the late 19th century. Both embraced Christianity through the efforts of the American Board of Foreign Missions but "saw no incongruity in observing many of the old Zulu traditions" and assimilated completely with the social and cultural tempo of Christian mission life in Umbumbulu.⁶ Nxele had worked as a foreman for the Union Castle Steamship Company at the Point in Durban. Nomagqoka was a Maphumulo from the Umzinyathi in the Inanda district. As a young girl she ran away from home to the Inanda Seminary to "search for light", as she later explained to little Sibusisiwe. Here she embraced Christianity, according to Trowbridge, and on completion of her schooling lived in and worked as a domestic worker for a white family where, according to her testimony, she was well treated. Trowbridge narrates that when Nomagqoka agreed to marry Nxele, the couple resigned from their jobs and moved to Umbumbulu so that their children might have a proper community life and learn the customs and traditions of their ancestors.⁷

Umbumbulu was administered by the Colony of Natal according to the Shepstone System, named after Natal's first Secretary for Native Affairs. "Shepstonism" was a system of British indirect rule rooted in the recognition of African customary law and institutions, and the employment of African chiefs as officers of local government.⁸ While Shepstonism provided a continuity with the African past in matters of law, politics and economy, the importance difference was that now Africans paid taxes in order to sustain their administration and this proved to be a cheap system for the Natal government. In this system the Governor of Natal was the Supreme Chief who held ultimate local power. He usually delegated his authority to the Secretary of Native Affairs who in turn delegated to white magistrates who then delegated to African chiefs and headmen subservient to them:

Chiefs were to function, on the one hand, as civil servants who were ultimately responsible to the Supreme Chief; on the other hand, in accordance with African customary law and usage, they were to perform their traditional chiefly duties in representing and governing their adherents or tribes.⁹

This system of indirect rule was fairly easily implemented south of the Tugela because of the history of migration from north of the Tugela and the need for coherence and stability in the relatively new settlement of Umbumbulu.¹⁰ But it was not without question, as the work of many historians has shown. Nevertheless, it was at least within this created "system of tradition" that Nxele and his kin survived. This system drew together aspects of Zulu social life and colonial imperatives and authors such as Martin Chanock have argued that the resulting concept of "tradition" among Zulu people was powerfully recreated.¹¹

After consultation with his father, Chief Shutele, Nxele applied to the local Chief of the Reserve for land and was granted 15 acres. According to Trowbridge, he built his home not in the beehive fashion typical of Zulu architecture but married ideas he had of white houses he had seen in Durban with the material that was available to him on the reserve.

Trowbridge comments that the result was a square house and much easier to build and that even the members of the *iloma* or workforce of men who had come to help Nxele build his hut, had to agree. Implicit in this comment of Trowbridge are views of the ABM missionaries and their judgement of "progress" in their Zulu converts.¹² This house was furnished according to the fashion of Nomagqoka's employer's home: curtains hung from windows, dish towels were made for the kitchen, western dress hung in wardrobes, there were tables and chairs for dining and other bits of western furnishings were used for decoration. The home that Nxele and Nomagqoka built demonstrated the "blending" of culture since this western styled house was constructed by drawing on customary labour patterns.

The American Board of Foreign Missions or the ABM, had arrived in Natal in 1835 intent on spreading Christian teaching along with pragmatic skills. Only after the death of Dingane and the establishment of a British colony in

Natal did the ABM set up its mission at Adams in 1843. Umbumbulu was an out-station of Adams initially but later became a mission station as well. Unlike the missions of other Christian denominations, the ABM often aligned itself with the Zulu people against the white colonial administration and because of their many social welfare programmes were generally popular with Zulu people.¹³ The ABM missionary Dr Adams was called "the man with three coats" because he wore a black one when preaching, a white coat as a doctor and faded old clothes as supervisor of African workers in the building of small churches.¹⁴

The unpublished biography by Myrtle Trowbridge, which is one representation of Sibusisiwe Makanya, remains the key primary source for information on the early life of Sibusisiwe. Despite its presumptions which are grounded in the ideological concerns of the time, it is an important source which I must draw on to sketch, as far as possible, a narrative on Sibusisiwe's life and social environment for this project. According to Trowbridge, Nxele was among the men who helped build the first church of the ABM in Umbumbulu. This building was used as a community building: a church on Sundays and a school during the week. The Church featured significantly in the lives of Nxele and his family and, according to Trowbridge, the first song that Sibusisiwe remembers singing was "Jesus loves me, this I know" in Zulu.

Sibusisiwe Makanya's parents called her Nto. It is not clear what Nto means. It could be an abbreviation of *ntombi enthla* which means "beautiful girl", or *ntombi* which means "girl" and more specifically "a virgin".¹⁵ Sibusisiwe's childhood was similar to those of hundreds of little Zulu girls in Umbumbulu. She was taught to balance a jar of water on her head as she walked from the Umgababa River to her parent's home, she gathered firewood with other little girls her age and spent long hours working in the fields next to her mother. These long hours were also used by Nomagqoka to teach her little daughter many Zulu folksongs and to explain to the inquisitive Nto why things were just so. According to the adult Sibusisiwe's recollection of those early days, Trowbridge writes that Nto never settled for easy answers and Nomagqoka found herself wondering at her daughter's inquiring mind and what she was to become in the future. Her

endless questioning was most welcome to her many grandmothers when she visited grandfather Shutele's many wives. It was through them that she learnt the ways of the ancient ones, the social mores of her people and folkstories which fed the fertile mind of Nto.

At home Nto would complete the tasks that her mother had set for her but they were always hurriedly done. Nomagqoka realised that Nto worked best when praised and she heaped praise upon her daughter. The results were excellent, Nto was meticulous in all her work and loved making *amaas* which was sour/cultured milk because it was her favourite dish. Of the chores that she hated most was child minding. Reba Mirsky's Thirty One Brothers and Sisters, which was created from the stories and memories of Sibusisiwe about her childhood, depict the leading character, Nomusa, as being similar to Trowbridge's construction of the little Nto.¹⁶ Being the eldest daughter, it was Sibusisiwe's responsibility to take care of her little brothers and sisters while her mother was out working in the fields or doing the washing at the river with other women of the area. Washing at the river for the village women could be interpreted as being a social event: here they discussed their routines, exchanged gossip which was an important avenue for communication and dissemination of information to the rural women. The hub of kraal life was discussed and as many complaints as stains were perhaps washed away once the cathartic effect of communal interchange was over. This important network of support was seldom ever missed by the rural women. Evidently this cultural milieu was a lasting influence on Sibusisiwe's life because she felt it was important enough to have it recorded by Trowbridge.

It is clear from Sibusisiwe Makanya's writing, teaching and oral testimony to others that play in childhood is an excellent method of study and learning. The lessons learnt in her childhood served Sibusisiwe in later years. She remembered later that she preferred play with her boy cousins more than with the girls. Making clay dolls and playing mother did not appeal to her: she had her share of baby sitting at home. Stringing beads and learning to write love letters with the different colours were also not of interest to her. Trowbridge writes that the boys would play games that she liked. "Naming" was a popular game and one that Sibusisiwe enjoyed. She

learnt the names of various birds and the sounds they made, this increased her desire to know. Boys knew of these things better than girls because they spent many hours in the fields herding cattle and goats. She also learnt the names of plants, their uses and the insects and birds that fed on them.

Sibusisiwe found that it was more fun playing with boys because they did not tire as easily as the girls. The boys also learnt that being a girl was no real handicap for Sibusisiwe for she could outrun and outplay the weaker boys and keep up with the stronger ones. It was not long before she was accepted as a friend and well liked and respected by her male cousins. Learning to ride a horse was an important feat for her and a very useful skill that enabled her, in later years, to do the community work which she so loved.

More lessons in deportment and social etiquette came from her mother: how to clap hands for the various ceremonies and feasts, how to walk past a stranger with eyes downcast, how to enter and exit a hut, how to accept and give gifts and many more.¹⁷ Sibusisiwe was privileged in that she was aware of the socialisation of her male cousins, too. This was markedly different from what the girls were taught. The boys were expected to be aggressive, to act, to wink an eye, and taught how to squirt spittle between their teeth to show disapproval like a man. She noticed that girls were being socialised to become passive and demure so that they could fit easily into their roles of wives and mothers while boys were taught the ways of the world (rural one at least) so that they would become men, fathers and husbands and protectors and providers for their families which they were expected to head. Questioning her mother on why this was the state of affairs, according to Trowbridge, only earned her stern rebukes. Sibusisiwe reserved the questions for later. No one could answer them, she had come full circle in her realisation of the unequal/different treatment of the sexes and her answer to the questions was the way in which she lived her life as an adult and the choices she made. Ellen Kuzwayo said that one had to read Sibusisiwe's actions to know what she believed since she did things in her life and did not explain them in any philosophical or theoretical manner.¹⁸

Attending school was another area of her life which she enjoyed tremendously.¹⁹ In the early decades of this century, the mission churches were generally responsible for education among Africans in Natal and "education was the principal means of evangelisation."²⁰ The one room, one teacher school that Sibusisiwe attended had only the very basic equipment of textbooks and Sibusisiwe carried a slate and her African primer as her school baggage. Lessons consisted basically of the "three Rs" and religious instruction.²¹ She was confident enough to come home one day and announce that she was sure that she would make a better teacher than the one she was taught by.²² After learning all she possibly could in her one room school, Sibusisiwe was ready for higher education. According to Trowbridge, it was just then that grandfather Shutele had died and all attention was diverted to his funeral. Nxele's home was a sad place after his father's death. Trowbridge writes that the Christian son wondered what was to become of his father after death: he was not a Christian and how would he go to Heaven? These concerns were not to escape Sibusisiwe who was filled with dread as to what might happen to her beloved grandfather. When her parents informed her of their plans to send her to Inanda Seminary to further her education, the delighted Sibusisiwe, according to Trowbridge, announced that she wanted to be confirmed as a Christian. This was done in a simple service by Rev. Ransome, a missionary, and Rev. Joel Bhulose, a Zulu minister. She was fifteen years old in 1909 and her parents were proud, according to Trowbridge, of their daughter who had made her decision without coercion.

Higher education for Africans in Natal was generally undertaken by missionaries. One of the most effective ways to evangelise the Africans was via education and "for their evangelical work to spread and bear fruit" missions "had to train locally most of the personnel they required: teachers, lay preachers, clergy, community leaders."²³ Inanda Seminary was founded in 1869 by the ABM and it was the first institution of its kind to accept female African students in Natal. It was also home to many runaway daughters from Umzinyathi in the Inanda Reserve. Sibusisiwe Makanya's mother had been one of these runaway daughters. Inanda offered education to girls in terms of making them comely homemakers, good Christian mothers and wives and winning converts to become teachers, an occupation

considered appropriate for men and women. "For African Christians themselves, there was a far more pressing need for a girls boarding school than suitable marriage matches or employment prospects...Parents recognised that their own upbringing was an unsuitable model for their children and did not always know how to fill the cultural gap created by their abandonment of old practises and habits."²⁴ Inanda was seen to be an institution that would undertake this moral training and moulding. Later on in her work as social worker, Sibusisiwe Makanya was to realise the inadequacies of the moral training provided by missions and how it rendered its students helpless in the face of the harsh realities of urban existence.

Sibusisiwe Makanya's first week at Inanda Seminary was spent hoeing in the garden with other girls under a leader. She felt very much at home since all the other girls in her group also came from farms and rural areas.²⁵ She liked all her teachers except her principal. Trowbridge writes that the principal threatened to expel her because Sibusisiwe always seemed to be doing the wrong things when the principal was around. What these wrong things were is not clear but in view of the tensions that Sibusisiwe endured as a student in Penn School, South Carolina, USA, it would appear that she was not subdued by authoritative figures who delegated instructions from a position of superiority, especially if there were any hints of what could be construed to be racism. According to Trowbridge, Sibusisiwe was very eager to learn English and become proficient in it. She must have worked extremely hard with teachers who were interested in helping her with English because it did not take her very long to become competent in English and this she considered to an important achievement. This proficiency in English was to be crucial for Sibusisiwe's future career path. The food at Inanda depressed her immensely. Trowbridge writes that it was the same thing day after day: porridge for breakfast, rice for lunch, porridge for supper - the only variation was a dish of beans or soup in place of rice. Being accustomed to a variety of vegetables at home, Sibusisiwe felt hungry and homesick. She spoke to her teachers about the matter and it was explained to her that there were so many mouths to feed at Inanda, that it was too expensive to have too varied a diet. This must have been a satisfactory answer for Sibusisiwe because Trowbridge does not refer to the

monotonous diet of Inanda Seminary again in her biography. Sibusisiwe was to experience first hand the difficulty of working with a lack of funds when she began work in Umbumbulu in the 1930s. At the end of her year at Inanda, Sibusisiwe had successfully completed her higher education and returned home to her family.

While at Inanda Seminary Sibusisiwe Makanya had resolved to become a teacher. This decision was made after she had heard the altruistic reasons given by missionaries for coming to Africa. According to Trowbridge, Sibusisiwe reasoned that she too could be of benefit to her people. It seems that Sibusisiwe had been thoroughly socialised by the evangelisation of Inanda and had fulfilled one of the objectives of the ABM and the Seminary, namely the need to train teachers from amongst the local population. Two weeks after her return to Umbumbulu she enrolled for the Teacher's Training Course at Adams College. Adams Mission was the very first ABM mission station in Natal and the College was the only tertiary institution available in the province for Africans. It was a co-educational institution and has a history of having produced some of the most prominent leaders amongst African people. Sibusisiwe was impressed with the place and the atmosphere of the College with its old buildings, old traditions, cultured teachers and good balanced food, which were simple meals.²⁶ The curriculum at Adams included subjects such as arithmetic, spelling, religion, reading in both Zulu and English, and hygiene. It is interesting that 'hygiene' was a school subject and it lent itself to be construed on many levels: social hygiene, personal hygiene, adaptation and assimilation of western habits, and so on.²⁷ Her social life was limited because of the time spent studying, working at assigned household tasks, attending classes and religious meetings. According to Trowbridge, Sibusisiwe was no longer the giggling, whispering girl at Inanda but a serious, conscientious young woman.²⁸ In 1912 she completed her training at Adams and wrote an external examination set by the government's education department. This was an important examination and passing it qualified her as a teacher.

Trowbridge writes that, not everyone in the community was happy with Sibusisiwe Makanya's decision to begin teaching: they thought it was time she helped her mother and got married like other girls from her age group.

She always had the support of her parents in her career decisions. Her first teaching post was past Port Shepstone, at Imbizana. This was a one-teacher school without a school committee to assist her and help motivate parents to send their children to school:

Work was hard going and discouraging. The mission leaders were not particularly interested in education for its own sake; they merely wanted the fifty-odd pupils to learn the "three Rs" and to read the Bible.²⁹

Sibusisiwe faced many problems. According to Trowbridge, the children had barely any clothes to wear to school, many were virtually naked. Some of these children came from homes where the fathers wore only an *umutska*, that is a belt holding over the rear a short apron made of ox hide and over the front hung tails of monkeys.³⁰ The mothers wore a piece of cloth or skin around their waist. Trowbridge writes that the children usually ran around without any clothing on them. Sibusisiwe was brought up by Christian parents and living in Umbumbulu, which was a mission station, she was probably not exposed to this traditional dress and it is possible that she found it contrary to her socialisation of what was proper dress according to Victorian moralism.

Neither was it easy for her to convince Zulu men of the importance of education for the community. There had been a perception that schooling weakened tribal authority. This perception--that as long as the black people remained outside colonial economy they saw no benefit in schooling--has been written about extensively by Frank Molteno.³¹ From this early point in her young adulthood, Sibusisiwe Makanya remembered that she found Zulu women were keen to change and she believed that it was through the women that she could really help her people adjust to the fast encroaching social changes that must accompany westernization, industrialisation and capitalistic economic progress. The world was changing and her people, she felt, must make the changes to be able to cope. She spent her non-teaching time visiting homes and coaxing parents to send their children to school. According to Trowbridge, apart from teaching the regular subjects of Zulu reading, spelling, arithmetic, hygiene and some English, Sibusisiwe organised classes in craft work and gardening.

Her second year at Imbizana was easier. A school committee was formed and this lessened her load enormously. Sibusisiwe Makanya found that the mothers were friendlier and indirectly praised her. Trowbridge comments that having children who were literate was of great help to mothers since they found that they could now read the letters from their menfolk working in Johannesburg. It was becoming increasingly difficult for the men to make a living in the reserves because of the scarcity of land and increasingly they went in large numbers to Johannesburg in search of work.³² This was, of course, one of the intentions in the creation of the African reserves: to force people off the land and pressurise them to become waged labour. The migrant labour system was extracting its toll on the rural life of women and children in the reserves. Some of the men who went to work only to pay *lobola* continued to return, and build up rural homesteads.

After her third year at Imbizana, Sibusisiwe was appointed head teacher in Ncwade school. This was a two-teacher school and according to Trowbridge, there was not much of an opportunity for her to prove her leadership skills. Five months later she resigned her post at Ncwade and accepted a teaching post at her former school, Inanda Seminary. Sibusisiwe had made rapid progress in her teaching career and this appointment had brought, according to Trowbridge, a feeling of great joy and pride in her parents.

On entering Inanda for the second time, she had four years of training in mission schools and three and a half years of teaching experience. She was one of the first African teachers at Inanda and her teaching career there was a success. According to Trowbridge, Sibusisiwe Makanya was well liked by her students who responded very well to her teaching. She participated willingly in the moral vision of Inanda and was keen to train her students on the merits of clean kraals and she stressed hygiene in all her subjects. The motto "Cleanliness is next to Godliness" became basic in her teaching. The Seminary knew it had done well in bringing Sibusisiwe to its staff, "she knew her people as no foreigner ever could."³³ Trowbridge narrates that Sibusisiwe taught a seven day week because school was held on a Sunday at

Inanda. She visited home regularly and kept in touch with what was going on in her village.

While attending wedding ceremonies at home, Trowbridge writes that Sibusisiwe became conscious that she had become an outsider in her old circle of friends. She was better educated and dressed differently. She also found that she was not interested in her friend's conversations about beadmaking and she noticed that the costumes that the girls wore were openly more seductive than the men's. She found that the beer systems at the weddings were problematic for the women. Drunk men would often end up fighting and unnecessary deaths and injuries would follow. Sibusisiwe was to become involved later on in issues surrounding the brewing and selling of beer in Umbumbulu as we will see in Chapter Five.

The socialisation of her mission education set Sibusisiwe Makanya apart from her friends in Umbumbulu and the decisions she was to make throughout her adulthood positioned her at the centre of communal discussions in Umbumbulu. By 1920 Sibusisiwe was twenty six years old. Trowbridge describes her as having a plump, well rounded figure, snappy sparkling eyes, and the merriest of laughs, and she was considered to be attractive.³⁴ She received a few marriage proposals and realised that a little later on she would probably not be attractive to men in her community. After very serious and careful consideration she refused all marriage proposals and made a conscious choice not to marry. According to Trowbridge, she was aware that she would be criticised for her decision but helping her people in the broadest social sense would not be possible if she had a husband, children and a home to see to. It is evident that her reason for not marrying was not that she could not entice anyone into matrimony, but because matrimony and all it entailed was not in her scheme of things. According to Trowbridge, her parents accepted and respected her decision but others in the community warned her that she would face a lonely old age.

Back at the Seminary Sibusisiwe Makanya gave lessons in knitting, a craft not taught in rural villages. Trowbridge writes that her students were happy with her new skills. In her cookery lessons, she realised that her charges

prepared meals as their mothers did at the kraal. She taught them to add one other vegetable to it, the sweet potato. As simple as it sounded, according to Trowbridge, it was a revolutionary way of eating mealies and was an instant success with the families of her pupils.

The success of this experiment gave her courage to repeat them in outlying areas and instead of returning home to Umbumbulu during her vacation, she visited outlying areas. This caused a furore in her community, "especially vocal were the Makanyas who alternated between being sorry for and vexed with Nxele and Nomagqoka."³⁵ As has been stated earlier in this chapter, the only source available on the early life of Sibusisiwe is the Trowbridge biography. This description of the community's reaction can not be verified because there are no kith or kin alive who could perhaps have given more information about that period. Those who remember her now remember the Sibusisiwe who established herself as a leader in her community, and not as the young teacher in the early years of the 20th century. According to Trowbridge, Sibusisiwe was criticised for treating her parents shamefully, the general consensus was that she ought to help her mother. Trowbridge writes that the community asked questions such as: who would marry her? What kind of wife and mother would she make? It would seem that her staunchest supporters were her parents who assured her that they did not mind how Nto spent her holidays, as long as it was spent in a good cause.³⁶

A crucial event in Sibusisiwe Makanya's life occurred while she was still at Inanda. Sibusisiwe joined a group of teachers from Adams and Ohlange and they formed the Young People's Organisation also called the Purity League in the 1920s. This organisation attempted to give direction to the lives of young people in a world that was undergoing rapid changes brought on by evangelization, colonialism, westernization, industrialisation and other transforming forces. The signals emanating from both rural and colonial establishments seemed to confuse the youth. The Purity League was billed as an organisation which would provide some solutions. It is true that authors such as Shula Marks have written about Sibusisiwe Makanya as an "adaptationist" pushing this process forward through such organizations as the Purity League.³⁷ Work had multiplied to such an extent after eight years

at Inanda that Sibusisiwe resigned her teaching post to devote herself full-time to her task as secretary of the organisation.³⁸ Her immense interest in her vacation work and her responsibilities as secretary of the Purity League entailed travelling around Natal and parts of the Transvaal. She spent her time working with the African youth and assisting young branches of the organisation in their work. During her travels in these years, Sibusisiwe Makanya lectured her audience on hygiene, better homes and gardens.

At the age of almost thirty, Sibusisiwe Makanya realised that her training as a teacher was inadequate for the social work she wished to do in her community and her close association with both men and women missionaries from America inspired her to try to study social work there. But it is clear that long before she left for the U.S.A. she was involved with the Purity League, and that some time after her return she in fact became critical of her earlier position and of the aims of the Purity League itself.³⁹ My reading of this shift demonstrates that Marks' identification of Sibusisiwe Makanya as epitomizing the American adaptation model of education is too simple and does not appreciate Sibusisiwe Makanya's transformation and self-awareness. Her work in the community, her travelling around the rural areas of Natal and parts of the Transvaal, her attempts to grapple with many varied issues as secretary of the Purity League, were constantly broadening her horizons.

Footnotes to Chapter Two

1. Ray Philips, The Bantu in the City, (Alice: Lovedale Press, 1938), p. 89 and Jeff Guy, "The destruction and reconstruction of Zulu society", in S. Marks and R. Rathbone (eds), Industrialization and Social Change in South Africa, (London: Longman, 1982).
2. Interview with Dr Dhlomo on 5/12/95
3. Desmond Reader, Zulu Tribe in Transition, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966), p. 25.
4. Reader, Zulu Tribe, p. 23.
5. I have relied extensively on the Biography by Myrtle Trowbridge for the information on the early life of Sibusisiwe Makanya. Trowbridge visited Sibusisiwe in Umbumbulu in the 1950s and interviewed her for the purposes of writing a biography and having it published. However, after it was written and after Sibusisiwe's death, Marguerite Malherbe found it unsuitable for publication.
6. Makanya Papers, File 1, Trowbridge Biography, Part 1, KCM 14343, p. 3
7. Trowbridge Biography, Part 1, KCM 14343, p. 26-30
8. Nicholas Cope, To Bind the Nation, (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1993), p. 1
9. Cope, To Bind, p. 2
10. Shepstone mediated the rule of chiefs and legitimacy of chieftainship status of the Makanya was never questioned in Umbumbulu. Newspaper reports in March 1995 stated that the people of Umbumbulu would accept aid offered through the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) only through their traditional chiefs. This legitimacy of chiefs within the Shepstone system was not unanimous; for popular resistance to Shepstonism see Les Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1993).
11. Martin Chanock, Unconsummated Union, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977).
12. See O.D. Dhlomo, "A survey of some aspects of the educational activities of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign missions in Natal as reflected in the history of Amanzimtoti Institute, 1835-1956", (M.A., Department of History of Education, University of Zululand, 1075)
13. See Jennifer A. Seif, "Gender, Tradition and Authority in 19th Century Natal, The Zulu Missions of the American Board", (Paper presented at the Biennial Conference of the South African Historical Society, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, July, 1995)
14. Trowbridge Biography, Part 1, KCM 14343, p. 65
15. Interview with Dr Dhlomo with 5/12/95
16. Reba P. Mirsky, Thirty One Brothers and Sisters, (Chicago: Wilcox and Follet Co., 1952)
17. Trowbridge Biography, Part 1, KCM 14343, p. 49
18. Interview with Ellen Kuzwayo on 1/11/95
19. Trowbridge Biography, Part 1, KCM 14343, p. 18-20
20. Heather Hughes, "A lighthouse for African womanhood, Inanda Seminary",

- in Walker, C. (ed.), Women and Gender in southern Africa to 1945, (Cape Town: David Philip, 1990), p. 199.
21. See Victor Murray, The School in the Bush, (London: Longmans, 1929)
 22. Trowbridge Biography, Part 1, KCM 14343, p. 20
 23. Hughes, "A light house", p. 199
 24. Hughes, "A light house", p. 203
 25. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p. 56
 26. Sibusisiwe's experience of Adams was in stark contrast to Lily Moya's, see Shula Marks, Not Either an Experimental Doll, (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1987)
 27. See the following: Philips, The Bantu; Murray, The School; O.D. Dhlomo unpublished M.A. thesis; Deborah Gaitskell's articles in Walker, Women and Gender and Marks, S. & Rathbone, R. (eds), Industrialization and Social Change in South Africa, (London: Longman, 1982)
 28. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p. 56-56
 29. Makanya Papers, File 23, KCM 15923
 30. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p. 70
 31. Frank Molteno, "The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans", in Kallaway, P. (ed.), Apartheid and Education; The Education of Black South Africans, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984), p. 50-54.
 32. See Philips, The Bantu
 33. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p. 74
 34. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p. 81
 35. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p. 83
 36. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p. 83
 37. Shula Marks, "Patriotism, Patriarchy and Purity: Natal and the Politics of Zulu Ethnic Consciousness", in L. Vail (ed.), The Creation of Tribalism in Southern Africa, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 228.
 38. Makanya Papers, File 23, KCM 15923. The vacancy created by Sibusisiwe Makanya's resignation was filled by Nokukhanya Bengu Luthuli who took over as teacher from Sibusisiwe, see Peter Rule, Nokukhanya, Mother of Light, (South Africa: The Grail, 1993).
 39. Refer to articles written by Sibusisiwe Makanya: "The problems of a Zulu girl", in Native Teachers' Journal, April, 1931 and "social Needs of Modern Native Life", in South African Outlook, September, 1931.

CHAPTER THREE

STUDENT IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

As secretary of the Purity League and from travelling extensively through the rural areas of Natal and parts of the Transvaal, Sibusisiwe Makanya had entered a hitherto uncharted territory of social work amongst rural African people. Her efforts at working with people and trying to resolve the problems of rural people made her a pioneer in this field.¹ In her quest to further her studies Sibusisiwe would also prove to be a pioneer.

As indicated in Chapters One and Two, the most comprehensive body of evidence on Sibusisiwe Makanya's life prior to her departure to the United States of America, is the Trowbridge biography. Due to the long lapse of time since the death of Sibusisiwe in 1971, there are no direct kith or kin alive today who can give any oral evidence about her early life. Trowbridge remains, therefore, the key source: a source that must be read with circumspection in that it was a construction of a life of an African woman by an American middle class white woman academic. Written into the text of the biography--consciously or unconsciously--are ideological presumptions prevalent in the social era in which Trowbridge had lived and worked. Furthermore, Trowbridge has not separated her "voice" from Sibusisiwe's - it is often difficult to ascertain whose opinion the biography represents. This thesis, which is a construction of Sibusisiwe's life based sometimes on the Trowbridge biography and at times on other sources as referenced, is thus an attempt to comment on and contextualize some of these presumptions. According to Trowbridge, Sibusisiwe was not satisfied in the late 1920s with the results she was getting in her social work with the African youth in particular.² It is highly probable that Sibusisiwe Makanya knew of the various missionary societies in the area in which she was working but she chose to air her desire to study in the US to the ABM. Perhaps the most obvious reason for this could be that since it was to the US that she wanted to go, it was best to talk to missionaries from the ABM. However, her choice of the ABM is an interesting one. The ABM was a familiar missionary society to Sibusisiwe. She attended primary and secondary school and trained as a teacher at Adams College under its auspices. More importantly, however, the ABM was explicitly interested in the welfare and development

of African people. For example, it had been involved in the task of "adapting social service methods to the needs of African people on the Witwatersrand"³; it set up the Talitha Home, which was a rehabilitation centre for African girls convicted and sentenced for delinquent behaviour⁴; it helped set up social centres for urban African men⁵ and it provided "regular weekly exhibitions of selected films gratis to open-air audiences."⁶ The thrust of the ABM was in stark contrast to the Roman Catholic mission in Marianhill, for example.⁷ Ellen Kuzwayo wrote of the Catholicism she encountered there:

For every small mistake a student made, she [the nun] told us we would burn in Hell and that the offender was Satan's child.⁸

Yet Kuzwayo's experience of Adam's College was markedly different. She recalls:

When I entered the gates of Adams College in Amanzimtoti, on the coast south of Durban in Natal, I entered a college which was part of the community which surrounded it.⁹

Even the quality of tuition and instruction imparted at Adams was of great significance to Kuzwayo, who writes:

When firmly established in groups or communities, the sort of values conveyed to us by Mrs Matthews at Adams College sharpen critical faculties and the judgement of daily events and occurrences.¹⁰

However, on the other extreme of views of about the ABM and Adams College in particular, Lily Moya found that it "totally lacked discipline", "morality was wanting", had a "low standard of education" and she preferred an all girls school like Marianhill.¹¹ The ABM's emphasis was on practical learning and the use of the vernacular and might have therefore held a greater attraction for Sibusisiwe. For Sibusisiwe learning in Zulu and improving her Zulu must have been important. Unlike Lily, Sibusisiwe had a different agenda: hers was not one of self realisation and actualisation only like Lily Moya but one of serving the needs of her community as well. ✕

Dr Charles Templeton Loram, Director of Native Education in Natal, heard of Sibusisiwe Makanya's plans and became very interested in Sibusisiwe who was already becoming known as a pioneer in her field. The link between Loram, the ABM and American philanthropic interests in South Africa will become clearer in this chapter. Loram contacted Sibusisiwe, learnt more about her plans and secured a scholarship for her from the Phelps Stoke Foundation (PSF). The PSF was made possible by a sensitive, deeply religious and widely travelled woman, called Caroline Phelps Stokes. She was a wealthy woman from a wealthy family who remained unmarried by choice and invested her energies and money into various charitable and philanthropic projects.¹² The seventeenth clause of her will read in part that a portion of her money be used "for educational purposes in the education of Negroes both in Africa and the US, North American Indians and needy and deserving white students."¹³ In terms of the will of Caroline Phelps Stokes, a gathering of the persons named as Trustees in the will met in New York in 1910, Dr Thomas Jesse Jones was the Educational Director of the Foundation.¹⁴ The Committee of Trustees resolved that the PSF would have a special, but not exclusive, interest in "Negro" education and that it would work through existing philanthropic institutions as far as possible.

