

https://dspace.org/

Rediscovering forgotten IsiXhosa women writers: the visibility of Letitia Kakaza and Victoria Swaartbooi in the history of IsiXhosa written literature

Salayi, Tembakazi

2022
University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg
https://hdl.handle.net/10539/38457

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

REDISCOVERING FORGOTTEN ISIXHOSA WOMEN WRITERS: THE VISIBILITY OF LETITIA KAKAZA AND VICTORIA SWAARTBOOI IN THE HISTORY OF ISIXHOSA WRITTEN LITERATURE

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Film and Television

at



by

Tembakazi Salayi

Supervisor: Dr Khwezi Mkhize

Co-supervisor: Dr Yolo Koba

March 2022

Link to the film: https://drive.google.com/file/d/1-VthHQZFOtsTkj225W7LyTJZooHdLLVQ/view?usp=sharing

ABSTRACT

The benefit of the study is that it will give insight into a period in our country that failed to recognize women in isiXhosa written literature. This is also the period Letitia Kakaza and Victoria Swaartbooi made history by being part of the first black women to publish a novel in isiXhosa. We are also able to explore a country where missionaries took control by manipulating black men and women to convert to Christianity. It is during these times that the Lovedale Press was produced and isiXhosa literature was developed. The history of isiXhosa written literature has largely concentrated on men's contributions to its development, with little mention of women's contributions. As a result, women were silenced and erased from public records.

This thesis aims to make visible the identities of Kakaza and Swaartbooi by providing their biographical information and background information of the different institutions that they were part of. The study explores how both writers interrogate language, identity, womanism, and education in their writing. As part of the study, a film has been created that explores the themes that are discussed in the paper. This thesis and the accompanying film project, *Ndokulandela*, reimagine the histories and experiences of black women writers. By speaking back to narratives that erased women's voices, this re-imagining sought to correct the lens that only maintained one view of the history of isiXhosa literature. The thesis also raises questions on how biographical films depict women's experiences. The film incorporates both the past and present by including letters and manuscripts by both Kakaza and Swaartbooi as well as the current isiXhosa women writer's experiences.

The study will also trace the literature written by the women and an analysis will be conducted of their work. Based on the analysis of the three novels, *Intyantyambo Yomzi* (1913), *UTandiwe wakwa Gcaleka* (1914) and *UMandisa* (1975), the thesis examines the themes that Kakaza and Swaartbooi discussed as well as the political context of the early twentieth century. These books irradiate how both women viewed a woman's life during the time as well as the idea of womanism.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT 2
DECLARATION 5
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 6
CHAPTER 1 7
INTRODUCTION 7
Biographical Information 10
Letitia Kakaza 10
Her parents- Gana and Grace Kakaza 10
Letitia Kakaza's life 11
Victoria Nombulelo Swaartbooi 13
METHOD OF APPROACH 14
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 16
Biographies and identity 16
Language and Power 17
Thesis outline 20
CHAPTER 2 21
THE JOURNEY OF THE FIRST ISIXHOSA NOVEL WOMEN WRITERS 21
Education and the emergence of educated Xhosa women during missionary times 21
The Lovedale Press 24
Swaartbooi and the Lovedale Press 27
CHAPTER 3 31
LETITIA KAKAZA'S WRITING 31
CHAPTER 4 38
VICTORIA SWAARTBOOI'S WRITING 38
The importance of names 39
The history and importance of music in the Xhosa community 44
CHAPTER 5 46
Creative Concept: A short film about isiXhosa women writers 46
1. The concept of the film 46
2. The director's Vision 47
3. The execution of the film 47
3.1 Education in the film 48

3.2 How the film captures language trauma 48
3.3 The presence of the women writers in the film 51
CHAPTER 6 53
CONCLUSION 53
REFERENCES 57
FILMOGRAPHY 62

DECLARATION

I declare that this is my own work, and that any sources that I have utilized or quoted have been properly identified and acknowledged through comprehensive references. This paper is being submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of Master of Arts in Film and Television, at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.



Tembakazi Salayi

October 2022

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr Khwezi Mkhize. Thank you so much for your support and patience. To my co-supervisor, Dr Yolo Koba thank you for your honesty and for challenging my creative thinking.

Thank you to the Hillensberg trust fund for funding my studies.

Thank you to Vuyo Madanda and Sivuyisiwe Tywabi from the SABC news research department in Johannesburg who encouraged me to do my Masters and look into Victoria Swaartbooi who published her work at the Lovedale Press. It was through this research that I discovered Letitia Kakaza and Zora Futshane. Thank you so much Vuyo and Sivu for believing in me.

Thank you to Thabisa Xhalisa for being so supportive and helping me shape my research.

Thank you so much to Athambile Masola for your support and unfailing belief in me. You have been an inspiration throughout this journey. I am thankful to Athambile, Pelham Lessing and Dylan Valley for reading, editing and commenting in drafts of this work. Thank you for helping me conceptualize this study.

Thank you so much to Nyameka Maposa for taking your time to help me study the isiXhosa novels.

Thank you to Vathiswa Nhanha from the Cory library and Sinazo Mtshemla from the archives department at the Fort Hare University. Thank you for your assistance and helping me with information for my research. Thank you so much to tata Cebo Ntaka and uTamkulu from the Lovedale Press. Thank you for your assistance and for sharing your wisdom with me.

I would also like to thank my family for their support. My mother and sister have encouraged me all the way. My cousins, Funeka and Ncebakazi Manzi, I am grateful for your guidance, and wisdom. To Songezo Ndamase, I am grateful for your support and faith in me.

I had incredible discussions with Dr Cynthia Hoza, Prof Mtuze and tata Jadezweni over the phone. All three intellectuals have never met me, but they poured out their unfailing love and support towards me. Thank you so much for believing in me.

Uyabulela uMambamba, Thangana, Krila. Inene ndingumntu ngenxa yenu.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"How do we see women's agency if we are using the incorrect lens to see their work as valuable work?"- (Masola, 2018: 3).

This thesis opens up with Athambile Masola's question because it is relevant to the whole argument of this study. From the earliest days of the missionary tradition, women were expected to be silent. This silence according to Deborah Nelson, "does not necessarily imply powerlessness and passivity as is often assumed" (Nelson, 1999: 22). Nelson (1999: 22) continues to explain that, the few women who wrote in the early twentieth century gave us a record of their thoughts, demonstrating that the official ideal of silence for them was never attained. Carole Boyce Davies (2014: 121) indicates that writings by South African women authors have been neglected because white male and female writers have been at the forefront of literature. A few have heard about black women writers such as Victoria Swaartbooi, Letitia Kakaza, Zora Futshane, and Nontsizi Mgqwetho.

The thesis aims to focus on the life and works of two South African women writers; Victoria Swaartbooi and Letitia Kakaza. They were amongst the first women to write books in isiXhosa. IsiXhosa literature was one of the first vernacular literatures to be developed in South Africa. Letitia (also known as Lettie) Kakaza Kwatsha[1] was one of the first black South African women to write a novel in an indigenous language. In this study, she will be referred to by her maiden name "Kakaza" because this is the name that she used when she published her book. In addition to writing a novel, she was also a musician and she composed songs for the Africa Church hymn book[2]. Kakaza's work inspired a generation of black women writers to follow in her footsteps. After she published her novel, women like Swaartbooi and Zora Futshane followed after her. She published her first book *Intyantyambo Yomzi* (The pride of the home/nation) in 1913, and a year later she published *UTandiwe wakwa Gcaleka* (Tandiwe from Gcaleka). Twenty-two years later, Victoria Swaartbooi published her book *UMandisa* in 1934. Most historians date the book's publication to 1934, although communications between the

[1] It is not clear whether she was addressed as Lettie, Lilith or Letitia, but for the study she will be addressed as Letitia Kakaza (the obituary used her nickname Lettie which would be short for Letitia) and her maiden name will be used as that is the name that she used when she published her book.

[2] According to the obituary that is at the Fort Hare University, which has been used for her biographical information, the names of the songs that Kakaza composed are not known.

Swaartbooi family and the Lovedale Press from 1934 to 1935 show that they were still inquiring about its publication. The current edition which is available at the Press was published in 1975. It is still unclear when the first edition of the book was published.

According to Jeff Opland (2007: 135), writing and literacy were introduced to the isiXhosa speaking people in the Eastern Cape by the Scottish missionaries in the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries, and written literature by indigenous people began to grow. Work that was written by African men then began being noticed. Opland (2007: 87) explains that in 1907 the first novel called *USamson* by Samuel, Edward, Krune (SEK) Mqhayi was published by the Lovedale Press and a few years later in 1909, Henry Masila's book *uHambo luka Gqoboka* (Christian's Journey) was published. Mqhayi, Ntsikana, Tiyo Soga, John Tengo Jabavu, Walter Rubusana, and Archibald Campbell "A.C" Jordan are among the most prominent writers in the history of isiXhosa literature. Because men were already viewed as important people in the Xhosa culture, their work was more valued.

In the isiXhosa society, one of the strategies employed to keep women obedient was to silence them. Zingisa Guzana explains that "in the Xhosa culture, silence is perceived as constituting an important aspect of the behavior of a woman" (2000: 75). One of the "good" qualities in a woman was defined as her ability to be silent. According to Guzana (2000: 75), men were the ones who decided that silence is a virtue for women and that silence is associated to a woman's goodness. The silence of women in cultures was one of the reasons why women's work was not recognized in the same manner as male writers'.

In his book, *African Intellectuals in 19th and Early 20th Century South Africa* (2008), Mcebisi Ndletyana hardly wrote about women writers. He provides a detailed biography of the men who were important figures in isiXhosa literature and how their works contributed to the changes that were taking place in society during the time. In his text, women become figures that do not exist outside the male dominance. By emphasizing the important work that women have done, I seek to demonstrate that women were also active participants in the literary world. Athambile Masola states that "the very idea of politically involved women is premised on a particular kind of publicness, which often privileges the male body" (Masola, 2018: 60). In the archives, women are often misrepresented and the role that they played in the development of literature is not publicized. This is the kind of knowledge that is "socially constructed as it tends to serve the interests of those who have power", explains Alison Easton (Easton, 1996: 3). Other women and scholars such as Mfusi Cynthia Hoza (2012), Makhosazana Xaba (2006),

and Asanda Sizani (2022) are making efforts of visibilizing other women who have been historically excluded such as Nontsizi Mgqwetho, Noni Jabavu, and Nokutela Mdima- Dube.

Nontsizi Mgqwetho is also one of the most recognized isiXhosa women writers. She was the first female poet to develop a major body of work in isiXhosa, contributing her poetry to the journal *uMteteli Wabantu* from 1920 until 1929 (Hofmeyer, 2007: xiv). This was a time when Xhosa women were breaking into literature. In the 1920s Charlotte Maxeke's writings appeared in the newspaper *uMteteli Wabantu* (Masola 2018: 59). In 1960 Zora Futshane was also recognized as a novelist when her books *uJujuju* and *Mhla Ngenqaba* were published by the Lovedale Press.

Swaartbooi was the first woman to publish a book (*UMandisa*) at the Lovedale Press while Kakaza published *UTandiwe Wakwa Gcaleka* at the Methodist Book Room in Cape Town and *Intyantyambo Yomzi* at the Gazette office in Butterworth. Both women were shaped by Christian conversion in the early twentieth century. The politics of Christian publishing complicated matters for women writers because they were expected to write their books in a certain way. The publishing houses were one of the institutions that silenced women. In her book *UMandisa* (1975*),* Swaartbooi acknowledges the role that the Lovedale Press played in making sure that her book was published and she also thanked W.G Bennie who worked at the Lovedale Press during the time, for "transforming the book into what it is now" (Swaartbooi, 1975: 2). The beginning of the book is very different from how she wrote her conclusion because on her last page she wrote a passage urging women to "take back Africa" (Swaartbooi, 1975: 48) while in the beginning she thanked a white man for "transforming" her book. We can only assume that she was aware of the white man's influence on her book's transformation, and she used the final page to express her concerns about colonialism. She seemed to be conscious of how the missionary press did not provide adequate freedom for black writers at the time.

Both Swaartbooi and Kakaza were concerned about identity and a woman's place in society. Kakaza wrote on religion and how it shaped a woman's identity, whereas Swaartbooi did not write about religion at all; instead, she analyzed names, education, and career as important elements of identity. Both their books emphasize life's simplicity while simultaneously advocating for what is good, which reflected some of the missionary values and beliefs. This chapter will provide the biographical information of Kakaza and Swaartbooi.

Biographical Information

Before I look into their work, it is important to first introduce both Victoria Swaartbooi and Letitia Kakaza. The archives from the Cory library and the Archival department at the University of Fort Hare were very helpful in tracing both women.

Letitia Kakaza

Kakaza was born on May 6, 1883[3]; the same year Paul Kruger was re-elected as president of the Transvaal (Grobler 1996: 455). Her grandfather was a Fingo[4] (also known as the Mfengu clan) Chief.

Her parents- Gana and Grace Kakaza

Her father was Reverend Gana Kakaza[5] of the Wesley Church who was from Nxukwebe near Healdtown in the Eastern Cape, and her mother Grace Kakaza (her maiden name was Mjodi) was from Rabula.

Gana Kakaza was born in 1853. He was one of the first students to attend the Healdtown training school in 1869. He then qualified as a teacher and taught at the school for three years. In 1869 he got accepted at a theological school and that is when his journey of becoming a reverend began. On the 24th of July 1877 he got married to Grace Kakaza at the St Matthews Church at Mtwaku where Rev. C. Taberer[6] officiated their wedding.

