One Hundred Years of the ANC

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Chapter Four

CHARLOTTE MAXEKE: A CELEBRATED AND NEGLECTED FIGURE IN HISTORY

Thozama April

Charlotte Maxeke is one of the most misunderstood figures in South African nationalist narratives about the struggle for liberation. Maxeke is known as a ‘mother of the liberation struggle’ but no more – not an intellectual, a theorist, a feminist or a nationalist, merely a figurehead. Yet Maxeke’s life enables an interrogation of the links that bind the state, women’s political pasts and the politics of the public and private. Although she is celebrated within the African National Congress (ANC) and more broadly (witness the renaming of Johannesburg Hospital Charlotte Maxeke in 2008), the nationalist narratives of the struggle do not engage in a meaningful dialogue with Maxeke’s ideas about, for instance, gender inequality, ‘native womanhood,’ justice, education, health and employment. Biographies of the nationalist movement sketch her as a subject whose identity has been misinterpreted. One example of this misunderstanding is the attempts to fix her within linear, incremental narratives about the origins of the liberation struggle.

While it highlights the strategies used by the nationalist movement, the literature on the rise of African nationalism in South Africa overlooks the intellectual history of women. This has resulted in what I call ‘struggle biography,’ which casts the involvement of women in the struggle in predetermined terms as an effect of the generosity of male figures. This chapter attempts to account for the intellectual history of women such as Maxeke, who injected a gendered reading of society into nationalist politics in the context of the 1910s and 1920s, thus shaping public political discourse in the early twentieth century. It does so by focusing on the socio-economic context that groomed Maxeke into a political subject in the various stages of her life: her family background, education, adulthood and political activities.

My research into Charlotte Maxeke’s intellectual contribution began with an evaluation of collections and narratives of the struggle for liberation. My personal interest in the struggle was largely influenced by interviews I conducted with
political activists while working as a research assistant for the South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), although my new interest soon distracted me from my original task. Outside the confines of the SADET project, my interest in the participation of women took on a life of its own as I began to focus on primary documents. While the SADET interviews concerned the 1960s, the primary documents at my disposal soon led me to the intellectual activities of Charlotte Maxeke and her influence on the social and political lives of African people in the 1920s and 1930s. I made this discovery when I took up a junior managerial position at one of the sites of historical significance in the history of the struggle for liberation in South Africa, the Robben Island Museum.4

While in the employ of the museum, I observed the way in which women featured in the narratives that were being crafted about the incarceration of political prisoners on the Island. In these narratives, women were merely represented as spouses who provided much-needed support to the prisoners. This trend continues to frame and describe the entry of women into the field of politics. Towards the end of my term at Robben Island, I delved into materials on the rise of black politics in South Africa dating back to the early 1900s. I embarked on major archival research, supplemented by a survey of secondary literature on the formative years of the struggle for liberation.5 Many others have taken this journey before me, but for me the experience was new. I spent months ‘digging’ for leads to the life and times of Charlotte Maxeke in two major historical collections – the Mayibuye Archives and the Liberation Archives at Fort Hare – but found nothing in either of them.

Disappointed, I turned to references to Maxeke’s work on the social welfare of African people.6 My research revealed a wealth of information about Maxeke’s activities and also brought out aspects that are not revealed by the depiction of her as ‘mother of the nation.’ However, there was a disjuncture between these two different representations. The absence of these aspects of Maxeke’s activism from the narratives that document the participation of women in the liberation struggle gave me some cause for thought.7 It made me suspect that not only were women projected as supporters of male effort within the struggle, and especially within the ANC, but also that their intellectual inputs have been obscured in the documentation of black politics in archival collections.8 I soon learnt that archival collections should not be considered to be a mine of evidence about the past but, rather, constitute a frame of intelligibility, a way of comprehending a social reality of the time in which they were created.9 What would it have taken for Charlotte Maxeke to have had

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an archival collection devoted to her, as was the case with some of the other black figures of the early twentieth century? Male political leaders, for instance, Alfred Bitini Xuma, president-general of the ANC from 1940–49, who is discussed later in this chapter, appear as central figures with their own separate, personal collections in the archives. Viewed in this context, documents relating to Charlotte Maxeke remain ‘a piece of data’ whose material and imaginary status has not been evaluated.