The policies of the PSF were largely determined by the ideals of Caroline Phelps Stokes, the founder. These ideals were:

that the human soul is eternal. All people are the children of God and not one must be lost if love can give them salvation. Colour, condition or nationality were no bar to her efforts to help...She sought to do her work through education, co-operation and development of sympathy in human relationships.¹⁵

Evident in these commendable ideals was a combination of the spirit of religion and a practical interest in some of the problems of the world. Nowhere in her will or in her writings is reference made to "educational adaptation." This phrase was coined by the Foundation's Director, T.J. Jones who was known as an important American sociologist. According to Jones, educational adaptation essentially meant adapting education to meet the

needs of a particular community; these needs were determined by Jones.¹⁶ When applied to "Negro" education, educational adaptation translated into industrial schools and vocational training for "Negroes". The net result was that Jones used the PSF as his backing to propagate his ideas of educational adaptation and eventually, Jones's ideas of educational adaptation came to be seen as synonymous with the PSF.

The Trustees of the PSF were of the "belief that every possible effort should be made to prepare the students in the southern universities and colleges to approach the Negro problem in a broad-minded, scientific manner."¹⁷ To this end fellowships were awarded to students in the American southern tertiary institutions such as University of Georgia, Virginia and the Peabody Teachers College. Phelps Stokes fellowships expected students to pursue research work concerning black Americans in the South. The activities and concerns of the PSF extended to Africa after the Peace Conference of Versailles in 1919. The mandate system, which was the sharing of ex-enemy territories amongst members of the League of Nations, "raised the whole question of the purpose of European nations in Africa."¹⁸ and although the US was not part of the this mandate system, there was a willingness amongst American philanthropy "to advise and subsidise those who had received mandates."¹⁹ The PSF sent two commissions to West, South and Equatorial Africa in 1920 and 1923 to assess the education of Africans there. The chairman of these commissions and Educational Director of the PSF, T.J. Jones, was of the opinion that the Foundation's knowledge of "Negro conditions" (and a few vocational and industrial schools in the southern states of America) was the blueprint that was applicable to Africans and education of Africans.

The effect of the PSF commissioners' probe into African education was profound and far reaching. Firstly, it included important and influential persons as its commissioners. For South Africa and Natal in particular, these included Major Hans Vischer who was Secretary of the British Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa. This Committee was a body representing "the missionary societies, the public schools, and the administration, and its work was to be a sort of liaison between the State and the missions."²⁰ The other person was Dr C.T. Loram

who was both a Native Affairs Commissioner and Director of Native Education (Natal) in South Africa.²¹ The network of contacts of these two individuals included influential missionary leaders and colonial officials. According to Jones's blueprint, Hampton Institute and Tuskegee Institute, both were industrial and vocational schools, became models to be emulated in Africa and Jones believed that this could be best realised by getting "missionaries and officials from Africa to see the American south for themselves."²² Consequently, there were a number of visits to the American south by officials concerned with African education and race relations. Included among the people who visited the American south in this context were a few players in Sibusisiwe Makanya's life. They included Dr Rheinallt Jones, President of the S.A.I.R.R., and his wife, Edith R. Jones, who was intricately linked with the establishment of YWCAs in South Africa, Dr Matthews, who was Natal's inspector of schools, and Dr Loram, himself.

It can be seen therefore, that the Phelps Stokes Commissions "were not only commissions of enquiry but equally commissions to popularise a particular educational system."²³ The PSF-funded education tours for African guests to the U.S.A. were carefully arranged by Jones. Kenneth James King states that:

Jones does seem to have been somewhat over-anxious lest his visitors should take a different view of Negro education, and indeed of the whole Negro situation in the States, from his own.²⁴

To this end, from 1926 onwards, he allocated what he thought were appropriate books on race problems for Africans visiting America and prepared a select bibliography²⁵ which offered the reader a "one-sided interpretation of Negro education and politics."²⁶ Views of writers such as W.E.B. du Bois and others who countered the educational adaptation model, views of writers inspired by communism and socialism were seen as disruptive and even misguided. In addition to this, developments in India, where British educational systems had produced Indian intellectuals who wanted home rule for India, demonstrated the problems that could ensue when similar education systems were established from the mother country

into the colony. Jones was determined that what he saw as the mistake with education in India was not to be repeated in Africa.²⁷ The African visitors' itinerary would include a visit to Penn School, the Tuskegee or Hampton Institutes or both, and a few other hand picked schools. Depending on the status of the visitor and the length of the stay, a lecture tour might be arranged to Atlanta University or University of Georgia and interviews could be arranged with Mabel Carney of Teachers College, Columbia. Carney's lectures on rural sociology and psychology were especially recommended by the PSF.²⁸

The cost of an undertaking of this nature, where people were to be transported between America and Africa with their expenses paid, was a strain on the financial resources of the PSF. This constraint was obviated in May 1926 when a sum of 35 000 dollars was donated to the PSF by the Rockefeller Board earmarked "for general African purposes."²⁹ The net effect of this entire exercise of trans-Atlantic visits by educationists between Africa and America then was the creation of what can be called an educational and race relations intelligentsia-cum-bureaucracy between South Africa and America.

Sibusisiwe Makanya could not have been aware of this development of relations between South Africa and America at this point. In 1927, after expressing her hope to study in the US to the American Board missionaries, according to Trowbridge, "Sibusisiwe prayed to God" that her plans might materialise: that she would be given the opportunity to go to the US, study the various subjects she wanted to and then return to her country to serve her people.³⁰ Once again I must draw from Trowbridge about the details regarding Sibusisiwe's impending departure for the US and I must at the same time contextualize Trowbridge and try to unpack the assumptions inherent in her narrative. What follows now is my summation of the explanation and description of Trowbridge's "voice" about Sibusisiwe's plans and preparations to study in the US:

Once again Sibusisiwe Makanya found herself the centre of gossip and controversy in Umbumbulu. Her parents were extremely proud that they had such a capable daughter. Her kith and neighbours, however,

opposed her plans. The entire community of Umbumbulu discussed the issue and asked Nxele to withdraw his consent and blessing. They told him that he was foolish to allow a girl to do such a daring thing. It was hard when sons went to Johannesburg but they were men. Sibusisiwe was a woman, she needed the guardianship of her father against the evils in New York and New York, they argued, was so much bigger than Johannesburg. Nxele refused to budge. Their alternate attack was that he, Nxele, was losing *lobola* which he must expect to receive. After all, was that not the advantage of having daughters? But all her parents said was that they had given their consent and blessings to Sibusisiwe.³¹

It is difficult to verify Trowbridge's version by reference to other sources about just how vociferous was the community's objection to Sibusisiwe Makanya's plan to go abroad. Interviews with Hamilton Makanya, who was a cousin of Sibusisiwe and also the first African inspector of schools, do not extend to how the community viewed Sibusisiwe's plans to go abroad. Hamilton Makanya's representation of Sibusisiwe is a crucial lens through which she can be viewed because his is an extremely critical version of Sibusisiwe and her work and the past, as well as this project on Sibusisiwe's life, must be the result of competing negotiated versions of what happened.

However, there exists presumptions in Trowbridge's explanation that must be unpacked. Why did Trowbridge present this particular point of view about the Umbumbulu community? Who did she envisage to be her audience? Part of the answer could well be that Sibusisiwe discussed the difficulties she had before leaving for the US with Myrtle Trowbridge. Part of our understanding as to why a white American woman academic would present the position of an unmarried daughter, the objection to her personal independent career choice by her community and why she would equate Zulu women to cattle could well be found in Jennifer A. Seif's enlightening essay on the ABM and their work among the Zulu people of Natal.³³ Seif discusses various issues but her discussion on *lobola* and the American missionaries' perception of the enslavement of Zulu women and the filtering of these perceptions to American audiences in the US, suggests that the same thinking could well have shaped Trowbridge's perception as to why

the Umbumbulu community reacted the way she describes. It could well be that this was the audience for which Trowbridge was writing, an audience fed with American Board missionaries' opinions which could well have been an elision of observations so that only that which the ABM wished to propagate was propagated within American philanthropic circles. It is also ironic that the community which Sibusisiwe wanted to serve would reject her decision and her right to make an independent choice.

Whatever the reasons for this emphasis in Trowbridge's account, it is clear that all the furore of the community deeply touched Sibusisiwe Makanya. She wanted to be absolutely sure that she was doing the right thing. She contacted a relative of her mother whom she admired greatly. John Langalibelele Dube, Head of Ohlange Institute, was the "Booker T. Washington of South Africa".³⁴ He was widely known as the first president of the South African Native National Congress. In 1913, Dube led a black delegation to Great Britain to oppose the Native Land Act of 1913. He received his early education at Inanda and was taken by a missionary to America. He lived in the US between 1889 and 1892 and 1896 and 1899 - he was educated at Oberlin, Ohio. Sibusisiwe received great encouragement from Dube who convinced her never to let this opportunity to study abroad slip. Trowbridge explains that Dube's chief reason for going to America was to prepare himself to help elevate his own people. She writes:

He had seen the superiority of the educated American missionaries over the native workers. He had reasoned that if he could have the American education, he would be able to do more for his own people than foreigners could do because he knew their habits, customs and nature.³⁵

Some of the assumptions that could be unpicked from Trowbridge's "voice" here are that, firstly African people are a backward people and need American missionary education or assistance for development and betterment. Secondly, she infers that American education is superior and beneficial for Africans and thirdly, her suggestion that Dube could best help his own people because of his insider status smacks of Jones' educational adaptation scheme where "Negroes" who could become leaders of their people be given guidance and sent to selected colleges and universities.³⁶

We learn from Trowbridge that apart from encouraging Sibusisiwe to take the PSF scholarship, Dube also advised her that life in America would not be easy. She should control her quick temper and ignore the times when Americans laughed at things she said. He tried to prepare her for the culture shock she would encounter.

It was indeed an enormous step that Sibusisiwe Makanya was taking. From rural Umbumbulu to cosmopolitan New York was a major shift. She was going to have to make great adjustments. The most immediate change was to be the climate. Dube advised her about clothes, warning her that she would need very warm clothes for the cold winters and cool clothes for summer. At this juncture it is crucial to reflect how courageous Sibusisiwe must have been. She could not possibly know just how cold the winters in America were, the climate of Durban and surrounding areas is so mild that the weather is never really a point for even mundane conversations because it is so much taken for granted. Living with Americans who could not really have known the cultural background from which she hailed and Sibusisiwe in trying to become accustomed to American cultural habits would have to adjust very rapidly. In order to illustrate his points further, Trowbridge writes that, Dube recounted to Sibusisiwe an incident that happened when he landed in Boston. He was taken by members of the ABM to lunch at a hotel, he had never been inside a hotel before. The lunch went well but disaster struck when dessert was served. The ice cream looked and smelled delicious and he thought it was some kind of pudding. Trowbridge quotes Dube, "I took a spoonful of it and then jumped out of my chair, almost upsetting the table at which were seated several other people who thought I was insane. I had never in my life tasted anything so cold."³⁷ Trowbridge narrates that both Sibusisiwe and Dube laughed and that Sibusisiwe understood exactly what Dube was preparing her for. It was not only different foods but dining in a cosmopolitan hotel with white hosts that was ✧ a new experience. Sibusisiwe was going to America in the 1920s a period referred to as the "roaring twenties" and the affluence and flair of the period must have influenced her since she was to be the guest of middle class white Americans. Sibusisiwe was to find contradictions in the US: race relations between whites and blacks was different in the north and south of America.

She was to enjoy greater freedom in the north than in the south during her sojourn in the US.

Back in Umbumbulu there were frantic preparations for Sibusisiwe Makanya to go to America. Her father bought her a portmanteau to hold her belongings and her mother helped her make clothes and accessories. Trowbridge explains that the community had soon forgotten their opposition to Sibusisiwe's plan to go abroad. The clothes and costumes that we adorn are like masks that we present to the world. Today so much is made of non-verbal communications, about the statements that our clothes make and our actions and wardrobes are read to give a clue as to who we are and perhaps where we are going. When this is applied to Sibusisiwe and her stay in the US, clothes were indeed of great importance. Apart from packing away clothes that she would need for daily use, Sibusisiwe also took "traditional outfits", beads and other African accessories. This was to be extremely useful for her speaking tours on African life. A photograph of Sibusisiwe in "traditional dress" appears in Shula Marks, Not Either an Experimental Doll. This picture shows Sibusisiwe's deliberate construction of what was "traditional dress". In Chapter Two mention was made of the traditional dress of the rural women who Sibusisiwe had met during her teaching career. We know that the descriptions there, where rural women in some areas wore only a skin as a skirt and numerous beads around their necks, ankles and wrists, is in sharp contrast to the "Zulu traditional dress" depicted by Sibusisiwe. There are, however, similarities in Sibusisiwe's construction of the "traditional Zulu dress" and the sort of costumes that African women wore - this can be seen in photographs of the Native African Choir which sang before Queen Victoria at Osborn in Margaret McCord's book The Calling of Katie Makanya. This was the first African choir to visit England and they sang at Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebration in the Crystal Palace in 1891. What is also interesting is that both Sibusisiwe and the women of the Choir were Christian African women. In Sibusisiwe's picture we see a fully clad woman with some bead work bracelets, headbands, anklets, necklaces and belt. The "dress" is cleverly modified not to shock American Christian audiences by having all the body except the arms and upper portion of the shoulders covered. Interestingly, while it is an African costume it has suggestions of fashions of the "Great Gatsby", especially in

relation to the way in which the strings of beads are arranged as headbands and the swinging necklace. Clothing, costume and representation are crucial themes in an understanding of the public persona of Sibusisiwe, especially as she matured and lived in Umbumbulu. While all other women covered their hair with scarves Sibusisiwe wore make-up and went around with her hair long and uncovered.

Everyone wished Sibusisiwe Makanya well and many families and relatives came to see her set sail for America from Durban harbour. She sailed in mid 1927 in a steamer of the Union Castle Line, Nxele's former employer. Trowbridge comments that it was a heartbreaking goodbye and Sibusisiwe was sea sick all the way to Cape Town and only when she walked on the docks there that she began to feel well. The trip across the Atlantic Ocean to Southampton was long. She had a travelling companion, Amelia Njongwana, who like Sibusisiwe was also on a PSF scholarship to study in America. From Trowbridge we learn that Sibusisiwe kept busy by reading and sewing clothes that were incomplete and that she loved looking at the constellation of the stars, the flying fish, the jumping porpoises, the birds and the whales. It is probable that Sibusisiwe must have reflected on how different this journey by sea was. It was indeed her first journey by ship. If one traces just the physical journey of Sibusisiwe from the small rural district of Umbumbulu to the developing city of Durban and its harbour in the Indian Ocean to the oldest sea port of South Africa, Cape Town, and then across the Atlantic ocean to the port of Southampton in England, one cannot miss the superimposition of a physical broadening of her horizon and a metaphorical broadening of her horizon. The rest of this chapter will in many ways detail this broadening of Sibusisiwe's horizon which was facilitated by her stay in the US.

For Sibusisiwe Makanya's journey from England to America, Trowbridge informs us that at Southampton she transferred to a Cunard Liner for America. We learn from Trowbridge that Sibusisiwe experienced terrific storms at sea and recalled her life at Umbumbulu and all the people she knew. But as they sailed into New York she was thrilled to see the Statue of Liberty. The long sea journey was over. Another journey had begun, a journey that was to affect the course of her life. Sibusisiwe and Amelia

Njongwana, both experienced teachers, were to be taken to Penn School in the American south to observe how this 'model for African education', in Loram's opinion, functioned. Trowbridge again informs us that Sibusisiwe was deeply hurt when Americans laughed as she pronounced her mother's name with the clicks. She was grateful to Dube for his forewarning and drew strength from his stories.

It is crucial at this juncture to explore the reasons and motives for the apparent answer to Sibusisiwe Makanya's prayer to study in the US. For while she considered herself fortunate for the opportunity to go abroad and study in the US, Sibusisiwe was oblivious to a greater scheme of African education where she was viewed as an important part. A principal theme underlying education for Africans in South Africa between the two world wars was a belief that the black school system of the American south constituted a suitable model for Africa.³⁸ Loram was the principal figure amongst other white liberals in South Africa in the 1920s and 1930s who wanted to educate Africans within a framework tailored to the needs of the emerging settler system and he played a vital role in Sibusisiwe Makanya's journey to the USA and her subsequent career.³⁹ At this time African education was almost synonymous with missionary education and the most influential missionary group in Natal was the ABM. During his American visits, Loram observed educational methods that drew heavily on the American experience with black schooling and then undertook studies at Columbia University where he developed an interest in the education of black Americans and forged links with proponents of Jones' educational adaptation.

Loram also corresponded with Booker T. Washington, a prominent black American educator and leader, and observed what was accomplished at Tuskegee. He also visited the Hampton Institute, Virginia Union University, and a number of smaller black schools in Alabama, Maryland and Virginia.⁴⁰ This was in keeping with the itinerary of the PSF scholarships and Loram was a guest of the PSF. His duration of study at Columbia University and his interest and links with people concerned with education of black Americans led, on his return to South Africa, to his becoming a member of the Phelps Stokes African Education Commission and later--in

the 1920s and early 1930s--he became a member of the Board of the Carnegie Corporation. Both these organisations had major philanthropic interests in South Africa. Loram's links with these organisations projected him into the international arena. He was regarded as an expert on "native education" and "native affairs" and became very closely linked with the PSF and its activities in Africa.

Loram's educational philosophy was grounded in his membership of a settler minority in South Africa which had roots in British colonial thought and practise, infused with a large component of American derived ideas.⁴¹ Richard Hunt Davis Jr, in his excellent article about Loram's views on African education explains that two premises underlay Loram's thinking: firstly, that whites would continue to rule and Africans would continue to be ruled and secondly, that Africans were a rural people and that their future lay in the countryside.⁴² Similar to others who were liberal and segregationist simultaneously, Loram saw the cities as largely the preserve of whites and viewed urban life as a vehicle for the debasement and demoralisation of Africans.

For Loram the problem with African education was that it was too academic and therefore unrelated to the needs of the African people. His argument was synchronised with Jones's educational adaptation policy for "Negroes" in the American south. Loram argued that the needs of the colonial economy was that whites were to be white collar workers and Africans were expected to perform manual and agricultural work. Central objectives of Loram's educational policy were: elementary education for every African child; emphasis on character training, the vernacular, health and hygiene and other practical subjects; teacher training for a limited number of students; special schools for men and women to be trained as farm and home demonstrators, respectively. Subjects such as algebra, geometry and translation ought to be dropped because they supposedly had no bearing on African life. Loram considered college training necessary for a few students who would contribute to the upliftment of their own people.⁴³ It is, perhaps, easier now to understand why Loram was so keen to ensure that Sibusisiwe Makanya's plans to study in the US and then return to South Africa to help

her people would materialise. To accomplish these ends Loram turned to the "Jeanes system" in the US.

Just as the PSF was founded by a woman, the Jeanes system too was made possible by a woman named Anna T. Jeanes, who had donated money for the establishment of a Jeanes Fund "to be used in training travelling teachers for Native schools who would demonstrate new methods and instruct the teachers."⁴⁴ The Jeanes system originated in Virginia in 1908 with the employment of Virginia E. Randolph as a supervising teacher for rural schools.⁴⁵ The familiar tale of the lack of funds for educational purposes was the reason for the lack of training of thousands of rural teachers in the US. Visiting teachers, whose salaries were paid by private philanthropy, was a solution to the problem. School was now transformed from being an institution with books and chalkboard to one where the rural community was involved in workshops about the everyday tasks of domestic and farm/agricultural work.⁴⁶

In transporting the Jeanes system to South Africa its sponsors must have recognised some differences that had to be sorted out. Firstly, in South Africa the provincial governments were to pay the salaries of the teachers and not private philanthropy, and secondly in South Africa most African teachers were male while in the US Jeanes teachers were all black women. In the late 1920s there were simply not enough African women teachers to replicate the US system. Loram thought that "it would be a breach of etiquette for women to assume positions of authority over men."⁴⁷ Despite this sexist thinking of Loram, unlike the US there was no pool of experienced teachers in South Africa between the two world wars. These prospective teachers would have to be especially trained. It is somewhat difficult to reconcile Loram's support of two women teachers, Sibusisiwe Makanya and Amelia Njongwana, for training as Jeanes teachers given his standpoint. However, the PSF could have perhaps supported Sibusisiwe Makanya and Njongwana because they were women and it wanted to get more African women involved because of the American experience which was the standard for assessment. In the African experience, Jeanes teachers were male and female couples who went into remote areas of Africa to work: the male was the head teacher and his wife was the assistant.

Evidently the Loram-type mentality stressing women's inferiority, prevailed in Africa. It was to Penn School, South Carolina that Loram turned: this was "the model school for Jeanesising African education."⁴⁸ It was to Penn School at St Helena Island near Frogmore, South Carolina that Sibusisiwe Makanya and her travelling companion Amelia Njongwana were taken by representatives of the PSF on their arrival in America. Sibusisiwe spent five months observing community work done in the school and in the surrounding area and the educational techniques employed by the staff of Penn.

Penn School was an industrial school in the American south where teachers and students were devoted to the problem of improving conditions of the "Negro". Sibusisiwe Makanya felt that there was nothing there for her to learn, nothing that she could apply to her special problem. Sibusisiwe's objective was to undertake study in the US and learn techniques on how to prepare her people to adapt to the encroachment of urbanisation and industrialisation. While she learnt much from the programme of Penn School that she could use later on in her social work in rural communities, she was dissatisfied with the thrust of training at Penn. Davis writes that "for Makanya and Njongwana the school quickly proved to offer intellectual training far below what they sought."⁴⁹ In Penn School "Negroes" were taught to become farmers, carpenters, dyers, tool makers, cooks, seamstresses. Sibusisiwe knew that the community she wished to serve had to prepare for the change from rural to urban life. Unlike Loram, she did not see Africans as a rural people whose future lay in the countryside. Rather she envisaged Africans moving into urban areas in increasing numbers for employment. The effects of the migrant labour system were already apparent in the rural areas that she had visited and even in the region of Umbumbulu itself, and Sibusisiwe was convinced that cities had to accommodate families of men and women who worked there. "This example was symptomatic of the growing divorce between colonial policy and African aspirations."⁵⁰ Clearly then, Loram had miscalculated in assuming that both Penn School would be suitable and that Sibusisiwe would accept whatever he had planned, fitting like a cog in the wheel of his system.

Sibusisiwe Makanya's [and Njongwana's] rejection of the agenda of Penn School dealt a severe blow to both the PSF's "hopes for training a cadre of 'good Africans' in the US" and it showed "the essential bankruptcy of Loram's dreams for transforming Africa with 'a thousand Penns'."⁵¹ The latter is also borne out in the interview with Hamilton Makanya who said that "Loram wanted us all to go to Penn for training."⁵² Sibusisiwe had written to a friend, Mr Lightner, who was a Congregational minister in Los Angeles about her feelings on Penn and the involvement of this friend lent weight to Sibusisiwe's views because he was also friends with Jones and the PSF. Sibusisiwe's views had upset Loram's applecart and so bitter was his disappointment that he had written to the PSF suggesting that Sibusisiwe repay the money she had received from the Fund but the PSF's President thought this to be too vindictive. Sibusisiwe's newly found American supporters, especially Lightner wrote to Mr Phelps Stokes stating that given the experience Sibusisiwe had already had in social work and given that she was a pioneer in her field in South Africa she "should be given the privilege of at least advising with the Fund as to what course she shall take."⁵⁴ This also suggests that Sibusisiwe had made an impact in her idea about the inevitability of some permanent urbanisation or migration of Africans to the city and thus contesting Loram's stance that the city was the preserve of whites. It appears that Lightner's letter had levelled the field somewhat for Sibusisiwe because the Fund continued to support her for the duration of her year's stay - she spent the second half of her year at Tuskegee Institute. The PSF also helped Sibusisiwe when she had severed ties with it by helping arrange her a visa for a longer stay in the US.

At this point I must again return to my discourse about sources and evidence and the gaps and silences that I have had to grapple with in my construction of Sibusisiwe's life. Careful study of the notes of references in Richard Hunt Davis Jr's articles⁵⁵ and the archival material to which Kenneth James King⁵⁶ had access, are crucial for a clearer understanding of what happened to Sibusisiwe Makanya and how she responded. These sources are housed with various collections in the US and therefore not accessible to me for the purposes of this project.

Nuances gleaned from Davis's notes in his article "Producing the 'good African' ", for example, indicate that there was tension between Sibusisiwe and the staff of Penn School. What could the source of this tension have been? Perhaps it could have been teaching methodology, the content of the syllabus or perhaps it could have been an issue far more sensitive. It is possible that the staff of Penn School, particularly the white members of the staff, were unaware of the differences between Africans from Africa and the black Americans with whom they were familiar. This difference is essentially that the black Americans had been snatched away from Africa during the heyday of the trans-Atlantic slave-trade and many believe that they had been stripped of their dignity and humanity, moulded into inferior beings which they generally internalised and after the abolition of slavery had to be rehabilitated so that they could take their place as equals in [white] society. In contrast, Sibusisiwe was a member of the Makanya clan which was treated like royalty in Umbumbulu, had transcended established gender roles in her community by shunning marriage and embarking on a career in teaching and had crossed boundaries both literally and figuratively as the first Zulu woman to undertake studies in the US after establishing herself as a pioneer in social work amongst rural Africans in Natal. She had not been subdued by racism, oppression and slavery to be docile and meek, in fact Dube had to warn her to control her quick temper. Sibusisiwe's psychological make up, deduced from all this, must be very different from the many black Americans at Penn School. The fact that one of very few African women in the U.S.A. underscores this. If there was any condescension from the white staff of Penn or the PSF or Loram towards Sibusisiwe, it is likely that she would have construed it as an affront and this could well have been the tension to which Davis alludes.

Sibusisiwe Makanya left Penn and went to Tuskegee Institute thereby breaking links with Loram and this decision of hers was instrumental in there never being a Jeanes training centre in South Africa.⁵⁷ According to King, Jones's masterplan for a continent wide adoption of the Jeanes system resulted in him outlining for every African colony a particular school/schools to be Jeanesized, and South African schools were to be "reorientated through Loram."⁵⁸ Loram's dream of a "thousand Penns" never materialised. There was a total of only eight Jeanes training centres in

Africa: one in Kenya, two in Northern Rhodesia, two in Southern Rhodesia, one in Zanzibar and one in Mozambique. In South Africa "Loram conducted Jeanes vacation courses for white and black teachers in African schools" but the system did not really take root in the region.⁵⁹ Loram blamed several things for this: the first was the Makanya and Njongwana affair at Penn School; the second was that the South African government opposed the system for many reasons and the third was that there was not a suitable existing school that lent itself for conversion into a Jeanes training centre.⁶⁰

It is important at this point to compare Sibusisiwe Makanya's plans for African education and Loram's ambition for Jeanesizing African schools. The developments within South Africa were different to those of the eight African countries which had Jeanes training centres. The difference was that in South Africa the mineral revolution, the discovery of diamonds and the long distance migration system created especially after the discovery of gold, demanded the creation of an African working class at a scale unknown in the rest of south or east Africa. The 1913 Land Act and the creation of reserves forced most Africans into reserves where it was not possible for them to subsist. One of the results was that large numbers of Africans went to the mines in search of work, this was of-course the intention of the reserves and the land legislation. Sibusisiwe had already seen, first hand, the effects of the migrant labour system on families and communities in the course of her social work. She, therefore, wanted an education system that would equip Africans to deal with this urbanisation. Loram, on the other hand, viewed Africans essentially as a rural people and his Jeanes system of education was to train rural Africans to live a better quality of life and keep them in the rural areas. Loram, it seems, was unaware of the incongruity of his plans for Africans: on the one hand the Union government was taking land away from Africans and forcing them onto reserves, locations or homelands where it was impossible to eke out a subsistence and Loram wanted to keep Africans on that same reserve, location or homeland.⁶¹ The differing perceptions of what constituted appropriate education for Africans as demonstrated here between Sibusisiwe and Loram was really the seeds of the education debate that lay in the future. Even at this early stage in South Africa's development, it is

already clear that education was destined to be a site of struggle in our history.

In compliance with her scholarship agreement with the PSF, Sibusisiwe Makanya moved on to Tuskegee Institute. Trowbridge writes that Sibusisiwe was overwhelmed by the physical size of the place and recalled later that Washington's spirit was still the most vital force at Tuskegee.⁶² Tuskegee Institute was developed by Booker T(aliafero) Washington, the most influential spokesman for black Americans between 1895 and 1915.⁶³ From humble beginnings of only two small converted buildings, no equipment and little money to more than 100 well-equipped buildings, some 1500 students, a faculty of nearly 200 teaching 38 trades and professions and an endowment of about 2 million dollars in 34 years, Tuskegee Institute became a monument to Booker T. Washington's life and his theories.⁶⁴ Washington held the view that it was in the best interests of black people in post-Reconstruction America to pursue an education in the crafts and industrial skills and the cultivation of the virtues of patience, enterprise and thrift. His fellow black Americans were therefore urged to shelve their struggle for full civil rights and political power and re-channel their energies to cultivate their farming and industrial skills thereby attaining economic security. He accepted racial segregation and discrimination in the belief that once blacks had acquired wealth and "culture" they would win the respect and acceptance of the white community. He was strongly criticised by W.E.B. du Bois who deplored Washington's emphasis on "vocational skills to the detriment of academic development."⁶⁵ Despite this criticism, Washington and his Institute were deemed "worthy" to benefit from government patronage and white philanthropic support.

Trowbridge's narrative informs us that within a week of her arrival at Tuskegee, Sibusisiwe Makanya was depressed; the institution was so different from anything she had known and she was thoroughly homesick. We learn from another source that while she may have been depressed and homesick, Sibusisiwe found Tuskegee to be more beneficial than Penn but "found it wanting and expressed a desire to move on to urban social work."⁶⁶ This decision as has been discussed earlier in this chapter, was

diametrically opposed to the projected goals of the PSF and Loram. Jones saw Tuskegee Institute (and Hampton Institute) as a shelter which would quarantine Africans from the American "Negro" intelligentsia which deplored educational adaptation and the white domination it subtly supported. Of course, Sibusisiwe was not alone in her discontent. There were other African students in the States who shared this restlessness that Sibusisiwe experienced. There were two categories of Africans who came to Tuskegee: one group was content with Tuskegee and the other was not. One interesting African student was Professor Simbini Nkomo who was also a lecturer in history at Tuskegee from 1920-1924. I find Nkomo interesting because of his prophetic open proclamation in 1923 to his "Negro" American brethren: 'The South African Native will rule South Africa. The world will hear from the "Bantus"; and it will not be a joke. I may be dead, ... others may be dead, but the world will hear from the "Bantus" .⁶⁷ Understandably, Jones considered such sentiment "dangerous" and "radical" and it became more urgent than ever that "good Africans" be produced by educational adaptation. Despite the preventative efforts of Jones the ambiguity remained that even such colleges as were monitored by him could produce radical thinkers even if it did not intend it.