When he entered the ministry in 1880, he was assigned to the Famerfield mission (Vernal, 2012: 197). According to Fiona Vernal (2012: 197), while he was on probation, he questioned issues of race that were affecting him and the Methodist Church reprimanded him. In 1884 during his trial period as a minister he questioned issues of authority in relation to race and why Africans were being mistreated[7]. The Reverend was a man who questioned certain issues

[3] Information on Kakaza's life was gathered from an archival document 88.2- BAC/002/0006/4 at Fort Hare University in Alice. Work translated by **Mitiyo, S.,** (2020) *Umfikazi uLettie Kakaza Kwatsha.* Fort Hare University Alice, Eastern Cape.

[4] See article: Fry, P., (2010). Siyamfenguza: The Creation of Fingo-ness in South Africa's Eastern Cape, 1800-1835.

[5] Information on the Reverand Gana Kakaza was found at the Amathole Museum in King Williams Town, Eastern Cape, South Africa.

[6] The Newspaper article listed the year and place where Grace and Gana Kakaza got married. Isigidimi Sama-Xosa, September 1, published at the Lovedale Press, South Africa.

[7] See Vernal, F., (2012). The Farmerfield Mission: A Christian Community in South Africa, 1838-2008, page 197. Oxford University Press. 198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016.

within the church and he represented black communities. Due to these inquires he lost the endorsement of white Methodists in the Grahamstown (now known as Makhanda) District where he would have been a full-time minister (Vernal, 2012: 197). The Gana Kakaza Hall of the Wellington Methodist Church in Aggrey Road, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth (now known as Qgeberha) is named after him to signify his role as a minister in the Christian black community. The Reverend served in the ministry for 35 years and he served at over ten station. He died in Cape Town on June 8 1915 when he was 62-years-old.

Letitia Kakaza's life

Kakaza had four sisters and two brothers and she was the second born of her siblings. At the time of her death she had survived all six of her siblings. Kakaza's older brother; Theodore Masiza Kakaza was a well-known medical doctor and president of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) division in Buffalo, New York. Dr Theodore Kakaza was born in 1876 in Healdtown and studied at the Healdtown institution (Campbell, 1987: 270). He was one of the ten black South Africans who went to study at Wilberforce University in Ohio, USA in 1896 (Kirk, 1999: 303). Leaders of Black Freedom in South Africa, Charlotte and Marshal Maxeke also attended the Wilberforce University during the time of Theodore's cohort. According to James Campbell:

> The Wilberforce students were very active. In their consciousness and character, they represented the finest flower of South Africa's nineteenth century mission culture. They could scarcely have been better suited for the world of Wilberforce, which was, in its own way, in twilight (1987:3 17).

Theodore Kakaza graduated from the University of Wilberforce in 1902 with a Bachelor of Science (BSc) degree and entered Meharry Medical College in Nashville, Tennessee before enrolling at the University of Toronto in 1904 (Garvey, 2006: 139). In 1907 he graduated with a Bachelor of Medicine (M.B) degree. He also published a series of articles in the black owned newspaper from King Williams Town called *Imvo Zabantsundu*. He was married to Menzy, and they both lived in Buffalo, New York[8]. On May 31 1947, Letitia lost her brother, when she was 64-years-old. Theodore was buried at Crown Hill Cemetery in Indianapolis, Indiana[9].

[8] For biographical information and Theodore and his wife Menzy Kakaza see Beckford, G.R., (2013). *Biographical Dictionary of American Physicians of African Ancestry, 1800-1920*. Page 185. Africana Homestead Legacy Pb.

[9] Information about Dr Theodore's death and funeral is on The Indianapolis Newspapers. See The Indianapolis News, Tuesday, June 3, 1947 page 24.

Letitia Kakaza completed her lower grades in Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth where her father was a Reverend and had opened churches. She passed her fourth grade when she was ten-years-old. However, because in those days the higher education began in standard five, she was expected to attend boarding school. Unfortunately, her parents did not have money to send her to boarding school and she had to repeat standard four. Reverends in those days were paid ten pounds per quarter of a year. She then did a teacher's course in Ayliff and was sent to Healdtown, where she passed a three-year Teacher's Course. Kakaza was also a product of missionary education, which shaped her way of thinking and viewing the world, this is evident in her writing. She writes about religion and the patriarchal ideologies of a women's role at home. Unlike Swaartbooi, she does not criticize the patriarchal structures that influenced her thinking and caused her to internalize this ideology, as this is clear in her writing.

At the time her brother, Theodore was in his sixth year living in America, he asked that one of his siblings should come join him and study abroad. Her father suggested Letitia to go. Her father was the one who allowed her to continue her studies and challenge the preconceptions about black women's education. According to James Campbell (1995: 271), "a lot of AME ministers took advantage of their privileged positions in the church to arrange scholarships for their own children". Kakaza also displayed these privileges.

In August 1902, Kakaza then took off, traveling through New York via Southampton on her way to Fisk University in Nashville Tennessee where the legendary Louis Armstrong was also a student. While studying she had to take jobs on holidays in order to make money. After passing her BA in 1909, she travelled back to her home in South Africa. This was two years after Victoria Swaartbooi was born (Maqagi, 2003: 205).

Unfortunately, in that period of returning home, her mother was critically ill. At the time, her parents were in the Fort Malan circuit in the Transkei. Because of that she was forced to forget about anything and look after her mother. When she returned, she began writing two isiXhosa books *Intyantyambo Yomzi* (1913) and *UTandiwe wakwa Gcaleka* (1914). Her novels were influenced by rural life and the activities of women. Unlike many other black writers in the Eastern Cape during the time, who published their books at the Lovedale Press, her books were published at the Methodist Book Room in Cape Town and the Gazette office in Butterworth. Her obituary that is available at the Fort Hare Archival department, states that Kakaza sold her

publishing rights to the Lovedale Press after writing her books. However, in the cover of both her books, there is no mention of the Lovedale Press as the printing press.

After the passing of her mother[10], she immediately started working in Butterworth, at a high school known as Lanploug. At the time she married Rev V.R Kwatsha of the Presbyterian Church of Africa. The first church that they planted was in Tyhume-Middledrift, and from there they planted other churches in King Williams Town and East London. She moved around on foot in the area to Tyhusha, in Mtyholo and other places with her child on her back to the meetings and revivals. While they were there, they had a calling to go to Uitenhage and open a church there. In Uitenhage she focused on developing the black community, and she worked as a teacher in one of the local schools. She did not rest, but continued to sacrifice by being an unpaid teacher, and she made sure that the school upgraded the standards of learning for scholars till standard six. She made a huge contribution in the establishment of the Mission and Mission schools in Uitenhage.

Her husband passed away in the year 1950. She then returned to her home in Debe where they bought a plot that was formerly owned by her father. Whilst there, she continued to work very hard by being diligent, waking up early to plough her fields, setting an example to her children and grandchildren.

She left behind a girl and a boy (who were her only children)[11], ten grandchildren and five great grandchildren. Her grandchildren had the privilege of starting school at standard one because she taught them sub A and B at home. She passed away in August 1977 at the age of 94.

Victoria Nombulelo Swaartbooi

Victoria Swaartbooi, unlike Kakaza, did not marry, and she did not have the same opportunities as Kakaza, who was able to study abroad. Very little information about her apart from what V.M. Sisi Maqagi has written in *Women Writing Africa: - The Southern Region* (2003: 205) exists and there is a huge gap in what is documented on her life. This includes information about her family and her cause of death because she died in her youth, three years after her book was published. For this thesis I will provide as much information about her as possible that I was able to gather from the archives.

[10] According to Letitia Kakaza's obituary that I found at Fort Hare, which I used for this biographical information, the date of her mother's passing is not known.
[11] According to Letitia Kakaza's obituary that I found at Fort Hare, which I used for this biographical information, the names of her children were not known.

Victoria Nombulelo M. Swaartbooi was born in the Eastern Cape, in the Nqamakhwe district in 1907[12]. Her father's name was Hans Swaartbooi who died on the 16th of December 1944[13]. She studied at the Mgwali Training School in Fort Beaufort in 1924. In 1926 she continued with her studies at the Healdtown Training school where she obtained her Junior Teacher's Certificate. Her brother Douglas Swaartbooi also attended the school where he passed his standard VI on November 27, 1928[14]. Based on the letters that were part of her correspondence with the Lovedale Press, there are also letters that show that her father and brother were vigorous in ensuring that the Press published her book after she died[15]. Her brother also made sure that her family gets royalties for the book after it was published. In 1929 Swaartbooi started teaching domestic science at the Girl's Practicing School at Mgwali. She died in 1937, four years after the year that scholars claim that her book was published.

Both Victoria Swaartbooi and Letitia Kakaza wrote novels at a time when women's writing in isiXhosa was not widely accepted. The archives have exclusively documented how the male figures in their lives influenced both of their literary careers, with no mention of the role performed by women. There is more available archival information on Kakaza than on Swaartbooi. Because Kakaza's father was a prominent figure in the missionary community and due to her brother's affluence, more information about her is available from the archives at the University of Fart Hare and the Amathole Museum. This raises questions about public archives and what certain institutions regard as important when it comes to archival information on women.

METHOD OF APPROACH

A feminist qualitative research methodology approach will be constructed as the study will be focusing on "patriarchal power structures and the lives of women who are marginalized and silenced by these power structures" (Atkinson 2017: 66). This method focuses on the construction of meaning by interrogating the experiences of women and why they are silenced.

As a method of approach for the thesis, the process of making a documentary was adopted. I was able to collect information by filming my visits to various locations, filming archival documents, and conducting interviews. Using documentary and archival tools as techniques

[12] See: Naylor, G., 2003. *Women writing Africa: The southern region* (Vol. 1), pg. 205. Feminist Press at CUNY.
[13] Cory Library: MS 16 415
[14] Cory Library: MS 16 598/1
[15] Letters are analyzed in Chapter 2

have aided in the collection of information as well as the creation of the research film project. According to Mthunzi Zungu (2014: 10), documenting the lives of women throughout history requires a revisiting of their lives. This is critical, as the role of women has been largely ignored in the history of literature. Because of this deliberate silence, the only way to document women's history is through life narratives and requiring the use of historical records as a methodology. This approach has been regarded as a method for filling a knowledge gap within the archives by identifying the previously excluded and marginalised. This method has been utilized to document the lack of historical knowledge about Kakaza and Swaartbooi in museums and libraries. The material obtained is used to make an experimental documentary film that incorporates all of the themes discussed in the paper. Therefore, the film's structure and planning were aided by the research conducted for the paper.

Historical isiXhosa newspapers (Izwi Labantu, Imvo Zabantsundu, etc,) are one of the important texts that I went through to gather information about the women and their families. I will use textual analysis as it focuses on the gathering of information about texts in order to examine their importance to society (Atkinson, 2017: 84). Textual analysis and qualitative content analysis are the two methods that I will be focusing on in analyzing the works by the two writers after conducting research for their biographies. According to Atkinson (2017: 84), qualitative content analysis explains what is in the text. Because I will be focusing on women who died in the early twentieth century and are not present to speak on behalf of their books, this analysis will help to uncover an underlying meaning found in their texts. Although there was no adequate information about Kakaza and Swaartbooi, my project aims to provide a gendered reading that honours both women's lives and the contributions they made to the literary world. For the concept of my film project, textual analysis and research into the archives are important. The archives and texts provide filmmakers with the possibility to build a film that speaks to the subject's message. Because the subjects are no longer alive and unable to narrate their own story, the filmmaker can re-imagine their existence by looking through the archives and conducting a textual study of their work. This procedure enables for the recall of memories.

Ndokulandela is a film that combines archival and current event footage. By doing this, I include the manuscripts of both Kakaza and Swaartbooi's work, letters by Swaartbooi and her family with the Lovedale Press, to the live-action footage of the current Healdtown training school they attended. Further included in the live-action footage is the post office that they used to send letters, interviews of women who are writers today as well as fictional characters of

women who tell the story of the role women play in each other's lives. It's also a film that embraces memory and time.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Biographies and identity

The biopic *Winnie Mandela (2011)* raises multiple questions on how women's lives are told. The assumptions of Winnie's life, which rely on seeing her as a villain and vessel of love, have allowed for a re-imagining of the way that women's lives are conveyed on screen and archival history. *Winnie Mandela (2011)* is a film that struggles to decide how to depict Winnie; I argue that it alternates between portraying her as both a heroine and a villain. While the thesis also looks at identity and the absence of women within history, an analysis of the film helps in also discussing how women's lives are portrayed on screen. Zola Maseko has also created a film on Sara Baartman called *The Life and Times of Sara Baartman* (1998), which according to Nobunye Levin (2009) "focuses on the period when she became known as the "Hottentot Venus" and by doing this he begins to create a passive victim with no real personal history" (2009: 18). It can be argued that the film, like *Winnie Mandela*, fails to convey the woman's actual experience and instead continues to tell a story that objectifies its subject. Levin then created a film that "offers an interpretation of her subjectivity through memories of her life" (2009: 18). *Winnie Mandela* is one of several films about women in which the protagonist is portrayed as a passive victim of history, with information about her life omitted in order to continue with a narrative that either objectifies or vilifies her. This differs from the way men's biopics are told, which tend to centre on their masculinity and heroism.

Darrel Roodt's film on Winnie provided a politically constructed narrative about her life. Winnie is used in these public articulations to discuss gender, race, and power. She is used as an object to establish a black man's image. According to Michael O'Sullivan (The Washington Post, 2013), the film is about a woman who is driven to extremes by both love and politics. Given the horrible nature of some of what Winnie Mandela has been accused of, this creates a bit of a tension within the narrative. Judy Long (1999: 2) asks the question "what is an admirable life and who decides?" Certain parts about Winnie's life were chosen when creating the film, and the parts of her life that were chosen focused on love and politics. The portrayal of the subject calls into questioning identity ideologies and women's biographies.