Following leads on the social welfare of Africans, I began to research Maxeke’s activities at the University of Witwatersrand, where I spent time in the William Cullen Library. In the records of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) I found mention of Maxeke’s public involvement and her discussions of the social welfare of African people in South Africa between the 1920s and 1930s. The documents highlighted her involvement in the debates about matters like living conditions, the status of women and other matters affecting urbanised Africans. The collection is extensive, with numerous publications, newspaper articles and official and unofficial reports dealing with what the state referred to at the time as the Native Question (matters dealing with the movement of Africans from rural to urban areas, and other similar issues) and with the education and training of black South Africans. From these documents, especially those which framed themselves around the Native Question, it is clear that Africans had been constructed as an ‘other’ and a problem in the context of white South Africa. The debate reflected the state’s concern about the ‘proper place’ of the African. These documents classified, graded and labelled African women as the main causes of social ills such as ‘lawlessness,’ illicit beer brewing, prostitution, overcrowding and diseases in urban centres.

Disease and social hygiene emerged among the overarching themes in the public discourse of the 1920s.

The SAIRR records also cover the activities of missionaries (specifically the Women’s Missionary Society and its debates about the role of women missionaries and their responsibility towards ‘the Native women and girls’ in South Africa) and raise issues about labour. State officials in urban centres such as Johannesburg used the availability of miners as a measure to facilitate the classification of the city’s urban population. Throughout the 1920s, SAIRR records contain voluminous reports on the safety of mine labourers. As public concern focused on the safety of a gendered category (male mine labourers), the presence of African women in urban areas was problematised, thus justifying the introduction of major preventive and control measures. In contrast to the state’s racialised and gendered discourses on
the African urban population, the co-existence of the different population groups in urban areas fostered co-operation across the colour line.

Where she is mentioned, Maxeke provided an oppositional discourse to the state’s conclusions about the African urban population. The Joint Council of Europeans and Africans, in which Maxeke participated, often expressed discontent with the poverty, filth and diseases associated with ‘native’ women. By doing so, Maxeke disrupted the state’s discourse about the Native Question. Her participation in various conferences held on various aspects of the Native Question did not cast the African urban population as a problem, but proposed possible solutions to the broader social problems of the day. In this way, she operated in contrast to state discourse of land and segregation. In these documents, she deliberated on matters pertaining to the welfare of African juveniles and women as well as the provision of proper accommodation and education for the youth in Johannesburg in the 1920s and 1930s. She did not limit herself to the urban centres only, she also condemned practices that contributed to the deplorable conditions of African women in rural areas. Maxeke’s contributions demonstrated a deep investment in the ideas of the time. Given the intellectual depth she demonstrated, I asked myself how some of the major studies of women in the liberation struggle missed her intellectual input. At the level of practical politics, the lack of a properly documented intellectual tradition of women on gender inequality raises questions about how the role of women in African nationalism has been and still is conceptualised, especially within the liberation movement itself.

There are two major historical works on the life of Charlotte Maxeke: AB Xuma’s *Charlotte Manye (Mrs Maxeke) What an Educated African Girl Can Do* and Margaret McCord’s, *The Calling of Katie Makanya*. These and other texts allow us to reflect on specific constructions of Maxeke’s life. In *The African Who’s Who*, JDM Skota traces her birth to Ramokgopa in the Pietersburg district on 7 April 1874. JA Millard, however, states that Maxeke was born on 7 April 1872. *The New Dictionary of South African Biography* by EJ Verwens locates Maxeke’s birth at Fort Beaufort in the Cape Colony. This contradiction is further complicated in McCord’s biography of Katie Makanya, Charlotte Maxeke’s younger sister, who was born in 1873, a fact that refutes Skota’s claim about Maxeke’s date of birth. The preponderance of evidence about where Maxeke was born favours Verwens’s finding. Maxeke’s birth thus remains a grey area and warrants further research. The fact that confusion and misunderstanding clouds her life history reflects nationalism’s anxiety about the
question of origins and suggests a greater need to re-evaluate how her subjectivity is embedded in different narratives.