On returning to Sibusisiwe Makanya's sojourn at Tuskegee, the bent of Trowbridge's narrative is interesting. Trowbridge continues that Sibusisiwe's resilience and her determination to make good for her people in Umbumbulu uplifted her. She drew inspiration from the rich history of Tuskegee. Sibusisiwe must have had access to the selected bibliography that Jones had prepared for African visitors to the American south and it is likely that this was how she came to read Booker T. Washington's biography, Up from Slavery. She learnt that in 1881 Washington invited "Negro" men to Tuskegee to discuss their problems. The response was greater than anyone expected. They discussed living conditions, schools for their children, the bad morals in their localities, farming and the crops they raised and how they had managed to free their debts. This meeting became an annual affair. Mrs Margaret Murray Washington decided to do something for the "Negro" women. They were invited to attend meetings on Saturdays and this became a Saturday weekly women's meeting. Here Mrs Washington gave lessons in dressmaking, canning of fruit, how to raise poultry, mothercraft, wholesome

amusement for children and the cultivation of "good morals" among young girls. This was an open forum discussion for any issues women wanted to raise. Mrs Washington also began holding meetings in the countryside and this experiment too met with great success. Trowbridge comments that the endeavours of Mrs Washington made a deep impression upon Sibusisiwe - this was something she could start in Umbumbulu. Inherent in Trowbridge's narrative is an emphasis on welfare and forbearance, an altruistic dedication that totally ignores any political motives. This narrative is in perfect unison with Jones's ambition of producing the "good African", where selected potential African leaders are brought to the American south, expected to imbibe the philosophical and practical considerations of Tuskegee and return to Africa and develop their communities along similar lines.

The issue of religion at Tuskegee impressed Sibusisiwe Makanya. Although Booker T. Washington was of the Baptist Church, he was opposed to rivalry among denominations. Trowbridge explains that Sibusisiwe's visits to the chapel with Mrs Phelps Stokes were remarkable. She was moved by the pictures in the chapel window panes. The symbolism of the Three Magi--a white man, a black man and a yellow man--united in adoration of the Christ child left her with great hope and a deep conviction. She later recalled that she had hoped to make this symbolism bear fruit in Natal in a different way.

Her first year in the US had come to an end. Assessed as a formative first year that set the dye into the fabric of the remaining time that Sibusisiwe was to spend in America as she grappled with the challenges of race relations between both herself and white American philanthropy and "radical" aspiration of "Negro" Americans. Her views about Penn School and Tuskegee Institute had turned on its head the plans of the PSF and Loram in their pursuit of producing the "good African". It is probable that white American philanthropy and proponents of educational adaptation had heard of Sibusisiwe Makanya and had perhaps formed views of her before meeting her. It is equally true that Sibusisiwe had independently made a select circle of friends and supporters within philanthropic and missionary networks in America, one such friend was Minister Lightner, of the Congregational Church, L.A., who spoke on her behalf to Jones when

the trouble in Penn brewed over. Sibusisiwe's scholarship with the PSF had terminated but she wanted to stay on in the US because she felt that she had not yet received the training for which she had originally come to the US. Trowbridge informs us that Sibusisiwe was aware that the PSF had brought students from other parts of Africa to study in the US and did not want to impose on them any further. There is no mention at all of the problems Sibusisiwe had with the PSF. It has been established in this chapter, by drawing on other sources, that Sibusisiwe perhaps parted ways with the PSF for reasons other than those suggested by Trowbridge. Sibusisiwe was sensitive and perceptive enough to have deconstructed in her own way the goals of Loram and the PSF and concluded that the sort of assistance that she had received in her first year had too many strings attached to it, strings by which she was not prepared to be tied. She informed the Foundation of her intentions to stay on longer in the US and attend college - she also explained to them that she would work for her tuition and living expenses.

Sibusisiwe Makanya's Congregational friends recommended that she attend the Schauffler College of Religious and Social Education in Cleveland, Ohio. Her choice of Schauffler must be contextualized. Firstly, it was "a small bible training school with some interest in the social phases of religion as applied to urban conditions" and on the surface, it sounded as though it would suit her needs.⁶⁸ Furthermore, it was recommended by her friends and it is possible that Sibusisiwe, who had just severed ties with the PSF and the security and support it had provided, did not want to alienate her newly found American support because then she really would have been alone in America. Secondly, and more importantly perhaps, Schauffler College was not in the American south and it was not one of the colleges that Jones or the PSF would recommend to their African students. [See appendix for map]. It therefore did not propound educational adaptation theories.

Trowbridge informs us that Sibusisiwe Makanya made her way to Cleveland, Ohio on her own and was admitted to the College. It was after being admitted that she explained her financial situation and informed them that she hoped to find work at the College. She was assigned the job of cleaning toilets and bathrooms. What could Sibusisiwe have thought and felt when she was assigned the most menial work at the College? Recall that

Sibusisiwe was a member of the Makanya clan of Umbumbulu who were treated with great respect by the community.⁶⁹ She had just severed ties with the PSF because of their differentiation in education for whites and blacks and had expected to find things better in the North. We have only Trowbridge who can shed light on the questions raised here. Trowbridge writes in her biography that Sibusisiwe tried to hide her disappointment and drew courage from her knowledge of Booker T. Washington. She recalled that he had travelled 400 miles to Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute and earned his tuition and lodging by sweeping the floor and working as janitor. Trowbridge states that Sibusisiwe felt that her situation paralleled Washington's and this gave her courage, so much so that Sibusisiwe used to sing as she scrubbed the toilets and bathrooms of Schauffler College.⁷⁰

Sibusisiwe Makanya kept no diaries or journals about her year's stay in Schauffler or indeed of her stay in America. The first recorded recollection of Sibusisiwe Makanya about her stay at Schauffler was when interviewed by Trowbridge in the 1950s and from this biography we know of how she spent her days there. Throughout the week Sibusisiwe would attend lectures, study alone, complete her job of cleaning toilets and bathrooms and on Sundays she would attend services and meetings of various churches. It was during these church meetings that Sibusisiwe made contacts with many people and was invited to their homes. She began creating a network of support for her project and an audience that was eager to learn about Zulu culture and Africa. She accepted invitations to speak at young people's meetings and missionary societies. Sometimes she dressed in her traditional Zulu dress and spoke about life in Umbumbulu. The impact of an African woman in traditional dress talking about life in the kraals to an American audience fed with select information by the ABM must have been profound because Sibusisiwe was invited to speak to numerous societies and clubs. This had a two pronged effect: it helped Sibusisiwe cope with homesickness and it began generating a fair sum of money in terms of fees and donations.

Black American intellectuals, who opposed Jones's educational adaptation, and exemplary Africans such as Dr Aggrey of the Gold Coast counted

among their *alma maters* institutes such as Teachers College, Columbia University, Harvard University, Livingstone College and Union Seminary, New York. Interestingly these institutes were all in the northern states of America. Those Africans in the 1920s who were disenchanted with Tuskegee, rejected the PSF's recommendations for alternatives such as Hampton Institute or even Georgia or Atlanta Universities and turned to Teachers College, Columbia University.⁷¹ Sibusisiwe Makanya now coveted the ambition to make enough money to pay for her expenses at Columbia University. Sibusisiwe, Trowbridge informs us, was keen to learn from Mabel Carney, Head of Rural Psychology and Sociology at Columbia, and she was convinced that if she could study under Carney's guidance she "would return to Africa, armed for any struggle."⁷² It is possible that Sibusisiwe had heard of Mabel Carney before she came to the US. It is also probable that after she heard about Carney that Sibusisiwe had decided to pursue studies in the US. Carney became extremely popular with the PSF which considered her work amongst rural communities as vital and useful in terms of the Fund's concern to educate Africans in America. Evidently, Sibusisiwe who may not have necessarily agreed with the PSF's plans also may not have known about the light in which the PSF held Carney. It cannot be ascertained if Sibusisiwe would still have felt the urgency to study under Carney, had she been aware of this link. It is clear, however, that Sibusisiwe too held Carney in high regard. It is also possible that the American Board missionaries with whom she had worked prior to her departure to America had been trained under Carney or had spoken of Carney to Sibusisiwe.

At the end of her year at Schauffler, Sibusisiwe Makanya had already made a wide circle of friends. Her many talks to various clubs and societies had earned her many gifts, some clothes, jewellery and money. We also learn from Trowbridge that friends suggested that to earn more money for a further year of study she could consider a speaking tour. Africa was a special theme of study in missionary circles in America in 1928-1929 and there were many people extremely eager to learn first hand about life in Africa. Trowbridge narrates that Sibusisiwe agreed to a speaking tour that would take her as far west as California so that she could earn money to study at Columbia University. The tour was arranged by various Church and Women's groups, Sibusisiwe was given a railroad ticket, an itinerary

listed Chicago, Davenport, Iowa, Des Moines, Omaha, Denver, Salt Lake City and San Francisco as the cities she would visit and the women who would meet her at the various stops. Thus commenced one of her most thrilling experiences in America.

To fully appreciate the uniqueness of this opportunity of Sibusisiwe Makanya to travel across the US on a speaking tour, it is useful to backtrack somewhat and place in perspective the widening of her horizons, physically, literally and figuratively. Mention has been made earlier in this chapter to Sibusisiwe's journey from rural Umbumbulu to America. Once in America, she was taken to the American south by the PSF, particularly to South Carolina and Penn School and then moved on to Tuskegee. Her stay here was to a large extent a sheltered/protected one. The PSF was anxious that she and others like her, did not become influenced by "radical Negro" intellectuals such as W.E.B. du Bois and Marcus Garvey, who was president of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and who "possessed a vision of achieving unity amongst black people everywhere in the world."⁷³ Within her first year in the US, Sibusisiwe had sensed the subtle racism inherent in educational adaptation and severed her ties with the PSF to make contact with others who were connected to the Congregational Church. Moving north she acclimatised to another circle of friends and created an audience where she could control her vision of an interest in Zulu culture amongst white philanthropy. From a position of dependence upon the PSF she had moved to a position wherein she was still dependent upon white philanthropy but this was textured somewhat differently. Now Sibusisiwe was very much a confident, articulate African woman with a Zulu identity and she had effectively, by use of her "traditional Zulu dress" and accessories and her enthusiasm for her project to serve her community, created an eager audience hungry for information on Zulu kraal life. Instead of her audience coming to Africa, Sibusisiwe had taken Africa to them and for this generosity her American audience of the affluent twenties was willing to pay.

As a black person in America, more so as a black woman in America, the freedom Sibusisiwe Makanya enjoyed was special. America was and still is riddled with its own complex race relations problems. The reality of

Sibusisiwe being able to travel freely and speak to such a wide audience is curious for the late 1929 in America. That she was unquestionably accepted and respected is well documented in Trowbridge but to what extent a black American woman would have been able to do something similar to Sibusisiwe is not known. Nor is it possible that Sibusisiwe could have enjoyed the same freedom and acceptance in South Africa in 1929 given the various restrictions that were imposed upon Africans in that era.

Just a little more than half a decade prior to Sibusisiwe Makanya's speaking tour to women's groups across America, another black South African, Solomon Plaatje had enjoyed popular acceptance during his talks in the US. Plaatje was the first secretary of the African National Congress, journalist, linguist, translator and the first black South African to write a novel in English. Stimulus for this novel was the tragic death of his daughter Olivia who, when seriously ill was not allowed to use facilities at a railway station reserved for whites.⁷⁴ Plaatje, of course, networked with a very different group of people compared to Sibusisiwe. His contacts were W.E.B. du Bois and Marcus Garvey, amongst others, and his audience constituted largely the American black population. He "succeeded in making a very considerable impact on black opinion" and wherever he went the halls were packed to capacity.⁷⁵ During his 3 year sojourn in the US he founded a "South African Bantu Brotherhood Mission" and his American friends set up a Chicago branch so that they could assist Plaatje in his work in South Africa. It was easier for Plaatje's supporters to promise financial support than to actually give him hard cash and on the eve of his departure from the US the Chicago branch of the Brotherhood collapsed and Plaatje was unsuccessful in raising funds during his stay in the US.⁷⁶

Charlotte Maxeke was another South African woman who went to the US to study but we know very little about her sojourn there, in fact very little is known about the life of Charlotte Maxeke. Unlike Plaatje, Sibusisiwe Makanya on the other hand was more successful. Her speaking tour, which will be detailed below, won her support, friends and money and her networking with white philanthropy enabled her to set up the Bantu Youth League with a branch in New York. This American branch, unlike Plaatje's experience, delivered its promises and financed Sibusisiwe's project in

America until the effects of the Depression of 1929/1930 eventually dried up US funds. Both Plaatje and Sibusisiwe were important representatives for their causes but the bases of their support were different. Plaatje's support was the largely black American masses and Sibusisiwe's was white philanthropy. Plaatje networked with people on the 'left' and who were considered 'radicals' by authorities in the US and South Africa. Sibusisiwe Makanya networked with influential missionaries, clergy and white philanthropy. She chose to walk a tight-rope carefully balancing herself in race relations in America. This lesson, which was perfected in the US enabled her to work for her community, on her return to South Africa, and attract a large circle of white friends who proved extremely helpful in the harsh realities of racist South Africa.

Trowbridge informs us that Sibusisiwe Makanya was warned by friends about pick pockets, advised to keep her purse safe and never let her ticket out of her hand. A committee of women was at the station to see her depart Cleveland. Envelopes with postage stamps and a writing pad had been thoughtfully provided so that she could thank all her hosts without delay. Many of these friends became regular correspondents of Sibusisiwe Makanya and continued to donate money for her project when she returned to South Africa. Once aboard the train, so literally did Sibusisiwe take the advice of her friends that was reluctant to give her ticket to the conductor. Trowbridge again explains that the conductor laughed when Sibusisiwe explained her fears to him.

Drawing from Trowbridge, Sibusisiwe's journey was a scenic and educational one. Her first stop was Chicago and the expected group of women was not at the station to meet Sibusisiwe. One can understand the anxiety Sibusisiwe must have felt in a railway station crowded with strangers. She did not wait for the women but caught the next train to her next stop. The Chicago committee wrote to apologise explaining that they did not expect Sibusisiwe to move on. This is an interesting expectation. Evidently a woman travelling alone across the US was itself a novelty. This was perhaps why each stop on Sibusisiwe's itinerary had a group of women to meet her, women were sheltered and for a woman from Africa who must be new to many things in the US, to move on when expected plans at one

stop did not materialise is indicative of the character and personality of Sibusisiwe. She was not the sort of person who would wait around for others to help her, she was very much a person who helped herself.

Trowbridge comments that the Mississippi River was the biggest river Sibusisiwe Makanya had ever seen, there were no rivers like it in Natal. Her stop in Davenport, Iowa was interesting. She was impressed with the forestry of this state. Her next stop was Des Moines where Mrs Adams was her host. By the time Sibusisiwe reached Des Moines she felt very confident and was no longer awed by American homes. After adorning her Zulu costume, Sibusisiwe spoke to her audience about life in the kraals. Her singing of Zulu hymns with the clicks was a winner. Her American audience was fascinated by the way in which she made the clicks. Sibusisiwe must have recalled how different this reception of the clicks in her vernacular was from her initial painful experience of being laughed at when she had pronounced her mother's name to the immigration official on her arrival in America. The reason for this change could perhaps be the audience as well as her own increasing confidence. This audience was keen and eager to learn and appreciative of the differences between the languages, and the official was probably unaware that there existed such a thing as an African language/culture. Perhaps, people did not laugh because she was a guest speaker, but this reason is somewhat weak especially when we consider the current fame that Miriam Makeba and songs in the African language are enjoying in Europe and especially the States. Trowbridge narrates that Sibusisiwe had to answer numerous questions even while taking her tea and had to be rescued by her host.

What transpired at Des Moines, Trowbridge continues, was repeated in all cities that Sibusisiwe Makanya visited. Sometimes sight seeing trips were planned for her. The mountains at Denver were impressive, Sibusisiwe recalled that she had seen the Drakensburg ranges a few times only. Salt Lake City was even more interesting. It was here that she met Mormons and learnt of their practise of polygamy. She heard of Brigham Young and his many wives. Sibusisiwe was extremely keen to know why the Mormons practised polygamy, she enquired as to how many wives an average Mormon had, whether each wife had a separate house and if all Mormons

gave up polygamy when the law was passed forbidding it. Her hosts were surprised by her questioning and she explained that while she and her parents did not support polygamy, both her paternal and maternal grandfathers were polygamists. Her hosts, women who belonged to church groups that were linked to the Congregational Church must have heard about polygamy amongst Zulu people through the efforts of the ABM. This exposure to the practise of polygamy within a sect of Christianity possibly contributed to Sibusisiwe Makanya's obviously evolving ideas about "tradition" and Christianity and so on and this translates into action later in her life.

At her final stop in San Francisco, Sibusisiwe Makanya saw the first glimpse of the Pacific Ocean from the Golden Gate. She had finally travelled from Cleveland across the north American continent to San Francisco. She had indeed accomplished an enormous feat. This is best captured in Trowbridge's empathetic voice:

Could it be that she, the little girl of yesteryear, who enjoyed nothing better than a kick off into the Umcababa, had crossed one ocean, part of another and seen a third? Was it possible that she was the same person who was once so afraid of making mistakes with the half clad Zulu boys, and now had just finished a lecture tour, gaining praise and friendship from groups of strange white women? Could it be possible that she, a minor before the law, had not been harmed in the cruel cities, but had been able to make her own living?⁷⁷

Sibusisiwe had in effect created audiences across the US, audiences that became interested and eager to learn about the Zulu way of life. Her personality, her style and her manner of bringing into the living room of the Americans a piece of a far away land called Africa, was enormous. Without realising it Sibusisiwe had become an ambassador of South Africa and was viewed as a leader of the Zulus. When Gatsha Buthelezi visited the US for the first time in 1970, there were already people in America who were informed about Zulu culture and friends of Sibusisiwe sent her newspaper cuttings on Buthelezi's visit and enquired from her if he was now the next leader of the Zulus.⁷⁸ In effect they still recalled Sibusisiwe almost four

decades after her stay in America and valued her opinion. Sibusisiwe, of course, knew Buthelezi when he was a student at Adams College and Buthelezi warmly referred to her as his cousin, because of both their lineages to the Zulu royal household.⁷⁹

From her speaking tour Sibusisiwe Makanya had earned enough money for her study at Columbia University and in addition, Trowbridge informs us, she received clothes which were a welcome addition to her wardrobe. Her Congregationalist friends at Cleveland had reserved a room for her at International House, Columbia. Once again Sibusisiwe thanked all the people she had met for their kindness, their help and their support and there were many tearful goodbyes as she boarded the crowded coach for New York. Trowbridge writes: "The intelligence, courage and determination of the young native woman from the kraals in Africa touched many hearts."⁸⁰ This objectification of Sibusisiwe by Trowbridge is interesting. Sibusisiwe was not really a "native woman from the kraals of Africa" at this point. She was literally thousands of miles away from any kraal in Africa and she was very much a confident woman with an independent mind and a determination to pursue her goals.

At New York station Sibusisiwe Makanya was met by people (Congregationalists) who took her to International House. The sign on the entrance "That Brotherhood May Prevail" became her personal motto, one she practised all her life, especially when living under the harsh laws of apartheid in South Africa. Her room was on the third floor and her room mate, Ai Sasaki, was a Japanese woman from Kyoto who had come to Columbia University to study to become a teacher. Ai and Sibusisiwe had much in common in terms of wanting to work for their respective communities. There developed between them a lasting and lifelong friendship.⁸¹ Sibusisiwe indeed made many lasting and lifelong friendships while at International House. Most students on the third floor were American and Ai and Sibusisiwe, with different tints to their skins, felt more at home with each other. Living outside South Africa at a hostel with students from other parts of the world created for Sibusisiwe a kind of twilight zone where racial differences were glossed over and a sense of equality prevailed. This sense of equality also stemmed from the pursuit of

intellectual discourses that permeated social interactions of the students at International House. It was in such a context that Sibusisiwe met her very good friend, the South African Marguerite Malherbe. It is so unlikely that these two women could have met and become friends in South Africa at that time. I will return to more discussion of Marguerite Malherbe later in this thesis.

Sibusisiwe Makanya's life in New York at International House presented another challenge. For example, in keeping with the tempo of life of the "roaring twenties" in America, there were many entertainment programmes for the students at International House. Trowbridge informs us that Sibusisiwe never accepted an invitation to dance. She always excused herself by explaining that she did not know the steps. Trowbridge explains that the real reason was that Sibusisiwe thought that it was indecent to dance coupled with males. Back in Umbumbulu a man would never have dared to hug a girl or put his cheek on her cheek. When she saw what "necking" was all about, it was a clear example of her strict Victorian Christian socialisation mixed with her rural Zulu upbringing, that made her recoil and Trowbridge writes: "no Zulu man would so far forget his dignity. The time would come when Zulus would have such bad manners but for the moment she secretly felt superior."⁸² This incident underlines a broader theme. While in America, Sibusisiwe did not forget Natal. For example, she kept a steady correspondence with her parents and with her friend A.W.G Champion. Writing letters in Zulu perhaps minimised the physical chasm between New York and the Umbumbulu and Durban region. Sibusisiwe's heart lay in Africa and she continued to pay her dues to the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (ICU) while in America.⁸³ Her continuing sense of duty and her willingness to support a trade union denounced by many white liberals as "too radical" is indicative of her independent political viewpoint.⁸⁴

Of all her time in the USA it would seem that Sibusisiwe Makanya's duration of study at Columbia was most beneficial for her project. Her favourite teacher was Mabel Carney who was reputed to be an expert on problems and their solutions regarding rural communities, she was Head of the Department of Rural Psychology and Sociology and was also Associate

Professor in Education. It must have been somewhat difficult to fully appreciate rural problems when those studying it were so removed from rural settings situated, as Columbia University was, in a very urban cosmopolitan area. Carney helped all foreign students and Sibusisiwe consulted her frequently, even to the extent of calling at her teacher's home at odd hours. Trowbridge writes:

One morning after some delay Miss Carney opened the door. She was in her bathrobe. As gently as she could, she told Sibusisiwe that she must quit coming to the house unless she was in dire need. She went on to explain that she had but one refuge from her work, and that she must not be interrupted at such inconvenient hours.⁸⁵

A mortified Sibusisiwe cried herself to sleep and on waking resolved that she had been thoughtless. The next day a very contrite Sibusisiwe appeared in Carney's office and asked for forgiveness - "from that moment on Sibusisiwe had no stauncher friend."⁸⁶

Sibusisiwe Makanya's friends in Cleveland had introduced her to many people in New York who invited her to their homes. Once again Sibusisiwe was creating an audience and an interest in Zulu customs and traditions and in her project to uplift her rural community. She spoke to many groups and church organisations and after a talk on the differentiation of men's work and women's work on the farm, Sibusisiwe was asked how that custom arose. We learn from Trowbridge that she did not know and researched the topic in the library. She came across two theories. One proposed that the Bantu, a pastoral people of Hamitic origin, fought their way down the eastern part of Africa. When they reached central Africa they found people engaged in agriculture. They then killed the men and took their wives and the result was that the women tended the fields while their "lords and masters" watched their flocks and hunted.⁸⁷ The second theory proposed that African men did not till the soil because they had to always be free to protect their homes and possessions from marauding tribes and animals. The position of women in African precolonial society and the question of the status of women across class and ethnic groups in southern Africa has been a topic generating academic interest and research among South

African scholars only in the past fifteen years. This very project is the result of such an academic enquiry. Yet almost sixty five years ago Sibusisiwe Makanya had already begun research into the topic of women and gender and throughout her life, as will become evident in this project, her actions and her decisions bore testimony to her rejection of what society had constructed as the "natural role" of women.

Neither of the theories which Sibusisiwe Makanya had learnt in her research proved satisfactory and Trowbridge informs us that Ai and Sibusisiwe discussed differentiation of men's and women's work. Sibusisiwe recalled that her father helped her mother break the ground for planting and that that was a breach of age old traditions of the difference between what constituted men's work and women's work. Ai explained that in Japan both men and women worked in the fields but women did the heavier and more arduous tasks. The awareness of gender inequalities and differences and the questioning of these initiated the early stirrings of a feminist conscience in Sibusisiwe.⁸⁸ She was to become more involved in these issues of gender differences when she returned to Umbumbulu.

Before the end of her year at Columbia University, a group of men and women were so impressed with Sibusisiwe Makanya that they had decided to form a committee to help their "Zulu protégé" in her efforts to work for the improvement of life conditions of her people. Mr Rheinhallt Jones was at Columbia University on a short visit at this time when Sibusisiwe met him and together with Carney, several introductions and programmes were organised. In a letter to Rheinhallt Jones after Sibusisiwe had set sail for South Africa, Carney wrote:

You will see that the girl [Sibusisiwe] really did marvellous work in the few weeks remaining after your departure. Among many other activities, she organised an effective committee, secured about \$1 500 in funds (see financial statement) and held countless interviews with men and women she wanted to interest in her project.⁸⁹

Evidently, Sibusisiwe had worked tirelessly for her project. What is striking in this quote is Carney's reference to Sibusisiwe Makanya as "girl".

Sibusisiwe was 35 years old and the word "woman" would have been more appropriate. Carney's use of "girl" instead of "woman" opens up the whole question of the ideological presumptions and understandings between Carney and Rheinhardt Jones. Both were white academics very genuinely interested in harmonious race relations in South Africa and America yet reference to a 35 year old woman as "girl" does give a glimpse of the sort of paternalism that existed then or perhaps a glimpse of a racial awareness that could not be veiled. This also points to broader issues in terms of the relationships between white and black women. Even Sibusisiwe Makanya, with all the force of her personality and her obvious talent, was not able to completely alter the ideological frameworks of race and the stereotypes of her white women peers and associates.

Further on in the same letter Carney writes:

My confidence in Makanya continued to grow steadily even after you left and I am now convinced that her personality constitutes one of the chief sources of progress in all Africa. No one can prophesy what such a woman can do toward helping her people with the right inspiration and assistance.⁹⁰

To Loram she wrote:

I am speaking conservatively when I say that I really believe her to be the most able Native woman Africa has yet produced and that I look forward to her future achievement with the greatest confidence and hope. The Bantu Youth League, which she reorganised in her planning here this winter with the help of Rheinhardt Jones, will surely be a great force for Native education throughout your whole province.⁹¹

It can be seen that Carney had enormous faith in Sibusisiwe Makanya and whatever else her ideological presumption concerning the races may have been, they did not prevent her from speaking her mind about what she thought of Sibusisiwe Makanya's capabilities. Interestingly, when writing to Loram Carney uses the word "woman" when referring to Sibusisiwe and

this is perhaps indicative of the different audience that she perceived Loram to be.

Carney was an astute observer and the value of a person like Sibusisiwe Makanya did not escape her. Referring to the problems that ensued when Sibusisiwe Makanya parted ways with the PSF and Loram and the bitterness and disappointment that this subsequently created in America and South Africa, Carney advised Loram:

I hope you will have a long talk with her and try to get a frank expression of all that is on her mind and heart. There is no question but that she is going to be a real influence among Native Africans, and as Rheinallt Jones remarked it will be far better to have her on your side than on the other fellows!⁹²

After severing her ties with Loram and the PSF, Sibusisiwe Makanya did not fade into oblivion but instead deliberately created an audience for her project and a circle of friends and supporters who were willing to finance her on her return to South Africa. Many of these people, including Carney, later visited Sibusisiwe at Umbumbulu and remained friends until their deaths.

It is difficult to ascertain whether Loram and Sibusisiwe Makanya did have a frank discussion when she returned to South Africa. In 1930 Prime Minister Hertzog dropped Loram from the Native Affairs Commission after he had served on it since its inception in 1920. Loram considered himself a victim of a political intrigue and he became increasingly frustrated with events in South Africa. He eventually emigrated to the US, Carney wrote to Loram in 1930, "I wish you here with us permanently to do some of the rural work so greatly needed in this institution for foreign students and missionaries."⁹³ Loram accepted a post at Yale in 1930 as Sterling Professor of Education, the same year that Sibusisiwe sailed back to South Africa after spending three very eventful years there.⁹⁴

Before she left the US for South Africa, Sibusisiwe Makanya's supporters and friends in New York formed a group calling themselves "Friends of Africa." Dr John Milton Philips of Centre Congregational Church in

Hartford agreed to be chairman of the American Committee to aid the Bantu Youth League (BYL) in South Africa. The Rev. Philip Corwell Jones of Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church in New York was the treasurer, Dr Mabel Carney was secretary and eight other members made up the American committee. A plan of action was decided upon and a corresponding committee was set up in South Africa to co-operate with Sibusisiwe. Rev. Dr John Dube agreed to be the chairman of the South African branch of the BYL and Sibusisiwe was Director. A tentative budget was planned and a pamphlet designed to advertise for collection of money. Sibusisiwe furnished the information for the pamphlet and her aims appeared under two headings:

Purpose:

1. To nurture in Bantu youth the ideals of good citizenship as exemplified in the life of Christ.
2. To encourage and cultivate self-confidence in Bantu youths by preservation of the constructive ideas, ideals and customs of the Zulu people.
3. To encourage co-operation among native youth leaders.
4. To break down sectarianism by encouraging the co-operation of young people of different denominations.
5. To cultivate appreciation of the culture of other races and to encourage inter racial co-operation.

Program:

1. Work with Native young people and leaders.
 - a. Bible study
 - b. Organisation of Sunday schools
 - c. Sex education
2. Organisation of classes for mothers
3. Teaching in village schools - personal, home and community hygiene
4. Organising community service.
 - a. Visiting the sick and helping the aged
 - b. Teaching folklore and tribal songs
 - c. Encouraging native craft work - beading, weaving, clay modelling, etc.⁹⁵

A close examination of this programme reveals it to be ambitious in that it tried both to preserve cultural heritage where possible and still meet the challenges of change. For example, while the programme emphasised

folklore songs and craft work as a way of retaining precolonial arts, it also addressed pressing issues such as sex education and new domestic skills.

With hindsight it would seem that no amount of praise could erase Sibusisiwe Makanya's understanding of the difficulties that she was going to meet. We learn from Trowbridge that as she prepared to set sail for Durban she received a most unexpected baggage. Sibusisiwe spoke of the comforts of the American home and had quoted the Simmons bed as an example. Apparently someone in the audience notified the Simmons Company and the firm decided to contribute to Sibusisiwe on her return to Africa a bedstead, spring and mattress and asked her to give them the measurements for the size of the bed she wanted. Sibusisiwe playfully called this "the historical letter" and there was much joking about the bed amongst her friends at International House. Unfortunately for Sibusisiwe though, she was required to pay customs and excise of 60 pounds for the bed in South Africa and this must have cancelled whatever jubilation she felt. Sibusisiwe never did sleep in the Simmons bed, it was placed in her guest room for visitors who were staying over. The newly married Desmond Reader and his wife Dolores lived several months with Sibusisiwe while Reader pursued anthropological research amongst the Makanaya of Umbumbulu. In his tribute to Sibusisiwe, Reader wrote:

One of the fruits of her many addresses to American organisations in the US was a large bedstead with brass knobs. As far as I know she never slept in it herself, but there it was in her guest room, ready for our use. This bed sagged deeply in the middle, and my wife and I always maintain that Sibusisiwe threw us together from the beginning.⁹⁶

In 1929 Sibusisiwe spent the third and last Thanksgiving in America. Trowbridge writes that Sibusisiwe enjoyed Thanksgiving and prayed and thanked God for all his blessings. She admitted to her friends that not even *amasi* tasted as good as American turkey with the fixings on Thanksgiving. Ai and Sibusisiwe celebrated this last Christmas and New Year in America in their room. Trowbridge informs that they exchanged gifts: Ai gave Sibusisiwe a silk scarf and Sibusisiwe gave her an intricate chain of beads from South Africa. Ai and Sibusisiwe continued to correspond with each

other throughout their lives and Ai's cancellation of a planned visit to Sibusisiwe in the late 1960s was one of the greatest disappointments that Sibusisiwe had to bear in her old age.