The biopic begins with Winnie's birth, and her father is disappointed because baby Winnie is not a boy. The book *UMandisa* by Swaartbooi begins similarly to the film, but offers a different approach. In the book, the family is overjoyed that the baby is a girl. The film then shifts from Winnie's birth to the story of her love life. By focusing on a love story rather than delivering a full biographical story of the subject, the film neglects its main purpose. The story becomes more about the man who she was in love with and less about the kind of woman that she was and what she went through during the time. Mthunzi Zungu and the other authors of *Herstory: Writing into South African History* (2014: 10) state that there is evidence in many oral history narratives of women in South Africa that their accounts of events are given significance by referring to the prominent men around them. *UMandisa* differs from Winnie's biopic, it depicts the woman protagonist outside of her relationship to a man. The book is a biographical novel that tells a story about a women's life journey and it celebrates womanhood.

Language and Power

Carole Boyce Davies has written about the importance of women being recognized as important figures in African Literature in her theory about *Feminist Consciousness and African Literary Criticism (2014).* She is one of the key people who have theorized black women's writing. She focuses on African women writers and the question of their exclusion from the literary canon (Davies 2014: 122). The archives do not present the roles that women played in the writers' lives, despite how both women have written about women empowerment and the roles that women play in each other's lives. Davies (2014: 120) states that "African written Literature has been the preserve of male writers and critics". There is evidence of women's involvement in literature in the early twentieth century but their stories remain untold. Literature helps us understand that "there are differences which point to the specific types of oppression African women face in various cultures" (Davies 2014: 125).

Davies addresses the need to examine the importance of language and how African women writers used it as a symbolic structure. The study also focuses on the importance of language and writing during the time and how missionaries used language to influence the people. Davies examines the importance of focusing on the language that writers chose to write in. She draws on the importance of tracing women's existence in historical contexts, about who they were and what they were representing, as it is "a powerful way of correcting imperial history" (Davies 2014: 138). According to Davies (2014: 121), "the earliest critics of African literature were European academicians who communicated the Western male-oriented mode of creating

and evaluating literature". She helps us understand the critical connection between feminist criticism and African Literature. A number of areas remain uncovered in the study of isiXhosa literature, language as a symbolic structure and how it is revealed in the works of both male and female writers is an unexplored area. Swaartbooi was aware of the significance of language in her book *UMandisa.* In the last page of her book, she made sure that she used the platform by also addressing her own people and telling them to "take Africa back".

> "Zintombi zeAfrika qhubani eyenu indima ekuyibuyiseni nasekuyinyuseni iAfrika, eli lizwe lokuzalwa kwenu".
>
> Translation: Girls from Africa, continue to take back and uplift Africa. This is where you were born (Swaartbooi 1975: 48).

Missionaries might have wanted the Xhosa people to leave their cultural beliefs after conversion, but authors narrated their stories and cultural backgrounds so that they can "take up Africa" through their writing. There was a political awareness that Swaartbooi was raising in this passage and she was urging women to use literature and education to tell their stories. In her book Swaartbooi continues to write to women by saying:

> "Ndiyathemba ukuba iintombi eziya kufunda eli bali zolangazelela ukuba ziqhube njengale ntombazana sibe sifunda ngayo apha."
>
> Translation: To those women who happen to read this story I hope you will follow in the footsteps of this main character and take education seriously (Swaartbooi 1975: 48).

The thesis will analyse the book in Chapter 4. Furthermore, the importance of language and how Swaartbooi used language to reach out to other women will be highlighted. In this passage she makes readers realise that there was more that she wanted to say in the book. Swaartbooi was writing to young women and encouraging them to seek education. In the passage she reveals that she believes greatly in education and how it was the only tool to break through male dominated spaces. Perhaps this was also what happened to Swaartbooi, it was because of her education that she was able to write and be recognized. The thesis draws deeper in the history of education and how it shaped black women. Mfusi Cynthia Hoza states in her article that "similar to the contemporary African women writers' works, *UMandisa* exploits education as the only viable instrument capable of delivering women" (Hoza 2012: 64). Swaartbooi in this passage draws to the idea of women using education to liberate themselves against white supremacy and patriarchal oppression. Hoza (2012: 65) states that education for women was

perceived as the most powerful tool that created opportunities for women to survive economically, outside the male patriarchy.

In her thesis, Barbara Boswell (2010: 31) speaks about identity being "fluid and dynamic" that it resonates well with experience and subjectivity. Boswell examines how identity correlates with the workings of racial power. She focuses on the idea of spaces and how it influences who we are. Chapter 3 focuses on spaces as a theme that Kakaza focuses on in her books. Boswell explains that nationalism is as gendered as it is invented, she refers to it as an idea that has been created to oppress women and to shelter them by constructing ideas on how they should be. Patriarchy correlates with nationalism, national identity is male gendered and excludes women. Boswell argues that black women inserted themselves into national discourse and reimagined the nation in their writing. Her work identifies well with my study, by looking at the works by Swaartbooi, and Kakaza I seek to understand the significance of space, and how nationalism contributed to their writing and identity. It is because of the politics of their surroundings and cultural backgrounds that the women wanted to explore the power dynamics in their world.

In addition, works by Linda Alcoff and Ngugi wa Thiong'o about language and identity are useful in this thesis to think about the importance of women's writing and what they represented. Linda Alcoff (1988: 406) states that women have tried hard to fit into society, because of historical contexts, social scientific statistics; women are always dominated by a misogynist discourse. Alcoff examines the way women are portrayed in literature, specifically by male scholars and how they are constructed as "an essential something inevitably accessible to direct intuited apprehension by males" (Alcoff, 1988: 406). The idea of women's visibility plays a huge role in her works on social identities. When both Kakaza and Swaartbooi began writing their novels, there was already a particular way that women were framed in novels.

wa Thiong'o's theory on decolonizing the mind suggests an interrogation on issues of language in relation to African Literature and how it is a powerful weapon that is wielded to hold the soul prisoner (wa Thiong'o, 1987:9). Ngugi uses the term "cultural bomb" to argue how it was used to destroy people's belief in their given names, languages, culture and eventually in themselves. Gikandi clarifies that Africans used African literature to represent their true identities, by writing about their culture and what they really believed in. Both Kakaza and Swaartbooi have English names, Letitia and Victoria. Swaartbooi was also known as Nombulelo, meaning thanksgiving, which was stated earlier in her biographical information.

Swaartbooi was aware of the politics of English names because it is one of the themes that she focuses on in her book. There is no trace of Kakaza having a Xhosa name.

Thesis outline

Chapter 2 narrates the world of the writers and explores what was happening during the time they began writing. I focus on the history of the Lovedale Press, which is the printing Press where Swaartbooi published her book. I look at the politics of missionary publishing and exclusion. I then focus on the emergence of the educated Xhosa woman during the missionary times. I examine the history of women's education and its development in the early twentieth century. Finally, I consider women who wrote isiXhosa novels in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as the possibilities women were given to begin writing and the types of books they were expected to write.

I analyze both of Kakaza's works- *Intyantyambo Yomzi* and *UThandiwe wakwa Gcaleka*, in Chapter 3. In both her books, Kakaza creates a woman's world that is centered around religion, education and marriage. The books also highlight the issues around women's identity in South Africa during the missionary period. Kakaza's own identity and how she wrote about women are then explored at the end of the chapter.

Chapter 4 analyses Swaartbooi's book *UMandisa.* There is a language discussion in the chapter and how Swaartbooi uses it to address certain issues to address the reader. The importance of names is highlighted in her book. Names were a part of the socio-political difficulties faced in the twentieth century and in the book, Swaartbooi highlights the complexities of giving a child an African name during the time. I then discuss the importance of language in the Xhosa community and how Swaartbooi used it as a way for her characters to connect.

Chapter 5 is a discussion of my film project and how it explores the different themes that are discussed in the paper. The chapter examines the importance of preserving language and literature.

Chapter 6 is the general conclusion that summarizes the main points of the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

THE JOURNEY OF THE FIRST ISIXHOSA NOVEL WOMEN WRITERS

[10] Teta! Nditi kuni Makoloni ndini (Speak out! I say to you in the Cape)

Fuzani Onyokokulu, niti ukuba (take after your grandmothers)

Niyayenza into niyenze ningoyiki (act fearing no one)

Buso bamntu kuba anibanga nto (for you've stolen no one's property)

Yamntu. Umfelandawonye bo! (Die-as-one, indeed!)

Noba ngabantu nani. Vukani bo! (You'll be people too. Wake up!)

Pakamelani Izibuko! Izibuko. (Rise up to the ford! The ford.) -Nontsizi Mgqwetho[16]

When black women wrote in the early twentieth century, they encouraged other black women to "rise up". In Chapter 1, I examined how Swaartbooi in her book encouraged black women to "rise up and take Africa" (Swaartbooi 1975: 48). This chapter focuses on the journey that Xhosa women writers in the early twentieth century went through before they became writers. I will look at history of Xhosa women's education during the early twentieth century as well as the history of the Lovedale Press. Finally, in this chapter, I will focus on the early twentieth-century women's writing.

Education and the emergence of educated Xhosa women during missionary times

"From the 18th century onwards, the colonial situation shaped what it meant to be an African writer, and it shaped the language of African writing"- (Gikandi 2004: 54).

The early twentieth century South African mission history is known for many themes including education. Education is known to have been implemented by the missionaries to ensure that families read the Bible in their households. According to Simon Gikandi (2004: 54), one of the key developments of education during that time was to shape the African writers and also shape the language of African writing. Tisani (1992: 67) argues that the early church writers were

[16] Poem by Nontsizi Mgqwetho called *The poet of the ford*. Available from: Hofmeyr, I., 2007. *Nation's Bounty: The Xhosa Poetry of Nontsizi Mgqwetho*, page 39. NYU Press.

mainly men and they only recorded their own works, while women were hardly mentioned in these recordings, except for a few testimonies.

The mission schools in the Eastern Cape, South Africa were established by missionaries from the Glasgow Missionary Society which established missionary stations in 1823 (Erlank 2000: 25). The missionaries got funds from Scotland and in 1839; the Lovedale institution was built (Erlank 2000: 27). A girl's department was established in 1846, while it was only temporarily developed for missionary daughters, but later on expanded and welcomed girls from outside. Natasha Erlank (2000: 30) argues, "Women received education for their domestic sphere while men were best fitted for the intellectual and public task of evangelisation, particularly towards other men. As a result, initially Lovedale was intended only for the education of men". Girls from a young age were introduced to domestic skills like sewing, preparing European dishes and nursing (Tisani, 1992: 69). In 1917, one of the first black school teachers in South Africa was said to be a nineteen-year-old girl with a year of further training beyond the elementary curriculum (Gaitskell, 2004: 407). Although the aim of the mission schools was to prepare women for their households at a young age, there were women who wanted to be educated and build their own name by focusing on their careers.

Lovedale, Healdtown and Fort Hare were schools that black men and women went to in the early twentieth century and they provided many opportunities for them. In her book *A Life's Mosaic* (1992), Phyllis Ntantala writes about her experience as a black woman in these institutions and the opportunities that her husband A.C Jordan was given. The principal of Lovedale at the time, James Stewart, compiled information on the professional paths of 2000 African pupils at the school, including 538 girls (Gaitskell, 2004: 409). The Healdtown Missionary Institution, which was established in 1855 by Sir George Grey was also a teachers training school that most writers went to. Swaartbooi and Kakaza were one of the women who attended the training school.

In the training school there were many courses for students to choose from if they wanted to be teachers. There was a Native Infants School (NIST) Certificate, which was a year's course for women. The second was the Post Matriculation Domestic Science (PMDS) course which was another year's course that was taken by women after Matriculation and it specialised in cooking. There was also a Physical Training course for men, and the men who had come to the institution for the course were also meat cutters and made bread (Peppeta, 1989: 52). At the school's men and women were divided and each gender had different things that they needed

to do. Although institutions provided equal learning opportunities for men and women, women were taught different skills than men. The preference, however, was always given to the male students. Tiyo Soga was the first African student to enrol at the Glasgow University's Theological Hall (Ndletyana 2008: 28).

Fion Leach wrote an article about "African girls, nineteenth-century mission education and the patriarchal imperative" (Leach, 2008: 335). In the article she says:

> "In particular, the missionaries understood the importance of educating women if Christianity was to prosper on the continent. Girls were to be educated to take their place in the new Christian monogamous family, to provide moral and practical support for men, and to bring up their children in the new faith. They were to be taught separately from boys where possible, by female teachers and with a differentiated curriculum dominated by sewing. Educational opportunities were expanded only insofar as women needed to provide fitting and accomplished marriage companions for educated men seeking to advance their careers in the new meritocratic society" (Leach, 2008: 335).

One of the key goals of missionaries was to educate girls in order for them to be suitable wives for Christian men, as women were programmed to be dependent on men. Leach continues to say that:

> "Schooling, along with the church, would prepare young people for a new partnership. For women, this entailed being educated as obedient companions for their husbands and bringing up their children according to recognized Christian values; for men it meant being taught skills which would allow them to earn a livelihood and support their family" (Leach, 2008: 339).

However, not all women had the same experiences; Leach provides a broad reaction to how women were educated. She excludes women who were educated but were never married or had children. Women like Victoria Swaartbooi, who were educated but never married, are examples. In her work *UMandisa* (1934), Swaartbooi also focuses on the idea of an independent woman who pursues education and focuses on her career as a teacher.

Education broadened their perspectives on what was going on around them. Ntantala (1992: 36) explains that there was too much emphasis in their lessons on England, English culture and Europe, there was hardly anything taught about Africa. The only education that they got about their own history was from their parents and grandparents. Ntantala also focuses on how women were over working themselves in education because they believed that it would free them as it gave the other races and gender so much knowledge and power.