Perhaps the most important text, Xuma’s book, celebrates Maxeke’s achievements. Edited by Dovie King Clarke for the Women’s Parent Mite Missionary Society of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AMEC) in 1930, Xuma’s work locates Maxeke in major historical epochs in South African history. Charlotte Manye’s family background intersects with land dispossession, missions and missionaries as well as anti-colonial struggles. Her father, Lange Jan Manye, hailed from the Transvaal. Due to increasing landlessness, he left the Transvaal and arrived in Fort Beaufort in the Cape Colony in the 1870s, where he converted to Christianity and learned to read and write. The expansion of missionary work on the eastern front of the Cape Colony resulted in the erection of mission schools that provided education to Africans. He attended night classes in Fort Beaufort and met Anna, who later became his wife.

At a time when there were conflicting views about the educability of the African people, Xuma’s book set out to use Charlotte Maxeke to prove ‘what an educated native girl could do.’ Maxeke presented a case for the extension of education to women. Xuma described the significance of Manye’s marriage as a distinctive and progressive step in establishing an African nationalist sentiment. He stated that ‘out of this union was born a Basutho woman, by nationality among amaXhosa in the Cape Province.’ In this context, inter-ethnic marriages marked a society that was slowly transcending the era of ethnic divisions and paved the way for the unity of Africans against colonial encroachment.

Thanks to Xuma’s commitment to ideas of education and family values, Maxeke became a subject from whom nationalism might learn a lesson. This is why the title of Xuma’s book includes the words, ‘What an Educated African Girl Can Do.’ In contrast, McCord’s biography of Katie Makanya presents intimate details of family background, education and major turning points in Charlotte Maxeke’s life such as her character and formative years, as well as the various stages of her development into adulthood. McCord’s biography also shows that Maxeke’s maternal background intersected with the Mfecane episode, known in isiZulu as ukuchitha-chithwa kwezizwe (the dispersal of the nations). Maxeke’s mother, Anna, hailed from the Embo clan of Pondoland, but, because of the prevalence of chiefly warfare in Pondoland, Anna’s clan moved towards Matatiele until it dispersed into a group called amaMfengu or Fingoes in the western Xhosa territories in the early 1800s. Anna
managed to acquire a rudimentary education, which qualified her to teach in the Fort Beaufort district in the 1800s.

McCord’s work highlights the struggles of generations of women before Maxeke, her own mother and her grandmother. Here we find Maxeke’s life discussed through and in relation to her sister, Katie Makanya, and in a family beset by political, social and economic instability. Charlotte Makgomo Manye was the first child of a family of six children. Her siblings were Katie, Phillip, Henry, John and Mary. Katie described Charlotte as the one who was never content with what others told her but had to know things for herself, either thinking them out or finding them in a book. Her inquisitive mind could be attributed to the influence of her parents. Charlotte and Katie attended the mission school of the Congregational Church in Uitenhage, where they obtained their lower grades. Under the tutelage of Revd Isaiah Wauchope, Charlotte Manye excelled in languages, mathematics and music. Upon completing her lower grades, she went on to Edwards Memorial School in Port Elizabeth in the late 1880s. At the school the two sisters met Paul Xiniwe, the headmaster and conductor of the school choir, who discovered and nurtured Charlotte’s musical talent. In 1889, she qualified as a teacher. Although her ageing father had planned to return to his birthplace in Ramokgopa, when diamonds were discovered in Kimberley he migrated there with his family. Charlotte started her teaching career in a local Wesleyan school in 1890. Patrick Harries has described Kimberley as ‘a place of endless opportunities for the educated and converted.’ This is the environment in which the Manye family found themselves when they arrived.

In 1891, Katie joined the rest of the family and the two sisters were exposed to the rich cultural life and concerts of Kimberley. They participated in an array of youth activities in inter-denominational choirs and met Simon Sinamela, director of the Presbyterian Church choir, who gathered the best singers to sing at Christmas parties in town. Charlotte and Katie became the idols of music lovers in the Kimberley Town Hall. These activities laid a strong foundation for Charlotte’s later activism in church and society. The sisters became members of the newly established African Jubilee Choir. In 1891 the choir received an invitation to sing before Queen Victoria, becoming ‘the first Kaffir Choir to visit England.’ Thereafter, the choir toured in North America. According to James Campbell, after finishing its North American tour the group was left stranded and the AMEC gave it assistance. The AMEC, an African-American church, had separated several decades earlier from the Methodist church, wanting independence in religious matters. It built strong links with African
churches and took up mission work on the continent in the mid-nineteenth century. It maintained strong links with South Africa after the 1890s and was influential in bringing black South Africans to study in the US.