On 11 June 1930 Sibusisiwe Makanya set sail for Durban after spending three years in America. In summary, she was the first Zulu woman to have undertaken academic studies in America and her various experiences had changed her in many ways. She had acquired great confidence in dealing with white people from a position of equality, she had great pride in her identity as a Zulu woman which stemmed from her happy and secure childhood and she was imbued with great optimism for reconciliation and progress in South Africa between all races. The far sightedness of Sibusisiwe Makanya becomes evident when one examines the political relevance and correctness of her project sixty five years ago. Her theme was one of reconciliation of the races, she had a vision of what the new South Africa should look like. Dhlomo said of her that, "Her philosophy was one of the rainbow people, owing allegiance to one country where all people's languages and religions would be entrenched in the constitution."⁹⁷ In 1995, Bam argued that while "Today there is talk of the participatory process and of consulting people before embarking upon a programme - Sibusisiwe Makanya did exactly all this in those years but she did not use these words."⁹⁸

Footnotes to Chapter Three

1. Charlotte Maxeke, the first American graduated African social worker, had begun social work in the Witwatersrand.
2. Makanya Papers, File 1, Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p. 83-84.
3. Ray E. Philips, The Bantu in the City, (Alice: Lovedale Press, 1938), xiii
4. Philips, The Bantu, p. 243.
5. Philips, The Bantu, p. 302
6. Philips, The Bantu, p. 303
7. Jennifer A. Seif, "Gender, Tradition and Authority in 19th century Natal, The Zulu Missions of the ABM", (Unpublished paper presented at S.A.H.S., Rhodes University, Grahamstown, July, 1995), see p. 5-9 for how Zulus reacted to American missionaries and German missionaries and why ABM missionaries were more successful and acceptable to Zulus.
8. Ellen Kuzwayo, Call me Woman, (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1985), p. 81
9. Kuzwayo, Call me Woman, p. 85
10. Kuzwayo, Call me Woman, p. 88
11. Shula Marks, Not Either an Experimental Doll, (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1987), p.157-159 letter from Lily Moya to Mabel Palmer on 3/6/51. Lily Moya is a pseudonym.
12. Thomas Jesse Jones, Educational Adaptations, Report of Ten Years work of the Phelps Stokes Fund, 1910-1920, (New York: Phelps Stokes Fund, 1920), see p. 7-14 for a biographical sketch of Caroline Phelps Stokes.
13. Jones, Educational Adaptations, p. 15.
14. Jones, Educational Adaptations, p.15-17 for names and designations /portfolios of other Trustees.
15. Jones, Educational Adaptations, p. 20.
16. For a critique of Jones's educational adaptation and the bent of African education under the influences of American philanthropy, see A. Victor Murray, The School in the Bush, (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929).
17. Jones, Educational Adaptations, p. 68.
18. Murray, The School, p. 259.
19. Murray, The School, p. 259.
20. Murray, The School, p. 261.
21. For further details regarding the Commissions see Murray, The School, p. 259-260.
22. Kenneth James King, Pan Africanism and Education, A Study of Race, Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa, (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 178.
23. King, Pan Africanism, p. 177
24. King, Pan Africanism, p. 180
25. The select bibliography included:
Monroe Work: The Negro Year Book;
Booker T. Washington: Up from Slavery;
T.J.Woofter: The Basis of Racial Adjustment and
T.J.Jones: The Four Essentials of Education.
Other recommended readings were:
Peabody: Education for Life;

Oldham: Christianity and the Race Problem and Penn School principal Cooley's Homes of the Freed.

For a brief analysis of the content of these books and how one sided they were see King, Pan Africanism, p. 180

26. King, Pan Africanism, p. 180.
27. Richard Hunt Davis Jr, "Producing the 'good African': south Carolina's Penn School as a guide for African Education in South African" in A.T. Mugomba & M. Nyaggah (eds), Independence without Freedom, (California: ABC Clio, 1980), p. 87 see also King, Pan Africanism, p.215 and as a critique of educational adaptation and a comparison to what was considered a superior system of education as established by British colonialism in India see Murray, The School, p. 263-264.
28. King, Pan Africanism, p. 184-189.
29. King, Pan Africanism, p. 179
30. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344. p. 85
31. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p. 84-85
32. KCAL, KCAV 139 Interview between A.Mason and H.M.S. Makanya, 13/6/79
33. Seif, "Gender, Tradition"
34. Manning Marable, "John L. Dube and the Politics of Segregated Education in South Africa" in Mugomba and Nyaggah (eds), Independence without Freedom, p. 113 see also Shula Marks, The Ambiguities of Dependence, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1986), p. 42-73 .
35. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p. 86
36. King, Pan Africanism, p. 21-57 see for analysis of how educational adaptation was expected to develop and educate "Negroes" in America according to Jones.
37. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p. 86-87.
38. Richard H. Davis Jr, "C.T. Loram and the American Model for African education in South Africa" in Kallaway, P. (ed.), Apartheid Education, the Education of Black South Africans, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984), p. 108
39. Davis, "C.T. Loram", p. 109
40. Davis, "C.T. Loram", p. 110-111
41. Davis, "C.T. Loram", p. 112
42. Davis, "C.T. Loram", p. 113
43. Davis, "C.T. Loram", p. 115
44. Murray, The School, p. 261
45. Davis, "C.T. Loram", p. 116
46. For further details about how the Jeanes school was run and the teaching content/syllabus see Vincent M. Battle & Charles H. Lyons (eds), Essays in the History of African Education, (New York: Teachers College Press, 1970), p. 105-123.
47. Davis, "C.T. Loram", p. 117
48. Davis, "C.T. Loram", p. 118
49. Davis, "Producing the 'good African' ", p. 96. Davis quoted the Tuskegee Institute archives.
50. King, Pan Africanism, p. 227
51. Davis, "Producing the 'good African' ", p. 97
52. KCAL, KCAV, 139 Interview with A.Mason and H.M.S. Makanya on 13/6/79

53. King, Pan Africanism, p. 227 see for how Sibusisiwe's decision was really a reversal for Loram's theory and policy.
 54. Davis, "Producing the 'good African' ", p. 98
 55. Davis, "C.T. Loram" and "Producing the 'good African' ", p. 104-112
 56. King, Pan Africanism, p. 268-272
 57. Davis, "C.T. Loram", p. 118
 58. King, Pan Africanism, p. 172-173
 59. Davis, "Producing the 'good African' ", p. 99
 60. Davis, "Producing the 'good African' ", p. 99
 61. Shula Marks & Richard Rathbone (eds), Industrialisation and Social Change in South Africa- African class formation, culture and consciousness 1870-1930, (London: Longmans, 1982)
 62. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p. 92
 63. Booker T. Washington, Up from Slavery, (London: Oxford University Press, 1901)
 64. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 12, p. 509
 65. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 12, p.509
 66. Davis, "Producing the 'good African' ", p. 97
 67. King, Pan Africanism, p. 222
 68. Davis, "Producing the 'good African' ", p. 97
 69. Desmond Reader, Zulu Tribe in Transition, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966), p. 23-26
 70. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 24344, see p. 93-100
 71. King, Pan Africanism, p. 225-227
 72. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p.99
 73. Brian Willan, Sol Plaatje A Biography, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984), p. 264
 74. Willan, Sol Plaatje, p. 272
 75. Willan, Sol Plaatje, p. 266
 76. Willan, Sol Plaatje, p. 281
 77. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p. 105
 78. Makanya Papers, File 23
 79. Interview with Dr Dhlomo on 5/12/95
 80. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p. 106
 81. Makanya Papers, see Files 2 and 3 for correspondence between them.
 82. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p. 108
 83. Lionel Forman Papers, University of Cape Town, BC 581 A1.35
 84. A.W.G. Champion, The writings of Mahlathi: Writings of A.W.G. Champion, a Black South African, M.W. Swanson (ed). with a biography of A.W.G. Champion by R.R. R. Dhlomo, (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1982).
 85. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p. 110
 86. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p. 110
- It is interesting to contrast the way in which Sibusisiwe handled this situation and the way in which a similar relationship between Mabel Palmer and Lily Moya deteriorated, see excellent presentation of this in Shula Marks Not either, particularly the correspondence, p. 55-193.

For support and interest that Mabel Carney showed to Sibusisiwe see also S.A.I.R.R. papers, Rheinallt Jones collection, University of Wiatersrand, Historical Papers, AD 843/RJ Pb13

87. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p. 111
88. I am aware that the term "feminist conscience" at this point is perhaps anachronistic and I use it descriptively when I write.
89. S.A.I.R.R., Rheinallt Jones papers, AD 843/RJ Pb13, Carney to Jones in letter dated 30/6/30
90. S.A.I.R.R., Rheinallt Jones papers, AD 843/RJ Pb13, Carney to Jones in letter dated 30/6/30.
91. S.A.I.R.R., Rheinallt Jones papers, AD 843/RJ Pb13, Carney to Loram in letter dated 13/6/30
92. S.A.I.R.R., Rheinallt Jones papers, AD 843/RJ Pb13, Carney to Loram in letter dated 13/6/30
93. S.A.I.R.R., Rheinallt Jones papers, AD 843/RJ Pb13, Carney to Loram in letter dated 13/6/30
94. Davis, "C.T. Loram", p. 118-119
95. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344,p. 113
96. Makanya Papers, File 4, KCM 14677
97. Interview with Dr O.D. Dhlomo on 21/9/95
98. Interview with Ms Brigalia Bam on 3/10/95

CHAPTER FOUR

SOCIAL WORKER

During Sibusisiwe Makanya's three extremely transformative years in the USA, Durban, the city to which she was to return, was simultaneously undergoing sweeping transformation. During these very years of her absence, 1927 to 1930, "a high-water mark of African protest" was established throughout the Union of South Africa and especially Natal.¹ Spearheading this development and transformation in Natal was the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, the ICU, with Champion at the helm. While in the USA Sibusisiwe kept abreast of developments in Natal and corresponded with her good friends A.W.G. Champion and J.L. Dube and her parents. The 'voice' of Zulu politics prior to the 1920s was that of the *kholwa* or middle class Christian African elite and tribal elites, such as chiefs and headmen. The experiences of urban life and the contacts of western influences wrought enormous changes in the perceptions and ambitions of individual Zulu people who, as they became absorbed in the colonial capitalistic economy, also simultaneously became distanced from traditional tribal authority. Unity and a political consciousness of this rank and file was cemented during the late 1920s around shared common experiences of poverty and impoverishment, various levels of exploitation and insecurities meted out by a racist and capitalistic state economy and an alienation from the established authorities, both colonial and tribal. The Zulu political 'voice' as encapsulated by the strategy of 'polite pleading' of *kholwa* politics found fewer adherents as the rapidly urbanizing and proletarianising Zulu or African rank and file grew increasingly frustrated with the piecemeal reforms that were handed down by the provincial authorities of Natal and Hertzog and his Pact Government.²

A clear sense of this seismic shift can be gleaned from la Hausse's study of the I.C.U. in Durban:

Through a sustained and generally successful campaign of litigation aimed at a battery of repressive municipal by-laws, the I.C.U. succeeded in capturing the imagination of Durban's labouring poor. By 1927 the I.C.U. had opened offices in the smallest of South

African towns...The most powerful branch in the country was to be found in Durban.³

Although Durban was the centre of much political transformation, the rural hinterland was simultaneously undergoing economic and social changes. Sibusisiwe had already read this development in the course of her social work among rural people in Natal and Zululand and this was precisely why she had felt that she was inadequately trained to handle and manage the challenges these changes created- thus her reason to study abroad. What Sibusisiwe was to encounter when she returned to Durban in 1930 was militancy and an urgent need by local urban Africans to act in an organised fashion to attract attention to their demands. The organisation of these actions was by the ICU which was headed by Sibusisiwe's friend, Champion, one of her correspondents while in America.

When Sibusisiwe Makanya arrived in Durban on 20 July 1930, she wrote to friends in America that her journey from Southampton to Durban was not as enjoyable as her trans-Atlantic one because she " was a victim to mal-de-mer" or what we would commonly call seasickness.⁴ Evidently Sibusisiwe was glad to be back home and to be able to speak her native language to her people and her family. This need to network again with her people and share a common language and the culture that comes with it must have had a much deeper meaning to Sibusisiwe than most people around her at the time realised. Chapter Two discusses how Sibusisiwe dealt with homesickness in America writing letters back home probably in the vernacular, in this case it would be Zulu, and constructed for her American audience a picture of kraal life and Zulu culture and society. It has also been shown that Sibusisiwe positioned herself differently from her American friends and supporters as a Zulu woman, proud of her identity and more broadly as an African woman. As a researcher constructing the life of Sibusisiwe Makanya, it is crucial to establish that she was not overcome nor over awed by the many experiences she had in America and that she was not, as was the concern of personnel of the PSF, a person who was to be an outsider in her rural community. This concern is well illustrated in the following quotation :

As a rule without a single exception, those Africans who go abroad for education return on stilts - altogether out of sympathy with their own people. They may be giants when they return, but they walk on their heads. The infants on foot who have stayed at home, are stronger than they for the purposes of the country. 5

Sibusisiwe was very much on her "feet" when she returned to Natal. After spending three weeks with her family in Umbumbulu she came to Durban where she intended making her headquarters.⁶

In Durban, Sibusisiwe Makanya lived in the Native Women's Hostel, a boarding house run by the Native Affairs Department. This was the only women's hostel in Durban at the time and it was a meeting place of many prominent African women by virtue of the accommodation it provided. Margaret McCord's book, The Calling of Katie Makanya, superbly captures the tempo of life among African people in Durban and surrounding peri urban areas of Umbumbulu from 1899 to 1954. McCord's book is the only source that offers a glimpse into the kind of life Sibusisiwe must have experienced and the issues that she must have encountered while living in Durban. Unfortunately there is no verification in the Makanya papers of the time spent in Durban and the contacts made. The issue of African women having to carry passes in Durban, according to McCord, resulted in the women of the hostel organising a march to City Hall in Durban to register their opposition and objection. Sibusisiwe and other young women, notably Bertha Mkize⁷ who later joined the South African Communist Party and was one of Treason trialists⁸ in South Africa's infamous Treason Trial in 1956, were in the forefront of the march which was led by Katie Makanya and Mrs McCord .⁹

It seems that while in Durban Sibusisiwe was in contact with many different people. She was a member of the ICU as was Bertha Mkize, and according to the evidence in McCord's book it would seem that Sibusisiwe's political leaning was more to the left. It appears from this book that Sibusisiwe was intimately involved with the activities of the ICU and did not miss any of its many meetings. The ideas of Marcus Garvey which called for unity of all black people and Africa for Africans were enthusiastically received by

Bertha Mkize but Sibusisiwe, who had encountered Garveyism in the USA, did not share this enthusiasm. It is likely that Sibusisiwe, who had had varied experiences in America, could have harnessed the many contacts she had with both Champion on the left of the African political spectrum and Dube to the right of the same spectrum, and carved a niche for herself in politics. Her confidence and poise and her keen insight into the needs of her people, her ability to take initiative and organise and both her insider and outsider status with African society, would have been formidable for the settler authorities to handle had Sibusisiwe Makanya opted to take a leading role in radical or leftist politics. Instead of being drawn deeper into this net, however, she moved her headquarters to Umbumbulu and threw herself into her work with rural people in preparing them for the fast encroaching urbanisation and industrialisation process which challenged Africans as they battled to survive both in the rural and urban areas.

It is appropriate at this point to comment on the way Sibusisiwe Makanya was to prove the PSF wrong in their concerns. It was her life's work to be working with rural African people, people who did not cotton on quickly to changes in age old traditions and beliefs; Sibusisiwe articulated this when she wrote to American friends, " 'One cannot hurry things in Africa' said a Chicago lady when she visited the continent. She was right."¹⁰

Perhaps it is Brigalia Bam who best puts this matter to rest when she says:

For those of us who've gone abroad to study, there is a tendency for us not to return to rural areas, but Sibusisiwe Makanya returned. She incorporated rural life into her programme. It was an inspiration to see her intensity to work and ground herself in the rural area. She chose to live and work in Umbumbulu and not in Durban.¹¹

In Umbumbulu, Sibusisiwe Makanya lived with her parents. Her father was a pillar of strength in all her endeavours and her mother supported all she did and helped in various ways to make life less burdensome for Sibusisiwe. Sibusisiwe had spent much time organising the BYL when she was based in Durban for a few months and she visited Dube at Ohlange several times, not only because he was the Chairman of the League but also because,

according to Trowbridge, she respected his helpful criticisms of her plans. As part of her summation for the founding of the BYL, Sibusisiwe wrote :

The economic improvement of South Africa through the opening up of the country and the setting up of industrial centres which draw thousands of African men and women away from their homes has done much injury to community life. It is the desire to minimise the evil effects of this introduction of a primitive people to Western civilisation which has promoted the founding of the Bantu Youth League of South Africa.¹²

Sibusisiwe Makanya's choice to embark on an experiment of this nature, where she would attempt to help the people adjust to changes is markedly different from that of Soloman Plaatje.¹³ In Plaatje's case upon his return from America, he became increasingly involved in party politics. It is extremely interesting that Sibusisiwe, who was acquainted with Charlotte Maxeke, Bertha Mkize, Dube and Champion, did not enter the arena of politics and as far as is known was not a member of the African National Congress or the South African Communist Party. She was a paid up member of the ICU. In fact she was never associated with any political party and even in the course of her social work she was not affiliated to any institution. Her membership of the ICU is interesting in that despite her Christian middle class upbringing which was intertwined with traditional rural life and despite her American education and contacts with middle class white American philanthropy, Sibusisiwe's chief concern lay with the workers of Natal, the ordinary people who had to adjust to what she interpreted as "the evil effects " of industrialisation and urbanisation. Perhaps this is the pivot of any serious investigation into the work of Sibusisiwe and the base upon which her life must be constructed.

The writing of biography or the construction of a life history of a woman is a field currently under investigation by academics and writers who emphasise the construction of gender as an organising principle of research and writing. Discussion concerning biographical writing and the current debate within feminist circles and women's studies in South Africa appears in the Introduction of this project. It is important to reiterate here that there

is no consensus as to what constitutes "women's" biography. In a world of binary oppositional thinking where black is understood in terms of not being white, woman is understood in terms of not being man, traditional biography of women often translated into a narrative of romantic love culminating in conventional marriage. Where this was not the case, the narrative would concern itself with how different or deviant the biographee was from the expected norm. Perhaps this construction of Sibusisiwe's life, based upon interpretation of her actions towards her people and her work as a social worker which was her own independently chosen field and grounded in specifically sited sources, points to an alternative way of writing a life history. Instead of fixating on what Sibusisiwe was not either in terms of the pattern established by traditional women's biography or in terms of South African political biographies, this thesis follows the terms of her self presentation. Only the public persona of Sibusisiwe can be fully constructed but from the extant evidence there are creative ways in which this can lead to interpretations and insights concerning her private thoughts. The standard of comparison of her life, if such is needed, must be by Sibusisiwe's own standards. Her non-alignment to any political party, her choice of not affiliating with any welfare, social - work or church institution points to Sibusisiwe's fiercely independent personality and the strength of confidence in herself and her beliefs. Evidently, Sibusisiwe Makanya did not stand at the end of any tradition: perhaps instead she stood at the beginning of one.

In order to continue with the narrative and construction of the life of Sibusisiwe Makanya we must again refer to Trowbridge. According to Trowbridge, soon after her return to Umbumbulu, Sibusisiwe built a small wattle and daub classroom with a thatched roof on her father's land near his house. This classroom was built by her father with aid of a few herd boys. Education and schooling for the rural African youth was a central concern of Sibusisiwe and the BYL. Government and mission schools jointly provided schooling opportunities for not more than 25% of Zulu children of school going age. In 1930 there was no compulsory schooling for African children and whatever schooling there was, was not free. The majority of rural African children went without schooling. Rural life was structured so that all members of the household and indeed the community had set tasks

to perform. Sibusisiwe grew up in such a society in Umbumbulu and due to this insider status that she enjoyed she was well aware of the constraints that prevented young boys and girls from attending normal school. Most young boys spent most of their time during the course of the day herding the cattle of the community and socialising according to age old expectations. Most young girls had to help their mothers by taking care of siblings while the mother was working on the fields or drawing water from the river or doing the family's washing or any other of the numerous tasks that rural women had to perform.

It was Sibusisiwe's brainchild to experiment with what could be called flexi-time schooling for rural Zulu children or night school as Sibusisiwe referred to it. She decided that one of the principal activities of the BYL should be the establishment of night school for herd boys and a few girls who could not attend school during the day. It was decided that she would give instructions on a primary level, including the 3"R" s, personal hygiene and the use of leisure time. It eventually became a night school for herd boys only, as far as can be ascertained girls did not attend. The possible reasons for this are manifold. It is possible that parents did not want their daughters to attend classes late into the night, it could be that the elders in the community who still had control over the lives and decisions of young people didn't support this form of education for girls. Generally the herd boys would travel over long distances to attend night school. Mr Isaac Dhlomo, the first African bus operator in Umbumbulu, and Mr Ram, an Indian bus operator of Isipingo, transported the boys free of charge to the night school. Every night these herd boys received three hours of tuition. The report of American friends who visited Sibusisiwe in Umbumbulu in 1931 best captures the atmosphere of the night school:

Under the flickering light of a crude oil lamp swinging from the low roof the boys sit on three hard and narrow benches, each boy holding a slate in his hand and following the instructions of the teacher, whose equipment consists only of a small blackboard. On one side of the floor are straw mats, to be unrolled later and spread on the ground when the boys go to sleep. For the youngsters spend the night there going back to their homes early in the morning ...one evening we joined them as they sat around an open

fire roasting meat...They sang for us, haunting melodies, the words and music having been composed by the boys themselves. Some day a collection of the herder boy's songs will make a distinct contribution to a story of African music.¹⁴

This report was written for an American audience whose ideas and knowledge of what a school was to look like and what equipment it was to have was markedly different from what the report describes. Indeed even to a South African audience today, the night school was extremely basic, schools in most centres in South Africa today do have more than that described in the report although many schools in remote areas of rural South Africa still have to contend with very unsatisfactory equipment and overcrowded classrooms.

The time spent each night with the herd boys became an enjoyable and a pet project for Sibusisiwe Makanya. It provided company and occupation for her in the evenings and simultaneously allowed her to transform and teach by precept the many lessons she wanted her pupils to learn. It was doubly rewarding for Sibusisiwe in that she had not upset nor destroyed an extremely important classroom -- the outdoors-- and the lessons learnt there which could never be captured in a wattle and daub classroom. Modern schooling in South Africa today attempts to capture this "outside" classroom by taking pupils out on excursions to various places. Equally important for the work that Sibusisiwe was to do was the retaining of cultural practises valuable to rural society whereby she could ensure that traditions could be preserved and that the introduction of schooling would not further alienate a society that was fast becoming alienated by industrialisation and urbanisation. Furthermore, she had created a truly home grown system of education to meet the needs of the rural community in which she lived. Unlike Loram who rather wanted to import an American system, the Jeanes system, to South Africa in the hope and belief that it would be appropriate for the conditions in rural communities here. Again this experiment and innovation is demonstrative of the depth of knowledge that Sibusisiwe had regarding her own community, her insider status, and her foresight and interpretation of the larger forces of urbanisation and industrialisation. In her attention to the wave of western influence and the

way that it often washed away the tints of identity that people need in order to survive an encompassing capitalistic system, underscored both her insider status and outsider perspective. She did not believe capitalism or urbanisation was stoppable. But she did see ways for ordinary people to respond and behave proactively and in ways that would diminish their suffering.

Sibusisiwe Makanya's responses were always practical. Her mother helped her by planting extra vegetables in the garden because Sibusisiwe provided meals for the boys who were many miles away from their homes. According to Trowbridge, the boys ate potatoes, beans, green mealies and other vegetables such as cabbage or whatever else was harvested from the vegetable patch that her mother tended. Trowbridge commented that few of the boys had such good food at home. In Chapter One mention was made of the importance that Sibusisiwe attached to a varied diet in the kraals and how she taught her pupils at Inanda Seminary the importance of variety in the diet and went out to the many rural areas demonstrating her method of cooking. It was not always easy to provide food for the boys, especially in times of drought or poor rainfall and often Sibusisiwe had to juggle a shoe-string budget to provide sustenance for the boys. It was difficult to ask the boys to bring their own food along because this would tax the meagre larders of the families from which the boys came. She often depended on donations from well wishers and at times the Indian storekeepers in Amanzimtoti and Isipingo would give her sacks of mealies or sell her supplies at discounted prices.

Sibusisiwe enjoyed and maintained excellent relationships with people of other racial groupings, communities and religions. The greatest help came from Mrs Lucy Johnston, an English woman living at Paarl in the Cape. Mrs Johnston was very interested in social welfare and after an address to a Conference of Community Workers that was held at Umbumbulu, she gave Sibusisiwe 25 pounds as a donation to be used for the herd boys.¹⁵ The money had come at a time when funds were very short resulting in there not being enough food for everyone. Some of the boys in desperation and hunger were caught stealing green mealies and roasting them without Sibusisiwe's permission. This action reminded her of the time when she was

a boarder at Inanda Seminary, where food was scarce and the incident where she hid a bunch of bananas to be eaten later. She, of course, confessed her "crime" after listening to a "shouting American evangelist" who had terrified her and others with threats of hell-fire. Trowbridge does not mention what action Sibusisiwe took regarding her herd boys but it would seem that she would have tried to get enough food and explain to the boys the reason for the shortage of food as it happened to her at Inanda when the teachers quoted lack of funds for the shortage in food rations. Lucy Johnston, also a suffragist in the 1930s, was a staunch supporter of the night school and she was impressed enough by Sibusisiwe's work that she was later to leave Sibusisiwe a legacy that enabled her to continue with her work in Umbumbulu.

Sibusisiwe Makanya saw to it that another hut was built next to the classroom and this served as the headquarters of the BYL. When not in use it served as a meeting place for various organisations, the local Sunday school, the local Bantu Teachers Association and inter-racial group meetings. According to the "Record of the BYL's work" over the 5 year period from 1930 to 1935, prepared by Sibusisiwe Makanya, adult education was also a primary concern.¹⁶ She was convinced that without the co-operation of adults permanent results will not be achieved in the work done with the youth:

Adult education has been much neglected in South Africa as in other parts of the world. Nowhere is this neglect of adult activities so tragic as in primitive communities such as ours, where so much emphasis is laid on tradition and on respect for Age.¹⁷

Emphasis on tradition and respect for age were issues that Sibusisiwe was to work with creatively and I will return to this theme later on in this chapter and more specifically in Chapter Five. As far as adult education was concerned it was Sibusisiwe's experience that the women in the community were far more influential and co operative than the men, this was also her finding when she was a school teacher going door to door trying to get parents to send their children to school. The adult education that the BYL

was to provide was for women because of their interest and eagerness to move in that direction.

It is interesting to explore why this was so. What did adult education classes mean to rural women? Their work load was enormous, as has been discussed in Chapter One. The adult rural African woman was almost always married and it was her duty to raise the children, clothe and feed them, do all the agricultural work of sowing, weeding and harvesting, fetch water, clean and wash the kraal and to make clothes, weave mats, make the cooking utensils such as pots, brew the beer or *utshwala* and be subservient to her husband who also was at liberty to take other wives. There was an understanding that more wives might make lighter work. Adult education could have been viewed as a diversion from an otherwise monotonous drudgery. It could have been construed as an opportunity to learn new skills that might offer an alternative to the existing status quo which meant that "the Zulu mother did [and still does] three-fourths of the task of winning bread for the family".¹⁸ An interesting comparison can be made with the frontier thesis of the American historian Frederick Jackson Turner. The frontier for Turner depicted opportunities for men who became individualistic and competitive but women found the frontier limiting, "they made no fortunes from the land, or from successful gold discovery, or by using the open federal lands to raise cattle...the empty land that provided the legendary opportunities for men...denied them[the women] an alternative to marriage, family, and home".¹⁹ The ending of the American frontier and the advent of the city was an opening hitherto denied to women. The literature on the closing of the American frontier underlines that the growth of the cities in many regions have provided opportunities where women could earn their own living as they could not on the frontier and thus become economically independent of men. Similarly in South Africa, adult education in rural areas was an opportunity for rural women to assert some independence and gain confidence from initiatives taken. The existing state of affairs in the rural areas did not have much to offer women, it was in many ways a world buttressing patriarchal power. Both African Chiefs and white magistrates and officials worked together to ensure this.²⁰ Adult education offered rural women an opportunity to carve a niche for themselves in the rural world which was also their home.

Sibusisiwe Makanya devised classes for her rural fellow women by taking cognisance of their many obligations and particularly their work in agricultural production. The classes were held in winter because this was the season which pointed to a "slack period in the agricultural duties of the African women. The harvesting is over and the rains which will mark the beginning of the new ploughing season have not fallen and so the women have little in their hands." ²¹ The phrase "little in their hands" is intended to mean that they did not have much work to do outside the home but evidently a rural Zulu woman's work was never at an end as they continued to have had other chores to which to attend. Freedom from agricultural work would have meant much needed rest from the strenuous work in the fields and African women's choice to attend adult classes during this time can be seen to be a statement of determination and a desire to move forward into a changing world punctuated by urbanisation and industrialisation and often against the wishes of their menfolk. Like Sibusisiwe, the rural women too had seen the ravages dealt to rural communities and, perhaps unlike Sibusisiwe they had experienced and endured the pain and suffering that must have accompanied separation from spouses and children as migration and industrialisation continued to extract its toll on rural life.

The timing of adult classes to coincide with the times when African women were relatively free of work also perhaps surgically opens for us the inner workings of Sibusisiwe's mind. It allows us a glimpse into what she was thinking and how she had to again walk the tight rope of being accused of introducing alien and western ideas into a society whose male custodians disapproved of her initiatives. At the same time she was driven with a dedication springing from unconditional love for her people - to prepare them for the industrial centres to which they had to inevitably go and come into contact with a South Africa rapidly revolutionising from a rural peasant economy into an industrial economy. This insider-outsider status with which she was privileged was the only safety net between her life's work and the possibility of being pushed into the peripheries of ostracism and rejection by a community suspicious of new ideas especially when they were introduced by a woman who had opted not to take the beaten path leading to traditional marriage and motherhood. It is also interesting that

while Sibusisiwe was at great pains not to radically alter nor turn on its head the existing traditional structures and mores that cemented the rural community in which she lived, and while it was her avowed intention to preserve what she thought to be the best of Zulu culture, she did not conform her personal and private choices to the expectations of the rural male vanguard.