The institutions in the early twentieth century were also vehicles of class differentiation (Campbell, 1995: 15). There were a number of black students who were privileged and were able to travel abroad to further their studies. Conversion was also a huge privilege because black people who were converted by the missionaries were given more educational opportunities. A number of those women including Charlotte Maxeke, Letitia Kakaza, Adelaide Tantsi, Sibusisiwe Makhanya, Florence Makiwane and Phyllis Ntantala went to go study abroad. Maxeke and Kakaza were sent to study abroad by the African Methodist Episcopal church (AME). James Campell (1987: 269) writes about a statement that Charlotte Maxeke wrote in her first college essay:

> "I wish there were more of our people here to enjoy the privileges of Wilberforce and then go back and teach our people so that our home may lose that awful name, 'the dark continent' and be properly called the continent of light" (Campbell, 1987: 269).

One of the things that the students who studied abroad wanted to do, was to extend their privileges of Wilberforce to the members of their social class. A.C Jordan was one of the people who worked very hard in trying to extend his knowledge by teaching other black people what he learnt from the universities abroad. There is classism that is rarely looked upon when it comes to the education system amongst the other issues that women were dealing with, such as racism and sexism. It is also important to acknowledge that some of the women who were well known came from powerful political backgrounds that were structured by the men in their lives. D.D.T Jabavu explains that there were thousands of educated black people in the early twentieth century who were capable of contributing towards African literature, they were however in no position to do so because they needed practical guidance and financial encouragement (Jabavu, 1943: 2). Privilege played a significant effect because the writers who were given these opportunities were very close to the missionaries and for the women their husbands or fathers were ministers, who could give them guidance. There was a lot of class segregation amongst black people in the early twentieth century that was caused by education.

The Lovedale Press

In this section, the history of the Lovedale Press is discussed. The Lovedale Press was the first publishing house dedicated to isiXhosa written literature in South Africa. It is impossible to write about the history of isiXhosa literature without giving a detailed background of the Lovedale Press. Rev. John Ross of the Glasgow Missionary Society founded the Lovedale Press as a modest printing press in 1823. During two wars, the Frontier War of 1834-5 and the

War of the Axe, the press was destroyed and rebuilt again (1846-7). The Lovedale Press, in its current form, was founded in 1861. The old structure caught fire at one point, and a part containing a number of books, manuscripts, and other precious records was destroyed, including books by Victoria Swaartbooi and Zora Futshane[17]. It's unclear why Kakaza didn't publish her books with the Lovedale Press, despite the fact that other black writers at the time did. The Press began publishing an isiXhosa-language newspaper, *Izimvo zabantsundu* (Views of the Black People), in 1936. The press has published notable works by outstanding isiXhosa authors, poets, and historians, such WB Rubusana's *Zemk' Iinkomo Magwalandini*, AC Jordan's *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya*, Victoria Swaartbooi's *uMandisa,* Zora Futshane's *uJujuju* and Tiyo Soga's *Intlalo kaXhosa* / South Eastern Bantu (Bam, 2020).

It broke new ground by publishing black writers' works. This work had previously been rejected by white-owned publishing houses. It was established as a method of furthering missionary activity and as a step toward educating black South Africans. It was also a pioneer in printing vernacular literature and provided a venue for South African black authors to publish their work. The Lovedale Press grew into a prominent publishing house in Southern Africa, with an unrivalled reputation for producing high-quality literature in isiXhosa and other Southern African languages, as well as works in English (Cele, 2020).

The printing and bookbinding department, the retail bookroom, and the monthly magazine were all part of the Press's published operation. The Press was a commercial operation, with printing providing the majority of the earnings. Before focusing on newspapers, the Press began by publishing a small English and Xhosa magazine named *Ikwezi* (Morning Star) in the year 1841. After that, several other magazines were published such as *Indaba* (The News) in 1862 and *The Kafir Express* in 1870. Years later the Press started focusing on publishing newspapers and published *Isigidimi samaXhosa,* which was an English-isiXhosa monthly newspaper, in October 1870. The publication served as a platform for mobilizing African public opinion. The newspaper was created to educate, and inform the community of the missionary activities. The aim of the Press was to print out weekly sheets so that people can educate themselves by reading what was written in the paper. "It was desired to cultivate habits of intelligent thinking among a people—a fair proportion of whom thought acutely; and, above all, to aid their moral, spiritual, and social progress by the spread of Christian truth", (Shepherd, 1945: 12). The

[17] History about the Lovedale Press- from archives at Fort Hare University- Alice, Eastern Cape, South Africa.

newspaper ran for eighteen years, after that a weekly newspaper that was under the editorship of John Tengo Jabavu named *Imvo Zabantsundu* was established.

Newspapers documented the lives of black people and many writers such as Nontsizi Mqgwetho published their works on them. Because there was so much published on Kakaza's father Reverand Gana Kakaza and her brother Theodore in these newspapers, I was able to get information on Letitia Kakaza. Theodore was a well-known international doctor, and there was a lot written about him in the newspapers. Church records, obituaries, and wedding dates were also maintained in newspapers. I was able to learn more about the Kakaza family by looking through newspaper archives.

The Press focused on publishing both Christian and educational texts and one of the first projects that it focused on was the translation of the Xhosa Bible. According to Robert Henry Wishart Shepherd, "in addition to the Scriptures, various books for the prosecution of the evangelistic and educational tasks were planned or produced in Xhosa at Lovedale in early years: hymnbooks, devotional books, translations such as Tiyo Soga's Xhosa edition of the first part of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress,* spelling books, readers, and many more" (Shepherd, 1945: 10). The Press also focused on producing hymn books, school reading books and Christian literature. They were quite particular about the types of books they intended to print, and they even made it difficult for black people to create books about subjects other than Christian forms or education. Jeff Opland stated in his book (Xhosa Literature) that:

> "Mqhayi's works focused on the Xhosa traditions and initiation. It's as if he was questioning the works that were published at the Press, hence some of his books that focused on such were never published. He wanted to focus on the customs and traditions of Xhosa people, he focused a lot on the kings and their conflicts, he also wrote biographies about them" (Oppland, 2018: 25).

Robert Henry Wishart Shepherd became director of publishing in 1927. When some of the writers wanted to publish their work at the Press, Shepherd made it difficult for them. He did not like S.E.K Mqhayi, and he refused to publish several of his writings. Regardless of the Press's political issues, their primary goal was to help black people advance in literature. They did not discriminate based on gender, and they wanted both men and women to succeed in the field of literature. There were a lot of disagreements with the publishers and the authors, hence some writers stopped publishing their books at the Press and they decided to publish on newspapers. In the early twentieth century, when the Press was under the leadership of Shepherd, the Xhosa writers could not write much about their culture because he believed that

this would mislead the Christian converts. Jeff Peires states "that the Lovedale Press had an effective monopoly on the publication of books in isiXhosa language"[18]. Both black men and women suffered under these conditions, but women's writings suffered more and were not retraced. Most women also did not write more than two novels during that period.

Swaartbooi and the Lovedale Press

On June 28, 1933, Swaartbooi was in communication about the publishing of the book *UMandisa* with one of the staff from the Lovedale Press, Dohne. In one of the letters, Dohne expressed her excitement about the book being the first by a black woman to be published at the Press. She writes: "it would be another step forward if we could publish a book by a Bantu woman" (MS, 16: 415[19]). The Press gave equal opportunities to both men and women, and even though Mqhayi was a dominant male writer during the time, *Ityala Lama Wele* and *uMandisa* received the same number of copies from the Press. Mrs Bennie received a letter from R.White, who worked at the Press at the time, claiming that there were 5000 copies of uMandisa and 5000 copies of Ityala Lama Wele, and both volumes were sold fairly.

R.H.W. Shepherd wrote a letter to the principal of Lovedale, Miss MacGregor on the 28th of August, 1933. He writes about Swaartbooi's book and he states; "its tone is good, and the simplicity of the story may make and appeal to Native readers" (MS, 16: 415). He also ends the letter by saying "I may mention that the MS. is of special interest to us, because if published it would be the first novel printed from the pen of a Bantu woman" (MS, 16: 415).

Victoria Swaartbooi communicated with the Press about her novel *UMandisa* up until the time of her death. Her brother, Douglas Swaartbooi had to continue with the communication to track the number of copies that the Lovedale Press sold and also make sure that they got royalties for the book. Victoria Swaartbooi wrote a letter to the Lovedale Press on January 23, 1935:

[18] See preface by Jeff Peires in Opland's book, *Abantu Besizwe (2009*).
[19] Archives from Cory Library at Rhodes University

Engcwe,

Idutywa,

23rd Jan., 1935

The Manager,

Lovedale Printing Department

Dear Sir.

Last year I wrote to ask you to give the final proofs of the book "Mandisa" that is in the press to Mr Zondani, as there are some points that I had asked him to see to in it, before it was published, but I have never heard from you. Today I am writing you to please send the final proofs to me at your earliest convenience. Kindly send them to: Emgwali Training School,

Dohne

Sir, could you also be so kind as to let me know when you think the said book will be out from the press. It is now over a year since I sent in the manuscripts. Hoping, this matter will receive your attention and that I am not asking too much from you.

I beg to be, sir,

Yours faithfully,

Victoria M. Swaartbooi.

Dohne wrote a letter back to Victoria Swaartbooi on January 31, 1935:

Miss Victoria M. Swaartbooi,

Emgwali Training School,

Dohne.

Dear Madam,

We regret we cannot give the approximate date of the publishing of your book "Mandisa", but we would assure you that the proofs will be dealt with by Mr. Zondani before we print off. Throughout 1934 there was extreme pressure on our printing works and works on some books, such as "Mandisa" had to be put off until the pressure eased off. We expect to have the book on sale before the end of this session.

The communication between the Swaartbooi family and the Press about the book *uMandisa* continued until the year 1939. From the letters it is clear that the book was not published in the year 1934, which is the year that most scholars refer to. Swaartbooi sent a letter in the year

1935, requesting for the exact date of the publishing of her book. On July 23, 1935, Dohne who was the director of publication at the Press sent a letter to Swaartbooi:

23rd July, 1935

Miss Victoria Swaartbooi,

Emgwali, via Dohne

Dear Miss Swaartbooi,

I have had a call from your brother regarding your MS. I very much regret that UMANDISA has been so long unpublished but this has been due very special circumstances particularly the pressure of work connected to the publication of the STEWART READERS in the new orthography. I wish to assure you however, that not many weeks would elapse before the book is sent out to the public. We shall see that you receive advance copies.

Yours sincerely,

For THE LOVEDALE PRESS

DIRECTOR OF PUBLICATIONS.

Even after Victoria Swaartbooi's death, the Swaartbooi family and the press exchanged messages for the royalties. Her brother Douglas Swaartbooi sent a letter to the Press on March 16, 1939.

The Magistrate's Office,

TSOMO. C.P.

12th. March, 1939

The Manager of the

Lovedale Printing Department

P.O. LOVEDALE via ALICE.

Re: Printing & Sale of "Mandisa" By

V.M.N Swaartbooi

Sir,

On behalf of my father Hans Swaartbooi who has instructed me to communicate with you I have the honour to request you to kindly advise me of the position in regard to the above subject, in his capacity as father to the above named, with special reference to the following points:

1 General terms of the agreement for the printing and sale of the publication "Mandisa" between you and the late Miss V.M.N Swaartbooi.
2 Number of books originally printed.
3 Number of books sold out up to 31st December 1938.
4 The actual or gross amount of publications sold up to 31st December, 1938
5 The net amount realized from sales up to and including 31st December 1938.
6 Number of books yet unsold (i.e. up to 31st December 1938) Whether it is proposed to reprint the publication in the near future.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

D.T. Swaartbooi

Over the years, Douglas Swaartbooi continued to write letters to the Lovedale Press as he was also enquiring about the royalties, as the heir of the Estate of his father Hans Swaartbooi who passed on December 16, 1944. On March 23, 1945, Douglas wrote a letter to the Press informing them of his father's passing. He then stated in the letter "I therefore humbly request in my capacity as his eldest son and heir to inform me of the position of the sale of "Mandisa" (MS, 16: 415). In the letter it is also clear that the book was doing well as it was set for junior vernacular classes for the year 1945. Douglas then ended the letter by explaining that royalties for the book should be forwarded to him through the Magistrate Court in Idutywa. The Lovedale Press got back to him and sent a letter explaining that "when royalties are payable, we wish to hand these over to her heir" (MS, 16: 415). On April 4, 1945, a letter was sent to Douglas by the Lovedale Press informing him that royalties for the book were going to be paid out (MS, 16: 415).

In examining the scarcity of women who wrote novels in isiXhosa, there is plentiful of evidence that shows that women were creative writers and they also contributed towards African literature. The fact that we see very little isiXhosa novels written by women in public spaces- does not mean that they are little or non-existent. If we search for them, we will discover that there is a lot that women have written. However it was the demand that determined the publication of a book, and the Lovedale Press published more books that were demanded by schools or people[20]. During this time in literature, black women did not emerge the same way that white men and women, as well as black men did.

[20] See The Influence of English on Bantu Literature (1943)

CHAPTER 3

LETITIA KAKAZA'S WRITING

"The novel was an important cultural form"- Barbara Boswell (2020:9).

In Chapter 2, the history of women's education, the history of the Lovedale Press as well as the politics of the printing press were examined. I discussed the role played by the press in publishing both black men and women's work. The following novels by Kakaza will be analysed in this chapter: *Intyantyambo Yomzi* (1913) and *UTandiwe wakwa Gcaleka* (1914).