Charlotte Manye was among several students the AMEC enrolled at Wilberforce University in Ohio in the winter of 1894–95, as part of its plan to educate black Africans for mission and other work in South Africa. Her encounter with the AMEC was to prove definitive in shaping her life; she remained a committed member until she died. According to Campbell, the links Charlotte and her contemporaries established in the US during this period were fundamental in shaping them as adults.

Charlotte distinguished herself at Wilberforce. In her first essay, she expressed a strong inclination towards social change, writing: 'I wish there were more of our people to enjoy the privileges of Wilberforce and then to 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.' Charlotte’s desire to bring Africans into the fold of western civilisation and the benefits thereof became the driving force behind an illustrious life which spanned a period of about 65 years. Her first effort to extend the privileges of Wilberforce to her compatriots reached fruition in 1896 when, through her influence, two more black South Africans joined her at Wilberforce. Over the years, Manye’s dream of a ‘continent of light’ began to take shape as more and more Africans from South Africa pursued studies in the US. It was also at Wilberforce that Charlotte Manye met Marshall Maxeke, who was to become her husband. Maxeke, who had been working as an AMEC evangelist in Johannesburg, travelled to Wilberforce in 1896 explicitly to train as an AMEC missionary.

Charlotte obtained her Bachelor of Science degree in 1901, becoming the first black South African woman to graduate from a university. She returned to South Africa in 1901 at the height of the Anglo-Boer War of 1899–1902 and joined her family, who had moved from Kimberley to Ramokgopa. Being the first female African university graduate in South Africa, at a time when higher education among blacks was the preserve of a few men, made Charlotte aware of gender disparities. Gender inequality permeated many levels of society across race and class. Her encounters at Ramokgopa document the struggle of a lone woman in the rural political terrain of male patriarchy in the chief’s household. In this environment, she had first-hand experience of male domination and control of all aspects of rural life. The chief’s household, which consisted of 250 members, was the centre of political power in the
village, and Charlotte had to work through it to connect with ordinary villagers.\textsuperscript{43} This leads to another area of inquiry into Charlotte’s life: her engagement with traditional structures in negotiating western modes of life in the traditional rural society of Ramokgopa.

As the new generation of Africans sought integration into the social and political milieu of the Union of South Africa, Charlotte Manye asserted herself as an intellectual in her own right within the group of educated African men that surrounded her. Although society remained dominated by men, she did not give up on her idea of an enlightened continent. Despite the challenges of the traditional protocols at Ramokgopa, she laid a strong foundation on which Christianity could flourish, by establishing a community school in the village.\textsuperscript{44} She played an active role in building schools at a time when educational facilities for Africans were still scanty. In 1903, Marshall Maxeke graduated from Wilberforce with a Bachelor of Arts and returned to South Africa, where he was appointed to serve as a minister in the AMEC in the Pietersburg district, into which Ramokgopa fell. The two subsequently married. The couple had one son, Edward Clarke, whom they sent to their alma mater to further his studies.\textsuperscript{45}

One of the AMEC’s efforts in South Africa was to establish a school partially modelled on Wilberforce College called Wilberforce Institute. After their marriage, the Maxekes moved to the institute, where Marshall became principal. Wilberforce Institute became one of the leading primary and secondary schools for Africans in the country. From the Wilberforce Institute in Evaton, Charlotte and Marshall Maxeke were sent to Klerksdorp, where they worked for two years. The success of the private school they ran caught the attention of Dalindyebo, paramount chief of the abaThembu in the Eastern Cape, who summoned them to take charge of his private school at Tyalarha.

A B Xuma himself mentions having heard his father speak of Maxeke’s courage and eloquence. She was one of the few women whose voice was heard in the chief’s court among men and who had influence in council.\textsuperscript{46} Ultimately ill health forced Charlotte to return to the Transvaal, where she resumed her former activities in the church as president of the Women’s Parent Mite Missionary Society. In addition, she was involved in a number of political organisations and initiatives.