The adult classes for women mentioned earlier on, were organised around about two main interests. Between 1930 and 1935 five such winter schools were held, with an average of 40 to 50 women attending classes that included cookery, house management, gardening, sewing, knitting and care of children.²² This is not to be read as though African women could not cook or look after children, that would be absurd. These classes and activities offered alternative methods of approaching tasks, methods that were informed by what was current research at that time. Even today bookstores abound with literature offering new and improved approaches to child care, cookery, home crafts and so on. Modern women today have access to magazines that continuously inform them about what is in vogue. These adult classes that Sibusisiwe held for rural women could be understood to serve the same purpose.

Putting these adult classes together demanded great effort and co-ordination. According to Trowbridge, Sibusisiwe Makanya spent many days and hours securing aid from Mission schools and centres for higher education in Natal. Those people who gave lessons to the women were volunteers because the BYL could not afford to pay them. It was the Amanzimtoti Institute and the Mission Home in Durban that usually sent personnel to conduct classes in Umbumbulu.²³ Sibusisiwe used to visit numerous homesteads and speak to the women to attend these classes. She generally walked the long distances to the huts just as she had done many years earlier as a young teacher trying to get as many African children as possible to attend school. Generally the adult classes undertook a project for improvement of home and surrounding environments.

Such projects would include tree-planting, improving ventilation in the huts or making roads in the area. From the donations that were received by

guests visiting the BYL Sibusisiwe purchased two corn planters which were then loaned to members of the BYL and others with the proviso that they would plant an agreed number of trees around their homes or build windows in their huts. Trees and care of the environment were priorities for Sibusisiwe and it is likely that she would have eagerly supported the current practise of setting aside a day in the year as a tree planting day, Arbor Day and other environmentally focused community projects. The result of these adult classes were extremely satisfactory and encouraging for Sibusisiwe Makanya. She was particularly impressed with the transformation it made on the rural women. For the first time it seemed that women were taking the initiative to do things and this led to the development of community leadership amongst rural women. The project that impressed Sibusisiwe the most it seems was the building of a road from the Church in Umbumbulu to the main road, a road that was one mile long and built exclusively by the rural women. This was in itself quite a novelty since there were generally no roads in the rural areas except the well-known African footpath. In her report on the activities of the BYL Sibusisiwe wrote :

The African woman is generally coming into her own and the contribution which they are making to the solution of real and practical problems is a notable feature of modern social work in the African community. 24

Sibusisiwe was also a woman's right exponent, according to Trowbridge, and she figuratively pointed a finger at Zulu men for their lack of assistance in building roads. Women made the road and it was the women who were to take the lead in community life and it was women who were co-operating with Sibusisiwe. It was also women who were left behind in the reserves when men had to go away and work in urban industrial centres or mines. Interestingly, therefore it was women who found themselves as the practical head of the household and they had to take on the mantle of leadership and initiative and direct the affairs of their families.²⁵

It did not take long for the news of what was happening in Umbumbulu to spread to other rural areas. Sibusisiwe Makanya had received many appeals

from different parts of Natal to open up or establish branches of the BYL. She tried getting branches opened up in other centres and this exercise was to tax her meagre resources drastically. She had to draw upon the lessons acquired in her girlhood to help her now. Her male cousins had taught her to ride a horse and it was on horseback that she would ride out to outlying areas that were great distances away in order to open local branches of the BYL, although she reported to the American branch of the BYL that a car would have made the travelling to outlying areas much easier and the follow up after establishing branches would also be easier to undertake.²⁶ It was becoming increasingly difficult to co-ordinate local branches because without a follow up programme the enthusiasm and interest shown by the locals soon dwindled and disappeared. According to Trowbridge, Sibusisiwe resolved to give up the outlying areas and concentrated her energies at Umbumbulu.

As Director of the BYL it was an important part of Sibusisiwe Makanya's duties to represent the BYL at various conferences held throughout the country. During the period 1930 to 1935 she represented the BYL at many conferences, for example the Bantu-European Conference held under the auspices of the South African Institute of Race Relations whose secretary was Mr J.D. Rheinallt Jones, Joint Council of European and Bantu held in Durban, Natal Missionary Conference, Conference of Bantu Pastors and the Natal Bantu Teacher's Conference.²⁷ In all these conferences she networked with people concerned about the welfare of African people and where ever possible she put forth her views for the transformation of Zulu society so that it would be able to handle the changes brought about by urbanisation and industrialisation.

Sibusisiwe Makanya also wrote articles on the issues that concerned her in the course of her social work. One of her articles was published in the Native Teachers' Journal, a quarterly magazine distributed free of charge by the Government's Education Department. It served as a means of communication between teachers, inspectors, missionaries and the Education Department and was both popular and well supported by its readers. Apart from functioning as the co-ordination between the inspectorate and the head office, the journal " was an open forum for

everybody, and, as far as an outsider could tell, there were no grievances that were suffered to fester through lack of ventilation ". 28

An analysis of her article "The problem of the Zulu girl " reveals the deep seated concerns that Sibusisiwe had regarding the predicament of young Zulu women in the cities. Her choice of "girl" when she referred to young women it would seem was because she wrote in the register that was in use in her time. It also indicates that the audience she was writing for was the white public and white state or provincial administration of the 1930s. In this article Sibusisiwe charts the changes in Zulu society and tribal communities and explains how these have afforded the youth an outlook in life markedly different from their elders. There are numerous interesting points that she makes in the article. The enormous work load of women is mentioned and so is the education of girls. Sibusisiwe grew up and was educated as a Christian yet she was not prevented by her parents from participating in the tribal life of Umbumbulu. In her discussion about how young girls were socialised and educated in the olden days she makes references to the initiation clubs of tribal society where the "matured girls" were the leaders:

The girls were initiated in clubs led by matured girls chosen for their capability of leadership. These leaders explained to the young people the mysteries of life as they understood them. The programme included dancing, songs of the tribe, etiquette, sociability, duties of a matrimonial life, training in the language customs of the people, family and tribal history. In these clubs the grown-up girls would teach the younger girls how to conduct themselves in society-a feature which is lacking amongst our mission trained girls.²⁹

Whether Sibusisiwe herself was a member of an initiation club is not known although, according to Trowbridge, her parents "saw no incongruity in observing many of the old Zulu traditions".³⁰ Sibusisiwe does not define what she means by "matured girls" but if they were in a position to teach younger girls "the mysteries of life" then it could imply that these girls had some knowledge which would have served as a kind of sex education. Neither the tribal society nor the church condoned premarital sex or

pregnancy.³¹ Perhaps what Sibusisiwe alludes to here is *ukusoma* or *ukumetsha* which was a practice of intercrural sexual intercourse, which in pre-colonial times was a widely accepted form of youth sexual expression which still met the requirement of fertility control among pre married young men and women. Perhaps Sibusisiwe Makanya approved of ways to continue some aspects of this local "solution" to the question of teen pregnancy and sexuality.

It is clear that Sibusisiwe Makanya considered these initiation clubs to be a much more relevant and therefore superior system of educational instruction than the lessons given on the same topic in mission schools. Once again we see Sibusisiwe arguing the merits of Zulu culture and tradition and pointing to the void left by missionaries as they swept away what they construed as "Zulu heathenism".³² It was such voids that destabilised the rural people and it was an ambition of Sibusisiwe to preserve those traditions that were relevant to the society of her time.

Other points that she discusses in the journal are the unsatisfactory state of affairs in the women's hostels in Durban and her criticisms about the matrons of these hostels most probably stemmed from the problems that her friend Bertha Mkize had with Mrs Bailey, the matron of the women's hostel when Sibusisiwe lived there.³³ Interestingly, Sibusisiwe asks for separation in hostel accommodation between "educated girls" and "raw girls". The divide she points to between educated girls and those without an education, where education is to be read as schooling and the ability to read and write in Zulu and English, poses a problem of naming. Which of the two groups do we refer to as Zulu women? This brings in the question posed in the Introduction of whether "Zulu woman" is a category at all. At this juncture it is interesting to juxtapose the words of Sibusisiwe's American friends who wrote:

To appreciate the work of this woman [Sibusisiwe] one must know that first of all a Zulu woman does not take the initiative in the home and in village life. A Zulu woman works in the hut and in the fields. A Zulu woman stays in the background. It is the man who dictates and whose word is law.³⁴

In this quotation "Zulu woman" is used as a category and I am constantly aware that as a researcher constructing the life of Sibusisiwe I am undertaking cross cultural research and I must avoid the trap of ethnocentrism.³⁵ Sibusisiwe's American friends have fossilised and categorised "Zulu woman" and made her "Other" to themselves and the audience for whom they were writing.³⁶ Constructing Sibusisiwe's life from this perspective will require me to constantly show how she differed from the fossilised understanding of "Zulu woman". However, earlier on in this chapter it was discussed that adult education classes for African women had helped transform women and they began to take the initiative in various projects and activities. Immediately this points to the dynamism that is at work in society and it demonstrates that people or rural women were constantly undergoing changes as they become informed by various issues or bodies of knowledge. Following from this discussion, instead of saying that Sibusisiwe was the first Zulu woman to study in America, it would be perhaps more correct to say that Sibusisiwe was the first woman from amongst the Zulu to study in America. But my use of "Zulu" before woman is merely an adjective describing Sibusisiwe and not used as a category or an icon.

Another important issue touched upon by Sibusisiwe Makanya in her journal article is the need for inter racial contact, co - operation and dialogue. This call is again repeated in another article published a few months later in the journal called The South African Outlook. It was her belief that white people needed to learn about African people and she thought that this could be done by " a liberal study of citizenship in the Primary and High schools, and of a constructive sociology in Colleges and Universities."³⁷ Earlier on in the same year she had written an article entitled "The problems of Bantu Youth" at the request of the National Union of South African Students.³⁸ The reality of racial segregation in South Africa ran contrary to all that Sibusisiwe Makanya stood for and believed in. She wrote:

Much of the vexed Native problem is due to the fact that the majority of White people do not understand, or they refuse to understand, and cultivate an appreciation of the needs of the Native people.³⁹

Despite this sentiment, Sibusisiwe Makanya had numerous very good and supportive friends from the white community in South Africa and in the US and many of these friendships lasted till her death in 1971, spanning a period of almost 40 years.

The changes in the constitution of African society in the 1920s and the various petitions and acts of protest in African politics was perhaps the rationale for the establishment of the Native Economic Commission in 1931 which heard evidence from a wide spectrum of society on an equally wide spectrum of issues. There is not yet any comprehensive work done on the various Commissions of inquiry or investigation that appeared in the decades prior to the National Party take over in 1948. Such work could suggest insights as to why particular points of references were adopted for the various Commissions and what were the overarching concerns of the State in appointing such Commissions and to what extent-- if at all-- the findings and recommendations of these Commissions informed State policies.

In the absence of such work it is somewhat difficult to understand or appreciate why Sibusisiwe Makanya was called upon to give evidence before the Native Economic Commission (hereafter NEC) in 1931. Perhaps at this point it indicates that the authorities were aware of the BYL and of Sibusisiwe Makanya and considered her opinions relevant to an understanding of what was the state of affairs in the African community. What is extremely interesting is that the members of the NEC thought that Sibusisiwe Makanya was a married woman. The subject index of the NEC lists her as Mrs S. Makanya and when the final index was typed, the error was corrected and "Mrs" was replaced by "Miss". It is important to conjecture at this point whether the members of the NEC would have in fact asked her to give evidence at all had they known that she was unmarried. It also exposes the presumptions of the day where women were expected to be married and especially a woman categorised as a Zulu woman and who held a public position in Zulu society and who was generally accepted by that society, it would seem that such a woman had to be married. That Sibusisiwe Makanya was not married and yet accepted by

her society is indicative of the gradual transforming nature of gender relations in the African rural area of Umbumbulu. Equally important at this point is the need to stress that such a change was possible to an extent by the challenges posed by Sibusisiwe Makanya to the established norms and expectations of the society in which she lived. She had by her independent, personal and private choices created a space for the establishment of alternative roles for women in African society and she stood at the beginning of this tradition.

Sibusisiwe Makanya's evidence before the NEC throws open many issues that could aid an understanding or appreciation of her perspectives on various issues. Her discussion concerning the tribal system and her answers to the questions posed by the commissioners reveal important insights into the thoughts and beliefs of Sibusisiwe and simultaneously unveil the presumptions of the NEC commissioners. More broadly both these throw light on the perceptions of key players in the socio-political arena of the 1930s and inform the relations of power in, for example, race relations, relations of gender, constructions of culture and traditions, that existed then.

With reference to the tribal system Sibusisiwe went on to elaborate on the advantages and disadvantages that the system posed for her social work amongst Zulu people. She also discussed the central and crucial role of the chiefs on the lives of their subjects. She pointed out to the commissioners that the chiefs and the tribal system they uphold "does nothing to raise the status of women" and that it "stands in the way of progress."⁴⁰ What she suggests is that "the tribal system should be allowed and encouraged to adjust itself to the life of the community."⁴¹ The implications of this is that the tribal system of the time was out of step with the changing community and that in order to endure it must change too. Sibusisiwe Makanya did not call for the abolition of the tribal system, in fact she categorically stated, "I am not an advocate for the discarding of the tribal system entirely as I recognise many fine qualities in it and for that reason I think the system should be retained."⁴² As an example of a "fine quality" of the tribal system she explained the concept of the tribe "working together" and drew a parallel with white communities.⁴³ The issue of orphans and the welfare of

orphans in white community and in the tribal system was used to illustrate her point. She found the setting up of institutions to act as refuge for orphans a poor system when compared to the tribal system. Here the orphaned African children would be taken care of by other members of the community, "they just get into different families and there is no burden on the people who take them up and there is no institution needed for their care."⁴⁴ What Sibusisiwe was referring to here is the "feeling of common humanity"⁴⁵ called *ubuntu* where an injury to one member of the community is an injury to all and where it is accepted as a duty of the community as a group to take care of individual members in it. It is a bond that links people together simply because they are people and Murray argues that it is "the most characteristic African quality."⁴⁶

Just as she called for a dynamic tribal system in tempo with the changes in the community, Sibusisiwe Makanya also called for chiefs to support and encourage people to be educated. She saw education as the great liberator of African people and suggested to the NEC that a system be devised where those chiefs who had ensured that all children or as many as possible did attend schools in their areas of jurisdiction, then such chiefs should be given some tangible reward for their efforts. She felt that there would then follow tacit competition amongst chiefs to earn these rewards and the greatest boon will be the education of African children on a large scale. While this would have been a good idea the problem with this suggestion is that the position of chiefs was a tenuous one in many areas of South Africa ⁴⁷ but not so in Umbumbulu where the legitimacy of the Makanya clan's chieftaincy was never questioned.⁴⁸ Consistent with her call for a dynamism in cultural practises that must be informed by the needs of the community, Sibusisiwe Makanya did not call for an end to the practice of *lobola* - the definition of *lobola* has undergone many modifications since it was first popularised by missionaries who saw it as the purchase of a wife. I will not attempt to define it either since it is an issue of public debate in South Africa today. There are both men and women who support it and reject it within African communities and there are people who have adopted African culture as their own and who subscribe to the practise, a case in point is the famous white South African musician and singer, Johnny Clegg, who paid *lobola* when he married his wife. Sibusisiwe suggested that both the

marriage parties discuss *lobola* and come to an arrangement that suited everyone. Another reason she advanced for the retention of *lobola* was that it was " a guarantee of a man's ability to provide a home for his wife."⁴⁹ She differed from the missionaries on this issue and it was her belief that missionaries had not tried to understand the society with which they worked, especially when it referred to practises that were alien to their own cultural practises.⁵⁰

The issue of polygamy was another point about which Sibusisiwe Makanya was questioned. She stated to the NEC that she was not in favour of it. Her reasons for this stemmed from her concern about the welfare of the numerous children of such marriages, the predicament of those wives who lost favour with the husband and who suffered the punishment of "having no fat on them"⁵¹- it would appear that these women were deprived of food and had become extremely thin. Marriages where there were too many children, according to Sibusisiwe, resulted in the children having " no chance of climbing higher than their parents have done."⁵² She added, "It can lead to nothing but abject poverty."⁵³ Her interpretation of African people who believed that "all that counts is the number of children"⁵⁴, perhaps was informed by the cases of poverty and illiteracy that she had encountered in the course of her social work. The reasons for poverty need not be the practise of polygamy but the pressure on the land of the reserves and the inability of the land to yield enough for subsistence of large families. The intended result was that people moved into urban areas to search for work and earn a living through wage labour and thus provide labour for the industries of the Union. This stand against polygamy and the many children it produces shows a change in the earlier attitude of Sibusisiwe where she did not take a position on the issue but saw it as an issue that set her apart from her American colleagues and added to her identity and difference as a woman from Africa. For an idealistic and even romantic rendering of Sibusisiwe's representation of polygamy and the many children it produced, see the two books written by an American friend of Sibusisiwe for American children .⁵⁵

The questions that were posed to Sibusisiwe Makanya by the NEC commissioners required her to give a "yes or no" or "agree or disagree" type

of response. The sometimes long-winded response by Sibusisiwe to these questions are interesting in that they reveal much both about the interviewers and Sibusisiwe. It seems that the interviewers while perhaps aware of some of the changes that the African societies were undergoing, also had set ideas of this society, ideas that were frozen in time and space. Their questioning of the changes that Sibusisiwe described or explained exposes the binary oppositional thinking of the commissioners, demonstrating that they viewed the transformations as temporary or deviant from what they understood to be the norm. Sibusisiwe's refusal to slip into the same mode of speech, where she had to agree or disagree, for example, with commissioners' sometimes simplistic précis of what she said point again to her insider-outsider status in African and white society.

The most valuable find in terms of evidence on Sibusisiwe Makanya and what she thought and said on various issues are the articles published in The South African Outlook, the Native Teachers' Journal and the evidence she gave before the NEC. All these were in 1931, the first year of her return from America in July 1930. She is consistent in all these sources about her calls for the improvement of the quality of African social life in the face of rapid urbanisation and industrialisation by education and the provision of facilities that were denied to Africans. These included adequate housing in urban areas and cities for African family units with the provision of schools and social and recreational facilities so that the family would remain intact and not suffer the ravages that it was undergoing with the migrant labour system that required Africans to sell their labour in the urban areas and then return to impoverished reserves to live their lives. In her call to change the archaic and retain the best in Zulu culture and in her acceptance and incorporation of what she thought to be good from western culture, Sibusisiwe Makanya was really a cultural broker extraordinaire.

Calling for such changes was not all that Sibusisiwe Makanya did. It has been mentioned earlier that she did not join any political party, that she did not enter politics, yet her work amongst her people is an important contribution to an understanding of extra-parliamentary activities in the years she worked as a social worker right up till her death in 1971. Sibusisiwe Makanya never retired. There were many individuals and

groups who asked the authorities to make changes in the life of Africans by legislation that did not discriminate against Africans.⁵⁶ Sibusisiwe, it would seem said what she wanted to say in 1931 and after that she worked to bring about changes in the lives of African people. She worked tirelessly in educating rural people and children and started clubs and self help schemes that would teach people to be self sufficient and productive in a rapidly changing economy. She undertook programmes and projects aimed at adult illiteracy and ran classes for all those who wished to read and write. Her clubs ensured that tribal crafts would endure in an industrialising society and her attempts to empower women by coaxing them to take initiatives and develop leadership skills, reveals Sibusisiwe Makanya to be a woman who seemed to have had faith in a future where better opportunities would present themselves for her people.

Throughout her sojourn in the US, Sibusisiwe Makanya always looked ahead and she generated a positive aura about Africa and Zulu culture for her American audience. She also made good friends with a wide spectrum of people, many who pledged to support her both morally and financially in her plans for her people. Many of these friends wrote to her regularly and there are files of correspondence housed in the Makanya Papers in the Killie Campbell Library that bear testimony to this. Some of these friends visited Sibusisiwe in Umbumbulu but unfortunately there is no complete list of visitors who came over because the guest register was destroyed by white ants and rains before they could be transported to the Killie Campbell archives. According to Sibusisiwe Makanya's report some of the distinguished visitors in the 1930-1935 period were:

Mrs Charlotte Maxeke, a well-known social worker who has done valuable rescue work among Bantu women and girls on the Witwatersrand; Mrs J.K. Bokwe of the Cape Province, who is doing religious work in one of the largest Bantu hospitals, the Victoria Hospital; Dr W.B.Mumford, Lecturer in Comparative Education of the Native Races at London University, late Superintendent of Education in Tanganyika Territory; Mrs Mumford; Mr Stephen Davies, Inspector of Schools in Southern Rhodesia; Professor Mabel Carney, of the Department of Rural Education, Columbia University, USA; and Mrs Annabel Snyder, Supervisor of Rural Schools in

Connecticut; Misses Helen R. Bryan and Margaret E. Jones, both of the Society of Friends, Philadelphia; Mrs Jesse Smith and Miss Slack, both of New York City; Mr W.G. Ballinger and Miss Hodgson, who have done a great deal of research work into the economic conditions of the Bantu in South Africa. Professor Harold and Mrs Rugg of Columbia University; Miss Malherbe, Dietician in Kimberly Hospital; Mshiyeni ka Dinizulu, Head of the Zulu people; the Rev. John L. Dube of Ohlange Institute and a member of the local board of the Bantu Youth League; Mrs M.H. Palmer and her sister Mrs Alexander, formerly of England, India and now of Johannesburg; Professor J.Boxwell of Pretoria University.⁵⁷

This guest list is impressive and it is indicative of the importance placed on the work that Sibusisiwe Makanya was doing in her field by others in the same or related fields. Her teacher and admirer, Mabel Carney said to Sibusisiwe Makanya after she saw what work was being done:

The more I know of your plans the more enthusiastic I become. You are the most outstanding native African woman in the world today, and I look forward with full confidence to the great service you will render your people, and through them, the world.⁵⁸

In Umbumbulu where Sibusisiwe Makanya had received and entertained all these guests, she was to once again break with age old traditions pertaining to women in Zulu society. In 1934, at the age of 40, she decided that she wanted to live on her own in a house of her own.⁵⁹ According to Trowbridge, Sibusisiwe confided in her parents about her bold scheme in a conservative society. Sibusisiwe decided that she would live alone and take care of her herd boys; her night school had become an integral part of her life. Her father approved of her plans and offered her land near his house where he would help build a house for Sibusisiwe. Before she accepted this offer, Trowbridge informs that Sibusisiwe consulted with Dube who advised that it would be better if she built her house a distance away from her parental home. Dube's reasons were that part of the family that Sibusisiwe wanted to reach might not come to a family home and that whatever she did would seem to be a family affair and this could have

negative effects in that financial aid might be more difficult to procure.⁶⁰ Sibusisiwe Makanya's parents agreed and this time her father gave her land away from his house. Trowbridge explains that Nxele had given land to his friend Charlie Khumbuza and now he asked Charlie to give some land to Sibusisiwe. He agreed to do this and to inquisitive neighbours, Trowbridge explains, Charlie merely said that he was giving back to Nxele a bit of his land. Interestingly Sibusisiwe's father had to negotiate with Charlie Khumbuza because as a woman Sibusisiwe could not request a permit to obtain land and build a house.⁶¹ This had never been done before and such a request would meet with great communal disapproval. Even at forty years of age Sibusisiwe, who was accepted as leader in society, was considered a minor before the law of the land. Students from Adams Mission helped Nxele build the house for Sibusisiwe and according to Trowbridge, the adobe blocks were made on site. A big house was built. There were five rooms, a long rectangular space that served as living room, social room for the community, and a school room for her herd boys, a modern kitchen with a wood and iron stove, a sink and taps but there was no running water, cupboards, a table and two chairs. The Simmons bed was placed in the guest room to be used by her visitors. According to Trowbridge, Sibusisiwe Makanya's parents gave her their blessings as they would have done had she got married and moved to her husband's home.

Trowbridge comments that there was a furore in the community but that Sibusisiwe Makanya was unaware of it. It is not clear how Trowbridge could have known this. It is plausible that when she visited Sibusisiwe in Umbumbulu in the 1960s, she had interviewed people about the work and changes brought about by Sibusisiwe. Myrtle Trowbridge was a lecturer in History at a university in America. Trowbridge paints a word picture to capture the enormity of the upheaval created in Umbumbulu by Sibusisiwe's plan to live on her own: women at the river spoke disapprovingly of Sibusisiwe. Men met in the cattle fold and passed spittle between their teeth as they discussed what options they had to put a stop to this. They could not go to Nxele because he had already given his blessings. They could not go to the chief because Nxele enjoyed a good standing in the community and the Makanya's were a big clan. Trowbridge observes that Sibusisiwe's action threatened much of what the men took for granted--their

women might get ideas too! They felt frustrated it would seem and Trowbridge explains that they wanted to know why didn't Sibusisiwe marry, "was that not the role of women" they asked rhetorically. Their criticism moved from Sibusisiwe to her sisters and the men commented that only one of the four sisters married. They finally resolved to write a letter to the white police stationed in the area complaining that Sibusisiwe Makanya was running a brothel in her home.

It was at 3 am one morning, Trowbridge explains, that the police banged on Sibusisiwe Makanya's door and stated the reason for their visit. Trowbridge narrates that Sibusisiwe told them to search the house and when they refused she reminded them that they had to write a report; the police did not search. After having had coffee with her and having discussed the work that she was doing in the community the police left. Trowbridge narrates that the incident shook Sibusisiwe Makanya and deeply wounded her, it was difficult for her to comprehend that any Zulu could lie so about her. Sibusisiwe Makanya realised that the men wanted to punish her and teach other women in the community a lesson because she was upsetting old accepted paths.

This incident, it seemed, foreshadowed more unfortunate news for Sibusisiwe Makanya. In 1934, the American committee was no longer able to finance the BYL. The effects of the Depression of 1930 had taken its toll and it was Dube who informed Sibusisiwe about this misfortune. Trowbridge writes that Dube had to tell Sibusisiwe to disband the BYL but that he also suggested that she form a community centre from where she could still continue with the work she was doing in the community. Once again Sibusisiwe Makanya devoted all her energies and established the Umbumbulu Community Centre which had a constitution and office bearers very similar to the BYL. Dube and Mr Malcolm, who supervised the activities of the BYL and was also an Inspector of schools, backed Sibusisiwe. She had the position of Director but since there were no funds at all, Sibusisiwe received no salary. Trowbridge states that when Sibusisiwe's parents heard all this they were happy for their daughter and their response to her working without pay, Nxele added 'You will not want for food as long as we live'⁶². According to Trowbridge, Sibusisiwe Makanya and her

parents reminisced about the family that evening. There were many of the children who were no longer alive. Sibusisiwe's brother Babane had died a long time ago. Her youngest sister had recently died recently and this was difficult for Sibusisiwe to bear because this sister had walked almost the same path as Sibusisiwe herself. As a teacher her interest in pupils went far beyond the classroom and Trowbridge narrates that it was only at her funeral that her own family learnt of her invaluable work in the community and how she had become an inspiration to others. Both Babane and Sibusisiwe's youngest sister were buried on the family farm called Thembelike. Qonda, the only daughter of Nxele to marry, had trained as a nurse at McCord's Hospital and then moved away to Pietermaritzburg where her husband had a home. Trowbridge writes that on hearing the news of Qonda's death, Nxele said, "*Lobola* is a poor reward for losing a daughter to another kraal."⁶³ This is an interesting quotation in that it shows that the simplistic equation of daughters to *lobola* was not really the case as far as Nxele was concerned and it is not known how many other fathers in the community shared this sentiment. This again shows the many little shifts in perceptions of people in Sibusisiwe's community and points to the dynamism in society as a whole that Sibusisiwe was at great pains to effect. Change and adaptation was crucial in a society that lived in a rapidly changing political economy.

Without the aid of US funding it was extremely difficult for Sibusisiwe Makanya to continue with her work. She received no salary at all from the Umbumbulu Community Centre (hereafter UCC) yet her own home was in effect the UCC. It was here that the various community functions were held and it was here that she received guests from around South Africa and abroad. It was her herd boys, as she referred to them in Trowbridge's biography, that provided companionship for her and it was in teaching them that she experienced intrinsic satisfaction and hope. Providing food for the boys had been a problem but her parents always helped by bringing over baskets of vegetables and other food. Sibusisiwe recalled to Trowbridge that she could never have done it without her parents who were always there to help her with food and support and show their faith in her against all odds. She worked for her community even when they

disapproved of her way of life and she did it all without the accrual of any material reward: Sibusisiwe Makanya's work was a labour of love .

Apart from the numerous classes she held in sewing, knitting, cookery and the workshops that she conducted on nutrition, health and hygiene in liaison with academics of the Medical School and Social Work Department of Natal University, Sibusisiwe Makanya spent many hours in her garden. She planted different types of flowers to attract birds and beautify her immediate surrounding and the assistance of her herd boys and the interest they took in building a bird bath resulted in them experimenting with similar things in their own homes. Trowbridge comments that this was important because it offered the hope that when these boys become adults they would implement lessons learnt at Sibusisiwe's home and teach their children the value of taking care of natural surroundings. While this may be accepted as a plausible effect of the lessons learnt from gardening and building of bird baths , there is yet another perspective that gardens offer towards an understanding of Sibusisiwe. Alice Walker, in her womanist prose entitled In Search of Our Mother's Gardens , explains that she had observed her mother, who had endured great pain inflicted by slavery, sexism and other types of degradation, work in her garden. Walker explains that working in the garden and planting beautiful flowers was her mother's way of "Ordering the universe in the image of her personal conception of Beauty."⁶⁴ She writes:

And I remember people coming to my mother's yard to be given cuttings from her flowers; I hear again the praise showered on her because whatever soil she landed on, she turned into a garden. A garden so brilliant with colors, so original in its design, so magnificent with life and creativity ... ⁶⁵

I have chosen to discuss this quotation with reference to Sibusisiwe because it struck me as though Walker might have been referring to Sibusisiwe Makanya. Working in the garden is an act of deliberate creation and construction of beauty as the gardener would like to see. Sibusisiwe was always attempting to improve her environment and the quality of life of her people and in a world turning ugly by racist laws aimed at denying Africans basic human rights, the diversion that beautiful gardens offered

must have had some spiritual worth for Sibusisiwe. She also gave the community cuttings from her garden so that flowers and vegetables from her garden could take root in other areas in the community. This simple act of giving cuttings from her garden to others in the community could be read in several ways. As a researcher constructing the life of Sibusisiwe Makanya, I read it as a further testimony of her dedication to growth, improvement and change in her community to meet the challenges of the modernising and urbanising country that South Africa was becoming.