Intyatyambo Yomzi was published in 1913 by an office known as "Gazette" during the time in Butterworth. The book is about women's Christian faith, purity, womanhood and redemption. The main character of the book, is a woman named Esther. Esther presents herself to the women in her community as having all the qualities of the ideal woman, but underneath it all, she is driven by the pressure of the life she leads. She does not live long to celebrate the relationships she has mended and the conflicts she has resolved. Even though she has been working toward becoming a wife and molding her own character into one that is suitable for marriage, she never gets the chance to be one because she dies a few days before her wedding.

The book starts with Esther leaving home to find work in Port Elizabeth. She eventually finds employment as a maid for a white family. While she was there she meets her friend Lizzie and makes other new friends. In the beginning, the book focuses on women friendships and the process of becoming an independent woman after leaving home. Sisterhood in communities is one of the themes that Kakaza highlights at the beginning of the book. Esther relocates to a new city, where she is welcomed by women who are strangers but treat her like a sister. Kakaza then shifts from this narrative by introducing Esther into a world where heroism and purity become the main identities of a woman in order for her to be inspired by other women.

Esther shares a place with a woman named Dinah who never understands why she always has to go to church. Dinah criticizes Esther's moral behavior and religious convictions, stating "your faith cannot always save everyone" (1913:14) after observing how Esther exhausts herself by attempting to save everyone. The type of protagonist Kakaza wrote about is an ideal woman who upholds morals in her community. This is made very evident in the way Kakaza

portrays the supporting characters, who are the opposite of Esther and, based on their actions, are not accepted in their community.

Kakaza writes about women and the roles they played in each other's lives. She writes about sisterhood, jealousy and friendship conflicts. The archives recorded on her have no mention of the role that women played in her own life, yet in her writing, it is evident that women were active in her world. My film project fills these gaps, and represents both Kakaza and Swaartbooi's world where women were also active vessels. The film does this by focusing on nurturing, and women guiding and teaching young girls.

The novel explores womanism and how a woman should conduct herself for marriage. Kakaza examines the ideal home by detailing how a woman should be for the home to be sustainable. She states that:

"Akwaba abafazi bebeqonda ukuba impembelelo yabo iyaliguqula ilizwe. Umfazi ongalunganga akawuzimasi umzi wake. Ude ngaxa limbi ayiguqule nendoda ebilungile ngapambile ibe sikohlakali" (1913: 21).

Translated: "I wish women understood that their influence is changing the world. An unrighteous wife does not nourish her house. She can even turn a good man into being evil" (1913: 21).

In the text, Kakaza claims that a woman's demeanor determines the environment of her home. This is a narrative that most women have heard from the early years of their childhood. Betty Friedan (1963: 15) states that most women from earliest childhood devoted their lives to finding a husband and bearing children because that is what they were taught to seek fulfilment. She continues to say:

> "Changeless woman, childless woman, a woman's place is in the home, they were told. But man was changing, his place was in the world and his world was widening" (1963: 81).

In the middle of *Intyantyambo Yomzi*, the focus changes from friendships and conflicts to a woman's dignity and marriage. Dinah marries a man who mistreats her and does not provide for his family. The man abandons them in order to work in another town. This becomes a lesson about salvation when Esther encourages Dinah to pray about her marriage and for her husband to return home. Dinah prays and a few months later her husband returns and becomes a changed man. Dinah then realizes that prayer works (1913: 25). Women have always communicated in many manners, and they had a lot of influence during the missionary era, according to Kakaza.

At the novel's conclusion, this topic becomes evident. Esther died a few days before her wedding, despite her purity and how she lived in the hopes of getting married. She died as a heroine, though, since she was able to mend friendships and settle disputes. However, being a heroine in the community was important to her, hence Kakaza named the book *Intyantyambo Yomzi (the pride of the home/nation)* and heriosim is one of the important structures of womanhood that Kakaza focuses on in the book.

UTandiwe wakwa Gcaleka is Kakaza's second book. It was published by the Methodist Book Room in Cape Town in 1914 (Kakaza, 1914). The main character, Tandiwe shares some of the characteristics as Esther, however she is a subject of the masculine gaze. Like Esther she is a Christian woman who goes to a different town for work. The book begins with a description of the Tshungu family, including how they spend their time together and life at church. Seliwe and Ben are Tandiwe's two siblings. The character Seliwe is the opposite of Tandiwe. In contrast to Tandiwe, who is more submissive and obedient, she is more outspoken and enjoys speaking her thoughts. Once more, Kakaza presents a woman in this book that embodies the ideal wife. Because Seliwe constantly expresses her opinions, her parents are concerned about whether she will ever find a husband. In most black communities, it was common for women who spoke up to not be viewed as the marriage-type. The women spend most of their time at church or at home doing house work. In the story more responsibilities are given to Tandiwe and her sister; and they are both forced to go to church while their brother stays at home watching the cows (1914: 14).

Before Tandiwe goes to boarding school her Ben falls sick and dies. The plot then shifts to her life at school, getting employed and then getting married. Because she is a well-behaved domesticated woman, she is desired and most men want to marry her. The focus of the book is on patriarchy and marriage. It's about predicting which women will marry based on their behavior. Masola (2018: 60) states that black women have been written about in relation to marriage, motherhood, family life and the conversion of Christianity. Alison Easton (1996: 2) examines in her book what women need to know or do to become self-conscious and self-defining human beings. She questions:

> "Doesn't she need to know how seemingly natural states of being, like heterosexuality, like motherhood, have been enforced and institutionalized to deprive her of her power?" (1996: 2).

Patriarchy is clear in Kakaza's writing, even though she does not directly address it in her work. Her writing regarding women reveals the beliefs that were instilled in her. Her work was

affected by her environment and she was able to create a world that was recognizable to her. In both her books, little space is given to telling the individual story of a woman. As each of their stories unfold as a result of how they interact in the community, their womanhood is intertwined with the communities and beliefs. In Kakaza's books, the search for the female self is tied to marriage, purity, and being a community heroine.

Mary Ellmann (1968: 58) states in her book that all these stereotypes about women in literature, limit the female character's potential in society. Mccarthy explains that fiction however during the time was evolving slowly and there was no clear structure in how fiction ought to be (1944: 350). Despite the politics of gender that are evident in Kakaza's books, she helps readers analyze South Africa during the missionary times. The literature in the study shows that the literary world was biased against women and it influenced how they created their female characters. B.G Mccarthy (1944: 349) explains that women excelled in fiction because they were retelling stories that they had heard, and those stories had themes that they were familiar with. Both of Kakaza's books focused on marriage, patriarchy, and religion; and these themes reflected her life. According to her biographical information in chapter two, she was married, educated and came from a religious and patriarchal background. Because literature is considered to reflect society, the portrayal of women in African writing can be a genuine representation of society in the times it portrays.

Place was one of the important elements in Kakaza's books. She made the reader visualize the spaces that the characters were in and she wrote about the places that she was familiar with. In *Intyantyambo Yomzi,* Esther goes to Port Elizabeth to look for work. Port Elizabeth was one of the places that Kakaza grew up in when her father founded a church[21]. The church is also one of the places that she speaks about in both of her books and this is the reflection of her life because it is a space that she grew up in. Kakaza was used to the church not only as a spiritual place, but also as a space. In her article, *Finding some space: South African women writers* (1986: 121). Carole Boyce Davies writes about space as a form of oppression, she argues that it is a metaphor that questions exclusion and how women are represented. By narrating these spaces, Kakaza writes in a way that readers are able to feel the misrepresentation of women in these places. In his article, Jeremiah Milford explains that:

[21] Archives: Gana Kakaza's obituary from Amathole museum in King Williams Town, Eastern Cape, South Africa.

> "Place is central to an understanding of a writer's work since the notion of place contributes to the larger meaning of what writers intend to convey to readers" (Milford, 2000: 23).

Milford examines the significance of place in literature and how writers visually invite the readers into the story by giving them insight into the history, the people and the customs of the community. A place not only allows us to visualize the story, but also helps readers understand the writer and the places that they are familiar with.

In both books her characters meet new people on the train on their way to their destinations. On her way to Port Elizabeth, Esther meets Minnie who is a very talkative and important character in the story, because she is a metaphor for Esther's righteous character. Tandiwe also meets her future husband, Alfred at the train station. It is interesting that in both her books this becomes an important place where characters meet people who will play an important role in their lives. Phyllis Ntantala also writes about the moments that she shared at the train station in her book *A Life's Mosaic* (1992). Ntantala writes:

> "There is nothing as exciting to young people as those train journeys to and from school. There is a lot of laughing, teasing and meeting of old friends after the long Christmas holiday" (1992: 67).

The train station represented love and unity in women's stories.

Ityala lama wele by S.E.K Mqhayi was published the same year as *UTandiwe wakwa Gcaleka.* The novel by Mqhayi focused on the national political issues at the time while Kakaza focused on the different politics of womanhood in both of her books. Cliford Dikeni explains in his thesis that:

> "In this novel Mqhayi gives his readers an opportunity to consider some of the simple, straightforward, and yet exciting ways in which a historic response is generated in fiction. He also shows that there is, between the novel and the historic world to which it corresponds, a fairly direct transitional and transformational medium. This medium is none other than the social history of his text. Mqhayi frequently blends his socio-political experiences with history in his literary works" (Dikeni, 1992: v).

Even though the book was written by a man, it is important to acknowledge why the book had more popularity than *UTandiwe wakwa Gcaleka.* Mqhayi's novel focused on the political issues that black people were facing at the time. Dikeni continues to explain that:

> "Ityala Lamawele embodies the beliefs and assumptions of a socialized humanism and responds very closely to the historical realities of the time of its production. It alludes to a national oppression of the majority by the minority and reveals a consciousness which was far more politically aware than that found in any other novel produced then. This is undoubtedly due to the political developments in South Africa.at that time" (Dikeni, 1992: v).

There is freedom in how Mqhayi wrote and how he structured his words because he wrote a lot about the culture and he challenged the missionaries, and these were some of the reasons why the Lovedale Press did not publish some of his works[22]. Nontsizi Mqgwetho also wrote her poetry fearlessly as she wrote about the social political issues that South Africans were facing. She focused on colonialism and culture in her writing. There is a lot of urgency in her writing, as she urges black people to take Africa back in one of her poems.

Although literature at the time was influenced by the missionaries, Mqgwetho used the space to break through those borders by reaching out to Xhosa people and telling them to "wake up" and be aware of what the missionaries were doing to their culture. In her poetry Mqgwetho writes about how white people had destroyed the African culture (Opland, 2007: 179). She writes to black people and addresses how they have betrayed their people by submitting to a law that has been brought by the white people for them to profit from it. Mqgwetho's writing was more political and she expressed her thoughts on how she felt about the changes that were taking place in Africa. The difference between Mqgwetho and Kakaza, was that Mqgwetho published her works at a place that allowed her more freedom as she was able to address certain issues without the missionaries interfering (Hofmeyer 2007: x).

Dikeni argues in his thesis that sometimes when people did not project their standards in their writing, it was based on inferiority. Kakaza was not just influenced by the missionaries, there were also cultural standards that restricted her as a married woman. In the Xhosa culture, married women are perceived to be silent as it is an important aspect of their behaviour. B.G Mccarthy states that during the time men had already created the standard for fiction and if women were to write, they had to compete with them (1944: 349).

There are several examples in Kakaza's books that question the idea of gender and black female subjectivity within the literature. Sadia Zulfiqar examines how patriarchy influenced the writing of the African writer. She explains that:

[22] See chapter 2- the politics of the Lovedale Press are discussed

> "African women writers impugn patriarchal/nationalist values and also western misreading/misunderstanding of their cultural practices. Therefore, their work and their characters are struggling against patriarchal values at home. Against this background, their characters are negotiating identities which are neither essentialised nor unified but rather multiple" (Zulfiqar, 2016: 12)

The different themes that Kakaza examines in her writings have been the focus of this chapter. Looking at her biographical information in Chapter 1, she connects memory and time with the way she writes her novels. She might have written about a life that she knows well. A life based on religion, marriage, and serving the community. Kakaza, like the characters in her writings, was instrumental in the development of her community. According to her biographical information, she was a teacher and church planter who was very engaged in her society. Although there was little information about Kakaza's life, the chapter looked at how she incorporated her own world into the stories.

CHAPTER 4

VICTORIA SWAARTBOOI'S WRITING

"Mayibuye! I Afrika! Awu! Kade simemeza naso isijwili sako ke Afrika! Ntsimi ye Afrika

Translation: Come back, Africa! Awu! For a long time now we've been calling, Africa"

- Notsizi Mgqwetho. (Opland, 2007: 59)

In Chapter 3, the various themes that Kakaza addressed in her literature were assessed. I concluded from her writing that women were also writing according to the beliefs that had been instilled in them, and that they were never silent. In both literature and history, the chapter raises concern about women's silence. This chapter focuses on Victoria Swaartbooi's writing. Her novel is one of the book's that are currently available at the Lovedale Press that was written by the early writers. Her writing became more liberal towards the end, as described in Chapter 2, when she signaled that Africans should fight back against the laws that missionaries had imposed on them. This chapter will examine the themes that Swaartbooi highlights in her book which are education, names and womanhood. Swaartbooi wrote a simple narrative on the life of a young woman who goes through the different stages of life. This chapter will expand more on the other themes that are explored in her book and what might have influenced her writing.

UMandisa is a novel that is based on the fictional character Mandisa's life. The book starts with her mother and grandmother being happy that the child is a girl. They then choose a name for her and they discuss the politics of not giving her an English name. She is then given the English name Blossom (1975: 5). She comes from a wealthy and well-known family, and they are known for their generosity. Mandisa then grows into a girl who takes after her mother's character. She is very helpful around the house and she helps her mother to clean and cook. Like her mother she is very clever and does very well at school. When she is old enough, she attends a boarding school called Mgwali. Education becomes very important to her. The book is about Mandisa's life journey and the women in her life, with very little mention of men. When she completed school she started her teaching career. The book then ends with her being able to take her siblings to school.