In 1918, she became president of the Bantu Women’s League, one of the first attempts to organise African women politically into a national organisation. At the time women were not allowed to be members of the ANC itself. AB Xuma described
the league as ‘a wonderful movement that stirred the imagination of the people and
unmistakably infused a widened public spirit among the womenfolk throughout
South Africa.’ Frene Ginwala, who has written on women and the ANC, noted that
in Charlotte Maxeke, the Bantu Women’s League ‘had a leader of national standing
among the African people and one who was capable of dealing with legislators and
officials.’ In her capacity as president of the league, Charlotte Maxeke participated
in the Joint Council of European-Bantu Conference, held in Cape Town in February
1929. By the late 1920s, the league was experiencing serious financial problems
which led to its demise. However, even in its dying stages it succeeded in spreading
the spirit of public political participation among women.

Like other activists of the period, Maxeke did not limit her activities to the ANC.
In July 1920, a group of established and aspirant working class leaders gathered
in Bloemfontein with the intention of establishing a union of skilled and unskilled
workers of South Africa, south of the Zambezi. The organisation was to become
the Industrial and Commercial Workers’ Union (ICU). On this occasion Charlotte
Maxeke addressed the conference about the need to promote the rights of women.
Inspired by her eloquent presentation, the delegates took the following resolutions:

That the time has come to admit women in the Workers’ Union as
full members, and that they should be allowed to receive all the same
rights as male members, and there should be female representatives in
conferences. Further that women workers receive equal pay, men and
women, for the same work done, and that all members of the conference
should do all they can to get women to join the workers’ union of the
different towns.

The following year she was invited to address the Women’s Enfranchisement
Association of the Union [of South Africa] (WEAU), which was a white women’s
organisation. In 1928, she brought together her views on African women in an
article entitled ‘The Progress of Native Womanhood in South Africa,’ which she
contributed to the Yearbook of South African Missions. In the article, she criticised
heavily the government’s African policy: ‘Many South Africans thought that if
they eliminate the Bantu woman as a factor the so called Native problem could be
solved.’ Maxeke, however, was opposed to the view that saw the African ‘problem’
in urban areas as the result of the presence of African women. Her theorisation
of African womanhood articulated a critique of the collusion between traditional
authorities, who wished to keep African women in rural areas, and the way the
state and other white authorities gendered the ‘native problem’ in urban areas as
female. Even in the 1920s, Maxeke expressed an understanding of the gendered nature of racial discrimination, an analysis that unfortunately often remains absent from more recent commentary on the liberation struggle. In her discussion of ‘The Progress of Native Womanhood,’ she problematised black and white perceptions of ‘the role of women’ in society. She understood that the expectation that women would continue in their traditional role as mothers and homemakers served the interests of the state and of male nationalism.

Through these conferences and organisations Maxeke acquainted herself with the debates and discussions relating to various aspects of the lives of African women and made her presence felt through her own intellectual contributions. In June 1930, for instance, she presented paper entitled ‘Social Conditions among Bantu Women and Girls’ at a conference on ‘Christian Students and Modern South Africa’ held at Fort Hare university. Her religious background meant that she often presented at Christian-organised initiatives. One government official from the Native Department described her as ‘one of the greatest advocates in temperance and one of the pillars in work among the native women.’ She participated in discussions that led to the formation of the National Council of African Women in 1933. In the late 1930s, she was appointed as a probation officer in Kliptown.

Maxeke’s critique of the systems that oppressed women and children created friends, but also made enemies, as Xuma points out.

Her training and experience naturally put her at the head of things unrivalled. I do not mean to say there are not people who envy her in the position of power and leadership. Their only motive of envy and their position is that of a dog which chases a horse off the grass even though he cannot eat the grass, a deplorable state of affairs, but bitter truth which must be acknowledged. Often our people will try to thwart the efforts of able leadership even to the point of defeating their own best interest.

These comments are important because they show how Maxeke’s’s contemporaries saw her influence, not only as a woman but as an intellectual who stood up against various forms of injustice. After her death, the slow transformation of Charlotte Maxeke into the symbolic mother of the struggle began to take place, especially once the ANC went into exile. As this happened, Maxeke’s activities also gradually became associated with the ANC, although during her lifetime the movement was by no means her only interest. During the struggle for liberation, her name facili-
tated the recruitment of women into the ranks of the movement. In the 1980s, for example, the ANC Women’s League celebrated decades of women’s activism in the struggle, opening a kindergarten called the Charlotte Maxeke Children’s Centre in Morogoro, Tanzania. By this point, her name had become synonymous with activities typically associated with women. Shireen Hassim, in her work on the ANC Women’s League in exile, makes a similar point. 61