Many people visited the UCC and many supporters, according to Trowbridge, marvelled at her ability to do so much with so little money. Friends gave her many gifts such as furniture, soft furnishings such as paintings and rugs, a piano and so on. Sibusisiwe Makanya used these to furnish her house and people began coming over to browse through magazines that she kept in the living room for them to read. Women from far away kraals used to come to her home and wait there for the bus to take them to various places they intended going. Slowly, Trowbridge explains, Sibusisiwe's home became the 'hub nub' of social life in Umbumbulu. By the time of the 15th anniversary of living on her own in 1949, Sibusisiwe was still working for her community without a salary. In her annual reports the same concern about lack of funds appeared and work was made possible by donations from friends within South Africa and individuals from the US. At times Sibusisiwe opened her house to paying guests, one such guest was Desmond Reader and his newly wedded wife Dolores. Reader was a student from Cambridge University who did anthropological investigations amongst the Makanya in Umbumbulu. Dolores Reader used to volunteer to help with tuition of herd boys. During this time the financial plight of the UCC was being made public by white friends who had contacts with newspapers. The Natal Daily News of 16 and 17 June 1949 published articles about the state of affairs in UCC and appeals were made for donations to continue social work there. This helped somewhat and the UCC's treasurer, Mrs Julia Hosken, did receive some money that offered some hope for the possibility of more funds.

As the activities around the UCC increased in number and nature the small area used for functions was becoming too small. According to Trowbridge

more huts were built to accommodate a dormitory for the herd boys and one for the local Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). The YWCA was built mainly by the women themselves. Trowbridge explains that they were the carpenters. The YWCA was very active and held many programmes. Important office bearers of the international and national head offices of the YWCA visited the UCC and it was a great boost for the local women because, Trowbridge explains that they felt that they belonged to an organisation that linked them to women the world over. The Brownie Guides and Girl Guides spent much time clearing litter in the area. More importantly the YWCA became a nucleus through which women in the community could be reached and more classes were held teaching women how to patch pants and sew clothes for children. During all this time Sibusisiwe Makanya also had to catch up with correspondence from friends in America and she kept contact with Ai from Japan. Often the two women would compare notes about the work they were doing in different parts of the world.

Sibusisiwe Makanya began slowly reaping the rewards, as it were, of her work with the herd boys. Some returning African soldiers after South Africa's participation in World War Two were from Umbumbulu and some were Sibusisiwe Makanya's former herd boys. One of the returning soldiers, a former herd boy, visited Sibusisiwe and told her about his experiences in Egypt as a volunteer in the South African Army. According to Trowbridge, he thanked Sibusisiwe Makanya for teaching him to read and write stating that it was that ability that helped him keep his sanity. He was able to correspond with his family in Umbumbulu and had seen the effects of separation from family and country on those men who could not read and write. Many other former herd boys used to visit Sibusisiwe and they to thanked her for the lessons learnt while living under her roof, many of these men, according to Trowbridge, had secured good employment in Durban because they could read and write.

Despite the satisfaction these accounts had given Sibusisiwe Makanya, the work she was doing became increasing difficult because of the lack of funds. With this failing funding came yet another severe loss for Sibusisiwe. Her father and one of her keenest supporters, Nxele Makanya, died at the

age of ninety years. Her mother was extremely lonely and Sibusisiwe, according to Trowbridge, used to spend long hours comforting her. Her father's funeral was a big one and attended by many people but he once again broke with tradition by having left instructions to be buried in the cemetery behind the church. Trowbridge writes that Sibusisiwe felt helpless without her father who used to support and advise her. Sibusisiwe's mother, according to Trowbridge, now lived in the past because the loss of her husband and three children was too difficult to bear. Trowbridge writes that Sibusisiwe's mother used to talk about how proud she felt that her first born had become a recognised community leader determined to uphold many Zulu traditions. It was only a year after the death of her father that Sibusisiwe had to endure the loss of her mother. Trowbridge writes that this was another difficult and depressing period in her life. It was for the first time that Sibusisiwe was without her parents, except during her stay in the US. Although she had moved out of her parental home she still had her parents close by and they were always willing to support her in whatever she did in the course of her work. It was for the first time now that she could be seen to be alone. It was to begin a new phase in her life and the community which had always seen Sibusisiwe living on her own also at the same time saw the guardianship of her father metaphorically shielding her.

Sibusisiwe Makanya again devoted all her energies to the UCC and the many activities that she organised there. The UCC needed more land to build more huts because the increasing number of activities and the increasing number of people attending these activities rendered the present facilities inadequate. The problem of funding continued to plague Sibusisiwe and members of the UCC. Trowbridge writes that there was no money for expansion of the current facilities just a lot of prayer that some miracle might occur and get them out of their financial predicament. The "miracle" was a legacy left to Sibusisiwe Makanya by Lucy Johnston, a keen supporter and friend of Sibusisiwe and someone who appreciated the kind of work that was being done in Umbumbulu by Sibusisiwe. Lucy Johnston had alleviated the burden of funding for the herd boys by giving a donation to Sibusisiwe and had since then continued to support her programmes. Now after her death in Cape Town she left a sum of five thousand pounds to Sibusisiwe. This money was left to Sibusisiwe personally and was not

earmarked by Johnston for any purpose. Sibusisiwe did not at all consider herself or the things that she could do for herself with the money, without any hesitation she pledged the entire sum of money to the building of a hall and at least two classrooms for the UCC, once again demonstrating by her actions her selfless singular devotion to the welfare of her community and people.⁶⁶

Footnotes to Chapter Four

1. Nicholas Cope, To Bind the Nation, (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1993), p.148.
2. Cope, To Bind, see p.153-158 for the growth of the popularity of the ICU amongst the rank and file of Zulus in Natal and the influence of Champion.
3. Paul la Hausse, "The Message of the Warriors" in P. Bonner et al (eds), Holding their Ground, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1989), p. 19.
4. S.A.I.R.R. papers AD 843/B 14.4 Letter from Sibusisiwe Makanya dated 4/9/30
5. King, Pan Africanism, p.213, comment by Blyden in conversation about value/danger of educating Africans abroad.
6. S.A.I.R.R. papers AD 843/B 14.4 letter from Sibusisiwe Makanya dated 4/9/30
7. For more on Bertha Mkize see Paul la Hausse, "The Message of the Warriors" in Phillip Bonner et al (eds), Holding their Ground, (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1989), p. 26-29.
8. Lionel Forman, A Trumpet from the Housetops, (Cape Town: David Philip, 1992) see photograph and name of Treason trialists.
9. Margaret McCord, The Calling of Katie Makanya, (Cape Town: David Philip, 1995) p. 216-218, see for reasons why a white woman joined the march and the subtle challenges of the younger generation of women to older generation as represented by Katie.
10. S.A.I.R.R. papers AD 843/B 14.4, Letter from Sibusisiwe Makanya 27/2/31
11. Interview with Brigalia Bam, 3/10/95
12. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p.119
13. Brian Willan, Sol Plaatje, p. 294-323
14. Makanya Papers, File 4, KCM 14531, Journal of the National Association of College, p.17
15. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p.144
16. S.A.I.R.R. AD 843/B 14.4, Record of the Work of the Bantu Youth League, July 1930-July 1935.
17. S.A.I.R.R. AD 843/B 14.4, Record of the Work of the BYL, July 1930-July 1935.
18. Sibusisiwe Makanya, "The problems of the Zulu girl", in Native Teachers' Journal, April, 1931, p.116
19. Carl N. Degler, "What the Women's Movement has done to American History", in Elizabeth Langland and Walter Gove, (ed) A Feminist Perspective in the Academy, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), p.68.
20. See also Belinda Bozzoli, "Marxism, Feminism and South African Studies", Journal of South African Studies, 9, 1983.
21. S.A.I.R.R. AD 843/B 14.4, Record of the Work of the BYL, July 1930- July 1935
22. S.A.I.R.R. AD 843/B 14.4, Record of the work of the BYL, July 1930-1935
23. S.A.I.R.R. AD 843/B 14.4 Record of the Work of BYL, 1930-1935
24. S.A.I.R.R. AD 843/B 14.4 Record of the Work of the BYL, 1930-1935
25. Belinda Bozzoli, Women of Phokeng, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1991), see, for an excellent collection of oral testimonies from such women and how important such work is for the annals of South African history.
26. S.A.I.R.R. AD 843/B 14.4, Record of the work of the BYL, 1930-1935
27. S.A.I.R.R. AD 843/B 14.4, Record of the work of the BYL, 1930-1935

28. Murray, The school, p.130
29. Makanya, "Zulu girl", p.117
30. Trowbridge Biography, Part 1, KCM 14343, P.3
31. Seiff, "Gender, Tradition"
32. Seiff, "Gender, Tradition", p.34
33. McCord, The Calling, p.214-224 see for the incident concerning the problems of Bertha Mkize and Mrs Bailey.
34. Makanya Papers, File 4, KCM 14531, p.16
35. E. Said, Orientalism, (London, Routledge, 1978)
36. Chandra Mohanty, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses" in Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991)
37. Sibusisiwe Makanya, "Social Needs of Modern Native Life" in South African Outlook, September, 1931, p.109
38. S.A.I.R.R. AD 843/B 14.4, Letter from Sibusisiwe Makanya to American friends dated 27/2/31, p.2
39. Makanya, "Social Needs", p.169
40. NEC, Evidence of S. Makanya ,p.6302
41. NEC, Evidence of S. Makanya, p.6302
42. NEC, Evidence of S. Makanya, p.6302-6303
43. NEC, Evidence of S. Makanya, p.6303
44. NEC, Evidence of S. Makanya, p.6303
45. Murray, The School, p.39
46. Murray, The School, p.88
47. Les Switzer, Power and Resistance in an African Society, (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1993).
48. Reader, Zulu Tribe.
49. NEC, Evidence of S. Makanya, p.6306
50. Refer to Makanya, "Social Needs"
51. NEC, Evidence of S. Makanya, p.6306
52. See Buchi Emecheta, The Joys of Motherhood, (London: Fontana, 1988)
53. NEC, Evidence of S. Makanya, p.6306
54. NEC, Evidence of S. Makanya, p.6306
55. I am grateful to Dr Catherine Burns, my supervisor, for tracing these books for me. Catherine sent our e-mails to David L. Eastbrook, Curator of Library for African Studies at Northwestern University, Illinois, who informed us where the books are housed:
Reba Paeff Mirsky's books Thirty one Brothers and Sisters and Seven Grandmothers are housed at Northwestern and Brigham Young University, respectively. I eventually managed to trace one copy of Thirty one brothers and sisters in University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg campus, it is the copy that is addressed to Sibusisiwe Makanya and signed from Mirsky. Interestingly, these have been translated into Zulu and Xhosa by Lovedale Press in 1968.
56. Such organisations included the ANC, SACP and numerous church groups.
57. S.A.I.R.R. AD 843/B 14.4, Report of the work of the BYL, 1930-1935
58. Trowbridge Biography, Part 2, KCM 14344, p.113.
59. Virginia Woolf, A Room of one's own, (London: Jentry Books, 1977)
60. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p.129

61. See also H.J. Simons, African Women: Their Legal Status in South Africa, (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968).
62. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345,p.135
63. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345,p.135
64. Alice Walker, In Search of our Mothers' Garden,(London: The Women's Press, 1983), p.241
65. Walker, In Search of, p.241
66. Interview with Dr Dhlomo,21/9/95

CHAPTER FIVE

ROLE MODEL LAYING ONE OF THE FOUNDATIONS OF UMBUMBULU

The gift of five thousand pounds that was left to Sibusisiwe Makanya in 1952 brought optimism, hope and enthusiasm to the people associated with the UCC. It stood surety for a project that was to bring a new lease of life to the community of Umbumbulu. For Sibusisiwe, it provided the realisation of a long awaited dream to build a hall to hold the many functions and social programmes that she found were now so well attended by her community. A new building offered tangible proof --in terms of brick and mortar--of the changes that were being made in the community. In some ways the building was a monument to Sibusisiwe's life's work. That the money could generate such activity is indicative of how little was really needed in terms of hard cash to enable dedicated individuals who worked in the community to effect transformations in a settlement such as Umbumbulu which had suffered from the erosions of dispossession and wage labour.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s Sibusisiwe once again demonstrated her role as cultural broker when she turned to an old Zulu custom ingeniously adapting it to weld together various strata of the communities in and around Umbumbulu. *Isivivane* is an old Zulu custom relating to a heap of lucky stones. Inherent in this custom is the lesson of sharing and of helping others. The idea is that when a person is known to be in need, those who pass along the road throw in their lot with the one in need by bringing in a stone and adding it to the pile as their token of help - having added to the lucky heap, they continue on their journey taking some of the good fortune with them. Sibusisiwe wrote in the news bulletin that the UCC was in need of stones for the prospective building project and after explaining the custom of *isivivane* for the benefit of her non Zulu readers, Trowbridge reported Sibusisiwe Makanya as saying:

What could be better than to build our foundation from the *isivivane* which we have started on the roadside. Legend does not say whether the man with a lorry should unload a lorryful or not, but you can be sure that we would not refuse such good fortune in our need.¹

Sibusisiwe Makanya, it would seem, seldom if ever lost an opportunity to perpetuate age old meaningful traditions of the Zulus as she construed them, turning them into advantageous uses. There was another Zulu custom that she popularised in her social work amongst the people of Umbumbulu. This custom required that when great good fortune came to the owner of a kraal, then the owner would call together members of the community to identify themselves with the joy of the host. She invited Chief Lugobe head of the Makanya and Headmen Mleni Shange and Mphisisi Wond of the Mbo to the UCC to acknowledge receipt of the bequest of Lucy Johnston. This meeting was held on 18 October 1952 and other important guests included Hamilton Makanya, Supervisor of Schools, and H. Reyersbach, a local businessman and Chairman of the Building Committee. By organising this meeting Sibusisiwe Makanya once again embodied the gender roles expected of women in the area of Umbumbulu and staked the leadership role that she was to play in the community.

Firstly, by extending an invitation to the head of the two factions that occupied the area she ensured that the prospective building project would be accepted by both sides and at the same time she brought together two groups that did periodically succumb to faction fighting. According to Reader it was the fighting between the Mbo and the Makanya factions that necessitated the establishment of a permanent police camp in the area in 1935.² The periodical fighting that occurs in the Umbumbulu area is not about the legitimacy of the chieftainship, it seems to be about faction fighting between clans for various issues.³ Secondly, and perhaps more importantly for this project about a construction of the life and work of Sibusisiwe Makanya, by her extension of the invitation to both men as representatives of their respective communities, she by implication also asked them to agree that a woman could be the head of a kraal, a hitherto unchallenged male domain and seat of patriarchal power. This was also symbolic of the increasing sense of leadership and initiative that women in the community were assuming and their slipping into the position of head of the kraal as men in increasing numbers left the area in search of employment in urban and industrial centres in South Africa.

Within about four months Sibusisiwe's plan to build through *isivivane* was working. Trowbridge writes that a great number of people pooled their resources to get the project off the ground. Mr Malcom, Inspector of Schools, helped obtain the necessary permit to build from the Department of Native Affairs. Architects from Durban--Stead and Jewitt-- and a Mr Bacchus of St. Winifreds, also a member of Masters and Builders Association, offered to supervise and design the building free of charge. O.N. Mohamed and N. Jeena and Sons of Adams Missions hauled sand from the Nungwana River without any charge. Messrs. F. Jenks, F. Storm and H. Reyersbach loaned trucks gratis for the carting of building material from Durban to the UCC. Mr Oliver Pearce, Director of Illovo Sugar Estates, and Mr C.P.C. Douglas, secretary of the company, arranged to have stones for the foundation and other building materials transported to the UCC. According to Trowbridge, Sibusisiwe Makanya was especially happy with the involvement of Oliver Pearce in the project because his grandfather, Mr Willie Pearce, was almost a legend in Umbumbulu for the encouragement he gave to the first African cane planters. Associated Quarries donated five hundred pounds to the Building Fund and in addition gave a discount of 30% on all crushed stone purchased from them by the Building Committee. The assistance from communities and classes of people officially "segregated" from one another touched Sibusisiwe.⁴ If we backtrack somewhat we can recall that the symbolism of the Three Magi of different races in a church in America had inspired Sibusisiwe Makanya to initiate activities in Umbumbulu, activities tinged with internationalism, inter-racialism and with equality accorded to all religions. Accordingly, she ensured that the laying of the foundation stone became a ceremony of this interaction. People of the different faiths; Christians, Muslims, Hindus and traditional Zulu priests ; and people of all races were invited to witness Mr F.M.Hallowes, District Inspector of Schools, who was given the honour to lay the corner stone.⁵

Recollections of Sibusisiwe Makanya's work and the impact of her activities in those years, stress the centrality of Sibusisiwe Makanya's pragmatism and her decision or strategy to focus on symbolic "actions" rather than political discussion or organisation in combating racial division. For example, Ellen Kuzwayo, in an interview recalling Umbumbulu and Sibusisiwe Makanya, said that to really appreciate Sibusisiwe Makanya, one had to read her

actions.⁶ These actions could be interpreted to reveal the unique manner in which Sibusisiwe Makanya related to members of different races and office bearers of a state apparatus that was rapidly becoming racially polarised in the wake of the Nationalist victory and the ascension of Malan in the all white elections of 1948. The policy of apartheid strictly prohibited inter-racial co-operation as was witnessed in Umbumbulu. Yet Sibusisiwe Makanya countered this policy in her own non-confrontational and unique manner. She interacted with all people from a position of equality. She did not suggest that she was inferior to anyone nor superior to any one. Indeed her position at this time stressed her Zulu cultural roots yet she did not construct herself as "other" to those she liaised with nor did she assume that non Zulus were incapable of appreciating or adopting as their own, Zulu customs that she so loved and wished to preserve. Just as she had moved through various social contexts in her life and developed a sense of insider/ outsider status in relation to Zulu and non Zulu society, she expected of other people such an ability to be able to share and understand the peculiarities of cultural practises foreign perhaps to their own but not beyond the ken of those who wished to learn. In this regard Sibusisiwe Makanya forged a middle path between ethnicity, exclusivity and nationalism and democratic expansiveness and inclusiveness.

In effect, when she asked others to assist in her building project, she had appealed to a sense of *ubuntu* that exists in all people of all cultures and climes, an obligation that transcends political philosophies as espoused by apartheid and instils a sense of dignity in those who assist because they have, consciously or unconsciously, resisted the socialisation of apartheid. Sibusisiwe had, in effect, provided the space for this reflexivity towards apartheid induced socialisation.⁷ While she attempted to steer this middle of the road course regarding inter cultural issues, she at the same time constantly drew attention to the subordination of women in all echelons of society. By this action she forged links between women as a group because of the common laws discriminating against women while apartheid laws aimed at creating a blind spot on that point of unity between women in South Africa by segregating people into groups or "nations".

Sibusisiwe Makanya did not allow the opportunity provided by the laying of the foundation stone to pass without drawing attention to the status of women in society. Trowbridge wrote that in her speech on that day, Sibusisiwe said:

We have here today amongst us, the Magistrate of the district, Mr C.R. Gillbanks, and a Justice of the Supreme Court, Mr Justice Edgar H. Henocsberg. I hope they will tell us why we women are regarded as perpetual minors and when it is thought we will reach majority.⁸

According to Trowbridge, an official from the magistrate's office, on hearing this woman's right barb, said:

This, coming from her who had done more than any male of her tribe, who enjoys complete freedom as a major, made us laugh at the blind rigidity of law which can muzzle talented persons because of their sex or colour and give complete freedom to others for the same reason.⁹

This is indicative of the kind of resistance that Sibusisiwe Makanya offered to existing establishments of power. By her actions she would challenge them to reflect upon their own limitations or the limitations of systems that they supported. While it is true that she did not cause immediate changes to be made to the status quo, at least she had initiated discussions in that direction. At the same ceremony, a man of note in the Makanya clan stated after having his refreshment, that he would agitate for Sibusisiwe Makanya's appointment as Chieftainess if the Chieftainship of the Makanya became vacant. This remark also followed, according to Trowbridge, after Sibusisiwe brought Chief Bong'n-Kosi ka Dabulesahke Makanya to her home a while before the function of the laying of the foundation stone. He was old, alone and ill and she cared and nursed him as a daughter till his death. This act was to alter again the perception of various sectors of the community who constantly watched Sibusisiwe Makanya in the hope, according to Trowbridge, of not missing the time when she faulted. Trowbridge writes that Sibusisiwe's opponents became fewer and less

vocal.¹⁰ Evidently, her life choices which were not what was generally expected of a woman in the period in which Sibusisiwe Makanya lived and matured, were for now at least acceptable to most people in the community.

The *isivivane* that Sibusisiwe Makanya had begun in order to undertake the building of the hall predates the concept of nation building or *Masakhane*. An examination of the attempts made by Sibusisiwe to obtain help and expertise from private individuals and business concerns and the total involvement of the community in the hall building project reveals uncanny similarities with the current popularisation of community-based self help schemes striving to create a new sense of mutual purpose. That Sibusisiwe had initiated an idea that is vogue and politically correct today in the new South Africa more than 40 years earlier, is further indicative of the visions and intentions of a woman well ahead of her time, a woman whose life and work has been unfortunately neglected by scholars of social and cultural history.

It is not at all surprising that the life and work of Sibusisiwe Makanya had become a source of inspiration to women in her living years. She soon became a role model to others whose work in the community was equally valuable and several are worth mentioning here for the impact they had on the lives of people--particularly women--in the region. Constance Makanya, a cousin of Sibusisiwe graduated as a nurse from McCord's hospital and Dr McCord had, according to Trowbridge, praised her as one of the most capable of African nurses. Constance Makanya married Jonathan Makanya, also a cousin of Sibusisiwe, who built his wife a four room hospital-cum-dispensary in one section of his house. According to Trowbridge, the government health inspectors inspected the premises annually but gave no assistance in terms of medicines or finance. Constance Makanya used to buy medicines at discounted prices from McCords Hospital in Durban. Local people would come to Constance Makanya's hospital for treatment and they used to bring their own food which normally consisted of a sack of mealies. As payment for her services, Constance Makanya received gifts of food, bedding, clothes and furniture and she was grateful for this. Constance Makanya's greatest aid, according to Trowbridge, was the bi-monthly visits by Dr McCord who helped with the difficult cases. Constance Makanya's

dedication to the health care of her community resulted in her walking long distances to various kraals to teach women about the newly researched forms of pre natal care and hygiene. Trowbridge explains that Constance Makanya did this so that women would not turn to the indigenous healers and diviners or *inyangas*, whose herbal remedies did no real harm but whose attempts at surgery had caused much concern. She had seen wounded boys die of infection and many women who could have had normal births had been maimed by them. Trowbridge writes that Constance Makanya could not understand why so many of her people chose to go to local healers or *inyangas* instead of the doctors. This competition between the "witch doctor" and the "white doctor" for African patients, and the regard with which one held the other is interestingly portrayed in The Calling of Katie Makanya.¹¹ It is possible that Constance Makanya also viewed local healers or *inyangas* with concern since she had been trained under Dr McCord who worked tirelessly to rid African patients of their notions that if the white doctor's medicine failed then the witch doctor's must work. Perhaps Dr McCord's views were well meaning but there is the danger that his sentiments may well be construed as a further example of ethnocentrism and one lacking proper understanding of the spiritual need that *inyangas* serve in Zulu society.¹²

Another woman who took Sibusisiwe Makanya as her role model was Trina Makanya. She left school after passing Standard 5 and had attended classes at the UCC. She had no male guardian and supported her widowed mother and herself by knitting - she was also known as the best of cooks in the neighbourhood.¹³ Trina Makanya was being groomed by Sibusisiwe to be her successor. Trowbridge writes that Sibusisiwe knew that she could always depend on Trina Makanya to see to things if she was otherwise occupied. It was decided by members of the UCC that Trina Makanya should be sent to America so that she could study the subjects that Sibusisiwe had studied while she was there.¹⁴ For example, Trina Makanya was expected to walk in Sibusisiwe's footsteps in America. Arrangements were already underway for this, according to Trowbridge, and eager friends in America were willing to help Trina Makanya.

One of Sibusisiwe's staunchest friends was Reba Paeff Mirsky. When she met a man who knew Sibusisiwe and Umbumbulu and learned that he was in America alone because there was no money to bring his family along with him, she paid the fare for his family to come to the USA and they lived for decades in America.¹⁵ Mirsky could perhaps have been one such friend who would have helped Trina Makanya in the USA. Sibusisiwe was very upset and irritated when Trina Makanya's mother objected to her impending departure to America but accepted the decision as final. After Sibusisiwe Makanya's death in 1971, Trina Makanya did take over the work that Sibusisiwe Makanya used to do. While she was efficient, she did not have the same impact as Sibusisiwe Makanya:

She was no ordinary person, she didn't mince her words even during her old age. Sibusisiwe Makanya was a very assertive lady, no man could bully her.¹⁶

The assistance from Trina Makanya must have been an enormous relief for Sibusisiwe who was single handedly running the day to day operation of the UCC, organising classes, workshops and conferences, entertaining numerous guests from South Africa and abroad, serving on the Governing Board of Adams College, helping with requests from other white individuals working with Africans such as Mabel Palmer ¹⁷ or white "madams" and the problems they had with their "maids", especially if these "maids" were from Umbumbulu.¹⁸

It is interesting to attempt to understand the various levels at which Sibusisiwe operated in her attempts to deal with the numerous requests that people made on her time and resources. The requests both by Mabel Palmer and the white "madam" provide an interesting lens through which to view the life and work of Sibusisiwe Makanya. On the one hand she was viewed by her white middle class woman friends as different from other African women they knew because of her stature, her self confidence, her education, her talents, abilities and achievements in her social work. In short, Sibusisiwe Makanya enjoyed an insider/outsider status in both white and Zulu society. These white friends, it would appear, used the friendship they enjoyed with Sibusisiwe to get help in handling situations that arose with either their "protégés" as in Palmer's case or their "maids" as in the Mooi

River housewife's case. It is not possible to know or gauge how Sibusisiwe Makanya must have felt or what she must have thought of these requests which expected her to sympathise with the problems that white women were experiencing with African women.¹⁹ It would seem as though the little problems that Sibusisiwe's friends might have wanted her to help solve merely added to an already extremely busy work schedule of community work. In addition to all this Sibusisiwe Makanya had a large body of correspondence to which to attend. She often woke up before the break of dawn to catch up with her correspondence, according to Trowbridge, and then she would attend to the rest of a very full day. The issue of correspondence is crucial in terms of evidence that is available for the construction of Sibusisiwe's life and work.

It is appropriate at this juncture to return to the discussion about sources as I have discussed in all Chapters in the course of this thesis. One of the greatest difficulties in my attempts to construct a life study of Sibusisiwe Makanya has been the gaps or silences in the available sources. Ironically, contributing to lacunae in the records is Sibusisiwe Makanya herself. According to correspondence between Marguerite Malherbe and Desmond Reader regarding Malherbe's gathering of memories on Sibusisiwe Makanya, Reader states the reason for there not being a copy of his book entitled Zulu Tribe in Transition with Sibusisiwe Makanya's papers- which he dedicated to Sibusisiwe as "Leader of her People"- could be that Sibusisiwe had thrown it out with other papers.²⁰ Sibusisiwe had written to Malherbe stating that she had a "fear of being evicted by papers from her office".²¹ This is crucial and may be read to mean several things. Firstly, it could be seen to reveal her own consciousness of herself creating a public. Sibusisiwe had worked hard at educating many people in America about Zulu culture as she represented it and had succeeded in interesting several influential people in her project and her social work in Umbumbulu. Her work cut across race relations, Africa as a curiosity amongst Americans, missionary work and education. All of these were issues at the core of American philanthropic interest in Africa and in Sibusisiwe Makanya. The increasing work load that Sibusisiwe Makanya had to deal with and the increasing interest of her audience and public now, it seems, began to tax her limited resources. Sibusisiwe Makanya had no institution to back her,

she had no administrative structure in place that could take over her work. She had to deal with the correspondence herself and it is possible that she could not satisfy the bureaucracy that came with it. She was physically in a position where she could not handle the burgeoning correspondence.

Sibusisiwe's action of throwing out boxes of unopened correspondence could be partly her choice not to handle the correspondence and partly due to the circumstances in which she found herself. She did not really stop corresponding with her regular friends, many who were very influential people in American society, and even after her death many letters addressed to Sibusisiwe Makanya were forwarded to Malherbe. It is an interesting exercise to contemplate how a white woman in Sibusisiwe Makanya's position would have handled this situation. It is possible that due to the privileging of one racial category of people over others in South Africa during the apartheid years, could have meant that a white woman with similar contacts and the prominence enjoyed by Sibusisiwe Makanya would have had an administrative structure in place, perhaps a secretary or two and some other clerical staff. It is also probable that if such a person had been a white male, such a person would have been given a title such as "Head of Department" or "Professor" or something equally impressive. It is important to underline that Sibusisiwe Makanya was really out of the mainstream of white society, operating on the peripheries of Durban's peri urban area.

Sibusisiwe Makanya it seems was not recognised by the majority of white society outside of her community in Umbumbulu. The white members of the UCC were well aware of the potential that Sibusisiwe Makanya possessed and had approached Professor Bishop Brown who was Vice Chairman of UCC in 1960, to make applications to the University of Natal to confer an Honorary doctorate on Sibusisiwe Makanya.²² However, it seems that such an application was not carried through at all since records are not available at that University's archives.²³ In 1959 recognition of the work that Sibusisiwe Makanya was doing was acknowledged when she was awarded the "Aspro" award. This award consisted of a gold-framed certificate bearing her name and an inscribed gold watch with a cheque of 25 pounds. It was given by a firm called Nicholas Products of Durban to

people are chosen from amongst prominent Africans in the fields of cultural and social endeavour. The Managing Director of the firm wrote to Sibusisiwe Makanya stating:

The award is being made to you for your outstanding services in connection with the founding and conduct of the Sibusisiwe Secondary School at Umbumbulu .²⁴

The function was on the 30 May 1959 and it coincided with the Bantu Eisteddfod which was attended by the Mayor and Mayoress of Durban. In various letters of congratulations that she received from friends it is clear that Sibusisiwe Makanya did feel honoured. In the changed circumstances in South Africa today, Sibusisiwe Makanya would be the sort of person who would be eligible for an honorary doctorate from any university.