The book is a biographical novel on the life of Mandisa, who is presumed to be a fictional character[23]. Mandisa is presented as a fictional character but the book is also structured as a biographical novel based on the writer's life or someone that she knew. Swaartbooi first writes about the character's name, early life, education and career. According to Mark Malatesta (The book genre, 2018), a biographical fiction refers to publications that are based on historical figures yet contain elements of fiction. It is a novel that is based on someone's life or the author uses a person's life story to create a fictional novel. For example, the time period of a person's life may be correct, but the circumstances of their existence may have changed. The story of Mandisa begins with her parents being overjoyed at her birth because she is a girl. She goes through different stages of life, from being a young girl to an adult who ends up pursuing a teaching career. Like most books that women wrote in the twentieth century, Swaartbooi writes about places that she is familiar with. The character in the book attends high school at a school called Mgwali, which is the name of the school that Swaartbooi attended.

The importance of names

In this section I focus on the importance of names and how the name Mandisa was carefully chosen by the writer because it serves as a metaphor in the story. Names were a part of the socio-political difficulties that Africans faced in the early twentieth century. Their names were an important part of their identity, and they were given Western names to represent newness and purity for them to accept their new Christian identities following baptism. A child's name is given to them when they are born because it indicates the type of person they will become when they grow up. According to Mbali Machaba (2004):

> "The given name served various purposes and apart from distinguishing the child from the other. This name was very important as it was her personality, it was the child herself. She and her name were one and could not be easily separated from each other" (Machaba, 2004: 59).

Viviai de Klerk and Barbara Bosch (1996) say:

> "When one names a baby and a word is consciously chosen to refer to a specific child, that word has enormous potential symbolic power" (de Klerk and Bosch, 1996: 168).

The importance of naming a child is discussed at the beginning of the book. MamCirha is an important character in the book. She is Mandisa's grandmother and she is the one who names

[23] It is not known who or what might have inspired Swaartbooi to create the character, however based on how she has structured the novel, it seems like there might have been a woman who is a reference for the character.

her. Swaartbooi chose an important name for the character by naming her MamCirha, which is her clan name. This is to show that she is the main mother figure in the story as she is the eldest and she is known for her warmth and kindness. According to Abner Nyamende, among the Xhosa people, clan names are an important form of identity (UCT sociology website 2015). Swaartbooi also concludes the first chapter by introducing Mandisa's clan name and where she comes from. In the beginning she discusses the importance of her name, then she concludes the chapter by stating that the character is a girl from the Dlamini clan. By doing this, she emphasizes the significance of identification.

MamCirha teaches both her daughter in-law and her grand-daughter womanhood which is shaped by hospitality and generosity. Her kindness, in which she would give the children nice things to eat, has earned her the affection of the children in her community. Throughout the novel, the women get water, cook, and clean to keep the house in order. MamCirha is thrilled about the birth of her granddaughter at the beginning of the story, and she wants the child to be named Mandisa, she says:

> "Umzukulwana wam ndifuna abe nguMandisa igama lakhe, mntwana wam.
>
> I want my grandchild's name to be Mandisa" (Swaartbooi, 1975: 4).

The name Mandisa is a Xhosa name that is derived from the word *ukwandisa* which means to bring more. Machaba (2004: 27) explains that "though names are derived from words and are identified as words, their meaning is usually different to that of words".

The name Mandisa also means sweetness- a person who brings love and kindness. Ihechukwu MADUBUIKE[24] explains that many Africans believe that a person's name can occasionally reveal information about his character and behaviour (MADUBUIKE , 1976: 40). Mandisa is loved by her family and everyone around her for her sweet personality, and she lives up to her name. Her grandmother loves both names that her grandchild has been given and she concludes by saying that:

> "Kakade uMandisa yintyatyambo yasekhay' apha neyesizwe sakhe.
>
> Translation: Actually Mandisa will blossom at home and in her nation" (1975: 6).

Mandisa was a responsible young woman who had been taught by her grandmother and mother the obligations of being a woman and at the time it meant being a domesticated woman, which

[24] The author's surname is written in all capital letters on his article, *Decolonization of African names* (1976).

is an ideology that both her grandmother and mother agree with. During the time giving birth to a boy was very important in a Xhosa family because he could carry on with the family's name, however from the beginning her family was very happy that the child was a girl. MamCirha (1975: 4) expresses her excitement by saying:

> "Kaloku kumnandi kakulu kum, kuba ufumene intombi, kuba mna ndafumana amadoda odwa.
>
> I am happy that you've given birth to a girl because I only gave birth to boys" (1975: 4).

According to Magezi Baloyi, children are a blessing in an African marriage (Baloyi, 2019: 1). Baloyi examines the importance of having a child and how most Africans get married so that they can have children. In the book *Nervous Conditions* (1988), Tsitsi Dangarembga focuses on how the birth of a male child which is constantly celebrated, undermines one gender in favor of another. In her thesis, P Mbatha explains that:

> "In the black family domain there is a relatively strong influence of patriarchy and male dominance whereby the family is mostly male headed and male children are preferred to female children because male children can maintain the patriarchal system. The stereotyping of women as being less valuable than men often results in women's displacement, whereby young women are either married away or involved in some non-formal relationship with a married man" (Mbatha, 2009: 4).

Swaartbooi challenges this by starting her book with a celebration of the girl child and throughout the book she explores a world in which a girl can grow up and be treated equally. While most families during the time were influenced by men being placed in the center of both families and communities, Swaartbooi examines equality by placing the female characters in high positions. Mandisa's mom and grandmother are very excited about naming the child Mandisa. The process of naming a child during the early twentieth century was done by men. Machaba (2004: 59) says that:

> "The reason why this assignment was given to men, lies entirely in the social history of indigenous people that was dominated by the patriarchal system. In most cultures men were more respected than women, they had more status, and more power by virtue of being men" (2004: 59).

Swaartbooi defies the norm by giving women in the story the power of naming the child. Mamcirha is the one who names the child Mandisa in the book. Later on, Mandisa's mother MamNzothwa shares the name with her husband and they both decide to give her the English

name Blossom. The English name was something that she decided with MamCirha because English teachers would not be able to pronounce her name. MamNzothwa (1975:4) says:

> "Kufuneka nelisiNgesi igama khona ukuze zingaxakwa iitishala zakhe ukumbiza
>
> Translation: You also need to give her an English name so that the teachers don't struggle to pronounce it" (1975: 4).

Swaartbooi in this passage highlights one of the social issues that Africans were facing during the time, which was the issue of names. The teachers were white missionaries and they were not able to pronounce the African names. The missionaries gave Africans English names after they were converted because the names were easier to pronounce. According to Sydney Zotwana:

> "This is how Noyi came to be Robert Balfour, after the first secretary of the Glasgow Missionary Society. The double consciousness that resided within the individual convert was nowhere else more clearly illustrated than in the case of Robert Balfour" (Zotwana, 1993: 49)

Noyi was one of the first Xhosa people to be converted by the missionaries and one of the first Africans to get an English name from the missionaries. Machacha explains (2004: 79) that:

> "When the African people were baptized, it was considered that they had repented from sins, and were no longer the 'sinners' they once were but the followers of the Christian gospel. This was not only reflected in their actions and the culture they adopted but was also reflected in their names" (2004: 79).

Swaartbooi created a character with a lot of appealing characteristics. Even though she mentions all of the domestic duties that women were required to undertake to care for their homes, she does not write about it in a repressive manner. The women in the novel enjoyed being in the company of other women and caring for their houses. Mandisa looked forward to getting up in the morning and assisting her mother with household chores before heading to school. Swaartbooi produced a narrative about a woman who embodied a beautiful life for a black woman.

The involvement of language in one's struggle towards self-realization

Swaartbooi is aware of the significance of language in her book. In the last page of the book, she makes sure that she uses the platform by also addressing her own people and telling them to "take Africa back". She writes:

> “Zintombi zeAfrika qhubani eyenu indima ekuyibuyiseni nasekuyinyuseni iAfrika, eli lizwe lokuzalwa kwenu”.
>
> Translation: Girls from Africa, continue to take back and uplift Africa. This is where you were born (1975: 48).

By adding this passage at the end of the book, Swaartbooi demonstrates that in reality, women were not living the same life as Mandisa. She encourages women to look deeper into the story's meaning. In comparison to Kakaza's novels, it is clear in Kakaza's writing that women lived a life that suppressed their power and that they were taught various beliefs about how a woman should carry herself in the world. Swaartbooi's approach differs from Kakaza's. Where she focuses on women empowerment and strength, Kakaza explores these ideas in a patriarchal world where patriarchy is imposed to oppress women leaving no room to celebrate womanism outside male supremacy.

Missionaries might have wanted the Xhosa people to leave their cultural beliefs after conversion, but authors narrated their stories and cultural backgrounds so that they can “take up Africa” through their writing by using their writing to reach out to other Africans. There was a political awareness that Swaartbooi was raising in this passage and she was urging women to use literature and education to tell their stories. She reveals that she believes so much in education and how it was the only tool to break through male dominated spaces. Perhaps this was also what happened to her, it was because of her education that she was able to write and be recognized. She continues to write to women by saying:

> “Ndiyathemba ukuba iintombi eziya kufunda eli bali zolangazelela ukuba ziqhube njengale ntombazana sibe sifunda ngayo apha.
>
> Translation: To those women who happen to read this story I hope you will follow in the footsteps of this main character and take education seriously” (1975: 48).

Swaartbooi used language to reach out to other women in South African who understood isiXhosa. In this passage she makes readers realise that there was more that she wanted to say in the book. Cynthia Hoza states in her article that “similar to the contemporary African women writers’ works, *UMandisa* exploits education as the only viable instrument capable of delivering women” (Hoza, 2012: 64). Swaartbooi in this passage draws on the idea of women using education to liberate themselves against white supremacy and patriarchal oppression. Hoza (2012: 65) states that education for women was perceived as the most powerful tool that created opportunities for women to survive economically, and outside patriarchy. Hoza

describes the novel as being self-reflective, and reflects on how Swaartbooi has chosen a title that is the protagonist's name (2012: 63). Names are very important in everyday communication, and choosing a name from their own language also reflected how they wanted the child to be perceived as a Xhosa person in the outside world. The culture of the child was communicated through their name. "Language is the prime mover in world history" (wa Thiong'o, 2009: 16). Ngugi wa Thiong'o focuses on the role of language in the conception of identity and otherness.

The history and importance of music in the Xhosa community

Swaartbooi includes a hymn about Ntsikana and a school rhyme by Mqhayi. When Mandisa is busy with her chores she recites the hymn about Ntsikana and the school rhyme. Ntsikana was one of the earliest Christian converts and the first person to compose isiXhosa music (Knight 2010: 21). Jonathan Knight (2010) explains that during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Christian hymns played a huge role in the Xhosa community. Missionaries encouraged Xhosa people to develop their ideas for music, however, they had to create music according to the Western style (2010: 25). According to Knight:

> "The Xhosa word *iculo* was chosen by the missionaries to represent music in a European fashion" (2010: 25).

Ntsikana was one of the first African men to break this rhythm by creating a Xhosa music style. Knight continues to explain that:

> "Rhyme in Xhosa songs consists in repeated words or phrases that give poetic as well as musical rhythm of the song" (2010: 25).

The hymn about Ntsikana in the book follows the rhythm of repeated words. Swaartbooi highlights the importance of music during the time and the songs made school and the chores more enjoyable for Mandisa. Interestingly, Swaartbooi adds Mqhayi's rhymes in her novel as one of the rhymes that were sung in the school. She was influenced by his work. It is still unclear why she chose his music. It is also unclear why she did not choose a song written by a woman, given that her novel was about a woman and there was little in the plot about men.

Apart from providing context for the plot and highlighting the novel's historical significance, this chapter aimed to lay a basis for understanding on how names and language have molded Xhosa people's identities and how they were recovering self. Despite the oppression that the Xhosa women faced throughout the missionary era, they used their influence to promote

change within their communities. When missionaries settled among the Xhosa people, their naming customs were altered. Swaartbooi examined a variety of themes in her book, including the importance of identity, which she discusses from the beginning of the book with the value of names and education until the end, when she urges black women to regain their power. Swaartbooi considered identity to be one of the most significant weapons in the struggle against oppression.

CHAPTER 5

Creative Concept: A short film about isiXhosa women writers

1. The concept of the film

"It is almost a cliché to say that women need to tell their own stories, that women's voices need to be heard, that Africa has numerous stories and experiences that have to be shown. Yet the cliché holds a kernel of truth" (Mistry and Schuhmann, 2015: x).

There are several female writers' stories that need to be told and visually displayed. I chose to create a visual depiction of my thesis to educate the public about the relevance of knowing the first isiXhosa women novelists in South Africa and the importance of language. There have been films that have been created based on a woman's life for example Darrell Roodt's film *Winnie Mandela* and Zola Maseko's film projects- The Life and Times of *Sara Baartman* (1998) and *The Return of Sara Baartman* (2002). Darrell Roodt's film on Winnie Madikizela Mandela appropriated the political public agenda of the kind of narrative that was told about a black woman. The film situates Winnie as a symbol of her time and male patriarchy. In Chapter 1 of this paper, I discussed how filmmakers objectify women when telling their biographical stories. Nobunye Levin (2009: 34) expresses similar concerns about Zola Maseko's film on Saartjie Baartman, and how the film silences her. According to Levin this kind of interpretation of a woman's story "silenced and denied a sense of humanity in their symbolic utilisation" (2009: 36).