CONCLUSION

The name Charlotte Maxeke has become a symbol of the role of women in the liberation movement. Frene Ginwala, an intellectual, a prominent figure in the liberation movement, and speaker of South Africa’s first democratically elected parliament, asked: ‘Who was Charlotte Maxeke? What had she done to merit such praises and honour? What made her name retain its magic for decades?’ 62 Shaped by the influence of the struggles of African-Americans, Charlotte Maxeke personified the spirit of service to others. Thanks to this exposure, she was able to debate issues such as ‘native womanhood,’ progress, generational differences, ethnicity and religion. These ideas contributed to shaping the terrain in which she operated until her death in 1939.

As this chapter suggests, attempts to account for Maxeke’s intellectual trajectory have to transcend the deterministic framework in which gender has been written in historical accounts. Such an approach would bring the influences, the thoughts and the philosophies that shaped and nurtured the likes of Charlotte Maxeke to the fore. Her views challenge the representation of women as supporters of the struggle in subsequent regional studies on African women. 63 Studies of gender and women tend to reproduce the demarcations of domesticity and public life, with little focus on the intellectual sphere that dissolves these divisions. As a new historiography of the struggle for liberation begins to emerge, this scholarship might seek to conceptualise the struggle against gender inequality in a manner that not only acknowledges ‘the role of women in liberation struggles.’ It should enable us to rethink the intellectual history of women in their own right, and not simply as an accessory to nationalist struggles.
Endnotes


4. My work on Robben Island exposed me to an even more fragmented story of the struggle for liberation as oral testimonies of former political prisoners were drawn in to present the island as the nest that nurtured 'the triumph of humankind against adversity.'


8. Finding material written by Charlotte Maxeke proved to be a daunting task because much of her work is not properly archived. For a discussion of the way in which male ANC figures viewed women in the struggle, see Walker, *Women and Resistance*.


10. For some mention of these figures, see Natasha Erlank's contribution in this volume.


13. The same collection contains the records of Dr AB Xuma, a collection of which has recently been released by the Van Riebeeck Society (P Limb, ed, *A.B. Xuma, Autobiography and Selected Works* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 2012). See also Wits, CULLEN HSTPAP, African National Congress, AD 2186.

14. Wits, CULLEN HSTPAP, AD843, file B. 55.2

15. Wits, CULLEN HSTPAP, AD314, file B 22.7.1

16. Wits, CULLEN HSTPAP, AB 226; AB 932.

17. See Wits, CULLEN HSTPAP, AD 1433.

18. See references above, for example, Odendaal. It is interesting that her contribution is recognised in a work dealing with the exchanges between African-Americans and black South Africans, especially about issues of faith. See JT Campbell, *Songs of Zion: The African Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States and South Africa* (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press, 1998).
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20. McCord, Ubizo lukaKatie Makanya; The Calling of Katie Makanya.
22. Millard, 'Maxeke Charlotte Manye.'
24. See Xuma, Charlotte Manye.
27. Xuma, Charlotte Manye.
31. Xuma, Charlotte Manye, 12.
32. McCord, Ubizo lukaKatie Makanya.
33. Xuma, Charlotte Manye, 10; and McCord, Ubizo lukaKatie Makanya.
35. Campbell, Songs of Zion, 252.
36. Xuma, Charlotte Manye, 11.
37. Ibid.
39. Ibid, 252
40. Ibid, 250
41. Ibid, 252
42. Ibid, 254
43. Xuma, Charlotte Manye, 14.
44. Wits, CULLEN HSTPAP, SAIRR Correspondence – General.
45. Xuma, Charlotte Manye, 14.
46. Ibid, 16.
47. Ibid, 22.
49. Wits, CULLEN HSTPAP, AD 2186, A.2.5.3, Bantu-European Conference register of members and participants in the conference, Cape Town, 6-8 February 1929.
50. Ibid.
52. Ibid, 4.
53. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
57. Kate Kidwell, Superintendent of Native Department WCTU, quoted in Xuma, Charlotte Manye, 18.
58. Wits, CULLEN HSTPAP, Charlotte Maxeke's Correspondence with Rheinallt Jones, letter dated 4 May 1939.
59. Xuma, Charlotte Manye, 13–16.