Between the period of laying the foundation stone in 1952 to the official opening of the Lucy Johnston Hall in 1955, Sibusisiwe Makanya again busied herself in renovating the UCC with the help of friends. The garden was virtually destroyed by the builders and Trowbridge writes that Sibusisiwe could not contain her irritation any longer when workmen objected to her instructions regarding where to put the signboard for the UCC. Trowbridge quotes Sibusisiwe Makanya as having said:

Look you men, I want you to know that I did not marry because I did not want any man to boss it over me. I am the boss here and you have got to do as I tell you.²⁵

According to Trowbridge, the words fell like a bomb upon the Zulu men because to them she was a minor and like all women she had to be guided by a male. Hamilton Makanya in an interview on Sibusisiwe Makanya also said some things to the same effect :

I know why she didn't get married. You know amongst our people a woman has got to be very nice and humble. She wasn't. She was so outspoken . She would come here and talk to [older] men and women as she would to her friends and the young men

regarded her with fear. They 'd say 'I can't live with such a woman- she's a boss to me ' " 26

In this construction of Sibusisiwe Makanya, it would appear as if she had failed to entice a man into marriage. Such a perception relegates Sibusisiwe Makanya to the mode of biographical writing of women where single women are judged in terms of not being married, and this falls within the paradigm of binary oppositional thinking. It has been discussed in Chapter Two that Sibusisiwe Makanya had made a deliberate decision not to marry, her marital status was her choice and not the result of her not being able to get a man to marry her, as Hamilton Makanya's testimony would suggest. Ellen Kuzwayo, when interviewed on this matter said:

I wouldn't say he [Hamilton Makanya] was critical of Sibusisiwe, he was threatened by Sibusisiwe ... I think this because Sibusisiwe was not apologetic about who she was. You know, men expect women to be shy, timid and to withdraw from the centre - Sibusisiwe was the opposite of these words.²⁷

Prior to the opening of the Lucy Johnston Hall, Sibusisiwe Makanya had again begun running adult literacy classes and the enrolment figures were much higher than when she first started many years before. The South African Institute of Race Relations provided books for class use. These classes were partly financed by the Minister of Education, Arts and Science of the Union of South Africa: a sum of 40 pounds which was in addition to the little assistance give by the Provincial Education Department. She also gave these adult classes at the South African Police camp when the Station Commander had given permission and his support to her.²⁸ Sibusisiwe also perhaps had another reason to give classes to African police. She was always concerned at the way in which "native" police spoke to African women in the urban areas and she had constantly called for changes to their attitudes.²⁹ It is likely that just as Sibusisiwe had conducted lessons in literacy and lessons in morality and etiquette to her herd boys, she also envisaged that in teaching literacy to African police she would impart some of her values and views about how African women ought to be treated by officials. The classes were very successful and Trowbridge writes that one police constable said to Sibusisiwe Makanya:

You don't know how it makes a fellow feel when he can sign his name on a paysheet instead of pressing a thumb print on it .³⁰

Trowbridge writes that this statement almost made Sibusisiwe Makanya cry. It is clear that she must have found her adult literacy classes very rewarding.

The highlight for Sibusisiwe Makanya, according to Trowbridge, was the official opening of the Lucy Johnston Hall on 25 April 1955. It was the result of efforts of many people who had responded to Sibusisiwe Makanya's call of *isivivane*. Despite the legacy of five thousand pounds left by Johnston, the donations, discounts and free services rendered by several people, the building could not have been completed without the aid of Mr Malcom. Malcom was both inspector of schools and a close friend of Sibusisiwe and he bonded his own private house to obtain a loan for the balance of the money needed to complete the building.³¹ This is indicative of the kind of relationship that Sibusisiwe Makanya enjoyed with her friends and the commitment of such friends to a project which Sibusisiwe deemed to be of the highest priority. Malcom was to remain a staunch supporter of Sibusisiwe and this was especially needed when the education policy regarding Africans was being shaped by Verwoed and his notions of educating Africans to know their place in society, that is, to be labourers.³² The hall was officially opened by the Under Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr F.J. de Villiers. There were many speeches and the Natal Mercury covered the event with pictures of the centre and in its coverage of de Villiers' speech its caption read "Great plans for Bantu Education". The irony of this situation was that not even a decade after this speech the Department of Native Education was not prepared to pay sufficient rent for the school and had forgotten all the pledges it had made. Eventually the only option left was to sell the school to the Department and even the selling price was a matter of great disagreement. As part of the ceremony of the official opening of the Lucy Johnston Hall, Sibusisiwe Makanya unveiled the memorial plaque of Lucy Johnston. This event drew much deserved attention and recognition for Sibusisiwe Makanya and she received many letters of congratulations from many quarters of the community and society.

For example, Lambert Ndhladhla of the Nottingham Health Centre, colleagues from within the teaching fraternity, white friends and supporters and people working with African people in the field of social work and education.

Part of the Lucy Johnston Hall was a secondary school. Both Mr F. Hallowes, a representative of the Department of Education, and Mr H.M.S. Makanya, Supervisor of Schools, gave aid to the establishment, according to Trowbridge, of the first Junior Certificate classes in the history of the community and the district.³³ The school was established in 1954, the first of its kind in Umbumbulu. Dr Dhlomo, an ex-pupil of the school, said that for day scholars in Umbumbulu, the high school offered for the first time an opportunity for secondary education. He recalled that the school was well equipped and that no expenses were spared in providing the best that could be offered in those days by a high school.³⁴ Prior to the establishment of this high school pupils who wanted secondary education had to either attend Adam's Mission or girls could attend the Inanda Seminary.

In 1956 Sibusisiwe Makanya received a letter from the Department of Bantu Education based in Pietermaritzburg. The letter informed her that in recognition of her long service to her people and her initiatives at the Umbumbulu Secondary School, the school board of Umbumbulu-Umlazi had recommended that the school be renamed the Sibusisiwe Secondary School in her honour. Trowbridge writes that Mr Hallowes had also supported this and that as of 1 September 1956 the Umbumbulu Secondary School was renamed the Sibusisiwe Secondary School. Trowbridge writes that Sibusisiwe replied simply, "Thank you for the honour you have conferred upon me. It has been a privilege and a joy to contribute one's bit in the common *isisvivane*."³⁵ The school was built according to the guidelines laid down by the Natal Education Department (hereafter NED) and it was agreed that the NED would pay a rent for the school to the UCC. This money was used to maintain the centre, pay towards the upkeep and pay towards Malcom's bond. However as time passed and the Nationalist hold on education and separate development became more firmly entrenched, multiple problems arose regarding the payment of rent by the NED to the UCC. The amount that the NED was prepared to pay in the later

1950s and 1960s as rent was well below the minimum to even maintain the school and there was great concern as to the future of the school and the UCC. This problem was to persist throughout the 1960s and the only solution was the eventual sale of the school to the NED in the late 1960s.³⁶

More buildings were being added to the UCC. Constance Makanya was already running a hospital from her home and as the need for medical assistance grew, Sibusisiwe Makanya built a surgery in the centre. Dr Geoffrey W. Jenkins, according to Trowbridge, used to come to the centre every Tuesdays to hold a clinic there for the people who could not afford to go outside of Umbumbulu for medical attention. The Medical Faculty of the University of Natal used the place to distribute milk for children and give talks about the inclusion of more protein in the regular diet of rural people. They had given Sibusisiwe Makanya a list of *mfino*, or Zulu spinach, that was high in protein content and Sibusisiwe popularised this as well as continued to give people cuttings from her vegetable garden in the hope that the nutritional content of the diet of her people will be enhanced. The place was also used to inoculate the people against tuberculosis, which was fast becoming a disease that affected thousands of people in South Africa.

Besides her involvement in the high school and clinic, Sibusisiwe Makanya also built the first library in Umbumbulu. Prior to the building of a library she always used to keep magazines and books that were donated to her by various friends inside and outside South Africa, in her house. People used to come to browse through these and read material that was otherwise unavailable in Umbumbulu. The library was built with weatherboard material and many books were donated by trustees of the Non-European Progress Society, which was created by Mrs E. Whitehead of Victoria, Mooi River. Whitehead's interest was, in her terms, improving in any way she could, the life of Zulu people.³⁷ The library was officially opened by the Regional Organiser of the Provincial Non-European Library Service, Mr J.M. Seeleman. The library that Sibusisiwe built also provided local school teachers and the staff of the magistrate's office with in welcome recreation in the reading of current books. The library was administered by the principal of the Higher Primary School, Mr Richard Mathousi, and the principal of the Primary School, Miss Alice Ngcobo, thus drawing on and developing local expertise.

Trowbridge writes that amongst the books in the library Sibusisiwe Makanya prized was one by an American author, Reba Paeff Mirsky called Seven Grandmothers. Mirsky dedicated this book to her husband Dr Mirsky and to Sibusisiwe Makanya. Trowbridge writes that Sibusisiwe was delighted with the book and, "There was her name in print, finding its way into many libraries, especially children's libraries in America. It was a beautiful story, she thought, relating many of the Zulu customs that she prayed would be preserved."³⁸ Mirsky wrote another book for children called Thirty one Brothers and Sisters, this book too creates an interesting representation of life in a Zulu rural area and in so doing explains many Zulu customs with simplicity and clarity. Both Mirsky's books were published in 1952 and 1955 respectively by Follet Publishers. The Follet Award was an award given to the best example of children's literature in America in that period. It was difficult to get hold of these books in South Africa and only Thirty one Brothers and Sisters could be located in the Pietermaritzburg campus library of the University of Natal.³⁹ The book Seven Grandmothers, as far as can be ascertained, is lodged at Brigham Young University in America.⁴⁰ Mirsky visited Sibusisiwe Makanya in Umbumbulu in the 1950s and had seen how rural people lived. The issue of polygamy which both books relate to are handled in an educational manner. As mentioned in Chapter Three Sibusisiwe was extremely curious about the practise of polygamy amongst the Mormons but had found that her Congregationalist hosts were uncomfortable with it. It is probable that the topic was discussed while the Mirskys were in South Africa. Interestingly too, Brigham Young University which has a copy of Seven Grandmothers is named after the famous Mormon with many wives. This book captured the imagination of American children and in 1960 there were a few who wanted Zulu pen pals who could write English. This exercise in cross cultural exchanges and education is also an idea that is receiving attention in South Africa today. A second impression or reprinting of both books will be an enormous step towards inter cultural understanding in the rainbow nation that South Africa is striving to become.

Sibusisiwe Makanya had many friends in South Africa and in America, and some of these people had visited her at Umbumbulu. Whenever she had

guests over Sibusisiwe Makanya would always hold a party for them. In honouring those whom she considered to be very important she sacrificed an ox. At all these parties the host would explain Zulu cultural practises and etiquette, and the display of Zulu dancing and singing was an integral part of her programme. The locals enjoyed these socials just as much as the guests and Sibusisiwe herself. It was always a success and guests would leave Umbumbulu with fond memories of Sibusisiwe Makanya and Zulu culture and tradition as they had been exposed to it. Her sense of occasion was demonstrated when Desmond Reader and his newly wedded wife arrived in Umbumbulu. It was Sibusisiwe's idea that they repeat their nuptials, Zulu style. Reader was adopted as "a putative member of the royal lineage" of the Makanya and his wife, Dolores, "was recognised as a member of the neighbouring Mbo royal lineage".⁴¹ This was to be of enormous benefit to the Readers as they proceeded with anthropological work amongst the Makanya. Equally important were the lessons that they learnt living with Sibusisiwe Makanya amongst the rural people. Besides Reba Mirsky, Desmond Reader's book, Zulu Tribe in Transition, also expanded Sibusisiwe Makanya's list of published acknowledgements. Another great party was given in 1960 when Rev. Dr Philip Jones of America visited her at Umbumbulu. This was a reunion after more than 30 years and in all that time Sibusisiwe Makanya and Jones had corresponded with each other regularly. The Natal Mercury which covered this incident published this comment:

To those who know the Zulu in the raw the task she set herself was tremendous, if not impossible. She had to overcome traditional prejudices of her own people to advancement. She was regarded with suspicion, as a person intent on bringing evil to the valleys. Now Umbumbulu ...produces teachers to spread the light of learning first kindled by Sibusisiwe.⁴²

At Umbumbulu a special party was held and Dr Jones was adopted as a chief of the Makanya for all the assistance that he had given in terms of raising vitally needed funds for Sibusisiwe Makanya's work at Umbumbulu. Even to her South African guests she used to hold parties or *indabas* as they were called. The government officials who served at

Umbumbulu, such as the police sergeants, magistrates and so on were treated to farewell *indabas* given in their honour. Basically the programmes for the *indabas* or the parties were musicals, dance speeches presentation of gifts by *indunas* or members of the community the singing of the three anthems, *God save the Queen*, *Die Stem* and *Nkosi Sikelele*, and the serving of food or refreshments.⁴³

It is important to understand why Sibusisiwe Makanya gave these parties. As far as she was concerned it was her way of keeping alive the Zulu cultural practises that she loved and wanted to preserve and also to teach others about the Zulu culture. There is yet another level on which her parties could be construed. In a society that was polarising into separate racial camps under the umbrella of apartheid and separate development, where there was hardly any opportunity for people of the different races to meet and exchange ideas and learn about each other, Sibusisiwe Makanya's parties provided a unique opportunity. But in order to do this Sibusisiwe Makanya had to manoeuvre through layers of red tape. Every time that Sibusisiwe received white guests at Umbumbulu she had to get a permit from the Native Commissioner based at Umbumbulu and this she did repeatedly, if her guests were to stay over she arranged for them to stay over at the Native Commissioner's home, he was also a good friend of Sibusisiwe Makanya. However, there is no evidence in her papers which shows that she became frustrated with this system. Rather, it seems that Sibusisiwe Makanya relished the fact that she found a way to beat the system by defying it with her parties. She provided the opportunity and space for people of different races to meet and talk and socialise and the atmosphere of a party immediately broke down many barriers and people established rapport with others as people and not as representatives of different race groups. Sibusisiwe Makanya's use of "parties" then can be seen to be a strategy, a form of resistance to the socialisation that apartheid perpetuated.

Sibusisiwe Makanya used the strategy of the party for yet another purpose, that of building bridges. Trowbridge writes that Sibusisiwe's main objectives over the years had been to make her own people self-respecting, accepting the good in European culture and preserving the best traditions of

their own. Another aim was to have Zulus recognise the rights of other ethnolinguistic groups as well as to have others respect theirs.

According to Trowbridge, Sibusisiwe Makanya was deeply disturbed by the 1949 Race Riots in Durban, where Trowbridge writes, "it was her own people who had started riots in Durban, reducing many of the Indian shops and homes to shambles. She was still ashamed of this deplorable way of trying to settle grievances."⁴⁴ Sibusisiwe planned a special party to thank the Indian builder, Mr Ally, and his workers who helped build the Lucy Johnston Hall. The party was held on 20 May 1956 at the home another friend, Mr Ali Khan, of Mayville. This was 27 miles away from the UCC and cars and buses were used to transport people to Mayville. Guests who attended this party were from all races in Durban. An Indian traveller who was a friend of Sibusisiwe helped with the organization of the party and undertook to provide the afternoon tea, the decorations, the catering and the funding for the food.⁴⁵ This in itself is demonstrative of Sibusisiwe's perception of the need to restore good relations between Indians and Africans.

Hamilton Makanya, when referring to the aftermath of the Riots in Umbumbulu, recalled how gangs of African youth would terrorise Indian store keepers around the area and when the Indians ran away they would loot the stores. He referred to these gangs as *impi amakula*⁴⁶. Evidently many people had taken this as an opportunity to obtain supplies without any payment and the perception could well have been established in people's minds that such behaviour was acceptable. In this context it is easier to understand Sibusisiwe Makanya's concern and emphasis for the need for goodwill between the races and her intention to holding a party that demonstrated this. Trowbridge writes that Sibusisiwe was happy with the party stating:

We live in a multi-racial society. It is only at gatherings of this type that we begin to understand our neighbours. This party I count as one of the highlights of the work of the Centre.⁴⁷

Throughout her life Sibusisiwe Makanya had to deal with the lack of funds although she continued to do invaluable work in her community. When funds dried up from America by 1934 because of the Depression, she disbanded the BYL and formed the UCC. Friends from the other races within South Africa had helped. They donated money, clothes, food, furniture and books. Friends from America continued to raise funds and send the money to Sibusisiwe. A few institutions in America sometimes sent money, for example the Benevolence Board of the Saratoga Federated Church of California, sent at least two large sums of money - five hundred and three hundred dollars to Sibusisiwe Makanya. Even Lucy Johnston's bequest of five thousand pounds was left to Sibusisiwe Makanya personally. In every instance of receiving money, Sibusisiwe ploughed it right back into her community with the hope that it would grow and meet the challenges of a rapidly urbanising and industrialising South Africa. Another avenue she pursued to gain revenue was that of an entrepreneur. She obtained a licence to run the Folweni Store which was a general dealer and whatever profits accrued from this business was used to defray her own expenses and the rest used up for some community project or the other. Only in 1970 did she give up the licence of this store after having it for almost 20 years. This alone was an unusual pursuit for an African woman in the rural area of Umbumbulu and if this was all she had achieved in her life she would have been unusual enough.⁴⁸

In traditional African society the brewing of *utshwala* or traditional Zulu beer had always been the preserve of women. The brewing of beer has a vibrant history in Durban. Even while away in the US, Sibusisiwe Makanya was aware of the activities of the ICU and the beer hall riots in Durban in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The 'Durban System' of taxing African beer and using it to pay for the administration of Africans is well known.⁴⁹ As an alternative to the beer brewing monopoly that the Provincial administration had assumed, African women began brewing beer at home and selling these to men in urban areas. It was a source of income in an impoverished life. Some of these concoctions, however, were deadly and poisonous. This was also the reason that the police cited for hounding the shebeens or pubs that sprung up outside the control of the provincial monopolies. The resistance

of women arrested by police who caught them brewing or selling this beer, called *shimeyan* and *gavin* amongst Africans, is documented elsewhere.⁵⁰

Sibusisiwe was very concerned with the health hazard that this illegally brewed beer posed to her people. She applied for a license to brew and sell beer and opened the Cim'koma Beer Hall in Umbumbulu. This action was to bring her much trouble and draw her into controversy in the community. Sibusisiwe maintained that there was a difference between *utshwala* and other alcoholic drinks, in that it had only 5% alcohol content and was a food. In a letter to her friend Dr Jones, she wrote that the beerhall had put an end to illicit beer brewing which was poisonous and deadly. She wrote that the native beer brewed now had great food value and was recommended by doctors. The small profits that accrued were used for the benefit of the community. She wrote, "It is my very nature to make experiments for the good of my people, and the results of my undertaking have proved very good."⁵¹ This was not how others had viewed her actions. Charges were made against Sibusisiwe Makanya that she was selling beer to teachers in the school via the children. Hamilton Makanya was vociferous in his condemnation of Sibusisiwe Makanya:

I remember the year she was excommunicated from the church because the people regarded one intelligent enough has no business to participate in anything that has got to do with beer. Oh, she thought it was nothing...when she came back drinking was nothing and she sold beer herself. She started a beer hall here, not far away from her place... churches overseas don't ban alcoholic drinks.⁵²

What Hamilton Makanya had failed to see was that Temperance and "Prohibition" as a movement had a lot of support in the USA among religious people. This quotation is an interesting, if somewhat misinformed, representation of Sibusisiwe Makanya and does not take into account the views of Sibusisiwe herself on the matter. As has been pointed out earlier Sibusisiwe undertook many projects which she saw as being for the upliftment of her community and people, her record regarding the channelling of money sent to her personally into community projects is impeccable. Given all this it is difficult to suddenly accept Sibusisiwe

Makanya as a person such as is represented by Hamilton Makanya, above. Correspondence between members of the UCC reveal the politics concerning the tension and problems that had arisen because of Hamilton Makanya's views on Sibusisiwe Makanya and how he was instrumental in her excommunication from the church.⁵³

One of the most momentous results of Sibusisiwe Makanya's decision to brew beer was that she was excommunicated from the American Board Mission's Congregational Church. This must have come as a bitter blow to Sibusisiwe who had enjoyed support from the Church. According to the Umsunduze Rules of the ABM established in 1879, Sibusisiwe Makanya had broken rule number 5. These rules had been formulated by missionaries to suppress and control what they considered "heathen" practises amongst the new Zulu converts.⁵⁴

Shula Marks views Sibusisiwe Makanya's break with the ABM as a return to "traditionalism".⁵⁵ The danger in cross cultural or perhaps any research, as has been pointed out in the Chapter One, is ethnocentrism, where people are judged according to the researcher's standpoint and thus constructed as "other". Furthermore, categorisations of people often fossilise them into a type that is fixed and unchanging, and the aim of this project has been to avoid this. Accordingly, Sibusisiwe Makanya must be viewed as a person constantly changing because of the circumstances in which she found herself and because she herself had set out to bring transformations in her community. Change was essential to Sibusisiwe and to everything she stood for as she moved from one social context to another and her subjectivity too was constantly shifting, emphasising one aspect at one moment, and a different one, at another.⁵⁶

An important feature of Sibusisiwe Makanya's persona and the slippage of her subjectivity is well illustrated in the act of her joining another religious movement when she was excommunicated from the Congregational Church. Brigalia Bam states that when she met Sibusisiwe Makanya for the first time in 1956 and when she lived with her for 6 weeks while doing field work for the YWCA in 1958, Sibusisiwe "had a contempt for the church, she was cross, there was some tension between her and the Church."⁵⁷

Sometime in the late 1950s Sibusisiwe had joined the Bahai faith and had introduced it to Brigalia Bam. Sibusisiwe was herself introduced to the Bahai faith by her friend Helen Miller, who was secretary of the UCC. Marguerite Malherbe was also a member of the movement. The Bahai faith was founded in the mid nineteenth century by Mirza Hoseyn Ali Nuri, who was known as the Baha Ullah (Arabic for "Glory of God"). Mirza Hoseyn was a member of the Shi'ite sect in Islam but in 1848 his followers declared a formal break with Islam. The Bahais believe the Baha Ullah to be the latest of a series of past and future divine manifestations that include Jesus, Muhammad, Zoraster and the Buddha. Principal among the teachings of the Bahai were and are the unity of religions and the unity of mankind. Bahais believe that all religions are manifestations of God and that they teach an identical truth. Baha Ullah's peculiar function was to overcome the disunity of religions and establish a universal faith.⁵⁸ The Bahais believe in the oneness of humanity and devote themselves to the abolition of racial, class and religious prejudices. Any one who professes faith in the Baha Ullah and accepts his teachings can become a Bahai, there are no initiation ceremonies or sacraments nor an established clergy. There are spiritual obligations of daily prayer, fasting for 19 days, that is abstaining from food and drink from sunrise to sunset, total abstention from narcotics and alcohol or any substance that intoxicates the mind, practise of monogamy, parental approval in marriages and attendance of the Nineteen Day Feast, which is really a social gathering of Bahais where prayer and community activities can be discussed. It is interesting that Sibusisiwe Makanya had become a member of such a strict religious movement, especially since it prohibited polygamy, alcohol and so on. This is indicative of a deeper rejection of perhaps what she might have construed as the hypocrisy of the Church's stand on issues around race and class, to name a few. Sibusisiwe's act of joining this movement was also inclusive, affirming multiple approaches to spirituality, not exclusive.

Throughout the 1960s there is much in terms of correspondence between the Bahais in North America, South Africa and Sibusisiwe Makanya. Sibusisiwe was prepared to go around spreading the faith. She made many more friends who spoke of their experiences with other Bahais.⁴⁸ It is not clear from the evidence what such an experience entailed except that it left

the Bahai with a feeling of fulfilment and exhilaration. Sibusisiwe Makanya's acceptance of the Bahai faith can perhaps be seen to be an expected development if we take cognisance of her desire to break with Church denominations which she felt were hampering the progress of Africans. In all her actions with people she managed to communicate a sense of common humanity, a sense of a spiritual, perhaps, *ubuntu*. Given this insight into Sibusisiwe Makanya's life it is extremely difficult to accept categorisation of her as either a "traditionalist", "adaptationist", *kolwa* or a *hamba kahle* person. Sibusisiwe Makanya's life, actions and thoughts or religious faith complexifies any type casting .

The varying and complexified experiences of Sibusisiwe Makanya resulted in there being many different qualities in her as was perceived by different people. Sibusisiwe Makanya was taken as a role model by many independent women who made informed choices about their own lives especially regarding careers or political convictions and action. Two important and interesting women regard Sibusisiwe as their role model for different reasons.

For Brigalia Bam, Secretary General of the South African Council of Churches, Sibusisiwe Makanya was a role model when it came to organising women in a rural setting. She said that the most important lesson learnt from Sibusisiwe Makanya regarding rural women was to ensure that any activity matched the seasons. If a meeting was scheduled for ten in the morning normally none of the women would turn up because it was hoeing season or harvesting season, and Brigalia Bam had to learn from Sibusisiwe Makanya that the agricultural work component of rural women had to be considered if any work at all is to be done with them. She used to visit Sibusisiwe Makanya regularly and talk to her about her failures and achievements at organising rural women and Sibusisiwe Makanya was very supportive. She used to say , "My dear Miss Bam, don't worry , they are so slow."⁵⁹ Brigalia Bam was also a great admirer of Sibusisiwe Makanya and recalls that:

she wielded much power and influence... men were scared of her...She wore make up and was growing her hair when all other women wore a scarf when going out.⁶⁰

This was at a time when African women were hounded by African men in Durban for wearing make up and straightening their hair. According to Brigalia Bam, the African men were incensed and accused the women of trying to seduce Indian men. This is such an extremely interesting slice of knowledge regarding an area of social history that is virtually untraversed in academic work to date. Discourse around the hidden or unwritten stories of bodies and clothing which reveal so much about power and subjectivity is crucial in an attempt to understand aspects of the life of Sibusisiwe Makanya. Earlier on in Chapter Three I have discussed Sibusisiwe's awareness from an early age of the power of costume. It seems that it is a crucial exercise to collect information from individuals and keep them for use later on. Oral history and the testimonies of women, as demonstrated recently in Bozzoli's work⁶¹, is crucial for a comprehensive understanding of the past. According to Brigalia Bam, Sibusisiwe Makanya suggested that she ask Champion to help the women but he dismissed the matter saying, "You women think you can rule the world. I will not do anything for you women."⁶² Eventually in the early 1960s the women met and decided to march to the police station protesting against the harassment they had to endure. The police joined the march from Grey Street to Smith Street and it made front page news with the Natal Mercury.

Another powerful contemporary South African woman, Ellen Kuzwayo, recalls Sibusisiwe Makanya as a woman who had very profound values about life. Like other informants, Ellen Kuzwayo, testifies that Sibusisiwe Makanya did not talk about these values but she lived them. Her actions have to be read to be able to understand and appreciate her. What Ellen Kuzwayo found striking about Sibusisiwe Makanya was:

I remember Sibusisiwe as being conscious of what could be done for the emancipation of black women when it was not even thought of at that time.⁶³

The confidence that she had could be seen in her appearance, she dressed differently from other women in the community. The role model that Sibusisiwe Makanya provided for Ellen Kuzwayo was in this portraying of confidence through dress and appearance:

At my age now...when I look at my community, I am concerned about how women today conceive age. They expect your age to show in your face, they feel you should look depressed. But Sibusisiwe handled age differently, she was confident and dressed that way and you saw it in her appearance. She titivated herself for herself. That is the role model that she left to me.⁶⁴

In the autumn of her life Sibusisiwe Makanya had provided role models for other women who have made significant contributions to the welfare and status of African people generally and to the position and status of African women in particular. This chapter has pointed to the important events and themes in relation to Sibusisiwe Makanya's life as discussed in the building of the Lucy Johnston Hall, the Sibusisiwe Secondary School, the first library, clinic and surgery in Umbumbulu, community work and improvement in the diet of rural people, the use of parties as a strategy, the controversy surrounding the brewing of beer, the issue of religious affiliations, and the effect of clothing on representations of women.

Footnotes for Chapter Five

1. Makanya Papers, File 1, Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p. 167
2. Desmond Reader, Zulu Tribe in Transition, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1966), p. 25
3. Interview with Dr Dhlomo, 21/9/95 - of course, this topic cannot be fully dealt with here.
4. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p. 168
5. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p. 167
6. Interview with Ellen Kuzwayo on 1/11/95
7. See Arthur Brittan and Mary Maynard, Sexism, Racism and Oppression, (Blackwell: Oxford, 1984) for further discussion on how individuals resist the various agents of socialisation and how people by nature are reflexive beings.
8. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p.169
9. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p.169
10. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p.169-170
11. Margaret McCord, The Calling of Katie Makanya, (Cape Town: David Philip, 1995), p.167-182
12. See also Harriet Ngubane, Body and soul in Zulu medicine, (London: Academis Press, 1977) and Catherine Burns, "'I will submit my cures for scientific proof": The herbal remedies, medicine manufactures and healing art of Louisa Mvemve, 1915 to 1930', (Unpublished paper and work in progress, presented to the South African Historical Society Conference, Women's History Workshop, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, July, 1995).
13. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p.170-171
14. Makanya Papers, File 5, KCM 14812
15. Interview with Dr Dhlomo on 5/12/95. Dr Dhlomo remembers Reba Mirsky as one of the staunchest friends of Sibusisiwe Makanya. It was Dr Dhlomo's elder brother, Edgar Dhlomo, who had given Reba Mirsky's contact address to his friend Professor L. Sithole so that he could visit her while in Chicago. When Sithole and Mirsky met, she was shocked that he had come over to America without his family because of the lack of money. Mirsky arranged and paid for Sithole's family to be brought over to America and they lived there for decades. Professor Sithole died in the second half of 1995 in a plane crash in Chicago. Reba Mirsky died 30 years earlier in 1965.
16. Interview with Dr Dhlomo on 21/9/95
17. See Shula Marks, Not either an Experimental Doll, (Pietermaritzburg: Natal University Press, 1987), for how she worked with Mabel Palmer with reference to Lily Moya.
18. Makanya Papers, File 2, Personal Correspondence
19. See also J. Cock, Maids and Madams, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1980)
20. Makanya Papers, File 4
21. Makanya Papers, File 4, Letter from Sibusisiwe Makanya to Malherbe dated 30/6/65
22. Makanya Papers, File 6, KCM 14963, undated letter from Bishop Brown to Helen Miller.
23. I am grateful to my supervisor Dr C.E. Burns in helping pursue this matter and many thanks also to the Archivist from University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg

- campus, who worked her lunch times through boxes of documents to see if the application was made.
24. Makanya Papers, File 6, KCM 15002
 25. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p.173
 26. KCAL, KCAV,139 Interview with H.M.S. Makanya 19/3/79
 27. Interview with Ellen Kuzwayo on 1/11/95
 28. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p. 172
 29. See Sibusisiwe Makanya's articles entitled "Problems of Zulu girl" in Native Teacher's Journal, April, 1931, and "Modern social needs of the Bantu" in South African Outlook, September, 1931.
 30. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p.172
 31. Makanya papers, File 5, KCM14891
 32. See Peter Kallaway,(ed.), Apartheid and Education, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press,1984)
 33. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p. 174
 34. Interview with Dr Dhlomo on 21/9/95
 35. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p.198
 36. Makanya Papers, Files Nos.5, 6, 7, 11, 13.
 37. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p. 189-190
 38. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM14345, p.191
 39. This copy is the original copy of Sibusisiwe Makanya and is autographed by Reba Paeff Mirsky to Sibusisiwe Makanya. The subject librarian, Ms Lindiwe Soyizwapi, who was extremely helpful in locating this book for me suggested that it could have been donated to the library a while ago.
 40. I am grateful to Dr Cathy Burns for locating this book for me.
 41. Makanya Papers, File 4, KCM 14677
 42. The Daily News, 22/4/60, article entitled "US Visitors meet Zulu Friend after 30 Years."
 43. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p. 177
 44. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p.184
 45. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p.184
 46. KCAL, KCAV,139 Interview with HMS Makanya
 47. Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345,p.187
 48. Makanya Papers, File No. 6, KCM 14974
 49. See Paul la Hausse, "The struggle for the city: Alcohol, the Ematsheni and popular culture in Durban, 1902-1936, (M.A., Department of History, University of Cape Town, 1984) and I.L.Edwards, "Mkumbane our home: African shanty town society in Cato Manor farm 1946-1960, (Ph D thesis, Department of History, University of Natal, Durban, 1989).
 50. See Paul la Hausse, Brewers,Beerhalls and boycotts, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1988) for a comprehensive history.
 51. Makanya Papers , File 5, KCM14715 letter from Sibusisiwe Makanya to Dr Jones dated 8/3/54.
 52. KCAL, KCAV,139 Interview with HMS Makanya.
 53. Refer to Makanya Papers, File 13 to see HMS Makanya's role in getting Sibusisiwe Makanya excommunicated from the church and other problems.