Ndokulandela (2021) is an experimental documentary film that seeks to offer an interpretation of the world that Letitia Kakaza and Victoria Swaartbooi created in their novels. The film brings together archives, interviews, and fictional storylines. According to Rob Hardy (2013), an experimental film allows the filmmaker "to express emotions, ideas, concepts, and anything else through literal or abstract imagery, through juxtapositional editing, and creative use of sound design" (Nofilmschool, 2013). The film does not have a linear structure, however, the visual form has allowed me to combine the past, and present to tell a story about isiXhosa women writers from the past and the present. The themes that are explored in the film are education, womanism, silencing, and identity.

2. The Director's vision

My research project film is called *Ndokulandela* (2021) *(I Will Follow You)* because it confronts the reality that women's contributions in writing and having a career in writing as in the case of Kakaza and Swaartbooi was disregarded in the archives. The film depicts the struggle between visibility and silence, but it concludes with the assurance that, despite the erasure in the archives, there will be women who will continue to publicize these women's works and walk in their footsteps. I thought about the name after reading the last page in Victoria Swaartbooi's book *UMandisa* (1934), when she encourages black women to pursue education and "take back Africa" (Swaartbooi, 1934: 48). I thought about the women who were inspired by the passage, who pursued education and writing because of her message. *Ndokulandela* is about Xhosa young girls and women who have been encouraged by Kakaza and Swaartbooi's work to be anything that they aspire to be. The film focuses on women because they have been excluded in the literary archives, as well as the archives on Kakaza and Swaartbooi, and it aims to fill in the gap and show the impact that women had on their children's future.

The reason why I opted to tell a story that is on women and young girls pursuing education and the importance of one's home language is that while conducting my research, there was no information about the influence that women had in the lives of the women who were writers. It links to both the women's novels, which tell the story of how mothers influenced their children's education. Even though their own mothers' impact is not addressed in the archives, the manner they authored their works demonstrates the importance of women in their lives because both women wrote about women's empowerment. As part of the methodology for this research, I used the documentary filmmaking approach to conduct research and footage for the film. While researching, I was able to shoot archives from the Cory Library and the Healdtown school. I also conducted interviews that are also part of the film. The documentary filmmaking approach allowed me to be able to study Kakaza and Swaartbooi's world, their books and also the women writers that I had to interview. I was then able to create a film based on memory and time.

3. The execution of the film

This approach allowed me to make a film that interpreted both Kakaza and Swaartbooi's worlds. Even though I am still conducting research on their lives and thus cannot yet make a

biopic based on their lives, I was still able to make a film that focuses on the themes that they communicated in their writing.

The film opens with a panning close-up image of the Healdtown School and the abandoned old post office building. The gaps in isiXhosa literature are represented by these scenes. This is most likely the post office where Kakaza and Swaartbooi mailed letters to the Lovedale Press. Both women attended school in the old structure of the Healdtown institution. In the next scene, a woman gazes out across the ocean. The ocean is a symbol of hope and freedom in the film. This scene follows that of a girl going along a path, following the footsteps in her path. *Ndokulandela*, the title of the film, flashes across the screen, emphasizing the importance of pursuing something or someone who inspires you.

3.1 Education in the film

A scene in the film depicts a little girl getting ready for school, which fits with the film's educational theme. Education is one of the important topics that I discuss in this thesis. There is a scene of a young girl and her mother reading the book *Intyantyambo Yomzi* (1913) by Kakaza. There is also a scene of a mother training her daughter to be able to read and write in her own language so that she can learn the language.

Another scene that symbolizes education is a scene where there are girls in a classroom, reading Swaartbooi's book *UMandisa* (1934). In Chapter 2 of this paper, I discussed the history of women's education and the different opportunities that they were given that led some of them to becoming writers. The education that they received was a missionary education which prepared them for motherhood and marriage. Education for women at the time meant different things and for women such as Swaartbooi who were never married, it meant something different from preparing to be a good wife. In Chapter 4, I analysed how Swaartbooi wrote about the importance of education compared to Kakaza. For her, education brought freedom for young girls and it helped them conquer the world that was designed to empower men. On the last page of her book, Swaartbooi encourages women to pursue education like the character Mandisa who she wrote about.

3.2 How the film captures language trauma

In his first book *The Rise of the African Novel* (2019), Makoma Wa Ngugi writes about the politics of language, identity and ownership. He writes about language trauma and how black

people have abandoned their own language because of a colonized education and how English has been seen as a language that matters more than African languages. He quotes Chinua Achebe at the beginning of his first chapter:

> "Is it right that a man should abandon his mother-tongue for someone else's? It looks like a dreadful betrayal and produces a guilty feeling. But for me there is no other choice. I have been given this language and I intend to use it- Chinua Achebe, English and the African Writer" (Chinua, 2019: 29).

Many black people have attended schools that have made it impossible for them to learn more about their home language and their culture. Several generations identify their language with shame and fear. Violent language and culture shaming has made it difficult for black people to aspire to become writers in their own language because they are not given the opportunity to learn how to read or write in it at school. In the book (2019: 29) Makoma writes about his own language trauma. He writes about his traumatic experience of mispronouncing English words and how they made fun of "shrubbers[25]" when they were growing up. The story sounded very familiar as it is something that many of us experience when it comes to learning English. Colonial education has removed South Africans from their language and culture, while introducing them to a colonial culture that turned African cultures backwards instead of progressing. One of the challenges that Makoma touches on is that even though colonial education has made Africans abandon their own language, both language and culture are still alive and we experience them in our day to day interactions.

The above mentioned aspects are the internal struggles that many South Africans face, because they realize at a later stage that they cannot speak their own language well and neither can they read or write in it. This internal conflict is depicted in *Ndokulandela,* when a teenage girl struggles to read in her home language. The character becomes frustrated as she is struggling with her identity. The internal struggles are also something that Athambile Masola shared during her interview when she spoke about her experience with language trauma.

Language is one of the important themes that the film explores. *Ndokulandela is* a Xhosa film, and isiXhosa is the main language that is spoken and subtitles are provided. For the use of language, I was inspired by the fashion film called *My Heritage, My inheritance* (2014) by the head designer of Maxhosa, Laduma Ngxokolo. The film is a Xhosa film that focuses on the

[25] A term used by Makoma Wa Ngugi for people who mixed their L and R, and confused the S sounds when pronouncing words.

importance of heritage and language. In *Ndokulandela*, the characters mostly wear Xhosa traditional clothing which is called umbaco, as part of reclaiming of culture. The politics of language have been explored as one of the important themes in this thesis and this is visually shown in the film by the use of isiXhosa throughout the film and children being taught how to read and write in isiXhosa. These scenes speak on the reclaiming of identity and language as inspired by the film by Ngxokolo. Ngxokolo begins the film by telling his personal narrative regarding the Xhosa initiation school. A voiceover is playing, along with visual representations of what he's saying. These scenes are a reference to *Ndokulandela's* conclusion. In *Ndokulandela*, there is a voice over of a woman reading a personal letter that I wrote, and as the voice over plays it is accompanied by a montage of the fictional storyline, archives, and static shots from the interviews.

A letter called *iNene Ndonilandela (surely I will follow you)* that I have written to Kakaza and Swaartbooi is included in the film. While I was traveling a lot attempting to acquire information on Kakaza and Swaartbooi, I recall becoming stranded and not being able to find anything about them, and my research journey led me to write a letter. I wished I could communicate with them at those times and ask them to direct me and lead me to where their biographical information is preserved. I remember being at Healdtown while looking for their information and being completely overwhelmed by the realization that I was walking on the same ground that the women had walked on over a century ago. At the time, it felt as though I was following the route that they had paved for women who wanted to be authors or historians and tell the world about them—and this is how the film's title and execution came to be. The entire film is a poetic piece that also serves as a letter to women who aspire to be writers and to those who have paved the way for them to do so. The letter starts in the middle of the film as a voice over during the scene of the archives and carries on until the end with the upside-down scene of the two women.

The experimental film by Ewurakua Dawson-Amoah, called *To the girl that looks like me* (2021) has been an inspiration for my creative work. The film is about celebrating women who try to break through and thrive within a system that was not built for them. According to Judith Coullie the meaning of 'woman' in this country is continually changing, and it is inextricably linked to issues of race, ethnicity, class, religion, and colonial culture (2004: 9). The overlaying of visuals with poetry in Dawson-Amoah's experimental piece is one of the techniques that I use in *Ndokulandela.* The film is similar to Dawson-Amoah's film in how it paces the film with poetry. Dawson-Amoah's film is a reference to the beginning of the film, where there are

scenes that are accompanied by a voice over of a woman reading a paragraph from the last page in Swaartbooi's book. This paragraph is analysed in Chapter 4, in which she encourages young women to go out into the world and pursue education (1975: 48).

3.3 The presence of the women writers in the film

Archives from the Cory library are also included in the film. While including archives and a fictional storyline, the film also includes an interview with Athambile Masola, who is a researcher and isiXhosa poetry writer. She has written an isiXhosa poetry collective book called *iLifa* (2021) and has done research on women who have been excluded in South Africa's history. I also include an interview with isiXhosa musician Ncebakazi Manzi and isiXhosa Masters student, Nyameka Maposa. In the film there is a scene where a girl inserts a disc inside a DVD player with the intention of watching a film called *Ndokulandela* which consists of interviews of women writers telling their own story. While she is watching, the interviews get disrupted. She tries to fast forward the film, but it struggles to play until it stops. This scene represents how women have been neglected throughout literary history, and how each woman who came after them has contributed to the development of writing while simultaneously being excluded too. This is also a symbolic tableau, demonstrating that women are not silent, but have been removed from the historical archives.

The film then ends with an upside down static shot of two women looking at the ships that are coming. The shot symbolizes freedom and oppression at the same time. It is a metaphor for when the missionaries were coming. The same people who claimed to bring freedom to their community by educating them, also created an oppressive world for them. The shot is upside down because it symbolizes a bitter sweet moment. This scene is followed by a voice over from the end of the letter: "Ahhhhh Kakaza noSwaartbooi. Singababhali ngenxa yenu"- Ahhhh Kakaza and Swaartbooi. We are writers because of you. (Salayi, 2021). I included the letter's conclusion at the end of the film to emphasize that, despite the intricacies of the literary world, we are writers because of the early twentieth-century women who first wrote.

When I wrote the film I wanted the audience to learn about the work that was done and is still being done by Xhosa women to develop isiXhosa literature. Above all the film is for black women and girls who navigate the world feeling ashamed of expressing their language because they are too afraid of how the world will view them if they do not speak English. The film is to encourage women to embrace their language, and take up space in the literary world. The

aim is for them to recognize that there are beautiful and sacred books in their language that they can learn from.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

"Naso ke isiqalo maqobokazana ndithembe ukuba nolandela eli khondo nani ukuze niphakamise ulwimi lwesizwe senu kwanendyebo eyoxhanyulwa kuluncwadi lwesintu" – Janet MacGregor[26].

This is the beginning ladies, I hope that you will also follow this journey and uplift the language of your nation and the richness of the traditional literature (Swaartbooi, 1975)

I begin this chapter with Janet MacGregor's message on the back cover of Swaartbooi's book. She encourages women to value their language and have the desire to learn more about it. Both Swaartbooi and MacGregor have written a passage in the book that encourages women to value education and to take pride in their own language. The women gave us a sense of the world that women were experiencing during the early twentieth century. Education was one of the most important part of women's identities. The passage highlights the importance of language as well as literature. MacGregor was aware of the significance of literature and how women were able to use it to communicate to other women. The study aimed at highlighting the lack and visibility of Xhosa women writers in isiXhosa literature. While we are still trying to find our roots and reclaim ourselves, the study comes at the most appropriate time when we are learning about women who have been excluded in history.

The study highlighted the visibility of isiXhosa women writers. The thesis examined the works by Letitia Kakaza and Victoria Swaartbooi. The women's books contained their memories and were able to provide an overview of the world in which they lived in. Some of their experiences are preserved in the archives, allowing viewers to comprehend what they went through. I was able to find information about Kakaza and Swaartbooi at the Cory Library, The Fort Hare University Archival department at Alice and the Amathole Museum in East London. However, at the different institutions, I was only able to find the manuscripts of their work as well as letters. The archival department in Fort Hare has managed to store an obituary of Letitia Kakaza. Joan Schwartz and Terry Cook (2002) have analysed the impact that archives have made in history because they are a record of collective memory and human identity. They

[26] Janet MacGregor was the principal at Mgwali in 1934. She wrote this review for Swaartbooi's book uMandisa.

further argue that the archives shape the public perception of what is viewed as important and valuable (Schwartz and Cook, 2002: 8). As mentioned in the study, it's unclear why the institutions chose to keep these women's manuscripts rather than more detailed information about who they were, what happened to them after they wrote, and how they died.

In Chapter 1, this thesis has provided biographical information on Kakaza and Swaartbooi. I have discussed absence, language womanhood and the public archives. There were also minimal recordings of women speaking during the early twentieth century, which has resulted in the absence of their archives today. Nomathamsanqa Tisani argues that "the problem of the absence of women from sources is an old one. In the study of early church history there has been a call for a search for church mothers'. Early church writers were mainly men and they naturally recorded their voices and those of other men" (Tisani, 2009: 67). This has been one of the reasons why there has been an absence of women in the public archives, because their voices were not recorded.

Another reason why Kakaza and Swaartbooi's books are not easily accessible today, is that there was not enough demand for the books by the public readers then. This remains a persistent challenge. Swaartbooi's book was one of the books that were used in schools and over the years when the curriculum changed, the Press stopped publishing the book and it is not until recently when researchers started demanding the book that more copies were reprinted[27].