54. Jennifer A. Seif, "Gender, Tradition and Authority in 19 th century Natal, The Zulu Missions of the American Board", paper presented at SAHS meetings, Grahamstown, July 1995, p. 35-37
55. Marks, Not either, p.37
56. Chris Weedon, Feminist Practise and Poststructuralist Theory, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987)
57. Interview with Brigalia Bam, 3/10/95
58. Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol 1, see p.764, 797, 798 for more on the Bab, the Baha Ullah and the Bahai faith.
59. Interview with Brigalia Bam, 3/10/95
60. Interview with Brigalia Bam, 3/10/95
61. Belinda Bozzoli, Women of Phokeng, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press,1991).
62. Bozzoli, Women of Phokeng
63. Interview with Ellen Kuzwayo, 1/11/95
64. Interview with Ellen Kuzwayo, 1/11/95

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

In the later 1960s Sibusisiwe Makanya's health had begun to deteriorate but despite spells of ill health, she recovered quickly to continue with her work. She never retired. She lived alone for most of her life but in the late 1960s, a cousin, Mavis Makanya, moved in to live with her. Neighbours had seen Sibusisiwe in her garden on Tuesday 21 September 1971 but she suddenly took ill that afternoon and was rushed to McCords Zulu Hospital on advice of the doctor. On the evening of 23 September 1971 Sibusisiwe died in hospital even before her sister Constance Makanya could get to her from Mooi River, about a hundred miles away from Durban, where she worked as a teacher.

The stature of a person and the homage that society will pay to the qualities and achievements of that person often becomes evident with the funeral arrangements that are undertaken. The funeral that the community of Umbumbulu held for Sibusisiwe Makanya was attended by at least one thousand people.¹ Sibusisiwe Makanya was buried on Sunday 3 October 1971, almost ten days after her death in McCords Zulu Hospital. The reason for this was that she was widely known and revered and there were many people who wished to be present at her funeral. Furthermore, according to Malherbe, a day on the weekend was always suitable for Africans who worked away from home so that they could arrange leave from work obligations to be present at any function at home. Sibusisiwe's coffin lay in her bedroom during those ten days and relatives and friends waited in the bedroom and the large living room.

The programme for Sibusisiwe Makanya's funeral contained 29 items. The day's programme began at 10 a.m. in the morning when the coffin was taken to the Lucy Johnston Hall where Holy Mass was said. Sibusisiwe had departed from the churches for many years and had become a Bahai espousing inter-faith views and had attended many multiracial congresses and sessions which she enjoyed. After the death of Helen Miller, who had introduced the faith to Sibusisiwe, the Millers moved back to America. Sibusisiwe, according to Malherbe, had "found comfort in the

understanding help of a local priest, Father Bell, of the Roman Catholic Church."² There were many people who spoke about their impressions of Sibusisiwe and the ways in which they interacted with her and what they considered to be the importance of her life's work and service to the community in which she lived and the wide circle of friends that she had. In Malherbe's words :

Then, with singing, she was carried up the adjoining slope to the Congregational Church on the top of a little hill, and there she rested during the remainder of the proceedings. First a short Congregational service, then the speeches. Those given in English were translated into Zulu, and vice versa; so everything was twice as long as it would otherwise have been. The Bantu Commissioner spoke; and the police station commander; the inspector of schools, Mr Hallowes, a friend and a guide for many years, sent a message; the past chairman of her Council spoke; and a retiring nursing sister who had conducted a clinic there. All these five were White. And many Africans spoke: a cousin gave her life history; a man who had been a student with her in their teacher-training days spoke; and the first teacher of the Sibusisiwe Secondary School which she founded, and the present principal and a previous one. Someone spoke for the Roman Catholic Church and someone for the Congregational. And so on. And in between the choirs sang, from the local schools.³

The cousin who spoke on her life history was Hamilton Makanya and he also gave biographical information to Malherbe when she wrote a short biography on Sibusisiwe Makanya in 1977 for the Makanya Papers housed in the Killie Campbell Library. It was Dr Oscar Dumisani Dhlomo to whom Malherbe referred as the first teacher to graduate from the Sibusisiwe Secondary School. Dr Dhlomo was in fact the first student from the School to obtain a university degree and go on to obtain a doctorate degree. The funeral programme was an intensive one in that the community which Sibusisiwe had served ensured that in this the last act in which they could show their gratitude to her, they would not omit any thing. After the reading of the wreaths and messages, the congregation sang as the procession filed past the coffin paying their last respects to a woman who

had "sacrificed the best in her life to become a humble yet significant servant of her people - endeavouring at all times to be serviceable to them in an untiring effort towards their upliftment and betterment socially, culturally, emotionally, morally..."⁴ It took more than an hour for the people to file past the coffin and it was well after lunch time when Sibusisiwe was carried by a procession of Roman Catholic priests, six coffin bearers and a long line of at least two hundred women singing as they walked past the school children and Boy Scouts who lined the route to the graveyard near the church. Sibusisiwe Makanya was finally committed to the earth by Roman Catholic rites and after the recitation of the 23rd Psalm. It was after 4 p.m. that afternoon that the multitude of people were fed at the UCC. It was well into the night when people finally returned to their homes.⁵

To understand why such an intensive and prolonged programme was held as a funeral for Sibusisiwe Makanya, we need to place in perspective the work that she did in her community. This can best be done by returning to some of the objectives of this project. Then by way of explanation and discussion, the impact of the life and work of Sibusisiwe Makanya and the reasons for the tribute paid to her by the community's funeral arrangement for her can be appreciated.

The impact of Sibusisiwe Makanya's work on her community and outside her community was immense. It was her genuine interest in the welfare of her pupils that prompted her as a teacher at Inanda Seminary from 1916 to the 1920s to visit the areas and the homes from where her pupils came. Her concern for the welfare of her people and the nutritional needs of her people prompted her to undertake experiments in rural areas during her vacations where she taught women living in remote kraals the benefits of a varied diet-the inclusion of green vegetables in the staple mealie diet. Her membership of the Young People's Organisation which later became the Purity League, and her travels around the countryside of Natal and parts of the Transvaal exposed her to the problems faced by the youth of the day. She realised that her teacher training was inadequate in any attempts she made to help in finding solutions. Her resignation as teacher and switch to social work amongst rural people was an entirely new enterprise in the history of South Africa. She had no role model or peer to emulate, the ABM

and Charlotte Maxeke had begun social work amongst the urbanising Africans on the Witwatersrand, but no such work was being done in Natal. Her interest and enthusiasm set in motion others who began to take an interest in this field of social work amongst rural people. Out of this came her desire to train in the USA as a social worker.

Her life choices and her independent decisions to follow what she considered to be important avenues of work for her people set her apart from other women of her time. She had to deal with criticisms from her community because she did not walk the path of conventionalism with regard to what was deemed to be a woman's function in society. She made a conscious and deliberate decision not to marry and her decision to live in a house of her own away from her parental home also met with disapproval from the community, especially the men who reported to the local police that she was running a brothel there. Despite these obstacles Sibusisiwe Makanya had managed to establish herself in the community of Umbumbulu and by her work and the improvements that she effected she transformed in some measure the gender relations in her community. By challenging the expected norms of society concerning women she pointed to yet another role that women could occupy. Her use of traditions to transform perceptions of people regarding women, was unique. For example, by extending an invitation as head of a kraal to representatives of the Makanya and the Mbo in 1952 she used an old Zulu custom to effect a slight shift, in that acceptance of her invitation tantamounted to acceptance of a woman as head of a kraal. Of course all this was facilitated by the realities of the migrant labour system which ensured that men remain in the mines, for example, for up to six to twelve months at a time. It was the women who were left at home fending for families and as far as was probable they had to assume leadership roles.

Her life and her work was to inspire many people who adopted Sibusisiwe Makanya as their role model. Her successor as Director of the UCC, Trina Makanya, was devoted to Sibusisiwe and very strongly influenced by her in all matters.⁶ Even Sibusisiwe's own sisters were influenced by her and all studied to have a career, one sister was a nurse and the other two were exceptional teachers in their own right and dedicated to their professions.

To Brigalia Bam, Sibusisiwe was a role model who taught her how to organise rural women around their agricultural work and how to expect to be patient for transformations to be effected. To Ellen Kuzwayo, Sibusisiwe left a legacy of how to handle the question of age. Apart from racism and sexism another form of discrimination is ageism, where people may be discriminated against because of their age - normally old age. To Kuzwayo, Sibusisiwe reacted to age or the process of ageing with full confidence and poise and this was evident in the way she dressed. She was never shabby nor neglectful of her appearance, there was always a sense of dignity in her aura.

Sibusisiwe Makanya's reaction to the indignities inflicted by apartheid was non-confrontational yet poignantly effective. Her refusal to succumb to the segregation of the races was demonstrated in her act of ensuring that members of all races did meet and interact on some level. This was done by holding parties for people. It served many purposes. Some of these were to ensure that members of the white community were not alienated from African people, especially rural people. It also allowed Sibusisiwe the opportunity to ensure that many of the Zulu traditions and customs which she so loved were preserved and taught or exposed to the non Zulu guests.

She was undoubtedly "one of the pillars of Umbumbulu" and this is evident in her endeavours in education and social work.⁷ She built the first high school in Umbumbulu which provided education for day scholars for the first time. The building of the school and the Lucy Johnston Hall was a great undertaking in Umbumbulu and a facility which was hitherto denied to the residents of the area. She built the first library in Umbumbulu and provided much needed services to the teacher population and the staff of the Magistrate's office. The UCC became the focus and pivot of all social and cultural activities and the venue for numerous inter-racial conferences on social work and education. Her innovation of a night school for herd boys ensured that little Zulu boys did not lose out in terms of education that they would need to secure employment as adults. Those adults who could not read and write were given the opportunity to do so by the many adult literacy classes that she held. Women were taught several new domestic crafts so that they could enhance the family home, diet and their lives. A

clinic and surgery were established so that medical and health care services could be provided for the area.

Sibusisiwe Makanya's garden was another area that contributed to improvement of the community. She experimented with vegetables, fruits and flowers and gave cuttings to women and herd boys in the hope that these would be planted elsewhere and provide some food for the people and beauty to the environment of Umbumbulu. She held agricultural shows and encouraged as many participants as possible from the rural community. It could be asked what did agricultural shows do to improve the socio-economic conditions of the people? It could be perhaps be interpreted as a survival tactic and an attempt to keep sanity in a world becoming uglier and oppressive under the harsh laws of apartheid.

Assessment of Sibusisiwe Makanya's life must be made in terms of what she set out to achieve in Umbumbulu. As this project has explained she undertook an enormous task of transforming and improving conditions in a community that was not very open to the changes she brought. She had to virtually run the gauntlet against the forces of traditionalism and conventionalism, sexism and racism in her attempts to make changes that were needed in a rural community facing migration of its menfolk to urban centres and which found itself on the doorstep of industrialisation and westernization. She worked with friends from America and friends from South Africa, white friends who believed in her and in her work and who raised funds and donated food, clothing, furniture and books for use in her Centre.

During the 1960s it was getting increasingly difficult for Sibusisiwe Makanya to continue with her work. As the racist laws of the apartheid state made contacts and co operation between the supporters of the UCC and Sibusisiwe more difficult, she was experiencing ill health, failing eyesight and loneliness. To what extent these harsh laws affected the spiritual and emotional being of a person like Sibusisiwe, who was given to inter-faith and multi racial outlooks, is not known. She suffered much pain in the loss of her parents who had always been towers of support and strength in all her experiments. She had to frequently endure bleak periods when there

was no money to even obtain food or continue with the numerous projects at the UCC. Undaunted by these limitations she continued with her work in any way she could or wrote to various companies who assisted in various ways, even if only for a period. For example, Durban Amalgamated Bakeries used to make a weekly donation of 12 loaves of bread to the UCC, this was made possible by Mr R.E. Miller when he was a member of the UCC Council. Whether this continued after the Millers returned to America is not known. The Rainbow Trust, created by Robert Storm who was Chairman of Coronation Brick and Tile, donated money in the early 1960s to the UCC. Friends from America sent money and at all times the money was sent to Sibusisiwe personally, she would hand it to the treasurer of the UCC and it would be used for some community project.

Malherbe wrote that it was extremely difficult to give Sibusisiwe Makanya anything for herself:

If it was money, she had a community project that would be made possible by your gift. If it was clothing, there were others to share it. Tinned food was put away, to be brought out for visitors as a beautiful lunch. "And what do you eat, when there are no visitors?" "Mealimeal, like the rest of them." She went through a time recently, and not for the first time, when there was very little money. "And how do you live, dear?"

"I live by the kindness of my friends."⁸

"Great people are lonely in their greatness."⁹ When Sibusisiwe Makanya lost her parents there was an enormous gap in her life. Her night school for herd boys was her pet project and she became quite dependent on it in terms of companionship. When in the 1960s the Nationalist government decided to fence all community cattle into enclosures and decree normal school hours for the herd boys Sibusisiwe was bereft. She also treasured the many friends that she corresponded with and when they died she deeply missed their friendship. She hated to be patronised and this was demonstrated when she was in the USA and had succeeded in unpeeling the veneer of Loram and the PSF exposing the racism inherent in the educational adaptation policy where black people were seen to be an essentially rural people who should

be kept in the countryside.¹⁰ However, Malherbe writes that Sibusisiwe never forgot sincere kindness, saying "I keep my memories in a bag and every now and then I take out one of them and look at it."¹¹

Desmond Reader in his tribute to Sibusisiwe Makanya wrote, amongst other things :

She was not a tall or imposing woman physically, but her moral and spiritual stature was immense, and nobody who has heard her measured periods in English or Zulu will readily forget them. As a natural lady, she always knew how to behave suitably, and I hope with humility that we learnt from her example.¹²

Malherbe in her thoughts on Sibusisiwe wrote, amongst other things :

Sibusisiwe was a woman of her people and she chose to live among them and to serve them. But with her intelligence, her wisdom and understanding, her great ability and her sensitive awareness of good manners, she could have gone anywhere; and the people outside of her own who had her friendship looked on it as a privilege.¹³

To fully appreciate Sibusisiwe Makanya's life it must be understood that she constantly swam against the tide of conventionalism and traditionalism of her society. The incident that was to create enormous controversy in Umbumbulu was her opening of the beer hall called Cim'koma Beer Hall. *Cim'koma* means "quench the thirst" and the building still stands today.¹⁴ Only beer brewed from sorghum which was traditional Zulu beer and regarded as food by most people, with an alcohol content of 5%, was sold in the beer hall. There was no gambling, singing or dancing or anything else that rendered the place unwholesome. It was again her concern for the health of her people and the dangers posed by the drinking of the poisonous concoctions of *gavin* and *shimeyan* that prompted her to undertake an activity that resulted in her excommunication from the Congregational Church. She had contravened the oppressive Umsunduze rules and instead of reversing her action, which the Church probably expected her to do, she chose to break ties with it because she had decided that the beerhall and the

brewing of traditional beer was more important for the welfare of her people. The small profits from the sales of beer were used to finance more community projects when funds were small and at times non-existent.

Sibusisiwe Makanya was not the daughter of a famous father nor the wife of a famous husband nor the mother of famous children. She was a woman who had lived her life according to her own beliefs and convictions, overturning many age old traditions along the way and creating spaces for greater transformation by other women on the nature of gender relationships in the area in which she lived. She bridged gaps and provided opportunities for inter racial meetings in an apartheid society bent on separating races to develop on parallel and unequal lines. She networked with the rich and the middle class of white American philanthropy and by introducing her white South African friends to her white American friends she created a link between people who were forced to reconsider the evils of racism on both sides of the Atlantic. She was friends with Americans who saw the capitalist system as the ideal world system and yet remained a paid up member of the ICU as long as it existed and her sympathy lay with the ordinary workers trying to get a better deal in their working situation.

Malherbe states that towards the end Sibusisiwe Makanya's eyesight had failed to such an extent that she was unable to reply many letters and some friends had stopped writing possibly because they thought she was dead. It is a pathetic situation to grasp in that a pair of spectacles would have been of such enormous benefit to one who had seen so far into the future and worked so hard for the many transformations in her community. Her experiment of *isivivane* for the building of the Lucy Johnston Hall predates the current concept on *Masakhane* or nation building which encourages communities to take the initiative and start doing things for themselves instead of waiting for the government to start projects in communities. The emphasis and high profile given to the "Community Worker of the Year Award" on national television and attended by the State President, Mr Mandela, again reaffirms the worth and relevance of the work done over 60 years ago by Sibusisiwe Makanya to the challenges faced by South Africa today.

During conversations with friends who had grown old with her on the topic regarding death and her funeral, Malherbe states that Sibusisiwe Makanya often said, "I don't want any fuss; I want to be buried very simply; just someone to read the 23rd Psalm over my grave."¹⁵ The community of Umbumbulu gave her a funeral they thought befitted Nkosazana, as she was known by all there. This project has attempted to assess Sibusisiwe Makanya in terms of her own goals and ambitions. In keeping with what she wanted for her end, I will conclude this thesis with the 23rd Psalm:

The Lord is my Shepherd
I shall lack nothing
He makes me lie down in green pastures
He leads me beside quiet waters
He restores my soul.

He guides me in paths of righteousness for His name sake
Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death
I will fear no evil
For You are with me
Your rod and Your staff
They comfort me.

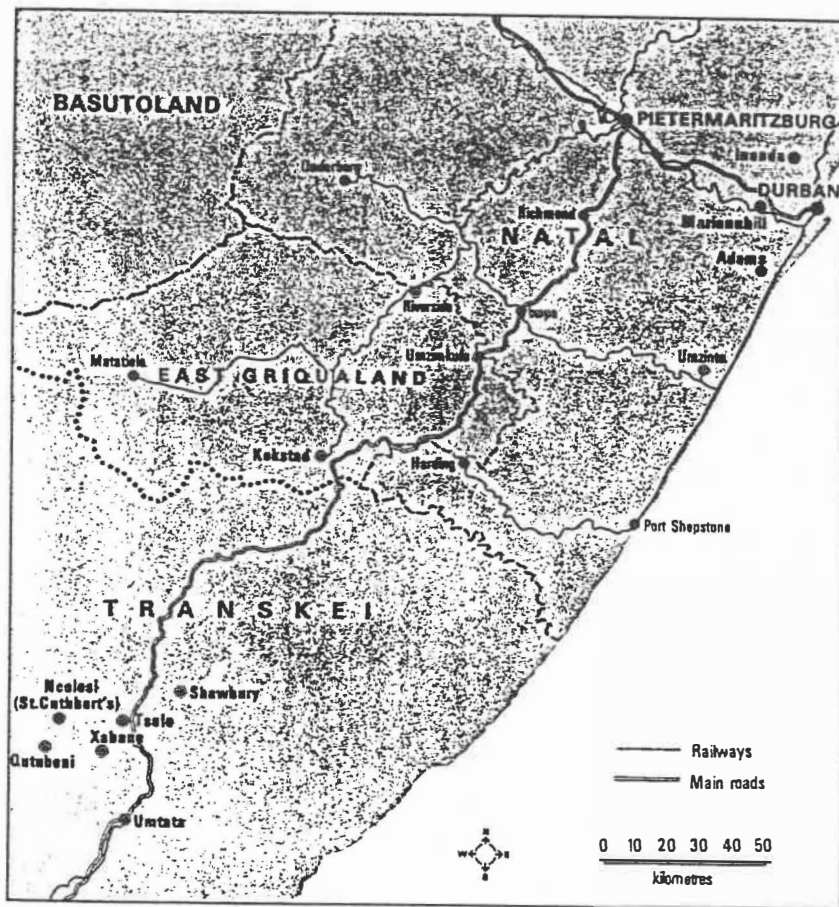
You prepare a table for me
In the presence of my enemies.
You anoint my head with oil;
My cup overflows.
Surely goodness and love will follow me
All the days of my life
And I will dwell in the House of the Lord
Forever.

Footnotes for Chapter Six

1. Makanya Papers, File 4, KCM 14622
2. Makanya Papers, File 4, KCM 14622
3. Makanya Papers, File 4, KCM 14622
4. Makanya Papers, File 1, Trowbridge Biography, Part 3, KCM 14345, p. 179-180 from a letter by Lambert Ndhlandhla of Nottingham Health Centre received by Sibusisiwe after the opening of the Lucy Johnston Hall. Trowbridge states that Sibusisiwe cherished this letter.
5. Interview with Dr Dhlomo on 5/12/95
6. Interview with Dr Dhlomo on 5/12/95
7. Interview with Dr Dhlomo on 5/12/95
8. Makanya Papers, File 4, KCM 14622
9. Makanya Papers, File 4, KCM 14622
10. Makanya Papers, File 4, KCM 14622
11. Makanya Papers, File 4, KCM 14622
12. Makanya Papers, File 4, KCM 14677
13. Makanya Papers, File 4, KCM 14622
14. Interview with Dr Dhlomo in 5/12/95
15. Makanya Papers, File 4, KCM 14622

APPENDICES

Number 1: Natal as Sibusisiwe Makanya would have known it in the 1950's from Shula Marks, Not Either an Experimental Doll, (Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press, 1987).



Map of the Transkei and Natal, c. 1950

Number 2: Institutes supporting Jones' Educational Adaptation Policy from King, K.J., Pan-Africanism and Education, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), page 4.



Southern States

NEWS BULLETIN

Edited by:
Sibusisiwe Makhanya and
Julia V. Hosken.
Skteches by:
J.L. Lupton



NIGHT SCHOOL: The total enrolment to date is 56, including one herd-boy who upon applying for admission was overheard asking others: "Do they admit boys who have no pants?"

* * *

NIGHT SCHOOL VEGETABLE ACRE: Work on it has already started, and results thus far seem promising, for we have found a well-watered acre, which we hope will make the Night School self-supporting as far as vegetables are concerned.

* * *

ADULT EDUCATION: All classes have already started. We are very sorry to lose the kind services, rendered in an honorary capacity, of our Secretary, Mr. Gordon Mpongwe, who has been transferred on promotion from the Magistrate Office here to Mapumulo. His valuable services will always be remembered.

* * *

HOME VISITING: During December and January 39 homes were visited. This month: 17.

* * *

CHILDRENS' CHRISTMAS PARTIES: We are grateful to Mr. and Mrs. R.L. Cookson and Mrs. D.K. Stayt for the Christmas parties they gave for the children here. Our gratitude also goes to Mrs. White and her Chelsea Drive Primary School, Durban North, Miss Drane and her Std. III pupils of the Pinetown Government School, Pinetown, and also to the pupils of St. Agnes Government School, Greyville, Durban, where Mrs. Cookson teaches. These schools gave toys and other articles.

* * *

Y.W.C.A.: Miss E. Lester, leader of the Y.W.C.A. here, sailed for England on the Rhodesia Castle on the 12th of February. On account of the wet roads she was unfortunately not able to come out here for the meeting arranged for the 9th of February.

Miss Florence Sibiya, a member of the Y.W.C.A., has resumed her Guide work here, while Mrs. Constance Ndhlovu is showing great interest in the Guides who meet here at the Centre.

Natal. Miss Tarry of St. Marks Community Centre, Cape Town, accompanied them.

Chief Lugobe Makhanya, Nduna Mleni Shange, Rev. J. Chiliza and Rev. Nicholas Bhengu were also welcome visitors.

* * *

CONTRIBUTIONS GRATEFULLY RECEIVED:

£ 10.0.0 for 1953 Telephone Rental. Yearly gift from Mrs. A.M. Neilson, South Ridge Road, Durban.
£ 10.0.0 for Night School meals and blankets from Mrs. A.M. Neilson, Durban.
£ 1.12. 0 from Anonymous, Port Shepstone.
10. 0 " " Adams College, for Night School meals.
10. 0 " Mr. W.G. Bates for Night School Meals.
£ 3.17.0 " Anonymous, Durban.
£ 3.16.6 " Miss Ruth H. Pitts, Pasadena, California.
£ 1.0. 0 " the Misses J. and A. Hofmeyer, Stellenbosch.
6.0 " Mrs. Grantham for Christmas.
£ 2.10.0 " Mr. W.B.S. Solomon, c.o. Standard Bank, Durban.
£ 1. 2.0 " Dr. E.G.A. Fristedt, Tanganyika.
£ 5.5. 0 " Mrs. E.P. Whitehead, Mount Victoria, Mooi River.
£ 6.0. 0 " the Durban Y.W.C.A.
2 dollars " Miss Dorothy Farra, West Chester, Pa.
5. 0 " Mrs. A. Duggins, Michaelhouse, Belgowan.
£ 1. 0.0 " Mrs. Waddington, Nelson, England.
12 sheets of Corrugated Iron from Mrs. F. Storm, Durban.
Asbestos, planks and bricks from Mr. Bacchus.
Picture Post from Mr. G.M. Scott, Olympic Court, West Street, Durban .
50 lbs of each (mealie rice, and mealie meal), 5 lbs fat, 10 lbs salt from Messrs. N. Jeena & Sons, Adams Mission Station.
50 lbs Samp, 2 lbs Dripping and 10 lbs Salt from O.N. Mahomed's Store, Adams Mission Station.
1 Box of clothes and toys from Mrs. Lucy Hohnstone, Paarl, C.P.
25 lbs Potatoes from Mrs. Kenneth Khwela, Umbumbulu.
1 box of equipment for pre-school age children from Mrs. M.C. Allen, Warner Beach.
1 Calendar, 1 Sign Post Subscription 1953, from Mrs. A.K. Wing, Nutley, New Jersey.
Flower Seeds, Magazines, and a box of cards from Mrs. Philip Shute, Hingham Mass.
Large quantity of Clothing for a Jumble Sale, have been collected and brought to the Centre by Mrs. Dorothy Rayersbach and Mrs. D.K. Stayt of Durban.
Magazines from Mrs. E.S. Henochsberg.
Large supply of Exercise Books and Pencils have been sent by Mr. and Mrs. Walker of the Tec H. Touse , Durban North.

* * *

VARIA: We regret to hear of the indisposition of our local Magistrate, Mr. R. Malcomson, and Mrs. D.K. Stayt, a staunch supporter of the Community Centre. We hope their health will improve.

* * * * *

Number 4: Praise Song composed for Sibusisiwe Makanya and recited during the opening ceremony of the Lucy Johnston Hall

IZIBONGO ZIKOSAZANA.

(Sibusisiwe Makanya, eMbumbulu.)
Zibhalwe Ngu Maxwell.R.D.Ndlovu

Nkosazana !

Wena mafungwase kaNxele !

Wena ngwadl' emabhudla !

Wena nkangakusa yaseMbumbulu !

Ucakashe amazwibela waphamb' unlilo,

Unlilo wobuhlobo nobudlelwane

Phakathi kwakho nabamhlophe phesheya,

Phesheya kwezilwandl' eMelika

Laph' uzuse khon' ukukhanya

Okulethe kubantu baseMbumbulu.

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FOR RESEARCH PURPOSES

Isiqalo sezinto sibanzima .-

Umzokozo wakho ubonakele :

Indlela yakho ibimagebhugebhu,

Okunamhlanj' isiqombothile

Ngenxa yokubekhezela kwakho.

Ubuye phesheya wazosebenza

Phakathi kwabant' abamnyama

Kodwa kubekhona abany' abantu

Abadabhalaz' umsebenzi wakho.

Lababantu besebefana

Nezul' eseliyizinhlweza,

Ofike walibuthela ndawonye lana,

Lana izibusiso njengegama lakho.

Siyambong' uNkosikazi Lucy Johnston

Owathi ngokubona ubuchopho bakho

Wadephun' efeni lakhe,

Wakuthela ngeche lemali

Oyisebenzise kahle kakhulu.

Umis' isikol' esikhul' eMbumbulu,

Lesisikol' esesiqanjwe ngawe,

Khon' abant' abamnyama

Bezothol' ukukhanya' okukhulu.

Ukubuya kwakho phesheya
Kubenjengobhaq' oluxosh' ubumnyama kithi.

Ngisimze ngigodongane nje
Uma ngibuk' imisebenzi yakho;
Ngimane ngibamb' ongenzansi
Uma ngibon' izithelo zakho.
Ngiyabonga Nkosazana,
Ngibong' ukusibabala kwakho,
Ngibongel' isizwe sakithi
Osilethel' ukukhany' okungenalucima !

Ukucaca kwakho emfundweni
Akuzange kukukhukhumeze wena,
Akuzange futhi kukwenze
Uhambe bulanz' eMbumbulu,
Kodwa njengeklamaklama sakwabo
Usebenzel' ukuth' izithelo zakho
Zimile zithi dienu !

Iminyak' isihambile
Kodwa ingqond' usayiqukethe.
Ubuchopho nobungcwethi bakho
Bungivus' ugqozi nomunyu.
Ngiyashabasheka, ngiyakhabatheka
Uma ngicabanga ngesim' oyisona
Kusizwe sakith' esiseMbumbulu.

Emehlwen' akho ngifunda
Uthand' olujulile lwesizwe sakithi;
Emehlwen' akho ngibona
Ukulokoza kolak' olukhulu.
Emehlwen' akho ngifunda
Ukuzimisela kwakh' okukhulu;
Emehlwen' akho ngibona
Umlil' ongakuniki kuphumula.

Ekujuleni komphefumulo wakho

Ngibona lamagama :

Kuguga ngixege bo

Khona ngizoqhubeka nomsebenzi wami

Wokuphakel' usapho lwesizwe sakithi;

Zidubuli zomzimba ngiyekeni

Khona ngizokwaz' ukuqh wandel' abantu bakithi

Ngob' umsebenzi wam' usadingekile.

Ezinzulwini zenhliziyo yakho

Ngifund' ukubekezela nokuciciyela.

Inhliziyo yakho ngiyizwa ithi :

Matata phansi, buvila nyamalala -

Ukushalushaluza kwen' egcekeni lami

Kuyimpazamiso enkulu.

Ngincom' ukuphatha kwakho,

Ngincom' ukuphana kwakho,

Ngincom' ubunono bakho,

Ngincom' ukuqonda kwakho;

Ngincom' ukukhalipha kwakho

Okudlul' okwamadoda.

Ngiyakubongela Nkosazana

Kulokh' oyikhon' eMbumbulu.

Akuwon' amandl' akho kuphela

Akuvemel' ukub' ucokamel' impumelelo,

Kodwa uSomandla ukuphasile

Kuyoyonk' imizamo yakho.

Izenzo zakho zimi njalo !

Isiban' osokhel' eMbumbulu

Sikhany' ukukhany' okungasenkucima !

Nom' usudlul' emhlabeni siyokukhumbula,

Siyokukhumbula Nkosazana

Ngob' izindonga ziyobezisamile zikhuluma,

Nonembez' uyobunkenketha kabuhlungu

4.

Kumnden' ongafakani lubhedu.

Phel' ingqwang' ayibonwa, ibonwa ngamaqili -

Unwel' olude Nkosazana !

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Oral Interviews

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Ms Brigalia Bam, interviewed on 3/10/95

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, interviewed on 21/9/95 and 5/12/95

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