In Chapter 2, I examined the Lovedale Press and the opportunities that it gave black writers. I discussed the history of education and how black people were shaped by the missionary education. I examined women in writing and how they became writers. By providing a historical background of the different institutions that Kakaza and Swaartbooi were exposed to, this was to create an understanding of their background and what shaped their writing. A section on Swaartbooi's history with the Press is provided as well as letters of her communication with the Press about the publication of her book. In one of the letters, one of the staff writes about the amount of copies that were made of the book *UMandisa* and Mqayi's book *Ityala lama wele*. 5000 copies were made for both books, and they were both fairly sold according to R.White[28]. However, *Ityala lama wele* is a book that has gained public interest from the early twentieth century and it is also still available for access today at different bookstores. The Lovedale Press lost most of the books that were at the old building, which was

[27] Information from interview with Lovedale Press staff Cebo Ntaka
[28] Cory Library: MS 16 415

destroyed. *UMandisa* by Swaartbooi is still available at the Lovedale Press today, however, there is no public distribution of, Kakaza's books- *Intyantyambo Yomzi* and *UTandiwe wakwa Gcaleka*.

Chapters 3 and 4 analyses Kakaza and Swaartbooi's writing as well as the different themes that they were focusing on. Both writers provided different themes on the politics of womanhood. Although there was minimal information available on the women and what might have inspired them to write, these two chapters allowed us to envision the social issues that women were facing as writers during the time. Womanhood and identity are depicted very well in all three books. The books show the life of black women and how it was influenced by religion, patriarchy and education. The books highlight identity and the political issues that black women were facing in their communities.

As part of the research, I created a film called *Ndokulandela* that focuses on the journey of isiXhosa women writers. The process of the film was one of the methods that I used to gather information for the research. I was able to film the process of traveling to different institutions, collecting archives and conducting interviews. I was able to create a film from the experience and include some of the footage in the film. As a result of this process, I was able to make an experimental film based on the key themes that I discovered while doing the research. The film focuses on the importance of preserving language and literature. *Ndokulandela* (2021), which is a visual embodiment of the thesis, was the focus of Chapter 5. I was able to address the film's major ideas in the chapter, as well as how the film aesthetically relates the major concepts discussed in the paper.

In his book, *Something Torn and New* (2009), Ngugi wa Thiong'o explains that "language is a communication system and carrier of culture by virtue to bring simultaneously the means and carrier of memory" (wa Thiong'o, 2009: 20). As discussed in the paper, language was one of the important elements that women encouraged each other to value and continue to develop. Pierre Bourdieu was one of the first people to write about the significance of language concerning power. His theory focuses on language and symbolic power. He combines these terms with politics and argues that language should not only be viewed as a means of communication but as a means of power (Bourdieu, 1991: 1). Bourdieu's theory has been very useful in the past in unpacking language in literature. He examines how language has been used as a tool to overpower individuals, by enforcing rules and taking away their identity. His work is more than about power, he also discusses the field of cultural production. He looks at the

different institutions and creates meaning of cultural, linguistic and literary value. His theory highlights the importance of language in society and how it is used in literature to create an understanding of society. These were one of the things that Swaartbooi did in her last page, she used language in literature to create an understanding of the society and make readers aware of the political issues that women were facing.

The study has traced the production of isiXhosa literature in the twentieth century and the importance of also acknowledging women who were part of the development of isiXhosa written literature. Further research could reveal that there were also women in the early twentieth century who wrote but their publications were never recorded.

In conclusion it is hoped that the study will bring redirection of interest in the study of isiXhosa literature. The research has led me to think of more questions for my future research, which will be focusing more on the biographies of Kakaza, Swaartbooi and Zora Futshane; who was also one of the first women to write in isiXhosa. The research has made me question the public archives and the inconsistencies of gender equality in the isiXhosa literary space. I am interested in looking more into these three families and doing a detailed biographical study on them.

It is worth noting however, that just because we do not see much isiXhosa literature written by women in public places does not mean it is of little or no existence. The Press that first published these novels is also not well-known among the general public, and it is on the verge of closing due to a lack of funds. More work has to be done in both preserving and learning more about isiXhosa women writers and the work they have done. By writing about Kakaza and Swaartbooi, the study has been a resistance against the erasure of Black South African women from the public archives.

REFERENCES

Anderson K, Armitage S, Jack D, (1987). Wittner. *Beginning Where We Are: Feminist Methodology in Oral History*. Taylor & Francis, Ltd. on behalf of the Oral History Association.

Alcoff, L., (1988). Cultural Feminism versus Post-Structuralism: The Identity Crisis in Feminist Theory. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 13(3), pp.405-436.

Atkinson, J.D., (2017). *Journey Into Social Activism*. Fordham University Press.

Bam, B. (2020). Lovedale, a National Treasure of a Press, faces closure. Article available at: https://www.newframe.com/lovedale-a-national-treasure-of-a-press-faces-closure/

Baloyi, M. and Manala, M., (2019). Reflections on challenges of preferring the male child in an African marriage – A practical theological observation. *Verbum et Ecclesia*, 40(1).

Boswell, B., (2010). *BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN WRITERS: NARRATING THE SELF, NARRATING THE NATION*. Doctor of Philosophy. University of Maryland, College Park

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power.* Polity Press

Campbell, J.T., (1995). *Songs of Zion: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa*. Oxford University Press.

Campbell, J. (1987). The seed you sow in Africa: South African students in the United States. Available at: https://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/handle/10539/8499

Cory Library, MS 16, 415, Victoria Swaartbooi Archives

Cosslett, T. Easton, A. Summerfield, P. (1996). *Women, Power and Resistance: An Introduction to Women's Studies.* Open University Press.

Dathorne, O., (1975). *African Literature In The Twentieth Century*. London: Heinemann.

Davies, C.B. (1994). *Black women, writing and identity:* Migrations of the Subject. New York: Routledge.

Davies, C., (2014). *Feminist Consciousness and African Literary Criticism*. In: B. Scott, S. Cayleff, A. Donadey and I. Lara, ed., *Women in Culture: An Intersectional Anthology for Gender and Women's Studies*, 2nd ed. Chichester, West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., pp.120-141.

Daymond, M., Sutherland-Addy, E., Diaw, A., Lihamba, A. and Sadiqi, F., (2003). *Women Writing Africa*. New York: Feminist Press at the City University of New York.

De Klerk, V. and Bosch, B., (1996). Naming practices in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. *Names*, *44*(3), pp.167-188.

England, K., (1994). Getting Personal: Reflexivity, Positionality, and Feminist Research∗. *The Professional Geographer*, 46(1), pp.80-89.

Erlank. N. (2000). 'Raising Up the Degraded Daughters of Africa': The Provision of Education for Xhosa Women in the Mid-Nineteenth Century, South African Historical Journal, 43:1, 24 38, DOI: 10.1080/02582470008671906

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/02582470008671906

Friedan, B., (2010). *The feminine mystique*. WW Norton & Company.

Gaitskell, D. (2004) 'Doing a missionary hard work … in the black hole of Calcutta': African women teachers pioneering a profession in the Cape and Natal, 1880-1950, Women's History Review, 13:3, 407-425, DOI: 10.1080/09612020400200401

Gikandi, S. (2004). *African Literature and the colonial factor*. First published in *The Cambridge History of African and Caribean Literature*, Vol, 1 ed. Abiola Irele and Simon Gikandi, pp. 379-85. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Gilmour, R., (2007). Missionaries, Colonialism and Language in Nineteenth-Century South Africa. *History Compass*, 5(6), pp.1761-1777.

Goodman, L. (1996). *Literature and Gender.* Open University, Routledge.

Guzana, Z., (2000). Exploring Women's Silence in Isixhosa Written and Oral Literature. *Agenda*, (46), p.75.

Hardy, R. (2013). Experimental Filmmaking for Dummies (Part 1): Why You Should Be Making Experimental Films. To link this article:

https://nofilmschool.com/2013/11/experimental-filmmaking-for-dummies-part-1

Hofmeyr, I., (2007). Nation's Bounty: The Xhosa Poetry of Nontsizi Mgqwetho. NYU Press.

Hoza, M. (2012). Patriarchal self-inflated pompous image deflated: A feminist reading of Swartbooi's uMandisa. *South African Journal of African Languages*, 32(1), pp.63-70.

Jabavu, D.D.T, (1943). *The influence of English on Bantu Literature*. Lovedale Press,

Jordan, A.C. 1973. *Towards an African Literature.* University of California Press.

Knight, J.T., (2010). Sing On, Ntsikana: The Story of Christian Music among the Xhosa People of South Africa. *Musical Offerings*, *1*(1), p.3.

Leach, F. (2008). African girls, nineteenth-century mission education and the patriarchal imperative, Gender and Education, 20:4, 335-347, DOI: 10.1080/09540250802190172.

Levin, N.N., (2009). I am Saartjie Baartman: Re-imagining parts of a life (Dissertation, University of the Witwatersrand).

Machaba, M.A. (2005). Naming, Identity and the African Renaissance, in a South African context. *Unpublished PhD thesis. University of KwaZulu-Natal: Pietermaritzburg*.

Mbatha, P., (2009). *A feminist analysis of Tsitsi Dangarembga's Nervous conditions (1988)* (Doctoral dissertation).

MADUBUIKE, I., (1976). Decolonization of African names. *Présence Africaine*, (98), pp.39-49.

Malatesta, M. (2018) *Biographical Fiction Definition – Complete List of Book Genres*

Available at: https://book-genres.com/biographical-fiction-definition/

Masola, A., (2018). The Politics of the 1920s Black Press: Charlotte Maxeke and Nontsizi Mgqwetho's Critique of Congress, International Journal of African Renaissance Studies - Multi-, Inter- and Transdisciplinarity, 13:2, 59-76, DOI: 10.1080/18186874.2018.1522933

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/18186874.2018.1522933

Masola, A., (2018). " Bantu women on the move": Black women and the politics of mobility in The Bantu World. *Historia*, *63*(1), pp.93-111.

Mtuze, K., (2008). Transformation and Socio-Political Change in Selected isixhosa Novels 1909 – 2006 (Doctoral thesis). University of South Africa. Available at: http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/2402/thesis.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Naylor, G., (2003). *Women writing Africa: The southern region* (Vol. 1). Feminist Press at CUNY.

Ndletyana, M., (2008). *African Intellectuals: in 19th and early 20th century South Africa.* HSRC Press.

Ntantala, P., (1992). A life's Mosaic: The Autobiography of Phyllis Ntantala. University of California Press,

Nyamende, A., (2015). *Sociology Seminar Series - 'A Clan Name: What it means to a Xhosa Man or Woman' by A/Prof Abner Nyamende | Department of Sociology*. [online] Sociology.uct.ac.za. Available at: <http://www.sociology.uct.ac.za/event/sociology-seminar-series-clan-name-what-it-means-xhosa-man-or-woman-aprof-abner-nyamende> [Accessed 12 October 2021].

Ngugi, M.W., (2018). *The rise of the African Novel: Politics of language, identity, and ownership*. University of Michigan Press.

Opland, J., (2004). Nineteenth-century Xhosa literature. *Kronos*, pp.22-46.

Opland J., (2009). *Abantu Besizwe.* Wits University Press

Opland, J., (2007). *Research in African Literatures.* Vol. 38, No.4 (Winter 2007)

O'Sullivan, M., (2013). *'Winnie Mandela' movie review*. Available at: https://www.washingtonpost.com/goingoutguide/movies/winnie-mandela-movie-review/2013/09/04/54487460-14b8-11e3-880b-7503237cc69d_story.html

Peppeta, J.A.M., (1989). A Portrait of a School: Healdtown Missionary Institution (1925 - 1955) Through The Eyes of Some of its Ex-Pupils (Masters in Education). Rhodes University. Available at: https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/145045587.pdf

Primrose, K., (2008). *Transformation and socio-political change in selected isiXhosa novels*. Doctor of literature and philosophy. University of South Africa.

Smith, D., (1975). "Women and Psychiatry," in Women Look at Psychiatry: I'm not Mad, Fm Angry, ed. Dorothy Smith and Sara David (Vancouver: Press Gang Pub., 1975)

Tisani, N., (1992). *The Shaping of Gender Relations in Mission Stations with Particular Reference to Stations in The East Cape Frontier During the First Half of The 19th Century*. November 1992, No. 19 (November 1992), pp. 64-79 Published by: University of Western Cape. Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/41033771

wa Thiong'o, N., (1987). *Decolonising The Mind: the politics of language in African Literature.* Zimbabwe publishing house.

wa Thiong'o, N., (2009). *Something torn and new: An African renaissance*. Basic Civitas Books.

Zotwana, S. Z., (1993). Literature Bet\Veen Two Worlds -The first fifty years of the Xhosa novel and poetry

Zungu, M., Manqele, N., de Vries, C., Molefe, T. and Hadebe, M., (2014). HERstory: Writing women into South African history. *Agenda*, *28*(1), pp.7-17.

Zulfiqar, S., (2016). *African women writers and the politics of gender*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

FILMOGRAPHY

Darrell, R. dir. (2011). Winnie Mandela. 1hr 44min. South Africa

Dawson-Amoah, E. dir. (2021). To the Girl that Looks like Me. 5 min 24 sec. New York.

Takezito. dir. (2014). Maxhosa by Laduma 'My Heritage, My Inheritance' Fashion Film. 5 min 10 sec. South Africa.

Salayi, T. dir. (2021). *Ndokulandela*. 11min 21 sec. South Africa.

Film link: https://drive.google.com/file/d/1-VthHQZFOtsTkj225W7LyTJZooHdLLVQ/view?usp=sharing

Maseko, Z. dir.(1998). The life and times of Sara Baartman. 52mins. South Africa.